CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF YOUNG ADULTS IN URBAN TIME-SPACE: THE CASE OF PALEO PHALIRO IN ATHENS

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ABSTRACT

The basic aim of this research is to uncover the role of cultural activities, especially those related to music and cinema, situated in the urban time-space, in the quest for identity by young adults (aged 19-25) as it is expressed in their life-style. The fieldwork area is the locality of Paleo Phaliro in Athens which is a middle-class area of low concentration of cultural spaces especially in comparison to the nearby city centre. The conceptual framework introduces elements of cultural studies and social anthropology into cultural geography focusing on the agency - structure interrelationship. The direct type of connection between theory and fieldwork, mainly expressed through differentiations (contradictions), led to an emphasis on qualitative analysis, and particularly to the use of multiple case studies which was methodologically translated into structured indepth interviews and semi-structured diaries. The perceptions and actions of young adults show that common elements exist, which, although they focus on consumption and on the individual, also involve active participation in groups. Their musical and cinematic preferences show a tendency towards the global, which co-exists with an attachment to the locality. Their life-attitudes indicate a rejection of routinisation that constitutes the basis of the reaction to a stereotype of action, which is mainly imposed by the media, and secondarily by the family and the school. This contradictory process, which is situated in a context of plurality of times, spaces and cultures, also involves a plurality of cultural identities. The attitudes of the present are important for the future, especially for young adults in an area, and a city, with an ageing population. The primacy of music, in a global world where the impact of artistic activities is slowly recognised, is a factor of hope regarding the cultural aspect of the European unification.

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ABBREVIATIONS

English	Greek	Explanation
DATAR		Delegation of Regional Policy and Action (Délégation à l' Aménagement du Territoire et à l' Action Régionale)
GCGW	GSEE	General Confederation of Greek Workers (Geniki Synomospondia Ergaton Elladas)
GOT	EOT	Greek Organisation of Tourism (Ellinikos Organismos Tourismou)
GSS	GGA	General Secretariat of Sport (Geniki Grammatia Athletismou)
GSYG	GGNG	General Secretariat for the Younger Generation (Geniki Grammatia Neas Genias)
ICAP	ICAP	Investment Capital (market research institute)
MOPHE	YHOP	Ministry of Planning, Housing and the Environment (Ypourgio Horotaxias, Ikismou ke Perivallontos)
NCSR	EKKE	National Centre of Social Research (Ethniko Kentro Kinonikon Erevnon)
NSSG	ESYE	National Statistical Service of Greece (Ethniki Statistiki Ypiresia tis Ellados)
NTU	EMP	National Technical University (Ethniko Metsovio Polytechnio)
OTG	OTE	Organisation of Telecommunications of Greece (Organismos Tilepikinonion tis Ellados)
PASOK	PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Movement (Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima), one of the two major political parties
TCG	TEE	Technical Chamber of Greece (Techniko Epimelitirio Elladas)

GLOSSARY

anapsiktiria	refreshment rooms, a type of music hall where drinks, and occasionally food, are served and music shows are performed
antartika	popular songs which were sung by supporters of the left during the civil war which took place between 1944 and 1949
antiparohi	the system of building multi-storey apartments in which the owner provides the land or the house to a contractor who finances the construction and offers the owner a number of flats depending on the size of the land or of the house; the cost for the owner is usually small depending on the type of materials s/he wants for her/his flat(s).
boites	locales specialising in Greek music, especially popular contemporary music, and also providing food; it was there that the Greek 'new wave' was initiated in the 1960s
bouzoukia	locales where Greek songs, mainly popular contemporary, are played with the 'bouzouki' instrument
dimotika	folk songs and specifically rural songs
paralia	it means beach, and it designates a large coastal area which includes Paleo Phaliro, Alimos, Helliniko, Glifada, Voula, and Vouliagmeni - for the location of these areas see Figure 3.1
parea	group of friends who meet regularly
rembetika	popular songs which were mainly introduced to Greece by the refugees who came after the Minor Asia catastrophe in 1922; this type of music also uses the 'bouzouki', and it can be considered as popular traditional urban music
skiladika	heavy songs which are mainly connected to the lumpen social elements – literally translated as 'dog-songs'; the same name is used to refer to places where these songs are performed.
steki	frequent (standard) meeting place; a locale an individual tends to visit very often – mainly in order to meet other people, especially the 'parea' – and has an affective relationship to it

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The basic *aim* of this study is to uncover the role of cultural activities, especially those related to music and cinema, situated in the urban time-space in the quest for identity by young adults (aged 19-25) as expressed in their lifestyle. The fieldwork was done in the locality of Paleo ('Old') Phaliro in Athens, Greece, which was chosen mainly because of its location in the urban structure of Athens (especially its proximity to the city centre), and the relative importance of its local cultural activities, at least at the time the choice was made. The link between the emotional and intellectual operations is important, especially in the qualitative approach (Henderson, 1991, p. 102) which is adopted by this research. Thus, the choice of the subject, the people, and the area have a personal attachment for the researcher: music and cinema are my favourite hobbies, I do not feel so distant from the particular age group, and I spent a large part of the summers of my adolescence in the area.

The study focuses on three interrelated *topics*. The first is the impact of young adulthood on lifecourse as a crucial stage in determining identity construction. Young adulthood covers most of the transitional phase in the lifecourse of a individual, has a potential dynamism, and plays a major part in the future direction of a society. The second is the importance of leisure both as the preferred type of activity and as the most frequent type of activity in the lifestyle of young adults. The latter is reflected in their daily movements or pattern of action. The third is particularly the role of music and of cinema as the most popular 'artistic' activities in the leisure of young adults according to research done in Greece.

The *importance* of the stage of young adulthood in the lifecourse as well as the importance of cultural activities for young adults have been largely neglected by the social sciences, which focus either on childhood or on adolescence. It is generally assumed that human personality is formed mainly at these stages, and that after that few things change. Some recent relevant studies include: the importance of leisure transitions of 9-20 year olds in Scotland focusing on sport, family, and friends (Hendry *et al.*, 1993); the patterns of leisure behaviour of 11-16 year olds in Aberdeen focusing on the relations with peers (Smith, 1987); the shaping of careers and identities of 16-19 year olds in Swindon, Sheffield, Liverpool and Kirkcaldy focusing on home-related leisure (Banks *et al.*, 1992).

The *originality* of the study lies in four areas. The first is the *subject* of this study. In the Greek context, the study of geography focuses upon regional studies and of leisure (which is rather underdeveloped) on tourism. The focus of this research is urban studies and cultural activities. Cultural geography is a novel area for Greece. At the international level the focus of the geography of leisure is on countryside recreation, the focus of leisure studies is on tourism and sport, while the focus of

cultural geography is on landscape and literature. The focus of this research on cultural studies supports the breakthrough work of Peter Jackson who extended the field of cultural geography to popular culture (1989); of Burgess and Gold (1985b) and of Warren (1993). The study of cinema and music has been virtually neglected, although in the former case some recent exceptions do exist (e.g. Gold, 1985; Tomaselli, 1988; Aitken and Zonn, 1993a). Human geography in general has also ignored the study of young people. The emphasis is on the individual and on the daily organisation of leisure time for cultural activities, and not on the institutional dimension of cultural activities. In this respect, the research is not concerned with a general survey of leisure activities in the area, something which has been done as part of the Council of Europe's Project (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, pp. 104-106).

The second original element is the *conceptual framework*, which is important for the overall research, since theory 'is a sort of moving self-reflexivity' (Gregory, 1994, p. 86). There is an attempt to incorporate elements of cultural studies and social anthropology in the field of human geography and to combine them with leisure studies, thus bringing together cultural geography with the geography of leisure in the agency - structure context. The connection of geography with both anthropology and cultural studies is developed by Jackson (1989), and is also outlined by Gregory (1994). The connection of cultural studies and anthropology, especially urban, is also developed by Hannerz who focuses on cultural complexity (1992).

Complexity is an indication of plurality, which implies the existence of interrelationships. This is also implied by the application of such holistic fields as social anthropology and phenomenology, as well as agency - structure approaches, in human geography. The coexistence of pluralism (openness) and holism is particularly valid in the consideration of time-space as a concrete object of study. In everyday terms this means that no two individuals with similar demographic and socio-economic characteristics are restricted to acting similarly in the same spatio-temporal circumstances, since both space and time are socially constructed, i.e. there is no socio-spatial determinism. Thus, the plurality of approaches is extended into the plurality of cultures, spaces, choices, actions and identities.

The third original element is the adoption of the *case study strategy* which is ignored *in the geography of leisure*, which also is not characterised by an emphasis on qualitative analysis. This strategy has been successfully applied in the geography of health (Cornwell, 1988; Donovan, 1988). The quest for the identity of specific people in particular time-spaces is connected with the search for common elements or with a pattern of action which corresponds to a certain lifestyle, since we are dealing with a group of people. However, the total does not simply equal the sum of its parts, i.e. the individuals concerned, and there is continuous reference to variations and to alternative opinions. Thus, there is an attempt to overcome the tension between decentred universalism and

centred particularism, which exists, according to Entrikin, in the discourses of individual and place: 'The scientific search for universals seems to trivialise the interest in the particularity of places, and the demand for universal ethical principles appear to undermine the significance of the moral particularity associated with the individual's attachment to a place based community' (1991, p. 3).

The analysis of the frequency of occurring phenomena is the starting point of interpretation, but the principal aim is to focus on meaning rather than laws (Geertz, 1973, p.5). As far as leisure is concerned, this is in accordance with the tendency 'to delve into the "meanings" of leisure rather than simply the behaviours measured by time, frequency, and monetary costs' (Kelly, 1993, p. 5). The aim is to seek cases which, having their own peculiarities, constitute an alternative to typical (or representative) cases which reproduce the stereotype imposed by the rationalisation and routinisation of the social system, and whose lifestyles are reflected in a pattern of 'average action' as it is affected by common sense.

Generalisations depend on theory, the related corpus of knowledge and scientific consensus. The dependence on theory is best developed by Mitchell (1983, p. 207). The focus is on logical or scientific inference (Jackson, 1985, p. 171). The generalisations which exist are, following Yin, mainly analytical rather than statistical (1984/1989, p. 43). In summation, the emphasis on qualitative analysis combined with the quest for non-typicality is a distinctive element of originality in the field of human geography following a trend in the social sciences for plurality and/or openness (e.g. phenomenology/humanism, postmodernism).

The fourth original element is the *interrelationship of* the particular *fieldwork methodologies with* the particular *theoretical framework*. Plurality coexists with contradiction which is an inherent aspect of everyday life, and consequently of qualitative analysis. Contradiction implies that most types of relationships combine opposition and connection. According to Giddens, 'for many purposes studies concentrate both empirically and theoretically on one aspect. The mistake is to suppose that what is a methodological bracketing is an ontological phenomenon' (Gregory, 1984, p. 129). This non-concentration on one aspect constitutes the basis for the use of the methodological 'device' of differentiations, which constitutes the basis of the interrelationship between theory and fieldwork.

There are two main *connecting axes* in the research. The first is the role of the attachment to space as an expression of cultural identity. The focus is not on place identity but on sense of place, which, however, is not universal, but depends, mainly, on the locale and the individual. Furthermore, according to Eyles, sense of place, means 'more than the (positive or negative) "feel" for a place or places which is based on the individual's experience of these places'. Life is not equated with experience

'because there may be forces which affect and shape life... and which are beyond immediate experience' (1985, p. 2). The second axis is the role of a particular leisure preference as an expression of time-space identification.

The conceptual framework is developed in *Chapter 1*. The focus is on the time - space interrelationship and the agency - structure interrelationship. The impact of cultural studies in human geography is traced: the state of things is a combination of the lack of empirical research in cultural studies (Jackson, 1989, p. 179) with the lack of theoretical debate in cultural geography. There is an attempt to verify the importance of social theory, and its relevance for geography, especially as it is exemplified in seeking connections through illuminating comparisons (Thrift, 1993, p. 120). The connection of the research with cultural geography is, primarily, at the level of theory (which implies cultural theory and the philosophical references of phenomenological geography), while the connection with urban anthropology is primarily at the level of methodology.

Although experience as a material process constitutes the basis of action, i.e. the lived world of the individual, it must not be taken-for-granted; this requires the interpretation of mental processes, i.e. the perceptual world of the individual which is comprised of the interrelated processes of perception, appropriation, knowledge and consciousness. The context of the agency - structure relationship is focused either on the reflexivity of the self (Giddens), or on symbolic forms and especially art (Bourdieu) or on emotions (Elias). The focus of the time - space interrelationship has its starting point in the perceived world, since this interrelationship is broken in the lived world due to the mediation by the social world of modernity (Lefebvre, Giddens). Time-space is a 'concrete abstraction' (Lefebvre), a coexistence of presence and absence (Heidegger), and a coexistence of resource and constraint (Wallman, time geography). Leisure, and particularly artistic activities are important indications of lifestyle which focus on the controlling and decontrolling of emotions (Elias), such as fun and pleasure. The media plays a crucial role in the formation of cultural tastes which in turn constitute manifestations of preferences (Bourdieu) and expressions of desires. Tastes are affected by the relationship of the local with the global, as well as popular and high culture, and are reflected in the relationship of consumption with production.

The focus of the conceptual framework on the cultural identities of young people is developed in *Chapter 2*. It is approached in a novel way, i.e. not expressing a group (especially a minority), but expressing the importance of artistic activities (especially music and cinema) in the lifestyle of young adults situated in time-space. Hannerz's view that the main vehicles of identity are considered to be the expressed cultural meanings (1992) is particularly useful. The characterisation of these meanings by

plurality and contradictions, provides, in connection with the search for difference, a hint for the existence of multiple identities.

Chapter 3 analyses the geographical and cultural context of Athens. The cultural 'radiance' of the city is examined in the context of the European Union (EU) and in relation to its concentration of the cultural spaces, which are classified as public, private (incorporating the commercial and voluntary sector), municipal in terms of type of ownership and/or management. In the context of the city itself, particular attention is given to the spatial attraction of the city centre. The focus is on music and cinema as the most popular consumption activities of young people and their developments are examined in the light of the contemporary cultural crisis, which has mainly two dimensions: a spatio-temporal and an ideological one. The latter focuses on the interrelated issues of 'Greekness', and of the differentiation between tradition and modernity.

The methodology of the fieldwork is developed in *Chapter 4*. The strategic choice is the indepth study of a few people rather than the superficial study of many people, in accordance with the ethnographic focus on depth. Thus, the emphasis is on qualitative analysis, based on the case study approach; methodologically this implies the application of interviews and (semi-structured) diaries of multiple cases focusing on three selected people. The use of interviews is an appropriate research technique for 'the interpretations of the feelings, values, motivations and constraints which contribute to our understanding of people's behaviour', for the 'concentration on how individuals describe and account for their own experiences', and for understanding 'the complexities of the problem rather than reducing it to a set of key exploratory variables' (Burgess, 1992, p. 208). The interviews are indepth and structured, as opposed to unstructured which is the usual practice in qualitative analysis. The main advantage is not so much that structured interviews allow comparisons between people, but that the analysis can be based on some basic themes raised in the conceptual framework which are common in all the interviews. Thus, the emphasis on qualitative analysis does not prevent the use of strategies or methodologies which are not typical in qualitative analysis, such as the basis on theoretical propositions and the use of structured interviews. These two factors are interdependent, and along with the use of differentiations constitute expressions of the interrelationship between theory and fieldwork.

The fieldwork area of Paleo Phaliro is examined in *Chapter 5*. Its demographic, socio-occupational and spatial structures are analysed within the urban context of Athens; the latter principally implies the attraction of the city centre in terms of cultural spaces. The options between cultural activities are examined not only in reference to the present, but also to the changes that have occurred and to the characteristics of the

recent past, when Phaliro participated in Project no. 5 of the Council of Europe, and when the voluntary sector was active.

The emphasis on the individual organisation of leisure time results in the study of specific young adults in the particular setting of Paleo Phaliro, i.e. the focus is on the peculiarities of the use of time-space by specific individuals, and not on the general characteristics of time-space use by many people. The findings of this study are elaborated in *Chapter 6*. The structure of the chapter is based on the direct type of connection between theory and fieldwork which is adopted, and specifically on the relations between deduction and induction, developed and developing theory, theoretical propositions and description. In this context, the basic leisure indicators are considered to be: choice of activities, choice of companions, and use of time-space.

The adoption of a qualitative approach implies that the discourse of the young adults who were studied has also been presented, in order to facilitate the interpretation of an interpretation. Thus, the narrative combines theoretical analysis, tables, charts, and references to the views (opinions) mainly of the three selected cases – also figures of their daily movements. These references form an integral part of the text [a method used by Wallman (1984)] and are not separated from it [a method used by Bourdieu (1979/1984)].

There are four main research hypotheses to be tested. The first is the importance of the factors of type of activity, companion, space, and time in the choice and materialisation of leisure options which are situated in a particular context characterised by plurality and constraints. The second is the existence of an attachment to the locality, i.e. a type of appropriation leading to a sense of place which is also expressed in temporal terms. The third is the existence of common elements in the lifestyle of young adults, including the impact of cultural activities. The fourth is the imposition of a stereotype of youth action by the three main factors of socialisation (media, school, family) and the contribution of artistic activities to the reaction to this stereotype.

The three last hypotheses are further developed in *Chapter 7* which analyses the relationship of the local dimension of the research with the dimensions which go beyond the local. There is a qualitative evaluation of the common elements of the young adults studied, in comparison with the reflection of the social stereotypes of Greek (and particularly Athenian) youth in the young people of the locality. The importance of music and cinema is stressed, also with reference to the implications in regarding Greek, European, Mediterranean and global contexts of the research.

In the *Conclusions*, the main findings of the research are overviewed, related to the conceptual framework, and compared to other relevant international and Greek research studies, which are rather limited. In this context, the originality and importance of the study are verified. The final reference is to the implications for future

research, since present tendencies should be indications for the future and since all research should ideally function as a beginning and not as an end.

Chapter 1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 Human Geography, Cultural Studies and Social Anthropology

1.1.1 The Interrelated Processes of Perception, Knowledge, Appropriation and Consciousness

Human action is a material process indicative of mental processes starting from perception, passing through knowledge and appropriation and leading to consciousness. The movement from perception to action is not a one-way process and it is full of contradictions. A crucial issue is the distinction between the lived and the perceptual world. Bourdieu differentiates the reality of representation (objective 'reality') from the representation of reality (mental structures) (1979/1984, pp. 482-483). As far as space is concerned, Lefebvre develops the differentiation between representations of space, which is the perceptual space, and spaces of representation, which are the lived spaces.

The initial contact with everyday life, and also the first level of mental processes, is perception. Rapoport states that perception describes the direct sensory experience of the environment for those who are in it at a given time and he distinguishes it from evaluation and cognition (1977, pp. 30-31). The next level of mental processes is *knowledge* – and an appropriate framework for the knowledge of everyday life is phenomenology. Its starting point is 'the taken-for-granted world' (or 'things as they are' or 'the natural attitude'), which, however, has to be 'bracketed' (or suspended or questioned). To Anne Buttimer, the great promise of phenomenology is the harmonisation of the ways of knowledge with lived experience (1979, p. 245), and its key message is that much of our experience is pre-reflective, i.e. it is accepted as given reinforced through language and routine (1976, p. 286). Giddens develops this argument by defining routinisation as 'the habitual taken-for-granted character of the vast bulk of the activities of day-to-day social life; the prevalence of familiar styles and forms of conduct, both supporting and supported by a sense of ontological security'[1] (1984, p. 376). Geographers have primarily been influenced by Schutz, whose constitutive phenomenology is more relevant to the present research. His starting point is the clarification of meaning which is the result of intentionality, i.e. only the outcome of experience (lifeworld) has a meaning (1960/1973, p. 228).

Appropriation is the personal identification with the object of knowledge, a type of attachment, i.e. an emotional relation, and can be paralleled to *verstehen*, which is, according to Peter Jackson and Susan Smith, 'a form of empathetic understanding

gained from the adoption of the subject's own perspective' (1984, p. 9). As far as space is concerned, Lefebvre distinguishes between 'dominated space' and 'appropriated space'. The former is transformed by technology, while the latter can be a natural locale modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group. An appropriated space resembles a work of art and is related with time (1974/1991, pp. 164-166).

The last level of mental processes is *consciousness* which is the crucial mediating factor between the taken-for-granted world and its understanding and interpretation, which may lead to action. Human action, and also intention, are not always conscious, since, according to Giddens, the motivation of action is in part unconscious, the consequences of action are unintended,[2] and the conditions of action are unacknowledged (1984, pp. 5-14). The absence of consciousness is a precondition for the occurrence of alienation, i.e. a separateness from subjects and/or objects including that from the self, i.e. the unconscious, which, since Freud has been a controversial issue. Lefebvre claims that the unconscious is 'consciousness and its double, which it contains and keeps within itself – namely, "self-consciousness"' (1974/1991, p. 207). Giddens refers to powerlessness as opposed to reappropriation, and the two most important indications are time-space distanciation and the deskilling of everyday life (1991, p. 192, 242).[3]

The focus must be on meaning in the cultural organisation of time-space and in cultural action in time-space, and the effect of this organisation and action in the construction of meaning. This leads to the relationship of phenomenological with cultural geography, the directions of which are situated in the impact of cultural studies in geography. Contemporary cultural geography must try and overcome some of the problems of phenomenological geography such as empiricism and subjectivism, the restricted conception of social structure and constraints, along with eclecticism.

1.1.2 The Impact of Cultural Studies on Cultural Geography

Culture is very difficult, if not impossible, to define. However, Jackson develops two of the multiple meanings of culture. As a noun of substance it refers to 'whole ways of life' (1991, p. 225) or systems of shared beliefs (1989, p. ix). As a noun of process culture 'refers to the codes with which meaning is constructed, conveyed, and understood' (1989, p. 2), or, in geographical terms, 'maps of meaning' through which groups and individuals make sense of their social world' (1989, p. 185). He states that this approach links the material with the symbolic, including the 'less tangible world of consciousness and experience' (1989, p. 48). Jackson makes an

advance by showing the importance of space, in the sense that culture, like society, is 'spatially constituted' (1989, p. 3). Thus, culture refers to particular people in particular places.

Time is also important, and Hannerz speaks about a diachronic view of culture, with time as the fourth dimension of cultural complexity (1992, p. 38), a concept which is parallel to that of plurality. Hannerz distinguishes two loci of culture, the human mind and the public forms; he also stresses the importance of the particular: culture 'when it is public it is made available through social life by particular people, to particular people' (1992, p. 7).

Cultural geography has been dominated by the traditional North American focus on landscape, although it has recently been approached differently based on its representational aspects (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Duncan and Duncan 1988; Ley and Olds, 1988; Barnes and Duncan 1992). Jackson rigorously calls for a different focus and emphasises the issue of cultural politics (1989; 1993). He claims that the recent developments such as the impact of feminism, bring them closer together (1992, p. 102) – see also Philo, 1991.

There is another important direction in cultural geography, which, however, is related to cultural politics: *artistic activities*. Even though the relationship between geography and literature has been long established (mainly by phenomenological geography), the attempt to widen the field of cultural geography towards popular culture (Burgess and Gold, 1985b; Jackson, 1989) has generated limited response (Warren, 1993). Popular culture is now approached through its relationship with high culture. This raises the more general issue of the plurality of cultures. The present research would like to bring forward the relationship of geography with the arts. To study art 'is not to turn away from the existential dilemmas of life for some empty realm of de-emotionalised forms; it is to plunge in the midst of them' (Geertz, 1973, p. 30).

The focus is on music and cinema, which are simultaneously aspects of leisure, popular culture and the media; bringing together the geography of leisure and cultural geography. Geography has responded rather hesitantly to the explosion of cultural studies and perhaps it is the right time for a thrust, since there are already signs of the active involvement of geographers in cultural studies (Bird *et al.*, 1993; Keith and Pile, 1993). Music and cinema have virtually been neglected by geographers, although in the case of cinema there are some exceptions.[4]

Phenomenology and cultural studies contribute mainly, but not solely, to the problem of theory in human geography. In order to confront the problem of methodology, geography must turn to anthropology. The philosophical centrality of the subject had a methodological impact since it contributed to an emphasis on

qualitative methodologies in social research, and in this context, phenomenology is also related to anthropology. Anthropology and phenomenology can contribute both to a holistic approach towards space and to the study of particular people in particular places. Moreover, anthropology takes account of the role of time.

1.1.3 The Connection between Human Geography and Social Anthropology

Everyday human action is full of contradictory meanings. For an interpretation of these meanings geographers must turn to anthropological methods, since 'they are the bases of in-depth descriptions set in a theoretical context. They also represent perhaps the most likely route to a profound understanding of the complexity of everyday life' (Eyles, 1989, pp. 114-115).

The influence of anthropologists upon geographers, particularly cultural ones, is not a recent phenomenon.[5] Interpretative anthropology, especially Geertz, has contributed to the revival of cultural geography (Gregory, 1989, p. 86). For Geertz, ethnography is 'thick description' which means 'setting down the meaning particular social actions have for the actors', and constitutes the basis for drawing large conclusions (1973, pp. 27-28).[6] It is not a complete, but a partial truth, a 'true fiction': these are terms used by Clifford (1986, p. 6). There are similarities, according to Cloke et al., between Geertz's approach to culture and Schutz's approach to the lifeworld, in that culture acts 'as the "glue" of locally established meaning and knowledge through which particular people in particular places "make" and "remake" their lives' (Cloke et al., 1991, p. 90). There is also a call for an interpretative geography, which, according to Eyles, is 'concerned with the understanding and analysis of meanings in specific contexts' (1988a, p. 2). According to David Smith, the sense of place can be an element of identity (1988, p. 260). The call for an interpretative geography did however not produce the results that were anticipated.

As far as the field of urban studies is concerned, the influence of anthropology can be traced back to the 'Chicago school'. This has been analysed well by other authors (Jackson, 1985, pp. 158-162; Jackson and Smith, 1984, pp. 86-93; Hannerz, 1980, Ch. 2; Ley, 1983, pp. 345-349). According to Jackson, its relationship with theory has been characterised 'as a tendency to generalize towards process rather than towards structure' (1985, p. 164). The 'Chicago school's' methodological guideline rests on the pragmatic conception of truth (Jackson and Smith, 1984, p. 81); this is shared with Schutz's phenomenology.

Jackson's study of the impact of local politics on neighbourhood change in the West Town neighbourhood of Chicago uses William Thomas' concept of the

'definition of the situation', i.e. a situation defined as real is real in its consequences, to demonstrate that these subjective meanings influence people's behaviour 'irrespective of their inherent truth or falsity' (1988, p. 49); thus, the research data are considered to be real, rather than true or false. People often react to the stereotypes which are imposed to them, and this can take the form of a symbolic 'resistance through rituals' (Hall and Jefferson, 1976). Thus the circle connecting phenomenology, cultural studies, interpretative approaches, and urban anthropology is completed without being closed. The most problematic relationship with theory has been that of urban anthropology because, 'since the early years of the 'Chicago school', ethnographic research has not been rooted in any general theory of the urban: it has been *in* the city rather than *of* the city (Jackson, 1985, p. 171).

Sandra Wallman has attempted to develop an anthropology *of* the city. In *Living in South London*, she studied, along with her associates, the aspects of livelihood in a small neighbourhood in South Battersea. The theoretical framework was based on an extended approach towards livelihood that considers as main *resources (and constraints)* time, information and identity, in addition to land, labour and capital. Localism is not considered a geographic principle, but a resource management principle (Wallman *et al.*, 1982). The next step in the research was an indepth study of a few people through interviews with the members of eight households, seen as case studies in the anthropological tradition and not representative of London (1984).[7]

The development of an anthropology, as well as a geography, *of* the city, is in need of a theory, which will attempt, on the one hand, to overcome the problems of subjectivism and empiricism that arise both in phenomenology and anthropology, and, on the other hand, to take advantage of their holistic approach of social phenomena and their spatial embeddedness. This theory must combine the analysis of particular people in particular places and times, i.e. recognise the significance of the time-space interrelationship which was left underdeveloped primarily by phenomenology and secondarily by anthropology, as well as that of the urban and/or local context, and combine this with the interpretation of the structural constraints of everyday action, in which the contribution of cultural studies is important. The theory which comes closest to this aim is structuration theory as developed by Giddens, which is connected with two other approaches of the agency - structure interrelationship: those of Bourdieu and Elias.

1.2 The Agency - Structure Interrelationship

<u>1.2.1 Giddens' Theory of Structuration</u>

Giddens provides the most elaborated view of structuration by principally examining three theoretical objects: a theory of human action which combines intentionality and motivation with the unintended consequences of activities; the agency - structure relationship in terms of duality, which means 'that the structured properties of social systems are simultaneously the medium and outcome of social acts' (1981, p. 19); and the spatio-temporal dimension of structures and practices. Giddens' project can be seen in three phases: the first emphasises structure, the second incorporates elements of time-geography, and the last one emphasises agency. Phases two and, especially, three are more relevant to the present research. In the second phase 'he uses the components of the stratification model of structure to illustrate how time-space distanciation is "transported" through the interconnections between structure and agency' (Cloke *et al.*, 1991, p. 111).

The point which is of most interest to the present research is the *time-geographic analysis* of the limits to human action either as constraints or as living and activity possibility boundaries. Land is actually designated by Carlstein as space-time (1982, p. 421), in accordance with Wallman's approach (1982a, p. 6). There are three kinds of constraints in this process: capability, coupling, and authority constraints. 'Capability constraints limit the activities of individuals because of their biological construction and/or the tools which they can command' (Parkes and Thrift, 1980, p. 248). Coupling constraints define 'where, when, and for how long the individual has to join other individuals, tools, and material in order to produce, consume and transact' (Hägerstrand, 1970, p. 8; cited in Parkes and Thrift, 1980, p. 248). 'Authority constraints impose limited access to either space locations or time locations' (Parkes and Thrift, 1980, p. 249).

The connection between structuration theory and time-geography, as elaborated by Pred, focuses on 'specific structure-influenced and structure-influencing practices at particular locations in time and space' (Jackson, 1986, p. 122). In this respect there is a relation with anthropology, since the theoretical direction of the latter might be the study of the 'instanciation of structures in particular practices' (Jackson, 1985, p. 166). Giddens summarises as follows the common points of the time-geographic approach with the theory of structuration: 'Time-geography is concerned with the infrastructural constraints that shape the routines of day-to-day life, and shares with structuration theory an emphasis upon the significance of the practical character of daily activities' (1985, p. 269).

However, according to Jackson, Giddens substitutes the notions of path and project with three *concepts of his own*: presence availability (corresponding to constraints), locale, and time-space distanciation (Jackson, 1986, p. 122). Presence availability draws on Heidegger's *Dasein*,[8] and it must not be confused with the 'object in time' (Giddens, 1981, p. 32). Locale helps to overcome the confusion between place and space, particularly the use of place in order to designate 'point in space' (Giddens, 1985, p. 271).[9] He clarifies it, using the time-geographic approach: 'Locales refer to the use of space to provide the settings of interaction, the settings of interaction in turn being essential to specifying its contextuality' (1985, p. 271). The third innovative concept is 'time-space distanciation'. Giddens clarifies it as follows: 'all social interaction is "contextual" – situated in time-space – and yet stretches across time-space "distances"' (Gregory, 1984, p. 127).

In *Modernity and Self-Identity* the agency - structure relationship takes the form of the interconnection of the globalisation of modern institutions (abstract systems) with the reflexivity of the self: 'The self is not a passive entity...: in forging their self-identities... individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications' (1991, p. 2). Modernity, especially in its last phase, is a post-traditional order where time is separated from space and controlled mainly though the 'colonisation of the future' (the future exploitation of current situations) and where doubt coexists with multiple choices, especially of lifestyle options. Experience is both mediated (influenced by the media) and 'sequestrated' (separated from contact with events and situations which 'raise potentially disturbing existential questions') (1991, pp. 2-8).

Structuration theory is situated in the context of the agency - structure debate; however, Giddens virtually ignores both Bourdieu's and Elias' relevant contributions and also the significance of leisure. As far as the latter is concerned, Bourdieu focuses on cultural activities and Elias focuses on sport.

1.2.2 Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

Bourdieu's main contribution to the agency - structure debate is centred on the development of a theory of practice which takes account of the importance of symbolic forms. His basic point is that:

> the analysis of objective structures, the various fields, cannot be divorced from an analysis of the development of mental structures which themselves, on the level of biological subjects, can be explained in reference to the embodiment of social structures and the genesis of the latter. (Honneth *et al.*, 1986, p. 43)

Bourdieu's theory of the mode of the generation of practices, 'is the precondition of establishing an experimental science of the dialectic of the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality' (1972/1977, p. 72).

In his attempt to interrelate practice and structure he introduces the meso-level concept – a type of concept lacking in Giddens apart from the broad conception of the duality of structure – of *'habitus'*. Bourdieu defines habitus as 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions,[10] structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representation... collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor' (1972/1977, p. 72).

He claims that economic calculation must be extended to *symbolic capital*, i.e. 'all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation' (1972/1977, p. 178). Bourdieu's most relevant work for the present research is *La Distinction*. It focuses on taste and is based on a combination of surveys, observations and interviews in relation to preferences for painters, musical and cinematic works, radio programmes, singers, sports, interior decoration, clothes etc. These preferences are attributed to particular classes or occupational groups according to their cultural, educational and economic capital,[11] the focus being on the petite bourgeoisie (1979/1984).

In reference to the problem of *space*, it is only very recently that his influence is getting the attention it deserves – except for the impact of his ethnographic study of the Kabyle house in Algeria. Jackson situates 'cultural capital' in the context of the alternative theoretical concepts relating to the particularity of the local, such as cultural politics (Stuart Hall), structure of feeling (Williams) and local knowledge (Geertz). Bourdieu is important especially in relation to the cultural politics of consumption (Jackson, 1991, pp. 220-221). This is how Bourdieu himself analyses the importance of a socially ranked geographical space in taking full account of the cultural differences in lifestyle between the different fractions:

> A group's chances of appropriating any given class of rare assets... depend partly on its capacity for the specific appropriation, defined by the economic, cultural and social capital it can deploy in order to appropriate materially or sympartly the assets in question, that is, its position in social space, and partly on the relationship between its distribution in geographical space and the distribution of the scarce assets in that space. (1979/1984, p. 124)

In this sense, he claims that living in a town, and especially living in a larger town makes a difference (1979/1984, p. 124).

Bourdieu is connected with Elias primarily in their search for meso-level concepts between agency and structure, their marginal position in Anglo-Saxon sociology for many years, and their reference to the importance of time.

1.2.3 Elias' Figurational Sociology

Elias has developed the historical analysis of '*human figuration*', which is a 'structure of mutually oriented and dependent people' (1939/1994, p. 213), that both constrains and enables the actions of the individuals, the development of which is a relatively open-ended process (1974, p. 40). His approach resembles the differentiation between the perceptual and lived world of phenomenology and of Lefebvre, and the differentiation between the mental and the objective structures of Bourdieu: 'the immanent regularities of social figurations are identical neither with regularities of the "mind", of individual reasoning, nor with regularities of what we call "nature", even though functionally all these different dimensions of reality are indissolubly linked to each other' (Elias, 1939/1994, p. 444). It can be considered as a meso-level concept between agency and structure, similar to the 'habitus' of Bourdieu. Elias claims that his theory is a 'processual' one which allows the study of continuity and change and of the interrelationship of individual and society (1987/1991).[12] *The Civilizing Process* (his seminal work and a landmark in historical sociology) examines the interdependence of external constraints, and especially the tendency of the state to control social behaviour and violence, and of the self-constraint of individuals resulting in the gradual transformation of manners (1939/1994).

The importance of *emotional bonds* in the construction of the social identity of human beings is a particular example of the individual - society interrelationship (Elias, 1987). What is always important is:

> these relationships *within* man [*sic*] between the drives and affects controlled and the built-in-controlling agencies, whose structure changes in the course of the civilising process, in accordance with the changing structure of relationships *between* individual human beings, in society at large. (Elias, 1939/1994, p. 487)

In the course of this process, he claims that the unconscious does not play a dominant role, as Freud claims, since "'consciousness" becomes less permeable by drives, and drives become less permeable by "consciousness"' (Elias, 1939/1994, p. 487).

Elias' approach to the connection between changes in the social and personality structure, i.e. psychological changes, along with the critical use of Freud brings him closer to the last phase of Giddens' project, but the latter actually refers to Elias only in

relationship with the separation of the private from the public sphere (Giddens, 1991, p. 152). Elias is connected with Giddens also through his view that people must observe themselves as people observing themselves: this relates to the objects being also subjects of the phenomenologists. However, Elias' viewpoint is different in the sense that this process is a long-term one (Mennell, 1989/1992, pp. 181-182). According to Mennell, there is also a connection between Elias and Bourdieu in the former's use of the term 'social habitus', before its establishment by Bourdieu. By it, 'Elias means that level of personality characteristics which individuals share in common with fellow members of their social groups' (Mennell, 1989/1992, p. 30).

It is perhaps understandable that Elias has not influenced *geography*, since he does not focus on the role of space. However, his approach to time in connection with his emphasis on emotions and constraints has attracted the attention of leisure researchers, and thus it can be helpful for the geography of leisure. Ogborn claims that figuration is, in essence, an extended spatial metaphor, since it is deployed to understand specific spaces. He also argues that the turn towards psychoanalysis must not be separated from the historical geography of modernity, and it is in this sense that the contribution of Elias' theory of the self is important (1991, pp. 78-79). This brings Elias closer to Giddens' last phase, since the interpretation of figurations would involve discussion of 'the extension of a regularised grid of time and space in the organisation of social life' (Ogborn, 1991, p. 84).

Time, space and the self are subjects that Giddens, Bourdieu and Elias come back to, either regularly or not. They are connected, in the sense that identities are embedded in time-space. However, there also exist other factors which contribute to the construction of identities.

1.3 The Main Attributes of Identities

Identity is also particularly difficult to define. Anthony Cohen attempts the following definition: identity 'is the symbolic and practical ways in which a person is known to, or is believed to be known to, others'. Identity 'is both a passive and a proactive matter for the individual: it is imposed upon us by those with whom we engage socially; we struggle for recognition of ourselves in the terms which *we* choose' (1993, p. 9).

The quest for identity may indicate a *reaction to the stereotype* imposed by the 'rationalised organisation of everyday life' which, according to Lefebvre, aims principally at imposing order mainly through cohesion (1967/1977, p. 39). For Eyles, establishing an identity means emphasising the self in order to negate the segmentation

and objectification of existence, which is the dominant direction of life in technocratic and bureaucratic societies (1985, p. 3). Thus, in the modern world identity is not to be taken-for-granted, although it depends on routinisation: it 'is not something that is just given, as a result of the continuities of the individual's action system, but something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual' (Giddens, 1991, p. 52). Social activities are reflexively constituted in everyday life, since identity:

> forms a trajectory across the different institutional settings of modernity over the *durée*[13] of what used to be called the 'life cycle', a term which applies much more accurately to non-modern contexts than to modern ones. Each of us not only 'has', but lives a biography reflexively organised in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life. Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question, 'How shall I live?' has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat... (Giddens, 1991, p. 14)

Identity involves not only the present, but also the past and the future, since, according to Taylor, 'in order to have a sense of who we are, we have to have a notion of how we have become, and of where we are going' (1989; cited in Giddens, 1991, p. 54).

The principal frames of reference for identity are: the self, gender, age, work, leisure, education, social group and/or class, race, religion, time, and space. In the construction of identities, one of these factors can have more importance than another, or they can coincide, e.g. young people can be simultaneously an age group and a social group. However each of these factors does not operate independently, but is situated in the agency - structure interrelationship. Also all factors, and more so gender and class, express a kind of inequality, and this provides the main explanation of the fact that the question of identity is stronger in the case of marginal social groups.

1.3.1 Security and Intimacy

The quest for identity implies a quest for self-consciousness and this is connected to the issues of *security* and intimacy. According to Giddens, ontological security is connected with practical consciousness, or, 'in phenomenological terms to the "bracketings" presumed by the "natural attitude" in everyday life' (1991, p. 36). The routines which individuals follow, as their time-space paths criss-cross in the contexts of daily life, constitute life as 'normal' and 'predictable' (1991, p. 126). Ontological security, especially in circumstances of uncertainty and multiple choice, is linked with basic trust (1991, p. 3), which is at the core of Ernst Bloch's hope (Giddens, 1991, p. 38).

Intimacy expresses a contradictory situation: Giddens distinguishes it from addiction (1992, pp. 92-96) and identifies it with democracy (1992, pp. 184-204), while Sennett talks about the tyrannies of intimacy (1977/1986, pp. 337-340). Of key importance, for Giddens, is the emergence of the 'pure relationship' (one in which the external criteria have become dissolved) as prototypical of the 'transformation of intimacy' (1991, p. 6). The latter can also be connected with the plurality of choices of companions.

Sennett relates intimacy with trust, as well as warmth and open expression of feeling (1977/1986, p. 5), and he believes that 'in an intimate society all social phenomena, no matter how impersonal in structure, are converted into matters of personality in order to have a meaning' (1977/1986, p. 219). However, his conception of intimacy is rather negative, since he believes that 'an intimate society encourages uncivilized behavior between people and discourages a sense of play in the individual' (1977/1986, p. 268). Sennett also refers to narcissism (not be confused with self-admiration), which is the Protestant ethic of modern times (1977/1986, pp. 11, 333) and which is related to the death of public space. Although Sennett writes about US cities, this is reflected in the privatisation of time-space in Athens [see Chapter 3, 3.5].

Intimacy provides an appropriate framework for describing the tendencies which are present in contemporary societies. In order to overcome the polarisation between democracy and tyranny, we can, paraphrasing Riesman, distinguish self (inner)-directed from other-directed intimacy.[14] The former is used as an alternative expression to individualism, while the latter indicates the impact of social group, class and/or society in general, in its local or global dimension.

1.3.2 Resource, Difference and Becoming

Identity is also approached through the interrelated concepts of resource, difference and becoming. Wallman adds to the conventional model of material *resources* non-material resources such as time, information, and identity (1984, pp. 28-29). She claims that identity as a resource makes the real difference between success and failure, that it can be considered as autonomy and becoming, and that locality, occupation and origin are the strongest identity loci (1993, p. 64). The present research focuses on the first two.[15] These resources are interrelated, e.g. identity depends on occupation (which relates with leisure), ownership of goods, information (knowledge) and time-space.

Resources can also function as *constraints*. For Giddens, constraints include barriers to emancipation and moral dilemmas (1991, pp. 6, 9). The idea of resources

as constraints is also developed by the time-geographic approach and by Bourdieu, who, according to Jenkins, implies that time is both a constraint and a resource for social interaction (1992, p. 69). Bourdieu's conception of identity relates to the phenomenological approach of the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life. For him, the sense of the position the actors occupy in social space 'renders them largely incapable of perceiving social reality, in all of its arbitrariness, as anything other than "the way things are", necessary to their own existence as who they are' (Jenkins, 1992, p. 70).

Difference is comprised of an internal aspect (multiple selves/identities) as well as an external aspect (others), and it has two ~~contradictory~~ major dimensions: on the one hand, it is a product of inequality, and, on the other hand, it is an aspect of self-actualisation (as distinct from stereotypes). According to Giddens, difference is a product of modernity (1991, p. 6). The impact of globalisation alters the effect of time-space: 'Difference is encountered in the adjoining neighborhood, the familiar turns up at the ends of the earth' (Clifford, 1988, p. 14).

The 'focus on identity is expressive, part of the immediate experience of the action. It is also developmental, a sense of *becoming* someone more able or with a new dimension of selfhood' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 320). Becoming, an historical process, is distinguished, according to Abrams, from being, a state (1982, p. 267); it is also future oriented. However, Heidegger, according to Harvey, proclaims 'the permanence of Being over the transitoriness of Becoming' (1989, p. 207).

This differentiation is analogous with that which Jaques states as the two dimensions of *time*: succession and intent. Succession 'contains the conception of a historical reconstruction of temporal points in earlier and later relationship to each other'. Intent 'contains the conceptions of goal-directedness and of what will happen, in the continuously present field of past - present - future which coexist in the interaction of memory, perception, desire, and anticipation' (Jaques, 1982, p. 87). Wallman refers to these dimensions as 'sequential' and 'enduring', and she claims that Jaques provides an approach which both links and accounts for the separateness of the sense of time and the sense of self (1992a, pp. 14-15).

The postmodern context of identity, in general, is the *plurality of lifestyle options*:

> The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems... The more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate choices among a diversity of options. (Giddens, 1991, p. 5)

The existence of multiple options is related with individual anxiety: 'relative openness of the new society seems to cause people to be more flexible and imaginative and at the same time more identity anxious than they were in the cosier past' (Wallman, 1993, p. 54). This anxiety starts early in the lifecourse since even children at school, and more so students, are demanded to acquire more skills and be familiar with a larger accumulation of knowledge than in previous times, in order to survive in the more competitive postmodern epoch.

The plurality of options is connected with the plurality of cultures and identities – and it is the existence of *multiple identities* which is actually implied by the argument that loss of identity is caused by insecurity. Poststructuralism defines the multiple self as 'de-centred self' (Jary and Jary, 1991, p. 145) which implies the de-centring of the subject. Phenomenology on the contrary proclaims the sovereignty of the subject in searching for its relation to the object. Giddens provides a balanced approach recognising unification versus fragmentation as one of the dilemmas of the self in late modernity. However, a person may make use of the diversity of contexts of interaction 'in order to create a distinctive self-identity which positively incorporates elements from different settings into an integrative narrative' (1991, p. 189-190).

A similar argument is put forward by Kelly and Godbey, who claim that identity is the metaphor of the centre, not fixed but ever changing, of the journey of life, which is 'a composition, with structure and order along with variations and idiosyncrasies of performance' (1992, p. 316). Consistency coexists with variety or salience (1992, p. 318), continuity coexists with change (1992, p. 324), structure coexists with openness (1992, p. 325), in the sense that we do not present the same side of ourselves in every situation (1992, p. 318).

Multiple identities are not only situated in the context of a plurality of options and cultures, but also of times and spaces, which are interrelated.

1.4 Identities in Time-space

1.4.1 The Plurality of Spaces and Times

Phenomenology has focused on the study of space and cultural studies have virtually neglected the role of time and space. Anthropology has studied both, but has approached their interrelationship only in connection with traditional societies where it constitutes part of everyday life. There are recent signs that *space* is getting the attention it deserves from cultural studies, due to the intervention of geographers (Bird *et al.*, 1993; Keith and Pile, 1983).

Lefebvre has provided an original contribution to the issue of space. He shares two interrelated points with phenomenology: the differentiation between perceptual and lived world in reference to space, and the questioning of the taken-for-grantedness of the everyday life. For him, perceptual and lived space are mediated by social space which ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space on the one hand, and physical space on the other (1974/1991, p. 27). Social space is neither merely abstract (space without objects) nor merely concrete (objects in space) (1974/1991, p. 218) but is a 'concrete abstraction' (1974/1991, p. 27).

The differentiation of the world on three interrelated levels is a common characteristic of the approaches to space by Lefebvre and Bourdieu, since the latter speaks of mental and objective structures as mediated by habitus. The use of space is differentiated according to the particular culture, an issue which is best approached by the anthropology of space (Deffner, 1981; 1982a). Thus, there exists a plurality of spaces, and the relevant emphasis of the research is on the subjective aspect of the perception of urban space. There is an ongoing debate on the existence of urban culture in the anthropological sense, a debate which is connected to the approach of space as a theoretically important issue, which implies its relation to society (Lefebvre, 1970 and 1974/1991; Castells, 1972/1977; Sack, 1980; Saunders, 1981; Harvey, 1982 and 1989; Smith, 1984), situated especially in the agency - structure debate (Gregory and Urry, 1985; Gottdiener, 1985; Werlen, 1988/1993; Soja, 1989; Dickens, 1990; Shields, 1991).

What is missing from this context is the interrelationship with *time*: Lefebvre and Bourdieu refer to its role, but some of the other aforementioned approaches to space virtually ignore it. The encounter with time is an encounter with paradox. Time can be more easily perceived, and consequently known, by investigating the meaning of everyday expressions such as 'wasting time', 'passing time', 'killing time', 'utilising time', 'saving time', and 'time is money'. The hierarchical level in the modern conceptions of the loss of time which relates to leisure, refers, according to Pronovost, 'to those precious moments when we can allow ourselves to just "flow along" without any precise aim, simply for the sake of pleasure or relaxation' (1989, pp. 29-30). The passing of time can be paralleled to the 'flying of an arrow', a term Barnes uses in his analysis of the relationship between history and anthropology (1971). 'Killed' or 'dead' time often relates to 'free' time and is the time which is filled in between the more consequential sectors of life (Giddens, 1991, pp. 113-114). Common sense imposes time as money, but, as Toti claims, money cannot offer more time than that which can be developed in specific limits (1982, p. 286).

If the perception of time relies on everyday life, the consciousness of time is a different issue, which also depends on its appropriation. According to Bourdieu, 'the

temporal consciousness is linked to the ethos specific to every civilisation' (cited in Pronovost, 1989, p. 20). In modern societies it is connected with the exact allocation of time (Elias, 1939/1994, pp. 457-458). An important, and contradictory, aspect of temporal consciousness is the *future*. According to Wallman, the relation to the future implies the visualisation of a person as being; there are two contrasting images of the future:

> In the one 'the present is where I now am' so that, short of being... 'trapped', I will move along the line of time into the future. In the other... the individual moves with, not along the sequence, able to experience it and the 'continuity of existence' together. (1992a, p. 15)

Giddens claims that under conditions of late modernity "futures" are organised reflexively in the present in terms of the chronic flow of knowledge into the environments about which such knowledge was developed' (1991, p. 29). The idea of future as probability is a common element with Bourdieu for whom the past and the present are implicated in the likelihood of a future: a 'chance', which relates, according to Jenkins, to a 'subjective hope' (1992, p. 27).

The reference to the future implies a desire to control time, which, in turn, is an indication of people's anxiety regarding time.[16] Anxiety, control, conquest, confusion between past, present and future: these are indications of the fact that the constraining aspect of time can be the 'worst enemy' of human beings. However, the aspect of time as resource always exists, and time is inseparable from space, although it cannot be easily accepted that the conception of time as an enemy of individuals is directly attributed to its domination by space in modern societies.

The neglect of time by geographers has provoked the search for its interrelationship with space.

1.4.2 Time-space

The most stimulating elaborations on the time-space interrelationship come, on the one hand, from physics, and, on the other hand, from philosophy, or out of their combination (Newton-Smith, 1980, Ch. 4 and 1986; Mellor, 1981, Ch. 4; Hawking, 1988, Ch. 2; Ray, 1991).

Heidegger is a philosopher whose views have been influential for Giddens, Lefebvre and geographers. He claims that Being (*Sein*), must be conceived in terms of time (1927/1978, p. 40), but also that 'dwelling is the basic character of Being in keeping with which mortals exist' (1954/1971, p. 160). This interrelationship of time

with space is elaborated in his later works where Being is characterised as 'presencing' (*Dasein*) (1969/1972, p. 14). For Lefebvre, people:

> live time after all; they are *in* time. Yet all anyone sees is movements. In nature, time is apprehended within space – in the very heart of space: the hour of the day, the season, the elevation of the sun above the horizon, the position of the moon and the stars in the heavens, the cold and the heat, the age of each natural being, and so on (1974/1991, p. 95).

Giddens, in the last phase of his project, refers more generally to the *separation of time and space*, which he defines as 'the disentangling of separated dimensions of "empty" time and "empty" space, making possible the articulation of disembedded social relations across indefinite spans of time/space' (1991, p. 244).[17] Time and space are also fragmented internally, which is, according to Lefebvre, the space as assigned by the social division of labour (1974/1991, pp. 89-90). However, this plurality differs from the one which is the result of the relationship of the plurality of times and spaces which leads to that of time-spaces, such as they exist in different cultures or for different social groups.

The most clear example of the time-space interrelationship in everyday life is *movement*, which is contradictory: on the one hand, it is the expression of life in the city (Sansot, 1973), while on the other hand, it is the obligatory journey from the dwelling as a place of consumption to other places of consumption (Lefebvre, 1970, p. 32). Daily movements have a special importance because they break the uniformity of space, and they challenge, with their plurality, some certainties (Augoyard, 1979, p. 167). For Bourdieu movement in space always implies movement in time (Jenkins, 1992, p. 69).

Movement is intrinsically related to the body, which has a crucial role to play in the reaction to the everyday routines. According to Lefebvre, the focus must be on the historical process of the domination of abstract space, in which case 'space has no social existence independently of an intense, aggressive and repressive visualisation' (1974/1991, p. 286). The final stage of the body's abstraction is its fragmentation and localisation, especially as it is expressed through the identification of sexuality and pleasure with leisure which occurs in tourist places specially designated for the purpose or night-time spaces where the prohibitions of daytime 'normal activities' are lifted (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 310, 320). Thus, the end result of the process of the separation of time and space is the domination of the eye over the body, something which is also expressed by the intrusion of the media into everyday life.

Schutz provides one of the most elaborate views on the importance of movement, and consequently of the body. For him time and space in the intersubjective world are the starting points of the study of the everyday life, since one's own biographically

determined situation includes my position in 'space, time and society, but also my experience that some of the elements of the world taken for granted are imposed upon me, while others are either within my control or capable of being brought within my control' (1962, p. 76; cited in Rose 1988) – he designates the field of control as the 'reach'.

Two points, both developed by Giddens, should be noted. The first is the mistaken identification of time with change and of space with closed sense (1981, p. 17). Second, time-space must not be conceived as a 'framework' of objects and events, as a category of mind (1981, p. 31), but as 'presencing' (1981, p. 38). Thus, 'space is not static, nor time spaceless' (Massey, 1992, p. 34). The argument that time and space are interrelated is rather axiomatic, since it is not an easy subject to research, and since, as Lefebvre and Giddens have demonstrated, modernity has separated time from space. However, time-space has a material everyday existence: it was here or there, it is in my room now or it will be in the city centre tonight. It can be claimed – extending Jackson's statement concerning space (1989, p. 184) – that the social is spatio-temporally constituted. Thus, the contribution of time and space to the construction of identities is an appropriate subject for the study of their interrelationship.

1.4.3 The Spatio-temporal Constitution of Identities

Identity is sought in the process of becoming or 'biography formation' which, according to Pred, is a level where 'language is acquired, personality is developed, a not always articulated or self-understood ideology evolves and consciousness develops' (1986, p. 18). The crucial factor for identity is consciousness or 'structure of feeling', a term of Williams referring to the 'sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time' collectively felt by members of a particular generation or class (Pred, 1986, p. 21). Thus, Pred joins Jackson in arguing for the importance of 'structure of feeling', and also Eyles in situating *sense of place* in the agency - structure context:

> sense of place is seen as part of identity and as a manifestation of agency, and its significance lies in the interdependence of agency and structure. Individuals cannot alter structures themselves. Society and its structures are produced and reproduced by recurrent individual and joint practices and ideas. The practices shape and are shaped by structures. (Eyles, 1985, p. 4)

Also, according to Jackson and Penrose's reading of Entrikin (1991), 'place represents both a context for action and a source for identity, poised precariously "in between" subjective and objective realities' (Jackson and Penrose, 1993a, p. 12). The

relationship between actors and structures also includes the relationship between actors and spaces: 'place is a negotiated reality, a social construction by a purposeful set of actors. But the relationship is mutual, for places in turn develop and reinforce the identity of the social group that claims them' (Ley, 1981b, p. 219).

There exists a plurality of senses of place, more so because the spatial constitution of identities has four main interrelated *frames of reference* with ~~contradictory~~ blurring boundaries: home, local, nation and/or global. According to Norberg-Schulz, identification is the basis of man's sense of belonging, while orientation enables him to be a wanderer (1980, p. 22). Both factors are combined in the search of a 'home'. Locality is, according to Wallman, one of the three strongest identity loci in the contemporary world (1993, p. 64). According to Giddens: 'place does not form the parameter of experience; and it does not offer the security of the ever-familiar which traditional locales characteristically display' (1991, pp. 146-147). The power of nation derives partly, according to Jackson and Penrose, from the ambiguity of meaning. First, a 'cultural entity' defined by attributes such as language, religion, customs or traditions, and sometimes, 'race'; second, a political entity embodied in state; and third, a synonym for country, i.e. a spatial dimension of culturally and/or politically defined nations (1993, pp. 7-8).

In the postmodern epoch globalisation has a growing impact upon the construction of identities. Giddens claims that 'transformations in self-identity and globalisation... are the two poles of the dialectic of the local and the global' (1991, p. 34). Globalisation implies that popular culture is largely concentrated in the cities; this, according to Maffesoli, represents a movement beyond individualism emphasising empathy, a new 'aesthetic paradigm' in which people come together temporarily in 'postmodern tribes' (1988; cited in Featherstone, 1990, p. 16). It appears that we are returning, from a different perspective, to Riesman's conclusions. However: 'We seem to have trouble with the balancing act, preferring to reify local identities or construct universal ones. We live in-between' (Rabinow, 1986, p. 258).

It is only recently that identity has attracted the attention of *geographers*. Eyles, based on the particular study of Towcester, has distinguished ten general interrelated senses of place which justify a relation between place, identity and material existence. Place need not always be a positive source of identity and it need not be geographically limited (1985, p. 134).[18] Jackson claims that 'people are capable of "holding down" multiple, apparently contradictory identities at any one time as the context changes' (1993, p. 215), and he introduces the factors of gender [in which case he speaks of the spatial constitution of gender identities (1993, pp. 216-217, 222)] and of race and nation [in which case he speaks of the politics of difference (Jackson and Penrose, 1993)]. The factor of age must also be added. Werlen – drawing on Simmel,

Halbwachs and Treinen – analyses the symbolic content of places, which involves the factors of memory and the time-space interrelationship. For Simmel, the symbolic plane of social communication is crucial for the 'awareness of belonging' to a social organism (Werlen, 1988/1993, pp. 174-178).[19]

Identity is also expressed in *time*, but the appropriation of time is, at least theoretically, more complex than the appropriation of space, since time identification is more difficult to perceive, except for the differentiation between working – including time for studying in the case of the students – and leisure time. Two of the most important factors which influence time perspectives are, according to Wallman, consumerism and media (1984, p. 36). The temporal constitution of identity has a special relationship with the future. Julian Thomas, influenced by Heidegger, claims that:

> 'specific future possibilities will be, but the future in general *is*, it is real. Time joins all of these conditions together, and while we can separate out a past and a future they are as real and significant for a person as is the present. Human beings have a sense of identity through having been and through anticipating future projects' (1991, p. 122).

In a globalising world "identity is deeply implicated in representation' and 'time and space are the basic coordinates of all systems of representation' – including art (Hall, 1992, p. 301). The temporal, as well as the spatial, constitution of identities is part of the construction of *cultural identity*, since, according to Thomas, 'culture, whether material or otherwise, represents an arena for the negotiation and contestation of identity, and time is deeply implicated in this, both through the strategies of individuals and collectivities and through the disposition of the material world' (1991, p. 123).

Identity in time-space can be considered as a mediating concept between agency and structure. It is related to Bourdieu's habitus, since it can also function as 'a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks' (1972/1977, pp. 82-83). It is also related to Elias' figuration, since it can also be considered a 'structure of mutually oriented and dependent people' (1938/1994, p. 213). In a similar line of thought Evans and Poole regard three different kinds of self-perception – self-concept (1991, pp. 20-22), orientations to life tasks (1991, pp. 22-23), and perceived influences and life-concerns (1991, p. 24) – as mediators of action (1991, p. 20). Kelly joins in by claiming that 'the concept of identity brings together the existential line of action with the role context of expectations and learned meanings. Through the symbol systems of the society we interpret the responses of others and reformulate our self-definitions' (1987, p. 116).

Leisure comes into the picture from the moment that there is, according to Madouvalou, a correspondence between the breaking of everyday life into temporal intervals of independent activities and the breaking of everyday life into separate spaces, and this totality is imposed on the organisation of everyday life (1971, p. 135). The most typical is the separation of leisure time from working time (Noël, 1979, pp. 164-170). Time-space are both theoretical constructs and material realities, which affect, and are affected by, human action. Leisure studies have traditionally focused on time without ignoring the role of space, while geography has traditionally focused on space without ignoring the role of time. A geography of leisure must attempt to achieve a balance, focusing on the study of particular people in particular times and locales. The relevant themes which will be elaborated in the quest for cultural identity refer mainly to various relationships: space and leisure, locality and city centre or globality, leisure and work, consumption and production.

1.5 Leisure Time-space

1.5.1 The Contradictory Role of Leisure Spaces

As an activity, 'leisure is as alienated and alienating as labour', and leisure space, as an extension of dominated space 'constrains in specific ways, imposing its own rituals and gestures..., discursive forms..., and even models and modulations in space'. At the same time, the body tends to behave as a differential field, i.e. as a total body, breaking out of the temporal and spatial shell developed in response to the division of labour and to the specialisation of places. Thus, leisure space is 'the very epitome of contradictory space', with a tendency to surmount divisions such as these between social and mental, sensory and intellectual, everyday and out-of-the-ordinary (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 383-385). Leisure space expresses the quest for quality, and in this sense it expresses the movement from the space of consumption to the consumption of space, since consumption satisfies needs. However, these are opposed to desires, because specific needs have specific objects, while 'desire... has no particular object, except for a space where it has full play: a beach, a place of festivity, the space of a dream' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 352-353).

The specialisation of locales tends to be loose mainly due, paradoxically enough, to the new technologies; paradoxically because technology was the decisive factor for the creation of dominated spaces. According to Jackson, new technologies blur the boundaries between leisure and work and also between public and private space (1989, p. 5), while a crucial factor for the redefinition of *public and private space* is

the study of gender and sexuality (1989, p. 130). The tendency towards privatisation does not necessarily imply a greater role for women, but more, as Lefebvre puts it, a modelling of the whole of space after private enterprise, private property and the family (1974/1991, p. 376). According to Giddens, the contradictory aspect of modern urban life consists in the development both of privatism and of a plurality of choices and interests (1991, p. 174).

Lefebvre speaks of the duality of social space: 'is not social space always, and simultaneously, both a field of action... and a basis of action...? Is it not at once actual... and potential...? Is it not at once quantitative... and qualitative...?' (1974/1991, p. 191). Leisure space is a specialised space, but it is not merely fragmentary. As the contradictory space *par excellence*, it is also *differential space*, which, according to Lefebvre, is a new space produced by accentuating differences and aiming to restore unity (1974/1991, p. 52). It usually denotes three aspects. The first is the different, and even simultaneous, uses of the same locale. The second is the different function of certain types of a particular locale. The third is the difference between locales where young people constitute the majority of the users and those where they do not.

The spatial frames of reference of leisure activities in the urban context are primarily three: the local, the city centre and the global.

1.5.2 Globality, Centrality and Locality

In the contemporary urban context the relationship of the local with the global can be as strong as that of the local with the city centre. This depends, of course, on the particular situation, and on factors such as the media, the proximity with the centre, and culture, whose connection with the locale is, according to Hannerz, not direct:

> As collective systems of meaning, cultures belong primarily to social relationships, and to networks of such relationships. Only indirectly, and without logical necessity, do they belong to places. The less people stay put in one place, and also the less dependent their communications are on face-to-face contacts, the more attenuated does the link between territory and culture become. (1992, p. 39)

Globalisation is a characteristic of the postmodern epoch, and, according to Jackson, its spatial and cultural aspects are an expression of the relation between the general and the particular (1989, p. 5). Globalisation is best understood, according to Giddens, as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distanciation (1991, p. 21). He also refers to the aspect of 'presencing' as expressing the dialectic of the local and

the global: 'globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations "at distance" with local contextualities... Globalisation means that... no one can "opt out" of the transformations brought about by modernity...' (1991, pp. 21-22). Even ontological security and lifestyle depend on global transformation (1991, p. 184). The end point, or alternatively the starting point, of such an approach is the relationship between the individual and the social (1991, p. 189).

The end result of globalisation is not, however, according to Hannerz, a global homogenisation of culture particularly in the direction of US culture (1992, pp. 5-6). He refers, instead, to 'creole cultures' ('systems of meaning and expression mapped onto structures of social relations'), in which the periphery can respond to the centre, a typical example being the impact of world music in London, Paris and New York (1992, pp. 261-265). This approach of interaction between the local and the global is developed by Lefebvre who refers to space using a different terminology: 'space "is" whole and broken, global and fractured, at one and the same time' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 356).

The second urban frame of reference for leisure activities is the *city centre* which has different roles in different societies. According to Lefebvre, the city centre is the 'spirit' of the city, something which is explained historically (1967/1977, pp. 159-161). However, this does not mean that every product of history must be retained, and Lefebvre's approach can be criticised either by arguing for decentralisation or, as Sfez does, for a greater role of the localities in the cities (1977).

The third urban frame of reference for leisure activities is the locality. The aspects of localism have changed, and in this sense Wallman speaks of a new *localism*:

> One aspect of localism is the extent to which people spend time in, work in, shop in the area of residence... some areas attract labour... and others are dormitories. In the new era the likelihood of the places of work and residence being the same adds a new dimension of possibility. (1993, p. 65)

'Localism is not the same as just being there: it is a function of how much local people identify themselves with the area, how they visualise it, how loyal they are to its causes, needs, historical triumphs or peculiarities'. There are some residents who are temporary and treat the area like a suburb, and some who are committed locals; the balance between these two categories 'maybe crucial to patterns of commerce, taste, life-style and cultures' (Wallman, 1993, p. 65). Thus, the identification with the area and the desire for permanent residence are typical expressions of an attachment to the locality.

The notion which is important in the conception of the locality – as also in the differentiation between spaces, e.g. public - private, open - closed, exterior - interior –

is that of the *boundary*, which is not a dividing line but a starting point: 'a boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that, from which something begins its presencing' (Heidegger, 1954/1971, p. 154). In reference to a local area, the differentiation is between social and geographical boundaries which coincide only if the inhabitants identify themselves with the geographical boundary (Wallman, 1982b, p. 187).

The notion of boundary is also relevant in the case of time (particularly in the differentiation between working and leisure time), and also in the case of activities (particularly in the differentiation between production and consumption).

1.5.3 Leisure: Emotions and Future

Leisure means different things for different socio-occupational groups, in different historical periods, and in different cultures. Leisure time does not always coincide with free time. The majority of leisure time is free time, but not all free time is leisure time (Deffner, 1992a, pp. 380-381). One of the major ~~contradictions~~ attributes of contemporary leisure which occurs in the lived world is its *duality*, which can be paralleled to Lefebvre's approach to everyday life: on the one hand, the latter is the residual of the prescribed and specialised activities which can often be considered to be separated from social practice ~~(e.g. art and architecture urban planning)~~, while, on the other hand, it is a social product (1968, p. 87).

The distinction between free time and leisure time can be better understood through the examination of the emancipation of the study of leisure from the preoccupation with *work*, which constitutes a tendency that still holds strong. This is grounded in the fact that the organisation of the social world in contemporary capitalism rests on the separation of work from other activities. This separation constitutes a major part of the 'rationalised organisation of everyday life'. There are two main approaches to the relation of work to leisure: one which sees them as opposed, and the other which sees them as complementary. The second approach, taken to its extreme, implies that leisure must be seen as a stage of recovering for a better preparation for work.

The relationship of leisure with *emotions* is historically interpreted. According to Roberts, many emotional attributes of modern leisure such as amusement, fun, excitement, pleasure, self-expression, have their roots in the distant past (1970/1981, p. 12). Fun, happiness, pleasure and excitement consist, according to Ferguson, four separated but related visions of reality, which throughout history have played a significant role in the formation of bourgeois world view, whose basis is the division between the 'objective' order of the material, universe (Cosmos) and the 'subjective'

world of personal experience (Psyche) (1990, pp. 2-3). These are elements of the quest for identity, based on self-directed intimacy, and their relationship to the 'rationalised organisation of everyday life' is contradictory, since, on the one hand, they are not attached to the daily routine of work, but, on the other hand, they are part of the separation of the spheres of life.

Bourdieu connects fun and pleasure with the quest for the identity of the new petite bourgeoisie, which bases its new ethic on the morality of pleasure as a duty (1979/1984, p. 367). The most important contribution of this ethic is the production of isolated consumers, who are therefore 'free (or forced) to confront in extended order the separate markets ("juniors", "teenagers", "senior citizens" etc.) of the new economic order and untrammelled by the constraints and brakes imposed by collective memories and expectations' (1979/1984, p. 371).

The freedom from constraints, however, is relative, since even if the impact of collective constraints is limited, individual ones always exist. Thus, although the main reason for people's attraction to leisure is, according to Elias and Dunning, the quest for excitement, in contemporary societies this can be restrained mainly due to the self-control of emotions. However, there also exist 'a de-controlling of restraints on emotions' (1986, p. 96), e.g. new developments in music and new forms of singing and dancing. 'They represent..., particularly among the young, an enlargement of the scope and the depth of open excitement' (1986, p. 66). Emotions are involved in a dynamic process: they are transferred from the often aggressive action to the more ordered passive spectatorship, something which influences the role of cinema and the conditioning of precepts for young people (Elias, 1939/1994, pp. 166-167). This transfer can be paralleled to that from production to consumption.

Thus, emotions are connected to *values*, which, in turn, are connected to culture. Values depend on meanings, which, according to Jackson, are constructed, negotiated and experienced through culture (1989, p. 180). The preservation of values depends largely on space: 'ideas, representations or values which do not succeed in making their mark on space... will lose all pith and become mere signs, resolve themselves into abstract descriptions, or mutate into fantasies' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 417). Leisure values are not static and they can change from time to time such as play, travel and personal studies now considered necessities (Dumazedier, 1974, pp. 60-61).

The dynamic aspect of emotions and values refers directly to the *future*. It cannot be easily predicted that the future of leisure will have a single direction; it is, once more, commonly referred to in relation to the future of work. Thus it can be connected either with the movement of the office and the shopping centre into the spare bedroom at home – through the new technologies – (Wallman, 1993, p. 54), or with the growth of small 'towns' for 'telecottage living' which are within a relatively short distance of

much larger urban centres (Wallman, 1993, pp. 62-63). Thus the whole 'world' is going to be within reach.

Six assumptions relate the present with the possible direction of the future of leisure. Firstly, new conditions – such as second job, work at home, great amount of transportation time, informal economy – seem to lead, in real life terms, to a stagnation or even, in some cases, of reduction rather than an increase in leisure time. The phenomenon of free time of the unemployed is not, as Wilensky believes, forced leisure (1962), but, as Rojek claims, redundant leisure (1985, p. 134). Secondly, what actually increases is the rate of block leisure (weekends, vacation, holidays) in comparison to piece leisure (weekdays). This is not strongly applicable to those age groups that do not have a rigid timetable, such as the young and the elderly. The emphasis on block leisure also has a stronger emotional expression.

Thirdly, there is an increasing recognition of the importance of leisure as a component of the lifestyle, especially with reference to young people. Fourthly, there is an increasing polarisation of the differentiation between at-home and out-of-home leisure, and also between passive and active leisure (mainly due to the invasion of new technologies in the homestead). Fifthly, an additional impact of the new technologies is the increasing influence of popular culture, which, in the form of music and cinema, mostly affects the young. Finally, the general situation appears to be an intensified commodification of leisure time which results, on the one hand, according to Karras, in the actual abolition of leisure time (1987, p. 88), i.e. to its organisation up to the last minute, and, on the other hand, in its control by the dominant socio-economic groups.

The fact that there exists a plurality of choices does not necessarily imply a freedom of choice: if one is at home and s/he 'can' watch television, and/or video, then there is practically no time left. What is important is that cultural production is related with cultural consumption.

1.5.4 The Relationship between Consumption and Production

The study of consumption is fostered by postmodernist analyses (Jackson, 1989, p. 6), and cultural consumption constitutes an important component of the 'explosion' of cultural studies. However, according to Jackson, consumption must be treated as a 'process by which artefacts are not simply bought and "consumed", but given meaning through their active incorporation in people's lives' (1993, pp. 208-209). However, he is cautious both of the '"heroic" interpretation of consumption as an active participatory and creative process' (1993, p. 216) and of 'the overwhelming

condescension towards the views of "ordinary people"', and he claims that there is a need for qualitative, and especially ethnographic, approaches (1993, p. 223).

The range of consumption has increased substantially, since, commodification is not equated with standardisation, but it usually results in a *plurality of choices* (Giddens, 1991, p. 200). According to Bourdieu, there are 'as many preferences as there are fields of stylistic possibles' (1979/1984, p. 226). The importance of consumption has also been extended to the point that it 'becomes in some part a substitute for the genuine development of self' (Giddens, 1991, p. 198).

Consumption is ~~a contradictory~~ *not a one dimensional* phenomenon. It is related with production, but does not coincide with the relationship between passive and active leisure. Rather it is an alternative expression of it. Passive leisure includes listening to the radio, watching television, listening to records and tapes, reading books, periodicals or newspapers etc. – i.e. mostly at-home leisure. Concerts and films in venues are also forms of passive leisure, but they can involve movement and social interaction. Lefebvre, referring to space and machines, speaks of *productive consumption*: a movement 'between consumption in the ordinary sense, consumption necessitating the reproduction of things, and the space of production', which is used and consumed by flows (1974/1991, p. 354). A similar example is the productive consumption of the artistic work, especially in reference to the artist her/himself.

The fact that consumption is not a merely passive phenomenon, and that it is connected with production implies that commodification is a contradictory phenomenon. A typical example of an active approach to consumption is the response to the stimuli initiated by the *media*. Communication through the media is not a one-flow direction. On the part of the sender the stories are developed, according to Giddens, 'in such a way as to create narrative coherence with which the reader or viewer can identify'. On the part of the receiver, 'response to mediated experience cannot be assessed purely in terms of the content of what is disseminated: individuals actively discriminate among types of available information as well as interpreting in their own terms' (1991, p. 199).

The response to the media can take, according to Pronovost, the form of appropriation and resistance, e.g. people listen to the radio or watch television while engaging in another activity, and they can 'select what they like to view, as well as when, where and with whom'. The most selective and innovative social group is the *young* who are characterised by informal sociability and collective solidarities: 'communication is not a one-way process; and instead the individual receives and interprets a message that he [*sic*] retransmits to his [*sic*] social entourage... time is not purely "consumed", it is managed' (1989, p. 61).

Young people are the focus of the next chapter. The young of today have a peculiar connection with leisure time (not only in terms of availability, but also in terms of use), and they also constitute the leading force of the society of tomorrow; the future direction of leisure depends largely on the consumption tastes of contemporary youth. Consumption tastes also contribute to the constitution of cultural identities.

Why?

1.6 Cultural and Leisure Identities

1.6.1 Cultural Identities

The focus on cultural identity will be crucial for the future of cultural studies. It has many aspects, e.g. the cultural heritage of a nation, the cultural heritage of racial minorities, and the role of cultural activities in everyday life (Deffner, 1994). The latter aspect is best approached by focusing on cultural meanings.

Cultural meanings when treated as properties can act, according to Hannerz, as vehicles of identity and social distinction, personal and collective, and, as such, they are not concealed. Inequality makes its usual mark mainly because of competition; thus, 'those with less attractive identities... are the losers'. In some instances, individual identity depends on ascriptive principles, such as the cultural emblems of the social group where the individual belongs. 'In other instances, the identification with particular meanings is acquired, but it can still involve group or categorical membership rather than individual identity'. The exhibition of styles or tastes often 'reflects a selective involvement with the cultural apparatus; showing a sophisticated consumer appreciation of its more intricate productions of symbolic form... becomes... "cultural capital"'. In mobile societies – e.g. western societies where detailed knowledge of other individuals is not readily at hand and where ascriptive principles are not effective – the differentiated cultural product is the personality (1992, pp. 111-112).

In the modern world, the coexistence of the constraining and the expansive aspect of cultural meanings, including *space*, leads to the fragmentation of cultural identities:

> Cultural identities are defined through narratives that occasionally overlap and conflict. Both the meanings given to place and our sense of place identity are part of these narratives and reflect the same conflicts and tensions... Modern attachments... simply contribute a part to the puzzle. (Entrikin, 1991, p. 56)

However, individuals transcend and suppress their own experience: 'if people are willing to act in terms of an imaginary community, to enact and actualise such cultural

identities, then we may conclude that a term such as "society" does have a real meaning...' (Shields, 1991, p. 263).

1.6.1 Leisure Identities

Cultural identities, for the purpose of the present research, are defined as the meanings attributed to the impact of cultural activities in the lifestyle of individuals. Cultural activities in almost all cases connect directly with leisure, and thus *leisure identities* acquire a particular emphasis. Kelly has provided the most elaborated analysis of the subject of leisure identities based on the assumption that 'leisure is not wholly free and disengaged; rather it has roles and identities' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 324).

According to Kelly and Godbey, there are variations in the effect of leisure, and especially artistic, activities in the formation of identities. 'For some, an arts or community engagement is central to personal and social identities... For most, leisure is one dimension of life that contributes to identities that have several components' (1992, p. 315). 'Leisure is a varied and diffuse set of action contexts in which we express who we believe and we are to seek to become something more' (1992 pp. 323-324). The special affinities that leisure has to identity are that 'in leisure we are more likely to be able to select activities in which we are or may become competent', and 'we can most often choose companions who provide positive reinforcement to valued identities' (1992, p. 319). The meaning of a leisure event goes beyond the immediate experience (1992, p. 325), and 'may well be in the process of identity presentations and counter-presentations, responses, interpretations, revisions, and, eventually, terminations' (1992, p. 317). Identity development (the becoming of a person) is characterised by a number of elements: competence, indeterminacy, self-containment of play, signs, open settings (1992, pp. 321-323), i.e. time-spaces. Additional elements are the relative nonseriousness of episodes, and the possibility of novelty and exploration (Kelly, 1987, p. 111).

The issue of *self-consciousness* has multiple meanings. On the hand, as Csikszentmihalyi (1990) has shown, 'optimal experiences are characterized by a loss of awareness of time, the environment, and the self in the immersion of "flow"'. On the other hand, the conclusion of a study done by Samdahl and Kleiber was that 'self-awareness was associated with feeling good, especially in leisure' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 319). Feeling good is related with motivation and satisfaction: 'why is there so much variety among individuals coupled with consistency in individual choices? One possibility is that identities differ... On the other hand, ...identity may be a central element in the meaning of a series of experiences that we choose and repeat' (Kelly

and Godbey, 1992, p. 325). Another related issue is fulfilment, which is the goal of the development of 'lines of action that build on the past and are aimed toward the future' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 325).

The materialisation of desired leisure identities occurs in *leisure settings*, which are, in most cases, open or less-constrained (Kelly, 1987, p. 111). This does not mean that there are no boundaries, since 'in many leisure events, there is fundamental "action" with agreed upon limits of time, space, and meanings'. Preferences for locales, times or companions are manifested in tastes, which are not only elements of distinction (Bourdieu) or of identification through distinction (Hannerz), but also of identification through bonding. In this process the role of leisure is important, since, according to Kelly, tastes – which are preferences that are often learned and expressed in leisure – are bonding elements of identification, especially relating to membership in some groups and separation from others (1987, p. 106).

A special category of leisure participants, although they do not usually operate as a separate group, are the *amateurs*, who, according to Stebbins, are those who engage in 'serious leisure', e.g. musicians, community theatre participants (1979; cited in Kelly, 1987, p. 114). Amateurs are also a case where the relationship between consumption and production is materialised. Two of the factors that play an important role in the impact of consumption in identity are style and technology. The development of consumer capitalism has led, according to Ewen, to the transformation of social life 'from something known and set by custom, into something that was increasingly anonymous', which required a sense of self as alien or stranger or, more generally, Other. In this process, 'style became a powerful medium of encounter' (1990, pp. 44-46).

1.7 Summary and Conclusion

The questions, issues and debates generated so far by the conceptual framework refer mainly to the relationship between the following concepts (see also Chapter 2, Table 2.1): perceptual world - social world - lived world; agency - structure; self-directed intimacy - other-directed intimacy; constraint - resource; time - space; leisure/working time; globality - centrality (city) - locality; and consumption - production.

The present research supports the call for a direction of cultural geography towards the incorporation of cultural studies and towards its combination with urban anthropology. The focus of the latter combination is the analysis of space and time as concrete objects of study adopting a holistic approach. A major issue that arises is the role of intentionality in the occurrence of an activity (considering experience as the

starting point), which has a meaning and can be perceived, known, appropriated and can lead to consciousness, and consequently to the construction of identity – especially as it is constituted in time-space.

The interrelationship between time and space is situated in the agency - structure debate, especially in the theory of structuration as developed by Giddens. The role of a concrete time-space in the influence of a cultural activity in human action is examined focusing on the contradictions (coexistence of plurality and constraints) of a two way process. On the one hand, a cultural activity embedded in time-space influences the lifestyle of young adults (importance of a locale in the materialisation of activities), and, on the other hand, the cultural practice of young adults embedded in time-space influences social life (social importance of the localised activities). In this process, factors such as symbolic forms (Bourdieu) and emotions (Elias) affect both the lived and the perceptual world.

The present research focuses on the role of cultural activities in time-space in the quest for identity, which can best be approached through the concepts of resource, difference, and becoming. Resource coexists with constraint, difference has both an internal aspect (multiple identities) as well as an external aspect (others), and becoming is a process. Identity is also related to the concepts of intimacy (self-directed and/or other-directed), and security. Multiple identities constitute an extension of the attribute of plurality, which also applies to options and cultures. The principal frames of reference for identity, in which the research focuses, are the self (especially in its reference to gender, age, and social group) and time-space (especially leisure time-space).

Every activity is embedded in time-space, which constitutes an important factor in the choice of leisure options. However, time-space does not create activities, but it can contribute to their occurrence, while, it can also prevent them. In this approach the views of Giddens and Lefebvre are helpful. Time and space can be considered as 'presencing'. Also time does not coincide with change and conflict, and space does not coincide with stability, but they can be characterised by both aspects depending on the particular condition. In the modern world time is separated from space. The consideration of time and space as presences-absences implies that they are resources of human livelihood with constraints in their use. Constraints are classified, following the time-geographic approach, as capability, authority and coupling. The plurality of constraints coexists with the plurality of options and time-spaces. In this context, the case study of people will evaluate the role of time-space in the choice and materialisation of leisure options. A question arises if the degree of attraction of the local area in a city by the global can be stronger compared to the degree of attraction of the local by the city centre.

Time consciousness is, theoretically, more difficult. Appropriation of time often means imposition of an individual or a collective organisation in order to control time. The usual attitude is to exploit, pass or even 'kill' time. The spatial constitution of identity refers mainly to the home, the locality, the nation, and globality, and the temporal constitution of identities refers to consumption, the media, the past, the present and the future. In both cases, the major relevant research question is the existence of an attachment to the locality.

The plurality of spaces in the field of leisure is usually translated as differentiated use of leisure spaces. Leisure is important not because it is always a non-alienating activity, but because it can constitute an expression of taste and lifestyle. The starting point of the significance of piece leisure is that it can express an ideal of the perceptual world. The emotions which usually characterise leisure time in modern society relate mainly to fun and pleasure, and the emotions which usually characterise leisure space relate mainly to attachment. The case study will evaluate the importance of leisure, mainly in comparison with work, as well as the existence of piece leisure as an element of enjoyment in the lived world.

Leisure combines activity and passivity, something which generally, but not always, corresponds to production and consumption. The individuals or groups who are occupied with artistic activities constitute a special category, for which production relates with consumption. This constitutes one of the criteria for the choice of case studies.

The importance of leisure is evaluated in its contribution to the formation of cultural identity in time-space, which is considered as a mediating concept between agency and structure in the perceptual world, and artistic activities and socialisation in the lived world. The main vehicles of identity are the cultural meanings (Hannerz), which are expressed through preferences of activities, companions and time-spaces. The case study will examine the role of these preferences and also the reasons for which one of the corresponding factors is dominant in the context of plurality and constraints

The aforementioned preferences are indicators of the impact of culture in the lifestyle of young people, and especially of those aspects of art and popular culture which influence the constitution of identities of young adults. These issues are the subject of Chapter 2, and a successful evaluation of their importance can be better achieved by a case study of particular people in a particular locality. This is also the most appropriate methodology for the examination of common elements in the lifestyle, and consequently in the culture, of young adults, something which is connected to their possible reaction to the imposed stereotypes.

1.8 Notes

[1] Giddens defines ontological security as the 'sense of continuity and order in events, including those not directly within the perceptual environment of the individual' (1991, p. 243), e.g. the basic existential parameters of self and social identity (1984, p. 375). However, 'emphasising the interdependence of taken-for-granted routines and ontological security does not mean that a sense of "the beneficence of things" derives from a dogged adherence to habit' (Giddens, 1991, p. 40).

[2] The view that the consequences of action are unintended is also expressed by Elias and Bourdieu. According to the former, 'this basic tissue resulting from many single plans and actions of men [sic] can give rise to changes and patterns that no individual person has planned or created. From this interdependence of people arises an order *sui generis*, an order more compelling and stronger than the will and reason of the individual people composing it' (1939/1994, p. 444). According to Honneth, one of the presuppositions of Bourdieu's habitus [for its definition see section 1.2.2] is that the subjectively conscious plan of action does not have to coincide with the habitually intended aim of action (Honneth, 1986, p. 57). Richard Jenkins compares Bourdieu with Giddens stating that the former's contribution 'has consistently been framed by an engagement between systematic empirical work – whether relying on ethnography or social survey approaches – and reflexive theorising' (1992, p. 10).

[3] Giddens defines time-space distanciation as 'the stretching of social systems across time-space, on the basis of mechanisms of social and system integration' (1984, p. 377), and the deskilling of everyday life as 'the expropriation of local skills into abstract systems and their reorganisation in light of technical knowledge (1991, p. 242).

[4] There have been some geographical approaches to cinema, mainly focusing on directors or particular themes: a study on the perception of the future of the cities through films of the period 1919-1939 (Gold, 1985); a semiotic analysis of the symbolic representation of the history of South Africa in Afrikaans cinema (Tomaselli, 1988); a transactional approach to Bill Forsyth's films (Aitken, 1991); a study of gender - environment relations in two films by Peter Weir combining transactional, psychoanalytic and ecofeministic perspectives (Aitken and Zonn, 1993b); and a collection of articles on the geography of film (Aitken and Zonn, 1993a). There also exist few examples of works that refer especially to postmodernism in cinema: e.g. Harvey, 1989, Ch. 18; Massey, 1991.

[5] Sauer, the father of the Berkeley school of cultural geography, is influenced by Kroeber. Kroeber's main influence on Sauer was through his 'super-organic' – a term introduced by Spencer – approach to culture which adopts the view that culture is an entity at a higher level than the individual (Jackson, 1989, p. 18), and thus 'human geography is a science that has nothing to do with individuals but only with human institutions and cultures (Sauer, 1941, p. 7). The focus of this school is on the morphology of the cultural landscape and its main ideas and influences are well developed by Jackson (1989, Ch. 1).

[6] According to Geertz, the analysis of culture is 'not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning' (1973, p. 5). Thus, 'if anthropological interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens then to divorce it from what happens... is to divorce it from its applications and render it vacant' (1973, p. 18). Geertz's approach to culture is further developed in a later work where he argues for the importance of 'local knowledge' (1983).

[7] The household members are perceived by Wallman as active subjects who have choices to make within the constraints of their environment (1984). In recent years her

attention has turned to the study of the future. She has edited a collection of articles which focus on the causes and consequences of images of the future in particular times and places. These images can constrain the present, underpin the sense of self and its survival, and affect the relationship of individuals and groups to each other, to the natural environment, and to culture (1992b). [for more references see Section 1.9.1]

In her article published in a collection of stimulating articles referring to urban life at the turn of the millennium, the focus is on the significance of identity in the new social structures of post-industrial societies, where information technology leads to telecottages, claiming that the crucial contemporary questions are 'what are you' or even 'what are you into' (1993, p. 60). [for more references see 1.3.2 and 1.4.3] 1.5.2

8 *Dasein* is a term used by Heidegger and it is usually translated as presencing, i.e. the dialectic of presence and absence. Heidegger distinguishes the authentic *Dasein* ('something of its own') from the inauthentic *Dasein* ('when busy, when excited, when interested, when ready for enjoyment'). Inauthenticity does not signify any 'lower' degree of Being, but a different expression of mineness (*Jemeinigkeit*) (1927/1962, p. 68).

9 The present research adopts the term locale. However, the terms place and space are also used because of their commonality, especially in reference to general conceptions. Also the term space is often used if it is preceded by an adjective, e.g. cultural space, leisure space, winter space.

10 Disposition, according to Bourdieu, 'expresses first the result of an organising action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination' (1972/1977, p. 214n). Jenkins provides a broader interpretation which includes a spectrum of cognitive and affective factors: thinking and feeling, everything from classificatory categories to attitudes and sense of honour (1992, pp. 76-77). The dialectical relationship between a habitus and an objective event constitutes the conjuncture capable of transforming practices into collective action (Bourdieu, 1972/1977, pp. 82-83).

11 According to Honneth, Bourdieu distinguishes between economic capital ('all goods directly convertible into money, without distinguishing between productive capital and unproductive wealth') and cultural capital ('all the learnable skills and competencies which enable individuals to handle the social potentials of scientific information, aesthetic enjoyment and everyday pleasures') as the central resources used in class-specific life situations. The difficulty of quantitatively measuring such skills shows the limitations of Bourdieu's metaphorical assimilation of the cultural sphere to the medium of money. Consequently, for empirical research purposes, he uses the much less demanding concept of educational capital, designating 'the officially accredited part of cultural capital, the number and value of one's acquired diplomas and professional titles' (Honneth, 1986, pp. 58-59).

12 Elias uses the metaphor of the social dance to illustrate his argument that figurations are 'independent of the specific individuals forming it here and now, but not of individuals as such' (1939/1994, p. 214). The processual aspect of his theory is a common element with the 'Chicago school'.

13 *Durée* means duration. According to Braudel, historical time is divided into ordinary (that of events), conjunctural and long duration (1985, pp. 80-85).

14 Riesman, in his work *The Lonely Crowd* (1950/1969) as cited by Sennett, differentiates an inner-directed society (in which people pursue actions and make commitments based on goals and sentiments they feel within themselves) from an other-directed society ('in which these passions and commitments depend on what

people sense to be the feelings of others'). Riesman's conclusion (his book was first published in 1950) was that America and Western Europe were moving from an inner-to an other-directed condition and that this was a change for the better. Sennett (his book was first published in 1977) claims that the sequence should be reversed, and that 'people are working out in terms of personal feelings public matters which properly can be dealt with only through codes of impersonal meaning' (Sennett, 1977/1986, pp. 5, 30).

[15] Ethnic origin is becoming crucial in Greece, since the recent phenomenon of emigration from Eastern Europe (especially Poland and Albania) is demonstrating its impact.

[16] According to Rifkin, the will to control time is causing a temporal warfare which is a direct outgrowth of an earlier battle 'centering around a long-revered spatial metaphor that "bigger is better"' (1987/1989, p. 10).

[17] The separation of time and space by modernity has led to views, that space dominates time or vice versa. According to Lefebvre, 'the primacy of the economic and above all of the political implies the supremacy of space over time' (1974/1991, p. 95). Soja joins him in arguing for the supremacy of space especially in the postmodern conditions (1989). However, according to Harvey, in the context of time-space compression –'as space appears to shrink to a "global village" of telecommunications... and as time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is' (1989, p. 240) – there exists an 'annihilation of space through time', since 'progress entails...the tearing down of all spatial barriers' (1989, p. 205).

[18] In his analysis of the geography of everyday life, Eyles argues for the importance of the self but in relation to others (1989, pp. 115-116). In the same humanistic/phenomenological line of thought Entrikin analyses the relation between place consciousness and material world as constitutive element of the empirical-theoretical significance of place (1991). In a different line of thought, Shields – drawing on Lefebvre, Bourdieu and Foucault – speaks of a 'more emotionally-powerful understanding of the geography of the world than that presented by rational, cartographic techniques and comparative statistics', which is based on the importance of space-myths in the construction of community identity (1991, p. 62). The first collection in which several articles touch the subject of identity is the one edited by Philo which was published in 1991. There a diversity of approaches is expressed, e.g. psychoanalytic perspectives (Burgess and Pile, 1991; Pile, 1991; Sibley, 1991), postmodernist perspectives (Rodaway, 1991), figurational perspectives (Ogborn, 1991), temporal perspectives (Thomas, 1991). The articles of another collection, that edited by Keith and Pile (1993), focus on the cultural politics of difference, i.e. multiple spatialities and identities, often citing Lefebvre's dialectic between spaces of representation and representation of spaces.

[19] Simmel claims particular place 'has stronger associative powers for the memory than time, because it is more vivid to the senses'. He cites the example of the 'rendez-vous', which 'denotes both the meeting itself and the meeting place'. The individuality of a place can either develop or constrain social relations, depending on the symbolism, local or general, of the name given to the place. For Halbwachs, the memory and the judgements of agents depend on the specific social conditions; collective memory is the intersubjective knowledge of a particular group. For Treinen, the meaning of the symbol becomes the expression of the way in which an agent's identity is closely linked to situations (Werlen, 1988/1993, pp. 174-178).

Chapter 2 YOUNG PEOPLE: CULTURE, ART AND IDENTITIES

2.1 The Culture of Young People

The term 'youth culture' is not the simple concept it appears to be, and its usefulness is in doubt. It presupposes complex relations, and it sustains certain ideological interpretations, e.g. that age and generation matter most, that it is 'incipiently classless', that it is universal (Clarke *et al.*, 1976, p. 15). 'Youth cultures are a response to the combined experience of primarily a location in the labour force and in social class, and the experience of a reality mediated by education, neighbourhood, generation, leisure, social control, and dominant values' (Brake, 1980, pp. 176-177).

Consumption and leisure provision was reorganised, according to Clarke *et al.*, in favour of a range of goods and services specifically designed to attract young people, and this contributed to the fetishisation of the meaning of leisure for youth. This reorganisation intensified the orientation towards 'youth' as a period for 'having a good time while you can'. Thus, young people encountered leisure in different institutions from their parents (cafes, discos, youth clubs, 'all nighters' etc.) (1976, pp. 50-51). While mass culture affected 'youth culture', this must not lead to the error of considering youth culture as a result of the 'imitation' and 'manipulation' power of mass culture (1976, pp. 19-20).

The non-existence of a unified 'youth culture' does not deny the existence of common elements in the culture of the young. According to Willis and team, there is an active *common culture* of the young which may have 'a more profound influence on their sense of self, identity and possibility than the formal curriculum', it exists informally, and some of its aspects are: democratic forms, symbolic creativity, and the recognition and enablement of everyday aesthetics – this is not a cynical take over of the contents of 'popular culture'. As far as universities are concerned, they 'have traditionally provided cultural resources for the middle classes and the space and time to enjoy them' (1990b, p. 60; more in 1990a, pp. 128-133).

The concept of 'common culture' has been subjected to criticism by McGuigan, who claims that Willis, although using Williams for back up, adopts Tawney's approach to 'common culture' as the universal dissemination of established art and culture, instead of Williams's view of the need for the democratisation of production before 'common culture' was accomplished (McGuigan, 1992, p. 115). The present research adopts the term lifestyle[1] mainly because culture is a very broad concept which carries implicit generalisations. Young people have a plurality of lifestyle options in modern urban settings, but this does not always coincide with the freedom

of choice, due to various constraints. These include not only coupling, capability and authority, but also other constraints such as gender, class, race and lack of leisure time, since, according to Dangshat *et al*, from the methodological point of view constraints are independent variables, and in this sense gender, age and social status can also be considered constraints (1982, p. 1158).

Lifestyle is something that cannot be directly asked but rather evaluated by the researcher. Preferences are expressions both of mental attitudes and of human action. Attitudes are considered real but not 'natural' and are questioned in the agency - structure interrelationship. The role of the researcher is to understand and interpret the meaning of perception and action. The focus is on the study of the desires of young people – an intrinsic aspect of which are the emotions – as expressed in their tastes and attitudes mainly with respect to particular artistic activities and spaces. The cultural tastes of the young focus on the consumption of various forms of popular culture, the media among them. However, popular culture is related to high culture.

2.2 Popular Culture

2.2.1 The Relationship between Popular Culture and High Culture

Tastes are, according to Bourdieu, manifested preferences (1979/1984 p. 56). Taste is one of the key signifiers of social identity (Jenkins, 1992, p. 139) and 'is what brings together things and people that go together' in a relationship of 'antipathies' and 'sympathies' (Bourdieu, 1979/1984, p. 241). He distinguishes cultural taste in 'three zones' which correspond to the educational capital and the social class: 'legitimate', 'middle-brow', and 'popular'[2] (1979/1984, p. 16). However, in the postmodern epoch of the *plurality of cultures* there is not such a clear cut differentiation of tastes: e.g. is the musical considered as 'serious' or 'light' music, as an element of 'legitimate', 'middle-brow' or 'popular' taste? Thus, popular culture is related to high culture. This seems to be acknowledged by Bourdieu, when he claims that an 'average' culture does not exist since 'the same object which is today typically middle-brow –"average" (*moyen*)– may yesterday have figured in the most "refined" constellations of tastes and may be put back there at any moment' (1979/1984, p. 327).

Art has two main facets: it can be a form of pleasant activity, and it can be a form of knowledge; these facets are not mutually exclusive. Thus cinema as entertainment/contemplation and serious/popular music tend to be false dilemmas, and actually this is another form of the separation of high culture from *popular culture* by

'common sense'. Since popular culture is intensely reflexive, it 'often tells us something about how its producers as well as its consumers see themselves, and in what directions they would like their lives to move' (Hannerz, 1992, p. 240). Popular culture is a contradictory phenomenon. Is leisure fun or a problem? In 'common sense' leisure is fun, but it is not necessarily a good time (Roberts, 1978, p. 24); it actually consists of joyful activities which have to be taken seriously. Popular culture is viewed by some as a terrain either of challenging dominant values in the context of the plurality of cultures (Jackson, 1989, p. 1), or, in other words, of people's resistance to domination in order to make sense of their lives (Warren, 1993, p. 183). Popular culture is viewed by others in its relationship with high (or elite or official) culture, in the context of the general differentiation high/low.[3]

In the field of *music* the plurality of cultures is translated into a plurality of choices, and consequently of tastes, whether referring to the same person or not. Tastes relate to the ideological dimension of music, an important, and contradictory, aspect of which is fun. The heart of the matter is not standing for or against popular music. It is preferred especially by young people, and it constitutes an example of an activity which is fun in itself, but this does not mean that all relevant cultural action has the potential of leading to pleasure. Although popular music is produced by a minority and consumed by a majority through the contradictory role of the media, it can express a large part of this majority, e.g. the Woodstock generation. The experimental and/or avant-garde music at present expresses a minority, but, as the example of electronic music has shown, in the future some of its aspects can be incorporated into popular music.

A factor, which along with the family, friends, and the school, plays an important – perhaps *the* most important – role in the construction of tastes and attitudes, and consequently desires, is the media. Mediated experience is connected with both mass and commodified experience, and, like them, it is not one-dimensional; this connection is most typically expressed in the argument that popular culture does not exist without high culture.

2.2.2 Media: Peculiarities and Impact

One of the main functions of the media is the reinforcement of and the contribution to the construction of '*common sense*' and 'common taste' and in turn the imposition of stereotypes of action and cultural values. Common sense is a crucial factor in the process of the constitution of the taken-for-granted world, and it is, according to

Bourdieu, an effect of habitus (1972/1977, p. 80). However, there exist many common senses, and this relates to the non-existence of public opinion.

The media affect the *quest for identity* of young people due to their contribution to comfort and familiarity, to the diffusion of ideology, to the imposition of stereotypes, to the construction of cultural tastes, and to knowledge acquisition. The most obvious cultural stereotypes transmitted by the media are the ideology of various film heroes (e.g. Rambo, Rocky), or the personal life of film stars. However, besides these negative examples, positive examples also exist, such as biographies of personalities of past and present history.

Regarding the role of the media in the construction of cultural tastes, the argument that the objective structures are taken-for-granted, is translated into give the people what they want. The media can even act as a substitute for cultural activities; in this case, the question of quality is posed in its most acute form, since, according to Parker, television, along with education, can contribute to the formation of various preferences (1976, p. 129). The relation of education to leisure is contradictory, since leisure can either contrast to or supplement education (Deffner, 1980, p. 87).

The principal locale of the daily functioning of the media is the home, a fact which relates to the role of the family and is intensified by *new technologies*; this reinforces privatisation tendencies, but not necessarily passiveness. New technologies have a contradictory general impact. Some of the possible positive elements of new media technologies are: blurring of the boundaries between work and leisure, private and public space (Jackson, 1989, p. 5), active use of several media, international information, greater variety of programme choice, reaction to a given information through CD-Interactive, playing in groups in electronic games, and storing information in the receiver through teletext. However, the negative elements include: intensification of consumption tendencies and the concentration of power in particular trusts, reinforcement of social isolation and privatisation, and danger of the elimination of leisure time through its complete commodification and the possibility of its full organisation till the last minute. The latter is the most crucial negative characteristic, and perhaps that which will dominate the whole media landscape.

The spatial dimension of the media is an object of geographical research, and thus, there is a connection between the various strands of theoretical debate in cultural studies and parallel themes in *geography*. Burgess and Gold call for a geography of the media which 'must address the question of the ideology of places as well as focusing on their qualities and the emotional experiences that they generate' (1985a, p. 1). It must also examine how the media influence time-space perceptions. Giddens claims that, as the work of Relph (1976) and Meyrowitz (1985) shows, 'most news media preserve a sense of "privileged place" in respect of their own position – giving a

bias towards local news – but only against the backcloth of the pre-eminence of the event' (Giddens, 1991, p. 26). Mediated experience has, according to Giddens, two basic features: first, the collage effect and 'the intrusion of distant events into everyday consciousness, which is in some substantial part organised in terms of awareness of them' (1991, pp. 26-27); and second the effect of globalisation.

Another peculiarity of the media is that they are a type of cultural activity and a means of transmitting other cultural activities (especially artistic), while, simultaneously, they constitute a power capable of transforming them.

2.3 Artistic Activities

2.3.1 The Role of Art in Lifestyle

The role of artistic activities in the cultural identity construction of young adults is approached through their *lifestyle*, and particularly though the way preferences and attitudes are manifested into desires and tastes, which are materialised in patterns of action in time-space. Thus, the two main approaches of lifestyle according to Mommaas, i.e. lifestyle as leisure pattern and as a tool of identity construction (1992), can be interrelated.

Lifestyle, according to Giddens, does not apply only to the sphere of consumption, but also to that of work. However, this applies mainly to modern cultures because: 'it implies choice within a plurality of possible options, and is "adopted" rather than "handed down"' (1991, p. 81). The plurality of lifestyles is mainly due to the new middle class, and particularly to the new cultural intermediaries (Featherstone, 1987). Also the role of the artists is re-evaluated and this – in connection with the recognition of the economic value of art – has contributed, especially in the US, to gentrification (Featherstone, 1991, pp. 107-109). This, in terms of cultural activities, means occupation of the centre by the new middle class and development of spaces in the centre for cultural consumption and tourism (Deffner, 1992a, p. 436).

Art constitutes the most significant component of cultural activities. An important factor is art perception and reception, i.e. reactions to works of art. For Bourdieu, the work of art in a sense exists only to the extent that it is perceived or deciphered (Gammon, 1982, p. 25).[4] The immediate reaction to a work of art relies on emotionality: one evaluates first *if* s/he likes a work of art, and then tries to analyse *why* it touched her/him, i.e. first s/he perceives it, then s/he tries to decode it, and eventually s/he appropriates it and becomes conscious of its impact and/or value.

According to Willis and team, *cultural consumption*, for the young, can also be a creative use of everyday cultural resources. They use the term grounded aesthetics to refer both to creative consumption and to the 'creativities of the apparently passive consumption'. Viewers, listeners and readers can 'bring their own symbolic work and creativity to a text or create their own relationships to technical means of reproduction and transfer'. Grounded aesthetics differ from conventional aesthetics mainly in their emphasis on sensual heightening and in their emphasis on features of pleasure and desire which are 'fun' but can also give human meaning and control (1990b, pp. 14-17; more in 1990a, pp. 17-27). Thus, fun and pleasure can become objects of a creative transformation. This view is broader compared to that of Bourdieu and Ferguson, who claim that fun and pleasure are elements of the bourgeois perception of the world.

Willis and team claim that artistic forms can contribute to the *quest for identity*, because of their capacity to produce new meanings and understandings. This:

> may be in the realm of dream and fantasy, in the realm of heightened awareness of the constructedness and constructiveness of the self; alienation from obvious givens and values; in the sense of a future made in the present so that it changes the present; the fear of fascination with the 'terra incognita' of the self. (1990b, pp. 17-18)

Consumption is 'a kind of self-creation – of identities, of space, of cultural forms – with its own kinds of cultural empowerment' (1990b, p. 26). However, according to Jackson, there exists a pessimistic approach to the phenomenon of the production of new meanings through consumption, which is that 'increasingly sophisticated marketing strategies and media technologies have allowed the market to penetrate into an ever-widening range of domains' (1993, p. 214). In any case, consumption cannot exist without production, but also production cannot exist without consumption; in a sense consumption is a first step towards production: this is well illustrated by Willis and his team with regard to music [see section 2.3.2].

Human geography has much to learn from aesthetics: this conclusion is shared both by Harvey and Gregory in terms of 'how different forms of spatialization inhibit or facilitate processes of social change' (Harvey, 1989, p. 207); and insofar as the effect of aesthetics 'can also be derived directly from the momentum of structuration theory' (Gregory, 1994, p. 124). Art was an issue for geography (and especially phenomenological geography) at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, where it was also linked with the subject of creativity. The impact of postmodernism brings art back onto the geographic agenda, and this time it must be an issue for cultural geography.

According to Tuan, art can analyse the subjective meanings of everyday life and the experience of place (1978). For Lowenthal and Prince, the environmental experience is most fully comprehended when the otherwise banal or amorphous circumstances of everyday existence are enlarged and transformed through the medium of mystery and art (1976, p. 130). For Ley, what drew geographers to the intuition of the artist was the quest for the essential character of place (1981a, p. 251).[5] Meinig goes further in claiming that geography can be an art, focusing on 'inner feelings' which can be effectively connected 'with the lives of others' (1983, p. 315). For Sack, art constitutes an attribute of the subjective perception of space: 'the significance of space in art lies in its connection to feeling, that is, in the import of the illusion' (1980, p. 27). Werlen cites Sorokin's elaborations on the spatial frame of reference for the social world. This is constituted of, among others, language, ethics and art (Sorokin cited in Werlen, 1988/1993, p. 149).

The most popular artistic activities (especially among the young), and those that geography has virtually neglected, are considered to be music and cinema.

2.3.2 The Urban and Emotional Dimension of Music

Music is not directly connected to knowledge, it transcends representation, since it can be immediate and related to nature, it can create imaginary worlds, and it develops an indefinite plurality of significance. Music is primarily a *temporal art*. According to Lefebvre, through music, rhythms reclaim their rights: 'they can no longer be forgotten, even though simulation and mimesis have replaced any true appropriation of being and of a natural space' (1974/1991, p. 384).

There is a view that *the evolution of music predates social evolution*. According to Small, the changes in the western art of the twentieth century are indications of the occurrence of social changes (1983, p. 20). According to Bloch, music is a pointer to a not-yet promised future fulfilment (Bullock and Woodings, 1983, p. 77). A similar argument is put forward by Attali, who claims that the uniqueness of music as an art depends on the fact that the developments in music history anticipate those in social history (1977/1985). Contemporary music is facing a crisis which is connected with the social, economic, and cultural crisis; this is valid at least for Greece, Europe and the United States. However, the phenomenon of musical communication and co-operation, combined with the growth of world music and with the breaking of the barriers between production and consumption, along with those between high and popular music, is an indication of hope for a way out of the crisis.

Music is significant to the 'lived' of everyday life especially, in modern societies, in the city (Lefebvre, 1976, pp. 77, 80-81). The city is the occupation of time by space, while music is the occupation of space by time (Torgue, 1976, p. 5). Music also has a peculiar relationship to age in the sense that it is considered eternally *young*: e.g. Bloch speaks of the explosive youth of music (1974/1985, pp. 10-13). In non-'creole cultures' [see Chapter 1, 1.5.2] such as the Greek one, the music which both expresses the 'sound of the city' and the 'sound of youth' is rock. According to Torgue, rock is born and dies in the city (1976, p. 5).

In the case of young people, the distinctions between *consumption and production*, passive and creative, amateur and professional, are, according to Willis and team, not taken-for-granted as a matter of individual skill, talent and creativity. Rather they are bridged by the play of everyday aesthetics: 'the special relationship between production and consumption in popular music culture means that most pop musicians begin as "fans" and "create" by copying sound from records and cassettes – they become "producers as consumers"'. Most musical activity begins by listening and consumption and it is creative, since 'the cultural meaning of a song isn't hermetically sealed: it depends on the consumer's abilities to make value judgements, to talk knowledgeably and passionately about their genre tastes, to place music in their lives by using commodities and symbols for their own imaginative purposes'. The cost of new records, and particularly CDs, has led to a massive growth in home-taping, also from the radio. The emphasis is on songs, which have meaning for young people 'also as structures of sound with unique rhythms, textures and forms', and pleasure becomes materialised mainly through dancing: 'the sensual appeal of popular music is at its greatest in dance music, where its direct courting of sexuality generates a heightened sense of self and body' (1990b, pp. 19-26; more in 1990a, Ch. 3).

Two of the factors which contribute to the relationship between consumption and production are the relationship between high and popular culture and the effect of new technologies. According to Jackson, contemporary music provides an example of both tendencies, since it can:

> be seen as a threat to more 'authentic' forms of musical production... The
> new technology also threatens to overwhelm its audience with a cacophony of
> sounds and images... It is not so much that technology dictates a particular
> pattern of social relations, but its reception is socially and culturally mediated.
> (1989, pp. 5-6)

New technologies are an indication of *externality which is connected with internality*. The internal dimension of music relates to the quest for identity and can be better approached by the factor of emotion, which can be expressed through various types of music.[6] According to Ansermet, it can be the inner awakening, by a musical fact, of a

human significance expressed by an image or an idea – something which is typical for the music of Debussy (1964, p. 3).

Music, unlike cinema, is an inseparable part of everyday life: it accompanies us everywhere and anytime – this holds also for classical music, which has become 'popular' in contemporary society. This is due to the variable forms of the diffusion of music and to its direct relation to emotions and, even, action. Also, unlike cinema, it cannot so easily diffuse myths, since the presence of the image is not necessary (Deffner, 1982b, pp. 8, 23n). Music is contradictory: it can reveal the hidden meaning of everyday life (Deffner, 1982b, p. 8), but it can also condense its insignificance substituting it with the song (Dimitriou, 1978, p. 164). It seems that the spatial factor does not play any role. Its importance, however, is seen in such events as concerts, festivals or carnivals, which public participation can transform into feasts. In these cases, unlike cinema, the process of the production of musical work coincides with its performance (i.e. there is spatial and temporal unity), while this performance depends on the spatial and temporal conditions. Consequently, music can act as a factor of resistance to the rationalisation and routinisation of everyday life, but it can also remain a mere method of escaping the problems of reality (Deffner, 1982b, pp. 8-9).

Exceptional events is a factor that differentiates music from cinema but both are daily phenomena: music transmitted mainly through the radio, and cinema transmitted through television. However, music is usually spread all over the day, while cinema usually is concentrated in the evening and at night. Thus, it seems that, in quantitative terms, music is more effective.

2.3.3 Cinema: Myth and Knowledge

Cinema is a *spatio-temporal art*. However, according to Deleuze, in the post-war cinema, time is dominant, in the sense that time-image prevails over movement-image (1983/1986; 1985). Film experience is different from musical experience, the latter leading, according to Levi-Strauss, to an escape into immortality but not to an escape from time. Barnes claims that when we watch a film, e.g. *The Gold Rush* directed by Chaplin, 'we are merely going on holiday, escaping to some exotic stretch of time' (Barnes, 1971, p. 550).

Cinema, as well as television, generates emotions addressing the pleasure of the eye (Elias); thus, it contributes to the prevalence of the gaze in the modern world, where, according to Lefebvre, the eye and the arts of the image are dominant. This priority implies that harmony is transposed into the visual realm, although it was born through and for listening, since music was the pilot of the arts in the eighteenth century

(1974/1991, pp. 284, 286). Thus, Lefebvre meets Deleuze at the point where they both seem to imply that the importance of space is diminished in contemporary art. In terms of individuality and collectivity, cinema, compared to music, is a more individual affair: one can watch films on television alone as much as s/he can listen alone to music, however, s/he rarely goes to concerts alone while s/he can go more often to the cinema alone.

The majority of the audience tends towards simplicity, i.e. 'plots that proceed logically and chronologically towards a happy end and "identifies" better with simple drawn situations and characters than with ambiguous and symbolic figures and actions' (Bourdieu, 1979/1984, p. 32).[7] However, this does not imply that there is a clear distinction between *high and popular cinema*, since, according to Jarvie, 'some of the finest films from every point of view are immensely popular with all kinds of people: for example the western *Shane*, which was a box-office "hit". Moreover, some self-consciously cultured films like those of opera and ballet, are unbearably dull and unfilmic'. This is explained by the fact there exists a plurality of audiences, which, are not easily manipulated by the publicity machine (1970/1986, pp. 223-224).

Film creates or brings together two unstructured groups, the group that made the film and the group that constitutes the audience, and 'gives them a sense of identity and common experience' (Jarvie, 1970/1986, p. 225). The role of cinema is important in the *quest for identity* from the moment it has, compared to music, a more direct relation to knowledge. However, there is a contradiction in cinema. On the one hand, it can be a useful tool for perception and knowledge, since, according to Dimitriou, the cinematic image is analogous to the image of everyday life (1973, p. 57), thus being able to ascribe the 'lived' element (1973, p. 331). On the other hand, it can more easily diffuse myths, since it constitutes, according to Dimitriou, the best illustration of the turn of contemporary art towards myth (1973). The conditions in the cinema are ideal for the diffusion of a myth: darkness, comfortable seats, the spectator alone with the screen etc. However, from the moment that cinema can resist the power of myth, it becomes an influential tool of knowledge more so than the focus of an activity, which is an attribute of music (Deffner, 1982b, pp. 8, 23n). The main contradiction of cinema can also be explained in terms of the coexistence of a more direct relation between the perceptual and the lived world, and of a focus on the symbolic dimension.

Thus, cinema, as well as music, play an important role in the quest for identity by the young. The focus of the present research is on young adults, for whom the process of the construction of their identities is most crucial.

2.4   Identities of Young Adults

Young adults are, according to Pronovost, a 'microcosm of society as a whole, in which... one can observe differences, as well as social and cultural stratifications' (1989, pp. 68-69). Thus, although one remains 'young' for a longer period of time due to slow access to the job market, 'the values of the young remain, if not "traditional", at least quite standard'. Studies of the conceptions of the future among the young show a clear focus on family (meaning a stable family life, with warm relationships) and work (1989, pp. 67-68). They are attached to the notion of a permanent job, not 'work because it is needed', but a quest for economic stability and caring relationships leading to autonomy and self-accomplishment. 'Young adults even prefer a period of voluntary unemployment, or a casual or poorly paid but interesting job to a less satisfying one... They attach more importance... to the quality of work and the autonomy it can provide' (1989, p. 68). Young adulthood plays a special role in the formation of identities: 'while there are some for whom the life course is smooth and predictable, they are a minority. Significant change and even crisis lie ahead for most' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 285). The peculiarity of the young adulthood stage in the lifecourse lies in the fact that it has, according to Kelly and Godbey, characteristics of both preparation and establishment (1992, p. 262). Five aspects are connected to the identity of young adults: the sense of belonging to a group; the degree of consciousness of the spatio-temporal dimension; the role of leisure activities in lifestyle; the preference for activities relating to music and cinema; and the constraints in the process of the materialisation of desires.

2.4.1 Belonging, Time-space and Leisure

Young adults feel the desire to *belong*. This can either be self-directed or other-directed, which, in most cases refers to a group. Although family is highly valued, young adulthood is probably the last stage in the lifecourse, at least in Greece, where the bonds of friendship can be considered stronger than the bonds of kinship and especially of the immediate family; this is related to Giddens' evaluation of friendship as a 'pure relationship'. As far as leisure is concerned, there is an approach, mainly advocated by Dumazedier (1967) and de Grazia (1962), which claims that family leisure is a contradiction, since family bonds are obligatory and institutional, and are thus a denial of the freedom of leisure (Kelly, 1987, p. 107).

There also exists a general feeling of belonging to a generation, which according to Giddens, indicates, in relation to the lifecourse, that space has become less significant:

'where a person lives, after young adulthood at least, is a matter of choice organised primarily in terms of the person's life-planning' (1991, pp. 146-147). Generation also functions as a separate segment of time: it 'is a distinct kinship cohort or order which sets the individual's life within a sequence of collective transitions. In modern times, however, the concept of "generation" increasingly makes sense only against the backdrop of standardised time' (1991, p. 146). The approach of time as an intergenerational learning process is also advocated by Elias (1984/1988).

The temporal consciousness of young adults transcends their belonging to a generation, since they have a plurality of relationships with *time*, something which derives from their function as agents of the representation of society as a whole: 'young people can become integrated in the job market early on, either because they are looking ahead to the future and the adult world, or because they choose to take refuge in a present which is separate from both the past and the future (Pronovost, 1989, p. 69 – adapted from Lazure). The contemporary shift towards the present is particularly true among the young, since it 'relates to a hedonistic way of life, one which focuses on leisure, friendships, love, and on what has been termed the privatisation of life' (Pronovost, 1989, pp. 35-36). There are also examples of shifts towards the past, e.g. the nostalgia which is expressed in the refuge in folk traditions or in arts and crafts (Lefebvre, 1974/1991 p. 122), or in the culture of previous decades, especially the 1960s.

Time, according to Pronovost, is at the heart of the sociological analysis of youth in three main aspects. Firstly, youth is regularly represented as 'moving on' to other life-cycles usually as a generation. Secondly, the creation of a youth-oriented lifestyle – usually characterised by dynamism, change and novelty – implies that 'the young must be integrated into a period of time to which they belong, and also to a even broader period which is that of a changing society, due in part to the dynamism of the young'. Thirdly, 'the society represents itself as "young" and tries to avoid the passing of time by wearing the mask of eternal youth'. Young people have a two-level conscious conception of time: the short period of time that one has to take advantage of (leisure and adventure dominated by mass media and popular music) and the medium-range time, which forms part of the horizon of the culture of the young (idealisation of a warm family life and a satisfying job). This indicates that 'young people seem quite aware of their particular situation', i.e. that their culture allows 'a reconciliation of the values of the young with those of adults' (1989, pp. 67-68).[8]

The control of young adults over time, is crucial in their quest for identity. According to Giddens' reading of Janette Rainwater, control over time is essentially the establishing of zones of personal time which have only remote connections with the external temporal orders (Giddens, 1991, p. 77). However, 'a teenager who

"drifts around", who refuses to think about a possible future career, and "gives no thought to the future", rejects this orientation' (1991, p. 87).[9]

An important section of the time of young adults is occupied by *leisure*, which contributes to their consciousness. Pronovost claims that:

> youth are the great spokesmen of modern leisure values... They are the most active age group in sports and cultural pursuits... Leisure constitutes a prime time for group sociability; is seen as an area of life where independence can be exercised free of family and school constraints. (1989, p. 68)

Leisure places are used primarily as venues 'for meeting and developing relationships with others who are potential intimate companions. Places for activity are expected to be places of meeting' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 262).

The viewpoints of leisure activities are, according to Evans and Poole, the 'self', 'friends', 'others', and 'ideal self' (1991, p. 28). The distinction between self and ideal self is an additional indication of the differentiation between lived and perceptual world, as well as of the existence of multiple identities, depending on the constraints. The dilemma in the process of becoming for young adults may be, according to Kelly and Godbey, between connection and self-determination: 'the predominant development orientation of leisure may be toward intimacy and social position, but the urge toward self-determination and a personal identity may also lead to some special leisure investment' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 285). Artistic activities play a crucial role to the achievement of intimacy and consequently to the development of a lifestyle, since, according to Kelly and Godbey, an artistic skill 'may take a high priority in the new balance of productivity, bonding, expressivity, and learning' (1992, p. 285).

The temporal investment in artistic activities depends largely on the economic investment, which for the majority of young adults, at least in Greece, means family support. However, there is a growing number of young adults who start work, and for whom income 'is more than spending money; it is the possibility of a new life style', since the world of consumption 'opens a range of possibilities for leisure in addition to a world of long-term financial obligations'. 'In this new life, leisure is both symbol and substance in a revised investment of economic, personal, and social resources' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 263). A leisure activity 'provides not only a break from work..., but also its own intrinsic meaning and satisfaction' (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 264).

2.4.2 Constraints

Leisure activities operate, especially in the modern urban time-space, in the context of a plurality of options; thus, the quest for identity leads to multiple pathways. The main

contradictory aspect in this self-directed or other-directed process is that constraints coexist with resources. There is a plurality of constraints, which relate to external or self-constraint (Elias), to time-space, and also to the three main factors of socialisation, i.e. the family, the school, and the media.

Socialisation is 'the means by which the adult personality or "identity" is formed' (Banks *et al.,* 1992, p. ix). In other words it tends 'to replace selflessness with the self', a process helped by 'the trends of privatization, individuation, commercialization, and pacification' – pacification of violent emotions (Rojek, 1985, pp. 174-175). The constraints imposed by the three main factors of socialisation usually take the form of *stereotypes*, and, in the modern world, operate in the general context of the crisis of socio-cultural values of youth and public life. The 'road to glory' for young adults is easier today (in the sense that 'success' comes faster) than for the preceding generations provided that they are willing to conform to the imposed stereotypes. It is much more difficult, however, if they are willing to react to this imposition.

Stereotypes are meanings expressing the dominant ideology, and their imposition is an expression of cultural power which indicates a cultural strategy. Thus, stereotypes are a type of authority, hence the existence of authority constraints. Giddens is more specific, when he designates tradition, religion, local community and kinship as sources of authority, whose opposition to uncertainty is one of the dilemmas of the self in late modernity (1991, pp. 194-195). He distinguishes dogmatic authoritarianism from faith which rests on trust (1991, p. 146).

Constraints also are a result of social inequality, which leaves its mark especially in the leisure of *women*. Christine Griffin argues that young women face constraints on their involvement in leisure activities, and in this sense they 'are seen to have less leisure than young men, mainly due to domestic commitments, and young women also act as a form of leisure for men, especially through (hetero)sexual and emotional servicing' (1993, p. 153). The gender dimension of multiple identities is pinpointed by Evans and Poole, who claim that 'individual people combine both masculine and feminine characteristics, in particularly self-assertive and socially integrative qualities, respectively'. What characterises women is attachment (relationship, responsibility, care), while what characterises men is separation (logic, intelligence, imagination, honesty) (1991, p. 289). However, separation, and especially its last three elements are related to attachment.

The consideration of *identity in time-space* as a mediating concept between agency and structure is strengthened for the case of young adults by the results of the research done in Australia (Brisbane and Sydney) by Evans and Poole. They discovered that the 'dominant orientations, both in actual settings and ideal job, were those concerned

with future security, social integration, and internal control' (1991, p. 279). Social integration focuses on co-operation, while internal control focuses on personal development (1991, p. 290); thus, indicating the relationship between self-directed and other-directed orientations. One of their conclusions points to the agency - structure interrelationship: 'orientations which young people bring to task situations are dependent on the interaction between the person and the context' (1991, p. 290). Another conclusion points to the element of hope: 'the young adults who participated in our studies were generally positive about their lives' (1991, p. 288). The focus of the present research is on cultural identity, which in the lived world mediates between artistic activities as daily movements and socialisation.

2.5   Summary and Conclusion

The questions, issues and debates generated by the focus on the cultural identity of young people refer mainly to the relationship between the following concepts: constraint - resource; time - space; leisure/working time; consumption - production; popular/high culture; and attachment - separation.

The existence of common elements in the lifestyle of young people is questioned mainly in the field of consumption as part of the debate surrounding the concepts of 'youth culture' and 'common culture', which, however, are rather broad terms. The case study will examine whether the more concrete concept of popular culture (which has been an issue of debate for a long time) expresses the desires of young people.

The impact of popular culture on cultural tastes is evaluated mainly through its consideration as a form of daily communication, comprised also of symbolic elements, being a part of leisure and of the media. The relationship between popular and high culture is analysed in the context of the pluralities of culture. A major question that arises refers to the role of the media, which, by supporting the idea of 'common sense', can contribute to the imposition of stereotypes of action; this acts as a constraint in the plurality of options.

The weight of artistic activities in cultural options, and consequently in the cultural identity construction of young adults, is best approached through their lifestyle, and particularly though the manifestation of preferences and attitudes into tastes and desires. This process is materialised in patterns of action in time-space, and illustrates the two main connecting axes in the present research: the role of the attachment to space as an expression of cultural identity, and the role of a particular leisure preference as an expression of time-space identification. The case study will examine the relationship of life attitudes with the choice of activity, companion and time-space.

The focus of the present research is on music and cinema, which are analysed as forms of communication situated in time-space, but distinguished in many ways. Music, a temporal art, is an inseparable part of everyday life due to its many and variable forms of diffusion and its direct relation to human emotions and actions. Even if music refers to symbolic forms (Bourdieu, Willis), it cannot diffuse myths as easily as cinema, since the presence of the image is not always necessary and the factor of time has a priority over space. Cinema, a spatio-temporal art, is an everyday phenomenon only if it is the result of a conscious choice, and as a possible form of knowledge it can influence time-space perceptions. Both activities are ~~contradictory~~ *multi-dimensional*. Cinema is the most representative example of the turn of modern art towards myth. *but it can expose myth.* Music can function as an opposition to rationalisation and daily routine, but it can also remain a simple relaxation or an escape.

The case study of people will question whether a balance exists between preferring either music or cinema, and it will analyse their respective roles in the quest for the cultural identity of young adults. This is also connected to four other aspects: the impact of leisure on their lifestyle; the sense of belonging to a group; the degree of spatio-temporal consciousness; and the constraints in the process of the materialisation of desires. The latter implies, in the lived world, the effect of the three main factors of socialisation, i.e. media, family and school. The case study will also examine if the emotion of attachment is attributed more to females than males.

The conceptual context of the present research, as it has been developed in this and the previous chapter, has indicated that there is not only one truth both in the perceptual world and the lived world, since contradictions are inherent in everyday phenomena. Constraints, routinisation, common sense, taken-for-grantedness, rationalised organisation exist, which contribute to the imposition of stereotypes, but there also exist a plurality of options, exceptionality and a possibility of reaction. The present research interprets the role of artistic activities in the reaction to the stereotypes.

Throughout the present research, a logic of privileged fields is dominant. Firstly, young adults (aged 19-25) are seen as a peculiar group with respect to the transitional phase of the lifecourse, and consequently the use of leisure time, and the differentiation from other social groups regarding cultural tastes. Secondly, music and cinema are considered as the favourite cultural activities of young adults. On the one hand, these activities are part of leisure separated from work and other activities. On the other hand, these activities are part of popular culture and mass media. In both their dimensions, cultural activities express a contradiction which is inherent in all social phenomena: social processes do not necessarily result either in stabilisation or in change. Consequently, cultural activities constitute a more suitable field of analysis than family and educational institutions for the acquisition of knowledge and taste, for

the imposition of stereotypes of action and cultural values, and for identity construction. Thirdly, time-space is seen as the most appropriate context of analysis of cultural activities within the 'presencing' of the relationship between agency and structure.

The connecting link between these fields and, simultaneously, the aim of the present research is the role of music and cinema related activities as elements of leisure in the quest for identity. The context is the time-space of everyday life in the city, and the focus is the possible reaction (conscious or not) of young adults to the imposition of stereotypes. Leisure is evaluated as a component of the lifestyle of young adults, while music and cinema constitute, simultaneously, subjects and objects of the media. Identity in time-space is considered as a mediating concept between agency and structure.

The conceptual context of the present research is summarised in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1 CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT OF RESEARCH

Perceptual World	Social World	Lived World
SOCIAL STRUCTURE	CONSTRAINT	SOCIALISATION
Stereotypes	Capability/ Coupling/ Authority Constraint	Media, Family, School
Rationalised Organisation of Everyday Life	Gender, Class, Lack of Leisure Time	Routine
MEDIATION	MATERIALISATION OF LEISURE OPTIONS	CULTURAL IDENTITY IN URBAN TIME-SPACE
Perception, Knowledge, Appropriation and Consciousness	Leisure Provision (Public/ Private/ Municipal)	Leisure/ Working Time
	Consumption, Production	Globality/Centrality/ Locality Experience Multiple Selves
HUMAN AGENCY (Action, Practice)	RESOURCE	ARTISTIC ACTIVITY
Intention	Plurality of Options	Tastes as Manifested Preferences and Desires/ Emotions (Attachment - Separation)
Self-directed/ Other-directed Intimacy	Popular/ High Culture	Youth - Other Social Groups
		Daily Movements of Individuals or Groups

Eleven relations are of particular interest for the next step of the research: 1. globality - centrality - locality; 2. private/public space; 3. open/closed space (summer - winter); 4. leisure time-space; 5. public/private/'municipal' leisure provision; 6. youth - other social groups; 7. production - consumption; 8. popular/high culture; 9. routine - exceptionality, 10. tradition - modernity; and 11. western/eastern influences on Greek culture. The examination of these relations demands a particular urban context.

that

It is of Athens and is developed in Chapter 3. Two key questions which arise are how the urban structure affects the choice and materialisation of the options of cultural activities, and how the social context, especially the cultural crisis, affects the options with particular reference to young people and to music and cinema. The role of the centre, in comparison to the peculiarity of the area of Paleo Phaliro, is analysed in Chapter 5.

A number of additional issues exist, which can better be examined in a case study of people, also in connection to its methodological and local context. The type of the relationship between theory and fieldwork – which is based on the use of theoretical propositions and differentiations, and on the use of case studies focusing on interviews – is examined in Chapter 4. Chapter 6 analyses the leisure of young adults in Phaliro, and particularly the impact of cultural activities in the dislike of routine – in the context of plurality of options and constraints. The existence of an attachment to the locality, in comparison to the attraction of the centre and of the global, the relationship between agency and structure, the discovery of common elements shared by young adults, as well as the contribution of artistic activities to the reaction to the imposed stereotypes and to the quest for cultural identity are all examined in Chapter 7.

2.6 Notes

[1] The concept of lifestyle is traced, according to Wrong, in Weber: 'style of life' as associated with *Stand* (status group) (Giddens, 1991, p. 81). According to Bourdieu, lifestyle is increasingly a matter of what Weber calls the 'stylisation of life', 'a systematic commitment which orients and organises the most diverse practices', i.e. tastes, which constitute 'the basis of the mutual adjustment of all the features associated with a person' (1979/1984, pp. 55-56, 174).

[2] 'Legitimate' is the taste for legitimate works such as the *Well-Tempered Clavier* by Johann Sebastian Bach; 'middle-brow' brings together the minor works of the major arts, e.g. *Rhapsody in Blue* by George Gershwin, and the major works of the minor arts, e.g. the songs of Jacques Brel; and 'popular' indicates the works of 'light' or classical music devalued by popularisation, e.g. the *Blue Danube* by Johann Strauss Jnr and the songs of Petula Clark (Bourdieu, 1979/1984 p. 16). 'The petite bourgeois is filled with reverence for culture' (1979/1984, p. 321), and is mainly associated with the 'middle-brow' taste.

[3] The opposition high/low is, according to Stallybrass and White, a fundamental aspect of European cultures (1986, pp. 2-3). The differentiation high/low is conceptualised in many ways, three of the most interesting ones being the following. First, Featherstone argues that the boundary between high and popular culture acts as an example of the aestheticisation of everyday life (1990, p. 17). Second, Shields argues that, in the geographic dualism central/marginal (1991, p. 4), popular culture constitutes a margin which has long been postmodern (1991, p. 278). Also, Leontidou argues that the Mediterranean European cultures had shown elements of postmodernism before the concept was coined in the 1970s (1993). Third, Bourdieu argues that rare cultural practices are distinguished from vulgar ones, with the pretentious practices being in the intermediate position (1979/1984, p. 176).

[4] It is at the level of knowledge that cultural consumption constitutes what Bourdieu describes as an act of decoding which presupposes mastery of a code: 'a work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded. The conscious or unconscious implementation of explicit or implicit schemes of perception and appreciation which constitutes pictorial or musical culture is the hidden condition for recognising the styles characteristic of a period, a school or an author, and more generally, for the familiarity with the internal logic of works that aesthetic enjoyment presupposes' (1979/1984, p. 2).

[5] In a later article Ley claims, stressing the significance of postmodernism, that 'perhaps contemporary developments in the arts and architecture may contain some clues to a striving toward a new integration in geography' (1989, pp. 243-244).

[6] According to Bourdieu, 'music is the most "spiritual" of the arts of the spirit and a love of music is a guarantee of "spirituality"... As the countless variations on the soul of music and the music of the soul bear witness, music is bound up with "interiority" ("inner music") of the "deepest" sort and all concerts are sacred' (1979/1984, p.19). One characteristic expression of internality is the exploration of the self, as it is reflected, for example, in new age music. Battle, in his notes on a collection of film music by the Polish composer Wojciech Kilar, claims that this selection 'confirms the evocative power of music in its visual relation. It allows us to approach the emotional force of the music more directly' (Battle, 1993, p. 5).

[7] The tendency of the audience towards simplicity is connected to the fact that 'the taste for "ambitious" works that demand a large cultural investment is opposed to the

taste for the most spectacular films, overtly designed to entertain' (Bourdieu, 1979/1984, p. 271).

8 This reconciliation of values does not exclude the application of a temporal pressure to young people, which is similar to that applied to the elderly. As the work of Michael Young and Tom Schuller has shown, both groups are not considered to be useful elements of society, since they are not as productive as the rest of the population; thus, if the same criteria apply to every age group, this leads to an ageless society. In this process 'of what might be in contrast with what is' the control over time is vital, since time 'is not the extension of the person, it is part of the person'. To feel "I wish to be somebody, not nobody; a doer – deciding, not being decided for" has become more attractive (Young and Schuller, 1991, pp. 177-178). 'The young have made a bid, and could make it a more powerful one if they would consider more comprehensively the whole of the house, rather than only the room, to which they have been invited and invited each other' (Young and Schuller, 1991, pp. 178-179).

9 This perception of the control over time relates to Giddens' reading of George Mead: identity presumes continuity across time and space, 'but self-identity is such continuity as interpreted reflexively by the agent'. This includes the cognitive component of personhood: 'to be a "person" is not just to be a reflexive actor, but to have a concept of a person' (Giddens, 1991, p. 53).

Chapter 3 THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF ATHENS

Cultural activities, including their dual feature of resources and constraints, are always spatially embedded. This research focuses on urban space, and the choice was Athens mainly because it concentrates 53.5 percent of the urban population of Greece, and most of the cultural activities (especially in the winter), as well as cultural (especially artistic) spaces, of Greece.[1] However, what is more important is the relationship between these factors. The age focus of the research is on young adults, while the activity focus is on the consumption of popular culture, and especially on music and cinema. The cultural context of Athens is a distinctive expression of the cultural context of Greece, which is undergoing the impact of cultural crisis. The peculiarity of Athens among EU capitals is that it also belongs to the Mediterranean.

Rome?

3.1 The Contradictory Role of Athens in its Wider Context

The global dimension of communication takes the form of co-operation and networks between cities, localities, institutions universities, and people (Leontidou, 1994, p. 146). Global cultural communication is especially important today with the diffusion of the new technologies in the media. In terms of social life, history and natural environment Greece has more in common with the *Mediterranean* than with Europe in general. The Mediterranean context is not characterised by rationalisation as is that of the EU and the US aspect of the global context. As far as the Mediterranean dimension of Greek culture is concerned, there is a major contradiction in Greece's relationship to Europe. In the historical sense, Greece is the centre of Europe, but in the economic sense, Greece is the periphery of Europe. Herzfeld claims that 'Mediterranean cultures create a problem of category ascription: they are neither exotic nor wholly familiar', while the peculiarity of Greece derives from the fact that 'the Mediterranean is a region of nationalisms one of which – the Greek – is held to have originated the very idea of Europe' (1987, pp. 6-7).

The Mediterranean, in the context of the spatial split into regions of production and consumption, is the leisure zone of Europe. According to Lefebvre, it constitutes an example of facilitation of the manipulation of representational spaces (sun, sea, festival, waste, expense) by the representations of space (centralisation, organisation, hierarchisation, symbolisation and programming) (1974/1991, pp. 58-59). Greece is, along with Spain, one of the two most important leisure zones of the Mediterranean.

This holds mainly for the summer, when Greece is also the leisure locale for its inhabitants, while, during the winter, leisure focuses on Athens, and especially the city centre. Mediterranean cultures are, according to Lila Leontidou, urban-oriented, something which is reflected both in urban patterns [compact and dense cities in which wealthier groups cluster at the centre and in some peripheral bourgeois 'garden suburbs' (1994, pp. 129-130; more in 1990, pp. 257-259)], and in cultural development (1993, p. 958; more in 1990, pp. 256-259).

The cultural aspect of the *European integration* has been largely ignored, despite the fact that it constitutes the root of the European ideal. It can also contribute to the solution of many problems, even those which seem to be primarily of an economic nature. The cultural dimension of the forces that shape urban Europe is stressed by Leontidou: 'changing life-styles, post-modernism, re-urbanisation, environmentalism, new gender (and consequently family) values, leisure activities and tourism turning towards the cities, the aestheticisation of everyday life', and the search for centricity by cities and localities (1994, p. 145). As far as the postmodern condition is concerned, it is not a new condition but a retrieval of an alternative culture, 'which was subordinate during late capitalism and is now rising to dominance' (Leontidou, 1993, pp. 963-964). In this sense, a Greek influence on western Europe can be traced to the spread of hedonistic consumerism through tourism (Leontidou, 1993, p. 958).

Some of the items of the likely scenario for Europe's future as provided by Masser, Svidén and Wegener are the following: an ageing society; the economically independent young white-collar worker as having the model lifestyle characterised by efficiency, high mobility, intensive use of telecommunications and vast consumption of energy and resources; massive growth of commercial leisure activities; the 'informational' city as a means of changing lifestyles and as a status symbol for the information-rich; the reinforced dominance of large cities (1992, pp. 194-197). Michael Hebbert seems to agree with this analysis when he states that 'the combination of information technology innovation and the internationalisation of economic transactions is proving a powerful force of geographic centralisation', and that national centre-periphery structures 'are being reinforced as large cities suck in money and resources and people to build themselves up as international decision centres' (1990, pp. 6-7).

In the context of the European Community Athens belongs to the large peripheral cities which, according to Leontidou, 'follow their own paths of development' and have hardly been touched by changes in the EU (1994, p. 143). According to DATAR (Delegation of Regional Policy and Action), Athens belongs to the last category of EU cities, i.e. the financially more undeveloped and geographically isolated regions of Greece, southern Italy, the south-eastern Iberian Peninsula and the Republic of

Ireland. This category is characterised as 'reserved and for future development, which, at present, faces serious problems of employment'. Athens has the same position as Copenhagen and comes before Lisbon, but in some cases it is classified in the same category as the ascending 'regional capitals', such as Barcelona, Manchester, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Torino and Lyon. These big cities successfully combine the triptych: commerce - business - technology (Polyzos, 1992, p. 15).

Athens' main negative features include, according to DATAR, the lack of a reliable communication network, limited economic strength and insignificant research and technological activity. Additional negative parameters are the large concentration of the population (see Table 3.1 for its effect on cultural spaces) and the shrinkage of the commercial activity of Piraeus (the port of Athens – for its location see Figure 3.1). Athens has primarily three positive factors. The first is its cultural 'radiance' (position in cultural and literary creation, theatre, cinema, fashion, cultural manifestations of international reputation) and especially in museums and much frequented monuments. The second is the holding of big conferences, and the third is publishing activity (number and circulation of newspapers and periodicals) (Polyzos, 1992, p. 15). Although the first two factors can contribute directly to cultural tourism, Athens, is, according to Leontidou, one of the few European cities where urban cultural tourism has not increased (1994, p. 144). This is mainly due to an EU policy bias (Leontidou, 1994, p. 144), and to the unrecognised economic potential of cultural activities by both central and local authorities. The ghost of the glorious distant past has to be exorcised, since Athens belongs to those Mediterranean former city states, which, according to Leontidou, cannot build upon their heritage of the monumental past 'during a period of urban competition and place marketing' (1994, p. 128).

The positive picture of the cultural 'radiance' of Athens is limited by three negative elements. First, the cultural capital of Athens is concentrated in the three central districts of the Municipality of Athens (Deffner, 1992b, p. 14). Second, the general role of culture in Athens is limited mainly to the spheres of ideology and symbolism. Its civilising role, in particular, has not been of particular importance since the end of the nineteenth century (Deffner, 1992b, p. 14). Third, most of the urban fabric has evolved haphazardly, since, 'besides well-known archaeological sites, there is hardly anything such as a preserved historic core or a traditional urban complex' (Leontidou, 1993, p. 951).

The contradictory role of Athens[2] is exemplified by the degree of *concentration of the cultural spaces* of Greece. It is the largest, as far as the percentage is concerned (23.7 percent), but it is the smallest if the population is taken into account through the use of the location quotient (Table 3.1). However, there are cases, such as cinemas,

**Table 3.1   CONCENTRATION OF THE GREEK CULTURAL
SPACES IN ATHENS**

Type of space	Athens
ARTISTIC	0.58
Choirs	0.42
Folk dance groups	0.46
Theatres public and municipal	0.25
Theatres private	1.07
EDUCATIONAL	0.36
Folklore museums and collections	0.31
Galleries private	1.36
Galleries municipal	0.30
Libraries	0.42
Museums	0.61

Source: The population data are from the 1981 census and refer to the urban population of Attica
(NSSG, 1984), while the spatial data are based on Konsola 1990.
Note: The value expresses the location quotient[3]

where there is a large concentration of spaces in Athens. Athens shows a greater
concentration of artistic than educational spaces. It shows the greatest concentration in
the case of private spaces such as theatres and galleries, while it shows the smallest
concentration in the case of municipal spaces such as theatres and galleries. The
contradictory cultural role of Athens is reflected in the options between cultural
activities.

3.2   Options between Cultural Activities[4]

The classification of options has various dimensions: physical form, seasonal function
(winter/summer or open/closed), type of activity (artistic/educational), single-or multi-
functionality, specialisation in relation to age, ownership/management, funding
(private/public/combination), access, and organisation (simplicity, complexity,
flexibility, autonomy, dependence).

Temporal differentiations cut across all these, and the main one is that between
piece and block leisure. Other temporal differentiations are those between noon,
afternoon and evening and between the four seasons of the year. In Athens there is
almost a complete concentration of musical and cinematic activities in the afternoons
and evenings. Only recently have there been some lunch time concerts in the Athens
Concert Hall (no. 15, Figure 3.2). Space plays an important role in the determination
of the type of activity, since the latter relates to the type of spatial structure. For
example, the modern structure of Lycabettus Theatre (no. 9, Figure 3.2) is translated
into modern ballet performances, Greek music, rock, jazz, and world music concerts.

In contrast, the traditional structure of Herodion (no. 8, Figure 3.2) is translated into classical music concerts, ancient Greek tragedy, opera and ballet performances.

One important aspect of differentiations is *ownership (and/or management)*. The provision of cultural services is generally divided into three sectors: public (incorporating local authorities), commercial, and voluntary. This division is also valid for Greece. However, mainly for methodological reasons, the provision of cultural services is divided into the following three sectors: public (owned by the state), private (incorporating the commercial and voluntary sector), and municipal (owned and/or managed by the local authorities). As far as spaces are concerned, private spaces are dominant in all cases, except for the archaeological spaces, libraries and museums, activities in which the non profit character prevails. Private dominance is particularly intense in galleries, cinemas and theatres, and not so intense in music spaces (Deffner, 1992b, p. 14).

The public sector started to become seriously involved in cultural provision during the previous term that the PASOK government was in power (1981-1989). There was increasing state intervention in the field of culture, something which was demonstrated for the first time very clearly in 1983. This initiated a relevant debate. The 'municipal' sector depends largely on funding from the central government, which is limited to and mainly concentrated upon the payment of employees' salaries. Few local authorities put an emphasis on cultural activities; the previous local authority (1975-1986) in Paleo Phaliro is a prime example.

The private sector incorporates the commercial sector, whose most obvious characteristic is the emphasis on profit, and the voluntary sector. The latter, from a certain point of view, is the most challenging, since it provides various, and also innovative, examples where spontaneity coexists with programming (albeit short term). Since informality is one of the basic characteristics of voluntary activities, these are largely connected with de-institutionalisation which can coexist with originality (e.g. beach party in Vouliagmeni – see Figure 3.1). However, the tendency for the de-institutionalisation of cultural action is not always translated into an increasing role of the voluntary sector, because in some cases voluntary associations are part of the institutionalisation process. It is characteristic that while in the whole of Greece there existed 2000 associations in 1978 (Pagourelis, 1978), in 1988 the number had reach, only in the case of Athens, approximately 15,000 – according to an employee of the GSYG (General Secretariat for the Younger Generation) (personal communication) The main problems are that few of them are recorded, even fewer are essentially active, and no one (and even more so the state) can possibly dictate how people should voluntarily organise their leisure time.

The general image does not express a considerable overlap between the three sectors, something which occurs, according to Torkildsen, in Britain (1983, p. 2). A further reason for this is that there are extremely few state subsidies to the private sector. This has an impact on the leisure policy towards *young people*, which was largely dependent upon the voluntary sector up until the creation of the Under-Ministry for the Younger Generation and Sports which was transformed into the GSYG. Until then no particular attention had been paid to young people except for the creation of youth centres and the provision for student tickets for some activities. The GSYG provided the main subsidy for the NCSR (National Centre of Social Research) research on the time disposition of young people,[5] which, however, did not constitute a basis for any leisure policy. One of the policy practices of the GSYG has been the subsidisation of musical activities, which occupy a significant portion of the cultural consumption of the young.

3.3   Young People and Leisure

3.3.1 Cultural Consumption

The consumption behaviour of the Greek people is a result of the changes in the continuously shrinking family, the ageing of the population, the participation in the EU, the changes in political life and the media, and the phenomenon of urban attraction (Mouhasiris cited in Argirakis, 1992, p. 25). Urban attraction has decreased. However, according to Leontidou, it followed the trend of large Mediterranean cities and it did not coincide with counter-urbanisation. It has rather been combined with diffuse urbanisation (Leontidou, 1994, p. 138; more in 1990, pp. 184-188).

The convergent trends in consumption during the fifteen year period 1960-1975 have been transformed into divergencies (Karapostolis, 1983). One of the main reasons for these divergencies is the poorly developed welfare state (Maloutas and Economou, 1988) which is subject to various pressures that are exerted on the economic, ideological and political level (Sayas and Spourdalakis, 1992, pp. 39-45). However, more than 30 percent of the active population was employed in the public sector or in enterprises under public control in the mid 1980s (Tsoukalas, 1986, p. 31), something which must be combined with the dominance of the middle class in the employment structure (Leontidou, 1986, p. 96; Leontidou, 1990, pp. 114-115).

The *middle-class homogenisation* of Greek society is a process based, until recently, on work and family related values, focusing on economics and politics. Two factors have recently contributed to the contradictory aspect of this process: the

housing market and European integration. The economic crisis combined with the environmental crisis and the spatial saturation (lack of empty lots mainly due to 'antiparohi' – the system of building multi-storey apartments in which the owner provides the land or the house to a contractor who finances the construction and offers the owner a number of flats), especially of the central areas, constitute serious obstacles for the continuation of the mixing of social classes in multi-storey apartment buildings. The economic crisis will probably be deepened in the process of converging of the EU economies, and this will weaken the impact of the family and of the middle classes. In this context the opposition between modernism and tradition will become more acute. The middle-class homogenisation of Greek society is not yet based on leisure related values. The empirical research of Petmezidou-Tsoulouvi (done in selected families and schools in Salonica) showed that the middle class does not consider leisure activities as a form of educational and cultural investment (1987, pp. 321-323). This conception is characteristically reflected in the ideology of quick and easy money, and it has an effect on consumption.

The *differentiation between active and passive leisure* is spread throughout the day, although the public performances usually take place during the evenings. Two observations can be made at this point. Firstly, youth in Athens follows the general trend in consumption, which, according to Leontidou, is hedonistic consumption focusing on pleasure – a characteristic of postmodernism since it contradicts the work ethic. In the Mediterranean this takes unexpected forms since low incomes are combined with extroverted, rather than home-centred, lifestyles (1993, p. 958). Secondly, there seems to be a general dominance of passive leisure, since most young people are not the initiators but the followers of activities. This does not necessarily imply that those who are active are those who attend several events, since, as the pilot investigation of Weinberger in leisure activities in Birmingham has shown it is not always the case that active people are those that go to the events (1975). The role of the media is important but contradictory. According to research done in NCSR (on the changing patterns of the cultural activities of Greek family), on the one hand, the media contribute, along with the family, to the expansion of petty-bourgeois patterns of life, while, on the other hand, they contribute, along with friends, to the acceptance of new cultural forms (Gizelis *et al.*, 1984).

While the media operate mainly at the level of the home, *artistic activities* operate also at the level of urban space. Naisbitt and Aburdene provide examples from the US and Western Europe, and they claim that sometime in the 1990s, arts will replace sports as the dominant leisure activity (1990/1991, chapter 2). Two of the most recent and characteristic fields are urban regeneration and cultural tourism. The former is observed particularly in the US but also in Western Europe. Isolated examples exist in

Athens (the Athens Concert Hall), where urban renovations have generally been piecemeal. Cultural tourism constitutes a trend which, sooner or later, Athens must follow focusing, however, not only on the distant past, but also on the potential of the present. Cultural tourism is crucial not only because of the importance of the cultural dimension for the European ideal, but also because of the economic profitability of artistic activities.

The apparent domination of passive leisure does not imply that there is lack of value judgement or lack of participation of young people in an activity initiated by others. As the examples of the mass concerts have shown, they are responding to the performances of artists who express their own desires. The existence of exceptional activities complicates the issue since it contributes to the attraction of passive leisure. However, there is a gap between mass consumption and mass production and the danger of commodification is always present, since youth constitutes the biggest consumer power in music and simultaneously the age group that goes more often to the cinema.

It does not suffice to state that the lifestyle of young people focuses on consumption. Their tastes have also to be examined.

3.3.2 Tastes

The main *options in out-of-home leisure*, as far as artistic events are concerned are three. The first, and cheapest, is going to the cinema (in 1994 its price is 1500 drachmas, i.e. approximately 4 pounds), but it can be substituted by television and video.[6] The second is going to the theatre whose price ranges from 1500 (for students) to 3500 drachmas, i.e. approximately 4-9 pounds. The third is going to rock or Greek music concerts, which at the present occur mainly in small clubs and their price range is between 2000 and 6000 drachmas, i.e. approximately 5-15 pounds.

Leisure *preferences* of young people in Athens have not been a specific object of research, with few exceptions. The only thorough study has been done on the time disposition of the youth in Greater Athens by NCSR (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988). The question asked was 'where do you mainly spend your money', which, by definition, excludes listening to the radio and watching television. First preferences are discotheques/taverns/pubs-bars/cafeterias/confectioneries/'boites'/'bouzoukia' etc. (i.e. activities related to music and food). Second preferences are cinema/theatre/ concerts. Third preferences are books/periodicals. Fourth preferences are excursions/ travels, and fifth preferences are records/tapes. There are no significant gender differentiations observed (Gardiki *et al.* 1988, pp. 13-17, 59).'Research' has also

been undertaken by some opinion poll companies; a recent example gives the following order of preferred activities for a sample of inhabitants of Greater Athens aged 16-24: bars, houses of friends, discotheques, cafeterias and cinema. 91 percent of the people who go to bars are students. They do it mainly in order to have fun, and the principal criterion for choosing a bar is music (Trilikis, 1993, pp. 30-31).[7] Thus, there seems to be a tendency for out-of-home evening and/or night activities.

We will have to wait and see what impact the recent policy to control the *night timetables* of leisure spaces will have on the leisure patterns of young people in Athens. This issue is more complex than the black and white picture that it has been presented up till now, with the supporters of law and order on the one side and the supporters of 'freedom' of time on the other.[8] This measure when it was first introduced constituted a major issue for Athenian society because of the large scale phenomenon of young people staying out late at night and because of the economic aspect. This is serious in that there has been much money circulating at night, and most of it evades tax (e.g. drugs – which also has other implications). There is also a matter concerning the quality of work: how can anyone who sleeps at 5:00 AM work well the next day, or even attend classes at school or at the university?

Of course, prohibition is not a solution, let alone violence which was applied in a demonstration after the closure of a discotheque in the city centre (an example of a battle over leisure time), but some rules must be applied, e.g. closing on weekdays at 3:00 AM or 4:00 AM – this is actually what the government is planning to change – in the same sense that here are rules in the hours of work both during daytime or night time. Otherwise it constitutes a typical expression of the approach that work is the 'kingdom of necessity' and leisure is the 'kingdom of freedom', which in the modern social world is an illusion. If contemporary society as a whole permitted a loose work schedule, then a loose schedule of leisure based on piece leisure would be logical. But what actually takes place is the dominance of block leisure on weekends. In this sense, these spaces could remain open during the whole of Friday and Saturday night.

The measure was voted for by all the parties in the parliament in March of 1994. Does the 'popular' reaction constitute an example of the diminished impact of politicians? Probably yes, but the whole issue indicates that the middle-class homogenisation of Greek society tends to expand to the leisure related values. This must be combined with an effort to rationalise the function of the city, since for Athenians, as most Mediterranean Europeans according to Leontidou, the 'city never sleeps' (1993, p. 958) – something which is especially valid for the consumption behaviour of young people in recent years.

In summation, the following three observations concerning the leisure of young people in Athens can be made. First, they tend to emphasise the importance of block

leisure, as most people do, but piece leisure is more important as far as cultural activities are concerned (bars and cinemas in weekdays). However, this is usually considered as part of the daily routine. Second, they show a strong preference for evening and night leisure. Third, their most popular activities relate to music and cinema.

3.4 Popular Artistic Activities

The factors which determine popularity are varied: space (summer cinemas, Lycabettus Theatre), artist (Olympic Stadium), type of activity (Herodion), idea (party in Vouliagmeni beach). The spatial factor implies the correspondence of the characteristic of an activity with a characteristic of a locale. Three relevant arguments can be made: the specialisation of a locale towards an activity or an age group (especially youth) can contribute to its popularity; voluntary organisations, by their nature, have a limited relationship to popular spaces; and the term 'popular' does not always imply 'collective'.

Young people in Greece are the audience *par excellence* of the contemporary cinema venues – while they also constitute a large section of the television and video spectators – and of the music market (including concerts and records/CDs/cassettes) with the exception of classical music and opera.

3.4.1 Developments in Music

Music, according to Frith:

> is used to distinguish the young from the old, to identify a place or time or occasion as youth's property. Music... is the easiest way for the young to signal their control of their rooms and clubs and street corners. The demands made of it – noise, beat, flash – are general rather than specific: if the noise is right, any noise will do; music is the context rather than the focus of leisure. (1983, p. 216)

All these elements refer especially to rock and are particularly interesting, since they provide another type of argument in the debate concerning the opposition of Greek music to rock. The main argument is that rock music expresses a foreign, especially American, lifestyle, thus contributing to the alienation of Greek youth. *Americanisation* is considered a cultural problem in most countries of Western Europe, even for Britain, since, according to Hebdige, American popular culture offers a rich

iconography, a set of symbols, objects and artefacts which can be assembled and re-assembled by different groups in a limitless number of combinations (1982, p. 216). The effect of Americanisation is larger in cities like Athens, in comparison with London, Paris and New York, where the impact of world culture is larger.

Music has been the most effective art form in Greece, especially in the form of the *song* which has dominated all the debates concerning music, in the sense that it has played a very important role in post-war political life since it expressed, in a condensed way, the major social tendencies of each historical phase. The emphasis on song is mainly due to the simplicity of its musical structure and to the existence of lyrics. However, this must not lead either to an overlooking of other musical forms or to its characterisation as 'low' culture in relation to 'high' forms.

In the period after the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974, four phases of the development of musical tastes were observed. In the first years the domination of 'antartika' (popular songs which were sung by supporters of the left during the civil war) and political songs expressed an increased politicisation of youth. In the subsequent years, the domination of rock music expressed the disillusionment of youth concerning the effect and role of political parties and the emphasis on a combination of fun and contestation. An important dimension is the symbolic one, e.g. the resistance to social, especially parental, authority.

In the beginning of the 1980s 'rembetika' (popular songs which were mainly introduced by the Minor Asia refugees) and various Greek popular songs were dominant. A typical example is the NCSR research on the time disposition of youth in Athens, where the first preference was 'rembetika' – it was very popular in 1983 when the research was done but has since decreased. The second preference was rock/pop/new wave, and the third preference was Greek light/'light-popular'. The fourth preference was dance music, while classical music/opera was seventh choice. The gender differentiations relate to the order of preference: for males it was rock/pop/new wave, 'rembetika', and dance music, while for females it was 'rembetika', Greek light/'light-popular', and rock/pop/new wave (Gardiki *et al*, 1988, p. 67). Thus, there existed a tendency for Greek types of music.

In the end of the 1980s new trends appeared mainly due to the expansion of the media, e.g. domination of CDs, satellite television stations which can be watched for free, and emergence of various commercial radio and television stations. Three main tendencies were observed: the polarisation Greek - foreign had decreased, there was a growth of interest in classical music (a type of 'high' culture) and there was a tendency to listen to a variety of types of music. A common element in all these phases is the impact of music on cultural identity, especially of young people. The quest for identity is situated in the context of a musical crisis which, according to Kouroupos, has two

facets: crisis of creation, mainly due to commodification, and crisis of institutions (1983).

An opposition which is continuously growing is that between *eastern and western influences*, although, in the last phase one cannot easily speak of one type of music dominating the other, since in the conditions of the cultural flow of world music, the tendency is more towards openness.[9] It is in this sense, according to Herzfeld, in terms of the ideology of Eurocentrism that Greece is symbolically both holy and polluted: 'it is holy in that it is the mythic ancestor of all European culture; and it is polluted by the taint of Turkish culture' (1987, p. 7). Any type of music has contradictory aspects and is mainly characterised by the particular socio-cultural conditions of its appearance and evolution. The western influences on Greek music are seen mainly in elements of contemporary popular music, in the creation of a dynamic rock scene in Athens for the first time since the 1960s, and in the major role of rock in the lifestyle of young people, while the eastern influences are seen mainly in 'rembetika', in skiladika' (heavy songs which are mainly connected to the lumpen social elements), and in elements of 'artful' music and in 'lumpen' songs. Two remarks should be made here. First, rock is not only music, but it is also a social phenomenon, something which in Greece is not the general rule. Second, those intellectuals who believe that some eastern influences on Greek music are important, especially Byzantine music, do not usually accept the effect of other eastern influences, e.g. Turkish, Indian and Arabic music, and dismiss them as 'low' culture. An important relevant issue which is involved is the quest for 'Greekness', a rather narrow approach of an ideal 'Greek' culture liberated from western and eastern influences.

If one characteristic is to be singled out from the cultural activities of the last decade it is a summer concert season which was initiated during 1983. This can usually reach a massive audience, but it functions as a consolidation of existing forces without expressing a quantitative or qualitative growth of music production. Also, it has remained a strictly summer phenomenon, which, however, for Greece means from mid-May till mid-September, i.e. four months. If the communication aspect of music is emphasised, the new and optimistic element was the new forms of public life focusing on musical activities in open spaces (beach concerts and mass concerts) and functioning as *exceptional* events constituting a break with the routinisation of everyday life. The problem is how exceptions can become a daily phenomenon without resulting in routinisation. The significance of exceptionality is more obvious in the case of rock, since rock concerts by foreign artists do not occur very often (particularly in large spaces) and this gives them a uniqueness, in contrast to Britain.

This has both a negative and a positive aspect. The negative aspect is the manifestation of violence, and the positive aspect is a type of dynamic response (e.g. dancing).

An additional opposition which was initiated during the summer of 1983 with the concerts of Greek popular music in Lycabettus Theatre and the beach party in Vouliagmeni was between high and popular culture. This opposition is, usually, more evident in the case of music than of cinema.

3.4.2 Developments in Cinema

The tragic irony of contemporary cinema is that it goes through a phase of triumph and poverty: '...cinema lives its greatest glory. The venues fall into decline but it triumphs on the small screen' (Bakoyiannopoulos, 1987, p. 28). The *consumption* aspect of the contemporary crisis of cinema is mainly characterised by two phenomena: the reduction in the number of venues and the reduction of the number of tickets (Deffner, 1994, p. 145), as shown in Tables 3.2-3.3.

Table 3.2   REDUCTION OF CINEMA VENUES IN ATHENS

Year	Total No.	Total red. %	Winter No.	Winter red. %	Summer No.	Summer red. %
1965	713		268		445	
1975	570	20.1	260	3.0	310	30.3
1989	218	69.4	112	58.2	106	76.2

Source: Sotiropoulou 1989 elaborated by the researcher

Table 3.3   REDUCTION OF CINEMA TICKETS IN ATHENS AND GREECE

Year	Greece No.	Greece red. %	Athens No.	Athens red. %	% of Athens in Greece
1965	121,137.252		71,967,289		59.4
1975	47,927.821	60.4	24,439,463	66.0	51.0
1987	13,700.000	88.1			

Source: Sotiropoulou 1989 and Greek Television 1988 elaborated by the researcher

An additional phenomenon is the reduction of the number of the tickets sold for Greek films relative to the total number of films (Deffner, 1994, p. 145). In 1965 the share of the number of tickets sold for Greek films in Greater Athens was 22.6 percent, in 1975 it dropped to 7.8 percent (Sotiropoulou, 1989, p. 133), while in 1987

in the whole of the country it was below 7.3 percent (as mentioned on Greek television). What must be noted is the increased domination of US films at the expense not only of Greek films but of all European films (Sotiropoulou, 1987, p. 42).

The tendency towards globalisation in the case of the Greek cinema audience is identified with Americanisation (Deffner, 1994, pp. 145-146). The effect of Americanisation is greater in the case of cinema than music. According to Papaspirou, the American television and cinematic productions are the country's second largest exportable product to the EU countries: they yield 3,7 billion dollars annually to the USA (1993, p. 49). However, the issue is primarily a qualitative one.

In Western Europe, film consumption is, according to Sorlin, partially independent of film production (1991, p. 209).[10] In the case of Greece, although a decrease in attendance figures at cinemas (leaving aside the peculiar case of summer cinemas) usually corresponds to a decline in film production – this does not mean that the increase in attendance figures during 1994 in Athens leads necessarily to a growth in film production.

With regard to consumption, as far as the venues are concerned the cinema audience consists mainly of *young people*. Research done in 1990-1991 by the NCSR showed that 73 percent of the audience are under 34 year of age and the majority are females. For 66 percent, going to the cinema is an opportunity to meet another person, usually on a Saturday evening, and is often combined with going to a bar afterwards. The most important criteria for going to the cinema is the better image (compared to television) and the whole ritual. The main constraint for young people is the expensive ticket (Bakoyiannopoulou and Papadopoulou, 1992, pp. 46-47). In other 'research' done by ICAP in March of 1993 it was shown that the cinema audience is mainly young people aged 15 to 24, with higher education, who usually go to the cinema once a month (Ktenas, 1993, p. 54).[11] This predominantly middle-class composition of the cinema audience conforms with the tendencies observed in West European countries (Sorlin, 1991, p. 219). As far as the cinema preferences of the young people in Athens are concerned, in the NCSR research on time disposition, the first preference is socio-political films, the second preference comedies/romances/music, the third preference adventures, and the fourth preference police/thrillers/horror (Gardiki et al, 1988, p. 70).

The contemporary musical and cinematic crises are affecting the quest for cultural identity by the young, and are situated in the context of a more general cultural crisis. Two of its most significant dimensions are the spatio-temporal and the ideological. Time-space is particularly effective in the choice and materialisation of leisure options in relation to probable conditions of attachment, while ideology is particularly effective

on the impact of cultural activities in the common elements of the lifestyle of young adults, and in the reaction to the imposed stereotypes of action.

3.5 Cultural Crisis

The cultural crisis is not a distinctive feature of Athens, or of Greece, or of the contemporary age. The cultural crisis usually relates to the value crisis and to the moral crisis, although today it acquires different dimensions compared with previous times. Such a dimension is the spatial one: what is observed today is a crisis in cultural spaces, a phenomenon which is connected to the *neglect both of open and public spaces*. The main reasons for this neglect are the following: the application, or, according to others, the distortion, of functionalism in space in connection with rationalism, the commodification of space and time, the privatisation of space and time, and the dominance of the private car (Deffner, 1992b, p. 10). A typical example is the decline of summer cinemas.

The feeble rationalisation of urban space in Athens conforms with the Mediterranean urban morphology, which, according to Leontidou, is characterised by the diversity of spatial distributions (1994, p. 131). The private sector contributed to the commodification of space by the multiplication of commercial centres in several central and peripheral municipalities of Athens. As far as the commodification of leisure is concerned, the 'cultural industries' in Athens are characterised by the importation and not by the production of goods especially of films and records. This is in contrast with books, plays, radio and television programmes, and works of art which are more frequently nationally produced (Deffner, 1992b, p. 11). Another outcome of the expansion of commodification is the emergence of new forms of cultural activities (dominated by music), which occur mainly due to the crisis of the traditional ones and imply a quest for new cultural spaces (e.g. beach, Olympic Stadium). However, in this case commodification contradicts with rationalisation.

Urban renovation in Athens was never a stable feature in the politics of space, but what has occurred, according to Leontidou, is 'a collage of piecemeal urban development with self-built housing on the urban periphery', which is an example of the spontaneous postmodernism observed in Mediterranean cities (1993, p. 951). Thus, urban renovation did not contribute substantially to the *privatisation* of space which is mainly imposed by the way the economy and everyday life are, or are not, organised. The privatisation of leisure in Athens is intense especially in the cultural sector (Deffner, 1992b, p. 11). The domination of the passive forms of leisure

corresponds to the increasing privatisation – in relation to the increasing commodification – of leisure and space.

The other significant dimension of the cultural crisis in Athens is the ideological one. The current situation is mainly expressed in *middle-class homogenisation*. In Athens this corresponds to the tendency of, what Leontidou calls, 'socio-spatial homogenisation rather than increasing segregation' (1994, p. 140). As far as culture is concerned, homogenisation implies the domination of the middle-class patterns of life and morality: this is what Bourdieu calls average culture. In reference to music, average culture is a non-original product where the popular arrangements of 'serious' music are mixed with the 'serious' orchestrations of the popular style that characterises the televised emissions of the so called quality varieties (Beaud, 1982, p. 87) – the industrialisation of culture playing a major role in this process (Damianakos, 1976, p. 238).

The ideological crisis is more evident in the *quest for identity* which is connected to the sense of belonging to a group and also to alienation. A major role in the occurrence of alienation is played by the mass expansion of consumption and commodification which is an outcome of living in western societies. Some results of alienation are loneliness, insecurity, depression and resignation. Another important factor which contributes to the occurrence of alienation is the crisis of public life. Two remarks can be made here. First this crisis is accentuated when a substitute for a form of public activity is found, e.g. television rather than summer cinemas. Second, public life is not identified with mass activities in public spaces, because in the cases where there is no communication or real participation, these activities can still be a private matter for the majority of the individuals. Thus, privatisation is distinguished from individualism and self-directed intimacy.

Two significant and interrelated dimensions of the cultural crisis are the relation of the national culture with other cultures, or with the global culture (this is where the issue of 'Greekness' is placed); and the opposition between *tradition versus modernity* (Deffner, 1992b, p. 13). 'Globalism and localism are rising simultaneously' (Leontidou, 1994, p. 146), the first mainly associated with modernity and the second with tradition. Globalism involves the concentration of economic and political power which results in the loss of control by localities, which , in turn, seems to make people more place-oriented. This 'creates solidarity around agents and institutions, a search for identity and tradition in society and education, the revival of regionalism and nationalism' (Leontidou, 1994, p. 146). However, the connection of tradition with the local is affected by postmodernity, which both uses and is used by tradition. This is illustrated in the contemporary dominance of aestheticised consumption, which, as

Leontidou implies, is the outcome of the combination of commodification and tourism (1993, p. 957).

3.6 Summary and Conclusion: The Choice of the Area of Study

The aspects of the possible European future which are the most relevant for this research are the stereotype of the independent young white-collar worker, and the growth of commercial artistic activities in the context of the increasingly centralised large cities, and in terms of information. The cultural role of Athens (where 53 percent of the Greek young adult urban population live) is contradictory in the sense that its positive cultural 'radiance' in the context of the EU is opposed to the concentration of the cultural capital in the city centre, to the limited civilising role, and the haphazard evolution of the urban fabric. This is reflected in the fact that, if the location quotient is applied, the cultural spaces of Greece are not largely concentrated in Athens.

In terms of type of ownership (and/or management), cultural spaces are classified into public (owned by the state), private (incorporating the commercial sector and certain voluntary associations), and 'municipal' (owned and/or managed by the local authorities). The private sector is dominant, there is no statistical record of voluntary associations, and the existence of many municipal spaces is a peculiar phenomenon.

The leisure of young people in Athens focuses on consumption and is connected to the process of middle-class homogenisation. The case study will analyse the role of leisure in this process. The most popular activities are considered to be primarily music and secondarily cinema. The role of music is reinforced by the historical significance of the song in Greek society. The case study will question these preferences, the role of time-space in the formation of cultural tastes, and the role of leisure in spatio-temporal consciousness.

Music and cinema are situated in the context of the general cultural crisis, and two of its most important dimensions are the spatio-temporal and the ideological one. The spatio-temporal dimension of the cultural crisis involves the rationalisation, commodification and privatisation of space in Athens connected with the respective phenomena for leisure time. The ideological dimension involves the interrelated issues of the differentiation between tradition and modernity, and of the debate on the 'Greekness' of culture. The case study will examine how the local level affects the opposition between western and eastern influences, and the contribution of the cultural crisis to the quest of identity.

The *choice of the area of study* was affected by the arguments that artistic activities are connected primarily to the middle classes (Bourdieu), and that the options in the

use of cultural spaces should allow for plurality. Paleo Phaliro was one of the poles of attraction for middle-class suburbanisation, and it was one of the few local authorities which put an emphasis on cultural activities (the previous local authority between 1975 and 1986).

The two main reasons for choosing Paleo Phaliro as an area of study are its proximity primarily to the centre of Athens (seven km to the south), and secondarily to Piraeus (six km to the east), to Nea Smirni and Kallithea, and to 'Paralia' (it means beach, and it designates a large area along the coast which includes Alimos, Helliniko, Glifada and Voula, and Vouliagmeni). The second reason is the relative importance of cultural activities ranging from the municipal authorities to several voluntary associations. [for more on these reasons see 5.1.2 and for the location of the areas see Figure 3.1]

Chapter 4 analyses the methodologies through which the main themes of the conceptual framework focusing on the quest for identity by young people and situated in the social time-space of Phaliro, can actually be researched in the field.

3.7 Notes

[1] Athens also concentrates 53.1 percent of the Greek young adult urban population (51.5 of females compared to 54.7 percent of males). These figures are close to those of the concentration of the urban population in general: 53 percent for males and 54.1 percent for females (NSSG, 1985, pp. 1, 3 – elaboration by the researcher). One of the classifications of cultural spaces in the present research is in artistic (e.g. music, cinemas, theatres) and educational (e.g. galleries, libraries, museums) spaces (Table 3.4, Appendix 3). However, this differentiation is relative, since galleries can also be considered artistic spaces, but they are grouped together with the museums and the folklore collections, the exhibitional aspect being considered the principal common denominator (Deffner, 1992b, p. 6).

[2] I must note that, although in this chapter when I refer to Athens I mean Greater Athens, i.e. the whole basin including the port of Piraeus, in Table 3.1 the data concerning Athens refer to the prefecture of Attica, a fact, however, which does not significantly alter the degree of concentration. Greater Athens has a population of 3,027,560 people, i.e. 31.1 percent of the total population of Greece which is 9,739,589 people, and it belongs to the region (one out of thirteen) of Attica whose urban population is 3,170,247 (the data refer to the 1981 census), i.e. Athens concentrates 95.5 percent of the urban population of Attica (NSSG, 1984, p. 157). Also, when I refer to the centre I usually mean (especially when data are used) the central district (D1) of the municipality of Athens (one out of seven districts), but in some cases when the reference is general sections of other districts are also incorporated, because the sense of the centre transcends the administrative division of the city. See Figure 3.2 and Table 5.1, Chapter 5.

[3] The location quotient is defined as follows:

number of spaces in Athens/ total population of Athens
number of spaces in Greece/ total population of Greece

The quotient is equal to 1 when Athens has the same concentration of spaces as the whole of Greece.

[4] For a selection of cultural spaces in Athens see Table 3.5, Appendix 3 and Figure 3.2.

[5] The NCSR research for Greater Athens was done in 1983 and published in 1988. The age limit was 15-24 and the focus was on the group 15-19 (Gardiki et al., 1988). I did not participate in that research, but in the NCSR research on collective consumption (see Chapter 4, note 7). The NCSR research on the time disposition of young people was extended to include the urban (except Athens), semiurban, and rural areas of Greece (Gardiki et al., 1987).

[6] In 1992, according to the data of the Research International Company, 91 percent of the households in Greater Athens owned a colour television set and 55 percent owned a video (Argirakis, 1992, p. 25). A research done in 1990 by GCGW (General Confederation of Greek Workers) showed that the average hours of television watched by Greek people overall were 2.58 daily: this is more than the Belgian, the Luxemburgian, the Dutch and the Danish people, but less than the 3.50 hours of the British people (Evangelodimos et al., 1993, p. 32).

[7] 'Research' done by ICAP (Investment Capital) during the summer of 1992 showed that 30 percent of the inhabitants of Athens prefer to spend their evenings at home, while 39.9 percent prefer to go out for coffee or ice-cream (Evangelodimos et al., 1993, p. 49).

8 The principal measure is that during the winter nights, spaces must close at 2:30 AM (Fridays and Saturdays at 3:30 AM), while during the summer the closing time is extended for half an hour. This primarily affects the bars (ages 15-39), and secondarily the music spaces with food (ages 25-50) because most of the other spaces are closed, e.g. cinemas close at the latest at 1:30 AM and concerts usually finish at the latest at 1:30 AM. The tourists do not constitute the majority of the audience during the winter; there is a half-hour extension during the summer, while different rules will be applied in the tourist areas. For the last 20 years the spaces, for most of the time periods, normally closed at 2:00 AM.

9 If the issue of cultural flow is approached at the local level, a variety of impressions emerge. For example, the study of the music preferences in Kalamata – a coastal city in the south Peloponnese of approximately 45,000 people, who are mainly employed in manufacturing and services – showed preference for Greek types of music. The first preference of the sample, which covered all ages, was for Greek contemporary traditional popular music, the second for 'dimotika' (folk songs), and third for Greek light music. Pop/rock (both western and Greek) was fifth, classical was ninth and discotheque was tenth, out of twelve preferences (Papageorgiou, 1991, pp. 484, 490).

10 According to Sorlin, this means that 'far from provoking a fall in audiences, production and exhibition of films were often clumsy adaptations to that fall' (1991, p. 209).

11 This agrees with previous data of ICAP, according to which young people constitute the majority of the cinema audience: ages 15-34, mainly those with higher education, coming from families with relatively high income, living in the central areas of the city (Lazos, 1986).

Chapter 4 FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY

4.1 The Role of Theory

4.1.1 The Interrelationship between the Conceptual Framework and the Fieldwork

The role of theory in fieldwork is considered to be crucial. In urban settings the absence of theory has meant, according to Rapoport, 'a lack of a consistent approach arising from the way people and urban environments interact' (1977, p. 384). The process of connecting theory and fieldwork is complex and it is not characterised only by analytic induction and/or grounded theory ['the discovery of theory from data' (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p. 4)], as most of the qualitative approaches claim. What usually happens is an intertwining of deduction and induction: 'first one has an idea for a theory... Then one checks it out against some data using deduction. If the theory does not quite fit the facts, induction is used to construct a slightly more complicated but better theory' (Gilbert, 1993a, p. 24).

The first step in the present research was the development of a theory: this is also what Eyles did when he examined the links between place, identity and material existence in studying the sense of place in Towcester. He claims that 'the *a priori* model of theory constructed by the researcher must not only posit logical relationships between observed phenomena but must also suggest the bases on which the links are established' (1985, p. 5). However, the conceptual framework is not considered universal, tending towards an epistemology or a science of time-space, but as a perceptual world with open issues in combining three main fields (cultural geography, cultural studies and urban anthropology) and using structuration theory. The cases are selected in order to confront these issues: 'an illuminating case may make theoretical connections apparent which were formerly obscure' (Mitchell, 1983, p. 204). The present research examines the importance of artistic activities as concrete interactions of specific people situated in particular time-spaces (in the lived world), and confronting both plurality of options and constraints (in the social world). The main research problem is the role of music and cinema in the quest for cultural identity by young adults in Phaliro.

4.1.2 The Methodological 'Device' of Differentiations

The interrelationship between theory and fieldwork is concretely expressed in the use
of the methodological 'device' of differentiations, which do not exist only as
oppositions but also as connections (Table 4.1). It can be compared to the yin-yang of
Taoist philosophy, which, according to Henderson, unifies all opposites, since
'within every aspect of life, a counter force interacts with a major force to create a
balance' (1991, p. 5). Another way of formulating the relationship between opposition
and connection is claiming that relative and absolute values are thought together and
not apart (Connor, 1992, p. 1). The basis for this consideration is the argument that
most phenomena of everyday life are contradictory.

Table 4.1   DIFFERENTIATIONS IN THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THE FIELDWORK[1]

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK (Perceptual World)	FIELDWORK (Lived and Social World)
'GENERAL' PHENOMENA	
theory - practice	theoretical propositions - structured interviews
structure - agency	socialisation (media, family, school) - artistic activities (tastes as preferences and desires)
stereotype - reaction to it	constraints - resources (plurality of options) taken-for-grantedness (fixed choices) - novelty (open choices) routine - exceptionality ordinary - original repetition - uniqueness stability (continuity) - dynamism (change) normal - unpredictable security (trust - anxiety (risk) alienation - reaction to it
rationalised organisation of everyday life - reaction to it	breaking up of everyday life -'sociability' planning (programming) - spontaneity
self-directed - other-directed intimacy	individual - collective (group) private sphere - public sphere subjective - objective voluntary organisations - institutions
time-space	leisure time - leisure space movement - immobility absence - presence
perception, appropriation, knowledge, consciousness	multiple identity - single identity [self] common sense - question
emotions	separation - attachment detachment - involvement pain - pleasure misery - happiness
gender	female - male

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	FIELDWORK
social classes or groups	youth - other social groups young adults who were studied - young adults in locality, Athens and Greece students - other young people middle class - other social classes
qualitative - quantitative	case studies - surveys
'PARTIAL' PHENOMENA	
types of space	globality - centrality (city) - locality open (summer) space - closed (winter) space public space - private space exterior space - interior space specialised space - differentiated space
types of time	working time - leisure time past - present - future long term - short term
types of leisure	consumption - production passive leisure - active leisure block leisure (weekend, holiday, vacation) - piece leisure (weekday) at-home leisure - out-of-home leisure cultural activities - other activities music and cinema - other cultural activities public sector - private sector - 'municipal' sector
types of culture	high (élite) culture - popular (low) culture tradition - modernity modernism - postmodernism eastern/western influences on Greek culture

One of the most important connections for the research is that between leisure ('free') time and public ('free') space. The principal factor which functions as their connecting link is human action as it is manifested through several cultural activities, whose materialisation, however, can face many constraints. As far as *temporal differentiations* are concerned, long term differences, are, according to Rapoport, culture specific and imply changes over time in people, maintenance, and uses. These indicate change versus continuity. Short term differences imply intensity of use over time and tempos and rhythms of activities (1977, p. 230). A long term differentiation is also that between summer, autumn, winter and spring, which refers not only to the type of season but also to a physical property of space, i.e. open or closed space. This is an important differentiation, as far as Athens is concerned, since it also implies a differentiation of activities, e.g. festivals, open air jazz and rock concerts in the summer. A short term differentiation is that between morning, noon, afternoon, evening and night, which refers to the time of the day. This is an important differentiation, as far as young people are concerned, since most of their activities take place during the evening and the night.

Spatial differentiations are characterised mainly by the notion of the boundary. The boundaries between the private and the public are not always clear because, according to Karamanou and Rodolakis, the same space can either have a public or private

organisation (1978, p. 98). Rapoport states that social, temporal and physical differences can be used as criteria of perceiving, and consequently of choosing, spaces. Physical differences – and especially those referring to vision (objects, space quality, greenery, density, new versus old, order versus variety, location) – are those mostly related to space (1977, p. 229).

As far as the differentiations between the *activities* are concerned, the term 'planned' activities implies activities as an outcome of a programme or a policy – these are connected to 'spontaneous' activities in the cases where a policy encourages experimentation. According to Giddens, exceptional activities are opposed to routinised ones which assure the continuity of daily life (1981, p. 150). Exceptionality operates as a rupture with the imposition of stereotypes. The differentiations which refer to the actors are between: male - female, individual - collective, youth - other social groups and social classes.

The way in which this methodological 'device' of differentiations is used in the fieldwork, largely depends on the particular conditions. The general idea is that the manifestation of cultural activities is not going to be taken-for-granted, even if preferences are considered real, not true or false. Also, activities are not approached one-dimensionally.

4.2 The Emphasis on Qualitative Analysis

4.2.1 Methodological Problems

The three main problems concerning the study of cultural activities in urban spaces are: the relation of the researcher with the people in the locality, the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, and the validity of generalisations of local studies. a) The subject of the fieldwork is of the type which puts the researcher into the dilemma of choosing between *detachment and involvement*, between 'stranger' – particularly a 'professional' one (Agar, 1980) – and 'friend', or between insider and outsider. This dilemma constitutes one of the main contradictions of observation. In the first phase of the fieldwork (1984), the principal methodologies (questionnaire, observation) led to a limited involvement, while in the second phase (1989) the principal methodologies (interviews, diaries) demanded more involvement. In addition to being empathetic towards others, what is also important is getting along with yourself (Henderson, 1991, p. 173-174), since according to Douglas, through self-exploration it is possible to find a mutual understanding of life with others (1985; cited in Henderson, 1991, p. 175). This also applies to the quest for identity of the

interviewees. The research experience had three main impacts on the personal life of the researcher. I became more conscious of the implications for the present of the decisions I had made in young adulthood, I also became more conscious of the importance of time in the lived world, and I could more effectively evaluate the everyday actions of the people near me who displayed certain similarities with those of the interviewees.

b) A second problem was the combination of quantitative and *qualitative analysis*. The emphasis is on qualitative analysis, and particularly on the case study approach focusing on interviewing, since the key issues of the research referring to identity could not be raised in a survey, for example. The emphasis of qualitative analysis is on meaning, i.e. interpretation which 'precludes reducing the task to a defined formula' (Robson, 1993 p. 374), and especially on cultural 'patterns of relationship between many categories rather than the sharply delineated relationship between a limited set of them' (McCracken, 1988, p. 16). Connected to this is the typically anthropological assumption, which, according to Edmund Leach, is that 'a social field does not consist of units of population, but of persons in relation to one another' (1967; cited in Wallman, 1984, p. 43). There is no such thing as easiness and convenience in qualitative research, since the burden on the enquirer is great; s/he 'is a one-person research machine: defining the problem, doing the sampling, designing the instruments, collecting the information reducing the information, analyzing it, interpreting it, writing it up' (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 230).

The basic characteristics of qualitative research are not an object of general consensus. Rudestam and Newton, following Patton (1980), claim that three fundamental assumptions are common: holism (the understanding of phenomena in their entirety), inductive approach (development of general patterns from the case studies), and naturalistic inquiry (the understanding of phenomena in their naturally occurring states) (Rudestam and Newton, 1992, p. 32). However, induction is connected with deduction. This relates to the ethnographic inquiry according to the main characteristics of qualitative research traditions set out by Rudestam and Newton. The choice of accepting the respondents' views as real and of the researcher being the 'co-creator of the narrative, generated typically through interviewing' relate to the phenomenological approach. The combination of 'accessing the meaning of human phenomena as expressed through the individual' with 'capturing, interpreting, and explaining the way in which people... live, experience, and make sense of their lives' expresses a connection between phenomenology and anthropology (1992, p. 34).

The emphasis on qualitative analysis implies, according to Jackson and Smith, 'a move from the principles of statistical inference based on representative random samples, to those of "logical inference", based on unique or idiosyncratic case

studies', and relates to *verstehen* (1984, p. 9), which is typical of the phenomenological approach. There is a turn of cultural studies towards qualitative methodologies: a relatively recent example in the media is the use of indepth interviews in people's homes to establish a more active conception of a plurality of media audiences (Morley, 1986 and 1991; cited in Jackson, 1993, p. 223).

The emphasis on qualitative analysis is an intrinsic characteristic of urban anthropology, which, according to Jackson:

> provides the possibility for evaluation and critique even if precise criteria for judging validity are not available. In this respect, urban ethnography is not significantly different from other modes of inquiry in the social sciences and humanities where critical judgement ultimately rests with the consensus of a community of scholars. (1985, p. 171)

The experience of urban anthropology and cultural studies can be helpful to the application of qualitative analysis in *human geographic research*. This, although it is still not common, it is not a *terra nova*.[2] Jacquelin Burgess sums up well the experience of phenomenological/ humanistic approaches and the 'new' cultural geography by stating that 'both are characterized by a emphasis on people as creative human beings who act in the world on the basis of their subjective understanding of the society within which they live out their lives' (1992, p. 207). She continues with a justifiable claim that:

> Qualitative methods provide more complex interpretations of feelings and actions than do quantitative studies. The data are usually linguistic rather than statistical, contextual rather than cut out from everyday life; the researcher is engaged with the informants rather than separated from them as in a questionnaire survey. (1992, p. 207)

Eyles talks about an interpretative geography, whose research task is 'to uncover the nature of the social world through an understanding of how people act in and give meaning to their own lives' (1988a, p. 2).

c) The third problem was the question of the validity of *generalisations*. There is reference to the 'young people of the locality', since the observed tendencies allow this degree of generalisation, as well as reference to the 'young people in Athens', and 'Greek youth' in general. The last two generalisations depend on the interviewees' references, on the evidence from other research, and on the personal opinion of the researcher based on his experience and observations.

The descriptive aspect of data interpretation consists of Geertz's use of the 'thick description' of a relatively small number of subjects within the context of a specific setting which implies that 'generalizations are always modest and mindful of the context of individual lives' (Rudestam and Newton, 1992, p. 39). In this type of

description the context and the meaning are closely associated, and 'both the emic (the categories of meaning that people give) as well as the etic (the researcher's application of the concepts) are important' (Henderson, 1991, p. 143). The crucial point is that, according to J. Clyde Mitchell, 'the extent to which generalisation may be made from case studies depends upon the adequacy of the underlying theory and the whole corpus of related knowledge of which the case is analysed rather than on the particular instance itself' (1983, p. 203). In this sense, description depends on theory: according to Hammersley, 'the most reasonable interpretation of the concept of theoretical description is that it refers to the application of theories' (1992, p. 22), and he provides one solution by arguing that theories can be tested in the very process of using them (1992, p. 19).

4.2.2 Hypotheses to be Tested and Spatial Poles of the Fieldwork

The attempt to overcome the aforementioned methodological problems consists mainly of the combining of fieldwork and theory (mainly through differentiations) and of multiple methodologies. The latter are connected with the analytical research questions which are translated into hypotheses to be tested that refer to issues raised in previous chapters (Table 4.2). The main axis is the analysis of the activities of specific people in

Table 4.2   HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED

Hypothesis	Connection with Previous Chapters
importance of the factors of type of activity, companion, space, and time in the choice and materialisation of leisure options (plurality and constraints)	perception, knowledge, appropriation and consciousness/ plurality of time-spaces/ spatio-temporal constitution of identities/ contradictory role of leisure spaces/ leisure: emotions and future/ cultural and leisure identities/ culture of young people/ popular - high culture/ contradictory role of Athens/ options between cultural activities/ tastes/ popular artistic activities
existence of an attachment to the locality	appropriation and consciousness/ spatio-temporal constitution of identities/ globality, centrality and locality/ media/ contradictory role of Athens/ options between cultural activities
existence of common elements in the lifestyle of young adults	security and intimacy/ leisure time-spaces/ consumption - production/ cultural and leisure identities/ culture of young people/ popular - high culture/ role of art (music/cinema)/ tastes
contribution of artistic activities to the reaction to the imposition of a stereotype of youth action by socialisation	identities/ leisure: emotions and future/ consumption - production/ media/ popular - high culture/ role of art (music/ cinema)/ options between cultural activities/ tastes/ cultural crisis

the particular time-space, while the focus is on the peculiarities of the use of time-space by particular individuals, and not on the general characteristics of time-space use by many people. The main aim of this research is not to discover a universal pattern of cultural activities of young people but to evaluate 'fragments' of action which are indications of a certain attitude or lifestyle. These lead to the discovery of a particular pattern of the cultural action of the particular individuals.

The fieldwork evolved around two *spatial poles*: the city centre and the locality focusing on the latter. The main methods applied in the city centre were direct observation and study of particular locales. The questions relating to the use of the selected profiled locales in the city centre by the young adults of the locality were put in the questionnaire and referred to what, with whom, when, and how often, and more generally why. The context of the locality is quite arbitrary, since the boundaries of social worlds and social systems are never obvious (Wallman, 1984, p. 27). In this research the spatial boundary of the locality is considered as a methodological tool. This implies that it is neither seen as the setting of a typical sample nor as a homogeneous socio-spatial entity – even if there are common characteristics; the latter factor is the main reason why Phaliro is not referred to as a community or neighbourhood. In the first phase of the fieldwork, the main methodology applied to the locality was questionnaires. In the second phase of the fieldwork, where the emphasis on the locality was more direct, the primary strategy was the case study approach, focusing on interviews and diaries. This choice resulted from the general emphasis on the indepth study of a few people, since this is the only way that the key issues relating to identity could be raised.

Two final observations must be made at this point. First, there is a principal distinction between lived world (activities of individuals embedded as movements in time-space) and perceptual world (the mental processes starting from perception, passing through knowledge and appropriation and leading to consciousness, based on tastes and desires). Roughly speaking, this constitutes a distinction between facts, and statements about facts. Second, the consideration of the data concerning both types of worlds of the individuals as real also applies to their expression of emotions, i.e. if they seem to be pleased or have fun I accept it to be so, but it does not imply that discovery of 'hidden motives' is out of the question.

4.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaires refer to questions put to many people and were applied in the first phase of the fieldwork, where they constituted the focus of the local aspect of the research.

29 questionnaires were completed: 18 from males and 11 from females aged between 20 and 24 years, with the exclusion of married people and soldiers, since for both categories leisure time takes a special form. Four questionnaires were discarded because they were largely incomplete. There were two main *criteria* for choosing the individuals. The first was occupation – 41.4 percent were students, while 17.2 percent were office employees and 13.8 percent were 'unemployed'. The second was interest in artistic activities.

There was a combination of two sampling methods: *theoretical (or purposive) sampling* and snowball sampling. This implies that a few individuals from the population of interest were identified and they were used to identify other members of the population [for more on the questionnaires, and particularly their structure, see Appendix 4, 4.3]. The principle of selection in purposive sampling is, according to Robson, to enable the researcher to satisfy her/his specific needs in a project. He claims that 'the rationale of such an approach is very different from statistical generalization from sample to population' (1993, pp. 141-142). Purposive sampling is used 'to get the most comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon' (Henderson, 1991, p. 133). The advantage of purposive sampling over representative or random sampling, is that 'it increases the scope or range of data exposed... as well as the likelihood that the full array of multiple realities will be uncovered' (Lincoln and Guba, 1981/1985, p. 40) and it is more adaptable.

The final response rate was less than expected: 29 out of 90 which were distributed, i.e. 32.2 percent, which, however, is similar to that of the questionnaire distributed as part of the Council of Europe Project (see Chapter 5, 5.5.1). The main reasons for this response rate were the length of the questionnaire (16 pages and 34 questions, taking approximately one hour to complete), and the use of the 'delivery and collection' method [for its advantages and disadvantages see Appendix 4, 4.3]. However, the response rate can still be considered satisfactory if one bears in mind the range of problems, and that the principal aim which was to discover tendencies – and not statistical 'truths'– which would later be checked by the interviews and diaries.

4.4 Multiple Case Studies of People

4.4.1 Main Issues Relating to the Case Study Approach

The results of the first phase of the fieldwork pointed towards the necessity of a methodology which would allow for the designation of desires, values, intentions and motivations – i.e. some of the aspects which are crucial for the analysis of identity

formation – transcending, but not separated, from the issue of preferences, i.e. approaching more closely the question of why. Also, this methodology should allow for the better study of the role of the media: their importance in the formation and diffusion of cultural stereotypes was realised during the intermediate stage of the research where the conceptual framework was partly modified. The relevant questions are those which can be put to few people. The final decision was on a case study of people, which is 'a strategy, i.e. a stance or approach, rather than a method, such as observation or interview' (Robson, 1993, p. 52). According to Valsiner, 'the study of the individual cases has always been the major (albeit often unrecognised) strategy in the advancement of knowledge about human beings' (Robson, 1993, p. 56).

The two main *advantages* of case studies are, first, the close reading of social life, and, second, the attention to the broader social context (Feagin *et al.*, 1991a, pp. 274-275). Both these advantages show the connection of case studies with structuration theory, and they point to the analysis of human interaction, which, according to Sjoberg *et al.*, constitutes one of the theoretical justifications for the case study approach (1991, pp. 52-61). This research is about multiple case studies which are an object of a subsequent selection (three out of ten). The crucial factor is the theoretical framework; thus, the general strategy for analysing evidence depends on one of the main reasons for choosing the case study approach (logical consistency) and on the main principle for choosing the particular case studies (theoretical sampling).

The application of case studies in geography reached a larger audience with the publication of *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography* (Eyles and Smith, 1988), although these were part of PhDs which had been previously published. Donovan studied the problem of health and illness in the lives of black people in London, using phenomenology (especially Schutz) as the basis of the conceptual framework and ethnography (particularly indepth interviews) as the basis of fieldwork methodology (1988; based on 1986). Cornwell studied a subject belonging to the same field (lay health beliefs in East London) and using similar methodology (indepth multiple interviews) (1988; based on 198$\cancel{6}$). [for additional elaborations see Appendix 4, 4.4.1]

4.4.2 Criteria for Choosing the Particular Case Studies

The overall strategy for choosing the particular case studies was *theoretical sampling*, which manifests the correspondence with the conceptual framework, something that relates directly to the emphasis on qualitative analysis. Thus, the cases were chosen not for their typicality or representativeness, but, in accordance with Mitchell' view,

for their explanatory power (1983, p. 203).[3] This resulted in the formulation of five principal criteria, two of which are the same with those used in the questionnaires (occupation, interest in artistic activities) (Table 4.3), although the people of the sample were different due to the time difference of the fieldwork phases (1984-1989). The age range was extended in order to include 19 and 25 year olds, because this range covers most of the transitional phase in the lifecourse of an individual.

Table 4.3   SAMPLE OF CASE STUDIES

CRITERIA OF CHOICE	*NUMBER OF PEOPLE*
Occupation	4 economically non-active
	3 students
	2 working in the tertiary sector
	1 artist
Interest in artistic activities	All 10
Social class	6 middle class
	4 working class
Home place	All 10 in south Phaliro
Membership in a cultural association	4

The first criterion is *occupation*. Although leisure must be emancipated from work effects, occupation constitutes one of the main criteria for choosing the case studies in order that a link between work, leisure and identity can be established. The reference is to occupation and not employment, because this allows for the choice of uncommon situations, which are crucial for the research subject. In this respect, a coincidence between occupation and hobby, which usually exists in the case of artists, is an important factor. Also, the case of students is a peculiar one, since study does not coincide with either work or leisure: it depends on the particular conditions, although it relates more often to work. The sample contains three students (and two people 'studying'), mainly because if studying is considered a profession then students constitute the largest 'professional' group of young adults in the area (46.3 percent of the 20-24 age range). There are also four people economically non active (including those 'doing nothing') since this is another distinctive feature of young adults in the area (49.6 percent of the 20-24 age range) (Tables 5.3-5.5, Chapter 5). People 'doing nothing' is also a peculiar case, and (especially for this age range) it is different from being typically unemployed, because they themselves choose not to be employed – one of their main reasons is that they want to have a great deal of leisure time in order to develop their interests and decide about their profession. There are also two people working in the tertiary sector, which is both the largest and the fastest growing sector of the 'local' economy (Chapter 5, 5.1.2 and Table 5.5).

The second criterion is *interest in artistic activities*. As it happened, except for the one musician who was a deliberate choice, most of the interviewees were interested

more in music than in cinema.[4] The third criterion is *social class*. There is an emphasis on middle class (six interviewees) since this constitutes a main population attribute of the area (especially of south Phaliro), relates more often to interest in artistic activities, and the issue of stereotypes has a direct reference to it. However, four people came from working-class families.

The fourth criterion is the *home place* which is located in the southern, and largest, district of Paleo Phaliro for the following reasons: most members of the Cultural Association (no. 5, Figure 5.1 – see Chapter 5, 5.4.2) reside there, there is little contact between the young people of the area and the young people of the other districts of Paleo Phaliro, and during the course of the research it became apparent that ɪɪɔst of the interviewees do not consider the other districts as in essence belonging to Paleo Phaliro. Also people from these two areas believe that they are separated from southern Phaliro, which is actually called Paleo Phaliro (see Appendix 7, 7.3). People from other areas of Athens also have similar perceptions. The consideration of the three districts as one seems to be valid only for administrative purposes.

The fifth criterion is *membership in a cultural group and/or association*. Four members of the Cultural Association were chosen not because it constitutes a homogeneous group, but because the image of a club or association provides the context of a relationship which includes friendship, but does not depend only on it. The number four is satisfactory, without constituting the majority of the case studies. The particular Association was chosen because it had been established the longest, although it was undergoing a crisis at the time of the interviews without being completely inactive.

Initially six case studies were chosen: one university student studying a subject related to culture (French Literature), one person studying in order to go to a university, one graduate of a technical school (who was unemployed at the time of the interview), one musician, one private employee (in a field related to information technology: electronic), one person 'doing nothing'. Thus, the two main features of the young people of this age range, i.e. studying or 'doing nothing', are covered. The first two cases studied – Andrew and Steve, who were rather ordinary and functioned as pilot tests (see Appendix 4, 4.4.3) – in connection with the new theoretical elaborations, showed that the nature of various subjects, and particularly questions relating to the factors of time and space, demanded a greater variety of interviewees. Thus, four additional cases were chosen: one civil servant, one person studying in a private College, one person taking private lessons (unemployed), and another university student.

Andrew is nineteen years old, from a middle-class family, and preparing (for the second time) for the general 'entrance' exams, which are necessary in order to be

admitted to a university. He wants to study civil engineering at the NTU (National Technical University) in Athens, although he has been accepted at a university in the USA.

Steve is twenty one years old, from a middle-class family, and has finished a course of aircraft engineering. He hopes that with the appropriate family connections he can get a job at Olympic Airways, which, at the time of the interview, was the only existing Greek airline company and it is still owned by the state. However, if this does not work out he will try whatever comes about: he even thinks of becoming a sailor.

Cathy is nineteen years old, from a middle-class family, and taking French, English and piano lessons. She wants to study marketing at 'St. George's College', which is one of the so-called 'Centres of Free Studies', i.e. small scale private 'universities' which operate without the appropriate legal framework and belong to the Ministry of Commerce. She has not decided yet what she wants to do in her life: maybe something that has to do with commerce. At this point I must state that the people who had not yet decided about their profession did not speak easily about it.

Celia is twenty years old, from a working-class family, and studying public relations at 'Southeastern College'. Her desire is to continue her studies in hotel management.

Lauren is twenty years old, from a working-class family, and is planning to go to a drama school in order to become an actress in the theatre. She used to be the president of the Cultural Association.

Don is twenty three years old, from a middle-class family, and is studying Economics at the Department of Public Administration of Pantion University. In previous years he used to work as a disc jockey during the summer, something which he also did during the winter of 1988-1989 in Piraeus. He is a self-taught musician and a member of the Cultural Association.

David is twenty two years old, from a working-class family, and working in the OTG (Organisation of Telecommunications of Greece), which is owned by the state, in Kallithea. He is a self-taught musician and a member of the Cultural Association.

John is twenty years old, from a working-class family, and studying French Literature at the University of Athens. He is also a self-taught musician and a member of the Cultural Association.

Dick is twenty five years old, from a middle-class family, and plays the flute in a chamber ensemble specialising in classical music. He also teaches music for five hours per week in a Conservatory in Sourmena (a southern suburb near Glifada and Helliniko, but not adjacent to Paleo Phaliro – Figure 3.1) and he is also giving private music lessons. He has studied French Literature at the University of Athens and Music at the Conservatory of Athens (no. 10, Figure 5.1).

Simon is twenty four years old, from a middle-class family, and working in UNISYS (a computer company). His field of specialisation is repairing breakdowns in mainframes. He has also been working at the Doxiadis company for two years. He plays the flute as a hobby, and this is how he actually met Dick, his good friend.

There is a further sampling within the cases not in the sense of selecting data for investigation but in selecting data for analysis. This implies focusing both on the perceptual world of individuals (views or opinions) and on their lived world (daily movements). The *selection* draws on Cathy, John and Dick. They are examples, respectively, of a person 'doing nothing', studying and being a professional musician, all categories with a special interest for the research subject. Additionally Cathy takes piano lessons, John is an amateur musician and a member of the Cultural Association, and Dick is an exceptional case.

There were additional interviews with two people with experience and/or knowledge of the local cultural affairs. These interviews were unstructured, based on a completely open agenda evolving around the general image of cultural activities of young people in Phaliro. The first person is Mary B., who lives in Agia Varvara, is twenty eight years old, a music teacher and an active member of the Cultural Association of Agia Varvara (no. 6, Figure 5.1 – see Chapter 5, 5.4.2) when it was operating. The second person is Tasos S., who is twenty six years old, an historian and the son of a lady who used to be active in the local society; she was a member of the Library Committee attached to the Cultural Centre – the library was founded in 1985.

4.4.3 Structured Indepth Interviews

The application of multiple case studies as a strategy is translated to the level of methodologies through structured indepth interviewing and diaries. Indepth interviewing has probably been, according to Henderson, 'the most common choice of leisure researchers within the qualitative approach' (1991, p. 49), and it 'is the best method for pursuing a subject indepth, operating in a discovery mode, and creating interaction with an individual' (1991, p. 71). Some of the *advantages* of indepth interviews are: face to face encounter, facilitation of the co-operation in research, access for probing and follow-up, discovery of possible interconnections, provision of contextual background (1991, p. 51).

The *purpose* of interviews is:

> to find out what is on people's minds and to access the perspectives of others. A researcher, according to Patton (1980), cannot observe feelings,

thoughts, and intentions, previous behaviors, or how people organise the world. We cannot always be there to observe what happens, so we rely on people's accounts. The indepth interview also provides data for translating research hypotheses into grounded theory. (Henderson, 1991, p. 71)

The focus is on cultural categories, since 'the purpose of the qualitative interview is not to discover how many, and what kinds of, people share a certain characteristic. It is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture construes the world' (McCracken, 1988, p. 17). In this context – although the interview constitutes a distinct setting (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p. 118) of the communication of specific people in a specific time-space – the particular connects with the universal:

> When interviews take place we witness both artful and possibly universal conversational practices and the display of cultural particulars expressing variable social practices, i.e. the internalist concern with form and universality and the externalist commitment to content and variability are complementary rather than contradictory. (Silverman, 1985, p. 170)

The use of indepth interviews in this research was chosen mainly for two of the *reasons* stated by Henderson: 'if the research interests are relatively clear and well-defined', and 'if the researcher wants to illuminate subjective human experience'. She claims, following Douglas (1985), that 'the technique requires a great deal of creativity on the part of the interviewer and aims at optimizing cooperation, mutual disclosure, and a search for mutual understanding' (Henderson, 1991 p. 73). Mutual communication is helped by the fact that, according to Frankenberg, people sometimes tell their most intimate thoughts and private stories to strangers (Cornwell, 1988, p. 229). Intimacy is one important attribute of interviews, something recognised also by Sennett: 'in their first sessions, beginning interviewers are often anxious to show that they regard their subjects as real people, not just as "data sources". The interviewers want to deal with their subjects as equals making joint discoveries' (1977/1986, p. 9-10). The challenge of interviewing for a subject referring to identity is that the nature of the interview depends, according to Hammersley and Atkinson, on the 'latent identities that the participants invoke and attribute to one another' (1983, p. 119). This resembles a situation of involvement rather than detachment: 'interviews must be viewed, then, as social events in which the interviewer (and for that matter the interviewee) is a participant observer' (1983, p. 126).

The *type* of indepth interviewing is structured mainly because of the direct type of the relationship of the fieldwork strategy (case studies) to the theoretical framework. Thus, for the purposes of this research, indepth is not equated with unstructured interviewing, since, according to Hammersley and Atkinson, 'all interviews, like any

other kind of social interaction are structured by both researcher and informant' (1983, pp. 112-113). Although the interview schedule tends to be standardised, a non-directive approach (mainly open-ended questions) is applied. Patton (1980) – as referred to by Henderson – calls this standardised open-ended, where the interviewee may respond in what ever way s/he wishes and the exact wording and sequence of questions is used (Henderson, 1991, p. 73). However, the non-directive approach is combined with a directive approach, which is helpful, according to Hammersley and Atkinson, 'when one may wish to test out hypotheses arising from the developing theory' (1983, p. 114). This implies mainly the use of closed questions including the 'other' answer and not based on 'yes' or 'no' – if that is the case the researcher tries to initiate a further discussion. Another difference in the present research was that in some cases the order and wording of questions had been changed, e.g. the general dimensions of the issues were usually discussed before their turn, which was the last section of the schedule.

The use of theoretical sampling implies that the *number* of people interviewed is less important than the quality of information gained from the interviewees (Burgess, 1992, p. 209). According to Henderson, the focus is not on numbers of interviewees but on:

> the contribution each interviewee makes to developing grounded theory. The more basic the phenomena, the fewer the people the researcher will need to study but the interviews must have more depth. The researcher need to keep interviewing people until she/he stops getting new information and starts to see the same issues emerge over and over. The researcher must also be attuned to 'minority opinions' as well as those recurring ideas that reflect the majority views. (1991 p. 76)

The cultural realities displayed by interview data are, according to Silverman, neither biased or accurate, but simply 'real' – and may be hidden from the perceptions of the individual (1985, p. 157); bias and accuracy may arise only in the analysis of data, not in the form or content of data (1985, p. 176). Some responses may be inconsistent, 'but how can people respond consistently in a complex social order that is itself rent by contradictory expectations?' (Sjoberg *et al.*, 1991, p. 53).

The analysis of the interview data was not based on any existing research or usual method, but it followed the analytical strategy applied to the case study approach, i.e. the reliance on the theoretical propositions – an additional illustration of the interrelationship between theory and fieldwork. Thus, the data analysis was based on the schedule of the interviews, i.e. the themes developed from the conceptual framework as modified after the results of the first phase of the fieldwork. [for more on the interviews and their schedule see Appendix 4, 4.4.3]

4.4.4 Diaries

The use of diaries is a particular expression of the time-space interrelationship, both in the lived world of the case studies and in the perceptual world of the researcher, since they record the daily movements of the individuals. The diaries which were used were semi-structured and unbiased, and they were distributed and collected in the same time period that the interviews were conducted, i.e. in the second phase of the fieldwork, since they were given to the same people. They were used not as precursors to interviewing, something which is argued by certain authors as stated by Robson (1993, p. 254), but as a synchronic and complementary method in the elaboration of the case studies. They were used, as Robson suggests, as a proxy for observation (1993, p. 254), since it would be very difficult to follow all the activities of the interviewees for a week. The week is the common temporal boundary, since, as Cubitt claims, not many respondents are prepared to endure the chore for more than a week (Mitchell, 1984, p. 271).

The use of diaries, which resulted in time-space budgets, had three sources of inspiration. The first was the application of a simpler form of time-budget developed by Wallman: a diagram including place, people and activity (the where, with whom and what questions) placed along a time axis of a day (the when and how much questions) (n.d, p. 179). The second was the application of time budgets by Young and Willmott in their research in 24 Local Authority areas in the London Metropolitan Region (1973/1984, pp. 336-360). The third was the graphic representation by Glyptis of the time budgets of nine cases of unemployed people related to the survey of leisure and the home in Nottingham (1989, pp. 112-126). Also, elements from time-geography are used, but mainly notions such as constraints and bundles. The main reason for not using the time-geographic budget is that the spatial focus is not on a particular location in the map but on a type of locale. [for the structure of the diaries see Appendix 4, 4.4.4]

4.5 Other Methods

4.5.1 Study of Particular Locales

The importance of the city centre in reference to cultural activities is great, because most of the cultural spaces of Athens are located in the centre [see Chapter 5, 5.3]. There is a differentiation, in the private sector, between the spaces in the city centre and those in the local area. In the former, there is a large concentration of the

commercial sector, which is materialised in a series of particular, usually specialised venues, while in the latter, there is a significant presence of voluntary associations whose activities are usually materialised in various venues, i.e. they do not have a locale of their own. The focus of the research was on two processes: on the influence of particular locales on the occurrence of various activities, and on the form of the localisation of particular activities. In the case of the city centre the emphasis was the first process, while in the case of the local area on the second. The interesting interconnecting factor is the study of the attraction of the city centre for the population of the local area.

Table 4.4 TYPE OF PROFILED LOCALES IN THE CENTRE OF ATHENS

Type of Locale	Number
cinemas	3 [4]
bar/pubs	1 [3]
discotheque	[1]
music venues	1 [2]
opera house	1 [1]
theatre	[1]
cultural centre	1 [1]
Total	7 [13]

Note: The number in brackets is the total number of locales studied.

Table 4.5   CHECKLIST FOR LOCALES IN THE CENTRE OF ATHENS

activity
transport/parking
entrance fee
building form
type of seats
possibility of movement among the audience
space for audience participation
fullness
ownership/management
composition of the audience

In the first phase of the fieldwork, there was a study of profiled locales (Table 4.4) according to a checklist (Table 4.5), while the questions relating to frequency, companion, activity, means of transport and reason for not using were put in the questionnaires.[5] In the second phase of the fieldwork, the interviewees were asked about the meaning which both the city centre and Phaliro has for them according to a different checklist [see Appendix 4, 4.4.3].

The choice was to study winter spaces, because public life takes place in closed spaces nine months each year (from the beginning of September till the end of May). The focus was on the profile of 7, out of the total 13, locales. [for the particular locales see Appendix 4, 4.5.1].

4.5.2 Direct Observation

For a researcher the possibility ranges from being a complete observer to being a complete participant. The emphasis in the first phase of the fieldwork was in observation, while in the second phase it was on participation bearing in mind that interviews are a form of participant observation. The type of observation applied overall was direct observation.

In the first phase of the fieldwork, observation was mostly unstructured – i.e. involving informal information gathering (Robson, 1993, p. 194) – and unobtrusive, but both reactive and non-reactive as well as covert (unknown) and overt (known). In the city centre, the observation was always non-reactive and covert and it consisted mainly of 'hanging around' the profiled spaces. In the locality, the observation was mainly overt, and consisted in taking part in meetings of the cultural group publishing the periodical 'Dialogos'. The initial contact was achieved through a friend of the researcher, an accountant, who was living there, who used to participate in cultural activities, and who was also a friend of certain current members of the group. However, during the summer of 1984 this group was dissolved. There was no 'gatekeeper', i.e. a person in power (Henderson, 1991, p. 109) interested in what the research can do to help – or harm – the group (Fielding, 1993b, p. 159), since the communication was informal, even though it was not too 'intimate'. The observation was also covert in going to several locales, especially to the 'stekia' (frequent meeting places), mainly cafeterias and pubs where young people meet their friends, and observing young people, i.e. 'hanging around'. This was actually parallel to what most young people did in the local spaces. In this phase, few notes were kept concerning the observation in the profiled locales in the city centre, and issues relating to the formulation of the questionnaire.

In the second phase of the fieldwork, the observation was concentrated in the locality and was mostly unstructured, obtrusive, reactive and covert. It consisted in being present at meetings of the Cultural Association (either in its office or in the cafeteria which functioned as its 'steki'); visiting the offices of two of the local newspapers, i.e. the homes of their editors; visiting cultural spaces such as the Cultural Centre of Paleo Phaliro and summer cinemas: discussing and interviewing

with local people interested in cultural matters. The main local people with whom discussions were held were four: Lena D. (a journalist and writer), Nikos D. (a poet and former secretary of the Cultural Association), Karolos K. (an architect) and a female employee in the Municipal Library of Phaliro. The initial contact with the Cultural Association was achieved through an ex-president, who, however, did not function as a 'gatekeeper'. The occasion of meeting him was the presentation, organised by Nikos D., of the poetry of my brother Otto Deffner at the Cultural Association. In this phase mental notes – notes that can be recalled and are used in sensitive settings where 'it may not be feasible to scribble notes' (Fielding, 1993b, p. 161) – were kept as files in plastic folders. However, the two interviews with local people (Mary B. and Tasos S.) were taped, transcribed and translated into English.

4.5.3 Documents

Documents are unobtrusive and non-reactive measures, or indirect observation. Two additional advantages are that 'they can provide valuable cross-validation of other measures' and that 'they encourage ingenuity and creativity from the part of the researcher' (Robson, 1993, pp. 269, 271). Their use in research done in Athens is a long, costly, and painful process, especially if census data are required.[6]

Four main types of documents were used. First, public records such as census data and the publications of the MOPHE (Ministry of Housing, Planning and the Environment). Second, the media: newspapers, especially local ones in two of which I am still a subscriber, but also periodicals (mainly referring to local problems and other research), books (mainly referring to local history and other research – especially the study of Paleo Phaliro as part of the Council of Europe Project), as well as television programmes. Newspapers and periodicals were also used as a source for the opinions of local people in addition to interviews, discussions, and meetings. The researcher must be on guard in a number of areas, and for newspapers this implies, according to Macdonald and Tipton, the following: errors (technical or matters of fact), distortion (especially propaganda), audience context (1993, p. 191). Third, secondary data, especially of two NCSR research projects. The first concerns the study of time disposition and interpersonal relations in Greater Athens (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988), and the second the study of the social and geographical dimensions of cultural activities in the same region (Deffner, 1992a and b). The former is used in comparison with the findings of the present research (in Chapters 3, 6 and 7), while the latter is used in examining the role of the city centre and its relation with Paleo Phaliro (in Chapter 5). In the second case the data, which had initially been collected by the researcher, were

the object of a secondary analysis, i.e. they were either corrected or newly elaborated.[7] The fourth type of documents used are photographs which were taken by the researcher. The focus is on giving a sense of place and not people, taking account of the fact that photography represents *one* of the various images of reality.

4.6 Summary and Conclusion

Theory and fieldwork are interrelated, because there is an intertwining of deduction and induction, of developed conceptual framework and grounded theory, of the reliance on theoretical propositions and thick description. The methodological 'device' of differentiations (co-existence of oppositions and connections) is the basic element which expresses the theory - fieldwork interrelationship. This interrelationship, along with the combination of multiple methodologies focusing on the case study of people, is used in order to overcome the three main problems in the study of cultural activities in urban space. These are the connection of involvement and detachment, quantitative and qualitative analysis and the validity of generalisations. The latter depend on theory and the corpus of related knowledge, i.e. on the consensus of a community of scholars, while the general balance is towards involvement and qualitative analysis.

The main axis of the fieldwork is the analysis of activities in time-space, while the focus is on the peculiarities of the use of time-space by particular individuals, and not on the general characteristics of time-space use by many people. The uniqueness of an individual must be combined with the search for common elements or a pattern of action. Thus, the complexity of the issues referring to identity require an emphasis on qualitative analysis. The latter is mainly characterised by holism and naturalistic inquiry, and is based on the interpretation of meaning through subjective understanding and logical inference. Qualitative methods are part of the long tradition of urban anthropological research, recently of cultural studies, and also of phenomenological and cultural geography.

The research questions are distinguished into three types: analytical questions, which are translated into hypotheses to be tested; questions put to many people; and questions put to a few people. The last two types of questions are translated into the structure of the questionnaires, interviews and diaries, all of which evolve around activity, companion, and time-space; these are the dependent variables that determine identity.

The four main hypotheses to be tested are: the importance of the factors of type activity, companion, space, and time in the choice and materialisation of leisure options; the existence of an attachment to the locality; the existence of common

elements in the lifestyle of young adults, and the contribution of artistic activities to the reaction to an imposed stereotype of youth behaviour. These hypotheses are connected with previous chapters and are diffused into multiple methods. There is a principal distinction between the lived world (cultural activities) and the perceptual world (perception, appropriation, knowledge and consciousness); the data concerning both types of worlds are not considered to be true or false, but real. The fieldwork was conducted in two phases (in 1984 and in 1989), and its area was Paleo Phaliro. The attraction of the city centre was also studied, but mainly in the first phase through direct observation and the profile of selected locales. In the locality, the main methodology applied in the first phase was questionnaires, while in the second phase the adopted strategy was multiple case studies of people, based on the methodologies of structured indepth interviews and semi-structured diaries. An additional methodology used was documents.

The principal method of sampling is theoretical sampling, due to the determinant role of the theoretical reasoning in the validity of inferences. There are five main criteria for choosing the particular cases (among young adults aged 19-25): occupation (mostly students and economically non active); interest in artistic activities; social class (middle class); the home place (located in the southern, and largest, district of Paleo Phaliro); and membership in a cultural group and/or association (Cultural Association). The cases are chosen for their explanatory power in relation to the conceptual framework, and not because they are typical or representative. Three special categories, which are crucial for the research subject, are designated: artists, students, and people 'doing nothing'. There is a further selection of three cases, each belonging to these categories. Some individuals have a certain relationship with another individual, e.g. friends or members of the Cultural Association, but on the whole they do not form a homogeneous group.

The locality of Paleo Phaliro is the subject of Chapter 5. This constitutes the context of the social world, which is the link between the perceptual world of the researcher and the lived world of the subjects of research in connection with the materialisation of the multiple methods. Nine out of the eleven differentiations of particular interest in the case of Athens are also valid for Paleo Phaliro. These are: 1. globality - centrality - locality; 2. private/public space; 3. open/closed space; 4. leisure time-space; 5. public/private/'municipal' leisure provision; 6. youth - other social groups; 7. production - consumption; 8. popular/high culture; and 9. routine - exceptionality. Two additional differentiations which refer to the locality are: planned/spontaneous activities; individual/collective (group) forms of cultural action.

4.8 Notes

[1] The interrelationship between conceptual framework and fieldwork implies that the corresponding differentiations are also interrelated, e.g. the coexistence of subjective and objective is not only part of the lived world, but also of the perceptual world.

[2] The examples come mainly from phenomenological/humanistic geography in its broad sense (Ley, 1974 and 1988; Ley and Samuels 1978; Cybriwsky, 1978; Western, 1981; Jackson, 1983; Duncan and Duncan, 1984; Eyles, 1985), perception and media studies (Gold, 1974; Goodey, 1974; Burgess, 1978 and 1982; Burgess and Gold 1985), and feminism (McDowell, 1988 and 1989). The major breakthrough was the publication of *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography* (Eyles and Smith, 1988), which, however, has not created the desired impact.

[3] Typicality, in general, relates, according to Gluckman to the social morphology (Mitchell, 1983, pp. 189-190). According to Mitchell, there is no such thing as the typicality of a case (1983, pp. 189, 203) and there is no such thing as representativeness of events since extrapolation is based on the validity of the analysis (1983, p. 190). 'The particularity of the case study 'can provide the opportunity to demonstrate the positive role of exceptions to generalisation as a means of deepening our understanding of social processes' (Mitchell, 1983, p. 206) and 'the case is studied in its own right, not as a sample from a population' (Robson, 1993, p. 5).

[4] This is in accordance with the fact that music constitutes the most popular activity of Greek youth in general and Athenian youth in particular. References to research concerning leisure activities is made in Chapter 3, 3.3.2.

[5] The same questions were asked in reference to foreign institutes and universities, but these were not specified as particular locales.

[6] I was able to use the results of the 1981 census concerning Phaliro after 1989 when they were officially published in their entirety. The situation is worse as far as data on leisure, and especially cultural, activities are concerned.

[7] The research in which I participated was done by a group of people at the NCSR in Athens and entitled "Collective Consumption and Social Reproduction in Athens". The results were published in a book (Maloutas and Economou, 1992). In charge of the research were two geographers (T. Maloutas and D. Economou), and the research team consisted of two architects/urban planners (K. Abdelidi and P. Kamoutsi), one architect (K. Gortsos), one economist (I. Sayas), one political scientist (M. Spourdalakis), and myself, as a geographer, i.e. a total of eight scientists. The object of the research was the recording of the distribution of the means of collective consumption, the analysis of their relation with the processes of social reproduction and the investigation of the political and administrative conditions of their development. The following categories were examined: education, health, social welfare, cultural activities, sports, open spaces, transport. The cultural activities were my responsibility (Deffner, 1992a), and I also had corresponsibility with P. Kamoutsi for education (1992).

Chapter 5   THE LOCALITY OF PALEO PHALIRO

5.1   Characteristics and Changes

5.1.1 Past Characteristics of the Area

The area of ancient Phaliro appears to coincide with the contemporary Paleo Phaliro since it was reported as the first and most ancient port of Athens (Ioannidis, 1988, p. 20). In antiquity Phaliro was connected with two historical events of world importance: the battle of Marathon and the naval battle of Salamina, both victorious over the Persians. During the period of the domination by the Franks Phaliro was in decline because of piracy. Only a few sailors and fishermen remained and the majority of the whole area was not inhabited (MOPHE, 1985, p. 6).

During the Turkish occupation, and following the 1821 revolution which forced the Turks to leave Greece, Phaliro remained a small, poor, coastal village. Some inhabitants were fishermen, most were farmers, cattle-breeders, and shepherds. Even in 1910-1920, 70 percent of the land was fields, while endless vineyards spread from Amphithea to Agia Varvara (Figure 5.1). During the period 1890-1915 the most important attraction of Paleo Phaliro was the indented beach with its small bays (Ioannidis, 1988, pp. 35-36). The first villas were built in 1910-1915 by rich families who had discovered the beauty of the area, and were designed by famous architects. The only villa which has survived is the Kouloura Mansion (Ioannidis, 1988, p. 39) (no. 9, Figure 5.1 and Photograph 5.1, Appendix 5). Between 1900 and 1930 Phaliro, with its beautiful beach, its crystal-clear sea, its cool climate was a very popular spa (Ioannidis, 1988, p. 60). The beach was full of small and good taverns. After 1922 two original places were established: an American bar and a music hall with jazz orchestra (Ioannidis, 1988, pp. 64-65).

An area called Neo ('New') Phaliro also exists which today belongs to the Municipalities of Kallithea, Moschato and Piraeus (Figure 3.1). After the inauguration in 1869 of the railway which connected Athens to Piraeus it became a summer leisure centre with walkways along the beach, cafes-chantants, theatres (Skaltsa, 1983/1985, p. 343), and a race track which flourished after 1883 which was the absolute privilege of the upper classes (Skaltsa, 1983/1985, p. 435). In the period 1880-1910 many people from the upper and middle classes fled to Neo Phaliro (Skaltsa, 1985, p. 108).

5.1.2 Present Characteristics of the Area

The plan of the area of Phaliro[1] was designed in the beginning of the twentieth century (1910) and its aim was the creation of a garden city intended for second homes. After the Second World War, and especially after 1960 when the Greek economy began to develop, it was transformed into a residential area (MOPHE, 1985, p. 7). There was also a tendency to expand towards the interior. The same tendency, along the axis of Agiou Alexandrou Street (the main shopping street – Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.3-5.4, 5.28), is valid for the commercial centre, which includes some cultural activities: a summer cinema ('Diana' – no. 8, Figure 5.1), a Cultural Centre (no. 1, Figure 5.1 and Photograph 5.5) and a Cultural Association (no. 5, Figure 5.1) Two further local commercial streets are in the process of development and display a tendency to expand: Amphitheas (which connects Singrou Avenue, with its starting point in the city centre, and the coastal avenue) and Agias Varvaras Avenues (Figure 5.1). A recent development is the formation of a new commercial centre along Achilleos Street in the Panagitsa Area (the area around the square of the homonymous church – Figure 5.1, Photographs 5.7-5.8). Another characteristic of the area is that the leisure zone along the coast is actually separated from the locality and the aim of future plans for this zone is that it should service the whole population of Athens (MOPHE, 1985, p. 21).[2]

Phaliro participated in the *"Twenty-One Towns Project"* in the context of the Project 5 of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe, which took place between 1977 and 1982. It focused on cultural development, which, according to Goodey (the project adviser who replaced Mennell in 1980) is 'an area, where, with a few exceptions, the public pressure and support for official attention is not so evident'. The project provided some insights into the development of participation, but its overall focus was not on the physical environment. There was a need to support local, especially medium-sized town authorities, to shoulder their increasing responsibilities in the area of cultural policy. The five initial themes were: animation, continuity in participation, new uses for established facilities, policy planning and financial accounts (Goodey, 1981, pp. 141-142). In addition there was meant to be a concern for evaluation and assessment, an extension of cultural democracy and cultural provision – particularly to special groups (Goodey, 1983b, p. 1).

There were three targets for Phaliro: the creation of a multi-use cultural centre, the remodelling of the two, formerly private, beaches (Batis, near the central square, and Edem, near Alimos – Figure 5.1, Photographs 5.9-5.12), and the provision of both fixed amenities and cultural/sporting activities, a concerted effort to improve and enhance the immediate environment of public spaces such as squares and playgrounds

with the co-operation of members of the community and local artists (Valestrand, 1983, pp. 65-66; Goodey, 1983a, p. 180). 'Efforts to establish a "sense of place", detached from the metropolis have been central to the philosophy of the local project' (Goodey, 1983a, p. 180). In the context of the Project, Phaliro was chosen as a case study of a town with no research element in evaluating the role of research in cultural development. The only research-type activity that had been carried out was a survey to assess people's cultural aspirations and preferences (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 79). Phaliro was the only Greek case of participation to Projects 5 and 10^3 due to the initiative of its previous Mayor Kapsanis, an initiative which was eventually supported by the Ministry of Culture (Papadopoulou, 1992, p. 40).

What is the main factor of Phaliro's *identity*? When the area was chosen in 1983 I thought it was the cultural life, but this is no longer the case. It is not the political behaviour, as in the case of Battersea (Kosmin, 1982): in October 1994 a Mayor supported by the right-wing party was elected for a third four-year term (since 1986), while the previous Mayor was supported by the left and the central parties and remained in office for three terms (1978-1985). In fact, it was the change in political behaviour that had a negative effect on the cultural life of the area. The main factor of Phaliro's identity is rather the privileged location in connection with the generally good and varied environmental conditions: combination of sea, trees, multi-storey apartment buildings/old houses/detached houses, and less pollution compared to other areas. These factors are among those which contribute to an attachment to the locality, and consequently to the sense of place.

This is how Goodey described Phaliro during his visit in 1982:

> Paleo Faliro is just off the main tourist map of Athens, the main road runs south to the sea, and where it runs to sever sea from land there is P. F.. A prototypical inner suburb, once a modest coastal place, relief in villas from the densification of Athens, now conveniently located between the tourist attractions of the capital's haze and the way in through Athens' Airport. Hotel, yes, a marina, yes, shopping street, yes, all the making of a separate civic life, but the flow of rush hour traffic and the callous piling of apartments in every available spot of land show the real role of this patch of real estate. (1983c, p. 200)

The two *main characteristics* of Phaliro are also the two main reasons for choosing it as an area of study. The first characteristic is its proximity primarily to the city centre of Athens, and secondarily to Piraeus, Nea Smirni and Kallithea, and to 'Paralia'. Nea Smirni and Kallithea are neighbouring municipalities which function as local centres and are inhabited by middle-to-working class population. 'Paralia' is generally a middle-to-upper class resident area which during the summer functions as a leisure area for the whole of Athens. Glifada is, simultaneously, the most populated and the

most attractive area for young people. The connection of the inhabitants of Phaliro with the city centre refers primarily to the civil services, the universities, and the leisure spaces (during the winter); the connection with Nea Smirni refers primarily to the cafeterias; the connection with Kallithea, which is more difficult because it is further than Nea Smirni and it is separated by Singrou Avenue, refers primarily to the cinemas (during the winter); and the connection with the 'paralia' refers primarily to the leisure spaces (during the summer). [for the location of the aforementioned areas see Figure 3.1] The second characteristic is the relative importance of cultural activities ranging from the municipal authorities to several voluntary associations. At the time that the area was chosen, in 1983, there existed a relatively lively cultural scene. There is no such phenomenon in Greece, however, as community arts. It was the expressed aim of the local authority which was then in power that cultural development should play a key role in the socio-economic life of the locality.

In the second phase of the fieldwork in 1989 conditions had changed. The new local authority has a 'traditional' cultural policy, i.e. focusing on planned and established activities and cautious towards innovation. Also the voluntary sector, with the relative exception of the Cultural Association of Paleo Phaliro, is rather inactive. However, in comparison with other areas, Phaliro still ranks high in terms of cultural life. An indication of this importance, and a peculiarity of Phaliro, is that, in 1989, there existed four local newspapers.

5.1.2 Characteristics of the Population

Phaliro is not exactly a gentrified area in the Western European sense of the word, since, according to Leontidou, the middle and upper classes have never abandoned the centre of Athens (1993, p. 959). In Phaliro the middle-class character of the area, as well as the good environmental conditions have their roots in the past. According to the Sgoutas Study Group, in recent years, mainly because of the relatively high standard of living, many people – in their majority living in the central areas of Athens – tend to move to Phaliro.[4] The transformation of the character of the area is connected, apart from the economic conditions, to the population increase during the 1960s: mainly immigrants from Constantinople who tend to displace the local population, who, in turn, have their roots in the previous century (1984a, p. 4). It cannot be said that Phaliro is a well defined community mainly due to the population characteristics.

Table 5.1   POPULATION CHANGE IN PHALIRO

Year of census	Population	Annual increase %
1951	12,884	
1961	22,157	7.2
1971	35,066	5.8
1981	53,273	5.2
1991	60,974	1.4

Source: MOPHE 1985 and Alexandropoulos 1991

An element of comparison in the population change (Table 5.1) is that the average annual *population increase* of Greater Athens was 3.4 percent for the first decade, 3.7 percent for the second decade, and 1.9 percent for the third (Demathas and Tsilenis, 1985, p. 55). The population of Phaliro between 1961 and 1981 increased by 150 percent, a figure which can only be compared to the western areas of the 'Paralia' (MOPHE, 1985, p. 7). However, in the fourth decade the increase was smaller (14.4 percent), as predicted by the Sgoutas Study Group in 1984 due to the economic crisis, to the fewer immigrants and foreigners, and to the transportation problem in connection with the increase in fuel prices (1984a, pp. 8-9).

Table 5.2   AGE GROUPS IN PHALIRO[5]

Age group	All %	Females %	Males %	All L.Q.	Females L.Q.	Males L.Q.
0-19	28.0	25.7	30.4	1.13	1.11	1.15
20-24	5.9	6.3	5.4	0.85	0.89	0.81
25-39	22.3	24.0	20.5	1.20	1.29	1.10
40-59	27.4	27.2	27.6	1.28	1.25	1.32
60-	16.4	16.8	16.0	1.30	1.22	1.39
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	1.00	1.00	1.00

Source: NSSG 1989 elaborated by the researcher

Phaliro, in the context of Greater Athens, has an *ageing population*, especially with respect to males, since the degree of concentration of the ages 60 and more is greater than that of ages 0-19 (Table 5.2). This is verified by recent research of the NTU which classifies Phaliro among the areas with the most ageing population of Greater Athens, together, for example, with the municipalities of Athens and Nea Smirni (Hatzidis, 1994, p. 54). The degree of concentration of the focus group 20-24 is lower than that of Greater Athens.

There is a strong presence of secondary school graduates, something which is reflected in the 20-24 age range, and is valid more for females (Table 5.3). There is also an equally strong presence of primary school graduates, which is not so strong in

Table 5.3   AGE GROUP 20-24, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN PHALIRO

Educational level	Total population %	20-24 %	20-24 Females %	20-24 Males %
University graduates	9.6	4.7	5.2	4.1
Diploma of technical and professional education	2.4	4.6	5.2	3.8
Studying in university or higher education	2.4	21.8	14.9	30.4
Secondary school graduates	31.0	38.3	46.5	27.9
Lycée graduates[6]	13.2	10.5	8.1	13.6
Primary school graduates	31.1	18.0	18.4	17.4
No primary school graduates	6.9	0.3	0.0	0.7
Illiterate	2.2	0.1	0.0	0.1
Did not state educational level	1.1	1.8	1.7	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSSG 1989 elaborated by the researcher

the 20-24 age range. The lycée graduates have a similar presence both in the total population and in the 20-24 age range, but there are more males than females. The university or higher education *students* have a strong presence in the 20-24 age range: they constitute the second strongest presence overall, the first for males, and the third for females.

Table 5.4   AGE GROUP 20-24, ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE/NON ACTIVE IN PHALIRO

	Total population %	20-24 %	20-24 Females %	20-24 Males %
Employed	38.1	44.3	37.5	54.2
Unemployed	1.8	6.1	6.3	5.8
Non active	60.2	49.6	56.2	40.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSSG 1989 elaborated by the researcher
Note: The unemployed are counted as economically active, and their designation is valid for the week that the census was made.

The principal reason for the increase of the active population (55 percent in the decade 1971-1981) is the great concentration of supralocal functions, mainly along the traffic axes, and the neighbouring of the municipality with areas of secondary production and central functions, e.g. services, organisations, businesses (MOPHE, 1985, p. 11). However, in Phaliro the majority of the population is *not economically active*, and this holds for almost half of the 20-24 age range, and also more for females (Table 5.4). The unemployed, aged between 20 and 24, are proportionally greater than the

unemployed in the whole of Phaliro, most of them are females, and unemployed for the first time.

Table 5.5   AGE GROUP 20-24, EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE BY SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY IN PHALIRO

Occupational groups	Total population %	20-24 %	20-24 Females %	20-24 Males %
Scientists and liberal professions, their technical assistants	17.7	8.2	13.3	2.9
Directors and administrative managers	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Office employees	18.4	31.8	45.9	16.8
Merchants and vendors	18.6	12.8	15.7	9.7
Service workers	10.0	9.8	6.7	13.1
Agriculture, animal breeding, forestry, fishing and hunting	0.9	0.7	0.0	1.4
Workers, craftsmen and transport workers	26.6	23.7	5.2	43.3
Not declared, unclassifiable	1.2	1.5	0.0	3.1
New employed	2.1	11.5	13.1	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSSG 1989 elaborated by the researcher

The population is predominantly *middle-class*; there exist, however, quite a few upper-class people and a large percentage of working-class people (MOPHE, 1985, p. 13). The largest socio-occupational category in Phaliro are workers, craftsmen, and transport workers (a strong majority of males), while people aged between 20 and 24 are mostly office employees (a strong majority of females) (Table 5.5). In both the total population and the 20-24 age range, there is a strong presence of merchants and vendors, scientists and liberal professions, and workers in services. In the area, live a number of well known reporters and singers, as well as pilots because of the airport which is located in the neighbouring municipality of Helliniko. There is a Russian quarter of, according to Tasos S., about ten families of people working in the nearby consulate.

Phaliro, like its neighbouring municipalities, has been in a phase of continuously *growing tertiarisation*, since as early as the beginning of the 1960s. The participation of the active population in the tertiary sector reached 70 percent for the decade 1971-1981, a figure which is significantly larger than the relevant figure for the whole of Athens (MOPHE, 1985, p. 13), which is 61 percent (Demathas and Tsilenis, 1985, p. 57). The emergence of banks is typical: in the past the whole area had only one bank. Today there are eight. According to Maloutas, the degree of concentration, as indicated by the location quotient, also increased between 1971 and 1981. Two of the main reasons for the large concentration of office employees and merchants/vendors in

Phaliro are the short distance from the city centre and the immigration of people from Constantinople, who are traditionally occupied with commerce (1992, p. 98). On the other hand Phaliro has, compared to the whole of Athens, a smaller presence of salaried, i.e. 62.5 percent compared to 72 percent (Demathas and Tsilenis, 1985, p. 57).

Many changes have occurred in Phaliro, and these relate to the loss of the sense of neighbourhood. New people have moved in, and this affects the formation of 'pareas' (groups of friends who meet regularly). The eclipse of the concept of 'Phaliriotis' is characteristic of the change in the structure of the population. 'Phaliriotis' is a term denoting a person who is from Phaliro: it has its roots in the 1930s, when the area was considered a privileged place to live and when its cultural life was initiated. [see Appendix 7, 7.3]

5.2   Spatial Structure and Problems

5.2.1 Location and Division

According to the MOPHE, the built environment of Phaliro was formed essentially without any state intervention. Its development was based on private initiative and the social infrastructure functions followed by accident. However, the area, mainly due to its privileged location in Greater Athens, attracted people from middle-and-upper-classes and this contributed to the relatively well built environment (1985, p. 17). It is in this sense that Leontidou claims that 'middle classes do deserve credit for reproducing inner-city high-quality areas spontaneously, and mostly without planning' (1993, p. 959). The *privileged location* of Phaliro consists in the following factors: it is near the centre, near Piraeus (almost equal distance from these two places), near the 'paralia' and near Kallithea (which is a municipality with satisfactory facilities in terms of shops and cinemas). Phaliro is not autonomous, but constitutes part of Athens, on which it depends for work, shopping and leisure.

Phaliro is divided into three districts. The first is the main (southern) district – that is actually called Phaliro – near the sea which focuses on the area around the central square (Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.13-5.16) and Panagitsa. It is mainly inhabited by middle-class people, has many trees, many multi-storey apartment buildings, and it constitutes the area of the multiple case studies. The second district is Amphithea, which is in the north, and the third is Agia Varvara, which is in the east and is separated from the southern district by Amphitheas Avenue. The last two districts have a poorer infrastructure, and are inhabited by working-to-middle class people. They

differ also in the general environment since there are fewer trees and in the forms of housing: less, and lower, multi-storey apartment buildings. The latter factor raises an interesting issue, since, according to Leontidou, the overbuilding of the middle-class suburbs with multi-storey dwellings which mainly occurred during the military dictatorship (1967-1974) attracted a mixture of social classes (1994, p. 141). The existence of more multi-storey buildings in southern Phaliro compared to Amphithea and Agia Varvara implies that some opportunities were given to working-class people to live there, not that its attribute as a middle-class area has drastically changed. Also the existence of fewer and lower multi-storey apartment buildings in Amphithea and Agia Varvara implies that either land developers were not attracted to build, or that people were less willing to give their land; thus there was no attraction from other (upper) classes to come and live there. [for the interviewees' perception of the division in three districts see Appendix 7, 7.3]

5.2.2 Urban Problems

According to MOPHE, as far as *housing* is concerned, the fact that Phaliro is enclosed between adjacent built-up areas, arterial roads and the sea combined with its rapid rebuilding resulted in a rare phenomenon, for the Greek society, the absence of illegal expansions. The general conditions in building construction however, do not differ from the rest of Athens, i.e. existence of multi-storey apartment buildings with high cost and poor quality, combined with land speculation (1985, p. 19).

The multi-storey apartment buildings (most of them with eight storeys) have been built in place of the old detached houses or of the fields. The system of construction was the one most common applied throughout Athens, i.e. 'antiparohi' (MOPHE, 1985, p. 19). The old detached houses used to be some of the nicest in Athens, and very few still remain (Ioannidis, 1988). The multi-storey apartment buildings are also quite high and, since the streets remain narrow, these are actually hiding the light from the flats opposite the street, and the advantage which was created by the many trees that were planted in the sidewalks has been eliminated (Sgoutas Study Group, 1984b). The existence of a series of multi-storey apartment buildings constitutes the most significant spatial change. On the one hand, this had a bad effect on the environment (also in aesthetic terms), but, on the other hand, it constitutes, according to Leontidou, an alternative to community segregation being a type of vertical differentiation (1994, p. 132; more in 1990, p. 12-13, 132-133).[7]

There are three main urban problems. First, the vicinity with several factors of annoyance such as the race track (Figure 5.1), three cemeteries, which are close to

residential areas and do not conform to the technical and sanitary presuppositions of functioning, and the airport. Official plans exist for moving the race track and the airport to other areas (Sgoutas Study Group, 1984b). Second, there is a drainage problem which particularly affects the areas of Pikrodaphnis Gully (Photograph 5.18) and Kopsachila (Figure 5.1). Kopsachila also has the problems of the non-implementation of its plan, because of the lack of the opening of roads and the translocation of properties, and the complete lack of social facilities. The Pikrodaphnis Gully crosses Agia Varvara and is the eastern boundary of the Municipality of Phaliro with the Municipality of Alimos (MOPHE, 1985, p. 48).[8]

The third problem is the general lack of social facilities. Sports activities are what the local population feels is primarily missing, with regard to leisure, from the area – according to the questionnaire distributed as part of the Council of Europe's Project (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 105). However, a swimming pool was inaugurated in 1989, in the same place where it was in 1971 when it was demolished. The area of Agia Varvara also faces the problem of the lack of secondary schools. The important point here is that there exist many places which can be used for these purposes – and for which several proposals have been made – such as: the area of the airforce (Figure 5.1), the coast, the tower in the coastal avenue (in the past there were two but one was demolished; these were used to locate pirate ships), several empty lots, several neoclassical buildings (Sgoutas Study Group, 1984b).

5.3 The Dominance of the City Centre over Phaliro and Other Municipalities

A rough, however not always accurate, picture that arises from the observation of the *spatial organisation of Athens* is the existence of a North-South axis which differentiates the suburbs of the city in western (which have 'good' environmental conditions and middle-to-upper class residents), and eastern (which have 'bad' environmental conditions and working-to-middle class residents) (Deffner, 1992b, p. 6). This picture is not completely accurate, since, as the NCSR research on collective consumption has shown, there is satisfactory social equipment only in some, and not all, eastern suburbs (Deffner, 1992b, p. 19n).

The general conclusion of the NCSR research on collective consumption concerns the intense unequal distribution of the public cultural spaces, of municipal cinemas and of certain private spaces (winter theatres, spaces with food and folk music, galleries, libraries, museums). A not particularly unequal distribution is observed in cinemas

Table 5.6   COMPARISON OF CULTURAL SPACES BETWEEN PHALIRO, CONNECTED MUNICIPALITIES AND THE CENTRE OF ATHENS

Type of space	City centre	Phaliro	N. Smirni	Kallithea	Glifada
ARTISTIC	6.15	0.48	0.82	1.09	1.08
Choirs	9.21	0.00	1.86	0.00	0.00
Folk dance groups	8.12	0.88	0.00	1.00	0.53
Music	6.54	0.47	0.92	0.90	1.27
Music public	14.73	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Music private	11.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Music municipal	4.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Music winter	12.47	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Music su으ᱢᱢᱥᱨ	6.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Music with food	4.77	0.41	1.44	1.11	1.96
Music with food winter	4.60	0.23	1.43	1.13	1.64
Music with food summer	6.31	2.01	1.59	0.91	4.87
Restaurants with programme	5.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.62
Dancing floors with well known singers	4.74	2.01	4.77	0.00	4.87
'Bouzoukia'	2.53	0.00	3.82	2.19	0.00
Taverns with programme	4.42	0.00	0.45	1.54	0.68
'Rembetika'	9.10	0.00	0.00	1.51	0.00
'Demotika'	11.05	0.00	0.00	4.27	0.00
Discotheques	2.30	1.17	1.86	0.00	5.69
'Boites'	8.84	0.00	0.00	1.71	0.00
'Anapsiktiria'	14.73	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cinemas	2.42	0.77	0.81	1.87	1.25
Cinemas public	22.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cinemas private	2.39	0.79	0.84	1.92	1.28
Cinemas municipal	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cinemas winter	3.13	0.00	0.00	2.27	0.60
Cinemas summer	1.67	1.60	0.84	1.45	1.93
Theatres	11.43	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.00
Theatres public	17.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Theatres private	12.96	0.00	0.51	0.29	0.00
Theatres municipal	3.01	0.00	0.00	1.26	0.00
Theatres winter	12.01	0.00	0.48	0.56	0.00
Theatres summer	9.72	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
EDUCATIONAL	12.10	0.51	0.50	0.23	0.62
Archaeological	13.81	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Folklore collections	10.78	0.00	0.00	0.62	0.00
Galleries	12.13	0.50	0.79	0.00	1.81
Galleries public	16.58	11.28	0.00	0.00	0.00
Galleries private	11.92	0.00	0.87	0.00	2.01
Galleries municipal	12.63	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Libraries	12.63	0.58	0.23	0.39	0.00
Libraries public	14.55	0.00	0.00	0.42	0.00
Libraries private	16.87	1.48	0.00	0.00	0.00
Libraries municipal	1.26	1.61	1.27	0.73	0.00
Museums	13.81	0.88	1.39	0.00	1.07
Museums public	14.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Museums private	13.26	2.26	3.56	0.00	2.73
Museums municipal	14.73	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source: Deffner 1992a (corrections of published data on the centre and new elaborations of unpublished data on the other areas).

Note: The value expresses the location quotient.[9] The date of recording was 1988-1989, and the data were collected mainly from the Ministry of Culture and from selected journals and books.

(private, winter, summer), in certain municipal spaces (theatres, libraries) and in certain music spaces with food (restaurants with programme, discotheques, 'rembetika', 'bouzoukia') (Deffner, 1992b, p. 9). In the case of music spaces in general there exists a distinctively unequal distribution with a total predominance in the city centre, which is a general phenomenon.

This dominance is made clear in the comparison of cultural spaces between Phaliro, connected municipalities and the centre of Athens (Table 5.6). The only absence is that of municipal cinemas, and the greater concentration is that of public spaces (music spaces, cinemas, theatres, galleries, libraries) as well as of certain private ones ['anapsiktiria' (refreshment rooms), libraries, museums] (Deffner, 1992b, p. 9). The principal spatial contradiction of the centre is that, on the one hand, it constitutes the most lively space, while, on the other hand, it accentuates the unequal distribution of cultural spaces (Deffner, 1992b, p. 15).

The concentration of cultural spaces combined with the concentration of administration premises and offices in the *city centre*, as well as its function as a place of residence and symbolism (not only historical), are indications that Athens follows the trend of the Mediterranean cities where, according to Leontidou, 'the centre was always the heart of the city' (1994, p. 131; more in 1990, pp. 259-261). Although the middle and upper classes as a whole have never exactly abandoned the centre (Leontidou, 1993, p. 959), there exists a middle-class suburbanisation in the north-eastern and southern suburbs (Leontidou, 1994, p. 140; more in 1990, pp. 236-237), mainly due to the environmental problems in the centre. Phaliro had mostly attracted the middle classes. However, as the recent interventions or efforts of piecemeal renovation demonstrate, there is an attempt to bring them back. The emphasis is on the improvement of public transport and on the renovation of central areas such as Plaka, the oldest neighbourhood of Athens situated below the Acropolis, Thissio and Exarchia. The renovation of Plaka has been completed, while that of the other two areas is slowly under way. The main effort is to re-establish these areas as residential areas, thus discouraging the provision of leisure services (Figure 3.2).

Therefore, there exists a contradiction involving leisure services: on the one hand, the renovation of existing spaces constitutes an element of the re-establishment of urban attraction (e.g. cinemas, bookshops, recordshops, places with food), while, on the other hand, the creation of new spaces occurs, in some cases, at the expense either of open spaces (e.g. Athens Concert Hall) or housing. The city centre constitutes also an example in which the contradiction of tradition with modernity takes the form of the contradiction of historical symbolism with tourism (Deffner, 1994).

The dominant role of the city centre in the urban structure of Athens is evident, even in the case of a foreign, and 'objective', observer like Goodey, who claims that in Phaliro:

> a *cultural identity* in parallel with a sense of place has to be wrestled from an environment which is contiguous with that of the Metropolitan Capital, Athens. Previous Council of Europe studies have probably underplayed this relationship between geography and culture but in many of the discussions it has been emphasised that location and proximity to other more attractive opportunities have a profound impact on the survival of a traditional culture of the regeneration of a new popular cultural democracy. This is not merely a matter of centralisation or decentralisation, but rather an identification by individuals with their predominant interests, whether they be with the neighbouring city or with the place where they live. (1983a, p. 41)

If this line of argument is extended it leads to the belief that the cultural identity of a place depends on the cultural identity of the inhabitants. It is principally a matter of quality, i.e. the total does not equal the sum of its parts.

Phaliro, in the context of Athens, has a low concentration of artistic spaces, and especially music spaces. The comparison with the centre and the municipalities with which Phaliro is mostly connected leads to the following observations. First, in all but one case (municipal libraries), the city centre has a greater concentration of spaces than Phaliro. There is a similar concentration in the case of summer cinemas. Second, in comparison with Nea Smirni, Phaliro has a greater concentration in the following cases: spaces for folk dance groups, summer music spaces with food, summer cinemas, and 'educational' spaces in general. It has a similar concentration in the case of cinemas. Third, in comparison with Kallithea, Phaliro has a greater concentration in the following cases: summer music spaces with food, dancing floors with well known singers, discotheques, summer cinemas, and 'educational' spaces in general.

Fourth, in comparison with Glifada, Phaliro has a greater concentration in the following cases: folk dance groups, public galleries, libraries. Finally, the city centre compared to Kallithea has a greater concentration in all cases. Compared to Nea Smirni it has a greater concentration except in the case of dancing floors with well known singers, 'bouzoukia' and municipal libraries. Compared to Glifada it has a greater concentration in all cases except dancing floors with well known singers, discotheques and summer cinemas. In general, Phaliro has a greater concentration in the case of 'educational' spaces, and especially of public galleries and libraries. As far as artistic spaces are concerned, it has a greater concentration of summer spaces, and especially of cinemas and music spaces with food.

5.4 Options between Cultural Activities[10]

5.4.1 'Municipal' Sector

The 'municipal' sector performs the role of the public sector which is completely absent – except for the Kouloura Mansion, which has been donated to the state (no. 9, Figure 5.1 and Photograph 5.1). Although it was supposed to function as a museum of popular dresses, it actually functions as a gallery. There are plans, however, for it to function as a museum of games. Municipal cultural policy is expressed mainly in the activities organised at the Cultural Centre of Phaliro [see 5.5.4].

There is also the case of Diplarakou Residence (no. 4, Figure 5.1 and Photograph 5.2) which is the villa of a lady realist painter of the generation of the 1930s which was donated after her death to the municipality. It was supposed to function as a gallery, but is actually operating as a cultural centre. According to Eskola and Hammerton, she decided to donate this villa in 1980 because of the municipal cultural policy and activities (1983, p. 91). However, in the words of Tasos S., the actual fact is that she was personally persuaded by the previous Mayor. Two other Cultural Centres exist (Amphithea and Agia Varvara – nos. 2 and 3, Figure 5.1), where the emphasis, as in the case of the Cultural Association and the Cultural Centre of Phaliro, is on lectures. The Cultural Centre of Agia Varvara used to organise painting and English lessons.

The basic aim of the previous Mayor was cultural policy, since most of the principal viability problems (except for the drainage system) were, more or less, secondary, and the standard of living was generally good. During that period the PASOK government was in power and, as Goodey states, it had 'identified the work carried out in Paleo Faliro as an essential pilot study deserving of national diffusion' (1983a, p. 76). However, for the present Mayor, cultural policy was not on the agenda.

5.4.2 Private Sector

As far as the commercial sector is concerned, not many things can be said except that there are no winter cinemas, compared to the three summer ones, and that there are two music spaces with food (one dancing floor with well known singers and one discotheque). However, direct observation has shown that young people spend most of their time meeting and talking in music bars/pubs and cafeterias.

As far as the voluntary sector is concerned, the *Cultural Association of Phaliro* is the oldest of the three cultural associations and it has existed since 1977 (no. 5, Figure 5.1). It is subsidised by the Local Authority, the Prefecture of Piraeus (where Phaliro belongs according to the prefectorial division) and the GSS (General Secretariat of Sport). Its membership is declining: at the time of the interviews there existed an active core of about 20 people. The activities include exhibitions, discussions, games (e.g. chess), music presentations, and the emphasis is on lectures.

As far as 'productive consumption' is concerned, some amateur rock groups are created but they do not last for long, and also nothing really happens in the schools, except for some very rare rock concerts. Also, a music workshop exists which is open every evening. Most of the members of the Association are young people (between 18 and 30 years of age), something which is logical, but it can also generate complaints such as that of Nikos D., who claims that in the association they think that they must only attract young people (personal communication).

The Cultural Association of Young People of Agia Varvara (no. 7, Figure 5.1) was formed in 1980 focusing on the 16-25 age group. In 1981 it had 30 members which by 1983 had increased to 85, but at the time of the interviews it had been virtually dissolved. According to Mary B. there had not been any elections since 1987. One of its aims was 'to create a local identity by providing local activities to encourage people to stay there in their leisure time, and by involving them in local issues' (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 92). In this sense, they supported the claim for a new cultural centre for Agia Varvara separate from the centre in Phaliro. When cultural life was intense, there used to be co-operation between the Associations of Phaliro and Agia Varvara, and some of the members of the latter were members of the former before the creation of the local association. According to Eskola and Hammerton, the main objectives of the Association were the promotion of Greek music and cinema, the holding of exhibitions and the use of the Agia Varvara Square through the holding of festivals and displays (1983, pp. 92-93). There existed a theatre group and five issues of a magazine had been published.

A different approach from these associations has been applied by the group which focused on the periodical *"Dialogos"*. It was formed in 1980 and dissolved in the summer of 1984 – it was one of the longest lasting of its kind in Athens. Emphasis was on frequent communication between the members of the group. The office of the periodical functioned as a 'steki' with drinks and music and other people in addition to intervention in crucial social problems of the area relating to several facets of everyday life. This tendency eventually led to the participation of a member of the group (an economist) in the elections for the Neighbourhood Councils in January 1984. The problem was that there was no action in terms of organising cultural activities and this

was one of the reasons that the group dissolved, since its energy was not utilised in this field, which is of primary importance for the whole area. Other reasons for its dissolution were general fatigue, egoistic tendencies, and also the controversy created by participation in the elections.[11]

In general, the associations seem to lean, according to Eskola and Hammerton, towards cultural democracy (the encouragement of collective cultural activity) while the cultural centres seem to lean towards the democratisation of culture (the bringing of culture to the people) (1983, p. 88).

5.5 Cultural Spaces

5.5.1 The Cultural Life of the Inhabitants

According to Ioannidis, the cultural life of Phaliro has its roots in 1930 with the establishment of the "Union of Phaliro". Its main contribution was the "Night School for the Working Children of Paleo Phaliro", and it was also active in the musical life of the area with its soloists, singers, and groups of chamber music. The 'Society of Young People of Phaliro' was also established in 1930: it was quite a rare phenomenon for this historical period. The members of the Society were mostly students, and it had many sections (artistic, travelling, intellectual, recreational etc.) – it also organised lectures, discussions and theatrical shows. Later there was a broadening of its activities, and the creation of a gambling section was probably the reason for its dissolution (1988, pp. 76-78).

After the entry of Phaliro into the "Twenty-One Towns Project" and after the decision to build the new cultural centre, a *questionnaire* was distributed in order to determine the cultural aspirations of the inhabitants. Of the approximately 6000 copies distributed, 2000 were returned: 1040 from males and 960 from females, i.e. the response rate was approximately 33 percent. Almost 50 percent of the respondents were in the 15-30 age range. The results showed that over 90 percent spent their leisure time in Phaliro. Nearly 42 percent had attended cultural activities organised by the municipality, and 34 percent by local associations. Over 96 percent stated that the activities which they would like to have in Phaliro to satisfy their leisure time needs were sports facilities. Over 97 percent stated that the idea of a cultural centre appealed to them. 70 percent chose musical and dancing activities, while 62.5 percent chose cinema and theatre, as possible activities that would interest them most. This questionnaire constitutes the only research carried out in Phaliro on cultural matters (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, pp. 104-106).

5.5.2 The 'Stekia'[12]

New 'stekia' have been created and this is connected to the eclipse of older ones. The most characteristic old 'steki', even for people coming all over Athens, was 'Phlisvos': this is a round building located on the beach near the central square which has changed uses during the years – now the building functions as a cafe-theatre and next to it there is a fish tavern (no. 17, Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.19-5.22). In 1985 there was a decision by the Prefectorial Council that the building/ceded to the Local Authority by the National Bank of Greece, but it is still not the property of the local authority. 'Phlisvos' belongs to another era and are is not related to the present, even for symbolic reasons. Most of the interviewees do not even remember it. An interesting comparison can be made with their positive memory of the old detached houses. Paradoxically enough the effect of history seems to be, unconsciously, larger if it is projected further in time, since the detached houses of which interviewees remember, date prior to the old 'stekia'. However, even if some of the old 'stekia', as well as some houses, still exist, their use has changed.

Five music bars/pubs exist. Some interviewees stated that they do not consider these very many, a statement which is true especially when compared to other areas, such as Glifada, where the bars are especially popular during the summer, mainly at night. However, others referred to bars in Phaliro as 'stekia'. This is an example of the subjective perception of space, even if it refers to their functioning as a single type of space. The coastal avenue is now a place for Italian restaurants serving largely pizza, most of which are owned by one extended family, where people from all over Athens gather. In addition there are cafeterias, which have taken the place of the fresh fish taverns of the past. The locales that people mention are mostly individual, or 'parea', preferences: this fact is demonstrated by other people arguing that they do not function as 'stekia' for them. This is an example of the different perceptions of the 'steki', and also of the different personal views about a particular locale. Some of the new 'stekia' are (the first number in brackets refer to their location in Figure 5.1 and the second refers to the photograph):

i. 'Phegarophos' ('Moonlight') in Panagitsa. It is located in a renovated old house with a garden [11, 5.8];

ii. A canteen near the post office in Batis which operates day and night. According to Ioannidis, in the beginning of the century it was a wooden shack (1988, p. 64). There was a plan to transform Batis into a place with a theatre and a cafe on the beach but it had not yet been implemented [25, 5.9-5.10];

iii. 'Pachos', the oldest and largest cafeteria in the central square which is the main 'steki' especially of the younger inhabitants of the southern district of Phaliro, and

where also people from all over Athens (even from Kifisia: a upper-class northern suburb – see Figure 3.1) come during the summer [12, 5.23-5.24];

iv. 'Prapas', a cafeteria near Panagitsa situated on the coastal avenue, which attracts people, not necessarily young, from the nearby neighbourhoods – not to the same degree as before – but also people from the centre, Nea Smirni and Kallithea [16, 5.25-5.26];

v. 'Kouphos' (a nickname meaning dumb), which is a non-modern, but also non-traditional in its spatial style, cafeteria where the people from the Cultural Association, and not only, meet almost every summer night [14, 5.27];

vi. 'PPC', a pub/restaurant on the coastal avenue near the central square, which mainly attracts young people (older than twenty) including those from Agia Varvara, Amphithea, and Piraeus [10, 5.6];

vii. 'Maritime', a cafeteria adjacent to 'Pachos' where young people gather [13];

Most of these places also operate in the summer usually placing tables on the pavement.

5.5.3 The Central Square

The central square is the largest, and most popular square in Phaliro, and it is the one where the most important spatial changes have occurred (Figure 5.1, Photographs 5.13-5.16). It functions as a meeting place for south Phaliro, but this does not mean that people from other areas of Phaliro or Athens do not come here, especially in order to go to 'Pachos'. The square has been *remodelled* as part of the "Twenty-One Towns Project" of the Council of Europe due to the initiative taken by the previous Mayor in 1979. The aim of the remodelling was to create a meeting area for people while making the environment more traditionally Greek (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 102). The design and landscaping of the square has been the most significant, visible, development of this project (Goodey, 1983a, p. 183).

According to Goodey, the old square had roughly the same dimensions and several of the same elements as the remodelled one. It was run-down and overcrowded with furniture, paved surfaces on the edge were excessive, and Phaliro's link with the sea was obscured. The municipality decided to remodel the square with the principal intention of liberating the sea view. The sculptress Nella Golanda designed, for free, the overall layout, furniture and surfaces. Four major elements of design are evident: seats which edge the central spaces (these are the most sculptural elements); the use of stone, especially marble, patterned panels at various key points in the floorspace in order to highlight entrances and routes; a fountain, set off to the one side so as not to

obscure the sea-view, forms a focal point for two seats, and the planting emphasises edges of internal spaces, and acts as a buffer to traffic noise (Goodey, 1984, pp. 162-163).

Goodey says that it is an artist's interpretation of the traditional square and that he fell in love with the place (1983d, p. 201). His initial reaction was characteristic: 'On my first visit to the town I was struck by the success of the town square... evidently recently designed yet adopted and used as if it, with all its fixtures, has been there for a thousand years' (1983c, p. 181). On a return visit he tried 'to record something of the place, especially as it served as a continual cultural event' (1983c, p. 181), and he found nine types of space opportunity, all in a reasonably small area (1983d, pp. 204-206). He recorded three timed shots (at 11 AM, 12 noon, and 6 PM) and his conclusions were the following:

> Much of what I see is, of course, not special to this square – Greek people are not my people, and their ways – a so appropriate term here – are not mine. Faces of joy or of serene calm are somehow rarer in a cold climate and if this square were dropped in Bolton or Colchester, Taunton or Bradford, it would not be the same. Unhindered proximity and a value for the needs of others are somehow more evident here, this is a small space and it is kindly shared. (1983d, p. 209)

The human movement might not be something special to this square, but, according to the Greek standards, the square as a design work is something unique:

> It is not just another 'formatted' square, like those which we pass indifferently because we know more or less what it offers. Maybe it is not even a square, in the narrow sense of the word, since it 'overflows' beyond the outline of the square (i.e. the hole in the urban tissue) and stretches till the horizon – yes this is exactly what it does! (Philippidis, 1989, p. 53)

One of the peculiarities of the square is that it is *not one-dimensional*. Anastasia Tsironi, an architect who has studied the social role of the squares in Athens, claims that this square belongs to the 'introvert' ones (1986a), which she defines as having 'parterres or peripheral greensward that surrounds paved spaces (with spaces for play, banks, basins, etc. ...)'. In contrast, the 'extrovert' squares have a parterre in the middle. 'Around this parterre, in the periphery of the square, there is a large pavement with banks, kiosks, etc., oriented towards the street. These squares allow the users to follow the life around the square' (1986b, p. 166). My opinion is that, strictly defined in spatial terms, this square is directed to the inside, but the daily use (at least of one of its sides) orients it to the outside.

5.5.4 The Cultural Centre of Phaliro

The existing Cultural Centre is located in a villa at the sea front and is open daily free of charge (no. 1, Figure 5.1 and Photograph 5.5). The emphasis is on exhibitions and lectures. It also has a library, which, according to a female employee, has quite a few visitors, mainly young people (personal communication). It is also used for discussions, meetings, film shows, concerts, boy scout meetings, a health clinic, arts and crafts lessons (in wintertime). It was seen by the previous local authority as a pilot experiment to determine the cultural needs of the local population and for people to learn the 'habit' of using a cultural centre (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 89).

The creation of a *multi-use cultural centre* (as part of the new Town Hall) has been a constant aim of the previous Mayor. According to Goodey, this was the avowed reason for Phaliro entering the "Twenty-One Towns Project" of the Council of Europe. 'In fact, Greek Government agreement on the site was given in the week prior to a visit by Twenty-One Towns Project staff in the Autumn of 1982' (1983c, p. 181). The view of the previous Mayor was that the cultural centre should be the focus of cultural life, since it is necessary for many cultural activities to take place (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 89). The lot for the new cultural centre was made available after the concession of a rugged site by the Public Estate Company. According to Goodey, it is 'one of the few bits of land which, because of public ownership and its configuration, has not become prey to the developers' (1983d, p. 201).

The Town Hall has still not been built. Contrasting views exist: some claim that it should be built gradually due to its large cost, others that the study which won the architectural competition[13] must be modified, others that there must be a new underbidding competition, others that it can be built in the place where the Police Station is located in the central square, since a new station is going to be built near the Pikrodaphnis Gully. However, there is some doubt that a multi-use centre could be a major factor of the solution of the problem of the indifference towards cultural activities by the majority of the population at present. The problem is not the lack of locales but the lack of culture, or rather the lack of a different approach to culture – not necessarily 'local'.

5.5.5 Other Cultural Spaces

A typical example of the changes in cultural spaces is cinemas: in 1989 winter cinemas were eclipsed and summer cinemas diminished. The attribute of differentiation in space has also been eclipsed, since in some of the old winter cinemas, concerts of Greek

rock groups used to take place on Sundays. During the *summer*, the focus of cultural activities shifts to the open spaces, and especially to musical events (free of charge) in the sea-front area. The promenade on the beaches (from Batis to Edem) has always been a popular activity of the inhabitants, especially on Sundays (Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.9-5.12). The beaches were previously private but for some years now they have been opened to the public free of charge. Part of the Batis beach (the Phlisvos pier) was remodelled with the initiative of the previous Mayor, again with the co-operation of the sculptress Golanda (Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.29-5.30).

The *coast* of Phaliro comprises mainly of Phlisvos Grove (Photographs 5.31-5.32), St. George Park and the airforce area (Figure 5.1). All together the green areas of the coast ('Phaliro Park') constitute one of the largest parks in Athens. The most recent plan for the coast by the new government, which finds the locals opposed, is to build (in an area of approximately 1600 acres) a casino, two hotels, a conference centre, a naval museum, offices, shopping centres, parkings, and a new marina – all large scale (Iatridou, 1994, p. 7).[14]

5.6 Summary and Conclusion

Phaliro has a privileged location: it is near the centre of Athens, near Piraeus and near the 'Paralia'. This privilege as well as the good and varied environmental conditions constitute the main factors of its identity. As far as the socio-occupational structure is concerned, it is a middle-class area with an ageing population and it displays a growing tertiarisation and its services include, as is common, leisure provision. The ageing population contributes to making the study of young people a timely issue. It is divided into three districts and the main one (Phaliro) is distinguished from the other two (Amphithea and Agia Varvara).

The cultural spaces in Athens, especially music spaces, are largely concentrated in the centre. Phaliro has a small concentration of artistic spaces – a smaller one of music spaces than cinemas – compared not only to the city centre, but also to the municipalities with which it is mostly connected, i.e. Nea Smirni, Kallithea and Glifada. It is in a better position with regard to educational spaces, but only when compared to Nea Smirni and Kallithea.

The tradition of cultural activities in the area goes back to the interwar period. Cultural policy was the basic aim of the previous Local Authority (1975-1986), when Phaliro had participated in Project 5 of the Council of Europe, and when the voluntary sector had been active. The most visible development arising from this Project was the design of the central square. A questionnaire was also distributed in order to assess the

cultural aspirations of the inhabitants. The results showed that the majority spent their leisure time in Phaliro and were interested in music, dance, cinema and theatre.

A key question that arises for the fieldwork is how the small concentration of cultural spaces in the locality compared to the large one of the centre – in connection with its proximity – affects the choice and the materialisation of activities. Also how this, related to the fact that there exist few 'stekia' in Phaliro, influences the attachment to the locality; in this respect what is the role of the house, either as home or as a friend's house? The focus is on the individual organisation of time, irrespective of the existence of institutionalised options. A related key question is how individual action is differentiated from general tendencies, both from the youth of the locality (although it is situated in the same social and spatio-temporal context), and from youth in Athens even in the same urban context.

In relating cultural identity and sense of place what is crucial is the cultural identity of the inhabitants which is a qualitative issue. One of the relevant problems that arises is the relation between musical/cinematic activities and the spatio-temporal context. This constitutes another example of differentiations, in the sense that in the perceptual world of both the researcher and the subjects of research, as also in their lived world, there exist certain moments when music and cinema can be subordinated to time-space, and other moments when time-space can be subordinated to music and cinema. Two additional significant questions are whether music is more important than cinema and how the local level influences the opposition between western - eastern influences on Greek culture.

5.7 Notes

[1] From this point onwards the term Paleo is not used anymore.

[2] According to Karolos K. the coast was actually used by the local inhabitants only till 1965 and now Phaliro has become a town-dormitory (personal communication). According to the Master Plan of Athens (Law no. 1515/85) the coast of Phaliro (see 5.5.5), in connection with the rest of the 'Paralia', is designed as a supralocal pole for mass leisure, culture and sport.

[3] Project 5 was variously titled "Cultural Development Policies in Towns", "New Perspectives in Cultural Policy" and "Innovations in Certain European Towns" (Goodey, 1981, p. 142). The continuation of Project 5 was Project 10 ("Directions of Regional Cultural Policy and Contribution to Cultural Development") which lasted from 1983 to 1991. Its aim was to investigate the cultural dynamics in regional development expressing a broad and open concept of culture which includes education, science, sports, architecture, leisure, entertainment, communications and computer science, amateur creators, and most importantly the users and consumers of cultural products. The legacy of Project 10 includes the creation of a network of training centres, of a network of observation of cultural policies, the European Diploma of Culture Management, and the soon to be established Fund of Regional Cultural Co-Operation (Kapsanis, 1992, p. 7).

[4] The movement from other areas of Athens to Phaliro is reflected in the respondents of the research: although 85.7 percent have spent all their whole life in Athens, only 53.6 have spent their whole life in Phaliro.

[5] The figures in Tables 5.1-5.6 are based on the 1981 census (NSSG, 1989). All the elaborations were done by the researcher. The figures in Table 5.2 express both the percentage and the location quotient. The location quotient is defined as follows:

number of spaces in Phaliro / total population of Phaliro
number of spaces in Athens/ total population of Athens

The quotient is equal to 1 when Phaliro has the same concentration of spaces as the whole of Greater Athens.

The figures in Tables 5.3-5.5 express the percentage and are based on a 10 percent sample of the population. There are no official data for the 20-24 age group concerning economic sector (primary etc.), structure by sector (industry - manufacture etc.), and composition of socio-occupational categories by sector (employers etc.).

[6] Lycée graduates are the graduates of the sixth year of secondary school, while as secondary school graduates are designated those of the third year.

[7] A new idea for housing was applied for the second time – it was initiated in Kifisia (see Figure 3.1) – in Phaliro. A company formed by a bank, a technical company and a business group focusing on supermarkets has built in the area of Edem (Figure 5.1) a housing estate with a small commercial centre, offices and a health club. The novelty is the following: it is possible for the buyer of a flat to obtain a bank loan in two days, which may cover the total value of the flat, and pay an expensive monthly rent in order to service the loan (Tsaousis, 1991, p. D11; Ktenas, 1991, p. D16) (Photographs 5.17-5.18).

[8] The Pikrodaphnis Gully is an open gully where many drainage systems end, most of them illegally (Sgoutas Study Group, 1984b), and there is a controversy over its covering in order to transform it to an express traffic avenue, which is a usual practice

in Greece. The local Embellishing Association claims that it should be renovated. This problem has recently become acute because of the floods in November 1993.

[9] For the definition of the location quotient see note 5. Although the differentiation winter/summer is labelled as a seasonal function, it relates more to physical property because it refers to the closed/open distinction and not to the temporal dimension. The following spaces: restaurants with programme, dancing floors with well known singers, 'bouzoukia' (locales where Greek songs with the 'bouzouki' instrument are played), taverns with programme, 'rembetika', 'dimotika', discotheques, 'boites' (locales specialised in Greek music), and 'anapsiktiria' (refreshment rooms) are included in the music spaces with food, which, however, are not included in the first five categories of music spaces. The general listing 'music' includes all the aforementioned types.

[10] For a selection of cultural spaces see Table 5.7, Appendix 5 and Figure 5.1.

[11] There also exist two foundations. The Evgenidion Foundation (no. 7, Figure 5.1) has a museum, a planetarium, a library and a lecture hall. The Local Authority organises some activities there, but, according to Tasos S. most people do not consider it as Phaliro and they do not go there even for a walk: the only time they had been there was when they went there with their high school. The "Christian Youth Foundation Pantokrator" was initiated in 1945 and established in 1957 (Ioannidis, 1988, p. 78). It focuses on the 15-25 age range, and its main aim is the promotion of Greek Christian civilisation. Although it is committed to Christian principles, it is not tied to the church. The activities organised are mostly sports and monthly discussion groups (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 95).

[12] From this point onwards reference will be made basically to the main (southern) district of Phaliro, which is also the area of the multiple case studies. For the subjective perception of the changes in locales (and people) see Appendix 7, 7.3.

[13] The results of the architectural competition were published in the periodical *Architecture in Greece*. The basic aims were the following: the creation of a complex building which would combine the services of the municipality with the leisure and social life of the inhabitants; the creation of a multi-use hall with increased requirements for theatrical space; the creation of a gallery/reading room and space for open-air activities; the exploitation of the terrace as a leisure space, and the incorporation of passive systems of saving energy (1987, p. 54).

[14] The green light for this direction was given by a law which was passed with the initiative of the previous government (2160/19.7.1993: "Regulations for Tourism and other Provision", under which the Phlisvos marina and the adjacent open spaces can be sold to a private company for up to 99 years. However, the area has been legally zoned, since 1979, as land for green and leisure spaces (Koustenis, 1993, pp. 1, 8).

Chapter 6   LEISURE TIME-SPACE OF YOUNG ADULTS IN PALEO PHALIRO

6.1 The Context of the Fieldwork

The connection between human agency and social structure constitutes the context of the urban time-space interrelationship. The role that a particular time-space plays in the direction in which a cultural activity influences the action of young adults has to be examined in a two way process: on the one hand, in the influence of a cultural activity in the lifestyle of young adults, and, on the other hand, in the influence of the cultural practice of young adults in social life. This two way process is characterised by plurality and constraints resulting in contradictions.

The role of artistic activities in the cultural identity construction of young adults can be better interpreted through their lifestyle, particularly in the way in which perceptions, preferences and attitudes are manifested into desires and tastes, that are materialised in patterns of action in time-space. The four main hypotheses to be tested are: the importance of the factors of type of activity, companion, space, and time in the choice and materialisation of leisure options; the existence of an attachment to the locality; the existence of common elements in the lifestyle of young adults; and the contribution of artistic activities to the reaction to an imposed stereotype of youth action. The first hypothesis is developed more in this chapter, while the other three are developed more in Chapter 7.

The determinant factors of *cultural identity* are designated as follows:
i. *Independent variables*, i.e. demographic characteristics such as age and gender, and socio-economic characteristics such as occupational category, educational level (of the individuals and of their parents), and ownership of various consumer goods and
ii. *Dependent variables*: leisure activity (especially music and cinema as elements of consumption, popular culture, and the media), companion, time-space.

Before proceeding to the analysis, three observations must be made. First, the analysis covers both general trends (referring to the lived and perceptual world), and alternative views. This approach is justified by the fact that time-space related subjects are subjectively perceived. Second, there is a continuous reference to the opinions of the interviewees, but this is done with relation to the theoretical framework, since some opinions are indirect answers to the questions raised by the researcher. The opposite process is also valid, i.e. some of the researcher's views are formed on the basis of observed general tendencies. The combination of these two approaches resulted in the particular form of presentation and narrative: it was based on the main

themes of the interviews referring to personal views, and not on the opinions of the same individual regarding the various themes, since my primary interest is not life-histories but personal stories in the context of a theoretical framework. Third, some references are made to the contradictions in the interviewees' beliefs. In some cases they agreed with the opinion of the researcher; in other cases they said that they had not thought about the subject while at the same time agreeing with the researcher. These contradictions, however, do not necessarily imply an inability to express themselves, or reveal confused views; rather they express the multiple character of identities.

6.2 The Weight of Cultural Activities in the Context of Leisure

Leisure is generally considered to be *more important than work* (which incorporates studying), but this is not the whole story because there are variations to this pattern. The crucial issue is to combine leisure and other activities (including work) within the context of an integrated lifestyle. This is acknowledged in the perceptual world of the interviewees, and it is also achieved in the lived world (Tables 6.5-6.6).

One of the variations is expressed by Cathy who believes that leisure relates to work: if one is working, leisure plays an important role because s/he appreciates it more and vice versa. Everyone wants to do what s/he is not able to do, and the crucial issue is that work must be pleasant. John claims that if work is compulsory, then there should be no constraints on the use of one's leisure, since it is the only time when a person can really express her/himself. If, however, it is combined with work, it becomes leisure: studying is such an example. Dick claims that leisure is as essential as work, since work can be indispensable for survival, but leisure is indispensable for calmness, and it constitutes the necessary condition of the soul for someone to be occupied with her/himself, her/his entertainment and other aspects of her/his life. For him leisure is not more important than work. There exist many varieties in the relations between leisure and work, and these depend on the particular conditions of life. For him they complement each other; however, he believes that one must do something other than work in his leisure time.

Music is the preferred leisure activity for males; excursion/travel is the preferred leisure activity for females, while cinema is their preferred cultural activity (Chart 6.1).[1] The general *preference for music over cinema* may be attributed to three factors. Firstly, there is a greater emphasis on the symbolic role of consumption, secondly, as Lauren admits, 'music is more accessible and demands a lesser degree of

Chart 6.1 PREFERRED LEISURE ACTIVITIES
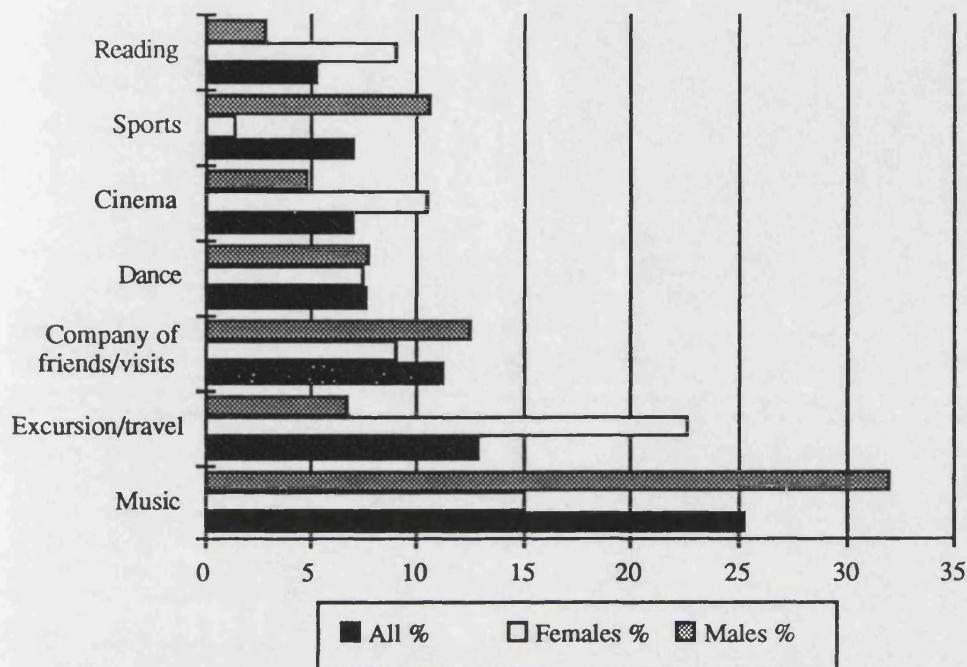
Note: The figures in all the charts of Chapters 6 and 7 express percentages and are based on the sample of 29 people. In the cases where too many categories exist on the y-axis, those with no particular significance are excluded. Percentages are used, because in most cases there exist three preferences (Charts 6.1-6.8, 6.11-6.12, 6.14-6.15, 6.18, 6.20-6.21 and 7.1-7.4, 7.6). The calculation is done in the following way: the first preference gets three points, the second two and the third one. These figures are multiplied by the frequency of preferences (i.e. the individuals), and the percentage is calculated based on the total sum of the addition of these points, e.g. music has 13 first, one second and two third preferences; 13x3=39, 1x2=2, and 2x1=1, which add to 43 points that is 25.4 percent of the total sum of 169 points of all the preferences.

concentration', and, thirdly, music relates more directly to emotion. Consumption can be transformed into production more easily in the case of music, i.e. in practical terms it is easier to participate in a music group than make a film. It is characteristic that 80.8 percent of the respondents own more than 50 records – and 34.6 percent own more than 100 – while 53.8 percent own more tapes than records: this shows that they frequently listen to records (besides the radio), and also that home taping is widespread. The fact that cinema focuses less on the symbolic role of consumption and demands a greater degree of concentration relates to its contradictory role as tool of knowledge and as tool of myth diffusion. It is not actually that the young adults who were studied do not like cinema, but that they identify cinema with going to venues. Thus, they do not very often go to venues, although films are their preferred television programmes. What is less explicable is the male preference for music and the female preference for cinema. This can be connected either to a reaction, whether conscious or not, to the prevalence of visualisation in the modern world, or to the

relationship between music and the quest for cultural identity; in the latter case it may be understood as a stronger desire among males to search for their identity.

Chart 6.2   REASONS FOR PREFERRING MUSIC
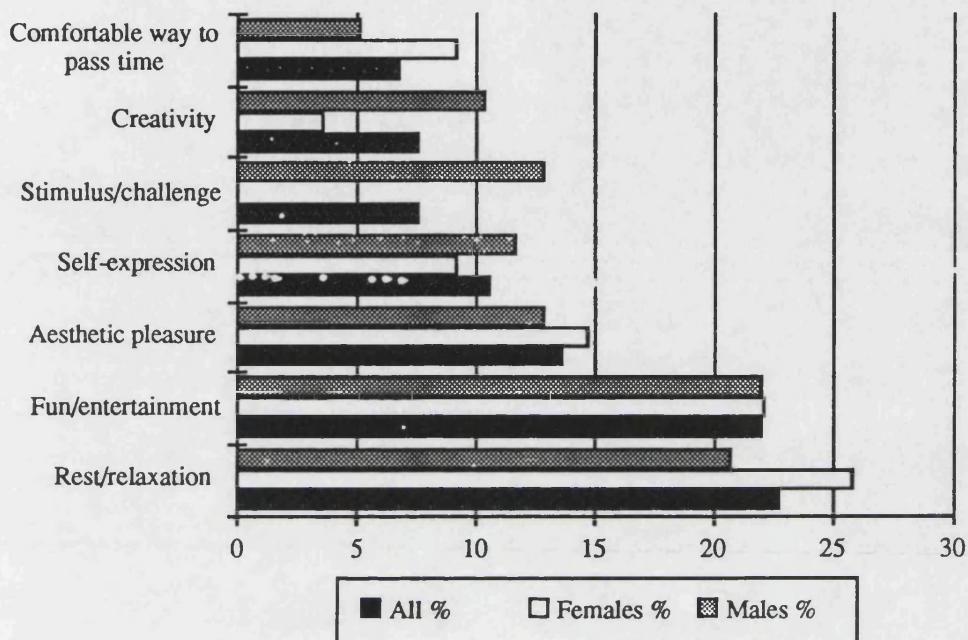
Chart 6.3   REASONS FOR PREFERRING CINEMA
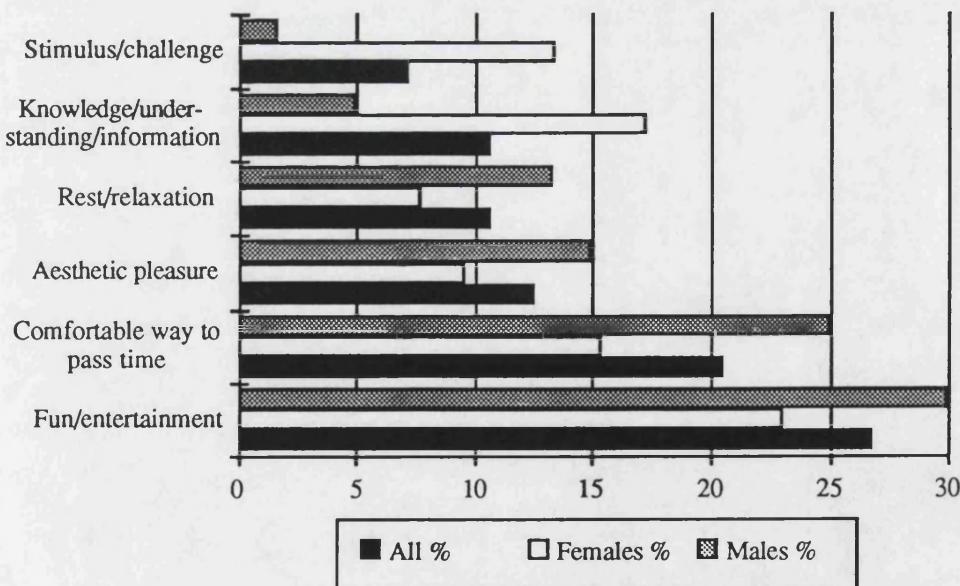
It can be argued that music more than cinema is related to the quest for cultural identity. This is deduced directly from the significance of self-expression (which in the case of cinema is absent), and indirectly from the greater importance placed on creativity and aesthetic pleasure than to the comfortable way to pass time (Charts 6.2-

6.3). The latter is the second reason for preferring cinema. This is a rather negative attitude towards both cinema and time, and it is more important for males – this is connected to the greater importance given to rest/relaxation by males since work-related responsibilities are greater for them. Self-expression is the fourth reason for preferring music and the third reason for preferring dance, which is a music related activity (Chart 6.18, Appendix 6).

There is a contradiction in the greater relation of music to cultural identity, in the sense that music, especially in the case of music without words, conveys feelings and emotions more than meanings and knowledge, which are conveyed by cinema and can also be symbolic – however, orchestral music with a programme also plays a peculiar role. Although the language barriers in cinema can more easily be surpassed (through subtitles and dubbing), cinema is less influential than music – at least up until now. This is due to the following four factors: the spare time must be greater in the case of cinema (i.e. usually a film lasts longer than a music album, except for operas and long music works, let alone a song); there are fewer cinematic products than musical products, since generally cinema costs more than music (this also relates to the previous factor); although both music and cinema can be daily phenomena, music is usually transmitted throughout the day (by the radio, while cinema is usually transmitted in the evening); and music is related to more activities and locales than cinema, e.g. going to bars/pubs and discotheques.

Cultural activities (primarily music, dance and cinema) are important in the context of leisure, and the emphasis is clearly on music, especially for males. However, there are variations on this pattern: e.g. although Cathy likes music (especially classical), she believes that the activities of the 'parea' carry more weight than cultural activities. Dick's view about the role of cultural activities is very close to one of the central points of the research: 'We are more and more inhabitants of a building, and excluding the fact that it belongs to an area, very few elements unite people as inhabitants of the same area. One such element are the cultural activities which assemble the people of the same area in a common place.'

The reasons for preferring artistic activities can be considered as indications of the meaning that the activities have for the individuals, as factors of satisfaction, and also as motivations for action; in this sense the context of action also includes the constraints for practising artistic activities (Charts 6.11-6.12 and 6.20 in Appendix 6). The main overall reason for preferring activities related to music and cinema by most of the respondents is fun/entertainment. This applies to dance, cinema, and radio, and it is also the second reason for preferring music – first reason being rest/relaxation – and television (Charts 6.2-6.3 and 6.18 in Appendix 6). Thus, feeling good, which is

an attribute of fun/entertainment, is related to motivation, as well as satisfaction. Fun/entertainment is more important for males in the case of cinema.

Chart 6.4   PREFERRED TYPES OF MUSIC
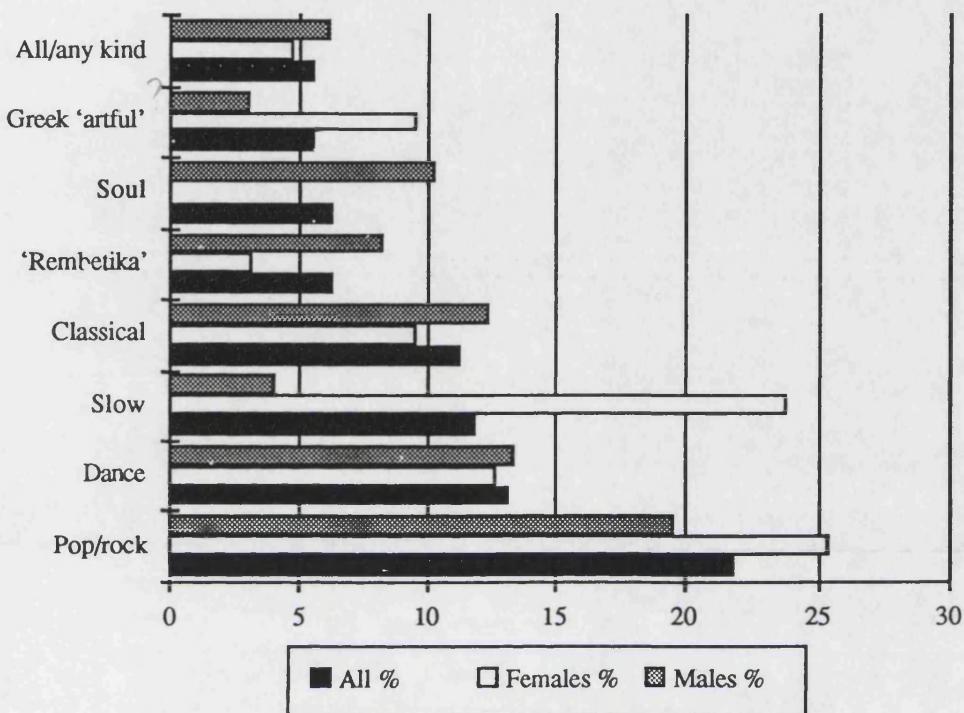
Note: The category of slow music was not actually stated as such but as 'blues', but most of the respondents connect blues with slow dancing music. For the definitions of the several types of Greek music see glossary.

Pop/rock is the overall preferred type of music, with classical music occupying a significant fourth position – third for males (Chart 6.4). The only significant gender differentiation in the case of *music preferences* which can be explained is the stronger female preference for slow music ('blues'), since it is usually believed that women are more emotional than men. However, Giddens refers to the work of Solomon and Levy who demonstrate that men can be as emotional as women (Giddens, 1991, p. 91). There are no clear-cut explanations for the other two significant gender differentiations: the stronger female preference for pop/rock and the exclusively male preference for soul.

In the case of *cinema* first *preference* for females are films that address social issues (usually dramas), since women are considered more sensitive than men (Chart 6.5). First preference for males are comedies, since the responsibilities at work, and consequently the desire to unwind, are considered to be greater for men. There is a stronger female preference for music films (this is a contradiction with the preferred

Chart 6.5   PREFERRED TYPES OF FILMS
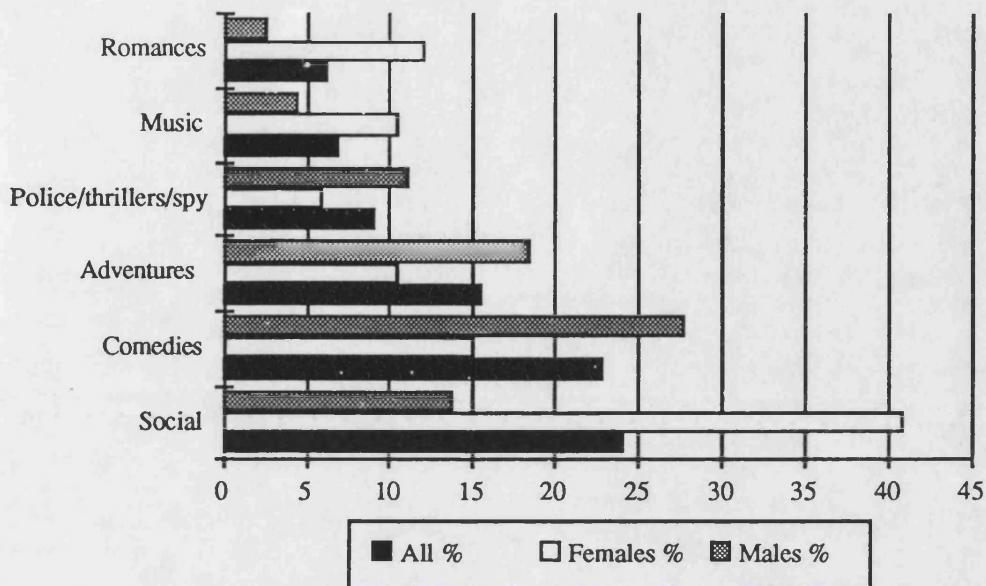
leisure activities since males prefer music more than female), and for romances (again the impact of emotionalism). There is also a greater male preference for adventure films – this is an example of the dominant social evaluation.[2] The favourite types of film and music are not sufficient indications for the preference of popular over high culture, or *vice versa*, since this is mainly an internal differentiation; an exception is classical music. The examination of the preferences of Dick and John which is done in Appendix 6, 6.2 shows the interrelationship between high and popular culture.

Table 6.1   ORIGIN OF PREFERRED FILMS AND TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

Origin	FILMS			TV PROGRAMMES		
	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)	All (n=27)	Females (n=10)	Males (n=17)
Foreign	55.2	54.5	55.6	22.2	20.0	23.5
Greek	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	5.9
Irrespective of origin	44.8	45.5	44.4	74.1	80.0	70.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

If we combine the preference for television programmes with the preference for foreign films (Table 6.1) and with the preference for 'western' types of music (Chart 6.5), it seems that the respondents have not been influenced by those who advocate the 'Greekness' of culture. The gender differentiations refer to television programmes: there is an exclusive male preference for Greek programmes and a stronger female preference for programmes irrespective of origin. This can be explained by the

privileged position of Greek youth, since, on the one hand, their ethnocentrism does not strongly contrast with other western cultures, and, on the other hand, they are more open in accepting influences from eastern cultures, since, historically, Greece has always been at the crossroads of east and west.

This historical blend of western and eastern elements constitutes the principal element of uniqueness of the national culture as differentiated from the global culture. The national dimension, however, contrasts both with the global and the local ones. The latter is best perceived at the level of everyday life, especially in the field of leisure. Thus, the quest for cultural identity of the individual relates, even if it is not a question of focus, to the preservation of the cultural identity of the nation as a reaction to a growing homogenisation which is mainly imposed by the US culture. The impact of Americanisation is greater in cases such as Athens, since it is not a centre for world culture such as London, Paris or New York,. This impact is felt more in the case of cinema: in 1994 there are examples of non US (but not Greek) films that were quite popular (e.g. *The Piano* and *Three Colours Blue*, although few of them are given a chance of being shown), but the most popular film was *Jurassik Park* and 15 out of the 20 most popular films were produced in the US. This seems to be a case in which people 'think locally but act globally', but there are other cases (especially referring to music) where the reverse is true.

Table 6.2   DAILY PATTERN OF CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Day	Time	Season	Activity	Locale	Companion	Hours
WEEKDAY	Morning Noon Afternoon	All Winter All	Radio Reading Music	Home Home House in Phaliro	Alone Alone Alone or girlfriend/ boyfriend or group	Up to two One-to-four Up to three
	Evening	Winter	Television	Home	Girlfriend/ boyfriend	Up to two
WEEKEND	Morning Noon Afternoon	All Winter All	Radio Reading Music	Home Home House in Phaliro	Alone Alone Alone or girlfriend/ boyfriend or group	Up to two One-to-four Up to four
	Evening	Winter	Television	Home	Girlfriend/ boyfriend	Up to three
	Evening	Summer	Cinema	Any cinema	Girlfriend/ boyfriend	Up to three
	Evening	Summer	Dance	Any discotheque, except Phaliro and centre	Friends	Up to three

Note: This table is based on the sample of 29 people.

There is a *pattern of lifestyle* of the respondents – in reference to cultural activities (Table 6.2). On weekdays, those who do not have a fixed working timetable (this includes students) in the morning listen to the radio alone (mainly to music) for up to two hours at home. At noon during the winter, they read alone for one-to-four hours at home. In the afternoon during the winter, the students go alone to lectures or seminars for up to two hours in a specialised venue (mostly university) in the city centre, while most respondents are occupied, during the whole year, with their preferred activity which is music for up to three hours – either playing alone or in a group, or listening to records or tapes with their girlfriend/boyfriend at home. In the evenings, they watch television for up to two hours (mainly films during the winter) with their girlfriend/boyfriend at home. At weekends, they devote a further hour to television and music, and during the evenings (especially in the summer) they either go to the cinema (anywhere in Athens) with their girlfriend/boyfriend, or go dancing at a discotheque (in an area other than Phaliro or the centre) for up to three hours with friends.

The principal elements of gender differentiation are that females listen less to the radio than males (up to one hour), prefer to read in the morning and in the evening, prefer to be occupied with music in the winter and in the evenings (males prefer to be occupied with music all year round and in the afternoons), prefer to go the movies on weekdays (males prefer weekends), and prefer to dance for longer periods of time (males prefer to dance all the year round). Males also devote less time to lectures/seminars (up to one hour).

The three *selected cases* present some peculiarities in their daily movements. The specifications for Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 are the following:

	leisure activity (not necessarily their own evaluation)
bold	bundle (group of individuals carrying out activities on a common place)
italic	constraining activity (their own evaluation)
H	home
P	Phaliro
C	centre of Athens
O	other area

The emphasis is on 'stationery' activities although 'journeys' are also accounted of (as transportation). A walk or a stroll is considered a stationery.

Cathy (Figure 6.1) evaluates most of her activities (including sleeping and transportation) as leisure. She devotes most of her leisure time to social activities (coffee or stroll with friends in Nea Smirni), while media (television, radio) occupy a significant part of her time. She spends most of her time (including sleeping) in

Figure 6.1 DAILY MOVEMENTS OF CATHY

WEEKDAY

H   P   C   O

SATURDAY

H   P   C   O

SUNDAY

H   P   C   O

Sleep

Sleep

Sleep

2:00

24:00
23:30

Study

Study

22:30
22:00

21:00
20:30
20:00   **Confectionery**   **Stroll**   **Cafe-
19:30   teria**
19:00

18:30
18:00   *Institut   Bath   Bath
17:30   Français
17:00   (class)*   Radio   Radio

Sleep

16:00
15:30   TV   TV
15:00

Eat

14:30
14:00   TV   Eat   Eat
13:30
                              Coffee   Coffee
12:30
12:00   Wake up   Wake up
11:30

*British
Council
(class)*

10:00
9:30   Wake up/
9:00   Breakfast

Figure 6.2 DAILY MOVEMENTS OF JOHN

WEEKDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
H P C O	H P C O	H P C O

Sleep

2:00

1:00

Cinema

23:00
22:30
22:00

Cultural Association

'Parea' in 'steki'

21:00
20:30

Music (play/study)

Video/TV

19:00
18:30

Private lesson (give)

Music group

Music (play/study)

17:00
16:30

16:00
15:30
15:00

Radio
Rest
Eat

TV

Study

Rest
Eat

Rest
Eat

14:00
13:30

Study

12:00

University

Music (play/study)

Park (walk)

11:00

10:00

Wake up/
Breakfast

Wake up/
Breakfast

9:00

Wake up/
Breakfast

Sleep

7:30

Sleep

Figure 6.3 DAILY MOVEMENTS OF DICK

WEEKDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
H P C O	H P C O	H P C O

Sleep   Sleep   Sleep

1:00
24:30
24:00   Read

22:30

Esoteric Christianism meeting   Go out   Visit friend

21:00
20:30
20:00

Music (play/study)   Music (play/study)   Music (play/study)

19:00
18:30
18:00   *Music private*
17:30   *lesson (give)*

Sleep   Sleep   Sleep

16:00   Read/Music (listen)   Music (listen)   Music (listen)

15:00
14:30   Eat   Eat   Eat
14:00

Music (play/study)   Music (play/study)   Music (play/study)

11:00
10:30   *Music private*
10:00   *lesson (give)*
9:30   Housework   Housework   Housework
     Gymnastics   Gymnastics   Gymnastics
9:00   Breakfast   Breakfast   Breakfast

Sleep   Sleep   Sleep

Phaliro (all at home), and she spends it alone (especially on Saturdays). Her main bundles are located in the city centre (for foreign language classes in British Council and the Institut Français – nos. 4 and 5, Figure 3.2 – which she evaluates as constraining activity) and in Nea Smirni (which she enjoys highly).

John (Figure 6.2) spends more time in Phaliro on Sundays, while he spends more time at home on Saturdays, and he spends more hours alone on weekdays and Saturdays. The type of activity (except sleeping and eating) to which he devotes most of his time, especially on Saturdays, is cultural [music, Cultural Association (no. 5, Figure 5.1) cinema]. He devotes a considerable amount of time to media (television, video and radio), especially on Sundays, when he devotes most his time to social activities (meeting the 'parea'). He evaluates most of his activities (including sleeping and transportation) as neither work nor leisure, although on Saturdays and Sundays he evaluates most of his activities as leisure. His main bundles are the university (for foreign language classes, which he evaluates as constraining activity), the Cultural Association, the music group and the park (all of which he enjoys highly).

Dick (Figure 6.3) also (like Cathy) spends all his time on Saturdays and Sundays in Phaliro at home, while on weekdays he spends two additional hours in Phaliro, but outside his home. He also spends more time alone on Saturdays. He devotes most of his time (except primary activities), especially on Saturdays like John, to cultural activities (music, reading) – while he does not devote any time to television and radio, since he listens to music through records. His activity evaluation is similar to John, since he evaluates most of his activities (including sleeping and eating) as neither work nor leisure. His main bundle is the Esoteric Christianism group, which he enjoys highly. His main constraining activity is giving music lessons, which is a contradiction since his hobby coincides with his profession.

The focus of lifestyle on cultural activities, does not by itself, lead to a positive, or negative, stance towards daily routines; this must be examined in relation to the attitudes of the individuals.

6.3 The Dislike of the Routinisation of Everyday Life

There is a general *dislike of routine*, or, in the words of Lefebvre, of the 'rationalised organisation of everyday life'. The dislike of routine constitutes a proof of the existence, according to Elias and Dunning, of a fluctuating tension-balance between emotional control and emotional stimulation (1986, p. 115). It can also be interpreted as a sign of the rejection of a stereotyped action, however not without contradictions, e.g. Simon advocates a flexible working timetable, although when he is on stand-by

and sent outside Athens to work he believes that this actually works against leisure time. The dislike of routine in the perceptual world does not mean that the respondents can always avoid it in the lived world (Table 6.2).

Table 6.3   EXISTENCE OF 'PAREA' AND 'STEKI'

	'PAREA'			'STEKI'		
	All (n=28)	Females (n=10)	Males (n=18)	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)
Yes	92.9	100.0	88.9	62.1	54.5	66.7
No	7.1	0.0	11.1	37.9	45.5	33.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The dislike of routine is not translated into a dislike of a '*parea*' and a 'steki' (Table 6.3). A 'parea' usually consists of four or more people who live in Phaliro and have been friends since school, i.e. for more than ten years (Chart 6.6). They are not all of the same sex and most of them are students. They meet almost daily in Phaliro (Chart 6.7) usually for more than four hours every evening in order to talk or just to be together. Several gender differentiations exist: a smaller percentage of males have a 'parea', they usually meet for shorter time periods (two-to-three) than females, they meet more often in Phaliro, but less often with students, and they prefer to talk more often.[3]

Chart 6.6   WHERE/HOW DID THE 'PAREA' FIRST MEET
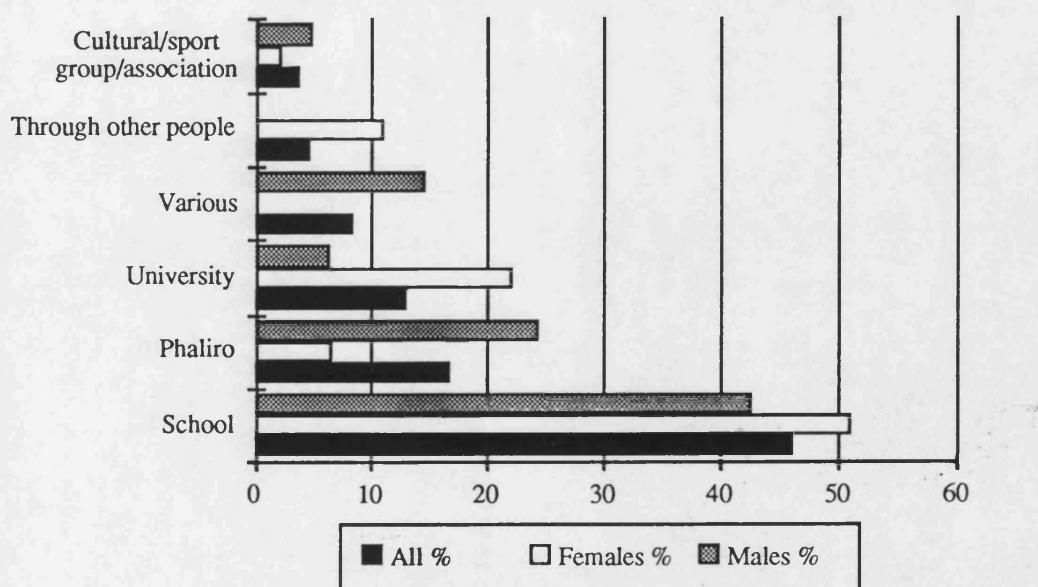
Chart 6.7   AREA OF THE 'PAREA'
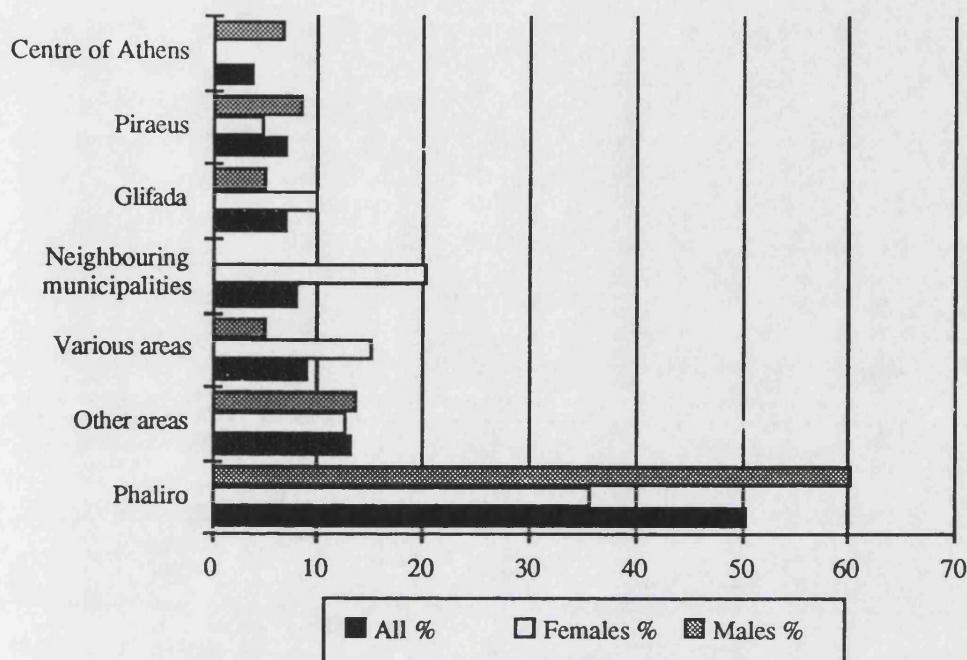
What a 'parea' can offer varies and most significantly relates to the quest for identity. Dick expresses the internal aspect of communication: the 'parea' can be occupied with the inner self and deeper human relations, as it is in this context that he is able to discuss his problems, ideals, world views, the destination of human beings. John believes that the 'parea' mainly offers security: people feel secure in their own 'parea' and they do not make much effort to communicate outside the 'parea' – this relates to the narrow-minded approach. However, there also exist negative elements in the formation of 'pareas': e.g. John believes that there is a utilitarian aspect in human relations, especially the sexual ones. For him a 'parea' is a 'sacred alliance', e.g. there are five persons who are interested in music and their aim is to form a group; this separates them from the other five who are also interested in music but who do not want to form a group. According to Dick, utilitarianism and lack of communication exist because of egoism.

Most respondents have a *'steki'*, although to a smaller degree than 'parea' (Table 6.3); the 'steki' is primarily a house or a cafeteria/bar located in Phaliro. They either stay there or go together to discotheques, restaurants, or the movies. For females, the main reason for preferring a 'steki' is that it is comfortable/convenient, while for males, is that they are more likely to meet acquaintances (Chart 6.8). There is a correspondence with the opinions expressed in reference to the 'parea': both are located in Phaliro, they are an almost daily phenomenon, the most usual activity is talking in the evenings – the only exception is that the 'parea' meets for more than four hours, while in the 'steki' they meet for two-to-three hours.

Chart 6.8   'STEKI': REASONS FOR PREFERENCE
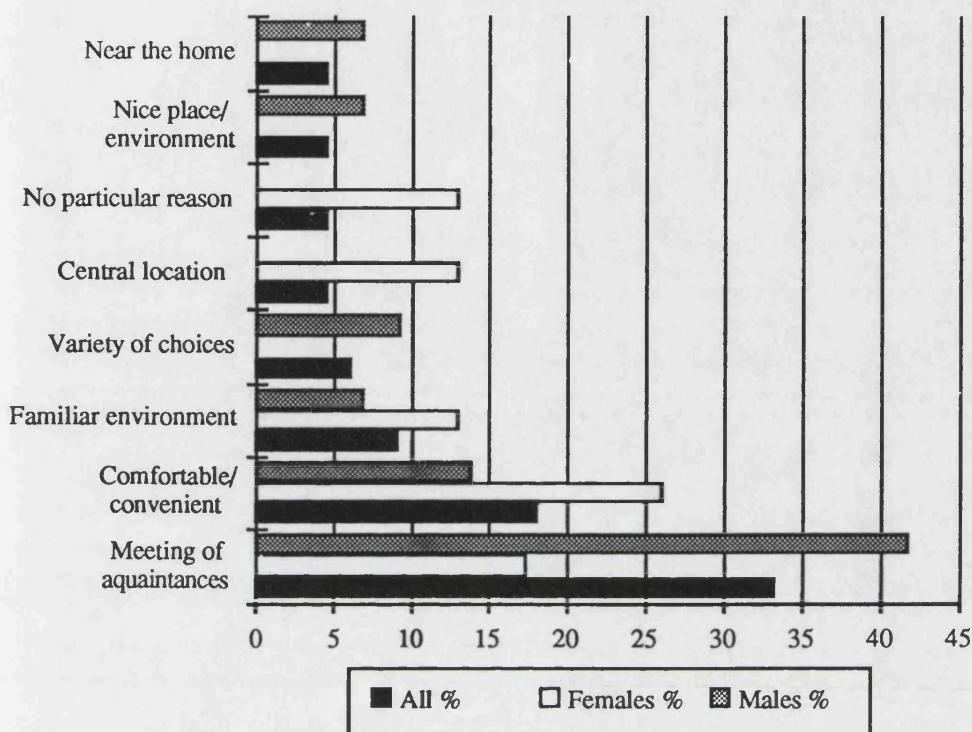
Several gender differentiations exist. A smaller percentage of females have a 'steki', they meet more than once weekly but not daily. They meet less often in Phaliro, they are more likely than males to have a 'parea', they are less likely to meet at a 'steki' in general, and their 'steki' is less likely located in Phaliro (50 percent compared to 83.3 of males). For females, the main reason for preferring a 'steki' is that it is comfortable/convenient, and when this is combined with the fact that the familiar environment is also more important for them, it can be observed that they give more weight to the spatial conditions of encounters.

The existence of a 'steki' is important in the preference concerning music and cinema related activities, but it is not the decisive factor. Lauren sums up this point well: she claims that objectively and theoretically speaking one does not need a 'steki' because s/he can be creative and do what s/he wants to do in any place – however, the 'steki' and the people around help. Dick does not consider the places he prefers as 'stekia', but as an artist they inspire him to present or create something. Only the interviewees whose 'parea' is from Phaliro, or whose 'steki' is located in Phaliro, have a feeling that they will go there alone and they meet familiar people. In fact few interviewees refer to the reasons for which they prefer a particular locale; almost everyone gives a different reason for their preference: the only relatively common reason is meeting the 'parea'.

Chart 6.9   PREFERRED TIME PERIOD FOR MUSIC

■ All %   □ Females %   ▨ Males %

Chart 6.10   PREFERRED TIME PERIOD FOR CINEMA

■ All %   □ Females %   ▨ Males %

The dislike of routine in terms of time is expressed in the perceptual world as an emphasis on the qualitative aspects of time, especially its use and organisation, and in the *preference for piece*, compared to block, *leisure*. The preference for piece leisure is particularly valid for music and television, while it is not valid for dance. There is no significant distinction between piece and block leisure in the case of cinema, since females prefer weekdays and males prefer weekends (Charts 6.9-6.10 and 6.19 in Appendix 6). However, piece leisure is difficult to be achieved in the lived world as it is shown in the hours devoted to cultural and social activities, media and athletics on weekdays in comparison to those on weekends (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4   DAILY HOURS FOR TYPES OF ACTIVITY[4]

Type of activity	Weekday	Saturday	Sunday
Primary (waking up/eating breakfast, eating, sleeping and bathing)	9.01	10.01	9.00
Study	4.13	1.47	2.04
Media (television/video and radio)	1.06	2.02	2.21
Athletics	0.29	1.19	1.25
Transportation	2.07	1.16	0.45
Cultural (reading, music, dance, Cultural Association, painting and cinema)	2.19	4.55	2.32
Social (going out, going to parties, drinking, participating in conversations, visiting or meeting friends, gathering in groups)	0.59	2.28	1.53
Secondary (phoning, resting, dressing and preparing for going out)	0.08	0.17	0.08
Work	1.37	0.03	0.03
Total hours	22.50	23.19	20.26

Note: In all the tables of this (and the next) chapter where there is reference to the daily hours (i.e. Tables 6.4-6.6, 7.1-7.2), the number expresses the mean hours per day for the activity (including minutes) and it is based on the diaries (i.e. sample of eight people) of the last week before completion.

Cathy believes that it is more 'normal' if leisure time is spread evenly throughout the week – also if it is spread throughout the year – and she feels 'depressed' on holidays, because she knows that everybody is doing the same thing. However, in her lived world leisure is concentrated on Saturday (Figure 6.1). John is 'cool' with respect to the phenomenon of leisure time being concentrated on the weekends and holidays, although he believes that most people accept this fact and they do not mind if they do not go out on weekdays. However, in his lived world leisure is concentrated on the weekends (Figure 6.2). He does not say 'this is the opportunity to do many things', and he always tries not to be disassociated from reality. He also believes that there must be a daily balance between leisure time and working time. He concludes by arguing that when one is forced to channel all her/his leisure inhibitions on weekends, s/he feels somehow confused afterwards: s/he is not relaxed and pleased, i.e. s/he is not satisfied even at a superficial level. Dick prefers that the increase of leisure time should occur on weekdays. He believes that for most working people the weekend represents an oasis particularly if their work does not coincide with their interests. For Simon, although he has more leisure time on the weekends, it is generally more difficult for leisure time to be equally distributed among weekdays and weekends, because there is a concentration in the afternoon. However, since he lives in the city he prefers that leisure time be concentrated at the end of the week thus enabling him to get out of Athens. If he were living in a more ideal place, he would prefer the opposite i.e. leisure time to be spread evenly throughout the week. He likes excursions as much as he likes music and painting: 'Let us say that I have glasses and I fill them with water. I

would prefer to fill whichever remains empty in order for it not to be dry. The main factor is that the glasses are not dry. If one is overflowing I will let the level come down.'

Table 6.5   DAILY HOURS ACCORDING TO THE EVALUATION OF THE ACTIVITY

Evaluation of activity	Weekday	Saturday	Sunday
Work	5.40	1.30	1.28
Leisure	6.47	11.32	9.44
Combination	1.11	1.08	1.04
None	4.05	3.37	2.55
Other	0.17	0.23	0.45
Total hours	17.59	18.10	15.58

The greater importance of leisure (compared to work) in the perceptual world seems to be achieved in the lived world, not only on weekends (especially on Saturdays), but also on weekdays although to a smaller degree (Table 6.5). As far as the evaluation of *leisure time as not being sufficient* is concerned there is one major contradiction observed: although most interviewees agree that the main problem of time is the qualitative aspect, there are some who claim that they do not have sufficient leisure time, implying that the root of the problem is the quantitative aspect. However, this can be explained if it is connected to the fact that, in their perceptual world, they like to do many things, and there never appears to be sufficient time at any given moment of their lived world. This is well summed up by John, who claims that although there exists time for everything, the particular time one wants does not exist at the particular moment, i.e. there is never enough time to devote to one particular activity. Time is a qualitative problem: one can find leisure time even when one is working. However, John believes that no one has sufficient leisure time. Cathy is one of the few interviewees who claims that they have sufficient leisure time, and it is for this reason that she does not appreciate it. Simon presents a humorous view stating that when people ask him 'When are you going to do all these things you say that you want to do', he replies 'OK. I will carry out my plans in the next 400 years.' He admits that time is short, but there is reward to be had in activity. There is a greater satisfaction when one has many interests and manages to reach a certain point in some of them, than to have none at all.

The argument that leisure time is, or is not, sufficient also provides some insights into the problem of what is actually considered to be part of leisure. According to Celia, if one scrutinises daily time, then leisure time exists, but certain activities are part of the time that is not calculated as leisure. A typical example is that of television:

in studies on the use of leisure time by Athenians it has been found that, although most people watch a lot of television, they do not consider this activity part of leisure, but something which is taken-for-granted and not leaving much leisure time. Contrary to this, the young adults who were studied do not watch a lot of television (Table 6.4). Also, most of them consider television watching as part of leisure time. Cathy claims that someone could think that watching television is part of one's daily programme, and thus s/he considers that s/he does not have time to sit and do nothing in particular.

The lack of leisure time is one of the constraints which exist in the choice and materialisation of cultural activities, and which constitute the other side of plurality.

6.4 The Coexistence of the Plurality of Options and Constraints

There is a general belief in the existence of a *freedom of choice* of activities in the sense that one can find many things to do: thus, there seems to be a correspondence with the plurality of options (resources). The most typical example of this plurality is the choice of friends. Relatives, who are more or less forced choices, do not play an important role in cultural activities, except, in some cases, for brothers and sisters. This is a reflection of the tendency of young people in the western world, which probably ceases after young adulthood, to give more weight to friendship than kinship. This, in relation to the importance of 'pareas', is an expression of a 'pure relationship', since, according to Giddens, 'a friend is defined specifically as someone with whom one has a relationship unprompted by anything other than the rewards that relationship provides' (1991, p. 90). These rewards are, according to Hannerz, the outcome of the quest for preferred companions using cultural properties as vehicles of identity, and are mostly immaterial, e.g. 'desirable contacts, influence and interpersonal power' (1992, p. 111).

However, as far as activities are concerned, the contradictory aspect of the plurality of options and the freedom of choice is made more clear, due to the existence of various *constraints*. Plurality of options and constraints are elements both of the perceptual world (e.g. when they act as a self-control of emotions) and the lived world. The main constraint for partaking in artistic activities (especially for music) is the lack of spare time, which is explained by the claim that leisure time is not sufficient (Charts 6.11-6.12 and 6.20 in Appendix 6). This, according to the time-geographic terminology, is a capability constraint, a type which generally seems to be the dominant one, as far as the issues which could be raised by the questionnaire are concerned. The most significant gender differentiation refers to the lack of an

Chart 6.11 CONSTRAINTS FOR MUSIC

Legend: ■ All %   □ Females %   ▨ Males %

Categories (top to bottom): Lack of information/knowledge, Lack of satisfactory locale in Phaliro, Lack of appropriate companion, None, Lack of satisfactory locale in general, High cost, Lack of spare time. X-axis: 0–60.
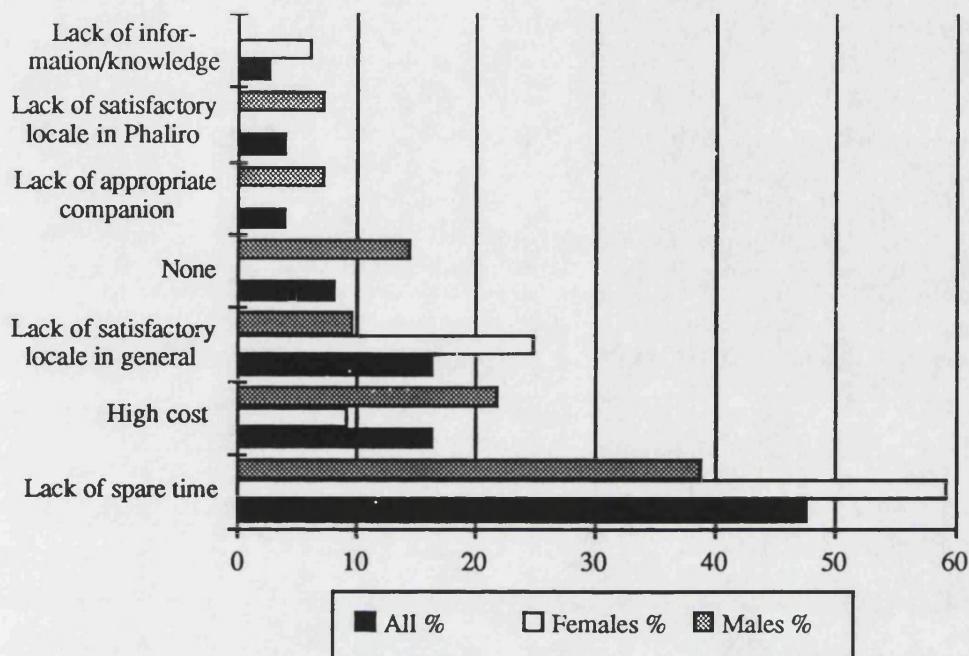
Chart 6.12 CONSTRAINTS FOR CINEMA

Legend: ■ All %   □ Females %   ▨ Males %

Categories (top to bottom): Lack of information/knowledge, Lack of satisfactory locale in general, High cost, None, Lack of appropriate companion, Lack of satisfactory locale in Phaliro, Lack of spare time. X-axis: 0–45.
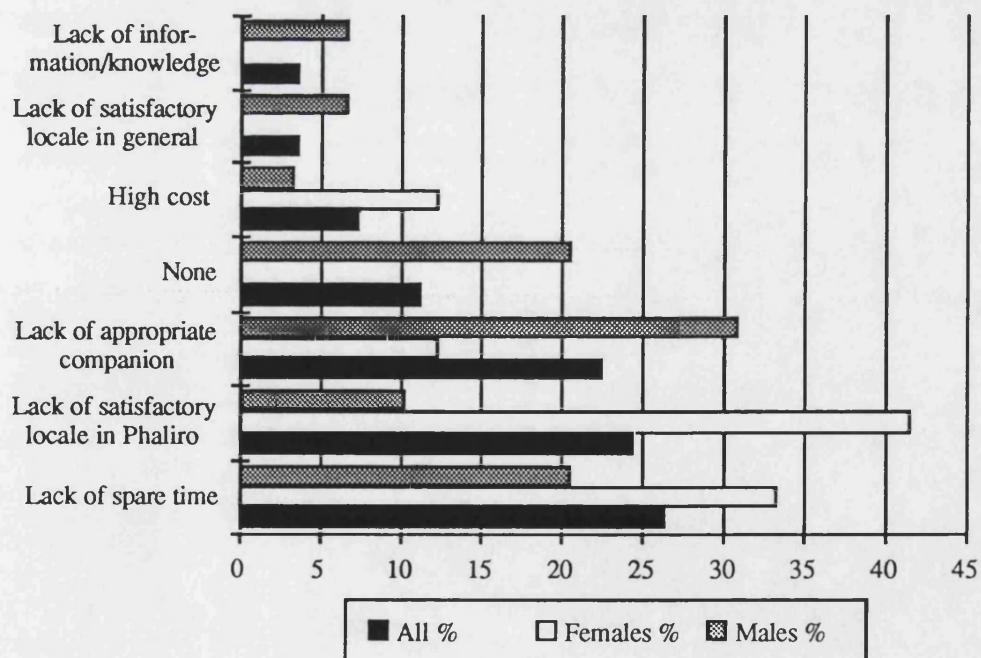
appropriate companion (a coupling constraint) which for females is the strongest constraint for dance, while for males is the strongest constraint for cinema. This adds a contradictory dimension in the existence of plurality in the choice of friends. For females the strongest constraint for cinema is the lack of satisfactory locale in Phaliro

(a capability constraint). This implies that females would go alone to watch a film in the locality, but not to dance in another area, since Phaliro has only one discotheque. The influence of authority constraints is discovered through the interviews, and it is mainly translated into the imposition of a stereotype of youth action through the media, school and family.

The existence of constraints in the use of leisure activities does not imply that there is no *plurality of meanings of leisure*, such as psychological relaxation/fatigue, opportunity for creation, ability of self-development, entertainment, pleasure. Dick puts forward a 'productive' approach towards leisure linking it to the construction of identity, since for him it expresses an opportunity for creation and allows for meditation, self-control, self-criticism, and self-development. Cathy defines leisure as finding time, and anything that is done without pressure. A peculiar condition is that of a student, since studying is actually a type of unpaid work. Working time includes time spent at the university and studying at home. In this sense, students have actually less leisure time than the young people who are working; however, the factor of conditions of 'work' alters this image. This peculiarity is well expressed by John: he claims being a student theoretically is work, but studying, excluding exams, is leisure.

The plurality of meanings of leisure is combined with a *plurality of meanings of music*, such as rhythm, emotion/logic, 'therapeutic' role, resemblance to nature, quality of life. The 'therapeutic dimension' of music, which can ease the soul and bring peace of mind, relates to the fact that rest/relaxation is the first reason for preferring music – it is more important for females (Chart 6.2). According to Cathy, music evokes feelings, but can also be appreciated logically. She claims that many times she can hear something and then go out and see people with a different eye; music helps certain feelings but it also helps logic: Mozart is feeling and Bach is logic. Cathy also claims that music can be like taking medicine: with it she only aims at herself. Simon claims that preclassical music reminds him of nature, because he listened to it for the first time in nature, while Dick claims that music is not an end in itself, but it aims to raise the quality of every human being.

Table 6.6 DAILY HOURS ACCORDING TO THE LEVEL OF ENJOYMENT OF THE ACTIVITY

Level of enjoyment	Weekday	Saturday	Sunday
Zero	0.50	0.00	0.00
Minute	3.18	1.02	1.36
Fair	0.55	0.47	0.30
Good	4.54	2.56	3.16
High	7.04	11.46	9.04
Total hours	17.00	16.31	14.26

Pleasure, which incorporates enjoyment, i.e. feeling good, is not only one of the various meanings of leisure (and consequently one of its aims), but also one of the reasons for preferring leisure activities in general, and artistic in particular – not only as aesthetic pleasure but also as fun/entertainment (Charts 6.2-6.3). Aesthetic pleasure is the third reason for preferring music and cinema (this is logical since these are arts), and it is more important for males in the case of cinema. The high level of enjoyment of a particular activity ideally corresponds in the perceptual world with its evaluation as leisure. In the lived world this is verified when the results of Table 6.6 are compared to those of Table 6.5. However, pleasure is not an end in itself, since it does not prevent people from being alienated.

An additional attribute of leisure, which also modifies the meaning of music, is *commodification*. An important contradiction in this case is that although, at present, the role of commodification is greater, at the same time, as John claims, more people are becoming conscious of its effect. According to Dick, commodification – along with bad taste, corruption and decay – have infiltrated the cultural heritage of every European country. What distinguishes Greece is that there was an interruption in the continuity of its history of art. He says: 'The Greeks, by nature, love easy and superficial things, and thus they are more vulnerable to consumption and comfortable things.' All these refer to the outer parts of the self, and maybe to entertainment, but he does not reject them because sometimes these are also necessary. Dick concludes by stating that in these processes the role of the media, especially the press, is great, and 'that is the reason why everybody has to develop a critical mind in each aspect of his life in order to be able to criticise arguments and views of the others, not only in relation to entertainment or art but more in relation to spiritual existence.' This is also applicable to the perception of leisure in the sense that this critical mind contributes to the elaboration of the plurality of options. An observed contradiction is that one can lead a conventional, even routine, lifestyle, and at the same time develop a critical mind in other situations. Dick's views can be paralleled to Kelly and Godbey's pointing out of the spiritual dimension in resistance to the technological advance of the media (1992, p. 508).

Commodification is, thus, connected to the role of the *media*, which, generally speaking, is dominant, not necessarily in quantitative terms. However, there are few interviewees who can escape the influence of the media, an influence which most of them are not conscious of. The call for a critical mind that Dick makes is translated among other interviewees into a tendency towards critical acceptance, or rejection, of the media. Dick himself acknowledges some of the advantages of video, but also thinks that videos corrupt people, make them hesitant and destroy their leisure. The variety offered by satellite television – in 1989 there were eight satellite channels

which could be watched for free by most of the Athenians – makes it more interesting than video watching, since it can also function as a means of learning a language, and it enlarges the media options. His general philosophy is that there is nothing bad in the world, it all depends on use: he is opposed only to excess. Another contradictory observation is that although information in general is not adequate in Greece, if someone is interested and wants to look s/he can find something good. According to Dick, this can occur even in a peripheral phenomenon for Greek society as is the case of classical music. However, information is directed: according to John, television, radio and school give to a person what they want her/him to learn. This is an indication of the relative character of the freedom of choice and, simultaneously, of the double-sided role of the media: on the one hand, they offer many options, but, on the other hand, their discourse is imposed. The deciding factor is the individual, who has to be critical and selective.

Plurality is extended to the field of activities: a total of 18 preferred leisure activities exist, and among them 9 are cultural. The variety of activities is more or less identified with the *plurality of options*, which is a characteristic of the modern urban settings. One observation made by John expresses the essence of the contradictory character of the plurality of options: he claims that although, at present, choices are greater than at previous times, the stimuli are fewer. This constitutes one way of formulating the quantity/quality opposition as expressed by Lauren: it does not matter that there are 'many sweets and many people, because if there is only one sweet and it happens to be good then people will eat it.'

The factor which acts as the *strongest constraint* in the materialisation of an activity has been shown to be the *lack of leisure time* with all its contradictions which refer to the differentiation between perceptual and lived world (qualitative/quantitative aspect, plurality of options/constraints, block/piece leisure). However, a plurality of other constraints exist including economic, lack of an appropriate companion, bad mood, work, bad self-organisation. For John, the economic constraints are greater as a consequence of the lack of jobs. Leisure time can be utilised in many ways whether one has money and/or friends or not. For him, family and lack of information do not put constraints on leisure, but result either in different ways of using it or in apathy (e.g. youth). There is the peculiar case of Dick who does not lack leisure time, and therefore he does not face any constraints.

If constraints are overcome, then the plurality of options comes into the foreground, and it is connected to the examination of the factors which affect the preferences of cultural activities.

6.5 The Dominance of Companionship and of the Type of Activity

Greater priority is given to *companionship* over the type of activity, but there are variations to this pattern. John believes that companionship comes first, but the type of activity emerges through companionship as a need because companionship cannot be immobile. Dick and Simon believe that companionship and type of activity are interrelated. Although many interviewees have more than one 'parea', and also choose friends because of common interests, there are no particular friends for particular activities, i.e. the variety of friends does not necessarily correspond with the variety of activities, although again this is an indication of the plurality of options. The belief that there are no certain friends for certain activities, or for a certain period of time, is mainly based on the fact, stated by John, that different 'pareas' may relate to different 'stekia' or activities, and they do not usually intercommunicate. For the interviewees who are occupied with music, it seems that this common element has played a role in the formation of their 'pareas', but, as Dick admits, more as listening to records and not as an occupation.

In connection to *space preferences*, priority is given to companionship and to the type of activity over space. The existence of a variety of preferred locales is another indication of the plurality of options, but the correspondence of certain locales with certain activities relates more to the nature of space, especially since the preferred locales are used in a non-differentiated way, i.e. their use is for a single purpose. This also contributes to the fact that there are no direct relationship between the stated criteria of choosing locales (such as spatial arrangement, style, location, access) and activities or friends (such as common interests, preferences and ideals/values).

The overall preferred time of day in the case of artistic activities is the evening, except for music for which is valid only in the case of females, while for males it is the afternoon (Chart 6.13). In connection to *time preferences*, greater priority is given to companionship and to the type of activity over time, as is also the case with the variable of space. The existence of a variety of times – all possible hours are preferred except for morning (dance), noon (dance and cinema) and afternoon (dance) – is an additional indication of the plurality of options. However, in this case there is a limited correspondence of certain times with certain activities relating more to the nature of the activity (evening with dance, afternoon with lectures/seminars). No conclusions can be drawn regarding the criteria of time preferences, because not many interviewees refer to them, and those who do state a different criterion (communication, better psychology, intensity in relationships/loneliness, creativity, freedom). This contradicts the fact that interviewees did talk more easily about time rather than space perception.

Chart 6.13 PREFERRED TIME OF DAY FOR MUSIC

The process of deciding what to do is characterised not so much by logic, but more by a sense of intuition, in which case the role of emotions is important, as it is also in the case of the dislike of routine. The individuals are not always certain about what they intend to do and are flexible in their choices. The factor which plays the most important role in the *materialisation of an activity* is companionship, but in relation to other factors and especially to the type of activity. However, for Celia what matters most is space. Cathy makes a particular reference to music and cinema related activities, in which cases companionship is the most important factor: this means that if she wants to go to the movies or to a concert, she must want it very badly in order to avoid the particular companion. For John, also, companionship is the most important factor. This includes the case of being alone which constitutes 80-85 percent of the cases. Dick claims that there must be a combination of all the factors, including the particular moment. Even if he likes the activity and the companionship he must also be in the appropriate mood, because even if he has an alternative choice he will not carry it out. If one night he is not in the mood and the place and the companionship are not satisfying then he will not listen to music or go to a concert, but he will do something else. What is true for him is true for all the people: when one is in a 'parea' what prevails is the disposition of the 'parea' and not of the individual; the 'parea' has its own rules.

The factors which play the most important role in the *preference for a type of music/film/locale/time* are the media and companionship. For Cathy, the determinant factor is the media, but most people do not recognise this. For her, neither school, parents nor friends are as influential – maybe in the latter case one does not grasp the influence. However, for Andrew, time and space are most important, while for John

there exists an interrelationship of companionship and media. For Dick, his 'personal criterion' is dominant. He tends to influence other people, rather than being influenced by them. He may be swayed by the opinions expressed by the media or by friends, but his criteria will not permit something that his taste does not allow.

Family and school (in addition to the media) are the other main factors of socialisation which relate to the social system, and which can act both as resources and constraints. Friends are a peculiar case because they are factors of socialisation, they do not belong to the social system and they are also subjects of socialisation. Most of the interviewees claim that parents and school do not play a determinant role in their preferences; however, this does not exclude an unconscious influence. The influence of the *parents* in the activities and the preferences of the interviewees is not great; this also implies that there was no direct pressure exerted, but in most cases it was indirect. The only exception is Dick, whose mother made him start the flute when he was seven years old, although she did not influence his preferences. There are the opposite examples of John, who has influenced his parents because of their lower level of education, and Simon, whose mother and sister cultivated their interests through him and his friends. As far as the general attitude of the parents in Phaliro is concerned, Dick states that the parents who bring their children to the Conservatory do not have any contact with music: they think that maybe they can make some money or play some songs on the piano. When he plays with his group his relatives usually come, something which also happens with Mary B., but he tries to avoid this because he wants to create an audience of interested people and not followers.

Education in its general sense refers directly to the school, but incorporates also the family and the media, and in the contemporary context of rising nationalism it reflects the general focus on tradition. With respect to *school*, it seems that most interviewees did not expect it to play any role, since they would have chosen to go to the same school. There is the case of John who believes that school plays a role, but in the negative sense, i.e. of not cultivating interests. The exceptions were some teachers as characters and as professionals. He would choose the same school (which was state-owned) for economic, social and sentimental reasons. He claims that the majority of the young people of the locality went to state schools in Phaliro, but there is a greater percentage, in comparison to other areas, who went to private schools: this relates to the social composition of south Phaliro.

The main factors that play a role in the *motivation of interest* – in particular with regard to music – are: companionship, media and parents. Dick is a peculiar case, since he claims that self-searching was more important than other influences, although he admits that his mother forced him to start playing the flute. John started to play music out of curiosity in order to be able to say whether a piece is good or bad. Thus,

the motivation of interest, and also of a related activity, may depend on chance and is
not always *conscious*: this conforms to the theory of structuration as developed by
Giddens, who claims that human intention, along with action are not always
conscious. Cathy believes that there was a subconscious impact of the instruments she
was listening at home when she was very young, although she does not actually
remember how her interest in music started. A different view is expressed by Simon
who believes that choices are conscious:

> If something is unconscious and you know the subject then you can make it
> conscious. A logical explanation depends on the individual. If something
> works unconsciously, you can observe in the end what is the succession of
> things and the outcome of this process. There are many situations where you
> do not want to do this, and you want to leave things as they are. It is also a
> matter of fear. Everything can reach the level of consciousness provided that
> you work with your imagination and mind, put things in a succession, and
> conclude that this particular thing is done for this particular reason. If you do
> it consciously, then you can control it better. Imagination is usually distanced
> from the concept of consciousness (or logic), but you can make it work, be
> useful, and be an active element. I try to practice imagination.

Thus, the consciousness of motives refers to the self, and, in this respect, life attitudes
and the time-space interrelationship play an important role in the constitution of
cultural identities.

6.6 The Impact of Life Attitudes and the Time-space Interrelationship

Preferences for cultural activities are in some cases related to life attitudes which seem
to be rather unconsciously related to the *choice of friends*: the criteria of common
interests, preferences, ideals, values, views and understanding imply the existence of
common elements in a lifeworld approach. However, whenever there exists a broad-
mindedness in the interests and preferences of the interviewees, this is not necessarily
combined with a broad-mindedness in artistic action, social relations, or choice of
friends. Dick is an exception to this. In the choice of friends no view is dominant with
regard to the priority of character over interests. Dick, again, is one of the few who
believes that the first factor is more important than the second: although there must
exist something that people can develop together (such as discussion, action, music),
the main attribute is that a person must be well rounded ('complete'), 'all right'.
John's assessment of a person is partially based on his/her interest in cinema as the
stimulus for a discussion through which one can realise if a person suits him.

As far as *social class* is concerned, most interviewees believe that it does not play a
primary role in the choice of friends. It appears that the influence of class, which can

act as an authority constraint, is unconscious. John argues, it is a coincidence that people belong to the same class, and this phenomenon is superficial: it is result of the flattening of values. However, he believes that class differences are the cause of certain clashes in the ranks of the Cultural Association, because whenever there is a contentious issue the two divergent views represent those of different classes: we live in a period which tends to conceal these differences.

Most interviewees do not believe that hobbies (in particular playing an instrument) stand in opposition to a profession (related to music). Those who have not yet decided about their profession do not think of being professionally occupied with their hobby, while those who work and are not pleased with their work think differently. Most interviewees who play an instrument are self-taught (except for Dick who has studied music), and prefer to play than listen or go to concerts. Thus for them, production is more important than *consumption*, although generally speaking the latter is dominant. However, it constitutes the starting point for a person to become a producer/creator. Thus, consumption does not only have a negative aspect, but it can often be considered a creative process. The phenomenon of widespread taping that he observed seems also to be valid in the case of the respondents of the present research, who own more tapes than records, the latter being mostly between 50 and 100. What is necessary, as Dick claims, is a critical eye. As far as the choice of profession is concerned, some parental indirect influence is evident. For example, John claims that the fact that his family raised him with an excessive consistency or sensitivity to obligations, led to his decision to follow a profession other than music, which is his principal hobby.

Table 6.7 MUSIC RELATED HOBBIES

Evaluation	INSTRUMENT			DANCING			SINGING		
	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)
Hobby	37.9	54.5	27.8	37.9	72.7	16.7	24.1	36.4	16.7
Profession	6.9	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
None	48.3	45.5	50.0	62.1	27.3	83.3	72.4	63.6	77.8
Both	6.9	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0	5.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The other preferred hobbies related to music, except for playing an instrument, is dancing and singing. All three activities are preferred more by females than males (Table 6.7), something which is valid for composition. This can be partially explained by the tendency, which existed some years ago, of middle-class families to push females to study piano as well learning French; now it is English, which, however, is taught not only in private schools, but also in most state schools as well. Learning

piano is not directly connected to learning French, except for their role as social class or status symbols.

Life attitudes also seem to be rather unconsciously related to the *perception of space*, and subsequently to the choice of locales, as was also the case in the choice of friends. Factors such as the connection to the self, the role of music, the preference for a particular locale, the sense of familiarity and comfort, the form of space, the memory of a locale, the role of cultural activities (especially music), and space identification are indicative of the perception of space. They also contribute to the creation of space consciousness, and specifically a sense of place, which, according to Eyles, is 'derived from the totality of an individual's life' (1985, p. 2).

John's view is the following:

> Everybody creates around him a space that provides the necessary possibilities for living, either in a material or in idealistic way. He sees that his home serves his needs, the people he associates with satisfy him as a person, and that he can also offer them something. The places that he meets people relate directly to his views: the lonely people like quiet places, while the members of a large 'parea' are more open characters, and they like busy cafeterias and large bars.

John also speaks about the role of music in space perception: 'Music is important because it creates a certain atmosphere, i.e. it supplements space. If a space is ugly then music moderates the situation.' However, people always play a role. The Cultural Association combines these factors: 'If you are in good "parea", with ten bottles of wine, and a tape recorder playing the music you like, then you park yourself in the Association which is a stall.' One will stay only if the other factors (e.g. good 'parea', music, drink) are valid, because space in itself has changed. He also refers to the sense of familiarity which implies calmness and security and although it applies mainly to the locality, it is not necessarily confined to it: e.g. this is what one feels in the airport when returning from abroad. The form of space is also important, but, as John admits, it may not be immediately appreciated. For him, the years one has lived in a place are a more important factor in space perception.

Certain activities are associated with certain locales. Dick believes that the connections and relations in our mind are automations. There are habits and peculiarities, there is a distinction of space between workplace and home: if one does not consider her/his home as workplace s/he will consider it something else, e.g. entertainment. The preference of locales is a factor which helps the researcher to grasp, through taste, how people perceive space, e.g. John likes a cafeteria to have light-coloured walls and good music. He prefers open spaces, because when he looks around him he prefers the space to be 'wide-open'. In the winter he prefers to be alone in a small room with closed windows and doors, low lights and soft music. He would

prefer to live in England or France, where it also rains. Dick generally likes cleanness, order and organisation, and he does not like environments which are closed, noisy and full of smoke.

For most interviewees, *identification with space* means identification with their home and especially with their room which is the only part of the house for which they have a say on how it is going to be arranged. However, this does not mean that it is always well organised. Nobody has a flat of her/his own. Dick likes the house to be clean, beautiful, tasteful, elegant, and tidy. He also feels that the outdoor space is his own space, and he is annoyed by the dirty, the distasteful, and the 'broken'. Few interviewees have an experience of a working space, e.g. Simon, who claims that in this case space is not so important, because an employee in a company cannot create his own space; it is people who make the atmosphere. Another type of space which influences people's attitudes is nature. According to John, going to the country somehow revitalises him.

The memory of a place or of a locality is usually an important factor in space identification, but this is not completely valid for the interviewees, since most of them do not have any special memories of Phaliro, and they rarely relate the locales in their neighbourhood to any particular event. They agree that certain locales are identified with certain activities (and this means that spaces are not differentiated), but they either have not thought about it or it has not affected their space perception. For Cathy, memory is 'terribly important', but she refers only to going to particular bars with her 'parea'. For Dick, there are places, such as beaches, bars, and restaurants, which are connected to some events of his life. They are not related to Phaliro, and their images come unconsciously to mind because of conjunctures (e.g. friends) and of their beauty. The impact of memory for him, which seems to be directly connected to the meaning of place, is helped by the fact that he has walked through almost the whole area of Phaliro and also he enjoys looking at old pictures. [see Appendix 7, 7.3]

The choice of locale plays also a role in the choice of an activity, but it is subordinate to the type of activity and to companionship. One exception is Dick, who would rather go to a favourite cinema to see a mediocre film than go to see a good film at a cinema he does not like. Maybe this factor influences him unconsciously at a certain moment: he was not aware of it until I mentioned it. However, it seems that this applies only to cinemas, because at another point of the interview he claims that it is mainly the activity that counts. In general, if there is a possibility of many choices then the locale acquires a particular importance, e.g. if a good film is playing at several cinemas then the interviewees prefer to go to the cinema they like the most. In terms of concrete choices, if a film is playing both in a neighbouring area, such as Kallithea or Nea Smirni, and in the city centre, and the cinema in the centre is nicer, then some

interviewees would prefer to go to the centre. Some of the criteria for choosing locales are the following: spatial arrangement, style, e.g. the decoration combined with lights, ventilation, location, access, cleanliness, and niceness. Cathy develops the last point by claiming that the 'nice' quality of a place may explain why she started going there; however, this is not absolutely true, because she could have gone there unexpectedly, or, should I add, unconsciously.

Life attitudes seem to be consciously related to the *perception of time*, in opposition to the unconscious relation to space perception, even if many interviewees do not have any particular time preference, and time is also subordinate to the type of activity and to companionship. For Cathy, the role of time depends on the activity. In the case of music, the distinction winter - summer, and also the particular day, are not especially important. Also in the case of cinema, the companionship and the film are more important factors than time. The conscious relation of life attitudes with time perception can be explained by the fact that interviewees did talk more easily about time than about space perception. This is contrary to what was expected, since time is an even more abstract concept than space: time is invisible and, especially the future, is more difficult to be appropriated. Space has a material existence which can be visually observed, while time 'flies like an arrow', and its perception is more difficult, let alone consciousness of it.

Dick and Simon present two consciously developed views on time perception. Dick's approach is related to space and based on his religious attitude towards life:

> There is no beginning and end in life, or in the creation of Earth. The spirit, the diffused energy existed before. It is infinite, and thus space and time do not exist for the divine entity. We, who are forms and expressions of matter, have necessarily created the variables of space and time in order to classify our lives... Time is created by the everyday occupations, classifications, and needs of human beings: one has to eat, get up, go to sleep, work, study, so there is time, which does not exist in essence. A day, an hour, a minute, a month is created in order for human beings to classify their life... Our senses and perceptions are very narrow. There are more things than we can grasp by naked eye in our everyday life experience, i.e. the invisible. For me space and time do not actually exist (only as knowledge or consciousness), but in my everyday life I have placed space and time in order to function... I can live my life so that I do not have time and I do not do anything, but it exists as a concept... Maybe in a latter stage of the evolution of human beings, space and time can influence their everyday life, their lifestyle... The concept of time is something very high which does not characterise the common humans but refined people.

Dick's religious attitude conforms with what Giddens calls 'the resurgence of religious belief and conviction' (1991, p. 207).

Simon's main aim is to increase time, to 'stretch' it, something which occurs when he is occupied with many things. Once he was keeping a diary, and he came to the

conclusion that the periods during which he was occupied only with his job, his psychological condition was bad, because of this loss of time. After a period of time, he stopped all activities in order deal with this neurosis, because he was unable to function at any level. Now this neurosis is valid only when he plays music for an hour or listens to something new, and he says that he utilised his time correctly at that moment. Another case in which his time is increased is when he finds himself in exceptional situations: he feels as if he is 'stretching time like a rubber'. For example, when he is on the beach and smells the sea, watches the sky, is in the company of a friend, then time passes more slowly than in ordinary situations. He is particularly interested in these situations because he has better control of time. The importance of controlling time mainly implies an intention to impose upon its natural flow an individual, or collective, organisation which aims at achieving a temporal consciousness.

Except the two consciously elaborated views which are presented, the evidence of a connection with life attitudes comes from the meanings given to everyday expressions such as 'passing time', 'killing time', 'utilising time', 'saving time', 'wasting time', and 'time is money'. This evidence comes from items such as things one likes, creativity, energy, sentimental security (one of the aspects of 'ontological security'), and knowledge. For Cathy, 'passing time' means doing the things she likes: sitting alone at home and reading, listening to music, seeing something, being with friends, making new acquaintances. For her, 'utilising time' implies creativity, and this is the essence of leisure, since some people claim that they do not have time, but the problem is that they do not know how to utilise it. On the negative side of time, she believes that 'wasting time' means not being energetic or active in connection with something that one has discovered and is conscious about. On the subject of equating time with money, she says the following: 'Money is precious, but to say that time is money is going too far. It is material security, but for me it is more a sentimental security.'

John believes that time has a representational aspect, e.g. if he is doing something useful, something that he likes: even sleep gives strength for the next working day. There can be substance even in something which, on the surface, appears useless: 'The bus is the best theatre. With 30 drachmas (approximately 8 pence – this was in 1989) you can see anything imaginable.' According to Dick, utilising time means being creative: even sitting and contemplating, making an account of the current day or month, analysing oneself, being silent in a chair or on the bed can be creative. If one is lazy s/he can be occupied with things which do not connect to her/his cultivation. To be inactive and stagnant is suicide. He concludes that this implies that time is 'lost', something which shows the indifference of human beings in utilising their potential, values, creativity, energy, and the waste of their potential in insipid occupations.

Time identification connects to many factors such as movement in space, change in attitudes, the existence of a programme, the effect of technology, the life of other people, the existence of a variety of occupations and the effect of human history. For Cathy, the important condition for time perception is the existence of a programme: if she sits and does not do anything all morning, she will not understand time. Also if one has a programme, then time passes more quickly, since it means that s/he has many things to do. For John, three things are characteristic. First, the effect of technology. Second, the observation of the life of other people. Third, the existence of a variety of occupations, which results in the stronger marking of time, since in Greece continuous work creates the impression that time stands still. For Dick the important factor is the effect of human history and especially of progress as a continuous and intense process. However, time in its everyday sense is more important. Strangely enough, only two interviewees (Lauren and Don) connect time identification to the process of growing up – which constitutes an important element in the identity of young people.

An important aspect of time identification is the perception of the future which relates to the perception of the self. However, only Dick presents a view about the future when he refers to the conditions of the social life of young people, and he states that leisure time will continue to exist, but the problem will remain of how best to utilise it. This can be done if society as a whole creates leisure interests and appropriate spaces – mainly cultural spaces which will attract young people and foster correct views. He concludes that only through action can human beings improve society, and create personalities, consciousness and ability for guidance in their life.

Table 6.8   DAILY HOURS IN AREAS

Area	Weekday	Saturday	Sunday
Phaliro	8.37	8.07	9.11
Phaliro (sleep)	7.55	8.45	8.07
Neighbouring municipalities	0.49	1.15	0.17
City centre	1.58	0.13	0.00
Other area	1.03	2.30	1.02
Any area	0.00	0.26	0.00
Total hours	20.22	21.26	18.37

Time identification relates to space identification mainly as movement, since movement in space denotes movement in time. It seems that the changes which have occurred in Phaliro (e.g. in the cultural spaces, in the central square, in the 'stekia') did not generally contribute to the role of time in the *sense of place*. [see Appendix 7, 7.3] The starting point for the verification of the sense of place in temporal terms is the fact

Chart 6.14 PREFERRED AREA FOR MUSIC
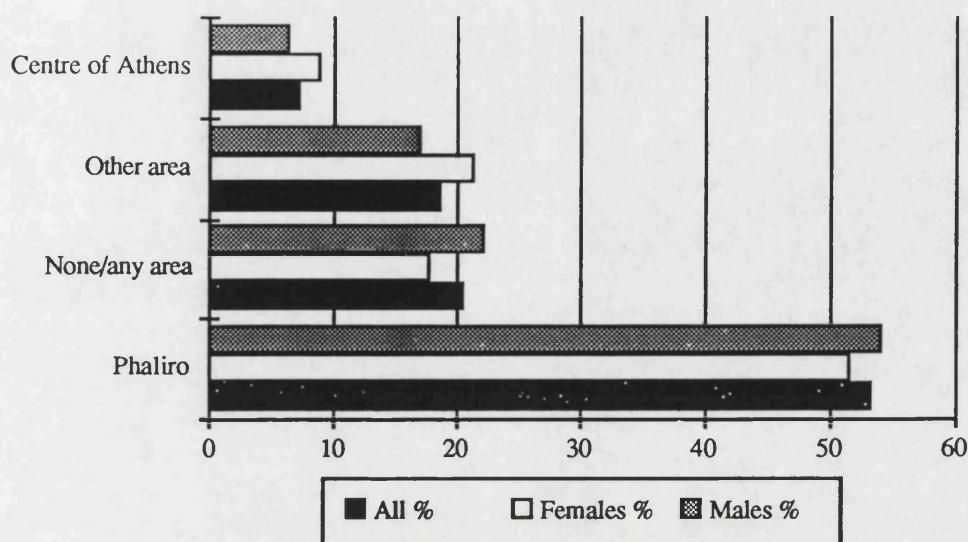
Chart 6.15 PREFERRED AREA FOR CINEMA
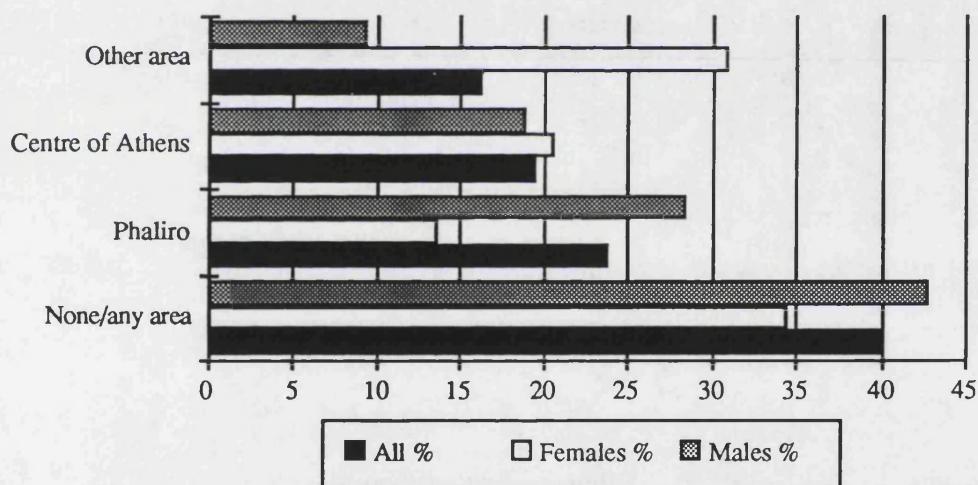
that the interviewees devote most of their time – somehow more on Sundays – to activities within Phaliro (Table 6.8).[5] The fact that the interviewees visit the city centre more often on weekdays implies that the centre is not used as a leisure space. The attraction of Phaliro is connected to a 'parea' (Chart 6.7) or a 'steki', and is valid particularly for music, since in the case of dance and cinema any area will usually do (Charts 6.14-6.15 and 6.21 in Appendix). In all these cases the attraction of Phaliro is stronger for males.

Most interviewees believe that *time and space are interrelated*, mainly in the sense that the preference for a particular locale is connected to a particular moment. However, there is not one single factor which plays the dominant role in the perception of time-space: examples are companionship, media, family. For Cathy, companionship plays the most important role in the sense that some people are

connected to some things and this means spaces. For John, the time-space interrelationship is valid in the sense that a spatial preference is related to a temporal one, from the moment that the temporal factor depends on other factors, e.g. companionship, stimuli, discussion. The emotional aspect is also involved: 'The correspondence of places with the hours of the day is a matter of logic. It is a habit, but feeling also plays a role. If you analyse emotion you will find a logical explanation.'

Music and cinema preferences constitute an additional indication of the time-space identification; this refers especially to the preferred types of music. Pop/rock and dance music (first and second preference) connect to the 'steki' (not necessarily in the locality) and the evening (especially summer). Slow music (third preference) connects to the 'parea', a friend's house and the evening, while classical music (fourth preference) connects to the home and the morning/noon. Also comedies (second preference) and adventures (third preference) constitute a break with everyday life, and thus relate to the dislike of time-space routinisation.

The consciousness of the time-space interrelationship is easier to achieve in the perceptual world than in the lived world, since one of the main elements of the modern social world is, according to both Giddens (1991, p. 16) and Lefebvre, the separation of time and space. However, Dick presents a coherent view on the subject:

> Space is inseparable from time, since these concepts were created in order to complement each other. The personal criterion is important. As we have classified our interests and activities in time, we do the same thing with space, because, as the activities vary then every activity occurs in a different, and concrete, place. Thus, the classification of our time is identified with a plurality of places. The time-space relationship is valid for everyone, but it differs from person to person: which activity is undertaken, in which place, at what time. One divides the temporal series of his activities differently and practices his activities in an unusual place; the successive combinations can vary. All these occur consciously. Work in the morning, rest in the afternoon, and entertainment at night is a matter of habit, i.e. classification in the mind or unconscious classification. In these cases maybe people are acting based on a programme and they reject something which can be valid in other cases. When there is no difficulty in choosing, then maybe the programme, or habit, or the timing of the application of the programme play a role.

There exist three main factors which express the role of time-space in the *constitution of identity*. The first is boundaries, which, besides temporal-spatial are also social. The impact of class on social boundaries can be either conscious or unconscious. An indication is the fact that fun/entertainment is the main overall reason for preferring activities related to music and cinema (Charts 6.2 and 6.3), while it is also considered an attribute of the middle class in accordance with the consumerist aspect of contemporary artistic activities. The 'Protestant ethic' of work (Weber,

1905/1930) has never been dominant in Greece, and the 'spirit of modern consumerism' (Campbell, 1987) is mainly reflected in 'hedonistic consumerism' (Leontidou, 1993). The second factor is the preference of home for most cultural activities, and the third is the attachment to the locality which mainly relates to the location of the 'parea' and the 'steki' in Phaliro, which is greater for females. These last two factors also relate to the concept of boundary. However, according to Zukin, 'the process of deriving identity from place... is limited by both the material history, shape and form of space, and the social practice of those who would try to imagine an alternative' (1992, p. 239) – this is also limited by the difficulty of time-space consciousness. The conception of history of most of the interviewees is contradictory. On the one hand, they have a memory of the older image of Phaliro with the detached houses and they prefer it to the contemporary one with the multi-storey apartment buildings – which also functions as a reaction to an imposed spatial stereotype. On the other hand, they have a limited appreciation of the changes which have occurred in the open spaces of Phaliro. The importance of the shape and form of space is perceived by some interviewees when they state spatial arrangement, style, and niceness as criteria of choosing locales. Social practice is mainly translated into a leisure activity: the individual tries to find more aspects of her/himself in a field where s/he finds more options an s/he feels that there exists a freedom of choice. However, the heart of the matter is neither the opposition of leisure to work, nor the existence of more hours of leisure time, but the creative use of time.

6.7 Summary and Conclusion

The connection of this chapter with the conceptual framework is largely manifested in various differentiations, which, in Chapters 1 and 2, were outlined as points of reference for the questions, issues and debates generated by the conceptual framework (see also Table 2.1, Chapter 2). These differentiations are: perceptual world - social world - lived world; agency - structure; constraint - resource; time - space; leisure/working time; consumption - production; popular/high culture; and eastern/western influences on Greek culture. Chapter 7 focuses on two additional differentiations: self-directed/other-directed intimacy, and globality - centrality - locality.

In the differentiation between work (which incorporates studying) and leisure, it was found that the latter (both as value and as time, i.e. in the perceptual and lived world) is considered to be more important by the young adults who were studied. In the context of leisure, the weight of cultural activities is great, and especially that of

music, which is more strongly related to the quest for cultural identity than cinema. The most significant gender differentiation is the male preference for music and the female preference for cinema.

Young adults acknowledge that a stereotype of youth action exists, but they show a dislike of routine, which can be interpreted as a reaction to this stereotype situated in the context of the differentiation between lived and perceptual world. This dislike is not translated, in the lived world, into a dislike of a 'parea' and a 'steki', and, with reference to time, it is expressed, especially in the perceptual world, in the emphasis on the qualitative aspects of time and in the preference for piece, compared to block, leisure. A variety of preferred leisure (and particularly cultural) activities exist, which is identified with the plurality of options (a characteristic of the modern urban settings). However, this plurality is contradictory, something which is mainly due to the existence of various constraints. The factor which acts as the strongest constraint in the materialisation of an activity is the lack of leisure time. The most significant gender differentiation concerns the lack of an appropriate companion, which for males is the strongest constraint for cinema, while for females it does not play any role in music.

In the choice and the materialisation of a leisure activity, four factors were questioned: type of activity, companionship, space and time. The most important role is played by companionship, but in relation to other factors and especially to the type of activity. In connection to time and space preferences, greater priority is given to companionship and to the type of activity. The factors which play the most important role in the preference for a type of music/film/locale/time are media and companionship. In the differentiation between eastern and western influences on Greek culture, the latter prevail, since there exists a preference for foreign films and 'western' types of music, something which shows the impact of globalisation. The interrelationship between popular and high culture is manifested in the preferences of the selected cases. The interrelationship between consumption and production is mainly manifested in the participation in music groups. The fact that the motivation of interest, and also of a related activity, may depend on chance and is not always conscious conforms to Giddens' theory of structuration.

The main overall reason for preferring activities related to music and cinema is fun/entertainment. Preferences for artistic activities are in some cases attributed to life attitudes; these are also examined in their relationship with the choice of companion, space and time. Life attitudes are unconsciously related to the choice of friends. The search for common elements in the lifestyle is shown in the existence of the criteria of common interests, preferences, ideals, values, views and understanding. Life attitudes are also unconsciously related to the perception of space, and subsequently to the

choice of locales. For the interviewees, identification with space mainly means identification with their home and especially with their room. The only relatively common reason for which they prefer a particular locale is meeting the 'parea'. In contrast with the aforementioned factors, life attitudes are consciously related with time perception. This can be explained by the fact – contrary to what was expected – that interviewees did talk more easily about time rather than space perception, even if this contradicts the existence of few references to time preferences. The desire to control time is a characteristic expression of the anxiety that time brings in the modern world, and of its crucial role in the quest for identity.

Females give more weight to the spatial conditions of encounters, since the familiar environment and security are more important for them. The perception and consciousness of the interrelationship between time and space is manifested in the connection between time identification and space identification mainly through movement. The starting point for the verification of the sense of place in temporal terms is the fact that the interviewees like to devote most of their time to activities within Phaliro. The attraction of Phaliro is stronger for males, is connected to a 'parea' or a 'steki', and is valid particularly for music – thus time-space is subordinated to music and cinema.

Chapter 7 examines the importance of artistic activities in the quest for cultural identity by young adults. This stems from their contribution to the reaction to the imposed stereotype of action and from their role in the sharing of common elements among young people. The impact of artistic activities is situated in the context of the relationship between self-directed intimacy and other directed intimacy and of the existence of an attachment to the locality.

6.8 Notes

[1] The most recent relevant scientific study with which comparisons can be made is the study of time disposition of young adults in Greater Athens done by NCSR. First preference is activities related to music and food (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988, p. 59) – see Chapter 3, 3.3.2. As far as the local population is concerned, the questionnaire which was distributed as part of the Council of Europe's project showed that 70 percent chose musical and dancing activities as possible activities that would interest them most (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 105) – see Chapter 5, 5.5.1.

[2] Music and cinema preferences share common trends with the NCSR research, except for classical music, which is the fourth music preference in the present research. In the NCSR research first music preference was 'rembetika', while first cinema preference was socio-political films (Gardiki *et al*, 1988, pp. 67, 70). In the Kalamata research the first preference was for contemporary Greek popular music (Papageorgiou, 1991, p. 490) – for more on these research projects see Chapter 4, 3.4.1 and 3.4.2. The most important difference in music preferences is that in these studies there was a tendency for Greek types of music, while in the present research there is a tendency for 'western' types of music.

[3] Some differences exist with the findings of the NCSR research on time disposition which are the following: most respondents have a 'parea' but not a 'steki', the 'parea' usually includes between six and ten people who are not of the same sex and have been friends since school, they usually meet two or three times a week during the evening, and, for those who have a 'steki' it is located in their neighbourhood. The main gender differentiations are that males usually meet daily, and that the 'steki' of the females is not located in their neighbourhood (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988, pp. 91-94).

[4] Although the interviewees surely spend some time (especially on Sundays) getting dressed they do not declare it. Eating is, or can be, a 'leisure activity', but the interviewees evaluate it as neither work nor leisure (the category 'none' in Table 6.5). Also, the few hours devoted to work (which is distinguished from studying) relate to two factors: first, only two people have a fixed working timetable and one of them did not complete the diary, and second, the number refers to mean hours.

[5] This can be compared to the result of the questionnaire distributed as part of the Council of Europe's Project which showed that over 90 percent spent their leisure time in Phaliro (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983, p. 104).

Chapter 7 AGENCY - STRUCTURE, CULTURAL IDENTITY AND
THE LOCAL

7.1 The Sense of Belonging to a Social Group and the Imposition of a Stereotype of Action

There is a differentiation in the interviewees' evaluation of themselves, which can be generally characterised as 'positive', from this of Greek youth[1] in general, which in most cases is 'negative'. This differentiation is probably the main reason which, rather unconsciously, leads them to admit that, although they believe that youth forms a separate social category, they do not feel part of a *generation*. The definition of generation is based on age (on either the six or ten year range), events and situations, and common elements and memories. Dick believes that youth is the mirror of social life, and he does not feel very strongly about belonging to a generation, perhaps because he does not respect contemporary young people aged 17-27. There is an intermediate view expressed by John, who claims that youth is different from the other social groups but not autonomous, and an opposite one expressed by Simon, who does not see any general attribute of youth, and he also states that some friends of his who are 27 or 28 years old can be considered young, because they have not given up their ideals.

However, most friends or members of associations and groups belong to the same age range and they believe that there exists a generation gap, but not to the extent that it existed in former times, and they do not consider it as a major problem of contemporary youth. Thus, the feeling of belonging to a social group unconsciously affects the choice of friends. John believes that, although an extreme generation gap does not exist, there exists a communication gap between a 30 year old and a 17 year old. Dick believes that the subjects on which a difference of opinion exists (e.g. gender relations, religion, professional orientation and rehabilitation, interests, social adjustment) will always exist. The main cause of conflicts is the fact that contemporary youth does not bother about the destination of human beings, human relations, rights and obligations. Simon believes that the generation gap starts from certain misunderstandings, but if one manages to acknowledge some attributes that make the mother a mother and the child a child, then s/he can evaluate the character better. Somehow the lives of all people have common elements, although the perceptions are different.

A particular phase in the lifecourse is not generally connected to the motivation of interest or to concrete preferences. However, the choice of friends is connected to

particular phases in life, since most of them are long term and may even go back to schooldays. The general belief of the interviewees is that the factor of age is not as important as that of gender, professional group or social class.

As far as the factor of *ethnicity* is concerned, Dick is the only one who refers to his strong feeling about being Greek, while at the same time – in accordance with his religious approach – he feels strongly about being a brother to all people:

> We are all an entity, and we are all responsible for the good and the bad things that happen. There is universality and globalism. Feeling Greek makes me realise that in order for a country to progress there must be solidarity. I am ready to co-operate with anyone. Besides that I feel that I have a common bond with all people on Earth. Being European is more sentimental while being Greek is more functional, because whatever you do you do it for the country.

Dick wants to elaborate more on the European dimension because it moves him. His views are an example of the relation of the local to the global. With regard to music, there is a contradiction between his claim that this view does not apply to the adoption of a conception of world music, and his belief that music must unite people, and that it has a universality.

The interviewees believe thatthe social system attempts to impose a *stereotype* of 'appropriate' youth action, or, in other words, to incorporate youth into the dominant middle-class culture in the process of the homogenisation of Greek society which is an important aspect of its contemporary crisis. This stereotype has various aspects, but it usually takes the following form: one should be a good student at school, go to a university, marry a person from the same – or higher – social class, have kids, and be professionally successful, which is translated into earning a lot of money. These aims are not necessarily achieved through hard work, but also through the right connections. One spatial aspect of this stereotype is the spread of multi-storey apartment buildings, a phenomenon which multiplied in Phaliro during the 1970s. These aspects are affected by the factors which transmit the stereotype, mainly the media, but also by the family and the school, i.e. the three principal factors of socialisation. The whole process is not materialised without contradictions, since, as Dick argues, the stereotypes which are presented by the family (such as honesty, decent life, marriage, and professional success) may contradict some stereotypes presented by the media, or generally the modern view of society, referring to revolution, freedom, abolition of the conventional lifestyle.

The interviewees also acknowledge that there is a reaction to this stereotype, which, again, depends on the three principal factors of socialisation. However, this reaction also depends on the general attitude of young people, especially towards revolution and the predetermination of the course of their life. This attitude is affected by the

conditions of social life, which are generally considered to be not so hard as in previous times when the constraints were stronger, or, according to Dick, more easily acceptable.

The sense of belonging to a social group and the imposition of a stereotype refer to other-directed intimacy, which, in the lifecourse, coexists with self-directed intimacy. Their interrelationship plays a crucial role in the quest for identity, which can function as a reaction to the imposed stereotype, and in which the role of cultural activities is important.

7.2 Self-directed Intimacy, Other-directed Intimacy and the Quest for Cultural Identity

Although most young adults who were studied have a 'parea' (Table 6.3, Chapter 6), for males the preferred companion (in the perceptual world) for cinema, as well as the preferred companion for music, is a girlfriend/boyfriend (Charts 7.1-7.2). The interviewees generally do (in the lived world) a daily activity *alone*, especially on weekdays (Table 7.1). However, on Saturdays they spend most of their time with friends or a 'parea'. Very few interviewees state the reasons for which they prefer a particular companion, and they relate this to the factor of space. The preference for large companies of friends seems to be valid especially for the summer, and it implies the use of either open or closed public spaces. John explains this attitude with reference to seasonal changes: winter is supposed to be a time for work, movement, and alertness, while summer is a time for relaxation. Thus, in winter one cannot usually be with many people and one prefers to be alone, while in the summer one needs to be with many people. A house is the best type of locale for the development of those personal interests which John shares with other people.

Dick also prefers houses because they provide better opportunities for social contact. He claims that one cannot talk in a bar, cinema or tavern, and that for a group of more than two or three people a house is the best type of meeting place. Since cinema is a specialised entertainment, he prefers to go to the cinema alone because a companion is essentially useless. In a bar he prefers to go with one or two people who want to listen to music or drink. Simon thinks that a group of 10 or 15 people is more like a party, and no special energy is transferred from one person to another. Of all the interviewees he presents the most elaborate view on the relationship between companionship and locales: this relationship is not simply based on the fact that certain locales by their nature favour the development of common interests, but it depends on

the particular conditions, and it helps if the friends have common views about the locales. However, every activity shared by a group has a corresponding locale.

Chart 7.1 PREFERRED COMPANION FOR MUSIC
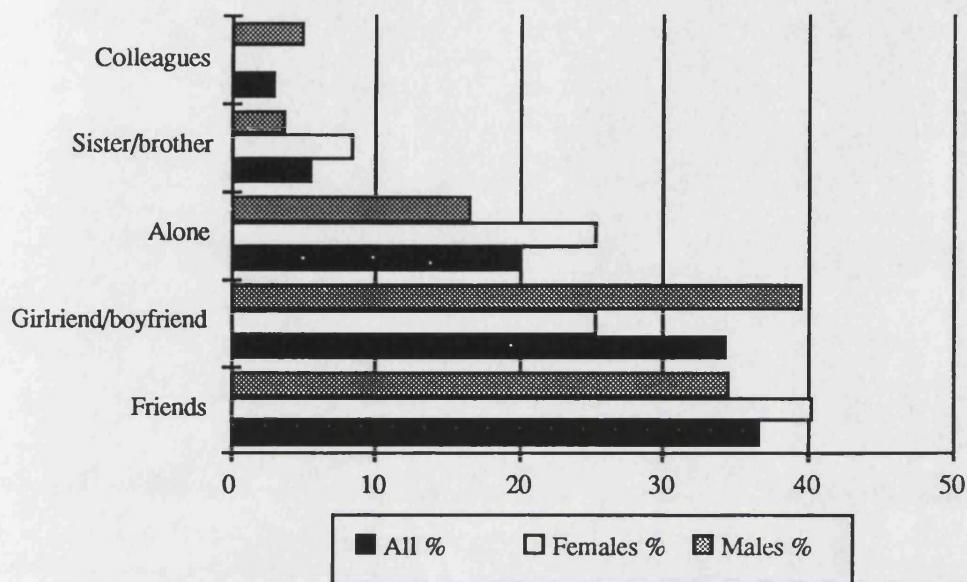
Chart 7.2 PREFERRED COMPANION FOR CINEMA
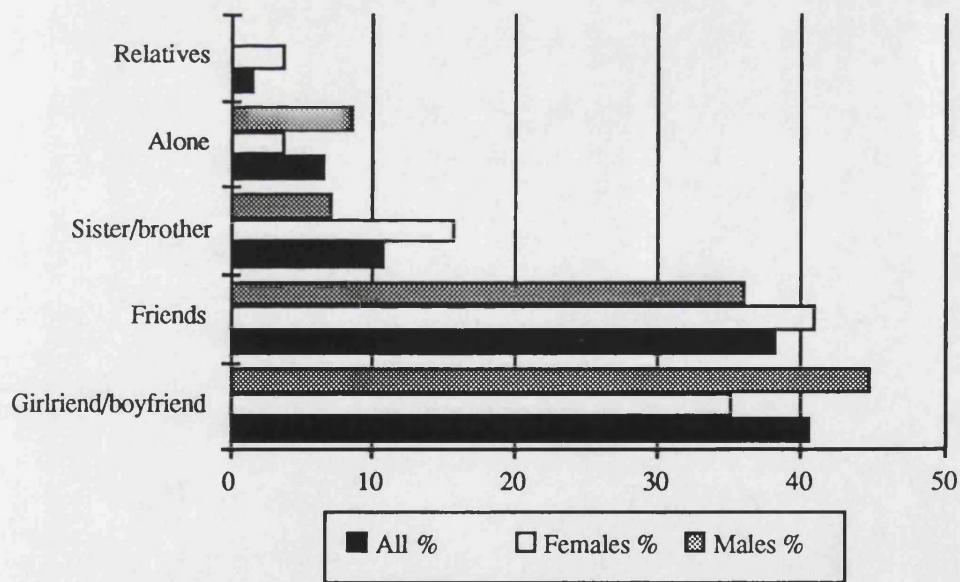
<u>Note</u>: See note in Chart 6.1, Chapter 6

The preference for being alone is an expression of the individualistic tendencies observed in various studies about youth in Athens, which is also reflected in non-participation in clubs and/or associations.[2] There are many reasons why interviewees do not belong to any club and/or association – especially in relation to cultural

activities. For Cathy, the main reason is the lack of an appropriate association that could suit her desires, combined with limited searching on her part, while Dick and Simon state lack of time.

Table 7.1   DAILY HOURS WITH COMPANION

Companion	Weekday	Saturday	Sunday
Alone	6.57	5.27	5.33
Alone (sleep)	7.55	8.45	8.07
Girlfriend/boyfriend	0.00	0.00	0.55
Friends/'parea'	2.44	5.55	3.37
Family	0.35	0.39	0.57
Fellow students	2.55	0.00	0.00
Others	0.30	0.43	0.00
Alone or with others	0.08	0.26	0.13
Total hours	21.14	21.54	19.22

Note: See note in Table 6.4, Chapter 6

Chart 7.3   TYPE OF PREFERRED LOCALE   FOR MUSIC
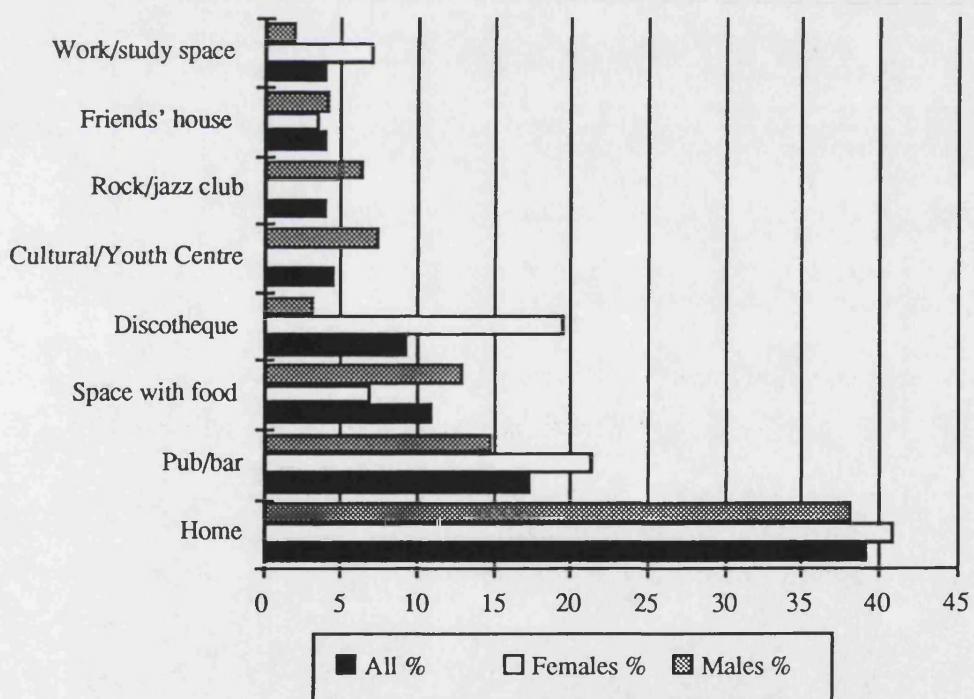
The *home* is not necessarily regarded as a choice in the sense that on a 24 hour basis it is a 'forced' locale, but it is the overall preferred locale (Table 7.2). If cultural activities are examined separately, it is the first choice for listening to, or playing music and watching films on television or video (Charts 7.3-7.4), as well as for reading, television and radio.[3] The preferred locale for dance is, as expected, a

Chart 7.4   TYPE OF PREFERRED LOCALE   FOR CINEMA
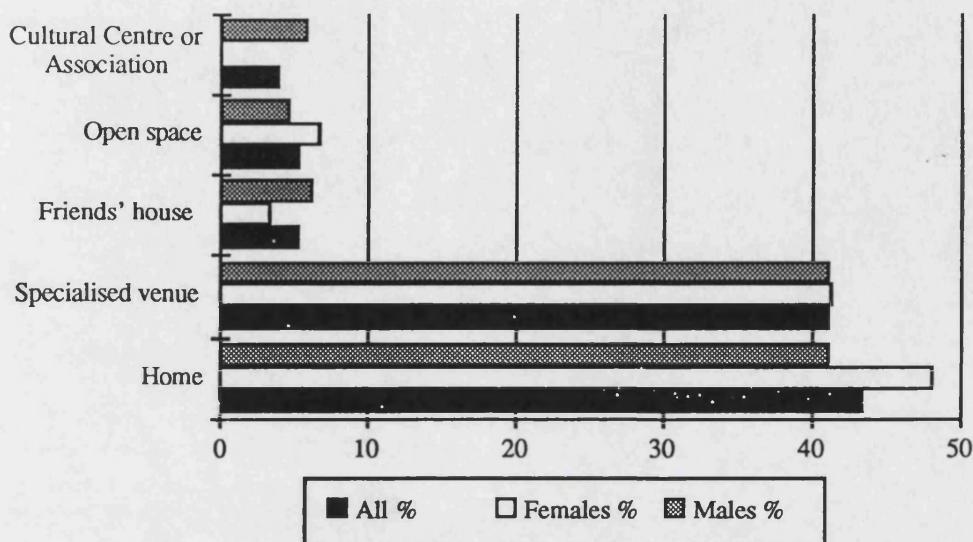
Table 7.2   DAILY HOURS IN TYPES OF LOCALE

Type of locale	Weekday	Saturday	Sunday
Home	6.20	7.03	7.26
Home (sleep)	7.55	8.45	8.07
Open space (street, square, park)	2.29	1.41	1.36
Foreign institute	0.25	0.00	0.00
Athletic	0.19	0.11	0.34
Educational	2.00	0.00	0.00
Cultural (discotheque, Cultural Association, music studio, cinema)	1.03	2.07	0.54
Eating/drinking	0.29	1.17	0.28
Other house	0.45	0.15	0.38
City centre & Nea Smirni	1.04	0.56	0.00
'Steki' & any locale	0.00	0.26	0.17
Total hours	21.14	22.40	20.00

Note: Any locale can be a 'steki', but it is stated as separate category by few of the interviewees.

discotheque, but still the home (in the sense of parties) is the fourth choice (Chart 7.8 in Appendix 7). The interviewees stay at home more during the weekends, especially on Sundays. Thus, it cannot be argued that they intend to get away from home, although most of the houses I visited are not large (even those of middle-class families). The other reason which would cause people to leave home, i.e. bad relationship with their parents, is not valid, but good relations are not necessarily translated into sharing activities with their parents. The preference for being at home is directly related to the preference for being alone especially on weekdays (Table 7.1), and thus it functions as an additional expression of the individualistic tendencies of Greek youth. An overall verification is indicated from the outline of the daily pattern of the cultural activities of the young people who were studied (Table 6.2, Chapter 6).

The prevailing attitude is that things can be bad, but what counts is what an individual can do. The tendency among young people to get together implies a will to communicate, which even if it is superficial, constitutes a starting point for the quest for identity.

The individualism of the interviewees is distinguished from the individualism of Greek youth, which mainly implies egoism. In the case of the interviewees, it can be interpreted as relating more to the development of personhood or personality, the quest for identity and to the relation We - I, while egoism relates to self-interest and to I, i.e. atomism, privatism and narcissism. A more appropriate term is *self-directed intimacy*; its adoption is inspired by Riesman, who juxtaposes the inner-directed with the other-directed. The most important reason for the egoistic tendencies of contemporary Greek youth is, according to the interviewees, the lack of ideals – this is directly connected to the cultural crisis of contemporary Greece, or rather of the modern world.

The reaction to the imposed stereotype is self-directed, but not egoistic, since in most instances it constitutes part of a group ('parea', association, music group). Thus, it is also other-directed. However, in contemporary mass society it is not only an individual who can be isolated or anonymous, but also a group. This does not exclude the possibility of a group being homogeneous, something which can be beneficial for the group as a whole, but perhaps not for the personal development of its members. Also, the mere existence of a group of friends (regular or not) denotes a degree of collectivity, since there is communication, common activity, co-operation, following of commonly approved rules – and all of these are situated in the context of a plurality of options within which the individual is part of a whole, which also produces constraints. The self-directed trends are mainly indicated by the more hours spent (in the lived world) alone (Table 7.1) and at home (Table 7.2). This is more a sign of a quest for identity in the context of intimacy, than a sign of egoism, since space identification is connected to the home, which is faced as a locus of self-search and self-creation. Thus, the quest for identity depends on reaction to the stereotype.

One question which is essential in the quest for identity is 'what would you like to be if you were not what you are?', since it clearly puts on the agenda the issue of alternative options. It applies to all ages, but it takes a different form in every phase of the lifecourse. For the young adults in general, it is mainly translated into the process of becoming, since few of them have a steady job as an outcome of their first conscious decision concerning their professional orientation. This is an indication of the importance of becoming, compared to being, in the quest for identity. Becoming is a process and not a state. It is future oriented, and transitory, not permanent. This life attitude shows that the world is not taken-for-granted, but is evaluated (as stereotype) and re-acted upon. Dick expresses the essence of the co-existence of plurality and

constraints (differentiations) very well in the following statement: 'The truth is never hidden only in one point of view: every element complements each other. One has to develop a critical mind and find the small piece of truth which is missing in each case in order to complete the picture.'

The differentiation between self-directed and other-directed by itself does not mean much in terms of creativity – an individual can be creative alone at her/his home, but s/he can be passive when s/he is part of a group of friends – and it can be better approached by the use of the term action (practice). An example provided by this research is that many interviewees who play a musical instrument (most of them are self-taught) prefer to play than to attend concerts. Also, the term collective does not always imply popular. If it is examined in reference to the dimensions of production and consumption, there does not exist any single correspondence of either the individual or the collective attribute with either consumption or production.

Although it seems that collectivity refers mainly to production and individualism is an attribute of consumption, as far as *artistic activities* are concerned this is not always valid. A case where there is collectivity both in production and consumption is open air festivals (e.g. Woodstock) or carnivals (e.g. Notting Hill). An interesting case is that of watching a film, which is mainly an individual affair but in a collective setting, where spatial conditions are particularly important, e.g. darkness, relationship with screen. The quest for identity is based on consumption, which, however, is related to production. A term which condenses both notions is, as in the case of creative/passive, action. The quest for identity is also connected with style,[4] and the emphasis on consumption and style denotes the domination of the image (also in the case of music through the effect of videoclips), on the one hand, and the primacy of leisure time, on the other hand.

The main issue regarding leisure time is not so much the quantitative aspect but the qualitative aspect, i.e. how people utilise and organise their leisure time. This is well summed up by Celia, who states that some people claim they do not have time because they want to escape from something. They do not know how time passes, how to calculate it, because it is leisure time, but they do not know how to utilise it. One example of time utilisation that was stated by John, Dick, and Simon was the interview itself.

Artistic activities play a role in the reaction to the imposed stereotype through their interference in the series of mental processes linking perception, knowledge, appropriation and consciousness. According to John, this role can be two-fold: in some cases they help bring about a conscious reaction, in others an unconscious reaction already exists, and they help the individual to become conscious of the reaction. Among artistic activities the role of *music*, primarily, and cinema,

secondarily, is important. For Cathy, the devotion to music and cinema implies elements of a positive way out from the apathy and the lack of ideals. The primary impact of music and the secondary one of cinema correspond to the preferences of Greek youth according to the various research studies – and especially the latest scientific one which was done in 1983 by NCSR (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988).[5]

The relation to music can have many facets. Perhaps the most important connected to the issue of identity is the emotional one, which Cathy describes as follows:

> When I see a film, I contemplate many things which I have never thought about before: thus more problems are created, but it is also a pleasure. The fact that I spend many hours at the piano and reading, relates to the way I want to react, but it is not that I do something which is opposed to the general rules... Young people whose first preference is classical music are a minority in Greece. In my 'parea' there are some people who like classical music, but not as much as me. This happened by chance: we did not meet because they liked classical music... I am emotionally moved by classical music, because I recognise that composers like Bach and others have seen so many things in previous times that some contemporary persons have not seen nowadays: this stirs me up and I trust them. This music relaxes and fascinates me: it is only music that can carry you away completely. When I play a sonata by Mozart, I am in a very good mood and I can think about other things, while when I play Bach I cannot. Maybe it is the kind of logic he has.

The fact that somebody, like Cathy, is emotionally moved by listening to music, mainly because she trusts certain composers who can affect herself, contributes to the quest for her cultural identity. This occurs especially because emotion is connected more to intuition than logic, since art, being part of leisure, is a field where people seek, according to Elias and Dunning, a 'specific heightening of tensions' (1986, p. 93). There is also the issue of the evaluation of preferences: it is not simply the case whether there exist 'higher' or 'lower' types of culture (which are, anyhow, interrelated), but whether, and to what extent these types contribute to cultural identity. [see Appendix 6, 6.2] The spatial aspect of emotion is reflected more in the process of appropriation, since the peculiarity of the existence of specialised locales for youth (e.g. bars, music clubs) consists mainly in the sense of collective appropriation, i.e. a common experience as part of a social group, which leads to less self-control of emotions.

In reference to Greek society as a whole, the quest for identity by individuals can be opposed to the bureaucratisation of human relations, or to the pace of life imposed by the social system, i.e. to the *middle-class homogenisation* of Greek society. The present research has indicated that a reaction, whether conscious or unconscious, to this homogenisation can come even from members of the middle class, bearing in mind that class, according to Sennett, can be also a matter of self-perception (1977/1986, p. 268). This reaction is possible, because, on the one hand, young

adults coming from middle-class families have the economic, educational and cultural capital to occupy themselves seriously with artistic activities – not necessarily connected with high culture. On the other hand, the homogenisation of Greek society is based on work and family related values focusing on economics and politics, and not yet on leisure related values, although the recent policy to control the night timetables of leisure spaces is an indication towards this direction.

As far as the *international dimension* of the society is concerned, the quest for identity can, on the one hand, be opposed to the homogenisation imposed by global (mainly US) culture through the media, or the rationalisation brought about by the regulations of the EU. On the other hand, it can incorporate elements of global (including US) culture, European culture, and Mediterranean culture. In the first two cases the influence refers primarily to music and secondarily to cinema (Charts 6.1, 6.4-6.5 in Chapter 6), while the Mediterranean culture influences the lifestyle in general (e.g. slow rhythms of work, long vacations) – since rationalisation is not its major attribute. The impact of television for young adults is distinguished from that of cinema, since, although the power of television is greater, the young adults who were studied mainly prefer foreign films (Table 6.1, Chapter 6) and generally they do not watch a lot of television (Table 6.4, Chapter 6). The impact of television usually takes the form of style and fashion as elements of the culture of young people.

Although the definition of the quest for cultural identity is based on the attributes of the self – however not always aiming at self-consciousness – it does not exclude, but rather implies, the influence of the 'Other', which, in the modern world, mainly takes the form of groups of people and the media (not necessarily in quantitative terms since, for example, the interviewees do not watch much television), and not the form of other localities or communities. In the process of reacting to the imposed stereotype, daily action is characterised by contradictions indicating that a single self does not always exist, but that there can also exist multiple selves, and consequently identities. The self or selves (*agents*) are not autonomous, but interact with the social context (*structure*) according to structuration theory. Also, in the process of the quest for cultural identity, the interviewees, despite the various influences, try not to be mimetic (e.g. they are not mere fans of rock groups or film stars which are the most typical examples), but instead they try to develop a sense of creativity. As far as the relation of the individual - society interaction to the daily pattern of cultural activities is concerned, the cases in which this interaction is more evident are in going to dance, in participation in music groups, and among students. The whole process of the quest for identity constitutes another example of differentiation, since self-directed intimacy interrelates with other-directed intimacy. The dialectic of collective and self-identity, and its relation to space, is well described by an informer of A. P. Cohen in his

fieldwork in Whalsay, Shetland, who claims that people 'are the *same here – but different, too*' (1978, p. 449).

The participation in groups is not realised without contradictions. The *Cultural Association* (no. 5, Figure 5.1) has played an important role in the cultural activities in the locality. The interviewees who belong to the Association became members by accident (in relation more to activities than friends), and, although at the time of the interviews (1989) much less was going on at the Association, bonding relationships still existed among most of them. They claim that what they like about it, is that it helps them to overcome certain individualistic trends, giving them an overall sense of fulfilment, a sense of belonging to a group, communication with different people, and co-operation based on a particular aim; this was usually translated into presentations concerned with music and social issues.

Nobody from the Cultural Association has been to a music school; also only one member has been to a cinema school. According to John, the main reasons for which the Association does not have its own musical group is that it cannot provide its members with instruments, and that there are many differences in preferences and characters. However, it used to have a very good group of seven/eight people which played all types of Greek music, but due to various difficulties they disbanded. As far as listening to music is concerned, there have been clashes and compromises, and this usually resulted in pluralism, which for a time ranged from reggae to punk. Sometimes arguments took place relating to the choice between Greek and foreign songs, because, according to David, some boys liked the 'skiladika' ('heavy' Greek songs which are mainly connected to the lumpen social elements), but in most cases these arguments did not refer, according to John, to interests but to the type of personal relationships. There were also presentations concerning Greek and foreign composers, groups, types of music, music movements, poets whose verses have been set to music etc. In relation to other arts, there were presentations of films and sections devoted to photography, dance and theatre.

According to John, the Association is malfunctioning because the old members have left and no new members are joining. This has happened because they are not willing to approach unfamiliar young people, e.g. they are cautious about those who go to 'Pachos' (no. 12, Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.23-5.24, Appendix 5), since they have other things on their mind. For John, the contact with a person who will say something different to them is very important, because they will see that alternative lifestyles exist.

Besides the Cultural Association, which mainly serves Phaliro, non local groups also exist. For example, Dick participates in a group of Esoteric Christianism, the members of which meet weekly, go out or on excursions. Other non local groups are

music groups (four in number): this is a common phenomenon among interviewees who like music – although only Dick has a degree from a music school. John belongs to a group which was formed through an announcement in the press and its members are from Piraeus. Dick's group specialises in twentieth century classical music, performs in various municipalities, and its members are from areas other than Phaliro. The members of the music groups usually have nothing more than a professional relationship, i.e. they are not friends or part of the same 'parea'. However, John sometimes goes out at night with the boys in his group.

The participation in the Cultural Association is one element of attachment to the locality which is also affected, in addition to the aforementioned factors of activity and companionship, by time-space.

7.3 The Factors which Affect the Attachment to the Locality / by whom ?

The main *common elements of young people* in general are believed to be: dynamism, spontaneity, tendency for revolution (these three factors are all based on instinct), novelty, change, and vitality. These contradict, more or less, the main attributes of contemporary Greek *youth* as they refer to the picture which emerges from the fieldwork, in relation to the conceptual framework (also including the personal opinion of the researcher) and to the corpus of related knowledge (also including the evidence from other research).

Some of the elements which function as *symbols of youth activity* and have a *spatial dimension* in Phaliro are the motorbikes which gather at the central square (Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.13-5.16), or in the streets near Panagitsa (Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.7-5.8), the cafeterias that function as places of meeting or 'milling about', the beach ('Batis' – Figure 5.1 Photograph 5.10), and the parties. These elements (which most of the interviewees do not adopt) relate more to the main attributes of contemporary Greek youth (e.g. egoism, lack of ideals), than to the common elements of youth in general. / a questionable concept.

The principal characteristic of the lifestyle in the city, according to John, is loneliness: many lonely people unite and form a mass which consists of people who are isolated and who do not actually know what they want. It is matter of chance if something happens to jolt them out of their isolation. He believes that what dominates the new lifestyle of the southern district of Phaliro is the US model: 'Let's go and see what is ready-made', 'we pay and we want something ready', 'we pay and we will go to listen to music or to eat'. It does not cross their minds that they have to work hard in order to create something which they will enjoy more, as, for example, the members

of the Cultural Association used to do. John concludes that, in any case, people can always find something that pleases them, since the reason something exists is because there is a market for it. This attitude is a form of alienation, and it is an indication of the contradictory dimension of pleasure. Alienation is accentuated by the stereotype of the multi-storey apartment buildings, since it diminishes the everyday communication between neighbours. However, the spatial factor can only contribute to pre-existing tendencies, it cannot create them from scratch. This is clearly illustrated by Dick's claim that it is not simply that the buildings are faceless, but that the people have retreated into their selves. The evaluation of space is helped by the pin-pointing of various differentiations such as private/public, city centre/locality, open/closed.

The *open spaces* combine both the elements of public and summer. Although most interviewees greatly value, in their perceptual world, the open spaces in general, and not only in reference to the summer and to the evening, they actually use, in their lived world, only the central square and the beach – and this happens rarely and mainly on weekdays (Table 7.2). This combination of high value and infrequent use agrees with Cheek's analysis. He claims that the focus on natural beauty, freedom from space limitations, and change elements is not enough, while it has been demonstrated, by Field and O'Leary, that people enter such environments usually in groups of intimates. Thus, space preference for outdoor settings must be attributed in the escape from ordinary environments and routinised tasks, and the need for intimacy, being together and doing things together (cited in Kelly, 1987, p. 107).

The main reason for which the interviewees visit open spaces is that they want to meet with other people, and the fact that they rarely visit these spaces is due to the lack of the appropriate companion, or to their preference for spaces with fewer people. For example, it has been a long time since David was in an open space; this is not because he prefers closed spaces, but because he prefers spaces with few people. Dick has not been to the central square for almost a year, because nowadays he does not have the appropriate companion. When he was at school he used to go more often since the 'pareas' from school used to meet there. John goes to the central square mainly in order to find people to talk to if he is in a good mood. It functions as a place where an individual can meet other people and he/they can also sit there at night: night time is the best time even during the winter, and there have been some terrific discussions on the benches at 3:00 AM. The policemen – the Police Station is located on one corner of the square – do not bother them, and vice versa.

Concerning the *use of time by young people in Phaliro*, most interviewees believe that it is not creative. John, in order to describe the use of time, uses the term 'parking' (i.e. milling about, hanging around), which has two sides: there is creative 'parking' if one wants a very good discussion and a good friend, while 'parking' in a discotheque

is best avoided. Lena D. says that her daughter sits in cafeterias with her 'parea', but she cannot describe to her what they do (personal communication).[6] The use of time in Phaliro is mainly devoted to entertainment, primarily to being with friends in cafeterias (especially sitting at 'Pachos' for hours), pubs, bars, discotheques, maybe also staying at home, walking. Young people in Phaliro are greatly affected by images, since, according to Simon, they devote much time to fashion and modern objects, try to be 'in', to go out, and watch a lot of television – in the latter he agrees with Mary B. who says that during the lesson her music pupils always talk of television and video. The above elements which function as symbols of youth activity in Phaliro and have a temporal dimension – which again most of the interviewees do not adopt – also relate more to the main attributes of contemporary Greek youth, than to the common elements of youth in general, thus verifying the conclusion that, although there exist common elements in the lifestyle, and consequently in the culture, of the young, there is no unified 'youth culture'.

The views of the interviewees relate to their conception of the important factors in life, of the necessary factors in life success, and of the major problems of contemporary Greek youth. The most important factors in their life are friendship and social relations/communication, both aspects of socialising in distinction from egoism. The weight of leisure as an element of social life is verified by the fact that it is the third most important factor. The factor which is considered the most necessary for success is will/persistence/hard work/skills, i.e. work related factors. The second and third most necessary factors are courage/ confidence and intelligence/exploitation of opportunities. If this is combined with the minimum evaluation of acquaintances/ strings, it can be interpreted as a dependence on the characteristics of the self. The problem which is considered as the most crucial of contemporary Greek youth is unemployment/financial problems, i.e. work, which agrees with the greater evaluation of the work-related factors in success.

The aforementioned factors and problems are an indication of the *values* of the individuals, and as such they are connected to culture. They are related more to the criteria of choosing friends (such as common interests and artistic preferences, good character, reliability, common ideals – e.g. solidarity, morality, will for social change – and views), and to the criteria of time preferences (such as communication, better psychology, intensity in relationships/loneliness, creativity), than to the criteria of choosing locales (such as spatial arrangement, style, location, cleanness and niceness). Anyhow, there are no clear-cut explanations concerning what the aforementioned values and the criteria of space preferences share; maybe, by their nature, this is impossible. For example, Andrew and John state common interests and location respectively, while Dick states common ideals and spatial arrangement. The

aforementioned values are also related to leisure preferences, especially to the preferred types of films: social activities/action, social relations/communication and the major social problems connect to the films about social issues (first preference), while will/persistence/hard work/skills and courage/confidence connect to adventures (third preference).

Most interviewees have a clear conception of spatial *boundaries*, not in so far as they believe that Phaliro is autonomous, but more in considering that Agia Varvara and Amphithea are not part of Phaliro (Figure 5.1 – see also Appendix 7, 7.3). John feels that he is particularly an inhabitant of Phaliro, but this does not mean he does not feel that he is an inhabitant of Athens. Dick sometimes thinks that Phaliro is one of the most distant areas. The temporal boundaries which exist for most of the interviewees, relate to the noon period, the night, and the weekend. A typical case combining the last two factors is Saturday night, which for most interviewees means something different from the ordinary routine, especially in connection to dance and cinema, and especially, according to John, if one has a permanent job and works hard. However, although for Cathy the idea of enjoying a Saturday night, especially in the winter, means the possibility of staying out late at night and of meeting at 'stekia', she usually has a better time on weekdays.

Spatio-temporal boundaries also determine the 'presencing' (intermingling of presence and absence) of the individuals whether alone or in groups. Most young adults who were studied have a 'parea' and a 'steki' (Table 6.3, Chapter 6), which is usually a friend's house. Both the 'parea' (Chart 6.7, Chapter 6) and the 'steki' are located in Phaliro, and this is the most important of the factors which contribute to the *attachment to the locality*, which the interviewees feel. The other factors are: the fact that Phaliro is pleasant throughout the year; the generally good and varied environmental conditions (e.g. less pollution compared to other areas, good climate); its privileged location in the urban structure of Athens; and the feeling of comfort – mainly because the environment and the people are familiar – satisfaction, pleasure, and ease in the streets.

There are variations of this pattern of the attachment to the locality. Cathy prefers to go to Nea Smirni, because the people from her 'parea' live there and it is more comfortable. She also believes that one of the advantages of the city centre is that it is neutral: residents of Phaliro do not know anybody there. However, although she does not feel that something is keeping her in Phaliro, she likes it as a place of residence. Dick does not have any particular preference for Phaliro over the centre. If he wants to go to the cinema then he chooses the centre, if he wants to go to a bar it depends where the 'parea' wants to go. It is not the factor of proximity that influences his space preferences, but the desire, the disposition he has to go to a place.[7] He prefers clubs to

stadiums, since the latter are faceless places. He particularly likes playing music at home with a group of friends. He usually takes the bus or the car to get to the centre for activities relating to his profession (music) or entertainment. His contact with Phaliro is promenading in Batis, shopping in Agiou Alexandrou, and walking in Trocadero, an area near the sea which he passes through on his return from the centre and where he has many friends (Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.33-5.36). However, it has been a long time since he walked in the streets, even to shop. Thus, this is not part of Dick's lived world at the present time.

John has a plurality of options. During the winter, he goes with his 'parea' either to Exarchia, an area in the centre near the National Technical University and Omonia square where students gather and most people from the Association go (Figure 3.2). John says that some claim that it expresses them ideologically for no particular reason. He prefers Glifada, even if many bars there can be considered extreme, and even if some claim that it is an upper-class area. He also goes to Kallithea because it is nearer. The decisive factor in choosing where to go is music. During the summer, he usually goes with boys from Phaliro to the Marina in Alimos. [for the location of these areas see Figure 3.1]

All the interviewees live with their families, except for Lauren whose parents died in a car accident. Most of them would choose to live in the same area. However, the time when they will really have to choose has not yet come: even those who work are either not completely financially independent, or they are emotionally dependent on their parents. This is an example of the transitional character of the young adulthood phase in the lifecourse.

The attachment to the locality also has an emotional element and it relates less to the feeling of the existence of a community or neighbourhood than to, as Davies and Herbert call it, 'the degree of rootedness and stability of a population' (1993, p. 102). One of the elements of community that has disappeared in Phaliro, is the cohesion between houses and people which is defined by the streets. The rootedness and stability of young people relates to the sense of belonging, which rather refers to a group than to a generation. The attachment to the locality eventually contributes to the spatial identification with the area, and specifically to a *sense of place*. This is actually the term David uses to justify the fact that he feels comfortable in Phaliro, because he has been born and raised there.

The *attraction of the centre* is rather limited, although it provides more options – especially in relation to winter cinemas (e.g. Attikon and Embassy). This lack of interest is also reflected in the fact that it has been at least a year since most respondents (especially females) visited the seven selected profiled cultural spaces in

Chart 7.5   LAST VISIT TO SELECTED PROFILED LOCALES IN THE CITY CENTRE
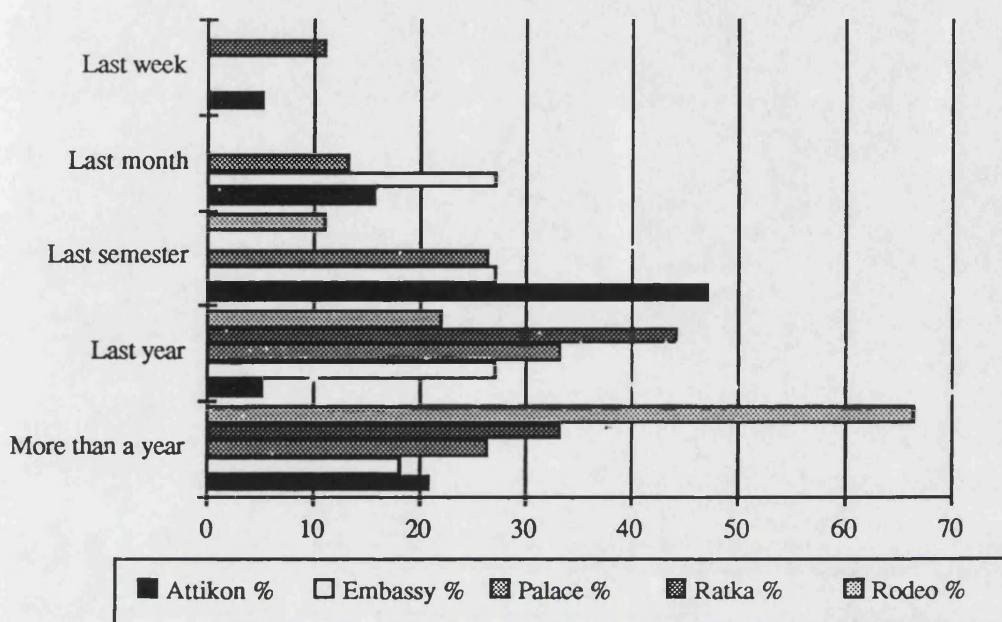
Note: Attikon (no. 5), and Embassy (no. 7) are popular private winter cinemas, while Palace (no. 11) is a public winter cinema which is also used for concerts. Ratka (no. 14) is a bar which also serves food. Rodeo (no. 13) is a locale where concerts take place and foods are served. Lyric Scene is the only existing opera house (no. 12). The numbers refer to Figure 3.2. For the profile of these locales see Table 4.6 in Appendix 4.

the centre (one exception is Attikon), mainly because of lack of spare time (Charts 7.5-7.6). John claims that the main problem has always been time: even if a winter cinema existed, it could not satisfy all tastes, and it would not be good. In the case of the centre – as in the case of the constraints for music and cinema (Charts 6.11-6.12, Chapter 6) – again the capability constraints (lack of spare time, long distance) seem to be predominant. The main gender differentiation is that the lack of spare time is a stronger constraint for females, while the lack of advertisement/ information (a capability constraint) is a stronger constraint for males.

Although some interviewees acknowledge various shortcomings in Phaliro, they still prefer it as a place of residence, since this is what it mainly means for them as opposed to an area with public buildings, or an area related to work, leisure and consumption which are the principal meanings of the centre. This desire for permanent residence is what mainly characterises, according to Wallman, the committed locals (1993, p. 65). The centre means distanciation from everyday life, since, according to John, shopping is not a basic need and public services imply discomfort. The feeling of home in Phaliro is related to the environment (which is more beautiful and tidy, relatively quiet and clean), to friends, and to security.

Chart 7.6 CONSTRAINTS FOR USING THE LOCALES IN THE CITY CENTRE
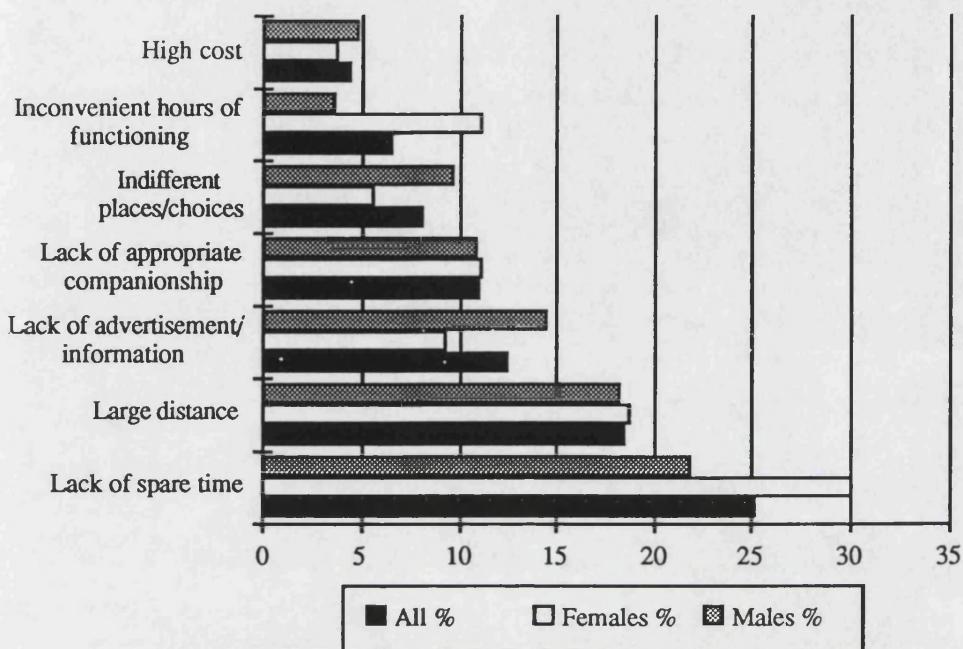
Generally the interviewees feel more comfortable in Phaliro than in the centre. This feeling is an important element of satisfaction, which, according to Davies and Herbert, relates to, but does not always coincide with, the attachment to the locality (1993, p. 102). The fact that interviewees feel more comfortable in Phaliro is of qualitative rather than quantitative significance: it is not how many meanings they ascribe to the locales of Phaliro compared to those of the centre, but how they evaluate these meanings. For Cathy, the centre is a place of work and a place where the environment is polluted, while Phaliro is a place of leisure, familiarity, and a place where one can isolate her/himself if s/he wants. What makes the big difference is the environment, because the issue of ecology is the most important for her; when she visits the centre she 'goes mad'. Dick admits that his image of the centre changes according to his movements: in the morning the centre annoys him because it is a polluted environment, but in the afternoon and at night – both of which relate to going out, contacting people, and meeting friends – it provides more options for entertainment. For him, the big difference is the distinction between consumption (shopping) and residence, while for John it is security. However, what counts for Mary B. especially in the case of music, is desire; thus, people who do not frequent the events in Phaliro, also do not go to the centre.

Whether the reference is on local, urban or global space, the constraining effect of space as such is a sort of 'tyranny', e.g. the inhabitants of Phaliro cannot escape the fact that they live in a particular house in this particular area or that they live near the

centre of Athens, or in Greece, or, for that matter, that they belong to the whole world. Even if they want to forget about the rest of Greece or of the world, the media constantly remind them this fact, since, according to Morley, the sitting room is the place where the global meets the local (1991).

The attachment to the locality is a complex process involving subjective and emotional factors. The centre, even if it shows a large degree of concentration of the cultural spaces of Athens (Table 5.6, Chapter 5), does not attract young adults from Phaliro. This attachment is mainly expressed in the existence of a 'parea' and a 'steki' (usually a friend's house) in Phaliro implying that the organisation of the leisure time of young adults does not depend on the existing provision, i.e. the use of institutional cultural spaces, but on their personal criteria. Thus, people's desires can be more decisive than the absence of a policy for decentralisation – and consequently of the local authorities' limited finances – or the lack of programming and of political will of the local authorities. In this sense, there can always be options despite the constraints.

7.4 Summary and Conclusion

There is a differentiation between the evaluation of the interviewees about themselves, which can be generally characterised as 'positive', and about youth in the locality, in Athens and in Greece, which in most cases is 'negative'. Their sense of belonging is directed not towards the generation, but towards the 'parea', even if friends belong to the same generation.

However, although most of the young adults who were studied have a 'parea', they generally prefer to do an activity alone. This is directly related to the preference for being at home, and thus it is a characteristic expression of the tendency towards self-directed intimacy, which, however, is interrelated to other-directed intimacy, i.e. to participation in cultural associations or music groups.

The quest for identity through cultural activities by young adults can be interpreted as a reaction, with constraints, to three types of rationalisation which contribute to stereotyped action. The first is the middle-class homogenisation of Greek society. The reaction to the stereotype imposed by the three main factors of socialisation (media, family, school) can also come from members of the middle class. The second is the global, mainly US, cultural homogenisation imposed through the media. The impact of the media has both a quantitative and a qualitative aspect: e.g. young adults in Phaliro do not watch a lot of television compared to the population of Athens and Greece, but they recognise its importance, especially in the preferences for types of films and music. Its impact is both conscious and unconscious. The third is the

rationalisation brought about by the regulations of the EU. A counterbalance is provided by the influence of the Mediterranean lifestyle which is not characterised by rationalisation. Thus, the interrelationship between self-directed intimacy and other-directed intimacy is an illustration of the agency - structure connection.

The spatial factor can only contribute to pre-existing tendencies, it cannot create them from scratch; similarly, the connection of culture with the locale is not direct. The role of cultural activities is crucial from the moment that they assemble 'the people of the same area in a common place.' The attraction of the city centre is rather limited, although it provides more choices – especially in relation to winter cinemas; this is largely attributed to the lack of spare time. Although the open spaces of the locality are greatly valued, they are rarely used. This constitutes another example of the differentiation between perceptual world and lived world.

Even if few 'stekia' exist in Phaliro, the role of the home is significant. This in connection with the location of the 'parea' in Phaliro, are the most important of the factors that contribute to the attachment to the locality, which is an indication of the identity of the area and another example of a sense of place. The feeling of being more comfortable in Phaliro than in the centre is of qualitative rather than quantitative importance; some examples are: leisure, familiarity, isolation, clean environment, residence, security.

An important contradiction is that, even if females give more weight to the spatial conditions of encounters and are considered to be more emotional than men, the attachment to the locality is stronger for males. However, just as males are interrelated with females, so are various contradictions which have been pin-pointed. This is particularly so with referring to the impact oh leisure of the differentiation between perceptual world and lived world due to the mediation by the constraints of the social world. Other contradictions include the unconscious parental influence in the choice of profession; those concerning leisure, and especially music, preferences; and the fact that few references exist to the criteria of time preferences although the interviewees could more easily talk about time perception. These contradictions, along with those observed in the three selected cases, other female-male differences which could not be easily explained, and differentiations between the perceptual and lived world constitute an illustration of the existence of multiple identities.

7.5 Notes

1 It must be reminded that Greek youth mainly means youth in Athens (see Chapter 3, note 1).

2 In the NCSR research on time disposition 70.8 percent of the females and 53 percent of the males stated that they are not members of any club and/or association. The only cases in which there is such participation is student clubs for females (53.3 percent, while for males it is 31.5 percent) and sports clubs for males (38.9 percent, while for females it is only 4.4 percent) (Gardiki *et al*, 1988, p. 77).

3 The fact that the preferred locale for listening to music is the home, coincides with the findings of the NCSR research (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988, p. 66). There cannot be any other comparisons with the NCSR research since its questionnaire did not include the preferred locale for other activities.

4 The importance of style in the quest for identity was also observed in the British subcultures of the young, in which case, as Hebdige has shown, the appropriation of the elements from the dominant culture is symbolically transformed into styles (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987, p. 99).

5 However, some preferences in types of music differ, e.g. in the present research classical music is fourth choice, while in the NCSR research classical music/opera is seventh choice (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988, pp. 59, 67). Although the preference for classical music in Phaliro relates also to its relatively many music schools (four in number), there is a recent change of attitude, since now listening to classical music is not such an unusual phenomenon for Athens. This is also due to the recent opening of the Athens Concert Hall, but probably more to the organised market for classical CDs. Thus, in a way, the preference of young adults in a particular area, anticipated the preferences of the Athenian audience in general.

6 This tendency for 'hanging around', or 'leisure nothings' according to Wood, was also observed in the 'Youth People's Leisure and Lifestyle' project carried out in 1987 in Scotland (Hendry *et al.*, 1993, pp. 54-56).

7 In reference to particular cinemas, Dick likes Embassy (no. 7, Figure 3.2 – for its profile see Table 4.6 in Appendix 4) and Opera (no. 6, Figure 3.2 – both located in the city centre) as arrangement, space, taste, and also maybe for reasons that he cannot explain. Among music spaces he likes the hall in the Cultural Centre of Amphithea (no. 2, Figure 5.1), and the halls in Goethe Institut (no. 2, Figure 3.2) and Institut Français (no. 4, Figure 3.2) in the city centre.

Chapter 8   CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Overview of the Main Findings

Common elements exist in the lifestyle of the young adults (aged 19-25) who were studied in Phaliro, a middle-class area of ageing population and increasing tertiarisation, near the centre of Athens. At a first level of analysis eight common elements can be deduced: the daily pattern of cultural activities; the primary role of leisure in lifestyle; the dominance of companionship and of the type of activity in determining the preferences of cultural activities; the importance of artistic activities in the reaction to the imposed stereotype of action; the emphasis on consumption; the importance of popular culture; the emphasis on the individual; and the existence of an attachment to the locality. These elements are not one-dimensional, i.e. are not devoid of ~~contradictions~~ *connections*: consumption can be related to production; popular culture can be related to high culture; the action of the individual can be related to group participation through the quest for bonding relationships; and the local can be related to the global.

At a second level of analysis these elements lead to the following conclusions. There is a focus on personal/social relations which aims, usually in a spontaneous manner, at friendship, communication, and social activity. Social relations are considered to be part of leisure, which is the appropriate vehicle for expressing dynamism and vitality, in comparison to ~~the~~ resignation. Studying is a peculiar condition, but is evaluated as part of work, which is generally considered to be less important than leisure, although it is considered a crucial problem. Hard work, combined with skills, courage and intelligence can lead to satisfactory employment, but also to certain changes in life.

These common elements contradict, to some extent, the following attitudes both of young people in contemporary Greece (especially Athens) and of other young people in the locality: lack of ideals, problems in communication, antagonism, and insecurity lead to egoistic tendencies. These attitudes reflect a pattern, which is actually an expression of an imposed *stereotype of action*, which exerts a kind of cultural power and which is reflected in the taken-for-granted world. Leisure time is important in the stereotyped youth action, but not in a creative way, since it is mainly devoted to 'milling about' in cafeterias, and also hard work is limited to being a good student or a good employee. There exists an unwillingness for innovation which is translated into a nostalgic adoption of lifestyles of the past – 1950s, 1960s or 1970s depending on the current fashion. In contrast with the past, and with the help of the media, what is observed nowadays is the domination of images (visual consumption) especially in

relation to fashion and style. These attributes and symbols function as structural constraints to an alternative individual action, which could be expressed through spontaneity and creativity. They also function more generally as elements of the 'rationalised organisation of everyday life', and, consequently, as norms of rationalised action, which, according to Giddens, 'figure as "factual" boundaries of social life' (1984, p. 4). As far as cultural activities are concerned, the lack of a disposition for action, or collective organisation, is not a matter of interests or activities, because the preference for cultural activities applies generally to young adults. The most important common denominator is artistic activities and especially music, which incorporates dance and plays an important role as it also did in the past, but there is an emphasis on superficial entertainment and lack of commitment.

However, music, and also cinema, offer possibilities for creativity, which, together with the attempt to communicate, lead to a way of confronting the crisis of ideals and values of contemporary Greek youth. Thus, artistic activities are both part of the stereotype and of the reaction to it, i.e. *culture* constitutes both part of the crisis, and a way to overcome it. It can act as a constraint upon the expression of various authenticities, but it can also act as a resource for bringing together the various identities, whether referring to the self, to the race or to the nation. The role of culture is crucial either in institutionalised cases such as EU, or in cases sharing common elements of social life, history and natural environment such as the Mediterranean, or other cases such as global communication.

The *reaction* of the young adults who were studied to stereotyped action starts from the rejection of the routinisation which characterises the lived world. This reaction is not necessarily expressed in a daily pattern of action, since the most frequent cultural activities (listening to music or to the radio, dancing, seeing films and reading) are not activities that by themselves indicate a differentiation, except perhaps for reading. The determining factor is the organisation of time and the qualitative evaluation of lifestyle: this reaction indicates a lifestyle in which artistic activities play an important role in the quest for cultural identity, which constitutes the principal meaning of their perceived world. This quest is situated in the context of the expression of the cultural crisis of the modern world in Greece, which is characterised by increasing rationalisation (also due to European integration), commodification (focusing on the hedonistic consumerism which characterises Mediterranean societies) and privatisation of time-space, and which is affected by the globalisation of the media, leading to the contradictory process of middle-class homogenisation.

Young adults partake in artistic activities that use the body, create fun, pleasure and enjoyment, and focus on the present, i.e. a short term consciousness of time. Thus, the importance of art in their leisure, along with the importance of leisure in their

lifestyle, determines the construction of cultural identity. The fact that the definition of this type of identity is based on a reaction which focuses on consumption, does not mean that it is not characterised by a positive attitude. This is because in the series of mental processes starting from perception and knowledge, appropriation and consciousness are always crucial factors, and consumption is related with production. This social practice occurs at the level of the individual or of the small-scale group, and, although cultural identity refers more to self-directed intimacy, this is interrelated with other-directed intimacy, since, especially for males, an attachment to the locality exists (even if there is no 'local culture'), and there also exist common elements among the young (even if there is no 'youth culture').

As far as consciousness of the *time-space* interrelationship is concerned, this interrelationship focuses on the fact that the preference for a particular locale is connected to a particular moment, although it can be argued that the effect of space is more significant. A fieldwork surprise was that interviewees were more easily able to talk about time. The more significant effect of space depends not necessarily on the domination of space by time in modern societies, but on the greater degree of space identification, which mainly refers to the home and to the attachment to the locality (based on the location of the 'parea' and the 'steki' in Phaliro). Although the city centre to a large degree concentrates the cultural spaces of Athens, its attraction to the young adults of Phaliro is limited. Thus, the local seems to be related more to the global, mainly through the media, indicating a type of other-directed intimacy in the quest for identity, where the whole world seems to be within reach. Time identification relates to space identification mainly as movement, but what verifies the sense of place (a type of space consciousness) in temporal terms is the fact that people like to devote most of their time to musical activities within Phaliro. Thus, the leisure - space relationship involves a two-way process: on the one hand, the attachment to space is an expression of cultural identity, and, on the other hand, a leisure preference is an expression of time-space identification.

8.2 Importance of the Findings in Relation to the Conceptual Framework and Other Research Studies

A research object such as the role of leisure in the quest for cultural identity of young adults in the context of urban time-space can only put an emphasis on *qualitative analysis*, expressing a strong type of relationship between theory and fieldwork. It is hoped that, following Jacquelin Burgess, the end product of this qualitative research is 'an interesting, lively and insightful project which is grounded in the realities of

everyday life – an example of genuinely humane geography' (1992, p. 212). The evaluation of the impact of artistic activities in the lifestyle of young adults, was achieved mainly by the unusual application of the case study strategy in the geography of leisure, using a rarely applied conceptual framework which incorporated elements of cultural studies and social anthropology in human geography situated in the agency - structure context, thus bringing together the geography of leisure with cultural geography.

The originality of the research is verified by the connection of the findings with the conceptual framework, which is mainly manifested in the following differentiations: perceptual/social/lived world; agency - structure; constraint - resource; self-directed/other-directed intimacy; time - space; leisure/working time; consumption - production; popular/high culture, eastern/western influences on Greek culture; and globality - centrality - locality (see also Table 2.1 Chapter 2). It is not the raising of these issues one by one that is in itself original but the particular way in which they are elaborated and connected.

The research contributes to the formation of a *theory* of cultural geography, focusing not on landscape and literature which is the traditional approach, but on artistic activities. The main implications for current theory relate to the approach of the quest for cultural identity in urban time-space as the mediating factor between artistic activities and socialisation – primarily the media, but also the family and the school. This a phenomenon belonging to the lived world and is mediated by the social world in its differentiation – implying a coexistence of connection and opposition – from the perceptual world, a differentiation stated by Lefebvre (space of representations - representations of space), and implied by Bourdieu (objective - mental structures), Elias (nature - mind) and phenomenology (bracketing of the taken-for-granted world). In the perceptual world, the differentiation is between agency and structure, a differentiation stated by Giddens, and implied by Bourdieu and Elias. At the level of this mediation, a series of interrelated mental processes is involved linking perception, knowledge, appropriation, and consciousness.

Cultural identity is, thus, a type of a meso-level concept between agency and structure, and it relates with Bourdieu's habitus and Elias' figuration. Time and space are both present and absent, constraints and resources, mental and material constructs. Their interrelationship in the perceptual world can be embedded in the lived world as movement, but this does not always occur because of their separation by the social world of modernity. The imposition of a stereotype of action by socialisation indicates the effect of the social structure on everyday life through rationalisation and routinisation. Socialisation affects the construction of stereotypes, and in this sense contributes to the middle-class homogenisation of Greek society, which is not yet

based on leisure related values, although there are recent indications for the opposite. One of the findings of the present research is the intention, whether conscious or not, of young adults to react, mainly through artistic activities to this stereotype – or, in other words, to reject a predetermined course of life. This shows the effect of human agency through an activity which usually occurs in the locality at the level of the individual or a small scale group. The motivation of a preference and of a related activity can also be either conscious or unconscious. The end result is the quest for cultural identity in the context of the interrelationship between self-directed and other-directed intimacy. This process is characterised by constraints which are mainly imposed by the social system, and by resources which are mainly provided by the common elements of young adults and can lead to a plurality of choices. Individual reactions constitute resistance to the constraints of the social system, and, if they are expressing a tendency, have a rather long term impact on the structural changes, e.g. preference for classical music, which is also a manifestation of the coexistence of high with popular culture (pop/rock music).

The coexistence of resources and constraints is also adopted by time-geography, Giddens, Wallman, Bourdieu, and Elias. The particular combination of Giddens (especially his last phase which focuses on the reflexivity of the self), Bourdieu, Elias, Lefebvre and phenomenology (mainly Schutz) which characterises the conceptual framework is original. What has been done up till now in geography is a partial combination of some of these authors, e.g. Bourdieu and Giddens (Pred, 1990), Lefebvre and Bourdieu (Harvey, 1989; Shields, 1991), Bourdieu and Schutz – combined with criticism of Lefebvre (Werlen, 1988/1993). Gregory has also combined, in some phase or another, some of these authors although not Elias.

The originality of the *interrelationship between theory and fieldwork* mainly lies in the intertwining of deduction and induction, of the developed conceptual framework and grounded (developing) theory, of the reliance on theoretical propositions and thick description. The methodological 'device' of differentiations is the basic element which expresses the theory - fieldwork interrelationship. Differentiations imply that most daily phenomena are contradictory, something which contributes to the existence of multiple identities in the context of reacting to the imposed stereotype of action.

The comparison with other research studies, both international and Greek, is an additional verification of the originality of this research. The study of young people has been ignored by human geography, and young adults in particular have not been a usual subject of study by the social sciences, which focus either on childhood or adolescence. The most relevant recent *international research* has been conducted by Willis and his collaborators. Comparisons with this research, and in general with other research studies, cannot be direct, because the focuses, and consequently the

classifications, are different. The methodological focus of the present research is on the coexistence of resources and constraints in the choice of time-space and companions, and on their relation to values, to particular artistic activities and to a particular local context. The sociological study of the social conditions of 16-22 year olds in Wolverhampton distinguishes mainly between employed and unemployed, daytime and evening time, city centre and other neighbourhoods, in the home and out of home, and focuses on gender and race. The most common cultural activity overall is visiting pubs, except in the case of the home where it is watching television. The preferred companion for the employed is girlfriend/boyfriend, while for the unemployed is friends – and especially spending time indoors (Willis *et al.*, 1988, Ch. IV). However, the spatio-temporal differentiations of this research are rather limited, and also the classifications are designated in a way which limits the analysis of options since space is not treated as a significant variable.

The next large scale project of Willis and his collaborators was also located in Wolverhampton, and belongs to the field of cultural studies focusing on music, media, style and fashion. As far as music is concerned (this fieldwork was conducted in Birmingham), the main axis of the research is located in the transformation of consumption into production contributing to a 'common culture' which is differentiated both from 'high art' and 'community arts' (Willis *et al.*, 1990a and b). This study of music has inspired the present research, but various differences exist. In the latter, high art is interrelated with popular art; Anglo-American popular music has somewhat different meanings for young Greeks than for young Britons as for the latter it is their own popular music; the existence of common elements does not imply the existence of a 'common culture' (something which echoes 'youth culture'); and the interrelationship between consumption and production is not the sole focus of cultural identity, but is situated in the context of reacting to the imposed stereotype of action.

The importance of the stage of young adulthood is also confirmed by the research done in Brisbane and Sydney about the self-perceptions of young adults (15-24 years old) in the contexts of work, study, leisure, and personal relationships. Cultural activities, and especially music-related activities (e.g. tapes, records, radio), are the fourth most liked leisure activity. Young adults spend most of their spare time with mixed groups of four or five friends who live nearby, but there is no fixed pattern. Their most important leisure setting is their own home or a friend's place where they usually chat. Their dominant orientations are future security, social integration and internal control (Evans and Poole, 1991, Ch. 7 and 8). These findings have certain similarities to those of the present research, although the spatial focus on leisure settings does not refer to time and to pleasure. The main differences of the present research lie in the conceptual framework; in the fieldwork methodology; in the

different age focus; in the focus on leisure; in the interrelationship between self-directed and other-directed intimacy based on desires and values; in the stronger connection of attachment to males; and in the spatio-temporal constitution of multiple cultural identities as the mediating factor in the lived world between artistic activities and socialisation. The present research has shown that young adulthood is a crucial stage in the quest for identity, since young adults find themselves in a critical situation whether to conform or to react to an imposed stereotype of action.

The relevant scientific *research* studies which have been done *in Greece* are limited and, with the exception of the one in which the present author participated (Deffner, 1992a and b), they do not belong either to cultural geography or to the geography of leisure, but to the broad field of leisure studies. The focus of these research projects, which were all commissioned by public bodies, is different from this research. There has been only one study on youth leisure, but it focuses on interpersonal relations rather than cultural activities – and it includes no spatial preferences – covering Greater Athens (Gardiki *et al.*, 1988) and the urban-semiurban-rural areas of the country (Gardiki *et al.*, 1987). Also these studies focus on the perceptual world, i.e. preferences and not practice of activities, and there is no conceptual framework, for the fieldwork to be related to it.

The comparisons with these research studies can be summarised in few points, bearing in mind that the classifications used are different. The research on the cultural activities of the Greek family has shown that media and friends constitute the most important factors in the acceptance of new cultural forms (Gizelis *et al.*, 1984). The Greater Athens research and the questionnaire distributed in Phaliro as part of the Council of Europe's project (Eskola and Hammerton, 1983) have shown that activities related to music and cinema are the most popular cultural activities, and in reference to youth these are also the most popular leisure activities. As far as types of music are concerned, there is an overall preference for Greek music, something which is more distinct in the Kalamata research – where the focus (although not age-specific) was on music preferences and involvement with folk dancing (Papageorgiou, 1991) – than in the Greater Athens research.

One important difference of the present research from the aforementioned findings is that there is a strong preference of young adults for western types of music, which must be combined with the preference for foreign films. Thus, the cultural identity of the young adults who were studied in Phaliro is not based on 'Greekness'. This seems to be the case of Kalamata where there is 'a mixture of traditional rural cultural elements and an idiosyncratic urban culture' constituting the 'provincial culture' of the regional town (Papageorgiou, 1991, p. 489). Even if 'the cultural identity of the people in Kalamata is not city-specific' (1991, p. 489), it is distinguished from the

cultural identity of the young adults who were studied in Phaliro, something which shows the effect of globalisation which coexists with an attachment to the locality. This seems to be stronger in comparison to Greater Athens, since in the latter most young adults do not have a 'steki' and for those who have, it is not situated in their local area. The impact of globality is a manifestation of the relation between the social and the spatial, since global space is not visualised in everyday life terms but mainly through the media. The attachment to Phaliro does not relate to a 'local culture', but to the identification with the home and to the location of the 'parea' and the 'steki' in Phaliro. Thus, in the agency - structure context, self-directed intimacy is interrelated with other-directed intimacy.

The limitations of the present research mainly relate to the issue of *generalisations*, which always depend on theory, scientific consensus and the corpus of related knowledge. Since there are no typical people, no typical epochs and no typical areas (even if there are types of people and time-spaces) what is of main interest is the qualitative evaluation of the impact of artistic activities in the lifestyle of young adults in the context of the mediation of their perceptual world and their lived world by the social world. The plurality of social life (e.g. in terms of options, cultures, and time-spaces), the contradictions of daily phenomena and of the attitudes and movements of the individuals lead to the construction of multiple cultural identities. The issue is more complex than a correspondence of similar actions with similar structures, especially in the modern world where the local interacts with the global. It is characteristic (even if the age range is somewhat different) that common elements do not exist only between the lifestyle of young adults in Phaliro and in Greater Athens, but also between the lifestyle of young adults in Phaliro and in Sydney/Brisbane – and generally more than the common elements which exist between the lifestyle of the young adults in Phaliro and in Wolverhampton. The key point is that what is general is an attitude and a trend, and not a statistical truth. Regarding the present research generalisations apply mainly to the dependent variables of identity (activity, time-space, companion) rather than to the independent variables of identity (demographic and socio-economic characteristics). However, activity, time-space and companion are interrelated, since, for example, different people will act differently in the same time-space.

8.3 Implications for Future Research

The present research tried to cover many gaps, however, in science every step is not an end but a new beginning always indicating directions for future research. These directions cover four broad fields: philosophy, history, social anthropology, and

cultural geography – in close connection with the geography of leisure. Philosophical elaborations need to go beyond phenomenology, and even beyond the present century (e.g. ancient Greece). The historical development of leisure needs to be approached in a novel way; this is a crucial problem in Greece where historical memory is generally weak, something that has lead to repeated mistakes. There exist certain historical studies on the cultural spaces of Athens (Zachos 1980; Skaltsa 1983/1985; Papakostas 1988/1991) but they are not situated in the problematic of leisure. Cultural anthropology needs to meet urban anthropology, but beyond the level of folklore (Meraklis, 1989).

The future research which is needed in cultural geography covers three general areas: social groups, cultural activities, and time-space. *Young adults* need to be compared with other social groups which either have a peculiar relationship with leisure (e.g. the women and the elderly), or a peculiar position in the lifecourse (again the elderly). The tendency towards dynamism, change and novelty of young adults, and its effect on the future, must not be taken-for-granted, since the plurality of times affects the plurality of choices. Young adults are given a time limit in order to succeed according to the criteria set by the social system, i.e. to conform to the imposed stereotype of action. This presupposes that they know what they want to and that they have decided what they would like to do with their life. This is one of the reasons for which some interviewees prefer to be voluntarily unemployed for a certain period of time in order to be conscious about certain issues in the process of searching for their identity. Young adults express themselves mainly through intentions, preferences and desires. Also, even if they know what they want, they need to face the appropriate conditions since many things in life depend on coincidences, e.g. one has to meet the right people at the right time. In any case leisure constitutes an important, if not the most important, part of their life.

Thus, the 19-25 age range is the most important phase in the lifecourse for the identity formation of the individual. It is a phase where young people have completed their secondary *education* (which is usually the strictest phase in the educational programme) and, as the findings of the research indicate, they are studying something they, more or less, enjoy (while also occupying themselves with a hobby, e.g. playing music); not completely happy with their work (while also occupying themselves with music); or 'doing nothing', while they try to discover what they would like to do with their lives. An indication of the fact that education does not seem to play a crucial role in leisure preferences is that the interviewees would have chosen to go to the same school again. Although education in its general sense refers directly to the school, it also incorporates the family and the media, and in the contemporary Greek context of rising nationalism it reflects the general focus on tradition. The second main factor of

socialisation is the family, which although being dominant in Greek society, does not seem to be crucial in the field of cultural activities if we judge from the influence of parents on musical and cinematic preferences, the favourite companion, and the values of the interviewees. The role of the school has to be studied in close connection to the role of the media, which seems to be the dominant factor of socialisation.

The significance of the media is crucial, especially in reference to artistic preferences and the influence of globalisation. This can be combined with the further elaboration of the consumption aspect of *cultural activities*, and particularly with the interpretation of the meaning of musical or cinematic preferences – in both cases referring either to particular works and artists, or types of works. Cultural consumption can also be combined with other leisure activities. e.g. tourism. This aspect, in connection with the factor of time-space, points towards cultural tourism, which is an underdeveloped sector in Athens and which should be studied, from a time-geographic perspective, in the context of the EU.

The research focus must be on the close connection of cultural geography with the geography of leisure, which, among those fields that were mentioned above, is the most recently developed one. The future of youth leisure in Athens is connected to the future of Greek society, and consequently of *Greek culture*, especially in the context of the EU. In daily life terms, the main contradiction is not between west and east, but between Mediterranean hedonistic consumerism and European rationalisation, situated in the process of global, mainly US, cultural homogenisation. The solution, as in most cases, is not to resolve the contradiction in favour of one side, but to try and relate them; in this case planning should be connected with spontaneity, and logic with intuition. There should be conformity with rules, but not when these are transformed into stereotypes. Although history has shown that rules change, this should not happen every now and then, i.e. there should be a long term commitment. It does not seem that Greece is moving either towards a strengthening of the work ethic or towards a 'leisure society', it is 'in-between'; this must be connected to the tendency of the process of middle-class homogenisation to expand in the field of leisure. If we exclude unemployment (which affects mainly young people) and retirement then we cannot claim that the majority of the population of contemporary Greece have more leisure time than before.

The economic crisis leads if not to unemployment, then in an opposite direction especially for civil servants, some of whom need a second job in order to supplement their low salaries. This is one illustration of multiple employment which, according to Tsoukalas, constitutes a general characteristic of Greek society (1986). The impact of new technologies is rather limited, e.g. automation of work or work at *home* seem not images of the near future. However, the home is already an important work base,

although this refers, according to Leontidou, to areas where the informal sector predominates, e.g. subcontracting (1994, p. 137). If we bear in mind that Greeks watch a lot of television in their leisure time, then 'actual' leisure time for them is less than before the advent of television, or more recently before the free operation of approximately 30 channels. This is an important factor for young people to take advantage of from the moment at which they are differentiated from other social groups, since watching television does not occupy a large part of their leisure time, although they prefer to spend most of it at home.

From the point of view of the *state*, what has increased is the value of those leisure activities that can generate profit, e.g. tourism, sport. Cultural activities have recently been an object of high evaluation, especially if they relate to the past (e.g. archaeological sites), or to an increased social status. This does not imply that they have been an object of a substantial increase in expenditure. An indication of the importance of social status is the relatively recent Concert Hall in Athens, which is one of the favourite venues of the middle-class, and especially of the nouveau rich. It constitutes an example of the impact of art in urban regeneration. It remains to be seen if the urban impact of artistic activities will expand, also in combination with cultural tourism, which is crucial not only because of the importance of the cultural dimension for the European ideal, but also because of the economic profitability of artistic activities.

The most popular artistic activity of youth in Greece, and particularly youth in Athens is *music*, even if we exclude the social status dimension. The consumption of music, even if it is a solitary activity, is the starting point which can lead to production, with education, in general, and music education, in particular, playing an important part in this interrelationship of consumption and production. The impact of music in the past lies in its marks on social history. Its impact on the present lies especially in its role in the reaction to the imposed stereotype of action, and consequently to the quest for the cultural identity of young people. Its impact on the future lies mainly in its contribution to a positive vision. It appears that in the future the role of music will be prominent, not only in predating social evolution, but also in constituting an integral and significant part of everyday life. The essence of the global dimension of music is that it can unite people from different cultures, especially European. And since research cannot, by its nature, bring the joy and euphoria that music brings to people, what remains is an indication of hope, something which does not necessarily coincide with optimism.

Appendix 1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: FURTHER ELABORATIONS

It must be noted at this point that there exist another 31 pages of further theoretical elaborations, which, for various reasons, are not put to Appendices 1 and 2. _Why ?_

1.1 Human Geography, Cultural Studies and Social Anthropology

1.1.1 The Interrelated Processes of Perception, Knowledge, Appropriation and Consciousness

Action can sometimes by a mystery, but what surely is a mystery, as a Greek saying goes, is the human psyche. However, if everyday life is taken as the basis of analysis, then perhaps parts of these mysteries can, according to Lefebvre, be explained:

> But we are unable to seize the human facts. We fail to see them where they are, namely in human familiar objects; the scope of fields, of ploughs. Our search for the human takes us too far, too deep, we seek it in the clouds or in mysteries, whereas it is waiting for us besieging us on all sides. (cited in Trebitsch, 1991, p. xxiv)

Lefebvre is one of the first authors who focused on the subject of *everyday life* (1947/1991), and his work is recently getting the attention it deserves in the English speaking audiences mainly due to the delayed translation of his books. [for his influence in geography see Appendix 1, section 1.4.1] The concept of everyday life was first formulated by Lukács in 1911 as *Alltäglichkeit* (Trebitsch, 1991, p. xviii), i.e. 'everydayness'.

As the Polish film director Agnieszka Holland argues, 'everyday life is far richer than most people think' (1993). According to Eyles, everyday life involves 'social activities and the social construction of negotiation of meaning in circumstances which not only enable the creation of self and identity but also significantly constrain the range of possible activities, constructions and creations' (1989, p. 115).

The rediscovery of *phenomenology* was situated in the context of an emphasis on the subject although one of its fundamental characteristics is that the subject is not separated from the object. This leads to the concept of intersubjectivity (shared experience) which links the individuals with the 'subjectivity' of their world (Buttimer, 1976, p. 282).

According to Schutz, 'it is the *meaning* of our experiences and not the ontological structure of the objects which constitutes reality' (1960/1973, p. 228). Thus, he speaks of 'finite provinces of meaning' and of a task to group these provinces systematically 'according to their constitutive principle, the diminishing tension of our consciousness founded in a turning away of our attention from everyday life' (1960/1973, p. 230). The general preoccupation with meaning in the interconnected series of mental processes starting from perception, passing through knowledge and leading to consciousness, does not signify a priority over the organisation of space (Rapoport, 1982), or *vice versa* (Hillier and Hanson, 1984).

An *appropriated space* can be a monument, a building, a site, a square, a street, the indoor space of family life. It is related with time since 'appropriation cannot be understood apart from the rhythms of time and of life' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 164-166).

Consciousness also has a spatial dimension, a *sense of place*, best approached by Eyles: 'Sense of place is... not merely a phenomenon that exists in the minds of individuals but one that develops from and becomes part of everyday life and experience'; therefore it cannot simply be explained in terms of itself (1985, p. 4).

1.1.3 The Connection between Human Geography and Social Anthropology

The studies done by Peter Jackson (1988a) and Jacquelin Burgess *et al.* (1988a and b) are examples of the influence of both Geertz and Schutz on geographers. There is an analogy with Giddens' claim of the existence of a '*double hermeneutic*', which is the intersection of 'the meaningful world as constituted by lay actors with the metalanguages invented by social scientists' (1984, p. 374). However, Gregory refers to a 'multiple hermeneutic' between the different sites of social theory (1994, p. 12) and Mennell refers also to a 'multiple hermeneutic', 'because people in "everyday life" may already be involved in double or still more complex hermeneutics' (1989/1992, p. 301n).

Interpretative geography is influenced by interpretative anthropology, and especially Geertz, who claims that Interpretative geography, according to Eyles, includes, and simultaneously overcomes, elements of phenomenology such as the demonstration of the intersubjective nature of the world and the revealing of the taken-for-granted assumptions (1988a, p. 2). He claims that 'we experience ourselves simultaneously as subjective sources of projects and as objective reflections and reactions of others' (1989, pp. 115-116). According to David Smith, 'places can become symbolic, of anything from a fading way of life, a lost relationship, a sought after security or sign

of status' (1988, p. 260), and the aim is to reveal 'a world in which human people can contradict themselves as well as others, giving different account of their lives in different circumstances – different versions of the truth' (1988, p. 258). 'Ordinary people are seldom fools or merely victims of false consciousness' (1988, p. 261). Interpretative geography does not ignore the need for a theory, which is both general and contextual (Eyles, 1988a, p. 4).

The 'Chicago school's' symbolic interactionism rests on the 'assumption that "reality" is a social production, consisting of social objects whose meanings arise from the behaviour that people direct towards them (Jackson and Smith, 1984, p. 81). According to Jackson, 'ethnography has yet to establish a firm place in urban studies precisely because it is not yet clear what is specifically "urban" about *urban ethnography*' (1985, p. 171).

1.2 The Agency - Structure Interrelationship

1.2.1 Giddens' Theory of Structuration

The *first two phases* of Giddens's project are well summarised by Cloke *et al.* (1991, pp. 96-116), while five collective discussions of his work also exist (*Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1982 and vol. 9, no. 2, 1992; Held and Thompson, 1989; Clark, Modgil and Modgil 1990; Bryant and Jary, 1991). In the first phase he mainly elaborates on the stratification models both of action – the aspects of which are the reflexive monitoring of action, the rationalisation of action and the motivation for action – and of structure which is identified in terms of rules and resources (Cloke *et al.*, 1991, pp. 99-103).

In the second phase of his project Giddens proceeds to a critical integration of elements of the time-geographic approach: 'the constitution of locales depends upon the phenomena given pride of place by Torsten Hägerstrand: the body, its media of mobility and communication, in relation to physical properties of the surrounding world' (Giddens, 1985, p. 271). The anchoring concerns of structuration theory are 'the positioning of the body in time-space, the nature of interaction in situations of co-presence, and the connection between these and "absent" influences relevant to the characterisation and explanation of social conduct' (1985, p. 292).

In the *third phase* of his project Giddens seems to be replying to some of the criticisms, e.g. the absence of gender relations and the creative role of individuals (1990; 1991; 1992). He makes an apparently great turn towards self-identity relying mainly on psychoanalysis and social psychology, but also developing his relationship

with the philosophies of Heidegger and Wittgenstein. In *Modernity and Self-Identity*, which is a expansion of the arguments developed in *The Consequences of Modernity*, he tries to solve some of the mysteries of action, and especially of the psyche, which have always been a fascinating, albeit difficult, issue for the social sciences. He provides, as usual, an original synthesis of an existing body of work, and there will be reference to parts of it in the relevant sections of the thesis (1991). Giddens uses the terms 'high' or 'late' modernity instead of postmodernity and appears to agree with David Harvey, who claims that postmodernism and modernism are dynamically organised oppositions which constitute internal relations within the structural whole of capitalism (1989, pp. 339, 342).

1.2.3 Elias' Figurational Sociology

Elias' seminal work is *The Civilizing Process*, which was published in 1939 in German and remained almost unnoticed in the Anglo-Saxon social scientific world, up until its relatively recent translation into English initiated several discussions. His other works have been very recently translated into English, and thus, like Bourdieu, for many years he has been on the margin of dominant sociology.

Self-constraint leads to self-control which is not always conscious, but also unconscious that re-emerges as automatism (Elias, 1939/1994, p. 501). Emotions are transferred from pleasure and instinct to displeasure and anxiety, and the main reason for the changes in emotions, as well as in behaviour, is changes in forms of life (1939/1994, pp. 167-168). The deeper changes, both in social and personality structure, are occurring over the long term (1939/1994, p. 182).

1.3 The Main Attributes of Identities

Giddens uses the term *self-identity*, and he claims that it 'is not to be found in behaviour nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going' (1991, p. 54). The unconscious plays a role in the quest for identity, mainly through dreams which represent a selection of daily memories (Giddens, 1991, p. 54), and which constitute, according to Toti, along with personal and family cultural activity, the only 'actual' free time (1982, p. 264).

As far as *class* is concerned, according to Sennett:

> as a social condition, with rules of its own, rules which can be changed, is lost as a perception. One's 'capabilities' determine one's standing; play with

> the facts of class becomes hard, because one would seem to be playing with the facts very close to the inner nature of the self. (1977/1986, p. 268)

The relationship between *the social and the individual* is one of the oldest debates in the social sciences and it has been formulated in many ways. According to Strauss, 'identities imply not merely personal histories but also social histories... individuals hold memberships in groups that are themselves products of the past' (1977, p. 764).

1.3.1 Security and Intimacy

According to Giddens, routines are constitutive of normality which 'is managed in fine detail within the textures of social activity: this applies equally to the body and to the articulation of the individual's involvements and projects' (1991, p. 126). *Ontological security*, especially in circumstances of uncertainty and multiple choice, is linked with risk. This plays a contradictory role in modern societies:

> Modernity reduces the overall riskiness of certain areas and modes of life, yet at the same time introduces new risk parameters largely or completely unknown to previous eras. These parameters include high-consequence risks: risks deriving from the globalised character of the social systems of modernity. (Giddens, 1991, pp. 3-4)

Personal relationships, and specifically friendship, depend on culture. There is a modern Greek saying which goes "Tell me who your friends are, so I can to tell you who you are". The ancient Greeks had no word for 'friend' in today's sense: *philos* was used to refer, according to Pat Easterling, to 'anyone of one's "nearest and dearest" irrespective of whether they were kin, affines, or other people unrelated by blood' (Giddens, 1991, p. 87). Modern friendship is a characteristic exposition of pure relationship, since, e.g. the proximity generated by work '*is* a friendship only so far as the connection with the other person is valued for its own sake'. The distinction with kin lies in the obligations specified by the tie of kinship, even if they are general or vague, and the blood relations which cannot be broken off (Giddens, 1991, p. 90).

Sennett puts forward domestic routine as claustrophobic and government surveillance through the police state as being the two images of the tyrannies of *intimacy* (1977/1986, p. 337). According to Giddens, his conception of narcissism 'presumes a constant search for self-identity, but this is a search which remains frustrated, because it is a restless pursuit of "who I am" is an expression of narcissistic absorption rather than a realisable quest' (1991, p. 170).

1.3.2 Resource, Difference and Becoming

Constraints, as resources, stand in tension with the freedom of choice of lifestyles, 'a fundamental benefit generated by a post-traditional order' (Giddens, 1991, p. 231). Becoming is well expressed by Kelly and Godbey: 'Who we are is always in the middle of who we have become and who we want to become' (1992, p. 320). They also express well the issue of the existence of *multiple identities*:

> We are not exactly the same person in every situation. We may be more emotional at home, more brisk and brusque at work, more lively in leisure, and more relaxed with friends and lovers... We can be more openly competitive on the racquet court than at the office, more aggressive at a business meeting than at dinner table... Whether or not there is a 'real self' hidden under all the portrayals may be an issue for debate. (1992, p. 318)

Multiple identities are connected with *insecurity*, something which is illustrated in the following passage, where the Polish film director Agnieszka Holland describes how her experience in travelling by train in first class inspired her for making the film *Olivier, Olivier*:

> there were very dignified businessmen who exuded a lot of very strong positive energy. And then, as the journey carried on, they would eventually forget themselves. For example, they would gaze out distractedly at the countryside. And it was then that I saw extremely anguished men, men who were terrified they might lose their job at any minute or lose their family, etc. (1993)

Shields cites Maffesoli in order to show that the secure identity of the individual is less clear. The individual is less a sovereign *individuum* and more a self-conscious spectacle of masks, images or *personae* rejecting attempts to stereotype and specify its identity, defying any hermeneutics of depth which attempts to locate the 'real' subject. Thus, it can no longer be taken for granted that a simple actor exists: 'in one case we find the individual revelling in the loss of their self in the modern crowd of others; in the other the individual plays with the possibility of submergence in the crowd of themselves' (Shields, 1991, pp. 269, 274).

The de-centring of the subject is a 'discovery' of postmodernism, but the existence of multiple identities is one of its many 'rediscoveries' of the past since it was a phenomenon observed in Ancient Greece, where, according to Ammer and Leontidou, there existed goddesses who protected both love and infidelity, moon and sun, darkness and light (1989/1992; cited in Leontidou, 1993, p. 963). 'They return to remind us from time to time again that we do not have a stable identity, that constant

transformation is in the nature of things and people, that, in the final end, we are everything' (Leontidou, 1993, p. 964).

1.4 Identities in Time-space

1.4.1 The Plurality of Spaces and Times

Space is, according to Soja, a difficult term because of its broad meaning and wide semantic field (cited in Shields, 1991, p. 30); this has led to the use of alternative terms – except 'locale' (Giddens) and 'social space' (Lefebvre and Bourdieu) – such as 'socio-spatial dialectic' or 'spatiality of social life' (both by Soja), 'social spatialisation' (Shields), 'action-space' (Werlen and other German speaking authors).

Lefebvre has been influential for a number of geographers, e.g. Harvey (1973; 1989), Smith (1984), Gottdiener (1985), Soja (1985; 1989), Shields (1991), Gregory (1994). His influence has recently reached the field of cultural geography, especially in its reference to cultural politics (Keith and Pile, 1993; Bird *et al.*, 1993).

Everyday space is, simultaneously, an expression of vitality and creativity and a place for the occurrence of alienation (Deffner, 1981a; 1982a). The only way one can essentially perceive everyday life in urban space is human action (Pasias and Pasias, 1973, p. 125), which often happens at certain 'secondary spaces' that are microscopic but crucial: spaces of walks, flirts, love, alimentation, encounters (Duvignaud, 1977, pp. 135-137). They contribute to the quest for life and to the determination of self-identity (Duvignaud, 1977, p. 138), since communication can be realised in the most 'humble' places, in the most banal situations (Maffesoli, 1979, p. 73).

Space can be differentiated in many ways: according to religious attributes (sacred - profane), according to types of appropriation (ranging from individual to collective), according to types of ownership and/or management (private - public), according to physical properties (closed - open or winter - summer in the case of Greece, green spaces) according to planning (designed - non-designed spaces etc.), according to types of activity (cultural, sport), according to the way of access (free, paying ticket), according to social attributes (urban - rural) etc. Lifestyle in the city does not always coincide with what Wirth calls 'urbanism as a way of life' (1938), since it is not only size, density and heterogeneity which characterise urban settlements, and there does not exist a single urban way of life, as he claims.

In traditional societies the consciousness of *time* is connected with the qualitative measurement of time (Rezsohazy, 1970, p. 126; cited in Pronovost 1989, p. 20), The anthropological reference to time as an arrow (Barnes, 1971) is an expression of the

symbolic character of the passing of time, i.e. according to Pronovost, the arrangement of time according to various sequences and cycles. The experience of 'empty time' and 'charged time' are examples of this symbolic character, which is 'a function of many factors, including the category of time (work, leisure etc.), and the nature and the meaning of the activity' (1989, p. 31). *The Arrow of Time* is also the title of the collection edited by Coveney and Highfield (1990/1991). The physicist Hawking sees, according to Unwin, the psychological arrow of time by which people feel that time passes, as being a result of the second law of thermodynamics which states that entropy can never decrease in an isolated system (Unwin, 1992, pp. 201-202). Entropy is a 'concept measuring the extent to which the energy of a closed system is available to do work' (Flew, 1979/1984, p. 107).

According to Lefebvre, 'lost' (or non-productive) time does not exist for everyone because it is very expensive. The supposed *free time* can be considered as time only being divided and preserved in the general framework (1967/1977, p. 212). According to Giddens, 'if a person finds she has half an hour between one engagement and the next she might decide to spend that time pottering around or reading the newspaper until her next appointment, rather than putting the time to "good use"' (1991, pp. 113-114).

1.4.2 Time-space

At the level of geographic research the time-space interrelationship was primarily attempted by time-geography, which, however, has been criticised by Rose as over-emphasising the time dimension sometimes at the expense of the spatial dimension (1977).

Hawking claims that 'space and time are now dynamic quantities: when a body moves, or a force acts, it affects the curvature of space and time – and in turn the structure of space-time affects the way in which bodies move and forces act' (1988, p. 33).

Heidegger, in his later works, claims that time and space are interrelated:

> Time-space no longer means merely the distance between two now-points of calculated time, such as we have in mind when we note, for instance: this or that occurred within a time-span of fifty years. Time-space now is the name for the openness which opens up in the mutual extending of futural approach, past and present. This openness exclusively and primarily provides the space in which space as we usually know it can unfold. The self-extending... is itself prespatial; only thus can it make room, that is, provide space. (1969/1972, p. 14)

According to Lefebvre, until nature became localised in underdevelopment 'natural space was merely the lyrical and tragic script of natural time', but with the advent of modernity time is recorded solely on clocks that are isolated and functionally specialised as this time itself (1974/1991, p. 95). Space 'is at once conceived, perceived, and directly lived' (1974/1991, p. 356), but it is also fragmented in part-spaces: geographical, ethnological, demographic, pictural, musical, plastic (1974/1991, p. 91). In modernity, space dominates time. The particular form the domination takes is that volume is approached as surface, as an accumulation of ground plans, and time is simply consumed and bought as use mainly through the concept of distance (1972/1977, pp. 235-236).

According to Giddens, 'time (time-space) is obviously as necessary a component of social stability as it is of change' (1981, p. 17), and 'awareness of the passing of time... should not be equated with historicity' (1981, p. 36). This is opposed to the notion that the calculation of measurement of time-space gives the clue to its true nature (1981, p. 32). The emptying out of time and space is one of the dynamic aspects of modernity which transforms the nature and content of everyday life; it is primarily expressed by the invention and diffusion of the mechanical clock, but it proceeds dialectically: 'many forms of "lived" time are possible in social settings structured through the separation of time and space' (1991, pp. 2, 16-17).

Bourdieu's conception of time both as a constraint and resource for social interaction (Jenkins, 1992, p. 69) is another common element he shares with Giddens (in the latter's adoption of the time-geographic approach), as well as with Wallman.

Foucault claims that contemporary anxiety has to do fundamentally with space: 'time probably appears to us only as one of the various distributive operations that are possible for the elements that are spread out in space' (cited in Shields, 1991, p. viii). For Mumford, 'no two cultures live conceptually in the same kind of time and space. Space and time, like language itself are works of art, and like language they help condition and direct practical action' (1934, p. 18). For Rapoport, temporal orientations are useful indicators of several values and of the differentiation of landscapes, while temporal rhythms can contribute to the differentiation or the encounter of social groups (1977, pp. 113, 174).

The coding of space as feminine mainly relates to the coding of 'Nature' as feminine (Gregory, 1994, p. 129); however, space can be as 'feminine' or 'masculine' as time is, especially if we consider the differentiation between public/masculine and private/feminine space, which according to Gregory, has its origins in the Hellenic city-state (1994, pp. 131-132). It is a different thing to say that space is domesticated and gendered, from saying that space is feminine, because time is also domesticated and gendered.

Movement is related to the body, which, according to Lefebvre, 'at the very heart of space and of the discourse of power, is irreducible and subversive' (1973/1976, p. 89). Movement is also reflected in paths, which are characterised, according to Augoyard, by the coexistence of several moments of everyday life-space – the latter acquires a quality in relation to the particular moment but it is not stable by itself (1979, p. 20). For Piaget, time is consumed as movement and movement consumes space, space is appreciated from the movement taking place in it and the movement has duration (Richmond, 1970/1978, p. 59)

Schutz argues for the reciprocity of perspectives in the socio-cultural world. According to Rose's reading of Schutz:

> everything is organised around a 'here' as the zero-point of a spatial system of spatial and temporal coordinates which determines the dimensions of the surrounding field... Part of the reason why the biographically determined situation is basically 'given' is that, by moving from my 'here' to another person's 'there', I do not lose the perspective already gained at my previous 'here', rather I assume the interchangeability of standpoints:... if another person were to make the same move, ... similar things would be within reach for him as well. (Rose, 1988, p. 158)

1.4.3   The Spatio-temporal Constitution of Identities

According to Pred, 'personality and *consciousness*... are the complex by-product of past path-project intersections and the particular social or economic power relations associated with those intersections'. It is 'only the fine grained details of commonly experienced projects (for example the name of a... popular song) can act as a catalyst of meaning, evoking the presence of a structure of feeling by conjuring up from one symbol the presence of an entire symbolic system' (1986, p. 21).

In the field of *cultural politics*, Gregory explores the geographical study of identity and difference. He focuses on the postcolonial societies, and in this sense his explorations have no direct relevance for this research (1994, pp. 196-203). He mainly refers to Michael Watts, who, in various essays (1984; 1991; 1992), calls for a dialogue between human geography and cultural studies, and brings a new dimension into the local-global dialectic by showing: 'how difference and identity are produced within constellations of power earthed (so to speak) in interconnected spaces and wired together by political and economic relations' and 'how difference and identity are contested, negotiated, and shaped through cultural struggles' (Gregory, 1994, pp. 196, 202-203).

The *temporal dimension* of identity takes various forms in relation to cultural actions or products. A concert is something unique (even if it occurs for two or three

consecutive evenings, it is different event every time); a record is unique as far as production is concerned (but it can be consumed over and over especially as a CD in which case the deterioration is almost minimised). A film is also unique (but it can be relived, especially since the use of the video has given the consumer the control of the choice of this action).

1.5 Leisure Time-space

1.5.1 The Contradictory Role of Leisure Spaces

Differentiated spaces are opposed to homogeneity, to separation (Maffesoli, 1979, p. 86), and to specialisation. No appropriate methodology exists for the design of such locales, since the crucial factor is social practice manifested in time-space. What is possible is a formulation of certain directions based on the existing experience, but what is important for our research is that although these locales are exciting, they are a rare phenomenon in Athens.

According to Lefebvre, in capitalism, abstract space eliminates differences and breaks up social practice (1974/1991, p. 52), and it is dominant through the shift 'from the space of the body to the body-in space' (1974/1991, p. 201). The body 'takes its revenge' over *leisure space*, which constitutes an extension of dominated space, in the beach which 'is the only place of enjoyment that the human species has discovered in nature' (1974/1991, p. 384). This movement from the space of consumption (market) to the consumption of space (beach, mountain) is materialised 'via leisure and through the space of leisure; in other words from the quotidian to the non-quotidian through festival' (1974/1991, pp. 352-354).

Giddens refers to the reordering of *private and public domains* as 'an important institutional transformation affecting internal referentiality'. He claims that 'it would be wrong to interpret the growth of privacy (and the need for intimacy) in terms of the erosion of a public sphere which used to exist in more traditional communities'. This mistake is observed, according to Giddens, in the early work of Richard Sennett (1977/1986, Ch. 5), who argues that the words 'public' and private' are both creations of the modern period (Giddens, 1991, pp. 150-152).

Differentiation does not mean concealment of oppositions, but possibility of choice. The different uses of the same locale can either happen accidentally – in the majority of the cases – or it can be, in a way, planned, particularly with connection to closed spaces, since open spaces have a potential for multi-functionality. A typical example of the different function of certain types of a particular locale is the differentiation of the

role of closed and open cinemas (winter and summer in the case of Greece). Summer cinemas in Greece function more as places that provide an opportunity to contact friends or to be in touch with nature, especially in cinemas situated outside the city centre. It is argued that in those cinemas one does not go to see a particular movie but to visit a particular locale. This aspect, in relation with the different uses of the same locale, expresses the relativity of the correspondence of a particular activity to a particular locale. The use of differentiated spaces depends – although not directly – on the type of activity: this means that in the case of leisure, there is an interrelationship between space and leisure. Space contributes to, or prevents the occurrence of social activities which have already been expressed. It does not create, as spatial determinists argue, any social activities by itself.

1.5.2 Globality, Centrality and Locality

The feeling of *globalisation* involves a 'presencing': 'to be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world' (Baudelaire, 1964, p. 9). For Giddens, 'no one can easily defend a secure "social life" set off from larger social systems and organisations. Achieving control over change, in respect of lifestyle, demands an engagement with the outer social world' (1991, p. 184).'"The world"... is not a seamless order of time and space stretching away from the individual; it intrudes into presence via an array of varying channels and sources' (1991, p. 189).

For Hannerz, 'while there are states, markets, schooling, media, and a division of labour in most places, this does not mean that the precise ideas and overt symbolic forms, the "cultural content", which they engage must be the same' (1992, pp. 5-6). For Lefebvre, 'no space disappears in the course of growth and development: the worldwide does not abolish the *local*'. Social spaces as concrete abstractions 'attain "real" existence by virtue of networks and pathways, by virtue of bunches or clusters of relationships. Instances of this are the worldwide networks of communication, exchange and information" (1974/1991, p. 86).

1.5.3 Leisure: Emotions and Future

The inequality of chances in leisure, with particular reference to the gender dimension, is well developed by Clarke and Critcher (1985, pp. 97-98, 157-164, 175-176, 202-203). Leisure is not a product of modern society as is commonly believed, but what

actually created by this type of society was a separation of leisure from the other spheres of life, especially work. Stanley Parker claims that 'the problem of leisure is also the problem of *work*' (1983, p. xii). Veal speaks of choices beyond leisure and work, of the existence of facets of life which are neither paid work nor, strictly speaking, leisure: education, domestic work, and family life. Thus, the full equation of a reduction in working time with leisure time is misleading (1987, pp. 178-179).

The *growth of leisure time* is a controversial issue but, in a way, it does not imply a greater liberation of modern societies from work in comparison to previous societies, since, for example, the differentiation between working time and non-working time did not exist in traditional societies. Also, it is not clear from the results of the time-budget studies whether more people have more leisure time, and whether the amount of leisure time *per* person as well as the number of persons having this greater amount is increasing. The main factor which has to be examined is the conditions under which leisure time can increase: this is mainly due to the automation of work, that creates many problems such as increasing unemployment which causes an artificial growth in leisure time. What is not often analysed, is that the majority of leisure activities are home-related and 'passive' activities. The assumption that leisure time is increasing leads to an approach which claims that there is a tendency towards a 'leisure society'. However, as Veal states, 'it is no longer fashionable to speak of the dawning of a "leisure society"' (1987, p. 1).

According to Bourdieu, the doctrine of *pleasure* as a duty::

> makes it a failure, a threat to self-esteem, not to 'have fun'...; pleasure is not only permitted but demanded, on ethical as much as on scientific grounds. The fear of not getting enough pleasure... is combined with the search for self-expression and 'bodily expression' and for communication with others ('relating'), even immersion in others (not as a group but as subjectivities in search of their identity)... (1979/1984, p. 367)

The excitement in leisure is usually greater on weekends than on weekdays (especially in connection with sport activities, but also cultural activities), because on weekdays the pressure of everyday routines acts as a stronger control of *emotional constraints*. According to Elias and Dunning, leisure is related to work, and in this sense it is not primarily 'a way to get rid of tensions', but a field where people seek a 'specific heightening of tensions' (1986, p. 93). Leisure activities embody 'a balancing loosening of social and personal restraints' on emotions (1986, p. 66), which is socially and personally controlled, they frequently overlap and fuse, and are classified in a spare-time spectrum based on the distinction of routinisation from de-routinisation – the latter closely related to the de-controlling of restraints on emotions (1986, p. 96). In leisure pursuits, feelings are aroused by the creation of tensions.

'Imaginary danger, mimetic fear and pleasure, sadness and joy are produced and perhaps resolved by the setting of pastimes. Different moods are evoked and perhaps contrasted, such as sorrow and elation, agitation and peace of mind' (1986, p. 42). Mimetic activities are of primary interest for the present research: according to Elias and Dunning, they 'provide an imaginary setting which is meant to elicit excitement of some kind imitating that produced by real-life situations, yet without its dangers and risks' (1986, p. 42). The relevant examples are: music, dancing, cinema (especially murder films and westerns), watching television (1986, pp. 66, 69). The television is a very interesting case because it actually constitutes a private space in itself which is situated in the context of another private space.

Emotions are connected to *values*. According to Kroeber, 'the ethos of a culture is pretty close to what a philosopher or a historian might call its system of values' (1923/1963, p. 102). Connor claims that ethical and aesthetic *value* 'endlessly transact with and against each other, endlessly produce and enlarge each other's form through their very antagonism' (1992, p. 6).

Whenever there is a firmly held, even dogmatic, view about the way the *future* will develop a contrary view can be found which is believed just as firmly and can be argued just as convincingly' (Veal, 1987, p. x). An interesting discussion concerns the possible decline of the work ethic (Gorz, 1980/1982; Veal, 1987), and also the increasingly diminishing role of the factors of work, production and income in social organisation (Offe cited in Habermas, 1981/1987, p. 95).

1.5.4 The Relationship between Consumption and Production

Many acts of appropriation and transformation 'may be performed on any single artefact before it is discarded, sometimes only to be incorporated in new cycles of use' (Jackson, 1993, p. 209). Jackson states Daniel Miller's as an example of the 'heroic' interpretation of consumption (Jackson, 1993, p. 216). According to Miller:

> The stress on consumption is justified partly by its previous neglect, but also by the contention that it is in this area that the strategies of recontextualization are at the most advanced. This is to say that consumption is now at the vanguard of history, and may provide insights into the further transformation areas such as welfare and the workplace. (1987, p. 213)

There does not exist adequate international evidence to claim that there is a general tendency towards the increase of either *passive or creative activities*. However, the British data of Gershuny and Thomas allow them to claim that there is an increase of active and sociable pastimes and particularly in leisure outside the home – they also

claim that the UK developments are representative of an international trend. All that occurs in the context of a shift of time from work (paid and unpaid) towards leisure, is a substantial transfer of women's work from the household into the money economy: a limited transfer of domestic work from women to men is accompanied by a substantial reduction in the amount of domestic work done by women (1984). However, this view contradicts other approaches such as that by Minge-Klevana, who argues that the survey of quantitative and historical literature suggests that 'with the transition to postindustrial wage labour there may be more of a reallocation of family labour time than a decline of it': the time-allocation studies suggest that there is an overall increase of labour time inside the home (1980, p. 287).

1.6   Cultural and Leisure Identities

Hannerz's synchronic view of culture consists of three dimensions of complexity which are an indication of the differentiation of perceptual from lived world: ideas and modes of thought as entities and processes of the mind, forms of externalisation, and social distribution (1992, p. 7). For him, the *quest for identity* and distinction cannot only constrain but also expand the cultural flow: 'when the cultural forms claimed as property lose their attractiveness to oneself or the others, or are taken up by too many people, or simply by the wrong people, the right kind of distinctiveness can only be reinstated if one comes up with something new' (1992, p. 112). Diversification is also encountered in another current of the flow of messages: 'brands are attempts to construct "personalities" for commodities, to remove them... from an essential sameness in a crowded field of products for mass consumption, and thereby built competitive distinctiveness and customer loyalties' (1992, p. 113).

Appendix 2   YOUNG PEOPLE: FURTHER ELABORATIONS

2.2 Popular Culture

2.2.1 The Relationship between Popular Culture and High Culture

The *interpretation* of meaning is part of the interrelated mental processes of perception, knowledge, appropriation and consciousness which belong in the perceptual world; these can lead to cultural practice in the lived world. The translation from the one level to the other is contradictory, and in the present research the particular preferences are assumed as real data in distinction from true or false data. Account is taken of the balance between internality and externality or between the individual (the self) and the social. Interpretation can be also be considered as re-creation.

The concept of *desire* is opposed to that of need since it implies certain concepts which 'need' (as a static concept) does not incorporate (e.g. will for action), and since 'need' implies a focus on the application of standards as part of a demand - supply approach, and since it is more helpful in relation to the study of tastes.

The arguments of the *'popular culture'* proponents that 'people consume popular culture because they want to.., and they want to because it reflects their values', and that, as such, it presents, according to Browne, a 'truthful picture' of what people do and think (Warren, 1993, p. 179) seem to be valid. This relates to the ethnographic 'thick description' advocated by Geertz, which reveals a 'partial truth' and not the whole truth.

According to Frith: 'one of the reasons why rock has been the most vital form of popular culture in the last twenty years is that it has expressed so clearly the struggle involved: rock has been used simultaneously as a form of self indulgence and individual escape and as a source of solidarity and active dissatisfaction' (1983, pp. 264-265). The avant-garde, in general, is also contradictory: on the one hand, it can be, according to Featherstone, open as the new avant-garde is (1990, pp. 17-18), while, on the other hand, it can be an expression of marginality.

2.2.2 Media: Peculiarities and Impact

The assumption of the existence of *public opinion* is usually made in the use of gallup polls. According to Bourdieu, what exist are elaborated opinions, pressure groups mobilised around a system of interests, or dispositions, which, by definition, do not

constitute opinions, i.e. something which can be formulated as a discourse with a claim for coherence (1984/1994, p. 152).

The media contribute to the change of the *local knowledge of the self*: 'Self and cognition have become everywhere – mediated. This is not to say that local theory is not in some senses possible... what we can regard as 'local' has changed, probably forever, and so have the conditions of theory and knowledge generation' (Thrift, 1993, p. 120). However, the diversity which is inherent in globalisation does not imply, as some commentators on postmodernism claim, wrongly according to Hannerz, 'that identities become nothing but assemblages from whatever imagery is for the moment marketed through the media' (1992, p. 35).

2.3 Artistic Activities

2.3.1 The Role of Art in Lifestyle

According to Giddens, *lifestyles* are routinised practices...; but the routines followed are reflexively open to change in the light of the mobile nature of self-identity' (1991, p. 81). In modernity, personalised experience is opposed to commodified experience, individualism extends to the sphere of consumption (1991, pp. 196-197).

The *aesthetic disposition* is, according to Bourdieu, 'a generalised capacity to neutralise ordinary urgencies and to bracket off practical ends', and 'presupposes the distance from the world... which is the basis of the bourgeois experience of the world'. 'Material or symbolic consumption of works of art constitutes one of the supreme manifestations of ease, in the sense of objective leisure and subjective facility' (1979/1984, pp. 54-55). However, this connection of distance and ease is transformed by the contradictory role of the media which, according to Giddens, although they bring distance closer to everyday consciousness this is done in favour of the event and at the expense of place (1991, pp. 26-27).

2.3.2 The Urban and Emotional Dimension of Music

Levi-Strauss develops further the relationship of music with *time* by claiming that music is one of the 'machines for the suppression of time' along with myth and ritual; they constitute one aspect of the world's defence against increasing insecurity and all three occur in television, something which explains its popularity (Thrift, 1977, p. 88). Small claims that the fact that classical music is oriented towards the past and the

future, as is social life in general, relates to what Weber called 'Protestant ethic', i.e. we are willing to have a difficult time now in order to have a good time later in our life (1983, p. 136).

Two *special 'types' of music* are music played in the underground or in the streets and dancing music. According to Lefebvre, the former which is a music that is not imposed, transforms space and approaches heterogeneity in a homogeneous space (1976, p. 80). According to Frith, 'dances focus on displays, deals, the exchange and mart of sexual partners... The music accompanies the activity without necessarily expressing it...' (1983, p. 216).

According to Brake, there are two main approaches of *rock*: rock as symbol (stressed by 'subculturalists') and rock as an activity or a background (stressed by Frith). According to the latter, rock is an expression of popular culture which reveals certain contradictions between freedom and constraint, and it projects visions which could become critiques of everyday life. 'It persists despite attempts to restrict its leisure moments and to freeze the audience into a series of market tastes'. There is a battle between artistic control and market production with the hopes, desires, dreams and fears of youth in the middle. According to Willis, rock also plays an important role in the everyday life of youth, at a real or an imaginary level (Brake, 1980, pp. 156-158).

Ideas, to a larger degree compared to images, are more easily expressed in lyrics. Thus, the *song* plays an important, and peculiar, role in the quest for identity through music, since, according to Eco, it has become a sonic framework for every daily activity and for every kind of environment (Dimitriou, 1978, p. 164). Being a daily phenomenon, it requires a special act of differentiation, since, according to Bourdieu:

> the song as a cultural property which... is almost universally accessible and genuinely common (since hardly anyone is not universally exposed at one moment or another to the 'successes' of the day), calls for the particular vigilance from those who intend to make their difference. (1979/1984, p. 90)

Some scholars claim that fun is not worth serious academic thought, and some journalists claim that scientific analysis cannot be applied to fun. If fun is approached as an isolated element, then this can be linked to a commonly mistaken belief that music, even more than cinema, is an art 'pure' from ideological and social content – this refers especially to music without words. Bourdieu falls into this trap when he claims that 'music is the "pure" art *par excellence*' (1979/1984, p. 19). The discourse about the *ideology of music* demands caution, since it also revives the old debate concerning the domination of form over content; the emphasis should be on the meaning that music has for individuals or groups, such as young people. Although some efforts have been made to study the social meaning of the language of classical

music (Shepherd *et al.*, 1977; Shepherd, 1991; Escal, 1979), the ideological dimension of music is more evident in the case of the existence of lyrics. However, as Budd claims, 'although musical value is specifically musical...; and although music is characteristically, and in essence, an abstract art...; it would be mistaken to conclude that the experience and value of music must be essentially unrelated to the non-musical world' (1985, p. x).

2.3.3 Cinema: Myth and Knowledge

According to Sorlin, in Western Europe cinema was an affair of the family before shifting to individual attendance during the 1960s; perhaps this was helped by the fact that family life under all its aspects was between 1940 and 1960 the common subject of European films (1991, pp. 218-219).

According to Lefebvre, the *eye*:

> tends to relegate objects to the distance, to render them passive. That which is merely seen is reduced to an image... Inasmuch as the act of seeing and what is seen are confused, both become impotent. By the time the process is complete, space has no social existence independent of an intense, aggressive and repressive visualisation... The rise of the visual realm entails a series of substitutions and displacements by means of which it overwhelms the whole body and usurps its role. (1974/1991, p. 286)

Also, the domination of the visual has an impact on music mainly through the spread of video-clips in rock music and videos or laser discs in classical music.

The fact that cinema is a tool for the *perception and knowledge* of reality does not mean that it is a 'mirror' of society. One of the contradictions of films, is, according to Sorlin, on the one hand, that they '"reflect" aspects of the society which has produced them', while, on the other hand, 'they escape their period' (1991, p. 211). The differentiation of fact from fiction has been a constant one since the first years of cinema, when the documentaries of the Lumière brothers coexisted with the fantasies of George Méliès. Actually, even a documentary is not reality, but *one* image of reality.

Although cinema has a more direct relation to knowledge (and consequently with consciousness), it shows a peculiar attraction to the *unconscious*, which constitutes the focus of the psychoanalytic film theory. According to Stam *et al.*, what is commonly called 'identification' can be based on a kind of empathetic reaction to characters in a novel, play or film. However, psychoanalytic identification means "I see as you see, from your position" and its terms are defined by vision and psychic placement, while empathy means "I know how you feel" and its structuring categories are knowledge

and perception. This distinction does not imply that cognition and the unconscious do not interanimate, since 'desire motivates conscious thought and, in certain cases, *vice versa*' (1992, pp. 150-151).

2.4   Identities of Young Adults

2.4.1 Belonging. Time-space and Leisure

Two of the factors that play an important role in young adulthood are work and leisure. According to Kelly and Godbey:

> failure to gain a start on an economic pathway usually cuts young adults off from progress on family, community, and leisure careers. On the other hand, leaving the educational escalator this early may mean a lifetime spent in jobs that have little intrinsic excitement or trajectory of opportunity. (1992, p. 262)

Leisure is involved in the following process:

> As preparation orientations turn to entry into establishment roles in work and family, every element of life is transformed. Productivity is a goal for work and family, but also for leisure that takes on an 'adult' aura of being constructive and appropriate. Considerable leisure may be directed toward what used to be called 'courting', exploring and establishing a significant and central relationship. (1992, p. 285)

As Bouillin-Dartevelle has shown (1984), leisure 'is also a ritual expression – or even transgression – of certain social norms, especially through popular and rock music' (Pronovost, 1989, p. 68).

In modern times, 'the concept of "*generation*" increasingly makes sense only against the backdrop of standardised time' (Giddens, 1991, p. 146). In this respect, the role of memory is crucial:

> The continuing construction of social time is mediated by the contribution of opposing successive generations that structure time in its past, present and future dimensions. Current history is experienced through continuing interpretations and reconstructions which are interiorized and memorized by different social groups. (Attias-Donfut, 1988, p. 172; cited in Pronovost, 1989, p. 39)

2.4.2 Constraints

According to Giddens, 'except when authority is sanctioned by the use of force, it becomes essentially equivalent to *specialist advice*', although 'everyone in modern systems is a lay person in virtually all aspects of social activity' (1991, p. 195) – or, in Adorno's terminology, is semi-educated (1972/1989). 'Modes of expertise are fuelled by the principle of doubt', although everyday life 'is not ordinarily experienced as perennially "in doubt"': 'the reorganisation of daily life through abstract systems creates many routine forms of activity having a higher level of predictability than most contexts in pre-modern cultures' (Giddens, 1991, p.195).

Appendix 3 CULTURAL SPACES IN ATHENS

It must be noted at this point that there exist approximately 10 pages of further elaborations and 8 pages with comments either on types of cultural spaces or on specific cultural spaces in Athens, which, for various reasons, are not put to Appendix 3.

Table 3.4   TYPES OF CULTURAL SPACES

Space	Sector	Seasonal function	Activity
Music spaces	Public/Private/ Municipal	Winter/Summer	Artistic
Cinemas	Public/Private/ Municipal	Winter/Summer	Artistic
Theatres	Public/Private/ Municipal	Winter/Summer	Artistic
Music spaces with food (restaurants with programme, dancing floors with well known singers, 'bouzoukia', taverns with programme, 'rembetika', 'dimotika', discotheques, 'boites', 'anapsiktiria')	Private	Winter/Summer	Artistic
Spaces for choirs	Private	Winter	Artistic
Spaces for folk dance groups	Private	Winter	Artistic
Galleries	Public/Private/ Municipal	Winter	Educational
Libraries	Public/Private/ Municipal	Winter	Educational
Archaeological spaces	Public	Summer	Educational
Museums/collections	Public/Private/ Municipal	Winter	Educational
Folklore collections	Private	Winter	Educational

Note: The data were collected in 1988 and 1989 mainly from the Ministry of Culture and from selected journals and books. Source: Deffner 1992a (new elaborations).

Table 3.5 SELECTED CULTURAL SPACES IN THE CENTRE OF ATHENS

Figure no.	Type and name	Sector	Seasonal function	Comments
1	*Cultural Centre* Athens	municipal	winter	also used for concerts
2 3 4	*Foreign Institute* Goethe Institut British Council Institut Français	private private private	winter winter winter	also used for concerts also used for concerts also used for concerts
	ARTISTIC			
5 6 7	*Cinema* Attikon Opera Embassy	private private private	winter winter winter	also used for concerts also used for concerts
8 9	*Theatre* Herodion Lycabettus	public public	summer summer	the main location of the Athens Festival, it is also used for concerts also used for concerts organised mainly by private managers
10 11 12 13 15	*Music space* Athens Conservatory Palace National Lyric Scene Rodeo Athens Concert Hall	public public public private private	winter winter winter winter winter	 it is a cinema, but it mainly functions as a concert venue also used for films, lectures, exhibitions – it has a restaurant and a record/bookshop
	VARIOUS			
14	*Bar/Pub* Ratka	private	winter	it also serves food

Note: The years of recording were 1988 and 1989 (except for the Athens Concert Hall which was inaugurated in March 1991). The sense of the centre transcends its administrative boundaries (see Chapter 3, note 2). For the profile of the seven selected winter spaces (nos. 1, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14) see Table 4.6 in Appendix 4. The numbers correspond to Figure 3.2.

Appendix 4 FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY: MATERIAL AND FURTHER ELABORATIONS

4.1 The Role of Theory

4.1.1 The Interrelationship between the Conceptual Framework and the Fieldwork

The underlying aspect of this process is the relationship between theory and practice, and, consequently, between intention and materialisation. Many factors intervene in this process (which is neither uniform nor uninterrupted), but as far as cultural practices are concerned these do not necessarily reflect, according to The English Studies Group, new moves in theory (1980, p. 244). Generally a certain practice can have an effect on theory, but can rarely on its own change the basic foundations of theory.

In the present research the interdependence of theory and fieldwork evolved temporally as follows. First the conceptual framework was developed: it was extensive but left many open issues formulated as analytical research questions (put to the researcher himself). The first phase of the fieldwork took place over a period of seven months in 1984 and mainly involved questionnaires, the study of locales in the centre and direct observation. The initial account of the fieldwork led to modifications of some elements of the theory, but not of its basic foundations, and also to some additional elaborations; this resulted in the modification of the methodologies based on questions put to few people. The second phase of the fieldwork lasted for nine months in 1989 and focused on the case study approach (mainly interviews and diaries). Then, the fieldwork data were organised and analysed with as few theoretical references as possible, which, in their majority, were new elaborations. Finally, the conceptual framework was reworked based on the results of the fieldwork – again its basic foundations remained unchanged, but many elements were modified or added.

4.3   QUESTIONNAIRES

The method of collection was mainly that of *delivery and collection*. It has, according to Walker, several advantages. First, it 'permits flexibility through personal contact with potential respondents when initially explaining the objectives of the survey and when administering reminders'. Second, there is less a feeling of compulsion for the potential respondent to complete the questionnaire, since he is not facing an encounter

with the fieldworker who is dependent upon his action. Thirdly, it does not occupy too much of the fieldworker's time since the questionnaire is completed in the respondent's time. Fourthly, delayed response can be avoided by frequent recalls, and supplementary questions can also be asked at the time of collection. Fifthly, the absence of an interviewer permits a more honest answer to questions of a personal or embarrassing nature. Finally, it suits better questions requiring a considered response or necessitating consultations with other household members (1976, pp. 284-286).

Walker also states many disadvantages of the 'delivery and collection' method (1976, pp. 286-287), although some are not valid for this research. For example, the questionnaire was not 'relatively short, employing questions that are simple and straightforward enough to be understcod with only the help of printed instructions and definitions'; this was one of the reasons for the lower than expected rate of response. Secondly, a combination of open and closed questions (albeit few) were used following the suggestions of Dixon and Leach (1978, p. 32). Thus, the use of certain attitudinal scales was not restricted because of the inappropriateness 'to include questions which require spontaneous answers'; however, in most cases the open questions were left unanswered. Thirdly, the disadvantage of 'the inevitable bias against the less literate that accompanies the use of self-administered questionnaires' was not valid since the overwhelming majority of young adults in Athens is literate – and Phaliro is generally a middle-class area. Finally, 'if the sample cannot be clustered spatially, the costs of a drop and collect survey are liable to rise very quickly' (Walker, 1976, pp. 286-287).

The outcome of the collection of the questionnaires showed that the aim of the questionnaire was quite ambitious, since in addition to recording the preferences of young adults, it was intended to acquire evaluation arguments and elaborations concerning the why question. In this case I was influenced by the situation of the British context where several background studies exist – while, in my case I had to start from scratch – and also where the questionnaires are usually elaborated and distributed by a group (also using interviewers).

The conditions of distributing the questionnaire were characterised mainly by privacy. The overall policy was not to exert any pressure either in the delivery or in the collection of the questionnaire, probably a misconception of research ethics which resulted in collecting fewer questionnaires than expected. Another crucial factor was the approach of the summer which led to the dispersal of the potential respondents along with the dissolution of the group which was publishing the periodical 'Dialogos', the office of which was one of my main places of contact. The 'delivery and collection' method could not have been combined, in the first phase of the fieldwork, with interviews in direct connection to it, since the questions for the case

studies were essentially formulated after the elaboration of the questionnaires and the modifications of the conceptual framework. Thus, the interviews took place in the second phase of the fieldwork.

The questionnaire *data* were *transferred* to the StatView programme (for the Macintosh) and sorted according to each respondent. The first transfer included 469 variables (columns), while the second, partly translated into English, included 403 variables; in both cases, each preference (first, second, third) was a separate column, and a small regrouping, concerning the combination of locales and areas, was made. The data were checked and cleaned before their second transfer. The categories were coded before being transferred to the computer. In the process of coding, the rules suggested by Jane Fielding were followed: that codes must be mutually exclusive, exhaustive and applied consistently throughout (1993, p. 225). The data were explored first in StatView: mostly as frequency distributions, but also some contingency tables. Then the results were transferred to Excel (for the Macintosh), where a second exploration took place (including the bar charts); the final tables are presented in Word.

The structure of the questionnaire was inspired, in general, by the research done in Battersea by Wallman and her associates (1982, pp. 208-218), and, regarding the specific aspects of leisure activities, by the research done in Birmingham by Weinberger (1975) and by the NCSR research on the time disposition of young people in Greece (Gardiki *et al.*, 1987 and 1988). The structure of the questionnaire was based on the general *questions* which were designated as those *put to many people*. These relate to the questions what/where/when (and for how long)/with whom/how often/why. Although time and space are interrelated, the questions relating to space were distinguished from those relating to time for practical reasons. Most of the questions in the questionnaires include ranking scales (one to three preferences), but there are also a few closed as well as open questions, and two hypothetical questions. Some of the open questions were coded, e.g. those referring to the 'parea' and the 'steki'. The categories of information refer to attributes, and, most, to activity. In the analysis of the results, and in cases where there exist three preferences (especially regarding preferred activities, locales, and companions) all were taken into account. [for the methodology of calculation see note in Chapter 6, Chart 6.1].

The following questionnaire is a translation of the original that was in Greek.

STRUCTURE

Limitations: age 20-24 years, single, not serving in the army.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This questionnaire (in which you are not required to give your name) is distributed within the framework of an individual research on the use of cultural spaces by young people – research undertaken for a PhD degree at the University of London. The research deals mainly with leisure activities related to music and cinema and tries to evaluate the importance of cultural spaces in the centre of Athens compared to the use of spaces in Paleo Phaliro.

The study has two main parts: a theoretical and a practical one. The latter consists of the exploration of this questionnaire, the study of certain individual cases and the study of certain cultural spaces in the centre of Athens that are important for one reason or another. The most important part of the study is the exploration of the data which will be derived from the completion of this questionnaire – and this is the reason why your help is necessary. Where other (please specify) is mentioned, complete the answer next to or under the question, and, if there is not enough space on the back of the page, use a note.

A.   GENERAL   ATTRIBUTES   OF   THE   INDIVIDUALS PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH

Answer yes or no or give the appropriate answer where yes/no is not required:

Date of birth
~~Gender~~ Sex
General education
Main profession
Do you have brothers/sisters and how many?
If yes: are you the first born
                            the second born
                            other
Main profession of father
General education of father
Main profession of mother

General education of mother

Origin

How long have you been living in Athens?

How long have you been living in Paleo Phaliro?

Type of residence: detached

                            two-storey

                            three-storey

                            multi-storey apartment building

Since when have you been living in this house?

Does the house belong to you?

                            to your parents?

                            is it rented?

Do you own a motorcycle or bicycle?

Do you own a car?

If not: do you share a car with your brother

                            or parents

                            or don't you have a car at all?

Do you own a television set?

Do you own a video recorder?

Do you own a record player?

Do you own a tape recorder (stereo/mono)

Do you own a radio (stereo/mono)

Do you have records?

If yes: less than 50

                            between 50 and 100

                            over 100

Do you have any tapes?

Are they more or less than the records?

B. PREFERRED FREE TIME ACTIVITIES

Answer by order of preference: 1, 2, 3 (name one to three activities)

1) cinema

music

dance

theatre

television/video

radio

reading (books/magazines/newspapers)

lectures/seminars/talks

exhibitions/museums

sports (attendance/practice)

various games (table games/electronic games/gambling/billiards/table football)

excursion/travel

eating

drink/coffee

rest

creative arts (e.g. painting)

walks

horticulture/floriculture

company of friends/visits

care for family members

participation in associations

housework (cooking/fixing)

handicraft

writing

other activities (please specify):

2) If you had an entirely free day, what would you prefer to do? (please mention at the most three activities)

3) If you had two additional hours of free time every day what would you prefer to do? (please mention at the most three activities)

PREFERRED TYPES IN ACTIVITIES ASSOCIATED WITH MUSIC AND CINEMA

Answer by order of preference: 1, 2, 3 . Give the appropriate answer to questions 5 and 10

4) TYPES OF FILMS

adventures

war

westerns

police/thrillers/spy

social

political

romances

comedies

dramas

horror

science fiction

karate

sex

music

documentaries

animation

others (please specify:)

all types/any type

5) Do you prefer foreign or Greek films or do you judge a film irrespective of its origin?

6) TYPES OF RADIO PROGRAMMES

news

music

theatre/literature

sports

social/political

cultural

scientific/educational

religious

interviews/discussions

live programmes

others (please specify)

all/any programme

7) TYPES OF MUSIC

classical

opera

pop/rock

jazz

blues

reggae

soul

dance (funk/rap/disco)

folk/country

music from various countries

'rembetika'

'dimotika'

easy listening

Greek popular

Greek 'light-popular'

Greek 'artful' ('entechni')

other type (please specify)

all types/any type

8) PREFERRED MEDIUM

records/tapes

radio

television/video

concerts

9) TYPES OF TV PROGRAMMES

news

music

films

plays

series

sports

scientific/educational

socio-political

cultural

discussions

games

others (please specify)

others/any programme)

10) Do you prefer foreign or Greek television programmes or do you judge a television programme irrespective of its origin?

11) OCCUPATION

	Yes or no	Hobby/profession
musical instrument		
song		
dancing		
photography		
film-making		
reading about music/cinema		
writing about music/cinema		
acting		
music composition		
other (please specify)		

C. PREFERRED SPACES FOR PARTICULAR ACTIVITIES

Please complete by order of preference 1, 2, 3 (if there are three preferred spaces). Next to the order of priority please mention the location of the spaces that you prefer for such activities, i.e. PP (Paleo Phaliro), AC (Athens centre) and OA (other area)

MUSIC(Records/Tapes/Concerts)-DANCE-CINEMA-READING-SEMINARS/LECTURES-TV-RADIO

Home

Specialised venue (cinema, theatre etc.)

Work or study spaces

Friends' house

Open spaces

Cultural centre/Youth centre

Various Associations

Discotheque

Library

Sports field

Spaces with music (boites/night clubs/'rembetika'/refreshment rooms)

Taverns/restaurants with music

Rock/jazz clubs

Pubs/bars

other spaces (please specify)

13) Which space do you prefer for the following activities?

                                         Name of space   Type of Space

Area

Music

Dance

Cinema

Give the reason or the main reasons for preferring the particular space.

14) Is there a ~~house~~ *'steki'* where you meet with your friends? Yes or no? If yes:

name of space

type of space

area

what do you do there?

with whom/how?

how often do you go there?

on what days do you usually go there?

at what time do you go?

how many hours do you stay?

What is the main reason for your preference of this space

WINTER CULTURAL SPACES IN THE CENTRE OF ATHENS

Fill in with a v

ATTIKON/ ALKYONIS/ EMBASSY/ PALACE/ VITOVSKY/ RATKA/ DADA/
MAKE UP/ RODEO/ KITTARO/ NATIONAL LYRIC SCENE/ ORPHEUS/
ATHENS CULTURAL CENTRE/ FOREIGN INSTITUTES (Institut Français,
Goethe Institut etc.)/ UNIVERSITY SPACES

15) When was the last time you went there?

yesterday

this week

last week

last month

last six months

last year

more than a year

16) How often do you go there?

almost daily

more than once weekly

once weekly

more than once monthly

once monthly

rarely

never

17) By what means do you usually go there?

private car

motorcycle/bicycle

taxi

bus

subway

18) What do you usually do there?

I listen to music

I play music

I dance

I watch films

I go to concerts

I go to operas

I have a drink or I eat

I meet friends

I read

I go to lectures/seminars

other (please specify)

19) With whom do you usually go there?

girlfriend/boyfriend

mother/father

relatives

sister/brother

colleagues

neighbours

alone

friends (girls/boys)

others (please specify)

20) What are the main reasons for which you do not use the cultural spaces in the centre of Athens much?

Please answer by order of priority 1, 2, 3. If you use these spaces to a large extent, do not answer.

high cost

large distance

inconvenient hours of operation

lack of spare time

lack of advertisement/information

lack of appropriate companion

unattractive spaces

others (please specify)

21) What cultural space in the centre of Athens do you use more often in association with the following activities (regardless of whether it is one of the 15 spaces mentioned in previous questions). If you prefer such a space to a similar space in Paleo Phaliro, please give the reasons for you preference.

MUSIC

DANCE

CINEMA

D. PREFERRED COMPANION

Answer by order of preference 1, 2, 3

22) MUSIC (Records/Tapes/Concerts) - DANCE - CINEMA - READING -
SEMINARS/LECTURES - TV - RADIO

Girlfriend/boyfriend

Mother/father

Sister/brother

relatives

friends (girls and boys)

colleagues

neighbours

alone

others (Please specify)

23) 'Parea'

Where did you meet most of your close friends (this may be just one person)

How long have you been friends?

Where do they live?

What is their profession

Are they of the same sex or not?

What do you usually do?

When did you last see them?

How often do you meet?

At what time do you usually meet?

On which days do you usually meet?

How many hours do you usually stay together

E. PREFERRED 'TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS'

24) DISTRIBUTION OF TIME (mean daily hours)

	WEEKDAYS	WEEKENDS	HOLIDAYS	VACATIONS
Time for work/studies (including at home)				
Spare time				
Transportation time				

25) DISTRIBUTION OF SPARE TIME (mean daily hours)

	WEEKDAYS	WEEKENDS	HOLIDAYS	VACATIONS
Music				
Dance				
Cinema				
Reading				
Lectures/seminars				

Television

Radio

Please fill in the following with a v

26) WHEN DID YOU LAST UNDERTAKE THIS ACTIVITY
            MUSIC - DANCE - CINEMA - READING -
            SEMINARS/LECTURES - TV- RADIO

Yesterday

This week

Last week

Last month

Last six months

Last year

More than a year

27) HOW OFTEN DO YOU UNDERTAKE THIS ACTIVITY
            MUSIC - DANCE - CINEMA - READING -
            SEMINARS/LECTURES - TV- RADIO

Almost every day

More than once weekly

Once weekly

More than once monthly

Once monthly

Rarely

Never

28) HOW LONG DO YOU PREFER TO UNDERTAKE THIS ACTIVITY

Up to 1 hour

1 to 2 hours

2 to 3 hours

3 to 4 hours

Over 4 hours

29) WHAT SEASON DO YOU PREFER FOR THIS ACTIVITY

Spring

Summer

Autumn

Winter

30) WHAT PERIOD OF TIME DO YOU PREFER FOR THIS ACTIVITY

Weekdays

Weekends

Holidays

Vacations

31) WHAT TIME OF DAY DO YOU PREFER FOR THIS ACTIVITY?

Morning

Noon

Afternoon

Evening

Night

Note (Attention): The following section concerns only those who completed on page 2 as their preferred activity at least one of the seven activities mentioned here.

F. REASONS FOR PREFERENCE

Please answer by order of preference: 1, 2, 3

MUSIC (Records/Tapes/Concerts) - DANCE - CINEMA - READING - SEMINARS/LECTURES - TV - RADIO

32) rest/relaxation

stimulus/challenge

creativity

knowledge/understanding/information

sociability

aesthetic pleasure

escape

fun/entertainment

individuality/isolation

companionship/friendship

comfortable way to pass time

differentiation from studies/work
utility/financial benefit
other reason (please specify):

33) What is the main reason, if any, for which you cannot participate in this activity as much as you would like? Please answer by order of priority, 1, 2, 3
high cost
lack of spare time
lack of satisfactory space in Paleo Phaliro
lack of satisfactory space in general
lack of information/knowledge
lack of appropriate companion
other reason (please specify:)

34) What motivated your interest in your preferred activity?
(Please answer on the back of this page).

4.4 Multiple Case Studies

4.4.1 Main Issues Relating to the Case Study Approach

The *philosophical dimension* can be considered as a starting point in analysing the various dimensions of case studies: the philosophy behind this approach is 'not inclined to accept a world of objects with specific measurable properties' (Smith, 1988, p. 262). As far as activities are concerned, the problem of intentionality is crucial, something which has been stated by Merleau-Ponty who based his *Phenomenology of Perception* on one case study (1945/1981).

The most important *attributes* of the case study are that it is empirical (in the sense of relying on the collection of evidence), it is about the particular, and it is focused on a phenomenon in context (Robson, 1993, p. 52), i.e. it is holistic and 'the boundaries between the context and the phenomena are inseparable' (Henderson, 1991, p.88). 'A case study is not a survey, where reliability relies crucially on the characteristics of the data collection instruments. The case study relies on the trustworthiness of the human instrument (the researcher) rather than on the data collection techniques *per se.*' (Robson, 1993, p. 160).

According to Mitchell, extrapolability from any case study to like situations in general, is based only on logical inference, and not statistical inference (1983, p. 200). Thus, the *importance of theory* is great, since it is not the content of the case study as such which is important, 'but the use to which the data are put to support theoretical conclusions' (1983, p. 191). 'Predictions from an analysis based on case study techniques tend to be theoretical rather than empirical' (1983, p. 205). 'A case study is essentially heuristic; it reflects in the events portrayed features which may be construed as a manifestation of some general abstract theoretical principle' (1983, p. 192).

The significance of the theoretical framework leads to the principles of theoretical sampling and logical consistency rather than replication which is the usual practice according to Yin's analysis (1984/1989, p. 53-55). Yin makes a further distinction between embedded and holistic *multiple case studies*. The latter refers to a single unit of analysis (in this research the life-world of the individual) and 'is advantageous when no logical subunits can be identified and when the relevant theory underlying the case study is itself of a holistic nature' (1984/1989, p. 49).

The *number of cases* is one of the issues raised by positivism, although, according to Sjoberg *et al.*, even adherents of the natural science model, often concede that 'in-depth investigation limits the number of units one can study' (1991, p. 52). In qualitative research the crucial principle is:

that 'less is more'. It is more important to work longer, and with greater care, with a few people than more superficially with many of them. For many research projects eight respondents will be perfectly sufficient... this group is not chosen to represent some part of the larger world. It offers, instead, an opportunity to glimpse the complicated character, organization, and logic of culture. (McCracken 1988, p. 17)

The analysis is based on *theoretical propositions* as opposed to case description, which are the two general strategies for analysing evidence according to Yin (1984/1989, pp. 107-108). The main advantages of theoretical proposition are that it:

> helps to focus attention on certain data and to ignore other data... The proposition also helps to organize the entire case study and to define alternative explanations to be examined. Theoretical propositions about causal relations – answers to 'how' and 'why' questions – can be very useful in guiding case study analysis in this manner. (Yin, 1984/1989, p. 107)

The objectives and design of the case studies were based on the theoretical propositions, 'which in turn reflected a set of research questions, reviews of the literature and new insights'. The propositions shaped the data collection plan and therefore have given priorities to the relevant analytic strategies (Yin, 1984/1989, p. 106). However, since deduction interrelates with induction, the basis on theory is not a one-way process, but it includes elements of grounded theory, analytic induction and thick description.

Although there is no straightforward relation between intention and realisation (Hägerstrand), the starting point must be experience, which is always situated in a social context. The quest for identity implies an emphasis on the process of becoming (Pred) rather than states of being (Heidegger, Abrams) – see also Elias' claim for his theory of 'human figurations' as process theory – and this also implies the study of movement (paths and projects in the time-geographic terminology).

4.4.3   STRUCTURED INDEPTH INTERVIEWS

The interviews were conducted during the second phase of the fieldwork in 1989, i.e. with different people to whom the questionnaires were distributed in the first phase of the fieldwork (1984). Six, out of the ten, interviews were conducted in cafeterias, three at the homes of the interviewees and one in the Cultural Association. Most of these locales were proposed by the respondents, because of their convenience and/or familiarity. I was cautious before the first interview in a cafeteria, but it was proven that privacy was just as possible there as in the other locales. There were usually two interviews lasting approximately two hours each, but there were cases with three

interviews and also with one interview - in the latter cases it lasted from two-and-a-half to three hours. In every first interview there was a 'warm up' chat for about 10-15 minutes in order to establish rapport. The first two interviews were done in alternative succession, i.e. first the first part of the first interview, then the first part of the second interview, then the second part of the first interview. This proved to be confusing for the researcher, and afterwards each case was treated continuously. The main attempt was, following Hammersley and Atkinson, to consider the interview as part of the interviewees' everyday life (1983, p. 125). Usually there was one interview per week, because that was the only time the interviewee could find or in order that the s/he did not feel tired, and in every interview which followed, the researcher made a short summary of the previous one, so that continuity was not lost. There were two cases when in one of the meetings a second person was present; both belonging to the same age group – although in one case the person (female) was staying in Nea Smirni – and both participated in the discussion when more general issues were involved. There were also two cases in which the interviews were conducted while the parents were at home, but they did not intervene in the discussion.

The interviewees were *approached* in various ways: two by a dentist friend of my wife working and living in the area, two by a Reader at the National Technical University in Athens whose niece was living in Nea Smirni and was a friend of two female respondents, one from another Reader at the National Technical University in Athens who was living in the same apartment block as the male respondent, one male from the previous respondent (they were friends), and four were members of the Cultural Association. Most of the respondents were contacted by phone, except for one male respondent who was contacted at the office of the dentist and the members of the Cultural Association who were contacted at a cafeteria which functioned as their 'steki'. In the latter case the technique of snowballing was applied, which, according to Jacquelin Burgess, is the best idea in locality research and the initial contact with someone provides other introductions (1992, p. 209). In this research, contact was made with an ex-president of the Association, who, however, was not studied, because he was over the age limit. The names have been changed for reasons of confidentiality.

Since the choice was to have everything the respondent says available, the interviews were tape-recorded, even if this is not common, according to Nigel Fielding, in structured interviews. The main advantages of tape-recording are that it does put over the idea that the responses are being taken seriously, and that there are no doubts about the validity of the data (1993a, p. 146). The negotiation with the respondents was very easy, again in contrast with what usually happens; there were very few instances, especially when referring to other persons, where the interviewees

asked for the machine to be switched off. Some clarifications were made to the individuals at the beginning of the interview – along with the offering of anonymity and confidentiality – concerning the motivations of the research, and the logistics of the interviewing situation (i.e. frequency and duration of meetings).

The interviews were transcribed in full shortly after the end of the last interview. This was done by hand by another person, something which, although it speeded up things a little, proved to be very expensive. After a small scale selection, the interviews were typed by the researcher in WordPerfect on an Amstrad computer, a total of 405 single-spaced pages. A larger selection based on the themes of the interview schedule – as well as the degree of excitement of the material – was done when they were re-read; this functioned as a pre-existing coding. It was only these data which were translated into English, a total of 179 handwritten single-spaced pages organised around the themes of the interview schedule and not around the respondents. Then a draft was typed in Word for the Macintosh (also focusing on themes and not on cases), a total of 67 single-spaced pages; this constituted the basis of the writing of Chapter 6. The whole process of conducting the interviews, transcribing and translating the data, and writing up took almost three years including breaks. The research experience in its totality functioned as a verification of Burgess' arguments: 'the transcription and interpretation of interview data takes much longer than statistical data: writing up is a more creative and interactive process than that associated with quantitative analysis' (1992, p. 208).

The first two interviews functioned as pilot interviews, but, according to Robson, pilot tests are 'case studies in their own right with an essentially exploratory function, where some of the research questions are methodological' (1993, p. 165). In these interviews, the schedule was loose and largely included questions which were either left open after the elaboration of the results of the questionnaires or couldn't be included in the questionnaires; these *questions* were characterised as those *put to few people*. This resulted in many silences – mostly stuck i.e. difficulties with the points raised (Burgess, 1992, p. 211) – in the discussion (especially in the questions relating to space and time) and to the non-direct reference to the issues raised from the previous chapters. Thus, the application of a structured indepth interview having a more rigid schedule became necessary; however, with mostly open-ended questions instead of closed questions.

The schedule was modified after each interview, also implying that the schedule was gradually becoming longer. The application of structured interviews is not the usual practice in qualitative methodologies, but in this research it was proven successful, since both myself and the interviewees were content: at the end of the interviews almost all the individuals told me that they believed that this functioned

better than an unstructured interview. This satisfies the criteria of good interviewing set by Burgess: 'the art of interviewing is to be able to conduct a conversation in such a way that the persons you are talking to are able freely to express their opinions and feelings while, at the same time, enabling you to meet your own research objectives' (1992 p. 208). The overall type of conversation, even if it was not ordinary, was friendly and informal, and in most circumstances one thing was leading to another or to directions not anticipated by the initial question.

The basic questions of the questionnaires (e.g. preferred activities, time-spaces, companions) were also asked in the interviews, but as points for discussion and not as elements to be filled in. The majority of the questions in the interviews were open, but this does not exclude the existence some leading questions, whose 'object is to lead the individual into agreeing with a particular statement' (Newell, 1993, p. 105). Also some indirect questions were included, not so much based on the common hypothesis that 'people are more prepared to reveal negative feelings if they can attribute them to other people' (Fielding, 1993a, p. 139), but with the intention of differentiating the attitudes of the interviewees from those of young people in the locality, in Athens, or in Greece. There was an attempt to avoid questions which are long, double-barrelled, involving jargon, and biased (Robson, 1993, pp. 232-233). The information included in the interviews is more varied than that of the questionnaires, since except for attributes and activities, attitudes and beliefs also are included. The interviewees were also asked the same closed questions (with scales) asked in the NCSR research (Gardiki *et al.*, 1987 and 1988) referring to three issues: their attitudes towards specific values (in which case some added their own intermediate scales of importance), their opinions on the main factors of success, and their opinions on the major problems of contemporary Greek youth.

The communication in the interviews involved some *prompting and* especially *probing*, which is, according to Robson, particularly useful in focused interviews (1993, p. 234). The former involves, according to Nigel Fielding, 'encouraging the respondent to produce an answer'. In this research, since structured interviews were applied, 'great care was taken to get a response without having to put words in the respondent's mouth'. The usual techniques were repeating and rephrasing the question, but without the existence of lists of acceptable rephrases in the interview schedule, as is often the case. Probing involves 'follow-up questioning to get a fuller response; it may be non-verbal or verbal'. In this research probes were not pre-specified as is often the case (1993a, p. 140).

The following interview schedule is the final one and is a translation of the original that was in Greek.

SCHEDULE

B)   ACTIVITIES

<u>1. What does free time mean to you?</u>

In particular in comparison to:

- 'work' (necessity as opposed to freedom). Is it more important?

- what does work mean to you (even if you do not work)?

- is reading work?

- is the relationship between work-free time opposite, complementary or connecting?

- is free time non-work?

- are the other aspects of everyday life (e.g. social relations) part of your free time?

To what do you mainly dedicate your energy and creativity?

<u>2. Is there freedom of choice of activities today, and what does it mean to you?</u>

- many stimuli and possibilities?

- few limitations from parents and friends?

- adequate information

- financial possibilities

<u>3. What is the importance of cultural activities for you compared to other leisure activities?</u>

Do the movies and music have a special importance? If yes, why? If not, why not?

Emphasis on musical and movies preferences.

Reasons for preferences.

Are your preferences connected to a general view of everyday life and society?

Are some of your preferences for some types of films and music connected with a special moment or phase in your life?

4. Are your main hobbies related to the movies and music or are they not related to cultural activities?

<u>Are you professionally occupied with your preferences?</u> Are you thinking of becoming so? Would you like to, but cannot for different reasons? (pressures from parents, financial problems, you like it as much as what you do or what you want to do and you have a time problem?). Do you think that a hobby must remain a hobby as otherwise it loses its interest and becomes routine?

5. Do you prefer to attend events related to your interests or to occupy yourself with them personally in any way (alone or together with others)? If the latter is the case, does it occur or not and for what reasons?

6. How did your interest in your preferred activities begin? In particular, how were your musical and movie preferences formed?
- by some friends or 'parea'?
- by stimuli from school (a teacher or a course)?
- from your parents, brothers and sisters, or other relatives?
- from television, radio, magazines, newspapers?

C) SPACES

1. What factors help you form a space perception?
- the organisation of spaces at home. Do you shape up your room? Do you have some influence on the organisation of the other spaces?
- the recognition of some familiar characteristics in spaces of your neighbourhood/ quarter (connection to childhood events)
- the association of particular spaces to particular activities that may vary (beach with swimming and/or entertainment, Syntagma square with meetings, sports field with games/concerts, squares with meetings/play, cafeterias with meetings, discos with dancing/'parea'?)

2. Does a particular space (and its elements) play a particular role in the choice of a particular activity?
e.g. Herodion theatre in summer, a particular bar or disco, a particular cinema? Lycabettus theatre.

3. Is there a feeling of neighbourhood/district in Phaliro or is Phaliro a community in general? What does 'Phaliriotis' mean (if it means anything)?
What are the limits of Phaliro to you? Are Amphithea and Agia Varvara districts of Phaliro?
Do you feel comfortable, satisfied and content when using the spaces of Phaliro, and how is it expressed?
- comfortable (from the point of view of traffic, but also from the point of view of recognition of spaces)
- the space is familiar, well-known

- there are some fixed points that symbolise certain things (e.g. 'Phlisvos') or are connected to childhood memories (do the old 'stekia' still exist?)

What do you remember from Phaliro in the past before the many multi-storey apartment buildings were built? Do you prefer the actual state of things?

What other elements of Phaliro do you think have changed (squares) or no longer exist (winter cinemas)?

What are the 'stekia' for young people today, and what were they in the past?

4. What is the space where you prefer to do the activities connected with music and the movies? Is it in Phaliro or in the centre of Athens? What are the reasons for which you prefer this space?

What is the role of a 'steki' for the materialisation of an activity? Would you prefer it if there was a place in Phaliro for your preferred activity or is the place of no importance? If for some reason (s) you cannot undertake this activity in Phaliro, then do you go to the centre or somewhere else or do you do something else?

Do you generally do something in your preferred space and if not, for what reasons?

5. Do you feel more comfortable and satisfied in Phaliro or in the centre of Athens? Do you think there is satisfactory connection to the centre? Do you generally feel a resident of Athens or do you think that Phaliro operates as an independent district?

What does the centre mean to you [adapted from Schoonbrodt, 1979, p. 107]

- work, financial possibilities
- leisure (recreation, entertainment, amusement)
- cultural buildings and activities
- public services
- free spaces
- social relations, participation
- isolation
- shops
- other things (please specify)

What does Phaliro mean to you:

- work
- leisure
- residence
- friends, social relations, collective life
- isolation
- shops
- security (intimacy)

- other things

What are the differences between Phaliro and the centre? (the same as above)

How often do you use the squares or other free spaces of Phaliro?

- When did you go there for the last time?

- What do you usually do in them?

- With whom do you go there?

- How long do you stay there?

- What is your preferred season?

- What is your preferred time of day?

- If you do not use them, what are the reasons for this?

D) PEOPLE

1) By what criteria do you choose the friends with whom you undertake an activity?
Does your common activity play an important part in your friendship? Are there
different friends for different activities (movies, music)?

Is there usually agreement in your 'parea' (of how many people does it consist? is it
constant?) or are there often compromises in the choice of an activity?

Do you have more than one 'parea'? (number of people). Is this related to particular
'stekia' or activities?

What does the 'parea' 'offer' to you?

What is generally more important to you: the 'parea' or the activity?

2. Do you feel that you belong to a wider social group outside your personal 'parea'?
What does generation mean to you? (separating line/age limits – general importance of
age compared to gender, occupational group and social class).

Do you think that you belong to a particular generation and in what way does this
generation differ from the previous ones?

Do you believe there is a generation gap? How is it expressed? Do you generally
believe that youth constitutes a separate social class, and why? Regardless of this,
what are the elements that differentiate young people from other people?

What is the common element of young people? Are they united by some particular
factor?

3. Do you prefer to be alone, with one person (a special or ordinary friend) or with
many people? Do you prefer being in a home or out-doors (open or closed)? Are there
atomistic trends in contemporary youth and society in general? What do you think of

this? What are its causative factors (professional competition and competition in social or personal relations).

4. <u>How is your relationship with your parents</u> (age of parents)

- very good

- quite good

- not very good

- not good at all

Is there any differentiation in your relationship with your mother-father?

What role do they play in your leisure activities? (influence in shaping some interests and preferences).

Do they influence your choices? (direct or indirect pressure, limitations)? Are they tolerant? Do they let you do what you want most of the time? What are the exceptions (if any)?

If your profession (actual or future) is related to cultural activities what has been or is their attitude?

Do you usually have common activities? If yes why? If not, would you like to do something with them more often and for what reasons?

Do you do things with other <u>relatives</u>? (uncles/aunts)? If yes/no, what are the reasons?

Do you go out with your brother/sister? If yes/no what are the reasons?

Do you have mutual friends or a mutual 'parea'? (the same for cousins)

Do you generally prefer your 'parea'?

5. <u>Are you a member of any association?</u> (sports, cultural) If yes, what are the reasons? How often do you go to its offices or attend events organised by it? How long have you been a member? When was the last time you went there? What do you like or dislike about it? Have you ever been a member of an association? How long were you a member? When and why did you leave?

If the answer to all the above is no, is this mainly due to a lack of information, to a dissatisfaction with the participation in collective procedures (or similar procedures) or to the absence of an association that you would like?

E) TIMES

1. <u>What are the main factors that help you form your time perception?</u>

- movement in time

- the passing of time

Do you think that time passes fast? Faster than when you were younger?

Do you feel that there are more moments when you have nothing to do or when you do not have the time to do what you want?

To what do you think that young people devote most of their free time? To what do you devote it?

What does "I have no time" mean to you? What does "I spend my time" mean? I watch TV? I sit with friends? I make new acquaintances? I sit by myself?

Do you think that this is 'loss of time'? What is 'loss of time' to you? (displacements). What does 'to exploit or gain one's time' mean to you?

Do you believe that 'time is money'? What does this expression mean? Why is money important (if it is)?

2. What role does time play in the choice of a particular activity?

Do you feel better at a particular time of day? Do you prefer the morning or the evening hours?

What does morning and evening mean for Phaliro and for the centre of Athens? Do you prefer the centre at particular times and on particular days?

Compare weekdays with weekends. What does "going out on weekends" mean to you?

3. How much free time do you have every day? Do you think it is enough? How much free time do you have each weekend? Do you think it is enough?

How many hours do you 'work' daily? Do you think this is satisfactory or excessive?

If you would like more free time would you prefer to have it at the expense of working time, transportation time or something else?

What do you think of the fact that free time is concentrated during weekends and holidays? Do you prefer it this way or would you prefer to have more free time daily?

Are holidays/excursions your first preference? Do you have them? Regardless of what actually happens, do you prefer doing something on weekdays, on weekends/holidays or during the summer holidays? For what reasons?

4. For what reasons do you prefer a particular season, particular days or particular hours for a particular activity?

F) GENERAL differentiation between the interviewee and young people in general

1. Regardless of whether you have little free time and you do not devote yourself to it, do you believe that free time is more important than work? Why? Are you not satisfied with your 'work' and do you invest your energy and creativity in your hobbies? Are you pleased with your work but to regain your balance in your free time? Do you use your free time in order to perform better in your work? Is free time generally more pleasant to you?
The same about young people in general.

2. Which factor limits more the materialisation of your leisure activities?
- financial reasons (which imply increase of working time)
- lack of time
- lack of companion
- parents, environment
- lack of information
- lack of adequate stimuli and possibilities
- lack of organisation (in relation to many stimuli?)
- work as an occupation (not as quantity of time)
- others
- nothing

3. Which factor plays the most important role in the choice and materialisation of an activity: The type of activity, the space, the companion or the time? Would you do something different (as regards activities related with music and cinema) if all three factors were not satisfactory? (or one of them?)

4. What factors are in your opinion more important in the preferences concerning types of music and films and concerning particular spaces or times?
- parents and relatives
- school (which school did you go to and why, if it was up to you, would you choose another school? Do you generally prefer private or public schools and why?)
- friends and acquaintances? ('parea')
- mass media (information from other sources in general)
- colleagues at work
- others
Emphasis on the ephemeral?

In general, <u>what is the most important factor in forming your space and time perception</u>?

Do you believe that space is related with time or that they are two separate meanings?

- is your preference for a particular space related to a particular time at which an activity takes place (square, home, cinema, cafeteria – obvious examples: discotheque and bar in the evening)

Classification of activities in time comprises also classification in space.

Conscious or subconscious choice?

5. Imposition of stereotypes, reaction of young people.

<u>Do you think there is an effort</u> (unperceived or subtle) by the family, the school and the media in general (particular reference to television, radio, newspapers, magazines, records, films) <u>to impose certain stereotypes of 'proper behaviour' for young people</u> concerning what they must do and what they must become in the future? (profession, family, concepts – and not so much regarding whether they must change the world!)

What is the form of the comparison with older generations? (harder conditions, more limitations)

If there are stereotypes do you believe that <u>the course of young people is predetermined or that there are some possibilities for choice</u>? What is or should be the reaction of young people in your opinion? Does free time and cultural activities in particular play a role (music, cinema)?

Comparison with emphasis on the attitude towards 'work' and behaviour in the working space as well as on social relations?

What is your personal attitude towards these things?

6. Values [from Gardiki et al., 1987 and 1988]

<u>How important</u> are in your opinion the following factors (very important, important, unimportant) and why?

- friendship
- money (necessarily important?)
- steady love affair
- professional career (necessarily important?)
- studies
- social action, activity
- existing family
- creation of family
- free time
- social relations, communication (alienation), collective life (isolation)

- religion, faith

- creation

- other (please specify)

What do you consider necessary for 'success' in life? (1, 2, 3) and why?

- money

- studies, education

- will, persistence, hard work, skills (creativity combines many things)

- courage, self-confidence

- intelligence, mental capacities, exploitation of opportunities

- acquaintances, strings- luck

- moral values

- ambition (negative and positive sense)

- emotional factors, peace of mind

- right attitude towards the subject of individual development and human relations

- others

- What do you consider to be the most important problems of young people (1, 2, 3) and why?

- unemployment, financial problems

- generation gap

- lack of ideals, apathy, atomism

- education (general), improvement of studies

- entertainment, amusement

- drugs

- personal relations, communication

- growing up by the family

- strict guidance (mainly by the media and the school)

- others

7. General image of contemporary youth

4.4.4   DIARIES

The diaries were completed by the same people who were interviewed; they were given at the first interview, and usually returned in the final interview where there was a brief discussion. In the cases where there was one interview the diary was either completed with my guidance, or submitted in a specially arranged meeting. In two cases where the interviewees were feeling uneasy in completing the diary, they were helped by the researcher. Two people refused to complete it in my presence and I did not wish to exert any pressure, so the diaries were not returned; thus eight diaries (six males and two females) were collected. Although it was asked to refer to a typical winter week, it is understandable that most respondents referred to the week prior to the completion, i.e. usually the next week after the delivery of the diary.

The *data* were *transferred* into the StatView programme for the Macintosh. The transfer was done in two steps. First, the data were sorted according to every respondent; this resulted in 817 variables (columns). Second, partly translated in English, the data were sorted according to every episode – 'a whole sequence of collected data relating according to a primary activity' (Pronovost, 1989, p. 77) or complementary activities. This resulted in 10 variables and 253 rows. The time intervals were designated as half-hour intervals, leaving space for 15 minutes periods; some respondents gave the exact time (e.g. 19.05, 23.20). Activities (which included complementary ones, e.g. listening to music and reading), areas, locales, and companions were left open for the respondents, but there was a small regrouping (except for companions) in the second transfer in the computer, when also the data were also checked and cleaned; thus, in this transfer the variables increased to 13. [for regrouped categories see Tables 6.4, 6.8 in Chapter 6 and 7.1-7.2 in Chapter 7] As in the case of questionnaires, the categories were also coded before being transferred to the computer, there were two explorations (the first in StatView and the second in Excel), and the final tables are presented in Word.

The figures of the daily movements of the three selected cases (Cathy John and Dick) we made in the Superpaint programme for the Macintosh.

The following diary schedule is a translation of the original that was in Greek.

DIARY OF A TYPICAL WINTER WEEK

DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN A TYPICAL WEEKDAY, SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

ATTENTION

A) The movement from one space to another (even if it lasts for a few minutes) is considered to be an activity and is written 'movement' together with the means of transportation (e.g. private car, by foot). In this case, the same is valid as in other activities except for the two columns which refer to space. If during a movement there is a stop in order to undertake a certain activity then this activity is also recorded.

B) In the case where two activities are done simultaneously (e.g. eating and watching television) then both activities are recorded.

TIME	WHICH ACTIVITY DO YOU UNDER-TAKE	TIME THAT IT BEGINS	TIME THAT IT ENDS	WHERE IS THE ACTIVITY UNDER-TAKEN	WITH WHOM	MAJORITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE SAME SPACE	FOR YOU THIS ACTIVITY IS	DEGREE OF ENJOYMENT FROM THE ACTIVITY
						yes or no	Work Free time Combination of the two None of the two	Little Enough Much

Table 4.6 PROFILE OF WINTER SPACES IN THE CENTRE OF ATHENS

Checklist	Rodeo	Ratka	Lyric Scene	Cultural Centre of Athens	Palace	Embassy	Attikon
NO. IN FIGURE 3.2	13	14	12	1	11	7	5
TYPE OF LOCALE	music venue	pub/bar	opera house	cultural centre	cinema/music venue	cinema	cinema
ACTIVITY	rock concerts/ drink/dance	drink/eat/ music	opera/classical music concerts /classical dance	lectures/ exhibitions/ reading	films/concerts (rock, folk anc jazz)/folk dance	films	films/concerts (Greek music)
TRANSPORT/ PARKING	all means/ relatively difficult	all means except underground/ very difficult	all means (underground a bit far)/difficult in the streets but enough parking	all means (underground a bit far)/difficult in the streets but enough parking	all means except underground/ very difficult in the streets but some parking	all means except underground/ very difficult in the streets but some parking	all means except underground/ very difficult in the streets but some parking
ENTRANCE FEE	depending on the drink	depending on the drink	not very expensive compared to W. Europe/ student tickets	free	depending on the event/ student tickets in some cases	standard movie price	standard movie/concert price
BUILDING FORM	small basement with small entrance/ interior columns	modern with loft	modern building with two balconies	renovated neoclassical building	renovated mid-war building with large entrance with stairs and one balcony	modern (with upward inclined floor)	modern

Checklist	Rodeo	Ratka	Lyric Scene	Athens Cultural Centre	Palace	Embassy	Attikon
TYPE OF SEATS	mobile	mobile	permanent	mobile	permanent	permanent	permanent
SPACE FOR AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION	in front of the bar	corridors	corridors	halls	corridors/in front of the stage	corridors	corridors/in front of the stage
POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT AMONG THE AUDIENCE	little	little	great	great	great	relatively great	great
FULLNESS	depending on the event	full	relatively full	depending on the event	relatively full	relatively full	full
OWNERSHIP/ MANAGEMENT	private (commercial)	private (commercial)	public (Ministry of Culture)	municipal (Municipality of Athens)	public (Ministry of Culture)	private (commercial)	private (commercial)
COMPOSITION OF THE AUDIENCE	youth majority	mixed (large percentage of young people)	youth minority	youth minority	youth majority	mixed (large percentage of young people)	mixed (large percentage of young people)

Appendix 5 TABLE AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF SPACES IN PALEO PHALIRO

Table 5.7   SELECTED CULTURAL SPACES IN PHALIRO

Figure no.	Type and name	Sector	Seasonal Function	Comments
1	*Cultural Centre* Paleo Phaliro	municipal	winter	also used for concerts
2	Amphithea	municipal	winter	also used for concerts
3	Agia Varvara	municipal	winter	also used for concerts
4	Diplarakou Residence	municipal	winter	
5	*Cultural Association* Paleo Phaliro	private	winter	also used for concerts
6	Agia Varvara	private	winter	also used for concerts
7	*Foundation* Evgenidion Foundation	private	winter	
	ARTISTIC			
8	*Cinema* Diana	private	summer	
5	*Music space* *Folk dance group* Cultural Association of Paleo Phaliro	private	winter	
	EDUCATIONAL			
1	*Library* Municipal Library of Paleo Phaliro	municipal	winter	located at the Cultural Centre
7	Evgenidion Foundation	private	winter	
7	*Museum* Collection of Physics Experiments in Evgenidion Foundation	private	winter	
9	*Gallery* Kouloura Mansion	public	winter	
	VARIOUS			
10	*Music bars/pub* PPC	private	winter/summer	
11	Phegarophos	private	winter/summer	
12	*Cafeteria* Pachos	private	winter/summer	
13	Maritime	private	winter/summer	
14	'Kouphos'	private	winter/summer	

Figure no.	Type and name	Sector	Seasonal Function	Comments
15	Batis	private	winter/summer	
16	Prapas	private	winter/summer	
17	'Phlisvos'	private	winter/summer	the round building actually functions as a cafe-theatre and next to it there is a fish tavern
	Venue for concerts			There do not exist specialised music spaces, but spaces which function as venues for concerts
5	Cultural Association of Paleo Phaliro	municipal	winter	
1	Cultural Centre of Phaliro	municipal	winter	
2	Cultural Centre of Amphithea	municipal	winter	
3	Cultural Centre of Agia Varvara	municipal	winter	
15	Batis	municipal	summer	The concerts are organised mainly by the LA, usually at the beginning and the end of the summer – but it also accommodates presentations from other associations, including the Cultural Association – in a platform which is put in the beach. Not many people gather, but when a known singer appears 1000 or 2000 people show up mainly from Phaliro

Note: The years of recording were 1988 and 1989. The numbers correspond to Figure 5.1.

Photograph 5.1   KOULOURA MANSION

Photograph 5.2   DIPLARAKOU RESIDENCE

Photograph 5.3   AGIOU ALEXANDROU STREET

On the far right the central square

Photograph 5.4   AGIOU ALEXANDROU STREET

Photograph 5.5   CULTURAL CENTRE OF PALEO PHALIRO

On the left 'PPC' pub

Photograph 5.6   'PPC' PUB

On the right the Cultural Centre of Paleo Phaliro

Photograph 5.7   PANAGITSA AREA

On the right the homonymous church

Photograph 5.8   ACHILLEOS STREET IN PANAGITSA AREA

On the left 'Phegarophos' pub

Photograph 5.9   BATIS AREA

The canteen at the far back

Photograph 5.10 BATIS AREA. THE BEACH

Photograph 5.11 EDEM BEACH

Photograph 5.12 EDEM BEACH

Photograph 5.13 THE CENTRAL SQUARE

Photograph 5.14 THE CENTRAL SQUARE

Photograph 5.15 THE CENTRAL SQUARE

Photograph 5.16 THE CENTRAL SQUARE

Photograph 5.17 HOUSING ESTATE IN EDEM AREA

Photograph 5.18 PIKRODAPHNIS GULLY IN EDEM AREA

On the left the above housing estate

Photograph 5.19 'PHLISVOS'. GENERAL VIEW

Photograph 5.20 'PHLISVOS'. CAFE-THEATRE AND FISH TAVERN

Photograph 5.21 'PHLISVOS'. THE BEACH

Photograph 5.22 'PHLISVOS'. THE BEACH

Photograph 5.23 'PACHOS' CAFETERIA NEXT TO THE CENTRAL SQUARE

Photograph 5.24 'PACHOS' CAFETERIA

Photograph 5.25 'PRAPAS' CAFETERIA IN ACHILLEOS STREET

Photograph 5.26 'PRAPAS' CAFETERIA

Photograph 5.27 'KOUPHOS' CAFETERIA IN AGIOU
ALEXANDROU STREET

Photograph 5.28 AGIOS ALEXANDROS CHURCH IN THE
HOMONYMOUS STREET
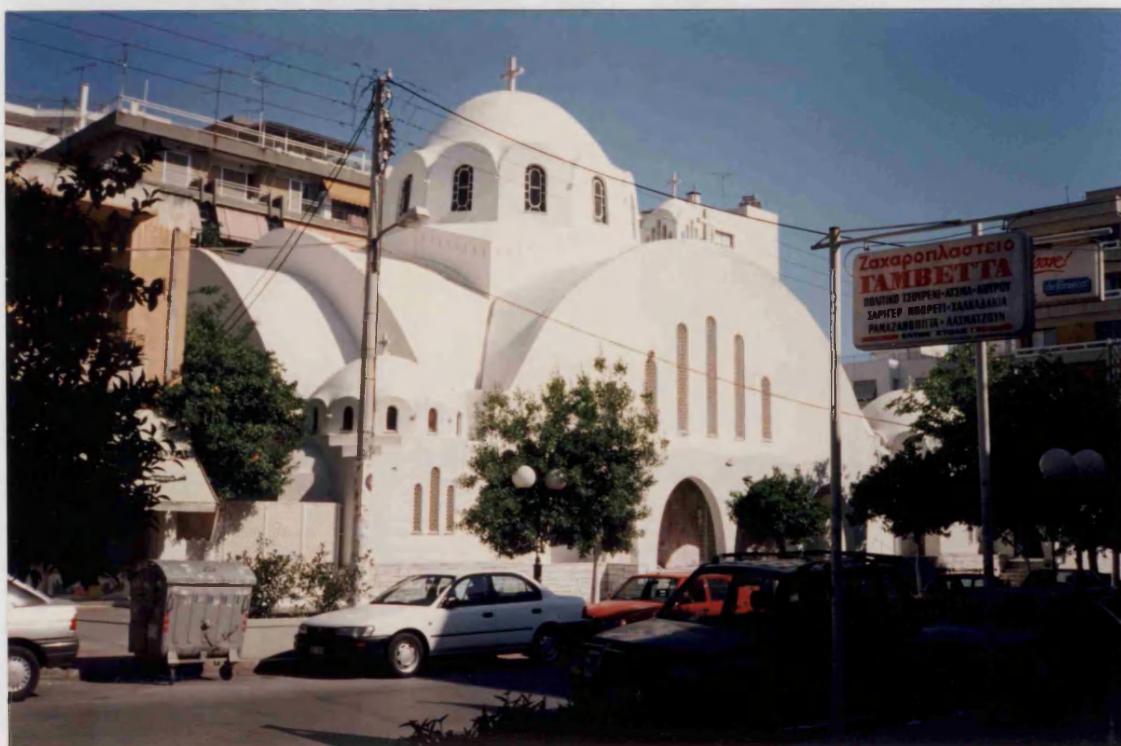
Photograph 5.29 'PHLISVOS'. THE PIER

Photograph 5.30 'PHLISVOS'. THE PIER

On the far left the central square

Photograph 5.31 'PHLISVOS' GROVE. VIEW FROM THE COASTAL AVENUE

Photograph 5.32 'PHLISVOS' GROVE. VIEW FROM THE RESIDENTIAL AREA

Photograph 5.33 TROCADERO AREA

Photograph 5.34 TROCADERO AREA

Photograph 5.35 TROCADERO AREA

Photograph 5.36 TROCADERO AREA

Appendix 6 LEISURE TIME-SPACE OF YOUNG ADULTS IN PALEO PHALIRO: FURTHER ELABORATIONS

6.2 The Weight of Cultural Activities in the Context of Leisure

As far as home activities are concerned, the starting point of analysis is the *ownership of consumer goods*: all the households own a television set and a tape recorder, 96.6 percent own a radio, 8Ỵ.8 percent own a record player, while 41.4 percent of the households own a video (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9   OWNERSHIP OF CONSUMER GOODS

	RADIO			VIDEO			RECORD PLAYER		
	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)	All (n=29)	Females (n=11)	Males (n=18)
Yes	96.6	90.9	100.0	41.4	45.5	38.9	82.8	90.9	77.8
No	0.4	9.1	0.0	58.6	55.5	61.1	17.2	9.1	22.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In *leisure preferences* there exists a *differentiation based on gender*. The female preference for excursion/travel is probably due to the desire to escape from the pressures of family or everyday life in general, which in contemporary Athens – and not only – are greater for women. However, since this is something that usually happens on holidays or on vacations, it implies that it is an attribute of the perceptual world. The male preference for sports is explained by the fact that it is socially evaluated as a male activity.

An interesting contradiction appears if preferences – which are, in essence, part of the perceptual world and do not directly refer to the nature and attributes of the activity – are compared to the *frequency* of an activity in the lived world. In this case the preference for listening to music is verified, since it is practised by 88.5 percent of the respondents almost daily (more for females). Even if cinema in general is less popular in comparison to dance, going to the cinema is practised once weekly, while dancing is usually practised either once monthly or rarely (Charts 6.16-6.17). Also, watching television, along with listening to the radio, are, as expected, almost a daily activity, but in the preferences they are not placed in a high position.

The first reason for preferring *dance* is, as in the case of cinema, fun/entertainment, and it is more important for females (Charts 6.3 and 6.18), The third reason for preferring dance is self-expression, which is more important for females. Thus, the

stronger desire among males to search for their identity though music is relative, since dance is an activity which relates directly to music.

Chart 6.16 FREQUENCY OF CINEMA

| | All % | Females % | Males % |
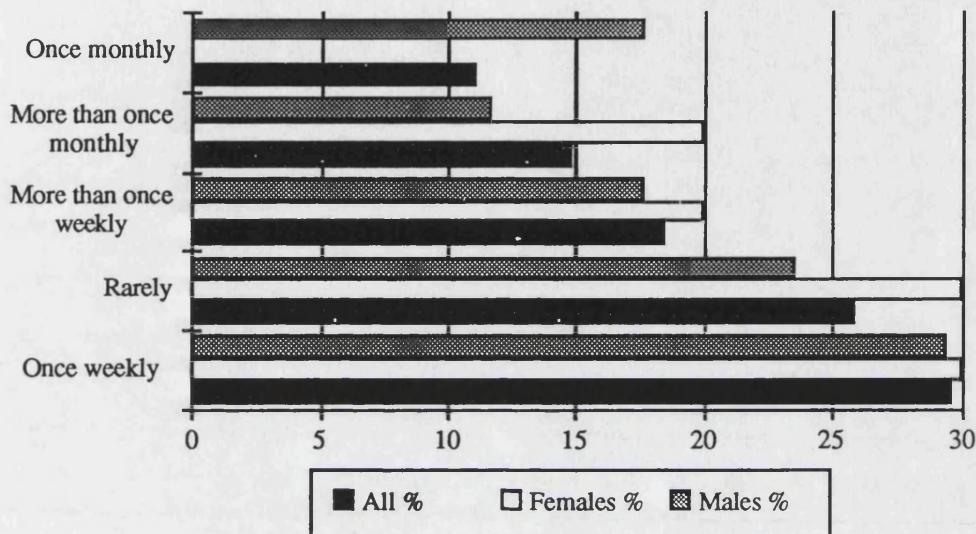
Chart 6.17 FREQUENCY OF DANCE

| | All % | Females % | Males % |
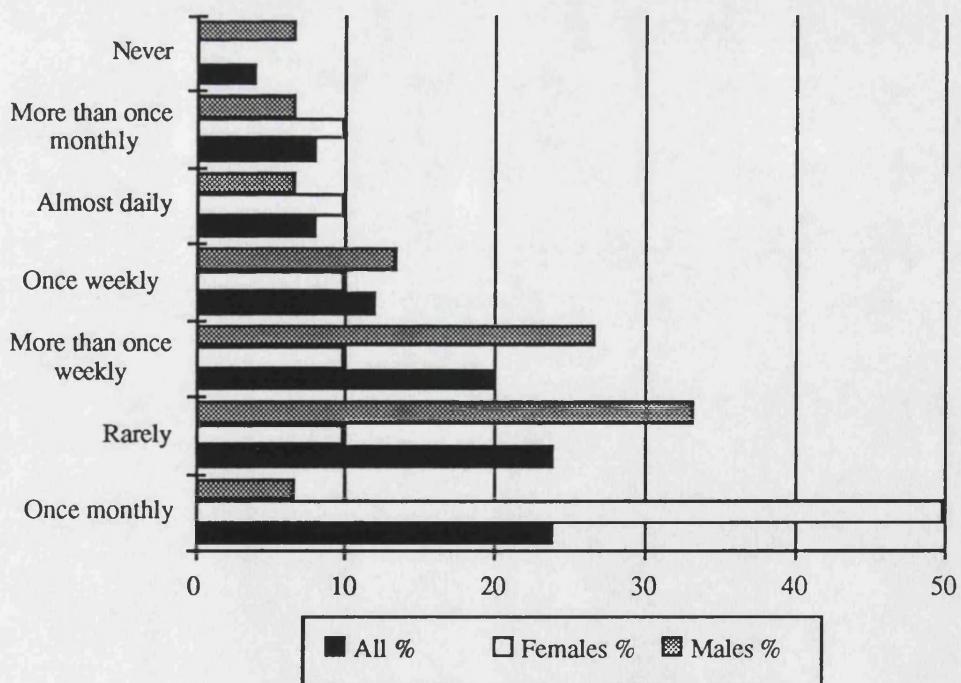
Simon, does not identify, as most interviewees do, *cinema* with going to venues, but relates his not watching films with the fact that he does not really miss the video and with the fact that, since high-school he has not often gone out, and that painting

Chart 6.18 REASONS FOR PREFERRING DANCE

Legend:
- ■ All %
- □ Females %
- ▨ Males %

Categories (top to bottom): Sociability, Creativity, Self-expression, Companionship/ friendship, Fun/entertainment

X-axis: 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
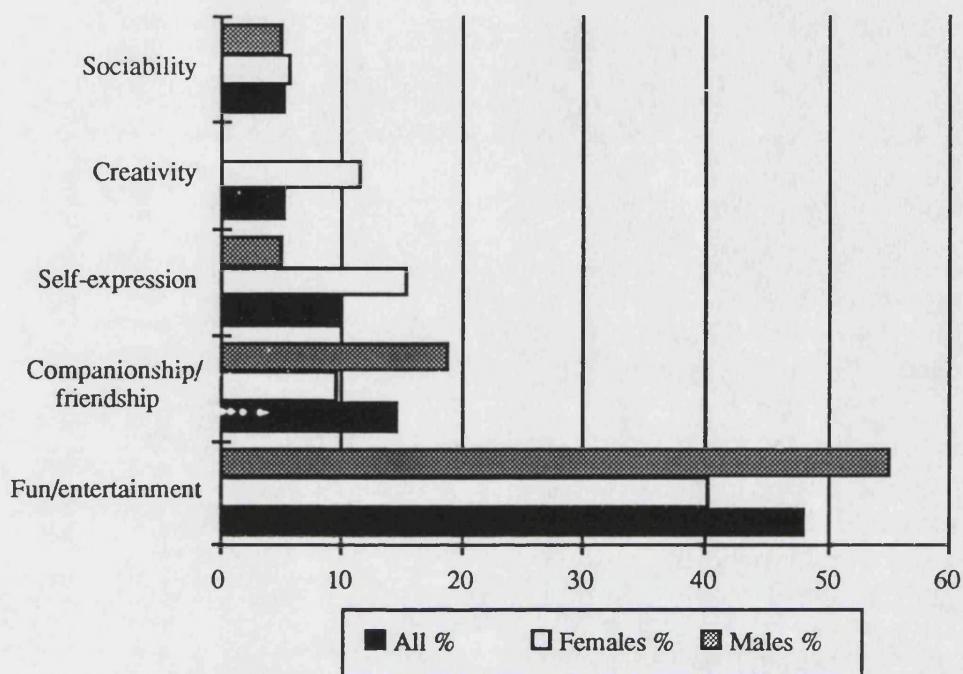
was his most pleasurable activity. There is also the peculiar case of David who often goes to the cinema, but without having much interest in it. Most interviewees prefer cinema to theatre, except Dick who prefers theatre because of the greater quality, the greater immediacy of creation, and the possible combination with music. This, however is also valid for cinema: the importance of music for films has always been great, and at present it is also acknowledged by the public, as the success of soundtracks shows.

Most interviewees implicitly believe that music and cinema are art. According to John, every person chooses a kind of art because s/he has an inherent inclination towards, or talent for, it. It is a matter of conjecture whether s/he will be occupied with it, to what extent s/he develops her/his thought, her/his mentality, her/his ideology. There are some differentiations like Andrew who, although he believes that music is an art, believes that cinema is simply entertainment since he has not seen enough films to classify it as art. Also, Dick does not believe that music is more closely related to art, literature or history, than the exact sciences.

Many interviewees can listen to a variety of *types of music*, but it is only Dick and Simon who actually like jazz. Dick is also the only one who likes opera, and especially the first operas and the twentieth century operas, and considers them part of contemporary music. Dick is also one of the few who tries to consciously develop his preferences, i.e. to overcome the distinction between 'lay' and 'expert', since he buys

records by chance (this implies that he tries to discover something new or unknown), goes to concerts, listens to the radio, watches television, listens to the opinions of his friends. He relates this effort to the overcoming of all the aspects of contemporary everyday life: art in general and music in particular, discourse, human relations. He does not reject everyday life because he is part of society, and there exist influences in his listening. There are some internal sensitivities which are reflected in music. Simon also theorises his search in music by seeking meaning – through creativity and consistency – in whatever brings tension, e.g. Pink Floyd in contrast with Andreas Vollenweider (a Swiss harp player of new age music).

As far as particular preferences are concerned, there is a general, but not unanimous, feeling of awe with respect to renowned composers of classical music, e.g. although Simon acknowledges the importance of Beethoven, he claims to find him 'tiring' to listen to, and he can listen more comfortably to Mozart although he finds him quite long. Cathy prefers Bach and Mozart, although for different reasons: the former is connected with logic, while the latter to feeling (see Chapter 7, 7.2). Dick's prefers twentieth century classical composers: Debussy (French), Schoenberg (Austrian), Stockhausen (German), Berio (Italian), Kagel (Argentinian) and Xenakis (Greek). Some of the preferred composers of other interviewees are: Bach, Mozart (both, along with Beethoven, are the better known preferences of Greeks in general and young people in particular), Bartok (Hungarian) and Stravinsky (Russian). Dick's preferred 'rock' groups are: Genesis, Yes, Dead Can Dance (an Australian avant garde group inspired by classical and world music), Smiths (English), REM (US) and Nits (a Dutch pop group), i.e. a combination of mostly classic and new rock. Dick's music preferences demonstrate primarily three things: the effect of global culture, his general broad-mindedness, and his differentiation from the standard preferences of Greek youth – and probably not only Greek. Some of the preferred groups and artists of other interviewees are: Simon and Garfunkel (US), Neil Young (Canadian), and the English groups Led Zeppelin, Dire Straits, Pink Floyd, Moody Blues, i.e. (except for Dire Straits) old ('classic') rock.

Music preferences are not uniform in one's lifecourse, but depend on the particular phase and also on the conditions of listening. Simon claims that if one wants to relax or is tired s/he cannot listen to something 'strong'. It depends neither on the person nor on the kind or piece of music, but on the situation. E.g. the only period that he liked Simple Minds was for one week when he was in the army. John states the following contradictions in relation to the music preferences: it is one thing to say that all types of music have something good in them and another thing that one will be pleased at every concert. It is possible for someone not to like a group (e.g. the Beatles) even if s/he believes that its members are 'exceptional' as composers, and it is

also possible to like two seemingly contradictory types of music, e.g. classical and hard rock – he claims that they go together in order for to be a balance.

As far as *film preferences* are concerned, again Dick is a peculiar case, since he claims that he cannot specify what types of films he likes, because what matters is how good the film is. The interviewees could not state their preferred directors except Dick who named the group around Monty Python, and John who named the following: Sidney Lumet (US), Francis Ford Coppola (US), Paul Verhoeven (the Dutch director of *Robocop* and *Basic Instinct*), Akira Kurosawa (the Japanese director of *The Seven Samurai*), Stephen Frears. The combination of three continents (America, Europe, Asia) in the film preferences of John shows the effect of global culture, his general broad-mindedness, and his differentiation from the standard preferences of Greek youth. This phenomenon was also observed in the case of Dick in relation to his music preferences, although they have different social class background: Dick comes from a middle-class family, while John comes from a working-class family. They have similar educational capital (Dick has a degree in French Literature, while John is studying to get it), similar cultural capital (Dick has a degree in music, while John is a self-taught musician), but they have different economic capital (Dick is teaching music, while John is dependent on his family). An interesting point is that the interrelationship between high and popular culture is demonstrated, in John's case, in his cinema preferences (e.g. Verhoeven and Kurosawa), while, in Dick's case, it is demonstrated in his music preferences (e.g. Debussy and REM).

There exists an *interrelationship of music and cinema preferences*, e.g. those who like pop/rock prefer either films that address social issues (especially females) or comedies (especially males) or romances, those who like dance music prefer either comedies (especially females) or police stories/thrillers (especially males) or adventures, and those who like classical music prefer either adventures or films that address social issues (especially females). In general females show less variation in the interrelationship of preferences than males. There cannot be any clear-cut explanations for these interrelationships. Most interviewees are not very rigid in their choices, but that does not necessarily coincide with open-mindedness. Only Dick admits that he is very rigid in his choice of films which is why he had not gone to the cinema during the year the interview was taken (1989).

6.3 The Dislike of the Routinisation of Everyday Life

Dance is distinguished from music and cinema in the clear preference for block leisure since weekend is the preferred time period, with vacations coming second (Chart 6.19).

Chart 6.19 PREFERRED TIME PERIOD FOR DANCE
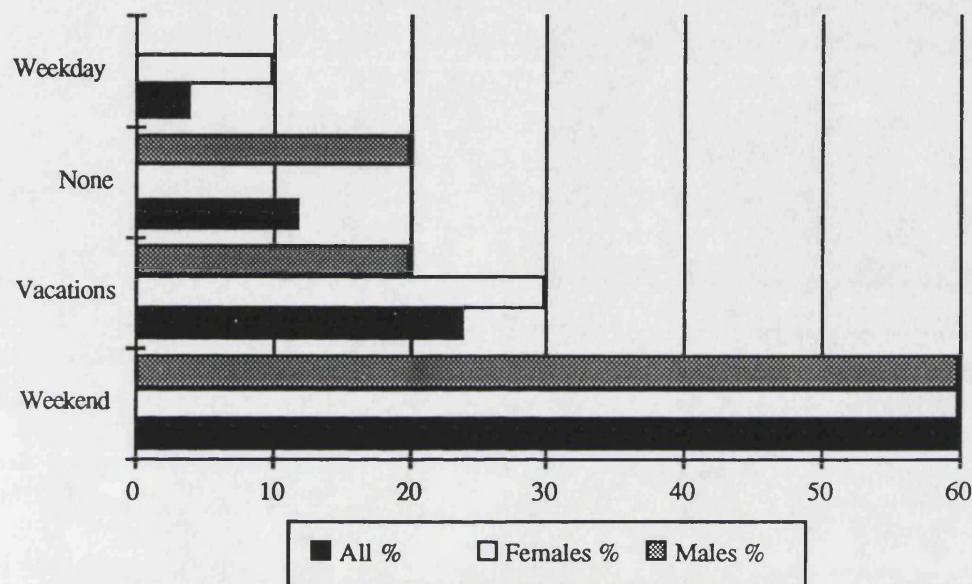
6.4 The Co-existence of the Plurality of Options and Constraints

The strongest constraint for *dance* is, as also in the case of music and cinema, the lack of spare time (Charts 6.11-6.12 and 6.20). Although it is stronger in the case of females, it comes second (after the lack of appropriate companion). In the case of males it shares the first place with the lack of satisfactory locale in general, the lack of information/knowledge and none at all.

Chart 6.20 CONSTRAINTS FOR DANCE

Lack of infor-
mation/knowledge

None

High cost

Lack of satisfactory
locale in Phaliro

Lack of appropriate
companion

Lack of satisfactory
locale in general

Lack of spare time

0   5   10   15   20   25   30

■ All %   □ Females %   ▨ Males %
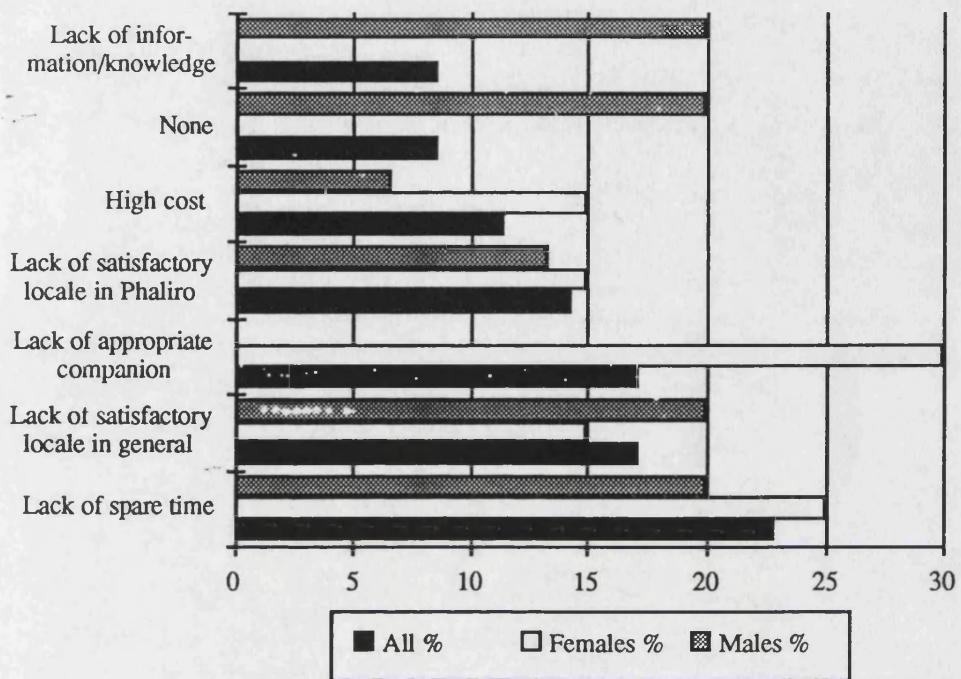
## 6.6 The Impact of Life Attitudes and the Time-space Interrelationship

An important aspect of time identification is the perception of the *future* which relates to the perception of the self. However, only Dick presents a view about the future when he refers to the conditions of social life of young people:

> In the past the conditions life were harder but perhaps the constraints were more easily acceptable and people got used not to react. Because the conditions have changed and young people cannot express themselves through the constraints, they try to abolish them. These constraints were, however, were useful for the maintenance of balance. In the past the older generations were more private and their moments of crisis were more intense than today. With the excessiveness of the last decades, the human tendency to satisfy increasing needs, irrespective of taste, has created the extremes which brought about all these illnesses. Certain experiences are harder for some than others, these things are not decided upon by people themselves. Older generations should not speak with bitterness, as they usually do: 'We have gone through so much. You should do the same in order to learn.' Young people suffer in their own way: the dilemmas faced by youth create a different kind of hell than war and deprivation. The plurality of choices available today was not an issue for older generations, it causes confusion, and youth has to find a way of expressing its own attitudes... Hardships will exist in any case: this has been shown by the inevitability of the two world wars... If this lifestyle continues with atomism and egoism, then people may have to relive such experiences.

Dick develops his view on the future further by stating that deprivations will cease to exist due to technological abundance and the contemporary lifestyle. War and hunger will be the outcome through the poor use of consumer goods.

Chart 6.21 PREFERRED AREA FOR DANCE
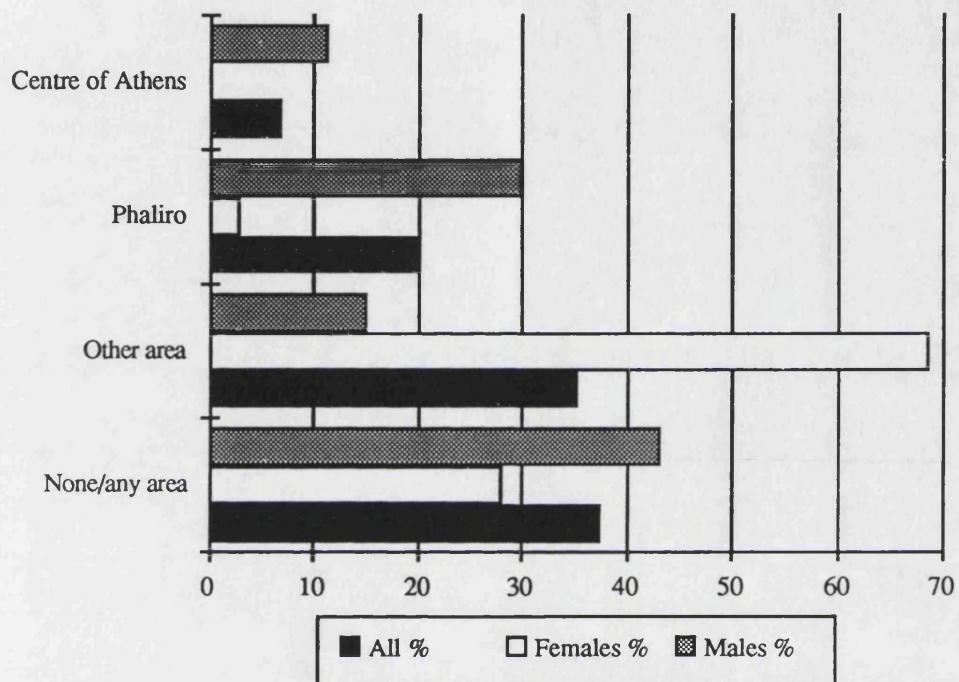
The preferred area for *dance* is, as in the case of cinema is any area. The attraction of Phaliro is stronger, as in the cases of music and cinema, for males (Charts 6.14-6.15 and 6.21).

Note: There exist another 43 tables and approximately 10 pages of further elaborations, which, for various reasons, are not put to Appendices 6 and 7.

7.2 Self-directed Intimacy, Other-directed Intimacy and the Quest for Cultural Identity

The peculiarity of *dance* which was observed in the preference for block leisure (Chart 6.19 in Appendix 6) is reinforced in the case of companionship through the dominant role of the 'parea' (since friends are the preferred companions) and through the minimum role of individualism (since alone is the last preference) – both are especially valid for females (Chart 7.7).

### Chart 7.7   PREFERRED COMPANION   FOR DANCE
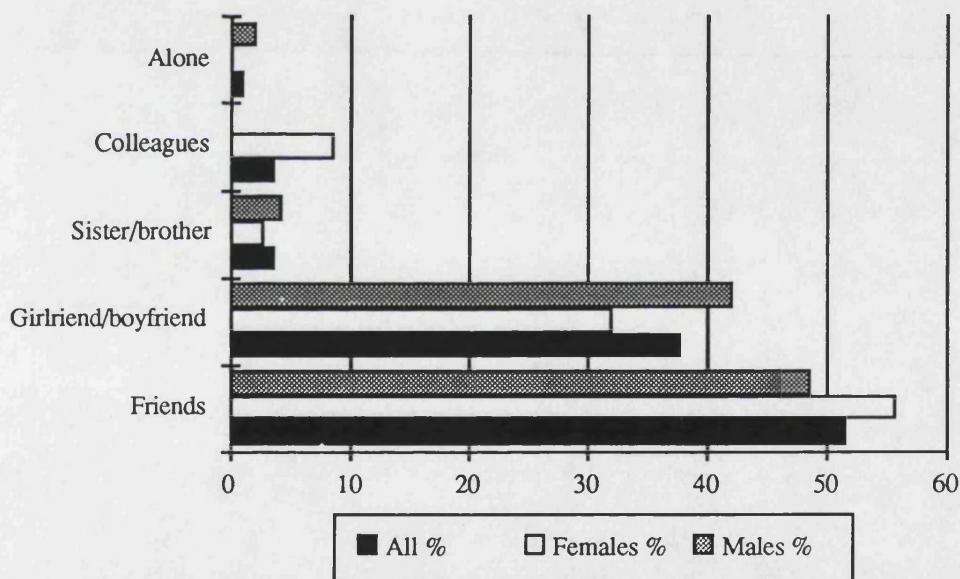
It is rather obvious that the preferred locale for dance is a discotheque. This is valid more for females, since their second preference is a special hall, i.e. something similar to a discotheque. The preference for house parties (friends' house and home) is stronger for males (Chart 7.8).

The form of the relationship between *the individual and the collective* can be paralleled to the universe of western films. People operate in a predominantly male society, try to stick to their beliefs despite the constraints of the social environment, and try to achieve a balance between being loners and part of a group.

As far as *artistic activities* are concerned, they have a collective dimension, even if there is a single listener or viewer: her/his ultimate direction will be, consciously or

unconsciously, to communicate her/his experience. The ultimate goal of a performer, even if s/he is alone, is to address an audience, since this implies the use of the past as history and memory.

Chart 7.8   TYPE OF PREFERRED LOCALE FOR DANCE
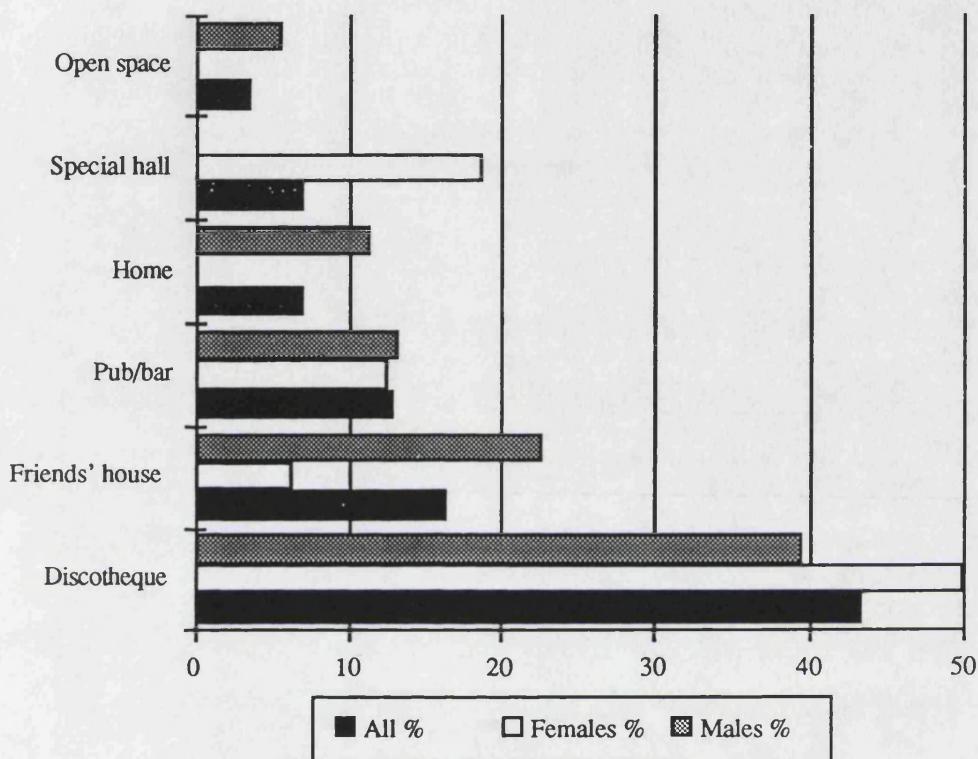
7.3 The Factors which Affect the Attachment to the Locality

Most interviewees believe that *Amphithea and Agia Varvara are not part of Phaliro*. A spatial boundary is that Agia Varvara is separated from the rest of Phaliro by Amphitheas avenue (Figure 5.1). According to Lauren, people from south Phaliro have no acquaintances in these two areas. David has been there two or three times in his life and for him it is a foreign territory. Also, according to John, neither 'stekia' nor shops exist in these areas.

John believes that Phaliro consists of two districts, since Amphithea and Agia Varvara form a single district. Although most people from these two districts claim that they do not know young people from south Phaliro, they believe that they are part of Phaliro. He claims that they do believe that, and that they like to go to the southern district, even if they belong mainly to the lower classes, and they consider this district to be upper-class. He conceives of Phaliro as a small state with two or three classes,

and the lower class always tries to imitate the lifestyle of the higher one. He knows almost nothing about Agia Varvara: he has only been two or three times to the Cultural Association there and to one of its presentations. The square there is a special case. Also, he passes by Davari Square in Agia Varvara (Figure 5.1) two or three times a year in order to see what is happening, but he never stays. Usually some political speeches before the elections, or some presentations, take place there.

Dick believes that Amphithea and Agia Varvara are parts of Phaliro, although Amphitheas Avenue has a psychological effect (it functions as a river), and at school they used to separate people coming from these areas. He had some friends who used to say that they are from Agia Varvara and not from Phaliro, but these differences do not exist any more. He has lost his old friends from the other parts of Phaliro. Simon also believes that these areas are part of Phaliro. For their residents, south Phaliro has cafeterias and is a kind of centre, thus it is reasonable that they see it a place of their own.

Not only most of the case studies consider Amphithea and Agia Varvara as separate parts from Phaliro, but so do the two local people I interviewed. According to Tasos S., even at school when his school mates from Amphithea and Agia Varvara referred to the southern district, they were talking about Phaliro. Mary B., who lives in Agia Varvara, believes that these two areas are not part of Phaliro. An additional element is that the people from those areas who have talked with Eskola and Hammerton (members of the team of Project 5 of the Council of Europe) said that 'they want their own cultural centre, as they see the present one as being "for the rich" and not theirs any more than a centre based in, say, Athens would be' (1983, p. 89).

The *changes in people and locales* are subjectively perceived. All the interviewees who have a memory of the older image of Phaliro with the detached houses, prefer it to the contemporary one with multi-storey apartment buildings; the sole exception being Steve. For Simon, 'Phaliriotis' means only that he is near the sea. However, for John there exists a subjective concept of Phaliriotis, because he has lived in this place, he has grown up with the residents, and he knows them better than anybody else. He can easily talk to them because he knows their manners, and he can classify them, in the sense that they likes certain things in a certain style. From the area in which someone lives, one can understand their lifestyle, e.g. if they are rich this means different things. For Tasos S., the local people were very much connected to one another, but after the 'invasion of the aliens' they became secluded. It is characteristic that most of them still go to the oldest pharmacy in Agiou Alexandrou Street (Figure 5.1).

When most of the interviewees visit the old 'steki' of 'Phlisvos' today, they do not feel anything, except Dick, for whom this place means a lot because he used to swim

at the beach, his grandmother took him there when it was an amusement park, and they used to eat at the restaurant. He also used to watch Greek rock groups in the round building when it was a pub. Now he neither swims — although the sea is polluted some people still swim there — nor does he go there to eat. For Simon, the 'stekia' change according to fashion. When Phaliro suddenly became an expensive place and more people from Kolonaki (a central upper-class area, Figure 3.2) started to come down, young people from the locality started to avoid the area. But the people who love the sea, which symbolises certain things, prefer, as he does, a promenade on the beach.

The eclipse of winter cinemas and the diminishing of summer cinemas shows, according to Cathy, a change in society, and not necessarily in periods of time. Most people agree that the disappearance of cinemas is an important deficiency. However, Don claims that even at the time there were winter cinemas in Phaliro he used to go the centre. What has also eclipsed is space differentiation. Dick's experiences were quite significant especially from 'Adelaida', where the films *Woodstock* and *Monterey* were shown and many musicians were present.

The new places, according to Cathy, need time to be known, because Phaliro does not have many bars and people have been usually visited other areas: thus, when something new opens it does not become known immediately. In 'Phegarophos' (no. 11, Figure 5.1 and Photograph 5.8, Appendix 5), according to John, one is not allowed to enter if s/he is not properly dressed, and the audience is mainly around twenty five years old. What characterises 'Pachos' (no. 12, Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.23-5.24), according to John, is the tradition and the service: the waiters know the customers, and are more polite. 'Kouphos' (no. 14, Figure 5.1 and Photograph 5.27) is, according to Lauren, an older 'steki' than 'Pachos', while 'Prapas' (no. 16, Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.25-5.26) is, according to Simon, a place less showing-off than 'Pachos', and, according to Tasos S., a place where the more 'popular' classes used to gather. 'Maritime' (no. 13, Figure 5.1), according to Steve, functions as a place where couples meet, especially in the winter.

The changes in the *central square* (Figure 5.1 and Photographs 5.13-5.16) are subjectively comprehended by the interviewees. According to Lauren, the change mainly consisted in the addition of some benches, flowers, and ugly statues; according to Don it consisted of the creation of more shops and cafeterias; according to Simon, it consisted of beautiful lights, benches, sculptures, and even a cooler — all these mean more care. According to John, the change consists of the different people that visit the square. Now, although there is a variety, about 60-65 percent are particular people: there are not so many mothers with their children, but boys aged 14-20 with motorbikes. Lauren claims that these boys do nothing, they sit and gaze or laugh

stupidly. Don claims there are 16-17 year old boys who first gather with their motorbikes, and then they usually go to a bar, discotheque, or cinema. They sit there for three to five hours and they are pleased, they do not ask themselves questions. However, although people seem to be satisfied with the square, Tasos S. claims that he has not heard anybody saying that s/he liked the new form of the square.

John believes that the grown ups are confined to their homes with their children watching video, while they themselves are doing something else, and that there are more girls now in the squares than before, since in the past they were obliged to do housework and were not supposed to go out. Now there are cases, usually at noon and early afternoon, where one can find more girls than boys: it is the time when the boys are occupied either with work or sports. According to John, this is a social habit, since in previous times women were considered wasters in the sense that they did not work outside the home, while what they do now is put on their make up, get dressed up, and go out for a walk for no specific reason. He concludes that all these phenomena have an effect on the appearances of the audience: torn trousers in a cafeteria would not previously have been accepted, while today any eccentricity is accepted.

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