INTEGRATED DIFFERENCE:

Counteracting exclusion of migrants through intercultural spatial planning and governance in Athens

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INTEGRATED DIFFERENCE:

*COUNTERACTING EXCLUSION OF MIGRANTS THROUGH INTERCULTURAL SPATIAL PLANNING
AND GOVERNANCE IN ATHENS*

GLOSSARY

INTEGRATION-
The process of settlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that follows immigration (Penninx & Mascareñas, 2016).

DIFFERENCE-
Difference here is defined as cultural group difference, based on ethnicity, religion, language etc. Difference enriches diversity.

EXCLUSION-
Preventing someone or something from entering a place or taking part in something (Oxford Dictionary).

MIGRANTS-
People who move from their place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, either temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons (IOM, 2019)

INTERCULTURALISM-
The active (not passive) acceptance of cultural diversity, that promotes interaction.

SPATIAL PLANNING-
The methods and instruments, such as regulations, that manage the distribution of urban resources.

GOVERNANCE-
The process of governing or decision making, involving 3 parties: public sector, private sector and civil society.

ATHENS-
Athens is the biggest city and capital of Greece, while the name also refers to the Metropolitan Area of Athens, which is spatially confined by the Attica basin.

ABSTRACT

This research-and-design research addresses the influence of urban conditions on social conditions (and vice versa) and explores interdisciplinary alternatives. In the context of Athens (Greece), spatial planning and its governance support social exclusion of migrants, which is expressed through conflicts with native residents. The project experiments with alleviating these effects by establishing spatial planning as active agent of integration. The main aim of the research is to develop an appropriate strategy in areas with migrants, by re-adjusting the principles of urban space. Instead of providing one fixed solution, the project will design flexible initiatives that help the community achieve the desirable outcome. The methodology of this urban integration can be replicable, provided that it is adjusted for similar urban and social contexts.

Research Question:
How can spatial planning and governance support the design of urban space that counteracts social exclusion of migrants in Athens?

Keywords:
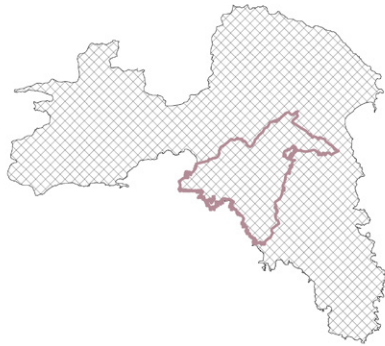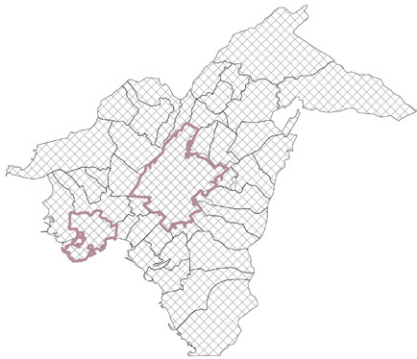Integration, Urban Interactions, Housing Migrants, Spatial Planning, Inclusive Governance

EUROPEAN UNION
500 MILLION
4.5 MILLION KLM2
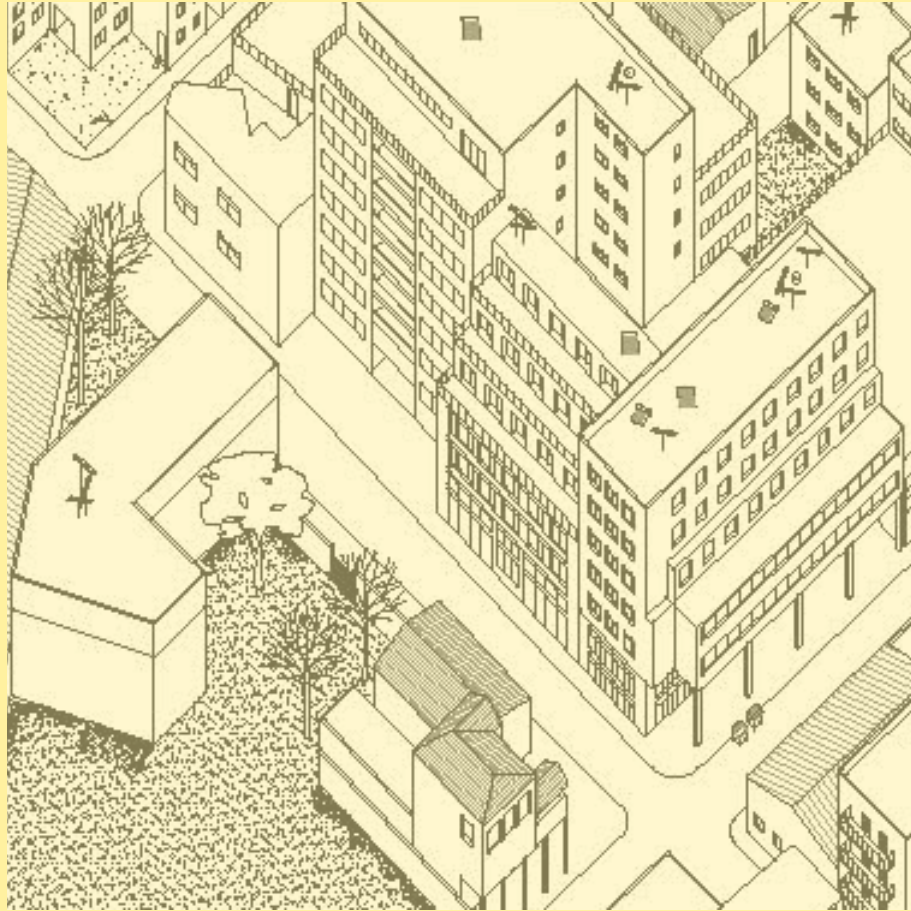
GREECE
10.7 MILLION
131.957 KLM2

ATTICA REGION
3.75 MILLION
3.808 KLM2

ATHENS METROPOLITAN AREA
2.6 MILLION
410 KLM2

CONTENTS

1

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

How can spatial planning and governance support the design of urban space that enhances interactions in Athens?

This research, entitled *''Integrated Difference: Counteracting exclusion of migrants through intercultural spatial planning and governance in Athens''*, intends to explore the possibility and the extend of the spatial dimensions of social integration of migrants in the Metropolitan Area of Athens. The research is motivated by the surging importance of migration in numbers and complexity and its implications for destination countries. Although only recently acknowledged as one of the most important global trends for urbanisation, migration has been historically inseparable from urban development. However, the experience that destination countries present often contradicts their approach in practice, as migration intrinsically implies social exclusion. The research will explore the reciprocal impacts for migrants and receiving urban environments, and the possibilities for integration through the multidimensional concept of interaction. The following paragraphs present the development of the research through the narrative of the report.

In Chapter 1, *The Context*, the research will explore migration as an extreme condition that keeps increasing in numbers and thus challenges cities in social and political dimensions. The intercontinental scope provides information on the trends of migration that transcend every scale that is studied in the next steps. In sum, the chapter establishes the push and pull factors that determine migration and urbanisation, as the founding philosophy of the research.

Chapter 2, *The Problem Focus,* brings Athens into focus, as the most relevant city for migration study in Greece, mainly because it concentrates the majority and the highest numbers of migrants proportionally. In essence, in this chapter the research views social conditions expressed spatially as an outcome of the current spatial planning and governance in place. Through the analysis of the migrant population and the deficiencies in urban conditions, conclusions are made on the dimensions of exclusion that the research addresses thereafter.

Chapter 3, *Research Foundation,* summarises the problem into one statement, the aim and the questions that organise the research and are used in retrospective evaluation of the results.

Chapter 4, *Theory Foundation,* fashions the Theoretical and the Conceptual Framework. Here, the chapter explains the main theories that support the development of the research and the concept that assembles these theories. The Conceptual Framework aims to promote integration of migrants through urban design, essentially with intercultural approaches applied in urban space and housing.

INTEGRATED DIFFERENCE

Fig. 0.1 - The image shows one of the most dense districts of Athens, where most migrants are also settled. Source: Domenikos, 2016.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5, *Methodology*, explains the methods, the conditions and the resources for the development of the research. The expected outcomes are presented in this chapter, as the result of applying the methods, and the means for answering the research questions.

Chapter 6, *Context Analysis,* explores the case of Athens in the scales of the metropolitan area and the municipality with the purpose of exploring the current practice and the potentials for promoting interactions. This is streamed into three parts: historical, urban and institutional analysis.

In Chapter 7, *Synthesis*, the conclusions from conducting the analysis are crucial for establishing the principles for the strategy in the domains of urban space and housing. Specifically, distribution, access and network are the three principles that are translated into objectives. The chapter presents the objectives through spatial analysis that is used for developing the strategy in the next chapter.

Chapter 8, *Strategy*, presents the measures which are employed for realising the objectives. Moreover, the chapter identifies the spatial typologies which the strategy uses for implementing proposed initiatives.

Chapter 9, *Testing the Design*, provides an exemplary spatial design that tests the strategy in one key district in Athens. The strategy is realised through proposed initiatives, that are presented in governance guides and phase-wise timelines. The design is evaluated for its success in promoting interactions.

Chapter 10, *Reflection*, concludes with considerations on the limitations during the process, the adaptations on the methodology framework, as well as the relevance that surfaced from completing the research.

INTEGRATED DIFFERENCE

Fig. 0.2 - The image shows one of the most dense districts of Athens, where most migrants are also settled. Source: Domenikos, 2016.
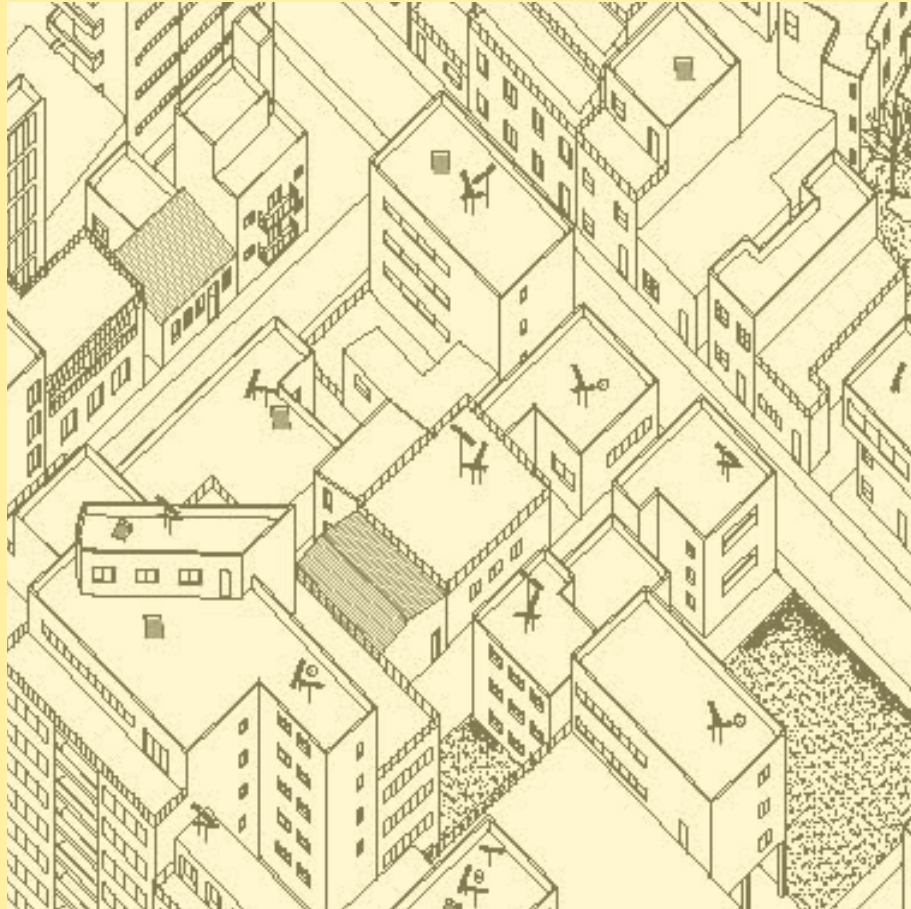
1

THE CONTEXT

This chapter provides an overview of migration as global phenomenon, and its impact on cities regarding both population and urban development. In return, the chapter then emphasises on the implications that cities have on migration, hypothesis based on the nature of urbanisation. In particular, the research here claims that urban conditions can either sharpen or moderate unequal social conditions between migrants and natives.

1.1
GLOBAL MIGRATION

1.2
MIGRATION AND URBANISATION

1.3
MIGRATION AND INEQUALITY

1- GLOBAL MIGRATION

DEFINITION- The IOM (International Organisation for Migration, 2019) reports that any person who moves away from their place of usual residence, ''whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently'', and for various reasons, is considered as migrant (see Fig. 1.1). Nonetheless, there is no globally accepted definition of the term.

Why do people move from one place to another, and what pushes this movement? How are both destination and origin countries affected by migration? The theories that attempt to explain this complex and unstable phenomenon have summarised the external pressures that instigate changes in the patterns, the type and the scale of migration (see Fig. 1.2). This section discusses the globalisation theories around migration, that first emerged in 1990s.

GLOBALISATION AND MIGRATION- Globalisation, that has been described as the most recent phase of the capitalist economy (Petras, and Velnnayer, 2000), is driven by technological progress and ideological change. The globalisation analysis suggests that migration has increased in ''volume, diversity, and geographical scope'', although relative migration rates have been stable over the course of the last 20 years (Czaika & de Haas, 2014). In sum, migration nowadays is globalised, or, in other words, more diverse regarding the origins and destinations of migrants (see Fig. 1.3).

The phenomenon of migration has intrinsically affected the development of cities. Skeldon (2014) remarks that ''It would be incorrect to see migration as either positive or negative for development: it is but part of that whole process of change that is implied in the term *development*''. Castles, Haas, & Miller (2014) confirm that migration is embedded and inseparable from the processes of development, globalisation and social transformation.
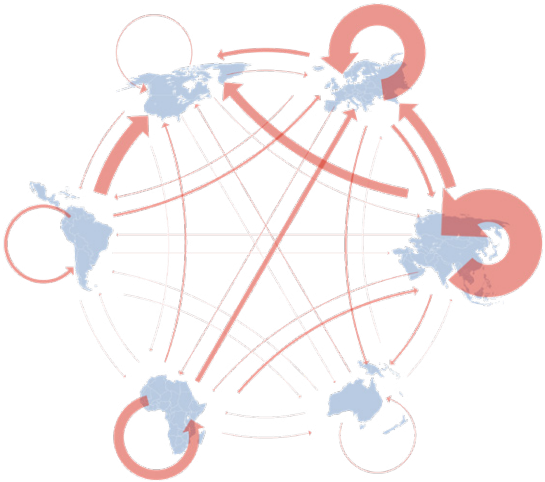

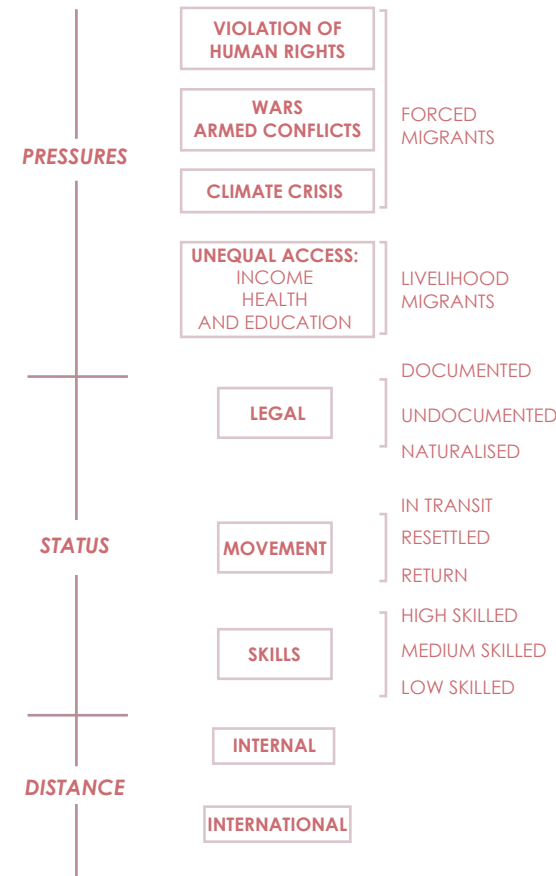Fig. 1.1 - Global migration flows. Source: New York Times (2018).

Fig. 1.2 - Diagram summarising migration typologies. Source: Unesco
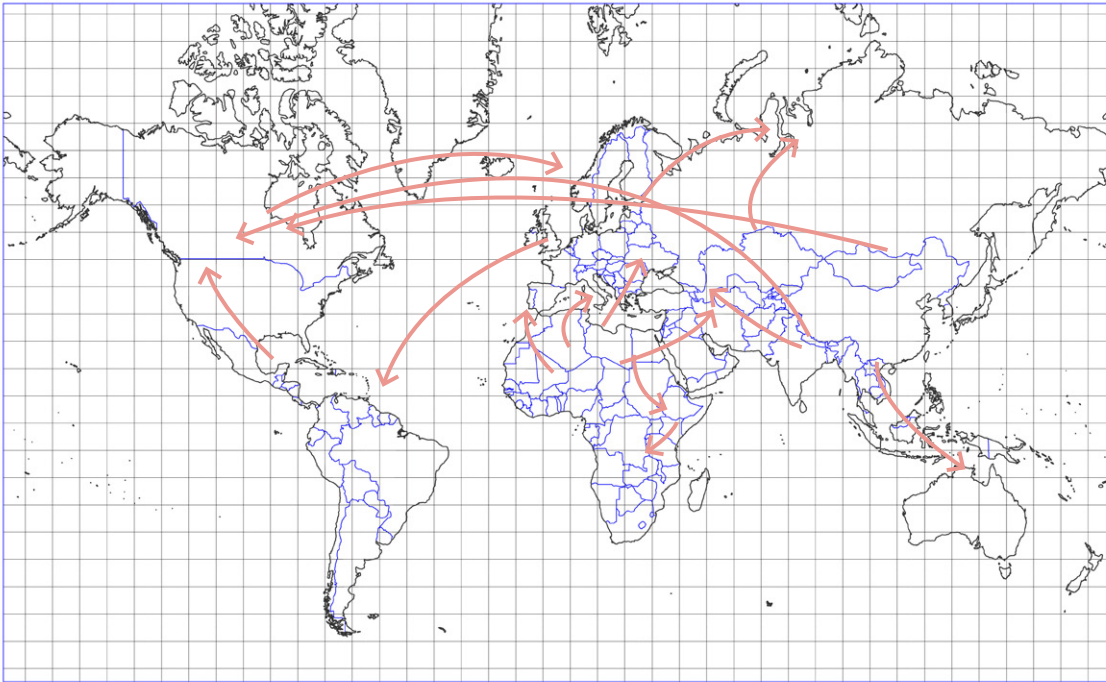
Fig. 1.3 - Global migration flows. Source: World Economic Forum, 2017.

THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION- Regardless of whether theories are positive or negative towards recent trends in migration, they agree that migration causes multiple changes in cities. Even the positive approach towards the implications of migration recognises that the phenomenon provokes controversy in the receiving cities. Cultural diversity is found today in intensities that human history never experienced before, which is causing politically, socially and economically-charged concerns (Skeldon, 2014). This emphasises the need for readdressing migration in urban studies. For further apprehension, there is need for presenting the current migration flows in the global scale, the pressures that provoke them and the main motivations that the receiving cities represent.

GLOBAL MIGRATION TRENDS- International migration nowadays blurs the dichotomy between migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries, as in most cases, both roles are experienced (Castles et al., 2014). During the past decades (2000-2020), unresolved and recently inflamed conflict dynamics in key countries has instigated the surge in current migration figures and trends. Especially the wave of political unrest known as Arab Spring (2010-) has caused the deaths of thousands and the displacement of millions of others (Castles et al., 2014). The impact of such conflicts is clearly illustrated in recent trends in refugee numbers (see Fig. 1.4 and Fig. 1.5). Moreover, the instability and violence in Afghanistan for over 30 years has established the country as the second most significant origin country in the world map. Today (2016) Turkey is the most significant host country in the world, with 2.9 million refugees, mainly from Syria (2.8 million).

1- GLOBAL MIGRATION

SYRIA
AFGHANISTAN
X SOUTH SUDAN
SOMALIA
SUDAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
MYANMAR

Fig. 1.4 - Number of refugees by country of origin according to analysis in 2017 and 2019. Source: IOM, 2018; IOM, 2019.
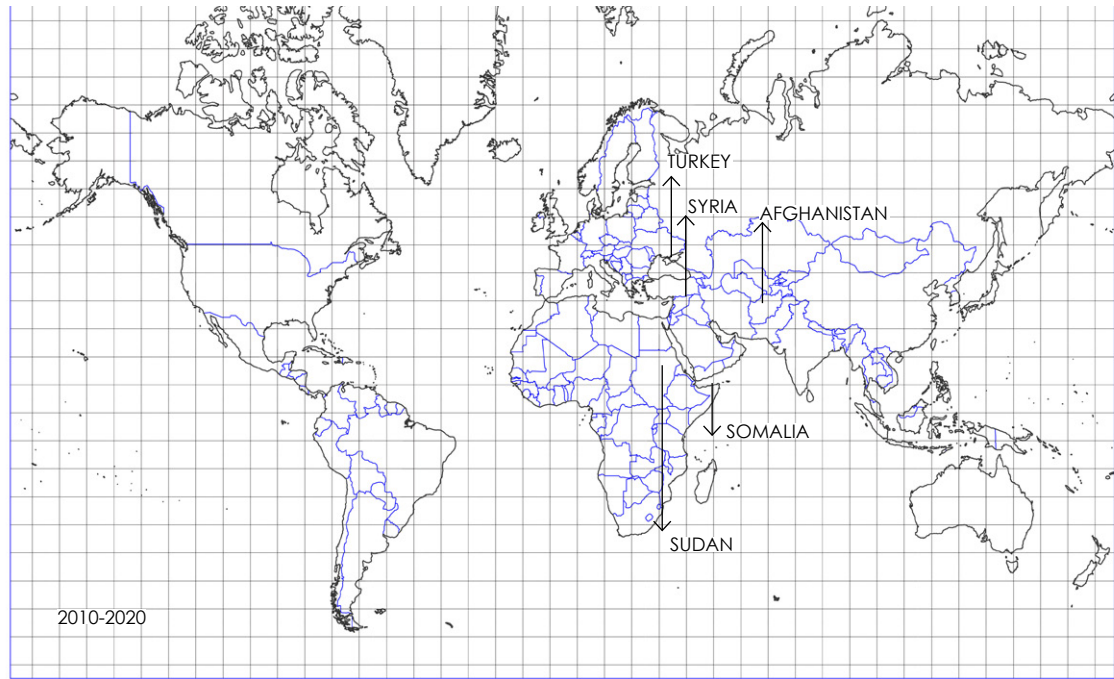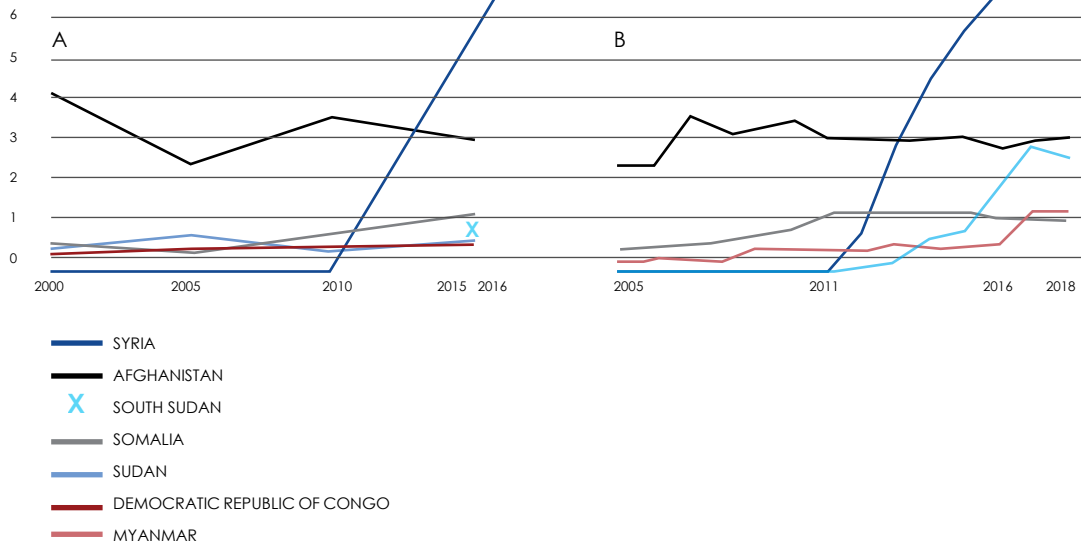

Fig. 1.5 - World map, indicating the countries that are relevant in recent migration trends.

Fig. 1.6 - The image shows refugees in the former airport of Athens. Source: Georgiou, 2017.
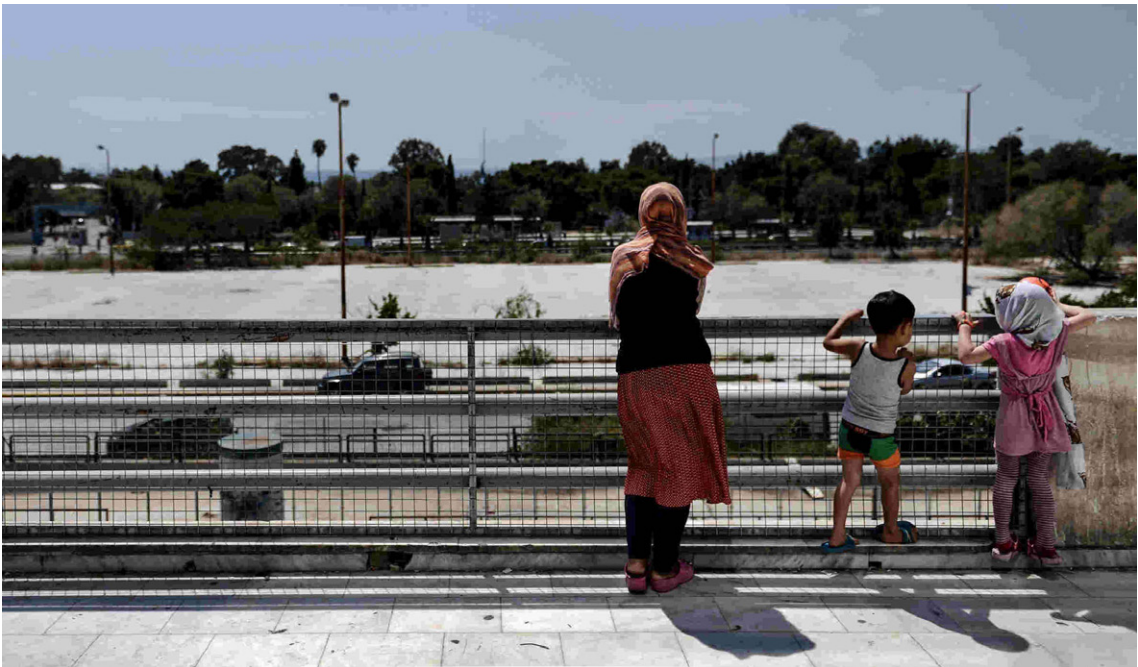

Fig. 1.7 - (From above) The refugees were rehabilitated in 2018 because of an upcoming redevelopment project. Source: Deutsche welle, 2017.

1- GLOBAL MIGRATION

"Migration will remain a defining issue for the EU for the years to come.''
(European Political Strategy Centre, 2017)

EUROPEAN MIGRATION- In recent decades, ''there has been major shift in global directionality of migration, with the transformation of Europe from a global source region of emigrants and settlers into a global migration magnet. ''(Czaika, Haas, 2014). According to the United Nations (2019), Europe holds the leading position in hosting migrants over the last years, counting 82.3 million out of 272 in 2019 (see Fig. 1.8).

What trends instigate migration to Europe?

During the last period in Europe's history of migration, from 2000 onwards, influx from Asia, Middle East and Africa has surged (see Fig. 1.9), in contrast with the primarily in-continent migration of the previous periods (European Political Strategy Centre, 2017).

The International Organization for Migration calls Europe the most dangerous destination for irregular migration in the world, and the Mediterranean the world's most dangerous border crossing.

''The attraction of the Southern European countries (Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal) to immigrants from Africa and from many other parts of the less-developed world – Latin America, South Asia, China, the Philippines etc. – is one of the biggest shifts in the geography of migration flows into Europe in recent decades''(see Fig. 1.9, European Commission, 2016).

The present chapter analyses the case of Greece as receiving country in recent decades.
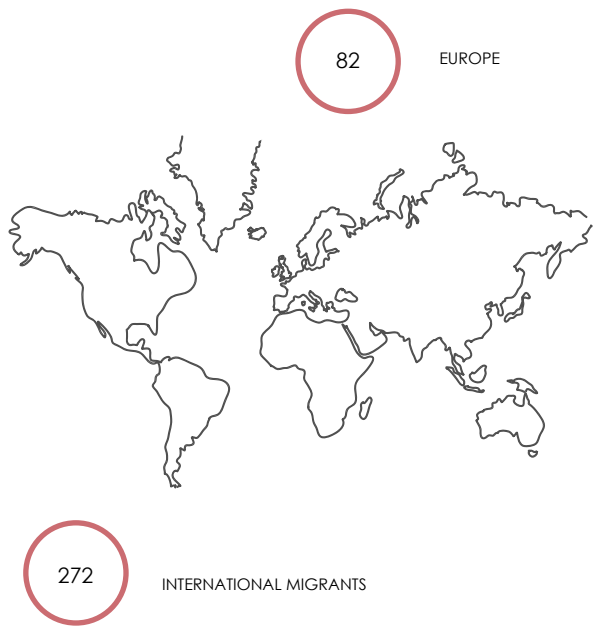
Fig. 1.8 - Global migration in millions. Source: United Nations (2019).

- AFRICA
- NON- EU EUROPE
- LATIN AMERICA
- EU EUROPE
- ASIA MIDDLE EAST
- NORTH AMERICA OCEANIA
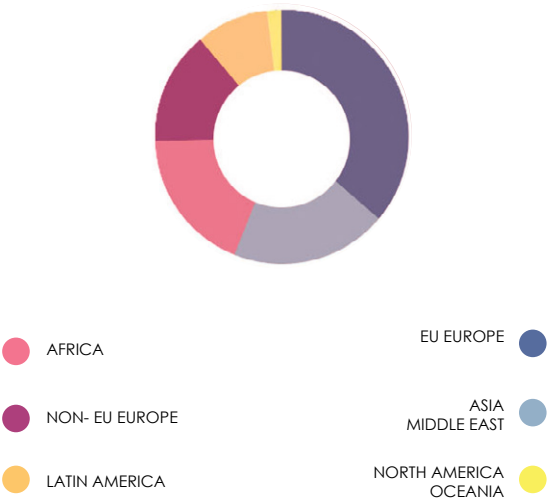
Fig. 1.9 - The origin continent of international migrants. Source: Eurostat, European Political Strategy Centre (2016).

2- MIGRATION AND URBANISATION
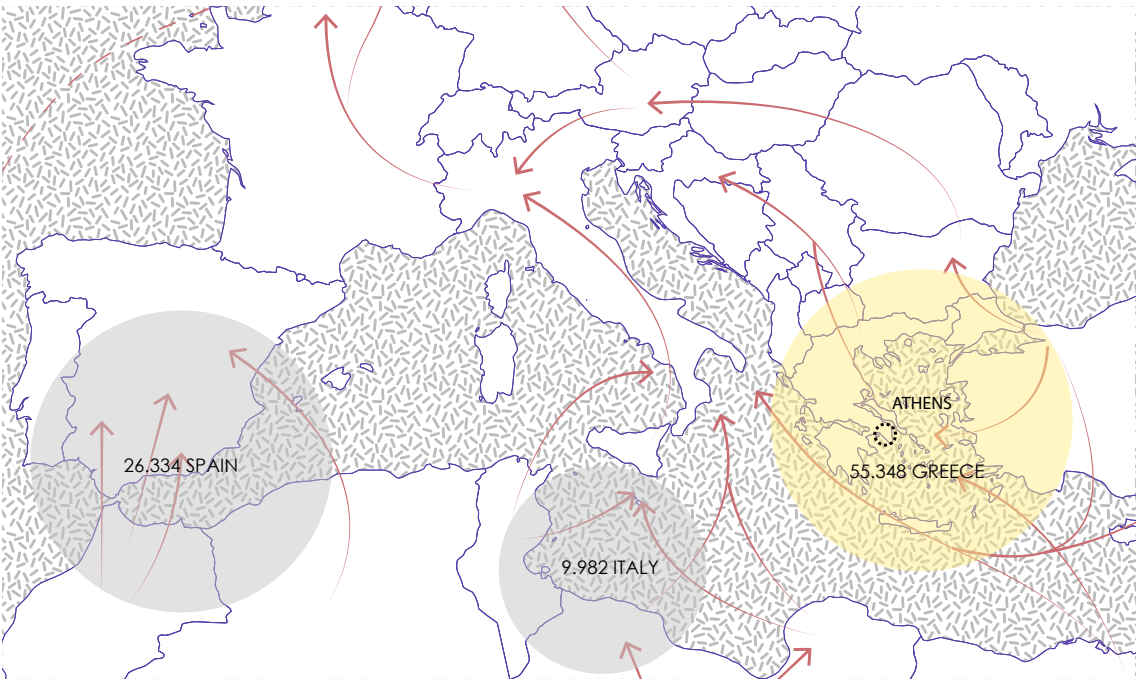
Fig. 1.10 - Recent geographical shift of migration in Europe and arrivals in 2019. Source: Europol, 2015; UNHCR, 2019.

The future of the world's population is urban

Population growth in urban centres will most likely be dominated by migration for the following reasons. Firstly, cities are the attractors and developers of economy, and compete with each other for both high and low-skilled workers. The second reason for the relevance of international migration in the process of city growth is that cities are well connected to international transports system and concentrate the higher education infrastructure. Consequently, population growth leads to further urbanisation, which leads to further migration (Lerch, 2017) (see Fig. 1.11).

"Increased migratory flows are shaping urban settlements. Today, nearly one in five migrants live in the world's top 20 largest cities''
(International Organisation for Migration, 2015)

- URBAN AREAS
- INCENTIVES — employment centres / urban services / connections
- URBAN MIGRATION — from urban areas / from rural areas
- POPULATION GROWTH
- URBANISATION

Fig. 1.11 - The attraction of cities leading to further urbanisation; Source: Cardoso et al. 2018; own edit.
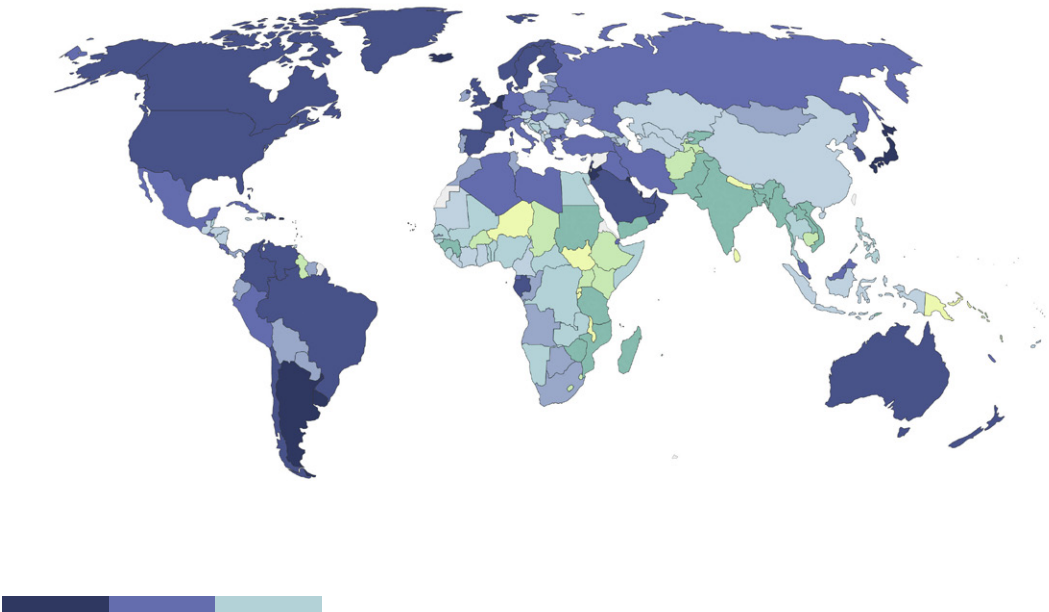
Fig. 1.12 - Share of world population living in urban areas. Source: University of Oxford, UN World Urbanisation Prospects, 2018.

20+   10-20   5-10   1-5   <1   No data
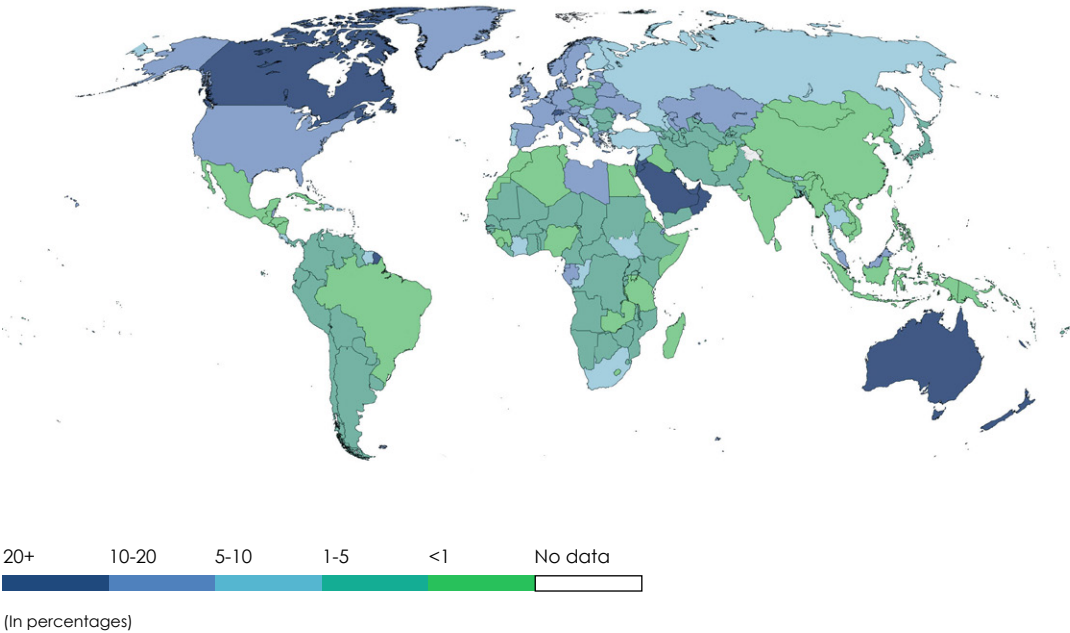
(In percentages)

Fig. 1.13 - International migrants, as percentage of total population. Source: United Nations, 2019.

NUMBER OF BIRTHS, MINUS NUMBER OF DEATHS

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS MINUS NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS
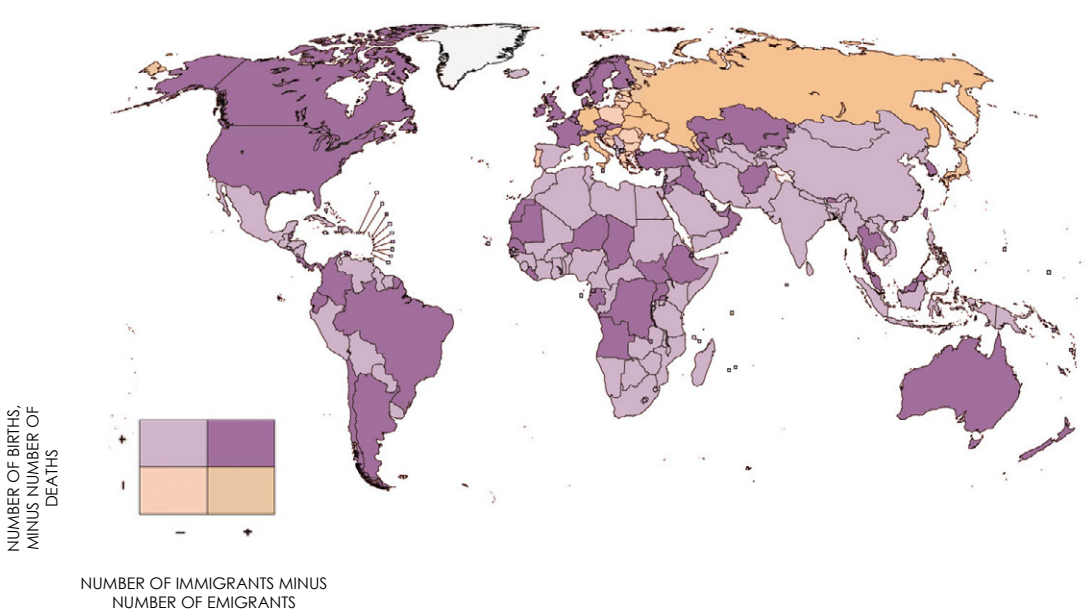
Fig. 1.14 - Growing and shrinking population of countries, based on migration and natural population growth. Source: United Nations (2019).

In 2018, the median level of urbanisation across countries of Europe and Northern America was higher than in all other regions, at 74 per cent, and 75 per cent of the countries were more than 60 per cent urban (see Fig. 1.12). The global urban population is projected to grow by 2.5 billion urban dwellers between 2018 and 2050, with nearly 90 per cent of the increase concentrated 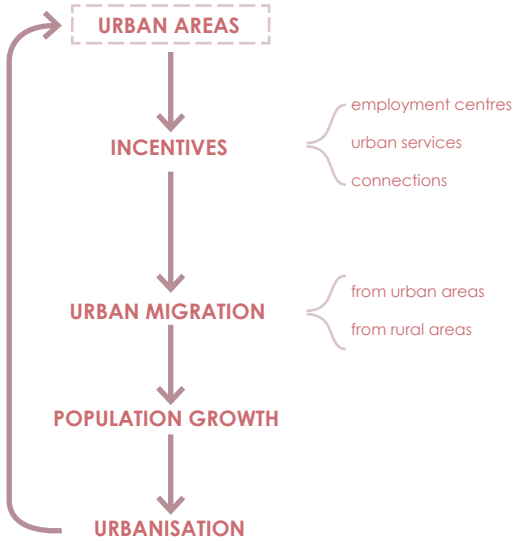in Asia and Africa. In many regions, the share of population living in cities, as well as the number and size of cities, will continue to grow, driven by a combination of factors, including a surplus of births over deaths in urban areas, migration from rural to urban areas and from abroad (Lerch, 2017) as well as the urbanisation of formerly rural areas.

According to the UN, migration has increased with faster rhythm than population growth in the last 20 years. This resulted in 3.5 per cent of international migrants in the global population, versus 2.8 per cent in the year 2000. Nonetheless, the share of migration may vary significantly across the globe (see Fig. 1.13).

The map of Fig. 1.14 shows the relationship between two components of population change for the period 2010-2020: net migration (the difference in numbers of immigrants and emigrants) and natural population increase. In this way, it is clear that migration affects not only global population, but also shrinkage and development of countries, due to the influx or efflux of migrants.

Correspondingly, migration is affected by urbanisation degrees and models. Cross-border migration changes in directions and distribution following the influence of macro-structures, such as globalisation (see section 1 of this Chapter), but also meso-structures present in receiving societies.

3- MIGRATION AND INEQUALITY

The urban world is, since the marking of this century, concentrating the global population that continues growing rapidly, mainly in cities. Nonetheless, not everyone shares the same experiences or opportunities in urban environments and especially in cities, where high levels of diversity are most present. Actually, many scholars suggest that inequality is inevitable or context-based in urban centres (Arapoglou, 2012 ; Alderson & Nielsen, 2019; Cardoso & Meijers, 2019; Sassen, 1991; Wade, 2004).

Globalisation has brought effects on receiving cities and thus on migrants, as one of the increasingly important social groups. Some argue that free trade and exchange of ideas and technologies encourage the levelling out of differences and inequalities among nations, while others contend that open markets favour the powerful and are used to strengthen and deepen their hold, while the less powerful are bypassed (Hurst et al. , 2017).

When analysing inequality, it is essential to distinguish two types acknowledged in the global literature: between-nation and within-nation (Neckerman & Torche, 2007). Between-nation inequality refers to comparisons of per capita gross domestic product across countries, while within-nation refers to the income distribution of the population in one country. This research is concerned with the second type, and specifically with inequalities in distribution of urban resources.

In Europe, *social inequality* has been identified as one of the greater challenges that has to be addressed. Social exclusion is one form of inequality:

This research is concerned with how exclusion is expressed spatially and the urban conditions under which it is provoked.

POOR INTEGRATION

INTOLERANCE   THE VICIOUS CYCLE   EXCLUSION

ALIENATION
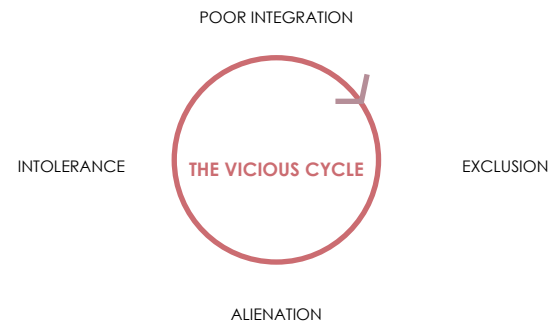
Fig. 1.15 - The vicious cycle for migrants. Source: World Economic Forum (2017).

Space is the end product of multiple types of social inequality: social structures are expressed in space or, as Soja (1989) stated, ***social relationships are space-forming***. Swanstrom et al. (2002) have suggested that space is interacting with inequality, sometimes reducing and sometimes multiplying its effects. Since cities are the main attractors of migrants, urbanisation tendencies and patterns become determining factors in the discussion about inequality.

From the above, one may conclude that inequality is inevitable, and that social groups will always have disproportional access to the same resources, according to their financial power. Nonetheless, this approach sees the conditions of receiving cities as inherent and unchangeable, while there is an alternative perspective: inequality is growing because of intentionally created conditions, and thus may be altered. Societies can break the Vicious Cycle where migrants are often trapped (see Fig. 1.15) with conscious strategies against inequality.
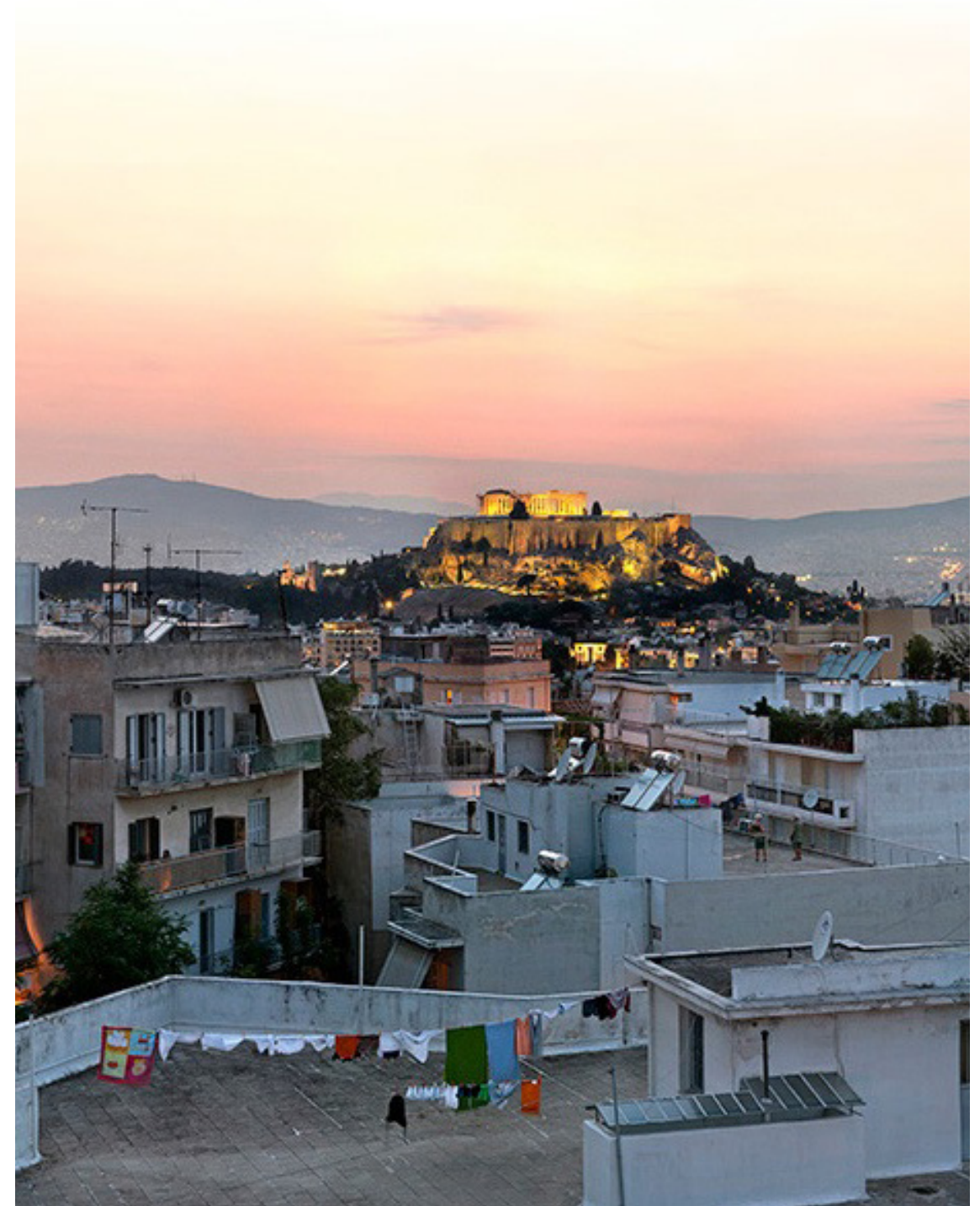
Fig. 1.16 - This image shows the contrast between ancient and modern, appearances and reality of living in Athens. Source: Yorgis Gerolympos, (2012), Athens Spread Collection.

2
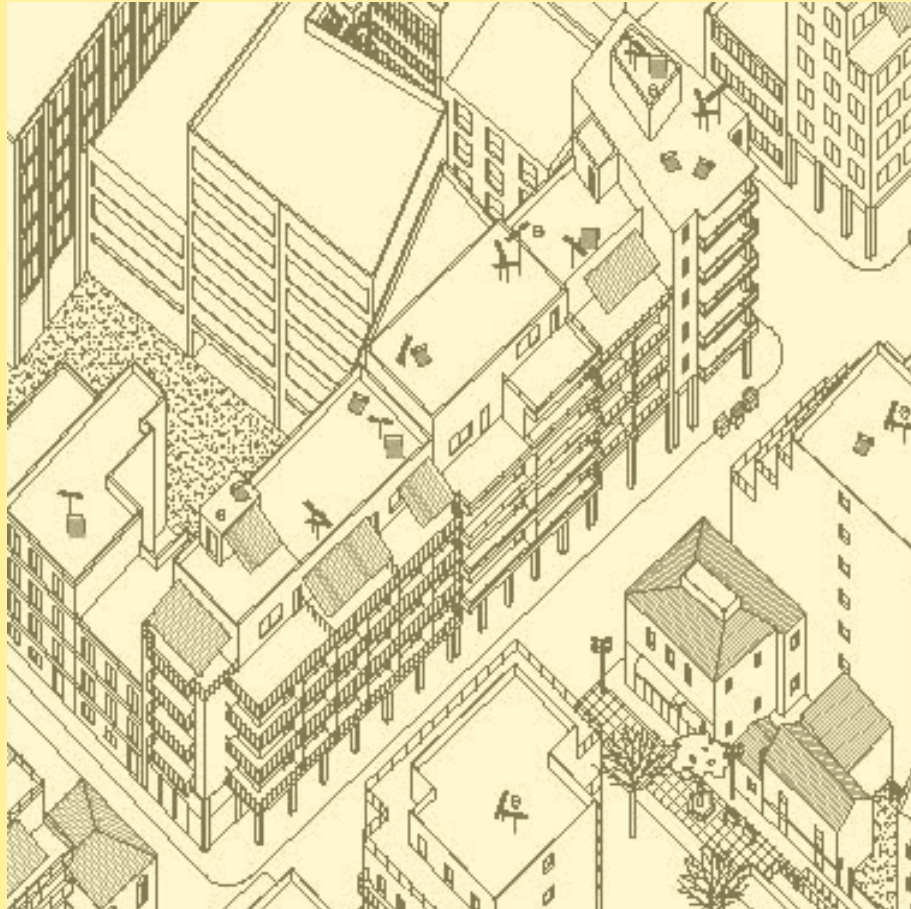
THE PROBLEM FOCUS

This Chapter introduces Athens, Greece as the case study for the exploration of the urban conditions and their impact on inequality for migrants. In particular, the dimensions of space and governance are analysed, which helps defining the problem in depth, the aim for conducting the research and the questions which the next chapter presents.

2.1
OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION IN ATHENS

2.2
MIGRATION + SPACE

2.3
MIGRATION + GOVERNANCE

1- OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION IN ATHENS

This research is concerned with how migration is affected by the conditions in receiving societies, and this section provides the reader with an overview of migration in Greece and in Athens specifically. First, it is fundamental to understand that the role of the country in the international flows of migration has shifted from being *sender* to being *receiver,* only in recent decades (see Fig. 2.1).

Greece has strong tradition of being a sending country, and ***diaspora* is one of the defining characteristics of its culture**. The term encapsulates scattered population of the same ethnicity, that no longer inhabits the home country, but maintains common cultural features, such as history, language, religion and traditions (Kontes, 1997).

The diaspora from Greece could be roughly divided into 4 periods:

-Ottoman Diaspora	(1450-1830)
-Before the Wars	(1880-1940)
-After the Wars	(1945-1977)
-After the Crisis	(2010-)

(Chasiotes et al., 2006)

During recent decades, the position of the country in international migration has shifted: migration flows are now turning inwards instead of outwards, for various reasons. In the 1970s, Greece started to attract immigrants from Asia, such as Pakistani, Filipinos, Vietnamese and Africa, such as Ethiopians. In the 1980s, political refugees from post-socialist Poland, and African refugees fleeing from wars, found their place in the country. Nonetheless, **the numbers of migration were not substantial until 1989,** when Central and European regimes collapsed. From this moment, immigration mainly from the Balkans is transformed into a ''*massive, uncontrollable phenomenon*''. (Migration Policy Institute, 2004; Triandafyllidou, 2008)

Fig. 2.1 - Greece as emigrating country.

Fig. 2.2 - Greece as receiving country.

ATHENS METROPOLITAN AREA
ATHENS (CENTRAL UNIT)
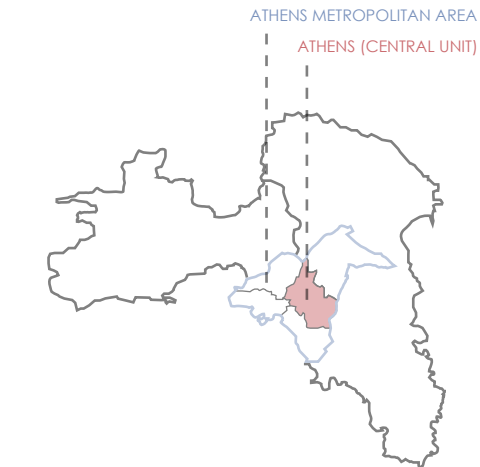
Fig. 2.3 - Attica Region and the lower administrative levels.

The following sections mainly report the migrants that are already considered as permanent residents by the state, that is, migrants that have entered the country before the *refugee crisis* of 2015 ('EU migration', 2016). Recent migrants that are considered refugees, fleeing armed conflicts in Africa and Middle East, are also reported, but their, for the time being, temporal presence in the country will be complementary to the **primary report of permanent residents**.

The map in Fig. 2.4 illustrates the urban centres and the clusters of foreign population in the national level. The foreigners arriving in Greece are distributed unevenly, following the urban development patterns of the country. The highest numbers are attracted by the urban centres, while significant presence is observed in the areas where agriculture is prominent (Peloponnese and Crete Region).

However, emerging trends in migration bring the

equilibrium in the national population change. During recent years that followed the burst of the financial crisis in the country, various destinations have been observed, mainly for the highly educated (Labrianidis & Pratsinakis, 2016). The inflow-outflow equation is fluctuating since 2008, as both sides remain significant in numbers (see table below) (ELSTAT,2017).

Year	Inflow	Outflow	
2010	60.462	62.041	-
2011	60.089	92.404	-
2012	58.200	124.194	-
2013	57.946	117.094	-
2014	59.014	106.804	-
2015	64.446	109.351	-
2016	116.867	106.535	+

URBAN AREAS

TOWNS/SUBURBS

RURAL AREAS

CLUSTERS OF MIGRANTS

Fig. 2.4 - Degree of Urbanisation in Greece. Source: Eurostat (2019). Centres of foreign population in Greece. Source: Eurostat (2019).

Migration in Athens today

Athens hosts the highest share of permanent foreign residents. About half of immigrants are living in Attica region, and half of those are only concentrated in the Municipality of Athens (see Fig. 2.3, Fig. 2.5).

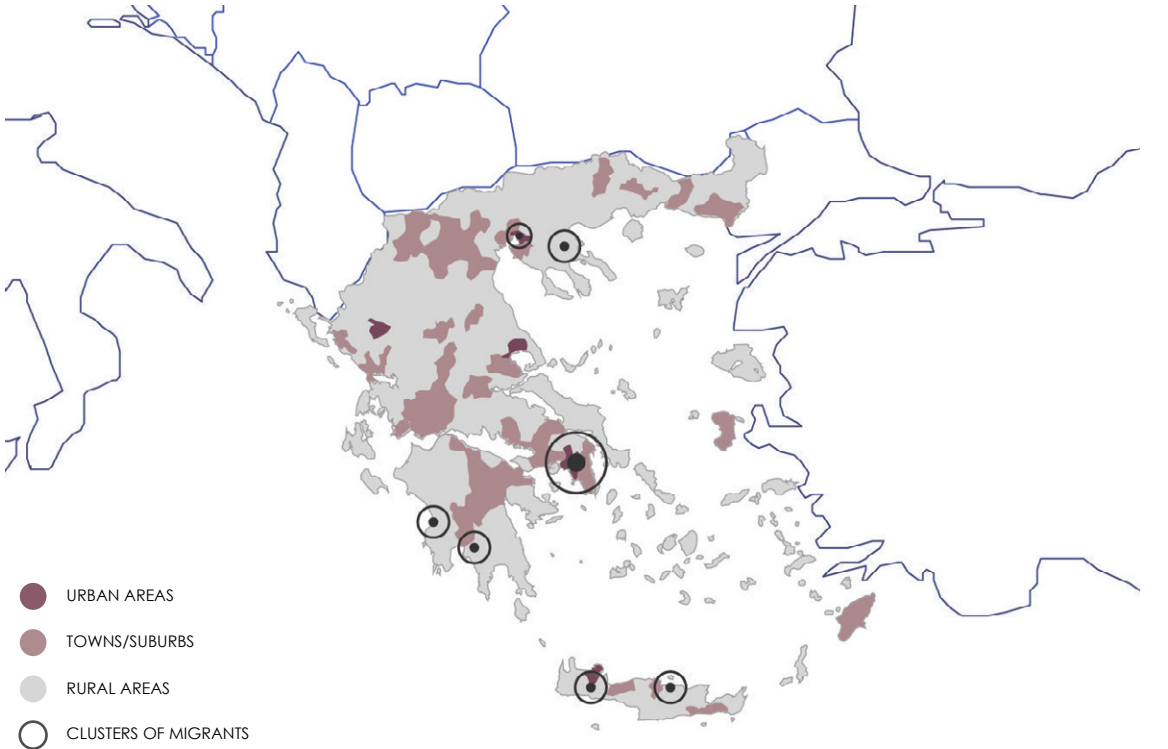**Immigrants**- People that *leave their country of origin in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood* (European Commission) are the only migrant group that is considered as permanent foreign population at the moment. The majority of the immigrants come from neighbouring and adjacent countries: more than half immigrants are Balkans, while numbers of people from Asia and Middle East are rising during the last decade. Immigrants from other European Countries (EU and non-EU) account for 12% of total foreigners in Athens Metropolitan Area (ELSTAT, 2014) (see Fig. 2.6).

Political Refugees- Refugees, or people with *well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group* (UNHCR) arrived in Athens after 2015. Due to armed conflicts in Middle East, refugees mainly come from Syria, Afganistan, Iraq and Iran (Ministry of Migration Policy, 2018) (see Fig. 2.7). By the end of 2019, 56.720 refugees were registered in Attica Region (Hellenic Republic, 2019).

The next section will present an overview of how the preconditions in receiving cities impact migration in context, presenting Athens as example. Spatial planning practice, starting the timeline from the first refugee influx in the city, and Governance, related to Spatial Planning and Migration, are presented as important domains that contribute to social exclusion.

Athens
Municipality: 37.4%

Greece

Attica Region
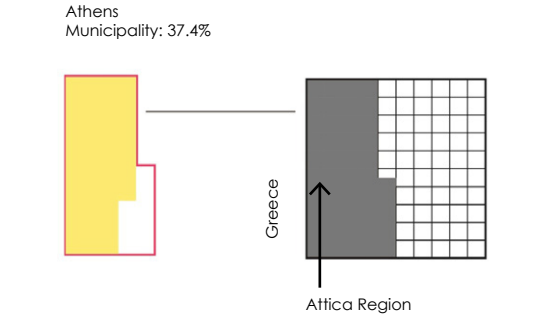
Fig. 2.5 - The importance of Athens as immigrant city in Greece. Souce: ELSTAT, 2014.

Athens Metropolitan Area

■ Balkans: 55%
■ Europe: 12%
■ Asia: 16%
■ Middle East: 7%
□ Other: 10%
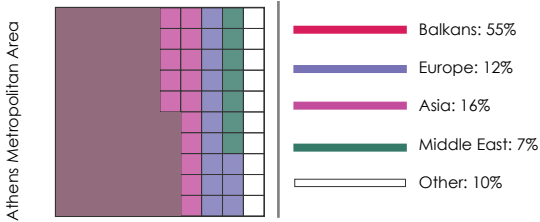
Fig. 2.6 - Country of origin of the documented immigrants in Athens Metropolitan Area. Source: ELSTAT, 2014.

Attica Region

Attica Region

■ Syria: 26%
■ Afghanistan: 17%
■ Pakistan: 12%
■ Irak: 10%
■ Bangladesh: 8%
■ Iran: 7%
□ Other: 20%
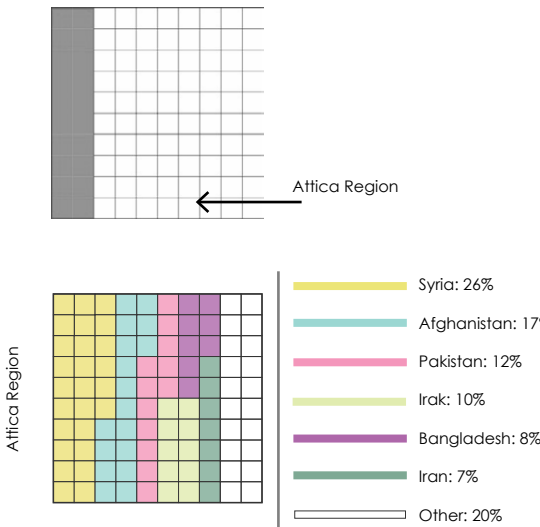
Fig. 2.7 - Country of origin for the political refugees in Attica Region. Source: Ministry of Migration Policy, 2019.

Fig. 2.8 - Image of migrants as residents in the Vathi neighborhood in Athens, on a Tuesday afternoon. Source: Author's photograph, 2020.

New types of migrants

Since 2015, people that seek protection from the recent political events in the Middle East enter Greece both by sea and by land. The governmental census recorded around 50.000 individuals in 2018 (Greek Government, 2019).

Refugees in Athens-Attica Region are found in 3 types of accommodation: a. designated camps, of either ephemeral or semi-permanent typology (see Fig. 2.9), b. apartments that are provided by supranational organisations (IOM, UNHCR), that organise hospitality programs and c. abandoned buildings that are re-purposed as temporal solution by migrants or affiliated organisations. The official hospitality settlements provided by the state are often distanced from the existing residential areas in Athens Metropolitan Area (see Fig. 2.10).

Fig. 2.9 - The image shows migrants as temporary residents of Eleonas camp in Athens. Source: Alkis Konstantinidis/Reuters; own edit.

Fig. 2.10 - The typologies of the refugee settlements in the Metropolitan Area of Athens are mostly ephemeral (2019); own edit.

2- MIGRATION + SPACE

Metropolitan Athens (AMA) (see Fig. 2.11), is the administrative area that presents the most significant concentration of migrants in the country. The urbanisation patterns reveal the development process and its impact on the distribution and housing conditions for migrants.

The case of spatial distribution in Athens

The median percentage of migrants, and particularly migrant workers is about 10 per cent for the whole Metropolitan Area. Seemingly, this population is distributed evenly across the region, as seen in Fig. 2.12. Nonetheless, this representation is disconnected from the real balance in terms of spatial distribution, as will be proven in this section. Castells (1989, 1997) once explained why urban space is often unevenly distributed among groups:

''People resist the process of individualization and social atomization, and tend to cluster in community organizations that, over time, generate a feeling of belonging, and ultimately, in many cases, a communal, cultural identity.''

Theorists such as Emmanuel (2008) explain spatial distribution, following paradigms from the *School of Chicago,* with the *invasion-succession* process. According to the theory, the social groups that require settlement claim one particular area, on the one hand because of existing area qualities, and on the other hand because the aspects of the offered area are more appealing to their financial status. This compatibility produces higher demand and thus makes the area inaccessible to other social groups, whose financial capabilities are not fitting, forcing them to find new alternatives.

This model describes social conflicts for occupation of space among groups. The section will intend to explain how this conflict is applied in Athens, by juxtaposing the building activity and the social conditions, as they have been shaped through the years and observed today.
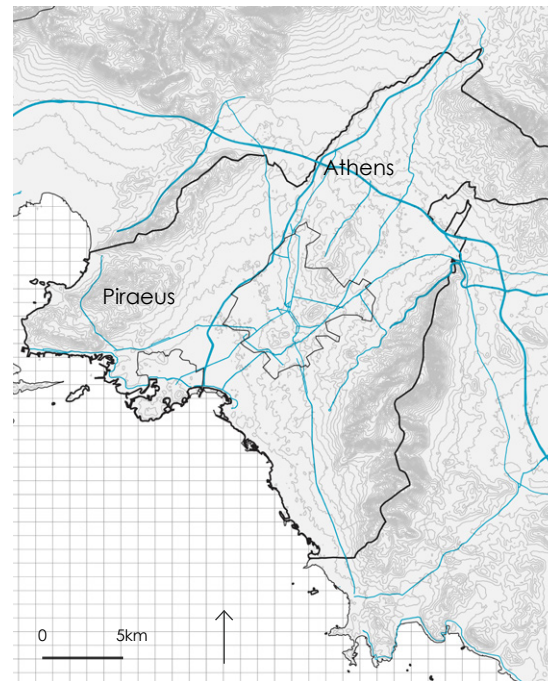

Fig. 2.11 - The urban centres(Athens and Piraeus) in the Athens Metropolitan Area. Source: Geodata.gov.gr
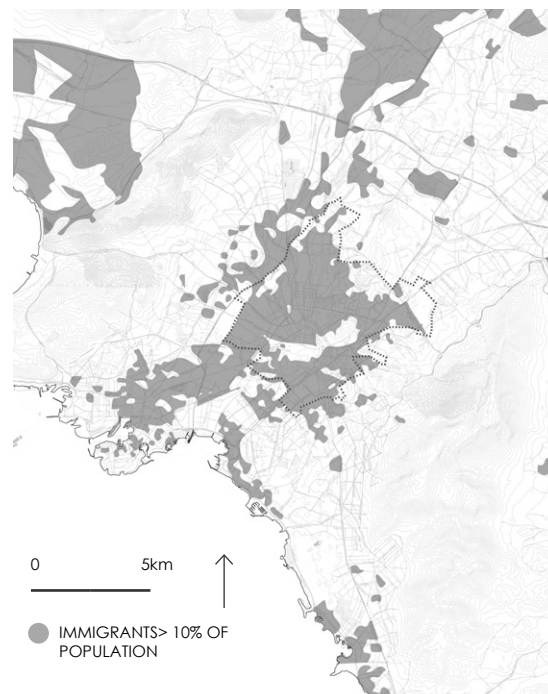
Fig. 2.12 - Spatial distribution of immigrants in Athens. Source: Kandylis, Maloutas & Sayas (2012).

Urban conditions: over-densification

Athens and Piraeus, the cities of the Metropolitan Area, pose challenging conditions for their inhabitants. The following part of the problem analysis presents existing pre-conditions and current conditions of urban planning and development, and how this defined where clusters of migrants can be found today. The section illustrates the following: population density, building decay, and urban green space, which are characteristics of one development typology.

The attraction of the urban centres and the topography of the region determined the density of the building activity during its heyday years (1950-1980). This resulted in accumulating population, which scores the third highest density in Europe (average 20 thousand inhabitants per sqm) (EU, 2016).

The building stock that was produced during the densification of the urban centres is deteriorating (see Fig. 2.13). In contrast, the problem is insignificant in the suburbs, because the urban expansion there started more recently. The first settlements were constructed in the 1970s, while the mass suburbanisation happened in the 1980-2000 period.

Consequently, the compact spatial organisation in this case is also associated with negative externalities regarding open space and greenery. The Metropolitan Area scores only 7 sqm of Urban Green per inhabitant, when the European average is 18.2 sqm (see Fig. 2.14) (EU, 2019).

In short, spatial planning practice, or even its absence during the previous decades, resulted in the image of unequally developed urban centres and suburbs. The comparison of districts is illuminating for understanding the contrast between centres and suburbs (see next page).
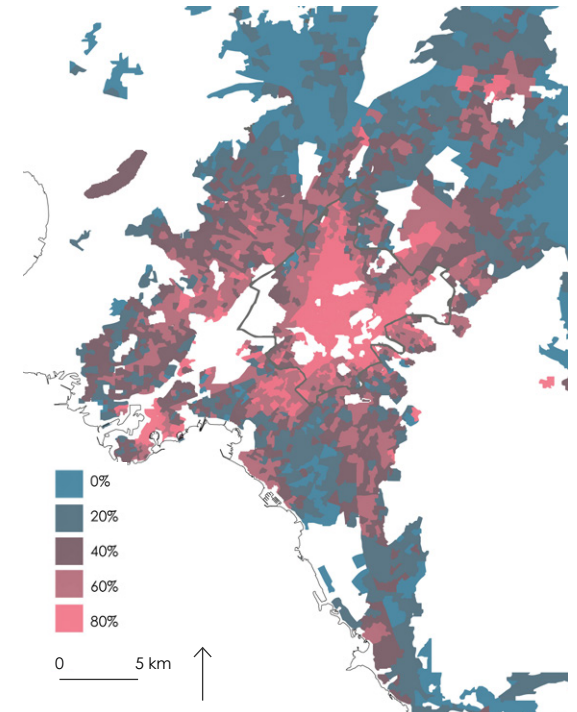
Fig. 2.13 - Percentages of residents in buildings constructed before 1980. Source: Maloutas & Nikiforos, 2015.
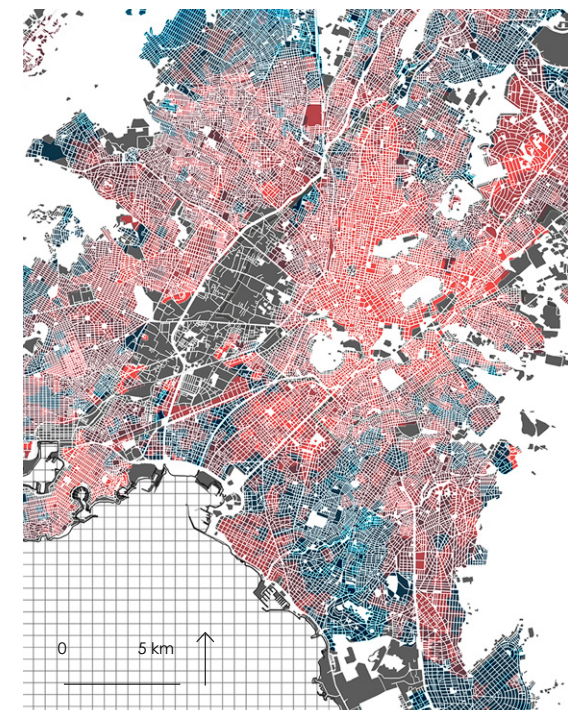
Fig. 2.14 - Detail from previous figure.

20.000 inhabitants/sq km   ①

0   100 m

2.500 inhabitants/sq km   ②

0   100 m

30.000 inhabitants/sq km   ③

0   100 m

5.000 inhabitants/sq km   ④

0   100 m
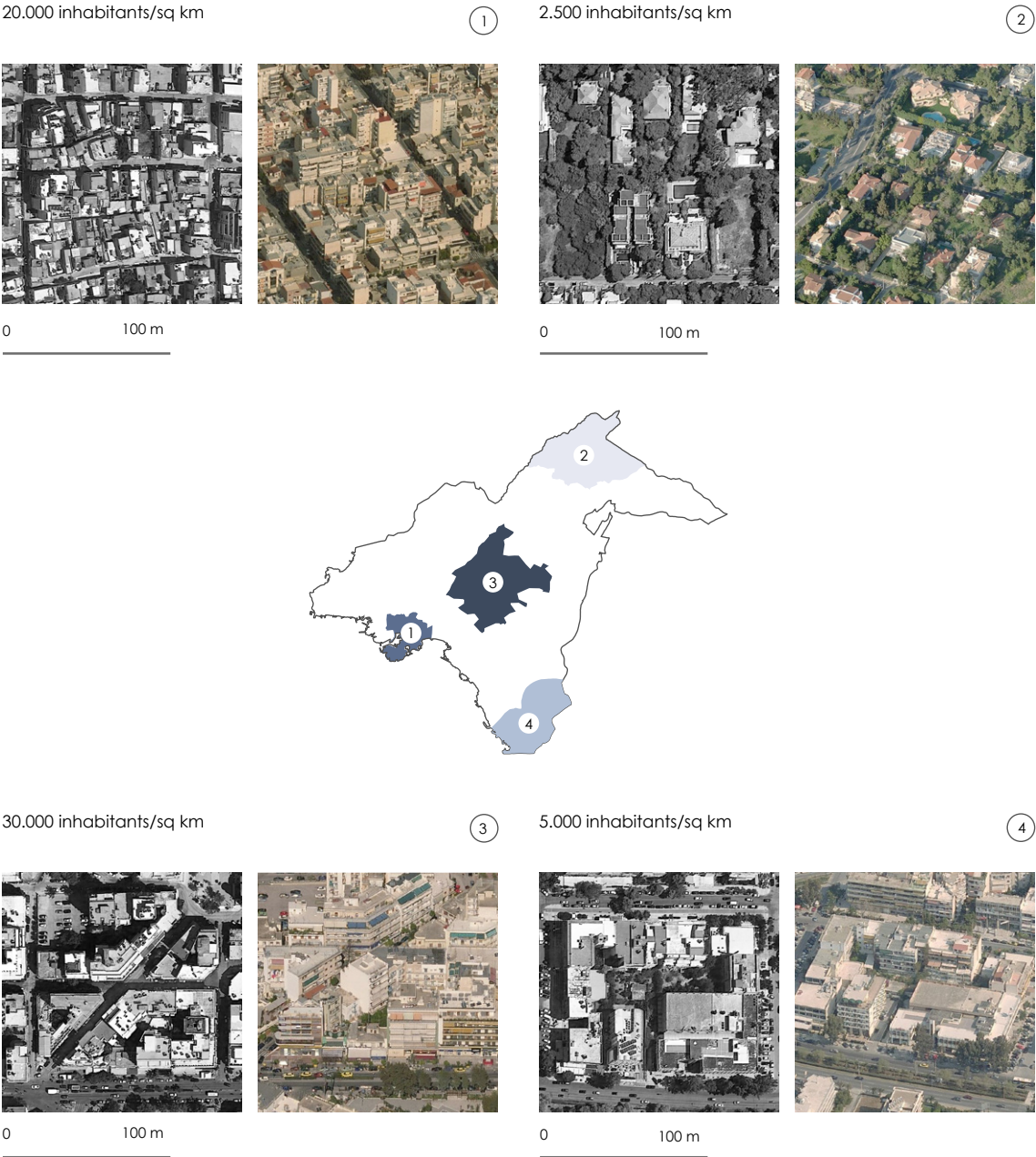
Fig. 2.15 - The diagrams (x4) compare examples of density in the centre with the density in the suburbs. The urban structure is continuous, but the conditions appear strongly uneven.

Fig. 2.16 - The collage gives cognitive comparison between the housing conditions in the centre (municipality of Athens), with the conditions in the suburbs (municipality of Glyfada). Source: Parvathaneni, 2013; Ventourakis, 2016; YourAthensGuide; own edit.

Fig. 2.18 - The condition in South Suburbs vs Athens city centre (upside down) in the 1980s. Source: own edit.

Fig. 2.19 - Percentages living in buildings constructed before 1980.
Source: Maloutas & Spyrellis, 2015.

Social Conditions
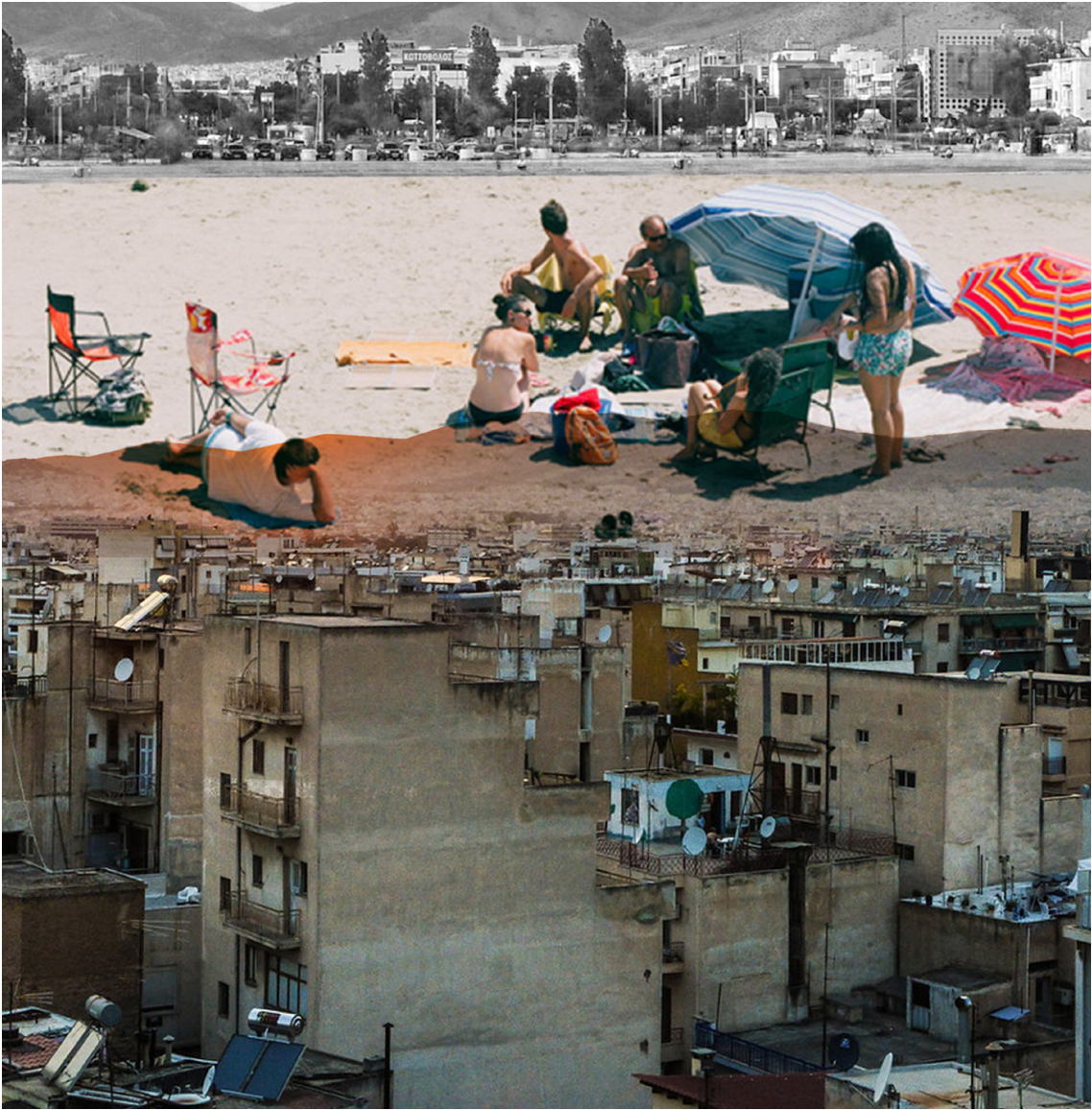
The urban conditions created the receiving environment for the incoming migrants during the 1990s and ever since. Although Attica Region, and Athens in particular, present dispersed immigrant population, there are high contrasts in polarisation patterns and intensities between the centre and the periphery (see Fig. 2.20). The research suggests that the spatial distribution of migrants is based on the patterns of residential accessibility for them, determined by the value of land. The study of patterns that urban decay presents (see Fig. 2.19) (mentioned before in this section) is crucial for understanding the unequally distributed urban development, and thus the urban exclusion of migrants, when compared to the percentages of their residential distribution.

Since the beginning of the 1990s decade, migrants gradually became an important part of the population in the cities (Athens and Piraeus). The structure of the housing stock in the urban centres (polykatoikia typology) contributed in maintaining the levels of racial segregation insignificant. The migrants, consequently, streamed into degraded, central areas, that were already abandoned. With the parallel absence of social housing policy for renting, the most affordable option were small apartments in the basements or first floors in the multi-stored buildings. Eventually, the urban centres were socially distanced from the rest of the Metropolitan Area, because their composition was formed by social groups that were financially excluded from the suburbs, namely concentrating migrants and elderly natives.

The dissatisfaction about the high densities, automobile domination and scarce green spaces can be understood from the population changes or the course of the last 20 years (see Fig. 2.17). The abandonment of the centres and the need for mass movement towards the suburbs created the contrasted image of AMA today (Fig. 2.18). The affluent suburbs benefit from urban conditions and amenities, while conditions in Athens and Piraeus have remained the same.

Recent spatial planning documents illustrate the need for putting an end to sprawling and strengthening the urban centres (Tournikiotis, 2013), which refocuses the attention on previously neglected problems about the living conditions of Athens and Piraeus.
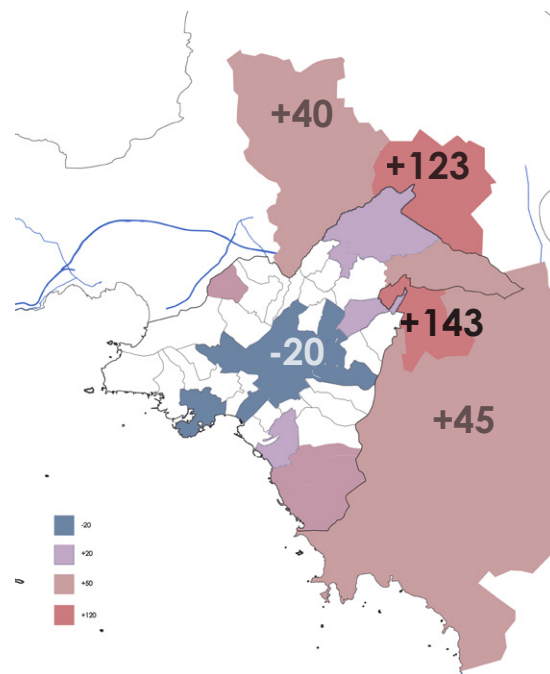

Fig. 2.17 - Population shifts in percentages, visible since the 1980's.
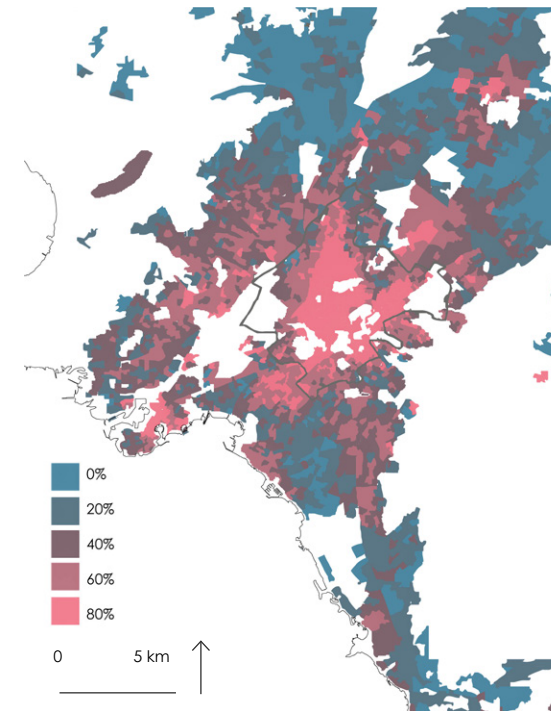The map compares 1991 and 2011 census. Source: Biskos, 2011.

Fig. 2.20 - . Immigrant percentages in Athens Metropolitan Area.
Source: Maloutas, 2007.

Polykatoikia

The 1929 *"General Building Regulation of the State"* and the document *"On Horizontal Property Divisions and other provisions"* introduced the multi-storey apartment building to the engineers and the society in general. The term that is still used to describe this typology is *polykatoikia* in Modern Greek (poly=multi+katoikia=residence), which was first conceived by the architect Kyprianos Biris in 1932. In his article under the title "The Urban Polykatoikia", he discussed the method of construction and the organisation of the typology units, along with presenting international examples e.g. by Gropius, Kramer etc. (Biris, 1932). The experts anticipated that polykatoikia would "solve the acute housing shortage in Athens", experienced even from 1922, as described before.

There are renowned examples where *polykatoikia* was designed by architects such as Nikos Valsamakis (see Fig. 2.22), but Athens was expanded with designs mainly made by civil engineers or contractors, which resulted in small reconfigurations of the same typology (see Fig. 2.21).

Polykatoikia was hosting commercial uses on the ground floor and mostly residential uses on the other floors and became the symbol of urban life and economic activity. The production of the typology was based on initially privately owned plots, instead of the common European practice where land is considered state property (Axaopoulou & Pertigiozoglou, 2015).

The governance dimension of the construction activity and its implications will be discussed in the next section.

Fig. 2.22 - Apartment Building in 5 Semitelou Str., Athens. Nikos Valsamakis, 1953. Source: Domes Index.

HORIZONTAL PROPERTY LEGISLATION (3741/1929)

Fig. 2.23 - The 1929 legislation allowed for exchange of land for construction of multi-stored buildings, where the ownership was divided by floors. Source: own edit.
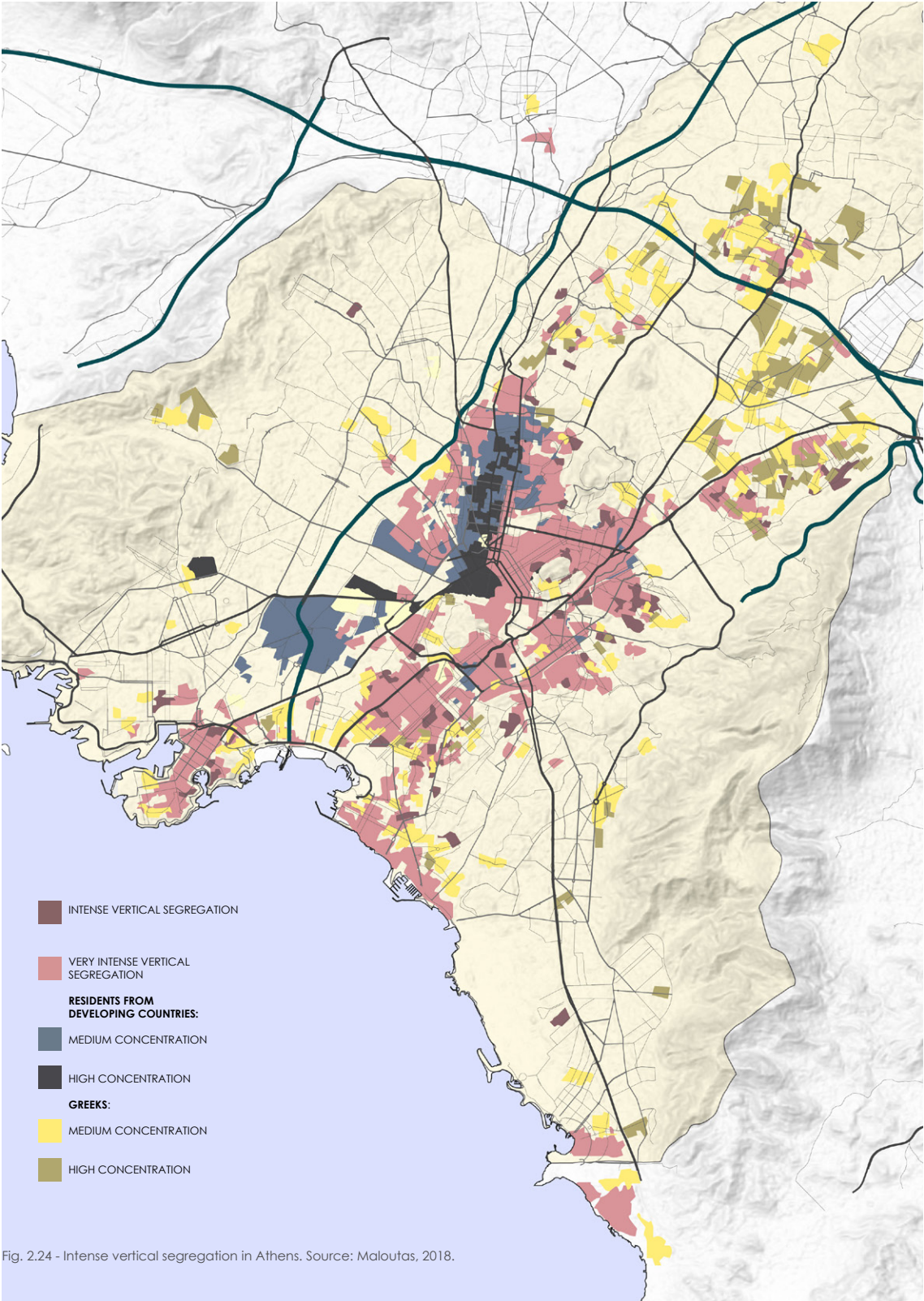
Fig. 2.24 - Intense vertical segregation in Athens. Source: Maloutas, 2018.

INTENSE VERTICAL SEGREGATION

VERY INTENSE VERTICAL SEGREGATION

RESIDENTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

MEDIUM CONCENTRATION

HIGH CONCENTRATION

GREEKS:

MEDIUM CONCENTRATION

HIGH CONCENTRATION

Vertical segregation

The production of space in Athens has created 2 types of social segregation, differentiated by scales. First, in the metropolitan scale, the city is divided by class, into centre, north, south and western suburbs. The north and south suburbs, that were expanded during the 1970-2000 period, are inhabited by the high and middle classes, while the centre and the western parts of city are inhabited mainly by the lower-middle and working classes. In this scale, the segregation is horizontal, meaning that social groups are divided by neighbourhoods. Second, in the building scale, segregation is vertical, where groups are divided by their position on the polykatoikia multi-stored buildings. As stated by scholars in the field (Leontidou, 1990, Maloutas, 2018), vertical segregation index in Athens is measured by ethnicity per floor in the polykatoikia typology (see Fig. 2.24, Fig. 2.25).
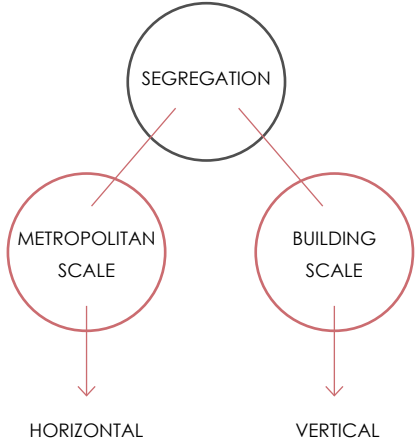
Vertical segregation highlights the social distance, regardless of the spatial proximity.

SEGREGATION

METROPOLITAN SCALE

BUILDING SCALE

HORIZONTAL

VERTICAL

ACCESS OF MIGRANTS IN THE HOUSING MARKET

CIRCULATION

Fig. 2.25 - Vertical access to housing market among immigrants by percentages (Mpalampanides, 2016). Author's drawing.
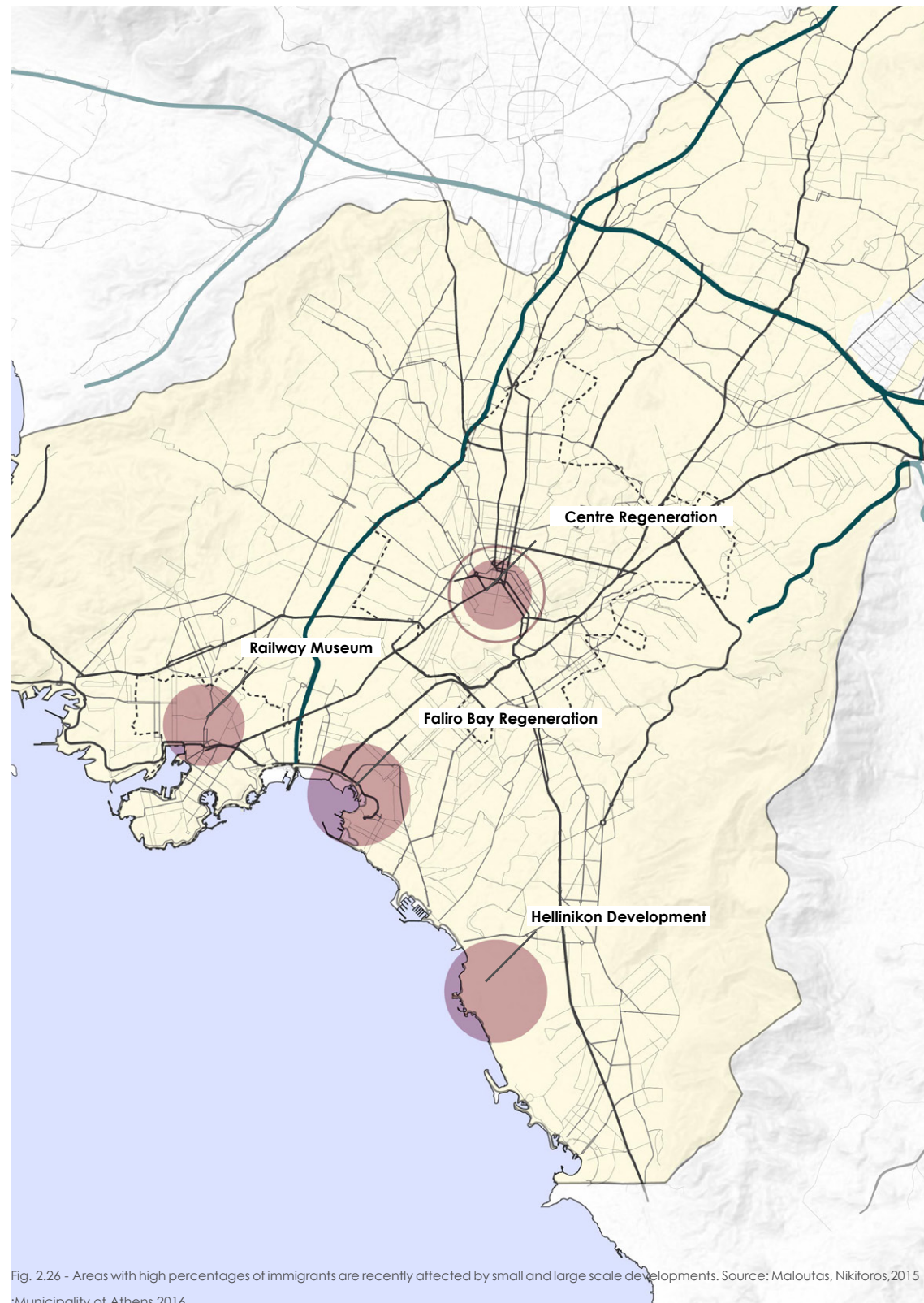
3- MIGRATION + GOVERNANCE
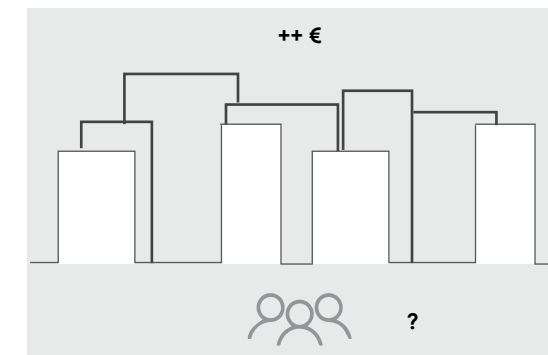
Fig. 2.27 - The digram describes the potential impact of speculative planning processes.

The research values urban conditions as spatially manifested product of processes which are determinant for social groups. For this, the present section analyses the problem from the perspective of governance, and particularly in the field of spatial planning. The governance system is defined by A. speculative trends in development, especially in the last 20 years, B. the culture of centralist decision making and C. private housing market.

A. Speculative trends in development (2000-)

In recent years, especially after the selection of the city for the 2004 Olympic Games (2000) and recently with the financial downturn (2008), spatial planning undergoes reforms. The reason for this, as justified by the authorities, is twofold: (a) to form a spatial planning system that would encourage development of projects and investment, (b) to accelerate planning procedures (from the assignment of a Plan to its final approval), (c) as well as to improve control and other related mechanisms (Papageorgiou, 2017). Spatial planning has become an important

component of financial encouragement, as land plays an important role in capital-accumulation processes. This speculative process provokes abrupt changes in the way planning has been elaborated across scales (Association of Greek Architects, 2017).

Recent spatial planning practice could be summarised in the following types (see Fig. 2.26):

- *Regenerations* of existing neighbourhoods, situated almost exclusively in the urban centres. This approach, that intends to draw the middle class back to the city, has been criticised for excluding marginalised groups, ''projecting them as a problem of the centre traced in urban space'' (Alexandri, 2015). The public discourse about 'illegal migrants' that were 'flooding the city centre' gained prominence and specific migrant groups were portrayed as threatening Others; (Koutrolikou, 2015).

- *Development* projects, which are mainly situated in areas with land available for repurposing. The projects here are of considerable scale, and various typology uses, namely commercial, cultural, residential, or combination of the above, such as in the Hellinikon Project. This type of spatial planning is consistent with the globalisation narrative, where the city becomes the field of financial support through investments.

Overall, the current situation in spatial planning is determined by dispersed speculative activities in the Athens Metropolitan Area. This type of governance aspires to attract foreign investment, but seemingly disregards the impacts that competitiveness can provoke on housing prices. There is evidence that the re-introduction of middle class into the urban centres can cause displacement. This spatial shift of development is becoming hostile towards migrants that are settled in the modern multi-stored buildings (polykatoikia) or in abandoned buildings, which are either publicly or privately owned. This phenomenon is following the invasion-succession model that was discussed previously in this chapter.

3- MIGRATION + GOVERNANCE

B. Centralist decision-making

Spatial planning follows centralised routes for the process of decision making. Greece has two sub-national levels of government in addition to the national government; 13 regions and 325 municipalities. Furthermore, seven decentralised administrative units exist that are a de-concentrated part of the national government.

In the complex system of spatial planning in the country, the national government has by far the most important responsibilities. It is in charge of the framework laws on regional and urban planning, environmental protection and regional development. This is evident in the publication by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which summarises the governance for Athens, among other selected cities. The principal spatial planning documents are hardly influenced by co-ordination among stakeholders. The Regulatory Plan for Athens scarcely uses mechanisms for consulting stakeholders. While the decision-making is centralised, the metropolitan scale, which would encompass the inter-municipality consensus of the most populated areas, is dependant on the regional scale. In this way, the interaction between levels remains unbalanced (OECD, 2015).

C. Private housing market

The self-regulated housing mechanisms adopted in many European cities have fuelled social and ethnic segregation as well as racial and class conflicts (Eizaguirre et al., 2012).

In contrast with the spatial planning processes, the housing market in Athens is decentralised. Through the years, the construction of housing was based on self-financed property development schemes, where public expenditure was limited (Economou et al., 2007; Mantouvalou et al., 1995; Chorianopoulos, 2003). The spontaneous urbanisation process driven by self-promoted housing strategies is now imprinted on the Athenian urban environment, characterised by the physical attributes mentioned in the previous section.

The dominance of private ownership, coupled with the tolerance of the respective planning authorities, and the absence of available social housing structures, provides owners with more freedoms in the housing market, but also creates externalities for migrants. In sum, the migrants remain unprotected, as there are no state policies, while the potential changes in the real estate prices remain ungoverned.

In conclusion, the main concern of the research is to explore the impact of urban conditions on migration, which is why issues of spatial planning governance in Athens is also considered. There is evidence that spatial planning governance is leaning towards the private sector, for enhancing capital investment, as described in the previous section. Governance in Athens can be described as speculative, centralist and privately-driven, which is also shown in the schemes below (see Fig. 2.28).
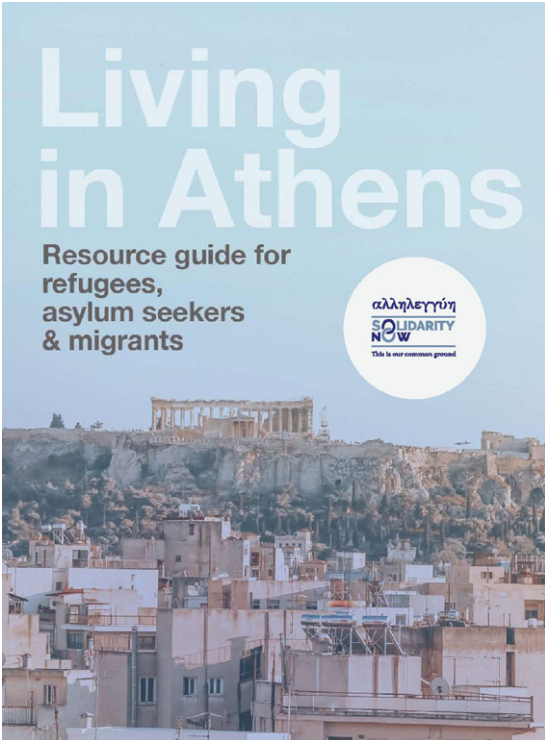
Fig. 2.29 - The role of civil society organisations is often crucial for migrant integration. Source: Solidarity Now, 2019.

ATTRIBUTES OF SPATIAL PLANNING GOVERNANCE

COMPETITIVE DEVELOPMENT   *CENTRALISED DECISION-MAKING*   *PRIVATE HOUSING MARKET*

PUBLIC SECTOR   PUBLIC SECTOR   PUBLIC SECTOR

PRIVATE SECTOR   CIVIL SOCIETY   PRIVATE SECTOR   CIVIL SOCIETY   PRIVATE SECTOR   CIVIL SOCIETY

REGIONAL+ DISTRICT SCALE   *NATIONAL+ REGIONAL SCALE*   *DISTRICT SCALE*
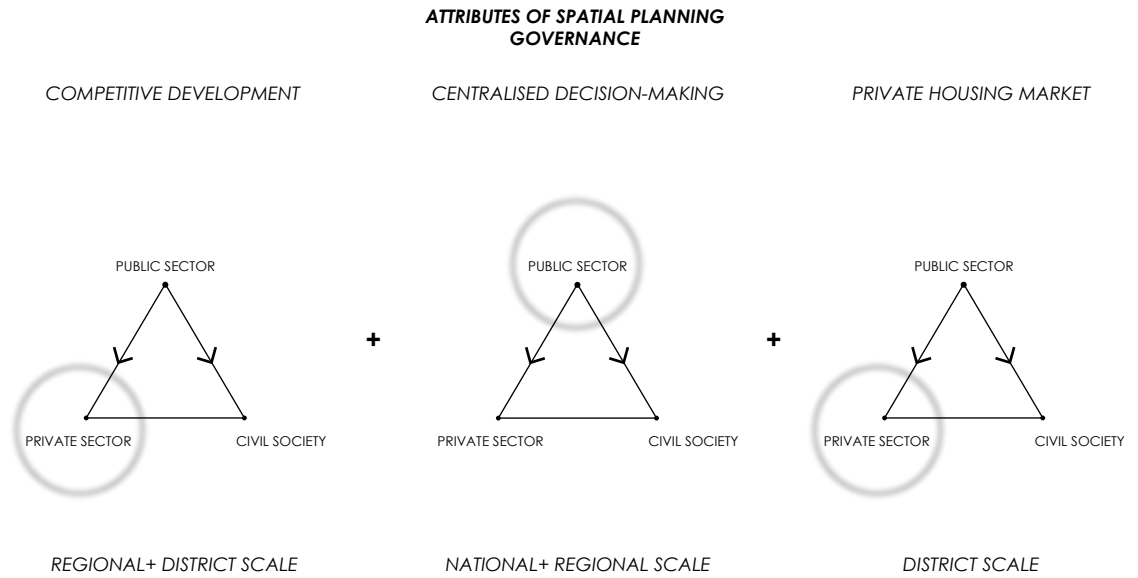
Fig. 2.28 - Diagram summarising the remarks about governance of Spatial Planning in Athens and Greece. Own edit.

3
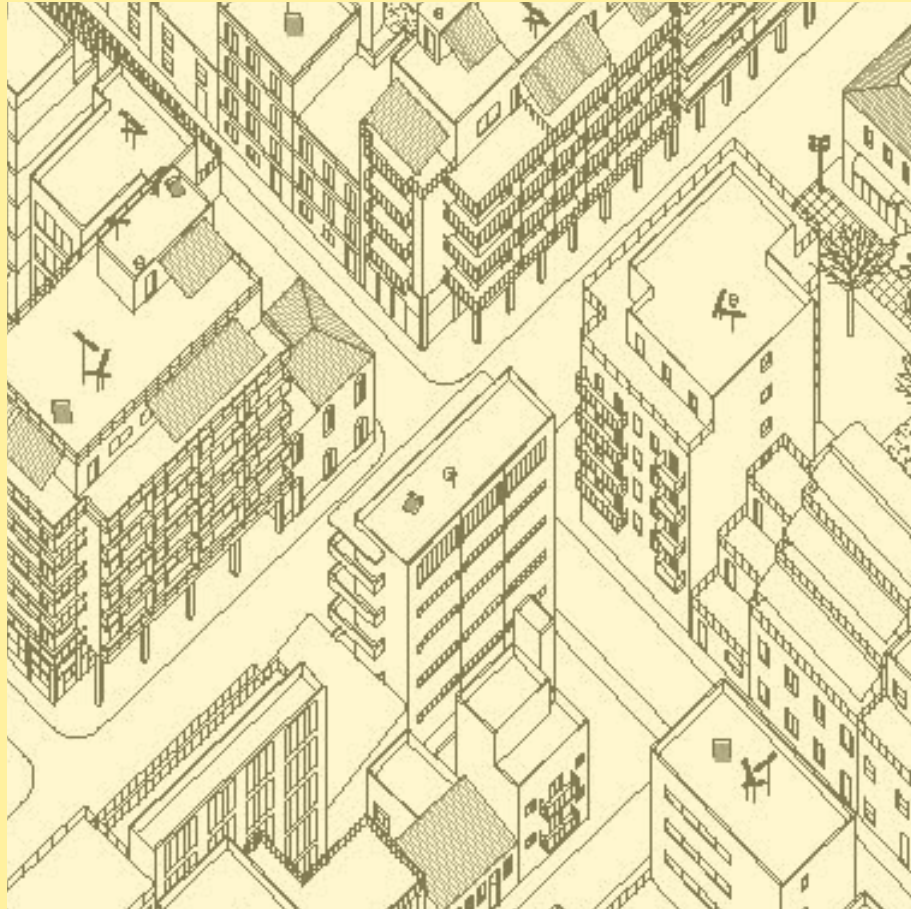
RESEARCH FOUNDATION

This chapter draws conclusions from the Problem Analysis, seen in *Problem Focus*. The conclusions narrow down the problem field to a problem statement that, when combined with the knowledge gap, highlight the approach and objectives of the research. From there, the main question arises: *How can spatial planning and governance support the design of urban space that counteracts social exclusion of migrants in Athens?*

3.1
PROBLEM STATEMENT

3.2
RESEARCH AIM

3.3
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1- PROBLEM STATEMENT

The previous chapter intended to explore why and how migration is impacted by receiving societies. This section places Athens into focus, by discussing the impact of spatial planning and governance into the conflicts between the mixed groups of the city.

Sandercock observes that ''Most western societies today are demographically multicultural, and more are likely to become so in the foreseeable future'' (2004), which, according to her, has brought difference into the centre of planning agenda due to three global trends: transnational migration, post-colonialism and civil society revolts.

Thus, societies that become unexpectedly more multicultural, are affected by the presence of new social groups that are distinguished from the established ones, merely because of what Sandercock terms as **difference**.

Häussermann και Siebel (2001: 73-74) support the theory that *difference* can bring complete opposite scenarios into being: contact hypothesis kontakthypothese) and conflict hypothesis (konflikthypothese), regarding the integration of this difference. The first one suggests that friction eliminates prejudices, thus resulting in acceptance and, eventually, assimilation of the alien group. Then again, the second one suggests that multiculturalism can highlight diversions in social perspectives and practices, which results in the thesis that *spatial proximity is not necessarily equivalent to social proximity*.

Stavrides (1997) supports that the conflict hypothesis mentioned above is inevitable in complex metropoles. He views the phenomenon of *difference* not as an unfortunate by-product of urbanisation, but as its inherent component, that nonetheless produces what he calls *metropolitan (as in cultural) shock.*

The situation regarding the perception of *difference* in Athens depends on the perception of *Xenos* (stranger, foreigner) by the receiving society. Savvakis (2012) explains that the meaning of Xenos in Greece is contradictory: there is a perception that sees migration as something temporal, and thus disregards its importance, even though facts demonstrate the opposite. This results in reactions against the presence of migrants and in return, solidarity movements that support their rights as residents and workers of the city.
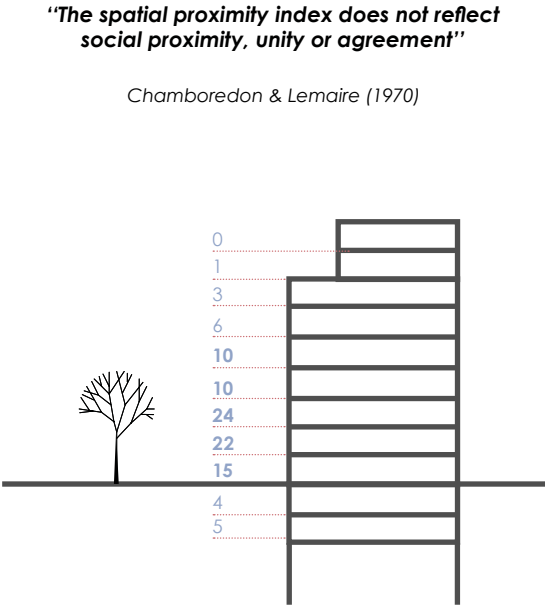
The typology of polykatoikia (apartment building) and the parallel absence of complete implementation of regional designs might have bequeathed the city with flawed urban environments of rapid densification and other related issues (narrow roads, solid volumes, poor aesthetics, scarce public spaces and greenery), but at the same time had an important social function: secured housing of both migrants and natives in the same buildings. This resulted in moderate levels of segregation in the Metropolitan scale (Mandouvalou & Mavridou1993; Antonopoulou 1994; Aviou et al. 1995).

Nonetheless, **these conditions of spatial proximity are not equivalent to social proximity** (Chamboredon & Lemaire, 1970). This disagreement is manifested through small and large-scaled protests by both natives and migrants (see Fig. 3.2, Fig. 3.3).

"The spatial proximity index does not reflect social proximity, unity or agreement"

Chamboredon & Lemaire (1970)

Fig. 3.1 - Vertical access to housing market among immigrants by percentages (Mpalampanides, 2016).

Fig. 3.2 - Anti-fascist protest on 15 September, 2018 with the slogan *out with the neonazis,* in the foreground. Source: Symela Pantzartzi, 2018.

Fig. 3.3 - The collage demonstrates conflicts between migrants and Athens as receiving city. Source: various, own edit.

1- PROBLEM STATEMENT

The previous chapter analysed the problem of exclusion and segregation in Athens, exploring the urban conditions, and especially spatial planning and its governance (see Fig. 3.4). The analysis was based on the hypothesis that social conditions are affected by urban conditions, and vice versa. In this way, this section presents the main finding and frames the problem into one conclusion.

Spatial Planning
Throughout the years in Athens, attention has been focused on either the centre or the suburbs unevenly, according to the trends of the time. This resulted in intense densification of the centre on the one hand, that contrasts with the conditions in the suburbs on the other hand. Eventually today, there is imbalance between the two ends of development. This has caused concentration of migrants in the neglected urban centres (Athens and Piraeus) (see Fig. 3.5).

Governance
The existing Governance approach that supports Spatial Planning is also contributing to exclusion of migrants. First of all, the typology of Governance is centralist, in other words represented mainly by national and regional scale schemes, while the metropolitan and district institutions and actors are expected to follow. Then, planning today has become speculative, which might force weak social groups into displacement, among them migrants.

Under the absence of social housing policies and the regime of owner-occupation in Athens, migrants are distributed in partly abandoned residential buildings, in degraded areas, which results in mixed neighbourhoods. This is amplifying the uneven access to formal tenures and housing quality (Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010).

In essence, the above conditions have caused spatial segregation, horizontally (between areas) and vertically (same buildings).

Problem Statement

The conditions of spatial planning and its governance have supported social exclusion for migrants. This is expressed as spatial segregation (horizontal) and speculative housing market:

Uneven conditions of urban space result in marginalisation of certain areas, while speculative governance results in (direct or indirect) displacement from housing. Eventually, urban spaces are grounds of conflicts, because natives and migrants are found in forced spatial proximity.
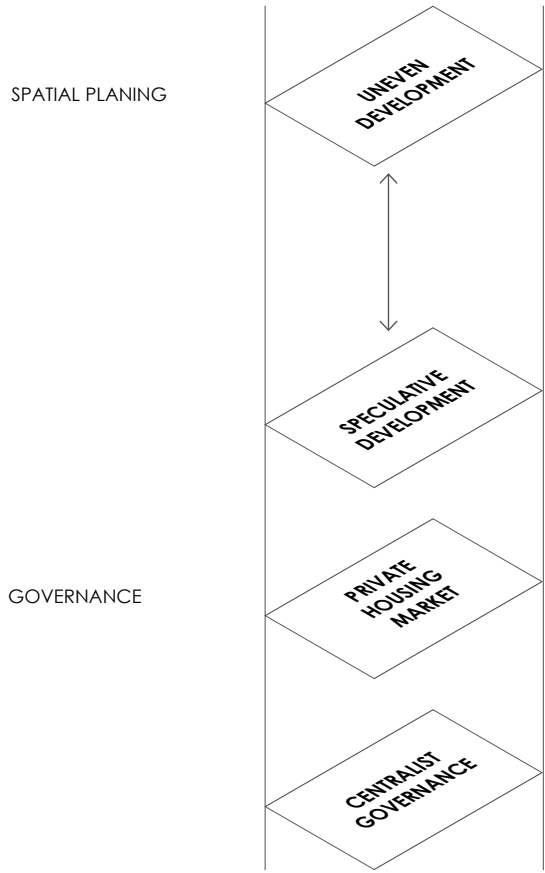

Fig. 3.4 - The existing governance conditions defined spatial planning as an outcome, that brings social implications for migrants. Own edit.
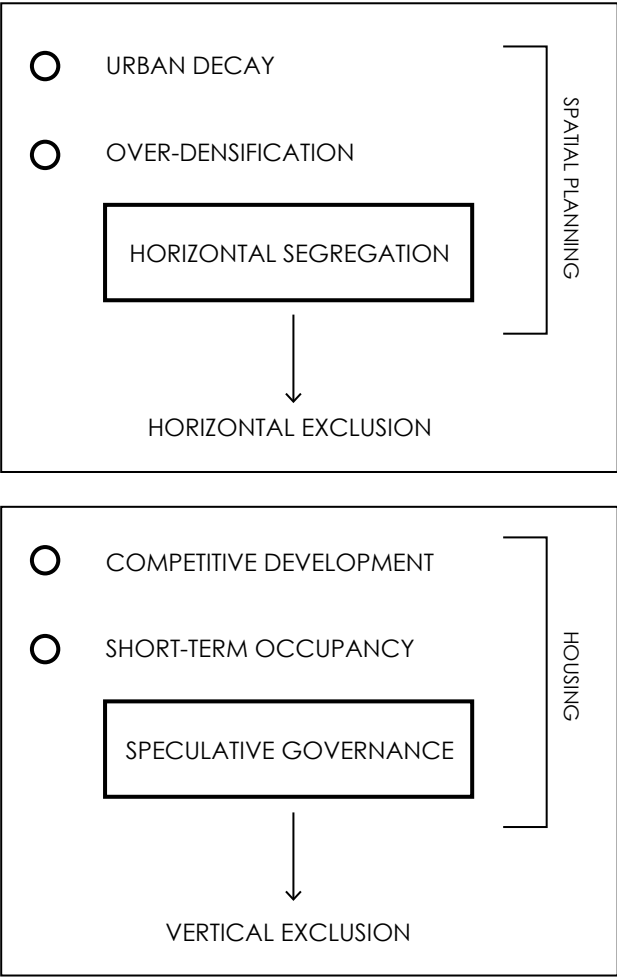

Fig. 3.5 - Conclusion from the problem focus analysis. Own edit

2- RESEARCH AIM

The research suggests that there is an urgent need to rethink existing systems of social inclusion for migrants and their impact on the receiving society and space. Inclusion should be accompanied by *new societal, spatial and political paradigms that view diversity as an opportunity*.

The objective of this research is to develop the appropriate strategy in areas with migrants, that will then inform the inclusion in the metropolitan scale. The strategy thus aims to counteract spatial segregation and promote interactions between migrants and natives in these areas.

On the one hand, the research seeks alternatives to the existing spatial planning culture and practice, that contribute to uneven development, as discussed previously. For this, the research will elaborate on development that is spatially just, without favouritism for some areas or neglect for others. Instead, the vision is to propose strategies that redistribute resources among areas and thus among social groups.

On the other hand, the research seeks strategies that involve both migrants and natives in the process of changing the urban conditions. The proposed strategy should provide them with the media of communicating desirable transformations and participating actively in the implementation process.

The research claims that spatial planning could influence the relation between social and spatial proximity of natives and foreigners. In this way, the research will provide practical contribution on how social complexity can fuel planning outcomes in diverse cities.

Fig. 3.6 - Roma and Greek residents in the public square ''Thymarakia'', in the city centre of Athens. Source: *Paris Tavitian, 2017*.

3- RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim for conducting the research influenced the main research question that needs to be answered:

''How can spatial planning and governance support the design of urban space that counteracts social exclusion of migrants in Athens?''

In other words, the research follows the hypothesis that re-adjusted principles of urban design can enhance the inclusion of migrants.

The main question is de-constructed into 5 sub-research questions that are coherent with 4 intended outcomes: Theory, Governance, Spatial analysis, and finally Design of the urban space (see Fig. 3.7).

The questions related with Governance and Spatial Analysis concern multiple scales (city, districts, blocks), which will help with the understanding of the context, and thus influence the Design of the urban space.

MAIN QUESTION

> HOW CAN *SPATIAL PLANNING* AND *GOVERNANCE* SUPPORT THE DESIGN OF *URBAN SPACE* THAT ENHANCES *INTERACTIONS* OF **MIGRANTS AND NATIVES** IN ATHENS?

SUBQUESTIONS

THEORY ANALYSIS

SRQ1
''How can spatial planning contribute to the spatial integration of migrants?''

GOVERNANCE ANALYSIS

SRQ2
''What is the current governance practice regarding the production of housing in Athens?''

SPATIAL ANALYSIS

SRQ3
''How were migrant groups distributed across Athens over time and to which urban space characteristics did this distribution relate?''

DESIGN OF THE URBAN SPACE

SRQ4
''What are the potentials in the urban space for promoting interactions between migrants and natives?''

SRQ5
''How can spatial planning and governance practices be improved in order to stimulate the development of housing that counteracts social exclusion of migrants in Athens?''

Fig. 3.7 - Diagram with the research questions, in accordance with their outcomes. Own edit

4
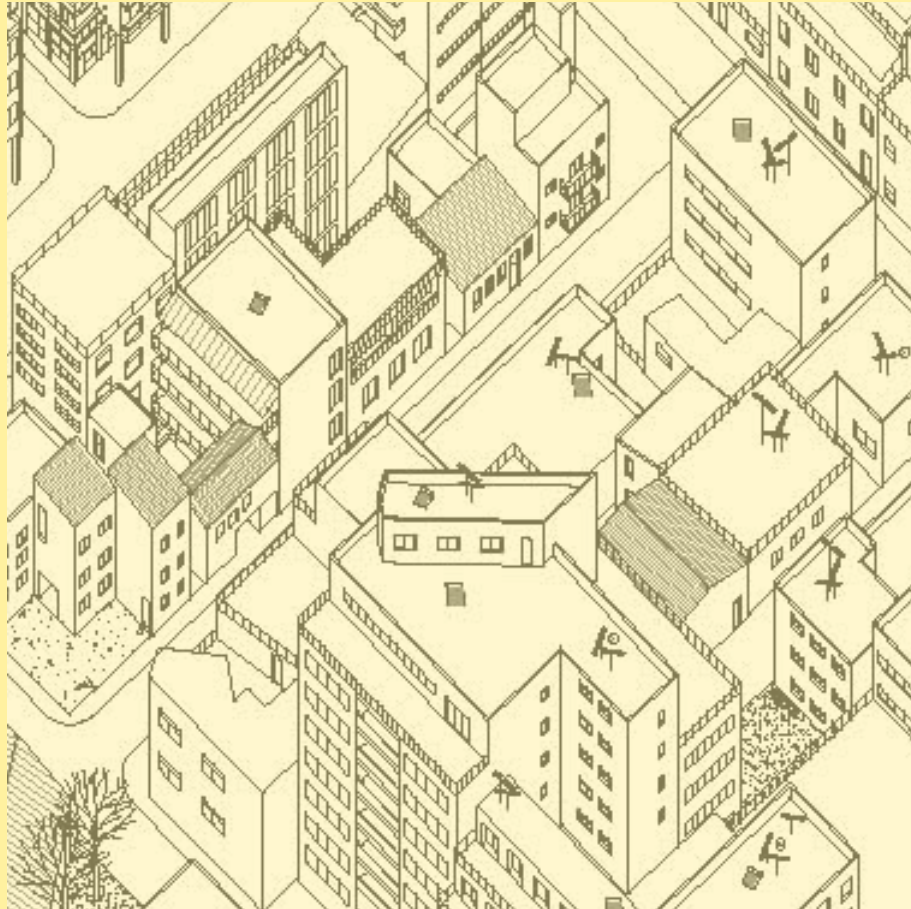
THEORY FOUNDATION

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the project through selected theories that are shaped together into the Conceptual Framework of the research. The theory is concerned with the definition of the problem, focus and framework of the research. Here, the concepts of spatial justice, interculturalism, and integration will be clarified. In general, the theoretical framework supports the objective of promoting social interactions through the dimensions of spatial planning and governance.

4.1
EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS

4.2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.2
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter (Theory Foundation) contains the following sections:

4.1 Empirical Findings
4.2 Theoretical Framework
4.3 Conceptual Framework

Recently, scholarly sources, especially social geography, have been more active in exploring the effects of social processes on spatial form and vice versa. Harvey concluded in his work that understanding the complexity of space depends upon the appreciation of social processes and vice versa (2005). The theories through which this interplay is investigated are presented in the present chapter (see Fig. 4.1). Firstly, exclusion is observed in the form of case study in Athens, as the core problem of the research in 4.1. Then, the chapter presents spatial justice as principle, and multiculturalism, interculturalism and integration as approaches that orient both the analysis and the strategy of design. The theoretical statement of the research supports the conceptual framework, which will be made explicit in the end of this chapter.

THEORIES

EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS

Gerometta
Haussermann & Longo
Atkinson
Ostendorf
Musterd & De Vos

EXCLUSION
SEGREGATION

FOUNDATIONS

Plato
Lefebvre
Fainstein
Harvey
Marcuse
Soja

(SPATIAL) JUSTICE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bolt et al.
Andersson & Musterd
Arbaci & Malheiros

MULTI-CULTURALISM

INTER-CULTURALISM

Sandercock
Hoekstra
Fainstein
Fincher et al.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

HOUSING

INTEGRATION

Ager & Strang
Penninx & Mascareñas
Heckermann

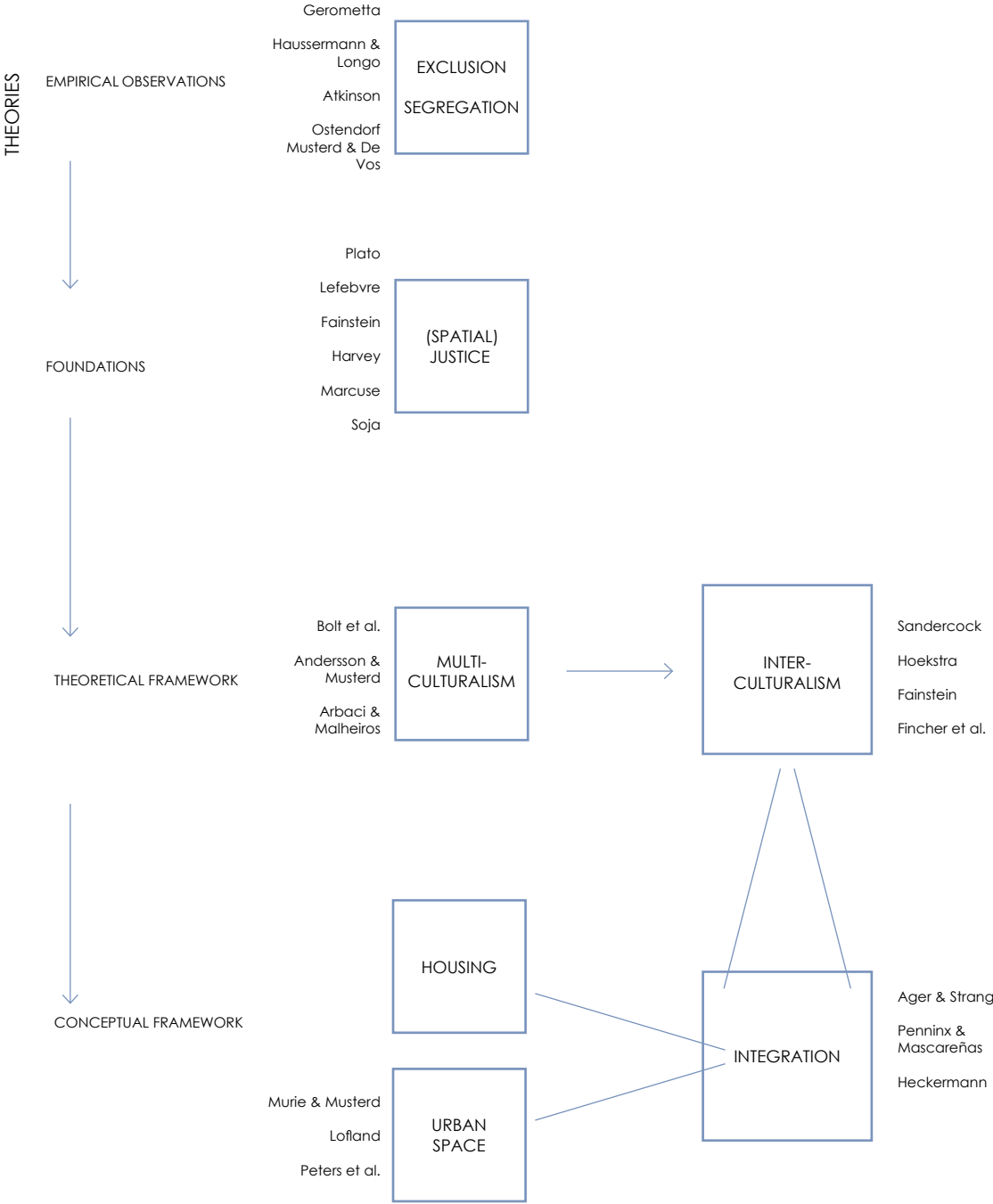Murie & Musterd
Lofland
Peters et al.

URBAN SPACE

Fig. 4.1 - Diagram summarising the main theories of the Framework. Own edit

1- EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS

Fig. 4.2 - Protests supporting migrants are often held in Athens, as evidence of group conflict. Source: Rapakousis, 2017.

The empirical findings are concerned with the manifestation of exclusion as problem in Athens. In context, migrant exclusion is expressed according to the particular contextual, historical conditions of receiving societies. This section studies exclusion in the urban environment and presents the findings in two parts: conflicts in urban space and residential segregation.

Conflicts in urban space

The social canvas in Athens has gradually been more diverse (1990-), which has caused social conflicts over the years. The 'diversification of diversity', that is to say the increasing complexity of the city's population (Kandylis, Maloutas, & Sayas, 2012; Caponio et al., 2019) is particularly visible in the urban core, where the highest concentration of migrants is observed (40 per cent, ELSTAT, 2014). Although the population background was less complex, the situation has recently changed, with rising numbers from different parts of the world, where the political climate is unstable and hostile (Hellenic Republic, 2019). The distribution of migrants in the centre is justified by the history of development in Athens.

During the expansion of the city (1950-1980), development in and around the urban centres (Athens and Piraeus) derived from ungoverned densification, funded by individual capital. This resulted in numerous issues: neglect for pedestrians, inadequate infrastructure planning and scarcity of green spaces. The physical image of the city, but also the cognitive image of the centre had changed. The population of the centre plummeted, while satellite neighbourhoods were developed by the middle class. This trend resulted in neglect and degradation for the urban space of the centre, both by the state and the property owners. During the past decades, migrants have settled in the city centre for various reasons, such as housing affordability, proximity to available work opportunities and transport accessibility. They started occupying the same buildings were natives were originally settled (vertical segregation), which created the social mixing conditions (Maloutas & Oikonomou 1992; Emmanuel 2006; Arapoglou & Maloutas, 2011). In this particular context of spatial proximity, social interaction may embrace various possibilities, ranging from conflictual tensions to more harmonious contacts. (see Fig. 4.3).

Fig. 4.3 - The image shows migrants in one of the vulnerable districts of Athens, undergoing changes. Source: Balaoura, 2013.

Fig. 4.4 - The housing complex of the image is still undergoing redevelopment plans. Source: Karahalis, Y. 2013.

Residential Segregation

The contradiction of spatial proximity and exclusion can be further studied through the example of residential segregation in Athens. The degree of segregation for migrants may vary, because of individual political, social and cultural conditions. Regarding housing conditions, significant differences are discovered, depending on variables such as residency status and duration of stay. The observations focus on the dominant migrant groups per influx periods: 1990- (labour migrants) and 2015 (refugees).

1990-

On the one hand, labour migrants mainly access housing through the private market, while there is scarce availability in social housing. The majority of the 1990s migrants, as evidenced by testimonies, found it difficult to find a suitable and habitable home. The available housing stock were already aged and devalued, small apartments in the densely populated areas of the city centre (Manos et al., 2017). Despite the insignificant levels of segregation, with migrants and natives sharing the same neighbourhoods and residential buildings, housing conditions are actually unequal (Balampanidis and Bourlessas, 2018)..

Moreover, the housing opportunities for socially vulnerable migrants are scarce, as the social housing network is still constrained. The migrants represent half of the housing beneficiaries, even though 90 per cent of the applicants. The accommodation is provided during 6 months and is then renewed, If the tenants are eligible (Piccinni et al., 2018).

2015-

On the other hand, migrants that are recognised as refugees or asylum seekers experience different housing conditions. Even though they can access temporary housing through governmental and non-governmental organisations, this process is often time-consuming. The Municipality is responsible for the inventory of apartments and buildings throughout the city, avoiding concentration in the areas with already high presence of migrant communities (Piccinni et al., 2018).

Other housing issues

Nowadays, that the demand for short-term rentals is higher, the apartment owners can charge high daily rates instead of monthly rates. This has provoked shortage in the affordable housing stock, and housing shortage in terms of availability. Eventually, this impacts different categories of migrants, resulting in further exclusion. The following section will discuss conceptual approaches to counteract the problem, and present possibilities that might alleviate conflicts and residential exclusion .

2- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

(SPATIAL)
JUSTICE

In order to understand these processes from a theoretical standpoint, a series of theoretical notions are important to consider. The consensus between scholars is that segregation is defined as the uneven distribution of the population with respect to certain characteristics (Ostendorf, Musterd, & De Vos, 2001). The process of residential segregation is considered as injustice, because it affects certain class or race-differentiated groups, in terms of their social participation, integration and power (Gerometta, Haussermann, & Longo, 2005; Atkinson, 2000). Young (2000) outlines that residential segregation is threatening not because it underlines the superficial social clustering, but because of the structural contrasts between the segregated areas. She explains this as follows: the segregation narrative should not focus on patterned group differentiation but on patterned exclusion from privileges (see Fig. 4.5).

In diverse cities, the study of justice focuses on resolving segregation between socially differentiated groups. The spatialisation of the re-imagined city derives from the theory of Spatial Justice (Soja, 2010). Edward Soja was one of the pioneers that studied injustice as a phenomenon with geographical implications and developed the theory that strives for spatial redistribution of opportunities.

''If our urban world has been imagined and made then it can be re-imagined and re-made'' (Harvey, D. 2003).

The principles of spatial justice are - as noted above - often associated with battling residential segregation. When considering the concept of justice in the context of urban space and segregation, more closely related theoretical notions come to the foreground.

Fig. 4.5 - Contrasts in housing conditions in Barcelona. Source: Sharon Mollerus, 2009.

2- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

(SPATIAL)
JUSTICE

The philosophy of spatial justice is based on the thesis that collective aspirations for the **form** of the city cannot be separated from the aspirations for its **society**. This is best represented in works inspired by Lefebvre. Most infamously, geographer Harvey reported these aspirations as the right to the city: the ''right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization'' (Harvey 2008, influenced by Lefebvre, 1968). The demand for changing the city comes from those who are excluded from the system, or, more accurately, operating at its margins (Marcuse, 2009). But how many citizens actually possess this right and how many of them exercise it? How is justice defined in urban space? (see Fig. 4.6)

The perception about justice has changed in theory over the course of history. Starting from philosophers in Athens and specifically Plato, Justice is central in the debate described in his Republic. One of the debaters (Thrasymachus) explicitly states that the empowered of the society may shift the meaning of justice, according to their advantage.

In the end, Plato coincides with the definition given by Socrates: for justice, each citizen should act for the community, by engaging themselves in domains that they consider as their specialities. Thus, justice for Plato is an inner equilibrium that each one gains with self-consciousness about their position in community (Kopidakes, n.d.). In modern history, Marx states that "between equal rights, force decides:'' (Marx, 1867, as cited by Harvey, 2012). Theorists started acknowledging that modern societies are ironically inseparable from inequality, especially in the post-Marx era. It is widely known that Marxist theorists address the competition between classes and thus define justice as equal distribution of capital by ''smashing the structure of class domination'' (Fainstein, 2000). Still in recent debates, domination of class power remains defining for the urbanisation theory. Harvey (2012) suggests that urban capital domination implies handling not only the apparatuses that produce space, but also social groups. Urbanisation processes thus become competition processes with political, social and class struggles between groups.

Fig. 4.6 - The title of the image is ''What is the right to the city about?''. The image concerns a publication that answers this and similar questions. Source: Coredem, n.d.


Fig. 4.7 - Source: Karagiannis, S., 2020.

The research views that justice for migrants is addressed in planning through integration measures. In migration policy theory, integration means "the process of becoming an accepted part of society" (Penninx & Mascareñas, 2016). However, the concept of integration can be understood in many ways, depending on the approach or field of interest in each case. Here, the theory analyses integration measures through the lenses of two concepts: multiculturalism and interculturalism. The concepts are chosen because of their relevance in recent studies, with the second as the evolution of the first.

During recent decades, integration has been implemented through social mixing policies by the part of the state. This shift in the attention of policies can be justified by both political urgency and theoretical explo-rations around the concept of social inclusion (Fincher et al., 2014). Especially in Europe, this influenced the emergence of multiple neighbourhood-based programmes, where spatial segregation of social groups was observed as an undesirable phenomenon (Maloutas, 2018). Normally, integration has frequently been advocated or enforced through programmes of ethnic residential dispersal and mixed neighbourhoods (Uitermark, 2014; Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010).

However, there are critics that doubt the rationale of geography as cause of the problem and suggest that social mixing in these areas is used by politicians to disguise the real problems, while ''it is unlikely that serious steps will be undertaken to reduce the structural barriers that these groups face'' (Bolt et al., 2010; Andersson & Musterd, 2005). (see Fig. 4.7)

Similarly, Arbaci and Malheiros (2010) doubt the overall effects of mixed neighbourhoods on social integration, and view that these are often proposed as 'panacea', without further considerations. Kruythoff explains the failure of this rationale: ''the assumption that a greater mix'', through the attraction of new social groups, ''will lead to more social interaction'' is refuted, because great cultural differences keep the interactions into minimal levels'' (Kruythoff, 2003). Also observation of interaction between migrants and natives in the city of Athens makes evident that forced settlement of migrants and natives in the same areas is not an effective or sufficient approach for integration.

MULTI-
CULTURALISM

INTER-
CULTURALISM
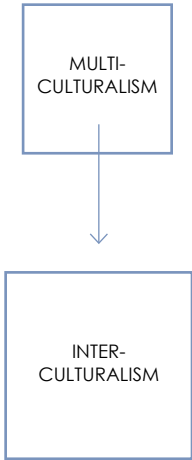
2- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHECK
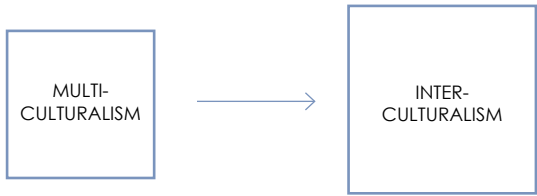
How can planning support integration in ways that are transformative rather than superficial?

Multiculturalism

From the above, it is clear that spatial proximity does not necessarily lead to social proximity and thus social inclusion. Planning and governance practices that force mixed neighbourhoods are already being questioned by policy makers and scholars (Fincher et al., 2014; Andersson & Musterd, 2005; Sandercock, 2003; Young, 2000). In their view, neighbourhood-based approaches are influenced by the multiculturalism rationale, which has been ''an inadequate response to the changing composition of societies'' (Cantle, 2012). Strategies and policies such as the ones described above have also been criticised for staging diversity and further emphasising differences between groups instead of diffusing them (Fincher et al., 2014).
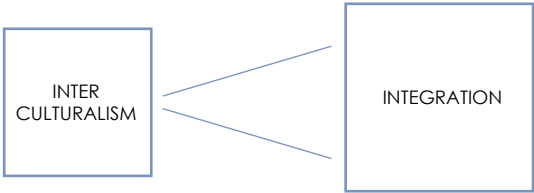
In contrast, such criticism has favoured the emergence of alternative concepts, mainly interculturalism. While the multiculturalism concept encourage parallel existence as sufficient condition, interculturalism emphasises the importance of dialogue and interaction.

This concept views social conflicts and divisions as not destructive, but on the contrary as key elements for bridging people ''together in relationships'' (Eizaguirre et al., 2012). The concept of Interculturalism promotes inclusion in 3 aspects (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Firstly, the social aspect: interculturalism strives for the celebration of diversity, and thus, brings forward mutual understanding and interactions between groups. Secondly, the political aspect: instead of imposing the will of the majority, interculturalism promotes interactions for negotiation; the political arena operates under the values of equality and mutual respect. Thirdly, the cultural aspect: in diverse cities, cultural groups have introvert tendencies, which provides them with safety and belonging but also isolates them. Nonetheless, potential interactions between clustered groups might develop creativity and innovation. Interculturalism in governance has recently been appraised by the European Union for its inclusive approach. Recent integration studies encourage the exploration of the two-way process, involving both the receiving society and the migrants. For the above reasons, the theory of the research discusses selected relevant approaches of integration that are found in parallel with the interculturalism rationale (see Fig. 4.8).

In order to foster interculturalism requires a deeper understanding of the multiple forms of integration processes.... One such understanding is provided by The first selected research seeks the normative understanding of integration, which is expressed through 10 indicators of intervention, divided into 4 domains (Markers and Means, Social Connection, Facilitators, Foundation) (see Fig. 4.9).

The Markers and Means are indicators that require actions from the side of the state in governance. This domain involves what is termed as Markers, because these indicators are defining how successful integration is, while they also clearly serve as potential Means to support the process. This justifies the title of the domain, which places Employment, Housing, Education and Health as key factors in this theory.
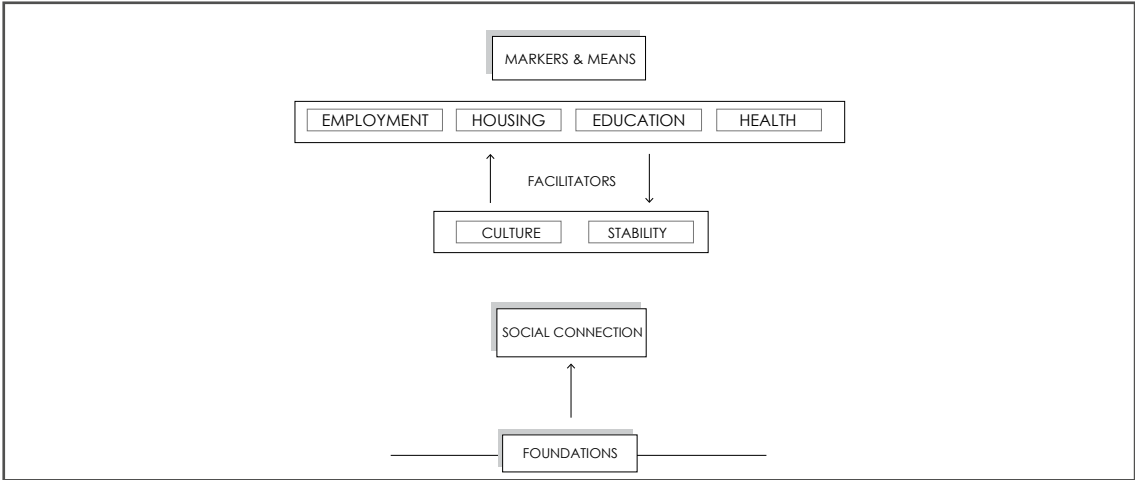
Theses are also the most researched among scholars, probably because of their importance and dependence on government policy (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Fig. 4.8 - Participants of the programme Athens Study Trip, that explored marginalised groups of the city. Source: Humanity in Action, 2015.
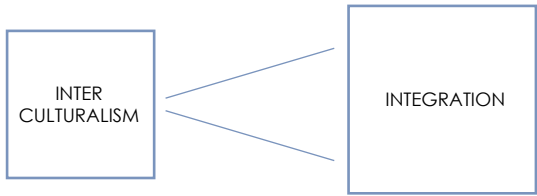

Fig. 4.9 - The domains of integration, based on the theory by Ager & Strang (2008).

2- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The second selected research describes integration by distinguishing four interrelated dimensions: structural, cultural, interactive and identificational integration (Heckmann, 2006, p15) (see Fig. 4.10). These dimensions belong in the same area of research that evaluates integration into institutions of the receiving society.

Structural integration implies the acquisition of rights and the access to positions and membership statuses in the core institutions of the society: economy and labour market, education and qualification systems, housing system, welfare state institutions including the health system, and citizenship in the political community. Cultural integration entails the acquirement of core elements and competences of the culture and society they are migrating into, without banishing their own cultural elements. Interactive integration means the acceptance and inclusion of migrants in the sphere of primary relations and networks of the receiving society, indicated by social contacts and membership in organisations. Identificational integration is the subjective way of achieving inclusion and is expressed with feelings of belonging and identification within groups. The researcher concludes that interactive integration is the most underresearched.
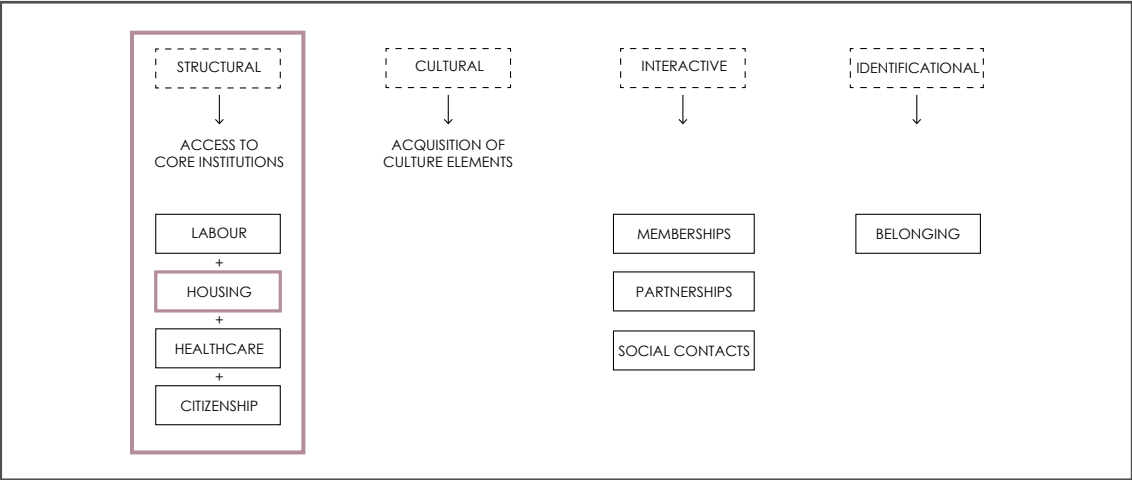
Penninx and Mascareñas (2015), after reviewing definitions on integration from others, including the aforementioned ones, propose 3 dimensions: the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural-religious (see Fig. 4.11). This theory, in comparison with the studies described above, moves the frame from the perspective of migrants as main actors, to their relationship with the receiving society. First, within the political dimension, the residence and statuses are analysed. This dimension puts the irregular migrants on one end, and the national citizens, migrants considered as members of the political community on the other end.
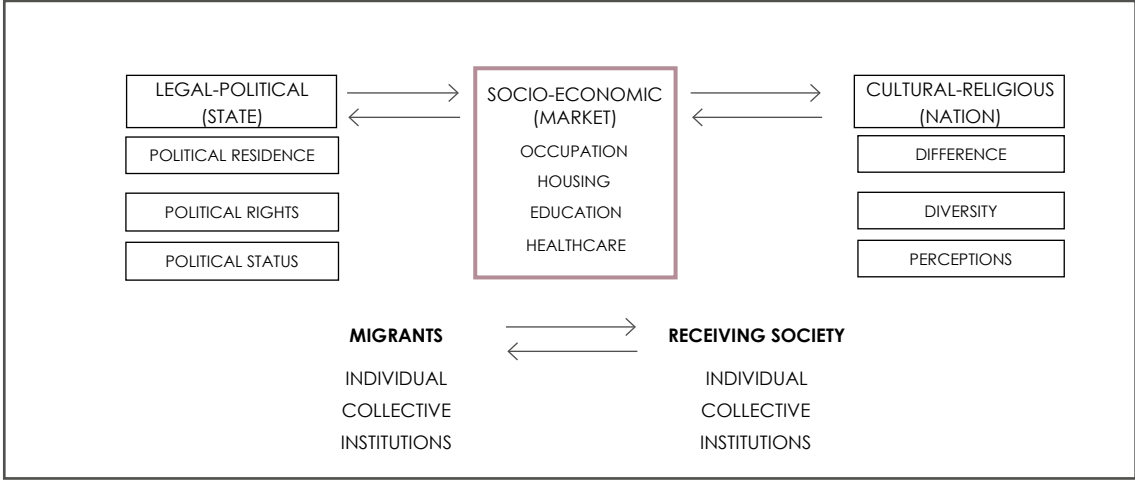
Within the social dimension, the position of immigrants can be analysed by looking at their access to and participation in domains that are crucial for any resident. Lastly, within the cultural dimension, perceptions and practices of immigrants and the receiving society are analysed, as well as their reciprocal reactions to difference and diversity.

This theory underlines the importance of interactions, which becomes central in the approach of the research. The authors explain that both migrants and receiving societies participate in the integration through their own engagement, but the field of interaction between them is what eventually determines the success or failure of integration (see Fig. 1.7). Interactions are defining for the integration process, as they can influence its indicators and dimensions. Interactions between groups of difference provide the grounds for an inclusive city. Just as interaction in democracy means striving for participation and possible consensus between participants, urban interaction means debate between diverse groups and not just interaction between strangers. Thus, concluding from the theoretical reflection on integration is the influence of 'interaction'.

Fig. 4.10 - The domains of integration, based on the theory by Heckermann (2006).

Fig. 4.11 - Model for the empirical study of integration processes, by Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas (2016) and the 3 domains of integration (own edit).

3- CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter has described empirically observable segregation in Athens. Combining the previously presented theoretical notions for understanding these conditions objectively, evolved into the following conceptual framework. The research distinguishes housing and urban space as the domains that can be addressed for applying integration in both spatial planning and governance.

Housing

Firstly, by aligning the rather complicated and different domains of integration, expressed by the three theories analysed above, Housing is selected as most adequate for this research. Based on the theory discussed before, the domain of Housing is equally underlined as essential in different integration theories and involves many possible aspects that could be addressed in planning (see Fig. 4.12). The research identifies housing as fundamental domain for social integration, which stands in conflict with the current approach in place, as seen in the previous section (Empirical Findings). Bolzoni et al (2015) place housing at the centre of inclusion/exclusion by describing it as ''an essential step on the integration path and a precondition for the full enjoyment of social and civil rights as well as social services''. The type of Housing that facilitates integration involves variables such as physical size, quality and facilities of housing, along with financial security of tenancies and, where appropriate, ownership. In sum, the framework focuses on Housing as the institution that can become the main medium in the strategy for integration of migrants.

Urban Space

Secondly, the research selects Urban Space as an exploratory domain for the integration of migrants. Here, the framework focuses on the concept of interactions which, based on the theory, may enhance integration. Various researchers have discussed the influence that open spaces can have on interactions, as they have the function of ''encounter spaces''.

Being in the same spaces provides opportunities for both individuals and groups to declare their presence, which leads to more familiarity with each other (Holland & Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2007). Eventually, people who would not normally share space may do so in the common spaces that the city may provide. Thus, urban space may be an important field for integration, not only because of its potentials for interactions, but also because marginal and 'different' groups can claim their presence in the city by being exposed in its open spaces (Murie & Musterd, 2004).

While the ''inclusive urban space'' may generally be desirable for promoting interactions, the nature of the interactions often remains ambiguous. The possibilities for defining interactions may range, depending on the scale of intimacy that is developed among the participants. Both one-off interactions and strong or more structural interactions can happen in spaces for social encounter (Lofland, 1998). Spontaneous interactions can provide breaks in daily routines and alleviate unresolved tensions in a neighbourhood. Structural interactions between people of different social and ethnic backgrounds can provide insights on common problems and aspirations, eventually bridging the gap that divides them.

However, instead of idealising spaces, the research proposes some requirements for the character of Urban Space that facilitates interactions. The vision of urban spaces as being open to everyone has its limitations, as the reality is that some spaces are exclusively open only to certain groups. Many researchers state that although diversity is theoretically expressed and debated in the city, urban spaces are often territorialised by particular groups (Peters et al., 2010). Nonetheless, such spaces should be open and avoid anyone being considered 'undesirable', and should thus avoid discouraging them from integrating with the urban environment. In sum, urban spaces can facilitate interactions with the precondition that these spaces are open and accessible to everyone.
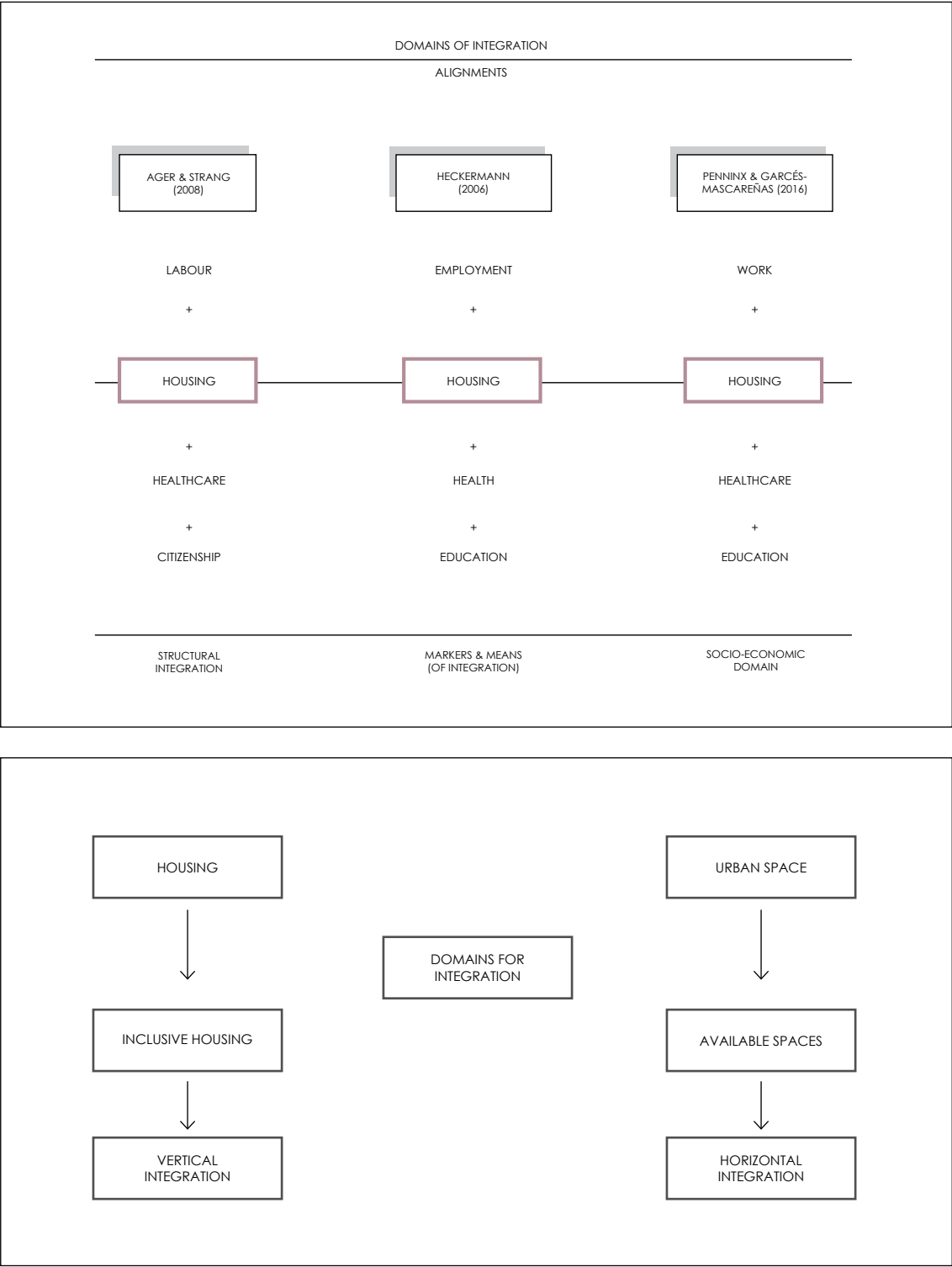

Fig. 4.12 - The domain of housing is underlined as alignment between different integration theories.

3- CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The production of Housing and Urban Space as Places

Emphasis should be put on space not just as final outcome but also as process, which is why the concept of ''Production of Space'' is fundamental in the framework for integration. The argumentation of its theory is shortly discussed next.

Henri Lefebvre (1991) is concerned about the meaning of production in the discussion about space, and specifies the ambiguity of the term through his work. Indeed, he explains that the concept gains true content only when the questions who, what and how are answered. Space, in his theory, is not just an end product of labour, but also a means of production. Thus, just as the production of Urban Space should involve the process of re-imagining, designing and experiencing the city, the production of Housing should involve the actions of finding, changing and creating residential spaces.

Next, the concept of this research focuses on the production of Housing and urban space as *places instead of spaces* (see Fig. 4.13). The reason for this is because space is objective, whereas the concept of place is subjective, and requires human participation, which reflects the mindset of integration more accurately. In practical terms, the concrete meaning of space often merges with the abstract meaning of place: the undifferentiated space, that users have no connections with, becomes *place* as they have experiences and endow it with values and symbols (Tuan, 2011).

''Sense of place'' is a concept which transforms the typical spaces to places, which are associated with certain behaviour and sensory characteristics for their users. Montgomery conceptualised place as a combination of the following elements:

Activities: the creation of places depends on the numbers of people in and around the street and particularly the existence of human-place and human interactions in spaces.

Attributes: this element concerns the physical and objective aspect of urban spaces that allows for maximum possibility for activity.

Conceptions: the third element of places are the mental images or otherwise the feelings and impressions about spaces. defined by

Thus, *sense of place* is a complex concept of emotion and attachment that is ''created'' by how people identify with spaces. This means that the *place* is not determined beforehand nor that it has certain predefined meaning, but rather that it is created from the particular interactions that people have in (and with) urban spaces (Hashemnezhad et al.).

Summarising the above, the research will focus on integration through the production of housing as place, as this reflects the theory of conceivable instead of euclidean spaces, while also matching the principles of integration. The concepts described here will be implied when using the term ''Housing'' in the course of the present research.
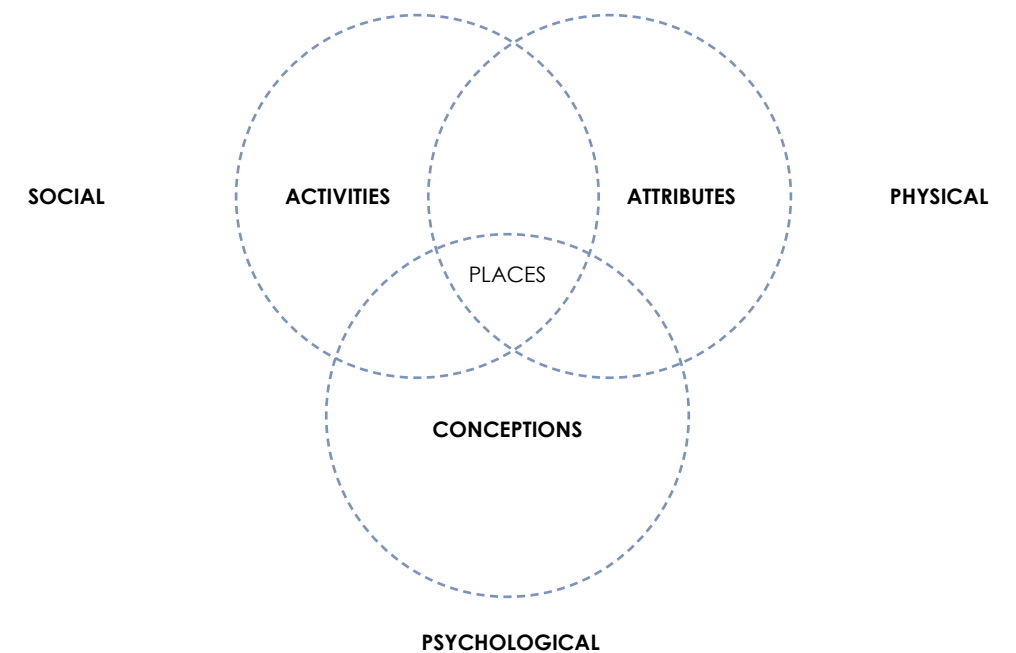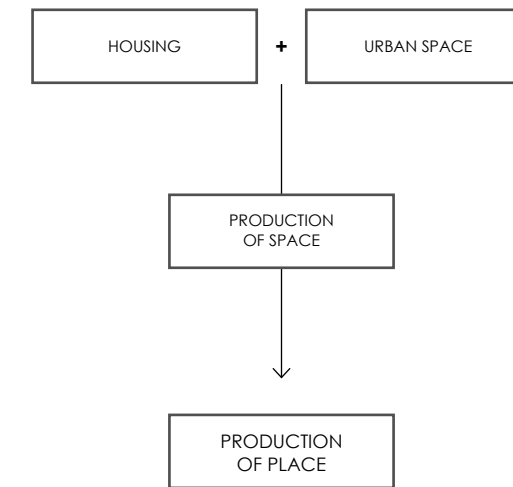

Fig. 4.13 - The research is interested in the production of housing and urban space as places, concept which is explained in this section. Own edit.

The elements for creating places are explained through the visual metaphor of the diagram; Source: Montgomery, 1998. Own edit.

3- CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The theory of the research has suggested that social integration should be based on transformative interactions rather than parallel existence of migrants and natives. From the definition of Integration (Penninx & Mascareñas, 2014), interactions between receiving society and migrants is key measure that supports Interculturalism as the most inclusive paradigm among the researchers.

Although integration is inherent in national policies in most European countries, it does not always demand spatial restructuring, which is the case in the southern countries, where residential segregation rates are minimum (Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010). In the case of Athens, this is reflected in the miscoordination between migration policies and spatial planning of any scale.

From the above, well-founded integration should happen between the excluded areas and the rest of the metropolitan city. Thus, the research focuses on the area where migrants present medium and high concentrations as residents in the permanent population (20 per cent or more). However, instead of following an approach confined within the boundaries of this area, the research expands the focus to the city scale, where the strategy for housing and urban space is eventually applied. In this way, the approach is wholesome, as it concerns the city-metropolis interaction.

Thus, the concept views the city as ground for interactions between natives and migrants. The interventions concern the aspects of urban space and housing as both shared and private places where interactions should be enhanced. The domain of housing, in terms of affordability, provision and ownership, is the metaphorical current through which migrants can find their place in the housing market. The domain of urban space, in terms of processes and interventions, is the common field where both migrants and natives can actively change and experience spaces in the city.

In conclusion, the Conceptual diagram (see Fig. 4.14) highlights the main elements that are fundamental or integration of migrants in Athens. In essence, this framework reinvents the city as potential ground for interactions (migrants-natives), both by physical and institutional interventions on housing and urban space.
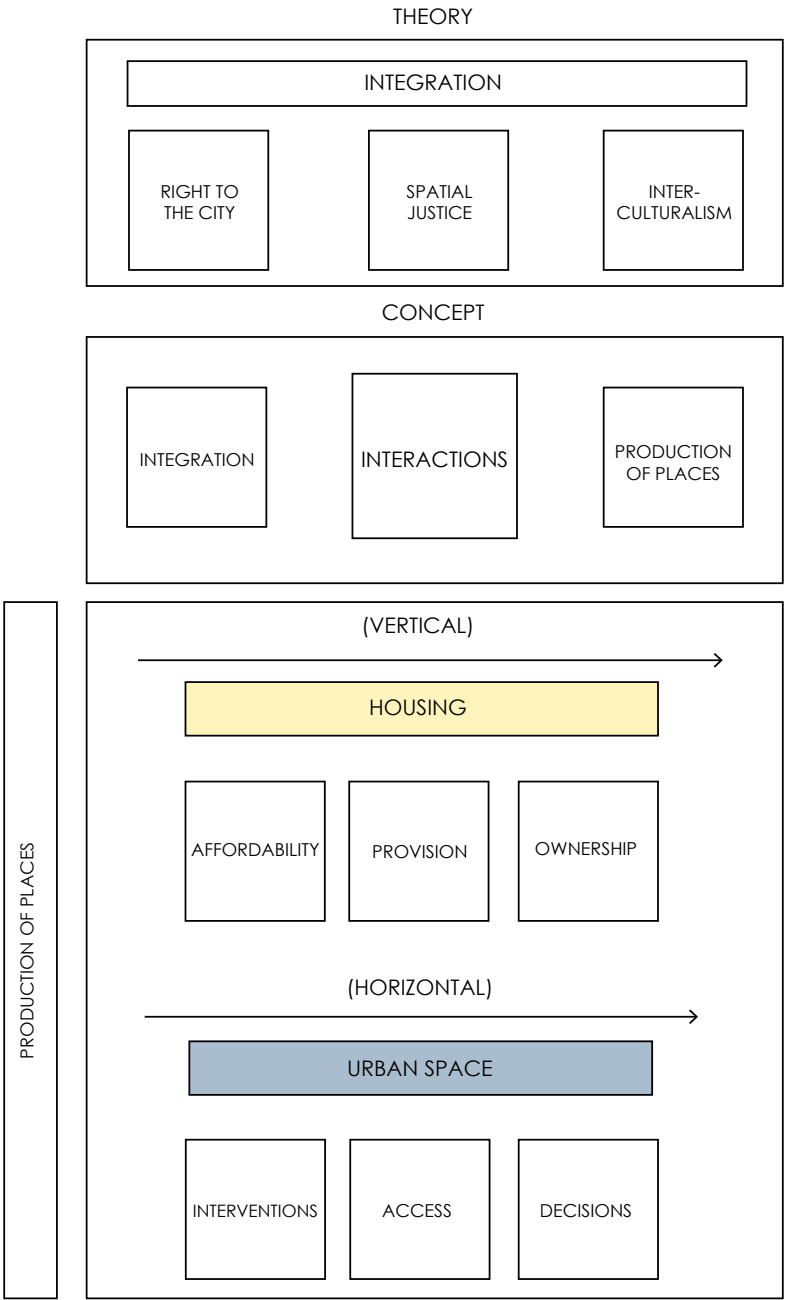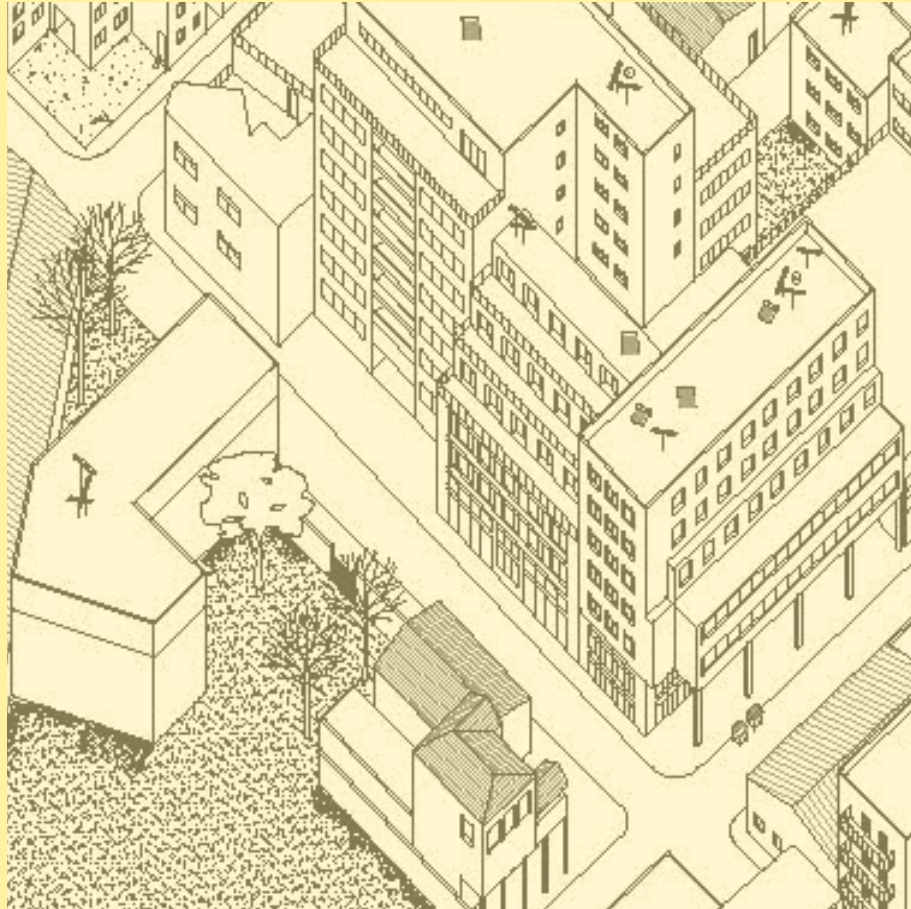
Fig. 4.14 - The diagram describes the interactions on 2 dimensions: horizontal and vertical. Own edit.

5

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodological process of the thesis, which explains the steps from analysis towards the design. Then, the considerations at the end of the chapter show how the broader relevance and limitations of the research.

1- INTRODUCTION

The following chapter will elaborate on the methodology framework, which presents the supporting structure and the methods that will be used to achieve the research aim and eventually answer the research questions.

The chapter contains the following sections:

5.1- Introduction

5.2- Research Framework
    -Problem Statement
    -Research Aim
    -Research Questions

5.3- Research Methods

5.4- Expected Outcomes

5.5- Considerations

There are intersections between spatial planning and social interactions, simply because space and migration directly affect each other. The standpoint of the research is that spatial and social practices should be intertwined, which is also the conclusion from the Problem analysis (see Chapters 1 and 2). Its conceptual approach is that spatial planning can have influence on interactions, which deals with unknown results and thus renders the research exploratory. However, this makes the process of finding suitable research and design methods challenging.

Nonetheless, experience has shown that each field is concentrated on their own expertise and methods, without bridging across the other. In the case of Athens, there is relatively limited research on the role of spatial planning in responding to migration; the spatial conditions, in the scale of either neighbourhoods or buildings, remain distanced from

the urgency of integration. However, there exists a knowledge gap regarding models that can combine disciplines from both migration and spatial planning policies and perspectives. Thus, the intention of the chapter is to help bridging the gap between the 2 methodologies (see Fig. 5.1).

The methodology flowchart (Fig. 5.2) summarises the fundamental elements that support the elaboration of this chapter, which unfolds the realisation of integration through applying housing and urban space strategies for the city of Athens.
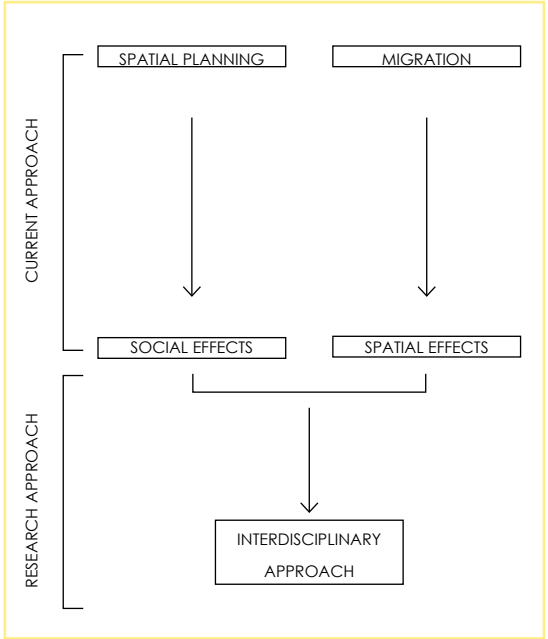

Fig. 5.1 - The current approach in Athens sees social and spatial disciplines as separated, whereas the research will explore their intersection. Own edit.
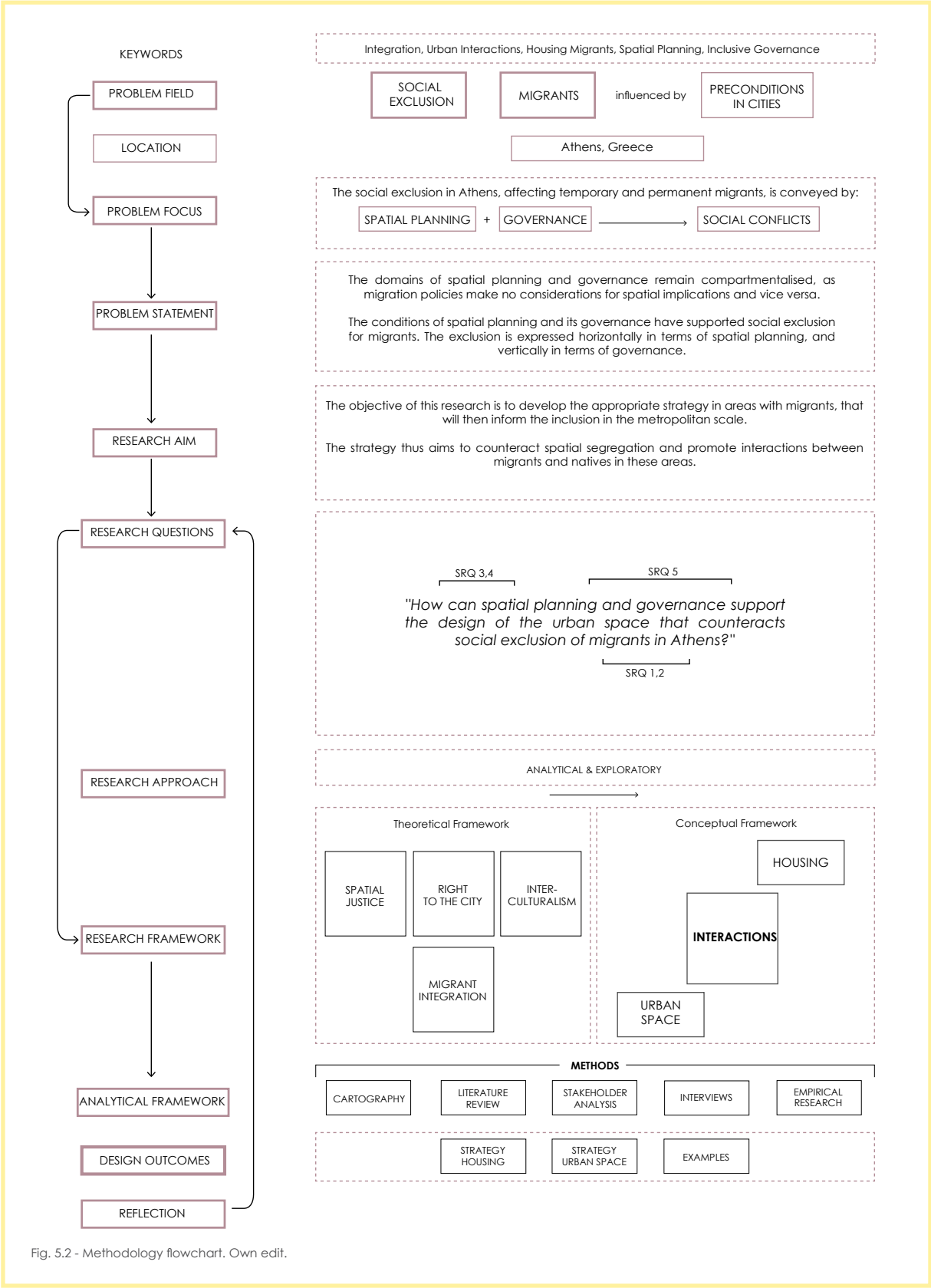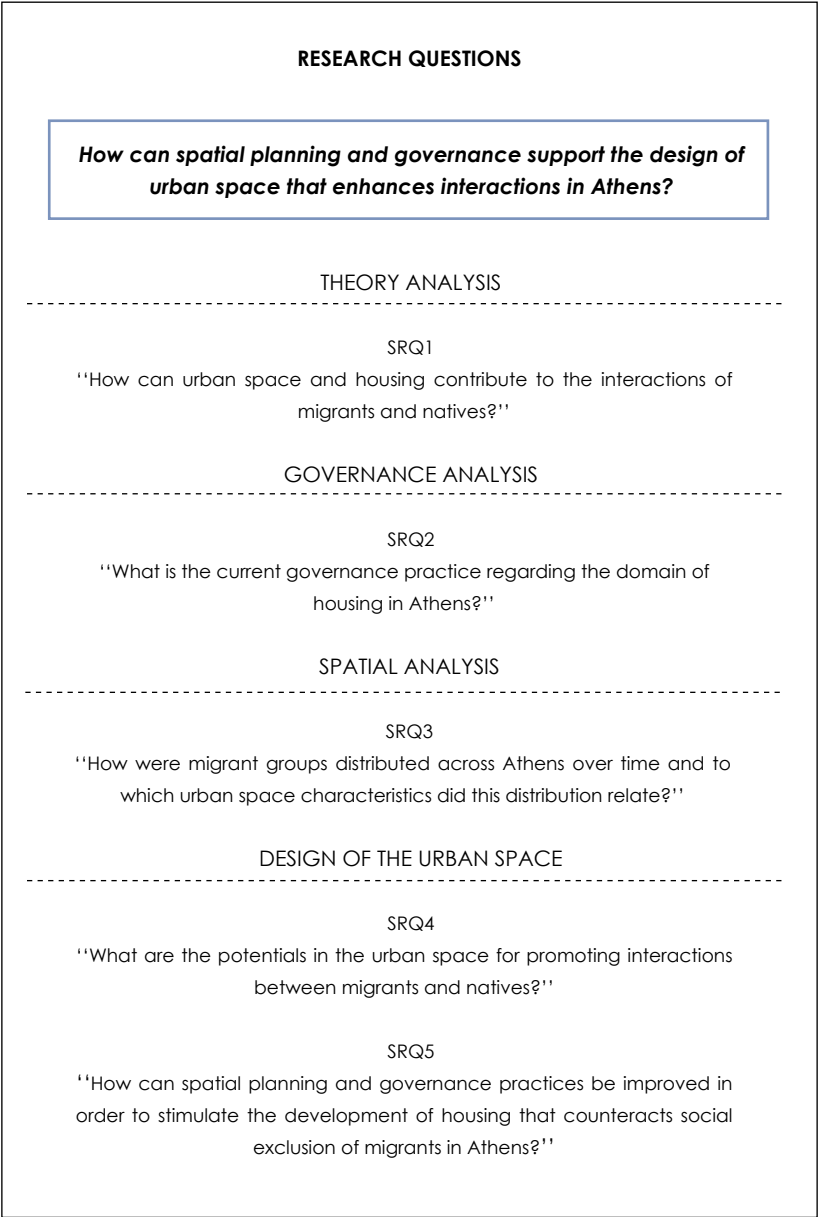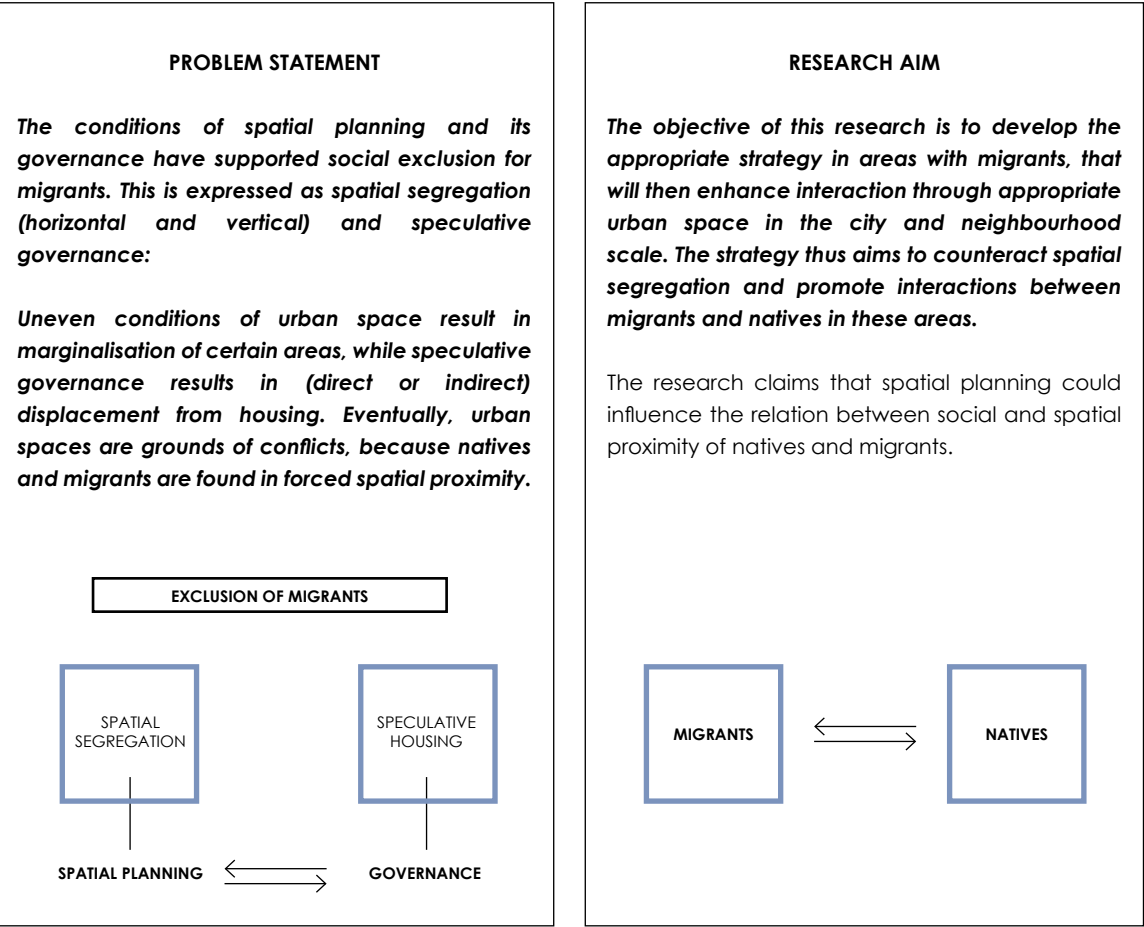

Fig. 5.2 - Methodology flowchart. Own edit.

2- RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The conditions of spatial planning and its governance have supported social exclusion for migrants. This is expressed as spatial segregation (horizontal and vertical) and speculative governance:

Uneven conditions of urban space result in marginalisation of certain areas, while speculative governance results in (direct or indirect) displacement from housing. Eventually, urban spaces are grounds of conflicts, because natives and migrants are found in forced spatial proximity.

> **EXCLUSION OF MIGRANTS**

| SPATIAL SEGREGATION | SPECULATIVE HOUSING |

SPATIAL PLANNING ⟶ GOVERNANCE

RESEARCH AIM

The objective of this research is to develop the appropriate strategy in areas with migrants, that will then enhance interaction through appropriate urban space in the city and neighbourhood scale. The strategy thus aims to counteract spatial segregation and promote interactions between migrants and natives in these areas.

The research claims that spatial planning could influence the relation between social and spatial proximity of natives and migrants.

MIGRANTS ⟷ NATIVES

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

> *How can spatial planning and governance support the design of urban space that enhances interactions in Athens?*

THEORY ANALYSIS
- -

SRQ1
''How can urban space and housing contribute to the interactions of migrants and natives?''

GOVERNANCE ANALYSIS
- -

SRQ2
''What is the current governance practice regarding the domain of housing in Athens?''

SPATIAL ANALYSIS
- -

SRQ3
''How were migrant groups distributed across Athens over time and to which urban space characteristics did this distribution relate?''

DESIGN OF THE URBAN SPACE
- -

SRQ4
''What are the potentials in the urban space for promoting interactions between migrants and natives?''

SRQ5
''How can spatial planning and governance practices be improved in order to stimulate the development of housing that counteracts social exclusion of migrants in Athens?''

3- RESEARCH METHODS

Finding the appropriate methods for research and design was challenging, due to limited scholarly exploration in the intersection of spatial planning, governance and social studies. The research uses primarily 6 methods, each one with its own purpose, applied separately and in combinations. The methods are applied into 5 parts of the research: Theory foundation, context analysis, synthesis, strategy and implementation, which are analysed in the next section.

RM1. Literature Review

The method refers to collecting and reviewing the body of knowledge that is relevant for this research. Specifically, it involves the following as primary resources:

-Journal Studies: governance, migrant (spatial) integration, social geography, cultural difference, housing, urban studies.

-Books: exclusion, migration, spatial justice, social geography.

The aim for using this method is to provide insights for understanding integration in the context of spatial justice as guiding principle. Moreover, it helps with the exploration of the spatial dimensions of integration from theory to practice, during the fieldwork.

This method was important in developing the research foundations, conceptual and analytical frameworks.

RM2. Document Research

This method emphasises on the analysis of documents from various resources, mainly on the themes of urban conditions, integration and housing policies. The aim of the method is to understand the conditions under which integration is implemented and its scale of success in case of Athens. This type was also used to gain knowledge from policies in other European cities (e.g. Amsterdam, Barcelona). The following sources are used:

-Planning Policies: The study of planning policies was key for understanding different approaches in practice. This included: study of documents on integration, interculturalism, social housing plans and spatial planning, prepared by national and supranational authorities.

-Reports: Various reports provided empirical information on migration in Athens and its place in the map of Europe, when comparing cases of integration. This included reports on: the assessment of integration in cities by supranational organisations; censuses on migration numbers by authorities, on the city and national scale.

-Websites: Mediums such as photographs and videos on vacancy, density and decay provided visual representation of the urban conditions.

-Newspaper articles: Study of national newspapers provided quantitative insights. This included: records on migration history, trends of housing market. In addition, it provided narration of positive and negative interactions (migrants-natives), in the context of Athens.

RM3. Interviews

The method of interviews concerns semi-structured questions and discussions with experts from the following fields:

      -Migrant Organisations
      -Social Geography research
      -Spatial Planning

They provide qualitative information on the following topics: the impact of urban space on interactions, integration issues, housing alternatives, speculative planning.

3- RESEARCH METHODS

These interviews (6) are conducted with the purpose of gaining valuable insights in the practical barriers to implementing policies and initiatives. Also, the experts can provide hands-on experience of formal and informal interaction cases of migrants and natives.

RM4. Field Work

This method concerns multiple actions during empirical study in areas with migrants, which, in this case, are situated in the city of Athens. The actions can be summarised in 3 steps:

-Preparation: Study of the city for finding suitable examples (10) for analysis. The criteria for this is the diversity in the programme, the availability of open spaces and the even distribution of examples across the city.

-Realisation: Observations provide an overview of the areas in terms of urban space conditions (quality, density, urban decay), the activities taking place in the area and the typology of interactions between migrants and natives, during different times of the afternoon. These are also documented on site in the form of semi-organised sketching (plans, elevations, sections). In the end of each example, photographs and videos are taken for future reference.

-Presentation: Maps and drawings are used to systematically record and present the weaknesses and opportunities of the urban space for promoting interactions. This helps form conclusions and also provides visual guidance on spatial qualities, for the purpose of this report.

This is one of the most important methods, for various reasons: it serves qualitative analysis on ground knowledge, which helps ascertain or contradict views and theses that were formed before the fieldwork.

RM5. Cartography

The cartography (or simply mapping) used in this research illustrates multiple themes: footprint and intensity of migration, urban space conditions (vacancy, density and decay), housing conditions, urban interactions. The aim is finding the potentials and weaknesses of different aspects that may affect interactions. Multiple scales are crossed (from metropolitan to neighbourhood), depending on the scope and the emphasis in each case. Regarding the collection of geospatial data, the following resources were employed:

-Collaborative maps: globally accessible.
-Published data: provided by authorities.
-Satellite Imagery
-Research data: accessible through
journals, websites and books.

RM6. Stakeholder Analysis

This method explores the players involved in integration, and discovers those that should be more involved in the future. This process is valuable for understanding the complexity behind the coordination of government, private investors and civil society and provides reference framework for the proposed governance scheme.

First, an inventory of primary stakeholders is made and each one is matched with the sector where they belong and their relevant field of influence (housing or generally interactions). Then, the method is used for discussing the pursuits and influences for each of the main stakeholders. Eventually, the interests, collaborations and conflicts between them are presented through matrices that serve as conclusion from applying this method.
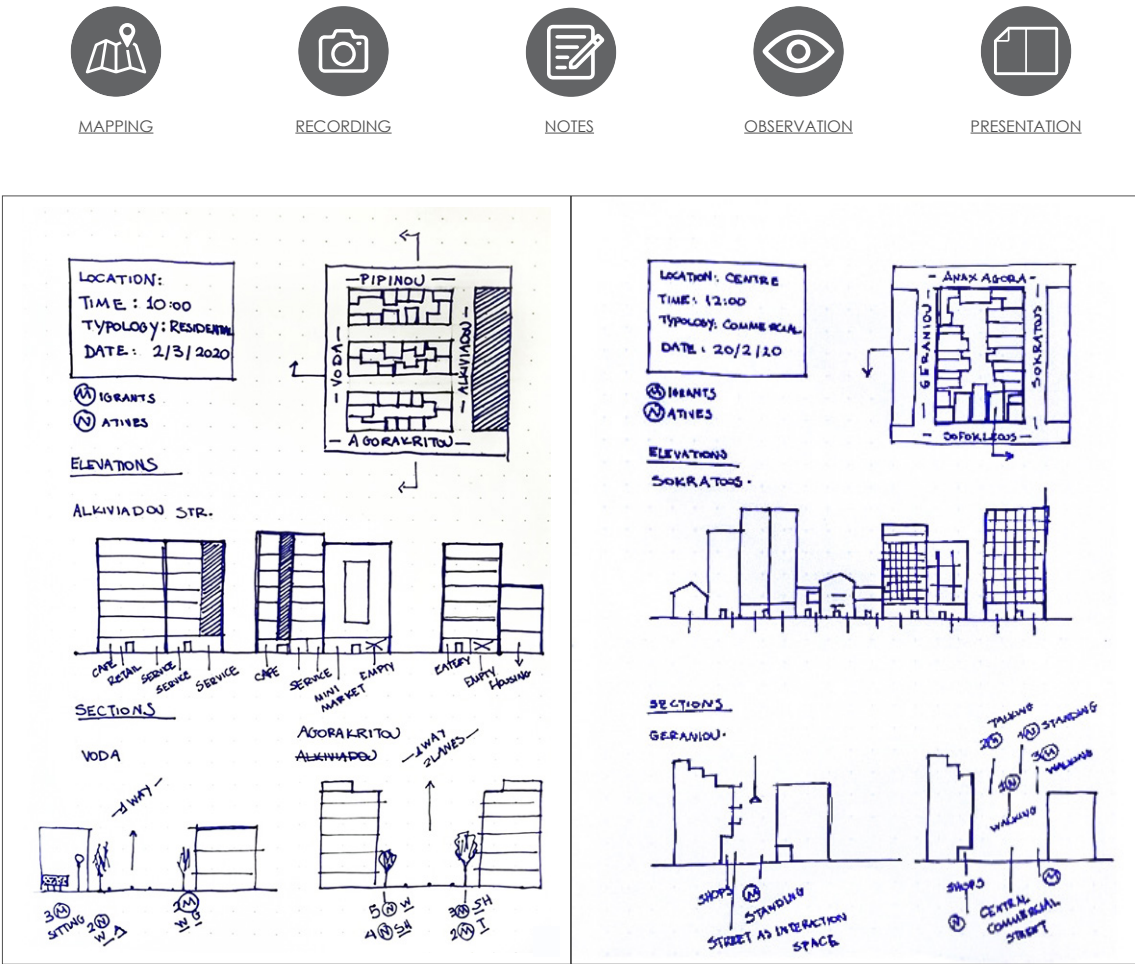

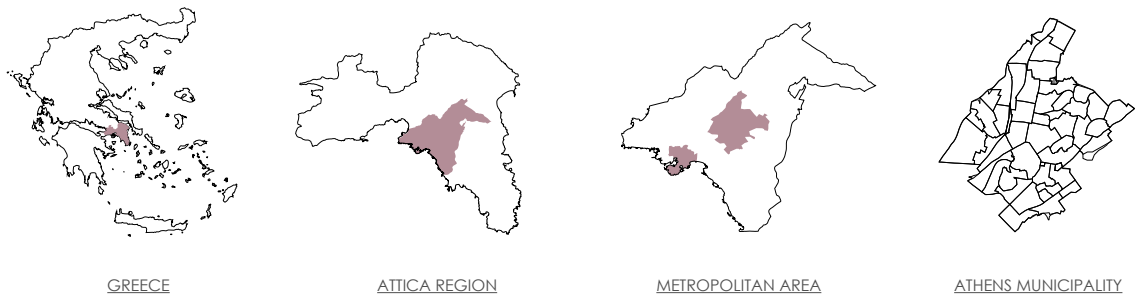Fig. 5.3 - The sub-methods of the Fieldwork and examples from notes during the second step.

Fig. 5.4 - Diagram showing the multiple scales used in the cartography method.

4- RESEARCH OUTCOMES

The Research Outcomes are the result of applying the Research Methods described before, in different combinations, depending on the situation. The methodology proposes the following outcomes for the research, developed into 5 steps: Theory Foundation, Context Analysis, Synthesis, Strategy and Implementation (see Fig. 1.5).

1 Theory Foundation

Research Question: (SRQ1) *''How can spatial planning contribute to the spatial integration of migrants?"*

This outcome has already been presented in the previous chapter. It contains the theoretical framework, or theories that form the ''philosophy'' of the research, and ends with the conceptual framework, that combines them into one approach.

The first part discusses pertinent theories stemming from the need of counteracting the problem of exclusion, and particularly residential segregation between different areas. The framework presented spatial justice, interculturalism and integration as primary paradigms that can reconfigure spatial planning and governance. The theory concluded that the intercultural approach is the most adequate for achieving active (not passive) integration through promoting interactions with migrants and natives.

The second part is the Conceptual Framework, which interweaves urban and social studies into one approach, within the spatial justice paradigm. It is the theoretical underpinning of the research, which states that integration should happen through inclusive housing and urban space that promotes interactions between the 2 sides of migrants and natives, as residents of the same city. With the above in mind, the framework then intended to provide insights on how these domains could be significant for integration in practice.

Methods: Literature Review, Planning Documents,

Interviews, Stakeholder Analysis.

2 Context Analysis

Research Questions: SRQ 2,3 and 4

The Context Analysis applies the philosophy of the research about the reciprocal influence between society and space, by analysing the weaknesses and opportunities of the city (housing and urban space) as domain of interactions. Informed by the Conceptual Framework, the Contextual Analysis provides valuable conclusions that feed into the next step or Synthesis, which is transitional, as an outcome that is needed for crystallising the Strategy. The Synthesis summarises the Analysis into principles that convey the spatial justice and integration paradigm: distribution, access and networks. For the purpose of achieving this, the research assembles an inventory of spatial typologies found in Athens, which are the medium for applying the Strategy in practice.

The study consists of 3 parts, namely: A. Historical Analysis B. Interaction Analysis and C. Stakeholder Analysis.

A: Historical Analysis

Research Question: (SRQ2) *''How were migrant groups distributed across Athens over time and to which urban space characteristics did this distribution relate?''*
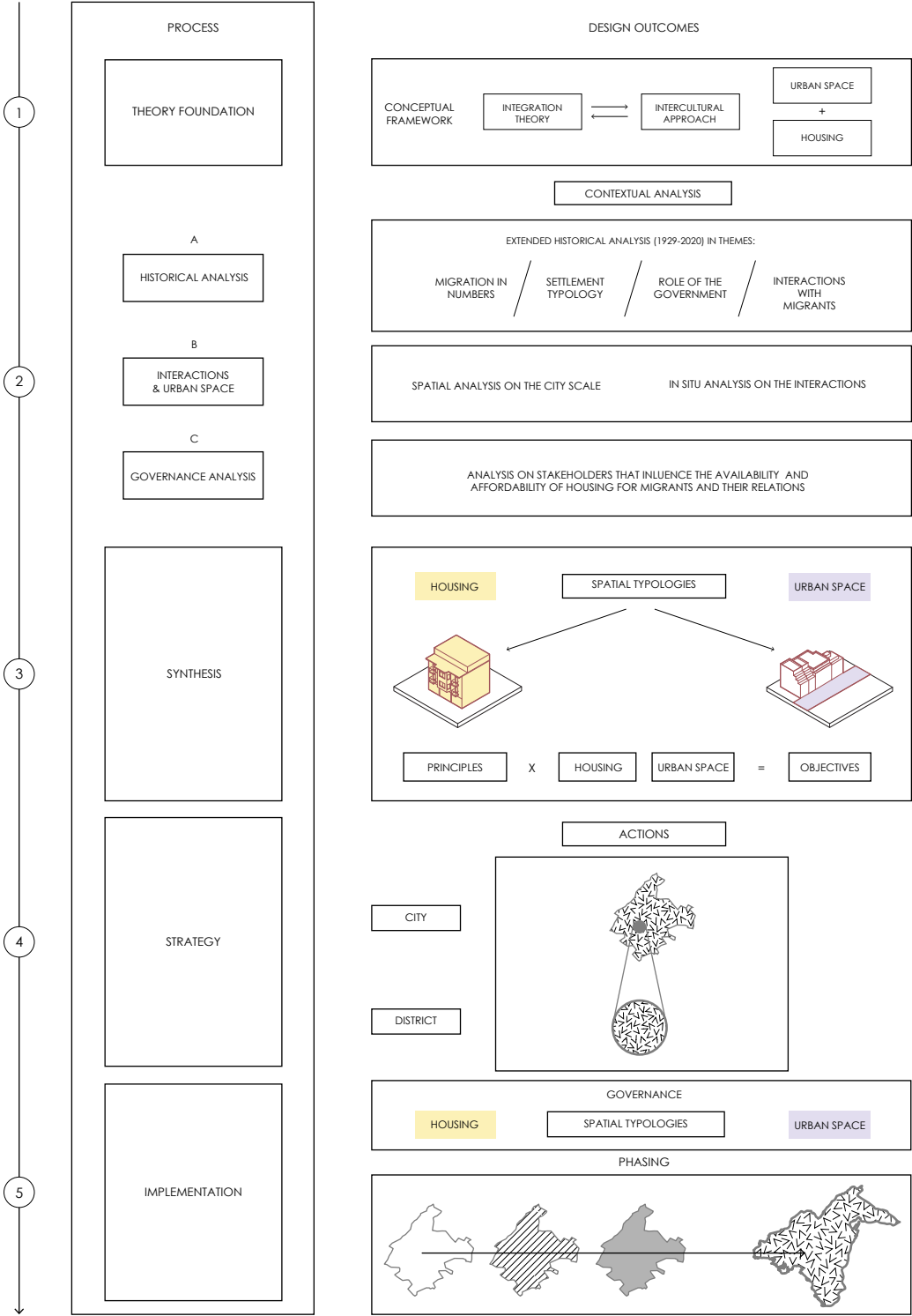

Fig. 5.5 - The diagram show the overview of the research as process with outcomes. Own edit.

4- RESEARCH OUTCOMES

The Historical Analysis (seen in chapter 6A), ranging between 1920 and 2020, provides an overview of the spatial impact of migration, the planning decisions and the interactions with natives in every period. This analysis is important in several ways: it underlines the influence of time in creating preconditions for current migrants; it presents approaches as past experiences that might provide guidance for future strategies; it contrasts approaches towards migration, which provides insight on the broader culture of interactions in Athens.

B: Interaction Analysis

Research Question: (SRQ4) *''What are the potentials in the urban space for promoting interactions between migrants and natives?''*

The Interaction Analysis (seen in chapter 6B) answers the question of how urban space may influence interactions within migrant clusters and between clusters. More specifically, the analysis here delves into the urban morphology and the current presence or absence of interactions. In this way, conclusion can be made on the conditions of urban space and its potential impact on interactions and inclusion.

Methods: Fieldwork (Observation, Documentation).

The outcomes described below help with answering the following question: (SRQ5)*''How can spatial planning and governance practices be improved in order to stimulate the development of housing that counteracts social exclusion of migrants in Athens?''*

C: Governance Analysis

Research Question: (SRQ3) *''What is the current governance practice regarding the production of housing in Athens?''*

The Governance Analysis (seen in chapter 6C) presents the most important actors that influence

housing of migrants and integration. This dimension of analysis sees the interests and impacts of the actors and their interplay, which shapes the equilibrium among the public, private, and civil society sectors. In short, the chapter gives insights on the contributions (either positive or not) that these parties enforce on certain aspects of housing.

3 Synthesis

The Synthesis combines the conclusions from the analysis on the case of Athens and establishes principles for the strategy. Based on the principles, objectives are defined, each one with key potentials, which are explored in the scale of the city. Spatial typologies on the 2 domains of housing and urban space, also derived from the Contextual Analysis, help organise the strategy.

Methods: Document Research (Planning Policies), Cartography, Fieldwork (Documentation)

4 Strategy

In the next step, the Strategy transforms the objectives into necessary actions for housing and urban space, both in spatial design and governance. The Strategy is then tested into the district scale, where multiple interventions are matched with the spatial typologies identified previously.

Methods: Cartography, Document Research (Reports, Websites)

5 Implementation

In the final step, Implementation, the practical aspect of the strategy is explored through governance design. Lastly, the phasing of the development measures the impact when the strategy is applied in the city scale.

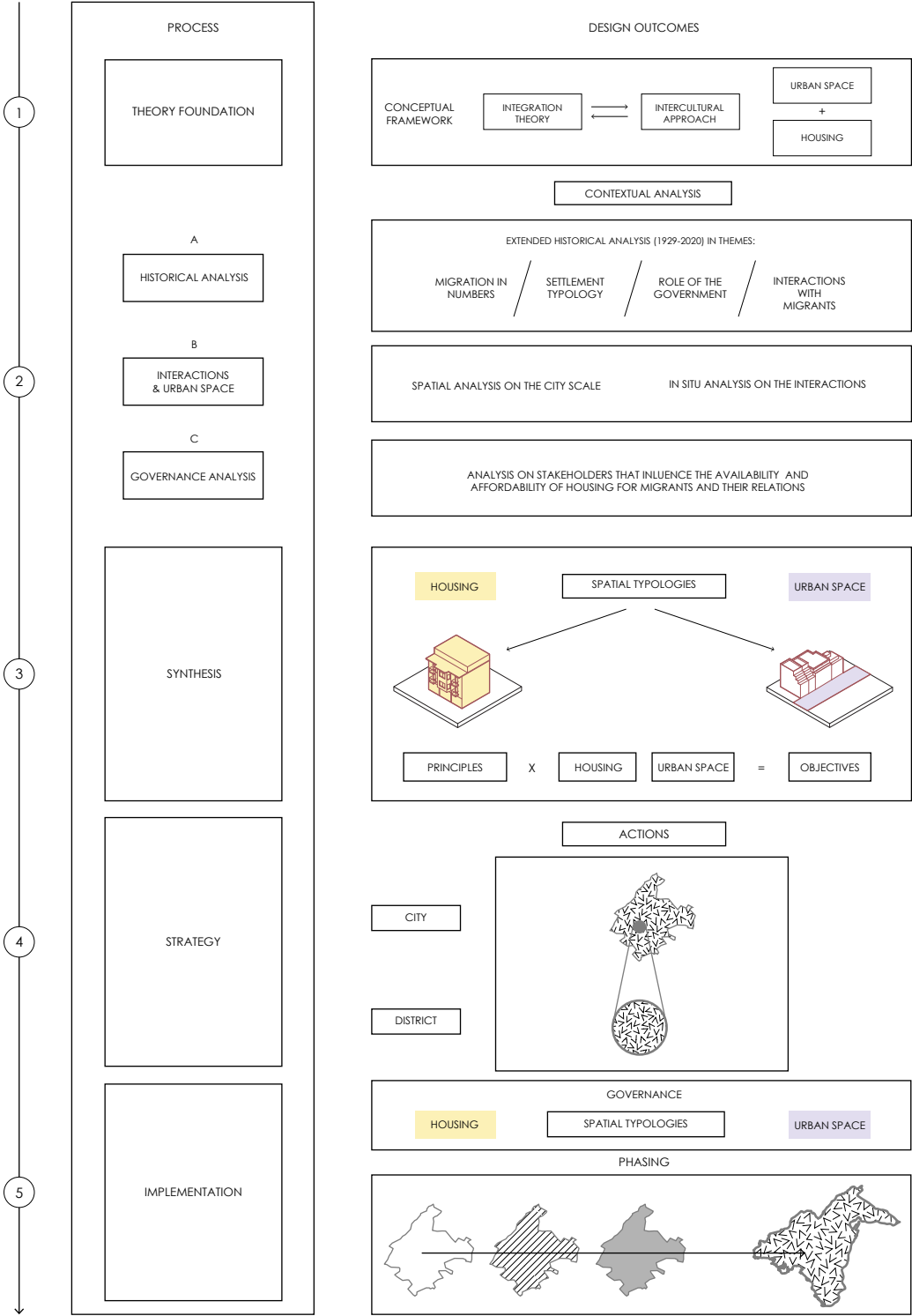Methods: Stakeholder Analysis, Cartography.

Fig. 5.7 - The diagram show the overview of the research as process with outcomes. Own edit.
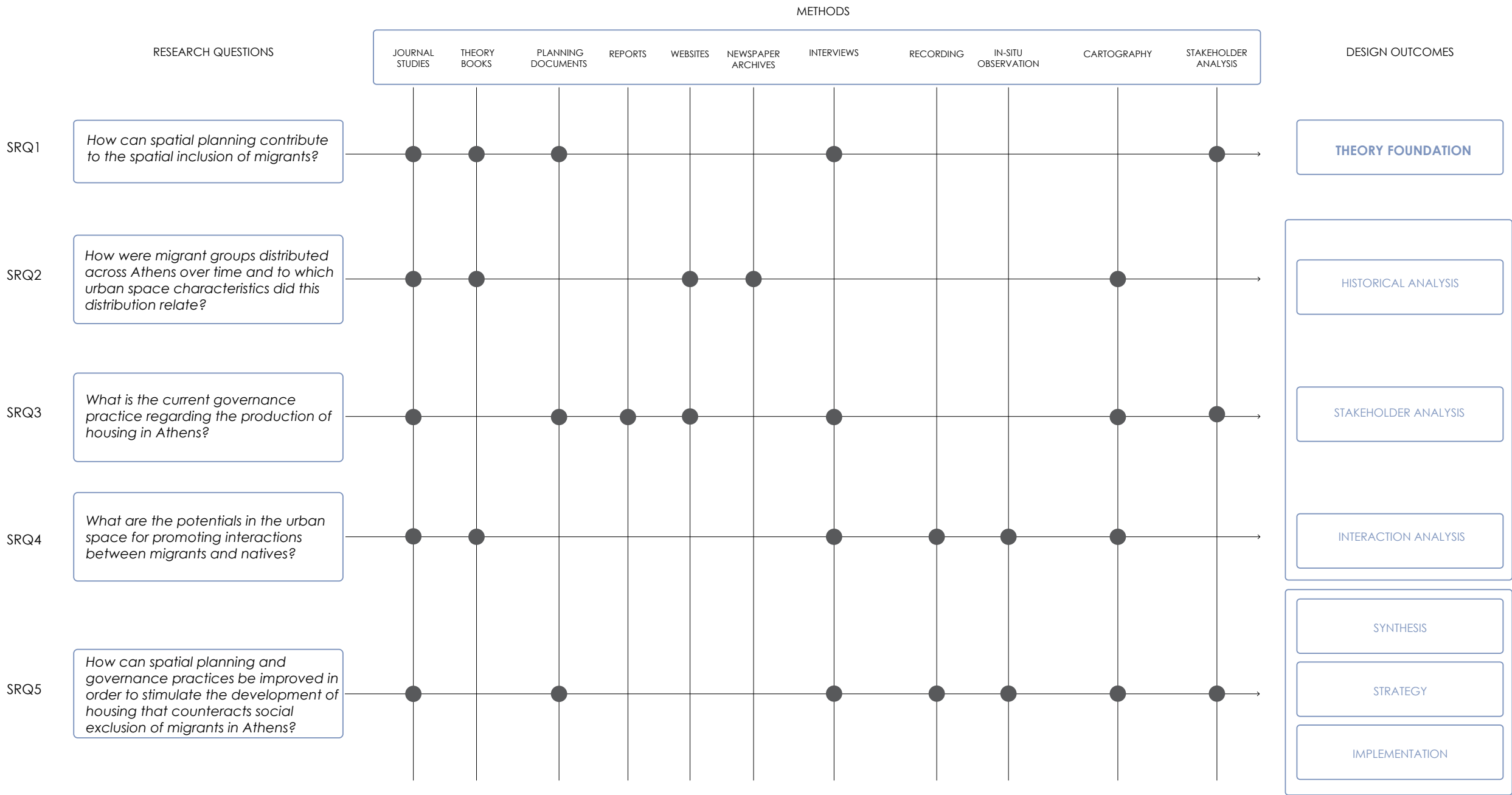
4- RESEARCH OUTCOMES

METHODS

| RESEARCH QUESTIONS | JOURNAL STUDIES | THEORY BOOKS | PLANNING DOCUMENTS | REPORTS | WEBSITES | NEWSPAPER ARCHIVES | INTERVIEWS | RECORDING | IN-SITU OBSERVATION | CARTOGRAPHY | STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS | DESIGN OUTCOMES |

SRQ1 — *How can spatial planning contribute to the spatial inclusion of migrants?*

THEORY FOUNDATION

SRQ2 — *How were migrant groups distributed across Athens over time and to which urban space characteristics did this distribution relate?*

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

SRQ3 — *What is the current governance practice regarding the production of housing in Athens?*

STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

SRQ4 — *What are the potentials in the urban space for promoting interactions between migrants and natives?*

INTERACTION ANALYSIS

SYNTHESIS

SRQ5 — *How can spatial planning and governance practices be improved in order to stimulate the development of housing that counteracts social exclusion of migrants in Athens?*

STRATEGY

IMPLEMENTATION

Fig. 5.8 - The diagram summarises the Research Questions, the Methods used for answering them and the scales on which these are applied. Own edit.

5- CONSIDERATIONS

The purpose of this chapter has been to describe the methodology framework, which is both the basis and the compass of the entire research. In detail, the chapter presented the summary of the methods that are used to answer the research questions, which are addressed not only in the context analysis, but also to the possible alternatives that are proposed as final outcomes of this research. The diagram here (see Fig. 5.9) shows the whole research as process, the questions answered and the methods used in each step. In order to understand and frame the problem, the first part of the research is strongly conducted through analytical methods and literature review, from the supranational to the neighbourhood scale. Then, these methods guide the rationale behind the spatial design strategies, which are eventually discovered through examples in the district scale. Lastly, the final part of the process involves the phasing of the strategy in the metropolitan scale and the reflection on the whole process.

Regarding the practical development of the above, the research shows progress in different aspects, according to periods defined by the curriculum (P1 to P5) (see Fig. 5.10).
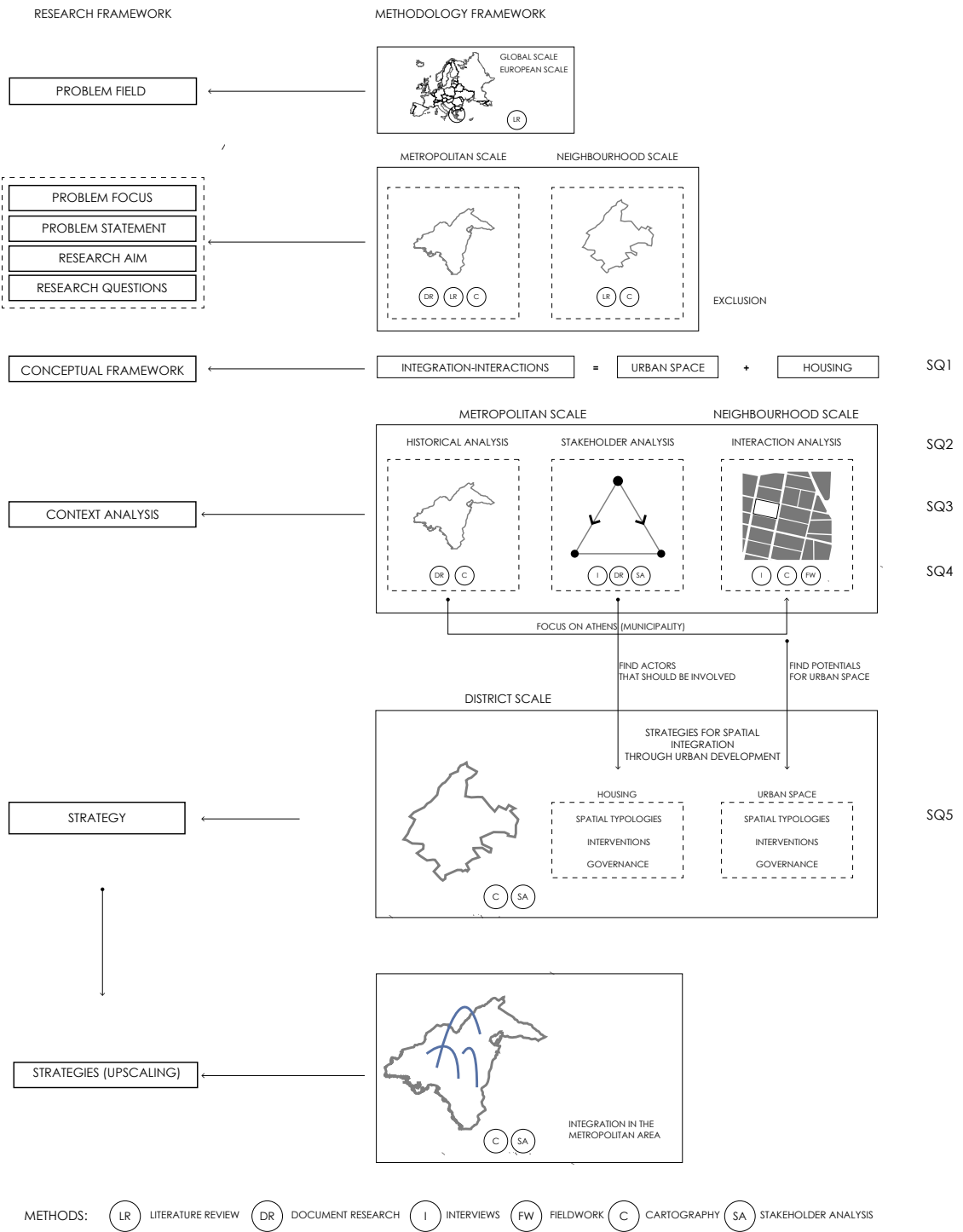
Fig. 5.9 - The methodology framework, presented as part of a continuous process. Own edit.

5- CONSIDERATIONS
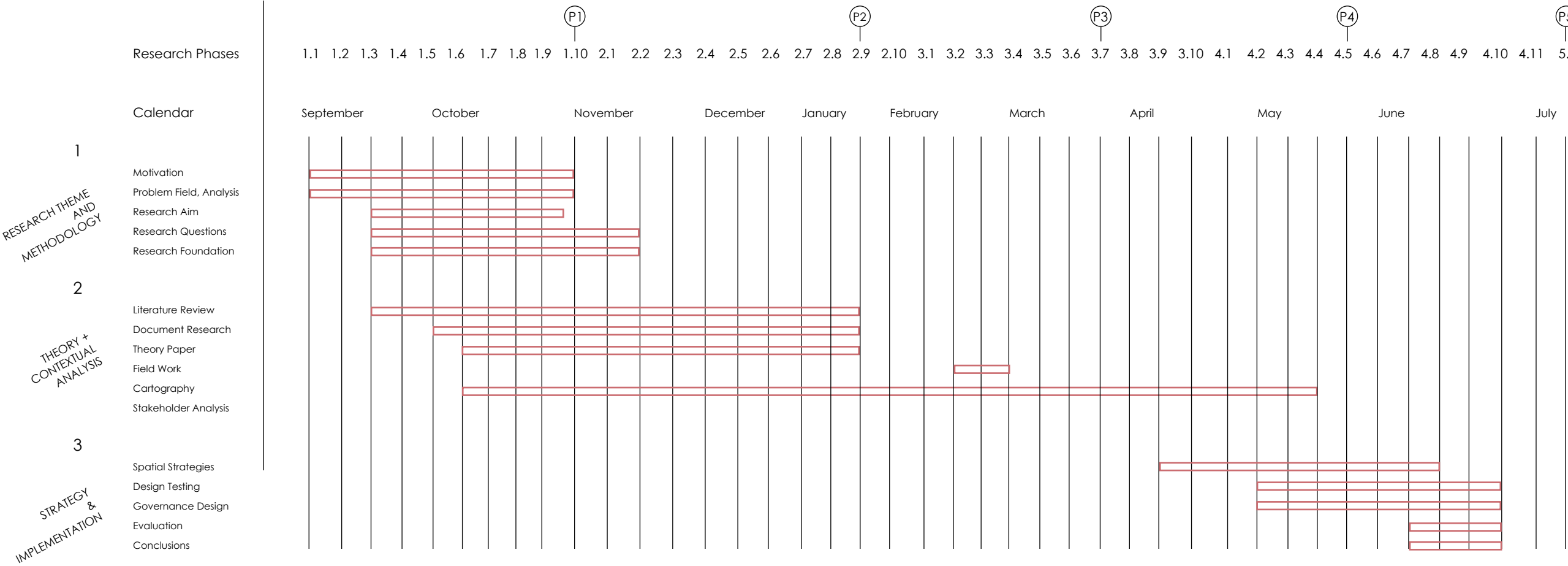
Fig. 5.10 - The phases of the research, related to evaluation milestones (Ps).

5- CONSIDERATIONS

Societal Relevance

The societal relevance of the research derives firstly from the choice of migration as its main motivation and the centre of its interest. Especially in the case of Athens, migration has been acutely politicised, as the presence of foreigners is creating social conflicts, expressed in the urban space in the form of violence, protests and evictions, as expressions of exclusion in terms of development and housing market. Through proposed strategies, the research will define the role of interactions for establishing integration of currently marginalised groups and promoting coexistence of migrants and natives. However, the strategies extend beyond dividing them into 2 sides, and affects anyone considered as socially vulnerable with inclusive interventions.

Scientific relevance

Even though there has been strong critique by planners on the urban governance agenda adopted in Athens especially since the 2000s, relatively minimum efforts have been made for proposing alternative methods that minimise social exclusion and particularly displacement of marginalised groups. Thus, the research makes contribution by experimenting with inclusive governance models that can be promoted through European networks and applied in similar contexts.

Then, there is also incoherence between migration and spatial planning policy scholars and practitioners both in Athens (e.g. absence of housing policy provided by state) and in the global context. This research aims to broaden the understanding of social implications provoked by spatial conditions and bridge the gap between existing integration theory and planning practice, which currently function as separate domains. Thus, effective planning can provide opportunities for bridging this gap with inter-disciplinary thinking.

Ethical considerations

Although the proposed research might bring significant merits, it might also pose ethical dilemmas and issues, which are discussed here.

Firstly, the inclusive governance, which prioritises the coordination of diverse communities and official city stakeholders for realising spatial strategies must guarantee accountability regarding their diverse aspirations, expectations and interests. Although, this model can be proven complicated and time-consuming in its application, which contrasts the typical governance culture in Athens and demands greater commitment.

Secondly, promoting development in marginalised areas, which is one of the main elements of the Conceptual Framework under the domain of urban space, might inevitably attract investment and the interest of middle-class residents. However, this could result in surges for the housing market prices, eventually causing risk of displacement for vulnerable groups.

Lastly, the personal connection of the author with the case study city has provided some fundamental knowledge on the planning culture, governance structure and the conflicts between parties with different interests. Nonetheless, this also poses threats for personal bias on the interests of the community. The research will make attempts for avoiding universal approaches, and for providing alternatives that benefit both migrants and natives.

Fig. 5.11 - The image shows temporary settlement of refugees after their arrival in the port of Piraeus in 2016. Source: Kathimerini, 2016
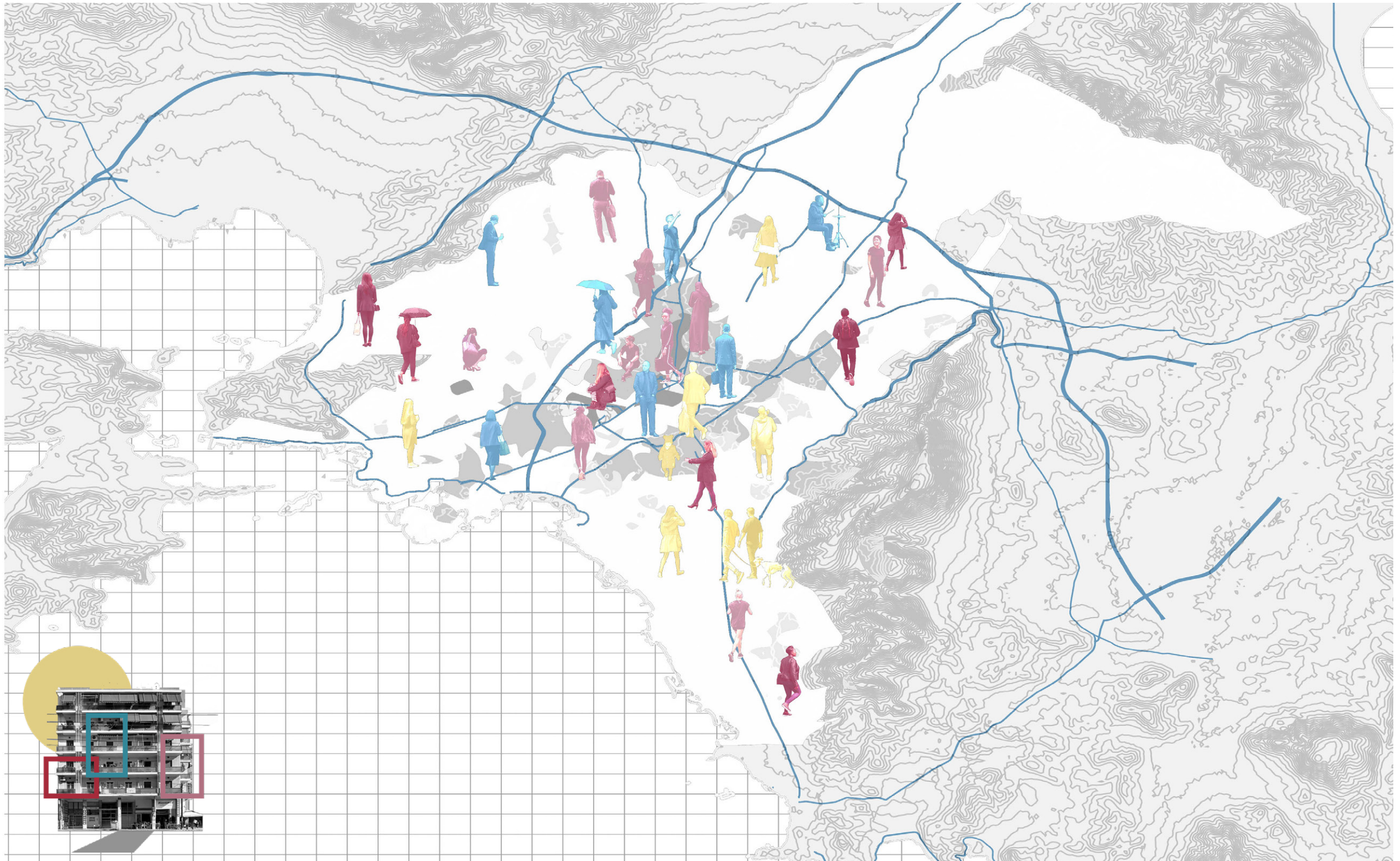
Fig. 5.12 - Impression of Athens as city that views migration as an opportunity that should be included in future development. Own edit.

6

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

The context analysis plays an important role for developing the strategy of the research: the extracted conclusions provide insights into the aspects that enhance and hinder potential interactions between migrants and native inhabitants. The analysis delves into three aspects: history of the relations of migrants with the receiving society, in parallel with the urban development (6A), interactions in urban space (6B) and governance of housing and interactions (6C).
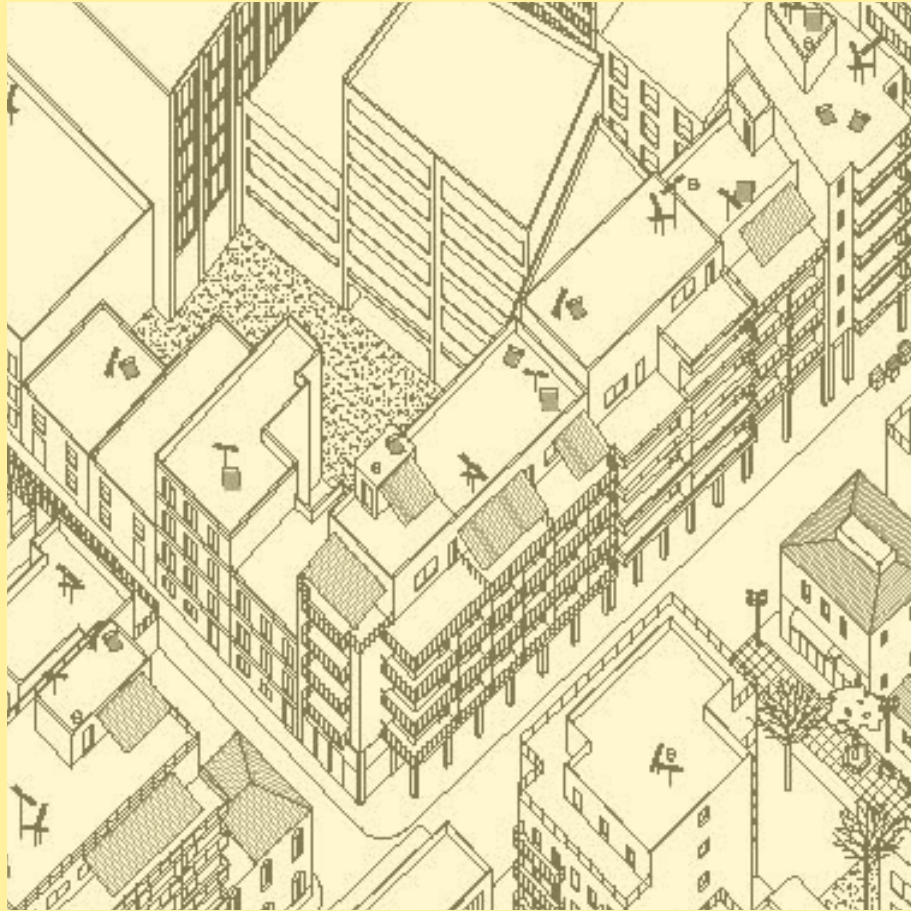
6A
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

This chapter presents the migration history of Athens, through the perspective of interaction between the receiving society and the migrants collectively. The key objective of the chapter is to understand how were migrant groups distributed across Athens over time, and the urban space characteristics of this distribution.

6.1
INTRODUCTION

6.2
MIGRATION OVER TIME

6.3
CONCLUSIONS

1- INTRODUCTION

The analysis in this chapter helps with the development of the outcomes discussed in the previous chapter on methodology. The analysis is spatial and institutional, and transcends the recent history of migration, in parallel with the urban development and particularly housing. Without the historical context, understanding the current scene in Athens is challenging. Thus, the historical perspective is fundamental for understanding the preconditions and gaining knowledge from previous practices.

The period that is most relevant to understand the history of migration in Athens is the period between 1920 and 2010. Key elements (4) are analysed during this period, starting from when migration numbers first became significant for the country and particularly for the expansion of the city. The timeline of migration in Athens is introduced through one simplified and one detailed timeline (see Fig. 6A.1, Fig. 6A.3). The period is divided into four parts, according to historical events that instigated different types of migration. This division is explained below:

1920-1950
The expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor in 1922
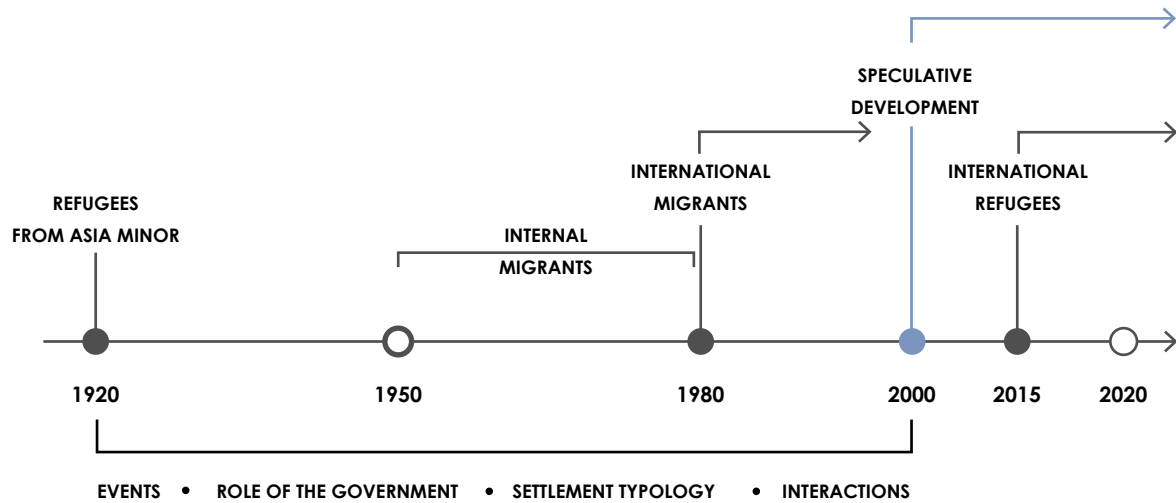
almost doubled the population of Athens from 450.00 to 800.000. The consequent population surge caused abrupt expansion, beyond what was considered as urban area. This was the first mass influx of migrants in the modern history of Athens.

1950-1980
This period is defined by the incoming migrants from the agricultural areas of the country, that caused the highest population change ever recorded in the city. The incoming population produced spontaneous urban development, that resulted in the over-densification that was previously described in the problem analysis. This created the preconditions for the migrants in the next periods.

1980-2000
In this period, the first migrants arrived in the city. They originated from Africa (Sierra Leone, Libya, Ethiopia, Ghana) and Asia (mainly Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand) and were involved in industry, trading or service employment. Their presence was yet overlooked both by the state and the public opinion (Kountouri, 2009).

The numbers surged during the 1990s decade, with the Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and migrants from the Balkans entering the country.

2000-2020
This period is defined by social, spatial, and governance advances. Urban development becomes competitive, with the private sector gaining influence in the building activity. The profile of the incoming migrants is also changing in the last period. Since 2015, refugees that seek protection from the recent political events in Middle East enter Greece both by sea and by land.

On the following pages, these periods are examined in more depth. The purpose of this analysis is to highlight possible patterns throughout time: What is the culture of accepting difference in Athens? How can history and the experience with migration during the past 100 years be instructive for improving integration in the present day? The analysis provides an overview of the urban expansion, overarching the described periods, and juxtaposing the conditions that affected integration. Namely, this analysis is organised into 5 conditions:

-Events of the time: Provides the broader context on the conditions that encouraged migration and describes its typology.

-Migration in numbers: It records migration quantitatively, and particularly reproduces the numbers of migrant population in respect to the native population. This showcases the true importance of migrants as residents of the city.

-The role of the government: Describes the policies that national and municipal authorities have established, as response to the population increase and ensuing housing demand.

-Settlement typology: Lays out the spatial conditions of housing for migrants, and presents examples. The typology of housing is one of the crucial elements for the analysis.

-Interaction with migrants: Describes the nature of interactions of migrants and natives, as groups. This particularly concerns abstract perceptions, as recorded in the concurrent press.

Fig. 6A.1 - The diagram presents the timeline periods and the main components for the Historical Analysis of the present chapter. Own edit.

Fig. 6A.2 - The settlement typology of modern apartment blocks, that was established during the 1920-1950 period.

EVENTS

ASIA MINOR CRISIS
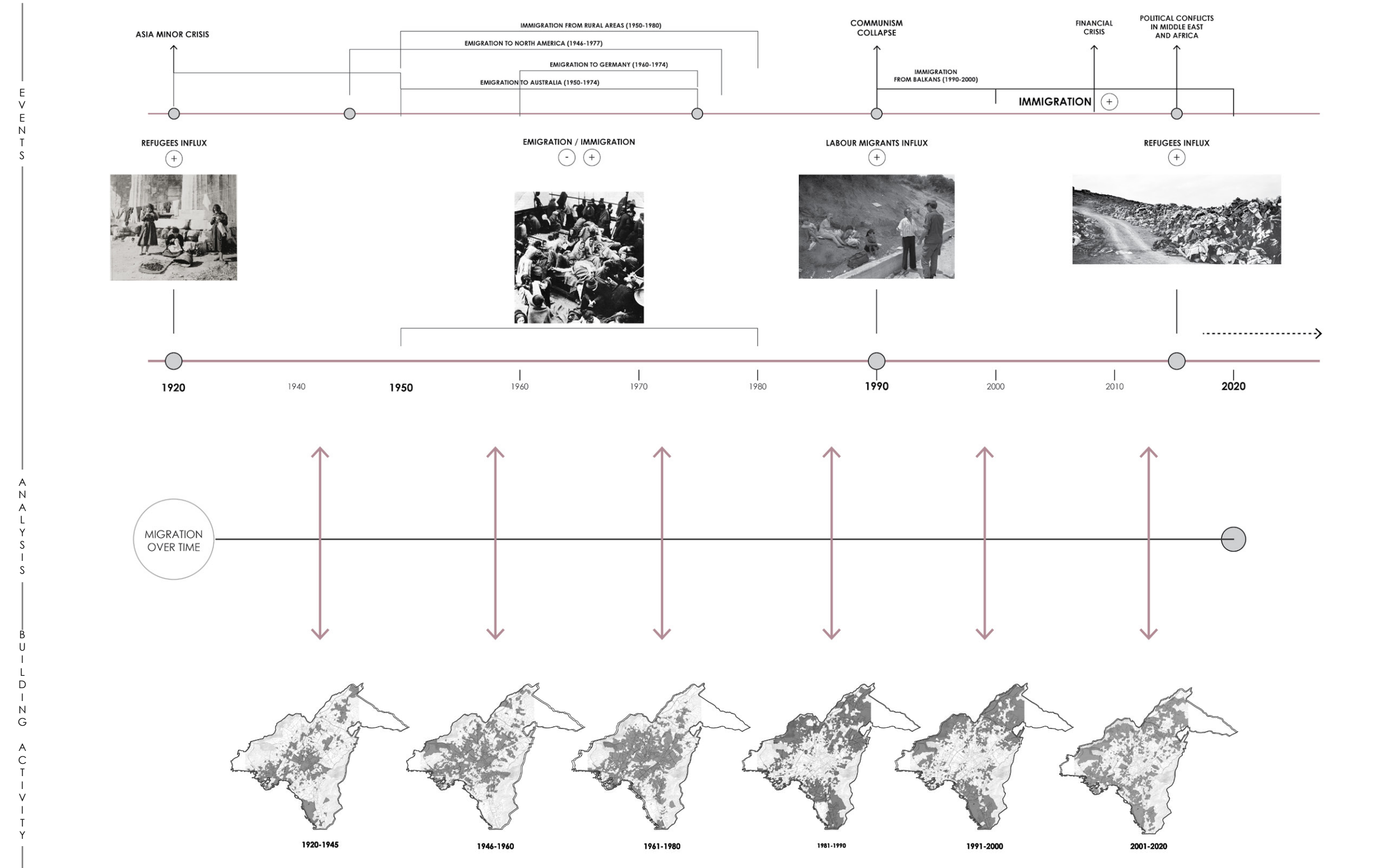
IMMIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS (1950-1980)

EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA (1946-1977)

EMIGRATION TO GERMANY (1960-1974)

EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA (1950-1974)

COMMUNISM COLLAPSE

FINANCIAL CRISIS

POLITICAL CONFLICTS IN MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

IMMIGRATION FROM BALKANS (1990-2000)

IMMIGRATION ⊕

REFUGEES INFLUX
⊕

EMIGRATION / IMMIGRATION
⊖ ⊕

LABOUR MIGRANTS INFLUX
⊕

REFUGEES INFLUX
⊕

1920   1940   **1950**   1960   1970   1980   **1990**   2000   2010   **2020**

ANALYSIS

MIGRATION OVER TIME

BUILDING ACTIVITY

1920-1945   **1946-1960**   **1961-1980**   **1981-1990**   **1991-2000**   **2001-2020**

Fig. 6A.3 - Timeline-summary showing the migration periods in Athens, juxtaposed with the analysis components and the building activity in the metropolitan level. Source: Woditsch, 2018; own edit.

1920

1950

6.2 MIGRATION OVER TIME

EVENTS OF 1920-1950

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

This migration period is marked by the return of refugees, considered part of the nation and previously settled in areas of Anatolia (Pontus, Cilicia, Cappadocia). The mass influx occurred after several events that escalated since 1914 between the neighbouring countries.

MIGRANTS IN NUMBERS

POPULATION	1920	1928
GREECE	5.022.000	6.205.000
ATHENS	453.000	802.000
ATHENS-REFUGEES	+130.000	

In response to these events, the Greek government founded the Fund for Refugee Assistance (FRA) in 1922, whose operation could be considered as the first state housing policy. In 1924 the rehabilitation of refugees was regulated by the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC), a typically autonomous supranational organisation, but operated under the direct supervision of the League of Nations in agreement with the Greek government.

The criteria for the positioning of refugee settlements by the authorities were: the proximity to the craft and manufacturing industries that constituted their main place of work, the availability of land (public land, exchangeable estates, national land plots, etc.) and the separation from the native neighbourhoods, hence raising issues of refugees' integration into the local community (Myofa & Stavrianakis, 2019). The installation in the urban areas happened through 12 main and 34 secondary (smaller) settlements, at a distance of 1-4 km from the boundaries of the structured-inhabited area. The refugees were isolated from the rest of the inhabitants of Attica, which intensified the social separation of refugees and natives. (see Fig. 6A.5) In sum, the above resulted in unprecedented urban development and expansion of the city.

MAIN EVENTS IN
URBAN DEVELOPMENT

HOUSING
DEMAND

FIRST
SUBURBS

INFRASTRUCTURE
DEVELOPMENT

⬇

RAPID URBANISATION

Fig. 6A.4 - Source: (Thefner et al. , 2000)

1920 URBAN EXPANSION

1940 URBAN EXPANSION

SETTLEMENTS FOR REFUGEES
CONSTRUCTED AFTER 1922

''GARDEN CITY'' SUBURBS

0   5   10 km
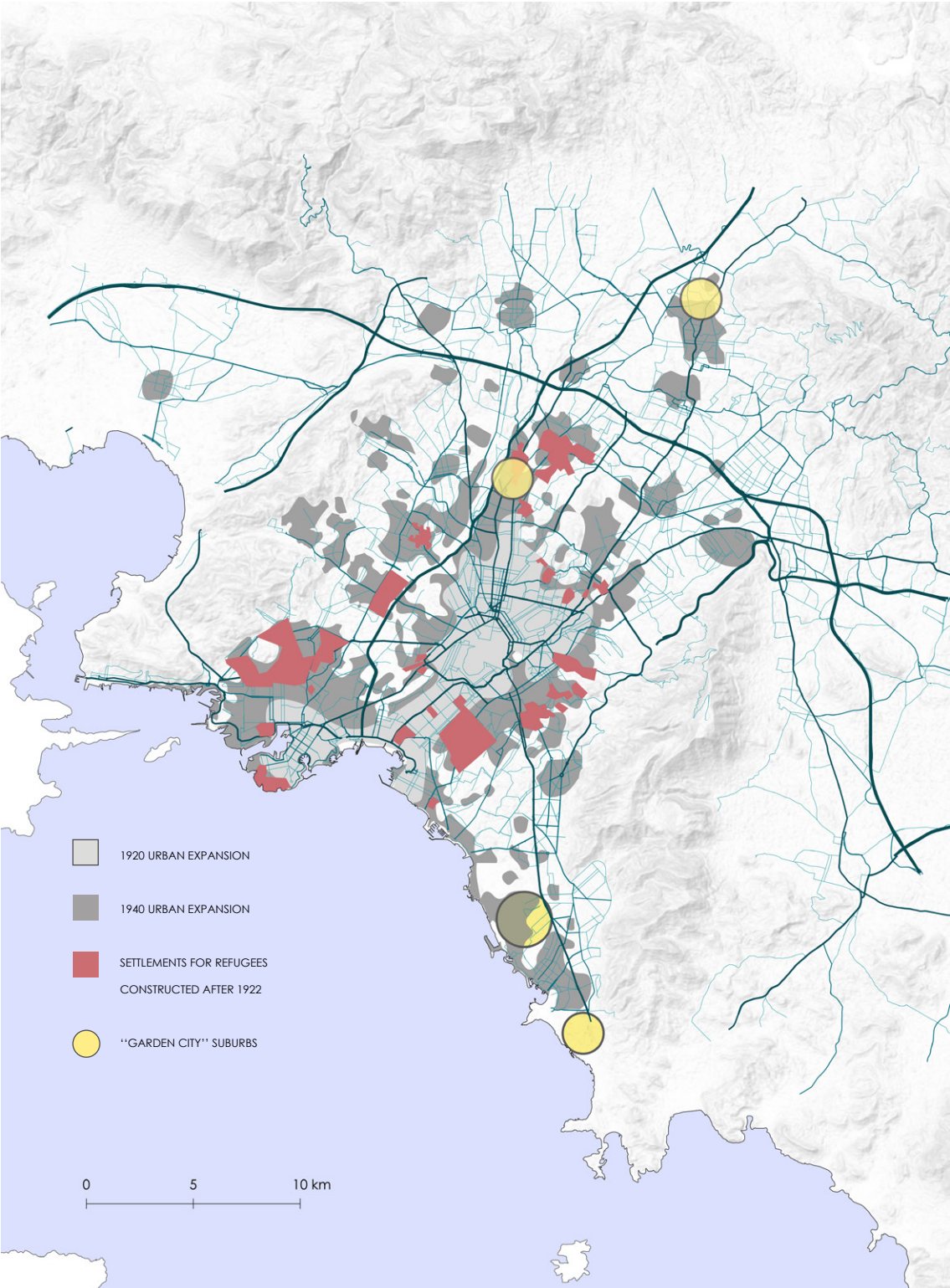
Fig. 6A.5 - Urban expansion during 1920-40. Source: Diakakis, Pallikarakis, & Katsetsiadou, 2014; Efstratiadi et al., 2016).

SETTLEMENT TYPOLOGY FOR MIGRANTS

The spatial impact of the refugee inflow was first realised through the production of housing, either by the government (settlements) or the refugees (self-help) (see Fig. 6A.6). On the one hand, housing provided by the government was first informal and evolved into apartment blocks and entire settlement areas through the years. On the other hand, housing assumed by the refugees was based on their financial status. Informal slums, were situated on any available site, and formal, self-owned houses were constructed on expropriated sites (Leontidou 1989/2013: 216-8). Overtime, the slums were replaced by modern, multi-stored apartment blocks, although ephemeral settlements continued to exist, even until the 1960s decade (see Fig. 6A.7) (Stokes 1962, Turner 1968, Leontidou 1989/2013, Leontidou 1990/2006: 84-8).

TYPOLOGIES   ACTORS

INFORMAL   SELF-BUILT SLUMS   STATE
                                    REFUGEES

                SETTLEMENT AREAS   STATE
                                    REFUGEES

FORMAL   APARTMENT BLOCKS   STATE

             SELF-OWNED
             HOUSING   REFUGEES

Fig. 6A.6 - The diagram summarises the housing typology of the 1920-1950 period.

INTERACTIONS WITH MIGRANTS

The 1922 refugees were officially recognised as foreigners of the same nation, although the natives viewed them with suspicion. The general perception and counteraction towards the influx was represented in publications of the time.

In the newspaper *Kathimerini* that was published in 1922, an article reads: ''Athens now is not just city of pure Greeks, but also city of refugees''. There have been recorded incidents of conflicts in formal and informal refugee settlements, as the 2 communities considered each other as not only culturally different, but also threatening. The spatial distribution of the refugees supported their social exclusion, as their settlements were found in distance from the urban areas, as mentioned before (Ioakemidou, 2018).

The cultural differences of the refugees (language, dialects, customs), were the main reason of conflict.

Regardless of their social background, refugees were confronted with the intolerance of the natives. During the following years, the conflicts between them escalated. The 2 communities started competing collectively for urban and agricultural property, and even for employment and business activity, either small-scaled or not. The recurring political events sharpened the conflicts and divided the groups even more (Mavrogordatos, 2019).

Fig. 6A.7 - The image shows the contrast between informal and formal refugee settlements of the period, which continued existing in parallel for decades. Source: various; own edit.

Fig. 6A.8 - The image shows refugees heading to Piraeus port (1923). Source: Greek Literary and Historical Archive.

6.2 MIGRATION OVER TIME

1950

1980

EVENTS OF 1950-1980

This period is marked by multiple historical events, escalating migration from rural areas during 1950-1980. Athens became an attractor of new residents for various reasons, which boosted the demand for housing. Firstly, the anonymity of the city was offering protection in times of political discrimination originating in the Civil War (1946-1949) circumstances. Secondly, the agricultural sector was declining, forcing farmers into the cities (Kayser, 1968): Athens held the most significant (although small-scaled) industry sector of the country, which provided employment opportunities.

Eventually, Athens soon expanded quickly thanks to the surge in building activity, which became the alternative type of industry and defined the economy of the city. Some rural migrants were settled in the western side of Athens, where most industries were operating at the time (see Fig. 6A.12).

MIGRANTS IN NUMBERS

During the 1951-1961 period, the majority of the population increase originated from migration (70 per cent). In this context, the estimated average annual influx was 30.000 rural migrants.

HIGH RATES	——————	WESTERN AND SOUTH-EAST AREAS
MEDIUM RATES	——————	SOUTH-EAST AREAS
LOW RATES	——————	EAST AND NORTH AREAS
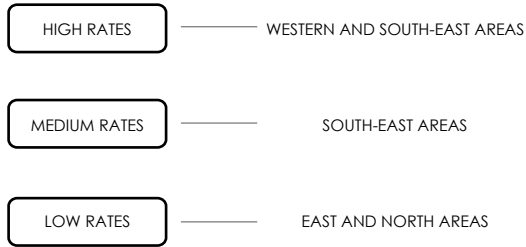
Fig. 6A.10 - Population of rural migrants, 1950-1960 consensus. Source: Kapoli, 2014.

RURAL MIGRANTS

● HIGH RATES
● MEDIUM RATES
● LOW RATES

0   5   10 km
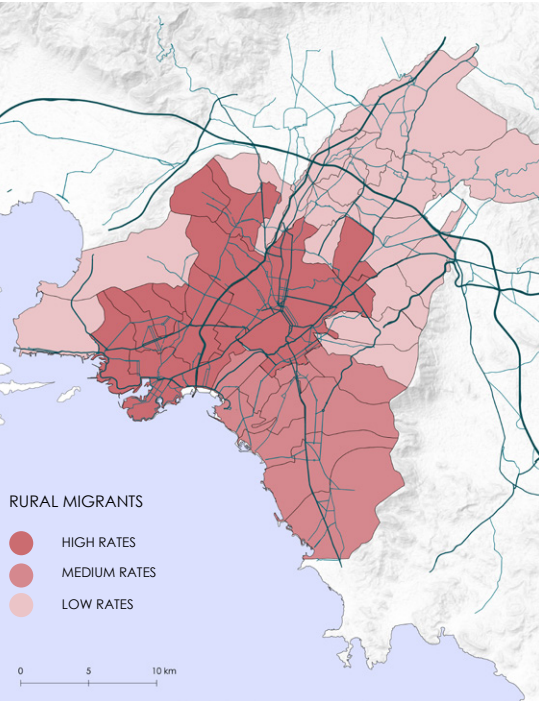
Fig. 6A.11 - Settlement of migrants per municipality, during the 1950-60 period (intensity). Source: Kapoli, 2014; own interpretation.

**MAIN EVENTS IN
URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

UNGOVERNED
SPRAWLING

DENSIFICATION

METROPOLITAN
INFRASTRUCTURE

Fig. 6A.9 - Source: Thefner et al. , 2000.

URBAN EXPANSION

- -1920
- 1920-1940
- 1940-1960
- 1960-1980

0   5   10 km
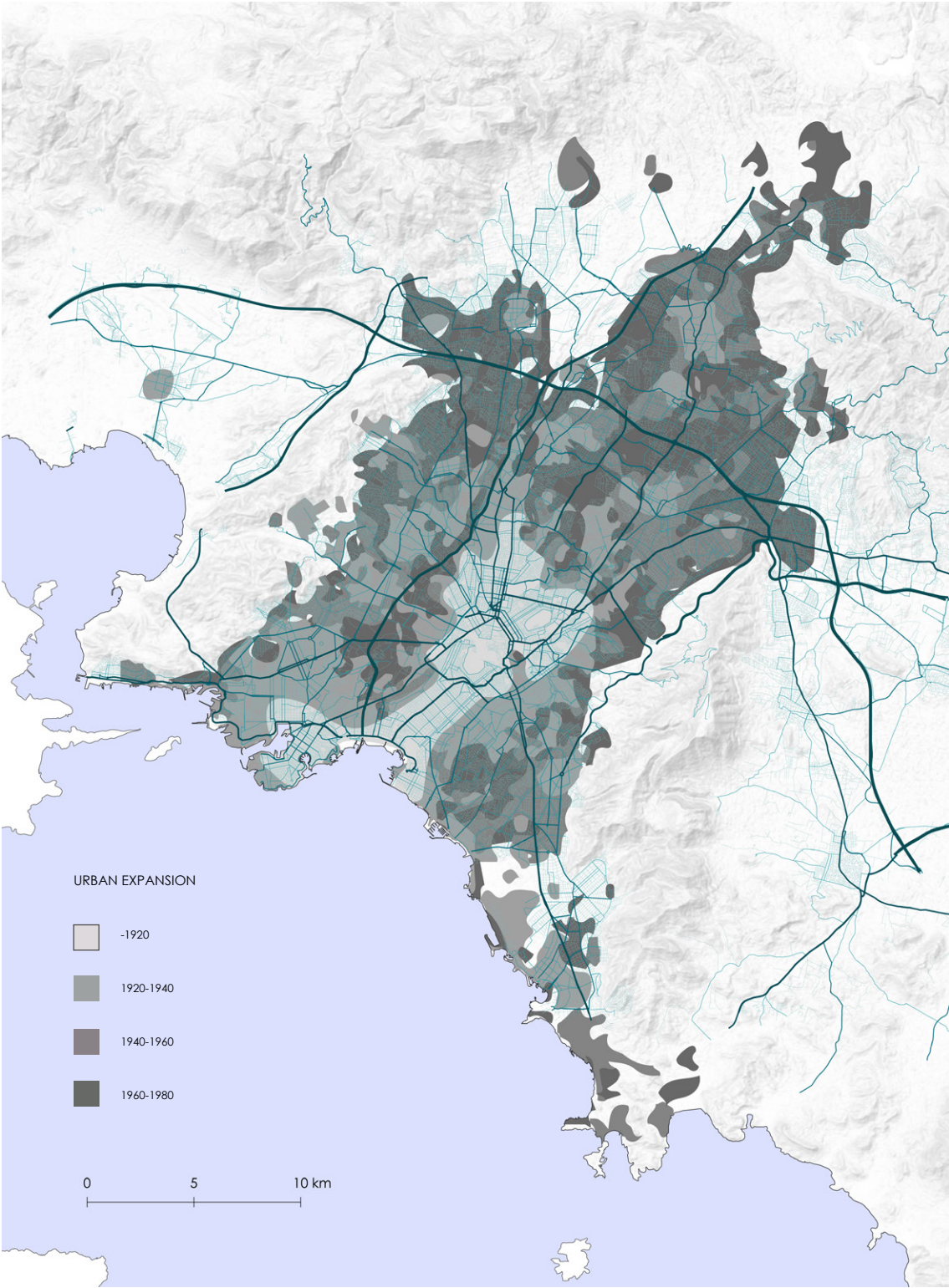
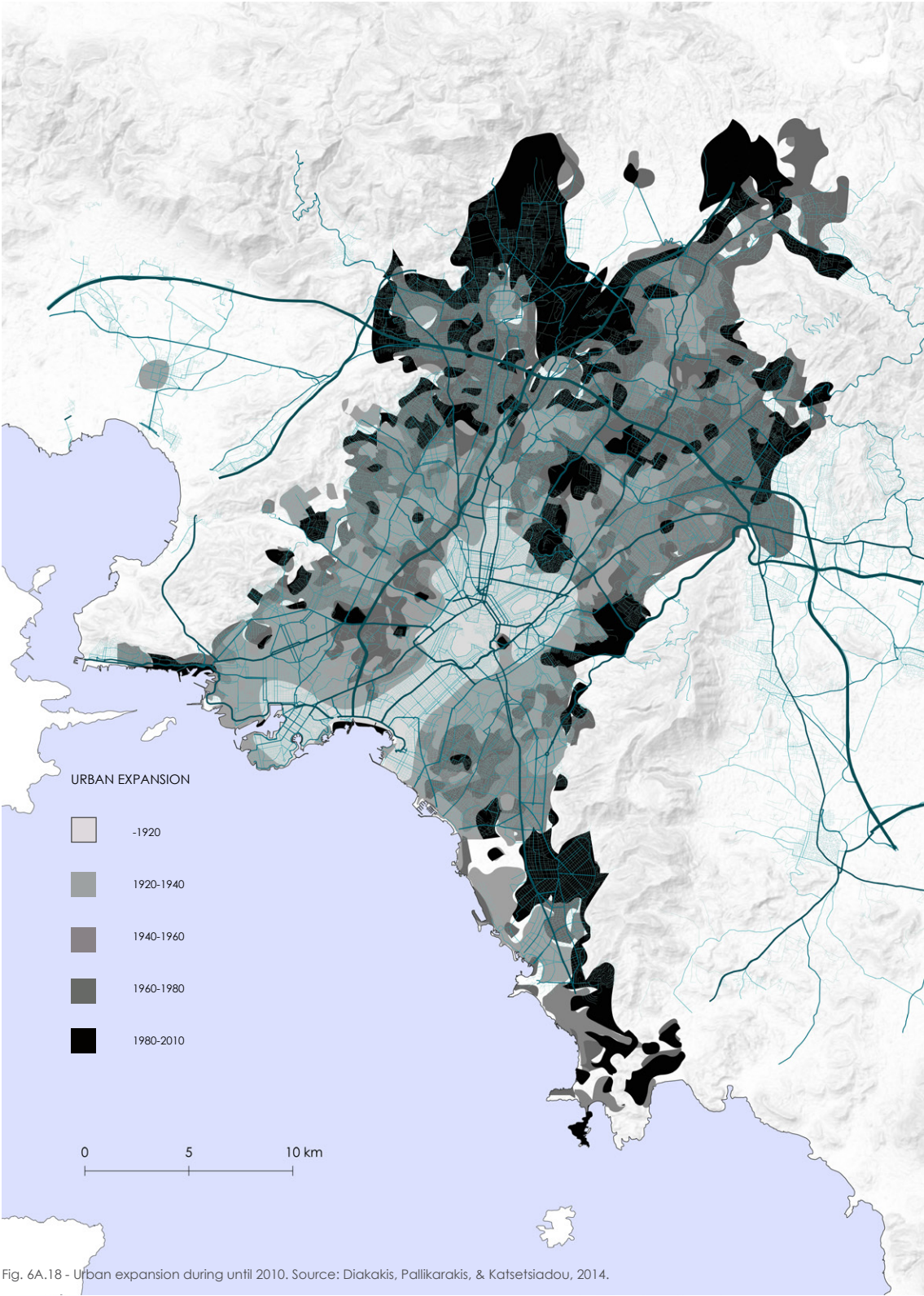Fig. 6A.12 - Urban expansion during 1960-80. Source: Diakakis, Pallikarakis, & Katsetsiadou, 2014.

SETTLEMENT TYPOLOGY FOR MIGRANTS

The building activity of the period is defined by the construction of modern apartment buildings, which is also described in the Problem analysis of the present research. This confirms the spatial impact of the incoming countryside migrants, even dominant in the building stock today (see Fig. 6A.13). The mass production of housing was favoured by 3 conditions: the ''antiparochi'' policy on providing self-owned parcels in exchange for an agreed number of apartments in the finished building 2. the successive increase in building rates and 3. the arbitrary housing construction on the outskirts of the city.

Gradually, neoclassical houses of 19th and early 20th century and informal refugee settlements were replaced by high-rise buildings erected mainly with concrete, for residential and professional use (see Fig. 6A.14). The proximity of buildings of different architectural styles, emphasised the opposition of the

old and the new, causing feelings of nostalgia for the previous image of the city, which is imprinted in the publications of the time (Kapoli, 2014).
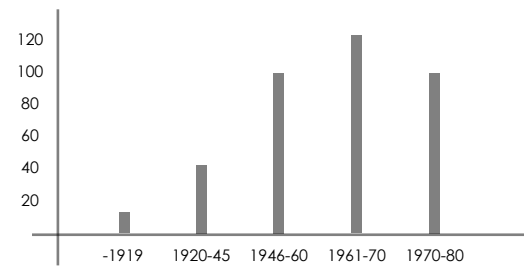
Fig. 6A.13 - Building stock numbers in Athens, by construction period. Source: Maloutas, 2018; own edit.

Fig. 6A.14 - The image shows Athens as the previous, informal city (foreground), which was replaced by the modern city in the 1950-1980 period (background). Source: various; own edit.

INTERACTIONS WITH MIGRANTS

Concerns about the increase of migratory flows from the countryside to Athens and the over-development of the latter were also reproduced in the press. Indeed, the newspapers reflected the public discourse on the subject and its implications. In both daily and periodical national and local press, e.g. To Vima, Kallithea, we find frequent references to the ways in which the immigrants, or otherwise the "new Athenians", influenced the shape of the city.

The development of the urban complex and the lives of its inhabitants were often a separate column in the newspapers, while field surveys were carried out in the neighbourhoods, suburbs, municipalities and communities of the capital in order to record the views and problems of the residents. The fact that the city was changing rapidly as the old 19th century buildings were demolished and replaced by modern apartment buildings, fuelled a nostalgia for the city's cognitive image and character (Kapoli, 2014).

Fig. 6A.15 - The title of in this 1981 newspaper article reads: ''Unfortunate Athens, miserable country'', commenting on the urban conditions of the 1970s. Source: Tournikiotis, 2013.

1980

2000

6.2 MIGRATION OVER TIME

EVENTS OF 1980-2000

During the 1980-200 period the population of the centre was shrinking, while satellite neighbourhoods were expanding (see Fig. 6A.18). The development shift that attracted middle and high labour classes, resulted in neglect and degradation for the city centre (Maloutas & Oikonomou 1992; Emmanuel 2006; Arapoglou & Maloutas, 2011). Similarly, ribbon urban sprawl was observed, in clusters near major transport arteries. Post-suburban hybrid landscapes emerged from the coexistence of rural/ urban, of the residential/ commercial/ industrial, and other land uses (see Fig. 6A.16) (Couch, Leontidou, & Petschel-Held, 2007).

Even though the period was defined by the first mass influx of international migrants, especially since 1990, this does not provoke urban development, as observed previously. This is because of various reasons: absence of social housing policy, scarcity of available space and urban vacancy are the most important ones.

THRIASIO PLAIN:

INDUSTRY, LOGISTICS

SPRAWL

MESOGEIA PLAIN:

HOUSING, TRANSPORT,

INDUSTRY

Fig. 6A.16 - Peri-urban sprawl started in the 1980, with development over topography barriers, mainly economy-driven. Source: (Couch, Leontidou, & Petschel-Held, 2007)

MIGRANTS IN NUMBERS

After 1989 and with the fall of regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe, immigration to Greece becomes more massive and the number of immigrants is generally increasing, mainly from the Balkan countries and the former Soviet Union. According to the 2001 Census, the number of aliens registered in the country without Greek citizenship amounts to 762,191 (Petrakou et al., 2007).

**MAIN EVENTS IN
URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

EXACERBATED
URBAN CONDITIONS

SUBURBANISATION

URBAN
SPRAWL

Fig. 6A.17 - Source: Couch, Leontidou, & Petschel-Held, 2007.

PREFECTURE	TOTAL POPULATION	MIGRANT POPULATION	MIGRANT POPULATION- PERCENTAGE IN TOTAL
ATHENS	2.650.000	280.000	35
EAST ATTICA	404.000	43.700	5.4
WEST ATTICA	151.600	12.650	1.5
PIRAEUS	541.500	40.500	5

Source: Petrakou et al., 2007

URBAN EXPANSION

-1920

1920-1940

1940-1960

1960-1980

1980-2010

0   5   10 km

Fig. 6A.18 - Urban expansion during until 2010. Source: Diakakis, Pallikarakis, & Katsetsiadou, 2014.

1980

2000

SETTLEMENT TYPOLOGY FOR MIGRANTS

The settlement of migrants during this period has been associated mostly with apartment buildings in central and high-density areas. The majority of migrant households (74 per cent) were apartments, some were single-family homes (15 per cent) and semi-detached houses or social housing buildings (11 per cent).

However, during the first years of their arrival, migrants found temporary housing solutions of unbearable conditions, partly because of their social status and partly because home owners rejected their lease applications. They then settled in degraded hotels in the city centre, where they rented overcrowded rooms (Psimenos, 2004 as desribed by Mpalampanides, 2016). Eventually, their housing conditions improved in the mid-1990s, mostly because of personal efforts. The owners of the apartments started accepting them as tents.

In sum, the migrants of the 1980-2000 period were settled in the existing building stock, which was predominantly privately owned and thus ungoverned.

Fig. 6A.20 - The image shows the contrast between the areas of the centre and the affluent suburbs in Athens (metropolitan area). Source: Parvathaneni, 2013; Ventourakis, n.d., own edit.

INTERACTIONS WITH MIGRANTS

After the mass arrivals of immigrants in the early 1990s, the "foreigner" was identified with negative stereotypes. This representation of the immigrant was supported by the media, which were crucial in shaping collective perceptions.

Integration for migrants has been easier than before, since the second decade of their stay (2000-2010). Many migrants started reporting on the problems they faced in the host country. Eventually, they participated in collective activities that helped them claim their political rights. The newspapers recording these changes gradually shifted the image of the immigrant, who is since then portrayed as the victim rather than the perpetrator. During these years, migrants have suffered racist attacks, xenophobic behaviours and exploitation (Syrnkane, 2011).

Fig. 6A.21 - The title reads: 150.000 irregular foreigners are still in the country''. Newspaper ''Ta Nea'', 2001.

Fig. 6A.22 - The title reads: Athens is alarmed over Refugees from Albania. Newspaper The New York Times, 1991.

Fig. 6A.23 - The title reads: Thousand of Albanians flee to Greece.. Newspaper The New York Times, 1991.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

The study covered a range of themes on migration throughout the 1920-2000 period. The findings provided the research with insights into the experience on integration since the first influx of migrants until today. The practice that was evaluated concerns collective groups and institutions that affect social and cultural integration. The study showed that there have been both recurring and exceptional practices regarding housing and interactions. This section distributes the observations into the respective parts of the analysis.

The role of the government

Through the years, the policy regarding rehabilitation has changed, depending on the conditions of the time. The government was actively involved in developing an adequate planning policy during the 1920-1950 period. In contrast, the absence of restrictive planning during 1950-1980 resulted in ungoverned expansion and high densities. Lastly, during the 1980-2000 period migration was perceived as something temporary, which is the reason behind the absence of any housing policy. In sum, the contribution of the authorities has been crucial, and its absence has delayed the access to housing significantly.

Settlement Typology

The settlements that are associated with migrants have varied in distribution, scale and permanency. The pressing housing demand during 1920-1950 resulted in the development of entire neighbourhoods. This transition from informal to formal settlements symbolised the first step for integration of migrants. However, the planned distribution outside the existing city has supported exclusion. The active participation of migrants in the housing market during 1950-1980 changed the image of the city. Small-scaled property and modern apartment buildings enabled and represented their integration. In contrast, 1980-2000 was defined by

the absence of any urban development associated with migrants. In contrast with past practices, creating settlement typologies was impossible for various reasons: scarce available space, vulnerable social status of the migrants, and absence of social policy. In result, migrants were passive residents, who were established in the existing building stock. In this way, this has eventually created socially mixed apartment blocks and neighbourhoods. However, this form of social intermixture sparked off discussions about unequal urban and housing conditions and specifically 'vertical segregation'.

Interactions with migrants

The interactions between migrants and natives have always been challenging. Especially during 1980-2000, integration has relied mostly on the part of the migrants, instead of promoting mutual efforts. Throughout the analysis period, integration happened gradually after decades of frictions. In the absence of integration governance, proximity has not influenced interactions positively, and even instigated further tensions. In sum, interaction of any form between the two sides was restricted, which hindered or delayed the process of integration. Urban block important... link with next analysis.
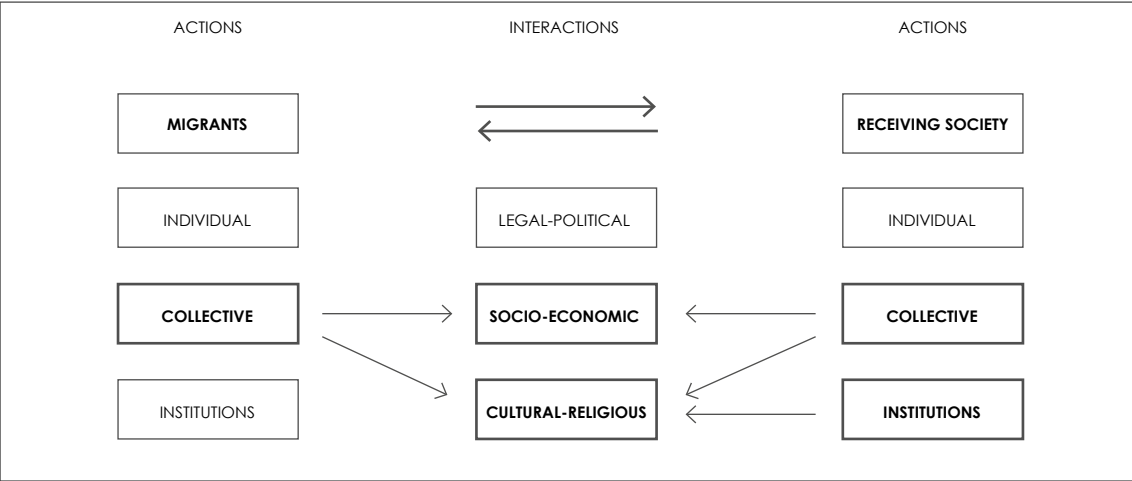
Fig. 6A.24 - The image shows the state under which one of the 1930s settlements is found today. Source: Kathimerini, 2020.

6B
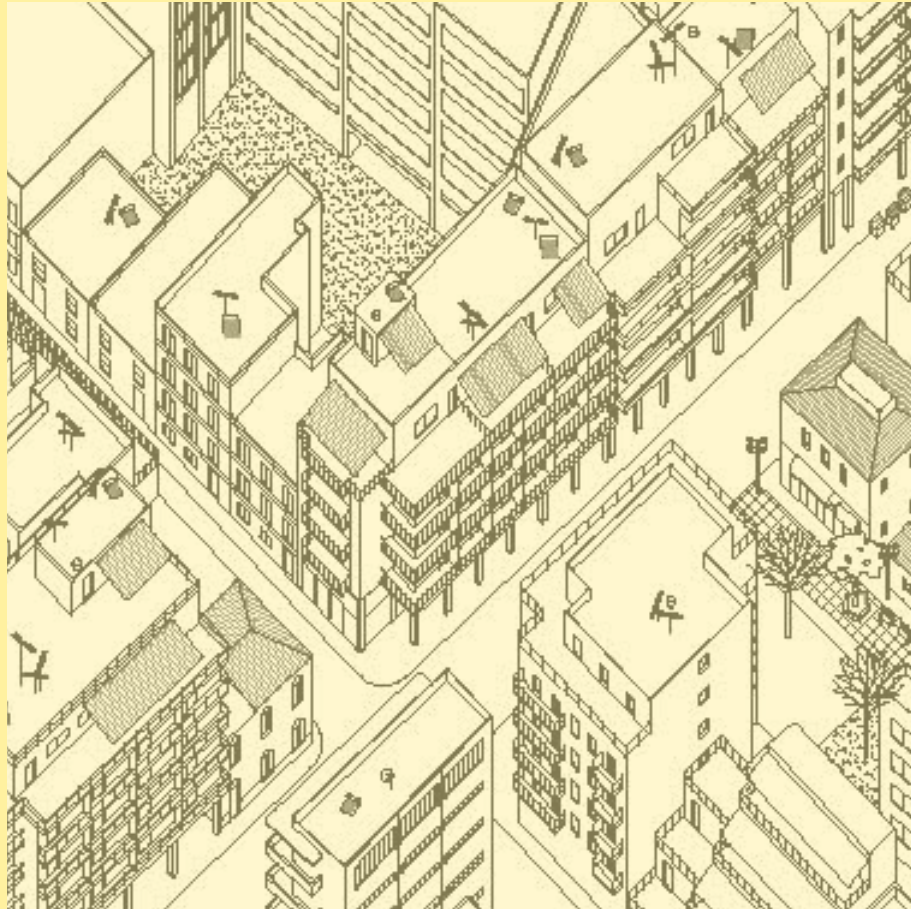
URBAN INTERACTIONS

This chapter presents the multidimensional analysis conducted before and during the field research. The key objective of the chapter is to understand which urban space characteristics are related with the interactions between natives and migrants in Athens and whether there can be conditions that maximise them. The analysis is carried out in the city scale and the neighbourhood scale and focuses on the areas with high residency of migrants.

1- INTRODUCTION

The analysis is focused on the areas with medium and high concentration of migrants as permanent residents (20-50 per cent), according to the latest national population census (ELSTAT, 2011). The temporarily hosted migrants (recognised refugees) are also object of the analysis, although there are no precise data available yet. For this, mapping concerns only permanent migrants, whereas field research both.

The analysis is unfolded in the following steps: first, it describes the character of the horizontal and vertical programme in Athens, which describes the dominant building typology and derives from the planning policy. Then, the analysis delves into the interactions between migrants and natives, supposedly residents. For this, 10 blocks are sampled and compared for conclusions on which interactions are most or least adequate. The chapter organises the complicated nature of interactions in 4 types: residential, commercial, planned and spontaneous, and documents observations made on the field research. This strives for answering one of the research questions:

"What are the potentials in the urban space for promoting interactions between migrants and natives?" *(see chapter Research Foundation)*

In essence, the analysis finds the urban space characteristics and other potential factors that form either *prototype practices* or *bad examples*. For this, multiple methods are employed: mapping, non-participative observations, recording, document research, interviews.

Can we imagine the city as field for possible interactions between migrants and natives, and what are the criteria that private and urban spaces should meet?
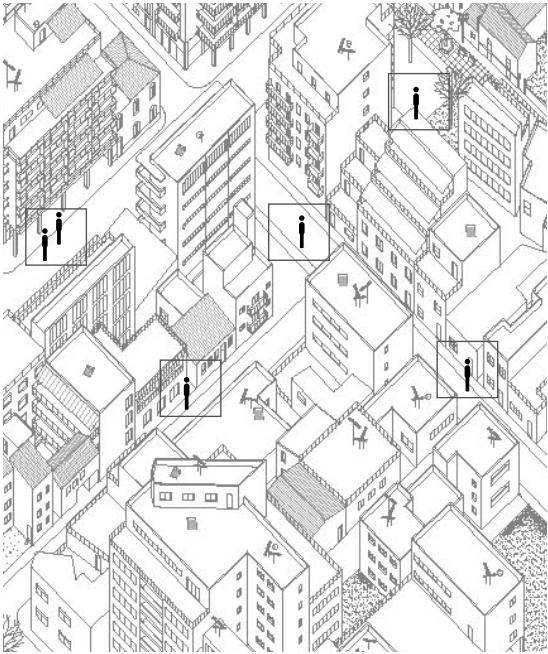
ROADMAP FOR THE CHAPTER

URBAN PROGRAMME

+

URBAN BLOCK TYPOLOGY

MAPPING

DOCUMENT RESEARCH

SHARED SPACES

+

AVAILABLE SPACES

INTERACTIONS

INTERVIEWS

OBSERVATIONS

RECORDING

PLANNED INTERACTIONS

SPONTANEOUS INTERACTIONS

URBAN SPACE

1990

2010

2- MIGRANT CLUSTER

PERMANENT RESIDENCE

RESIDENCE TYPES:

-EXISTING HOUSING STOCK

2015

2020

TEMPORARY RESIDENCE

RESIDENCE TYPES:

-EXISTING HOUSING STOCK

-RECEPTION FACILITIES

ATHENS

PIRAEUS

41-60 PER CENT

21-40 PER CENT

11-20 PER CENT

0-10 PER CENT

0   5 KM

ATHENS

PIRAEUS

70-180 REFUGEES (APARTMENTS)

180-6000 REFUGEES (APARTMENTS)

FACILITIES PROVIDED BY THE
GOVERNMENT AND UNHCR

0   5 KM

Fig. 6B.1 - The map shows the 3 typology of migrant clusters: high,
medium and low concentration. Source: ELSTAT, 2019.

Fig. 6B.2 - The map shows the distribution of refugee population in
concentrations after 2015. Source: Feinstein International Centre,
2019.

The analysis of the previous chapter (6A: Historical
Overview) was concerned almost exclusively with
irregular and regular labour immigrants, recorded in
the population census. The above map is illustrative
of the importance of Athens (city) in the context of
its Metropolitan Area, regarding permanent stay of
migrants (see Fig. 6B.1). The present chapter jumps
in the scale of the Municipality of Athens and its
respective neighbourhoods for this reason. The
research studies migrant groups originating from
developing countries, according to the International
Monetary Fund classification.

The map represents concentrations of refugees in
2 types of temporary residence: reception facilities
and apartments in the existing building stock. The
numbers for the apartments concern the scale of
municipalities and are highest in the case of Athens
and the east Metropolitan Area, probably because
of the vicinity with the reception camps and the port
(city of Piraeus).

2- MIGRANT CLUSTER

PROGRAMME OF THE CITY

The maps (see Fig. 6B.4) shows the main activities in the focus area, where the commercial core is surrounded by housing. The Cluster belongs in the most important urban centre in the Metropolitan Area of Athens, with the highest population density. The map illustrates the *dominant* character in the upper floors (per urban block), which means that the programme is not exclusively residential, but rather a hybrid of multiple uses, in the same areas where offices and education can be found. The metropolitan hub (or triangle) is the only exception of this rule, with mainly commercial uses and entertainment.

MIXED RESIDENCE
COMMERCIAL
RETAIL
INDUSTRIAL
AGRICULTURE
OPEN SPACES
MILITARY
CEMETERY
RAILWAY

MIXED RESIDENCE
METROPOLITAN HUB
LOCAL HUB
MANUFACTURE
UNIVERSITY
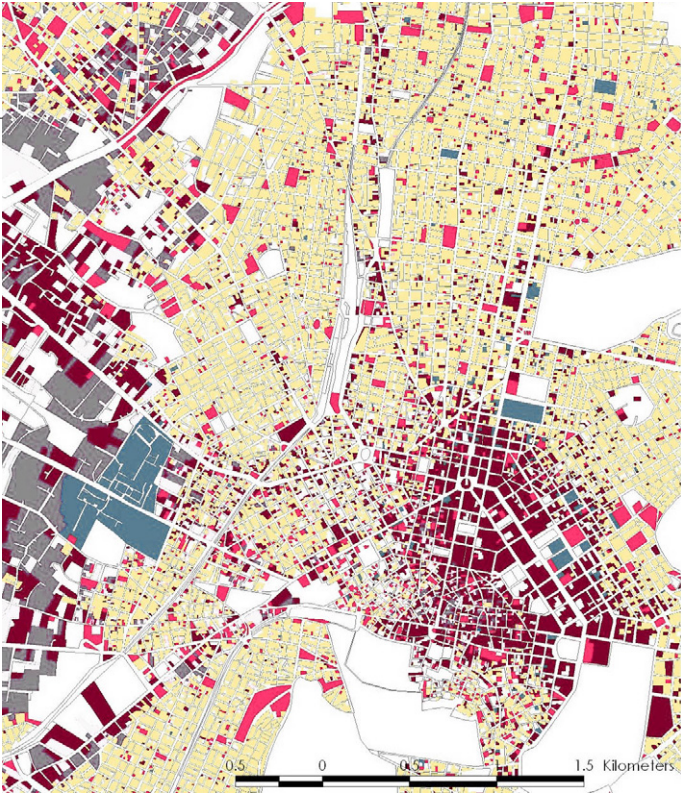
Fig. 6B.3 - The map shows the metropolitan centre (also known as triangle) and the industrial cluster of the city. Source: ESYE, 2000.
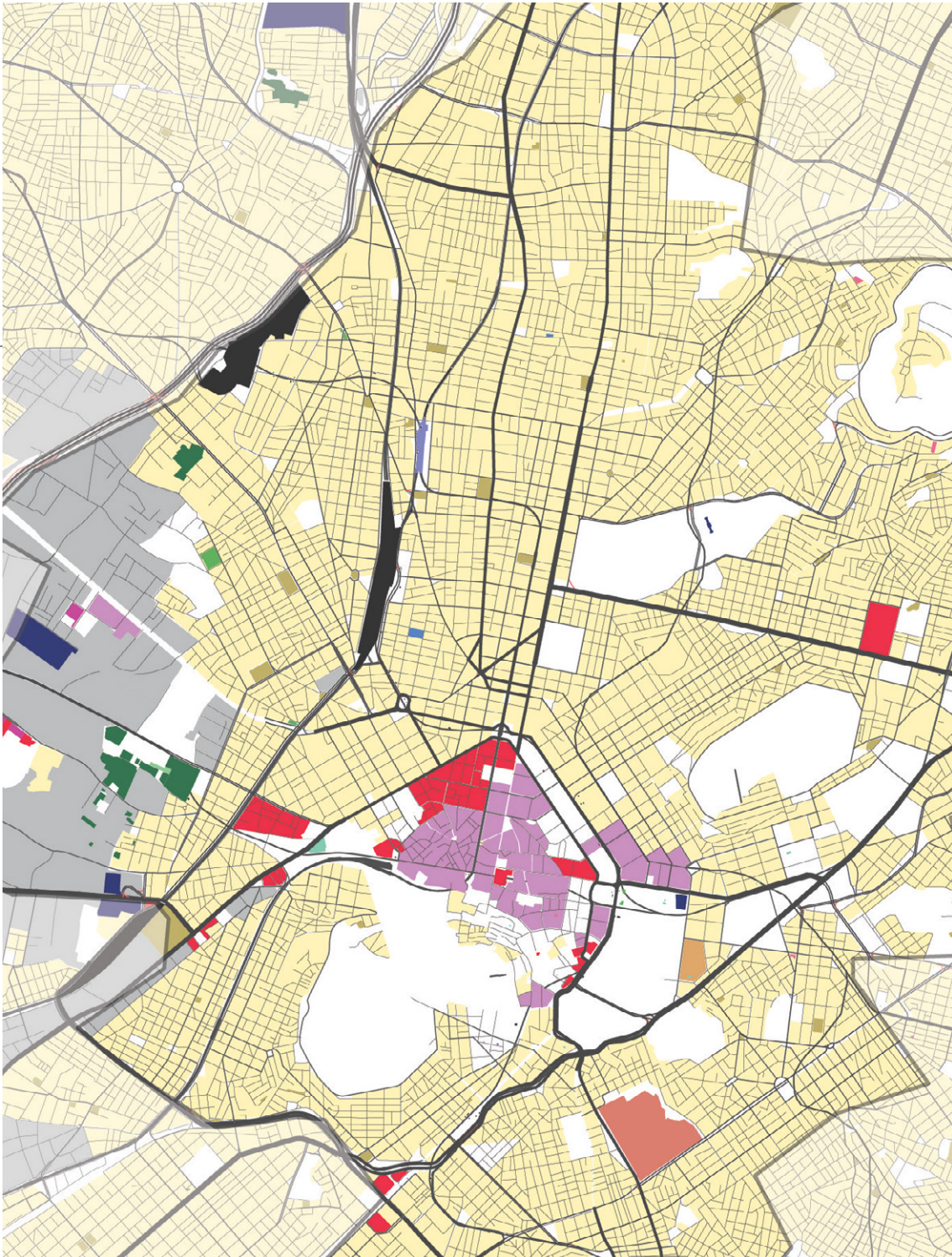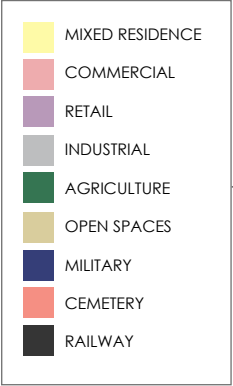
Fig. 6B.4 - The map shows the significance of mixed housing in the Municipality of Athens. Source: European Commission; ESRI, 2012.

2- MIGRANT CLUSTER

PROGRAMME OF THE CITY

In essence, the residential programme is mixed, with ground floors that are have either commercial use or have resulted as empty. Thus, the scale of diversity on the map of the programme (ground and upper floors) derives from the building typology, the financial status of the proprietor, and the official urban plan for the area.

In Athens, the historical centre (shaped as *triangle,* defined by 3 streets) serves as the commercial core of the city, while tourism and business also dominate the programme. It is clear that commercial activity in mixed residential areas is spread across the city, but slightly more intense along primary axes and east of the railway station (see Fig. 6B.5). From the map of the residential density (see Fig. 6B.6) it is clear that in areas north from the triangle residents are the most important users of space and of this programme.

20-70

1-2
3-8
9-18
19-37
38-93

1-40
40-100
100-180
180-310
310-860
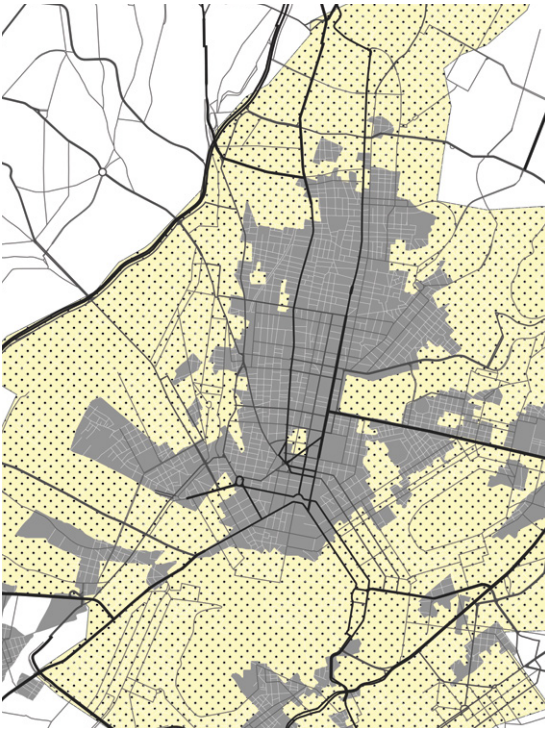
Fig. 6B.5 - The position of the migrant cluster and the variations in concentrations in percentages. Source: ELSTAT, 2011. Own edit

RAILWAY

Fig. 6B.6 - Number of business activity per urban block in mixed residence areas. Source: ESYE, 2000.

RAILWAY
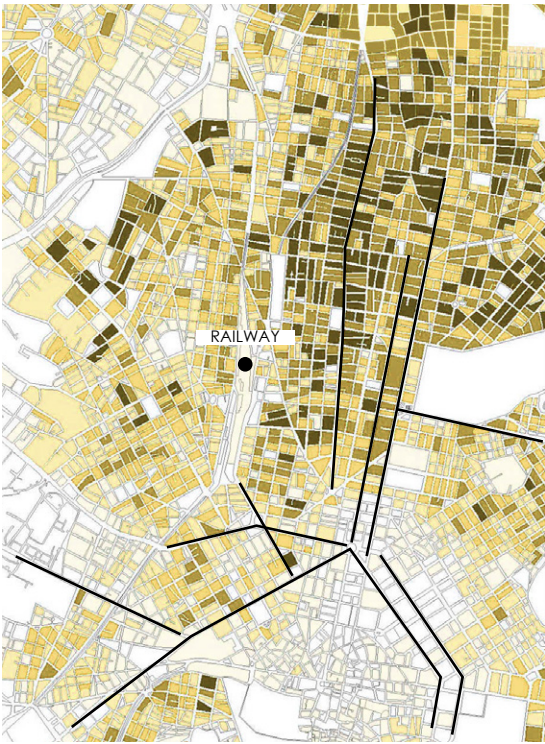
Fig. 6B.7 - Number of residents per housing block. Source: ESYE, 2000.

3-TYPOLOGY OF INTERACTIONS

PROGRAMME OF THE URBAN BLOCK

The interactions between migrants and natives are observed in the urban block scale, which is why its typology should be studied beforehand. This section introduces the typology of the housing block in the centre of Athens, so that the reader understands how the unit of the urban form works.

During the urban development, the building was used as multiplier for composing the urban block, (70x70m area) plot by plot. The typology has 3 features: the extroverted ground floor, the unused inner open space and the similar yet unique physical and functional conditions in each of these blocks.
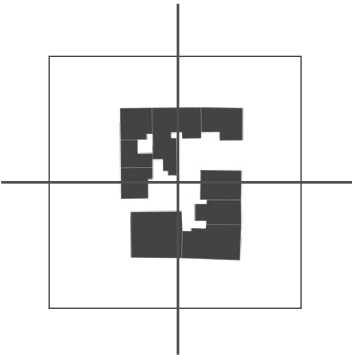
STREET HIERARCHY

The most exceptional aspect of the block is its property system, because it represents the scale on which the city was designed. The parcelation drawing on the next page illustrates the complexity of the proprietors of the plots. The inner block is an open space, also divided among the landowners, which complicates the decision-making process for its use. Furthermore, the housing block, which is the dominant block typology in the focus area, hosts mixed uses, such as retail, eatery and services on the ground floor, and mostly housing on the upper floors (see Fig. 6B.9 and next page).

Next, the analysis observes samples in blocks of different characters (mostly residential or mostly commercial).

Fig. 6B.8 - The typical apartment block that is studied in this chapter. Source: author's image.

Fig. 6B.9 - The apartment buildings have mixed use, with services or commercial uses on the ground floor. Source: author's image.
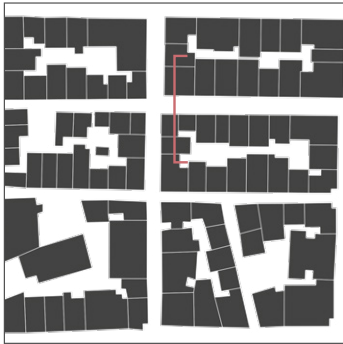
BUILT AREA TYPOLOGY
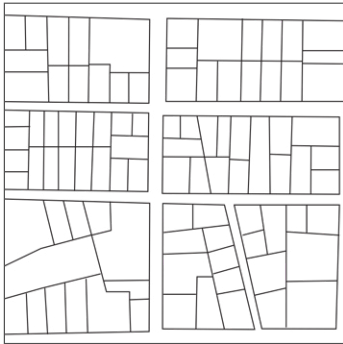
PARCELATION
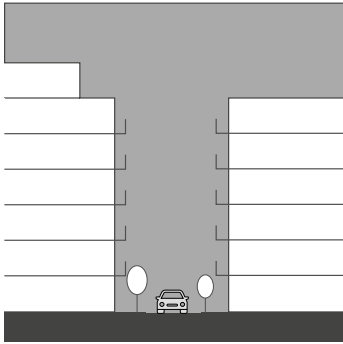
STREET LAYOUT
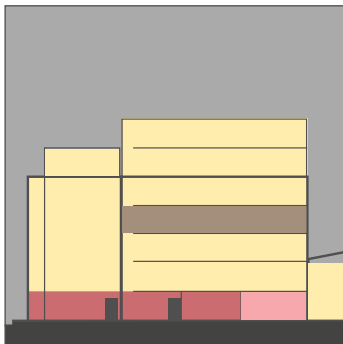
PROGRAMME

The interactions studied in the field research are found in 4 archetypes: the street, the inner block, the ground floor and the area in general. The form and the programme of the block are represented in drawings and describe the conditions under which interactions take place and the activity that has been recorded in situ. The types of interactions that the research uses are discussed and justified in the next section.
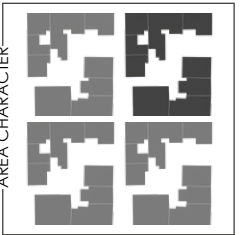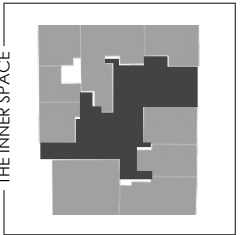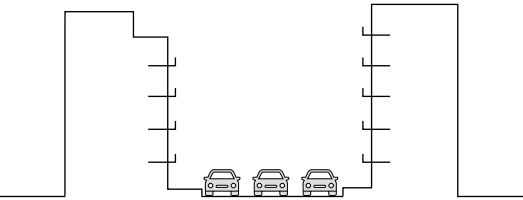
PROGRAMME

RESIDENTIAL

SERVICE

RETAIL

EATERY

ENTERTAINMENT

ENTRANCE

EMPTY
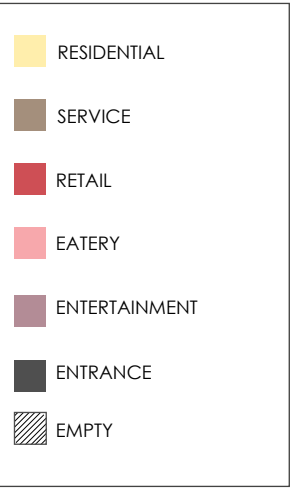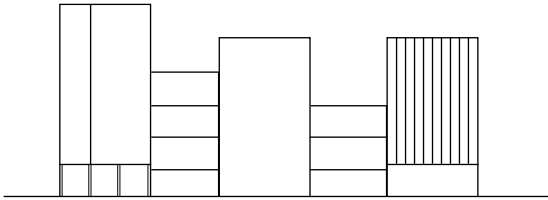
ARCHETYPES FOR INTERACTIONS

THE RESIDENTIAL STREET

THE INNER SPACE

THE BUILDING

AREA CHARACTER

ELEVATION

SECTION

3-TYPOLOGY OF INTERACTIONS

This section presents the methodology about the following: the typology of interactions studied, the urban territories (or simply spaces) where these interactions are developed and the selection process for the examples of the observation *in situ*.

The theory of integration, as reviewed by Penninx and Mascareñas (see Fig. 6B.10), and addressed in previous chapters (see Theoretical Foundation) was helpful for sorting the interactions in 3 types: **political, social and cultural**, with selective context for the purposes of this research. The political interactions are activities that elaborate on the issue of integration: this is based on the philosophy that any action affecting the urban commons is a political action. The social interactions concern the housing market and broadly any interaction between residents of an area. The third type concerns interactions that happen in open, shared spaces and thus encourage and activate cultural differences among residents.

Moreover, the information from the interviews conducted in the course of the research helped assemble a working model that proposes conditions that possibly encourage integration. In this model, governance and various aspects of urban space were considered the most important factors (see Fig. 6B.11).

This model was cross-checked with the theory of integration, which resulted in the following interaction types (see Fig. 6B.12):

Residential:
These interactions are most intense in areas with high percentages of permanent population and concerns meeting or sharing residential indoor and outdoor spaces and areas. The type derives from the socio-economic integration in theory.

Commercial:
These interactions happen in the shared urban space, mainly in the ground floor zone. The type derives from the socio-economic integration in theory.

Spontaneous:
These are spontaneous interactions, that may vary in their degree of intimacy. The type derives from the cultural integration in theory.

Planned:
These describe planned activities, engaging residents with the neighbourhood. The type derives from the political integration in theory.
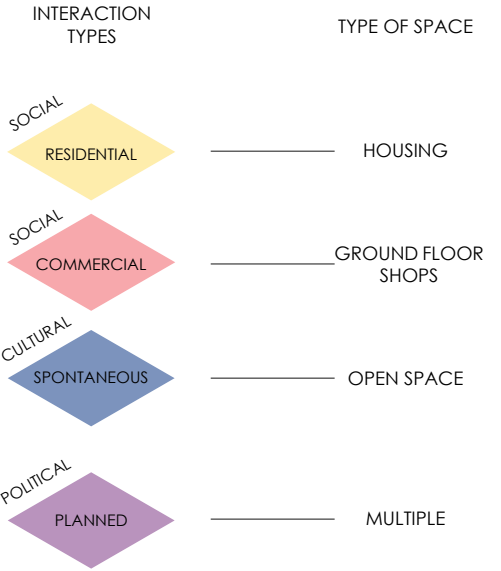

Fig. 6B.12 - The diagram shows the 4 types of interactions that were observed in situ, through 10 examples. Source: own edit.


Fig. 6B.10 - Integration model, adapted from Penninx & Mascareñas (2016).
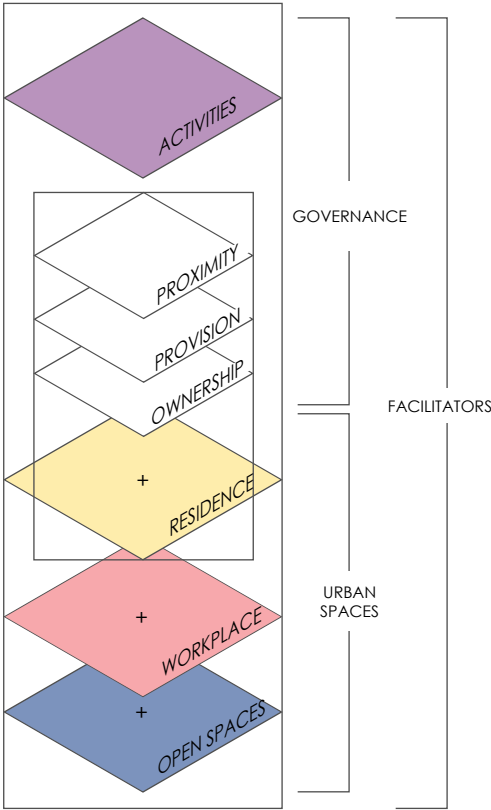
Fig. 6B.11 - The model above was inspired by the interviews with researchers in Athens, mostly Dimitris Mpalampanidis. It contains facilitators for integration. Source: various, own edit.

3-TYPOLOGY OF INTERACTIONS

The typology of interactions can be traced in the urban environment and each type may be observed in particular urban domains:

The **Residential** type occurs in the private domain, especially in areas with high density of housing, instead of business or commerce. The **Commercial** interactions occur in the shared domain between private and public, where the ground floors of the apartment blocks meet the streets. The **Spontaneous** interactions are spontaneous and found in open spaces that have recreational purpose, such as parks or squares and involve residents but also visitors of the neighbourhood. Finally, **Planned** interactions are activities described before and occur mostly in either venues offered from the organising and collaborating actors or in open spaces.

Farther ahead, the analysis will use colour-coded method for distinguishing the interactions typology (see Fig. 6B.13).

RESIDENTIAL   COMMERCIAL   SPONTANEOUS   PLANNED
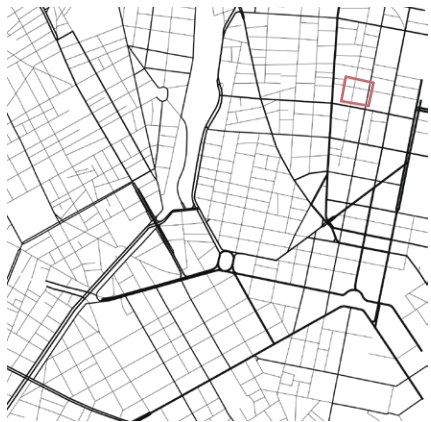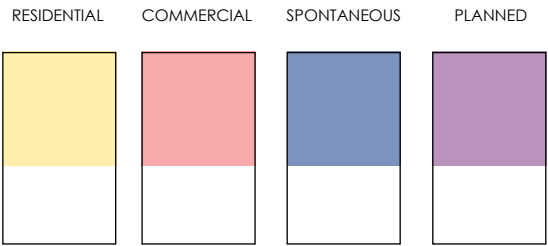
In order to evaluate If neighbourhood practices resemble good examples of interactions, or, in other words, If they indirectly enable integration, the author searched for evidence to address the following questions:

-Are the spontaneous interactions of the example extensive or short in time? What are the urban characteristics that enhance this?

-How does the programme of the area and, consequently, its character, affect the extend (time range) of interactions?

-Does the example involve decision making regarding housing, urban interventions or integration in general?

Generally speaking, the interactions that occur in the urban space were the most decisive for the conclusions of this analysis, as the private domain could not be observed.
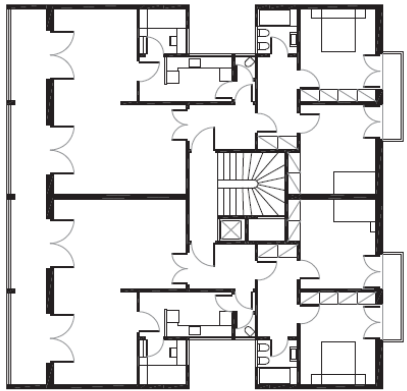
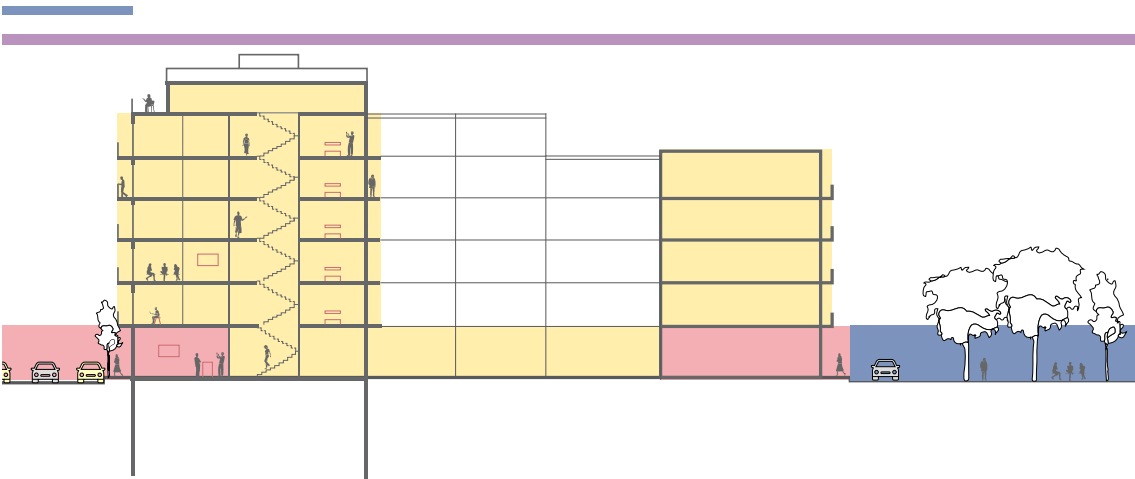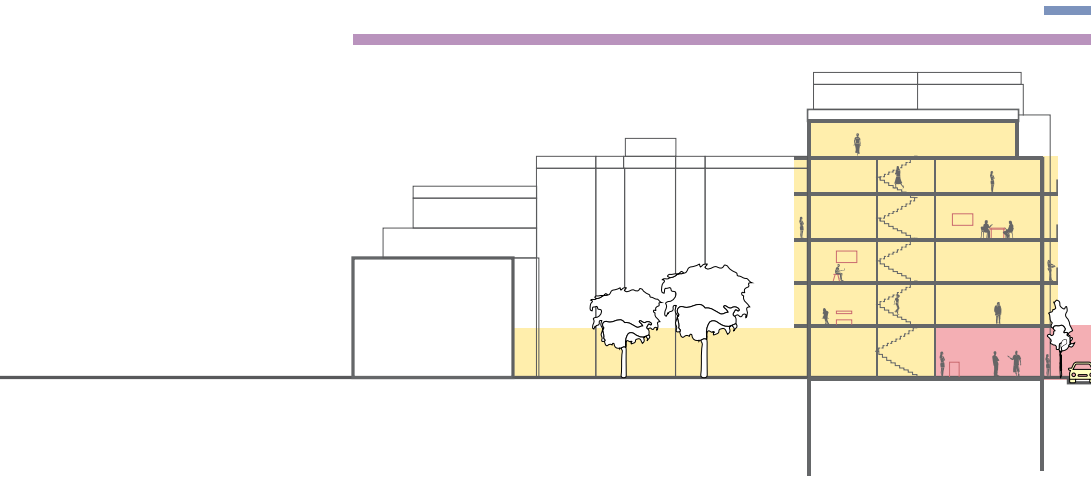Fig. 6B.14 - Indicative plan of the apartment block. Source: Domes, n.d.

Fig. 6B.13 - Urban section with shared and private activities, where the typology of interactions is illustrated. Own edit.
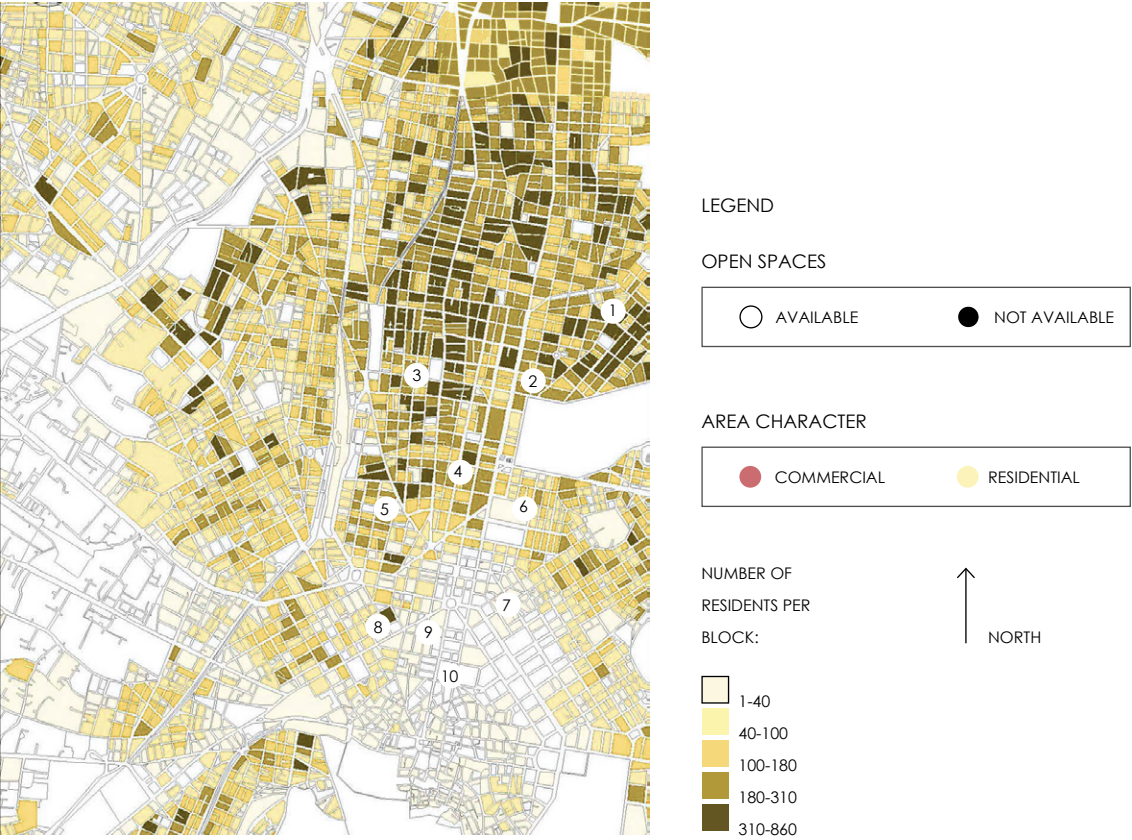
3-TYPOLOGY OF INTERACTIONS

Fig. 6B.15 - The selected urban blocks that were analysed during in situ. The map on the left overlays the migration footprint and the densities of residents , using the urban blocks as units. Source: ELSTAT, 2001, 2011.

Defining what an exemplary practice (interactions) means has been a pressing matter since the inception of this research, particularly because its definition impacts directly the outcome of the fieldwork. Integration depends heavily on how the context of urban space works, which is why these samples were helpful for further steps.

The urban blocks were selected so that they cover different districts and different programmes, while also ranging in availability of open spaces. The number of examples (10) was decided in accordance with the timetable of the fieldwork.
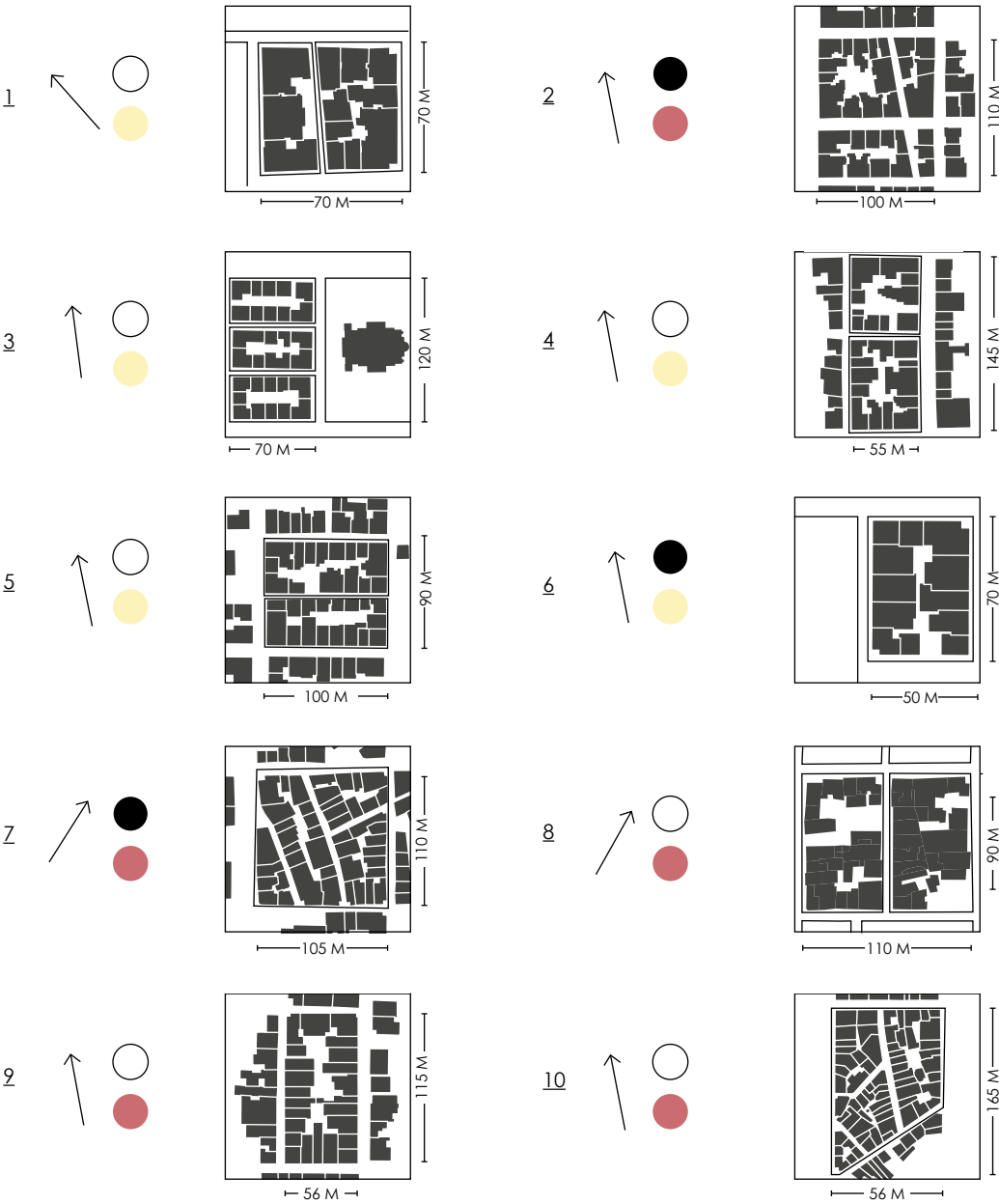
LEGEND

OPEN SPACES

◯ AVAILABLE   ● NOT AVAILABLE

AREA CHARACTER

● COMMERCIAL   ● RESIDENTIAL

NUMBER OF
RESIDENTS PER
BLOCK:

↑ NORTH

1-40
40-100
100-180
180-310
310-860

Fig. 6B.16 - The selected urban blocks that were analysed during in situ. Some areas were proposed by the interviewees during the fieldwork.

3-TYPOLOGY OF INTERACTIONS

The conclusions about the possible guidelines that should be developed for urban integration are based on steps followed during and after the observations in situ. First, the analysis observed the types of interactions in the urban space, the current programme and the urban form of the area. Then, the observations of the areas were organised and compared through the radar diagram method, which involves 5 criteria, four corresponding to the interaction types mentioned before, adding one extra, that processes the extent of interactions (time).

From this, the research divides the examples: 1,3,5 and 6 presented the best conditions, and considered as *Prototypes*, while 2,4,7,8,9 and 10 are on the other end of spectrum. The observations were made during day time, during week days. These are the questions that defined the score for each criterion:
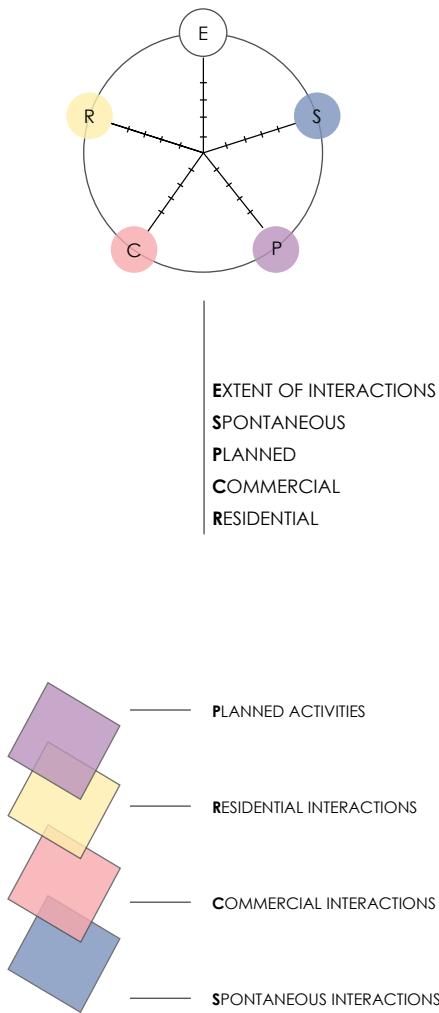
E= How intimate are the interactions, and what is their duration (1= simply crossing the same space and 5= participating in the same activity)?

S= Are migrants and natives meeting in open spaces, or just edges? What is the intensity of these interactions (numbers)?

P= Is the neighbourhood active and organised around issues of integration? This is based on interviews with experts and personal research.

C= Is there activity on the ground floor, and how does this affect interactions?

R= How important are residents as users of space? This criterion is based on population census and interviews with experts (also residents of the city).

EXTENT OF INTERACTIONS
SPONTANEOUS
PLANNED
COMMERCIAL
RESIDENTIAL

PLANNED ACTIVITIES

RESIDENTIAL INTERACTIONS

COMMERCIAL INTERACTIONS

SPONTANEOUS INTERACTIONS

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

4- INTERACTION ANALYSIS

Fig. 6B.17 - Source: author's photograph

Firstly, the main observations about urban space and interactions are presented as the overview of the analysis conducted during the fieldwork. Then, one positive and one negative example are analysed even further in terms of interaction typology. Eventually, the results from applying the criteria on each of the areas are presented as conclusion.

OBSERVATIONS   DESCRIPTION   OBSERVATIONS   DESCRIPTION

NOT FOR PEDESTRIANS- The spaces along streets are the edges of the city, that people prefer as spaces of standing and staying (Gehl, 2010). In the case of Athens, where open space is scarce, such spaces should be addressed in design. However, in many cases there is no adequate width or even zones for different activities. The observations have shown that streets accessible by pedestrians can extend the time of stay and thus the interactions.

NOT FOR PEDESTRIANS

MIXED USES- The diverse urban programme and the combination of particular activities can be more beneficial for interaction. For instance, when schools, recreational spaces and active ground floors are combined, different groups of residents can meet and interact.

MIXED USES

ACTIVE GROUND FLOORS- The activity on the street is often defined by the continuous ground floor that serves as interaction zone. In cases where the activity is discontinuous, there are less incentives for visiting the particular street and thus less possibility for interaction.

ACTIVE GROUND FLOOR

AREA ACCESSIBILITY- The accessible areas are more likely visited by different users of space: residents, workers, and visitors. The observations showed that central areas concentrate more activity, but de facto interactions are scarce or absent.

AREA ACCESSIBILITY

OPEN SPACES- Observations showed that neighbourhoods with easily accessible open spaces are environments that can enhance interactions. Especially when these spaces are distributed evenly across the city, then the same opportunities for interactions can be present in every neighbourhood.

OPEN SPACES

NEGLECTED AREAS- Broadly speaking, characteristics such as urban decay, empty buildings and abandonment usually compose the image of neglected areas. Observations showed that the absence of programme discourages interactions, regardless of the quality of space.

NEGLECTED AREAS

RESIDENTIAL CHARACTER -The high percentages of residents in neighbourhoods, and the subsequent presence of housing as predominant use is defining for establishing interactions. In residential areas in Athens, urban space is used by people that form connections more easily.

RESIDENTIAL CHARACTER

ACTIVE AREAS- One of the observations on urban space is that the combination of open spaces and particular activities, such as recreation and education create the best conditions for interactions.

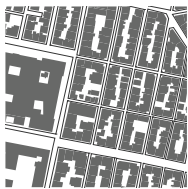ACTIVE AREAS
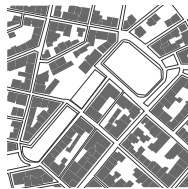
AREA 1-FOKIONOS NEGRI
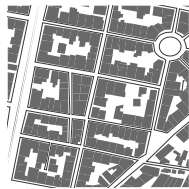
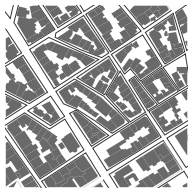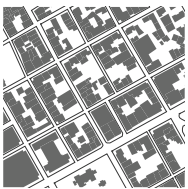AREA 2-AGIOS GEORGIOS

AREA 3 ATTIKIS

AREA 4 IOULIANOU

AREA 5- VATHIS
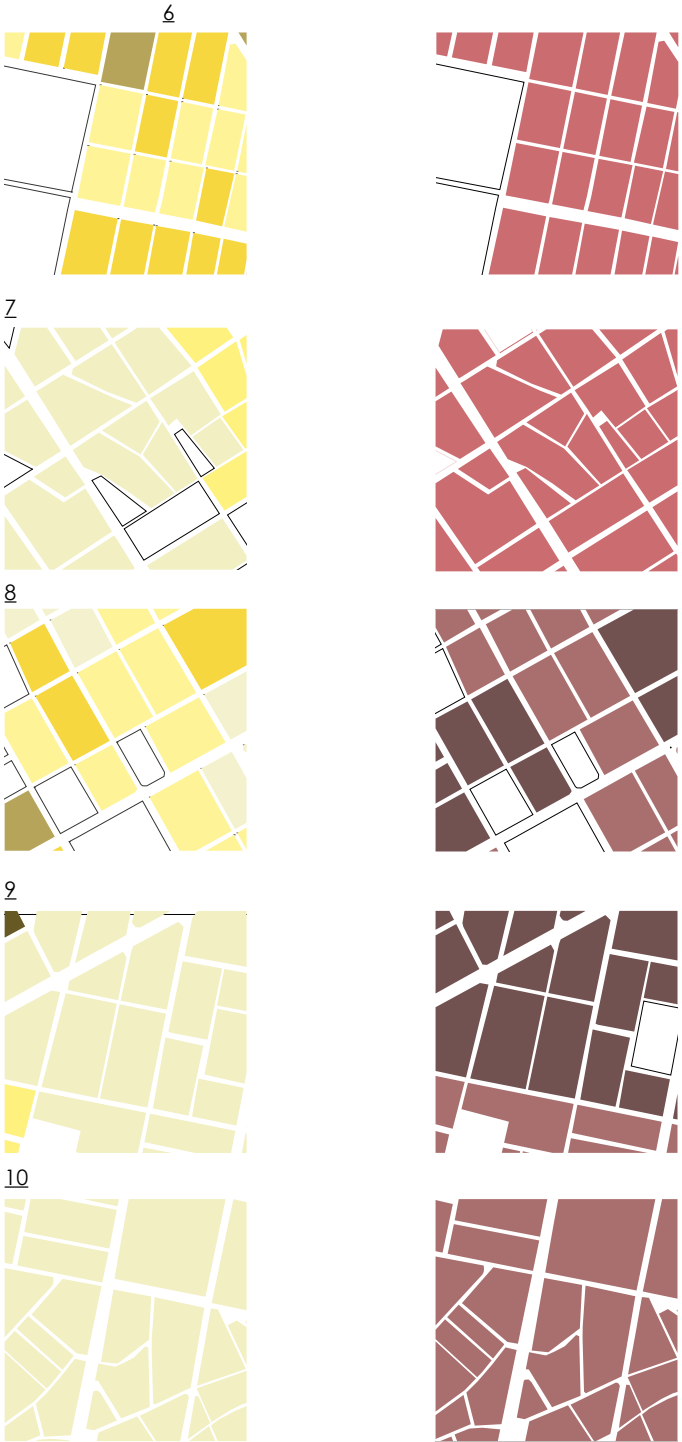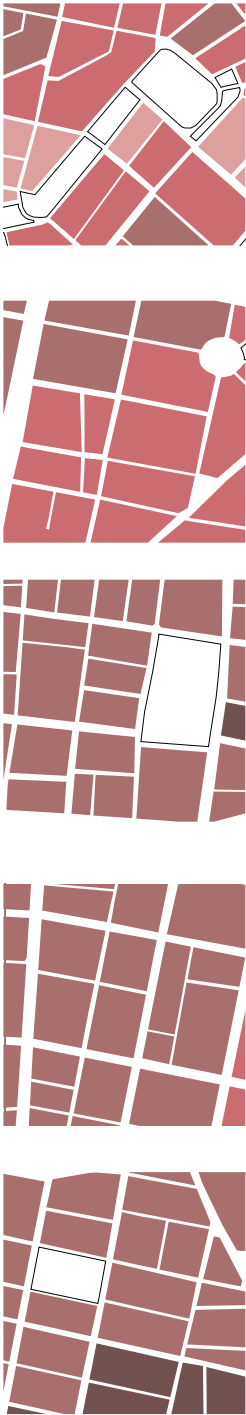
AREA 6-MOUSEIO

AREA 7- EXARCHEIA

AREA 8- METAXOURGIO

AREA 9- MARKET

AREA 10- COMMERCIAL CENTRE

NOT FOR PEDESTRIANS

ACTIVE GROUND FLOOR

OPEN SPACES

RESIDENTIAL CHARACTER

MIXED USES

AREA ACCESSIBILITY

NEGLECTED AREAS

ACTIVE AREAS

1

6

2

7

3

8

4

9

RESIDENTS BER BLOCK

(REAL NUMBERS)

	40-100
	100-180
	180-310
	310-860

5

10

MIGRANTS BER BLOCK

(PER CENT)

	0-10
	10-30
	30-50
	50+

4- INTERACTION ANALYSIS

EXAMPLE A-URBAN BLOCK 1 **KYPSELI**

300 M

PROGRAMME

■ ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

■ FLEA MARKET

■ OPEN SPACE

- - - PEDESTRIAN

—— RESIDENTIAL

—— TERTIARY

—— SECONDARY

━━ PRIMARY

LOCATION

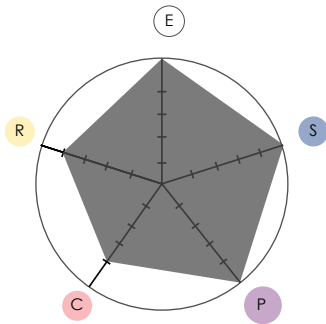STREET HIERARCHY
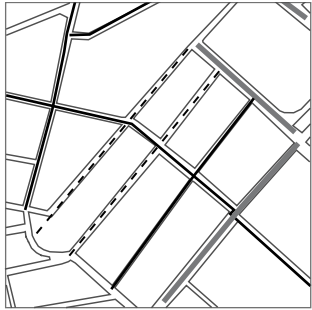
MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)
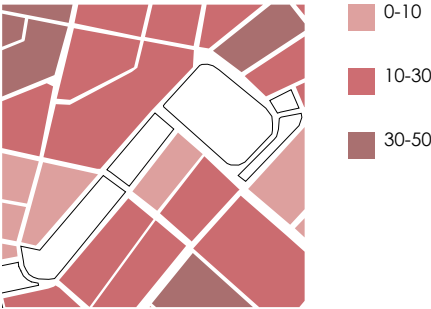
■ 0-10
■ 10-30
■ 30-50

RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)


■ 40-100
■ 100-180
■ 180-310
■ 310-860
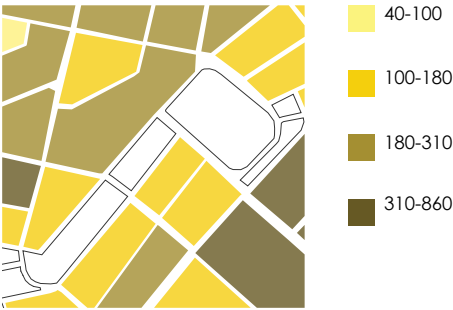
EXTENT OF INTERACTIONS
SPONTANEOUS
**P**LANNED
COMMERCIAL
RESIDENTIAL

The neighbourhood explored here is easily recognised by the pedestrian street (Negri Fokionos, 750m approximately) permeating the refined urban tissue. This zone is concentrating the urban activity of the area, combining the function of green space, commercial street and recreation area for its residents.

The residency of migrants in the area is important (10-50 per cent) and their presence is evident, especially because of the central street. The next pages shed light on each type of interactions for Kypseli.
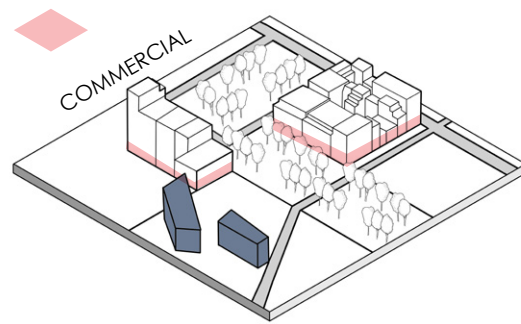
COMMERCIAL

The commercial activity on the ground floor is continuous on the pedestrian street, which extends the duration of street activity, and thus supports interactions. Entrances of cafés, retail shops and services are facing the pedestrian street, while their users interact with the open space and each other.
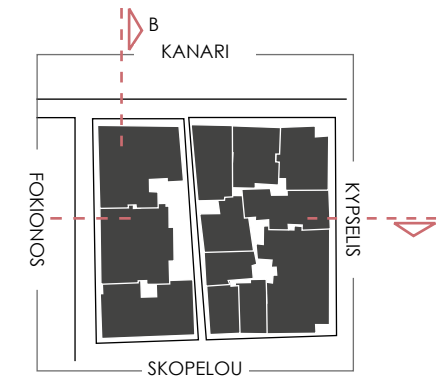
Spontaneous interactions describe any activity that happens in the urban realm that is shared among migrants and natives. In this case, the area offers the opportunity of interacting not only on the sidewalks, which is the case in most neighbourhoods in Athens, but also on the open areas. The pedestrian street and the square at its end function as the collectors of activity for residents, the school, and the workers.

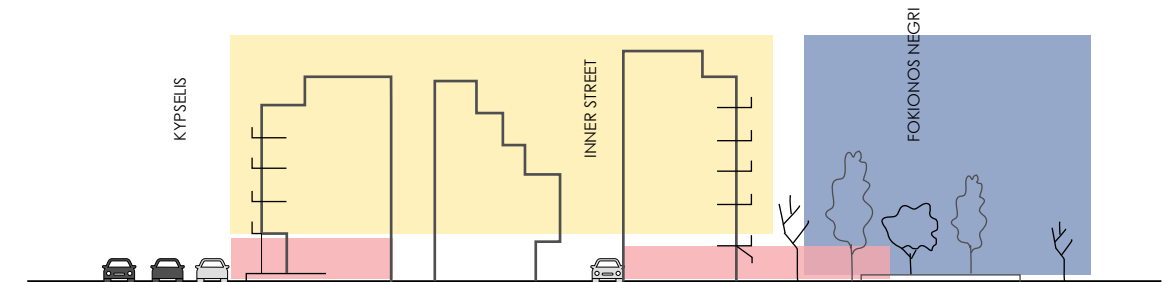

SPONTANEOUS
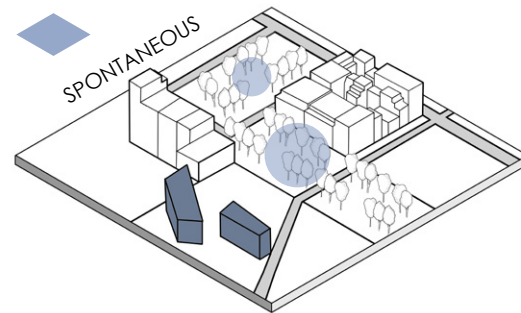
RESIDENTIAL

The high concentration of residents in this area makes them the most important among other users of urban space, particularly housing blocks. However, the residential character is combined with services (private practices mostly) in the upper floors, especially on the edges facing pedestrian and tertiary streets. Here, the dominant existence of residents affects how the urban space is used: the residents become more attached, they stay longer and they are more engaged with recurring issues of their neighbourhood.
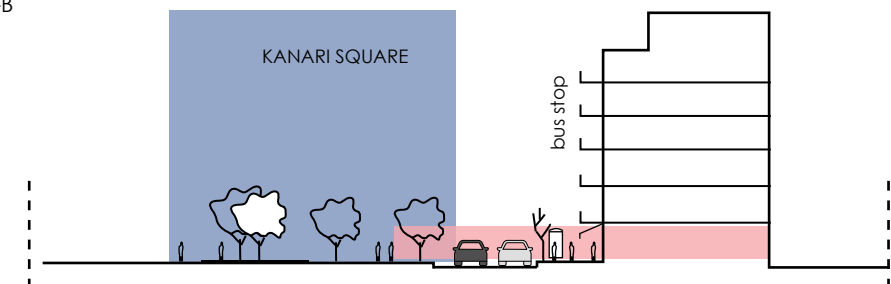

PLANNED
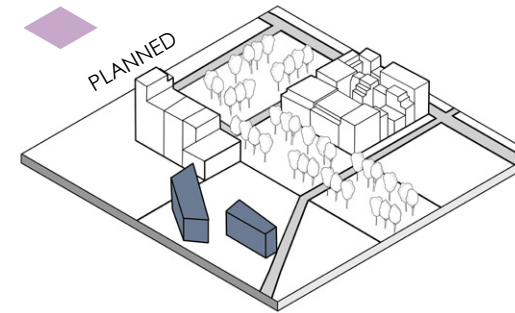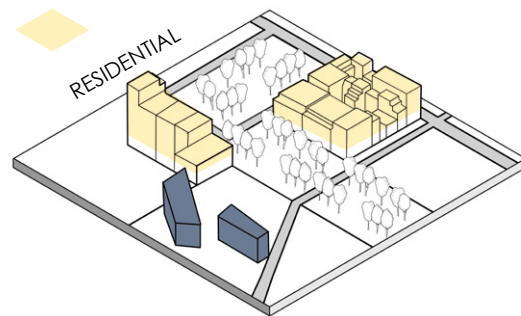
The neighbourhood is distinguishable among others in Athens, mostly because of its character, defined by many active civil society groups, with diverse objectives and actors involved from many different domains.

B

KANARI

FOKIONOS

KYPSELIS

A

SKOPELOU

SECTION A-A

KYPSELIS

INNER STREET

FOKIONOS NEGRI

SECTION B-B

KANARI SQUARE

bus stop

DESCRIPTION OF INTERACTIONS

ELEVATIONS

KANARI

FOKIONOS NEGRI

bakery

bus stop

post office

stores owned by natives
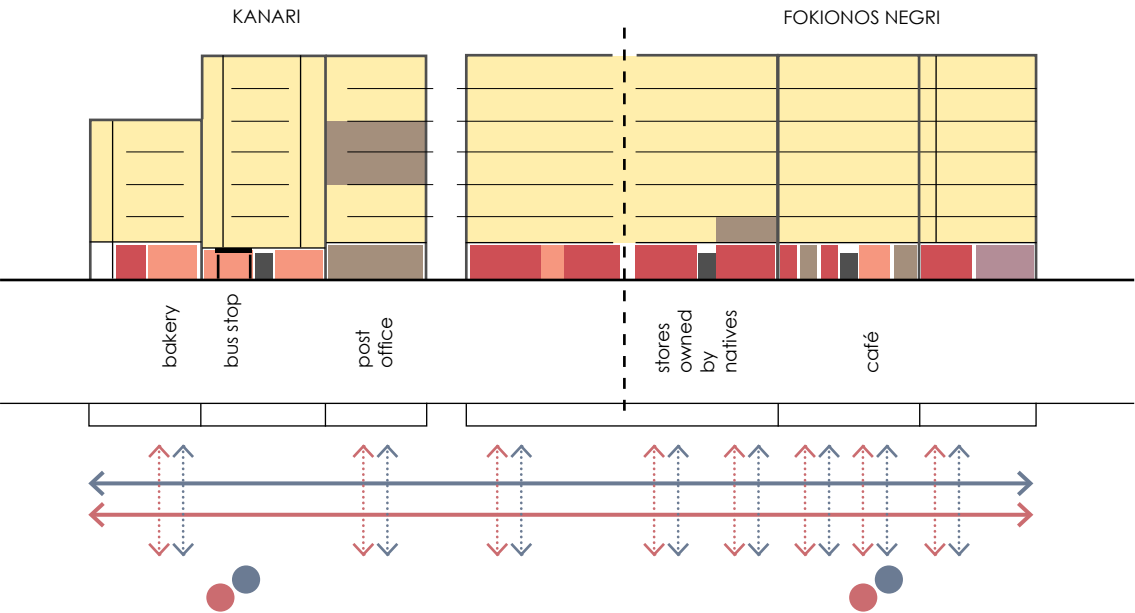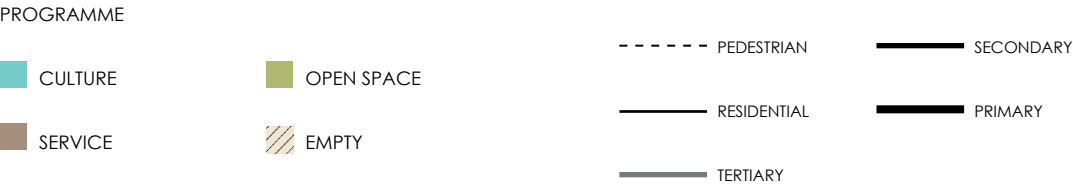
café
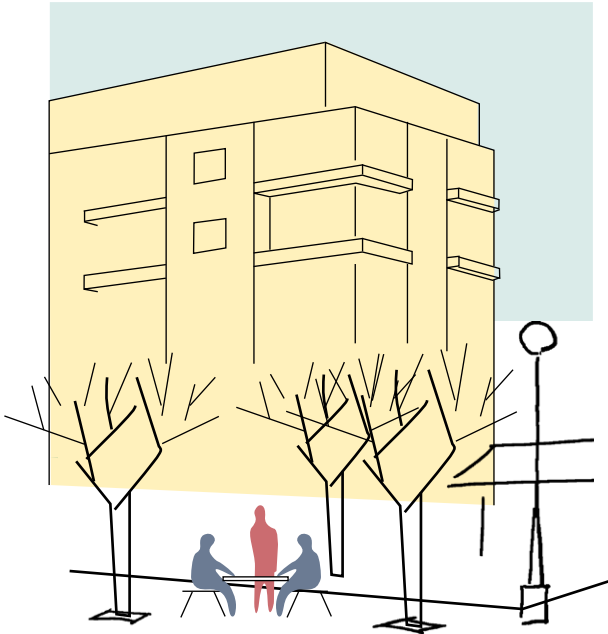
Fig. 6B.18 - The central pedestrian street of the area. Source: Kathimerini, 2017.

4- INTERACTION ANALYSIS
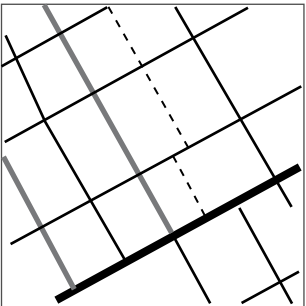
EXAMPLE B-URBAN BLOCK 8   **METAXOURGIO**

LOCATION
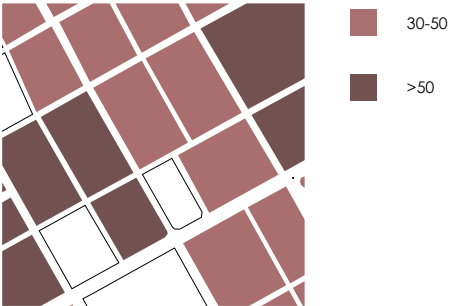
MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

- 30-50
- >50

STREET HIERARCHY

RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)

- 40-100
- 100-180
- 180-310
- 310-860
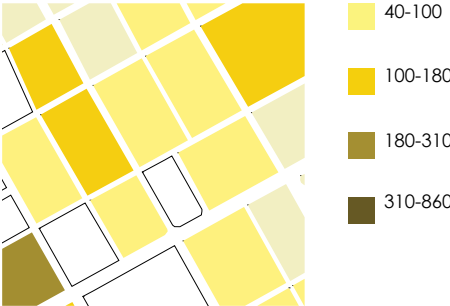
EXTENT OF INTERACTIONS
SPONTANEOUS
PLANNED
COMMERCIAL
RESIDENTIAL
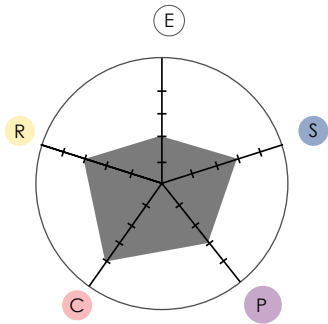
This area is in close proximity with the commercial hub of the city, which justifies the presence of retail on the ground floors. The commercial activity is shared between migrants and natives as owners and users of space, while the residential character has changed over the past years.

Generally speaking, this neighbourhood has unique character: its abandoned buildings, migrant shops, and entertainment uses form its contradicting image. The next pages shed light on each type of interactions for Metaxourgio.

PROGRAMME

- CULTURE
- OPEN SPACE
- SERVICE
- EMPTY

- - - - - PEDESTRIAN   ———— SECONDARY

———— RESIDENTIAL   ━━━━ PRIMARY

———— TERTIARY

300 M
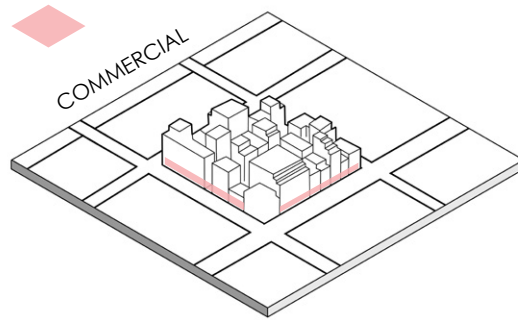
COMMERCIAL

The commercial interactions are observed on the ground floor of the area, which combines empty properties, migrant shops and entertainment (restaurants, cafés etc.). The discontinuity of active ground floors, however, affect the amount of interactions.

PLANNED

The planned interactions are activities that contribute to the integration of migrants, while involving the participation of natives in the process. In this case, even though there are migrant organisations in the area, the residents are not as active as in other cases, probably because the character is mostly commercial and recreational.

The spontaneous interactions, that concern activities such as meetings on the street and sharing spaces, are only developed along the streets, as there are no open spaces in the vicinity. The observations show that pedestrian streets are the most important spaces in this case, although the number of interactions was anyway minimum when compared with other cases.

SPONTANEOUS

KERAMIKOU

KOLOKINTHOUS

KOLONOU

A

AGISILAOU

B

SECTION A-A

The residential interactions, that concern the common use of space by migrants and natives, are defined by 2 conditions in this case: the empty or abandoned buildings and the recent surge in short-term rentals in the area. This reduced residential character, combined with the absence of open spaces, affects how residents interact with each other.

RESIDENTIAL

EMPTY

PEDESTRIAN STREET

ELEVATION KERAMIKOU

KOLONOU

IASONOS

KOLOKINTHOUS

Fig. 6B.19 - Typical view of one of the pedestrian streets of the area. Source: author's image

5- CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the present chapter helped with reading and filtering the urban space and eventually defining either positive or negative conditions for the development of interactions between migrants and natives, based on empirical observations. The results are presented in the form of criteria analysis, method previously described. The highlighted diagrams have been presented in this chapter as contradicting practices.
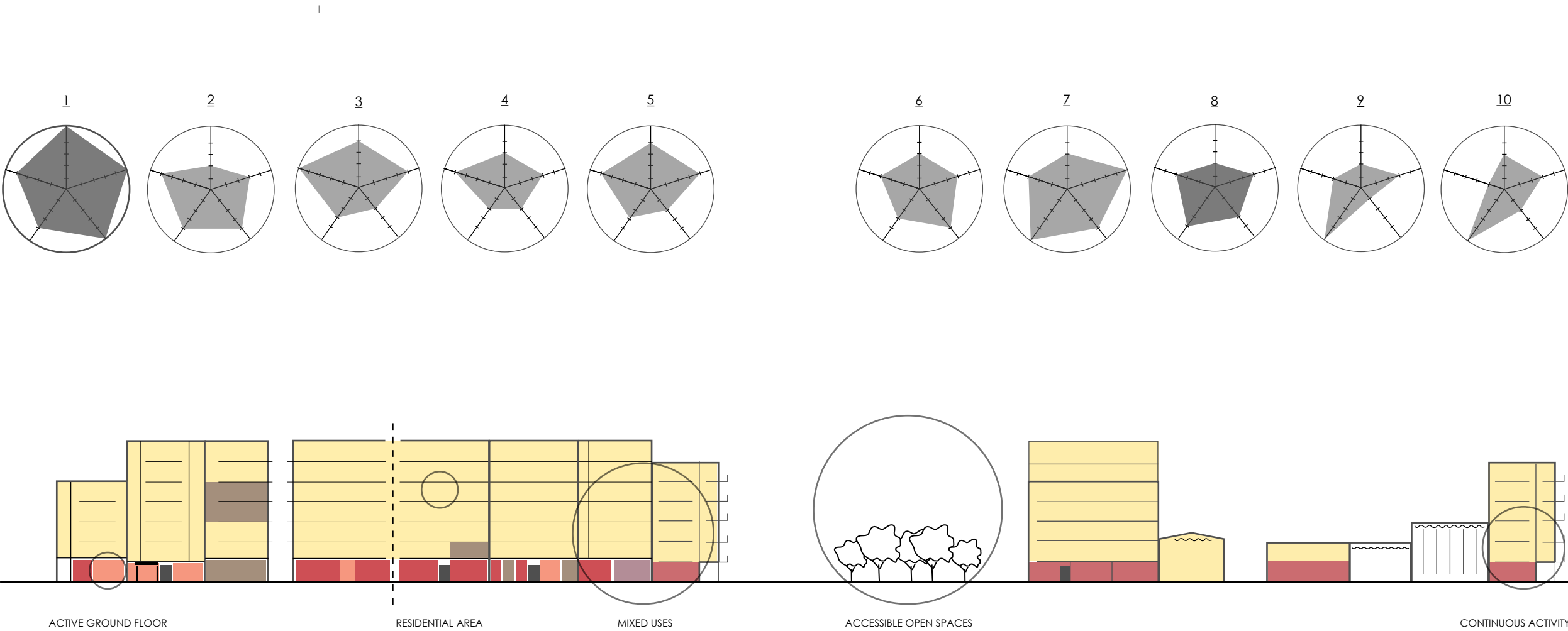
Fig. 6B.20 - The diagram summarises the conclusions on urban space, based on the observations presented in this chapter.

6C
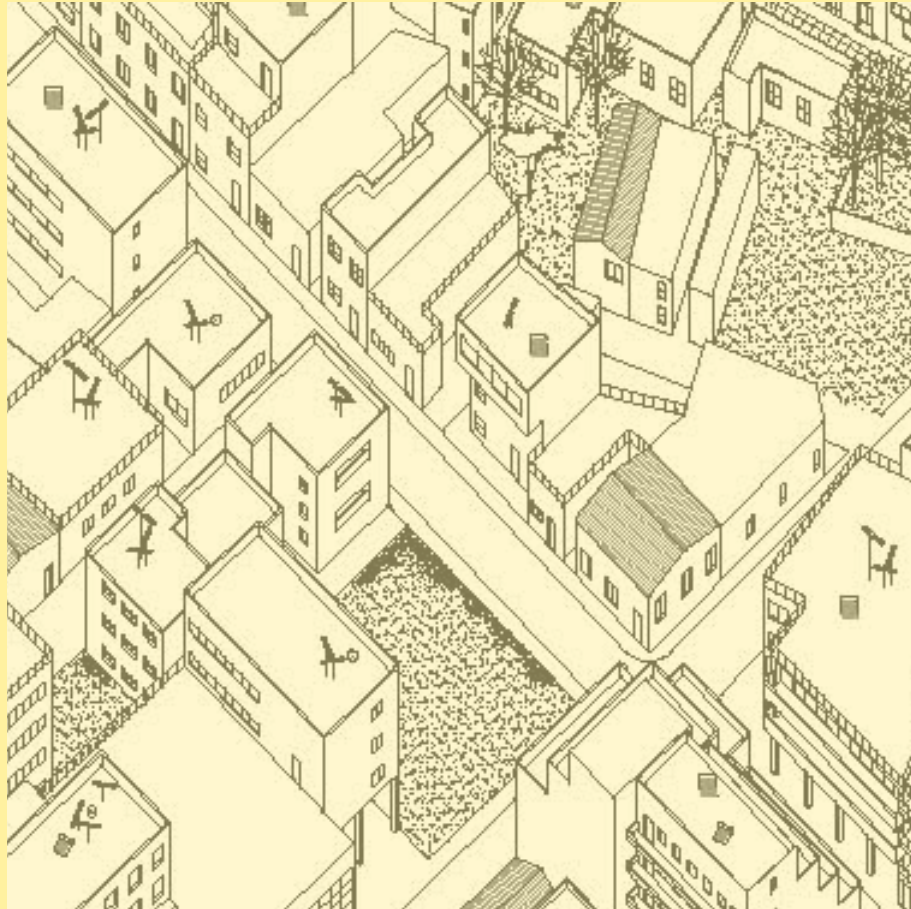
STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

The present chapter selectively describes influential actors involved in housing and finds their developed collaborations and conflicts, that assemble the existing housing system in Athens. Then, the chapter examines the in situ integration practice *Synathina* as an example for the proposed housing model against (direct or indirect) displacement of migrants.

1- INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the most influential stakeholders for housing and interactions in general. The diagrams here present 3 types of stakeholders: Public, Private Sector, and Civil Society and how they either enhance or hinder the interactions in the housing system and the urban space. Firstly, the thesis outlines the governance scheme of 2 Public Sector stakeholders, and specifically the Ministries of Environment and Energy (responsible for planning) and Migration (responsible for integration). The Private sector stakeholders that concern the thesis are the private developers and owners of housing apartments and buildings, whose role may potentially cause displacement of migrants. Finally, the thesis analyses Non-Governmental Organisations and housing cooperatives as Civil Society actors, because both groups can potentially lead to more inclusive provision of housing for migrants.

STAKEHOLDERS

MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS

MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS

UNHCR

REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS

COHAB ATHENS

LANDOWNERS

ACTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

HOUSING (RESIDENTIAL INTERACTIONS)

INTEGRATION (GENERAL)

PUBLIC SECTOR

PRIVATE SECTOR

CIVIL SOCIETY

MUNICIPAL

MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS

ATHENS COORDINATION CENTRE (FOR MIGRANTS & REFUGEES)

SYNATHINA PROGRAMME (2013-)

URBAN PLANNING DEPARTMENT

APARTMENT OWNERS

DEVELOPERS

OLIAROS

ESTIA

ENGEL & VOLKERS

V2 DEVELOPMENT

...

CO-HAB ATHENS

ARSIS

NOSTOS

SOLIDARITY NOW

NGOs

GREEK FORUM OF MIGRANTS

PRAKSIS

METADRASI

NATIONAL

MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY

MINISTRY OF MIGRATION

STAVROS NIARCHOS FOUNDATION

SUPRA-NATIONAL

IOM

UNHCR

EUROPEAN UNION

URBAN INNOVATION ACTIONS

AIRBNB

IRC

NGOs

2- STAKEHOLDERS

INTEGRATION SCHEME

SCALE OF ACTIVITY   RESPONSIBLE INSTITUTIONS   GOVERNANCE SECTOR   HOUSING F

SUPRANATIONAL LEVEL

IOM

UNHCR

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

PUBLIC SECTOR

MINISTRY OF
MIGRATION POLICY   PUBLIC SECTOR

NATIONAL LEVEL

REGIONAL LEVEL

LOCAL LEVEL

PRAKSIS

SOLIDARITY NOW

METADRASI

GREEK FORUM
FOR REFUGEES

CIVIL SOCIETY

LOCAL LEVEL

ACCMR   PUBLIC SECTOR

NOSTOS   CIVIL SOCIETY

PLANNING SYSTEM SCHEME

● SCALE

MAINLY POLICY DOCUMENTS

MAINLY SPATIAL DESIGN DOCUMENTS

SCALE OF PLAN   NAME OF PLAN   RESPONSIBLE INSTITUTION
(ELABORATION)   RESPONSIBLE INSTITUTION
(CONSULTATION)

NATIONAL LEVEL

NATIONAL SPATIAL
STRATEGY   MINISTRY OF
ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY   NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR
SPATIAL PLANNING

SPECIAL PLANS

REGIONAL LEVEL   REGIONAL SPATIAL
FRAMEWORKS   MINISTRY OF
ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY   NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR
SPATIAL PLANNING

OR   +

SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL   REGULATORY
PLAN   ADMINISTRATIVE
REGION   REGIONAL COUNCIL

SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

LOCAL LEVEL

1:10000;1:25000
INTEGRATED URBAN
DEVELOPMENT PLANS   MINISTRY OF
ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY   REGIONAL COUNCIL
+
RELEVANT MUNICIPAL
COUNCILS

1: 25000 to 1: 5000
SPECIAL SPATIAL
PLANS   +

1: 25 000; 1: 10 000; 1: 5000
LOCAL SPATIAL
PLANS   MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

1:1000;1:2000
IMPLEMENTATION
PLANS

2- STAKEHOLDERS

LANDOWNERS

Home ownership in Greece holds one of the highest numbers in Europe, while social housing is practically absent (see Fig. 6C.1). Until the 2000s decade, costs for housing have not been crucial, as properties were affordable. When Athens was being constructed, the market was defined by pluralism: land ownership was dispersed and housing construction was undertaken by various individual investors with small initial capitals that were both the owners and the users of housing. The absence of social housing and the preeminence of incentives provided by the state allowed previous generations to become players in the market and build 1 or even 2 properties (Siatitsa, 2019).

Nonetheless, recent empirical researches in Athens have shown that there is privately owned, dormant building stock.

The Municipality of Athens recorded 132,000 vacant homes (21.7 per cent of all vacancies in Attica, see Fig. 6C.2) and 27.300 (4.5 per cent) in the Municipality of Piraeus. If one focuses on their spatial distribution, they find that the greatest share is located in central areas, often in degraded neighbourhoods, where there is a great need for housing by different vulnerable social groups. Consequently, home ownership is a condition which is found in conflict with the need for provision of housing for migrants.

Depending on their availability and activity, short-term rentals may deprive tenants of their homes, as they are directly evicted.

Most discussion on the impact of housing availability and affordability focuses on entire-home listings and for good reason. These are the listings which, If rented sufficiently often throughout the year, can no longer be housing a long-term tenant. Private room listings, by contrast, are generally assumed to have little or no impact on housing markets, since they generally do not displace renters (Sideris, 2018).

In Athens, 87.4 per cent of the Airbnb platform listings are available for more than 60 days a year. The calculations of availability presented here tracks whether a listing is reported as available or unavailable on the calendar. This approach

does not differentiate booked from unavailable properties, which means that the statistics could have underestimated the availability of properties (around 8.000 year-round listings as of February 2020).
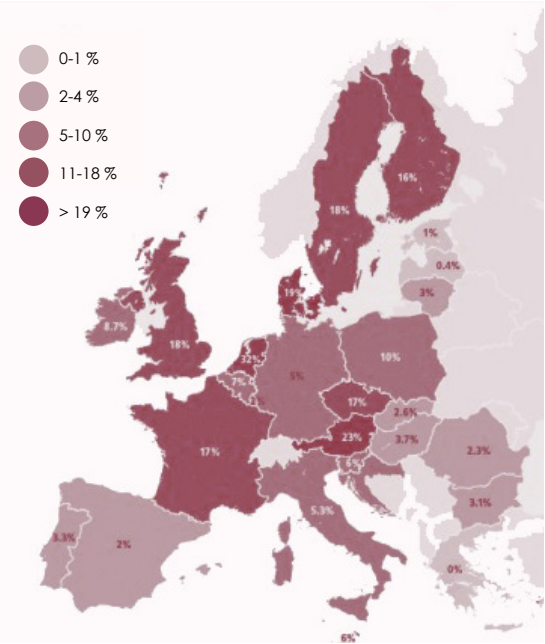

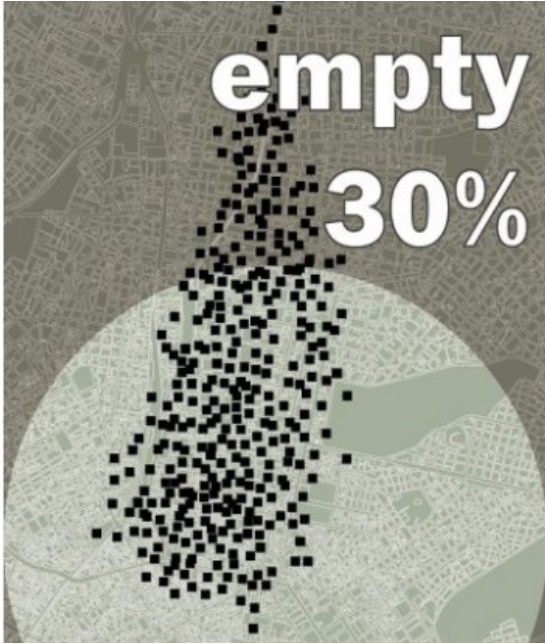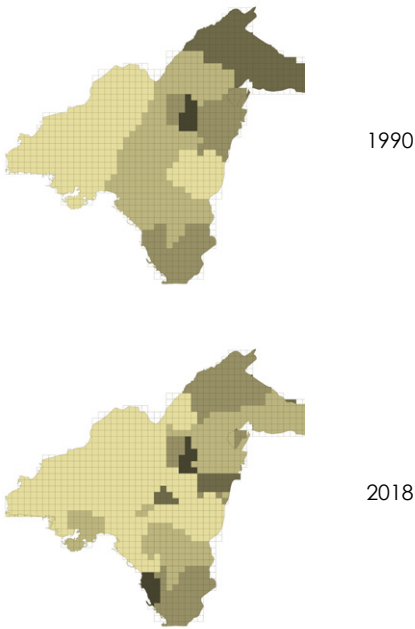Fig. 6C.1 - Social housing per country in Europe. Source: Siatitsa, 2019.
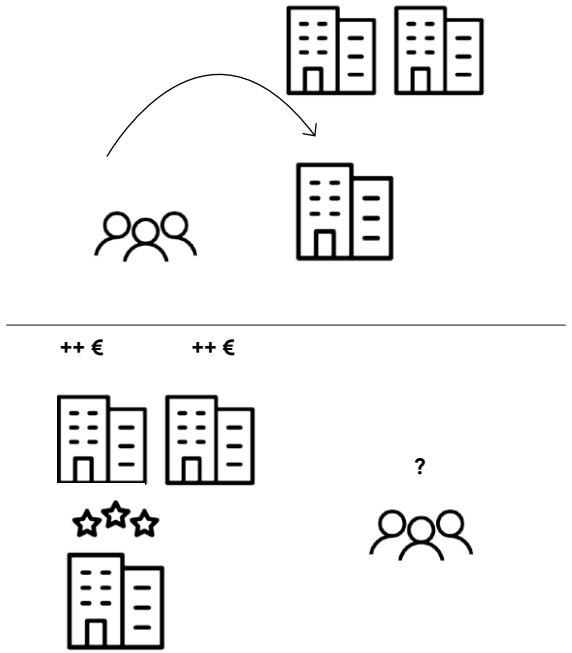

Fig. 6C.2 - Poster on urban vacancy. Source: Co-hab, 2019.

HOUSING MARKET PRICES

1990

2018

HOUSING MOBILITY

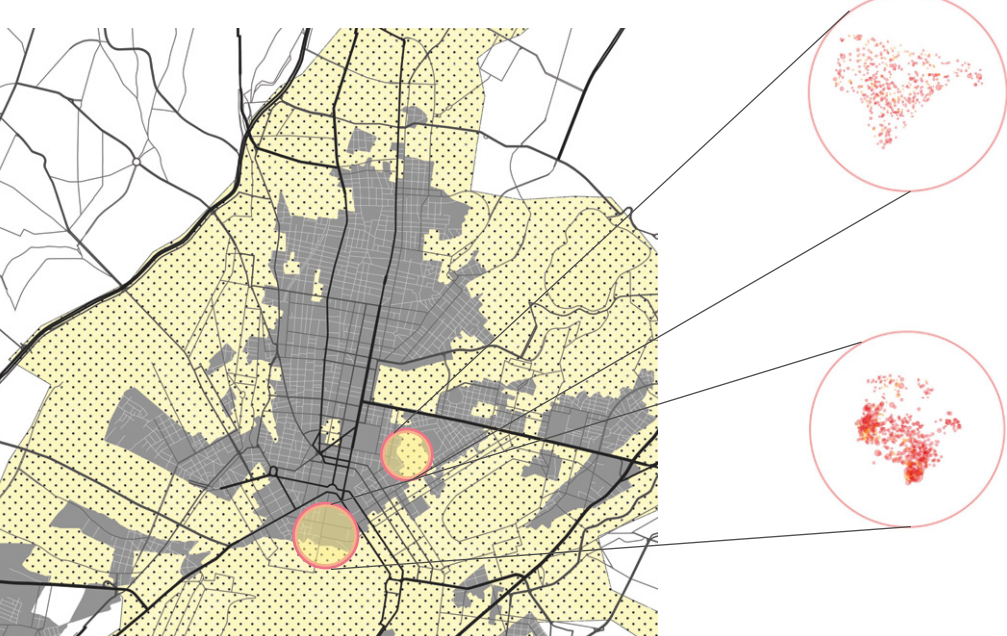AREAS WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF LISTINGS IN ATHENS

Fig. 6C.3 - The area on the map represents the medium (20-40) and high (40 -70) percentages of migrants in the population, overlaid with the areas of short term rentals.
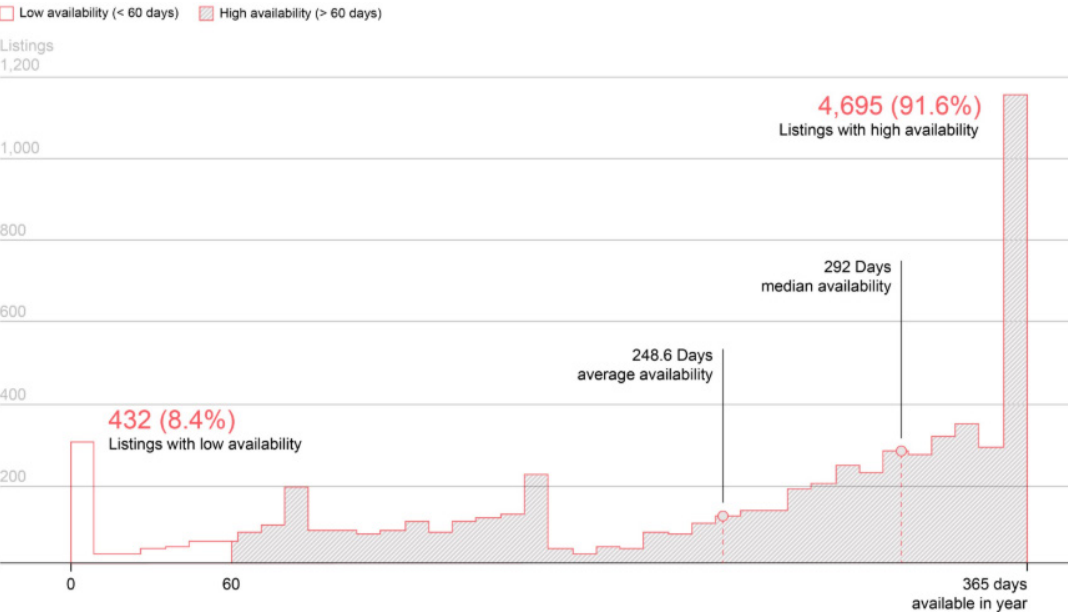

Low availability (< 60 days)   High availability (> 60 days)

Listings
1,200

1,000

4,695 (91.6%)
Listings with high availability

800

292 Days
median availability

600

248.6 Days
average availability

400

432 (8.4%)
Listings with low availability

200

0   60   365 days
available in year

Fig. 6C.4 - X

HOUSING COOPERATIVES

FOUNDING CAPITAL

SUPPORTIVE POLICIES

EXAMPLES IN SITU

Fig. 6C.5 - Required components for the cooperative housing model. Source: personal interview with Siatitsa D., 2020

The housing cooperatives are analysed here as an alternative model of housing governance, which is neither social housing or owned housing. These are associations of people who collectively manage common resources for achieving an end. Residential cooperatives are equity corporations, which own either housing or other properties, which they provide for covering the housing needs of their members. Shareholders of the cooperative are entitled to use their dividends under an individual contract, which records the common rules. The cooperatives are governed by the members' association, and most follow the principle of one vote per member. Cooperatives of significant size elect a board of directors and may also employ management and maintenance staff (Siatitsa, D. 2017).

In Athens, one particular cooperative (Co-Hab Athens) has been active and collaborating with planners in the area and research institutions (see Fig. 1.30). The initiative is member of the European network called Cooperative City (see Fig. 6C.5, Fig. 6C.6).
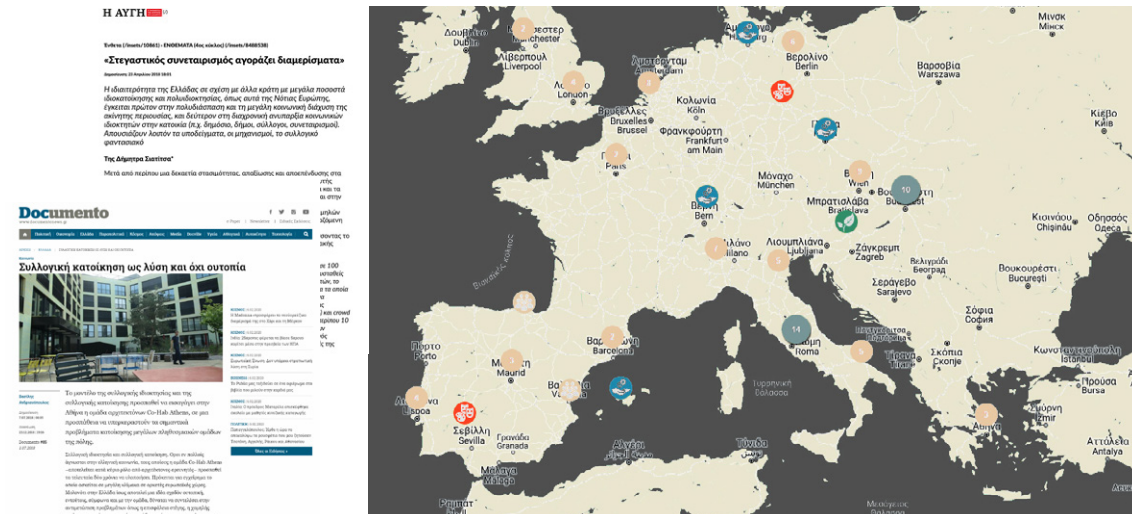
Fig. 6C.6 - The Cooperative City network within the European Union. Source: Cooperative City, 2020.

MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS

''REGIONAL SPATIAL FRAMEWORK''
(REGULATORY PLAN FOR ATHENS)

ATTICA REGION

↓

METROPOLITAN
AREA

↓

''INTEGRATED URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN''

''PROJECT: ATHENS 2020''

MUNICIPALITY

2014-2020
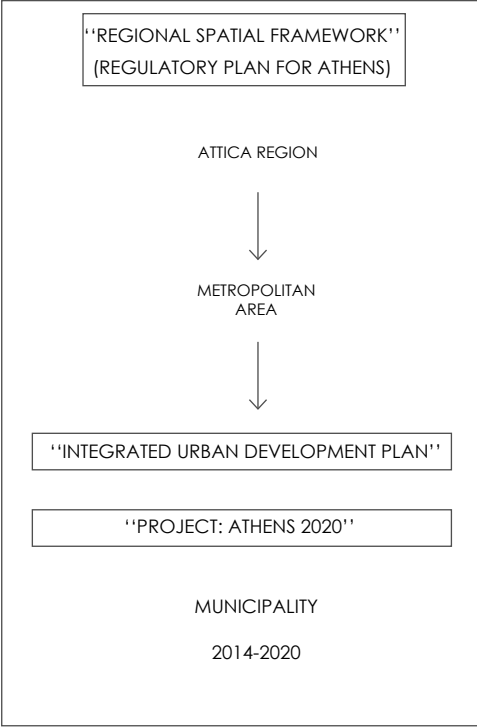
MAIN GUIDELINES

COMPETITIVENESS

URBAN REGENERATION

SUSTAINABLE
URBAN ENVIRONMENT

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

PLANNED INTERVENTIONS

■ INTERVENTION AREAS

■ MAIN FOCUS AREA

OPEN SPACES

● SMALL SCALE

□ MEDIUM SCALE

OTHER

— LINEAR

🏢 BUILDING RESTORATION

Fig. 6C.7 - The map shows the recent spatial plan for the municipality of Athens.

MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS

The recent National Strategy for Integration (2019) involves the provision of housing, through the collaboration of supranational organisations for funding. The action involves the development of supported (semi-reliant) accommodation in protected apartments, which can also contribute to the process of obtaining international protection status.
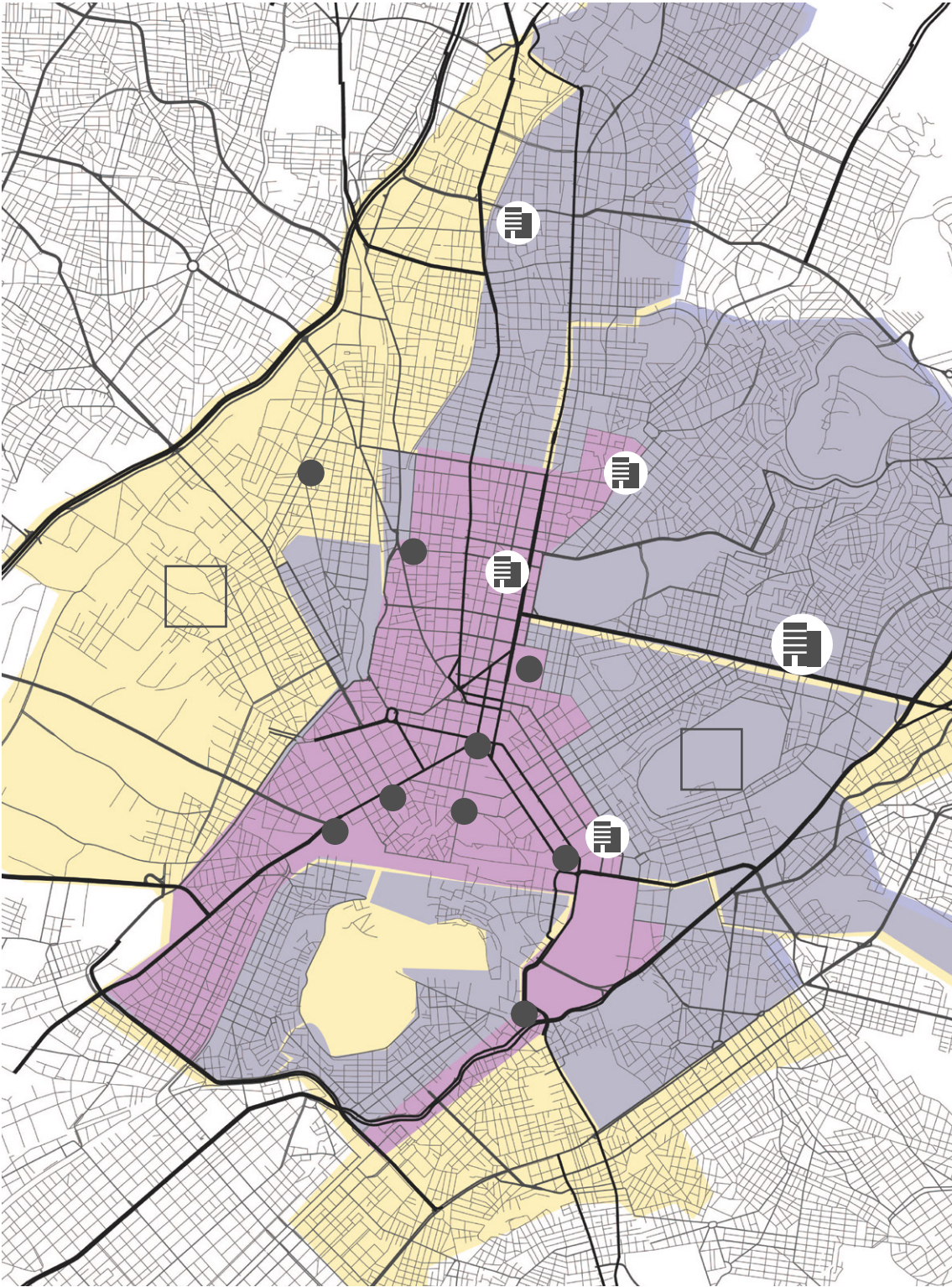
The housing programmes mainly concern recently recognised refugees, rather than other types of migrants. ESTIA, (Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation), implemented by UNHCR and funded by the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund of the European Union, is the most significant programme in terms of numbers. The accommodation provides different types of housing structures, such as independent apartments, buildings and hostels for most entitled beneficiaries.

Nonetheless, the extraordinary conditions under which Civil Society actors are asked to be providers of social services in public policy context, has resulted in many malfunctions on both sides, as mechanisms of cooperation are developed in parallel or after crucial periods, and not before (Siatitsa, D. 2019).

OVER 14.000 REFUGEES ARE HOSTED IN ATTICA

BUILDINGS

APARTMENTS

COLLABORATING ORGANISATIONS

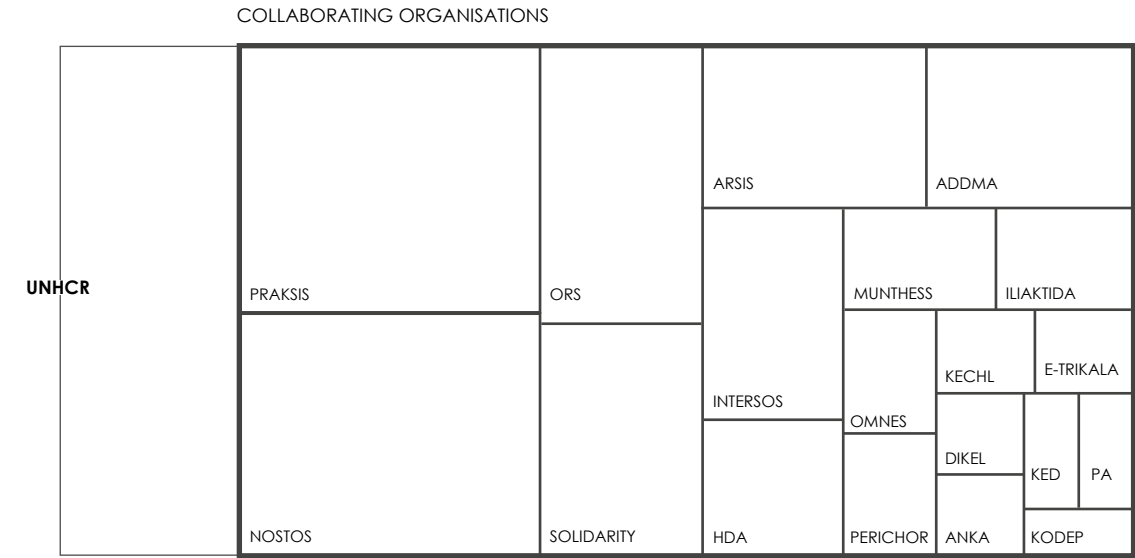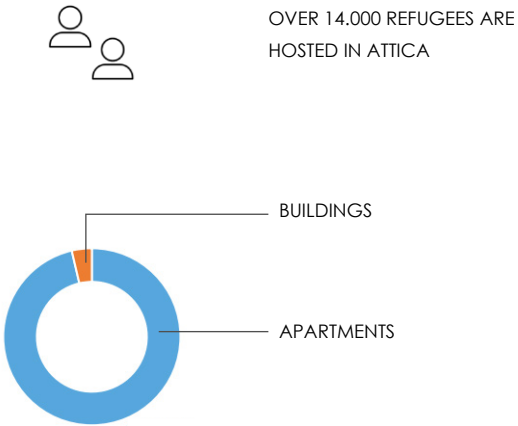| UNHCR | PRAKSIS | ORS | ARSIS | | ADDMA | |
			MUNTHESS		ILIAKTIDA	
			INTERSOS	KECHL	E-TRIKALA	
		SOLIDARITY		OMNES	DIKEL	KED	PA
	NOSTOS		HDA	PERICHOR	ANKA	KODEP	

Fig. 6C.8 - Today, migrant organisation serve as the main moderator in the governance of housing. Source: Athens Vibe, 2020.

3- THE HOUSING SYSTEM

DOMAINS	STAKEHOLDERS	
	MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY	ME
	MINISTRY OF MIGRATION	MM
RESIDENTIAL INTERACTIONS	MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS	MA
	COHAB ATHENS	CH
	REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS	D
	LANDOWNERS	L

	MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS	MO
	MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS	MA
PLANNED INTERACTIONS	SYNATHINA-INTEGRATION PROGRAMME	IP
	MIGRANTS (RESIDENTS)	M
	NATIVES (RESIDENTS)	N

	MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY	ME
	MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS	MA
URBAN SPACE	REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS	D
	LANDOWNERS	L
	CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS	G
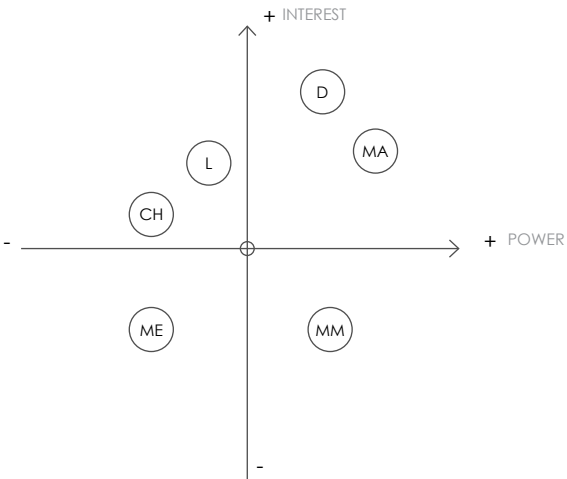
Since the housing market is mostly privately owned, the landowners, the developers and the municipality are the most influential actors. The Ministry of Migration has no policy on housing for migrants, while social housing is scarce. The most recent policies address temporary housing structures exclusively for politically recognised refugees. In this environment, developers have started accumulating property, while the prices are still reasonable (recently prices have been rising after the financial crisis decrease).
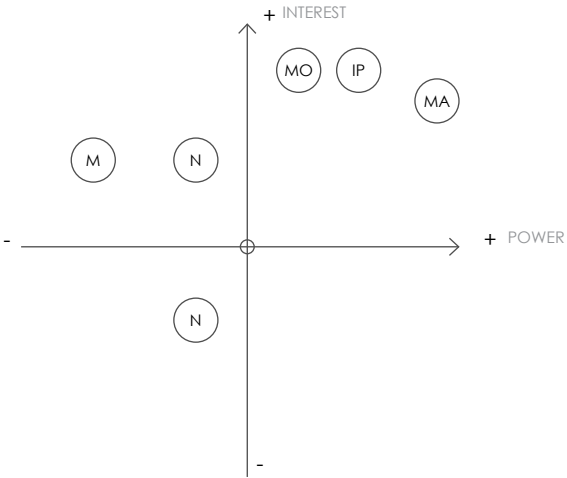
Undoubtedly, the most important actors in activities enhancing integration are the migrant organisations and the official integration programme, which is founded by the municipality. The involvement of actors with administrative power in such projects shows that they have positive attitude towards change. The municipality is already creating collaborations with organisations for the integration of migrants. The involvement of natives in such events and initiatives can vary from minimum interest to active agency.
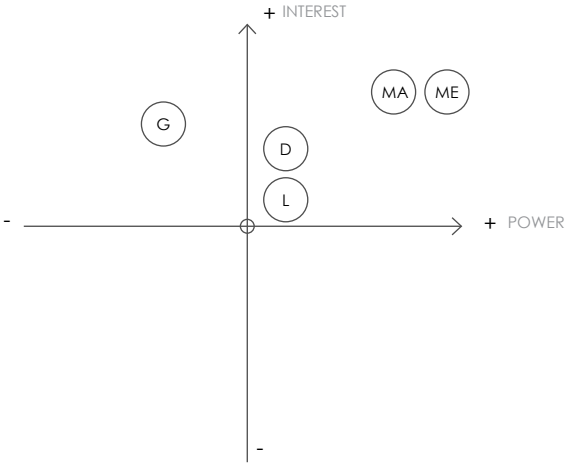
The scale for urban regeneration might be defined in the metropolitan and municipality plans, but the validation of these plans depends on supra-regional bodies, in this case the Ministry of Environment and Energy. Naturally, the plans on these scales should follow the guidelines and objectives of the regional spatial planning. In practice, actors such as developers and landowners are the most important, as they can collectively affect the conditions of the building stock and thus the state of urban regeneration.

3- THE HOUSING SYSTEM

CURRENT & POSSIBLE
COLLABORATIONS

CURRENT CONFLICTS
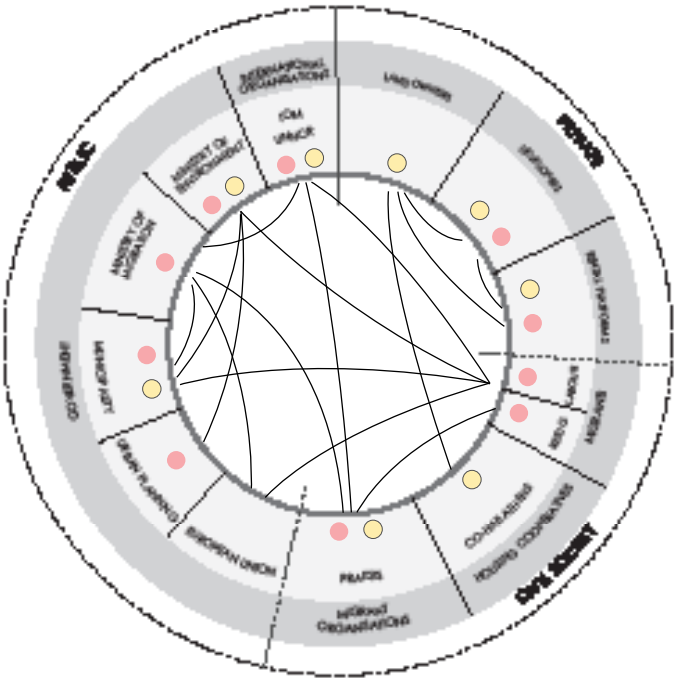

COLLABORATIONS AND CONFLICTS

● INTEGRATION   ○ HOUSING

The collaboration across sectors, between migration authorities, the municipality and international organisations could serve for interventions on housing of migrants as permanent strategy, and not just urgent solution. The municipality has social integration as one of its priorities, which shows an interest for providing affordable housing within the city. On the other hand, the current collaboration between municipality and migrants could also serve for urban regeneration that involves residents of any background, which might encourage interactions.

Regarding the conflicts among the stakeholders, the main issue is caused by new trends in the housing market, that withhold building stock from the ''affordable housing'' range.   Developers accumulate property, and plan for raising its value. Meanwhile, many readjust their apartments for short term rentals, which is not only reducing available housing, but also raising the prices in the area. Other conflicts arise from the international organisations, that strives for better accommodation or permanent housing for migrants, depending on the case, and the respective ministry, whose policy for housing is scarce and has other priorities, such as political integration.

Fig. 6C.9 - Wheel diagrams that summarise the relations between the main actors. Source: Own edit; consultation during interviews with researchers on the field.

4- CONCLUSIONS

MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS — PROVIDING SOCIAL HOUSING

ACTING AS INTERMEDIARY — (+) SYNATHINA-INTEGRATION PROGRAMME

(−) REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS — GATHERING PROPERTY / REGENERATING BUILDING STOCK

COLLABORATING WITH HOUSING PROGRAMMES — (+) MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS

STAKEHOLDERS

(+) COHAB ATHENS — EXPERIMENTING / RESEARCHING

ACTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

ORGANISING HOUSING PROGRAMMES — (+) UNHCR

(−) (+) LANDOWNERS:
- RENTING ON AIRBNB
- SELLING TO DEVELOPERS
- RENTING TO TENANTS
- NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE MARKET
- PARTICIPATING IN HOUSING PROGRAMMES

7
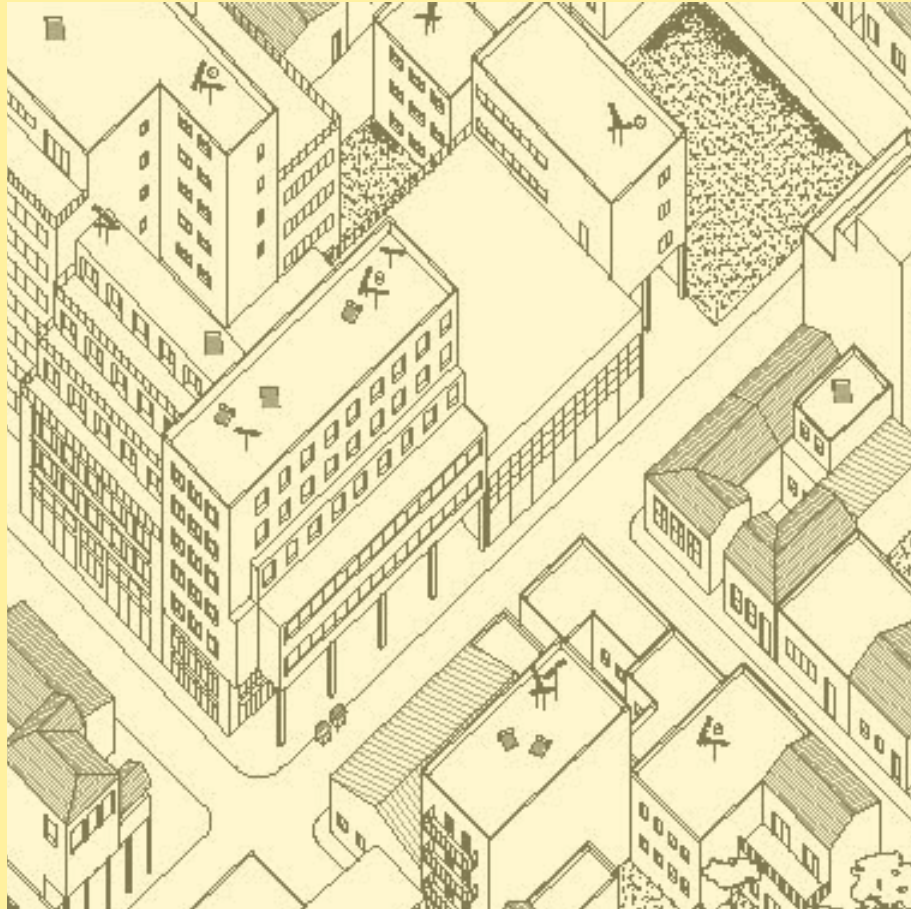
SYNTHESIS

This chapter presents the objectives for the strategy through the themes of housing and urban space. Then, mapping of the conditions related with the objectives on the city scale are helpful for understanding existing problems and opportunities. Each of theses conditions can influence interactions between migrants and native inhabitants.

1- OBJECTIVES

DISTRIBUTION

ACCESS

NETWORK

The previous part of the research has provided insight on the current interactions (migrants-receiving society) through three types of analysis: historical (6A: Historical Overview), spatial (6B: Urban Interactions) and institutional (6C: Stakeholder Analysis). The intersection of interaction with housing and urban space has been the backbone for conducting this analysis: ''Interaction'' as defining concept for achieving integration, housing as the selected domain for exploring integration and urban space as the context that can influence interactions. Eventually, this proceeds with the synthesis of the analysis, which is presented through the present chapter (see Fig. 7.1).

Stemming from the analysis, certain findings come forward, divided between housing and urban space, as the themes for exploring spatial integration. *The research re-imagines the city for integration, through three principles: distribution, access and networks.* The three principles are translated into six objectives, three for each respective theme (housing-urban space). These are the guiding threads for stimulating interactions, which is and the thesis' main purpose. Each objective is then explored with the purpose of finding current problems and future potentials in the scale of the city. These conditions may influence different types of interactions (established in the analysis). The conclusions from this chapter are used for the development of an urban strategy in the following steps.
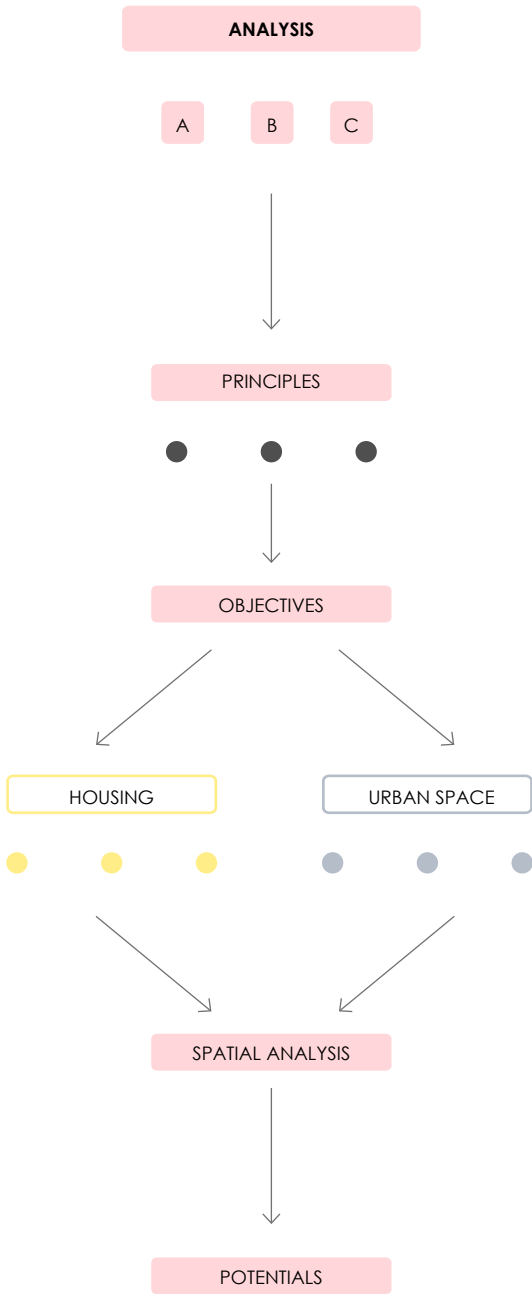

Fig. 7.1 - The diagram describes the process that leads to the strategy proposed by the thesis.
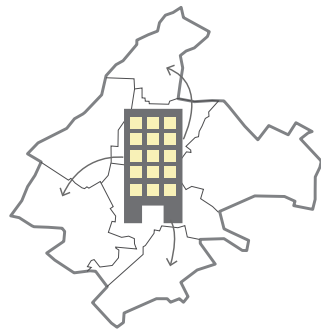
1- OBJECTIVES   HOUSING

**DISTRIBUTION**

ACCESS

NETWORK

AVAILABILITY

For housing, the principle of **distribution** means **availability** and reflects the need for available housing across the districts of the city, by using the existing housing stock. The problem of urban density and saturation has already been discussed in the problem analysis of this research as condition that fuelled the decrease in population during the past decades. However, the problem of urban vacancy creates an opportunity for activation of this dormant building stock. This will serve not just those who need housing, but the city as well. This objective is highly beneficial for interactions between migrants and natives, as it involves sharing the same living spaces: fieldwork and document research have shown that most empty housing concerns apartments in multi-stored buildings.
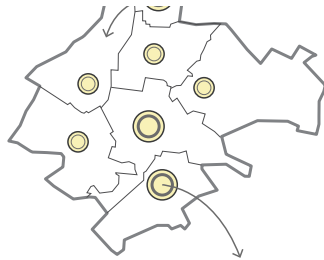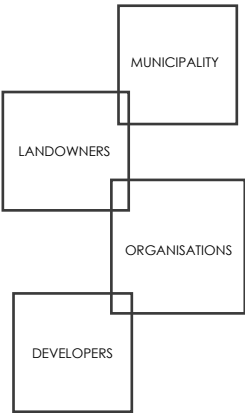
AFFORDABILITY

The principle of **access** here is figurative and translates into **affordability** as opportunity for staying in Athens, regardless of income restrictions. Previous analysis of this research on the housing system has shown that certain areas where migrants live are already affected by trends in rising housing prices, possibly leading *them* and others, incapable of coping, into displacement. This objective can enforce the inclusive aspect of housing and thus maintain the social diversity of the city. The access of migrants in the housing market through official regulations will eventually promote interactions, particularly residential.

COLLABORATIONS

The thesis proposes **collaborations** of currently and potentially influential stakeholders for achieving availability and affordability of the housing stock. This can create the future housing network, that expands the meaning of inclusive housing *beyond* the officially recognised and publicly owned housing. This governance system encourages the coordination of home owners (as key players), municipality (as in-between advocate) and organisations (as sponsors) that are involved in integration of migrants.

DESIGN
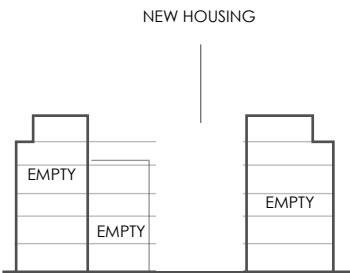
The objectives for housing and, through that, integration, can be addressed with the design of strategies that are tailored to the urban block and building typology, serving as project-based practice. The spatial conditions of urban vacancy may require different phasing, funding, and duration of stay, according to each type. The design will be tested on the scale of an urban block as exemplary model, but may be replicated and adjusted for different areas. As the final cost of housing defines affordability for tenants, cost-efficiency should be considered when creating design solutions.

CONCLUSION
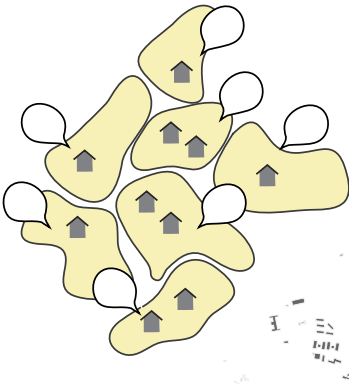
The conclusion from following these guidelines could be that inclusive housing is the base for an inclusive city. The hypothesis of this research is that housing can be crucial for integration, as migrants and natives interact as residents of the same buildings and the same areas. Moreover, the expansion of the social housing network means that more vulnerable migrants can become part of the housing governance. By ensuring available and affordable housing for migrants, these conditions can be maintained and even reinforced. In sum, the vision is about expanding the inclusive housing network, for those who belong in vulnerable income groups.
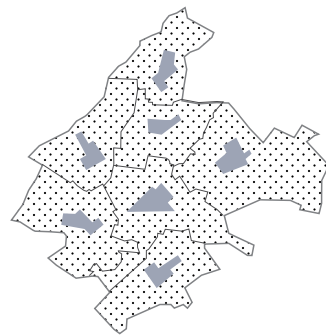
1- OBJECTIVES

URBAN SPACE

DISTRIBUTION

ACCESS

NETWORK

REGENERATION

WALKABILITY

COMMUNITY

DESIGN

CONCLUSION

SMALL-SCALED
INTERVENTIONS

The principle of **distribution** is applied into urban space as even **regeneration** across the city, instigated by central spaces in each one of the districts. The research uses the administrative districts (also called Municipal Communities) for spatial distribution, because residents distinguish them as different areas with cognitive characteristics. The research proposes ''urban hubs'' as planning mechanism, with recognisable spatial typology, open spaces and commercial activity. This is responding to the findings from the field research: such spaces are the centre of activity for residents (both migrants and natives), which multiplies the opportunities for interactions.
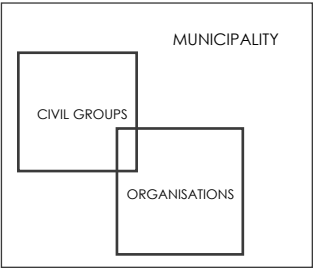
For urban space, the principle of **access** is interpreted as physical accessibility or increased **walkability** of the city. This objective serves interactions (migrants-natives) directly, as it increases the extend of activity in terms of time and possibilities: it prioritises the concept of ''staying'' over that of ''passing by''. In this way, this objective prioritises pedestrians as users of urban space. The importance of this can be supported by the examples documented during the analysis in situ: observations have shown that when activity is extensive, interactions vary and may even increase in intimacy.

The governance for interventions in the urban space helps achieve the objectives for spatial design (regeneration and walkability). The main course of action is the collaboration of citizen groups and organisations active in the neighbourhood for proposing small urban interventions or and for participating in activities that support integration. Communities could establish urban hubs as the territories of debating, deciding and practising initiatives beneficial for everyone. The Municipality can create and coordinate the network of the different communities, as platform for knowledge-sharing.
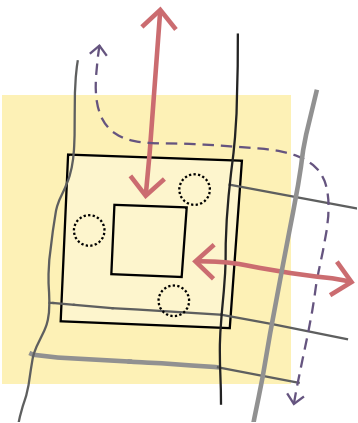
The objectives for the urban space can be addressed by designing the urban hubs and ensuring their accessibility for the residents and visitors of the area. The design decides the spatial typology but represents an ongoing process, not the final conditions of the city, as these may vary according to the needs of each Community. The urban hub demonstrates the image of the neighbourhood and hosts activities that promote interactions between migrants and natives, by placing urban intervention as the common interest.
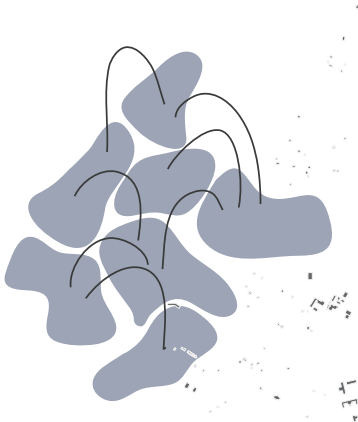
Implementing the design of the urban space that promotes interactions is the main vision behind the objectives mentioned before. The current practice is that regeneration is concentrated into particular areas, while other are bypassed. By improving the conditions equally through the urban hubs, the city ensures better distribution of its regeneration resources. Thereafter, the urban hubs may interact through a network of open spaces and activities, which will upscale their impact.

1- OBJECTIVES

HOUSING

OBJECTIVES

FINDINGS

DISTRIBUTION

AVAILABILITY → URBAN VACANCY

ACCESS

AFFORDABILITY → SHORT-TERM OCCUPANCY

NETWORK

COLLABORATIONS → EXISTING INITIATIVES
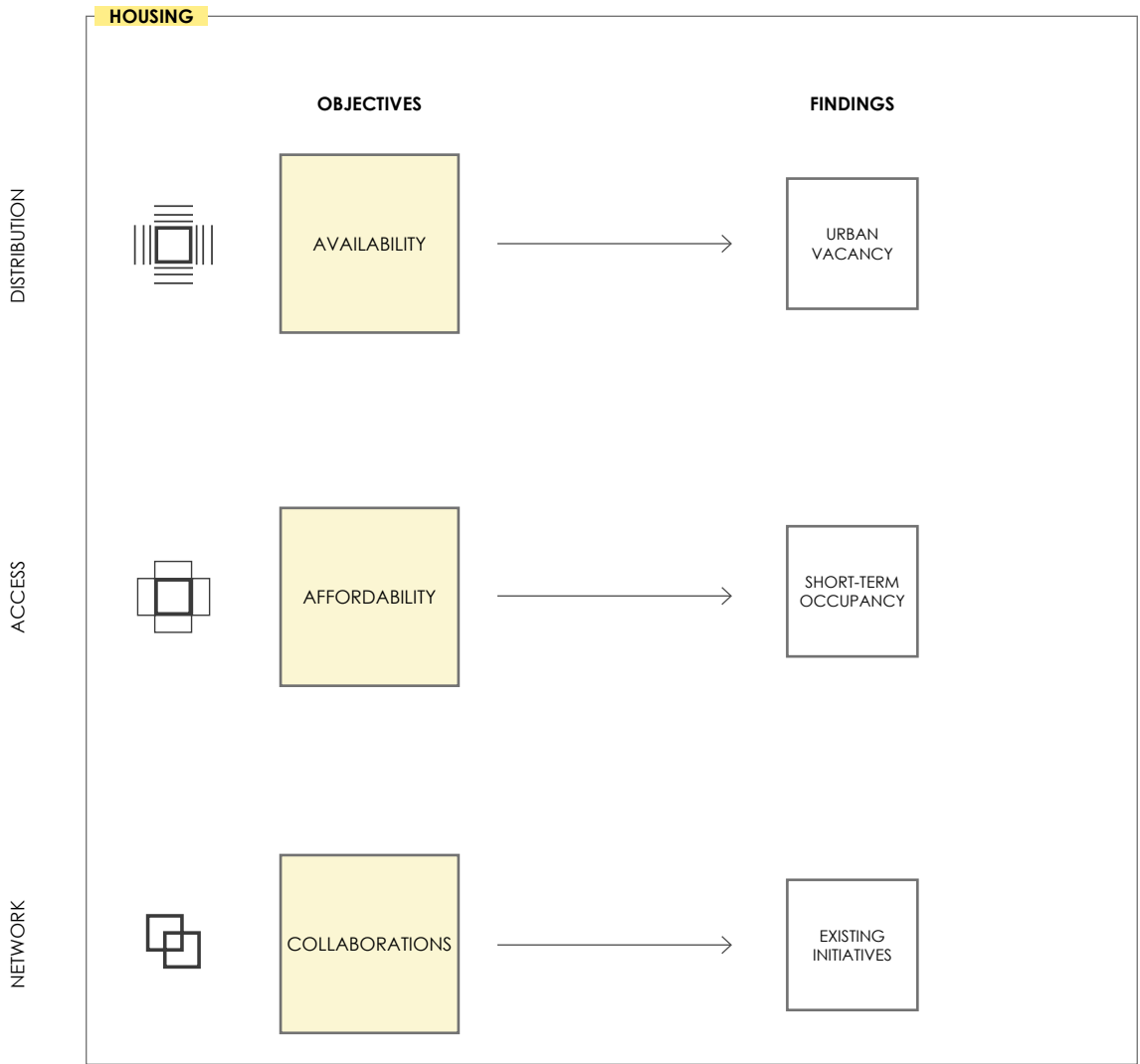
Regarding the domain of housing, the objectives are availability, affordability and collaborations. The combination of these objectives can stimulate the social housing market while also resolving other pressing issues. For further understanding the context, relevant conditions are studied: urban vacancy, short-term occupancy and existing initiatives. The findings are used in the housing strategy in the following chapter.

Regarding the domain of urban space, regeneration, walkability and the creation of communities. These objectives concern the spatial design that offers positive preconditions for interactions between migrants and natives. The analysis on the city scale provides insights on relevant conditions: urban decay, existing hubs, open spaces, edges and existing initiatives. The findings are used in the urban space strategy in the following chapter.

URBAN SPACE

OBJECTIVES

FINDINGS

REGENERATION → URBAN DECAY | EXISTING HUBS

WALKABILITY → OPEN SPACES | EDGES

COMMUNITY → EXISTING INITIATIVES
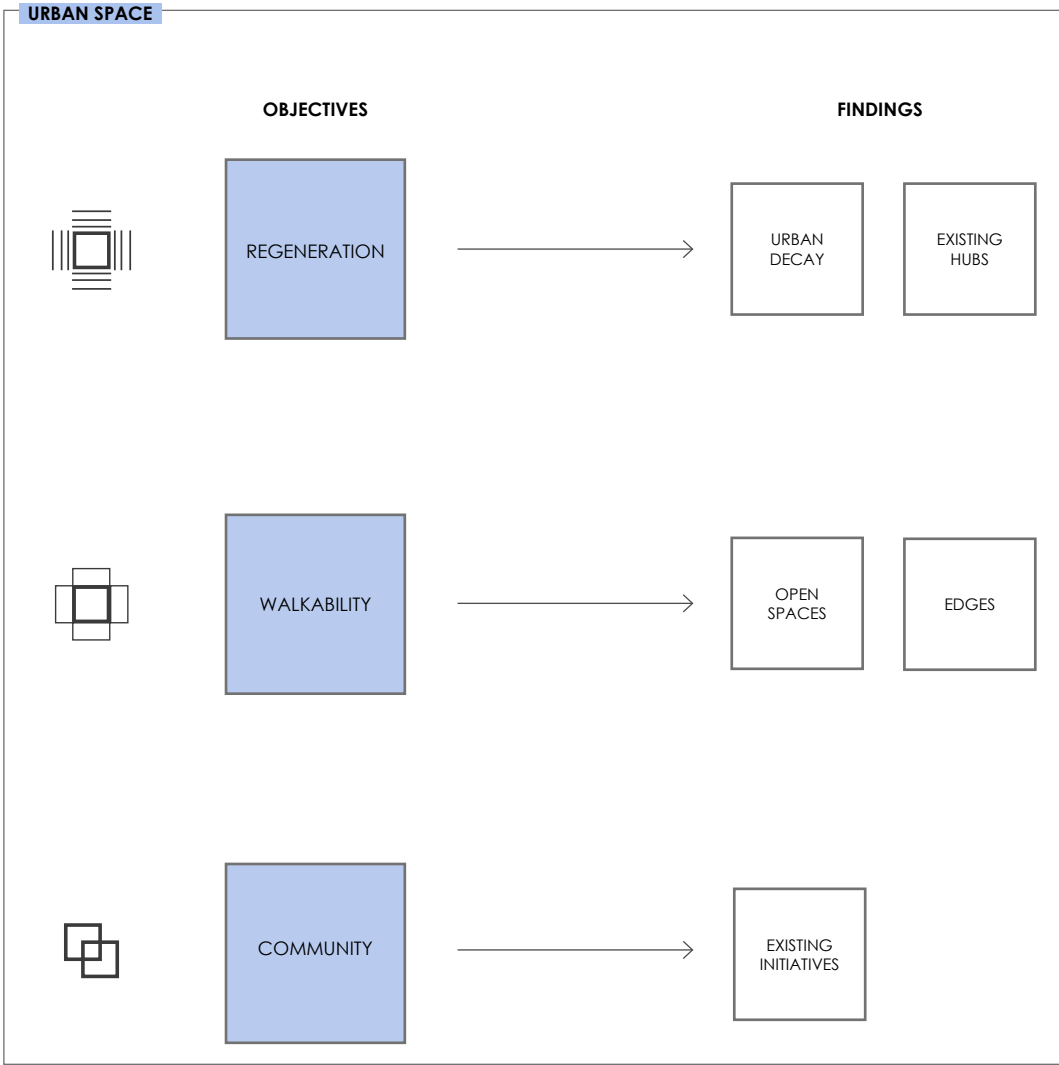
2- FINDINGS ON HOUSING

Fig. 7.2 - The imprint of vacancy in Athens, measured in housing units. The data that have been collected concern the census units. Source: Maloutas and Spyrrelis, 2016.

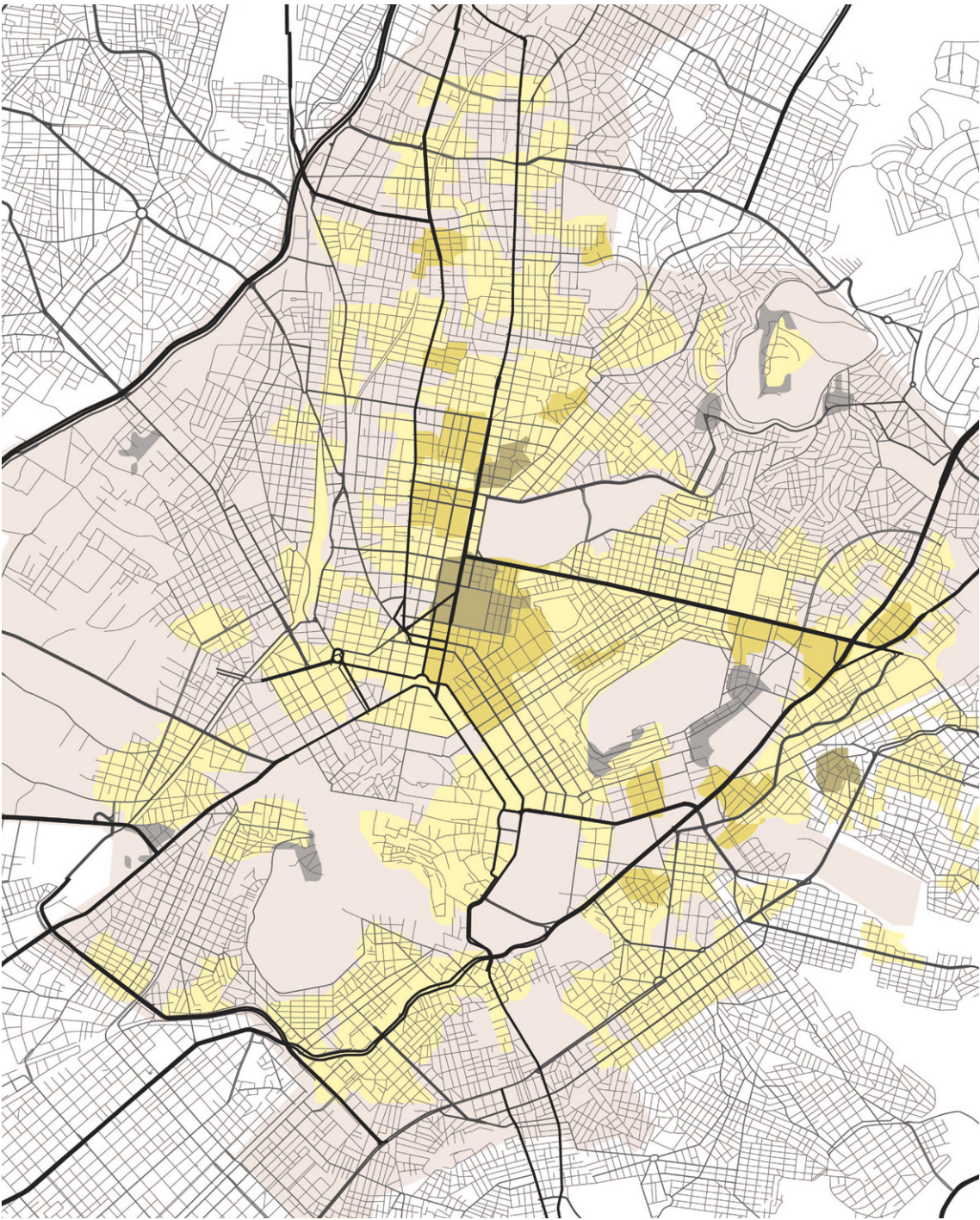During the past few decades, the residential character of the municipality has been changing, as significant part of its population has moved in the newly developed outskirts, which had improved urban conditions (more open spaces, suburban typology), as described before in the research. This also derived from the 1988 Plan for Athens (before the 2014 one), which removed craftsmanship and production activity in general. Thus, many residents that were workers in these sectors were forced out.

URBAN VACANCY

The population has dropped by 15.8 per cent in the 2001-2011 period (most recent census), leaving empty housing in the most important urban centres of Attica region (Athens and Piraeus). This building stock can be divided into 2 types, based on the purpose of the properties: 1. secondary, which involves occasionally used houses and 2. currently not used, available houses for rent, sale, restoration or demolition. Out of the 640 thousand housing units, 176 thousand are empty (2011), out of which an average of 65 per cent is potentially available for use. In some areas in Athens (administrative units, C in Fig. 7.3) the vacancy rate surpasses 1/3 of the building surface sum (Arapoglou, Maloutas & Siatitsa; 2019).
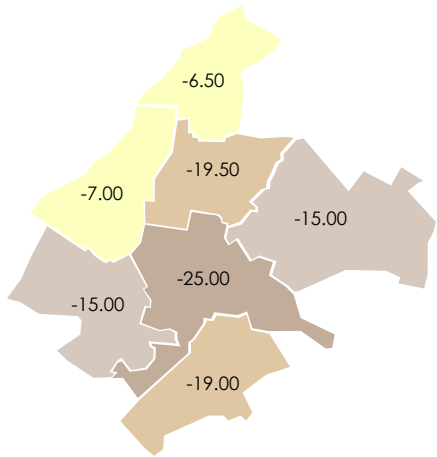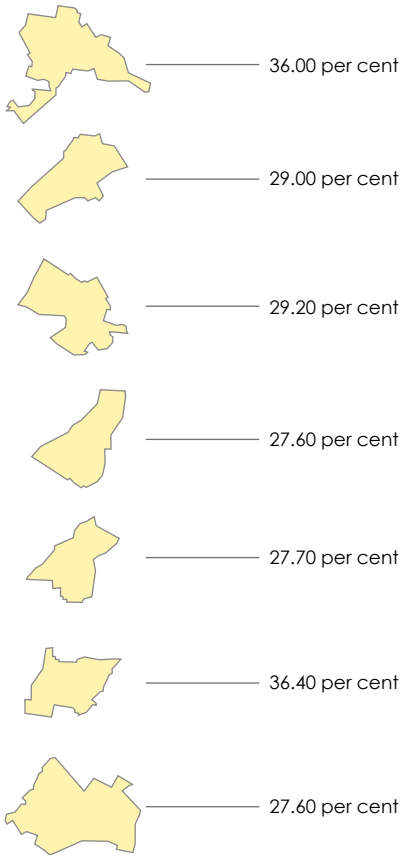

Fig. 7.3 - The decrease in population (%) during the past 20 years, per Administrative unit or *Community*. Source: Municipality of Athens.

EMPTY HOUSING

36.00 per cent

29.00 per cent

29.20 per cent

27.60 per cent

27.70 per cent

36.40 per cent

27.60 per cent

2- FINDINGS ON HOUSING

URBAN
VACANCY
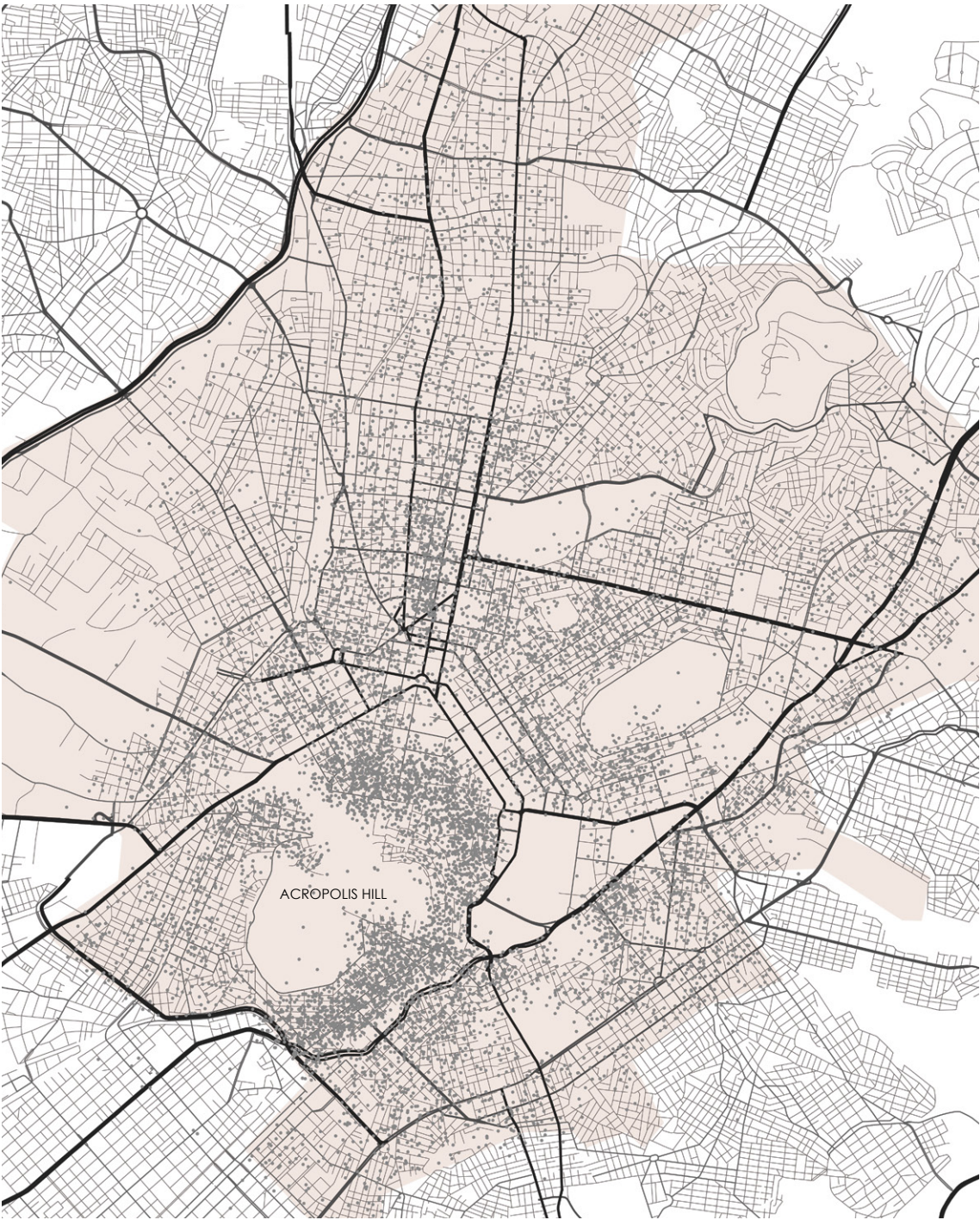
empty apartments

entirely abandoned buildings

empty offices

2- FINDINGS ON HOUSING

SHORT-TERM
OCCUPANCY

RESIDENTIAL
INTERACTIONS

SHORT-TERM OCCUPANCY

The dominance of short-term leases in Athens and its impact has already been discussed previously (Chapter: Stakeholder Analysis). The situation is similar to known experiences in other European cities: while occupying the available housing stock and providing hosts with extra income, such trends also instigate displacement in the most popular neighbourhoods. In sum, short-term occupancy changes the big picture in housing: it threatens affordable rents and reduces the available choices in the city.

Even though one of the main objectives of the Municipality was the recovery of the city's residential character (Project: Athens 2020 Plan, 2016), such changes in the market have not yet been addressed properly.

DISPLACEMENT

The population decrease analysed before has caused vacancy in the housing stock, which creates both current problems and future potentials. These apartments and buildings, either temporary empty or abandoned, are dormant, valuable spaces that nonetheless present potentials for future housing.

In recent years this trend has been intercepted by the dominance of short-term rentals of entire apartments, as discussed above, especially in the historical centre (also known as ''triangle'') and the areas around the Acropolis hill (see Fig. 7.4). The available data that this research uses concerns listings in 2018, while the nature of these rentals is anyway unsteady. This makes the calculation of the true impact on housing less accurate. Even though current numbers are fluctuating, one easily understands the impact through the discontent that the neighbourhoods have expressed in different ways (see Fig. 7.6).
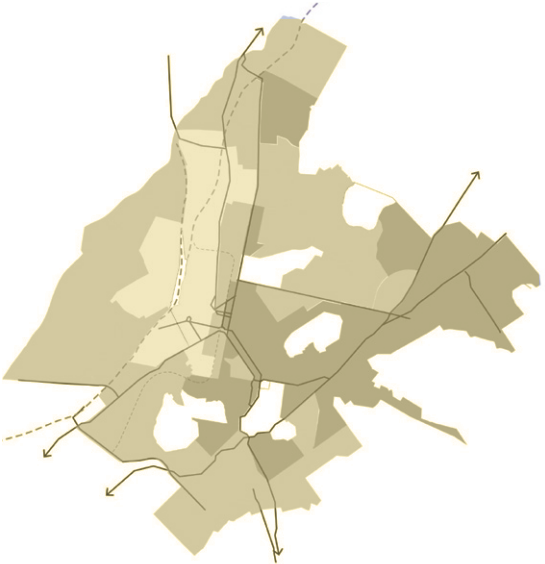
Fig. 7.5 - The map shows the yearly income per housing unit in 2012. Source: Municipality of Athens, 2014.

Fig. 7.6 - Poster of event about the impact of tourism. Source: Koukaki (name of neighbourhood) Residents' initiative, 2019.

3- FINDINGS ON URBAN SPACE
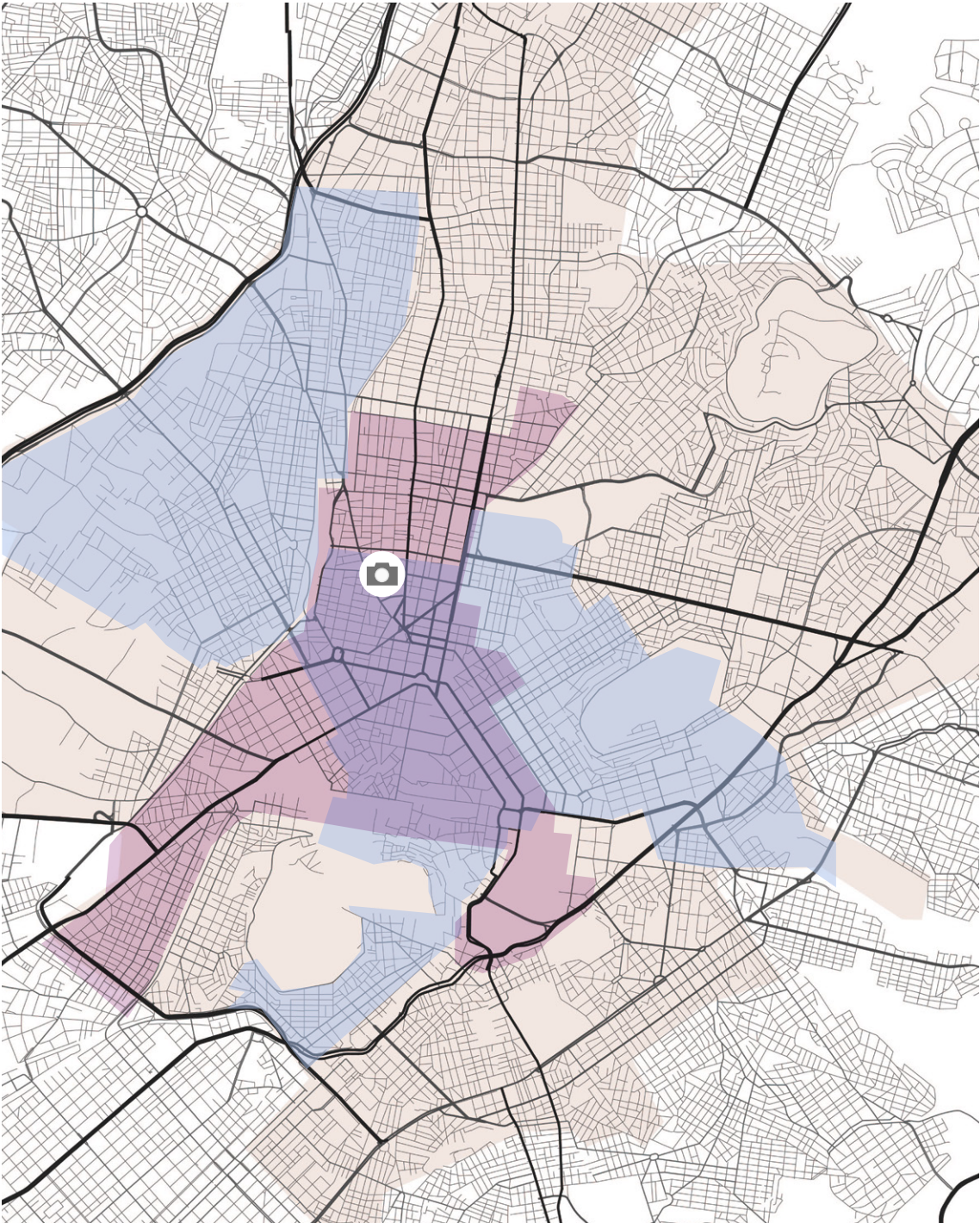
Fig. 7.7 - The map shows the districts with the highest urban decay rates of housing, superimposed with the focus area of the Athens 2020 plan.
Source: Municipality of Athens, 2016.

URBAN DECAY

SPONTANEOUS INTERACTIONS

The conclusions about the urban space on the city scale are divided into 2 themes: building stock and edge conditions.

First, the main problem identified regarding building stock is urban decay, which is spatially dispersed across Athens. It has become clear that national policy should aim to improve the quality of existing housing stock (e.g. via loans for restoration), as is the practice in the rest of Europe. However, beyond recognition of the problem, such action is usually confined to scheduled buildings, whose restoration is intended to preserve the country's cultural heritage (Symeonidou, 1996).

The decay of building stock is observed in 2 typologies with different conditions: empty apartments in modern buildings and abandoned, mostly neoclassical, privately owned buildings.

Second, the edge conditions do not provide adequate space for interactions, and thus merge different zones of activity into one. This happens because planning has prioritised the use of car over the years, and the intentions of implementing pedestrian design has failed.

-1945   1945-60   1960-80   1980-00   2000+
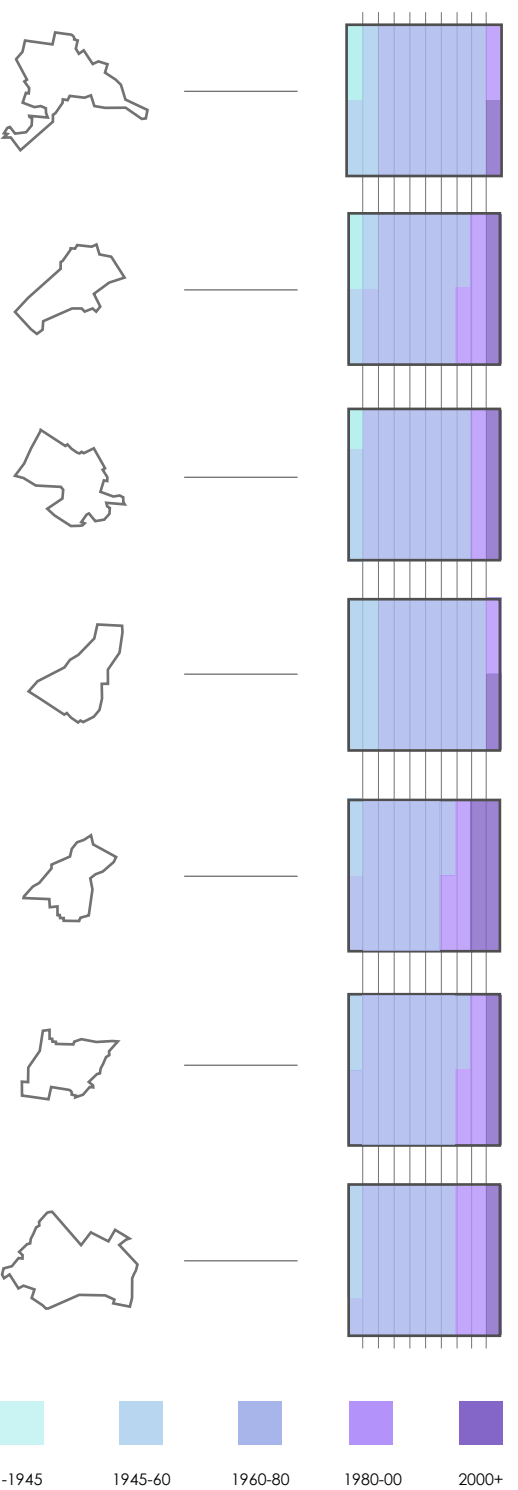
Fig. 7.8 - The diagrams represent the construction year for the housing stock per district (Community). Source: Municipality of Athens, 2016.

3- FINDINGS ON URBAN SPACE

URBAN DECAY

3- FINDINGS ON URBAN SPACE
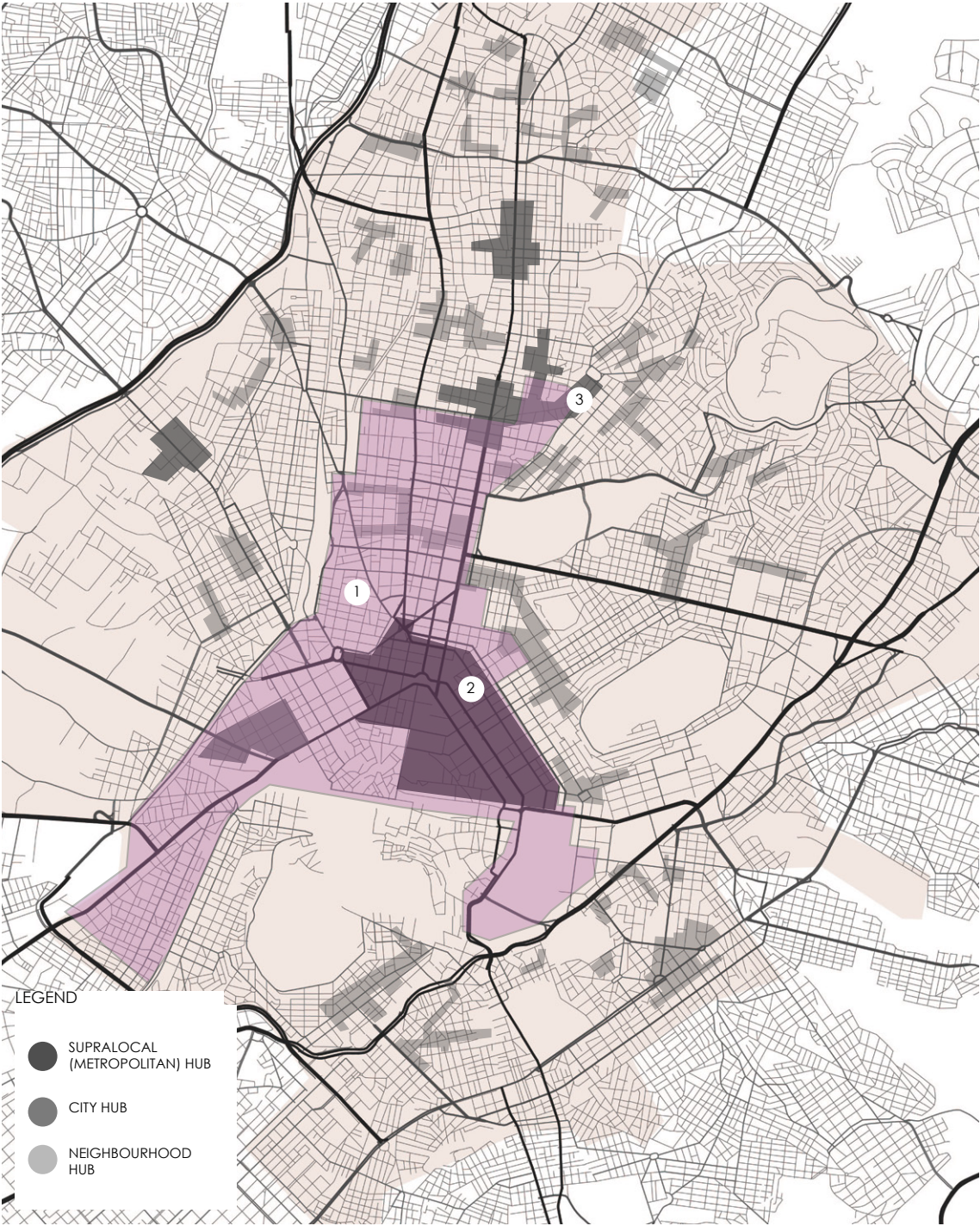
EXISTING URBAN HUBS

COMMERCIAL INTERACTIONS

SPONTANEOUS INTERACTIONS

After the experience of observing interactions happening spontaneously between residents, there were questions about what system of spatial planning currently enhances or discourages activity. In this case, the research is interested in extended interactions, with residents staying in open spaces, as some examples in the previous chapter has shown.

The proposal of 3 types of Hubs is the most representative for understanding the intention of creating smaller centralities instead of one overloaded core (see Fig. 7.9). This was in the 1988 Plan for Athens, which was partially applied through the decades. The different Hubs (Supralocal, City, Neighbourhood) were invented so that they host non-residential programme on their ground floors, combined with open spaces, so that serve the vision for polycentricity.

Nonetheless, the image today is that of spatially disconnected neighbourhood hubs, with diverse quality and importance among them. The arteries (primary streets) still remain predominant in collecting activity along lines, despite how the morphology of the hubs is cutting across them. Finally, there is no spatial vocabulary or typology for these hubs, which challenges their characters, and thus weakens the initial vision.

LEGEND

SUPRALOCAL (METROPOLITAN) HUB

CITY HUB

NEIGHBOURHOOD HUB

Fig. 7.10 - Samples of the morphology that the planned urban hubs present.

3- FINDINGS ON URBAN SPACE

EXISTING
URBAN HUBS

Fig. 7.11 - The spatial character of the current hubs (proposed by planning) is not always distinguishable (2= metropolitan hub, 3= city hub), and presents similarities with other (non-hub) areas: central open spaces, commercial ground floors (1). Source: images by author.

3- FINDINGS ON URBAN SPACE
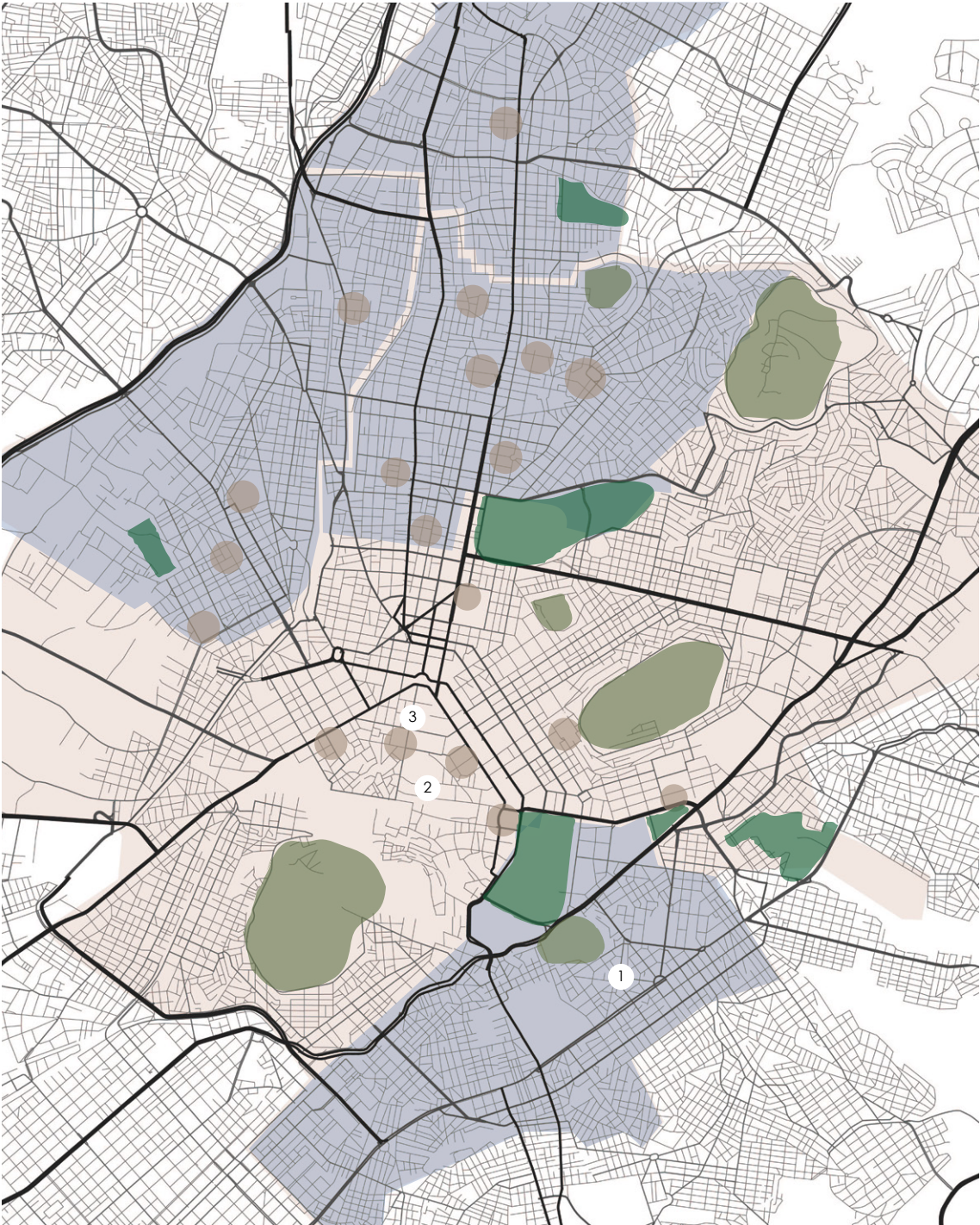
Fig. 7.12 - The map shows the hills (not easily accessible, thus not considered as interaction spaces in this research), parks, and squares in Athens, superimposed with the districts that offer the minimum of open space to their residents.

OPEN
SPACES

EDGES

COMMERCIAL
INTERACTIONS

SPONTANEOUS
INTERACTIONS
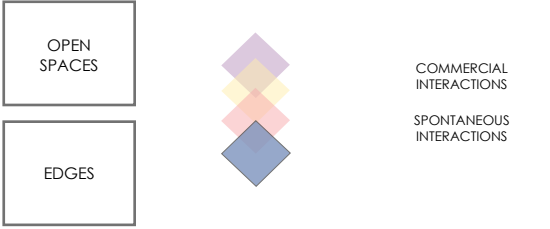
Compared with other European cities, where the urban fabric is defined by large axes and free public spaces, in modern Athens we observe a completely different phenomenon.

Everyday public space remains leftover and limited, while the streets are narrow and suffocating. Only what was not possible to build remained intact. Public spaces today must inspire the feeling that they belong to the people of the city themselves, to encourage people to connect with the place and society. In the city of private initiative and the construction industry, what is the role of open space after all?

Today's daily public space of the city, marginalised as it is, has ceased to be part of the thoughts and concerns of the citizens and this is evident from the way it is treated.

The individual "inside" becomes public "outside". The private sphere passes into public space and dominates it, constantly altering its character. This diffusion and interaction of private and public space is evident mainly, but not exclusively, at the pedestrian level. In this overlaying one can be confronted with anything, as the passages have been replaced by exposed private stories. Different types of takeovers, has turned sidewalks into ''staying'' places. It seems that the rule of spatial domination prevails: where something can be placed, something will be placed, where one can "extend" one's property and do so without much hesitation. The passer-by will confront multiple obstacles until reaching their final destination.
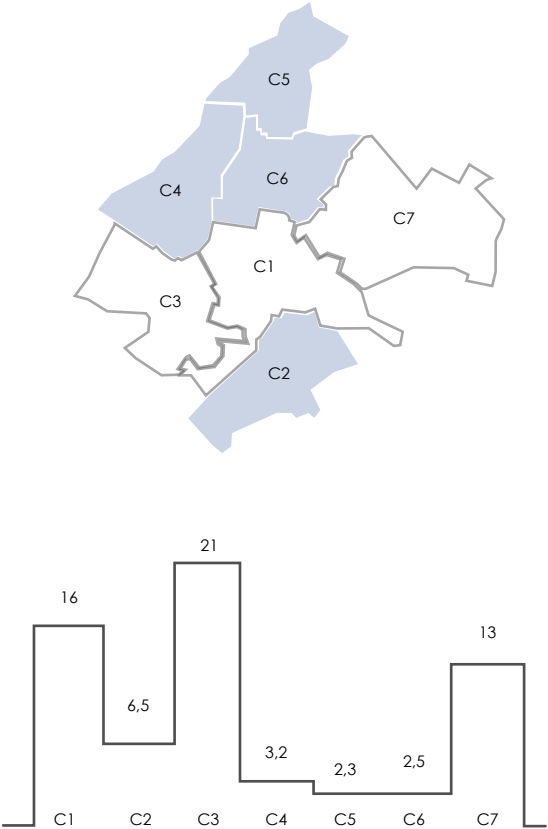
Fig. 7.13 - m2 of open space per resident   in each Community.
Source: Municipality of Athens, 2016.
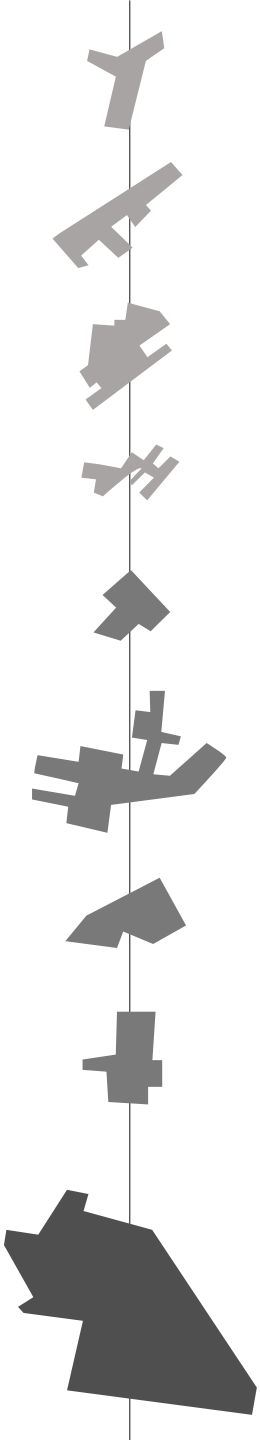
3- FINDINGS ON URBAN SPACE

OPEN
SPACES

EDGES

2

spontaneous interactions

1

occupied sidewalks

3

commercial interactions
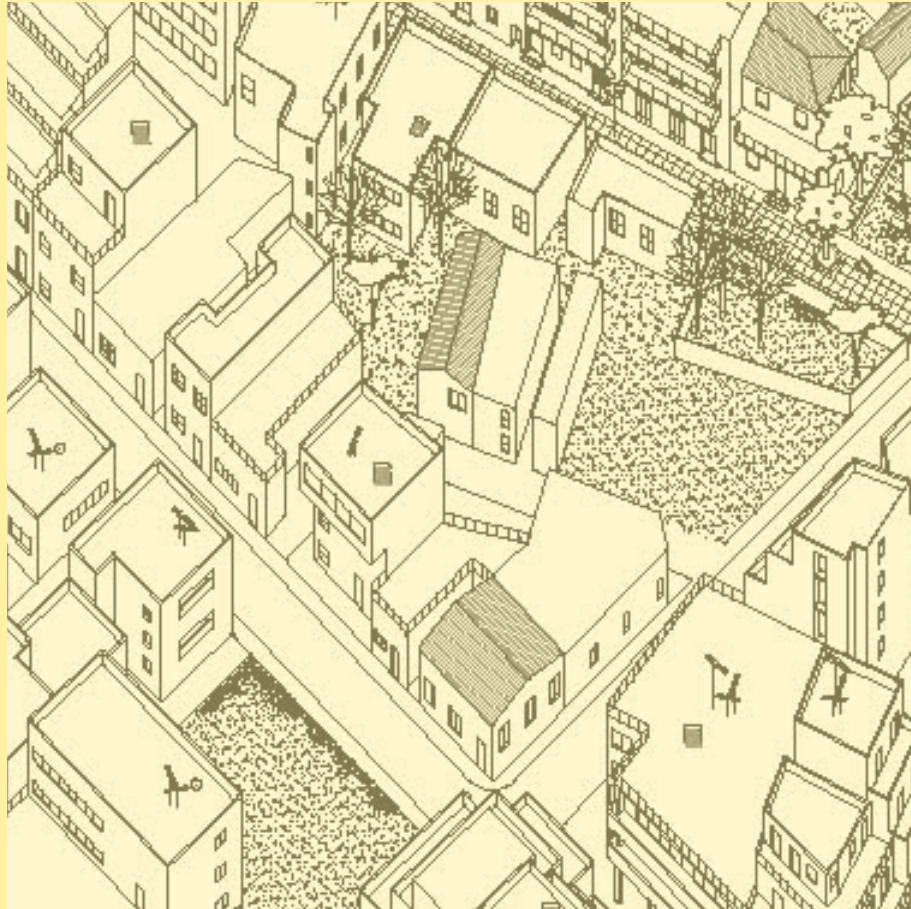
8
STRATEGY

This chapter uses the findings from the previous chapter for the formulation of the strategy. For the realisation of the strategy, initiatives are applied in different spatial typologies. The typologies found in Athens are identified and divided into housing and urban space. The chapter studies initiatives that demonstrate the existing governance and then proposes initiatives that can help achieve the objectives of the strategy.

8.1
SPATIAL STRATEGY

8.2
SPATIAL TYPOLOGIES

8.3
HOUSING INITIATIVES

8.4
URBAN SPACE INITIATIVES

1- SPATIAL STRATEGY
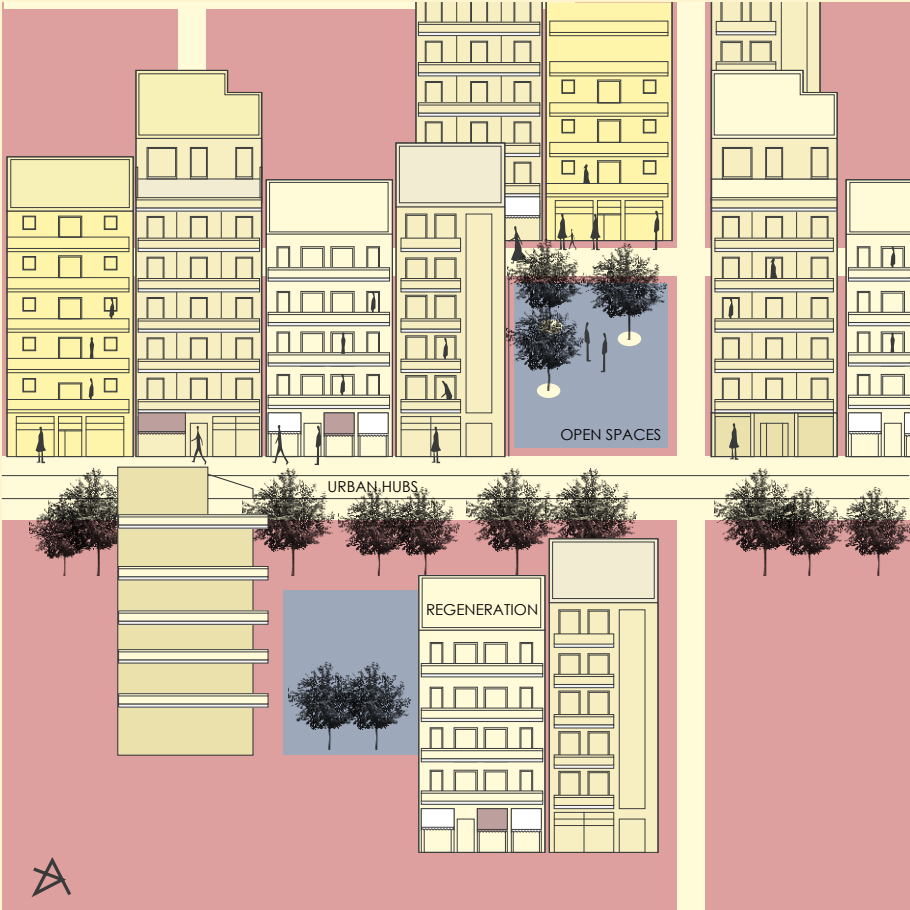
AVAILABILITY

AFFORDABILITY

COLLABORATIONS

REGENERATION

WALKABILITY

COMMUNITY

The chapter begins with the presentation of the strategy, which is divided into the themes of housing and urban space. Each objective is realised through measures that are direct responses for existing problems and trends analysed in the previous chapter. The research envisions housing as the fundamental prerequisite for Athens as city that embraces integration, while urban space serves as outcome and process that enhances interactions.

HOUSING
AVAILABLE, AFFORDABLE AND COLLABORATIVE:
The domain of housing should expand the possibilities of social housing, regarding quantity, typology of accommodation and timespan of stay. Thus, the competition in the housing market could be reduced or relieved. This could result in housing being more inclusive not only for migrants, but for vulnerable groups altogether. The vision for housing is the balance of municipality, private sector and community as influential stakeholders, against the current dominance of the private sector. Either temporary or permanent migrants can be integrated in the urban environment, the core of the city. In this way, migrants and natives can share the same areas and improved housing conditions.

URBAN SPACE
REGENERATED, WALKABLE AND COMMUNITY-BASED:
The domain of urban space should be used as the framework that organises interventions and becomes the field where different types of interactions develop. In the neighbourhood scale, urban space serves as the common platform where the community of migrants and natives collaborates with organisations and the municipality. In the city scale, urban space interconnects interventions and neighbourhoods through spatial networks. In this way, urban space accommodates interactions, while also enhancing interactions during the process of urban transformation.

1- SPATIAL STRATEGY

HOUSING

AVAILABILITY

AFFORDABILITY

COLLABORATIONS

ATTIKIS SQUARE

KYPSELI

EXARCHEIA

LEGEND

HOUSING

NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING

HIGH PRIORITY AREAS-VACANCY

MEDIUM PRIORITY AREAS-VACANCY

Fig. 8.14 - Draft vision for integration in Athens. Source: Maloutas, Nikiphoros, 2016; Municipality of Athens, 2016.

AVAILABILITY (1)

This domain of the strategy focuses on potential housing opportunities for migrants, while also providing solutions for other pressing issues for the city. The actions described here concern an inclusive housing model, for both migrants and natives.

A. MOBILISE HOUSING STOCK

This measure responds to the need for housing by using urban vacancy as potential. The high urban vacancy rates are also an urgent matter for the city.

There are areas which have been disproportionately affected by the crisis, because of their socially vulnerable population, but also because of the international tendency of the middle and upper-middle classes for abandonment of the urban centres. Particularly in the context of the research, areas such as Exarcheia, Kypseli and Attikis Square are examples where empty properties are clustered (see Fig. 8.14).

Empty homes in central areas are an important resource that should not be overlooked (see Fig. 8.15). For this, the thesis ensures the effective use of housing through promotional measures and, where necessary, imposes sanctions for vacant housing.

However, detailed research on the state of the private housing is needed beforehand. This will be the census of the building stock that contains the following information:

-Vacancy, based on official registers and field work, for recording any occupied properties.
-Status, based on construction documents and field work, for documenting the current state of the buildings.
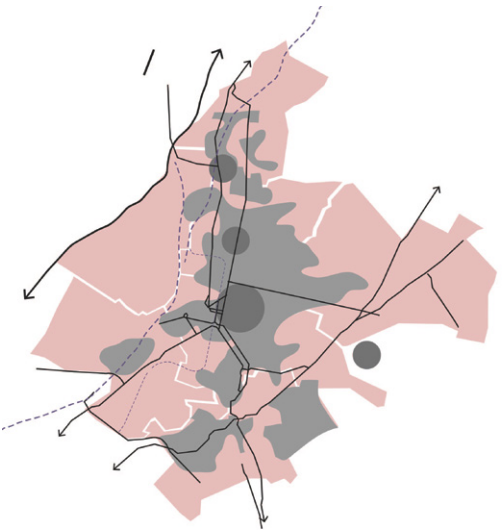
LEGEND-VACANCY

20 PER CENT

40 PER CENT

Fig. 8.15 - The map shows the current vacancy rates in housing, potentially available for the housing strategy.
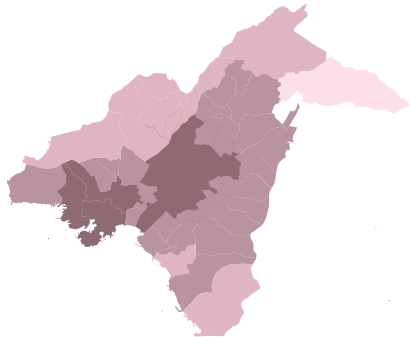
Fig. 8.16 - Rate of increase of the index vacant houses by number of inhabitants in the municipalities of the metropolitan area (2001-2011). Source: Maloutas and Spyrellis, 2016.

CURRENT

PROPOSED

1A
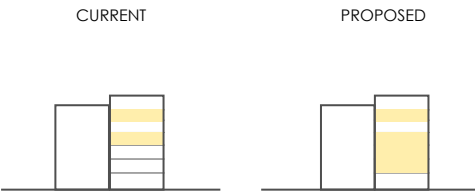
B. MAINTAIN RESIDENTIAL USE

The excessive presence of different uses for originally housing spaces provokes radical changes for the residents: the value of housing increases, while neighbourhood functions are sidelined for entertainment purposes. Housing is an essential aspect of the city, giving shape and identity to its neighbourhoods. Thus, the regular use of housing should be protected from the pressure of other uses (such as tourism, offices or services), which are gaining ground in certain areas of the city.

For the purpose of preserving the residential character of the neighbourhoods, the city should battle the pressure from tourist apartments, by providing housing temporarily and controlling the spread of these trends. The Municipality can have central role in this, and overtake actions such as:

1. CONTROL NUMBERS/ZONES:
The action concerns planning regulations on the maximum number of licensing for different districts of the city according to the displacement risk they present. In this way, future residents will not be excluded from certain areas.

2. CONSTRAIN ENTIRE HOMES:
With this action, the strategy constrains the number of tourist rentals provided as entire homes, and proposes rooms as alternative.

3. PROVIDE TEMPORARY HOMES:
This action concerns an alternative use, during the period when the house is not occupied. Instead of leaving the property empty, the landowner may provide it as temporary housing solution for those who seek urgent help.
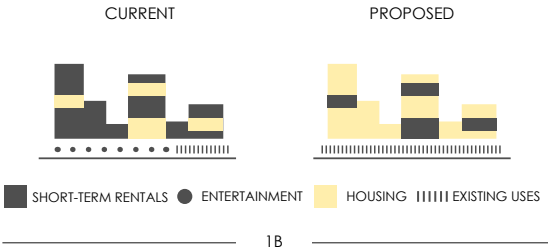
Regarding the above, the thesis presupposes that the national policy (L. 4472/2017) on constraining the period allowed for short-term rentals (90 days for Athens) will be applied in the near future.

C. USE OF OTHER BUILDINGS

This certain measure employs the existing non-residential buildings as solution for providing housing during transitional periods of time, as temporary solution for those who seek permanent housing.

In detail, the measure records currently vacant business (office and retail) buildings, and re-appropriates them as housing facilities. This can be beneficial in 2 ways: firstly, the buildings are being preserved, which helps reduce the future costs for those who will be interested in investing in them; secondly, the migrants are living as members of the neighbourhood, which enables their participation in networks and thus their easier integration.
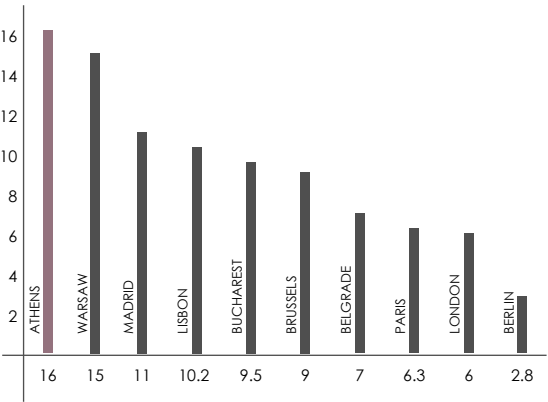
Fig. 8.17 - The graph shows percentages of empty offices for 10 European cities. Source: Dianeosis, 2017.
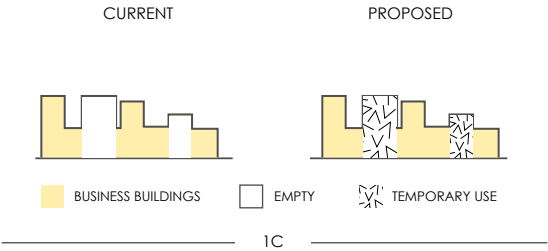
AFFORDABILITY (2)

A. COPE WITH DISPLACEMENT

This measure prevents migrants in vulnerable situations from losing their regular homes. In case that is not possible, the measure stops evictions and ensures that they are temporary rehoused in decent accommodation. The phasing of the strategy prioritises the areas that are now under the risk of displacement: areas with high rates of short-term occupancy and vulnerable income per housing unit (see Fig. 8.18). Accordingly, a coordinated social and housing intervention is required involving the services and support offered by various bodies, such as the Municipality and the Social Services.

B. INCREASE AFFORDABLE HOUSING STOCK

The aim of this measure is to increase the current social housing stock. Today there are very limited possibilities for finding affordable housing, as the market remains private. Even access of different income groups in the housing market should be ensured. The strategy mobilises the private housing stock for the purpose of this measure. The social housing network could be expanded with the collaboration between the municipality, the landowners and the end users. This does not necessarily entail acquiring the properties, but rather monitoring the process. Moreover, this inventory of affordable housing should be distributed as evenly as possible across the city. This could prevent sharpened differences of income that are currently observed between different areas. This could be accomplished by calibrating the numbers of the affordable stock in every district.
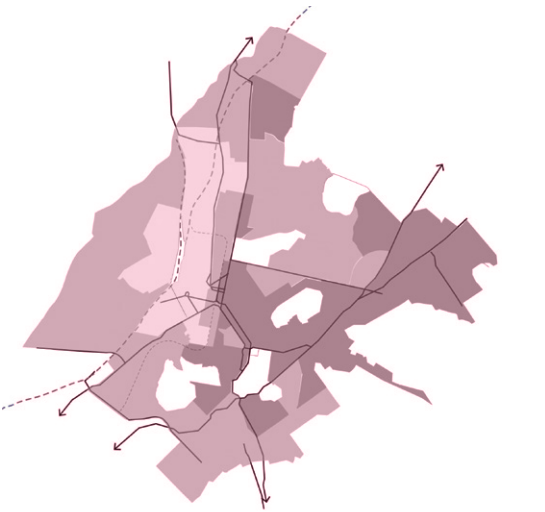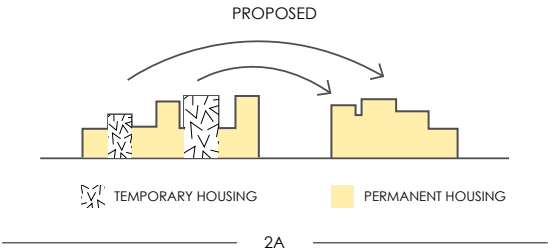
LEGEND-INCOME PER YEAR
- 11.500 (OR LESS)-14.500
- 14.500-20.000
- 20.000-25.000 (OR MORE)

Fig. 8.18 - The map shows the yearly income (EU) per housing unit in 2012. Source: Municipality of Athens, 2014.
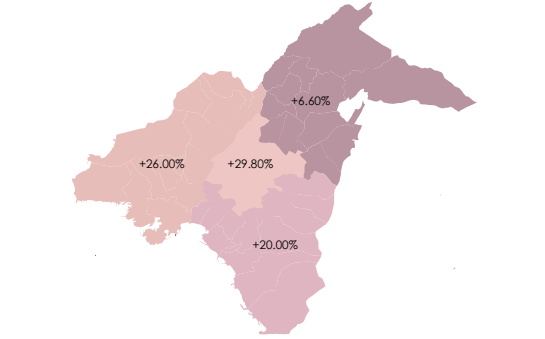
Fig. 8.19 - The diagram of the Metropolitan Area of Athens shows the changes in rental prices in the 2016 -2018 period. Source: REMAX (2016,2017,2018); author's image.

CURRENT   PROPOSED

SHORT-TERM RENTALS   ● ENTERTAINMENT   HOUSING ‖‖‖‖ EXISTING USES

1B

CURRENT   PROPOSED

BUSINESS BUILDINGS   ☐ EMPTY   ☒ TEMPORARY USE

1C

PROPOSED

☒ TEMPORARY HOUSING   PERMANENT HOUSING

2A

CURRENT   PROPOSED

UNGOVERNED MARKET   AFFORDABLE MARKET

2B
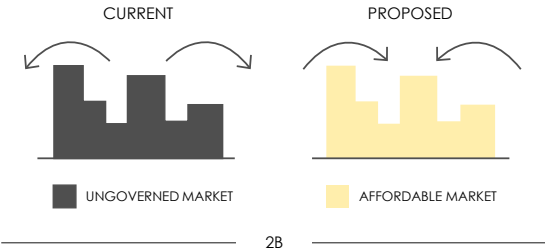
C. SUPPORT ALTERNATIVE HOUSING MODELS

The model of cooperative housing that can also develop services for the neighbourhood, supports the view that housing should not be speculative. This solution provides affordable housing for migrants and vulnerable income groups in general. For the implementation and spread of such initiatives, pilot projects are essential: an example in the urban block scale would encourage more residents to participate in similar alternatives (interview with Dimitra Siatitsa, 2020).
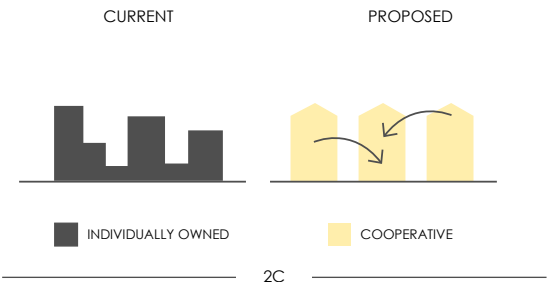
CURRENT   PROPOSED

■ INDIVIDUALLY OWNED   COOPERATIVE

2C

COLLABORATIONS

CURRENT   PROPOSED

This part of the strategy concerns the governance that supports the actions described above. It views housing as the primary means of integration, and it involves migrants as active end users.

A. REGULATE PRIVATE SECTOR

The current situation finds the housing market controlled by small property owners and thus remains inconspicuous by the side of the municipality. Recent trends also include accumulation of properties. This measure ensures that speculation in the housing market is controlled. Thus, it ensures that housing remains socially valuable and accessible for vulnerable groups.

INVOLVED STAKEHOLDERS:

-MUNICIPALITY OF ATHENS
-INTEGRATION PROGRAMME

-REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS
-LANDOWNERS

-INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS
(E.G. UNHCR)
-NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS
(E.G. STAVROS NIARCHOS)
-TENANTS RIGHTS ADVOCATES
-RESIDENTS (LABOUR MIGRANTS
 REFUGEES)

B. ALLOW OWNERSHIP

This measure concerns housing as the means for building communities that share ownership and responsibilities. This could entail governance models that involve residents and resident committees as users of an alternative way of experiencing housing.

C. INVOLVE ORGANISATIONS

This measure suggests that migrant organisations (mostly local and international) could play an important role for housing on a permanent basis. This could include funding, management and communication.

Fig. 8.20 - The image represents the idea of interactions between residents. Source: author's edit.

1- SPATIAL STRATEGY ──────────────────────── URBAN SPACE

REGENERATION

WALKABILITY

COMMUNITY

This domain of the strategy focuses on the aspects that could be reconsidered so that urban space can become common space and practice for its residents. The actions described here concern the creation of an active community that introduces regeneration and walkable areas as common objective between migrants and natives.

REGENERATION (1) ────────

The regeneration of urban space is concerned with the concept of urban hubs as the cores of urban activity, as discussed previously in this chapter. The following measures help achieve this objective:

A. ACTIVATE URBAN HUBS

Planning ignites regeneration by re-introducing the concept of *Urban Hubs*: spatial territories of housing with open, neighbourhood activities, distributed across the city. The strategy re-imagines an existing planning concept that has partially been applied in Athens and expands its context. The Urban Hubs are the testing ground where ideas are implemented and evaluated.

B. CREATE SPATIAL TYPOLOGY

The creation of the Urban Hubs that the strategy proposes involves interventions for the transformation of certain areas. The Hubs are distinguished by their typology, which is defined by the spatial principals and the programme that this research has associated with interactions. The Hubs appear in *replicas* across the city in principal, but they are adjusted, according to the character of each neighbourhood, so that they come as response to the problems in context. For this, one suggestion would be to conduct research with the participation of the residents beforehand.

LEGEND

URBAN SPACE

☆ COMMUNITY HUBS

▦ OPEN SPACES INTERVENTIONS

● URBAN DECAY INTERVENTIONS

Fig. 8.21 - Draft vision for integration in Athens. Source: Maloutas, Nikiphoros, 2016.

CURRENT   PROPOSED   CURRENT   PROPOSED

▢ REGENERATION   ▢ URBAN HUBS   → PEDESTRIAN ZONE

1A   1B
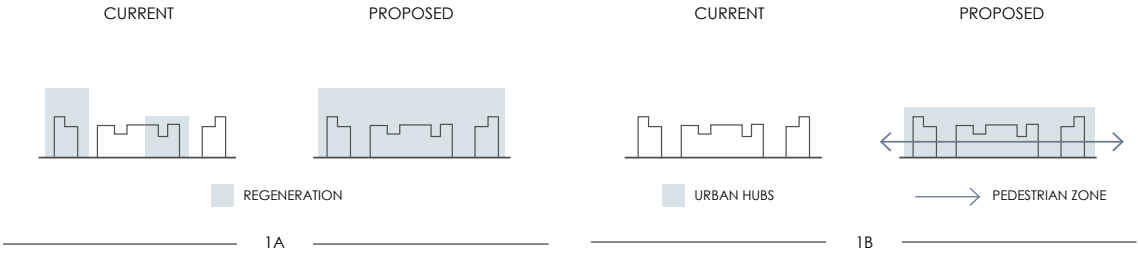
WALKABILITY (2)

C. PRIORITISE URBAN DECAY

The interventions in the Hubs could be focused on the wide-spread and urgent threat of urban decay that has previously been illustrated. This measure employs an approach in regeneration that balances the disparities currently experienced across the city.

For implementing this measure, ownership complexity is an obstacle that needs handling. The apartment building, which is the prevailing typology, is usually owned by multiple individuals (one or more owners per floor), which complicates the process of finalising decisions that affect the entire building. For this, the strategy can: 1. provide incentives that can persuade the owners and 2. rely on the existing regulation that If 2/3 of the owners agree, then the proposed actions should advance.
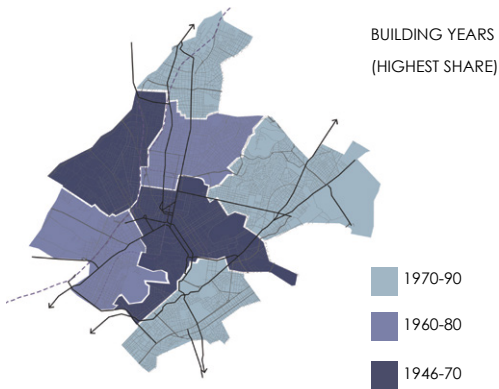
A. INCREASE OPEN SPACES

The study of the interactions in situ through observations (see Chapter 6B) has shown the effect of open spaces on the extend of spontaneous interactions through time, as they offer the opportunity for more pedestrian-friendly settings. The important open spaces are also the centres around which Hubs across the city are organised.

For the purpose of implementing this measure, the thesis explores the potentials for increasing the number of open spaces inside the existing, dense, urban form. Namely, the phasing of the strategy should prioritise the areas with scarce open spaces for their residents, in this case Communities 2,3,4 and 6 (see Fig. 8.23).
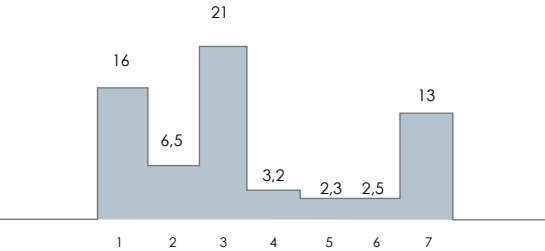
B. CREATE NETWORKS

The walkable city should exceed the scale of separate open spaces and upscale its impact. With this in mind, the strategy chooses streets that are currently important for neighbourhood activity, specifically commercial and spontaneous interactions (see chapter 6B for explanation). These streets can serve as edges that makes important metropolitan parks and other spaces more accessible, or as pedestrian zones that serve as linear open spaces for the residents. Thus, the networks enable the permeability in each neighbourhood and its connectivity with the city. In sum, he measure of creating networks ensures the spatial interconnection of the city and thus enables possible interactions between residents of different neighbourhoods.

C. INVOLVE ALTERNATIVE SPACES

Even though open spaces are crucial for the activity of the neighbourhood, the strategy expands the concept of spaces adequate for interaction between migrants and natives even further. The typology of spaces that can be used may vary: vacant buildings, schools, empty plots, inner-block spaces and even streets could be transformed. In this case, the nature of activities would depend on the needs of each neighbourhood and the potentials that the spaces might offer. For instance, intercultural events, temporary appropriations for the community and urban workshops could be some of the possible activities hosted in these spaces. The strategy creates an inventory of these spaces, based on their accessibility and other qualities such as size, distribution and amount of spaces needed in each administrative district.
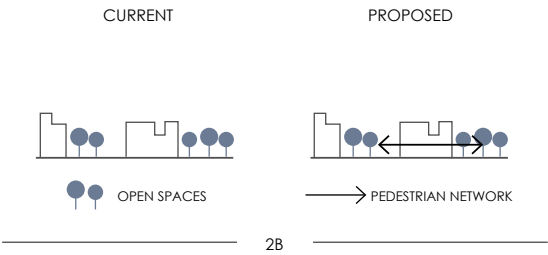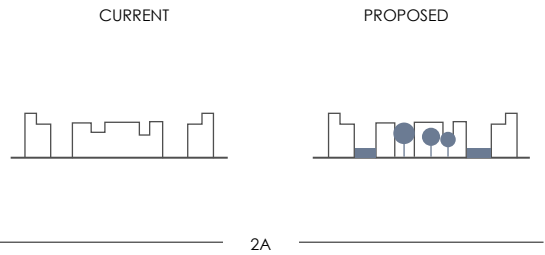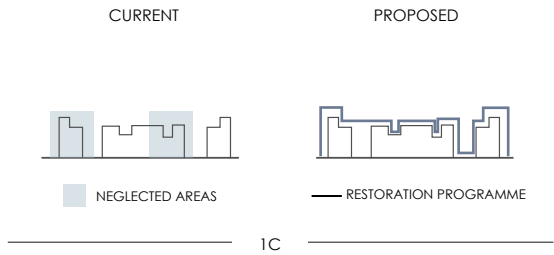
BUILDING YEARS
(HIGHEST SHARE)

1970-90
1960-80
1946-70

Fig. 8.22 - m2 of open space per resident in each Community.
Source: Municipality of Athens, 2016.

Fig. 8.23 - The map shows the current degree of urban decay based on the building year. Source: Municipality of Athens, 2014.

CURRENT   PROPOSED

NEGLECTED AREAS   —— RESTORATION PROGRAMME

1C

CURRENT   PROPOSED

2A

CURRENT   PROPOSED

OPEN SPACES   ⟶ PEDESTRIAN NETWORK

2B

CURRENT   PROPOSED

INTERACTION SPACES

2C

This part of the strategy concerns the governance that supports the actions described above. New mechanisms should bring people to collectively transform their neighbourhoods together and thus claim their rights on the image of the city.

A. CREATE COMMON SPACES

For achieving the objective of creating functioning communities, it is important that the city provides adequate spaces where ideas can be debated. This could involve one building per district, provided by the municipality, temporarily or permanently. The building can host meetings between residents and open events.

B. ENABLE RESIDENT INTERVENTIONS

Experience in other cities suggests that raising awareness and coordinating residents is key for creating attractive and liveable spaces. Their involvement could be key in the execution and evaluation phases of different initiatives.

C. SHARE ENGAGEMENT

The governance scheme views urban hubs as places of interventions that can continuously be improved. This means that the governance approach should involve the municipality and the residents as active stakeholders for the monitoring and maintaining of the interventions.

INVOLVED STAKEHOLDERS:

-MUNICIPALITY
-THIS IS ATHENS

-CITIZEN GROUPS
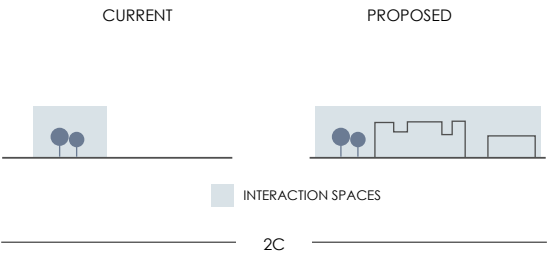-RESIDENTS
-STAVROS NIARCHOS FOUNDATION

-OPEN SCHOOLS

-IMPACT HUB

-MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS

CURRENT   PROPOSED

OPEN SPACES

URBAN HUBS

REGENERATION

2- SPATIAL TYPOLOGIES

STRATEGY

OBJECTIVES ⟶ MEASURES

SPATIAL TYPOLOGIES

INITIATIVES
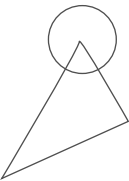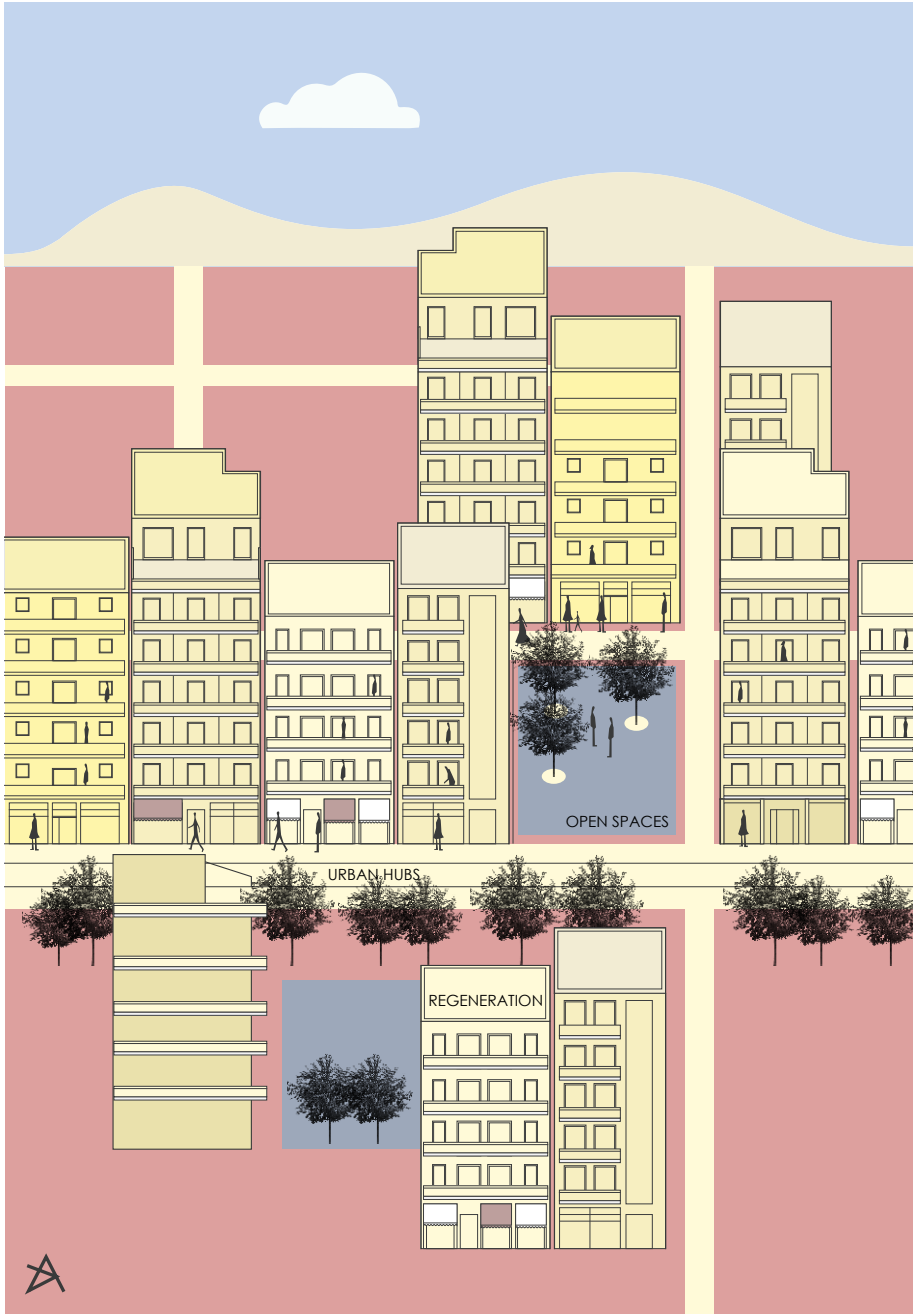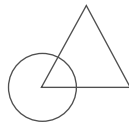
PROPOSED

HOUSING X4   URBAN SPACE X4
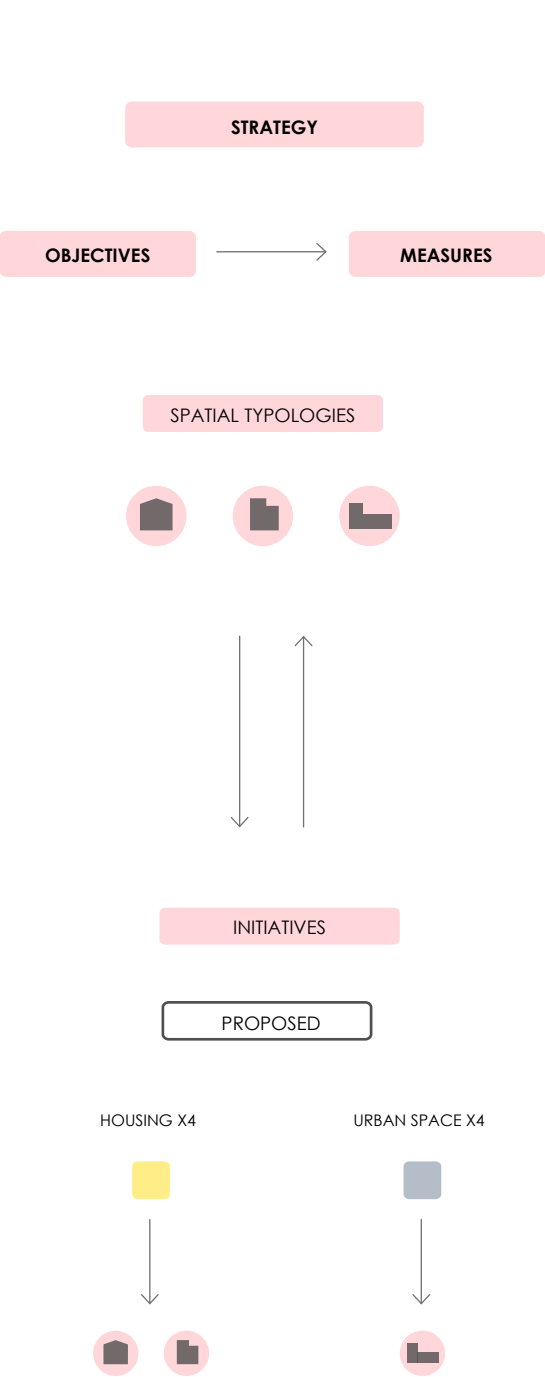
The spatial typology found in Athens helps organise the different conditions of the housing and the urban form into the themes of the strategy (housing, urban space). In this section, existing and proposed initiatives (programmes, interventions and policies) that compliment the achievement of the objectives are matched with different spatial typologies, and form the governance system for implementing the strategy (see Fig. 8.1). This collection describes the context of each initiative and its impact on the objectives of the strategy. The initiatives are also defined by the planning instruments that they employ: shaping, regulating, stimulating and capacity building (Heurkens et al., 2015). This analysis and preliminary design of typology-based initiatives is used in the next chapter for the spatial design.
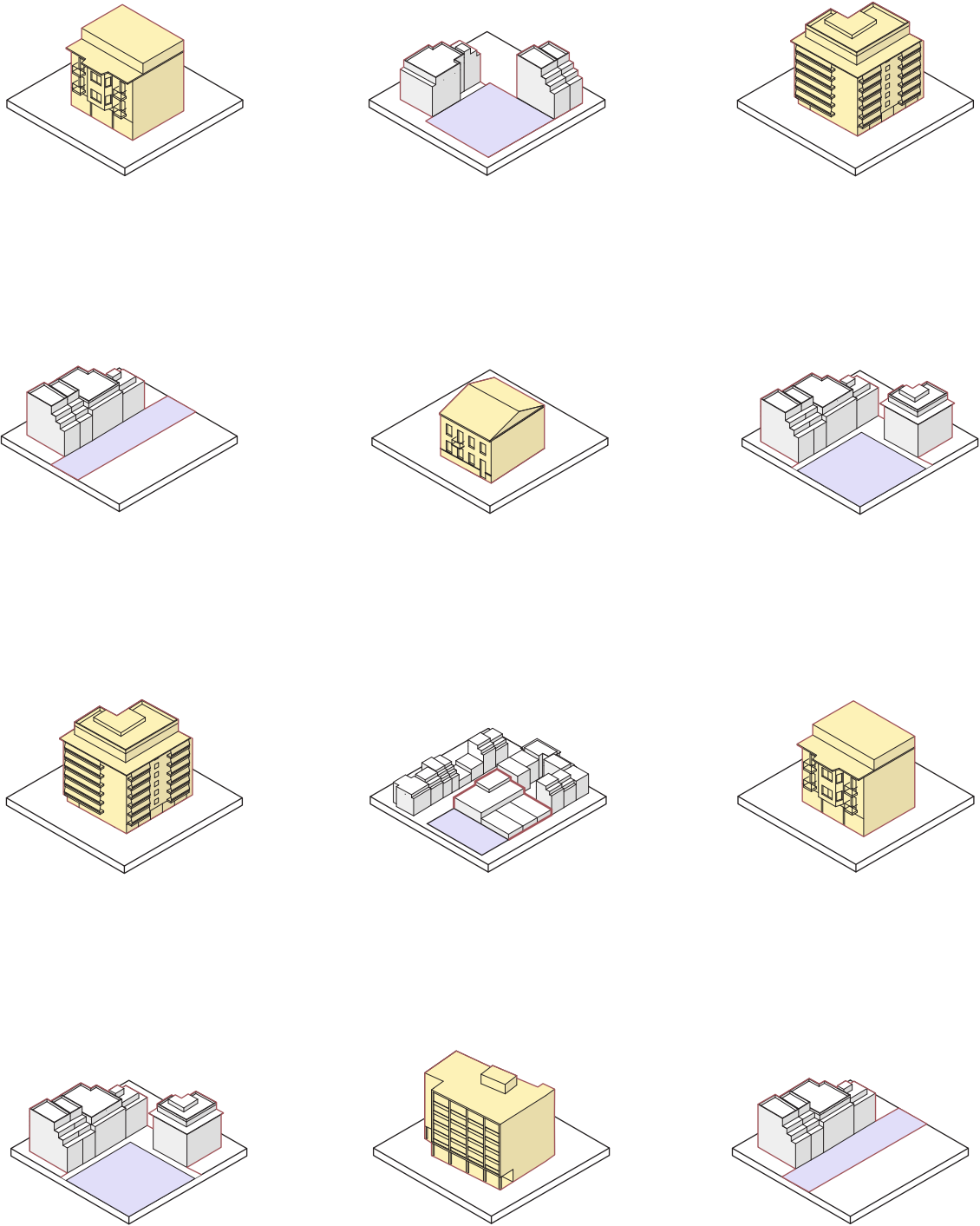
Fig. 8.1 - The diagram describes the process that implements the strategy proposed by the research.

2- SPATIAL TYPOLOGIES

HOUSING

TYPE:

BUSINESS BUILDINGS

VACANCY STATUS:

EMPTY

TYPE:

APARTMENT BUILDINGS

VACANCY STATUS:

EMPTY

TYPE:

PLOTS

VACANCY STATUS:

UNBUILT AFTER DEMOLITION

TYPE:

HISTORICAL BUILDINGS

VACANCY STATUS:

EMPTY

TYPE:

APARTMENT BUILDINGS

or

APARTMENTS

VACANCY STATUS:

PARTLY OCCUPIED

BUSINESS BUILDINGS

HISTORICAL BUILDINGS

SMALL HOUSING BUILDINGS

APARTMENTS

EMPTY PLOTS

Fig. 8.2 - The spatial typology found in Athens that can be used in the housing strategy.

2- SPATIAL TYPOLOGIES

URBAN SPACE

TYPE:

APARTMENT BUILDINGS

USE STATUS:

ABANDONED

TYPE:

EMPTY PLOTS

USE STATUS:

INACTIVE/PARKING SPACE

TYPE:

EDGES/STREETS

USE STATUS:

RESIDENTIAL/COMMERCIAL

TYPE:

OPEN SPACES

USE STATUS:

INACTIVE

TYPE:

EDGES/STREETS

USE STATUS:

RESIDENTIAL/COMMERCIAL

BUILDINGS   OPEN SPACES   EMPTY PLOTS   SCHOOLS   EDGES
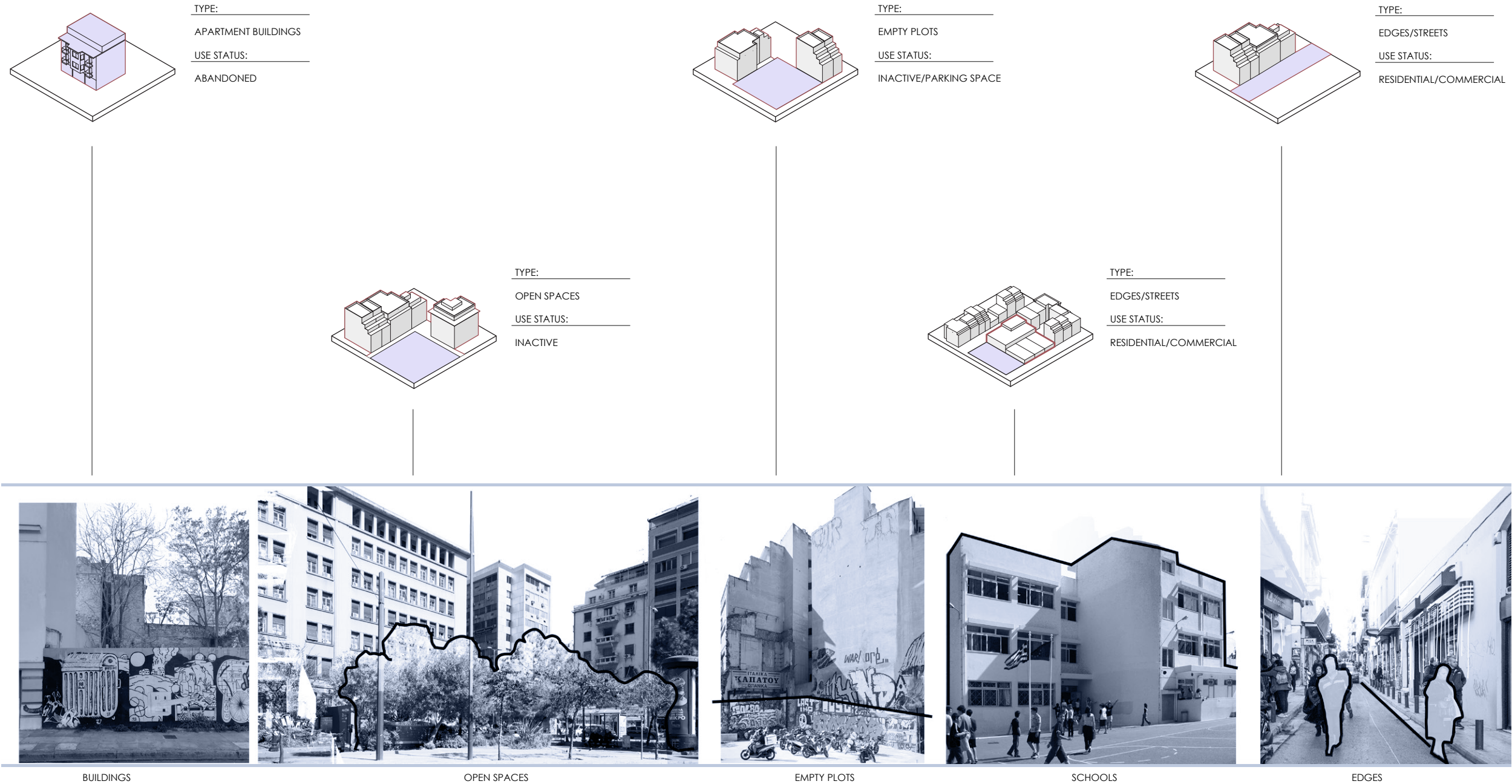
Fig. 8.3 - The spatial typology found in Athens that can be used in the urban space strategy.

3- HOUSING INITIATIVES

⬤ EXISTING   ⬤ PROPOSED

HOUSING GOVERNANCE-OVERVIEW

SPATIAL TYPOLOGY	REGULATING			CAPACITY BUILDING				STIMULATING	
	INCLUSIONARY ZONING	EMPTY HOME TAX	NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING	CURING THE LIMBO	ESTIA	CO-RESTORATION	ALTERNATIVE HOUSING	TEMPORARY HOST	ESPA 2021-2027
APARTMENT BUILDINGS		⬤	⬤					⬤	
BUSINESS BUILDINGS						⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤
SMALL HOUSING BUILDINGS		⬤		⬤	⬤	⬤	⬤		⬤
APARTMENTS	⬤	⬤		⬤	⬤			⬤	
HISTORICAL BUILDINGS						⬤	⬤		⬤
AVAILABLE SITES	⬤		⬤						

OCCUPIED / NOT OCCUPIED
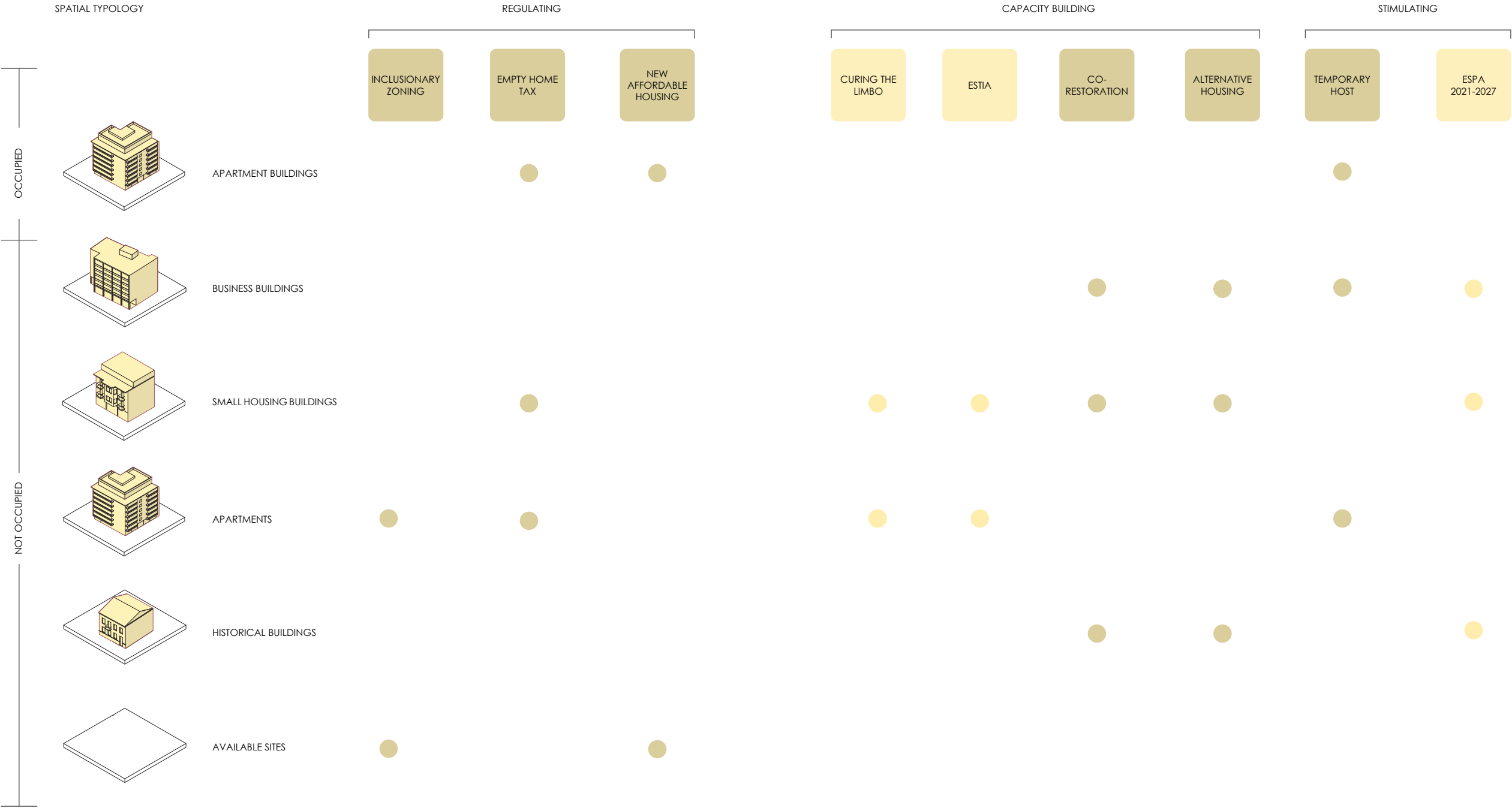
3- HOUSING INITIATIVES ———————————————— EXISTING

STIMULATING

ESTIA

ESTIA (Emergency Support to Integration & Accommodation- which spells *house* in Greek) is an urban accommodation programme for refugees that have arrived since 2015. It facilitates their access to services (including education), introduces them in the urban environment (where they can develop their own routine), and thus, eventually integrates those who will remain in the country.

The latest weekly update on the capacity of the programme counts roughly 8 thousand asylum seekers and 4 thousand recognised refugees in either apartments (96 per cent) or hotels in the Attica region (see Fig. 8.4- there is no available information about the numbers in Athens) (UNHCR, 2020).

TYPOLOGY ——————— APARTMENTS

INITIATED BY ——————— UNHCR

BENEFICIARIES ——————— REFUGEES

SERVICES ———————
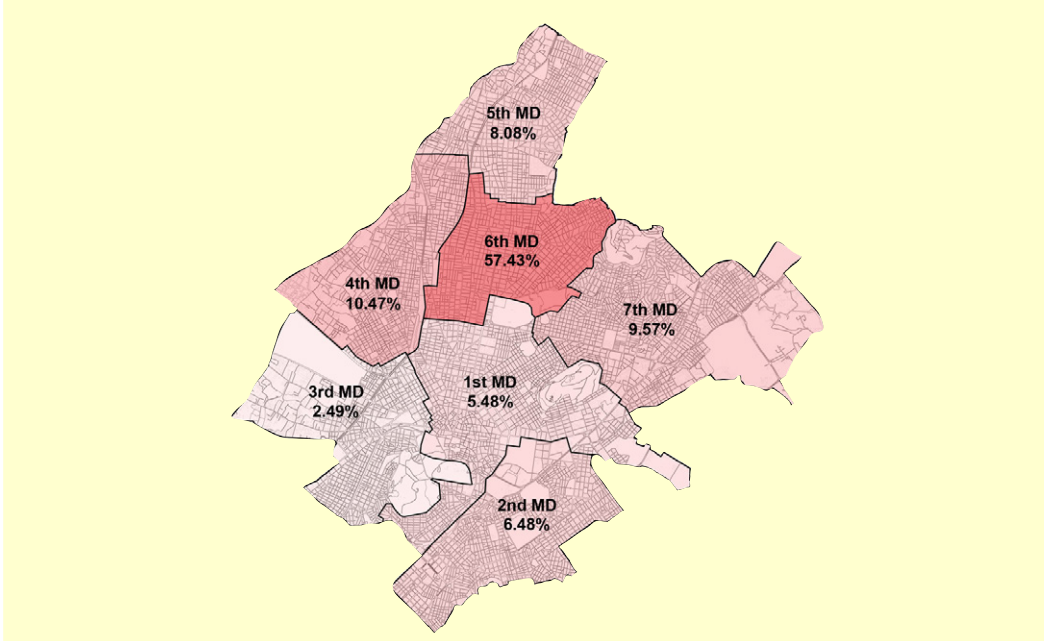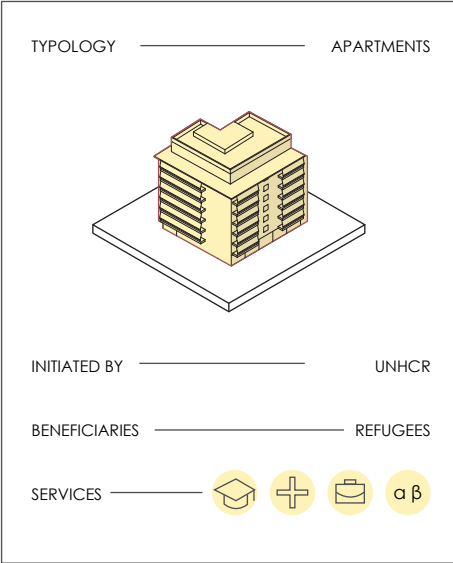
Fig. 8.4 - ESTIA apartments per Municipality Districts (Community). Source: Papatzani, 2020.

CURING THE LIMBO

Curing the limbo is a programme that associates the refugee population with the permanent citizens of Athens, in an exchange system that also addresses pressing and recurring city needs. The beneficiaries receive affordable housing from the available, private housing stock and in return they work for the public benefit, supporting the needs of the community and participating in citizen-led activities that improve quality of the Athenian neighbourhoods.

The initiative is the closest example of what the thesis analyses for the objective of availability: interactions through the institution of housing, by using the available building stock as potential. For this, the example is further explored in its actors, procedure and the employed incentives as case study.

TYPOLOGY ——————— APARTMENTS

INITIATED BY ——————— MUNICIPALITY

BENEFICIARIES ——————— REFUGEES

SERVICES ———————
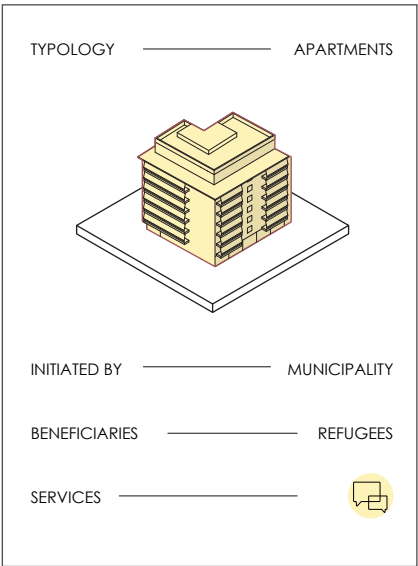
STIMULATING

ESPA 2014-20

The ESPA programme is supported by the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund, which address social disparities and promote equal opportunities and sustainable development across the European Union (European Commission, 2020).

In Athens (following national policy), the fund has instigated the preservation and appropriation of privately owned historical buildings, which is the prioritised objective for improving the image of the city.

TYPOLOGY ——————— MID-WAR
HISTORICAL

INITIATED BY ——————— MINISTRY-EU

BENEFICIARIES ——————— INCOME-ELIGIBLE

SERVICES ——————— €
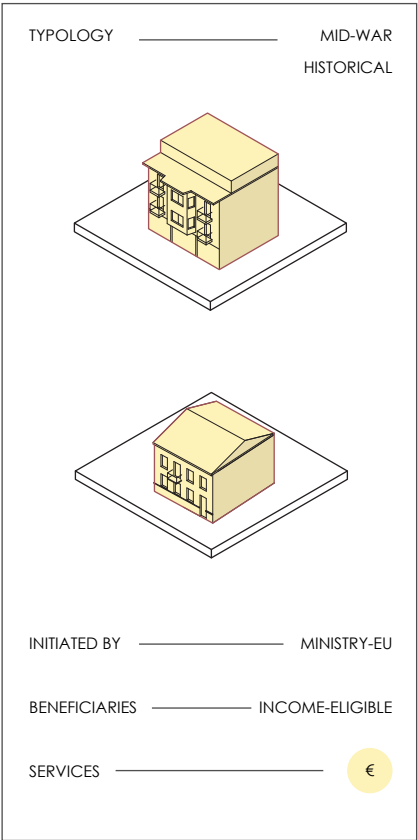
3- HOUSING INITIATIVES

CASE STUDY: HOUSING

CURING THE LIMBO (2018-2021)

This section analyses the process of finding a home for refugees, supported and guided by the integration programme *CURING THE LIMBO*. The pilot programme was founded by the *Synathina* municipal coordination group, which is a platform for civil society groups that are interested in improving the urban quality, as supervisors of the initiative confirm (Zepou, 2017). The following is combined information from interviews conducted during the fieldwork and documents, articles and webpages published by *Synathina*.

The design of the housing model should be based on extended research on information about the city and moderated accordingly, not only for housing, but also for attending to what the city needs. Following this principal, the integration programme of this section meets the urgent demand for housing while also helping with the crucial issue of empty private property. The programme acts as intermediary by offering the landlords incentives (both financial and social), inviting them to participate in the effort for affordable residency.

The initiative proposes housing solutions that can be complementary for urban regeneration, in this case by preserving the aged and abandoned building stock. The networking of refugees with active civil society groups is central for the success of the model, which has social integration as overarching objective. Furthermore, the model promotes not only collective networks but also individual guidance, with the collaboration of social services experts, migrant organisations and future participants. The objective of this is to personalise integration for each participant, so that their skills and needs are matched with their integration process.

The programme is the first pilot for integration process in the municipal level, which is why it is currently under supervision for scientific analysis and potential improvements. Its quality and general success is

evaluated by the *Technical Steering Group,* which is an assembly of researchers and professionals. The Group is guiding the process while also actively supporting the Municipality in the public discourse about the situation of the existing housing model: What opportunities does the city offer and to whom?

The process is the following:

- When signing the lease contract, the programme offers the apartment owners a financial incentive which is calibrated according to the final monthly rental price. The amount covers half the lease rate for the first 12 months and is provided beforehand.

- The tenants or participants receive financial support for their housing needs for a minimum of 6 months period.

- The programme ensures that the participants are made aware of their duties as tenants, regarding lease legislation but also adequate preservation of the rented apartments during their stay.

- The group responsible for the development of the programme enables the communication between landlords and tenants both before and during the lease period so that both sides comply by their sorted responsibilities.

- Each member of the programme is assigned to one or more landlords for attending to any questions or issues that they might express during the period of the programme.

The above measures are valuable, mostly because these ensure the sense of security for the landlords and the tenants, which encourages them not just to enter but also stay in the programme.

GOVERNANCE

HOUSING

NGO

HUMANITARIAN AGENCY

RESEARCH

DIRECT RELATION

INDIRECT RELATION
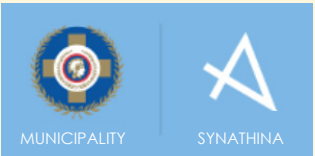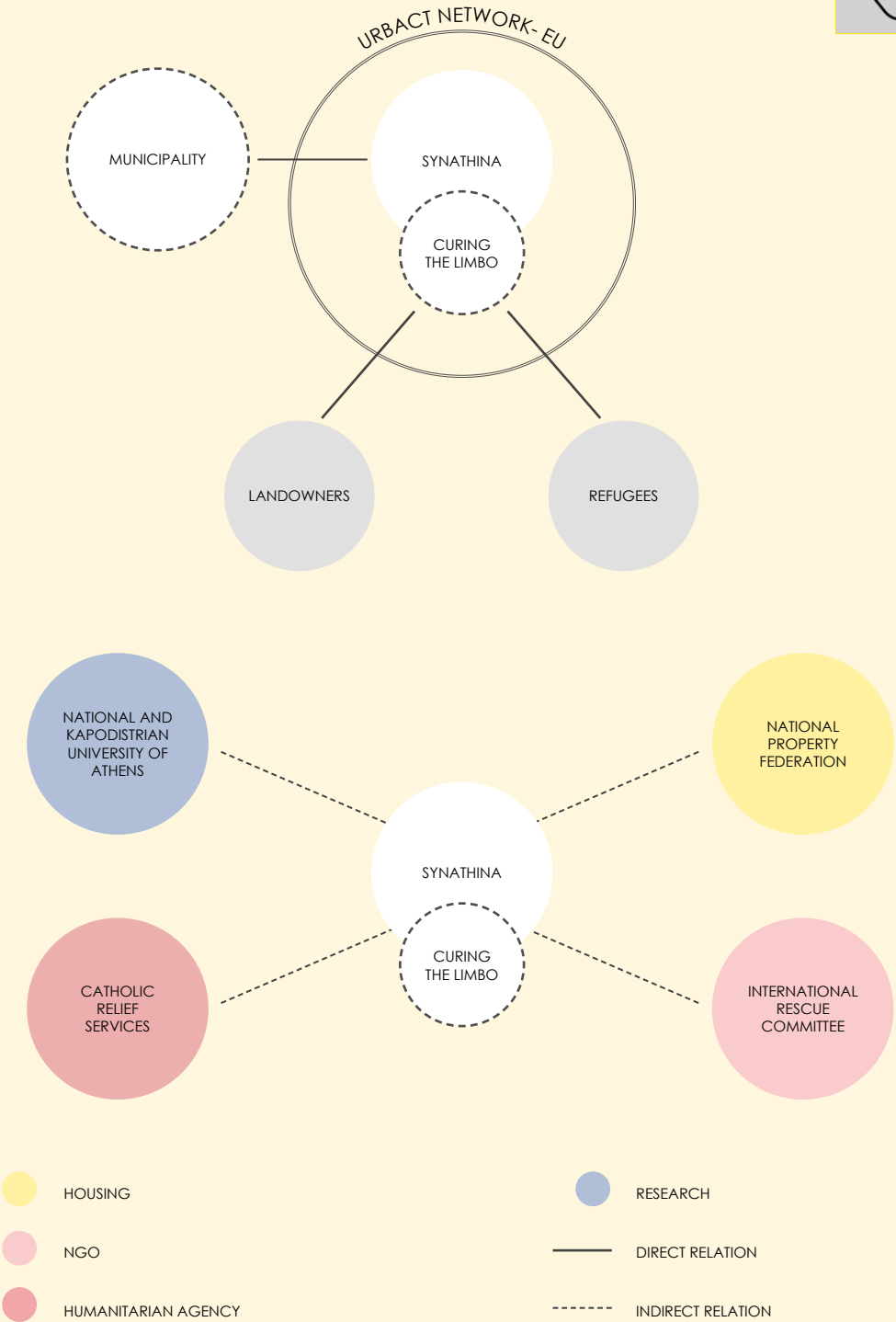
3- HOUSING INITIATIVES ———————————————————— PROPOSED

STIMULATING

NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING

The Social Housing Network in Athens is hosted in buildings and apartments, and provides either temporary or permanent accommodation. In large, roughly 500 people have been hosted in the Network (2013-2018), number substantially minimum for the city, which counts 650 thousand people. However, the Municipality has involved the expansion of the Network as one of the Actions in its most recent Social Policy Programme (2015)(see Fig. 8.5).

TYPOLOGY ——————— APARTMENTS

INITIATED BY ——————— MUNICIPALITY

BENEFICIARIES ——————— INCOME-ELIGIBLE

SERVICES ——————— α β   €
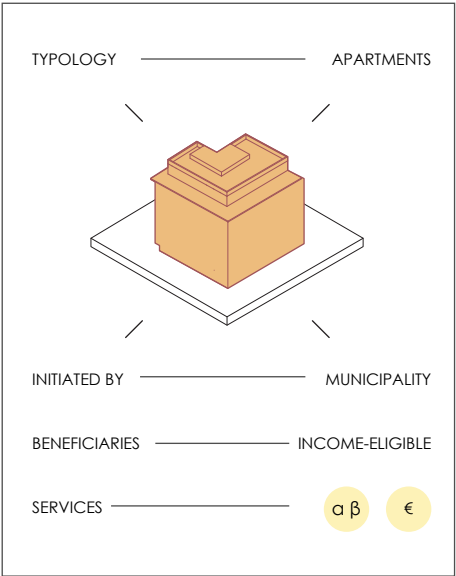
REGULATING

INCLUSIONARY ZONING

Inclusionary zoning requires or incentivizes private developers to designate a certain percentage of the units in a given project as below market rate (see Fig. 8.6). For city governments, the big appeal of inclusionary zoning is the fact that it often requires little or no public subsidy. In places where inclusionary zoning is optional, it is often tied to density bonuses, meaning a developer can increase the size and unit count of its development beyond existing zoning, in exchange for producing affordable housing. Supporting and participating in inclusionary zoning programs can also help developers strengthen community relations, providing them greater leverage for future projects (Schneider, 2018).

TYPOLOGY ——————— APARTMENTS

INITIATED BY ——————— MUNICIPALITY

BENEFICIARIES ——————— INCOME-ELIGIBLE

SERVICES ——————— €

- ● MUNICIPALITY-BUILDINGS
- ● MUNICIPALITY-APARTMENTS
- ● RECEPTION CENTRE-ATHENS-BUILDINGS
- ● NGOs-BUILDINGS
- ○ RECEPTION FACILITY-REFUGEES-CAMP
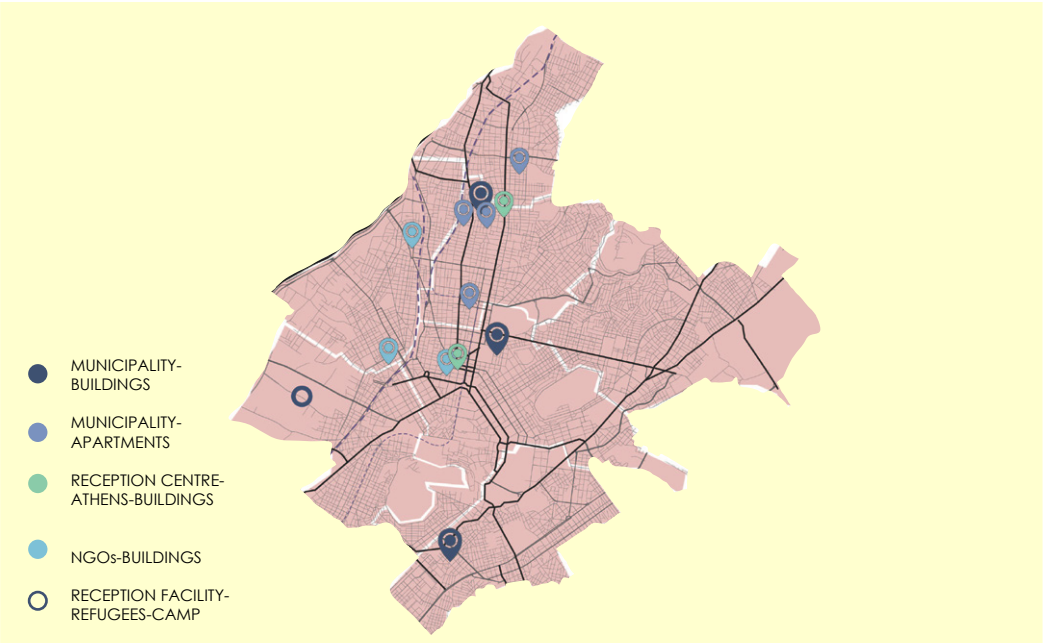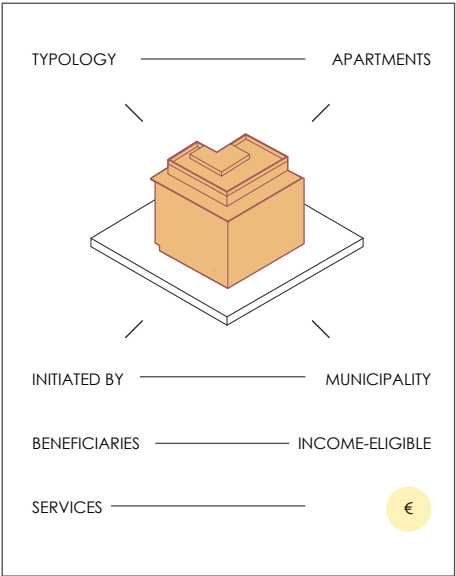
Fig. 8.5 - Social Housing network in Athens. Source: Municipality of Athens, 2014.

Fig. 8.6 - X

3- HOUSING INITIATIVES

PROPOSED

REGULATING

EMPTY HOME TAX

This tool requires landlords to pay an annual tax for homes that are declared vacant for six or more months of a year. The intent of the policy is to dissuade landlords from holding habitable building stock offline and thereby decreasing the City's overall available housing stock (see Fig. 8.7).

TYPOLOGY —————— APARTMENTS

BUILDINGS

INITIATED BY —————— MUNICIPALITY

ACTORS —————— OWNERS

OBJECTIVE —————— AVAILABILITY
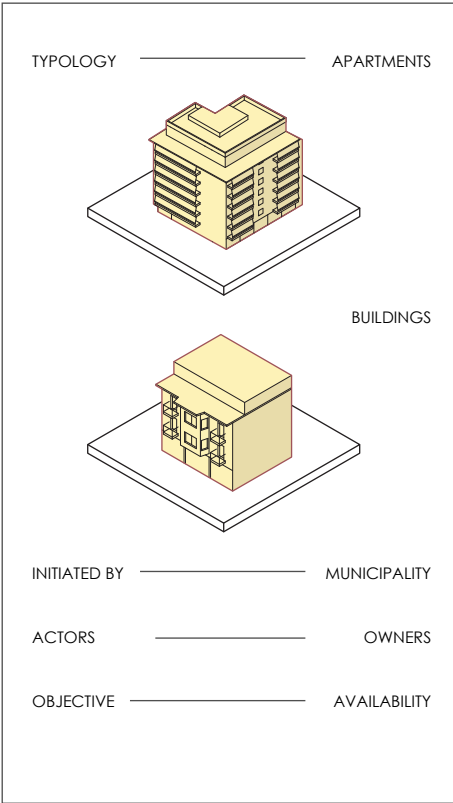
STIMULATING

TEMPORARY HOST

This is a small scale initiative, both in terms of beneficiaries, the number of properties and their impact, as it concerns mostly temporary solutions for phases of transition from one form of accommodation to another. Families receive a reimbursement: the host is required to guarantee a private room and food for their guest and receive monthly payment in return (see Fig. 8.8).

TYPOLOGY —————— APARTMENTS

BUSINESS
BUILDINGS

MUNICIPALITY
INITIATED BY —————— ORGANISATIONS

ACTORS —————— OWNERS

OBJECTIVE —————— AVAILABILITY, AFFORDABILITY

SERVICES ——————
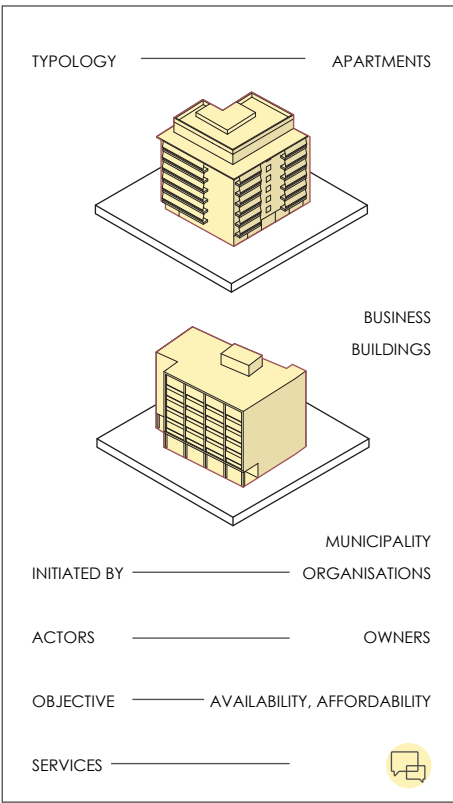
Fig. 8.7 - Source: Author's image.

Fig. 8.8 - Source: Author's image.

3- HOUSING INITIATIVES

PROPOSED

CAPACITY BUILDING

ALTERNATIVE HOUSING

This initiative is an example of the creation of an alternative form of housing for asylum seekers that offers greater stability, social integration and support and allows families to stay together in decent, safe accommodation whilst their asylum claims are being assessed (see Fig. 8.9).

TYPOLOGY ——————— APARTMENTS

OFFICES

MUNICIPALITY
INITIATED BY ——————— ORGANISATIONS

ACTORS ——————— COMMUNITY

OBJECTIVE ——————— AVAILABILITY
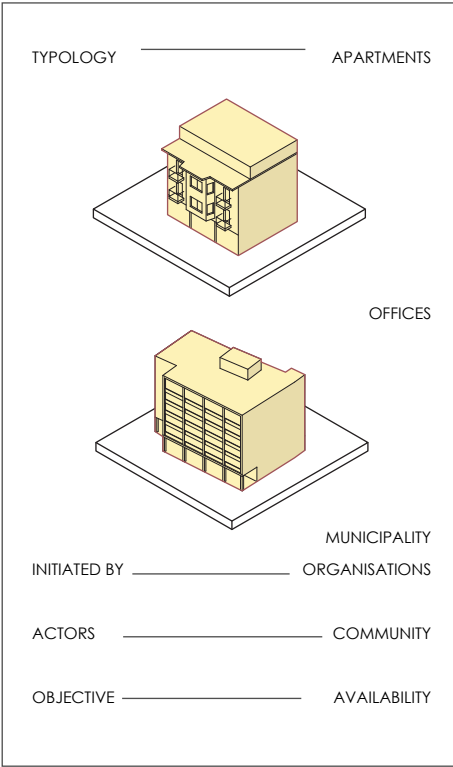
CO-RESTORATION

This proposed initiative concerns the restoration work on empty historical (neoclassical) buildings or modern buildings, partly occupied or empty. Members of the community, including refugees, are employed in the restoration work for the upgrading of abandoned houses. The community buys the property and covers the most urgent repair works. The collaboration of estate agents will be important in strengthening the acquisition programmes. Instead of interest, the credit providers can enjoy the right of using one floor of the building (see Fig. 8.10).

TYPOLOGY ——————— APARTMENTS

INITIATED BY ——————— MUNICIPALITY

ACTORS ——————— COMMUNITY

OBJECTIVES ——— AVAILABILITY, AFFORDABILITY

SERVICES ——————— α β

Fig. 8.9 - Source: Author's image.
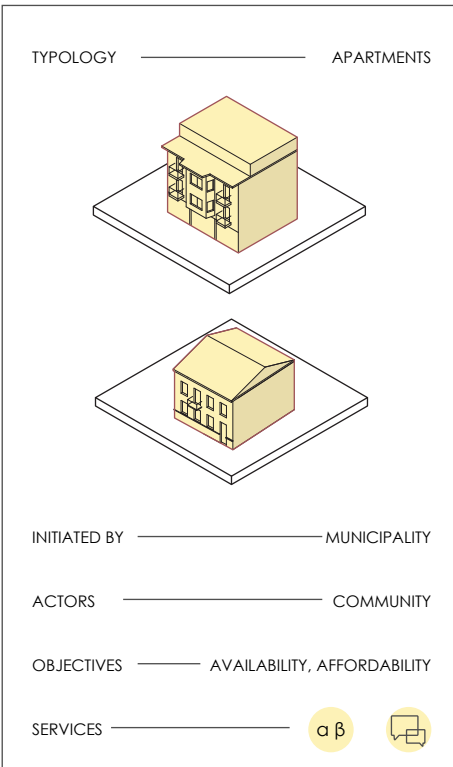
Fig. 8.10 - Source: Author's image.

4- URBAN SPACE INITIATIVES   ● EXISTING   ● PROPOSED

EXISTING+PROPOSED INITIATIVES

SPATIAL TYPOLOGY	CAPACITY BUILDING			CAPACITY BUILDING		REGULATING	
	CO-ATHENS	POLIS²	OPEN SCHOOLS	CULTURAL NEIGHBOURHOODS	INSIDE OUT	LAND EXPRO-PRIATION	WALKABLE EDGES
SCHOOLS		●	●	●			
OPEN SPACES	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
INNER URBAN BLOCKS		●			●		
EDGES	●	●			●		●
EMPTY PLOTS DERELICT BUILDINGS	●	●			●	●	●
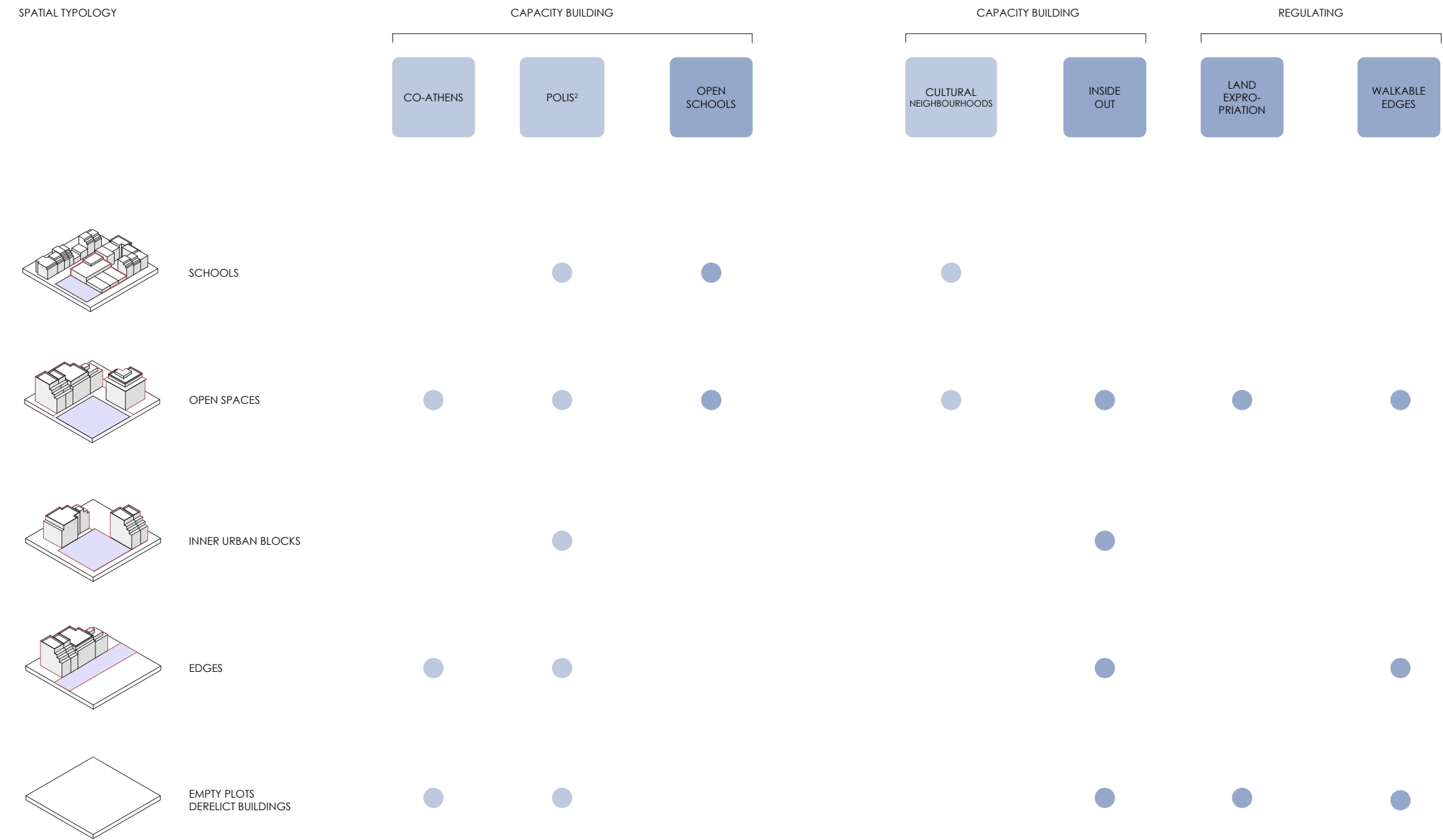
4- URBAN SPACE INITIATIVES

EXISTING

CAPACITY BUILDING

CO-ATHENS
(2019-)

Residents, citizens' initiatives, refugees who have received asylum and the local authority join forces for the first time to benefit the city.

Co-Athens creates the framework within which groups come together to collaboratively design and implement funded activities and urban interventions. Selected groups will receive funding and advisory support throughout the program; from the initial concept development stage to its implementation (see Fig. 8.11).

TYPOLOGY ———————— EMPTY PLOTS

OPEN SPACES

INITIATED BY ———————— MUNICIPALITY

ACTORS ———————— RESIDENTS

OBJECTIVE ———————— AVAILABILITY

SERVICES ————————
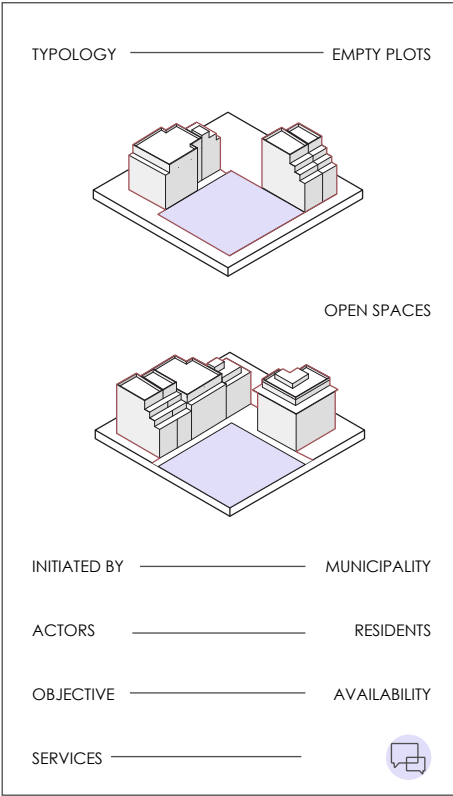
Fig. 8.11 - The initiative ''Co-Athens'' is still in process. In the image, the boards encourage the participation of residents. Source: Alexandra Masmanidi, 2019.

THIS IS ATHENS, POLIS[2]
(2018-)

Polis[2] is a pilot project for urban renewal, which is organised and funded by *This is Athens* partnership. The partnership is public-private, involving the City of Athens, Aegean Airlines, Athens International Airport, Greek Tourism Confederation and private developers. Their scope is the promotion and improvement of the city for visitors, investors and permanent residents.

The project encourages participatory processes, by inviting active citizens to express their needs and desires for their daily lives. The design proposals are informed and shaped by these thoughts, and come as response to the urgencies in context.

Polis[2] highlights the corners of the city, stimulates abandoned places and activates or enhances the use of public space in the neighbourhoods of Athens (see Fig. 8.12). Nonetheless, the initiative also presents qualities that might provoke displacement: social consideration is absent, while attractiveness is prioritised.

TYPOLOGY ———————— MULTIPLE

INITIATED BY ———————— THIS IS ATHENS

BENEFICIARIES ———————— RESIDENTS

OBJECTIVE ———————— WALKABILITY

SERVICES ————————

Fig. 8.12 - Example of the initiative ''This is Athens'' in the historical centre of Athens, in one of the commercial arcades. Source: This is Athens, 2019.

4- URBAN SPACE INITIATIVES

EXISTING

CAPACITY BUILDING

CULTURAL NEIGHBOURHOODS
(2020-)

Cultural Neighbourhoods is an initiative implemented by the Municipality and Athens Culture Net and promotes cultural and educational activities for the activation of neighbourhoods. Each month, the programme is developed in a different area. The municipality invites cultural institutions and collaborating actors, who introduce activities about culture and history. The activities are organised both indoors and outdoors, in open spaces and squares (see Fig. 8.13). The main purpose of the initiative is to promote intimacy between residents and visitors of the neighbourhoods and increase the feeling of involvement.
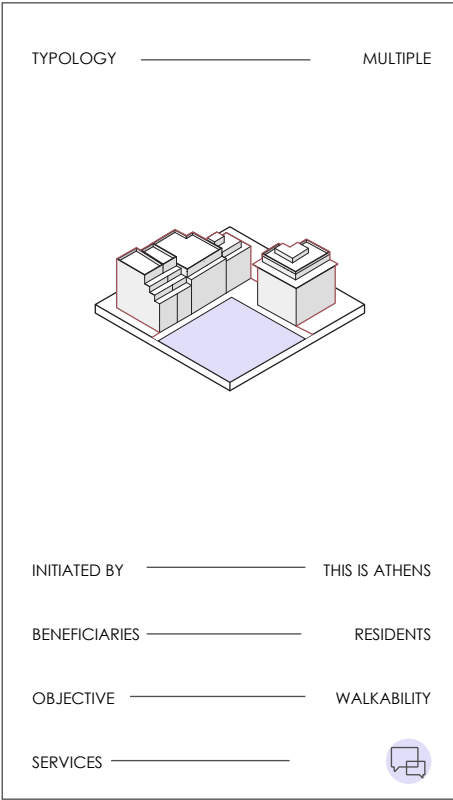
TYPOLOGY —————— OPEN SPACES

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

INITIATED BY —————— MUNICIPALITY

BENEFICIARIES —————— RESIDENTS

OBJECTIVE ———— REGENERATION, WALKABILITY

SERVICES ——————— α β
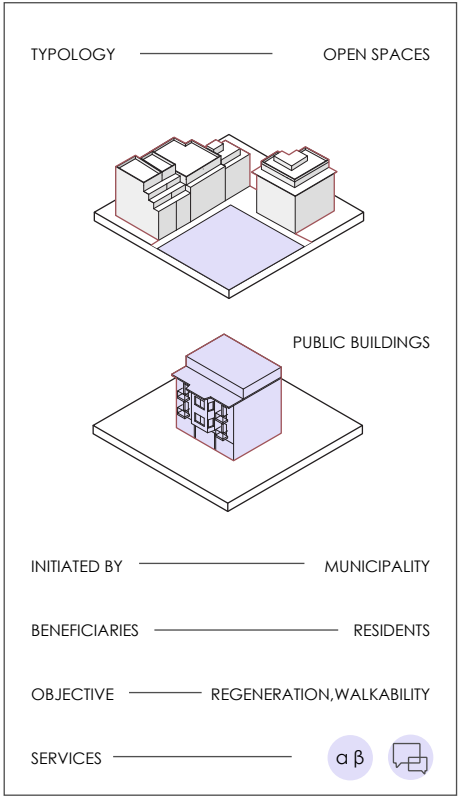
Fig. 8.13 - The image shows one of the musical groups that participates in the programme ''cultural neighbourhoods''. Source: Culture Now, 2020

CAPACITY BUILDING

OPEN SCHOOLS

This initiative allows the open participation of residents in recreational and educational activities by using school facilities during evenings on weekdays and weekends (see Fig. 8.14). Today (2019), 25 schools contribute with open spaces that are used as interaction spaces or forums. The programme has been described as ''optimum practice concerning human rights and integration of migrants'' by the Council of Europe. The indications on high rates of participation and success of the initiative justifies the exploration of its actors and procedure as case study.

TYPOLOGY —————— SCHOOLS

INITIATED BY —————— MUNICIPALITY

BENEFICIARIES —————— RESIDENTS

OBJECTIVE —————— WALKABILITY

SERVICES ——————— α β

Fig. 8.14 - Schools can be used as alternative open spaces, with activities for the residents during weekends.

4- URBAN SPACE INITIATIVES

CASE STUDY: URBAN SPACE

OPEN SCHOOLS (2015-)

Open Schools is an innovative programme initiated by the Municipality of Athens in 2015. The Stavros Niarchos Foundation funds the programme, which is coordinated by the Athens Partnership, to use school buildings during afternoons and weekends for the benefit of the local community (see Fig. 8.15, Fig. 8.16). Open Schools meet the needs of school communities, who use the school buildings at the end of the school day. Through cooperation with the Municipality of Athens, this is done in a coordinated and secure way, taking into account the background operation, supervision, cleanliness, liability, coverage of operation costs and damages, etc.

All Open Schools activities are proposed by civil society groups or individuals, who are only selected following evaluation. These activities are co-organised by the operat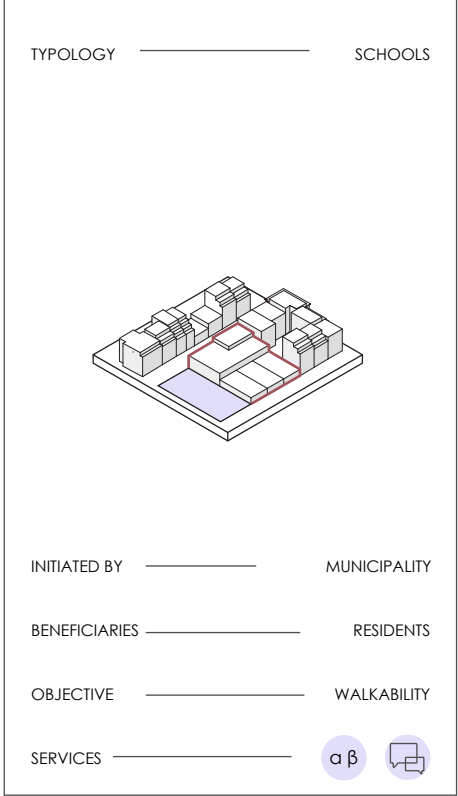ional body and the Municipality of Athens, giving access to free knowledge-building and entertainment activities for citizens of all ages and creating new neighbourhood hubs, which improves the quality of life for Athenians. As part of this programme, repairs and maintenance were carried out in classrooms and courtyards in the 25 Open Schools, to upgrade the schools and provide a welcoming environment for the public of the city.

Each neighbourhood has expressed its own priorities - preference for recreational, educational or job support action. The participation of the organisations that offered the actions was decisive: an open call was made to private bodies, groups of citizens, any individual, that is interested in planing and proposing an action that would meet community needs.

The Council of Europe recognised the programme as "the best practice in the field of human rights and immigration protection": they saw a structure where special groups, such as refugees, came into direct contact, creatively, with many other "groups", in one open neighbourhood.

MUNICIPALITY | SYNATHINA
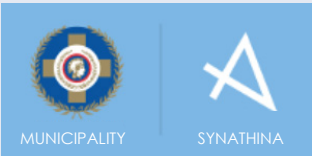
Fig. 8.15 - Source: Open Schools, 2019.

The Municipality of Athens, invites individuals and other organised entities (freelancers, services, agencies, organisations, institutions, museums, etc.) which are either already active in the school premises or would participate in the future. The Municipality of Athens composes the Open Schools programme with educational, recreational, cultural and sports activities. These are developed on the neighbourhood scale, in the facilities of school complexes throughout the week, in the afternoons and on weekends, for all residents of the communities.

Source: Interview with Eirini Chazapi, Project Manager of Open Schools, published by Athens Parternship in June, 2019.

GOVERNANCE

ανοιχτά σχολεία

EXECUTION
MUNICIPALITY
ATHENS PARTNERSHIP
SCHOOLS

FUNDING
STAVROS NIARCHOS
ATHENS PARTERSHIP

PARTICIPATION (EXAMPLES)
COSMOTE
MICROSOFT
NATIONAL THEATRE
NATIONAL HISTORICAL MUSEUM
NATIONAL LIBRARY

● NON PROFIT FOUNDATION

● INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION
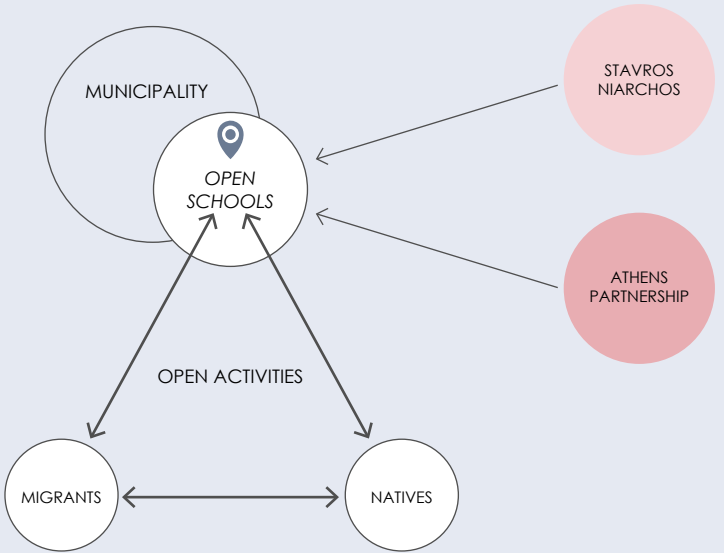
Fig. 8.16 - Example of how buildings are used in the evenings and on weekends for the benefit of the community. Source: Innovation in Politics, 2019.

4- URBAN SPACE INITIATIVES ──────────────── PROPOSED

REGULATING

LAND EXPROPRIATION

Increasing the available open spaces can have multiple benefits, both inside and outside the purpose of this research (see Fig. 8.17). The municipality could acquire sites for creating small-scaled green spaces, that can nonetheless be crucial when multiplied. These spaces can not only help balance the green per inhabitant among the different districts of the city, but also provide intimate spaces for interactions, which can be activated through activities.

TYPOLOGY ──────── EMPTY PLOTS
DERELICT BUILDINGS

INITIATED BY ──────── MUNICIPALITY

ACTORS ──────── RESIDENTS, MUNICIPALITY

OBJECTIVE ──────── REGENERATION,
WALKABILITY
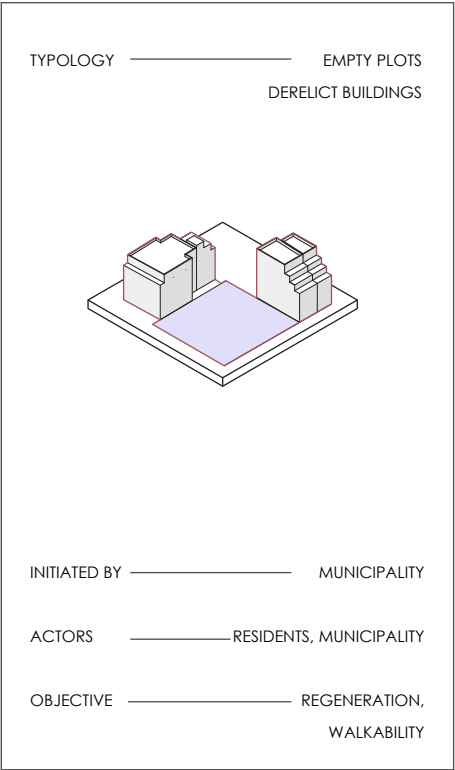
Fig. 8.17 - The image shows an example of expropriated land in Athens, now used as playground. Source: Author's image.

REGULATING

WALKABLE EDGES

The research proposes walkable edges as streets that can become linear interaction spaces (see Fig. 8.18). The initiative can be applied intrinsically through the promotion of semi-pedestrian networks, planned by the municipality and consulted with residents. This could range from entire transformation of streets to smaller but significant interventions, such as the expansion of sidewalks and the creation of zones.

TYPOLOGY ──────── EDGES
STREETS

INITIATED BY ──────── MUNICIPALITY

ACTORS ──────── RESIDENTS, MUNICIPALITY

OBJECTIVE ──────── REGENERATION,
WALKABILITY
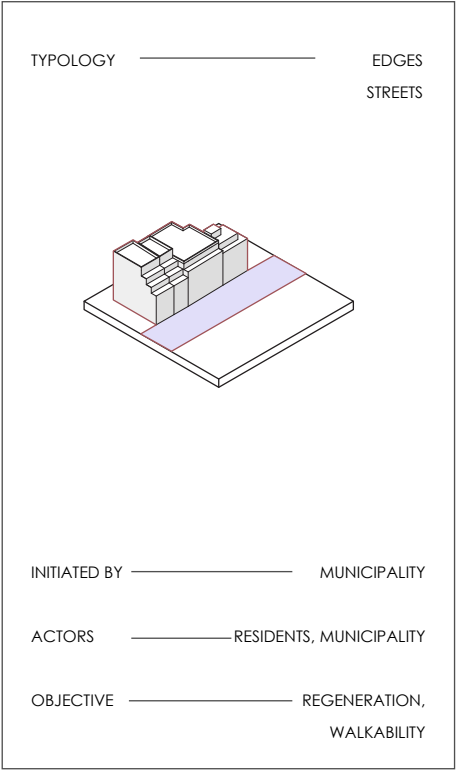
Fig. 8.18 - The street can be the alternative, designated space for interactions. Source: Author's image.

4- URBAN SPACE INITIATIVES

PROPOSED

CAPACITY BUILDING

INSIDE-OUT

This initiative concerns the activation of privately owned, urban block spaces, through the involvement of residents. It directly promotes interactions, as it supports the participation of both migrants and natives, as the most important actors for the execution of the initiative. Moreover, the initiative can increase the open spaces of the city, especially because it can be promoted as part of the municipal plan. The process mainly involves deciding and planning the possible future programme and hosted activities in the shared spaces, which are now inactive (see Fig. 8.19).

TYPOLOGY	INNER URBAN BLOCK

INITIATED BY	RESIDENTS
ACTORS	RESIDENTS
OBJECTIVE	WALKABILITY
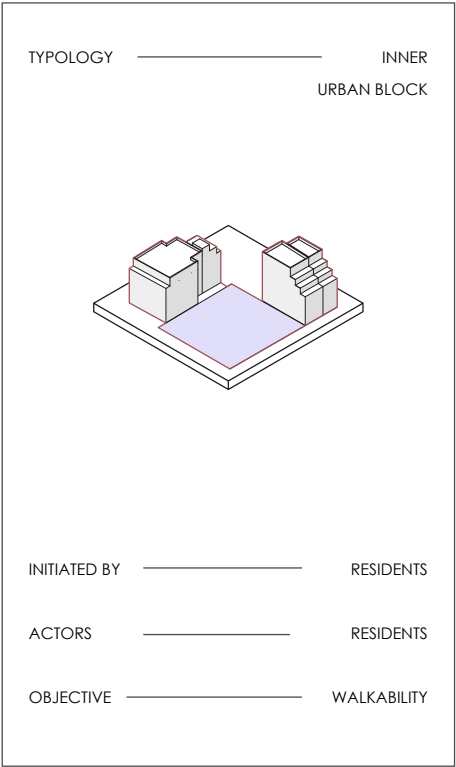
Fig. 8.19 - Typical image of inner urban block spaces. Source: Author's image.

9

TESTING THE DESIGN

The chapter ahead applies the strategy on one of the administrative districts (C6 or Kypseli), as the testing ground for interactions through interventions on the housing system and the urban space. The example translates the objectives and measures of the strategy into spatial elements and then experiments with the governance for each of the interventions. In the end, the chapter presents the implementation in phases and the spatial impact on the small scale.

9.1
SPATIAL DESIGN

9.2
STAKEHOLDERS

9.3
INITIATIVES- HOUSING

9.4
INITIATIVES- URBAN SPACE

9.5
IMPLEMENTATION

1-SPATIAL DESIGN

The area that has been selected for applying the strategy covers one of the communities (or districts) of the city. The characteristics of this area justify this choice, as it is the most challenging regarding aspects such as migrant population, urban decay and scarcity of open spaces. The chapter organises the interventions by the themes presented in the strategy and the respective measures for achieving them, as were described previously. Then, the design focuses on the urban hub, as the field of interactions, both in housing and in urban space. Eventually, the process of applying the urban interventions is explored through an example of community governance, that follows the transformation step by step.

STRATEGIES FOR HOUSING

AVAILABILITY (1)	AFFORDABILITY (2)	COLLABORATIONS (3)
A. MOBILISE HOUSING STOCK	A. COPE WITH DISPLACEMENT	A. REGULATE PRIVATE SECTOR
B. MAINTAIN RESIDENTIAL USE	B. INCREASE AFFORDABLE STOCK	B. ALLOW OWNERSHIP
C. MIXED USE OF BUILDINGS	C. PROMOTE ALTERNATIVE MODELS	C. INVOLVE ORGANISATIONS

STRATEGIES FOR URBAN SPACE

REGENERATION (1)	WALKABILITY (2)	COMMUNITY (3)
A. ACTIVATE URBAN HUBS	A. INCREASE OPEN SPACES	A. CREATE COMMON SPACES
B. CREATE SPATIAL TYPOLOGY	B. CREATE NETWORKS	B. ENABLE RESIDENT INTERVENTIONS
C. PRIORITISE URBAN DECAY	C. INCREASE ACCESS TO HUBS	C. SHARE ENGAGEMENT

Fig. 9.1 - The satellite map shows the highlighted area where the strategy is tested. Adapted from Google Earth.

HOUSING

CURRENT

The map shows the existing conditions for housing for the particular area. The key potential for the housing in this case is the availability of empty apartments in percentages that may reach 30 per cent in some areas. This potential for housing is either temporal, if the property is occupied during three months yearly, or permanent, if the property serves as secondary residence for the owners. This can introduce solutions that may correspond to different duration requirements for housing. In sum, although the available sites for developing new housing are scarce, there is hidden potential in urban vacancy.

LEGEND

EXISTING SOCIAL HOUSING LOCATION

10-20 PER CENT URBAN VACANCY

20-30 PER CENT URBAN VACANCY

30-40 PER CENT URBAN VACANCY

SHORT TERM OCCUPANCY (2019)

HILL

PRIMARY ROAD

Fig. 9.2 - Example district (C6). Current situation for housing.

HOUSING

PROPOSED

The proposed situation for the housing strategy is summarised on this map. The currently empty apartments can serve as housing alternative that avails both tenants (especially from vulnerable groups) and landlords. The apartments or rooms that are available for most of the year can host migrants temporarily. This can apply for migrants that have been displaced or need something less binding until they can find permanent solutions (see ''temporary host'' on map). The areas where high vacancy rates has been observed are prioritised (see ''housing in apartment blocks'' on map). Moreover, selected sites, mostly historical, can be restored and reused as buildings for the community, combined with housing (see ''co-restoration'' on map). Lastly, some sites are selected for the development of affordable housing, inside the existing urban context.

LEGEND

EXISTING

◎ EXISTING SOCIAL HOUSING LOCATION

PROPOSED

⊡ + TEMPORARY HOST

▦ ▢ + HOUSING IN APARTMENT BLOCKS

◆ + ALTERNATIVE HOUSING

● CO-RESTORATION

▢ + PROPOSED AFFORDABLE HOUSING
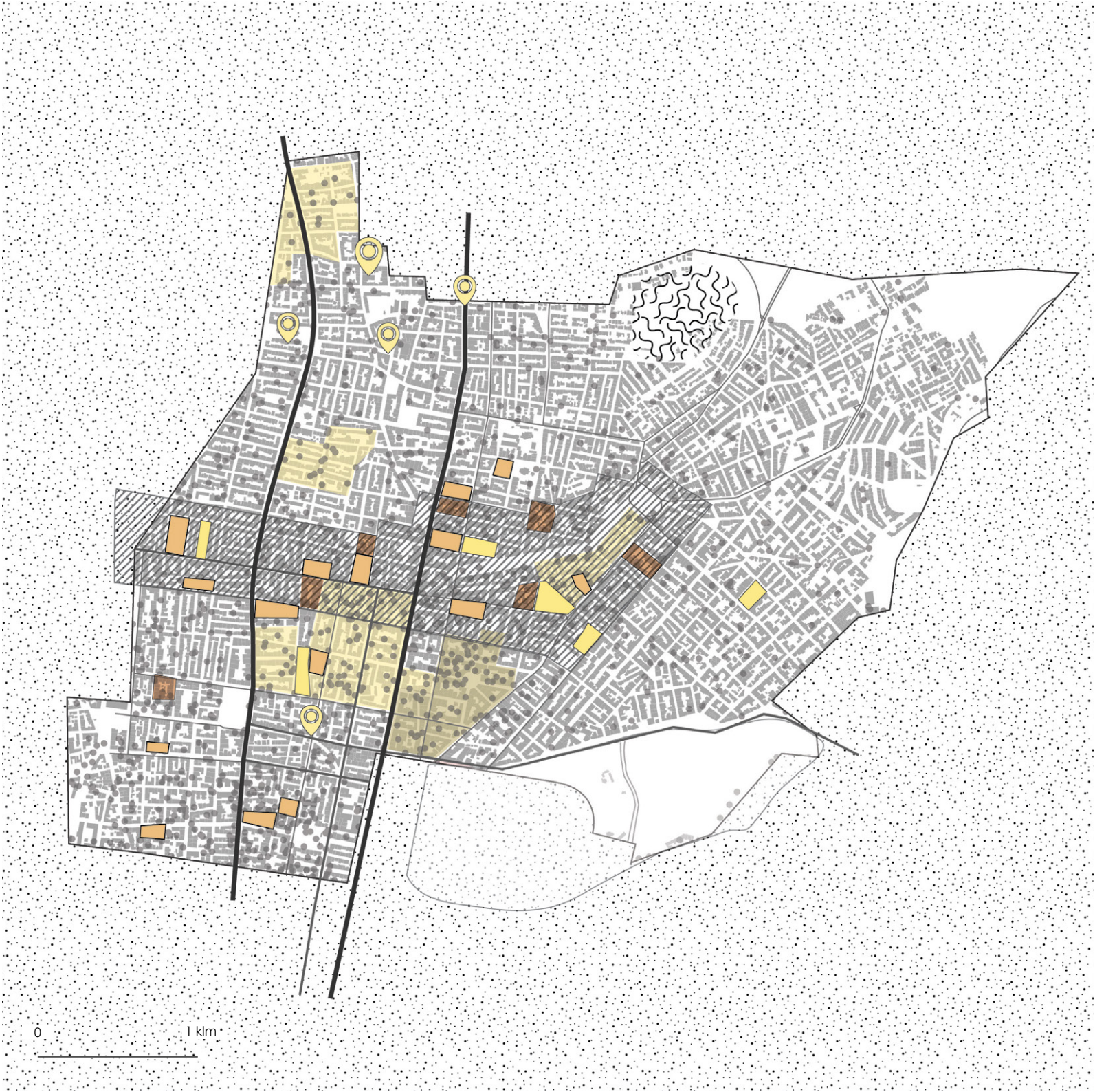
Fig. 9.4 - Example district (C6). Design explorations for housing.

URBAN SPACE

CURRENT

The current conditions of the urban space in the exemplary area is representative of the scarcity of open spaces in Athens. The available open space per inhabitant is 2.5 m², while the average is 7.6 for the city and 18.2 for the European Union respectively (European Commission; Günther et al., 2019). The map shows three types of spaces that can be activated for increasing accessible spaces and thus for enhancing interactions: existing green spaces, squares and schools could be employed for this purpose.

LEGEND

EXISTING

⬤ EXISTING HUBS (SPATIAL POLICY)

⬤ SQUARES

▢ GREEN SPACES

⬤ SCHOOLS

HILL

━━ PRIMARY STREET

━━ PEDESTRIAN STREET

Fig. 9.5 - Example district (C6). Design explorations for urban space.

0   1 klm

URBAN SPACE

PROPOSED

The proposed conditions are defined by three types of interventions: the urban hub, the pedestrian network, and the point interventions. Firstly, the urban hub is the area that collects ground floor activity and permeates the district. The use of car is restricted in the central street, which is partly pedestrian. In this way, the street can still be used for existing commercial uses associated with everyday residential activity, and recreational uses. Secondly, the urban network permeates the area and the city, thus offering more possibilities for pedestrians. The streets are accessed by pedestrians, although not always exclusively. Important open spaces are connected through this network. Lastly, interventions based on the proposed initiatives described in the previous chapter, are small-scaled, which helps spread the improvement of conditions more easily.

LEGEND

EXISTING

● SQUARES

■ GREEN SPACES

PROPOSED

▨ + URBAN HUB

✕ + INSIDE-OUT

● + OPEN SCHOOLS

⟷ + PEDESTRIAN STREETS

--- +WALKABLE EDGES

● + EXPROPRIATION (OPEN SPACE)

Fig. 9.6 - Example district (C6). Design explorations for urban space.
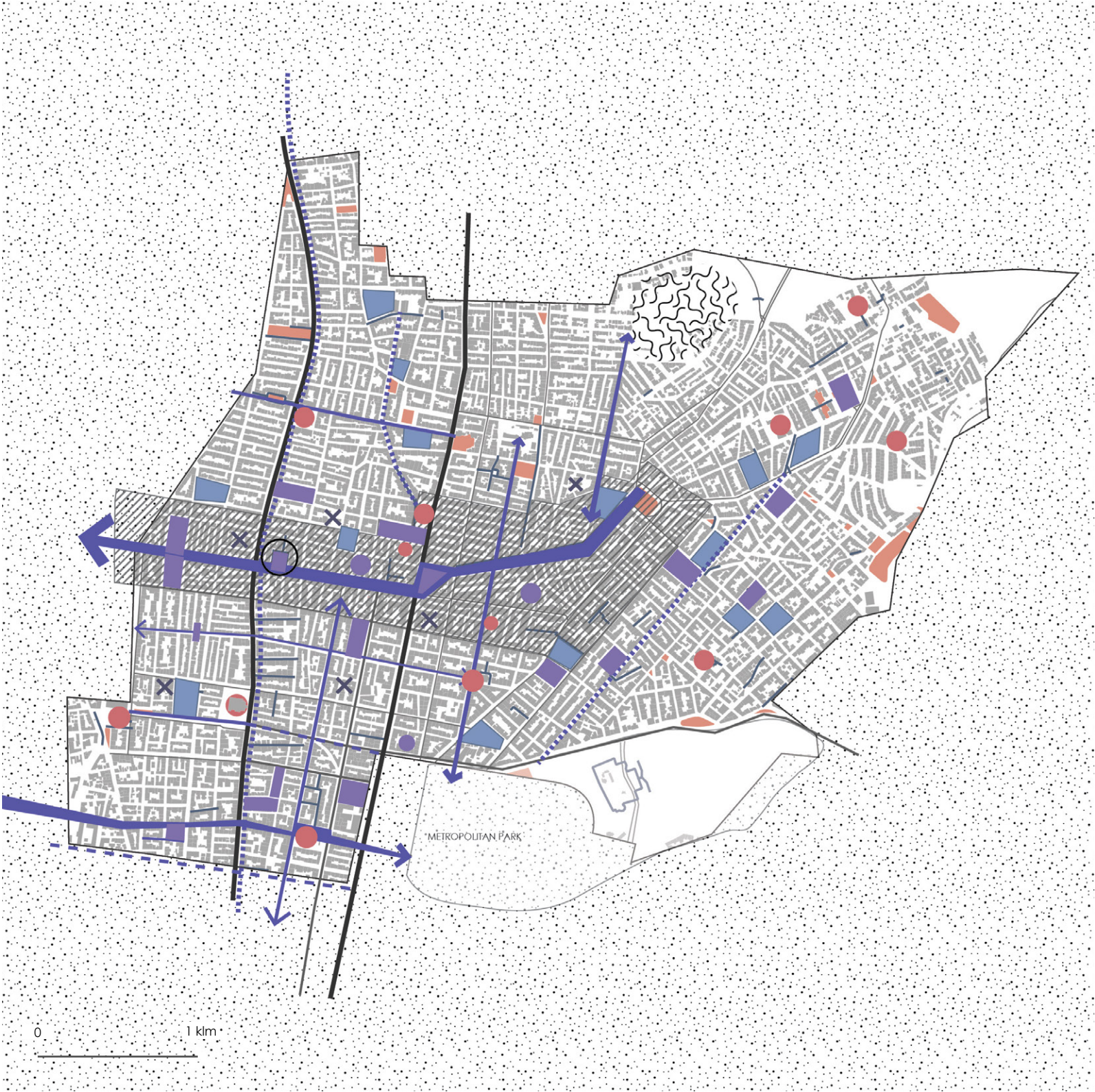
2. STAKEHOLDERS

Following the previous spatial explorations on this scale, the chapter now focuses on the implementation of the strategy through the development of initiatives. Before proceeding, an explanation on the structure of the remaining chapter is needed. First, the following section presents the currently active stakeholders of the area and their position in the proposed governance system. These stakeholders can participate in initiatives designated for either housing, urban space, or both. In this way, the design organises collaborations between the municipality, the private sector and the residents.

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR
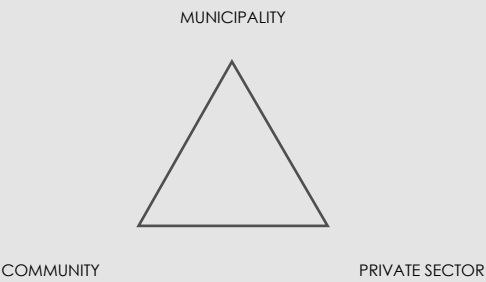
Next, the initiatives are analysed even further. In the previous chapter, the research analysed existing and invented initiatives that could help accomplish the objectives of the strategy (see p. 242-265). These were also matched with different spatial typologies found in Athens. This approach is moulded for the scale of this district, thus showcasing the governance of the initiatives in practice. In sum, the upcoming sections focus on the proposed initiatives, which are presented in terms of their spatial impact and the process of governance.

TYPOLOGY ——————— MULTIPLE

INITIATED BY ————— X

BENEFICIARIES ————— X

OBJECTIVE ————— X
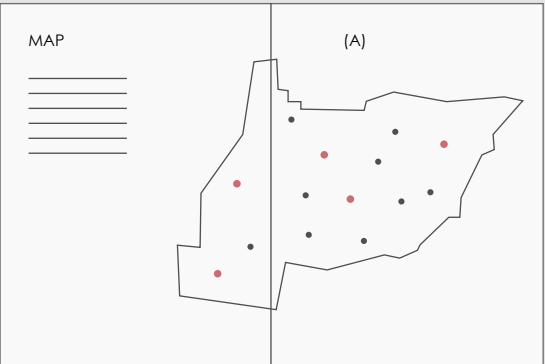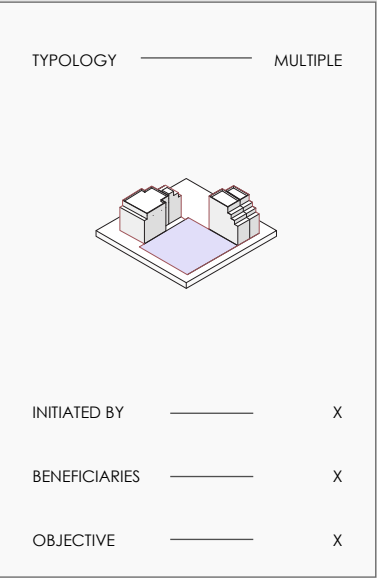
The methods that elaborate on the process of realising the initiatives are explained here (see Fig. 9.7). Firstly, the initiatives are classified into housing and urban space, according to the analysis of the previous chapter. The map of the area indicates the sites where the initiatives can be developed, while the rationale behind their selection is also justified (A). Then, each initiative is unfolded: the research presents the main stakeholders involved (B) balance between them (C) and their responsibility in the process (D) through the use of diagrams. The impact on interactions is also evaluated.

MAP   (A)

INITIATIVE X

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT (B)

BALANCE BETWEEN DOMAINS (PRIVATE, MUNICIPALITY, COMMUNITY) (C)

STAKEHOLDERS AND ROLES (D)
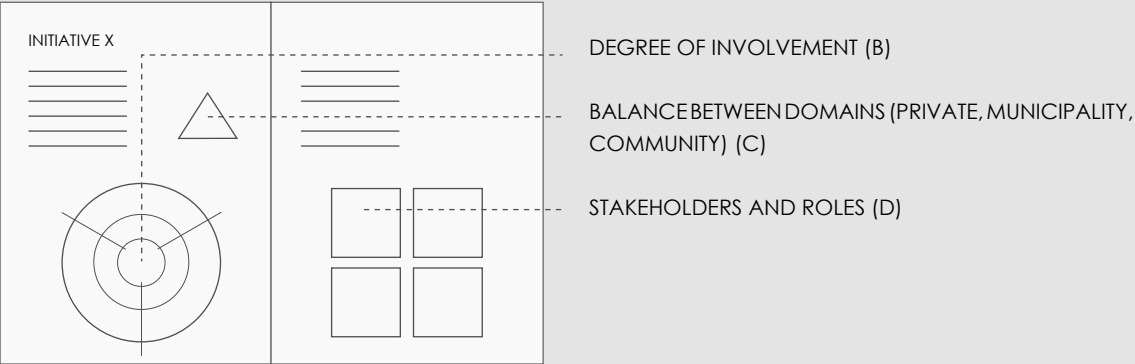
Fig. 9.7 - The diagrams analyse the governance for each initiative.

2. STAKEHOLDERS

CURRENT
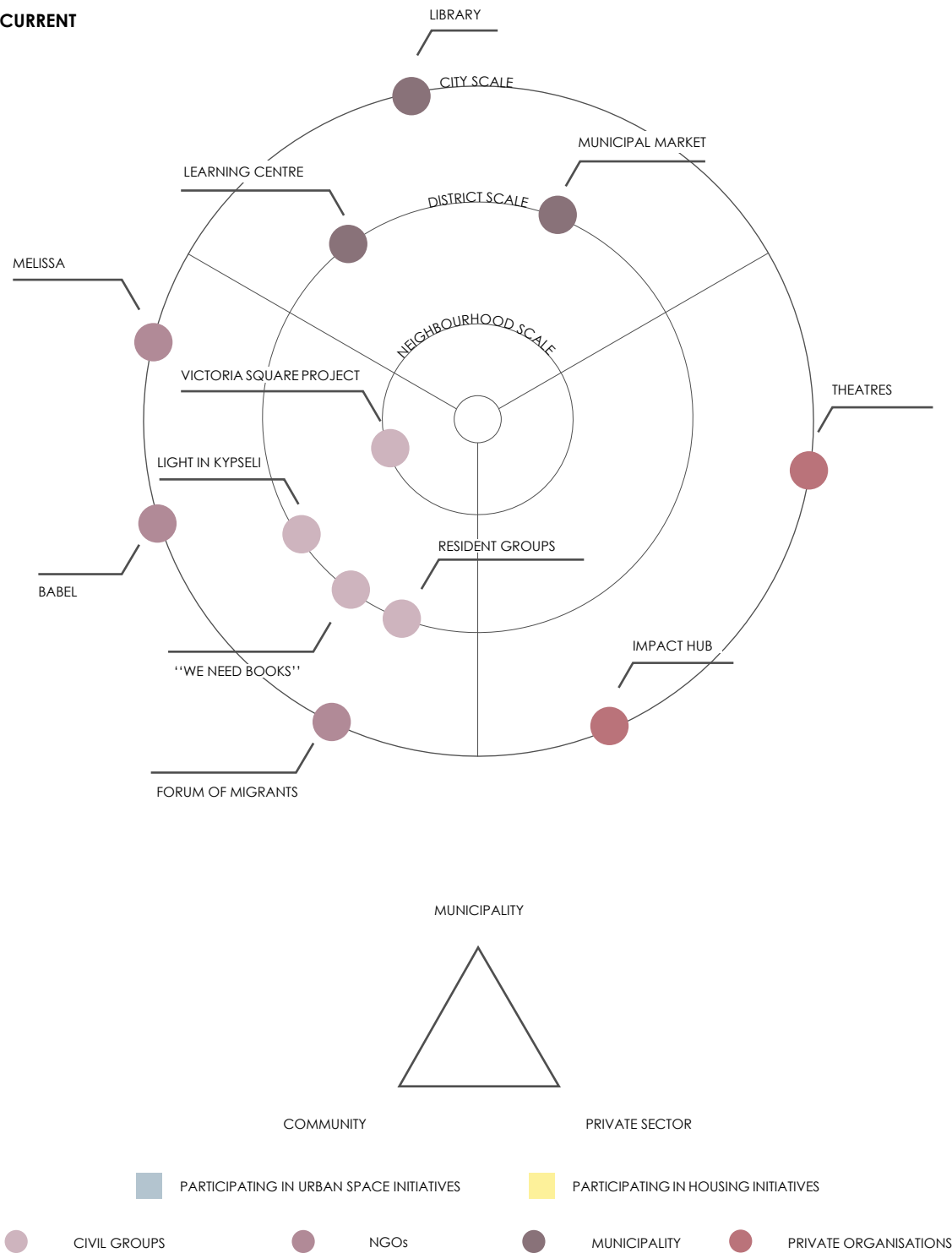
The diagrams collect the stakeholders that are already active in the area: organisations, resident groups and municipality. The proposed responsibilities for each one are presented in this section. The organisations (mostly non-profit) can provide funding for the management and execution of initiatives. The resident groups are representing the community, and organise actions related with the improvement of the area and the interactions between residents. The municipality can conduct the policies and offer cultural spaces for recurring integration activities. The municipality could also coordinate resident groups and migrant organisations. Lastly, private actors could be occasionally active in the initiatives by funding them, while also gaining their own benefits.

FORUM OF MIGRANTS

This is a network of 40 migrant organisations and communities in Greece that are addressing the political, social and cultural integration of migrants. They are activated in three domains: the migrants, the state and the society. Their role for realising the strategy in the area could be crucial, as they are already interested in bridging communication gaps between these areas. In sum, the organisation could support insights, funding and management.

SOLIDARITY NOW

Athens Solidarity Centre. The Centre was established in partnership with the Municipality of Athens and other civil society organizations.

In this way, the organisation is already well connected in the figurative governance map.
The Centre operates as central hub where civil society organisations implement their individual projects, while also providing spaces for collaboration of these organisations.

VICTORIA SQUARE PROJECT

They debate and collaborate with various community initiatives, local businesses, institutions, the municipality, artists, and other individuals and groups. The project seeks to elevate the cultural and historical assets of Victoria square as an important spatial and cultural crossroad. Each participant can highlight the cultural, historical, and political dynamics of this area.

MELISSA (=BEE)

The vision of this non-governmental organisation is the empowerment of migrant and refugee women. They provide spaces for sharing and learning, where migrants can participate in activities such as language classes and skills training and access services such as counselling and stress management. In sum, the organisation can be supportive through insight into problems, funding and management of initiatives.

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES

INSIGHT   FUNDING   MANAGEMENT   EXECUTION   MONITORING

2. STAKEHOLDERS

CURRENT

POSSIBLE LINKS

CIVIL GROUPS   NGOs   MUNICIPALITY   PRIVATE ORGANISATIONS
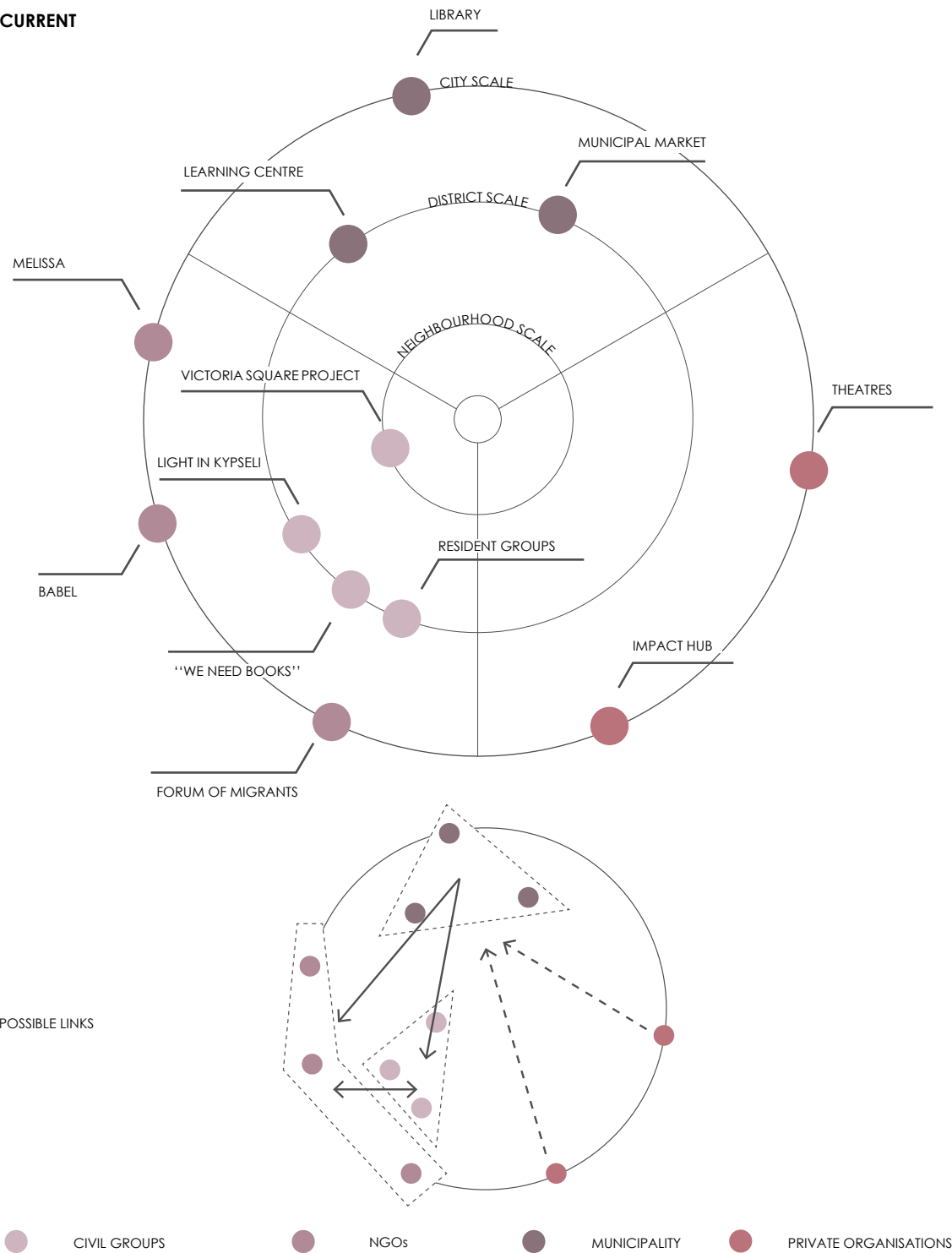
RESIDENT GROUPS (E.G. RESIDENTS' MOVEMENT, OUR KYPSELI)

The resident groups that are active in the area are the most important voice for promoting the potentials and underlining urgent problems regarding the use of urban space. Such groups do not have administrative power, but are crucial because they already promote interactions between residents of the district, through workshops, courses and cultural events.

WE NEED BOOKS

This non-governmental organisation functions both as a library and a community centre. Its vision encompasses social inclusion, interculturalism and education for marginalised and vulnerable populations. Multi-purpose spaces provide opportunities to host and offer classes, tutoring, homework help programs, and summer reading programs.

LIBRARY/ LEARNING CENTRE

The library situated in the district is the central library of Athens, managed by the municipality. It is an official cultural institution that can provide adequate spaces and participate in initiatives by offering educational activities. The learning centre can have similar significance.

MUNICIPAL MARKET

The market is owned by the municipality and managed by Impact Hub, an organisation acting locally. The market is a symbol of participatory decision making and synergy for improving the urban space for its residents and visitors. Through its activities, education, culture and community markets already encourage interactions between residents. The market can be the place were ideas are exposed for evaluation.

IMPACT HUB

Impact Hubs are community organisations of people, places, and programs that act locally. In Athens, the organisation was responsible for the regeneration and management of the market in the district. It connects social entrepreneurs with academia, organisations, and investors. They can offer workspaces, organise activities and provide insights on the needs of the community.

LIGHT IN KYPSELI

This is a creative group with the civil society regeneration of the district as its primary objective. They improve the image of the area by upgrading the urban quality for residents and passers-by, by using light as their medium. They also promote interesting aspects of the neighbourhood (buildings, cinemas, parks). In sum, they can assume the responsibility of insight and execution for the implementation of the initiatives.

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES

INSIGHT   FUNDING   MANAGEMENT   EXECUTION   MONITORING

3- INITIATIVES-HOUSING

TEMPORARY HOST

This initiative concerns temporary housing in existing apartment buildings, for residents that have been displaced, or future residents that use this urgent solution until they find their permanent home. The proposed sites are the apartments that are currently occupied only 3 months per year, and the areas that score the highest rates of urban vacancy in this district.

CO-RESTORATION

This initiative can be applied on any historical building, especially neoclassical in the case of this area. The sites selected concern privately-owned and abandoned buildings, that could serve as mixed-use integration units with housing, libraries or incubators, depending on the needs of the participants.

NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Apart from restoration and conservation of existing buildings, the strategy also includes small-scaled construction of affordable housing units. The sites selected are either derelict buildings that could be demolished, or empty plots.

ALTERNATIVE HOUSING

This initiative concerns housing for migrants in buildings that can be transformed either temporary or permanently, depending on the needs of the community. The buildings selected in this map are either residential (midwar typology), or had other initial uses, which is the case of offices. This justifies the name of this initiative, as housing is not broadly associated with such typologies.

TEMPORARY HOST

OCTOBER ———→ APRIL

CO-RESTORATION

NEOCLASSICAL BUILDINGS

NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING

POSSIBLE DEMOLITION

ALTERNATIVE HOUSING

HOUSING IN MODERN BUILDINGS
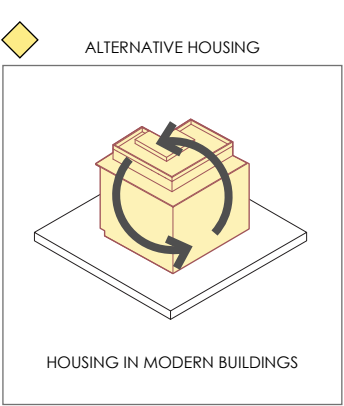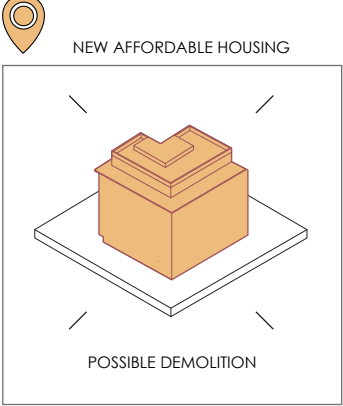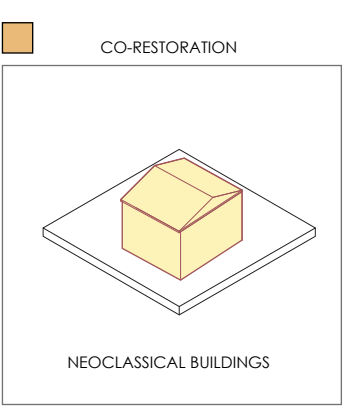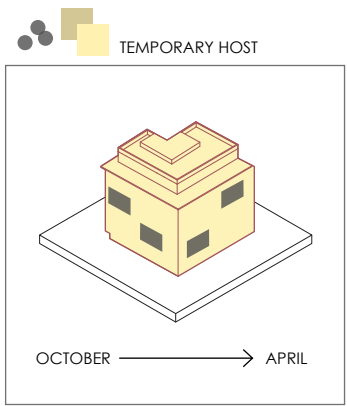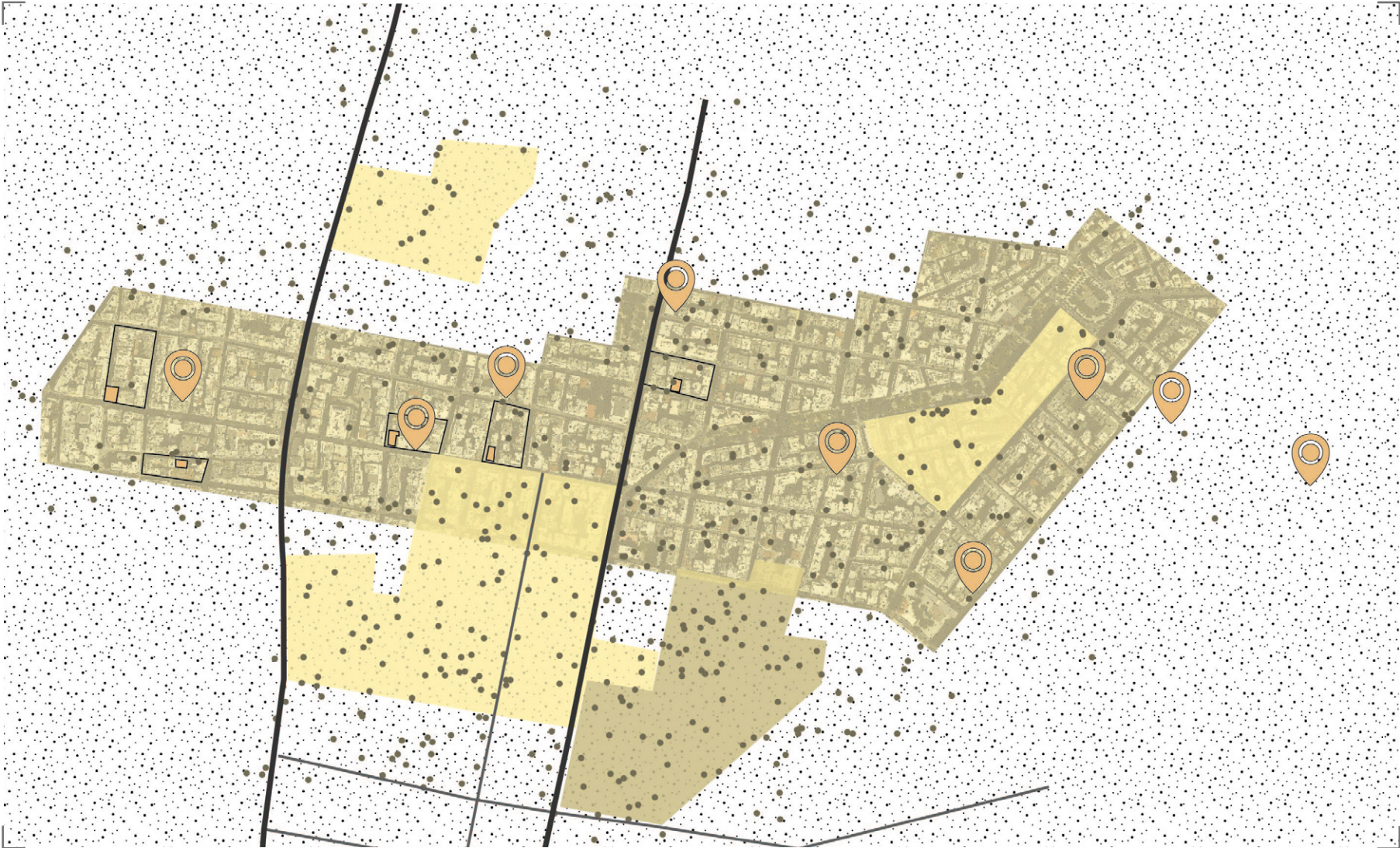
3- INITIATIVES-HOUSING

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE
''TEMPORARY HOST''

The initiative concerns short-term provision of housing, during the months when properties are not occupied by other uses (tourism). This offers great potential, as both the landlords and the temporary tenants, particularly migrants, can benefit from entering the programme.

The Municipality, specifically through its integration authority (currently Synathina) can openly offer the opportunity and initiate an agreement, in collaboration with the applicants.

FUNDING- Funding may derive from collaboration with other initiatives, already applied in other cities. For instance, there are programmes through which landlords can offer part of their income for collective purposes for the community (see Fainbnb). In this way, the cost of housing can be compensated for the tenants.

MANAGEMENT- Since this initiative is based on personal agreements, there are minimum needs for management. The integration programme can promote the idea and supervise the process, thus offering protection for both the landlord and the tenant.

EXECUTION- The typical lease procedure can be carried out by landlords. The company (or platform) under which the property is listed should also be involved in the process.

MONITORING- The monitoring is responsibility of the participants, in parallel with organisations that are interested in improving its aspects, such as funding.

EVALUATION- This initiative can have direct impact for the purpose of promoting interactions, especially between refugees and native inhabitants. It provides temporary accommodation directly, which shortens the period in receiving facilities, thus improving the process of integration.

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

TOOLS

AVAILABILITY

MOBILISE HOUSING STOCK   MAINTAIN RESIDENTIAL USE

AFFORDABILITY

INCREASE AFFORDABLE STOCK   PROMOTE ALTERNATIVE MODELS

COLLABORATIONS

REGULATE PRIVATE SECTOR   INVOLVE ORGANISATIONS

STAKEHOLDERS

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT

PUBLIC
EU
MUNICIPALITY (M)
SYNATHINA (SA)
EATA (ATHENS DEVELOPMENT COMPANY) (DC)

PRIVATE
AIRBNB (AB)
LANDOWNERS (L)

COMMUNITY
NGOs
CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES (CRS)
RESIDENTS
RESIDENTS (R)
FAIRBNB (F)

TEMPORARY HOST

PUBLIC SECTOR

EU

M

SA

CRS   R   L   AB

F

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES   MANAGEMENT

FUNDING

CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES   URBAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS (EU)   LANDLORDS

FAIRBNB   SYNATHINA (MUNICIPALITY)

SYNATHINA (MUNICIPALITY)   LANDOWNERS   AIRBNB

FAIRBNB

AIRBNB   SYNATHINA (MUNICIPALITY)

EXECUTION   MONITORING

3- INITIATIVES-HOUSING

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE
''CO-RESTORATION''

This initiative responds to the need for restoration of deteriorating housing stock while also providing temporary housing for migrants, combined with other uses. This can be applied on the preservable buildings of the area and any other building that requires funds for restoration.

FUNDING- This can be ensured by contributions from multiple actors, such as the European Union (Structural and Cohesion Fund), migrant organisations and influential foundations (such as Stavros Niarchos).

MANAGEMENT- This responsibility can be assumed by the organisations that are most implicated in the execution of the initiative, side by side with the development company (municipality).

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

In this way, the different sites can be coordinated through planning.

EXECUTION- This responsibility concerns mainly the restoration process. The future tenants and the other occupants of the building can decide on its use and activities.

MONITORING- For the monitoring phase, future censuses on the buildings that are involved in this initiative can verify the state of their conservation, their use and resolve possible issues.

EVALUATION- The implementation of this initiative promotes interactions indirectly, as it involves improvement of urban conditions for the residents, while also providing adequate spaces for interactions. These spaces can influence cultural integration, as both migrants and natives can participate in transforming the sites, thus resolving social tensions.

AVAILABILITY

MOBILISE HOUSING STOCK   MAINTAIN RESIDENTIAL USE   MIXED USE OF BUILDINGS

AFFORDABILITY

INCREASE AFFORDABLE STOCK   PROMOTE ALTERNATIVE MODELS

COLLABORATIONS

ALLOW OWNERSHIP   INVOLVE ORGANISATIONS

STAKEHOLDERS

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT

PUBLIC
EUROPEAN STRUCTURAL
AND COHESION FUND (EUF)
MUNICIPALITY (M)
EATA= (ATHENS DEVELOPMENT
COMPANY) (DC)

PRIVATE
STAVROS NIARCHOS (SNF)
IMPACT HUB (IH)
LANDOWNERS (L)

COMMUNITY
RESIDENTS
RESIDENTS (R)
CO-HAB ATHENS (CH)
OTHER
PROPERTY FEDERATION (PF)
MONUMENTA (MT)
MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS (MO)
CULTURAL GROUPS (CG)

CO-RESTORATION

PUBLIC SECTOR

EUF

M

DC

R
MO
L
IH
CG
CH
SNF
M

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE-SECTOR

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES   MANAGEMENT

FUNDING			
EUROPEAN FUND	STAVROS NIARCHOS] FOUNDATION		DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)
MIGRANT NGOS			MIGRANT NGOS
RESIDENTS	CULTURAL GROUPS		MUNICIPALITY
			CO-HAB ATHENS
CO-HAB ATHENS			

EXECUTION   MONITORING

3- INITIATIVES-HOUSING

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE
''NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING''

This initiative promotes housing development of small scale, for increasing the available, affordable housing inside the existing boundaries of the city. The development takes place in empty sites or in sites with derelict buildings (not protected for reservation).

FUNDING- It is raised by collecting the reserve of the Social Housing Network, donations and contributions from NGOs already involved in social integration of vulnerable groups.

MANAGEMENT- The properties that are acquired through this initiative will be included in the social housing network of the city. Responsibility for resolving problems and organising services should be shared among the municipal authorities and the migrant organisations.

EXECUTION-In case the site is privately owned, the property needs to be assigned to the municipality, so that it remains protected. In case the site is publically owned, the procedure for gaining management right is by-passed directly. The developers are then required for producing affordable units.

MONITORING- For the monitoring phase actors such as the National Centre for Social Research can evaluate the impact of this initiative for the integration of migrants and the broader success on reducing housing costs for the area.

EVALUATION- The expansion of the social housing stock that is enabled through this initiative can release pressure in the housing market, thus making governance of housing more inclusive for migrants.

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

AVAILABILITY
MAINTAIN RESIDENTIAL USE   MIXED USE OF BUILDINGS

AFFORDABILITY
INCREASE AFFORDABLE STOCK

COLLABORATIONS
REGULATE PRIVATE SECTOR   ALLOW OWNERSHIP   INVOLVE ORGANISATIONS

STAKEHOLDERS
DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT

PUBLIC
HOUSING EUROPE (HE)
UNHCR (UN)
MUNICIPALITY (M):
MIGRANT INTEGRATION CENTRE (MI)
RECEPTION & SOLIDARITY CENTRE (RS)
SOCIAL HOUSING NETWORK (SH)
NATIONAL SOCIAL RESEARCH (SR)

PRIVATE
LANDOWNERS (L)
DEVELOPERS (D)

COMMUNITY
MIGRANT NGOs (MO)
PRAKSIS (PR)
NOSTOS (N)
RESIDENTS
RESIDENTS (R)
(MIGRANTS & NATIVES)

NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING
PUBLIC SECTOR
UN
M
MI   RS
R
N   L
PR   D
COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES

FUNDING   MANAGEMENT

SOCIAL HOUSING NETWORK (MUNICIPALITY)	MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS	RECEPTION & SOLIDARITY CENTRE (MUNICIPALITY)	MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS
HOUSING EUROPE	UNHCR	SOCIAL HOUSING NETWORK (MUNICIPALITY)	
MUNICIPALITY	DEVELOPERS	NATIONAL SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE	
		UNHCR	
LANDOWNERS		MUNICIPALITY	

EXECUTION   MONITORING

3- INITIATIVES-HOUSING

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE
''ALTERNATIVE HOUSING''

This initiative activates the entirely empty buildings of the area, either residential or not, that require minimum effort for rehabilitation. This part of the building stock can provide housing as temporary or medium-term solution.

FUNDING- The collection of resources could rely on the non-profit organisation Housing Europe, the community organisation Impact Hub and other stakeholders that are already in collaboration with the municipality, such as Catholic Service Relief. These resources can be used for acquiring the sites or securing permits and restoration works.

MANAGEMENT- Since these sites can form part of the housing network, even temporarily, the management can be shared among the municipality, the Impact Hub and Co-Hab.

The municipality can overview the process, Impact Hub can coordinate the stakeholders, while Co-Hab can manage issues that affect tenants.

EXECUTION- This responsibility should concern the stakeholders that are essential for transforming the sites: the landowners, the development company and the migrant organisations that are involved in integration through housing.

MONITORING- The aftermath of collectively inhabiting non-residential spaces should be subjected to feedback and improvement.

EVALUATION- The initiatives provides temporary housing in the urban environment, thus entailing that migrants, specifically refugees, can interact with other permanent residents, both migrants and natives.

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY

PRIVATE SECTOR

AVAILABILITY

MOBILISE HOUSING STOCK

MAINTAIN RESIDENTIAL USE

AFFORDABILITY

COPE WITH DISPLACEMENT

INCREASE AFFORDABLE STOCK

PROMOTE ALTERNATIVE MODELS

COLLABORATIONS

REGULATE PRIVATE SECTOR

ALLOW OWNERSHIP

STAKEHOLDERS

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT

PUBLIC
HOUSING EUROPE (HE)
MUNICIPALITY (M)
MIGRANT INTEGRATION CENTRE (MI)
EATA= (ATHENS DEVELOPMENT COMPANY) (DC)

PRIVATE
LANDOWNERS (L)
IMPACT HUB (IH)

COMMUNITY
CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES (CRS)
PROPERTY FEDERATION (PF)
RESIDENTS (R)
CO-HAB ATHENS (CH)

ALTERNATIVE HOUSING
PUBLIC SECTOR
CRF
M
MI
DC
R
PF
IH
CH
L
HE
COMMUNITY
PRIVATE SECTOR

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES

FUNDING

MANAGEMENT

HOUSING EUROPE

IMPACT HUB

IMPACT HUB

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)

CATHOLIC SERVICE RELIEF

CO-HAB ATHENS

LANDOWNERS

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)

RESIDENTS

CO-HAB ATHENS

MIGRANT NGOS

PROPERTY FEDERATION

EXECUTION

MONITORING

4- INITIATIVES-URBAN SPACE

—— WALKABLE EDGES

This initiative serves the objective of walkability, by providing more space on the edges of streets, as linear interaction spaces. The central edge, which is mostly pedestrian (leaving space for public transport), interweaves different neighbourhoods of the area and collects other walkable streets that connect nodes, important for either just the scale of this community or the city.

■ EXPROPRIATION

By expropriating plots that are currently parking spaces or derelict sites, new open spaces are created for the community, as small recreational parks for the residents where cultural events (screenings, flea markets, etc.) and gatherings can be arranged. The selected spaces are accessible by everyone.

□ OPEN SCHOOLS

This initiative is already in place in Athens, although the number of schools that are engaged is still small. The proposed case here contains every school in the area with open spaces that can be used for activities with migrants and natives.

✕ INSIDE-OUT

The participants of this initiative are residents (owners and tenants) that actively make decisions about the open spaces of their urban block. The sites selected here for intervention are urban blocks that can potentially provide common spaces that can be accessed by the residents (inner spaces).

—— WALKABLE EDGES   ■ EXPROPRIATION   □ OPEN SCHOOLS   INSIDE-OUT

ZONES FOR INTERACTION

OPEN SPACES FOR THE CITY

INTERACTION SPACES

INNER BLOCK AS INTERACTION SPACE
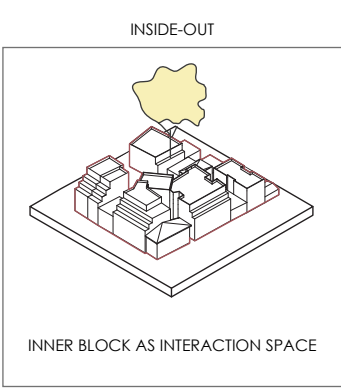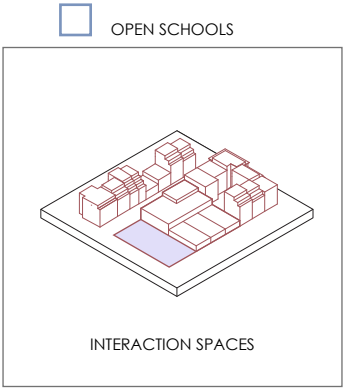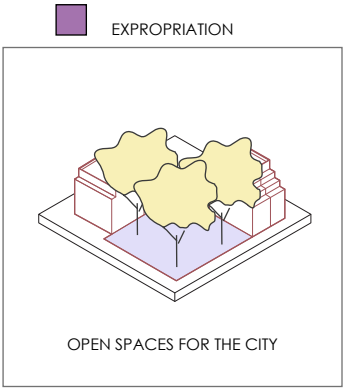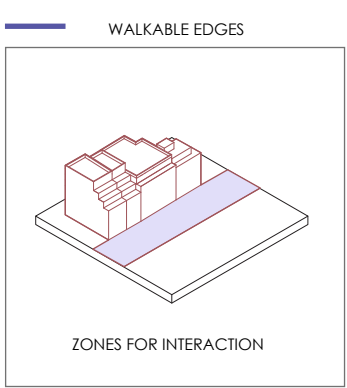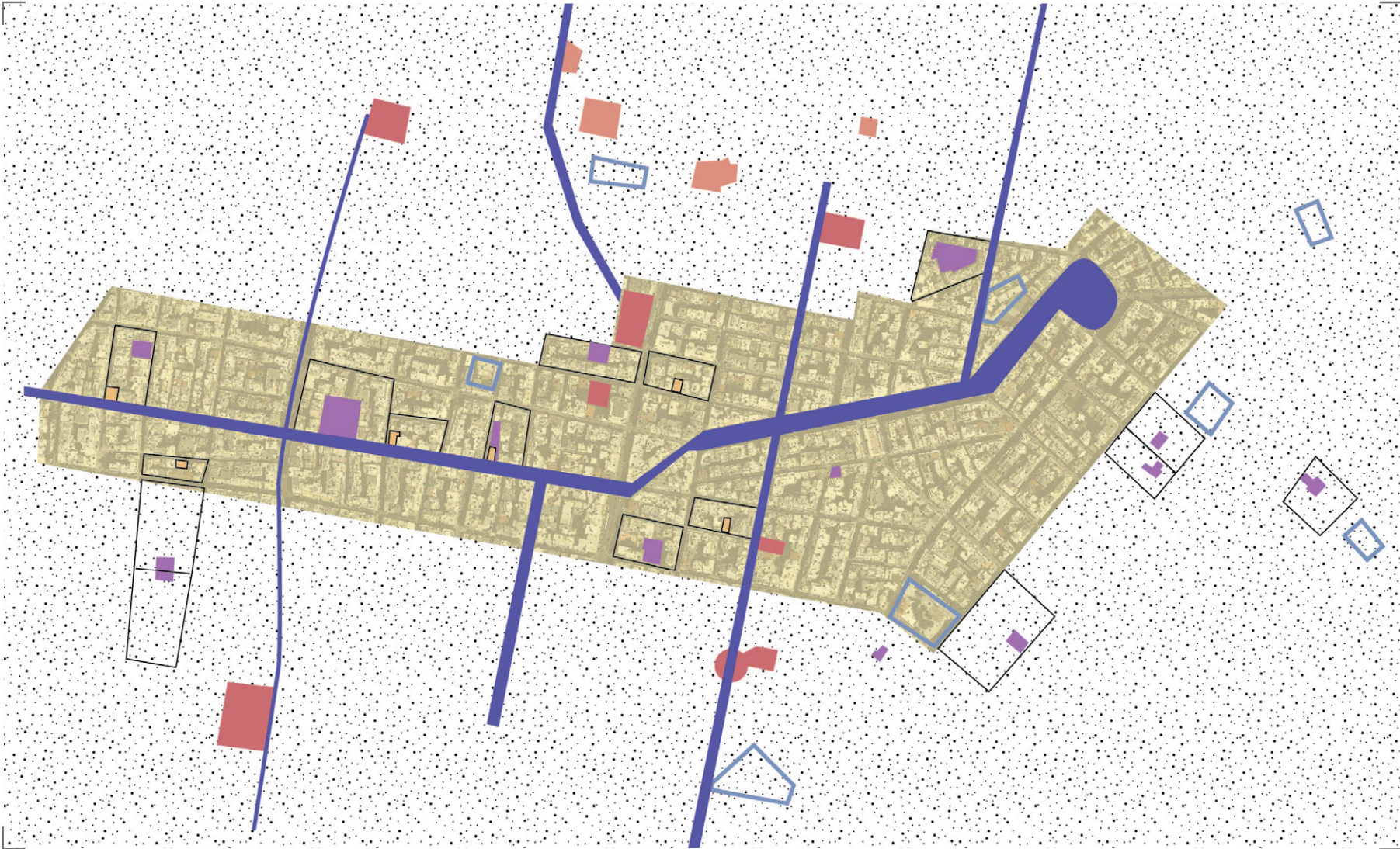
4- INITIATIVES-URBAN SPACE

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE
''WALKABLE EDGES''

This initiative concerns the increase of open spaces as linear, interaction spaces for residents. This means that central streets can act as concentrators of activity, where pedestrians and bikes are prioritised, without completely excluding other means of transport (constrained use of car, urban transport).

FUNDING- Funding can be achieved likewise other interventions managed by the municipality, as it concerns urgent issues of the city that are already in discourse.

MANAGEMENT- This should involve creating complete plans, that address the city and not only abstracted parts. Also, management should invite residents in the process and negotiate with them for the mutually beneficial solutions.

EXECUTION- This should involve residents and shopkeepers as the most important voices, as this initiative impacts them the most. This can help find solutions on practical matters, such as parking alternatives or impact on housing prices.

MONITORING- This could involve research on the impact on human interactions, interviews with residents. Community meetings could suggest improvements on the conditions of the street or even decide on retrieving the previous state of the street, in case of dissatisfaction or everyday inconvenience.

EVALUATION- This initiative provides adequate open spaces where interactions may develop. Thus, the impact is directly related with the purpose of the research.

REGENERATION

CREATE SPATIAL TYPOLOGY

WALKABILITY

INCREASE OPEN SPACES   CREATE NETWORKS   INCREASE ACCESS TO HUBS

COMMUNITY

CREATE COMMON SPACES   ENABLE RESIDENT INTERVENTIONS   SHARE ENGAGEMENT

STAKEHOLDERS

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT

PUBLIC
URBAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS (EU)
MUNICIPALITY (M)
MUNICIPAL MARKET (MM)
EATA= (ATHENS DEVELOPMENT COMPANY) (DC)
MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT (ME)
NATIONAL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY (TU)

PRIVATE
SHOPKEEPERS (S)
THIS IS ATHENS (A)

COMMUNITY
RESIDENT GROUPS
RESIDENTS (R)
(MIGRANTS & NATIVES)
OUR KYPSELI (OK)
RESIDENTS' MOVEMENT (RM)

WALKABLE EDGES
PUBLIC SECTOR
COMMUNITY
PRIVATE SECTOR

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES

FUNDING / MANAGEMENT / EXECUTION / MONITORING

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)
URBAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS (EU)
DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)
RESIDENT GROUPS
MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT
THIS IS ATHENS
URBAN PLANNING (MUNICIPALITY)
SHOPKEEPERS
DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)
RESIDENTS
TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS
MUNICIPAL MARKET
MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT

4- INITIATIVES-URBAN SPACE

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE
''OPEN SCHOOLS''

''Open schools'' are an ongoing initiative, which offers spaces where migrants and natives interact. The different sites are interconnected in urban space through the use of networks.

FUNDING- The responsibility of funding can be assumed by non-profit organisations already invested with social integration, such as Stavros Niarchos Foundation or.

MANAGEMENT- The municipality (Athens Partnership) can manage the communication with different schools and the supervision of the execution, side by side with migrant organisations.

EXECUTION- The execution of the initiative should be concerned with proposing cultural activities that promote the social diversity of the residents.
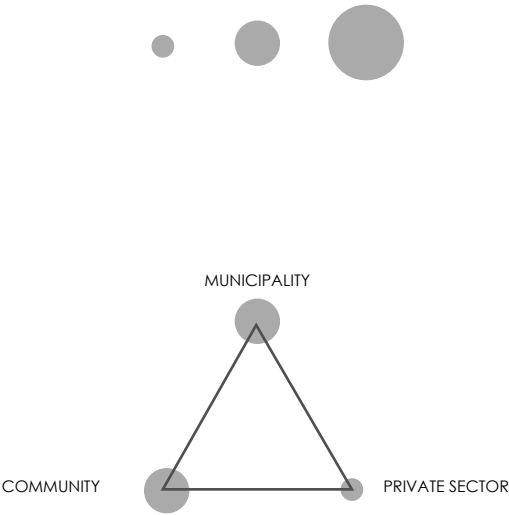
MONITORING- This responsibility could involve evaluation from the residents that are either participants or spectators of the activities and supranational organisations that work towards the objective of integration, such as Resilient Cities.

EVALUATION- The open schools serve as forums that can accommodate planned interactions (see typology in chapter 6B) and thus promote cultural integration. The impact of this initiative is directly reflected through the use of alternative open spaces as meeting spaces for migrants and natives.

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

REGENERATION

CREATE SPATIAL
TYPOLOGY

WALKABILITY

INCREASE OPEN   CREATE NETWORKS   INVOLVE ALTERNATIVE
SPACES   SPACES

COMMUNITY

CREATE COMMON   ENABLE RESIDENT
SPACES   INTERVENTIONS
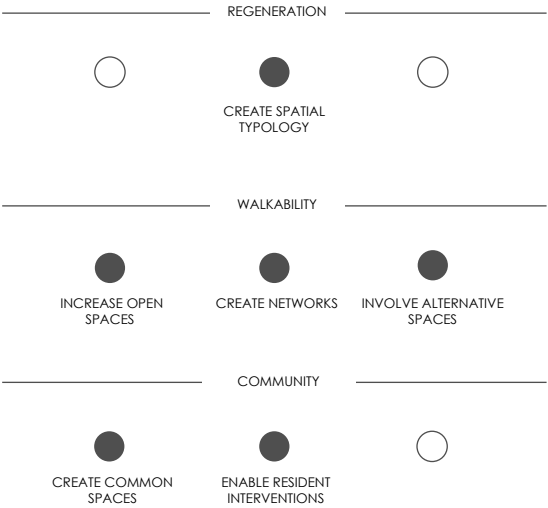
STAKEHOLDERS

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT

PUBLIC
UNHCR (UN)
MUNICIPALITY (M)
SYNATHINA (SA)
NATIONAL THEATRE (NT)
SCHOOLS (S)

PRIVATE

ATHENS PARTNERSHIP (AP)
THEATRES (TH)

COMMUNITY
RESILIENT CITIES
(ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION) (RC)
MIGRANT NGOs (MO)
WE NEED BOOKS (B)

RESIDENTS (R)
RESIDENT GROUPS (RG)

OPEN SCHOOLS

PUBLIC SECTOR

EU   UN
M
NT
S   SA
B
R
MO   AP
RC   RG
TH
SNF

COMMUNITY

PRIVATE SECTOR

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES   MANAGEMENT

FUNDING

STAVROS NIARCHOS
FOUNDATION   MIGRANT NGOS   MIGRANT
ORGANISATIONS   ATHENS PARTNERSHIP

RESILIENT CITIES   INTEGRATION CENTRE
(MUNICIPALITY)

EVEN HOSTS
(E.G. THEATRES)   MIGRANT
ORGANISATIONS   RESILIENT CITIES

SCHOOLS   ATHENS PARTNERSHIP   RESIDENT GROUPS

EXECUTION   MONITORING
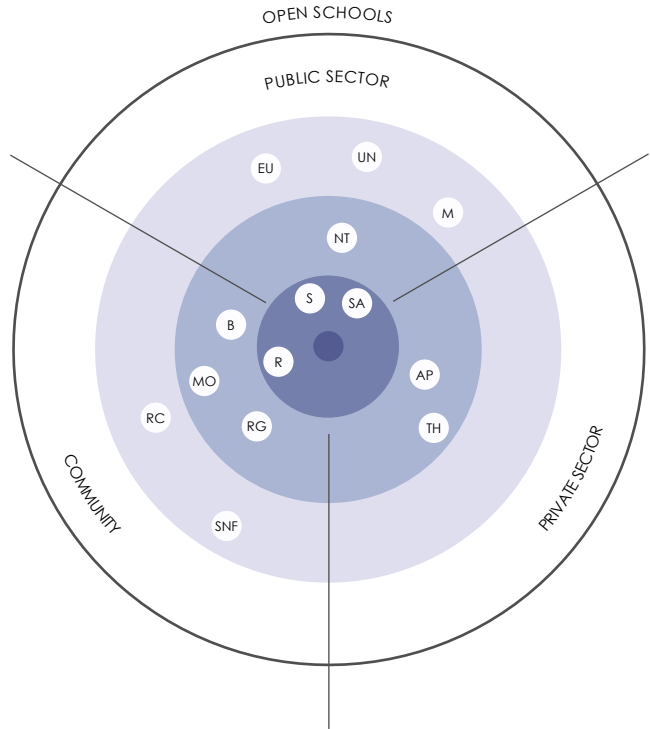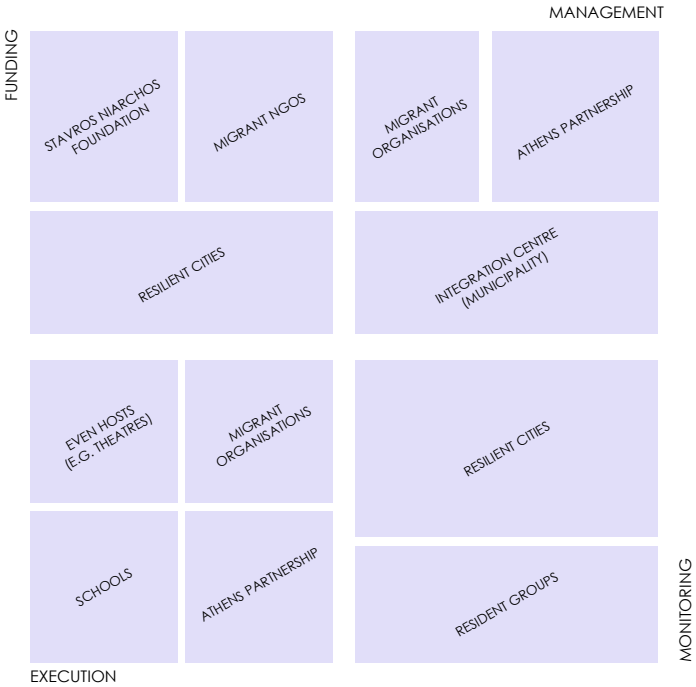
4- INITIATIVES-URBAN SPACE

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE

''EXPROPRIATION''

This initiative concerns the expropriation of sites as a measure for creating green, open spaces that can improve the conditions for the residents, while providing places for meetings, cultural events or recreation for the neighbourhood.

FUNDING- Funding can be achieved primarily from the municipal resources, and from contributions from non-governmental organisations.

MANAGEMENT- For the management of the process, residential organisations and representatives from collaborative programmes (Co-Athens) are responsible for coordinating residents and experts for re-designing the sites. This responsibility also includes settling compensations for the property owners.

EXECUTION- This involves creating mapping inventory and planning the initiative. The site could be transformed into small parks through the collaboration of the municipality and small activist groups or residents.

MONITORING- For the monitoring phase, there should be preparation for maintenance and physical improvement on the spaces, as well as consistent planning of activities that engage residents with these spaces.

EVALUATION- The spaces created through this initiative have indirect impact on interactions. The new sites increase the spaces where spontaneous interactions may occur between residents, although the primary impact is the equal distribution of regeneration, and thus promote urban inclusion of different areas.

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

REGENERATION

ACTIVATE URBAN HUBS | CREATE SPATIAL TYPOLOGY | PRIORITISE URBAN DECAY

WALKABILITY

INCREASE OPEN SPACES | CREATE NETWORKS

COMMUNITY

CREATE COMMON SPACES | ENABLE RESIDENT INTERVENTIONS

STAKEHOLDERS

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT

PUBLIC

URBAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS (EU)

MUNICIPALITY (M)

EATA= (ATHENS GREECE TOURISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMPANY) (DC)

PRIVATE

LANDOWNERS (L)

THIS IS ATHENS (A)

COMMUNITY

RESIDENTS (R)

(MIGRANTS & NATIVES)

RESIDENT GROUPS (VARIOUS)(RG)

RESEARCH DIANEOSIS (D)

ATENISTAS (AT)

EXPROPRIATION

PUBLIC SECTOR

EU

DC   M

CA

R   L

RG

AT   A

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES

FUNDING   MANAGEMENT

MUNICIPALITY | DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY) | MUNICIPALITY

URBAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS (EU) | RESIDENT GROUPS

MIGRANT GROUPS

LANDOWNERS | DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY) | RESEARCH ''DIANEOSIS''

ATENISTAS | RESIDENTS | RESIDENTS

EXECUTION   MONITORING

4- INITIATIVES-URBAN SPACE

INITIATIVES IN PRACTICE
''INSIDE OUT''

This is an initiative that engages the residents directly, and enhances interactions through the creation of open spaces but also through its process. Residents in close proximity with the sites where the interventions happen can manage, execute and monitor these spaces.

FUNDING- This can be ensured through existing municipal actors (Development Company). However, the initiative can also be independent and only involve civil society actors (Atenistas- activism, Our Kypseli- citizen group).

MANAGEMENT- The municipal stakeholder that is responsible for integration could coordinate migrants and natives as residents that re-imagine their neighbourhood.

EXECUTION- The end use of the spaces depends on the needs of the residents.

MONITORING- The monitoring responsibility concerns reflection for the impact on the small scale in terms of interactions and activity.

EVALUATION- By providing the community with opportunity of intervening on the urban space, this initiative can influence interactions as both process and outcome. The spaces that are produced can accommodate residential interactions.

MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

REGENERATION

ACTIVATE URBAN HUBS | CREATE SPATIAL TYPOLOGY | PRIORITISE URBAN DECAY

WALKABILITY

INCREASE OPEN SPACES | CREATE NETWORKS

COMMUNITY

CREATE COMMON SPACES | ENABLE RESIDENT INTERVENTIONS | SHARE ENGAGEMENT

STAKEHOLDERS

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT ● ● ●

PUBLIC
URBAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS (EU)
MUNICIPALITY (M)
SYNATHINA (SA)
CO-ATHENS (CA)

PRIVATE
STAVROS NIARCHOS (SNF)
IMPACT HUB (IH)
LANDOWNERS (L)

COMMUNITY
NGOs
ATENISTAS (AT)
RESIDENTS
RESIDENTS (R)
(MIGRANTS & NATIVES)
RESIDENT GROUPS (RG)
OTHER
CO-HAB ATHENS (CH)

INSIDE-OUT

PUBLIC SECTOR

COMMUNITY   PRIVATE SECTOR

CA   SA   M
SNF   R   IH
RG   CH   L
AT

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES   MANAGEMENT

FUNDING

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)

URBAN INNOVATIVE ACTIONS (EU)

IMPACT HUB

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY (MUNICIPALITY)

SYNATHINA (MUNICIPALITY)

RESIDENTS

RESIDENT GROUPS

ATENISTAS

CO-HAB ATHENS

RESIDENTS

IMPACT HUB

LANDOWNERS

SYNATHINA

EXECUTION   MONITORING

5- IMPLEMENTATION

PHASES

For further appreciation of the strategy in this scale, an understanding of the necessary steps is important. The maps serve as the urban guide for policy makers and residents that are interested in participating in the initiatives. The phasing happens in three steps that show the transformation of urban space.

PHASE 1- The implementation of the strategy starts by promoting the initiatives so that the primary stakeholders are involved in the decision making and planning processes. These stakeholders are the most influential, because they can provide insights on the problems and thus help analyse the context efficiently. Existing spaces are used for debating and deciding during the further development of the initiatives. Moreover, external stakeholders that can be part of the cause through funding are approached during this phase.

PHASE 1

INSIGHT   FUNDING

VISIT THE LIBRARY (1)

MEET OTHER RESIDENTS (7)

MONITOR INITIATIVES (8)

EXPRESS CULTURE + IDEAS (2)

REDIFINE INITIATIVES (5)

LEARN ABOUT CULTURE (3)

MEET COMMUNITY & MUNICIPALITY (4)

ORGANISE OPEN SCHOOLS (6)

LEGEND

URBAN HUB

OPEN SPACES

URBAN FACILITIES

INTEGRATION ACTIVITIES:
(1) MUNICIPAL LIBRARY, (2) MUNICIPAL MARKET, (3)LEARNING CENTRE

IMPLEMENTATION OF INITIATIVES:
(4) FORUM OF MIGRANTS- NGO, (5)VICTORIA SQUARE PROJECT, (6) WE NEED BOOKS- ORGANISATION, (7) RESIDENT GROUP,

MONITORING:
(8) COMMUNITY CENTRE

Fig. 9.8 - The maps demonstrate three simple phases for the realisation of the strategies in this scale. Source: author's image.

5- IMPLEMENTATION

PHASE 2- The second phase involves the responsibilities of management and execution of the initiatives. The stakeholders that assume the responsibility of management are mediators who organise collaborations and ensure the balance of influence among the other stakeholders. In this phase, the municipality consults the involved property owners for creating inventories of spaces for re-appropriation (initiatives ''expropriation'' and ''inside out''). These inventories can be integrated into development plans that inform residents about ongoing projects. Each initiative is implemented independently, but in coordination within the timeline determined for the area. Moreover, the urban networks that interconnect existing open spaces and increase the accessibility for the proposed interventions are implemented during this phase.

PHASE 2

INSIGHT

EXECUTION

MEET OTHER RESIDENTS (7)

MONITOR INITIATIVES (8)

VISIT THE LIBRARY (1)

EXPRESS CULTURE + IDEAS (2)

LEARN ABOUT CULTURE (3)

REDIFINE INITIATIVES (5)

MEET COMMUNITY & MUNICIPALITY (4)

ORGANISE OPEN SCHOOLS (6)

METROPOLITAN PARK

LEGEND

URBAN HUB

OPEN SPACES

URBAN FACILITIES

''WALKABLE EDGES'' NETWORK

SELECTED INTERVENTIONS
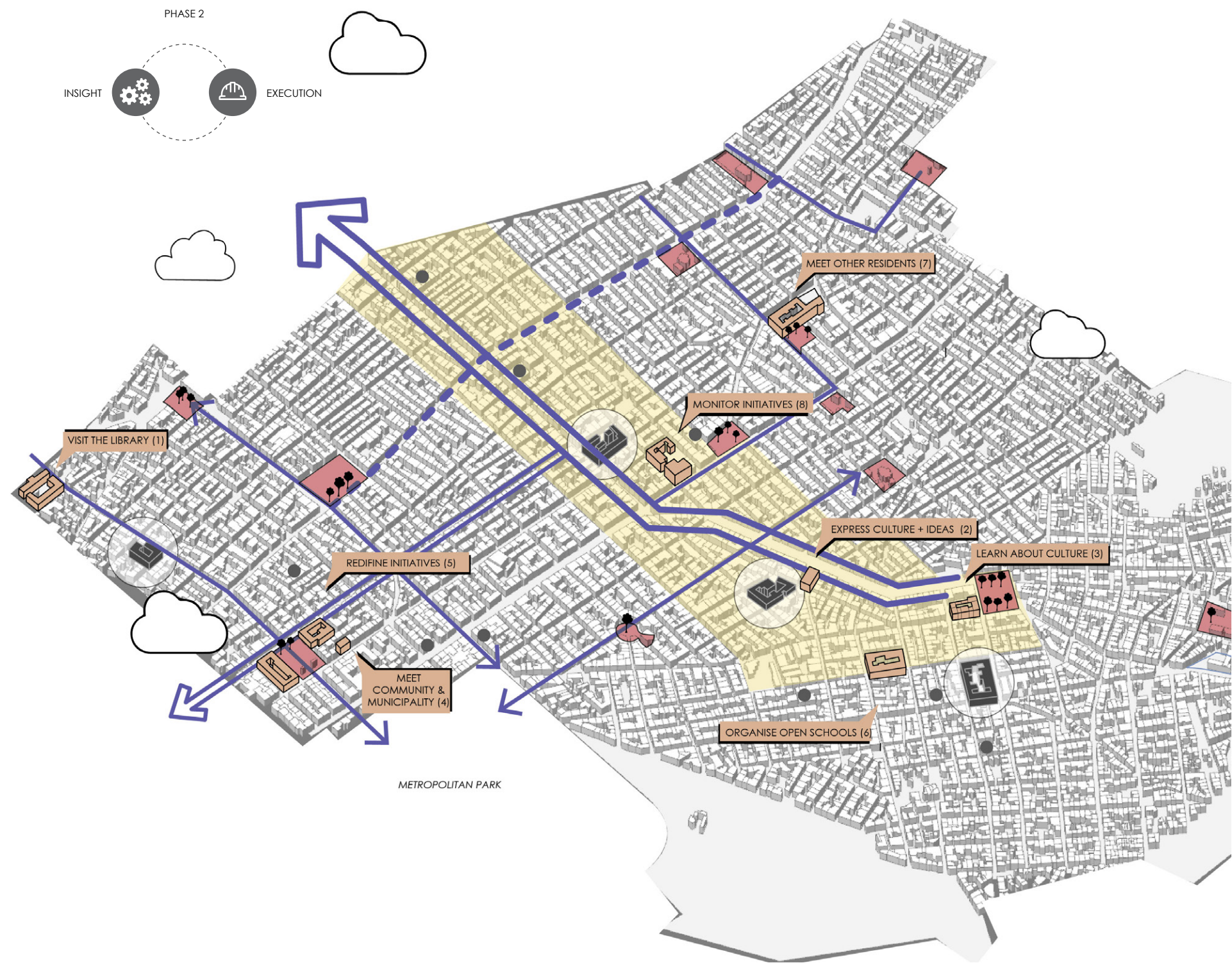
LAND EXPROPRIATION

Fig. 9.9 - The maps demonstrate three simple phases for the realisation of the strategies in this scale. Source: author's image.

5- IMPLEMENTATION

PHASE 3- The third face contains monitoring as device for improvement and reflection. The main actors responsible for delivering this phase are the residents, research institutes (international or not) and universities. The impact of the plans on this scale is discussed as motivation for applying the objectives on the city scale. Moreover, the strategy organises the activities for the promotion of the initiatives. In sum, the implementation of the strategy creates an alternative type of network that connects initiatives, open spaces and activities.

PHASE 3

MONITORING

OPEN SCHOOL-SATURDAYS

MEET OTHER RESIDENTS (7)

OPEN SCHOOL-FRIDAYS

MONITOR INITIATIVES (8)

VISIT THE LIBRARY (1)

EXPRESS CULTURE + IDEAS (2)

REDIFINE INITIATIVES (5)

LEARN ABOUT CULTURE (3)

OPEN SCHOOL-SATURDAYS

MEET COMMUNITY & MUNICIPALITY (4)

OPEN SCHOOL-FRIDAYS

ORGANISE OPEN SCHOOLS (6)

LEGEND

URBAN HUB

OPEN SPACES

URBAN FACILITIES

''WALKABLE EDGES'' NETWORK

SELECTED INTERVENTIONS

OPEN SCHOOLS

NETWORK OF ACTIVITIES

Fig. 9.10 - The maps demonstrate three simple phases for the realisation of the strategies in this scale. Source: author's image.

SPATIAL IMPACT

HOUSING

■ CO-RESTORATION

◇ ALTERNATIVE HOUSING

URBAN SPACE

■ WALKABLE EDGE

■ EXPROPRIATION
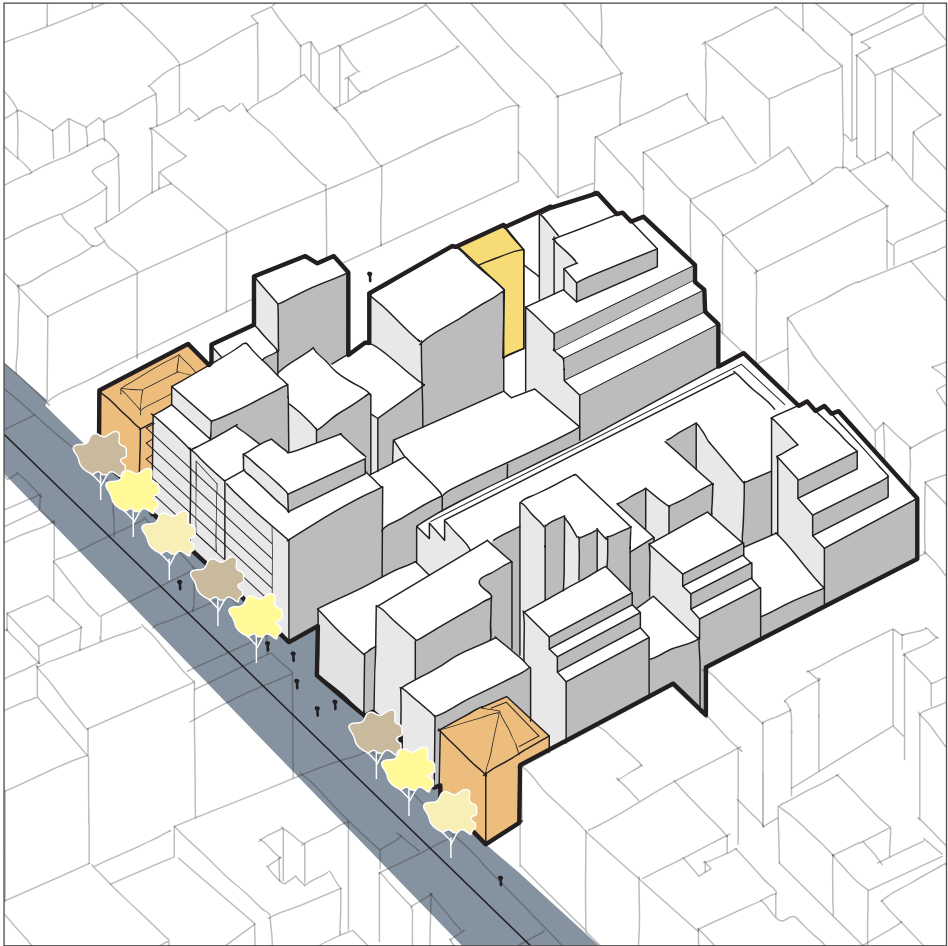
Fig. 9.11 - The graph shows the impact of the strategy on the neighbourhood scale. Source: Gougle, n.d.; author's image.

Fig. 9.12 - The diagram shows the interventions on the urban block scale, dived into two layers.

SPATIAL IMPACT

HOUSING

■ CO-RESTORATION

◇ ALTERNATIVE HOUSING

■ NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING

URBAN SPACE

■ WALKABLE EDGE

■ EXPROPRIATION

Fig. 9.13 - The graph shows the impact of the strategy on the neighbourhood scale. Source: Gougle, n.d.; author's image.
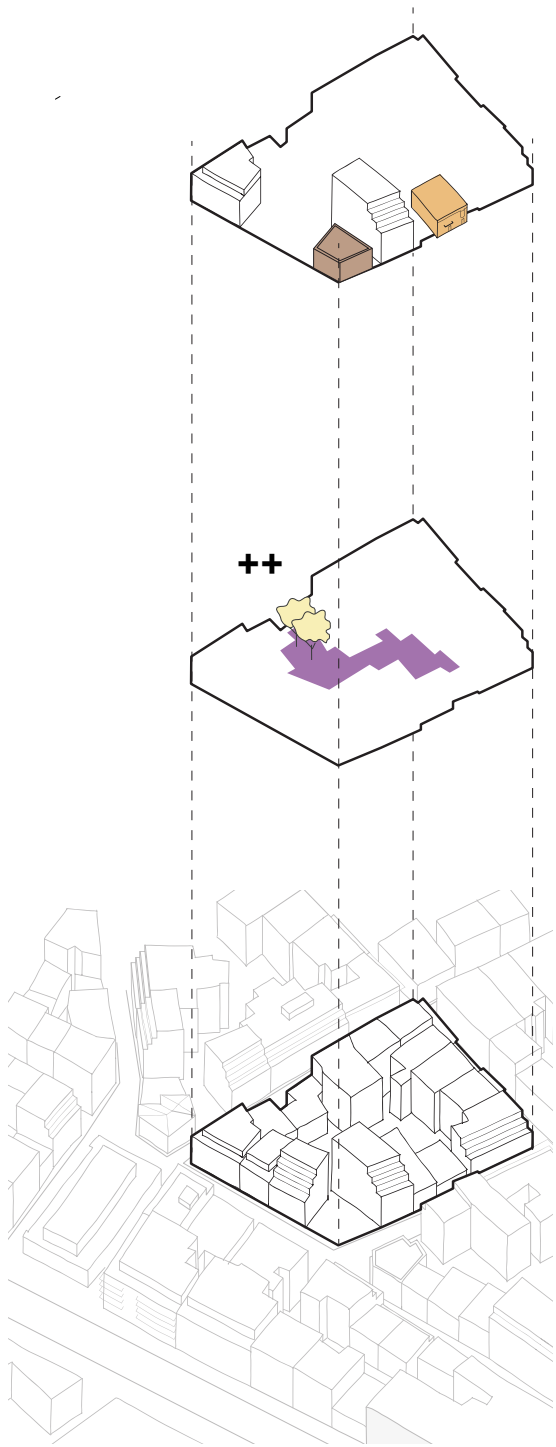
Fig. 9.14 - The diagram shows the interventions on the urban block scale, dived into two layers.

INITIATIVES IN PLACE: CO-RESTORATION

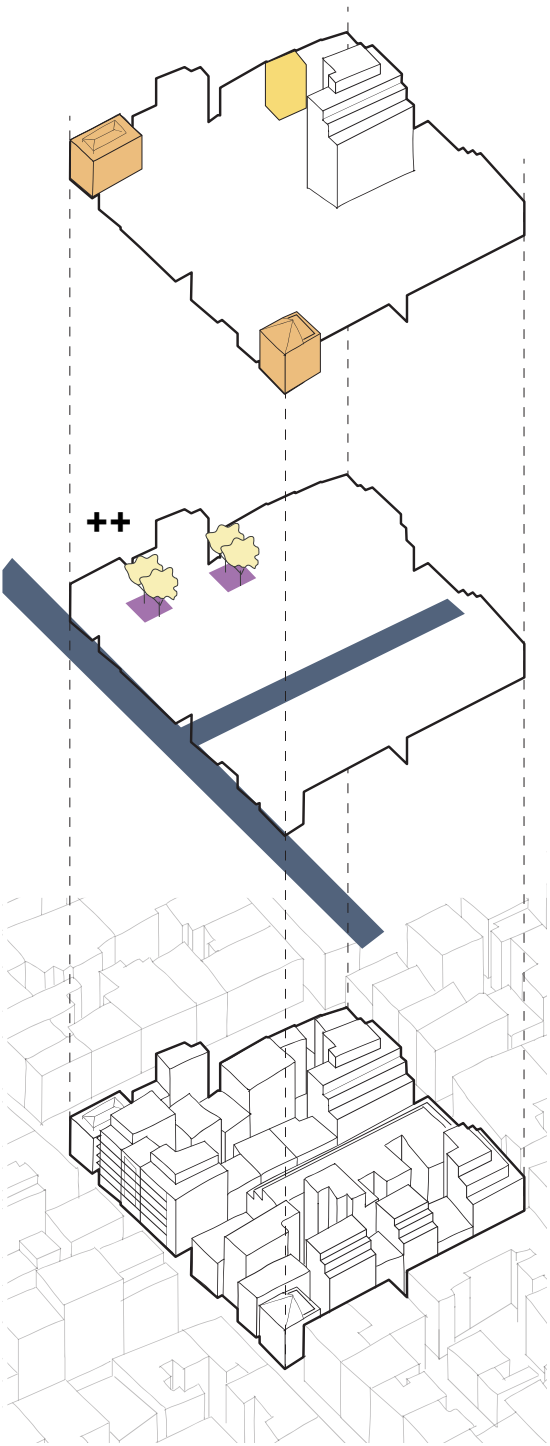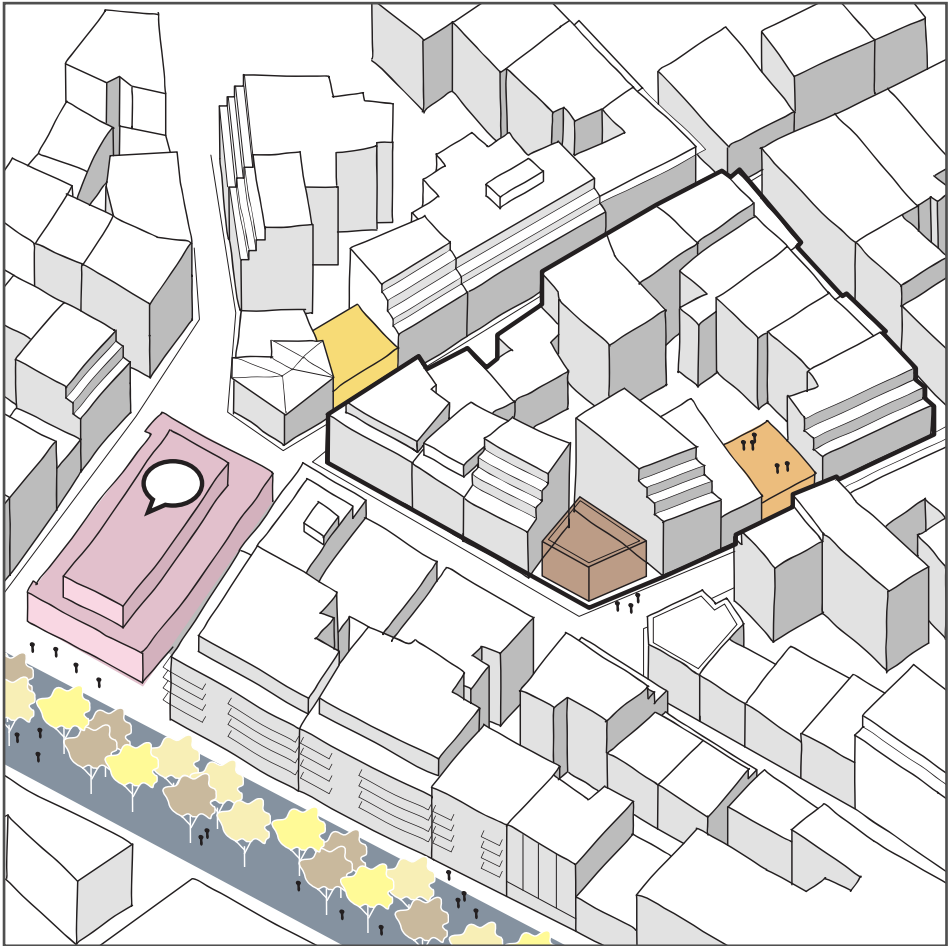INITIATIVES IN PLACE: CO-RESTORATION

GOVERNANCE

''INSIDE OUT''

EXAMPLE-COMPLETED
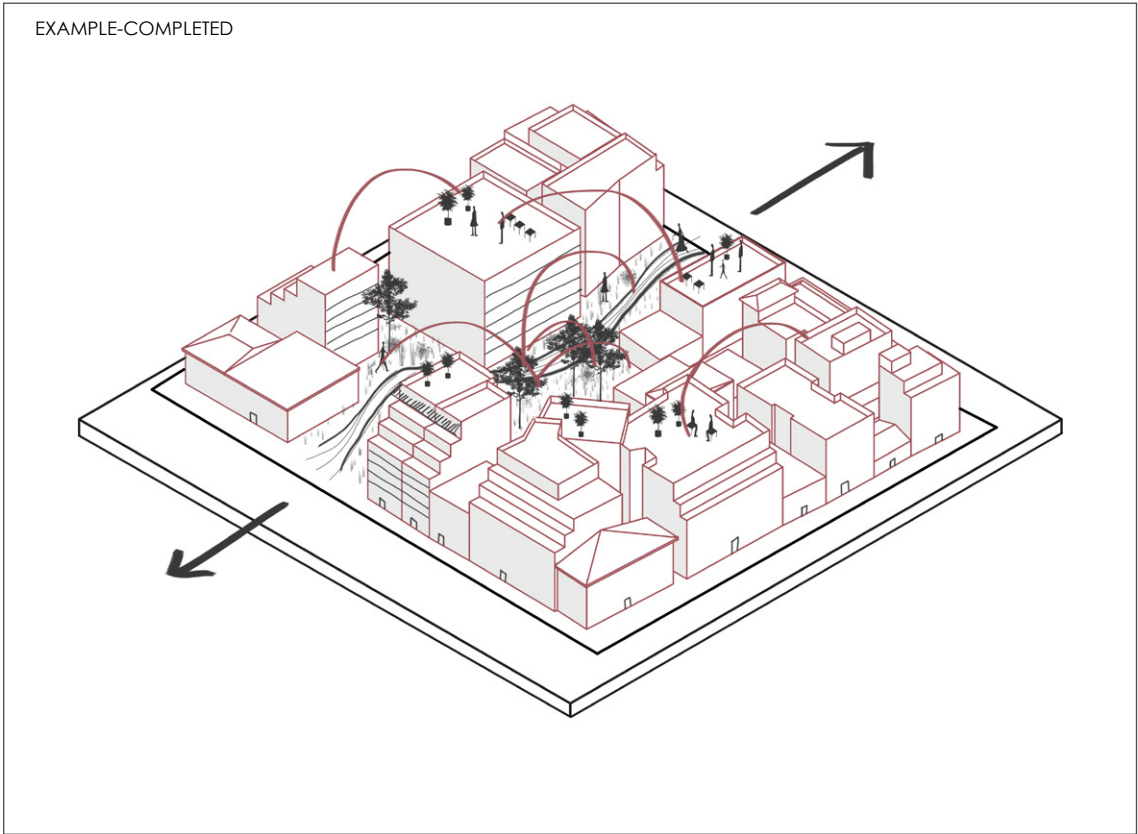
This part presents step-by-step the process for implementing the initiative described before. There are three simplified steps: prepare, intervene and monitor. In each step, different roles are activated, and distributed among the stakeholders (see previous page). Also, there is indication of important coordination (links) between stakeholders for achieving the broader aim of inclusive and interdisciplinary governance.

LEGEND
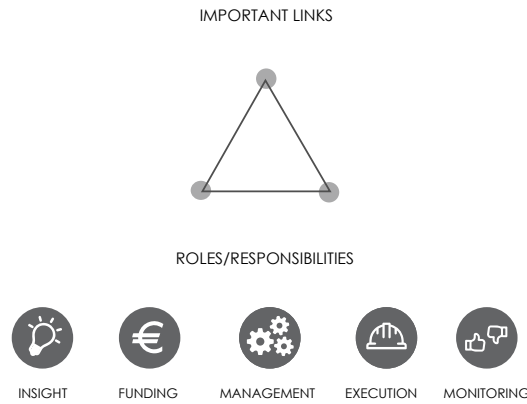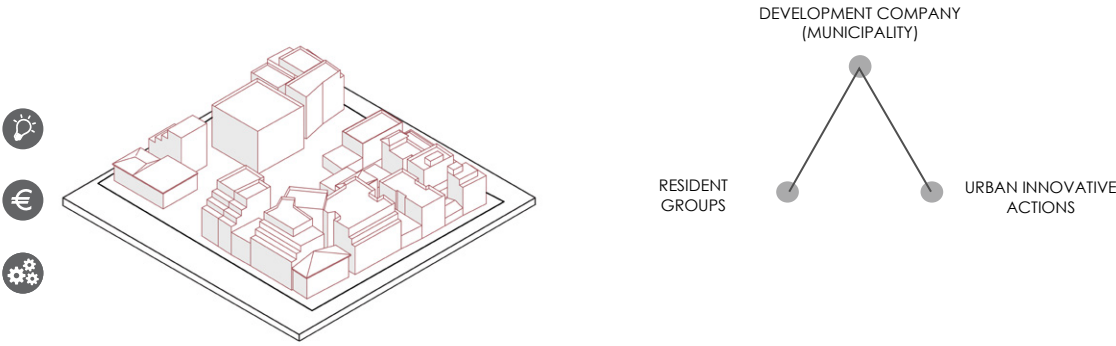
IMPORTANT LINKS

ROLES/RESPONSIBILITIES

INSIGHT   FUNDING   MANAGEMENT   EXECUTION   MONITORING

STEP 1- PREPARE

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY
(MUNICIPALITY)

RESIDENT
GROUPS

URBAN INNOVATIVE
ACTIONS

STEP 2- INTERVENE

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY
(MUNICIPALITY)

SYNATHINA

RESIDENT GROUPS

DEVELOPMENT COMPANY
(MUNICIPALITY)

RESIDENT
GROUPS

SYNATHINA:
INTEGRATION
DEPARTMENT
(MUNICIPALITY)

STEP 3- MONITOR

RESIDENTS

CO-HAB

RESIDENTS

SYNATHINA:
INTEGRATION
DEPARTMENT
(MUNICIPALITY)
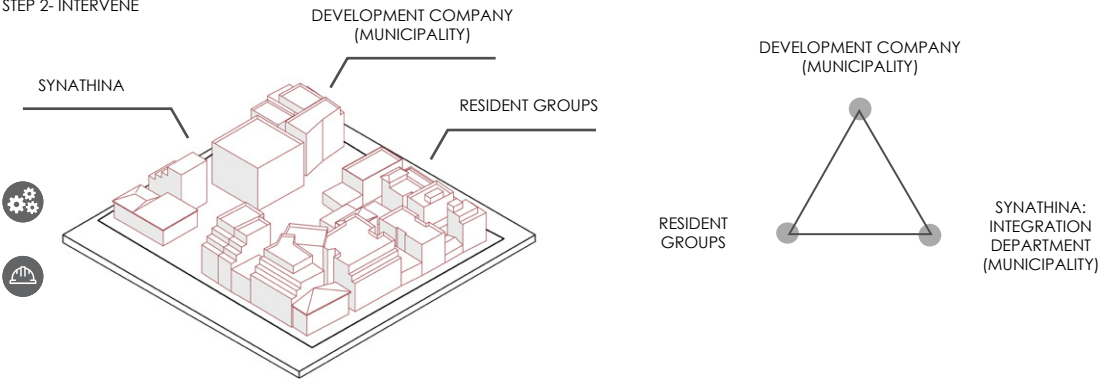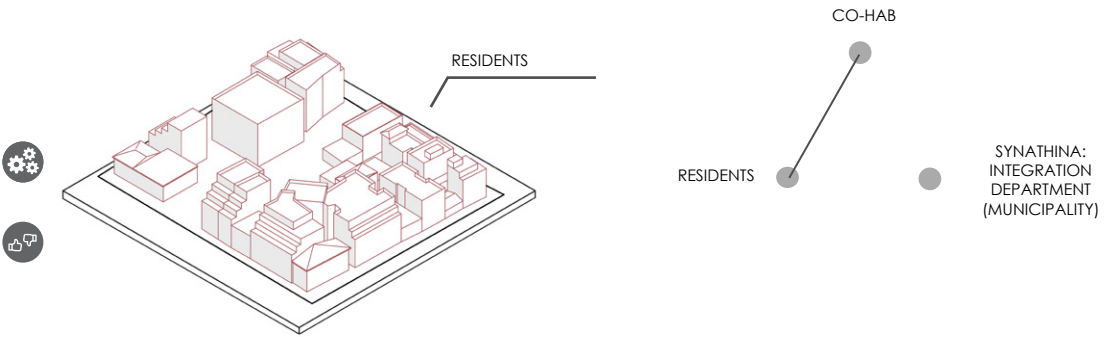
INITIATIVES IN PLACE: INSIDE-OUT

INITIATIVES IN PLACE: INSIDE-OUT

AFTER

CONCLUSION

INTERACTION TYPOLOGY

- Residential- The basis that establishes the accessible and affordable housing market.

- Commercial- Spaces where workers, residents and visitors interact.

- Spontaneous- Open spaces that form networks.

- Planned- Spaces for decision-making, cultural activities, resources, consulting. These spaces are also used for evaluation of the interventions.

The image summarises the conclusions on the impact for the interactions on this scale. The typology is based on chapter 6B, Urban Interactions.
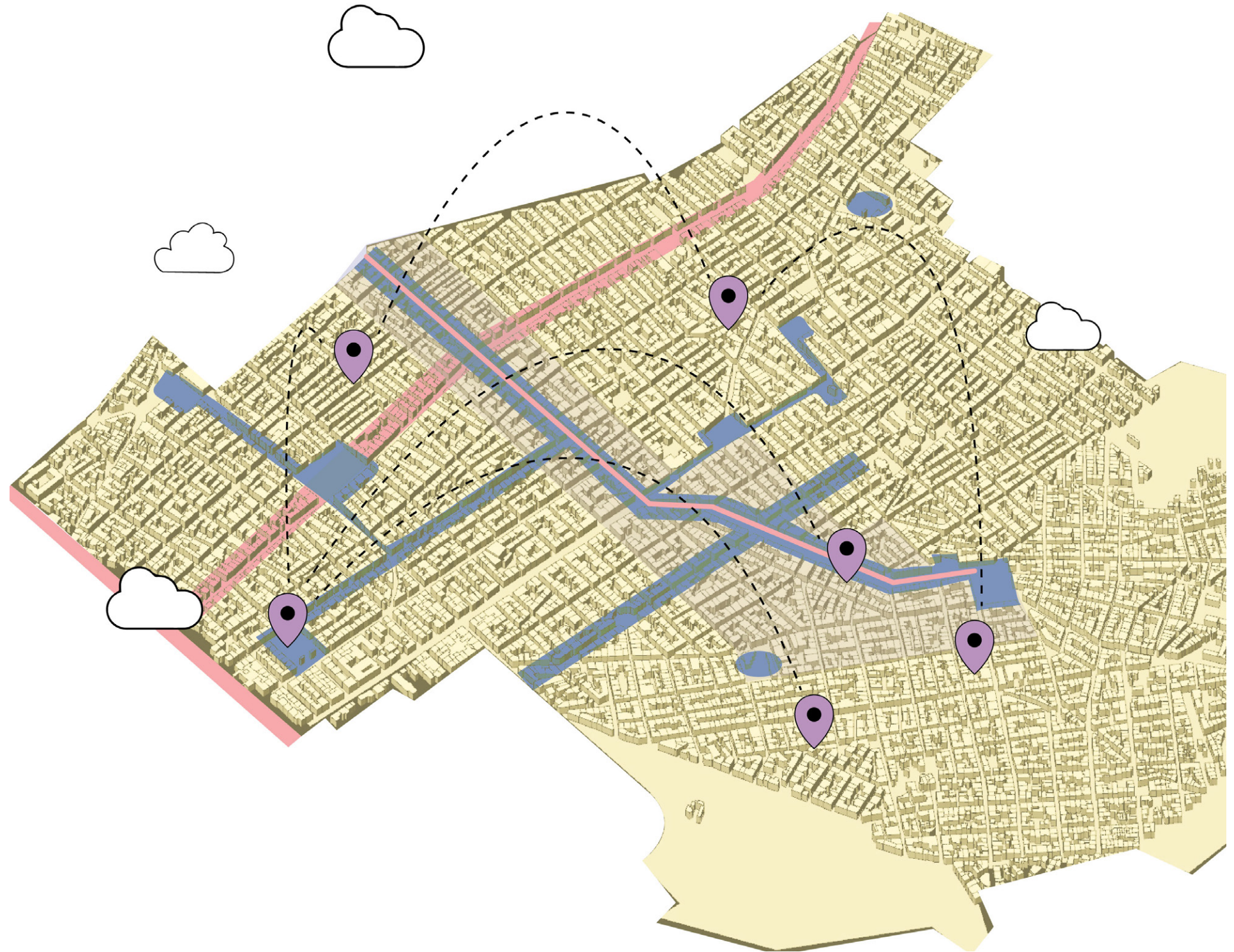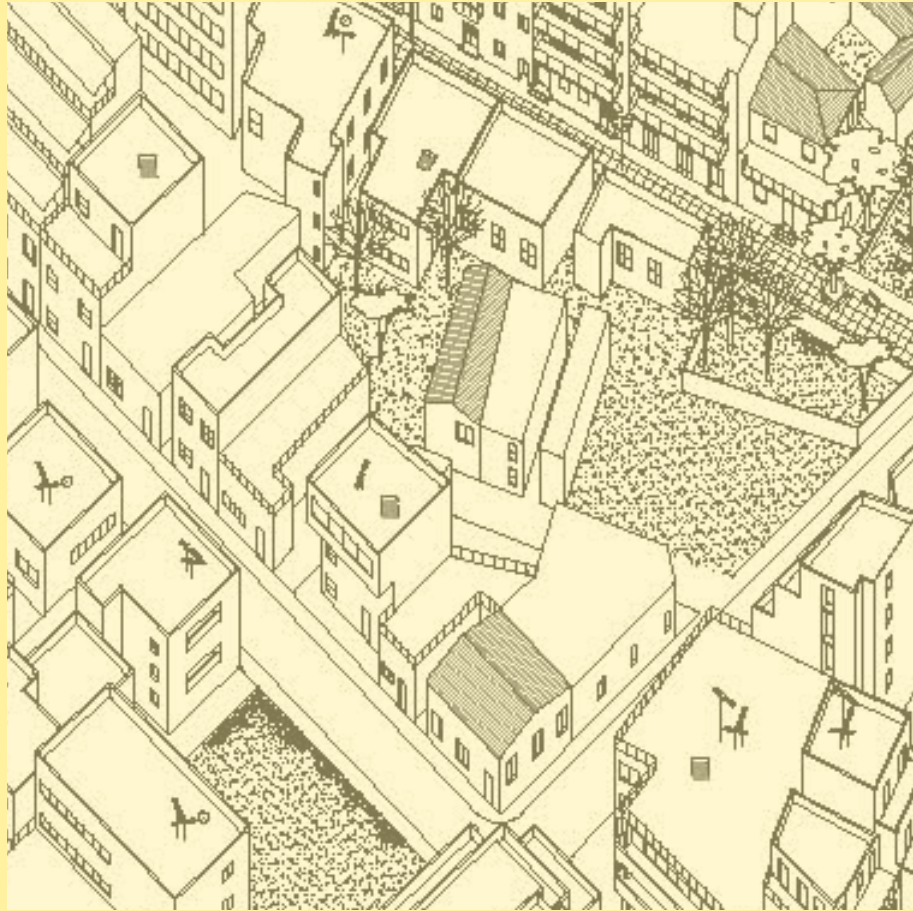
REFLECTION

INTRODUCTION

This research-and-design project addresses the influence of urban conditions on social conditions (and vice versa) in Athens (Greece) and explores possible alternatives. In this context, spatial planning and its governance either provoke or support social exclusion of migrants, among other vulnerable groups that have been affected recently. The project experiments with alleviating these effects by re-establishing spatial planning as active agent of integration. The main aim of the project is to explore the design of housing and urban space that may counteract exclusion, and promote social integration. In this reflection, I will address several aspects: the used methods and outcomes, followed by the social and scientific relevance and the ethical considerations underlying the research and concluding with recommendations for future research.

METHODOLOGY OUTCOMES AND LIMITATIONS

The methodological framework (with the components of a theoretical and analytical framework, where the field research belongs), has proven to satisfy the incorporation of the project's approaches into the end products, as the research has provided the essential principals for developing the strategy and the design. The methodology guided the following analyses: theoretical framework, historical research, urban space study, and field research.

The theoretical framework supported the research on spatial justice, interculturalism and integration. The methods included literature review and document research, while further ahead there was also influence from the interviews with experts on the field. This part of the research helped clarify which domain of integration is most relevant for the context of Athens and then define the components for approaching this in the observations of the field research. Nonetheless, the exploration of the theory also involved concepts that were eventually filtered out, in the course of finding the most appropriate

concepts. In the end, the theory research concluded that housing restructuring should be placed in the core of the integration process, with horizontal (spatial) and vertical (institutional) interactions as its guiding principles.

The contextual analysis was divided into 3 parts: historical overview, urban space and stakeholder analysis.

Firstly, the historical research, expanding in 100 years, provided the insights on how migration typology has been relevant for the current dynamics on: -the evolution on urban expansion and its typology; -the evolution of approaches towards the influx of migrants each time; -finally, the interactions between migrants and natives caused by forced spatial proximity. This historical analysis has helped limit the scope for the (then) upcoming field research into 2 components: urban space and its impact on spontaneous interactions. That raised the following question: can urban characteristics actually enhance or hinder the development of interactions?

Consequently, the above question unfolded the next –and probably most critical- step of the contextual analysis. The urban space was classified and observed by using methods such as mapping, sketching and recording interactions in situ during the field research. The personal experience has proven that the equation of interactions is much more complicated than just urban space, and it depends on non-measurable conditions such as the human factor. By and large, this empirical component, combined with expert interviews, was still essential for defining the spatial objectives for the city that encourages activity and thus interactions.

Lastly, the stakeholder analysis explored the different interests and influences of the most crucial players involved in the housing of migrants and the integration process in general. This helped outline the current housing system of Athens, and thus envision changes for a more inclusive system in the future.

In short, the methodological framework supported the development of conclusions on spatial and institutional requirements for integration, guiding the planning strategy and its governance network. In upcoming steps, the design shows the process of realising the conclusions of this research.

RELATION WITH THE GRADUATION LAB

The body of theory concerning spatial justice was my initial motivation when starting the research. This, combined with recently developed trends on migration, instigated my interest on urban exclusion. The approach provided by the Complex Cities research group includes the combination of theoretical, spatial, and institutional analysis, and thus supports the attempt of understanding the complexity of urban migration and its spatial implications. The research will employ this multi-dimensional approach by proposing inclusive planning (governance) and demonstrating, though exploratory design of the physical environment, that interactions between migrants and receiving society can be enhanced. Thus, the city of Athens as case study is well-anchored in the context of ''Complex European Cities'' of my chosen studio.

Regarding the relevance and the possible contribution of the research, following reflections can be made:

SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

The scientific relevance of the research lies mainly on contributing to what has been identified as knowledge gap in previous steps. Thus, relevant issues such as the following are addressed: the influence of migration on urban development, the potential of enabling integration strategies through the housing system as core element, and the complex dynamics of urban space as the field where complex interactions can happen.

This project aims to broaden the understanding of social implications provoked by spatial conditions and bridge the gap between existing theory and planning practice that counteract exclusive governance. In Athens, there is incoherence between migration and spatial planning studies, and minimum alignment of the objectives and practices between their respective authorities. This research proposes thinking that involves housing programmes engaging inter-disciplinary interactions, and thus provides opportunities for bridging the gap between social and spatial realities.

Furthermore, the thesis has provided novel empirical material on the spontaneous interactions and their typology of manifestations in the urban space, based on the theory of integration. In this way, the empirical material might help future researchers analyse and reflect on the general integration progress, by using the framework presented in this research.
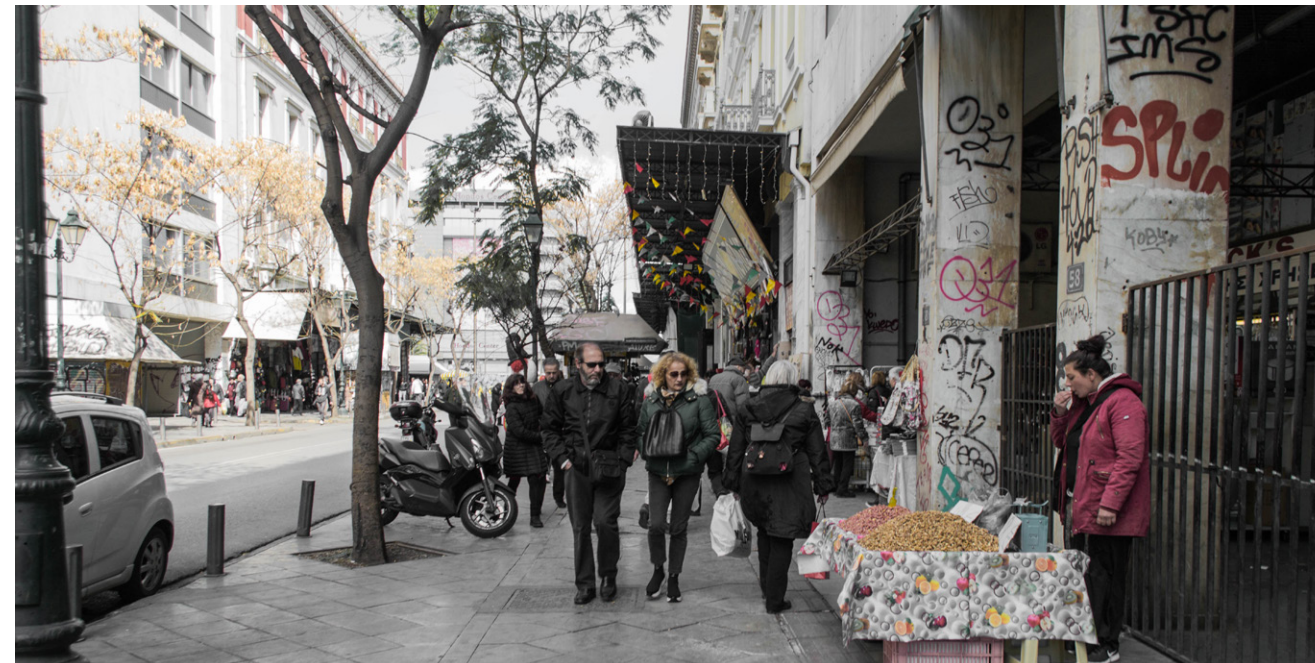
SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

The research facilitates the living conditions of migrants and enables their co-existence with natives, regardless of who they are or where they come from, or the duration of their stay.

Broadly, the relevance of the research for social structures is rooted in the realisation that population growth in urban centres will most likely be dominated by migration. This is true for the following reasons: Firstly, cities are the attractors and developers of economy, and compete with each other for both high and low-skilled workers. Secondly, cities are well connected to international transports system and concentrate the higher education infrastructure. The trend of global population growth leads to further urbanisation, which leads to further migration, which converts an apparently social issue into an urban issue.

Moreover, one of the most sought-after objectives of the research is improvement of housing conditions not only for migrants, but for the entire receiving city and society.

In that way, the proposed housing system that enhances integration for migrants, also involves natives in the process, especially when they belong in vulnerable social groups.

Re-imagining social housing and social approaches to housing and the development of initiatives by diverse actors, from architects to private businesses responds to policy failures that have left authorities under-resourced and vulnerable groups exposed.

Lastly, the research redistributes urban interventions that enable the intensity and extend of human activity, thus offering various opportunities for the city. The proposed activity, which serves the objective of increased interactions, is based on the principle of extending the stay through designing open spaces and walkable edges. These values are missing from the current urban conditions, and are thus highly relevant for the quality and attractiveness of the city. Briefing about the contributions of your outcomes would be a great addition to societal relevance

FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS & TRANSFERABILITY

The nature of the researched theme is exploratory, which creates great potential for further, detailed research. On the one hand, the housing approach could be very interesting for implementation or even standardisation, where employing independent and non-political citizen groups should be the first requirement. Thus, further research and debate could be helpful for exploring methods that encourage engagement of such groups, which are vital for anti-displacement and regeneration interventions. On the other hand, future recommendation would be to develop research methods for analysing the problems that the community faces, on early stages of planning and adjusting the strategy for inclusive urban regeneration. Lastly, further research could be valuable for evaluating the results of the proposed guidelines on interactions: innovative methods could support monitoring the distribution of urban activity, as feedback for the success or failure of urban regeneration.

Moreover, the spatial planning that is proposed by the thesis is developed specifically for the case region of Athens, thus the transferability of the results to other regions highly depends on their characteristics and planning culture. However, Athens is not unique in urban exclusion and particularly housing issues such as displacement or affordability, resulting from almost complete absence of social welfare policies. Many cities are facing similar issues across Europe, especially in countries with limited development of social housing strategies. In sum, the possibility of transferring the strategy is limited, but could offer great opportunity for discourse and comparison, especially among European housing networks.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Though the regional design claims significant benefits for the integration of differences in the community, its application would produce certain ethical dilemmas and issues. This section briefly highlights some of the most important ethical issues:

- My personal connection with the case study city has provided me with some fundamental knowledge on the planning culture, governance structure and the conflicts between parties with different interests. Nonetheless, this also poses threats for personal bias on the interests of the community. The research will make attempts for avoiding universal approaches, and for providing alternatives that benefit both migrants and natives.

- The greatest scepticism concerns the possible surge of displacement caused by urban regeneration, even when the initial intention of the research was the exact opposite. Usually, regeneration enables investment, which leaves the forces of the market uncontrollable and the planners powerless or under-represented. I am aware of such possible effects and that mechanisms should be developed as protective counter-forces for the vulnerable groups.

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+ APPENDIX

In search for an intercultural governance model: Evidence from planning diversity in Europe and the relevance of urban governance in combating social exclusion of migrants in Athens

ABSTRACT

The city of Athens presents an example of social conflicts between migrants and natives, often manifested in space, and instigated by the conditions of spatial planning and governance. In the context of urban planning, there is a general agreement that social inequality can be addressed by understanding its spatial implications. Currently in Athens, the revived agenda towards the city centre in the last two decades is leading to displacement of the least powerful social groups, in districts where migrants are mostly clustered. This shift, emerging especially after the financial crisis, depends on the private initiative for investment, while there are scarce considerations regarding the social perspective. Such strategies enforce social exclusion and prolong the phenomenon by concealing the cultural diversity of the city. The paper analyses the governance tendencies for promoting diversity from supranational examples The European experience on diversity is encompassed by the neighbourhood-based approach, which is discussed in the paper. Moving towards possible deviations from the excluding governance, the paper revises two (2) urban governance models implemented in multicultural societies, and illustrates them through examples in the European Union. Although the examples correspond to different backgrounds and social complexity, they present inspiring cases for Athens. From these examples, questions arise about how difference should be perceived by the receiving society and what should intercultural metropolis mean. Finally, the paper discusses the potential urban governance model for Athens, with guidelines that should affect the spatiality of the diverse metropolis through the collaboration between migrants and the receiving society.

Keywords
Interculturalism, Migrant Integration, Social exclusion, Inclusive Governance, Spatial Planning

The paper begins with the theoretical framework behind social exclusion and how it is manifested in urban space and activities. Then, the case of Athens is presented: how is social exclusion manifested in the city and how is the current governance relevant as inciter? Greece became immigrant country only 30 years ago (Mpalampanides, 2016; Maloutas, 2007), which is why the paper turns to other European countries for experience of managing diversity in cities. The main question here is: How is social inclusion understood today and how can urban governance have an impact on implementing it?

The concept of diversity, which has multiple understandings depending on the context and the research disciplines of each theorist, preoccupied only some European countries during the post-war period (Hackett, 2019) and was only recently mainstreamed in the European policy agenda (Bennett, 2001). That is to say, the focus of the present study is on the neighbourhood policies that were broadly tested in the 1990s in countries such as the Netherlands, the UK and Sweden (Maloutas, 2018) and their effectiveness on exclusion of social groups that correspond to different ethnicities or cultures generally. In search for the adequate governance agenda, the paper presents and reviews two examples in divergent environments: Barcelona and Amsterdam. Barcelona, on the one hand, was chosen because of its relatively recent experience as migrant city and the almost entirely absent housing policy for migrants, which are both key features in the Attica Region (Athens). Amsterdam, on the other hand, has one of the most prominent welfare systems in Europe, and has traditionally attracted migrants even from the 17th century (Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016), which provides more practical evidence on the field of governance. Both examples are reviewed on their housing policy for migrants, and in 3 governance aspects: city branding, interculturalism and migrant participation. Which of these features could be used for promoting Athens as accepting and intercultural city?

This paper seeks to explore the governance guidelines that might potentially provide the basis for an inclusive city, bearing in mind the context in the city of Athens. The conclusion presents some key governance features borrowed from the empirical evidence from Barcelona and Amsterdam, and discusses the position that spatial planning can have in implementing interculturalism. Finally, the paper acknowledges some possible restrictions in the interculturalism practice in 3 aspects, based on the work of Zapata-Barrero (2016): structural, economic and subjective.

Before proceeding, it is important to understand the most debated problems in socially diverse environments. The next section illustrates the concepts of social exclusion, spatial segregation and integration and their interrelations.

Social exclusion

Social exclusion as a concept, and therefore as an element of policy discourse, has been problematised already since the 1980s. However, serious problems remain with regard to its conceptualisation (Atkinson, 2000). In the debate for its definition, the consensus between scholars is that social exclusion refers not only to inequality in terms of material distribution, but also in terms of participation in the urban society, named otherwise citizenship (Gerometta, Haussermann, & Longo, 2005; Atkinson, 2000). On the other hand, there is disagreement regarding the degree of literality that the concept encompasses. For instance, some agree that exclusion should be seen as under-representation of one or more groups in multiple dimensions (Marcuse, 2009), while others claim that exclusion means complete deprivation in the economic, social and political sphere (De Haan, 2000). The vagueness of the concept might be resolved, when its definition is based on the urban context where it is manifested. In this case, the Athens Metropolitan Area is the context where the expressions of exclusion will be explored in the next section.

Exclusion and segregation

Segregation is defined as the uneven distribution of the population with respect to certain characteristics (Ostendorf, Musterd, & De Vos, 2001). In this way, segregation describes processes of exclusion for certain class or race-differentiated groups. Young (2000) declares that this process is threatening for co-existence, not because of the underlined visual differences based on group identities, but because of the structural inequalities that they reinforce. In other words, the problem with segregation, she views, is not that different groups are found in more or less homogeneous patterns, but that some of these groups are excluded from privileges because of their spatial distribution.

II. THE EXCLUSION BY URBAN GOVERNANCE IN ATHENS

Athens was socially homogeneous until the 1990s, when the country first received massive migration (Kandylis, Maloutas, & Sayas, 2012). The 'diversification of its diversity', or the increasing complexity within the city's population (Caponio et al., 2019) is particularly visible in the urban core, where almost half (40 per cent) of the migrants are concentrated (ELSTAT, 2014). Although people with migrant background where predominantly from the Balkans, the situation has recently changed, with rising numbers from Asia and Middle East, due to the unstable political climate in those countries (Hellenic Republic, 2019). The migrants settled in the city centre for various reasons: housing affordability, proximity to workplace, accessibility.

The housing affordability resulted from the gradual deterioration of the building stock, mainly constructed during the 1950-80 period (see Fig. 1).

The densification in and around the city centre, the intense presence of automobiles, without adequate infrastructure planning and scarcity of green spaces pushed the residents into new directions.

During the 1970s, the middle class shifted development towards the suburbs, which changed not only the physical image of the city but also the cognitive image of the centre. The population of the centre was shrinking, while satellite neighbourhoods were expanding (see Fig. 2). The development shift that attracted middle and high social and labour classes, resulted in neglect and degradation for the urban core. (Maloutas & Oikonomou 1992; Emmanuel 2006; Arapoglou & Maloutas, 2011).

Nonetheless, urban development these days is focused again on the city centre, where most migrants of the Metropolitan Area are clustered. They experience what can be described as 'forced residential mobility' or displacement. Urged by the financial crisis, the current urban governance presents investments on the built environment as the solution for financial revival and thus further attraction of capital (Alexandri, 2014). Such urban governance deprives migrants from having choices in the housing market and access to multiple activities that are concentrated in the centre.

With the intention of moving towards a more inclusive governance model for Athens, the following section explains the theoretical explorations with respect to the perception of difference and the practice of governing urban complexity. How has diversity been imagined in the European context and what are the most recent tendencies for promoting migrant inclusion in cities?

III. THE IMPORTANCE OF DIVERSITY IN PLANNING

Social diversity, mostly defined by class differences, has been addressed in theory and spatial planning since the 19th century (Sarkissian, 1976), but the notion of diversity revived in the 1960s and has changed importantly ever since. The defining moment for diversity during the 20th century was when planners started questioning the modernist paradigm. Industrialisation and its entailed environmental disasters in the inner cities sought an alternative, which was found in the zoning plans of modernism.

Although modernist planners typically presented ''one fits all'' type of solutions, their adverse viewed uniformity and mono-functionality as highly defective. While modernists separated physical uses and social groups, for enhancing efficiency, critics such as Jane Jacobs strived to battle ''the boredom and emptiness of the reordered metropolis'' (Fainstein, 2005). Various key works by authors such as Jane Jacobs (1961), supported that diversity can be the stimulator for creativity, which boosts economy. Jacobs proposes physical differentiation as the causal role in producing other types of diversity: links physical, economic, and social.

Nonetheless, as the meaning of diversity has become more complex nowadays, some critics question how and whether social diversity can be stimulated through planning. Even though Fainstein (2005) concludes that diversity is undoubtedly recognised as fundamental in planning, she also expresses her concerns about the reality of social diversity on the ground. Similarly, Sandercock and Kliger (1998) understand that diversity is considered imperative among planners, but still no attempt has been made for consultative processes and practices that transfer ambiguous policies in the field of urban planning.

The next section examines how diversity was managed in Europe, especially in cases of spatial segregation.

IV. EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD EFFECT

During the last 3 decades, partly because of the growing social complexity in Europe, social inclusion strategies have drawn the attention of policies. The new shift can be justified by both political urgency and theoretical explorations around the concept of social mixing (Fincher et al., 2014). The recent publications by the European Commission (e.g. see Joint Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion, 2008) define social inclusion as the process where the excluded ''have a voice in decisions which affect their lives and access to markets, public services, and their fundamental rights'' (World Bank, 2013). Such publications indicate new governance schemes, where the civil society and sub-national organisations are defining in policy implementation (Eizaguirre et al., 2012).

Generally speaking, the European Union has expressed the importance of decentralisation of power and vertical interaction between stakeholders in governance, especially since the 1990s. Consequently, the scope of integration policies was now focused in tangible scales.

This influenced the emergence of multiple neighbourhood-based programmes, namely in North European countries, where spatial segregation of social groups was observed as an undesirable phenomenon (Maloutas, 2018). Spatial segregation of ethnic groups causes further problems in organising and managing cities, which urges the governments to assume immediate responsibility. Normally, integration has frequently been advocated or enforced through programmes of ethnic residential dispersal and mixed neighbourhoods (Uitermark, 2014; Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010). In Europe, most of the intervention strategies are known in terms of initiatives and strategies in the neighbourhood level (Andersson 1999; Ostendorf et al 2001; Atkinson & Kintrea 2001).

The promotion of the neighbourhood as the appropriate scale for segregation and exclusion problems can be justified by 3 pressures (Andersson & Musterd, 2005; Andersen, 2002):

-Concentration: Because differentiated groups are distributed unevenly in the urban space, concentration areas (homogeneous areas where there is one dominant social group) allow for larger attention groups. In this way, the neighbourhood programmes are considered the most effective in terms of results and costs.

-Political issues: The concentration of deprived migrants in great numbers raises political questions regarding the success of the integration policy in place, particularly in political systems where democracy is grounded on welfare foundations. In this case, concentration brings the problem into the public spotlight, thus making it more urgent.

-Relational issues: The existence of deprived populations in strong compositions can have negative effects on other individuals in the same neighbourhood that might be the minority in this scale. Neighbourhoods in this case are considered as 'heterotopias', whose members are affected by each other's prospects.

Bauder (2002) explains the three mechanisms through which neighbourhood conditions have effects on individuals and groups and thus facilitate social exclusion in situ:

-Social networks: this mechanism suggests that neighbourhood networks instigate social dysfunction, for instance unstable employment or crime. This hypothesis supports that people in deprived neighbourhoods are caught in vicious circles of contagious behaviour.
-Physical infrastructure: this mechanism suggests that dilapidated urban areas destabilise communities and lead to the social effects described above.

-Institutional networks: according to this hypothesis, institutions in situ, e.g. schools, are unable to provide adequate services in poverty concentration areas.

The neighbourhood-based approach enthuses about inclusive cities through social mixing in concentration enclaves. By offering urban quality and equal access to the housing market, such neighbourhoods attract diverse social groups, and thus decrease social conflicts (Fincher et al., 2014)
''This type of strategies is based on the theory that neighbourhoods may enable the access to opportunities that are absent in other places of scarce quality characteristics'' (Andersson & Musterd, 2005).

There are critics that doubt the rationale of geography as cause of the problem and suggest that social mixing in these areas is used by politicians to disguise the real problems, while ''it is unlikely that serious steps will be undertaken to reduce the structural barriers that these groups face'' (Bolt et al., 2010; Andersson & Musterd, 2005). Decay and deprivation of urban areas, Andersen (2002) believes, is just one of the aspects of the social exclusion in globalised cities and the outcome of social, economic and physical changes and their interaction. Similarly, Arbaci and Malheiros (2010) doubt the overall effects of mixed neighbourhoods on social integration, and view that these are often proposed as 'panacea', without further considerations. Kruythoff explains the failure of this rationale: ''the assumption that a greater mix'', through the attraction of new social groups, ''will lead to more social interaction'' is refuted, because great cultural differences keep the interactions into minimal levels'' (Kruythoff, 2003).
How to manage difference in ways that are transformative rather than superficial?

V. THE EMERGENCE OF INTERCULTURALISM

V. The emergence of interculturalism

The importance of interaction for social inclusion

Strategies and policies such as the ones described above, that intend to celebrate diversity, have also been criticised for staging and reinforcing difference (Fincher et al., 2014). Multiculturalism has been ''an inadequate response to the changing composition of societies'' (Cantle, 2012).

On the other hand, there is an emerging concept that resonates among the critics of multiculturalism.

This concept views social conflicts and divisions as not destructive, but on the contrary as key elements for bridging people ''together in relationships'' (Eizaguirre et al., 2012). In the 1980s, the concept of 'interculturality' emerged: one could define it as urban vision based on the principles of interaction and transformative dialogue between understandings of different cultures (Cantle, 2012). Interculturalism in governance has recently been appraised by the European Union for its inclusive approach. The concept of Interculturalism promotes inclusion in 3 aspects (Zapata-Barrero, 2017):

Social aspect: Interculturalism strives for the celebration of diversity, and for this, brings forward processes such as social cohesion policies. Instead of conflicts, social cohesion here conveys not only coexistence, but mutual understanding and interactions between groups.
Political aspect: Instead of imposing the will of the majority, interculturalism promotes interaction for negotiation; the political arena operates under the values of equality and mutual respect between the majority and the minorities.

Cultural aspect: In diverse cities, cultural groups have introvert tendencies, which provides them with safety and belonging. Nonetheless, potential interactions between clustered cultures might develop cultural rights, creativity and innovation.

The governance examples analysed in the next section cover the period since the emergence of interculturalism in the European debate, dated in the 1990s. This section describes 3 typical governance aspects under the scope of migration: interculturalism presence, city branding and migrant participation in the urban governance. It is important here to explain what city branding means: it is a method of broadcasting certain imaginaries for the city, which can be used by municipalities for manipulating urban development to the desired character and even create a certain ''place identity'' (Belabas & Eshuis, 2019). Choice of examples: one long-standing destination country with many settled low-educated migrants (Netherlands) and one new destination countries with many recent, low educated migrants (Spain)

A. Barcelona

Housing policies of migrants in Barcelona

Generally, rented housing provided by the state is almost entirely absent in Spain, following Greece. The national integration policy holds no account for social housing for migrants, and delegates the matter to each region (provincia). In Barcelona, there is no official housing plan for migrants, but instead the city generalises social housing for both Catalans and foreigners that are adequate to form part of the programmes (Montagut, 2012; Allen, 2006). The housing market opportunities are scarce in Barcelona, especially since its urban regeneration in the 1990s and recently since the recovery from the financial depression, which resulted in the increase of rental prices. Then again, the municipality estimates that about 5 to 10 per cent of the housing stock was vacant in the last decade. These contradictory conditions and the urgent need for affordable housing are discussed in the latest Protected Housing plan (Vivienda Protegida, 2016-2025) proposed by the government (Montagut, 2012).

Even though the 'Barcelona model' for urban governance has been appraised because of its originality and success by many (Degen & Garcia, 2012; Blanco, 2009; Marshall, 2000), only few theorists have challenged its social implications (as Degen and Garcia mention). The adherent voices of the model support that Barcelona is known for its decentralised, anti-hierarchical model and the avoidance of marketising in urban regeneration practices. However, voices that question the Barcelona model speak about neoliberal practices that promote elite pluralism, controlled by public and private sector players. The citizen participation in forums and open days is seen as mechanism of manipulation and not as real political empowerment (Blanco, 2015).

Urban Governance in Barcelona

The history of governance in Barcelona starts in 1979, after the restoration of democracy in the city, while the governance milestone comes in the late 1980s, with the undertaking of the Olympic Games reception (1986). The governance journey since then has been characterised by active migrant organisations, celebration of culture as city branding and recent promotion of interculturalism.

1 The city and Interculturalism

Dissatisfaction with the two policy models already existing – assimilation and multiculturalism – contributed to the will to adopt an approach that distinguished the city in multi-national Spain.

The provincial government has officially adopted the intercultural policy model: this approach shares the recognition of migrants' equality in rights, opportunities and obligation, and of cultural and ethnic diversity (Fauser, 2012). The intercultural approach is a holistic model based on three main pillars – equality, diversity and interaction. The vision is to achieve ''convivencia'': not simply coexisting, but also ''addressing the existing conflicts emerging from social interactions by constant negotiation – a condition that undoubtedly requires continuous active policy engagement'' (Sabchev, 2018).

The favourable environment can be explained by the social and political arenas, which have each supported the strategy from the beginning, in different ways. The social arena is committed to the intercultural policy through the consultative body of the civil society (migrant organisations, NGOs). The political arena has confirmed its support to interculturalism, expressed in plenary sessions through the years. (Zapata-Barrero, 2017)

2 City Branding

The city branding in the case of Barcelona is coupled with the urban development and area regeneration that accelerated in the 1990s and continues to transform the character of the city. Under the umbrella of culture, the urban strategy acknowledged the importance of knowledge economy for advancing the image of city internationally (Degen & García, 2012). By highlighting certain figures of the Catalan culture and re-introducing stigmatised areas into the spotlight (see El Raval case), branding has contributed heavily in the economy of the region, most evidently in the tourism sector (Rius Ulldemolins, 2014).

3 Migrant organisations

Barcelona has provided favourable environment for political mobilisation and claims for political participation, specifically earlier in the 1990s. The municipality and its representatives have recognised voting rights (provincial) for migrants since 1998 in their official declarations. The civil society is also active through its own channels: Barcelona holds the highest migrant organisations of the country (Fauser, 2012). Migrant organisations engage in manifold activities outside the formal frame of participation in the struggle for regularisation and political rights. This includes various forms and venues – from round table discussions, press releases, usage of own radio programmes and members' journals, to public events, and demonstrations.

Besides, people involved in the Okupa movement occupy empty buildings in the city to highlight the difficulties of obtaining affordable housing in Catalonia and to offer alternative forms of organising, community and culture (Blakeley, 2010). Nonetheless, the primary concern is still ''the legislation of migrants- the necessary paperwork and elementary accommodation'' (Fauser, 2012).

B. Amsterdam

Housing policies of migrants in Amsterdam

In welfare states such as the Netherlands, government intervention with services such as social housing can have strong impacts on the social structures and in particular prevent segregation. Following Peter Marcuse (1996), Musterd and Ostendorf (2013) advance into arguing that welfare states can even act as an independent system, regardless of the status that the national economy presents.

In the Netherlands, in order to prevent the hypothesised negative effects of low-income neighbourhoods, a new policy programme has been developed to restructure the urban housing market at the neighbourhood level in order to prevent the spatial concentration of low-income people (Ostendorf et al., 2001). The 'Big City' Policy (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) was instituted in the Netherlands in the late 1990s to reduce segregation of low-income groups, regardless of their ethnic and racial backgrounds by redeveloping the housing stock. Essentially, the policy proposed the cause-and-effect social restructuring through urban renewal. Measures such as demolition and infill construction were used for increasing the status of the neighbourhood and bringing in the middle-class people (Fincher et al., 2014).

The area-based and not social group-based policy has been partially successful. Researchers such as Fincher et al. (2014) warn that these policies might actually provoke marginalisation of minorities based on their income, and thus increase segregation. In Amsterdam, studies have shown that although mixed income populations are now redistributed in the same areas, ethnic and racial segregation has actually remained stable during the last 40 years (Bolt et al., 2002; Sleutjes et al., 2019).

Urban Governance in Amsterdam

The governance in Amsterdam has been characterised by superdiversity branding, rejection of multiculturalism and strong political representation.

1 The city and Interculturalism

The Netherlands is an extreme example of the recent rejection of multiculturalism policies, after being exemplary in implementing pluralist approaches among other European countries (Fincher et al., 2014; M. S. Hoekstra, 2018). The government explicitly deviated from the previous multicultural practice, and changed the governance structure. Now, the national institutions are distanced from the field, and immigrant integration is supported mainly by decentralised processes. Generalisation is coupled with 'governance mainstreaming', which is defined as incorporating migrant groups into general cross-sectional and multilevel policies, instead of adopting the 'policy targeting' approach. The attention is no longer streamed towards targeted groups, but rather generalised for inequalities based on economy and not ethnicity and culture (van Breugel & Scholten, 2017). Hoekstra (2018) mentions that national urban and integration policies have officially ended since the last decade, albeit 'difference' remains salient in discourses at the national level.

2 City Branding

Amsterdam and Rotterdam stand out because of their rating as 'superdiverse' among other cities in Netherlands. Nonetheless, by being superdiverse does not intrinsically mean that the city has to ''accept or propagate'' that feature (Scholten, 2018). In this case, Rotterdam has been branded as financial centre for years, choosing not to emphasise the image of social diversity. The rationale behind this is that superdiversity is the de facto ground reality, which needs to be treated as normal (Scholten, Crul, & Laar, 2018). Amsterdam, on the other hand, has been described as 'happy superdiverse city' and is much more oriented towards promoting intercultural relations while the political representatives are also promoting Amsterdam as a favourable place for new migrants (Blom, 2014; Scholten, 2013). In 2013, the city stopped using the 'autochton-allochton' (indigenous-foreigners) dichotomy because of its divisive allegations and instead adopted the unifying Amsterdammer term, which is more integrative towards more complex identities (M. Hoekstra, 2015).

3 Migrant organisations

Immigrants in Amsterdam enjoy the most political benefits among the biggest cities of the country. Besides from having voting rights, migrants can also be political representatives in the elections. The municipality tries to promote the interaction with target groups and asks for their participation in various ways.

However, intercultural processes are hindered by the fact that migrants are not participating into networks, which makes the approach difficult, when the municipality reaches out (Blom, 2014). Moreover, migrant organisations are weak in the policy and governance hierarchy, given the group-neutral approach, bequeathed by the city's multicultural past.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The comparative study of European governance formulas has helped to understand that diversity cannot be forced, because it may lead to social mistrust and conflicts, which is markedly experienced in concentrated areas in Athens. From the two examples that this paper analysed, the following elements can provide the governance framework for enacting social integration in Athens:

Interaction
The interaction in mixed communities cannot depend solely upon the design of shared spaces, but also requires equal participation in everyday experiences. Spatial planning can be the container that ''breaks down barriers between communities'' (Cantle, 2012). Interculturalism involves ''shared activities, and not simply the disengaged sharing of public space'' (Sandercock, 2003).
For instance, public space can have multiple functions as well as meanings, instead of just providing physical characteristics. Its typology can provide the basis for intercultural interaction but will also have different meaning for each culture (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007).
Multilevel Governance
New urban conditions should be developed in accordance with not only national and regional, but also neighbourhood levels. Both natives and foreigners can become agents in planning, through active organisations that participate not only in consultations, but also in designing. The participation in the governance debate is key, but the political inclusion of permanent immigrants needs to be founded by first establishing their official political rights.
City Branding
From the cases reviewed in this paper, it is evident that city branding can not only alter the cognitive image, but also guide spatial strategies that transform the city. If social inclusion is promoted for the imagined city, then the spatial policy should propose urban restructuring that avoids involuntary displacement of vulnerable social groups.
However, borrowing strategies and applying them in varied contexts is no easy feat and should be performed with caution. Any transfer of either planning or governance forms needs to be coupled with understanding of the whole political, social and technical geometry of the context.

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SELECTED AREA: AMERIKIS

300 M

2

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - - PEDESTRIAN

——— RESIDENTIAL

——— TERTIARY

——— SECONDARY

——— PRIMARY

PROGRAMME

RECREATION

+ HOSPITAL

EMPTY

MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

30-50

>50

ANDROU

28IS

DROSOPOULOU

TROIAS

MIGRANTS   NATIVES

ELEVATION 28IS

bus stop

MIGRANTS   NATIVES

SELECTED AREA: AMERIKIS

PIPINOU

VODA

ALKIVIADOU

AGORAKRITOU

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - PEDESTRIAN

———— RESIDENTIAL

———— TERTIARY

———— SECONDARY

———— PRIMARY

PROGRAMME

CULTURE

EDUCATION

EMPTY

MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

30-50

>50

PIPINOU

A

VODA

ALKIVIADOU

AGORAKRITOU

MIGRANTS   NATIVES
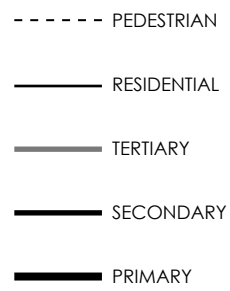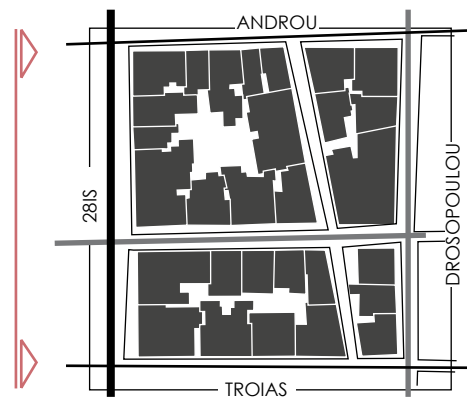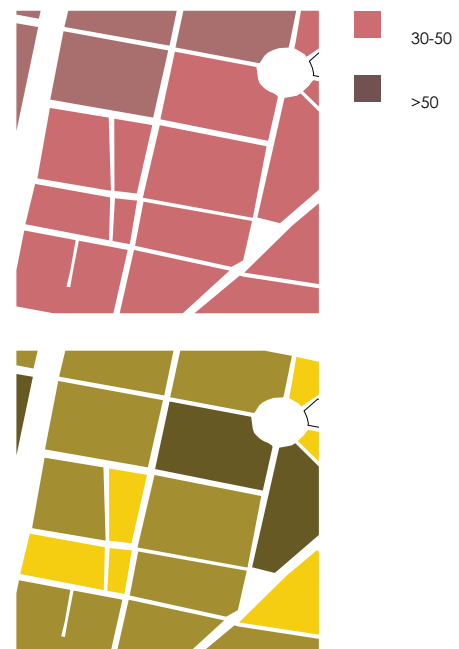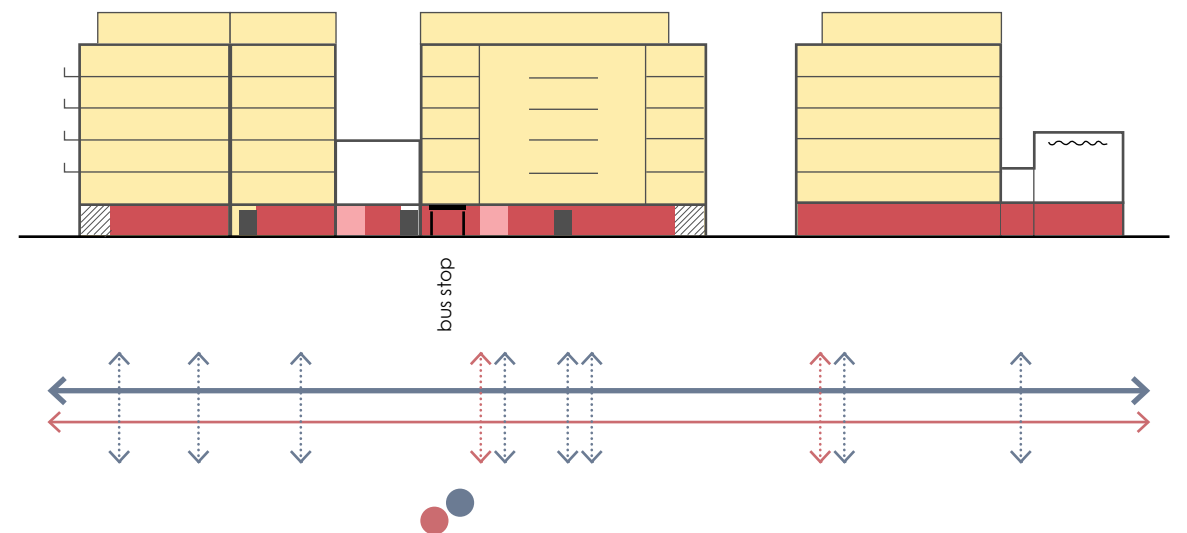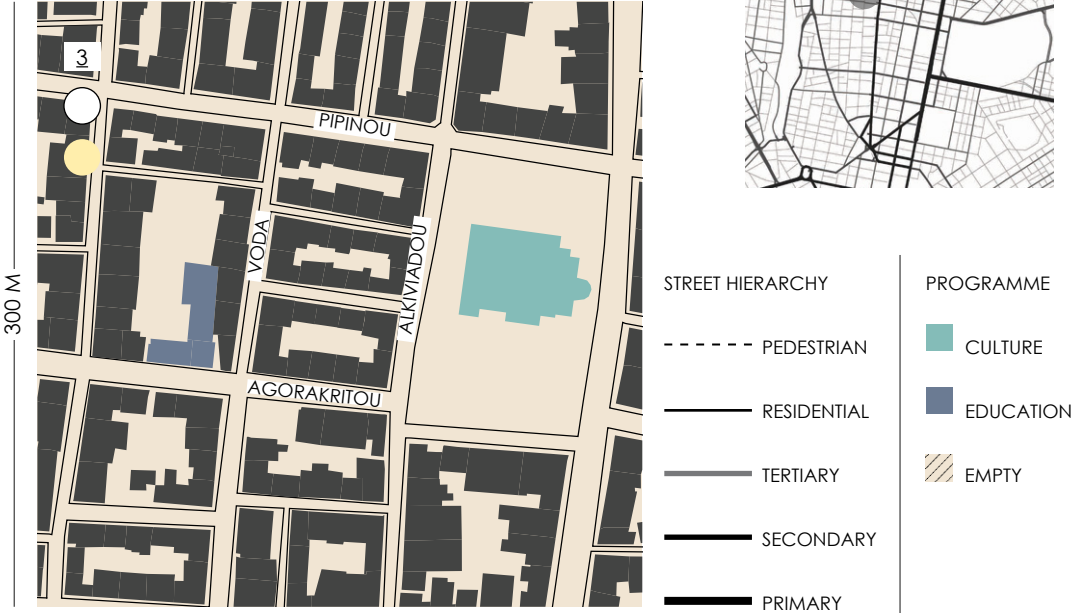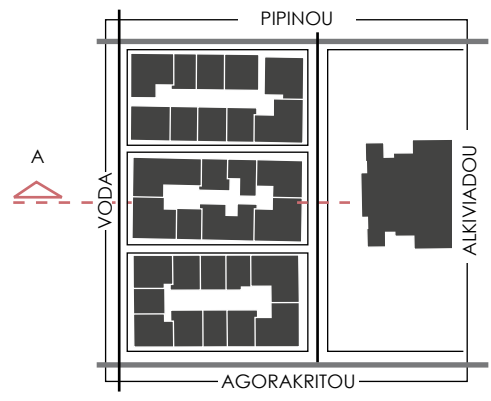
SECTION A-A

SELECTED AREA: VICTORIA

300 M

4

P

P

ARISTOTELOUS

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - PEDESTRIAN

———— RESIDENTIAL

———— TERTIARY

———— SECONDARY

———— PRIMARY

PROGRAMME (GROUND FLOOR)

CULTURE (THEATRES)

EDUCATION

COMMERCIAL

MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

0-10

10-30

30-50

RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)

40-100

100-180

180-310

310-860

IOULIANOU

A

FILIS

ARISTOTELOUS

IPIROU
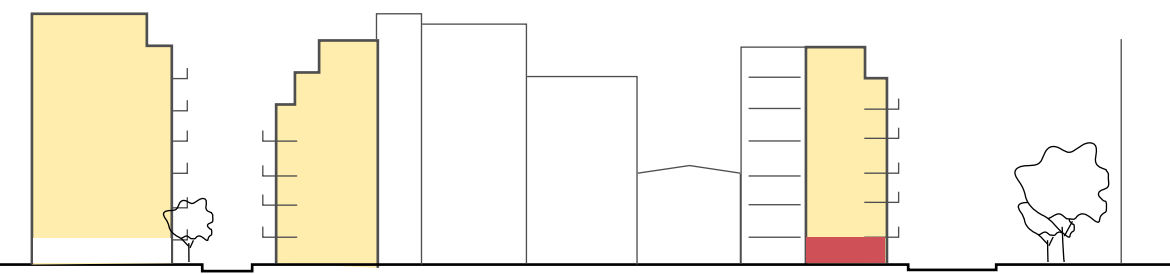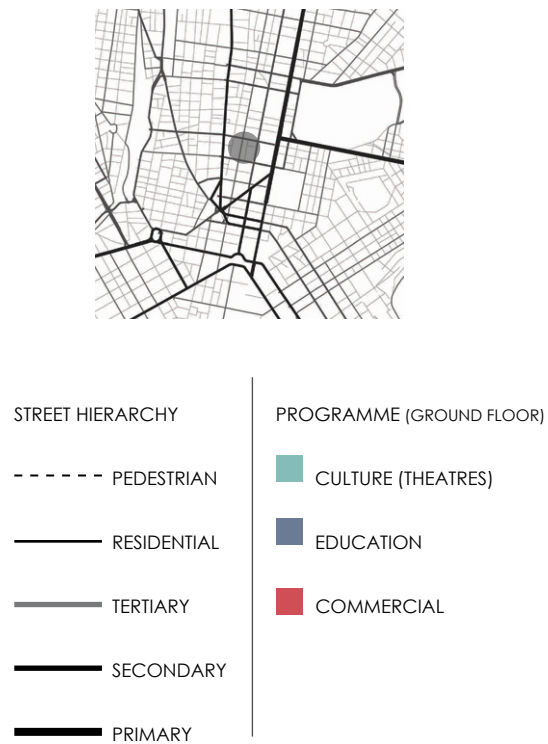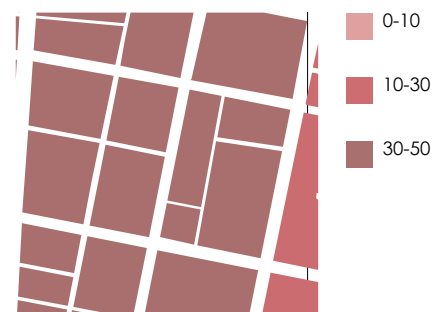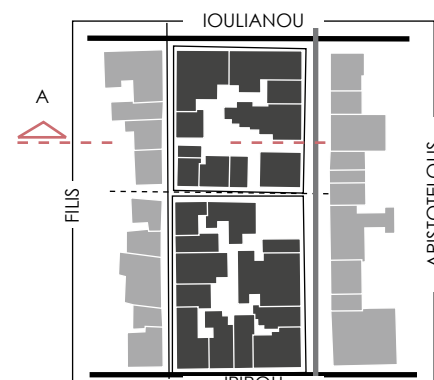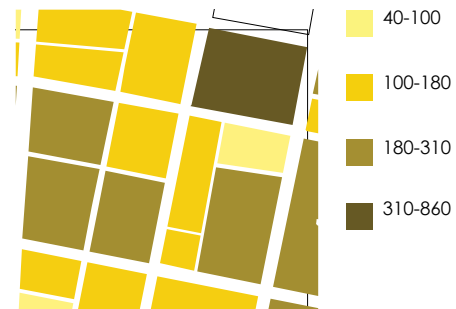
MIGRANTS   NATIVES

ELEVATION ARISTOTELOUS STREET

PEDESTRIAN STREET

PARKING SPACE

+SHORT TERM

PRIMARY SCHOOL
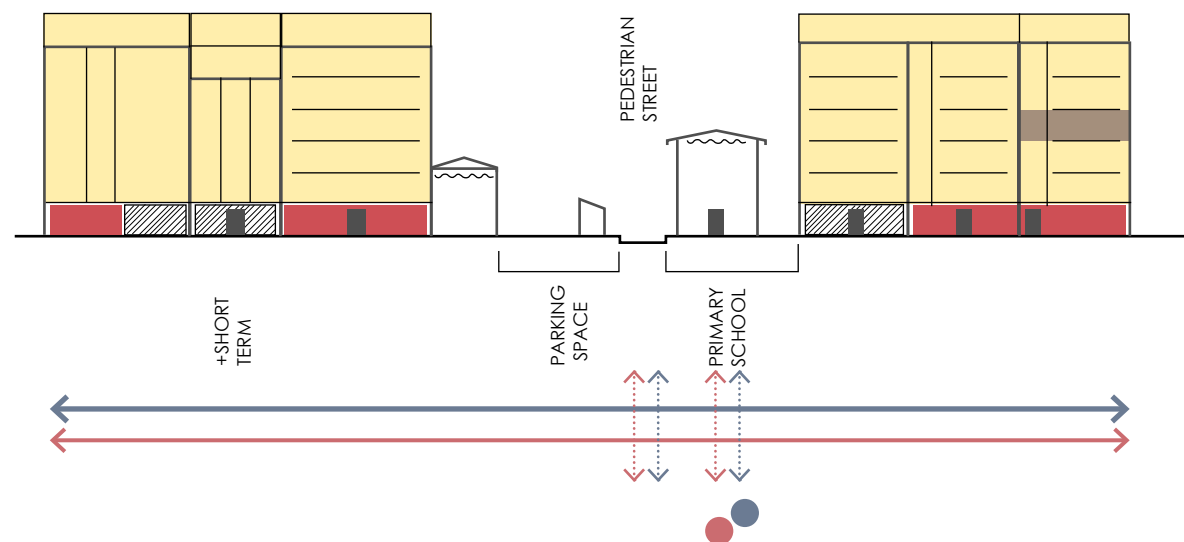
SELECTED AREA: VATHIS

300 M.

5

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - - PEDESTRIAN

———— RESIDENTIAL

———— TERTIARY

———— SECONDARY

———— PRIMARY

PROGRAMME

OPEN SPACES

CULTURE

MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

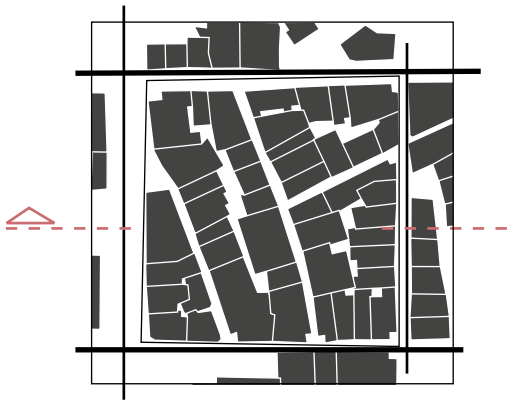0-10
10-30
30-50

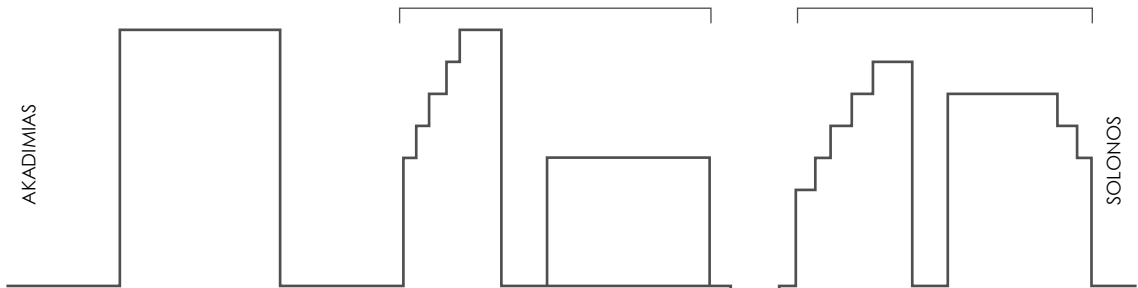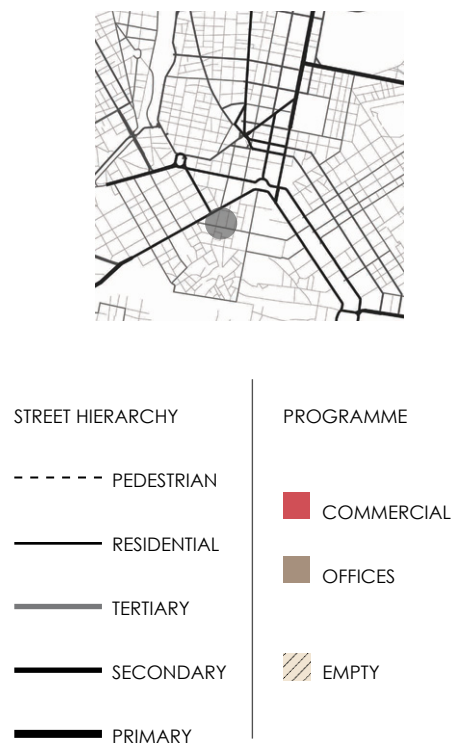RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)

40-100
100-180
180-310
310-860

KRITIS

A

PSARON

AKOMINATOU

B

PALEOLOGOU
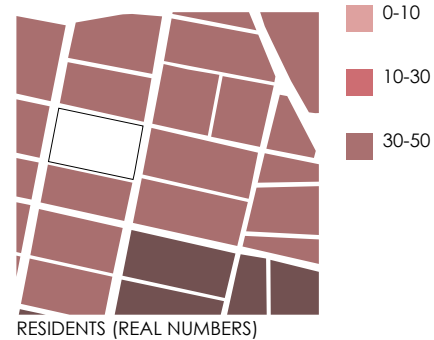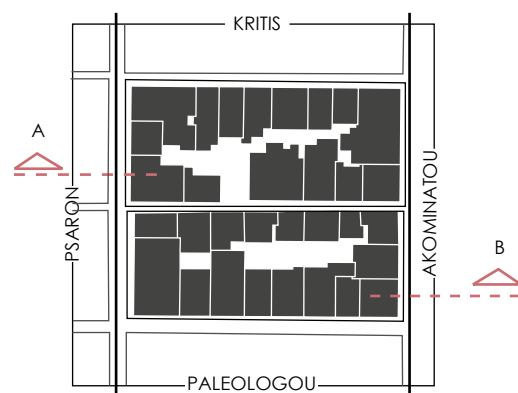
MIGRANTS   NATIVES
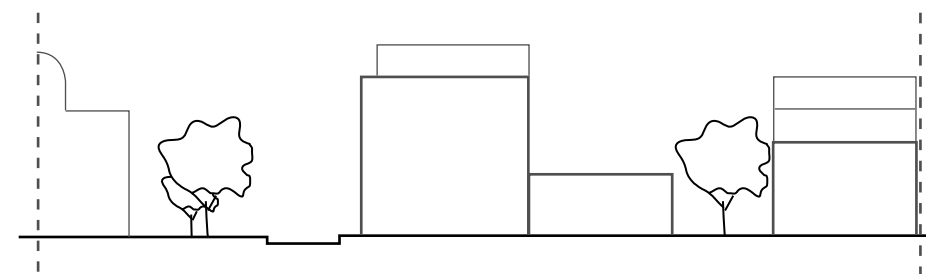
SECTION A-A

SECTION B-B
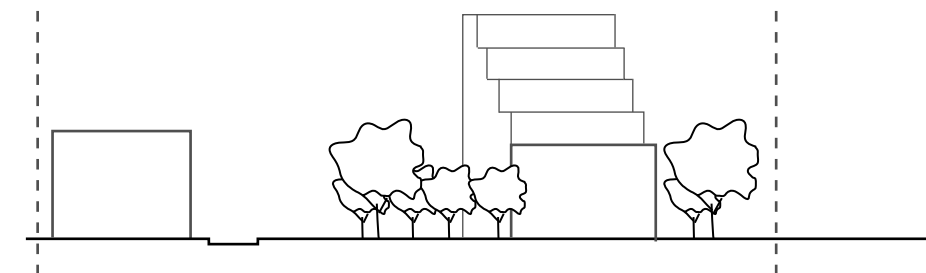
SELECTED AREA: MUSEUM

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - PEDESTRIAN

——— RESIDENTIAL

——— TERTIARY

——— SECONDARY

———

PROGRAMME

EDUCATION

CULTURE

OFFICES

EMPTY

MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

0-10

10-30

30-50

RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)

40-100

100-180
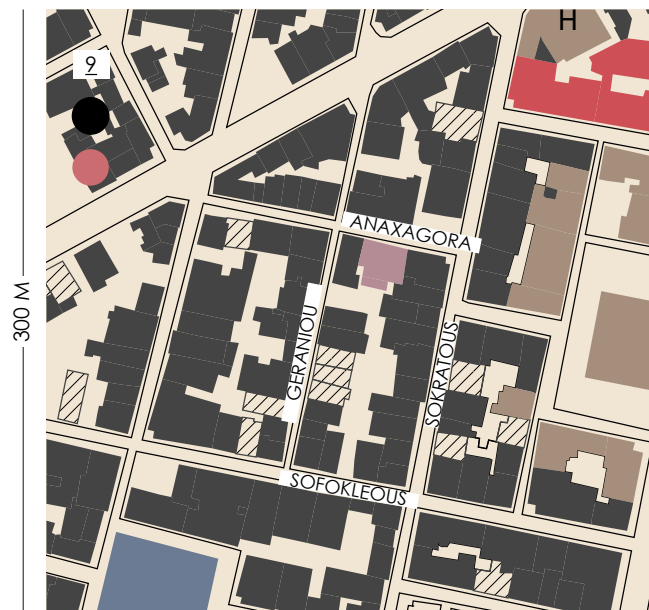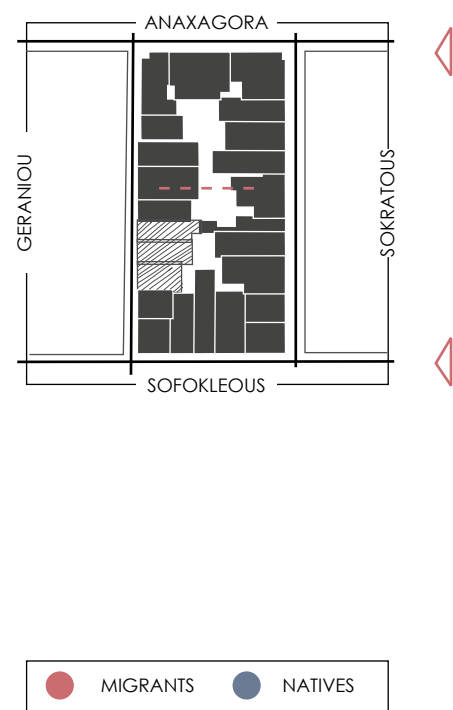
180-310

310-860

A

MIGRANTS   NATIVES

SECTION A-A

SELECTED AREA: EXARCHEIA

300 M

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - PEDESTRIAN

———— RESIDENTIAL

———— TERTIARY

———— SECONDARY

———— PRIMARY

PROGRAMME

CULTURE

OFFICES

MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

0-10
10-30
30-50
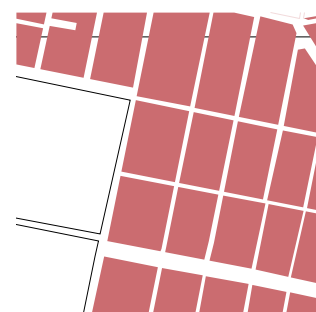
RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)
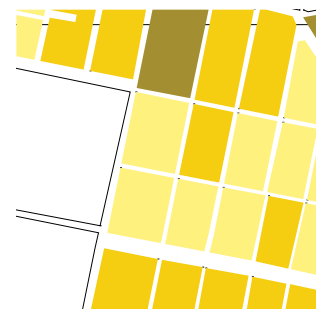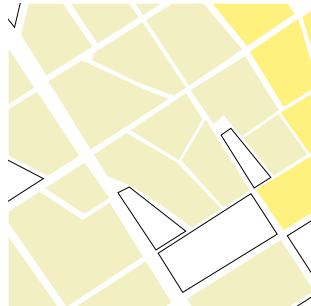
40-100
100-180
180-310
310-860

MIGRANTS   NATIVES

SECTION

AKADIMIAS

SOLONOS

SELECTED AREA: OMONOIA

ANAXAGORA

GERANIOU

SOKRATOUS

SOFOKLEOUS

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - PEDESTRIAN

———— RESIDENTIAL

———— TERTIARY

———— SECONDARY

———— PRIMARY

PROGRAMME

■ COMMERCIAL

■ OFFICES

▨ EMPTY

300 M.

MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

■ 0-10
■ 10-30
■ 30-50

RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)

■ 40-100
■ 100-180
■ 180-310
■ 310-860

ANAXAGORA

GERANIOU

SOKRATOUS

SOFOKLEOUS

● MIGRANTS   ● NATIVES

ELEVATION

stores owned by migrants

stores owned by natives

● ● ● ● ● ● ●● ●
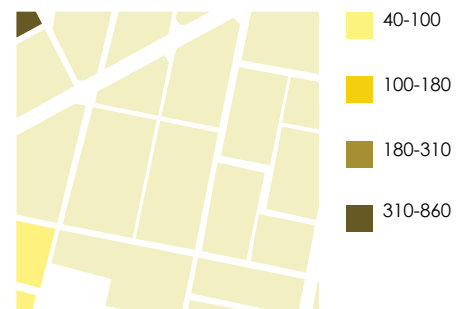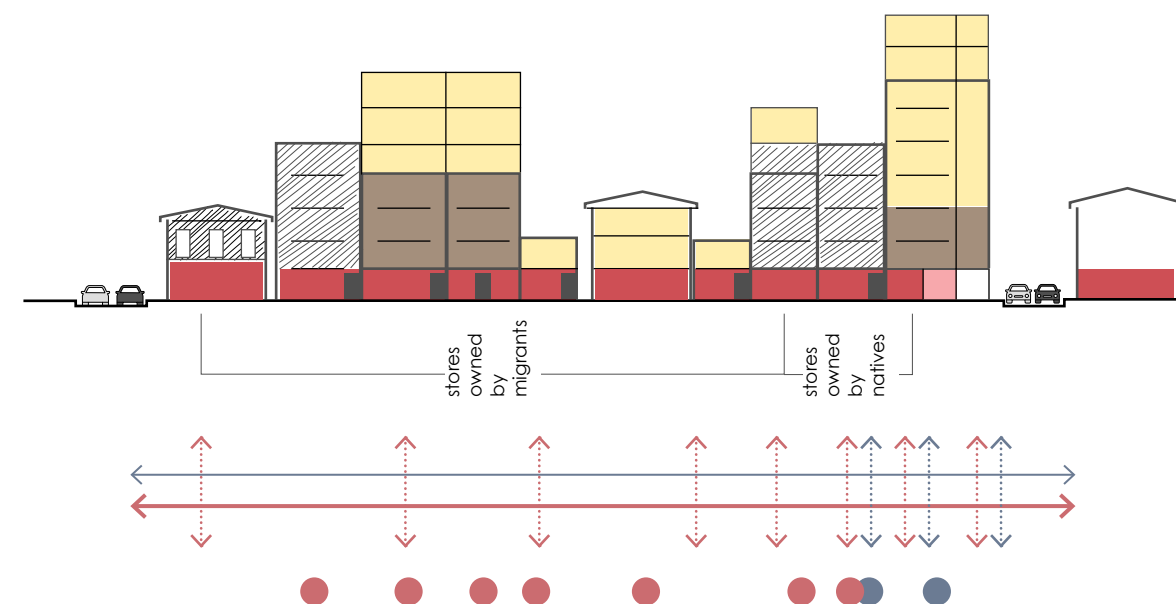
SELECTED AREA: COMMERCIAL CENTRE

300 M

EVRIPIDOU

ATHINAS

AIOLOU

VISSIS

10

STREET HIERARCHY

- - - - PEDESTRIAN

———— RESIDENTIAL

———— TERTIARY

———— SECONDARY

———— PRIMARY

PROGRAMME

- COMMERCIAL
- MANUFACTURING
- CULTURE
- OFFICES-SERVICES
- OPEN SPACES
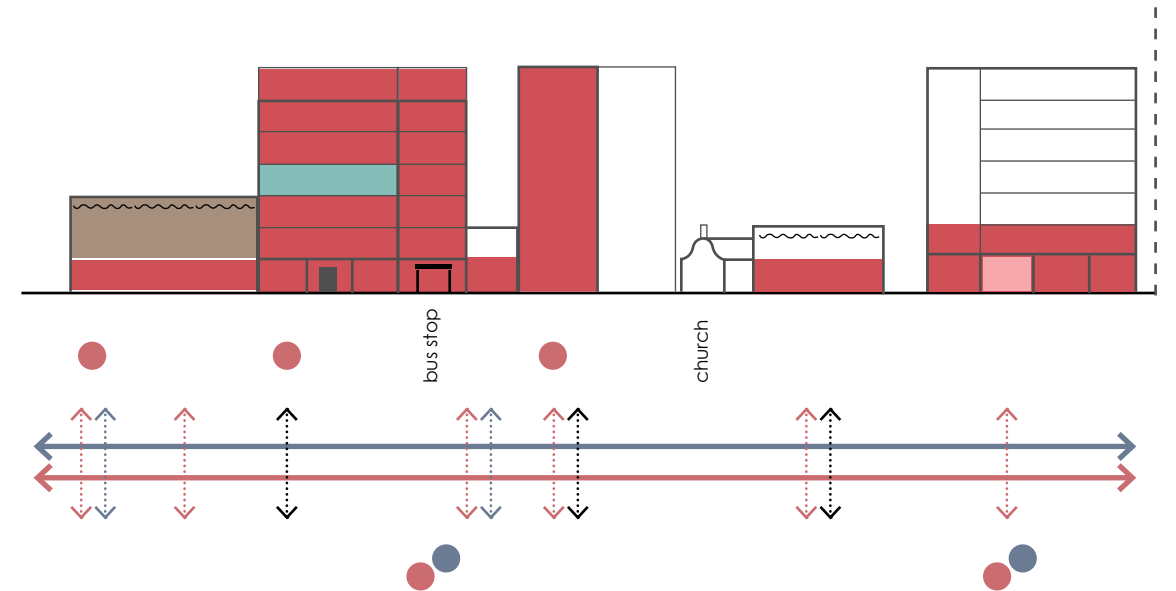
MIGRANT RESIDENTS (PERCENTAGE)

- 0-10
- 10-30
- 30-50

RESIDENTS (REAL NUMBERS)

- 40-100
- 100-180
- 180-310
- 310-860

EVRIPIDOU
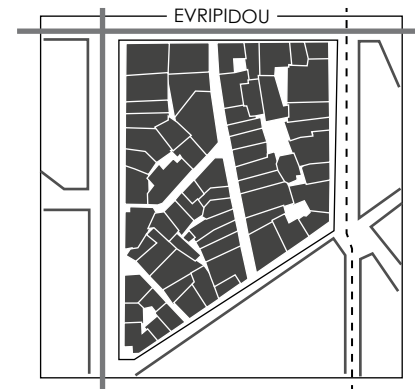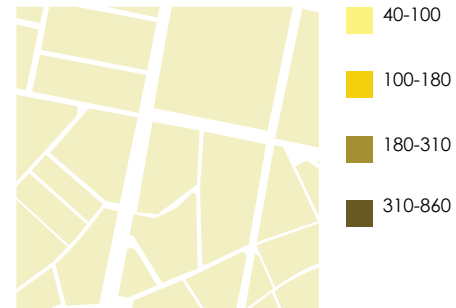
MIGRANTS   NATIVES

ELEVATION ATHINAS

bus stop   church

MIGRANTS   NATIVES

PHOTOGRAPHS

BKCity

TUDelft