

## Social Cohesion and Development

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**Biannual Scientific Review,**  
Autumn 2024, volume 19, issue 2

# Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη

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 ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ  
ΔΙΟΝΙΚΟΣ

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## SOCIAL COHESION AND DEVELOPMENT

Biannual Scientific Review

**AIMS AND SCOPE.** Social Cohesion and Development (SCD) is a biannual interdisciplinary scientific journal for research and debate on social policy, social cohesion and social development issues. It aims to advance the understanding of social cohesion in the contemporary development and to promote social justice within and between the nations. Articles are covering policy analyses, developments and designs, evaluations of policy outcomes, comparative research, analyses of the role of international organizations, the voluntary, private and local agents in social development and policy. The journal provides comprehensive coverage of a wide range of social policy and development issues, such as labour market and employment policies, poverty and social exclusion, ageing, pensions and social security, health and social care, education and training, family, gender and child policies, migration, crime and corporate responsibility, as well as civil society and third sector activities. The Review welcomes scholarly articles, book reviews and short research reports, in Greek or English. It encourages a multidisciplinary, comparative and historical approach.

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Εξαμηνιαία Επιστημονική Επιθεώρηση

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ΜΑΡΙΑΝΘΗ Γ. Α. ΚΟΤΕΑ

# ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟ ΔΑΣΜΟΛΟΓΙΟ & ΠΕΙΡΑΪΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ (1836-1866)



Μαριάνθη Κοτέα, Δημοτικό

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Η μονογραφία πραγματεύεται την καθιέρωση και την ανάπτυξη του δημοτικού δασμολογίου κατά την κρίσιμη περίοδο της ίδρυσης του Δήμου του Πειραιά και του σχηματισμού της νεότερης πόλης. Η μελέτη των δημοτικών προϋπολογισμών των ετών 1836-1866 δείχνει ότι ο νεοσύστατος Δήμος ανέλαβε τον οργανωτικό και οικονομικό ρόλο, που ήταν απαραίτητος για τη διαμόρφωση και τον ταχύ συνεικισμό της πόλης.

Τα περιορισμένα τακτικά έσοδα δεν επαρκούσαν για να χρηματοδοτήσουν τις δαπάνες για τις «αναπόφευκτες και κατεπείγουσες» ανάγκες του. Έτσι, από τον πρώτο προϋπολογισμό του 1836, οι Δημοτικές Αρχές του Πειραιά επέβαλλαν έμμεσους φόρους στην τοπική κατανάλωση. Η επιλογή των δασμολογούμενων τροφίμων και εμπορευμάτων, το ποσοστό του εισπραττόμενου δασμού και ο τρόπος της είσπραξής του ήταν κυρίως τα ζητήματα, που απασχόλησαν τα Δημοτικά Συμβούλια και τους φορολογούμενους.

Η μελέτη βασίζεται κυρίως στο πρωτογενές υλικό του Ιστορικού Αρχείου του Δήμου Πειραιά, το οποίο υπάρχει στα Πρακτικά των Συζητήσεων των Δημοτικών Συμβουλίων και σε σειρά Φακέλων.

## Understanding social cohesion: The case of a demographically changing community in the United States

Dina Refki, *University at Albany, State University of New York*  
Esther (Kyu Yon) Kim, *Center for Women in Government & Civil Society*  
Rukhsana Ahmed, *University at Albany, State University of New York*  
Jeanette Altarriba, *University at Albany, State University of New York*  
Park, K. *University at Albany, State University of New York*

## Κατανοώντας την κοινωνική συνοχή: Η περίπτωση μιας δημογραφικά μεταβαλλόμενης κοινότητας στις ΗΠΑ

Dina Refki, *University at Albany, State University of New York*  
Esther (Kyu Yon) Kim, *Center for Women in Government & Civil Society*  
Rukhsana Ahmed, *University at Albany, State University of New York*  
Jeanette Altarriba, *University at Albany, State University of New York*  
Park, K. *University at Albany, State University of New York*

### ABSTRACT

Social cohesion is associated with community welfare and its members' wellbeing and quality of life. Studies have provided mixed answers to the question of whether ethnic diversity erodes social cohesion. This study contributes to this body of literature by adapting, testing, and refining an instrument that measures social cohesion in a rural ethnically homogenous region of the Northeast United States; and by using the validated instrument to assess the effects of nascent diversity on community members' perceptions of social cohesion. We predicted that diversification would activate dynamics of social inequality and dominance, consistent with Social Dominance theory. Comparison of perceptions of multiple groups showed that male participants and Black residents reported lower level of trust and that culturally diverse residents are less likely to display high level of social cohesion and more likely to feel isolated.

**KEY WORDS:** Social cohesion, community, ethnic diversity, cultural diversity, Social Dominance theory.

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η κοινωνική συνοχή συνδέεται με την ευημερία της κοινότητας και την ευημερία και την ποιότητα ζωής των μελών της. Μελέτες έχουν δώσει ανάμεικτες απαντήσεις στο ερώτημα εάν η εθνοτική ποικιλομορφία διαβρώνει την κοινωνική. Η παρούσα μελέτη συμβάλλει σε αυτό το σύνολο βιβλιογραφίας προσαρμόζοντας, δοκιμάζοντας και βελτιώνοντας ένα εργαλείο που μετρά την κοινωνική συνοχή σε μια αγροτική εθνικά ομοιογενή περιοχή των βορειοανατολικών Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών και χρησιμοποιώντας το επικυρωμένο εργαλείο για την αξιολόγηση των επιπτώσεων της νεοσύστατης ποικιλομορφίας στις αντιλήψεις των μελών της κοινότητας για την κοινωνική συνοχή. Προβλέψαμε ότι η διαφοροποίηση θα ενεργοποιούσε τη δυναμική της κοινωνικής ανισότητας και κυριαρχίας, σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία της Κοινωνικής Κυριαρχίας. Η σύγκριση των αντιλήψεων πολλαπλών ομάδων έδειξε ότι οι άνδρες συμμετέχοντες και οι μαύροι κάτοικοι ανέφεραν χαμηλότερο επίπεδο εμπιστοσύνης και ότι οι κάτοικοι με πολιτισμική ποικιλομορφία είναι λιγότερο πιθανό να επιδεικνύουν υψηλό επίπεδο κοινωνικής συνοχής και πιο πιθανό να αισθάνονται απομονωμένοι.

**ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ:** Κοινωνική συνοχή, κοινότητα, ΗΠΑ, εθνοτική ποικιλομορφία, πολιτισμική ποικιλομορφία, θεωρία της Κοινωνικής Κυριαρχίας.



# 1. Introduction

**S**ocial cohesion is a multidimensional concept that evokes disagreements about its definition and its measurement (Ariely, 2014). Scholars have debated its nature, the elements that make up the concept and how to measure it (Botterman et al., 2012; Chan et al., 2006; Dickes et al., 2010; Hulse & Stone, 2007; Jenson, 2010). Different scholars have conceptualized social cohesion as achieving a sense of socio-economic integration and political inclusion as members of a society (Harell & Stolle, 2010). Others suggested that social cohesion is defined by the level of interactions between members of a community where there are norms of trust, belonging, and care for the collective good (Chan et al., 2006). Social cohesion elicited different definitions in different contexts and countries. Vergolini (2011) shows the different connotations of cohesion in the Canadian context which underscores sense of belonging and the association of cohesion with a process of inclusion. There is no consensus on what constitutes social cohesion (Ariely, 2014). Variations are caused by dimensions of social cohesion included in a study and whether it is conceptualized as inclusive of interpersonal trust, and/or civic engagement, sense of belonging, and attitudes.

## *Purpose and Goal of the Study*

The purpose of the study is twofold: (a) measure social cohesion using the validated instrument in a rural ethnically homogenous region of the Northeast United States; and (b) assess the dynamics of a community that is experiencing demographic diversification.

Accordingly, we seek to answer the following research questions:

- a. How do residents in a rural homogenous community differ in their perceptions of social relations, emotional connectedness and orientation to the common good?
- b. To what extent does social marginalization based on race, gender, and nativity status affect their perceptions of social cohesion?
- c. How does the intersection of multiple marginalized identities influence these perceptions?
- d. How do residents in the majority group react to changes in the demographic profile of their community?

## *Why Measure Social Cohesion*

The United States is experiencing unprecedented diversification of its population. Considering rapid demographic changes in the United States, social cohesion becomes a critical goal since many communities are experiencing diversification of its population. Differences, some argue can interfere with the process of building social cohesion in a physically defined geographic community. While some urban areas are accustomed to diversity, other areas may lack familiarity with diversity. Many communities are not used to welcoming diverse neighbors, nor have the expertise to integrate them effectively in the social, economic and political fabric of the communities. Fear of differences as Putnam (2007) argues can make us retreat in our shells, “hunker down”, and experience a sense of alienation and isolation from one’s out-group and in-group.

Feeling alienated from one’s community has negative consequences on social capital which is critical to political and civic engagement, sense of belonging, confidence in institutions, tolerance and interpersonal trust. Lack of social capital and presence of social distance hinder solidar-

ity within and across groups (Putnam, 2007). Lack of social cohesion can produce fragmented communities that are not invested in their own welfare because of the erosion of a shared social identity, a sense of community and the feeling of “we” (Putnam, 2007). When individuals lose a sense of community, they also lose a sense of political efficacy and pride in community (Nannestad, 2008; Newton, 2007; Uslaner, 2002). Economic deterioration and depopulation can be a natural outcome of affective and actual disinvestment.

The empirical evidence on whether diversity negatively affects social cohesion is mixed. The outcome differs depending on the methodological and conceptual ways that social cohesion is defined (Portes & Vickstrom, 2011). Different definitions yield different results. Support for Putnam’s theory contends that those who live in a diverse community retreat from social and civic life and are less likely to engage socially or civically in their community’s life. They are less likely to have trust in each other or in institutions of government and less likely to give to charity, and less likely to have social cohesion (Dincer, 2011; Hawes & Rocha, 2011; Hero, 2007; Reeskens & Wright, 2013; Stolle et al., 2008). Similarly, Lancee and Dronkers (2011) show that religious diversity negatively affects social relationships and trust. On the other hand, studies by Tolsma et al. (2009), Kazemipur (2006), Coffe and Geys (2006) and Dinesen, (2011) found that ethnic diversity fosters trust and tolerance. Inter-ethnic trust increases with neighborhood heterogeneity (Laurence, 2011). Other studies demonstrate the association of increased diversity with sense of belonging (Wu et al., 2011). Others found no relations between diversity, trust, and social cohesion (Gesthuizen et al., 2009). Studies have also argued that ethnic, racial, or religious heterogeneity of a social setting may not be the culprit in reducing levels of generalized or interpersonal trust and social cohesion, but other factors may be at play including segregation, linguistic isolation, and community status (Anderson & Paskeviciute, 2006; Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010; Letki, 2008; Uslaner, 2012). The findings also differ by country and negative or positive association of diversity with trust and social capital, and cohesion is a function of where the study takes place. Lower levels of income inequality and the existence of multicultural policies decrease the negative effects of diversity (Kesler & Bloemraad, 2010). This conclusion is however, contradicted by another study that shows that integration policies do not have a positive effect on trust and social relations (Reeskens, 2010).

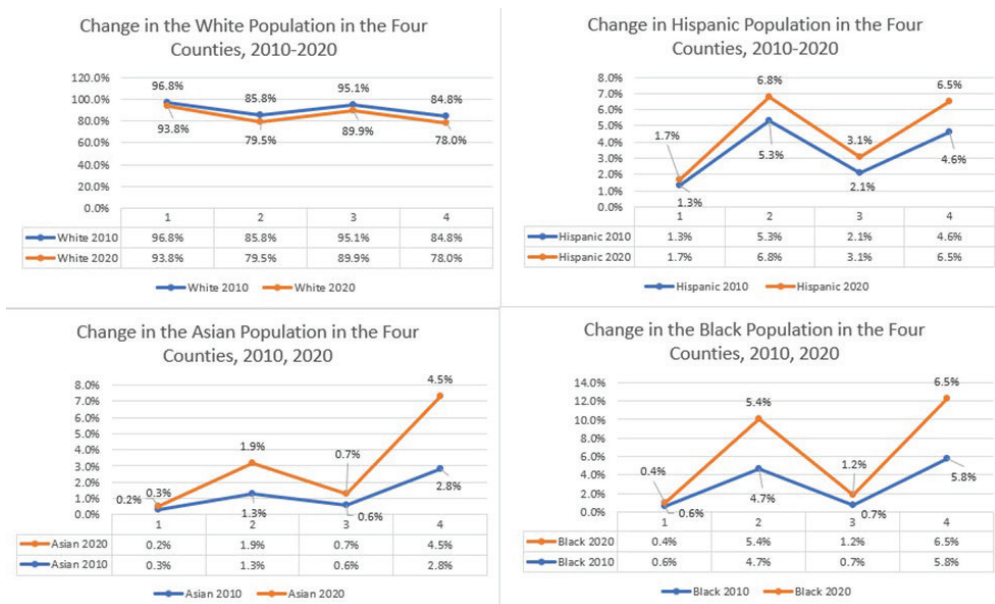
### *Context of the Study*

A community in the Northeast region of the United States provides an ideal laboratory for studying the impact of diversification on social cohesion. Like many communities in the U.S., this community is in the process of diversification characterized by loss of its native population and replacement with newcomers who are demographically different from the group that is native to the region. Such context allows us to compare residents’ perceptions of social relations, emotional connectedness, and orientation to the common good and to examine how each group experience being members of the community. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to assess the context of reception and dynamics of relations experienced by minoritized groups.

According to the American Community Survey, the study’s region is one that is generally losing population with a 1.62 percent overall population drop in the last 10 years. It is also experiencing a slow demographic change, losing its traditional homogenous population and slowly diversifying. It is a region where density ranges from one person per square mile to 212 people per square mile (with an overall density of 49 people per square mile. The median age of 44 is higher than the statewide and national medians.

It is a region made up of four counties. White, Non-Hispanic population has decreased in all four counties by 4.9% in County 1, 6.9% in County 2, 8.9% in County 3 and 9.2% in County 4. However, the Hispanic population has increased consistently in all 4 counties by 28.9%, 30.1%, 41.7% and 40.4%, respectively. The Black and Asian populations experienced a loss of 39.4% and 9.7% in County 1, respectively. But in Counties 2, 3 and 4, they increased. The increase for the Black population was 14.5%, 58.9%, 9.6% in counties 2, 3, and 4. While for the Asian populations the increase in Counties 2, 3, and 4 was 49.2%, 22.7%, and 61.3%, respectively. Additionally, 1.2% of residents in County 1 are foreign-born, while they constitute 4.5% in County 2, 8.4% in County 3, and 2% in County 4.

**Figure A displays demographic changes over the past decade.**



The percentage of families whose income in the past 12 months was below the poverty level was 9.2%, 8.8%, 10.1%, and 12% in counties 1-4, respectively. Table B shows the educational attainment in the counties that constitute the study's region.

**Table B: Educational Attainment in the Region**

County	Less than bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	Graduate or professional degree
County 1	81.2%	10.9%	7.9%
County 2	75.7%	14.3%	10.0%
County 3	73.8%	14.9%	11.3%
County 4	79.3%	11.9%	8.9%

The study's region is typical of many U.S. regions that are experiencing slow diversification. While the White population is still the majority, historical homogeneity is slowly changing and to maintain its population, the region must draw on a pool of nontraditional residents and attract them to the region. A region that is slowly becoming heterogeneous is an ideal laboratory to test the effects of diversity as it slowly takes root within an otherwise homogeneous community. It is a moment in time that provides a window to study the effects of nascent heterogeneity on the concept of social cohesion.

### *Operationalizing Social Cohesion*

In this study, we understand social cohesion as the culmination of a process that is characterized by the richness of affirming local social relationships which in turn produce a sense of identification, belonging, and trust and may lead to civic engagement and actions to preserve the collective good of a community. Social cohesion has been recognized as integral to quality of life (Abbott & Wallace, 2012). Social cohesion is made of bonds that hold a community together. These bonds create harmony and guard against social cleavages that can lead to community fragmentation and conflict. In a socially cohesive community, residents who share a physical space demonstrate three attributes: (a) social relations, reflected as connections, social networks that are based on trust in each other, acceptance of one another and cultivation of social capital (Wallace, Vincent, Luguzan, Townsend, & Beel, 2017); (b) emotional connectedness, expressed as a sense of belonging, commitment, loyalty, affinity, identification, trust in social institutions, and perceptions of fairness (Guibernau, 2013); and (c) orientation to the common good, operationalized as "civic mindedness" and agency that make individuals work for the welfare of the community (Putnam, 2000).

We operationalize the concept of social cohesion using Dragolov et al.'s (2013) Social Cohesion Radar, an instrument that measures social cohesion that proposes three overarching dimensions, social relations, connectedness, and orientation to the common good. The domain of social relations is operationalized through four measures: (a) social networks (i.e., the degree to which individuals believe in the importance of friends, frequency of socialization, and confidence in receiving support and advice); (b) trust in people (i.e., sense that most people can be trusted, most try to be fair and are helpful); (c) individual acceptance of diversity (i.e., openness to having racially, culturally, and religiously diverse neighbors, and belief that cultural diversity is enriching); and (d) group acceptance of diversity (i.e., the belief that ethnic/racial or religious tensions in the region are low, belief that LGBTQ groups, people with disabilities and immigrants are welcomed and accepted in the region. There are three dimensions under the domain of connectedness: (a) sense of belonging (i.e., degree to which one likes living in the country, in the state and in the region and intention to stay permanently); (b) trust in institutions (i.e., confidence in law enforcement, local justice system, local government, and healthcare system and fear of reporting crimes or asking for police assistance); and (c) perception of fairness. The domain of orientation to the common good focuses on (a) respect for social rules (belief in following laws, rules, and social norms); (b) helpfulness (including charitable donations, volunteerism and service to community); and (c) civic participation (interest in politics and political actions).

**Table A: Social Cohesion (Dragalov et al., 2013)**

<b>Social Relations</b>	<b>Emotional Connectedness</b>	<b>Orientation to the Common Good</b>
Social networks	Sense of belonging	Respect for social rules
Trust in people	Trust in institutions	Helpfulness
Acceptance of diversity	Perception of fairness	Civic participation

### *Conceptual Framework*

There is no doubt that achieving social cohesion is an important goal to avoid social isolation, political alienation, disengagement, and fragmentation in communities. Does nascent heterogeneity in a community changes community members' perceptions of social cohesion? Community diversity may activate dynamics of social inequality and dominance. According to Social dominance theory, there is persistent intergroup inequalities, social hierarchies, and power imbalance in society (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Interactions among community members of diverse background can produce discriminatory behaviors because of such power imbalance. Social dominance orientation is the attitude one has toward socially constructed identities and is driven by assumptions about their place on the social ladder. A high orientation to social dominance creates intergroup social distance and reinforces discriminatory attitudes at the individual, institutional, and behavioral levels. Social dominance and social closure create hierarchical structures and leads to the development of ideologies that legitimize discrimination against different groups in terms of access to opportunity structures (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2001).

### *Social Identities Marginalized by Gender, Race or Nativity Status*

There is no doubt that individuals with marginalized social identities can face implicit and unconscious bias. People of color, women, and foreign-born individuals may experience negative perceptions that are rooted in historical inequities and inequalities. Progress in eradicating implicit biases rooted in racial and gender differences has been limited in the United States. "In contexts such as politics and employment, people's behavior and decision making are greatly influenced by race and gender" (Ogungbe, Mitra, & Roberts, 2019, p. 1).

Studies have documented preference of serving White patients by physicians (Green et al., 2007; Oliver et al., 2014; Puumala et al., 2016; Sabin et al., 2009), prevalence of stereotypes (Moskowitz et al., 2012), and persistent negative impacts on treatment and health outcomes (Hausmann et al., 2015; Oliver et al., 2014; Sabin et al., 2012). Bias also affected the quality of communications and relationships between providers and patients as well as the ratings of care (Blair et al., 2013; Cooper et al., 2012). Negative perceptions in turn create a sense of alienation, distrust, and withdrawal among both minoritized and non-minoritized members of the community.

Gender discrimination has been linked to poor mental health including depression, sense of vulnerability, stress, anxiety, rage, and alienation (Jagsi et al., 2016; Taccanelli et al., 2012). Research has also documented income inequality facing immigrants in the U.S. because of their status as foreign-born. Immigrants are treated differently even when they have identical productive assets to their native-born counterparts. Studies document the range of discriminatory practices that are experienced by foreign-born workers including underage hiring, sexual harassment, safety violations, workplace dangers, and higher rates of workplace injuries and fatalities (Leon-

ard, 2008). Access to opportunity structures is shaped by a foreign-born person's demographic characteristics including sex, age, national origin, and race (Rivera-Batiz, 1999). A comparison between Hispanic native and foreign-born workers shows a strong difference in earnings and labor force outcomes (Bell, Kwesiga, & Berry, 2010). After 2000, all immigrants in the U.S. experienced a changing political landscape that is characterized by lower returns on human capital, discriminatory practices, and erosion of labor rights (Massey & Gelatt, 2010).

Therefore, we propose Hypothesis 1: Individuals whose identities are marginalized because of race, gender, and nativity will experience lower levels of social cohesion (i.e., social relations, emotional connectedness, and orientation to the common good) than those with dominant identities.

### *Marginalization Rooted in Intersecting Social Identities*

Individuals typically hold multiple minoritized social identities. Intersectionality theory deepened our understanding of the impact of holding more than one marginalized social identity and the influence of such intersections on shaping experiences, opportunity structures, and perceptions (Crenshaw, 1989). When two or more marginalized identities intersect in the lives of people, vulnerabilities intensify, and such intersections create different experiences from those experienced by individuals holding only one marginalized social identity. Women of color have different experiences than White women; experiences shaped by the intersections of gender and race in their lives (Williams, 2014). "Double jeopardy" and "double disadvantage" are terms suggested to describe the combined experiences of marginalization (Chappell & Havens, 2016; Williams, 2014).

The intersection of race and ethnicity in the lives of foreign-born Americans limits access to opportunity structures and leads to lower wealth attainment (Painter, 2013). Minority status was a powerful predictor of underemployment for immigrants who are faced with "a double burden" of being foreign-born and a member of a minoritized group (De Jong & Madamba, 2001). Foreign-born workers have an earning penalty when they have darker skin. Lighter skinned immigrants earned more than their darker skinned counterparts, when controlling for factors such as English proficiency, educational attainment, occupation in country of origin, family background, ethnicity, race, country of birth, and market characteristics. Lighter skinned immigrants earned 17% more on average than their darker skinned counterparts (Hersch, 2008). Those with lightest skin were shown to earn an average of 16-23% more than their darker skinned counterparts (Hersch, 2011). Non-white Cuban immigrants have lower return on educational attainment than their White Cuban counterparts. There is a 4% unexplained wage gap between the two cohorts when controlling for productive assets and human capital. This racial wage gap does not narrow significantly with time (Zavodny 2003). White South African immigrants earn more than their black counterparts from other parts of Africa even when controlling for length of stay, language, and productive assets (Moore & Amey, 2010). Despite their socio-economic achievement and the view that they are a model minority, racial inequality affects them adversely in how they are perceived. The stereotype of the model minority also masks the reality that poverty rates for Asians are higher than their White counterparts (Sakamoto, Goyette, & Kim, 2009). Hispanics are also affected by race and ethnic stereotype of the outsider (Alcoff, 2003). As for the effect of gender, Donato, Piya, and Jacobs (2014) reported that immigrant women have had the lowest labor force participation rates compared to native women and men, and immigrant men at each level of education since 1960. Boyd (1984) also described the double disadvantage that immigrant women experience in labor market outcomes.



Therefore, we propose Hypothesis 2: Individuals whose identities have two or more minoritized dimensions will express lower levels of social cohesion than counterparts with only one minoritized dimension.

The study addresses gaps in the literature related to examining the impact of intersectional forces of race, gender, and nativity status on those whose identities deviate from the mainstream. The treatment of social identities of gender, race, and nativity status as separate is a common trend in the literature. In this work, we acknowledge the effect of intersectionality of different social identities on people's lives and how such intersections often intensify vulnerabilities and shape the lives of people.

In the next section, we discuss materials and methodology used in the study. We discuss study design, data collection methods, participants, and analytical and statistical approaches used to analyze the data. Then, in the sections that follow, we examine results and provide a discussion of findings and how these findings support or refute the study hypotheses. We analyze the findings and compare them to previous studies. We then discuss limitations and offer conclusions.

## 2. Materials and methods

### *2.1 Study Design*

The authors adapted the Social Cohesion Radar, a multidimensional instrument developed by Dragolov et al. (2013) based on the structure of social cohesion that was suggested by Schiefer et al. (2012). Using the social cohesion model by Dragolov et al. (2013), a total of 43 items were included under social relations, emotional connectedness, and orientation to the common good.

The study comprised two phases. Phase 1 included adaptation of the instrument, conduct of a pilot study to collect evidence of validity and reliability, and refinement of the instrument. Phase 2 included collection of primary data from residents of the region and analysis of data. Institutional Review Board approval for the conduct of the study was secured.

### *2.2 Phase 1: Instrument Adaptation, Pilot Study and Instrument Refinement*

Content experts were invited to serve as an expert panel to review the original items. They were composed of representatives of the community who are citizens of the Region and served in an advisory capacity at a community-based organization. All content experts assessed how well the items represented social cohesion and how clear each item was. Based on the feedback received from the experts, we modified several items based on expert panel advice on the appropriate use of phrasing in the region.

Participants were recruited through community events and local organizations to complete the survey. The survey was administered via Qualtrics. During the community events, participants were able to complete the survey using an iPad.

Participants were comprised of a convenience sample of 250 residents of the region. Among the 250 participants, 126 participants identified themselves as female, and 122 participants identified as male. Most participants reported that they are White ( $n = 228$ ; 91.2%). A summary of respondents' characteristics is found in Table C.

**Table C. Phase 1 Respondents' Characteristics**

Variables		Frequency		Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	126		50.4
	Female	122		48.8
	Prefer Not to Answer	2		0.8
Race/Ethnicity	American Indian or Alaskan Native	6		2.4
	Asian	3		1.2
	Black/African Heritage	4		1.6
	Hispanic/Latino	1		.4
	Two or more races	8		3.2
	White	228		91.2
Nativity Status	Native-Born	246	98.4	
	Foreign-Born	4	1.6	

The instrument was adapted, and the evidence of reliability and validity was collected to ensure the integrity and quality of the survey instrument and to afford making accurate conclusions about social cohesion of residents. Differences in mean scores of each dimension of social cohesion were compared to understand if there would be differences due to race, gender, or nativity status or their intersections.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlation analyses were conducted. Since the instrument was adapted from Dragolov's model (Dragolov et al., 2013), Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted. Internal consistency analyses (Cronbach's alpha) were computed to test homogeneity of the scale.

Factor analysis and reliability analyses were conducted to examine the validity and reliability of the original instrument developed by Dragolov et al. (2013). Based on the results from the factor analysis and reliability analysis, we proposed a new factor structure that seems to be more appropriate to the population. In our proposed structure of social cohesion, levels of acceptance of diversity were divided into two different types: Individual-level and group-level (Arant et al., 2021). Our proposed structure of social cohesion dimensions contains both levels of acceptance of diversity to avoid the oversimplified operationalization of social cohesion.

CFA was conducted with the data collected from 250 participants to test the proposed factor structure. The analysis was performed in Mplus version 8.6 (Muthen & Muthen, 1998-2017). The fit indices of the analysis were as follows: CFI = 0.89, TLI = 0.87, RMSEA = 0.063, and SRMR = 0.07. As Hu and Bentley (1999) suggested, the recommendation for model fit cutoff criteria was that CFA should be at least .95, RMSEA < 0.08, and SRMR < 0.08. Based on the recommendation, this model is a fair fit.

Cronbach's alphas for all dimensions were .799 (Social Network), .825 (Trust in People), .856 (Individual Level Acceptance of Diversity), .769 (Group Level Acceptance of Diversity), .653 (Sense of Belonging/Identity), .815 (Trust in Institutions), .78 (Helpfulness), and .715 (Political Participation). Since the dimension of "Respect for Social Rules" only contained a single item, which is "I believe we should all follow laws, rules, and social norms", the Cronbach's alpha could not be computed. The Overall Cronbach's alpha was .866.



### 2.3 Phase 2: Data Collection & Analysis Using Refined Instrument

With the support from the local community college research center, randomly selected landline phone numbers, cellular phone numbers and publicly available email addresses for residents of the region were acquired and used to invite participation. Like Phase 1, the online survey was distributed via random email invitation. Additionally, the survey data were collected by live-telephone interviews.

With a new set of data that was collected, descriptive statistics and correlation analysis were conducted. After, t-tests and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were used to compare variances across the means of different groups. Both were performed using the SPSS statistical program. If the difference was statistically significant, a pairwise test was used to determine which group would be different from each other.

Initially, 745 responses were collected. After deleting incomplete responses or responses with missing answers, 490 responses remained and were used for the analysis. Characteristics of respondents are shown in Table D.

**Table D: Phase 2 Respondents' Characteristics**

<b>Variables</b>		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Gender	Male	239	48.8
	Female	245	50
	Non-binary	4	0.8
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	0.4
Race/Ethnicity	American Indian or Alaskan Native	5	1.0
	Asian	4	0.8
	Black/African Heritage	6	1.2
	Hispanic/Latino	5	1.0
	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	1	0.2
	White	449	91.6
	Prefer Not to Answer	20	4.1

### 3. Results

In Tables E and F, mean and standard deviation of each dimension as well as the correlations between each dimension for Phase 1 and Phase 2 are presented.

**Table E: Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Analysis of Social Cohesion Dimensions (Phase 1)**

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
SN	3.93	0.71	—								
TP	3.62	0.65	.406**	—							
AD	3.37	0.50	.216**	.417**	—						
Identity	3.94	0.80	.439**	.387**	.228**	—					
TI	3.76	0.73	.414**	.500**	.374**	.453**	—				
PF	3.71	0.50	.409**	.237**	.252**	.306**	.334**	—			
S&H	3.75	0.48	.394**	.331**	.256**	.328**	.273**	.375**	—		
R	4.06	0.57	.247**	.328**	.140*	.311**	.454**	.277**	.286**	—	
CP	3.42	0.64	.220**	.318**	.187**	.177**	.298**	.177**	.454**	.233**	—

Note. SN = Social Network; TP = Trust in People; AD = Acceptance of Diversity; TI = Trust in Institutions; PF = Perception of Fairness; S&H = Solidarity and Helpfulness; R = Respect for Social Rules; CP = Civic Participation

**Table F: Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Analysis of Social Cohesion Dimension (Phase 2)**

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
SN	4.12	0.78	—								
TP	3.52	0.80	.417**	—							
IAoD	3.63	0.81	.249**	.264**	—						
GAoD	3.20	0.76	.191**	.201**	.042	—					
SB	3.79	0.78	.308**	.323**	.192**	.136**	—				
TI	3.66	0.77	.328**	.428**	.144**	.307**	.407**	—			
R	4.22	0.80	.163**	.187**	.120**	.051	.264**	.314**	—		
H	3.68	0.86	.316**	.216**	.157**	.050	.221**	.240**	.237**	—	
PP	3.61	0.96	.164**	.163**	.242**	.006	.113*	.106*	.105*	.217**	—

Note. SN = Social Network; TP = Trust in People; IAoD = Individual level of Acceptance of Diversity; GAoD = Group level of Acceptance of Diversity; SB = Sense of Belonging; TI = Trust in Institution; R = Respect for Social Rules; H = Helpfulness; PP = Political Participation

### 3.1 Influence of Gender on Perceptions of Social Cohesion

Table G shows mean scores of each dimension by gender. The results indicate that there are statistically significant differences between gender on social network ( $F(3,485) = 5.040$ ,  $p = .007$ ), trust in people ( $F(3,485) = 5.535$ ,  $p = .004$ ), individual level of acceptance of diversity ( $F(3,485) = 8.413$ ,  $p = .000$ ), group level of acceptance of diversity ( $F(3,485) = 3.273$ ,  $p = .039$ ), and helpfulness ( $F(3,485) = 3.086$ ,  $p = .047$ ).

**Table G: Mean Scores for Each Dimensions by Gender**

SN	TP	IAoD	GAoD	SB	TI	R	H	PP	
Male	4.0377	3.4045	3.4854	3.2854	3.8033	3.6477	4.2176	3.5858	3.5690
Female	4.2095	3.6422	3.7806	3.1102	3.7850	3.6849	4.2286	3.7741	3.6667

Note. SN = Social Network; TP = Trust in People; IAoD = Individual level of Acceptance of Diversity; GAoD = Group level of Acceptance of Diversity; SB = Sense of Belonging; TI = Trust in Institution; R = Respect for Social Rules; H = Helpfulness; PP = Political Participation

A Tukey post-hoc test revealed significant pairwise differences between male and female with an average difference of  $-.17187$  scores for social network. This indicates that male participants scored less on social network than female participants, and the difference was significant.

Similarly, a significant pairwise difference between male and female was found for trust in people (difference of  $-.23771$ ), individual level of acceptance of diversity ( $-.29526$ ), and helpfulness ( $-.18838$ ). Men scored less on social network, trust in people, individual level of acceptance of diversity and helpfulness, as compared to women.

On the other hand, male participants scored higher than the female on group level of acceptance of diversity with an average difference of  $.17515$ . Group level of acceptance of diversity was the only dimension for which men scored higher than women, and the difference was significant.

### 3.2 Influence of Race/Ethnicity on Perceptions of Social Cohesion

Before performing an ANOVA, 21 responses were removed as (a) there was only one participant who was Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander, and (b) there were 20 responses with "Prefer Not to Answer". After removing those responses, mean scores by different race/ethnicity groups were computed and can be found in Table H. ANOVA results show that there were statistically significant differences between race/ethnicity groups on trust in people ( $F(4,464) = 4.029$ ,  $p = .003$ ), trust in institution ( $F(4,464) = 4.737$ ,  $p = .001$ ) and political participation ( $F(4,464) = 2.585$ ,  $p = .036$ ).

**Table H: Mean Scores by Race/Ethnicity Group**

SN	TP	IAoD	GAoD	SB	TI	R	H	PP	
American Indian or Alaskan Native	3.2000	2.8000	3.8000	2.8400	3.5333	2.8400	4.200	3.5333	2.7333
Asian	4.0000	3.6667	3.8125	3.0500	3.7500	4.2000	4.000	3.9167	2.7500
Black/African Heritage	3.7222	2.4444	4.3333	3.1000	3.1667	2.7333	3.500	3.2222	4.2778
Hispanic/Latino	4.1333	3.6667	3.9500	3.2000	3.4667	3.3600	4.200	3.7333	3.5333
White	4.1359	3.5523	3.6303	3.2076	3.8159	3.6976	4.2361	3.6912	3.6258

Note. SN = Social Network; TP = Trust in People; IAoD = Individual level of Acceptance of Diversity; GAoD = Group level of Acceptance of Diversity; SB = Sense of Belonging; TI = Trust in Institution; R = Respect for Social Rules; H = Helpfulness; PP = Political Participation

A Tukey post-hoc test revealed a significant pairwise difference between Black and White in trust in people (difference of -.35556), and trust in institution (difference of -.96422). This finding shows that Black respondents are less likely to trust in people and trust in institutions, as compared to their White counterparts.

Additionally, there was a significant difference between Black and Asian with a mean difference of -1.46667 for trust in institution. This shows that Asians are more likely to trust in institutions, as compared to the Black respondents.

Finally, there was a marginally significant pairwise difference between Black respondents with American Indian or Alaskan Native with a mean difference of 1.54444 ( $p = .064$ ) for political participation.

### *3.3 Influence of Nativity Status on Perceptions of Social Cohesion*

As there were only two groups for this category, a t-test was performed to compare the mean scores of native-born and foreign-born. The results showed that there was a statistically significant difference between native-born ( $M = 3.1926$ ,  $SD = .76189$ ) and foreign-born ( $M = 3.6$ ,  $SD = .35777$ ) on group level acceptance of diversity,  $t(5.578) = -2.714$ ,  $p < .05$ . Native-born scored less on the group level acceptance of diversity, which revealed that native-born residents were more likely to be skeptical about level of the acceptance of diversity in the region.

**Table I: Mean Scores for Foreign-born and Native-born**

SN	TP	IAoD	GAoD	SB	TI	R	H	PP	
Native-born	4.1219	3.5213	3.6276	3.1926	3.7893	3.6636	4.1660	3.6770	3.6061
Foreign-born	3.9444	3.7222	3.8750	3.6000	3.9444	3.7333	4.1667	4.0000	4.1667

Note. SN = Social Network; TP = Trust in People; IAoD = Individual level of Acceptance of Diversity; GAoD = Group level of Acceptance of Diversity; SB = Sense of Belonging; TI = Trust in Institution; R = Respect for Social Rules; H = Helpfulness; PP = Political Participation

### 3.4 Influence of Intersectionality on Perceptions of Social Cohesion

To examine the influence of intersectionality on perceptions of social cohesion, multiple regression was conducted for each dimension of social cohesion. First, the result showed the significant interaction between race and gender ( $b = -1.198$ ,  $SE = 0.416$ ,  $p < .05$ ). This means that the effect of race on the social network depended on one's gender. Specifically, if the person is non-white woman, her score on the social network is expected to decrease by 1.198. If the person is white woman, her score on the social network is expected to increase by .156 ( $b = .156$ ,  $SE = .097$ ). Compared to white woman whom we would identify as individual with only one minoritized dimension, non-white woman would express lower levels of social network.

Similarly, there was a significant interaction between race and nativity status ( $b = -2.314$ ,  $SE = 1.180$ ,  $p < .05$ ) on trust in people. This reveals that the effect of race on trust in people depended on nativity status. The score of non-white foreign-born person on trust in people is expected to decrease by 2.314. The score of white foreign-born person is expected to increase by 1.524 ( $b = 1.524$ ,  $SE = .795$ ) and the score of non-white native-born person is expected to decrease by .020 ( $b = -.020$ ,  $SE = .370$ ). Compared to non-white native-born individuals and white foreign-born people, non-white foreign-born people would express the lowest level of trust in people.

Furthermore, significant interaction between race and gender ( $b = -.914$ ,  $SE = .424$ ,  $p < .05$ ) on individual level acceptance of diversity indicated that the scores of non-white women would decrease by .914 while the scores of white women would increase by .388. Similar to what has been shown in the other dimensions, individuals with two or more minoritized dimensions would express lower levels of individual level acceptance of diversity.

On the other hand, a significant interaction between women and newcomer status ( $b = .370$ ,  $SE = .183$ ,  $p < .044$ ) indicated that the score of female newcomers to this region would increase by .370 in political participation.

## 4. Discussion

**I**n this study, we adapted an instrument for measuring social cohesion to a community in the Northeastern region of the U.S. The instrument included eight dimensions: Social Network, Trust in People, Individual Acceptance of Diversity, Group Acceptance of Diversity, Sense of Belonging, Trust in Institutions, Helpfulness and Political Participation. Measuring social cohesion in the study region using the instrument yielded results discussed below.

### 4.1 Perceptual Differences by Gender

Men recorded lower scores than women on social network, trust in people, individual level acceptance of diversity and helpfulness, a finding that does not support hypothesis 1: Individuals whose identities are marginalized because of gender will experience lower levels of social cohesion than those with dominant identities. The findings, however, are supported by the literature which argues that compared to women, men reported lower scores on social network, trust in people, and individual level acceptance of diversity, and helpfulness. In many studies, men have reported smaller social networks (McLaughlin et al., 2010), and were less likely to build strong relationships of trust. Haselhuhn et al. (2015) have showed in their social experiment that men were less likely to trust others. In the experiment, men lost trust in people quickly and were less likely to collaborate.

Because men were less likely to regularly socialize with their neighbors and build the strong relationships with others, they were more likely to be influenced by the racial and ethnic character of their neighbors (Stolle et al., 2008).

Furthermore, Maddux and Brewer (2005) have demonstrated that trust for women heavily depends on both direct and indirect relationships while trust for men heavily depends on group membership. Men reported lower scores on social network due to relatively smaller social networks, and a tendency to socialize based on group membership. In terms of helpfulness, men may score lower because the items specifically asked for informal volunteering (e.g., volunteering in community organizations) that women tend to engage more in.

Results supported the well-known patterns from previous research that being female is associated with higher levels of trust, larger social network and more willingness to accept diversity as women were more influenced by the direct and indirect social relationships that were developed through frequent social interactions.

#### *4.2 Perceptual Differences by Race*

The findings related to differences in perceptions of social cohesion of different racial groups support hypothesis 1: Individuals whose identities are marginalized because of race will experience lower levels of social cohesion than those with dominant identities. Results are supported by previous research that non-white individuals were less likely to have trust in people and trust in institution (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015). Abascal and Baldassarri (2015) have argued that the relationship between diversity and trust can be understood when differences between communities and their residents in terms of race/ethnicity, residential stability, and economic conditions are considered. The study's region is white-dominated and is primarily homogenous. Therefore, racial minorities constitute an out-group who are experiencing the impacts of social subordination.

The findings also support literature that provides evidence pertaining to Black political participation. The findings show that Blacks are more likely to participate in politics and express interest in the political system. Macías Mejía (2023) for instance, shows that “linked fate” or the sense that one’s individual wellbeing is tied to group wellbeing is associated with political participation of Blacks and Latinos but not Asian Americans. Anoll (2018) provides a consistent finding showing that Black Americans are more likely to believe that voting has a positive impact on their lives and community than Whites. Black Americans may strongly believe that participating in politics and having their voices heard do make their lives better as well as their community.

#### *4.3 Perceptual Differences by Nativity Status*

The findings reveal that native-born score lower on group acceptance of diversity. Compared to foreign-born residents, they have lower levels of certainty that ethnic, racial, and religious tensions are low, that people of diverse backgrounds including immigrants, LGBTQ communities and people with disabilities are accepted and valued. This finding is consistent with national poll surveys that find most Americans (56%) indicating that race relations in the U.S are generally bad (Pew Research Center, 2019) and that some form of discrimination exist against Blacks, Hispanics, and Latinos (Pew Research Center, 2021). The views differ largely by race. In a survey of perceptions of discrimination conducted in 2007, foreign-born outnumbered native born in believing that discrimination against Latinos is a major problem (Pew Research Center, 2007).

#### *4.4 Perceptual Differences of Individuals with Intersecting Minoritized Identities*

Not all dimensions of social cohesion were influenced by the intersectionality of individuals' minoritized identities.

However, the results of non-White foreign-born residents supported the hypothesis that individuals whose identities have two or more minoritized dimensions are expected to express lower levels on some dimensions of social cohesion. Non-White women whose nativity status intersect with gender have lower levels of social networks and lower levels of trust in people. Similarly, women whose race intersect with gender have decreased perception of how their community is accepting of diversity. This is consistent with the literature that supports the negative association of ethnic diversity and social trust. Dinesen, Schaeffer & Sonderskov (2020) posit that social trust decreases in ethnically diverse contexts and "Proximity to interethnic others is an important facilitating condition that accentuates the negative relationship between ethnic diversity and social trust." (Dinesen et al., 2020, 461).

#### *4.5 Limitations & Directions for Future Research*

This study has several limitations. As the study's region is typical of many U.S. regions that are experiencing slow diversification, the participants were mostly Whites and native-born. Therefore, we could only measure the social cohesion status of limited numbers of immigrants, or newcomers to this region.

The study did not explore all factors that may explain diverging perceptions. For example, as several scholars argued, traditional communities that rely on geographic location and physical proximity are being replaced by virtual communities (Wallace et al., 2013). Social relations are no longer embedded in geographic communities (Giddens, 1991). Communities of choice and personal communities which are less likely to be locational (Pahl and Spencer, 2004). Digital communication technologies have enabled the creation of new communities of interest which are not localized (Rainie and Wellman, 2012), are available 24/7 at the click of a mouse or poke of a touch pad (Turkle, 2013; Wallace et al., 2013).

Moreover, limitations of the study also include data collection approaches. Phase 1 of the study relied on several methods of data collection which included online and in-person surveys, while phase 2 relied on phone interviews. In both instances there has been an overreliance on individuals who are already connected to institutions of society and who are engaged with these institutions who tend to be the dominant groups. Also, reliance on land lines for conducting phone interviews tend to limit the scope to demographics who still use land lines and who tend to be older. The limitations of the data collection methods are reflected in the demographics of the respondents who although representative of the make-up of the community, does not provide a balance between minority and majority respondent groups.

Future research needs to incorporate complementary qualitative data collection approaches to further contextualize perceptions of residents in similar communities. Without understanding the forces that shape individual members' responses, our understanding of social cohesion in any community remains limited. Future research needs to ensure that the voices of newcomers in a new community is contextualized within the socio-political and economic dynamics of a community.

Future research needs to unpack what social cohesion means within the context of communities that may no longer define itself by geographic location and physical proximity. It needs to examine the extent to which gender, race, and nativity status affect perceptions of social cohesion within the boundaries of these communities. Research questions also include implications

of the blurred boundaries of communities within physically defined spaces on the ability of these communities to remain integrated, organized, civically engaged and collectively interested in its development and the wellbeing of its members. Individual-level characteristics may also have an impact on perceptions of social cohesion and need to be examined. For example, to what extent does socio-economic status and educational attainment affect perceptions of social cohesion?

#### 4.6 Implications of Findings

The study's findings have wide implications. Minoritized groups who settle in homogenous regions will experience the impact of social dominance and imbalance of power dynamics, which will possibly affect their sense of trust and sense of belonging. Community interventions that narrow the distance between residents of a community and dismantle walls of isolation and alienation will shatter fear and promote mutual understanding.

### 5. Conclusion

**I**n this study, we adapted and validated the instrument that measured the social cohesion of a community. Using the instrument, we examined social cohesion in a community that is homogenous dominated by White Americans. As the study's region is experiencing slow diversification, it offers a window into the attitudes of residents from dominant and minoritized groups toward one another and examine the way they are experiencing their communities. After comparing between multiple groups, our results showed that male participants and Black residents reported low level of trust and those who are less likely to interact with others especially culturally diverse people are less likely to display high level of social cohesion and more likely to feel isolated.

The study contributes to filling a gap in the literature about communities that are in the process of diversification. It draws attention to the need to assess the context of reception of newcomers who are resettling in historically homogenous communities and to the need to recognize how residents with intersecting social identities can experience such context differently. It also deepens our understanding about the state of social cohesion in these communities.

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## Biographical Notes

**Dina Refki**, D.A. is the Director of the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society (CWGCS), and Clinical Professor at the Department of Public Administration & Policy, Rockefeller College of Public Affairs & Policy, University at Albany. She also the founder and director of the Institute on Immigrant Integration Research & Policy, Rockefeller Institute of Government, State University of New York. Her research focuses on the intersections of socially constructed identities, cultures and institutional structures and explores their role in shaping economic, social and civic outcomes for minoritized populations. She is the lead author of the Data Gateway, a first in the nation tool that measures the economic and social integration of immigrants and creates a multi-year scorecard to account for the performance of different localities in integrating immigrants in the economic and social fabric of their communities. Her research also examines structural and systematic adaptations required to facilitate the integration of foreign-born residents (contact Author: drefki@albany.edu)

**Esther (Kyu Yon) Kim**, Ph.D., is Research Associate at the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society at the University at Albany, SUNY. She earned her doctorate in Educational Psychol-

ogy and Methodology, where her dissertation focused on the social well-being of immigrant-origin students. Her research interests include gender equity in education and employment, the well-being of immigrant communities, and survey validation and measurement.

**Rukhsana Ahmed** is Professor of Communication, Faculty Associate at the Center for the Elimination of Minority Health, and Faculty Fellow at the Center for Technology in Government at the University at Albany, State University of New York, New York, USA. She is the Co-Founder and Co-Director of the Health and Equity Justice Lab at UAlbany and Georgia State University. Her research examines the role of communication, culture, media, and technology in shaping health outcomes among marginalized communities and promoting broader organizational and social changes and innovations in local, national, and international health contexts. She is the Chief Editor of the *Health Communication* section of *Frontiers in Communication*. Her recent co-edited book is titled *Theory and Application of Health Acculturation: A Communication Perspective* (2024; Lexington Books). She received the Eastern Communication Association 2024 Distinguished Research Fellows Award.

**Jeanette Altarriba** is Professor of Psychology and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University at Albany, State University of New York, Albany, New York, USA. She is the Founder and Director of the Cognition and Language Laboratory at UAlbany. Her most recent publications include: El-Dakhs, D. A. S., Ahmed, M. M., Altarriba, J., & Sonbul (2024), Differential Emotional Expression in Autobiographical Narratives: The case of Arabic-English Bilinguals, *International Journal of Bilingualism*; and Toglia, M., Otgar, H., Altarriba, J., Erikson, W. B. (Eds.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Advances in Understanding Adaptive Memory* (Oxford University Press, 2024). Her research interests focus on bilingualism, emotion, adaptive and survival memory, and cohesion and adaptability of various demographic groups.

**Dr. Kyung Hyun Park** specializes in educational psychology, with a focus on gifted education and talent development from a lifelong perspective. Her research primarily focuses on racially, ethnically, and culturally marginalized and underrepresented talented young people. Currently, she is a postdoctoral fellow at the Department of Medical Education, Yonsei University College of Medicine in Seoul, South Korea.

## Appendix A: Social Cohesion Instrument

### *Social Network*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
ο	ο	ο	ο	ο

1. I believe friends are important in life
2. I socialize more than twice a week with friends, relatives, and colleagues
3. I feel I can count on receiving support if needed and advice in serious personal or family matters

### *Trust in People*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
ο	ο	ο	ο	ο

1. I believe most people can be trusted
2. I believe most people try to be fair
3. I believe most people are helpful

### *Individual Level Acceptance of Diversity*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
ο	ο	ο	ο	ο

1. I would like to have neighbors who are racially different from me
2. I would like to have neighbors who are culturally different from me
3. I would like to have neighbors who have different religious beliefs than mine
4. I believe that the country's cultural life is enriched by having different cultures and diverse background

### *Group Level Acceptance of Diversity*

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
ο	ο	ο	ο	ο

1. I believe ethnic/racial tensions in the region do not exist or are very low
2. I believe religious tensions in the region do not exist or are very low
3. I feel that the LGBTQ+ community is welcomed and accepted
4. I believe people with intellectual and Developmental Disabilities are accepted and valued in my community
5. I agree that the region is good place for immigrants and people of different cultural backgrounds

### ***Sense of Belonging***

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
o	o	o	o	o

1. I like living in the U.S.
2. I like living in NY
3. I like living in the region and do not desire to move permanently to another region

### ***Trust in Institutions***

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
o	o	o	o	o

1. The local law enforcement makes me feel safe in my community
2. I generally have confidence in the local justice system
3. I generally have confidence in local government institutions
4. I generally have confidence in the healthcare system that I use
5. I am not fearful of reporting crime and seeking police assistance

### ***Respect for Social Rules***

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
o	o	o	o	o

1. I believe we should all follow laws, rules, and social norms

### ***Helpfulness***

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
o	o	o	o	o

1. I donate to charity
2. I volunteer in the community
3. I serve on committees and/or volunteer in community organizations

### ***Political Participation***

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
o	o	o	o	o

1. I believe politics is important to one's life
2. I have an interest in the political system
3. I sign petitions



## Demographic Information

1. I am a resident of (choose one):
2. I identify as:
  - (a) Female
  - (b) Male
  - (c) Non-binary
  - (d) Prefer not to answer
3. Age:
  - (a) 18-24
  - (b) 25-29
  - (c) 30-39
  - (d) 40-49
  - (e) 50-59
  - (f) 60-69
  - (g) 70-79
  - (h) 80 and over
4. I identify as: (check all that apply)
  - (a) American Indian or Alaskan Native
  - (b) Asian
  - (c) Black/African Heritage
  - (d) Hispanic/Latino
  - (e) Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander
  - (f) White
  - (f) Two or more races (Please Specify) -----
5. Location of Birth

# Social determinants of health in newly arrived refugees and migrants in Greece

Karl Philipp Puchner, *Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
Mariangela Psyraki, *MERAKI, Community Center*  
Elias Kondilis, *Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

## Κοινωνικοί προσδιοριστές της υγείας σε νεοαφι- χθέντες πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες στην Ελλάδα

Karl Philipp Puchner, *Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης*  
Mariangela Psyraki, *MERAKI, Community Center*  
Elias Kondilis, *Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης*

### ABSTRACT

The Greek state applies significantly different migration policies for Ukrainian versus other third country nationals and stateless (OTCNS) R&Ms. Using the framework of the SDoH, in this paper, we have assessed policies related to the asylum and temporary international protection processes and elaborated their potential health impact. Our results suggest that in both groups, existing policies may have negative health impacts with the impact on SDoH being however less detrimental in the case of Ukrainians R&Ms. Also, policies applied to OTCNS R&Ms sustain a prolonged state of precarity, which might have an independently negative health effect. This dichotomous migration policy might result in poorer health outcomes of the OTCNS R&Ms. Due to the non-negligible size of this population, the eroding effects of these policies on the social cohesion and health status of the Greek society, should not be underestimated. Critical review of the current migration policy and swift leveling up policy equalization for all categories of R&Ms is needed.

**KEY WORDS:** Social Policies, Health Policies, Social determinants of health, Ukrainian refugees.

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Σε αντιστοιχία με άλλες ευρωπαϊκές χώρες, η Ελλάδα εφαρμόζει διαφορετικές πολιτικές όσον αφορά την προστασία, υποστήριξη και ένταξη Ουκρανών και μη Ουκρανών προσφύγων και μεταναστών που αιτούνται διεθνούς προστασίας/άσυλου. Χρησιμοποιώντας το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο κοινωνικών προσδιοριστών, κατηγοριοποιήσαμε και συγκρίναμε τις πρακτικές και πολιτικές προστασίας, υποστήριξης και ένταξης Ουκρανών και μη Ουκρανών αιτούντων άσυλο ως προς το δυνητικό αποτέλεσμα υγείας και κοινωνικής ένταξης. Από την ανάλυση των πρακτικών και πολιτικών προστασίας, υποστήριξης και ένταξης του Ελληνικού Κράτους για Ουκρανούς και μη Ουκρανούς πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες, προκύπτουν σημαντικές διαφορές. Σχεδόν σε όλους τους τομείς των κοινωνικών προσδιοριστών υγείας οι πρακτικές και πολιτικές που ισχύουν για του Ουκρανούς πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες – παρ' ότι δε προάγουν την υγεία - διαφαίνεται να έχουν λιγότερα αρνητικό αποτύπωμα απ' ότι στους μη Ουκρανούς αιτούντες άσυλο. Η διακριτή αυτή μεταχείριση όχι μόνο υποσκάπτει την υγεία των μη Ουκρανών προσφύγων και μεταναστών, αλλά και την προοπτική ένταξης τους και συνεπώς συνοχή της ελληνικής κοινωνίας.

**ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ:** Κοινωνικές πολιτικές, Πολιτικές Υγείας, Κοινωνικοί προσδιοριστές Υγείας, Ουκρανοί πρόσφυγες.

## 1. Introduction

Since more than a decade, Greece, has experienced significant mixed migration flows with a substantial number of refugees and migrants (R&Ms) from various non-EU countries of origin transiting through or settling down in the country, often seeking asylum and international protection ('DTM\_Mixed Migration Flows to Europe\_Q2\_2024.pdf', no date). The asylum process in Greece is based on the principles of the Geneva Convention (The 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, no date) and- in a nutshell- foresees 3 consecutive administrative stages: 1) registration of asylum claim 2) evaluation of admissibility of asylum claim (i.e. in case of a positive outcome recognition as asylum seeker) and 3) for claims deemed admissible by the Greek state, evaluation of asylum claim via personalized interview leading in case of a positive outcome to the issuance of refugee status ('Η Αίτηση για Άσυλο | Υπουργείο Μετανάστευσης και Ασύλου', 2020). In response to the phenomenon of mixed migration – unprecedented in size and duration in modern Greek history – Greece is applying, in line with the other EU-member states, an increasingly restrictive and regressive migration policy (Niemann, 2024). While provisions and care for asylum seekers and recognized refugees have been drastically cut (Kondilis and Gallo, 2023) (Puchner et al., 2024) (Kondilis et al., 2021), political priority has been progressively given to border securitization and suppression of irregular border crossing even by means disrespectful of international law like violent pushbacks (Drift-backs in the Aegean Sea | refugeeobservatory.aegean.gr, no date) ('THE STATE OF THE BORDER PROCEDURE ON THE GREEK ISLANDS - R.S.A.', 2022) ('European Court Slams Greece Over Deadly Migrant Pushback | Human Rights Watch', 2022). The role of UN agencies and other international organizations with relevant mandates in the migration governance has been significantly reduced and eligibility criteria for asylum applicants tightened ('AIDA-GR\_2023-Update.pdf', no date). In absolute contrast to this trend, since the outbreak of the war between Russia and the Ukraine, the Greek state, as other EU-member states, have adopted a quite distinct migration governance approach for R&Ms originating from the Ukraine; following Russia's large-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the Council of the European Union adopted an implementing act (i.e. Implementing Decision (EU) 2022/382), recognizing the existence of a mass influx of displaced persons from Ukraine as defined in the Directive 2001/55/EC and having the effect of introducing temporary protection outside of the UN Geneva Convention (Implementing decision - 2022/382 - EN - EUR-Lex, no date). It is noteworthy, that despite multiple conflicts and humanitarian catastrophes taking place in close geographic proximity to the EU since beginning of the 21st century, the Russian-Ukrainian war is the first instance where such a decision has been adopted in the context of Directive 2001/55/EC (Fink and Kader, 2023). As a result, Ukrainian R&Ms undergo completely different and siloed administrative procedures in their (temporary) protection application process in comparison to other third state nationals and stateless (OTCNS) R&Ms (The Ukraine Crisis Double Standards: Has Europe's Response to Refugees Changed? - Ukraine | ReliefWeb, 2022) (Sosa Popovic and Welfens, 2025).

Over the last two decades, the concept of Social Determinants of Health (SDoH) constitutes an established scientific framework in public health and epidemiology (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008). SDoH consider all non-biomedical factors that may influence the health of a person/population (e.g. working conditions, housing, education, income and social protection, access to healthcare) providing an extremely valuable tool for the investigation of

health inequalities and disease causation (Lucyk and McLaren, 2017) (Castañeda et al., 2015). The SDoHs are usually categorized in 5 main domains, i.e. Social and Community context, Neighborhood and Built Environments, Health Care and Health Access, Economic Stability and Education (Singu et al., 2020). SDoH seem to disproportionately determine the health of R&Ms, with migration per se being recognized in the meanwhile as an independent SDoH (Migration: A Social Determinant of the Health of Migrants | Migration Health Research Portal, no date).

In this paper we are assessing the impact of the current laws, policies and practices on SDoH of R&Ms seeking asylum and international protection in Greece and comparing the effect of the distinct migration governance approaches of the Greek Government on the SDoH in Ukrainian and OTCNS R&Ms.

## 2. Methodology

**W**e have performed a retrospective policy analysis, based on a narrative policy document and literature review. We searched for documents in the websites of all actors potentially involved in the development and implementation of migration governance and RMs related projects in Greece including Greek government authorities, UN agencies, scientific community and Civil Society Organizations. Our analysis included press releases, primary and secondary legislation, working papers or reports and scientific publications. The documents/sources were reviewed for laws, policies, and practices that were related to asylum and international protection seeking processes in place for both R&M populations and information was extracted using the 5 main domains of the SDoHs (i.e. Social and Community context, Neighborhood and Built Environments, Health Care and Health Access, Economic Stability).

## 3. Results

**I**n table 1, we have summarized the findings from our review of policies per category of the 5 domains of the SDoHs per R&M group (i.e. Ukrainian R&Ms vs OTCNS R&Ms). In both groups, policies in place can be deemed deficient from a health perspective, exhibit a rather neutral or even negative effect on the SDoHs of R&Ms seeking asylum and international protection. It is worth noticing that based on a newly passed law, provision of international protection and/or asylum does not automatically translate to unconditional and free of charge access to health services of the National Health System (NHS) as the social insurance number (AMKA) issued for these R&Ms is not active unless the holder can provide proof of employment or enrollment in a Greek educational institution (Υπουργείο Εργασίας και Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης, 2024). In addition, as the only running large scale housing project of the Greek state for R&Ms has ceased in November 2024 (HELIOS) (Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International | IOM Greece, no date)– with its successor project yet to be launched –, both R&Ms groups are practically left without subsidized housing options. Nevertheless, comparison of the policies in place for the two populations under investigation yielded substantially diverse effects on the domains of Social and Community context, Neighborhood and Built Environments, Health Care and Health Access, Economic Stability. Overall, the impact of policies on the 4 SDoHs domains seems to be less det-

rimental for Ukrainian R&Ms than in their OTCNs counterparts. While temporary international protection status and freedom of movement is granted for Ukrainian R&Ms (Refugee Info Greece, no date a), in the case of OTCNS R&Ms, provision of asylum is only possible after successful completion of a lengthy three-step procedure with movement restrictions at each stage and based on geographic location of entrance of the Greek territory ('BorderProcedure\_Greek\_islands\_report.pdf', no date) (Greece: AIDA 2023 country report | European Website on Integration, no date). It is also worth noting that Ukrainian R&Ms are granted - in parallel to the temporary protection status - a variety of social entitlements (i.e. working and residence permit, social insurance number/AMKA) during a one-off appointment at the Service Asylum ('94241914-26f6-464d-be28-c601d8ded4d5\_en.pdf', no date) (Refugee Info Greece, no date b). In contrast to that, social entitlements for OTCNS R&Ms – as exemplified by the provision of a temporary social insurance number (PAAYPA) instead of the more permanent AMKA and the provision of working and residence permit only after conclusion of specific administrative stages - are linked to the specific legal state the R&M finds himself/herself in and thus subject to frequent changes along the asylum process (Greece: AIDA 2023 country report | European Website on Integration, no date). Furthermore, it should be stressed that the asylum process, is characterized by transitional gaps in and fragmentation of social protection, often leaving temporarily R&Ms with no valid entitlement at all (Greece: AIDA 2023 country report | European Website on Integration, no date). In this light, it could be hypothesized that the recurrent phases of legal limbo and institutional void in conjunction with the often highly traumatic process of asylum interviews which OTCNS are exposed to, create a group-specific state of prolonged precarity and increased vulnerability (Multiple geographies of precarity: Accommodation policies for asylum seekers in metropolitan Athens, Greece - Eva (Evangelia) Papatzani, Timokleia Psallidaki, George Kandyliis, Irini Micha, 2022, no date) (Waiting to be Heard: Considerations on the impact of Greek asylum policies on the psychosocial wellbeing of asylum seekers on Lesbos, no date). This state in turn might as well have a SDoH- independent adverse health impact – particularly on the mental wellbeing of this population (World report on the health of refugees and migrants, no date) (Lebano et al., 2020).

*Table 1: Analysis of laws, policies and practices in place in Greece related to asylum and international protection processes, categorized thematically per domains of the Social Determinants of Health framework*

	Ukrainian R&Ms	Other third country nationals R&Ms	Comments
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of Temporary International Protection granted upon appointment. Entitled to asylum process (Geneva Convention) anytime.</li> <li>• Provision of Social Insurance Number (AMKA) identical to general population</li> <li>• Not entitled to Social Welfare Benefits (OPEKA benefits) as their title is considered temporary protection</li> <li>• Eligible for other benefits (i.e. heating benefit) if all other criteria are met</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of International Protection after successful completion of a three-step administrative procedure (minimum duration of at least 6 months, rejection rate after asylum admissibility 38%)</li> <li>• Provision of temporary Social and Health Insurance Number (PAAYPE) if admissible as asylum applicant</li> <li>• Provision of financial support under the prerequisite of residence in reception facilities, and recognition as asylum seekers.</li> <li>• Entitled to some Social Welfare Benefits (OPEKA benefits); such as minimum guaranteed income and disability benefit; others require lengthy 5+ years of permanent residence in Greece</li> <li>• Recognized refugees are eligible for other benefits (i.e. heating benefit) if all other criteria are met.</li> </ul>	<p>AMKA paves the way for immediate access to unemployment card and free transport.</p> <p>PAAYPE, even with unemployment card, cannot grant free transport. Benefits provision remains barred for asylum seekers.</p> <p>According to reports the provision of financial support for OTCNs has been fragmented and irregular.</p>
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to labor market automatically with the receipt of the Temporary Protection Residence Permit.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to the labor market 2 months after registration of asylum claim, which itself can take months to even be scheduled.</li> <li>• Issuance of residence permit only possible the soonest 5 months after successful completion of asylum process</li> </ul>	<p>Ukrainians have swift access to appointments to register for temporary protection, and receive on the day thereof their Temporary Protection Residence Permit, contrary to OTCNs R&amp;Ms that must wait for registration, asylum process and then receipt of their residence permit</p>

**Abbreviations used:** OPEKA: Agency for Welfare Benefits and Social Solidarity

AMKA: Social Insurance Number AFM Taxpayer Reference Number PAAYPE: Foreigner's Temporary Social and Health Insurance Number

(Built) environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Freedom of movement: Entrance to Greece granted, unrestricted within Greece and/or moving towards other EU countries</li> <li>Housing: Complete independence and support in finding subsidized rented accommodation in any geographic location, through projects such as HELIOS. Also, no time limit on staying in reception facilities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Freedom of movement: Entrance to Greece not granted (always irregular); 3 different registration procedures and geographic confinement regulations depending on geographic location of first entrance. Unrestricted movement within Greece only after registering as an asylum seeker, barring any geographical restriction in place, and for limited time in other EU countries only after being recognized as a refugee.</li> <li>Housing: Currently only access to accommodation facilities/camps for asylum seekers; after successful completion of asylum process there is an obligation to leave the camp within 30 days (however access as recognized refugee in subsidized housing projects/HELIOS in theory possible)</li> </ul>	<p>Restricted movement and accommodation options hinder access to health care, particularly for R&amp;Ms having their claims examined in Reception and Identification Centres on islands of the Eastern Aegean that lack tertiary health care and have overstretched capacities on the primary and secondary health care level. Moreover, complex medical cases needing special living conditions and regular hospital visits have camps as their only official housing option, which they still must abandon in case of successful completion of their asylum status. The only large-scale subsidized housing project -HELIOS- stopped in November 2024 leaving OTCNS R&amp;Ms without viable housing options after being recognized as refugees. In addition, this development has affected negatively Ukrainian R&amp;Ms as Ukrainians constituted the 3rd largest group of beneficiaries of HELIOS.</p>
Healthcare Access	Full access to healthcare, along with AMKA (social insurance number), which is provided automatically upon the issuance of (temporary) protection status/residence permit.	<p>For R&amp;Ms registered as asylum seekers, a Temporary Social and Health Insurance Number (PAAYPEA) providing free access to the NHS is issued. However, until issuance of the asylum seeker status (which can take up to months), R&amp;Ms' access to the NHS covers only Emergencies. For recognized refugees, PAAYPEA is canceled after 30 days, with AMKA issuance being possible after receipt of the residence permit. On average AMKA issuance takes at the most optimistic scenario 5 months after positive completion of asylum process.</p> <p>Moreover, a change in the legislative framework since April 2024 is separating AMKA into active and inactive. AMKA is now issued, by default, as "inactive", which does not allow for free access to the NHS, and in order to activate it, a recognized refugee needs to prove their actual residence in Greece either by active employment or proof of studying in a Greek institution.</p>	<p>According to the Ministry of Labor, the health coverage of uninsured and vulnerable social groups based on the provisions of article 33 of Law 4368/2016 is provided only to holders of an active AMKA, i.e. to people who prove both the legality and their actual residence in the country. Thus, paradoxically, "actual residence" cannot be proven without either employment or studies.</p> <p>The requirement to present proof of employment for beneficiaries of international protection to be able to activate their AMKA is a burdensome and disproportionate measure, in contradiction with the 1951 Geneva Convention as well as with Law 4939/2022 and Directive 2011/95/EU. This requirement may completely exclude beneficiaries of international protection (including particularly vulnerable persons) from access to the health and medical care system and contradicts their right to access to social assistance and medical care under the same conditions as those applicable to Greek citizens, in accordance with Articles 29 and 30 of Law 4939/20221.</p>
Education	R&Ms under 18 years of age are granted the right of access to public schools in which reception classes or tutorial classes are in operation.	18 years of age are granted the right of access to public schools in which reception classes or tutorial classes are in operation	Most schools with reception and tutorial classes are located in big urban centers and thus far away from accommodation facilities and camps for R&M



## 4. Discussion

**I**n this paper, we have landscaped the policies in place for Ukrainian and OTCNS R&Ms seeking asylum and international protection and analyzed their potential impact on the SDoH in these two populations.

Policies governing asylum and international protection provision in both groups lack a specific health promoting dimension and seem to have in the best case a neutral effect on the SDoH of the R&M populations. Nevertheless, our findings suggest that there are significant differences in the policies related to the 4 main domains of the SDoH framework, leading to a less detrimental social determination of health in Ukrainian when compared to OTCNS R&Ms. In addition, through unconditional provision of temporary protection status along with basic social entitlements within a one-off appointment, Ukrainian R&Ms undergo a relatively straight forward administrative process allowing fast paced conclusion of the arrival phase and facilitation of integration in Greek society. In contrast to that, policies currently in place for OTCNS R&Ms seem to favor a state of prolonged precarity and increased vulnerability. The latter population group is exposed to consecutive phases of legal limbo and social welfare void during the asylum process which does not only impact negatively the SDoH but might inflict direct deterioration of the mental health status of this very group (Solberg et al., 2020) (Jonzon, Lindkvist and Johansson, 2015).

It is important to notice that the current migration policy poses a discriminatory practice, creating a clear dichotomy within the R&M population. All non-Ukrainian population groups entering Greece, although they might originate from conflict-torn regions as well (e.g. Afghan nationals) and have an international protection/asylum claim are subject to far more complex and disadvantageous administrative procedure for provision of international protection and asylum. This discriminatory approach in migration policy undermines social cohesion, jeopardizes integration perspectives of R&Ms (Afghans in Greece: A story of strength, resilience and survival | International Rescue Committee (IRC), no date) and undermines their rights to health and healthcare. It should be once more stressed that policies in place for Ukrainian R&Ms seeking protection in Greece are by no means deemed optimal, with many European countries offering far more comprehensive social benefits (e.g. temporary financial support ) (Lessons learnt from welcoming Ukraine refugees - [www.caritas.eu](http://www.caritas.eu), no date). Yet, the case of the Ukrainian R&Ms affirms that the Greek state has the capacities and know-how to exercise and deliver a much more humane, efficient and inclusion - oriented migration policy, in which health promotion and positive social determination of health – though currently lacking - could be feasibly integrated. It is also crucial to underline that even in the few cases where the Greek state treats both groups equally, the policies being applied are extremely disadvantageous, leading to leveling down equalization of social protection, as illustrated by the recent AMKA joint ministerial decision. In this light, critical review of the Asylum process and its guiding principles both at the Greek and European level should be on the agenda of academia, political actors and civil society with the demand for leveling up equalization of policies for both R&Ms groups and solid integration of health in the core of the migration policies being the outmost priority.



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## Biographical notes

**Karl Philipp Puchner** is a postdoctoral researcher at the Laboratory of Primary Health Care, General Medicine and Health Services Research at the Faculty of Health Sciences of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. E-mail: [karl.puchner@gmx.de](mailto:karl.puchner@gmx.de)

**Maria-Angeliki Psyraki** has been working with migrants and refugees since 2014. She holds a Bachelor of Social Work from the Higher Technological Educational Institute of Patras and a Master in Social Work from the University of Nottingham.

**Elias Kondilis** is a psychiatrist and public health physician and Associate Professor of Primary Health Care - Health Policy at the School of Medicine of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Previously he held research and teaching positions (Senior Lecturer in Health Systems) at the Barts and the London School of Medicine at Queen Mary University of London.

# Social mobility in Greece: Perceptions and preferences

Georgios Kitsoleris, *De Montfort University – Perrotis College*

Tuan Anh Luong, *De Montfort University*

## Η κοινωνική κινητικότητα στην Ελλάδα: απόψεις και αντιλήψεις των Ελλήνων

Γεώργιος Κιτσολέρης, *De Montfort University – Perrotis College*

Tuan Anh Luong, *De Montfort University*

### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to present the views and perceptions of Greek individuals regarding social mobility based on a questionnaire survey conducted after the end of the financial crisis. Optimistically, most Greeks acknowledge the existence of social mobility in the country, reflecting positive changes in equality of opportunities. Personal experiences and recent income changes influenced participants' views. The main barrier to social mobility based on the citizens' answers includes the transition from education to the labour market. On the other hand, cognitive and non-cognitive skills and professional experience were deemed important for upward mobility. The participants also underscored the significance of different aspects of mobility.

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Σκοπός αυτού του άρθρου είναι να παρουσιάσει τις απόψεις και τις αντιλήψεις των Ελλήνων σχετικά με την κοινωνική κινητικότητα βάσει έρευνας ερωτηματολογίου που πραγματοποιήθηκε μετά το τέλος της οικονομικής κρίσης. Το αισιόδοξο εύρημα είναι ότι οι περισσότεροι Έλληνες αναγνωρίζουν την ύπαρξη κοινωνικής κινητικότητας στη χώρα, αντανακλώντας θετικές αλλαγές στην ισότητα ευκαιριών. Οι προσωπικές εμπειρίες και οι πρόσφατες αλλαγές εισοδήματος επηρέασαν τις απόψεις των συμμετεχόντων. Το κύριο εμπόδιο στην κοινωνική κινητικότητα με βάση τις απαντήσεις των πολιτών περιλαμβάνει τη μετάβαση από την εκπαίδευση στην αγορά εργασίας. Από την άλλη πλευρά, οι γνωστικές και μη γνωστικές δεξιότητες και η επαγγελματική εμπειρία κρίθηκαν σημαντικές για την ανοδική κινητικότητα. Οι συμμετέχοντες τόνισαν επίσης τη σημασία των διαφορετικών πτυχών της κινητικότητας.

**KEY WORDS:** Social mobility, economic crisis, questionnaire survey, absolute and relative mobility, social policies.

**ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ:** Κοινωνικές Δομές Άμεσης Αντιμετώπισης της ΦΚοινωνική κινητικότητα, οικονομική κρίση, έρευνα με ερωτηματολόγιο, απόλυτη και σχετική κινητικότητα, κοινωνικές πολιτικές.

## 1. Introduction

**S**ocial mobility, the ability of individuals or groups to move within a society's hierarchical structure, is central to understanding social cohesion and development. People have the possibility to change their class. The groups can be divided by the income of their occupation or wealth or occupational/educational/social status. An open society provides opportunities to their citizens to move upwards while social mobility also leads to the opposite direction generally for people who do not have the capabilities to maintain their status. The importance of social mobility in every society is acknowledged and it is often related to income. If the resources are allocated in a fair way in a society, this is going to improve the social welfare (Fields & Ok, 1999; Yang & Qiu, 2016). According to Council of Europe (2012) social mobility is linked to social cohesion. The expectations and aspirations of different generations that their life's outcomes are not associated only with the socio-economic background but mainly by their efforts and merit, can reinforce the sense of justice in a state. In addition, the state benefits from the talents and skills of all citizens (without losing valuable human capital) and it may reach better welfare more easily. Living in a country with lower social mobility the citizens have lower aspirations and motivations<sup>1</sup> for greater efforts that could lead to more economic efficiency and development (Wilkinson, R.G. & Pickett, 2010). Furthermore, this efficiency should have likely positive effects on economic growth (Breen, 1997). According to Citi GSP (2023) "a 10-point increase in each country's Global Social Mobility Index score could lead to a \$514 billion increase in global GDP". Acemoglu, et al, 2018 highlighted its significant role in the prospects and stability of democracy and the views and preferences of citizens as voters. As a result, social mobility is a desirable notion for people who want to be determined by their personal efforts and not by the initial endowments and it is useful for policymakers to evaluate the degree of social mobility and minimize the reasons that affect it negatively.

One of the fundamental distinctions about social mobility is between intergenerational and intragenerational as well as absolute and relative mobility. Social mobility indicates the changes in the social status of an individual from one period to another (intragenerational mobility) or comparing to her/his parents, between two generations in this case (intergenerational mobility). Both types of studies require at least two observations to investigate the time path of the social hierarchy (Fields & Ok, 1999).

The changes in rank mobility are connecting with the term of relative mobility while the changes in real status (income, occupation or educational achievements) are connecting with the term of absolute mobility. For instance, sometimes a small upward mobility by rank can mean a significant mobility in income mobility when we are mainly referring to countries with higher income inequality. The opposite can also happen. As Corak et al. (2014) noticed "same distance in terms of percentile rankings does not necessarily imply equal changes in earnings". The absolute reflects the changes in the structure of society that affects the distribution of the citizens or technological changes or industrialization<sup>2</sup> which affects incomes and labour market generally while relative mobility is related to social fluidity (Eurofound, 2017). The income class of an individual can be different compared to his/her position before and people have the opportunity for upward or downward mobility in economic classes. The hypothesis is that absolute changes due to the economic progress or recession, it is possible to affect relative mobility respectively. Citizens may value relative mobility the same as absolute mobility and. this is perhaps one reason that Greece

maintained its social cohesion during the crisis because many people realized that despite the reductions in their wages, they were maintaining or improving their relative living standards compared to many other fellow citizens who lost much more. Due to the high importance of the topic, we aim to explore the perceptions<sup>3</sup> and preferences of Greek citizens regarding social mobility, particularly in the aftermath of the economic crisis.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we review the literature regarding the research on perceptions of social mobility. In Section 3 we describe our questionnaire survey. Section 4 discusses the research questions and hypotheses. Section 5 presents our main findings of all questions. Section 6 provides concluding remarks and discussion.

## 2. What we can learn from the citizens' perceptions

The important achievement of the questionnaire researches conducted in the past reminds the scientific community that certain theoretical conventions may not be shared by the majority of individuals. People are different and hence it is natural for them to hold different views on what is important or good for society. The point may obviously be even more important in the context of social mobility, which involves intrinsically more problematic judgments than those implied by inequality comparisons (Bernasconi, M., Dardanoni, V., 2005). Individuals' perceptions of the social mobility/income distribution can affect how they will react to redistributive policies, which is a key input for public finance models (Cruces, et al., 2013). Furthermore, misconceptions of people about the planned policies can reduce their effectiveness. Cruces et al (2013) also show that people who have biases in their perceptions of their own income, if correcting these biases, they can change their views on redistribution. Romer (2003) confirmed this correlation as well. Even among knowledgeable people who are aware of the developments in policies it is noticed that there may be a difficulty in realizing the welfare stem of these policies in the future and adopting them. Misunderstandings, ignorance and biased assumptions of people also linked to enforcement problems. The interaction between policymakers and citizens can help the latter to perceive the gains, rationality and the benefits for majority of the population by providing insights. On the other hand, If the beliefs about the policies connected to personal incentives and not the public interest, the efforts to educate people about real economic facts as well as the rationality of the efficacy of governmental decisions, it will not work. Investigating people's perceptions shows us which policies are more desirable and tolerated.

Social mobility policies can be linked to political decisions about the relocation of resources, equal opportunities access to specific faculties or occupations as well as the stability of democracy (Acemoglou et al, 2016). The way in which income is distributed, equal opportunities are provided and how people view them plays a significant role in determining political economic policies for redistribution and boost social mobility. Americans tend to see wealth as earned through ability and hard work, while Europeans often see it as inherited through family and connections. This perception affects their support for redistribution policies. Pessimistic information about social mobility can also lead to increased support for "equality of opportunity" policies. Literature also suggests that individuals' views on social mobility and support for redistribution depend on their own personal experience of mobility and that the median voter may prefer less redistribution if they believe in upward mobility for themselves or future generations (Alesina et al, 2018).

### 3. Questionnaire survey: Sampling techniques

**D**ue to the limitations of national datasets, a questionnaire survey focused on mobility is an interesting source of information. It allows us to carry out multiple ways of measuring social mobility. In our survey, we construct cross-sectional data consisting of actual individuals' pairs (one parent and one child). They are all taken at a specific period of their life which gives us information about their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. The questionnaire survey includes data regarding 427 pairs of actual parents-children. In our survey, there are two cohorts. The children cohort consists of their children who were between 30-50 years old when the crisis ceased. They were born between 1970 and 1990. The parents' cohort consists of children's parents. The mean generation age difference is higher than 22 years (Appendices Table 1).

In order to ensure that our survey is as representative as much as possible, we did not employ only random sampling. Instead, the participants were chosen from snowball sampling. This is a recruitment technique in which research participants are asked to assist researchers in identifying other potential subjects. We initially approached 10 people (parents) from 10 different occupational classes who accepted to be interviewed with their children. After the interviewees suggested other people from different occupations to complete the survey and so on. We switched to a self-completion approach of the questionnaire as a result of the pandemic making face-to-face fieldwork unfeasible. From the total sample, we also created two sub-samples. 125 pairs of parents-children are the stratified subsample following demographic and educational characteristics of the total population (250 individuals in total). The other 302 pairs are a random subsample coming from our snowball technique. To ensure representativeness, snowball sampling was used in conjunction with stratified sampling to capture diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Data validation included comparisons with national demographic and occupational statistics, confirming consistency with population trends. The main differences between the two subsamples are the regional representativeness and the gender because the stratified sample focuses on the sons

A novelty is that we include children who emigrated (11.29%) due to the explosion of immigration the previous years and the high level of qualifications and skills of these people who usually earn high salaries. This decision reflects the significant emigration wave during Greece's economic crisis and the high skill levels of these individuals, which make them integral to understanding intergenerational mobility in a Greek context. While the title emphasizes domestic mobility, we acknowledge the role of new diaspora populations in shaping perceptions and preferences regarding mobility. The inclusion of emigrants also reveals a nuanced perspective: despite physical separation, they retain a strong interest in domestic policies. The number of participants is an issue that needed clarification before presenting the results of the research. Previous studies used similar number of observations. For instance, in one of the most remarkable papers of Bjorkluynd and Jantti (1997) in the American Economic View, the number of fathers was 540 and the sons 327. Grawe (2004) applied quantile analysis in two samples of 233 and 354 from different databases. Solon (1992) in his analysis referred to the relationship between father and son's earnings and the main sample comprised 348 pairs.



## 4. Research questions

The research questions that we tried to answer through our questionnaire are:

- a) The position of an individual in income distribution and his/her experiences of social mobility affects his/her perceptions?
- b) What agents affect the upward and downward mobility in Greece according to the citizens?
- c) Which dimension of mobility, the citizens can recognise and prefer? (Absolute versus relative)
- d) How beliefs about intergenerational mobility affect preferences for government policies?

Based on the previous research questions we created the following major set of questions in the questionnaire:

### *I) The perceptions of mobility (question a)*

Perceptions of one's relative position in the income distribution have a significant impact on attitudes toward redistributive policies. Poorer individuals tend to place themselves in higher positions than they actually occupy, while richer individuals underestimate their rank. Those who overestimate their relative position and think they are relatively richer than they are tend to demand higher levels of redistribution when informed of their true ranking (Cruces et al., 2013).

### *II) Views on fairness - Barriers and opportunities to succeed social mobility (question b)*

The way that the income is distributed in a society is an important factor in determining policies that involve redistribution, such as healthcare, and taxation. However, the actual shape of the income distribution is not the main determinant of policy. Rather, it is the perception of the income distribution by citizens or agents in the economy that drives policy decisions (Cruces et al., 2013).

### *III) Evaluating the social mobility (question c)*

People care about their relative position in society for various reasons. A high social standing can yield respect, admiration, and power. When making choices for their children, people are more likely to answer positionally. Ignoring positional concerns may lead to incorrect descriptive explanations of government fiscal policies. People react to their relative intra-generational changes with reluctance or not to pay taxes. (Solnick, S. & Hemenway, D., 1998)

### *IV) Social mobility and preferences for governmental actions (question d)*

When people are presented with pessimistic information about social mobility, they tend to favour policies that promote "equality of opportunity," such as public education or healthcare spending, over policies that promote "equality of outcome," such as progressive taxation or safety net policies. Across all countries, views on social mobility are highly correlated with policy preferences. Those who are more pessimistic about social mobility tend to favour more generous redistributive policies and higher levels of government involvement. This correlation is stronger for "equality of opportunity" policies (equal educational opportunities) than for "equality of outcome" policies as progressive taxation (Alesina et al., 2018).



Combining the motivation discussed above with the literature of similar researches, we can formulate the following hypotheses:

- (a) The position of an individual in income distribution and his/her experiences of social mobility influence their perceptions of social mobility. Individuals who belong to higher relative income positions or have experienced absolute or relative changes are more likely to believe in the existence of social mobility indicating an optimism of the phenomenon in Greece.
- (b) Different generations identify different factors which enhance or prevent social mobility in Greece.
- (c) The dimensions of social mobility, specifically absolute/relative mobility have distinct effects on individuals' preferences for different types of mobility.
- (d) Beliefs about intergenerational mobility significantly affect preferences for government intervention. People who hold optimistic views about upward mobility for themselves or future generations are more likely to support policies promoting equality of opportunity, such as public education and healthcare spending.

## 5. Results

### 5.1 The perceptions of mobility

The answers to the question "do you believe that there is social mobility in Greece?" across the income distribution quartiles in parents and children's cohorts are presented initially. Greek citizens from both generations recognize that Greek society creates opportunities for social mobility. Two-thirds support this statement independently of their financial situation. Table 1 presents the distribution of income among parents and children in two different groups, those who believe in social mobility (Yes) and those who do not (No). The table shows that among those in the first quartile of lower income, 64.24% of parents and 68.46% of children believe in existing social mobility in Greece. Similarly, in the second quartile and the third quartile, the percentages are similar. The fourth quartile, or the group of the richest people, has the highest percentage of people who believe in social mobility with 70.13% of parents but the lowest for offspring's generation (61.84%). The main finding from this table is that there is a positive correlation between income and belief in social mobility. This means that people in higher income groups are more likely to believe in social mobility compared to those in lower income groups. The only exception is the richest children quartile.

**Table 1: Income distribution and beliefs about social mobility**

Parents' distribution			Children's distribution		
	Yes	No		Yes	No
1st quartile (lower income)	64.24%	35.76%	1st quartile (lower income)	68.46%	31.54%
2nd quartile	70%	30%	2nd quartile	71.43%	28.57%
3rd quartile	70.11%	29.89%	3rd quartile	77.5%	22.5%
4th quartile (richest people)	70.13%	29.87%	4th quartile (richest people)	61.84%	38.16%
Total	67.78%	32.22%	Total	69.36%	30.64%

The next table (2) presents the beliefs about social mobility in relation to the experience of intergenerational mobility among offsprings (based on our data)<sup>4</sup>. The table is divided into two parts, one for relative intergenerational income mobility and the second one for occupational mobility. In both parts, the table shows the percentage of people's perceptions about mobility for different intergenerational movements. There are no significant differences among the people who experienced intergenerational relative income or occupational mobility. The interesting fact is that people who experienced downward mobility in many cases, recognize the existence of mobility in Greece more than the other groups. For relative intergenerational income mobility, 74.05% of people who experienced downward mobility believe in social mobility, compared to 68.13% who experienced immobility and 66.15% who experienced upward mobility. For intergenerational occupational mobility, 71.08% of people who experienced downward mobility believe in social mobility, compared to 72.38% who experienced immobility and 64.97% who experienced upward mobility. The main finding from this table is that there is a correlation between experience of intergenerational mobility and beliefs about social mobility. Specifically, people who have experienced downward mobility in terms of relative income or occupational mobility are more likely to believe in social mobility, possibly due to the fact that the experience of downward mobility is more sore.

**Table 2: Intergenerational relative income mobility/occupational mobility and beliefs about social mobility (Offsprings' cohort)**

Beliefs			Beliefs		
Intergenerational income mobility	Yes	No	Intergenerational occupational mobility	Yes	No
Downward	74.05%	25.95%	Downward	71.08%	28.92%
Immobility	68.13%	31.87%	Immobility	72.38%	27.62%
Upward	66.15%	33.85%	Upward	64.97%	35.03%

Opposite to the previous findings, the recent fluctuations in their salaries affect the participants' perceptions regarding mobility. People who experienced income increases or their income was not affected, tend to declare that they believe in opportunities for social mobility in Greece, compared to the people who experienced a decline in their income. The intragenerational mobility is of as much importance as intergenerational mobility if we want to have the whole picture of mobility in one country. Absolute changes in their incomes and psychological factors can affect the perceptions of people. Table 3 presents the experience of intragenerational income mobility during the crisis and beliefs about social mobility in both generations. This question reveals that there is a correlation between recent changes in income (linked to the concept of absolute income mobility) and beliefs about social mobility. Comparing the results of the two questions, it is noticed people are more optimistic about the social mobility in Greece when they have experience upward mobility based on their actual information that they have regarding their salaries whereas people who have experienced downward changes compared to their parents are also more likely to recognize social mobility. The overall belief in social mobility is quite similar to all aspects of mobility (hypothesis a).

**Table 3: Recent changes in their income during the crisis and beliefs about social mobility**

	Parents' Cohort		Children's Cohort	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Increased	82.86%	17.14%	72.09%	27.91%
Remained more or less the same	68.06%	31.94%	68.42%	31.58%
Decreased	65.13%	34.87%	63.53%	36.47%

### 5.2 Views on fairness

**T**able 4 presents the results of the question that examines the barriers and key obstacles to social mobility among two generations. We listed a number of potential barriers to social mobility and participants identified the most significant barrier. Participants from both generations state that the most significant barrier to social mobility in Greece is the transition from education to the labour force, transitions from school to work (lifelong learning) with 33.2% of the parents' cohort and 33.5% of the children's cohort. The second obstacle is the social networks of the family. The previous generation believes that income inequalities created difficulties in changes in social status. On the other hand, the younger generation identifies the obstacles that the labour market creates in order to have access to specific occupations. The latter barrier to social mobility is quite significant for both groups with 12.9% and 16% respectively. These data provide insight on the perception of the barriers to social mobility among different groups and can be useful for policymakers and researchers to understand the public opinion and take actions accordingly. The similar answers between the two generations highlight the parental effect on the offspring's opinions.

**Table 4: Barriers and key obstacles to social mobility**

	Parents' cohort	Children's cohort
Early childhood education (lack of ECE, high cost)	0.7%	0.2%
Schools system (early tracking, ability grouping)	6.6%	7.4%
Financial barriers to complete education (enrolment fees, cost shifting to parents, etc)	7.3%	5.2%
Transitions from school to work	33.2%	33.5%
Labour market (difficulty to access to certain occupations)	12.9%	16%
Social inequalities (social networks)	19.8%	17.2%
Income inequalities	16.3%	13.8%
Health inequalities	0.2%	0%
Regional differences	0.2%	1.7%
Discrimination (race, religion,gender)	1%	3.4%
Other	1.7%	1.5%

Subsequently the survey respondents were asked: "Which are the main reasons identified as the most important for a promotion/to earn more in professional life?" in order to identify cognitive and non-cognitive skills which are important for upward mobility and adding them in educational procedure. We divided the answers of two subgroups based on their optimism regarding the existence of social mobility in Greece. Table 5 presents the results of the previous question. The most significant reason for both cohorts independently of the perceptions regarding social mobility is "multi-tasking and planning" with 18.9% of the parents' cohort and 25% of the children's cohort who believe that there are chances of social mobility in Greece. Other reasons that people identified are "Lifelong learning" with around 12% of the parents' cohort and around 13% of the children's cohort and experience. It can also be seen that "Want to work more hours" is considered a significant reason by a considerable percentage of the parents' cohort (17.6% for pessimistic people regarding social mobility) but less by the children's cohort (6.6% and 4.7% respectively). "Attendance of an education program/further vocational training" is considered a way to experience better results in your job by a relatively small percentage of both groups (11.5% of the parents' cohort and around 10% of the children's cohort). Both generations also recognized the importance of professional experience. The outcomes obtained from the tables 4 and 5 showcase results that are incongruent with the predictions set forth in hypothesis (b), prompting a minor difference among the generations regarding the factors of social mobility.

**Table 5: Cognitive and non-cognitive skills which are important for upward mobility**

	Parents		Children	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Attendance of an education program/further vocational training	11.8%	11.4%	8.4%	11.7%
Want to work more hours	12.1%	17.6%	6.6%	4.7%
Time management	6.8%	4.6%	5.6%	6.2%
Teamwork and leadership skills	14.3%	9.2%	16.7%	16.4%
Self-awareness to self-control	2.8%	3%	3.1%	5.5%
Multi-tasking and planning,	18.9%	17.6%	25%	21%
Lifelong learning	12.5%	11.4%	13.2%	12.5%
Intergenerational transmission of skills	3.9%	5.3%	4.2%	0%
Experience	13.6%	12.2%	12.2	11.7%
Other reasons	3.2%	7.6%	4.9%	10.2%

### 5.3 Evaluating different dimensions intergenerational mobility

Chetty, et al (2014) pointed out the significance of relative mobility, the position of the offspring in social stratification compared to the ranking of their parents in their own generation distribution (intergenerational mobility) or the changes in individuals' positions relative to their cohort (intragenerational mobility). Absolute movements indicate the fraction of people with higher/lower income or status between two time periods (Berman, 2022). Absolute mobility ignores the moves across the social hierarchy paying attention only to the absolute changes. In

order to test the preferences of absolute and relative intragenerational mobility (relative positional concerns) we asked the two generations the next questions:

There are 2 societies (Alphaland and Betaland). We suppose that the prices of goods are similar to current prices and the purchasing power of money is the same. Pick the one where you would prefer to live.

*Question C1*

Alphaland: your current monthly income is 1000€ while the other citizen earn 500€

Betaland: your current monthly income is 2000€ while the other citizen earn 4000€

*Question C2* Would you prefer the same for your children?

*Question C3*

Alphaland: You have a bachelor and the other have completed high school

Betaland: You have a postgraduate degree while the others have a PhD

*Question C4* Would you prefer the same for your children?

The idea regarding these questions derives from previous research (Solnick & Hemenway, 1998). Following it, we adjust the questions to the reality of Greece in terms of income and qualifications. Participants with children answered questions C2 and C4. For this reason, the rate of responses is lower for the offspring cohort (last column in Table 6). The vast majority in all cases tend to prefer absolute income mobility compared to relative income mobility. However, the percentages of relative standings are not negligible. This offers an extra value to the discussion of intragenerational income mobility in the previous chapter and reason to identify the heterogeneity of the people who choose them. In both cohorts, there is a slight decrease when responders asked for their children. The results observed in tables 10-13 are in harmony with the predictions set forth in hypothesis (c).

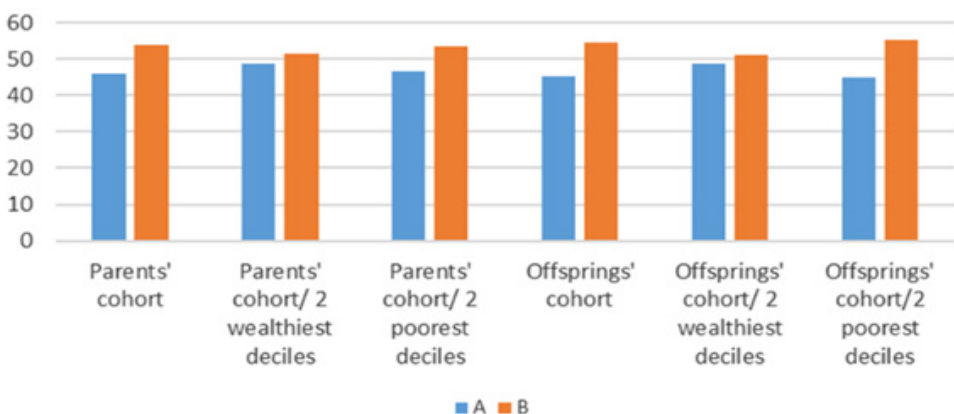
**Table 6: Results for the questions C1 and C2**

	Parents' cohort	Parents' cohort for their children	Offsprings' cohort	Offsprings' cohort for their children
Total answers	382	381	392	201
Alphaland	108	129	114	61
Betaland	274	252	278	140
Percentages				
Alphaland	28.3%	33.9%	29.1%	30.3%
Betaland	71.7%	66.1%	70.9%	69.6%

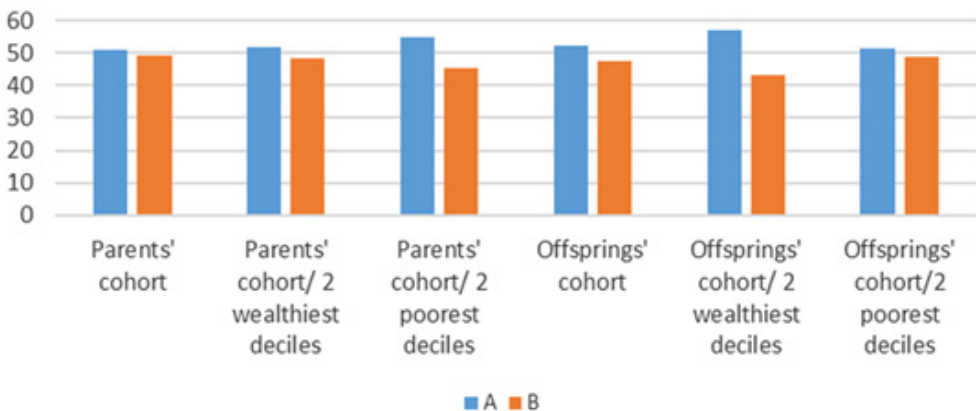
People care about studies, among other things, trying to stand out from others and gain an advantage in finding an interesting and well-paid job. Especially if they originate from lower strata of social stratification, they want to escape the destiny of their parents. While those in the upper strata how to maintain their position. It is therefore interesting to investigate how Greek adults perceive mobility in terms of absolute or relative movements as well as their preferences about themselves and their children. Furthermore, what they are willing to study for strengthening their possibilities about upward mobility.

Figures 1 and 2 presents the results of questions C3 and C4. The first answer is considered as a preference for relative mobility (individual has better qualification than others but lower than his endowment of the second option). The second choice is considered as a preference for absolute educational mobility (higher personal attainment but worse than everyone else). Both generations marginally prefer absolute achievements. This trend is stable among the poorest and wealthiest strata but it is interesting that the population is split almost equally between the two options (Figure 1). This is a shred of evidence that both absolute and relative positions in society are appreciated.

**Figure 1: Percentages of answers in question C3**  
**Relative or absolute mobility in education about**  
**themselves**



**Figure 2: Percentages of answers in question C4**  
**Relative or absolute mobility in education about**  
**their children**



Survey also suggest that Greek people may change their views when they are asked about their children. A reversal from absolute to relative mobility can be noticed. Controlling for income and generation the pattern remains the same (Figure 2). However, the preference for relative mobility is marginal as the corresponding for absolute in the previous question. The percentages slightly overcome 50%. This preference also worked as a confirmation of the trends between the 2 types of educational mobility. It was confirmed that about half of the citizens perceive mobility as an improvement of their own educational attainments regardless of the achievements of other people. While the rest care more about their relative position having better educational outcomes compared to the majority of the population independently the level of studies. These gathered findings lend the opportunity to support a new assumption. People may prefer more absolute mobility for themselves because they already entered the labour market or have retired (the offspring cohort includes adults over 30 years old while parents' cohort consists of their older father or mother who were pensioners at the time of conducting the survey). Therefore, they enjoyed their educational choices or they are not able to change them anymore. On the contrary, concerning their children, parents feel the responsibility to provide them with a high-quality education aiming to end up better educated compared to their peers.

Similarly, variations in the responses of the role of education in social mobility exist. Participants are asked about their views and willingness to be more educated as a key determinant to enjoy upward mobility.

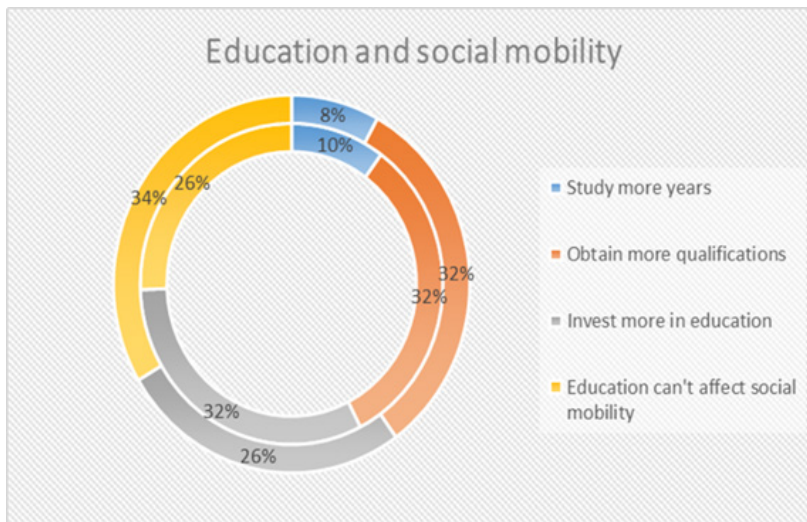
Question C5: What are you willing to do for improving your social status?

- a) Study more years
- b) Obtain more qualifications
- c) Invest more in education
- d) I don't think that educational background leads to upward mobility

Figure 3 displays their preferences. The widening circle shows the answers of the younger generation while the narrow indicates their parents' choices. Three comments are occurred by the graph. Greek people associate more social mobility with an extra qualification than additional years of studying without a higher degree (eg. a person who chooses to obtain a second bachelor rather than to continue for a postgraduate degree). The older generation favors financial investing for educational purposes more than the younger, possibly due to the culture of those decades or because they were rewarded with higher returns to education. Finally, approximately 34% of the offsprings strongly believe that education cannot promote social mobility in Greece. This percentage is the highest among the younger generation and it may reflect a pessimism proceeds from 10 years of crisis, sinking of wages and opportunities in the country. In their informal comments during the interviews, many of them highlight that everybody has a bachelor or master degree hence this educational advantage has disappeared due to educational expansion. Relative achievement and other cognitive skills matter more in the labour market than absolute achievement. The oversupply of graduates encourages employers to select employees with different standards. Better-off descendants maintain their advantages through the social network of their parents.



Figure 3: Percentages of answers in question C5



### 5.4 Perceptions and social policy preferences

Lastly, we check the correlation among the experiences of social mobility, individual perceptions of mobility and acceptance of policies. Each coefficient in the table refers to a regression of the variable in the column on the variable in the row. The entries in the table are correlation coefficients, which indicate the strength and direction of the linear relationship between the two variables in each row and column. A positive coefficient indicates a positive relationship, meaning that as one variable increases, the other variable also tends to increase. A negative coefficient indicates a negative relationship, meaning that as one variable increases, the other variable tends to decrease. The \*, \*\*, \*\*\* indicate the level of correlation. The symbols denote statistical significant at 10%, 5% and 1%.

Absolute income mobility is a binary variable equal to one if the responders prefer absolute income mobility compared to the relative. Affected by crisis negatively is a binary variable equal to one if the responders experienced a decline in their salaries during the crisis (based on their statements). Pessimism for the future is a binary variable equal to one if the responders believe that their income will decline in the future. Absolute income mobility preferences for their children is a binary variable equal to one if the responders prefer absolute income mobility compared to a relative for their children. Government cannot do much is a binary variable equal to one if the responders say that social mobility can improve through equal opportunities in education, the labour market or if the government does not need to do something about it. Absolute education mobility is a binary variable equal to one if the responders prefer absolute educational mobility compared to the relative.

Table 7 shows the results of this statistical analysis that examines the correlation between these variables for the "children's cohort." The strongest positive correlation is between "absolute mobility preferences for their children" and "absolute income mobility" for themselves (0.929) and between preferences for absolute mobility for their children and absolute education-



al mobility (0.498) meaning that as the individuals desire absolute mobility for their themselves or for their children, they also desire absolute educational mobility. A negative correlation is found between "pessimism for the future" and "absolute income mobility" (-0.086) which means as the individuals have a negative outlook for the future, they tend to prefer relative changes in their income class. The effects of crisis in individual's lives correlates with their pessimism for the future as it was expected (0.215) whereas the latter linked to preferences for relative income mobility about their children.

**Table 7: Correlation between views of mobility, policy preferences, pessimism and personal experiences (children' cohort)**

	absolute income mobility	affected by crisis negatively	pessimism for the future	absolute mobility preferences for their children	gov can not do much
absolute income mobility	-				
affected by crisis negatively	0.005	-			
pessimism for the future	-0.086*	0.215***	-		
absolute mobility preferences for their children	0.929***	-0.06	-0.122*	-	
gov cannot do much	-0.065	0.011	0.057	-0.093	-
absolute educational mobility	0.443***	-0.019	0.006	0.498***	-0.076

While in children's cohorts, the results did not reveal any linkage between the perception and expectations of the governmental policies, in parents' cohort (Table 8) it is clear that people who were affected by the crisis and are pessimistic about the future declare that they have lost their hope regarding how the policymakers can boost mobility in the country. The data derived from correlations 7 and 8 suggests a divergence from the expected outcomes in hypothesis (d), signaling a need for further investigation and consideration of specific governmental policies when the participants would be asked. A consequence is that they prefer to have an educational advantage compared to their other citizens as they have lost their trust in the governmental willingness to change the situation.

**Table 8: Correlation between views of mobility, policy preferences, pessimism and personal experiences (parents' cohort)**

	absolute income mobility	affected by crisis negatively	pessimism for the future	absolute mobility preferences for their children	gov can not do much
absolute income mobility	-				
affected by crisis negatively	-0.024	-			
pessimism for the future	-0.003	0.131***	-		
absolute mobility preferences for their children	0.730***	0.010	0.028	-	
gov cannot do much	-0.031	0.101**	0.085*	-0.036	-
absolute educational mobility	0.421***	0.035	-0.098	0.377***	-0.109 **

## 6. Discussion

**I**n our research, we tried to give the floor to the citizens and consider their views and opinions so as to include new ideas on how we can promote social mobility. As we showed at the beginning of the chapter, it is important for policymakers and governments to take into account citizens' views because beyond planning it is important to convince them to follow the policies. Starting with an optimistic finding from our survey, it was revealed that most Greeks recognize that there is social mobility in the country and this is positive evidence of what happened in the previous decades in terms of equality in opportunities in the country, as well as a good basis to set policies for the future. In the previous generation, the level of income affected to some extent the optimism about the existence of mobility. Furthermore, the personal experiences of social mobility influenced the views of participants especially the changes in their income recently.

In Greece, the main barrier to social mobility is considered by citizens to be the transition from the educational process to the labour market and it sounds logical based on the recent crisis that was experienced by the country. Other key obstacles that they should be dealt with, are social networks in which help some people to find either better jobs or well-paid job positions maintaining the social status of their families, income inequalities, and the fact that there is nepotism in certain professions. In order to experience upward mobility, Greeks believe in the so-called cognitive and non-cognitive skills. They are identified as important and we could include them in the educational system (since recognized as important by employers as well). These are multitasking, planning, teamwork, and leadership skills. While among purely work characteristics, they consider that professional experience and the willingness to work more hours can lead you higher up the social ladder.

Through questions we asked the participants to identify different aspects of social mobility, the results highlighted the great importance of absolute and relative mobility in their lives (and in

the lives of their children) through their answers. Especially in the question about absolute and relative educational mobility, the percentages were almost the same. The younger generation in particular does not recognize education as a mechanism that promotes social mobility and is less willing to invest more in their education than their parents, yet both generations recognize that more degrees can give a boost to the individual's future prospects.

Higher inequality leads to Greek population requiring redistribution policies from the state due to sense of unfairness. This sense is more intense when people believe that individuals belonging in the low incomes groups, are there due to social causes and not due to the lack of their efforts. And this belief and demand for state's intervention which can distribute the incomes more fair, is widespread (Katsimi et al, 2014). To comprehend this situation, it is essential to mention that after the dictatorship the majority of governments were centre-left oriented while the state played important role in many aspects of economic life in Greece. It owned multi-sectors until the start of financial crisis and it intervened in many others occupying numerous of public servants. It seemed to be like a socialist state which tried to follow the developments of capitalistic standards at the same time participating in all economic organizations of western world. Regarding the governmental policies through income redistribution, public educational investments, and equal opportunities in education and labour market and if they strengthen mobility, our survey indicated that recent personal experiences and pessimism about the future can negatively influence citizens' views and their willingness to follow these policies. It is therefore necessary for the state not only to set and apply these policies but to communicate them to the public and to convince the people and the agents that they are effective. There is a discussion on the impact of biased perceptions on attitudes towards redistributive policies and how positional concerns can play a role in these attitudes. It is noted that considering positional concerns is important in evaluating the effects of government fiscal policy.

Greece could follow the example of corresponding countries, especially the Scandinavian ones, which are successful both in terms of educational processes and also in high social mobility (Hilson, 2008).. The focus should move away from the mere acquisition of degrees and should be directed toward creating an education where empathy, social cohesion, and collective goals are cultivated. We can also follow the example of highly tracked educational systems such as the German one, where pupils are chosen in early stages of their school life in order to participate in Protipa and Pirimatika schools as this may diminish the relationship between innate ability and educational attainment and increase the educational outcomes for people from disadvantaged educational backgrounds.

## Notes

1. "Expectations" are anticipations of future outcomes based on present conditions and societal norms (Bazzani, 2023). "Aspirations" are the goals or ambitions individuals set for themselves, often shaped by perceived opportunities and constraints (Hong, 2021).). "Motivations" refer to the internal drivers that influence behavior toward achieving these aspirations.
2. Usually in this type of mobility it is noticed an upward mobility from occupation with lower skills to jobs with higher levels requirements and this is a signal of a country's development as well. This kind of mobility was something common in the developed countries the previous century.

3. For the purpose of this research: Perception is defined as an individual's subjective interpretation of their social environment, influenced by personal experiences and societal narratives. Opinion refers to an expressed viewpoint that reflects perceptions, attitudes, and cognitive evaluations of social phenomena. Assumption is a belief or presupposition held without explicit evidence, often underlying perceptions and opinions.
4. We estimated if the child indicated intergenerational upward or downward mobility by comparing the positions of both generation in their income distributions and the occupations based on ISCO-08.

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## Biographical notes

**Georgios Kitsoleris** is Head of Institutional Research, Accreditation and Quality Assurance at Perrotis College (Thessaloniki, Greece) and former Deputy of the Business Department at De Montfort University International College (Leicester-UK). He holds a Ph.D. in Economics from De Montfort University-UK, with a thesis on socio-economic mobility in Greece and the role of education. His research interests include intergenerational social mobility, income inequality, education policy, and labour market programs. He has published in Public Sector Economics and other peer-reviewed journals, and serves as reviewer for Public Sector Economics.

**Tuan Anh Luong** is currently an Associate Professor (Reader) at De Montfort University. He received his PhD in Economics from Princeton University. He is also the Vice Director of the Institute for Research in Economics, Environment and Data Science. His research focuses on using firm-level data to gain insights on the impacts of globalization on firms' performance, labour market and recently on the environment. He is particularly interested in the intersections between Globalization and Climate Change. His work was published in the Journal of Development Economics, Canadian Journal of Economics, Journal of Comparative Economics, the World Economy, Review of International Economics, among others.

# A panel data analysis of social cohesion and human development causality

Arsene Honore Gideon Nkama, *The University of Yaounde 2, Cameroon*

## Μια ανάλυση δεδομένων πάνελ για τη σχέση μεταξύ κοινωνικής συνοχής και ανθρώπινης ανάπτυξης

Arsene Honore Gideon Nkama, *The University of Yaounde 2, Cameroon*

### ABSTRACT

The literature on human development is mostly centered on human development core dimensions: health, education and living standard. Studies centered on non-core dimensions such as human rights, participation, and social dimensions are relatively less abundant compared to the formers. With regard to non-core dimensions, few cases consider the relationship between social cohesion and human development. For the few cases considering such aspect, none assesses the bidirectional relationship between the two concepts. This paper uses a panel data approach to investigate the relationship between social cohesion and human development in 61 countries all over the world. Two indices are used for this end: the Human Development Index (HDI) of the Human Development Report Office and an index of social cohesion from the Institute of Development Studies' database for the period 1990 to 2010. The main findings suggest that in the long run there is a positive and significant bidirectional relationship between social cohesion and human development. No relationship is found in the short run. The study recommends investment in social cohesion to build human development.

**KEY WORDS:** Panel Data Analysis, Social Cohesion, Human Development, Human Development Index (HDI), Institute of Development Studies, 1990-2010.

### ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η βιβλιογραφία για την ανθρώπινη ανάπτυξη ασχολείται κυρίως με τις βασικές διαστάσεις της ανθρώπινης ανάπτυξης: την υγεία, την εκπαίδευση και το βιοτικό επίπεδο. Οι μελέτες που επικεντρώνονται σε μη βασικές διαστάσεις όπως τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα, η συμμετοχή και οι κοινωνικές διαστάσεις είναι σχετικά λιγότερες σε σύγκριση με τις πρώτες. Όσον αφορά τις μη βασικές διαστάσεις, μόνο ορισμένες μελέτες εξετάζουν τη σχέση μεταξύ κοινωνικής συνοχής και ανθρώπινης ανάπτυξης. Για τις λίγες περιπτώσεις που εξετάζουν μια τέτοια πτυχή, καμία δεν αξιολογεί την αμφίδρομη σχέση μεταξύ των δύο εννοιών. Η παρούσα εργασία χρησιμοποιεί μια προσέγγιση δεδομένων πάνελ για να διερευνήσει τη σχέση μεταξύ κοινωνικής συνοχής και ανθρώπινης ανάπτυξης σε 61 χώρες σε όλο τον κόσμο. Δύο δείκτες χρησιμοποιούνται για τον σκοπό αυτό: ο Δείκτης Ανθρώπινης Ανάπτυξης (HDI) του Γραφείου Αναφορών Ανθρώπινης Ανάπτυξης και ένας δείκτης κοινωνικής συνοχής από τη βάση δεδομένων του Ινστιτούτου Μελετών Ανάπτυξης για την περίοδο 1990 έως 2010. Τα κύρια ευρήματα υποδηλώνουν ότι μόνο μακροπρόθεσμα διαπιστώνεται μια θετική και σημαντική αμφίδρομη σχέση μεταξύ κοινωνικής συνοχής και ανθρώπινη ανάπτυξης. Η μελέτη συνιστά επενδύσεις στην κοινωνική συνοχή για την πρόοδο της ανθρώπινης ανάπτυξης.

**ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ:** Ανάλυση Δεδομένων Πάνελ, Κοινωνική Συνοχή, Ανθρώπινη Ανάπτυξη, Δείκτης Ανθρώπινης Ανάπτυξης (HDI), Ινστιτούτου Μελετών Ανάπτυξης, 1990-2010.

# 1. Introduction

UNDP defines human development as the process of enlarging people's choices (UNDP 1990: 10). Human development is multidimensional as revealed by UNDP's different Human Development Reports (1990 to 2022). Other contributions dealing with human development dimensions include: Ranis, Stewart and Samman (2006); Max-Neef (2007); the Sarkozy Commission (2009); Alkire (2002, 2004, 2010, 2016); Nussbaum (1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2003, 2011); Palmer (2020); Jhoner, Mauricio and Sary (2020) to name only them. Human development is commonly measured by the Human Development Index (HDI) which is based on three dimensions: health, education and the living standard. This implicitly means that if opportunities are developed in these dimensions, opportunities will be developed in other remaining (long list) dimensions. We can therefore break down human development dimensions into two main groups: core dimensions and non-core dimensions. Core dimensions include health, education and living standard. Non-core dimensions include several other dimensions of which political, social and economic freedoms and rights, participation and so on.

Several works link core human development dimensions to human development outcomes. In the case of health, Barro (1996a, 1996b), Bloom and Canning (2002), Cole and Neumayer (2006), Saha (2013), Alvi and Alther Maqsood (2014)) highlight the effect of health on productivity. Behrman and Lavy (1994), Behrman (1996), Alderman and others (1997; 2001), Glewwe, Jacoby, and King (2001), Alderman, Hoddinott and Kinsey (2003), Glewwe and Miguel (2008), the World Bank (2011) and Frankenberg and Duncan (2017) links the determinants of education to human development outcomes through health outcomes. The above-mentioned works underline that quality health positively affects human development through different channels.

With regards to education, it is mentioned that education can affect human development through its effects on earning as in Mincer (1974), Becker (1962), Griliches (1977), Card (1994 and 1999), Krueger and Lindahl (2000), Tamborini, Kim and Sakamoto (2015), Heckman, Humphries and Veramendi (2016). Education also affects human development through its effects on health as in Albert and Davia (2011), Fonseca and Zheng (2011), and Huang (2015) to name only some.

Income is not a direct measure of capabilities. Contrary to health and education, it is only an input into capabilities. In this regard, Sen (1985, 1999), Anand and Sen (2000), Klugman et al. (2011), and Zambrano (2011) can be used as illustrations. At macro level, Ramirez et al. (1998), Ranis et al. (2000), Ranis and Stewart (2001) and Ranis (2004) consider the impact of income on human development through the composition of GDP expenditure or household propensity to expend their income. GDP accelerations and decelerations also affect human development as in Ferreira and Schady (2008), Ravallion (2008), Almudena and Lopez- Calva (2009), Conceição et al. (2009) to consider only them.

With regards to non-core dimensions, the frequency of human development dimensions used in Human Development Reports between 1990 and 2017 suggests that freedoms and rights are the second most considered dimensions in the evaluation of human development with 52% appearance in these reports<sup>1</sup>. This is also confirmed by the abundant literature dealing with human rights and human development. In this regard, Birdsall (2014), Marks (2022), Rodonaia (2022) and Bayraktar (2022) can serve as illustration among a myriad of contributions. Freedoms and rights are followed by participation (41%) and sustainability (19%). The frequency of appearance of social related dimensions in Human Development Reports only represents 10% between 1990 and 2017. This relative negligence of social related dimensions is also observed in the



literature which records mere works on the relationships between social related dimensions and human development as in Razmi, Salimatar and Bazzazan (2013) and Rauf and Chaudhary (undated). Last, but not the least, the literature suggests that only one way relationship has so far been considered in the analysis of human development: the movement from human development dimensions to human development outcomes. By considering the two-way relationship between social cohesion and human development, this study aims to cover this gap.

The main objective of this paper is to investigate the bidirectional relationship between social cohesion and human development. To achieve this objective, section two is a brief literature review on the relationship between the two concepts. Section three presents the theoretical specification of the model and data used. The empirical specification of the model and the main findings are discussed in section four. In section five, the last section, we discuss policy recommendations.

## 2. Brief Literature Review of the Effect of Social Cohesion on Human Development

**T**hough it is recognised that social cohesion is a multidimensional concept, there is significant confusion regarding its definition and measurement. Jenson (1998), Bernard (1999), Duhaime et al. (2004), Chan et al. (2006), Berger-Schmitt (2002), Noll (2002), Rajulton et al. (2007), Whelan and Maître (2005), Dickes et al. (2010) can serve as illustrations. The concept is often used as synonymus to social capital. This paper does not intend to define and measure social coehion. It considers that social cohesion is concerned with higher level of interpersonal trust, that social cohesion deals with trust in institutions and legitimacy of the government institutions. In this regard, social cohesion is an important basis to define national development goals and tackle development challenges. By doing so, social cohesion is a good instrument to human development. Few authors have studied the relationship between social cohesion and huuman development. The available burgeon literature is rooted in Bottoni (2018 and 2024), Seyoum (2020), Diori HI and NaRanong (2022), Lengfelder (2023).

The main aim of Bottoni (2024) is to empirically assess the direct effect of social cohesion on quality of life controlling for country's wealth, economic inequality and other factors considered country-level capabilities. Measure social cohesion using Bottoni's model (2018). The method estimates a multilevel regression model in multiple steps Findings suggest that cohesion exerts a positive effect on subjective wellbeing. Meaning that higher levels of social cohesion enhance quality of life. In this regard, cohesive countries tend to create positive aggregate conditions as underlined in (Bottoni, 2018). These conditions in turn positively affect individuals' quality of life. Cohesion can therefore be regarded as an aggregate country-level capability (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1985) that helps individuals to turn available resources into well-being. Bottoni (2018) provide a theoretical approach of social cohesion which takes into account the multidimensionality and the multilevel structure of the concept. He provides an operational definition of social cohesion and empirically testes that the social cohesion is a multidimensional concept that involves seven sub-dimensions: interpersonal trust, density of social relations, social support, the willingness to accept people from different countries (openness), civic engagement (participation), legitimacy of institutions and institutional trust.



The impact of social cohesion on human development is one of the main purposes of Seyoum (2020). This analysis shows that social cohesion has both direct and indirect effects on human development. The indirect effect is captured through state legitimacy. This study uses the state fragility index as social cohesion indicator. The fragility index assesses the vulnerability of states to collapse.

Diori HI and NaRanong (2022) use a panel data analysis of 35 countries between 1995 to 2019 to determine the effect of multiparty democracy, social cohesion, and their interaction on human development. The study is based on fixed-effects and system generalized methods of moments. Results suggest that multiparty democracy, social cohesion, and their interaction positively affect human development in the long-term.

Lengfelder (2023) analyses data on social cohesion and mental disorders throughout the Asian region. She concludes that social cohesion is a good predictor of mental health. Strengthening social cohesion is an opportunity to improve mental health and promote human development in Bhutan and even beyond.

### 3. Theoretical Model and Data

#### 3.1 Theoretical Model

If social cohesion is considered as an investment in human development, an increase in social cohesion must ultimately lead to higher human development achievements. In the other way, if human development is considered as an investment in social cohesion, an increase in human development would lead to higher social cohesion outcomes.

Let us adopt a two variable model which hypothesises that human development is a function of social cohesion.

$$HDI_{it} = f(SCI_{it}) \quad (1)$$

where  $HDI_{it}$  is the Human Development Index of country  $i$  at period  $t$  and  $SCI_{it}$  is the social cohesion index of country  $i$  at period  $t$ .

The linear specification of the model takes the following form:

$$HDI_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta_{it} SCI_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

Where  $\alpha_i$  is the individual effect of cross-section  $i$  (the cross-section specific fixed effect), and  $\beta_{it}$  is the regression coefficient of  $i$  at period  $t$ .  $\varepsilon_{it}$  is the term error of cross-section  $i$  at  $t$ .

HDI data are from the Human Development Report Office. These data are available on an annual basis. SCIs are still to be widely developed. However, spare initiatives exist. This is the case of the Indices of Social Development (ISD)<sup>2</sup> which produces data on civic activism, intergroup cohesion (social cohesion), clubs and associations, interpersonal safety and trust, gender equality and minority inclusion. The sixth dimension, is ignored because fewer countries present data on this dimension.

## 3.2 Data

**I**SD produced data on social cohesion components over the period from 1990 to 2015. However, only data from 1990 to 2010 are comparable because of methodological change. These data are on a five-year basis. We are therefore forced to use five-year data to run our analysis with a smaller time-series observation ( $T = 5$ ). Our sample includes 14 Sub-Saharan Africa countries, 5 Middle East and Nord Africa (MENA) countries, 12 Asia Pacific countries, 17 countries from the Americas and 13 European countries. Descriptive statistics are summarized in table 2.

**Table 2: Summary statistics**

	countries	Indices	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Africa	14	SCI	0.61	0.62	0.53	0.58	0.67
		HDI	0.43	0.43	0.44	0.47	0.51
MENA	5	SCI	0.57	0.54	0.47	0.53	0.64
		HDI	0.65	0.69	0.72	0.75	0.78
Europe	13	SCI	0.65	0.65	0.55	0.61	0.72
		HDI	0.74	0.77	0.79	0.82	0.85
Asia Pacific	12	SCI	0.59	0.62	0.54	0.56	0.67
		HDI	0.61	0.64	0.68	0.71	0.74
Americas	17	SCI	0.58	0.61	0.52	0.58	0.69
		HDI	0.62	0.65	0.68	0.70	0.73

**Sources:** computed using data from ISD and HDRO (UNDP) 2018.

A smaller time-series observation is not appropriate for cointegration analysis. However, though a large number of time series observations improves the quality of the analysis, it is argued that the length of the sample time span is more important than the number of observations within a fixed time span (Shiller and Perron 1985; Hakkio and Rush 1991). In our case, the time span is 20 years, which can be used to capture long term causality. Before using our data in the model, we need to run specific tests. One of these tests, the unit root tests, prevents from running spurious regressions.

## 4. Empirical Model and Findings

### 4.1 Preliminary Tests

#### 4.1.1 Panel Unit Root Tests

**I**f one runs regression with two non-stationary variables, he may have a spurious or non-sense regression. In a long run estimation analysis, stationary variables are important in order to avoid spurious regression. For this reason, we test the two variables for unit root using a 5% significance level.

### i) Social Cohesion

We first graph SCI variable for all 61 cross-sections (annex 1). The graphical observation underlines that in all cross-sections, data is not around zero, meaning that there is an intercept. Also, several cross-sections present a trend in their data though this trend is not very clear for all cross-sections. For these reasons, we make estimation at level assuming individual intercepts and trend. Eviews provides results for several tests: Levin, Lin & Chu (LL), Breitung t-statistic (BT), Im, Pesaran and Shin W-statistic (Im and PP), Augmented Dickey Fuller - Fisher Chi-square (ADF), and PP - Fisher Chi-square test (PP). All these tests (annex 2) suggest a unit root. We therefore conclude that SCI series has unit root. At first differences, all tests reject a unit root if one assumes no individual effects and no trend (annex 3). Because of limited number of time series, we could not assume individual intercept and trend. Also, after first differenced, data are around zero, meaning that there is no intercept. We can conclude that SCI is stationary at first differenced, rather SCI is I(1).

### ii) Human Development

We also start by graphing the HDI variable for all cross-sections (annex 4). The graphic outlines the existence of a trend in HDI. Also, all values are far from zero. For this reason, we assume individual intercept and trend in unit root test at level. At this step, we have mixed results. BT and ADF cannot reject unit root while LL and C, Im, and PP reject unit root (annex 5). We therefore run the Hadri test (annex 6) which rejects stationarity, meaning that there is unit root. From the analysis above, because three tests out of five suggest unit root, we can accept that HDI has unit root. At first differences, all test results suggest no unit root (annex 7), meaning that HDI is I(1).

Summing up, both SCI (hereby proxied by the social cohesion index) and HDI are integrated of the same order. More specifically both SCI and HDI are I(1), meaning that we can run a cointegration test.

#### 4.1.2 Cointegration Test

We run cointegration test to check whether SCI and HDI are cointegrated. Eviews proposes several methods. The Pedroni residual cointegration test suggests that there is cointegration (annex 8). In fact, 8 of the 11 statistics suggest cointegration while three suggest no cointegration. The Kao test (annex 9) also suggests cointegration. We therefore conclude that SCI and HDI are cointegrated, meaning that we can run a panel Vector Error Correction Model (VECM).

### 4.2 Panel VECM

**B**ecause we found cointegration, we assess causality based on the Engle-Granger (1987) causality method. We use a panel vector error correction model (VECM) which consists of two main steps. In the first step, we specify the cointegration relationship to assess the long term bidirectional movement between SCI and HDI. We regress this relationship using the following equation.

$$HDI_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \delta_{it} + \beta_1 SCI_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (3)$$

In equation (3.7),  $\alpha_i$  is the country specific intercept,  $\delta_{it}$  is the country specific time trend,  $\beta_1$  is the regression coefficient (the influence of SCI on HDI).  $\varepsilon_{it}$  is the error term.

In the second step, we estimate the residuals of equation (3.7).

$$\varepsilon_{it} = HDI_{i,t} - (a_i + \delta_{it} + \beta_i SCI_{it}) \quad (4)$$

These residuals are used as lagged regressors (the error correction terms) in the final panel VECMs. To test for causality between SCI and HDI, we need to estimate a model with growth in HDI as the dependent variable and a model with growth in SCI as the dependent variable. Estimation models are:

Model A: model with growth in HDI

$$\Delta HDI_{it} = a_{ait} + \gamma_{ait} ECT_{i,t-1} + \sum_p \lambda_{ai} \Delta HDI_{i,t-p} + \sum_p \beta_{ai} \Delta SCI_{i,t-p} + u_{it} \quad (5)$$

Model B: model with growth in SCI

$$\Delta SCI_{it} = a_{bit} + \gamma_{bit} ECT_{i,t-1} + \sum_p \lambda_{bi} \Delta SCI_{i,t-p} + \sum_p \beta_{bi} \Delta HDI_{i,t-p} + u_{it} \quad (6)$$

Where the operator  $\Delta$  refers to first differences. Subscribes a and b respectively refer to model A and model B. Subscribe p denotes the lag length,  $\lambda_i$  is the auto regression coefficient,  $\beta_i$  is the regression coefficient. *ECT* refers to error correction term.

For the empirical specification of the model, we need to indicate the optimal number of lags before proceeding to model estimation.

### 4.3 Lag Length Selection

The empirical VECM necessitates to determine the optimum number of lags. The optimum lags length (p) ensures that the residuals empirically follow a white noise process. The adequate lag length can be determined using e-views five criterion: the sequential modified LR test statistics (LR), the Final Predictor Error test (FPE), the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) statistics, the Schwarz Bayesian Information Criterion (SBC), and the Hannan-Quinn (HQ) Information Criterion. For these criteria, the guidance principle is: the lower the value, the better the model. In our model, because of limited time series, we include a maximum lag length of 2 lags. According to results (annex 10) LR, FPE, AIC and HQ suggest an optimal number of 2 lags. We can choose two lags because most of the tests accept two lags. More importantly, Khim and Liew (2004) found that AIC and FPE are superior than other criteria under study in case of small sample (60 observations and below) as they minimize the chance of under estimation while maximizing the chance of recovering the true lag length. Our sample is made of 61 cross- sections, not far different from 60. We therefore confirm the optimal number of 2 lags because both FPE and AIC suggest it.

### 4.4 Empirical Specification of the Model and Findings

We finally run the two models below: Model A'

$$\Delta HDI_t = c_{1a}(HDI_{t-1} - \beta_{1a} SCI_{t-1} - \varepsilon_t) + c_{2a}(HDI_{t-1}) + c_{3a}(HDI_{t-2}) + c_{4a}(SCI_{t-1}) + c_{5a}(SCI_{t-2}) + c_{6a} + \mu_t \quad (7)$$

Model B'

$$\Delta SCI_t = c_{1b}(SCI_{t-1} - \beta_1 HDI_{t-1} - \varepsilon_t) + c_{2b}(SCI_{t-1}) + c_{3b}(SCI_{t-2}) + c_{4b}(HDI_{t-1}) + c_{5b}(HDI_{t-2}) + c_{6b} + u_t \quad (8)$$

Where  $c_{1a}$  and  $c_{1b}$  are error correction coefficients of model A' and B' respectively.  $c_{2a}$  and  $c_{2b}$  are lag1 autoregressive coefficients of HDI and SCI respectively.  $c_{3a}$  and  $c_{3b}$  are lag2 autoregressive coefficients of HDI and SCI respectively.  $c_{4a}$  and  $c_{5a}$  are regression coefficients of lagged SCI.  $c_{5a}$  and  $c_{5b}$  are regression coefficients of lagged HDI.  $\mu_t$  and  $u_t$  are error terms.

Using HDI as dependent variable, results suggest that the error correction coefficient (-0.037) is negative and significant at 1% (annex 11), meaning that there is a long term causality running from SCI (proxied by social cohesion) to HDI. Analysis suggests that there would be a speed of adjustment of 3.7% every five years to long term equilibrium. The speed of adjustment is low.

We also test short run causality using the Wald test (annex 12). This model tests whether  $c(4a)$  and  $c(5a)$  are zero (null hypothesis) or not. As P value is larger than 5%, we cannot reject the null hypothesis, meaning that  $c(4a)$  and  $c(5a)$  are both zero, rather there is no short run causality running from SCI to HDI.

Using SCI as independent variable, findings (annex 13) suggest that the error correction coefficient (-0.030) is negative and significant at 5%, meaning that there is a long run causality running from HDI to SCI. There would be a speed of adjustment of 3% every five years to long run equilibrium. This speed is also low. We also test short run causality using the Wald test. The model tests whether  $c(4b)$  and  $c(5b)$  are zero (null hypothesis) or not. As P value is larger than 5% (annex 3.14), we cannot reject the null hypothesis, meaning that  $C(4b)$  and  $c(5b)$  are both zero, rather there is no short run causality running from SCI to HDI.

The diagnostic checking of the model underlines an  $R^2 = 0.42$ , which is low. Low  $R^2$  are generally found in cross-section analyses. The statistic and the P-value are significant at 5% (annex 13). Residual/serial correlation check suggests that the Jacque-Berra Statistic probability is greater than 5% (annex 15), meaning that there is no serial correlation with residuals, which is good for the model. Summing up, the model suffers from low  $R^2$  which is common to cross-section analyses. Also, more importantly, data availability forces us to limit the sample to a very limited number of observations within the time span from 1990 to 2010. This is the weakness of the study.

To conclude, panel VECM results suggest that there is bidirectional long run causality between social cohesion proxied by the social cohesion index and human development proxied by HDI. As a consequence, investment in social cohesion is good for human development improvement. The long run causality between the two variables can be understood in that social cohesion can be seen as an instrument of capabilities. For this reason, it takes time to translate to people real capabilities and functionings. This explains why no short run causality between the two variables is found.

## 6. Conclusion

The analysis is an investigation of the relationships between social cohesion and human development. Based on a panel of 61 countries for the period between 1990 to 2010, the study reveals a positive and significant bidirectional long term relationship between the two concepts. In fact, panel data analysis suggests that both social cohesion and human development positively affect each other in the long run. No effect is found in the short run. For this reason, social cohesion should be considered as a core human development dimension beside health, education and income.

As a consequence of our findings, laying emphasis on social cohesion in policies aiming at improving human development would lead to better development outcomes. Improving the health status of populations should no longer be limited to concentrating on individuals and ignoring individuals' interrelationships. Improving individuals' educational attainment should not ignore the quality of people interrelationships (parents and children, parents and teachers, teachers among themselves, parents among themselves and so on). Policies oriented towards improvement of individuals and households' incomes should no more be limited to natural capital, physical capital and human capital. They should be expanded to social cohesion, a key component of social capital. For this reason, important investments in building social cohesion are necessary in order to support sustained wellbeing as it has been the case for natural capital, physical capital, and human capital.

## Notes

1. The frequency of apparition of core dimensions in Human Development Reports is 100%.
2. (URL: <http://www.IndSocDev.org/>)

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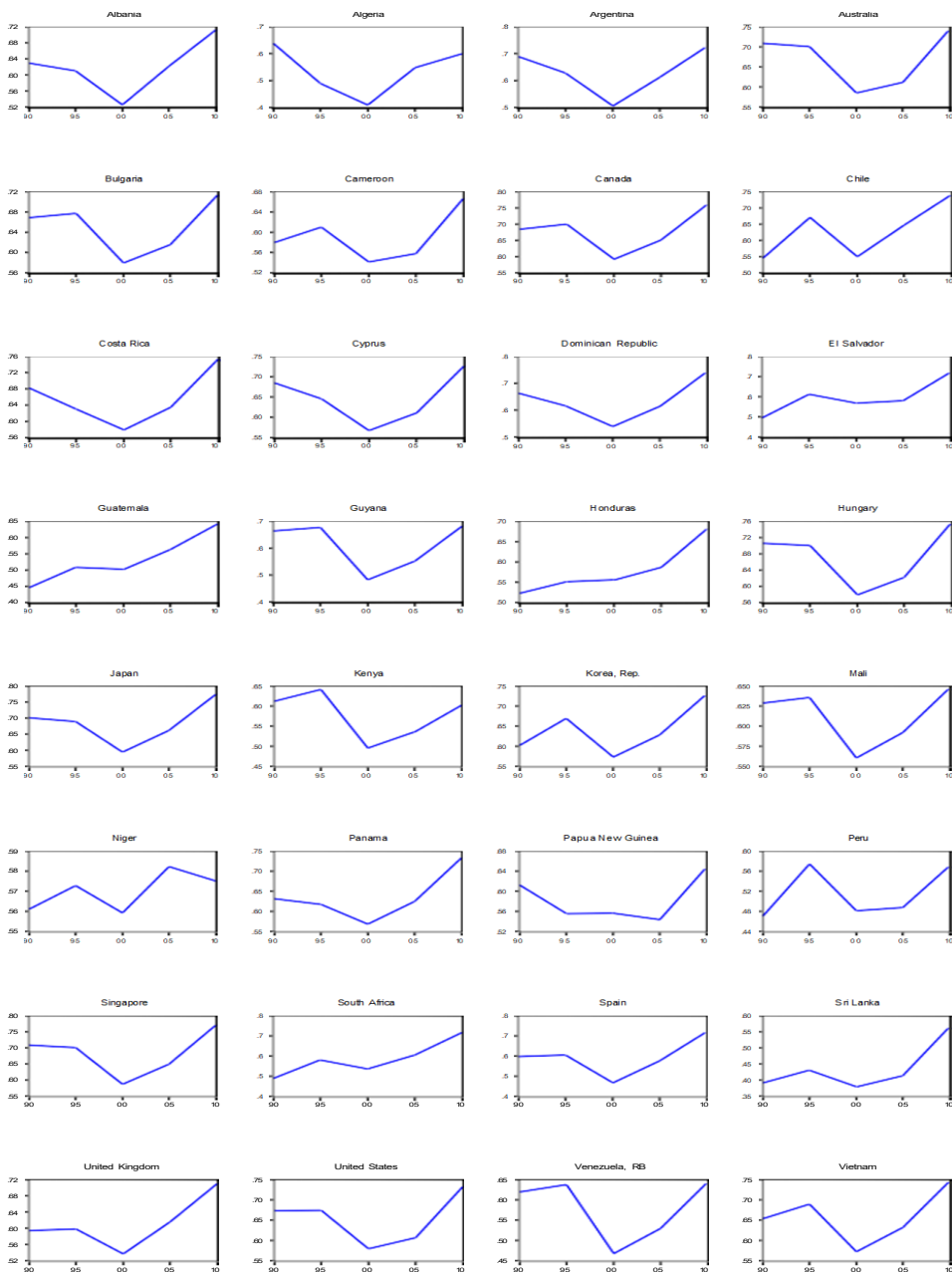
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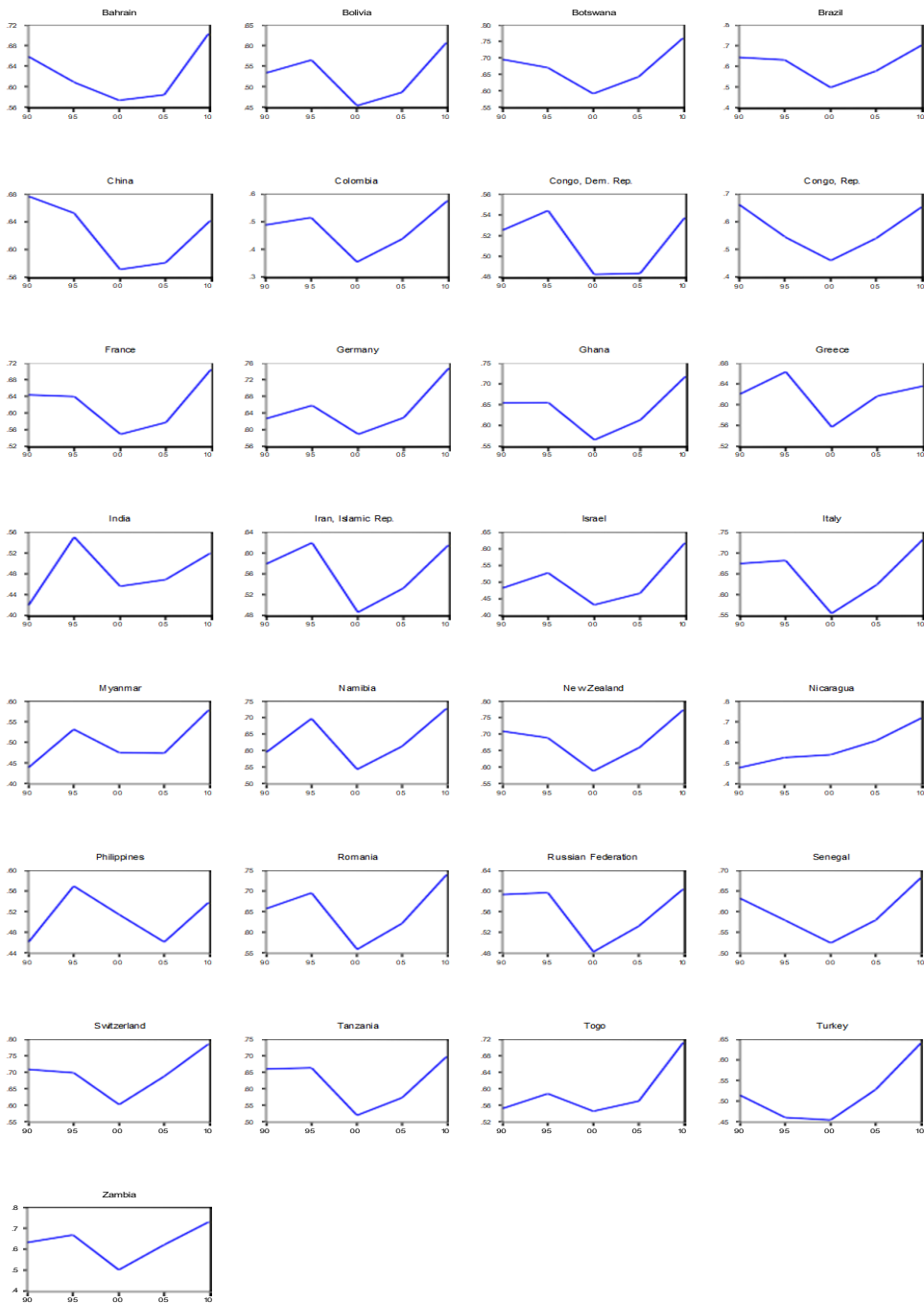
## Biographical Note

**Arsene Honore Gideon Nkama** is Associate Professor in The University of Yaounde 2, Cameroon. He teaches Microeconomics and transport economics (Post graduate level) and Industrial economics (undergraduate level). He has worked for UNDP and World Bank (E-mail: [ahgnkama@yahoo.com](mailto:ahgnkama@yahoo.com))

## Annexes

### Annex.1: Trends in Social Cohesion in Selected Countries





Source: ISD database

**Annex.2: Panel unit root test: Summary: SCI**

Panel unit root test: Summary				
Series: SCI				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:23				
Sample: 1990 2010				
Exogenous variables: Individual effects, individual linear trends				
Automatic selection of maximum lags				
Automatic lag length selection based on SIC: 0				
Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection and Bartlett kernel				
Balanced observations for each test				
Method	Statistic	Prob.**	Cross-sections	Obs
Null: Unit root (assumes common unit root process)				
Levin, Lin & Chu t*	7.08193	1.0000	61	244
Breitung t-stat	6.77265	1.0000	61	183
Null: Unit root (assumes individual unit root process)				
Im, Pesaran and Shin W-stat	3.46261	0.9997	61	244
ADF - Fisher Chi-square	26.1246	1.0000	61	244
PP - Fisher Chi-square	27.0099	1.0000	61	244

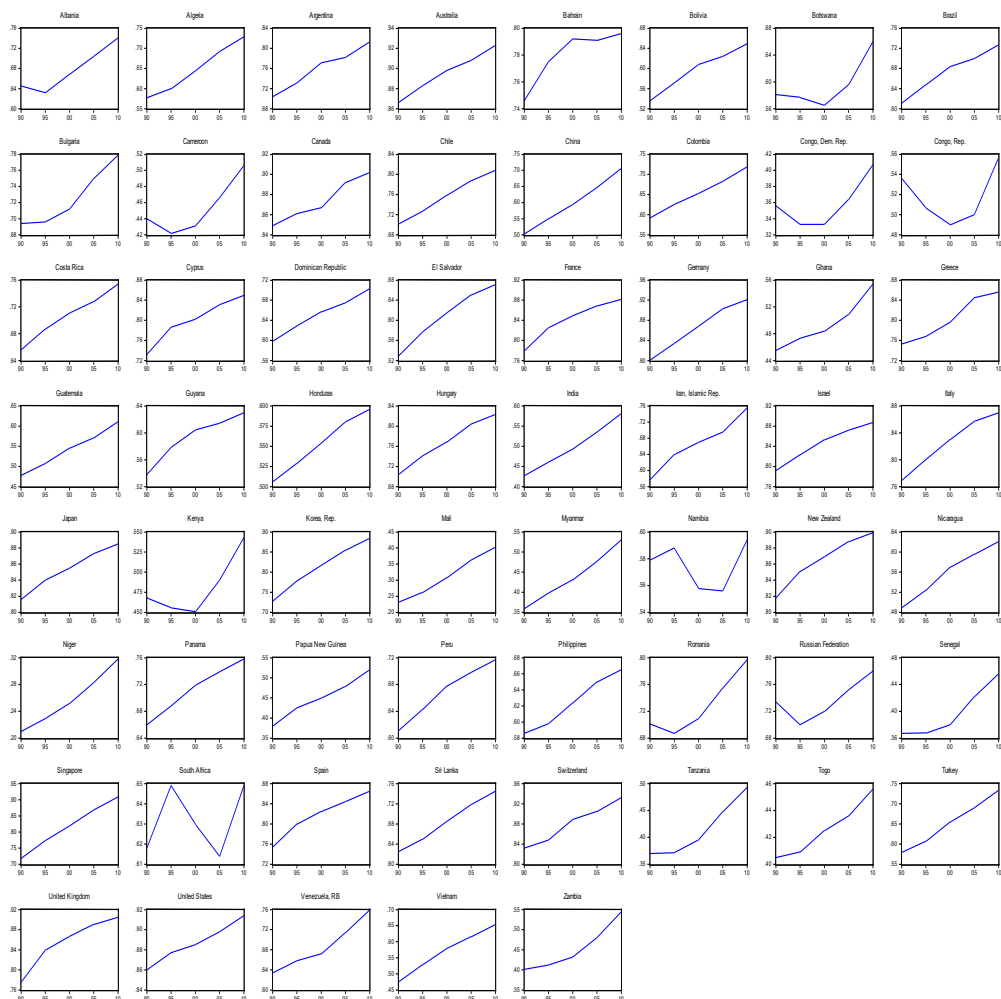
\*\* Probabilities for Fisher tests are computed using an asymptotic Chi -square distribution. All other tests assume asymptotic normality.

**Annex 3: Panel unit root test: Summary D(SCI)**

Panel unit root test: Summary				
Series: D(SCI)				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:25				
Sample: 1990 2010				
Exogenous variables: None				
Automatic selection of maximum lags				
Automatic lag length selection based on SIC: 0				
Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection and Bartlett kernel				
Balanced observations for each test				
Method	Statistic	Prob.**	Cross- sections	Obs
Null: Unit root (assumes common unit root process)				
Levin, Lin & Chu t*	-11.6980	0.0000	61	183
Null: Unit root (assumes individual unit root process)				
ADF - Fisher Chi-square	219.575	0.0000	61	183
PP - Fisher Chi-square	222.994	0.0000	61	183

\*\* Probabilities for Fisher tests are computed using an asymptotic Chi -square distribution. All other tests assume asymptotic normality.

Annex 4: Trends in Human Development in Selected Countries



Source: HDRO database

**Annex 5: Panel unit root test: Summary: HDI**

Panel unit root test: Summary				
Series: HDI				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:27				
Sample: 1990 2010				
Exogenous variables: Individual effects, individual linear trends				
Automatic selection of maximum lags				
Automatic lag length selection based on SIC: 0				
Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection and Bartlett kernel				
Balanced observations for each test				
Method	Statistic	Prob.**	Cross-sections	Obs
Null: Unit root (assumes common unit root process)				
Levin, Lin & Chu t*	-23.6319	0.0000	61	244
Breitung t-stat	6.46075	1.0000	61	183
Null: Unit root (assumes individual unit root process)				
Im, Pesaran and Shin W-stat	-1.86690	0.0310	61	244
ADF - Fisher Chi-square	120.628	0.5181	61	244
PP - Fisher Chi-square	199.411	0.0000	61	244

\*\* Probabilities for Fisher tests are computed using an asymptotic Chi -square distribution. All other tests assume asymptotic normality

**Annex 6: HDI Hadri stationarity test**

Null Hypothesis: Stationarity				
Series: HDI				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 10:53				
Sample: 1990 2010				
Exogenous variables: Individual effects, individual linear trends				
Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection and Bartlett kernel				
Total (balanced) observations: 305				
Cross-sections included: 61				
Method			Statistic	Prob.**
Hadri Z-stat			79.4252	0.0000
Heteroscedastic Consistent Z-stat		76.4797	0.0000	
* Note: High autocorrelation leads to severe size distortion in Hadri test, leading to over-rejection of the null.				
** Probabilities are computed assuming asymptotic normality				
Intermediate results on HDI				
Cross- section	LM	Variance HAC	Bandwidth	Obs
Albania	0.5000	4.58E-05	4.0	5
Algeria	0.5000	7.44E-06	4.0	5

Argentina	0.5000	5.28E-06	4.0	5
Australia	0.5000	5.81E-07	4.0	5
Bahrain	0.5000	1.98E-05	4.0	5
Bolivia	0.5000	8.64E-06	4.0	5
Botswana	0.5000	0.000141	4.0	5
Brazil	0.5000	8.46E-06	4.0	5
Bulgaria	0.5000	2.67E-05	4.0	5
Cameroon	0.5000	8.49E-05	4.0	5
Canada	0.5000	2.60E-06	4.0	5
Chile	0.5000	1.66E-06	4.0	5
China	0.5000	4.49E-06	4.0	5
Colombia	0.5000	6.59E-07	4.0	5
Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.5000	0.000111	4.0	5
Congo, Rep.	0.5000	0.000165	4.0	5
Costa Rica	0.5000	2.17E-06	4.0	5
Cyprus	0.5000	1.62E-05	4.0	5
Dominican Republic	0.5000	1.96E-06	4.0	5
El Salvador	0.5000	1.36E-05	4.0	5
France	0.5000	2.04E-05	4.0	5
Germany	0.5000	4.40E-06	4.0	5
Ghana	0.5000	2.16E-05	4.0	5
Greece	0.5000	1.08E-05	4.0	5
Guatemala	0.2419	2.31E-06	2.0	5
Guyana	0.5000	1.87E-05	4.0	5
Honduras	0.5000	1.14E-06	4.0	5
Hungary	0.2048	9.07E-06	2.0	5
India	0.5000	5.28E-06	4.0	5
Iran, Islamic Rep.	0.5000	1.54E-05	4.0	5
Israel	0.5000	7.91E-06	4.0	5
Italy	0.5000	6.66E-06	4.0	5
Japan	0.4000	2.29E-06	3.0	5
Kenya	0.5000	0.000129	4.0	5
Korea, Rep.	0.5000	7.41E-06	4.0	5
Mali	0.5000	6.12E-06	4.0	5
Myanmar	0.5000	7.94E-06	4.0	5
Namibia	0.5000	5.27E-05	4.0	5
New Zealand	0.5000	7.56E-06	4.0	5
Nicaragua	0.5000	8.46E-06	4.0	5
Niger	0.5000	6.66E-06	4.0	5



Panama	0.5000	3.90E-06	4.0	5
Papua New Guinea	0.5000	3.44E-06	4.0	5
Peru	0.5000	7.68E-06	4.0	5
Philippines	0.5000	2.14E-06	4.0	5
Romania	0.5000	8.14E-05	4.0	5
Russian Federation	0.5000	8.53E-05	4.0	5
Senegal	0.5000	4.16E-05	4.0	5
Singapore	0.4000	3.17E-06	3.0	5
South Africa	0.5000	3.32E-05	4.0	5
Spain	0.5000	1.44E-05	4.0	5
Sri Lanka	0.5000	8.51E-07	4.0	5
Switzerland	0.5000	3.16E-06	4.0	5
Tanzania	0.5000	6.12E-05	4.0	5
Togo	0.2022	7.53E-06	2.0	5
Turkey	0.0773	1.62E-05	0.0	5
United Kingdom	0.5000	4.55E-05	4.0	5
United States	0.5000	5.97E-07	4.0	5
Venezuela, RB	0.5000	2.33E-05	4.0	5
Vietnam	0.5000	8.86E-06	4.0	5
Zambia	0.5000	7.51E-05	4.0	5

### Annex 7: Panel unit root test: D(HDI) Summary

Panel unit root test: Summary				
Series: D(HDI)				
Date: 04/09/29 Time: 09:28				
Sample: 1990 2010				
Exogenous variables: None				
Automatic selection of maximum lags				
Automatic lag length selection based on SIC: 0				
Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection and Bartlett kernel				
Balanced observations for each test				
Method	Statistic	Prob.**	Cross- sections	Obs
Null: Unit root (assumes common unit root process)				
Levin, Lin & Chu t*	-4.60232	0.0000	61	183
Null: Unit root (assumes individual unit root process)				
ADF - Fisher Chi-square	162.795	0.0080	61	183
PP - Fisher Chi-square	201.861	0.0000	61	183

\*\* Probabilities for Fisher tests are computed using an asymptotic Chi -square distribution. All other tests assume asymptotic normality.

### Annex 8: Pedroni Residual Cointegration Test

Pedroni Residual Cointegration Test					
Series: HDI SCI					
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:36					
Sample (adjusted): 1990 2010					
Included observations: 305 after adjustments					
Cross-sections included: 61					
Null Hypothesis: No cointegration					
Trend assumption: No deterministic intercept or trend					
Automatic lag length selection based on SIC with a max lag of 0					
Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection and Bartlett kernel					
Alternative hypothesis: common AR coeffs. (within-dimension)					
		Statistic	Prob.	Weighted Statistic	Prob.
Panel v-Statistic		-3.445335	0.9997	-4.257520	1.0000
Panel rho-Statistic		-2.652559	0.0040	-3.167330	0.0008
Panel PP-Statistic		-5.563042	0.0000	-5.982316	0.0000
Panel ADF-Statistic		-5.536369	0.0000	-5.978455	0.0000
Alternative hypothesis: individual AR coeffs. (between-dimension)					
		Statistic	Prob.		
Group rho-Statistic		3.444271	0.9997		
Group PP-Statistic		-4.341213	0.0000		
Group ADF-Statistic		-4.323369	0.0000		
Cross section specific results					
Phillips-Peron results (non-parametric)					
Cross ID	AR(1)	Variance	HAC	Bandwidth	Obs
Albania	-0.005	0.003111	0.003111	0.00	4
Algeria	0.129	0.007007	0.009846	1.00	4
Argentina	0.136	0.008645	0.008645	0.00	4
Australia	0.111	0.007562	0.007562	0.00	4
Bahrain	0.037	0.004469	0.004469	0.00	4
Bolivia	0.132	0.005267	0.005267	0.00	4
Botswana	0.168	0.000744	0.000744	0.00	4
Brazil	0.146	0.006848	0.006848	0.00	4
Bulgaria	0.175	0.002987	0.002987	0.00	4
Cameroon	-0.022	0.000955	0.000955	0.00	4
Canada	-0.058	0.005564	0.005564	0.00	4
Chile	-0.539	0.004021	0.004021	0.00	4
China	0.545	0.003538	0.005864	1.00	4

Colombia	0.064	0.012006	0.012006	0.00	4
Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.466	0.000812	0.000812	0.00	4
Congo, Rep.	0.129	0.001864	0.001864	0.00	4
Costa Rica	0.123	0.003317	0.003317	0.00	4
Cyprus	0.176	0.004632	0.004632	0.00	4
Dominican Republic	0.140	0.004251	0.004251	0.00	4
El Salvador	-0.542	0.002198	0.001809	1.00	4
France	0.126	0.006746	0.006746	0.00	4
Germany	-0.073	0.004824	0.004824	0.00	4
Ghana	0.255	0.001090	0.001090	0.00	4
Greece	0.146	0.004175	0.003342	1.00	4
Guatemala	-0.265	0.000725	0.000725	0.00	4
Guyana	0.187	0.008077	0.008077	0.00	4
Honduras	-0.316	0.001002	0.001002	0.00	4
Hungary	0.205	0.006347	0.006347	0.00	4
India	0.109	0.004149	0.004149	0.00	4
Iran, Islamic Rep.	0.297	0.005299	0.005299	0.00	4
Israel	-0.173	0.012751	0.012751	0.00	4
Italy	0.106	0.007265	0.007265	0.00	4
Japan	0.066	0.005682	0.005682	0.00	4
Kenya	0.347	0.002540	0.002540	0.00	4
Korea, Rep.	-0.040	0.004608	0.004608	0.00	4
Mali	0.620	0.001801	0.002831	1.00	4
Myanmar	0.308	0.002038	0.002038	0.00	4
Namibia	-0.496	0.001997	0.001997	0.00	4
New Zealand	0.103	0.006696	0.006696	0.00	4
Nicaragua	0.288	0.001947	0.001947	0.00	4
Niger	0.749	0.000679	0.001015	1.00	4
Panama	0.085	0.003167	0.003167	0.00	4
Papua New Guinea	0.219	0.000978	0.001473	1.00	4
Peru	-0.186	0.004368	0.004368	0.00	4
Philippines	-0.097	0.004253	0.004253	0.00	4
Romania	-0.041	0.005089	0.005089	0.00	4
Russian Federation	0.040	0.004493	0.003832	1.00	4
Senegal	0.307	0.000570	0.000782	1.00	4
Singapore	0.261	0.006254	0.006254	0.00	4
South Africa	0.436	0.003847	0.003847	0.00	4
Spain	0.054	0.013515	0.013515	0.00	4

Sri Lanka	-0.240	0.008055	0.008055	0.00	4
Switzerland	0.037	0.005957	0.005957	0.00	4
Tanzania	0.407	0.002586	0.002586	0.00	4
Togo	-0.386	0.001219	0.001219	0.00	4
Turkey	0.125	0.003573	0.003573	0.00	4
United Kingdom	0.094	0.005658	0.005658	0.00	4
United States	0.029	0.005948	0.005948	0.00	4
Venezuela, RB	0.228	0.007647	0.007647	0.00	4
Vietnam	0.287	0.003706	0.003706	0.00	4
Zambia	0.142	0.002804	0.002249	1.00	4
Augmented Dickey-Fuller results (parametric)					
Cross ID	AR(1)	Variance	Lag	Max lag	Obs
Albania	-0.005	0.003111	0	0	4
Algeria	0.129	0.007007	0	0	4
Argentina	0.136	0.008645	0	0	4
Australia	0.111	0.007562	0	0	4
Bahrain	0.037	0.004469	0	0	4
Bolivia	0.132	0.005267	0	0	4
Botswana	0.168	0.000744	0	0	4
Brazil	0.146	0.006848	0	0	4
Bulgaria	0.175	0.002987	0	0	4
Cameroon	-0.022	0.000955	0	0	4
Canada	-0.058	0.005564	0	0	4
Chile	-0.539	0.004021	0	0	4
China	0.545	0.003538	0	0	4
Colombia	0.064	0.012006	0	0	4
Congo, Dem. Rep.	0.466	0.000812	0	0	4
Congo, Rep.	0.129	0.001864	0	0	4
Costa Rica	0.123	0.003317	0	0	4
Cyprus	0.176	0.004632	0	0	4
Dominican Republic	0.140	0.004251	0	0	4
El Salvador	-0.542	0.002198	0	0	4
France	0.126	0.006746	0	0	4
Germany	-0.073	0.004824	0	0	4
Ghana	0.255	0.001090	0	0	4
Greece	0.146	0.004175	0	0	4
Guatemala	-0.265	0.000725	0	0	4
Guyana	0.187	0.008077	0	0	4

Honduras	-0.316	0.001002	0	0	4
Hungary	0.205	0.006347	0	0	4
India	0.109	0.004149	0	0	4
Iran, Islamic Rep.	0.297	0.005299	0	0	4
Israel	-0.173	0.012751	0	0	4
Italy	0.106	0.007265	0	0	4
Japan	0.066	0.005682	0	0	4
Kenya	0.347	0.002540	0	0	4
Korea, Rep.	-0.040	0.004608	0	0	4
Mali	0.620	0.001801	0	0	4
Myanmar	0.308	0.002038	0	0	4
Namibia	-0.496	0.001997	0	0	4
New Zealand	0.103	0.006696	0	0	4
Nicaragua	0.288	0.001947	0	0	4
Niger	0.749	0.000679	0	0	4
Panama	0.085	0.003167	0	0	4
Papua New Guinea	0.219	0.000978	0	0	4
Peru	-0.186	0.004368	0	0	4
Philippines	-0.097	0.004253	0	0	4
Romania	-0.041	0.005089	0	0	4
Russian Federation	0.040	0.004493	0	0	4
Senegal	0.307	0.000570	0	0	4
Singapore	0.261	0.006254	0	0	4
South Africa	0.436	0.003847	0	0	4
Spain	0.054	0.013515	0	0	4
Sri Lanka	-0.240	0.008055	0	0	4
Switzerland	0.037	0.005957	0	0	4
Tanzania	0.407	0.002586	0	0	4
Togo	-0.386	0.001219	0	0	4
Turkey	0.125	0.003573	0	0	4
United Kingdom	0.094	0.005658	0	0	4
United States	0.029	0.005948	0	0	4
Venezuela, RB	0.228	0.007647	0	0	4
Vietnam	0.287	0.003706	0	0	4
Zambia	0.142	0.002804	0	0	4

# Annex 9: Kao Cointegration test

Kao Residual Cointegration Test				
Series: HDI SCI				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:33				
Sample (adjusted): 1990 2010				
Included observations: 305 after adjustments				
Null Hypothesis: No cointegration				
Trend assumption: No deterministic trend				
Automatic lag length selection based on SIC with a max lag of 0				
Newey-West automatic bandwidth selection and Bartlett kernel				
	t-Statistic		Prob.	
ADF	-1.949323		0.0256	
Residual variance	0.000930			
HAC variance	0.001072			
Augmented Dickey-Fuller Test Equation				
Dependent Variable: D(RESID)				
Method: Least Squares				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:33				
Sample (adjusted): 1995 2010				
Included observations: 244 after adjustments				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
RESID(-1)	-0.461756	0.044679	-10.33494	0.0000
R-squared	-0.354823	Mean dependent var	0.022244	
Adjusted R-squared	-0.354823	S.D. dependent var	0.022864	
S.E. of regression	0.026613	Akaike info criterion	-4.410716	
Sum squared resid	0.172110	Schwarz criterion		-4.396383
Log likelihood	539.1073	Hannan-Quinn criter.	-4.404943	
Durbin-Watson stat	0.876421			

**Annex 10: Lag length selection**

VAR Lag Order Selection Criteria						
Endogenous variables: HDI SCI						
Exogenous variables: C						
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:43						
Sample: 1990 2010						
Included observations: 183						
Lag	LogL	LR	FPE	AIC	SC	HQ
0	267.3700	NA	0.000189	-2.900219	-2.865142	-2.886000
1	715.4889	881.5454	1.47e-06	-7.753977	-7.648748	-7.711323
2	747.8169	62.88935*	1.08e-06*	-8.063573*	-7.888191*	-7.992482*

\* indicates lag order selected by the criterion

LR: sequential modified LR test statistic (each test at 5% level)

FPE: Final prediction error

AIC: Akaike information criterion

SC: Schwarz information criterion

HQ: Hannan-Quinn information criterion

**Annex 11: Vector Error Correction Estimates**

System: Equation estimates				
Estimation Method: Least Squares				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:46				
Sample: 2005 2010				
Included observations: 122				
Total system (balanced) observations 244				
	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C(1)	-0.037133	0.007204	-5.154553	0.0000
C(2)	0.498278	0.077735	6.409943	0.0000
C(3)	-0.160320	0.066404	-2.414292	0.0165
C(4)	-0.017854	0.018315	-0.974857	0.3306
C(5)	-0.027193	0.021057	-1.291383	0.1979
C(6)	0.018817	0.002422	7.769192	0.0000
C(7)	0.054075	0.020356	2.656419	0.0084
C(8)	-0.257173	0.219658	-1.170789	0.2429
C(9)	0.009472	0.187640	0.050477	0.9598
C(10)	0.106848	0.051752	2.064614	0.0401
C(11)	-0.275452	0.059502	-4.629308	0.0000
C(12)	0.076423	0.006844	11.16670	0.0000

Determinant residual covariance	1.21E-07		
Equation: $D(HDI) = C(1) * (HDI(-1) - 0.570863232838 * SCI(-1) - 0.349455591039) + C(2) * D(HDI(-1)) + C(3) * D(HDI(-2)) + C(4) * D(SCI(-1)) + C(5) * D(SCI(-2)) + C(6)$			
Observations: 122			
R-squared	0.422902	Mean dependent var	0.029311
Adjusted R-squared	0.398027	S.D. dependent var	0.014664
S.E. of regression	0.011378	Sum squared resid	0.015016
Durbin-Watson stat	2.195397		
Equation: $D(SCI) = C(7) * (HDI(-1) - 0.570863232838 * SCI(-1) - 0.349455591039) + C(8) * D(HDI(-1)) + C(9) * D(HDI(-2)) + C(10) * D(SCI(-1)) + C(11) * D(SCI(-2)) + C(12)$			
Observations: 122			
R-squared	0.441848	Mean dependent var	0.078298
Adjusted R-squared	0.417790	S.D. dependent var	0.042135
S.E. of regression	0.032150	Sum squared resid	0.119900
Durbin-Watson stat	2.522228		

### Annex 12: Wald Coefficient Diagnostic test

Wald Test:			
Equation: $HDI=f(SCI)$			
Test Statistic	Value	df	Probability
F-statistic	0.837974	(2, 116)	0.4352
Chi-square	1.675948	2	0.4326
Null Hypothesis: $C(4)=C(5)=0$			
Null Hypothesis Summary:			
Normalized Restriction (= 0)	Value	Std. Err.	
C(4)	-0.017854	0.018315	
C(5)	-0.027193	0.021057	
Restrictions are linear in coefficients.			



**Annex 13: Vector Error Correction Estimates**

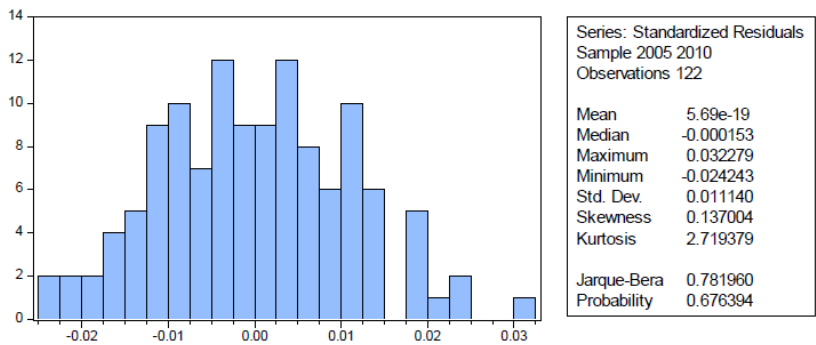
System: Equation estimates				
Estimation Method: Least Squares				
Date: 04/09/23 Time: 09:50				
Sample: 2005 2010				
Included observations: 122				
Total system (balanced) observations 244				
	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C(1)	-0.030869	0.011621	-2.656419	0.0084
C(2)	0.106848	0.051752	2.064614	0.0401
C(3)	-0.275452	0.059502	-4.629308	0.0000
C(4)	-0.257173	0.219658	-1.170789	0.2429
C(5)	0.009472	0.187640	0.050477	0.9598
C(6)	0.076423	0.006844	11.16670	0.0000
C(7)	0.021198	0.004112	5.154553	0.0000
C(8)	-0.017854	0.018315	-0.974857	0.3306
C(9)	-0.027193	0.021057	-1.291383	0.1979
C(10)	0.498278	0.077735	6.409943	0.0000
C(11)	-0.160320	0.066404	-2.414292	0.0165
C(12)	0.018817	0.002422	7.769192	0.0000
Determinant residual covariance		1.21E-07		
Equation: $D(SCI) = C(1)*(SCI(-1) - 1.75173306403*HDI(-1) + 0.612152913232) + C(2)*D(SCI(-1)) + C(3)*D(SCI(-2)) + C(4)*D(HDI(-1)) + C(5)*D(HDI(-2)) + C(6)$				
Observations: 122				
R-squared	0.441848	Mean dependent var		0.078298
Adjusted R-squared	0.417790	S.D. dependent var		0.042135
S.E. of regression	0.032150	Sum squared resid		0.119900
Durbin-Watson stat	2.522228			
Equation: $D(HDI) = C(7)*(SCI(-1) - 1.75173306403*HDI(-1) + 0.612152913232) + C(8)*D(SCI(-1)) + C(9)*D(SCI(-2)) + C(10)*D(HDI(-1)) + C(11)*D(HDI(-2)) + C(12)$				
Observations: 122				
R-squared	0.422902	Mean dependent var		0.029311
Adjusted R-squared	0.398027	S.D. dependent var		0.014664
S.E. of regression	0.011378	Sum squared resid		0.015016
Durbin-Watson stat	2.195397			

### Annex 14: Wald Coefficient Test

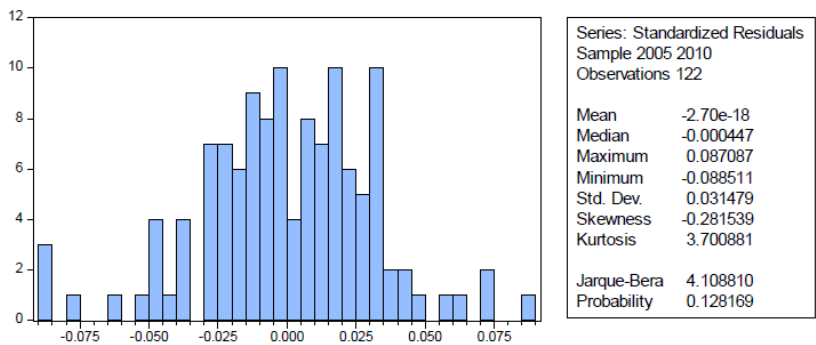
Wald Test:			
Equation: SCI=f(HDI)			
Test Statistic	Value	df	Probability
F-statistic	0.837974	(2, 116)	0.4352
Chi-square	1.675948	2	0.4326
Null Hypothesis: C(4)=C(5)=0			
Null Hypothesis Summary:			
Normalized Restriction (= 0)		Value	Std. Err.
C(4)		-0.017854	0.018315
C(5)		-0.027193	0.021057
Restrictions are linear in coefficients.			

### Annex 15: Residuals Check

Residuals check:  $HDI = f(SCI)$



$SCI = f(HDI)$





ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ  
ΔΙΟΝΙΚΟΣ

ΝΕΕΣ ΚΥΚΛΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ  
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email: [info@dionicos.gr](mailto:info@dionicos.gr), [www.dionicos.gr](http://www.dionicos.gr)

**Μαριάνθη Κοτέα,**

***Δημοτικό Δασμολόγιο & Πειραιϊκή Οικονομία (1836-1866),***

*Αθήνα, Εκδόσεις Διόνικος, 2024*

**Η** μονογραφία της Μαριάνθης Κοτέα με θέμα την ιστορία των δημοσίων οικονομικών του δήμου του Πειραιά την περίοδο 1836-1866 και τίτλο «Δημοτικό Δασμολόγιο & Πειραιϊκή Οικονομία (1836-1866)» αποτελεί μια σημαντική και χρήσιμη συμβολή στη βιβλιογραφία. Συμβολή που είναι κρίσιμη σε τουλάχιστον τρεις άξονες. Πρώτον, στην εξέταση των απαρχών της διαμόρφωσης του Δήμου του Πειραιά ως σύγχρονου πόλης. Μιας διαδικασίας που παρά τον ριζοσπαστικό της χαρακτήρα, καθώς ο σύγχρονος Πειραιάς οικοδομείται εκ του μηδενός και δεν εμφανίζει ιστορική συνέχεια, είναι τελικά αντιπροσωπευτική του ευρύτερου μετασχηματισμού των πόλεων κατά την υπό εξέταση περίοδο στον ελλαδικό χώρο. Δεύτερον, στην παρατήρηση των κοινωνικών και πολιτειακών λειτουργιών της ανερχόμενης εμπορικής αστικής τάξης στο νεαρό ελληνικό κράτος του 19ου αιώνα. Λειτουργιών που βρίσκονται σε μια διαρκή ένταση εντός της διαδικασίας μετάβασης από την παραδοσιακή στην βιομηχανική κοινωνία από τη μία μεριά, και την συντηρητική θεσμική συγκρότηση του κράτους της Οθωνικής περιόδου από την άλλη. Τρίτον, στην διερεύνηση πλευρών των δημοσίων οικονομικών της υπό εξέταση περιόδου, ειδικά δε του δημοτικού δασμολογίου ως κύριου μέσου έμμεσης φορολογίας. Δασμολογίου το οποίο καλείται να θεραπεύσει αμιγώς ταμειακές και όχι αναπτυξιακές ανάγκες, αλλά να τις θεραπεύσει χωρίς να θίξει την ανάπτυξη του Πειραιά ως πρωταγωνιστικού εμπορικού και ναυτιλιακού κέντρου της χώρας, και χωρίς να υποτάξει τον νεοσύστατο δήμο του Πειραιά στην πρωτεύουσα Αθήνα. Στο έργο της η συγγραφέας φωτίζει αυτές τις κρίσιμες πλευρές, επικεντρώνοντας με μεγάλη προσοχή στην παρουσίαση του πρωτογενούς υλικού του Ιστορικού Αρχείου του Δήμου Πειραιά. Ειδικότερα, θέτοντας το αρχειακό υλικό στα χέρια του αναγνώστη και πλαισιώνοντάς το με πλούσια στοιχεία σχετικά με την εποχή και τον τόπο που εξετάζει, η συγγραφέας συνθέτει σε μια ενιαία αφήγηση τους Δημοτικούς Νόμους, τα πρακτικά των συζητήσεων του Δημοτικού Συμβουλίου, τους προϋπολογισμούς του Δήμου, τους Πίνακες Διατιμήσεων, τους Δημοτικούς Καταλόγους, καθώς και την αλληλογραφία και τις αναφορές των υπηρεσιακών παραγόντων του Δήμου του Πειραιά κατά την περίοδο αυτή.

Η ύλη της μονογραφίας χωρίζεται σε 4 κεφάλαια και σε ισάριθμα παραρτήματα. Το πρώτο κεφάλαιο αποτελεί μια συστηματική παρουσίαση των στοιχείων του προϋπολογισμού των δήμων όπως περιγράφονται στους σχετικούς νόμους και εγκυκλίου της εποχής. Ειδικότερα, ο αναγνώστης ενημερώνεται για τις πηγές δημοτικών εσόδων και εξόδων. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, τα έσοδα διαχωρίζονται σε τακτικά και έκτακτα, όπου στα πρώτα περιλαμβάνονται η δημοτική περιουσία και τα αστυνομικά πρόστιμα, ενώ στα δεύτερα η προσωπική εργασία και άμεσοι και έμμεσοι φόροι. Αντίστοιχα, τα έξοδα διαχωρίζονται σε υποχρεωτικές και άλλες δαπάνες, όπου στις πρώτες περιλαμβάνεται η δημοτική αστυνομία, η δημοτική υπαλληλία, η δημοτική εκπαίδευση, τα αγαθοεργή ιδρύματα (νοσοκομεία, ορφανοτροφεία, γηροκομεία, εκκλησία), τα δημοτικά καταστήματα, έργα υποδομών, ενώ στις δεύτερες περιλαμβάνονται όλες οι άλλες πιθανές δαπάνες του Δήμου.

Το δεύτερο κεφάλαιο εξετάζει τους προϋπολογισμούς του Δήμου Πειραιά κατά την περίοδο 1836-1866. Η λεπτομερής παρουσίαση των εσόδων και των εξόδων του Δήμου, πέρα από την προφανή ιστορική σημασία αυτών των πληροφοριών, έχει ιδιαίτερη σημασία καθώς αναδεικνύει

με τρόπο ευδιάκριτο μία σειρά από ζητήματα. Πρώτον, την μεγάλη μέριμνα των ανθρώπων που ανέλαβαν την διοίκηση του Δήμου για την εκπαίδευση των παιδιών, ειδικά δε των κοριτσιών. Δεύτερον, την αδυναμία του Δήμου να αναλάβει αυτοτελώς από το Δήμο της Αθήνας το ζήτημα της προστασίας της υγείας των δημοτών, ζήτημα που αρχίζει να επιλύεται μόνον στο τέλος της υπό εξέταση περιόδου. Τρίτον, τη συνεχή προσπάθεια για την βελτίωση των υποδομών που σχετίζονται με το λιμάνι και την αγορά του Πειραιά. Τέταρτον, την ειδική σημασία των διαπύλιων τελών, των έμμεσων δημοτικών φόρων επί της κατανάλωσης, στο σύνολο των εσόδων του Δήμου. Τέλος, την άρνηση του Δήμου να χρησιμοποιήσει το μέτρο της προσωπικής εργασίας ως μορφή έκτακτου εσόδου. Παρατηρούμε, με άλλα λόγια, από τα στοιχεία αυτά την ανάδυση μιας πόλης με σύγχρονο αστικό χαρακτήρα, την διοίκηση της οποίας λόγω της τιμηματικής ψήφου έχουν στα χέρια τους οι πλούσιοι έμποροι και κτηματίες. Διοίκηση που προσανατολίζουν στην κατεύθυνση αφενός της ενίσχυσης του εμπορίου ειδικά, και αφετέρου του σύγχρονου πνεύματος του φιλελευθερισμού γενικά, όπως φαίνεται από την έμφαση που δίνουν στην εκπαίδευση των γυναικών. Όπως άλλωστε συμβαίνει και στα άλλα ανερχόμενα σύγχρονα αστικά κέντρα της εποχής (Ερμούπολη, Αθήνα, Πάτρα).

Το τρίτο κεφάλαιο επικεντρώνει στο ζήτημα του δημοτικού δασμολογίου. Το κεντρικό ζήτημα που αναδεικνύεται στην ενότητα αυτή αφορά την διαπάλη ανάμεσα στην Αθήνα και τον Πειραιά σχετικά με το χαρακτήρα αυτού του δασμολογίου. Η αντιπαράθεση αυτή εδράζεται αφενός στην διατύπωση του νόμου, καθώς από το νόμο διαπύλια τέλη εισπράττονταν μόνον για τα αγαθά τα οποία καταναλώνονταν εντός του Δήμου, και αφετέρου στο διαφορετικό χαρακτήρα των δύο πόλεων. Με τον Πειραιά να είναι ένας σταθμός διαμετακομιστικού εμπορίου, ενώ η Αθήνα ένας τόπος τελικής κατανάλωσης. Ειδικότερα, τα σημεία τριβής αφορούν: το ύψος του φόρου, τα φορολογούμενα είδη, την διατίμηση των ειδών αυτών, τον τρόπο είσπραξης των τελών, και την αναλογία που αυτά θα αποδίδονταν μεταξύ των δύο Δήμων. Στο σημείο αυτό εμφανίζονται οι πιο ενδιαφέρουσες δυναμικές στην μονογραφία. Η παρουσίαση του αρχαικού υλικού από την κ. Κοτέα κάνει φανερό ότι οι μεγάλοι έμποροι του Πειραιά προσπαθούσαν να στρέψουν την φορολογική πολιτική στην κατεύθυνση της απλοποίησης και ομογενοποίησης της εσωτερικής αγοράς (ειδικά εδώ της αγοράς Αθήνας και Πειραιά), ζήτημα που τους αφορούσε άμεσα και μπορούσαν να το προωθήσουν σε τοπικό επίπεδο μέσω του θεσμού της τιμηματικής ψήφου. Αντίθετα όμως το νομικό οικοδόμημα της Κεντρικής Διοίκησης, οικοδόμημα που αφορά μια επικράτεια που συγκροτείται από ένα άλλο σύνολο κοινωνικών σχέσεων, εμφανίζεται να εμποδίζει αυτήν την εξέλιξη, καθώς οι ισχύοντες νόμοι αν δεν αποτελούν πιαστικό, τότε αναπαράγουν μια παρωχημένη κατάσταση. Στο σημείο αυτό ο θεσμός της Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης παρεμβαίνει με δημιουργικό τρόπο ως θεσμός που γεφυρώνει το χάσμα ανάμεσα στα συμφέροντα των εμπόρων και την θεσμική συγκρότηση ενός συντηρητικού κράτους.

Το τέταρτο κεφάλαιο παρουσιάζει τα ειδικά ζητήματα τα οποία προέκυψαν από την είσπραξη των φόρων. Ειδικότερα, τα στοιχεία που η συγγραφέας παρουσιάζει ρίχνουν φως στο θεσμό της ενοικίασης των φόρων στα πλαίσια των νέων σχέσεων που αναπτύσσονται στις πόλεις κατά την υπό εξέταση εποχή. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, κεντρικό ζήτημα που αναδεικνύεται είναι ότι δεν είναι σαφές ποιος ήταν υπόχρεος να πληρώσει τους δημοτικούς έμμεσους φόρους σε ένα μεγάλο διαμετακομιστικό κέντρο όπως ο Πειραιάς. Σε αυτά τα πλαίσια η παλιά μορφή της είσπραξης των φόρων έρχεται σε αντιπαράθεση με τις νέες σχέσεις στην παραγωγή και το εμπόριο. Η λύση που τελικά επικράτησε ήταν η κατάργηση της ενοικίασης των δημοτικών φόρων και η απευθείας είσπραξή τους από το τελωνείο παράλληλα με την άσκηση διπλής δασμολογικής πολιτικής. Η λύση αυτή είχε το ουσιαστικό αποτέλεσμα να μειώσει το κόστος για τους εμπόρους και ταυτόχρονα να αυξήσει τα έσοδα για το δημοτικό ταμείο κι έτσι να βοηθήσει στην ανάδυση του Πειραιά σε εμπορικό και ναυτιλιακό κέντρο του νέου ελληνικού κράτους.

Τέλος, στα παραρτήματα ο αναγνώστης θα βρει πλούσια στατιστικά στοιχεία τα οποία έχουν ιδιαίτερη σημασία για τον ερευνητή. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, παρουσιάζονται τα στοιχεία για τους προ-ϋπολογισμούς εσόδων και δαπανών καθώς και η διατίμηση των φορολογούμενων ειδών, καθώς και χάρτες της περιόδου.

Συνολικά η μονογραφία της κ. Κοτέα αποτελεί μια καίρια συμβολή στην ιστορία της πόλης του Πειραιά, αλλά και ευρύτερα στην εξέταση των κοινωνικών και οικονομικών συνθηκών στις ελληνικές πόλεις κατά το μέσο του 19ου αιώνα. Περίοδο λίγο πριν την αυγή της βιομηχανίας στο νέο ελληνικό κράτος και λίγο πριν τη δύση των σχέσεων που κληρονόμησε αυτό το κράτος από την οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία.

Κώστας Πασσάς,  
*Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο*

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## ΟΔΗΓΙΕΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ

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### Θεόδωρος Σακελλαρόπουλος

Γραβιάς 9-13, Αθήνα, 10678

E-mail: epeksa@otenet.gr, info@dionicos.gr

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