Heritage of the Ordinary: An Alternative View

Strategies for Using Cultural Heritage as a Driver for Sustainable Urban (Re)Development in Piraeus

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Strategies for using cultural heritage sites as a driver of sustainable urban [re]development in Piraeus

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The introductory chapter sets the general context of the work and outlines the main storyline of the thesis. It includes the motivation, objectives and relevance of the project, the analysis of problem field and statement, the research questions and methods to be used and the structure of the thesis project.
This research explores urban strategies for harnessing diverse types of cultural heritage as a capital for sustainable urban development. This thesis adopts the definition of cultural heritage as proposed by VERSCHUURE-STUIP (lecture 2017), that being: "what a specific group of people considers as (historically) valuable at a specific moment in time. Therefore, heritage is time related, culture related and person-related". In the built environment, cultural heritage comprises tangible and intangible cultural features that occur within and through the cityscape (JPI CH 2014). Despite the significant role of heritage in shaping societal cultural identities and promoting local specificity and a sense of belonging, there is a widespread gap in the theoretical and urban planning frameworks related to cultural heritage and methods and strategies to incorporate characteristic elements of the heritage of the ordinary urban environment in urban redevelopment projects.

In the context of this thesis, the term 'ordinary urban environment' refers to urbanized areas that are not in some way characterized as exceptional urban complexes such as historical city centers or traditional settlements. This study focused on the cultural heritage of the ordinary because it is an integral part of the urban space and as such it represents a significant resource for its sustainable and prosperous development. The ordinary urban environment may include individual pieces of exceptional value but the work intends to highlight: (1) that the ordinary is essential in valuing the exceptional, in the same way that the exceptions provide the conditions to interpret fully the rule and (2) that the ordinary urban environment holds a lot more cultural heritage than it is officially recognized.

In order to stress the significance of ordinary in contrast to its limited recognition, the detailed analysis of the concept of cultural heritage and its content in the case study of Piraeus periphery followed the distinction between official and unofficial cultural heritage. Official cultural heritage includes officially declared monuments, by both national and international legitimized agencies, and usually reflects elements of exceptional historical, cultural and architectural character and value. Unofficial cultural heritage encompasses significant testimonies of past generations and historical processes that find their physical expression as structural elements of the ordinary urban environment, despite not being officially recognized as such.

This study puts forward the argument that sustainable urban development can be achieved by taking advantage of cultural heritage as a driver of urban redevelopment and by implementing strategies that synergize the cultural, social, environmental and economic spheres of sustainability, as suggested by the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe report (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015). In this vein, this work adopts the understanding of sustainable development as stated in the Brundtland report (KEEBLE 1988:16), as any form of "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Yet, GIRARDET (2013) stresses that striving only for sustainable development is not enough nowadays. New forms of "regenerative development" are fundamental in order to achieve urban development that restores the "relationship between humanity and the ecosystems from which we draw resources for our sustenance" rather than "just sustaining them (the ecosystems) in a degraded condition" (GIRARDET 2013).

In order to emphasize the spatial dimension and potential of cultural heritage for sustainable urban development, this work proposes the additional sphere of 'physical sustainability' to the four-layer understanding of sustainable urban development (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015). This work argues that physical attributes of cultural heritage elements play a crucial role in understanding a 'place', and are vital to any heritage conservation policy and sustainable urban redevelopment plan.

From a literature review on mainstream cultural heritage theories and on reference projects which implemented strategies towards heritage protection and urban development, a range of spatial characteristics, conditions or attributes necessary to the success of cultural heritage driven developments were identified. This work focuses on the potential role of cultural heritage expressions of the ordinary life in framing strategies of heritage protection and sustainable urban development. Therefore, the existence of important testimonies of ordinary life, which are not considered heritage, was emphasized throughout the research. A range of different methods were used in order to identify the spatial elements that embody these testimonies, their cultural relevance and how they can be incorporated in integral urban development plans.

In order to test the validity of the arguments proposed, a research by design was conducted on the peripheral unit of Piraeus1, in the metropolitan area of Athens. During the 1920s and the 1960s, the city witnessed a massive urban transformation. In 1922, a massive immigration influx following the destruction of Asia Minor resulted in a demographic growth from c.135.000 inhabitant in 1920 to a c.319.000 inhabitant in 1928 (PontosNews 2016). Urban expansions took place without any special regard towards existing cultural heritage expressions, both official and unofficial. As a result, valuable testimonies of past generations were irreversibly lost in the process. Nonetheless, the same approach continues to steer urban development in Piraeus to today, leading to a densely built urban area with considerable amount of building stock of heritage value being either neglected or lost to redevelopment projects. In this

1 See next page for clarifications on the same locations and scales of the case study area.
1. Aerial photo of Athens metropolitan area, which is part of Attica province. The so called Attica basin is the continuous, densely urbanized area that lies between the four mountains of Hymettus, Pentélé, Parnitha and Egaléo (Egaléo).

The square indicates the case study area of Piraeus; this is the area of analysis at regional scale.

As a clarification, Piraeus exists as a city and a municipality but the same name is also used for an area of prefecture jurisdiction. In Greek it is called “peripheral unit of Piraeus” and comprises the following five municipalities: Piraeus, Perama, Drapetsona-Keratsini, Nikáía-Agios Ioannis Rentis and Korydallos (indicated in fig.2).

In the context of this project, the name locations will be used as following:

- **Piraeus**: the formation of city and port, in different spatial configurations through various historical periods.
- **Periphery of Piraeus**: the peripheral unit of five municipalities

2. Peripheral unit of Piraeus - zoom in of image 1. The hatched area represents the city center of Piraeus.

  - The square indicates the area of analysis at neighborhood scale. It is an area of twenty blocks in Agios Ioannis Rentis

City of Piraeus = the municipality area of Piraeus
Piraeus city center = the hatched area
Agios Ioannis Rentis = the area of municipality of Agios Ioannis Rentis, where the design zoom-in case belongs
Neighborhood area = design area = Apollon neighborhood = the zoom-in case where I apply the guiding principles to explore their applicability and the possible spatial transformations
context, this work argues that the embedded characteristics of the existing built environment present an opportunity to introduce transformations necessary for further urban developments in Piraeus periphery without disrupting the city space, its flows and its spatial and social cohesion, and mainly, without further endangering the preservation of cultural legacies of everyday life.

This paper is a first step in highlighting how, in the context of cityscapes, spatial qualities that compose the cultural heritage of ordinary life can be used to tackle pressing sustainability issues. The use of cultural heritage as a conductor of urban development provides conditions to ensure the preservation of relevant testimonies of past generations and, therefore, of important artifacts and customs related to local identity. Additionally, the understanding of urban development through the perspective of cultural heritage preservation and development can create positive impact on the broader sustainability framework. This work does not propose the approach to urban development through the lenses of cultural heritage as an antidote to all sustainability challenges faced by contemporary urban territories. Rather, this work proposes that a systematic identification of cultural heritage characteristics can be used as an alternative capital for sustainable urban transformations.

1.2 _ Aim and Vision

The importance of cultural heritage has two dimensions. From a theoretical and philosophical point of view, it provides a connection to socio-cultural values that form the backbone of contemporary (and future) societies. From a practical point of view, most urban spaces inside the European continent have been densely built and are gradually stepping into the sphere of heritage. These urban areas represent the embodiment of customs, beliefs and historical processes of ordinary life that have defined a multitude of contemporary societal cultures. Cultural heritage, therefore, occupies a significant percentage of the European urban landscape. However, due to the recurrent lack of available urban land for new developments, cultural heritage testimonies of ordinary life have been perceived as one of the few available spaces within cities for redevelopment.

This work aimed at pinpointing the latent potential of cultural heritage as a driver of urban redevelopments focused on sustainability. Undeniably, international institutions such as UNESCO and the European Union have significantly contributed to the protection of cultural heritage. However, in practice, there is a worrisome lack of recognition of alternative cultural heritage forms, which do not fit into the commonly accepted testimonies of few eminent and influential figures; such as royal families or personages of ancient history.

This work embraced and proposed the vision to cultivate and establish a holistic approach to cultural heritage, taking into consideration not only the diffusely recognized official heritage forms, but also significant urban expressions of the daily life, so that coming generations use in a better, more efficient and respectful way what by then will also be heritage.

The proposed strategy for the periphery of Piraeus focuses on cultural heritage forms related to ordinary people and life, for it has become evident that safeguarding heritage should surpass the conservation and preservation of monuments and emblematic buildings (UNESCO 2011a&b). This work aimed at putting forward the need to detach cultural heritage from the notion of museumification and to use it as a resource to re-interpret urban territories. Finally, this work aimed to contribute to the debate on the content of cultural heritage and its potential contribution to urban sustainability.

1.3 _ Scientific and Societal Relevance

This thesis referred to a broader context, which consists of a shifting approach towards cultural heritage “from a preservationist and object focused to an area-based and development-oriented activity” (JANSSEN 2014:622). This work was elaborated in alignment with the ongoing academic discourse on cultural heritage, which brings to surface a reevaluation of what is cultural heritage, its value and its impact under a new multifaceted and layered perspective.

This work argued that cultural heritage comprises the tangible elements of the ordinary urban environment where the intangible can take place or it is expressed. These elements have influenced or influence the ordinary life in such a powerful way that they become characteristic of the urban space and urban life. However, the work also acknowledged that the concept of cultural heritage of the ordinary could inflate to such an extent that literally everything would be considered as cultural heritage and thus in need of special treatment. As a consequence, the intrinsic flexibility of urban space would be endangered and along with it innumerable opportunities to create new layers of cultural heritage of the ordinary. Then, how can a balance between heritage protection and urban development be found within cities with a significant amount of cultural heritage?

In the specific context of Greece, society and cultural heritage have a peculiar relationship, in which the appreciation of a certain part of the history grows at the expense of the wider cultural capital. Thus, important testimonies of local collective history and memory are threatened by oblivion and extinction. The demolition of refugees’ settlements of 1922 in the post-war decades can
be pinpointed as a relevant example of cultural loss. As a result, a part of national history was lost and important national figures and their stories were forgotten.

In this context, this work aimed at promoting a platform to challenge not only the current perception on what cultural heritage is, but also on why it should be preserved. More importantly, it aimed at exploring methods on how to preserve cultural heritage in urban environments, without jeopardizing the city’s capacity to adapt itself to new demands and challenges. The subject of this thesis also relates to the European Post-Masters in Urbanism (EMU) research agenda regarding the cultural landscapes and post-industrial sites.

1.4. PROBLEM FIELD AND STATEMENT

1.4.a. International context

The growing international research interest on the impact of cultural heritage on all domains of public and private life certifies that heritage can have a strong impact on urban environments, local and global economies and societies (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015). At the same time, the definition of the European Commission for cultural heritage as “natural, built and archaeological sites; museums, monuments, artworks; historic cities; literary, musical, and audiovisual works, and the knowledge, practices and traditions of European citizens” (VERNET & GUNSON 2014) reveals a new approach that addresses a restricted part of culture and only the testimony of a handful of European citizens.

Nevertheless, as highlighted by the EUROBAROMETER reports (2011), the percentage of the world’s population (UNESCO 2001b). The perception of cultural heritage by European citizens is solely focused on official cultural heritage such as archaeological sites; museums; monuments, artworks; historic cities; literary, musical, and audiovisual works, and the knowledge, practices and traditions of European citizens” (VERNET & GUNSON 2014) reveals a new approach that encompasses heritage related to significant testimonies of the past and the present of all citizens and the ordinary life. This approach promotes cultural diversity and shifts away from the unidirectional perception of heritage, which addressed a restricted part of culture and only the testimony of a handful percentage of the world’s population (UNESCO 2001b).

However, the understanding of cultural heritage and its potential are commonly restricted to the limits of tourism. The country is devoid of a holistic and integrated body of urban and economic strategies related to cultural management. The lack of acknowledgment and the de-prioritization of the cultural sector in terms of funding lead to the fast and often irreversible degradation of cultural heritage artifacts and sites. The increasing abandonment of the overall urban environment does not create conditions for the integration of cultural heritage in the already built areas and at the same time it leads to urban sprawl. Therefore, the danger of cultural losses is now urgent more than ever.

The global and Greek national contexts of economic crisis, resource depletion, environmental hazards and urban expansion pressures put forward the need to consider cultural heritage as a key resource in the urban ecosystem. In addition to being a potential capital for redevelopments in consolidated urban centers, cultural heritage stands as testimonies and palimpsests of the evolution of a place and its people through time (fig.5, 6). This thesis deals with official and unofficial cultural heritage of the built environment, which are translated into not only elements of exceptional value and character, but also structural and characteristic elements of the ordinary urban environment embedded in the city. A combination of a diverse range of cultural heritage forms, urban morphological configurations and a set of manifold urban challenges and needs present an opportunity to redirect urban regeneration tactics.
3. (left) Diagrammatic representation of the historical layers identified in Athens and Piraeus. Some are defined by international movements in architecture and urbanism while others relate to the history of the modern Greek state and its evolution since the 1830s. Anyhow, it is a sad yet expected observation that not all layers are given similar attention. Unfortunately, cultural heritage interests frequently focus on certain periods of history instead of adopting a more holistic and integrated approach.

4. (down) Diagrammatic representation of different time periods of building and urbanization activity in Greece and Athens- Piraeus. The length of boxes is not representative of the time duration. The layers indicate the palimpsest character of the urban space and the current focus on specific heritage areas.

Sa, b. Syntagma square (parliament square of Athens) at the end of the 19th century and on 2016
Source: Mpiris (1999) and personal archive
Sources fig 6: //www.uoa.gr/to-panepistimio/yphresies-panepisthimikes-monades/kapnikarea.html
https://chronontoulapo.wordpress.com/2014/03/19/... http://www.gtp.gr/MGfiles/location/image4878[1136].jpg

6a, b, c. The historical church of Kapnikarea in Athens in the ottoman period, beginning of 20th century and today. It was built in the 11th century and almost demolished in 1834 to implement the new plan of Athens of Kleanthis and Schaubert. The changing landscape around the monuments is characteristic of the urban transformation process.
In Greece, the protection, use and promotion of culture and heritage lie primarily under the jurisdiction of two ministries, namely the Ministry of Culture and Sports and the Ministry of Environment. A vast network of public bureau and organizations manage and monitor an extensive number of excavations and restorations. In an effort to actively modernize its approach and capitalize on the multifaceted advantages of cultural heritage, the state follows international paradigms of redevelopment and aligns its operations with the goals and standards set by the European Commission. Thus, these institutions organize and manage events aimed at increasing the awareness and participation of local communities to issues related to cultural heritage (fig. 7). Parallel to that, an equally big number of civic society associations and private foundations foster the appreciation, production and dissemination of arts and traditions of different regions through the gathering and display of historical and archival material and the organization of various cultural events and learning activities, such as film screenings, classes of folk dances or crafting techniques, festivities and events.

Over the past 20 years, several architectural and urbanism projects have been discussed and often implemented throughout Greece. A clear conflict between good ideas, unclear and incoherent legal framework and scarcity of economic resources has led to three categories of regeneration projects worth mentioning: successful, unsuccessful and never realized (despite their dynamics and potentials).

Examples of successful regeneration projects in the national context encompass: i) the New Acropolis Museum and the interest it has triggered in its surrounding area, ii) the restoration and reuse of the old gas industry in the Gazi-Keramikos area, iii) the Environmental Awareness park 'Antonis Tritsis', iv) the Technological Cultural park of Lavrio (fig. 8a, b), v) the new facilities of the National Opera and National Library in Phaleron, and vi) the waterfront redevelopment of Thessaloniki.

Unsuccessful regeneration projects are illustrated by: i) the vast amount of abandoned historical and industrial buildings in all major Greek cities, ii) the backfired efforts to redevelop Omonoia and Koumoundourou square, and iii) the increasing gentrification and degradation processes of neighborhoods around the historical center of Athens due to beautification approaches and large investment in leisure, entertainment and commerce, as in the areas of Plaka and Metaxourgio (Balaoura 2015). Last but not least, there is a series of proposals that would offer a completely altered image and experience of the city but they were never realized. They became subject of intense controversy and remained on papers. Re-think Athens and the redevelopment of Elliniko and Faliron waterfronts are the most representative and massively featured by the media (Mpota 2016).

Regardless of their implementation success, these regeneration projects indicate a shift, in Greece, towards preserving and harnessing cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment, alongside the protection of exceptional architectural and urbanistic artifacts.

8a, b. The Technological Cultural park of Lavrio in the space of the old mine industry before and after the regeneration project.

These two projects proved to be inadequately planned in relation to the everyday life and the urban lifestyle. A mix of conditions such as the unmet promises for environmental upgrading and commercial development, the economic crisis and the changing social and spatial dynamics led to opposite results than expected.
1.4.c Periphery of Piraeus: lost heritage and unsustainable urban development

The metropolitan area of Athens is a densely built and populated basin of about 4 million permanent inhabitants, spanning 3,808 km² within Attica region (ATTICA Region, 2017). Within the metropolitan area of Athens, the periphery of Piraeus occupies a 50.42 km² area and has a population of 448,997 residents (Hellenic Statistical Authority, census 2011). The area also presents a rich cultural heritage landscape, massively related to ordinary life; such as industrial complexes and refugee housing.

Piraeus has been the port city of Athens since ancient times. Despite being paramount to Athens' economic prosperity, Piraeus has always lagged behind the capital regarding urban and economic development. Being for centuries the main gate to Athens, Piraeus eventually gained the status of city, still though under the shadow of the fame of classical Athens as the symbol of western civilization. In the Modern Greek state, Piraeus' history interweaves with industrialization and migrant communities created by refugees of Asia Minor or economic migrants from the Greek countryside (mainland and islands). Even today, Piraeus responds once again to the contemporary refugee crisis by opening its gates to refugees and immigrants from the Middle East.

The periphery of Piraeus presents a vast cultural heritage ensemble. The city also has a promising economy, with strong touristic, maritime and logistics industries. It is officially considered a second metropolitan center (after Athens). More importantly to the body of knowledge of this work, Piraeus represents the reference point in the daily life and collective memory of the whole western part of the Attica urban complex. The latter is of paramount significance due to the consistent economic and spatial inequalities between east and west in the basin of Attica, which have become an integral part of its physiognomy (Pantazis & Psiharis 2016).

During the past decade, it has become evident that the building stock in the majority of Greek cities is a lot bigger than needed and thus it cannot be sustained economically or environmentally (Tripodakis 2011). The economic crisis and the gradual deconstruction of the social welfare system destabilized the real estate market and the building industry through the decline of citizens' economic power. The prevailing building system has proven to be economically and environmentally unsustainable, due to various reasons; including its building technology and the unplanned, frequently unlicensed urban expansion. The repetition of multi-storey apartment building of low quality and environmental value has resulted in loss of identity and sense of belonging. Severe traffic and congestion problems deteriorate the air and sound pollution while the scarce public spaces function as unexpected oasis rather than structural part of the city structure.

The periphery of Piraeus is a dense urban tissue, which struggles with multiple urban and environmental challenges. The city prioritizes private mobility models, lacks an organized network of public spaces and social facilities and is spatially segregated from its waterfront and the surrounding mountain formations. Additionally, the urbanization model implemented in the city has led to a range of cultural heritage artifacts and ensembles being either ignored or destroyed. More importantly, the understanding of cultural heritage as a redevelopment resource remains largely unexplored in the city.

Within the national urban context of Greece, cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment remains unrecognized. Parallel, urban transformations take place at a fast pace, leading to unsustainable urban developments and urban environments with fragmented identities. Alternative methods and strategies focused on harnessing the potential character of cultural heritage sites for urban redevelopments are necessary, in order to promote sustainable cities and preserve important testimonies of local identity.

1.5 Methodology

In order to illustrate how the use of official and unofficial cultural heritage as a capital can provide solutions for different kinds of sustainability challenges in the urban scape, this work elaborated on a fivefold methodological framework. The first step addressed what cultural heritage is in the built environment and which spatial elements and characteristics compose the cultural heritage landscape of Piraeus. The second step stressed the definition of sustainable urban development and what are the challenges and demands of the Piraeus urban area considering the five layers of sustainability1. The third step enabled the combination of sustainable urban development and cultural heritage concepts. This step also indicated how the above mentioned characteristics of cultural heritage of the built environment can be combined with local demands regarding sustainable urban development in a set of principles. The fourth step demonstrated, in a selected neighborhood area of Piraeus, possible spatial outcomes of the proposed principles as site-specific solutions. The fifth and final step discussed the role of governance in the protection and management of cultural heritage.

A through-scale approach was applied as a method to understand the complex social, economic and environmental (both natural and anthropic) dynamics, 1 Based on the four-layer approach of Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe report (CHCfE, GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015) which recognizes that sustainable development occurs when the domains of cultural, social, economic and environmental sustainability are considered together, the notion of physical sustainability have been introduced as a fifth layer in order to stress the importance of certain physical conditions in achieving sustainable urban development. This matter will be further elaborated in chapter 3.
which take place in the Piraeus periphery urban scape. The analysis of Piraeus at a regional scale, from both heritage and sustainability perspectives, led to a set of five principles: i) to develop a network of centralities, ii) to integrate culture in everyday life iii) to develop multi-scale green networks, iv) to establish a functional system of social amenities, and v) to foster multi-scale productive landscapes. At a neighborhood scale, the analysis of the Agios Ioannis Rentis area explored the applicability and spatial outcomes of the implementation of the proposed general principles. The proposed design interventions reflected the initial argument of this work; that the various expressions of cultural heritage in the built environment offer diverse possibilities to tackle urban sustainability issues. The literature review regarding governance at both national and regional scale resulted in two basic recommendations with the aim to point to possible directions to overcome the complications of the current governance model. The creation of a national archive of cultural heritage and the implementation of pilot projects were suggested as potential opportunities to address the major challenges of unclear jurisdictions over the management of cultural heritage, inadequate legal framework and power centralization in decision-making. The final output of this study was a strategy consisting of three parts, namely the guiding principles, the design solutions and the governance arrangements.

Research questions and methods

Within this context, this study proposed the following research questions:

In the spatial transformation processes of the urban environment, how can the cultural heritage of the built environment be maintained and harnessed towards sustainable development?

What kind of strategies are necessary to use the diverse cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment as a physical and conceptual capital to achieve sustainable urban development?

To answer the main research questions, additional sub questions needed to be investigated. In order to explore the spatial applicability and outcomes of the proposed arguments and findings of this research, the periphery area of Piraeus was adopted as a case study. The sub questions and methods used to explore them are described below:

1. How can we define spatially the cultural heritage of the ordinary life and ordinary urban environment in the periphery of Piraeus?
   i) Mapping based on official databases
   ii) Literature review, including legislative, historical and academic material
   iii) Historical research, in order to establish the diversity of cultural landscape

2. Which are the main challenges related to elements and issues of sustainable urban development in the periphery of Piraeus?
   i) layered mapping based on the relevant theoretical framework
   ii) statistical data review.

3. How can physical elements of the built environment that characterize local cultural heritage be addressed spatially in order to respond to local sustainability challenges?
   i) reference projects’ analysis
   ii) research by design: identification of cultural heritage and sustainability elements at different urban scales
   iii) design development: principles at regional scale, and application of the suggested principles at a neighbourhood scale.

4. How is cultural heritage addressed regarding governance and planning in the context of Greece and Piraeus periphery?
   i) literature review
   ii) interviews
11a, b. Panoramic view of Athens’ basin from Lycabettus hill in 1894 and nowadays (2013). The topography shaped the city and vice versa. Within one hundred years, the urban transformation has erased certain landmarks but also created new ones.

This chapter addresses the concept of cultural heritage in the built environment and explores methods to correlate the theoretical definition of cultural heritage and a systematic identification of the spatial expression of cultural heritage in urban landscapes. As presented previously on chapter 1, the periphery of Piraeus was taken as a case study for the development of a research by design approach. The analysis presented, based itself on the distinction of official and unofficial cultural heritage, as proposed by RODNEY (2010).

The main goal of this chapter was to highlight that specific elements of the ordinary urban environment, which are not officially declared heritage, hold important historical value and have a structural role on the configuration of the urban space. This work argued that these tangible heritage should be recognized as cultural heritage, in order to protect important cultural and social testimonies of the Greek history.
2.1 _ Theoretical Framework: Cultural Heritage

“A country without a past has the emptiness of a barren continent, and a city without old buildings is like a man without a memory.”


The quote by the British architect Graeme Shankland highlights the valuable role of cultural heritage to contemporary cities. Cultural heritage exists to remind us of who we are, where we come from and what we used to be. More importantly, cultural heritage is a testament of past knowledge and culture, which can aid in the imagination of possible, suitable and unwanted futures. However, despite its relevance and broad scope, the commonly widespread simplified and misleading perception of what heritage is. This section refers not only to the definition of heritage adopted in this work, but also to goals and principles set by international organizations, and diverse paradigms regarding the protection of cultural heritage and its integration in urban planning.

Based on a description of VERSCHUURE-STUIP (2017), heritage is “what a specific group of people considers as (historically) valuable at a specific moment in time. Therefore, heritage is time related, culture related and person-related”. The importance of these parameters become more explicit when talking about cultural sustainability. Although the term is quite recent and without a commonly accepted definition, it could refer to either the survival of a culture through time or to the perception of sustainability in a certain cultural framework. Hence, time, culture (of a place or community) and personal attitudes affect what is considered heritage.

Within the theoretical framework of this research, cultural heritage specifies a spectrum in which culture and tradition build an understanding of heritage based on local history and the relationships between people and place. From the 1990s on, cultural heritage has expanded as a concept and currently englobes a diversity of elements, processes and customs (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015 & LABUHN & LUITEN 2015). At the same time, heritage has become more evident and accessible to the general public, leading to its understanding, appreciation and, eventually, to people’s involvement in relevant decision making processes regarding heritage protection (LABUHN & LUITEN 2015).

However, despite the growing debate regarding cultural heritage, its relevance and importance of its protection, this work draws attention to two threatening misconceptions related to heritage. The first misconception relates to heritage being considered an unnecessary investment. This belief results in potential heritage being underused or sacrificed in the name of economic development profitability (Belavilas 2011). The second relates to the perpetual use of conventional tactics such restoration as the main way to work with cultural heritage in the built environment. Yet these tendencies are gradually changing. LABUHN & LUITEN (2015:120) mention that “On the one hand [...] traditional strategies like conservation and restoration became pragmatically and economically impossible. On the other hand, [...] its demolition (cultural heritage) became ethically, politically and aesthetically unthinkable”. And indeed, an ever-growing number of urban redevelopment projects give a central role to diverse forms of cultural heritage and try to find alternative ways to manage it.

The perception of cultural heritage sites as elements of special quality that add value to urban plans has evolved into the acknowledgment of heritage as an integral part of the urban and natural landscapes (BLOEMERS et al. 2010 cited by JANSSEN 2014). Consequently, scholars and politicians are exploring innovative ways of cultural heritage management, focused on the possibility of combining protection and conservation with rehabilitation and redefinition in both conceptual and practical levels (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015 & JPI 2014). Moreover, the understanding of heritage as a capital for urban development has gained attention; especially in decision making processes regarding brownfield reclamation and reuse of historical buildings and sites (JPI 2014). In these cases, heritage can be used as an asset in tackling issues such as complexity and adaptation.

Nevertheless, a necessary alternative approach to cultural heritage management includes not only recognizing the significance of heritage and its potentials in stimulating urban development, but also redefining the content of the term itself. A milestone in that direction has been the recommendations and projects of UNESCO (2011) regarding the Historic Urban Landscape as ‘the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of “historic centre” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting’. This approach set in focus the quality of human environment, its dynamic, diverse and historical character; as well as its sustainability in terms of socioeconomic and physical transformations.

Considering urban heritage as a ‘social, cultural and economic asset for the development of cities’, the Historic Urban Landscape approach intends to tackle the implications of climate change, extensive urbanization, market exploitation and mass tourism on historic cities. The continuity of these historic cities in time and space has equipped them with an abundance of cultural heritage that can become the catalyst of socioeconomic development and can initiate a circle of respectful interventions, bringing in their turn revenues to sustain maintenance and improvement of heritage sites. In this context, UNESCO defines seven main principles for activating the Historic Urban Landscape approach, those being: i) full assessment of the city’s natural, cultural and human resources;
ii) participatory planning; iii) vulnerability assessment; iv) integration of urban heritage values; v) prioritization of conservation and development policies and actions; vi) appropriate (public-private) partnerships; and vii) mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors.

In a similar direction, the Joint Program Initiative of the European Commission (JPI 2014) has set a strategic research agenda related to cultural heritage in Europe. The report offers a more inclusive and detailed definition of cultural heritage as well as four categories of research priorities. It reflects all the advancements of the past decades in approaching cultural heritage and its development in the urban environment and takes a step forward in including the rapidly growing digital world in the spectrum of cultural creation and (potentially) heritage. The definition and research priorities are schematically represented in fig. 12.

This thesis embraced the broader definition of cultural heritage given by the JPI (2014), which comprises tangible and intangible cultural features of the cityscape (fig. 13). The analysis presented in the following sections sought to define the spatial expression of cultural heritage in the periphery area of Piraeus and the spatial and conceptual characteristics that could be used as a capital for sustainable urban development. To do so, it did not follow the dipole of tangible-intangible but based itself on the distinction of official and unofficial cultural heritage, as proposed by RODNEY (2010) (fig. 14). Therefore, it investigated cultural heritage elements declared by the state and then the gradual processes of urban transformation in an effort to determine elements that “may not be recognized by governments or be listed on official heritage registers but they are considered to be significant or culturally meaningful by communities and collectives in the ways in which they constitute themselves and operate in the present, drawing on aspects of the past.” (RODNEY 2010:240).

12. Research priorities regarding cultural heritage.
Source: Graphic by author, based on  JPI Cultural Heritage and Global Change (2014) Strategic Research Agenda.

Graphic by author, based on JPI Cultural Heritage and Global Change (2014) Strategic Research Agenda. For more details, see p.11 of the JPI Strategic Research Agenda.

14. Distinction of official and unofficial cultural heritage.
Source: Graphic by author, based on RODNEY (2010)
The structure of section 2.2 was based on the distinction between official and unofficial cultural heritage. Both of these categories comprise elements of the ordinary urban environment. The main intention was to show the amount of valuable heritage present in the ordinary urban environment, which is not recognized and acknowledged.

15. Map of the official cultural heritage of Piraeus periphery.

Source: Design by the author based on
(1) the official database http://
lis roaming/monuments.culture.gr/search_ declarations.php
(2) declaration document of Ministry of Environment at Governmental Gazette 4202/15.05.1987
2.2.a _ Official Cultural heritage

Official cultural heritage includes build elements, sites or uses and functions 1 officially declared by the state as “monuments” and “worth to be preserved” 2 for their architectural and/or historical value (Technical Chamber of Greece 2016).

In the urban context of Piraeus, official cultural heritage includes archaeological and industrial sites, religious buildings, buildings of architectural or historical interest (of public or private use, like theatres or residences), landscape features and war memorials. There are two noticeable remarks: the fact that most of the elements are located within the area designated as historical city centre of Piraeus and that most of the (declared) buildings date back to a handful of very specific historical periods (c.1830s - 1930s).

Apart from the elements of landscape and the archeological findings, the prevailing categories of official cultural heritage includes the industrial heritage and a series of individual buildings, scattered through the historical city centre of Piraeus. The first category comprises the industrial complexes with industrial facilities built in the case study area of Piraeus periphery from c.1850 to c.1940 (Belavilas 2007) 3. Regarding the second category, the identification process showed that these buildings (indicated as light blue and fuchsia on fig.15) were private residences or public buildings built under the influence of the neoclassical or art-deco and elite/eclectic movement, which lasted in Greece for about a century, since the establishment of the Modern Greek state until the first decades of the 20th century (Roumpeka 2009). The majority of these structures has been recognized primarily for their architectural value, an action that raises questions about the level of realization of the importance of cultural heritage in the dissemination of historical, social and cultural values along with the aesthetics.

From one point of view, these actions are understandable because neoclassicism defined the first phase of (re)construction of the newly founded Modern Greek state. Even more interestingly, the neoclassical movement broke the barrier of public and official architecture (constructed and represented by the state or the elite) and permeated the vernacular, ordinary architecture (Roumpeka 2009). Its characteristic elements, both structural and morphological, were incorporated extensively in simple houses throughout Greek cities and subsequently in the periphery of Piraeus. In that way, neoclassical architecture was associated with a period of prosperity as well as with the ordinary urban environment. Their aesthetic and physical value was widely recognized while their existence reinforced the sense of identity. Therefore, the efforts for its protection dominated the scene of cultural heritage management because the aesthetic and physical value of these buildings were widely recognized while their existence reinforced the sense of identity (Roumpeka 2009).

From another point of view though, the preoccupation with specific historical periods or architectural movements indicates either ignorance and disregard for the heritage values of the recent past and present, or denial of their significance for reasons that are not relevant here. Even the recognition of industrial heritage remains a controversial process, despite the active mobilization of the academic and civic society since the mid 1970s. The map of official heritage of the periphery of Piraeus (fig.15) indicates clearly that the state authorities focused on specific typologies and categories based mainly on chronological and architectural parameters. That in turn suggests the exclusion of elements of cultural heritage belonging to other periods or architectural movements and the urgency to redefine what is cultural heritage, why and how it should be protected.

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1 In specific, Parthenopoulos et al. (2009) mention the following elements: “individual buildings or parts of buildings or complexes of buildings, as well as elements of their surrounding area, such as courtyards, gardens, vestibules and fountains; individual elements of urban or rural equipment or networks such as squares, fountains, passageways, cobblestone pavements, bridges, located in or outside settlements; [... the use of a building or plot with or without buildings, which may be located in or outside settlements].”

2 According to the Technical Chamber of Greece (Department of Central Macedonia 2016), the term refers to a building (or other element based on the detailed definition mentioned in Note 1) “for which a decision of preservation has been issued by the responsible archaeological service and published in the Governmental Gazette.” Occasionally the term ‘preservable’ is used as the translation of the Greek word ‘diatiritéo’, which consists the key word used by the Greek state, academics and engineers to describe an element of the built or natural environment as heritage. However, the term ‘preservable’ does not express properly the intrinsic meaning of the Greek word that implies that the element should be preserved (and protected).

3 The only exception found during this research was the building of the tobacco industry (Kerani), which built its first building in 1939-1940 and a new multi-storey facility in 1969-1972 (Belavilas 2007).
2.2.b Unofficial cultural heritage as a result of historical development

Unofficial cultural heritage encompasses significant testimonies of past generations and historical processes that find their physical expression as structural and characteristic elements of the ordinary urban environment. This work addressed unofficial cultural heritage as a result of historical evolution. Therefore, the periphery of Piraeus was spatially analysed through its historical evolution, in order to identify tangible elements of the built environment which already are and others that should be considered heritage.

The historical analysis at the periphery scale contributed to the research in three ways: first, it substantiated the historical value of buildings and areas that are not officially recognized as heritage by the state. Second, it enabled a comprehension of larger spatial relationships such as the development of the dipole Athens - Piraeus or the immense impact of historical events, like the destruction of Asia Minor. Third, it provided conditions to grasp the identity of the place and the connection of the people to the place.

The explored neighbourhood area is part of the edges of both Athens and Piraeus and their development influenced directly its urban configuration and character. For each of the seven historical periods, the presented diagrams are followed by a descriptive text about the general context and a brief indication of what types of cultural heritage correspond to each period. The square indicates the Apollon neighbourhood area in Agios Ioannis Rentis that will be our design zoom-in case.

Note: The abbreviation CH is used instead of “cultural heritage”.

16. Shipyards in front of Perama. A glimpse to the sea from the street level. The physical and visual connection to the sea is a feature of intangible and unofficial cultural heritage that has its roots to the island origin of the first inhabitants of the area. While the industrial zone was hiding the waterfront, the houses would climb up the mountain slope.
In prehistoric times, Piraeus was practically an island detached from the coast of Phaleron, as its name signifies in Greek etymology. A swampy ground called the Alipedon was to be found between the hilly Piraeus and Athens (fig. 17-18). The first inhabitants had settled in different communities, having the city of Athens as a reference point. Archaeological findings of early helladic settlements suggest the presence of several tribes since c.2600-1900 BC at the areas of (contemporary) Palaia Kokkinia, Keratsini, hill of Munichia and Phaleron (fig. 17). Archaeologists presume that the tribes shared a common worship place, around the Kaminia area. This is the closest indication of human presence in the design area of Apollon neighbourhood, which is located in the swampy grounds at the end of Eleonas.

From this period, cultural heritage features include:
- **Official CH**: Archaeological findings
- **Unofficial CH**: toponymy of Piraeus and Eleonas as a remnant of the place’s original landscape

18. View of Piraeus towards Athens with the shallow water area between. Although the graphic dates c. 1845, it gives an idea of how the landscape of the area should have been in ancient times. The buildings are modern constructions, probably of the first residents of modern Piraeus. Source: http://pireorama.blogspot.nl/2015/12/180-23-1835-23-2015.html (edited)

19. Plan of Salamis battle, representation by French chartographer Jean Denis Barbie du Bocage (dated 1785). [Plan du Combat de Salamine Pour le Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis]. The graphic is of 1785 but it is based on the book about the travels of the ancient Scythian philosopher Anacharsis around Greece. The rectangular represents the area of fig.18. Source: https://www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/salaminebattle-bocage-1791
20. Piraeus after the Persian wars, during the classical period and until its destruction by Roman emperor Silas.

Historic times

At 483 B.C Themistocles convinced the Athenians to establish the port of Athens in Piraeus instead of in the Phaleron bay. Later on, the architect Hippodamus designed the city of Piraeus in an orthogonal grid, incorporating the military, commercial and civic activities. This period also encompasses the construction of the Long walls connecting the city in the hinterland with its port. The contemporary Pireos street (which translates as ‘street of/to Piraeus’) follows (in purpose) the trace of this ancient axis (fig. 20). The design area of Apollon neighbourhood is not in swampy grounds anymore, but there are no evident signs of organized inhabitation.

From this period, cultural heritage features include:

- **Official CH**: Archaeological findings (parts of the Long Walls, defensive structures, underwater port facilities and parts of the ancient city’s buildings)
- **Unofficial CH**: Buildings buried under foundations of contemporary buildings, the two rivers as defining axes of the cities’ development, the formal establishment of Piraeus as “the port of Athens.”

21. The port of Piraeus, 5th century B.C. View towards Athens.
Source: http://limenoscope.ntua.gr/limimgs/piraeus3.jpg

22. Birdseye view (from north) of ancient Piraeus with the defensive, port and urban structures.
After the destruction of the city by the Roman emperor Silas at 86 B.C., Piraeus remained inhabited, but with the character of a village at the outskirts of Athens. For a long time, Piraeus was a small port, sufficient for the basic transportation and communication needs. It became known as Porto Draco or Porto Leone or Porto Aslan and the multiple chronicles of western European travellers denote its significance as a gate to the city of Athens. Its most important landmark had been the monastery of Agios Spyridon, which offered accommodation to travellers (MLP 2015). The monastery was destroyed during the bombing by the Turks in 1827 (fig. 24) and the first church of the new (free) city of Piraeus was erected the same place after the Greek Deliberation war in 1836-1837. That church was replaced twice; the first time was in 1843 and the second in 1863 due to small capacity. This temple of 1863 remains to this day as a landmark of the city of Piraeus (fig. 23). There is no special evidence regarding the state of the neighbourhood (design) area during this period.

From this period, cultural heritage features include:

- **Official CH**: [the Piraeus lion, today on display at the Venetian Arsenal]
- **Unofficial CH**: Piraeus as the key to defend Athens once again. Toponymy (district Tabouria - meaning the place of defence barracks, Faros - the lighthouse, Agios Spyridon - the church and others)

Source: http://www.koutouzis.gr/xtipokardia.htm
The beginning of the modern Greek state

After the declaration of independence and the transfer of the state’s capital to Athens in 1834, Piraeus regained its role as an indispensable port and became a municipality in 1835. Its importance was strengthened by major infrastructure that connected Piraeus with the national and international hinterland; as well as to international ports. The construction of the passenger and freight railway lines (1869, 1885 - 1909) and the Corinth Canal (1880 - 1893, not in the diagram) fostered the intense industrialization in the area. The first industries set the direction along the axis of Pireos street, around the main port and towards the west coast (fig. 25). At the late 19th century and early 20th, most of the factories and industries were fully functioning.

The soil and geographical location of Agios Ioannis Rentis area (where the Apollon neighbourhood belongs to) fostered the development of livestock farming and agriculture, although it bordered on industrial zones at the northeast and south. The necessity of the urban cores of Athens and Piraeus for food supplying turned the whole surrounding area of Agios Ioannis Rentis into an important suburb, while its rural character provided an excellent leisure place for the working class.
27. Piraeus and its periphery after 1922 and before 1940, the year of the beginning of WW II in Greece.

28. The municipal theatre of Piraeus used as temporary refugees accommodation. One balcony per family which would soon transform into self-constructed houses, places that people would call home. Source: http://www.lifo.gr/team/lola/60328

Interwar times

In 1922, the destruction of Asia Minor brought a wave of Greeks from the west coasts of Turkey as refugees. This wave intensified the urbanization rhythm and the industrial production and development of Piraeus (fig.29, 33). The new population gave a twist to the city’s character. They were skilful workers and technicians, with a distinctive cultural legacy, which they brought to their new home. Their culture in music, politics and lifestyle marked the cultural heritage of the whole southwestern part of the Athens basin.

The refugees settled in various places around the Athens basin, mostly in self-built structures constructed in plots conceded by the state and occasionally in social housing. The extent and intensity of the phenomenon is illustrated through photos in the following pages (fig. 30-32). The Apollon neighborhood experienced its first urbanization process with the development of the Apollon refugee settlement in 1932 but it kept its agricultural and leisure character until the end of the civil war (1949). From this time on, the whole area of Agios Ioannis Rentis was consolidated as a working class area.

From this period, cultural heritage features include:

Official CH: industrial complexes, railway facilities, the axis of Piraeus street as symbol of economic progress and collective memory, monuments for war and the resistance.

Unofficial CH: refugee settlements, modern buildings (private and public), street pattern and land uses of new urbanization, social housing complexes.

30. Drapetsona 1930. During a long time of instability, urbanization happened in an incremental way, driven by the need of minimum space to settle decently. This process has left physical traces such as the density of the street pattern or refugee houses with all their modifications until today. Source: https://ourathens.blogspot.nl/2014/10/20_31.html

31. Refugee settlements in the Athens basin. 12 big settlements (double-line circles) and 34 small (single-line circles). Republication of the map of the Urban Planning Office in 1944 by the Ministry of Town Planning, Urbanism and Environment in 1975. So the background map depicts the urban area in 1944 while within the black border, we see the area built until 1922. The refugee settlements functioned as urban development centres and within twenty years, the urban centres of Piraeus and Athens were joint through a continuous urban fabric. The tendency of urban sprawl that would cover the entire Athens basin became obvious but the means to control it proved insufficient. Source: Papadopoulou & Sarigiannis (2006)
The bombardment of Piraeus by the allied forces in 1944. Observe how the urbanization is moving up the mountain Egaleo and the cemetery of Anastasi is already half occupied, both signs of the immense transformation of the landscape of Piraeus periphery.

Source: http://www.pireaspiraeus.com/piraeusbombing1944/
25 years of post-war reconstructions

Industrialization and urbanization flourished during this period and they were often uncontrolled, unplanned and fragmented. Eleonas remained only as an area's name and the industrial areas were spatially consolidated in the middle the east Attica and along the coast of Piraeus, Drapetsona and Perama (fig. 33). During the first post-war years, the degraded neighbourhoods of Piraeus periphery faced further abandonment. At the beginning of 1950s though, people started investing in private properties, despite the economic instability and political uncertainty. This construction boom through private small-medium capital proved profitable and convenient for the government, once public resources were scarce. The urban landscape underwent a vast transformation (fig. 34-35) characterized by two building typologies: the double-family house and the polykatoikia, the typical Greek multi-storey and multifunction apartment building (more about it in p. 56-58). Agios Ioannis Rentis and the Apollon neighbourhood lost their agricultural character under the pressure of industrialization and urbanization and followed the mainstream development trend by small scale private investment.
From this period, we have cultural heritage features such as post-modern and contemporary architecture, infrastructural works like sport facilities, cultural venues and educational complexes.
2.2.c _ Unofficial cultural heritage as a result of building regulations

The third section of the cultural heritage analysis of the periphery of Piraeus addressed unofficial cultural heritage as a result of planning and building regulations. The analysis of urban space from the legislation point of view contributed in understanding and defining the specific characteristics that are embedded in the ordinary urban space and influence its perception and experience. These specific characteristics represent site-specific features of cultural heritage, and therefore affect the culture of everyday, ordinary life; for they determine the local cultural identity.

In addition to defining the elements of ordinary urban environment that could be considered cultural heritage as a result of building regulations, the analysis of the legislation contributed in understanding why they have been integrated and solidified in the urban space. The characteristics were divided in three thematic groups: A) multifunctionality B) the right to develop the land and C) structural and morphological elements.

A | Multifunctionality of urban space

Greek cities are characterized by their multifunctional character in both the horizontal axis (geographic expansion) and the vertical (in individual buildings, from ground floor to the upper floors). General residence* dominates the urban space and comprises any land use that is not considered disturbing and can be combined with the residential. In that way, housing is combined with a wide range of uses in continuous rows of individual multi-storey buildings, forming blocks and neighbourhoods and ultimately the city (fig. 38). These uses include leisure (cafeterias, restaurants etc), commerce (from district scale convenience store to the big supermarket chain store and from neighbourhood alternative bookshop to the area's mall), personal services and working spaces (lawyers, doctors etc, ateliers, beauty salons), education (like foreign languages teaching institutes), workshops (car repairing, carpenter or shoemaker), light industry, wholesale and others.

Multifunctionality has always been the status quo of Greek cities. This condition was consolidated in the very first decades of the modern Greek state, when the government would simply forbid certain functions highly unsuitable or incompatible with the residential fabric (like heavy industry). The Legislative Decree (LD) 'About city, town and settlements' plans and their realization' (Government Gazette A 228 / 16.08.1923) was a first attempt to deal with the already formed situation of freely decided land use based on socio-economic conditions. However, it only provided basic measures and restrictions enough to avoid chaos.

The next decisive attempt by the state to manage urbanization in a comprehensive way was with the Law 1337/83 about the 'Expansion of City Plans, Urban Development and other relevant regulations' (Government Gazette A 33 / 14.03.1983). According to this, the planners of General Land-use Plans - namely the engineers of urbanism departments of the municipalities - would be responsible for defining a list of general and specific land uses. Practically, the planner of a GLP would decide which functions were "appropriate" and this is the practice until today.

The problem is not multifunctionality itself but the empiricism of the guiding legal framework. The standards are often obsolete, which makes the urban space rigid and inflexible to accommodate emergent land uses that have not been determined in the GLP. These arrangements impede the urban space and flows to dynamically adapt to the social needs.

The limited size of mono-functional areas might sound excessive but it is a genuine characteristic of the Greek cities. Therefore, the multiplicity of scale and typology of land uses and urban functions that can be found in a single neighbourhood or district is recognized as an element of cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment in Piraeus periphery.

B | The ownership system and the right to develop the land

In Greece, every land property, whether private or public, belongs to its owner along with the development rights and - by default- it can be built under the regulations in effect and unless otherwise specified by special conditions or legal framework (Oikonomou 2002).

There are two important conditions about the ownership system: the multi-ownership and the attitude of owning immovable property. Both of them are characteristic of the ordinary urban environment because of their extent and they are the result of three mechanisms throughout the history of the modern Greek state.

The first goes deeper into history and relates to the development of the first urban centres. Before the deliberation, a great part of the population was nomadic due to the economic and sociopolitical conditions. At the beginning of the modern Greek state (in the first decades, c. 1833-1850), the government conceded land to cultivate and built to individuals or families as a way to create a bond between the people and the place and thus keep the population in urban centres. And from people's perspective, owning land and being responsible for it, including paying taxes, signified the status of citizen; a title well wanted. That was the first step in the attitude of owning the rights...
Polykatoikia: standard multi-storey apartment building. It literally means "multiple dwellings/residences" and consists the main component of Greek urban space. It can be found in different styles and typologies depending on the regulations in effect for the construction period and place.

Horizontal ownership: a particular ownership status where an individual is entitled to exclusive ownership (and development rights) of a building floor or part thereof (an apartment on a specific floor) and mandatory co-ownership of the common parts of the whole property, such as the plot itself, the foundations and external walls, the stair and elevator shafts, the akalyptos (see p. 36) or even amenities like the heating system and underground storage space etc. The concept was already introduced in legal terms since 1929.

General Building Regulations practically function as laws, deriving their power directly from the Constitution and can be appealed only by the Council of the State.

The second was the system of antiparohi* (fig. 39), which led to the consolidation of polykatoikia* as dominant building typology and the possession of an apartment as the dominant type of ownership. As a result, the horizontal ownership* became a concept embedded in the Greek reality and meant the multi-ownership over one structure for the majority of buildings in the city. This characteristic is of paramount significance in the realization of any proposal. Except for the ethical obligation of ensuring social consensus, multi-ownership is a practical problem that cannot be overlooked by planners and designers who seek a real change in the way people see urban space and its (re) development.

The third was taxation. During the post-war periods, financial incentives favouring the private initiative in building worked as a lever mechanism stimulating the country’s economy and the urban environment’s modernization. Favourable taxation combined with the system of antiparohi* led to steep increase of owners in contrast to the massive amount of renters in other cities and countries. As presented, ownership is important not only for what it signifies but also because of the dimensions of the phenomenon and the social implications.

From this analysis, two characteristic features are identified as elements of cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment: i) the horizontal ownership and thus multi-ownership and ii) the attitude of owning immovable property, which translates into the great amount of owners and stakeholders.

C | Structural and morphological elements

There are certain elements that characterize the structure and the form of the ordinary urban blocks and thus the entire configuration and experience of an area. They result from a series of factors determined by the General Building Regulations (GBR).

Since the beginning of the modern Greek state to today, there have been five GBRs (on 1929, 1955, 1973, 1985 and 2012). Overall, they have favoured the ownership of small-sized land property, facilitated the construction of polykatoikia and gradually formed the urban micro-space as it is today. The diverse ambiances of the contemporary city relate directly to the way the GBRs have developed. In order to maintain this characteristic diversity, it is crucial to understand the evolution process of the regulations. Five major factors and the conditions they have created are briefly analysed below. The tables give an idea of the factors’ evolution according to the development of GBRs (fig.43-45, 49-50).

The position of the building within the plot basically defines the distance between the person (as user of urban space) and the built mass, thus influencing directly the perception of dense, narrow, vague etc (cite reference). It is the key factor determining the relationship of public-private and the form of the akalyptos* (fig. 40). The modern urban fabric is a synthesis of four dominant typologies (fig. 41).

Prior to 1985, the dominant typologies in the city were the continuous, non-continuous and mixed. As a result, urban blocks developed the characteristic continuous front the vertical air shafts (arguably resembling orthogonal holes through the building) became a characteristic feature of the buildings’ form due to the necessity (and legal commitment) of minimum space for ventilation and light.

Since 1985, the different typologies have been replaced by the detached from all sides (Oikonomou 2002). This condition was mandatory for new urban areas, so it was mainly used in the suburbs. Thus the unbuilt plots within the already formed urban area would follow the typologies of the previous regulations on that matter. Today, the position of the building within the plot in an already developed urban area depends on the existing situation and the development of adjoining plots. Therefore, the final form of the urban block depends on the chronological order of building development.

General Building Regulation (fig.41).

Position typology

Akalyptos: the unbuilt (uncovered) space of every plot. It is defined by the Building Regulation (fig.41).

41. The main position typologies (position of the structure or structures within the plot and in relation to the adjoining plots) that we encounter in the urban space.

Source: General Building Regulation of 1955
Plot suitability is a factor that indicates whether the plot is suitable for construction from the point of view of its physical dimensions. It is determined based on minimum and maximum dimensions of the lot and the structure to be built (fig. 43). The plot suitability factor led to the small-sized, long and narrow-face plots that characterize the ordinary urban block.

The factor of maximum development (or else plot coverage) impacts the size of the akalyptos but most importantly expresses the ratio of built and unbuilt area within a plot (fig. 44-45) and to a certain extent whether the urban fabric is dense or diffused. It was an effort to facilitate the integration of polykatoikia in the urban block of houses with courtyards and gardens, to optimize the development of increasingly limited yet valuable urban space and to provide a minimum percentage of open space (Papadam 2014). The problem is that this space remains fragmented and misused.

Lastly, four factors define the skyline of the ordinary urban environment in terms of geometric correlations between buildings’ mass and the urban space. The building to land ratio, volume ratio, the conceptual volume* (fig. 42) and the maximum height limits (determined by zones) define the final volume of the buildings. In combination with the position typology, they influence the perception of the urban space (fig. 46-48).

These factors determine how many squared and cubic meters can be built in total and thus the profits from their capitalization. As a result, both constructors and owners would try to take advantage of legal loopholes in order to capitalize the most without extra financial obligations. Another issue is the steep increase in the land-to-building ratio and the maximum building height limits during the construction booming in the 1960s. Contractors were then allowed to build buildings of five, six and even nine floors, arguably disproportionate to the streets’ width. So considering the scale of the phenomenon, it deteriorated the overall ventilation, lighting, visibility and perception of the urban space.

Of course, the four factors have changed through time and they have contributed in diverse ambiguities and typological details (fig. 49-51). Overall though, the skyline as characteristic element is important because it suggests geometric limits that we should respect and further on improve in order to achieve a sustainable and more humane urban environment.

To recapitulate, from this analysis, the following five structural and morphological features are identified as elements of cultural heritage of the ordinary environment: i) the relationship of public-private, ii) the akalyptos, iii) the small-sized plots, iv) the relationship of built-unbuilt (coverage of free space) and v) the skyline.
46. Section at an area where the residential prevails and the impact of position typology is more evident. Left, an older single or double-family house with a flower bed in front; the garden plays the role of semi-public transition space. Right, a polykatoikia with pilotis at the groundfloor; unfortunately instead of an enlarged public - semi-public space, we have extensive parking.

47. Section at an area where residential kind of balances other uses prevails. At the left, a polykatoikia with higher groundfloor to accommodate commercial uses. At the right, a polykatoikia with semi-basement as a result of the regulations about the height and volume of the buildings.

48. Section at a city center area where other uses are more common than residential. At the left, a polykatoikia with higher groundfloor at withdrawal from the building line to facilitate commercial uses and expand the public space. At the right, a polykatoikia with several floors at standard withdrawal, as a result of regulations about the height and volume of the buildings.

49. Diagrammatic representation of the difference in the final result of the conceptual volume of GBR 1929 and the standard withdrawal of GBR 1955.

50. (left) The different parameters defining the building's final height and volume in different GBRs. Source: made by author based on the General Building Regulations & Σακελλαρόπουλος 2003

51. Urban area of Aroi, Patra. The urban form is a synthesis of diverse structural and morphological elements, as a result of the developing legal framework. We see here how the standard small plot developed under different conditions as well as the intense transformation of the skyline.
2.3 Conclusions

From the analysis of cultural heritage so far, the following conclusions were drawn. Firstly, cultural heritage comprises the tangible elements of the ordinary urban environment where the intangible can take place or it is expressed. These elements have influenced or influence the ordinary life in such a powerful way that they become characteristic of the urban space and urban life. However, only a part of these cultural heritage elements is officially recognized as such. As a result, there is a great amount of cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment that remains unrecognized and unappreciated.

Secondly, it is possible to define spatially the whole spectrum of cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment through the understanding of the way that the place came to be to its current condition. Cultural heritage lies into a series of significant ‘details’ or ‘typicalities’ that have outlined the way the city has evolved through time. For instance, in the case of Piraeus periphery, heritage is seen in the officially declared industrial heritage, archaeological sites and buildings of historical or architectural value but also in former refugee settlements and the way the orthogonal grid designed partially by the state adapted to the natural slopes and created patches of urban tissue. It is expressed as well through the characteristic multifunctionality of Greek cities and the consistent repetition of features such as the local convenient store or the structural elements of an average block like the okalyptos, the building typologies or the small-sized plots (fig. 52a, b). Fig. 53 shows some of the elements mentioned in the analysis as cultural heritage due to historical evolution at the scale of the periphery. The suggested elements include refugee houses, characteristic street patterns and defining axes as well as buildings and areas of historical significance. Although the latter has been recognized by historians, academic researchers and the local society, the official institutions with the jurisdiction to protect them do not proceed with any plan that addresses their conservation and management. A third conclusion is that the various elements of cultural heritage have diverse spatial qualities that can be used to address different kind of problems.

In conclusion, this analysis enabled the identification of several spatial features that characterize cultural heritage in the periphery of Piraeus. The above mentioned elements were used to structure the principles that are presented in chapter 4 while the three main methodological steps used in this chapter (research on the official heritage, historical evolution and building regulation) were followed in the identification process of cultural heritage elements at the neighbourhood scale in chapter 5.
SUMMARY OF THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

ELEMENTS IN PIRAEUS PERIPHERY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS
- Touristic attraction
- Historical interest and value
- Reference points within the city, even defining toponymy

NATURAL ELEMENTS
- They define the urban landscape by contradiction
- Areas of public interest. They can act as connectors and generate flows
- Expression of historical continuity

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS (SUCH AS WAR MEMORIALS)
- They represent different facets of the history
- They can act as reference points and local landmarks

RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS
- Bearers of architectural, artistic and aesthetic value
- Bearers of collective memory
- Reference points of collective identity
- Expression of local sociopolitical narratives
- Expression of historical continuity

INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES AND RELEVANT FACILITIES
- Bearers of architectural value (industrial architecture)
- Considerable size
- Metropolitan accessibility
- Bearers of historical value: Representative of the daily life of the average social classes & Expressions of local sociopolitical narratives
- Expression of historical continuity

BUILDINGS OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
- Medium size
- Disseminated through the city (potential to create conceptual connections)
- Local reference points

BUILDINGS OF VARIOUS ARCHITECTURAL PERIODS
- Bearers of architectural, artistic and aesthetic value
- Medium size
- Disseminated through the city (potential to reuse them in various ways)
- Bearers of historical value: (1) as testimonies of architectural history (2) occasionally related to an event or a person

REMAINING REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS
- Important architectural ensembles
- Special architectural features such as the publicly accessible inner courtyard
- Structural interest (representative of the self-construction methods)
- Bearers of collective memory

MULTI-FUNCTIONALITY & MULTI-OWNERSHIP
- Avoidance of zoning
- Smoother transition of urban land uses and functions
- Flexibility in transforming the uses
- Great amount of stakeholders
- Property as life investment
- Increased fragmentation of the urban space

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE: RELATIONSHIP AND TRANSITION
- Different types of ground floor to street relation
- Various transitional spaces

AGLYPTOS (p. 67)
- Semi-public / common free space
- Potentially green area
- Re-interpretation of inner courtyard

SMALL-SIZED PLOTS
- Fragmented property (both spatially and socially, with implications for any regeneration effort and the management of the built space)
- Small buildings and “pockets” of unbuilt space
- Expression of historical continuity (as a feature dating back to the foundation of the Greek modern state)

RELEVANCE OF BUILT-UNBUILT SPACE
- Defining the density of built and unbuilt
- Differences of scale

IMPORTANT AXES & STREET PATTERNS
- Expression of historical continuity
- Bearer of collective memory and identity
- Connection of port and city, north and south
- Considerable amount of vacancy along the central
- Proportion of street width and buildings’ height
- Different characters (size, mobility etc)
- Synergy with the original landscape
- Integration (local / metropolitan) and accessibility
53A. The Tower of Piraeus; one of the few skyscrapers in Athens (and Greece overall), built in 1972-1983. Only the first three floors have been ever used. The rest remain empty until today, for various reasons. Source: http://www.greekarchitects.gr/gr/

53B. Typical store with items of everyday use. It is representative of the daily routine that used to take place in the commercial/industrial area of Agios Dionysios neighbourhood in Piraeus. The original labels, the door and windows are preserved. Photo by author.

53C. The old railway line use to pass through the houses. At the right and left of the rails, buildings made by stone would accommodate storage uses (in the basement/ground level to the rails), light industry/manufacture in the ground floor (face to the street at the other side) and residence on the top floors. This ensemble is today preserved in these two blocks. Photos by author.

53D. An old refugee house next to newer buildings that replaced similar refugee houses but kept the initial plot proportion. Nikea, Piraeus periphery.
This chapter addresses the concept of sustainable urban development and explores methods to correlate the theoretical definition of sustainable urban development and a systematic identification of the spatial expression of it in urban landscapes. The main goal of this chapter was to comprehend the main challenges related to elements and issues of sustainable urban development and their spatial expression. The work adopted the approach of *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe* report (CHCfE 2015) for sustainable urban development as a synergy of multiple sustainability spheres. Then, the content of each sustainability sphere was determined based on the methodological tool of *Sustainability Circles* (CoS 2015/2017). The two theoretical approaches were partially adjusted for the purposes of the project and they formed the backbone of the spatial analysis regarding sustainable urban development in the periphery of Piraeus.
3.1 _ Theoretical Framework: Sustainable Urban Development

Unprecedented transformations related to society, economy, culture and environment are taking place into modern cities (UNESCO 2011a). Urbanism as a discipline that addresses the issues of the built environment has a significant role in securing the sustainable urban development under the globally and rapidly changing conditions. In this context, the theoretical analysis contributed in deciphering the meaning and content of sustainable urban development and subsequently defining which elements were to be analysed in the case study of Piraeus periphery.

Internationally, there is a strong tendency to reinterpret sustainable urban development as a multifaceted and complex process comprising a set of decisions and actions to ensure resilience, stability and livability (INHERIT 2007) and urban projects as an opportunity to reflect on achieving sustainability in all sectors of urban life, as evidenced by the plethora of reports on deciphering and evaluating regeneration projects all around Europe and the world. The United Nations have declared sustainable cities and communities and responsible consumption of resources as two out of the seventeen goals in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN 2016:3, 13) (fig. 54). Therefore, various organizations and institutions work on defining the core elements of sustainable urban development as well as universal principles of strategic planning and design to achieve the ultimate goal.

Admittedly, there have been fundamental achievements in the general theoretical framework since the 1980s. To start with, the definition of sustainable development by the Brundtland Commission of the United Nations, as any form of “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (KEEBLE 1988:16), introduced a much broader view on sustainable development, open to different interpretations. It stated firmly the universal, interracial and intergenerational character of sustainability and its trans-scale and transdisciplinary perspective.

Soon after, the three E’s of sustainability triangle by Goodland (1995), the conceptually similar Triple Bottom-Line approach by Elkington (1997) and the three-legged stool of sustainability by Hasna (2006) established the equal importance of social structures, economic prosperity and environmental resilience in pursuing sustainable development (fig. 55-57). As a result, the concepts of spatial equity, socio-spatial justice and social cohesion entered anew the field of urbanism and planning.

Unfortunately, the economic crisis of the last decade revealed fundamental weaknesses of European Union in all three economic, social and political levels but also halted and even pushed back the socioeconomic progress of the past twenty years (EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2010). In order to overcome the general recession, European Commission set as Europe’s central aim the sustainable, smart and inclusive growth. Sustainable growth was defined as a “more resource efficient, greener and more competitive economy [... exploit]ing Europe’s leadership in the race to develop new processes and technologies” (EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2010:12). The focus is on using clean energy and upcoming technologies, safeguarding the small-medium enterprises and creating new jobs through the development of these sectors. Smart growth highlighted entrepreneurship and financial support in digital products and services as conditions to strengthen the knowledge and innovation sectors and ensure that ideas can evolve and find application in the global market. Inclusive growth addressed educating and empowering people to confront the changing world by tackling unemployment, poverty and social inequalities.

These approaches consolidated the notion that sustainable development (should) address economic, environmental and social facets of human activities as of equal importance to the resilience and livability of the built environment. However, none of them dealt with the significance and the role of culture and heritage as an autonomous category of human activity whose sustainability is jeopardized by the pressure of growing urban transformation, despite the general agreement on the “need to better integrate and frame urban heritage conservation strategies within the larger goals of overall sustainable development, in order to support public and private actions aimed at preserving 54. The 17 global goals of the United Nations for Sustainable Development as presented in the 2030 Agenda (UN 2015)

55. The three E’s of Sustainability by Goodland, 1995
56. Triple Bottom Line by J. Elkington, 1997
57. The three-legged stool by Hasna 2006
Recently, the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (CHCfE) report moved decisively towards a holistic approach of sustainable development in the built environment (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015). The project identified four spheres of sustainability and combined them into a four layer approach, thus stressing the necessity to cross-analyse various aspects of sustainability in order to address successfully the complexity of urban (re)development. These layers are the environmental, economic, social and cultural sustainability and each comprised a series of elements and concepts related to the accomplishment of said sustainability and affected by its impact (fig. 58). This approach made a radical contribution to the body of knowledge in two ways. By recognizing that “heritage is a resource which can enhance social capital, economic growth and environmental sustainability” (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015:100), it introduced the notion of cultural sustainability as equally significant with the social, economic and environmental. By adopting a four layer approach rather than four pillar alternative, it stated that environmental, economic, social and cultural sustainability ought to converge and act in synergy in order to achieve sustainable urban development ¹.

In order to emphasize the spatial dimension and potential of cultural heritage for sustainable urban development, this work proposed the additional sphere of ‘physical sustainability’ to the above analysed four-layer understanding of sustainable urban development (fig. 59 a, b). Physical sustainability describes an area, a complex or a building/structure in relation to the city’s flows, concentrations and reference points or landmarks. Unfortunately, this perspective often seems to be implied or self evident; researchers, governments and citizens take it for granted and consequently compromise the very existence of cultural heritage. This work argued that physical attributes of cultural heritage elements play a crucial role in understanding a ‘place’, and are vital to any heritage conservation policy and sustainable urban redevelopment plan. Within this study, these attributes are: i) the actual physical status of structures, that is the condition of buildings in terms of stability, risk of collapsing and various damages; ii) local accessibility; iii) metropolitan accessibility and iv) vicinity to centralities and services.

¹ As mentioned in the report, “It is suggested that sustainable development occurs when all domains are considered together and all possible logical relations between given domains may occur” (GIRAUD-LABALTE et al. 2015:100).
The content of sustainability spheres

Having established that sustainable urban development is expressed through the synergistic framework of five spheres of sustainability as analysed above, the theoretical analysis proceeded in determining the specific content of each sphere. Which features and concepts would indicate the achievement of every sustainability objective? From a theoretical point of view, these elements were specified using the Circles of Sustainability, a methodological tool introduced by Paul James in 2015 and adapted by the author in the context of this project. From a practical point of view, the analysis investigated maps and data related to these elements for each sphere of sustainability in order to identify spatially the main challenges of sustainable urban development in the periphery of Piraeus (section 3.2). That process offered the opportunity to deconstruct the generality of the concept of sustainable development and address its components in specific, as well as to conceptually put together quantifiable and non-quantifiable factors without compromising their importance or contribution.

Originally, the tool of Sustainability Circles was developed based on the view that social practices form the background of the urban life and can be categorized in four principal domains: economics, politics, culture and ecology (CoS 2015/2017). In that way, the sustainability of a city is linked to the sustainability of its society. Hence by assessing the sustainability of the social life domains we can assess how sustainable a city is (through the activity of its residents). This work embraced the theoretical and conceptual basis of the Sustainability Circles but a series of adjustments was needed in order to incorporate the Circles of Sustainability in the research and design process. The adjustments aimed to align this method with the content of sustainable development and referred to its structure and content.

The original graphic comprised four ‘domains’ of social life with seven ‘sub-domains’ each; the latter represent defining elements with significant role in achieving, safeguarding or even disrupting sustainability (fig. 60). Each element could in turn take a value ranging from ‘critical’ to ‘vibrant’ (fig. 61). In the adjusted version, the following have changed (fig. 62-63): i) the feature of value assigning was excluded from this analysis because the Sustainability Circles were used primarily for their content, as a complementary tool of definition; ii) the domain of ‘physical sustainability’ was introduced so that the tool would be consistent with the theoretical framework of sustainable urban development, as used in the context of this project; iii) certain elements were simplified or merged while others were added. It is important to clarify that the added or adjusted components were implied in the existing version. However, their representation was unnecessarily rigid, the language was occasionally confusing and the individual elements represented values or aspects that could hardly be defined at a small-scale analysis of a city neighbourhood.

The Circles of Sustainability are the graphic representation of the so-called Profile Circles, which is the first part of the Circles of Social life approach. The latter also comprises the Process Circles, the Engagement Circles and the Knowledge Circles. The whole method was developed in detail by Paul James in his book Urban Sustainability in Theory and Practice: Circles of Sustainability (2015) and “provides tools for responding to four key questions [...] associated with four related circles” (CoS 2015/2017).

* The two domains of economics and culture correspond accordingly to the spheres of economic and cultural sustainability.

* As aforementioned, these categories and elements have been adjusted based on the existing method of Sustainability Circles. Details about the exact contents of each element of the Sustainability Circle as developed by the research team of the Circles Project can be found on their official web page (http://www.circlesofsustainability.org/circles-overview/profile-circles/).

* Extensive information about the content of the elements in the context of this project can be found in the relevant tables presented at the Appendix.
3.2 _ CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN PIRAEUS PERIPHERY

The structure of section 3.2 was based on the five-layers framework of sustainable urban development introduced above with the aim to highlight the primary challenges that need to be addressed by the design proposals in the case study area of Piraeus periphery. The characteristic elements of each sustainability sphere were identified according to (the content of) Sustainability Circles. Despite the indisputable importance of all five spheres, this work will further focus on developing an integrated strategy that addresses the physical, environmental and cultural sustainability as a representative version of the approach and methodology suggested by this project. Therefore, the spatial analysis addressed thoroughly three out of the five spheres of sustainability, namely the physical, environmental and cultural while the spheres of social and economic sustainability were briefly investigated. The development of guiding principles and design proposals in the following chapters was aligned to this decision.

3.2.a _ Physical Sustainability

This sphere of sustainability comprises the physical state of structures and the built environment in general, the local and metropolitan accessibility and the vicinity to centralities and services. Fortunately, data and information were available for all four elements.

In terms of physical state, there is an ongoing decay of the overall urban space, including structures and sites with cultural value. The majority of the built stock in the periphery of Piraeus (55.4%) was constructed in the decade 1971 - 1980 or earlier (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011, fig. 64), which already implies a level of wear due to time. In parallel, the urban sprawl of the past three decades towards the northeast suburbs of Attica has increased the percentage of vacancies (fig. 65). That is because the urban sprawl was not driven by booming population numbers or (emerging) housing needs but by the socioeconomic changes in the average household and the raising living standards (Palogou 2009-2010). The vacant apartments or buildings have multiplied in the recent years as the financial crisis has led many businesses and productive activities to cease their operation. As a result of desuetude, a significant amount of the built environment is poorly maintained, in an incomplete and incorrect way, if not at all abandoned.

Note: the statistical graphics refer to the total amount of buildings in Greece but the proportions do not differ for the built stock in the periphery of Piraeus.
In terms of accessibility, there is a strong dependence on private car rooted in the importance of independence when it comes to transportation (Vlastos 2015). Especially citizens of the wider metropolitan area of Athens (out of Athens centre) prefer the private means whenever possible instead of the slow, insufficient and inefficient public transport.

“... following all these infrastructure works made for the car and public transport, what can be observed today is that Athens is divided into the centre, where the use of public transportation is favourable and the rest of the city, of multiple area size, wherein the private car remains advantageous”

Vlastos (2015)

From the point of view of local accessibility, the car use prevails once again, partially due to lack of alternatives. Public transportation is organized around a dense, yet inadequate bus network, which lacks proper organization of timetables and routes in order to meet the needs while the bus fleet becomes largely obsolete. Apart from the vehicle based accessibility alternatives, the scarcity of pedestrian or bike networks exposes the disproportional distribution of urban space throughout the area. Pedestrians have very little space, since sidewalks are generally too narrow, badly maintained and regularly occupied by parked cars (fig. 66). Occasionally, some streets are pedestrianized within local commercial areas of the municipalities or following local initiatives. The first case is somehow more organized and two examples are to be found in the periphery of Piraeus, found in Piraeus city centre and Nikea. The second case is reflected in fig. 68b with the scattered, disconnected fragments of pedestrian streets. The situation is even worse with the -basically inexistent- bike network.

From the point of view of metropolitan accessibility, the car infrastructure serves sufficiently all the areas of the Piraeus periphery (fig. 68a). In addition, the fixed track means of transportation reach the port (and hence city centre) of Piraeus, which works as reference point and transfer node, primarily for the rest of Piraeus municipality and the areas of Perama, Drapetsona and Keratsini. In the same way, another centrality that draws attention is the metro station of Egaleo; although outside the boundaries of Piraeus periphery, it works regularly as transfer node for the residents of Korydallos and Nikea. Currently, the west municipalities are still disconnected in terms of fixed track means (fig. 68b), which intensifies the car dependency. However, the extension of the metro line 3 ‘Agia Marina – Eleftherios Venizelos Airport’ towards Piraeus through the western suburbs proceeds intensively (fig. 67) and the first three stations of Agia Varvara, Korydallos and Nikea are expected to be delivered in 2019 (News247 2017).

In terms of vicinity to centralities and services, the research showed that all residential areas are in acceptable distance from municipality centres and basic services such as healthcare, education, leisure etc. However, these services are not enough to cover the needs of the half million population of the area due to understaffed facilities, insufficient equipment, unqualified or unskilled employees and lack of proper management training of high rank employees with positions of responsibility, which results in deficient and damaging human resources management (Ministry of Administrative Reformation 2007). Consequently, the public services are inefficient, unproductive and economically damaging for the public sector (Ministry of Administrative Reformation 2007). The last topic to be mentioned in this analysis is the metropolitan centralities; areas of public interest at locations widely accessible, such as the Environmental Park of Schisto, Piraeus and Egaleo mobility nodes, Piraeus city center, the cultural centre Manos Loizos, the Stadiums Peace and Friendship and Karaiskaki and other major leisure, cultural and athletic facilities. Although these centralities could have metropolitan impact, the accessibility problems mentioned above undermine the optimization of their potentials.

In conclusion, the continuing degradation of the built environment influences the overall image and attractiveness of the city and intensifies the citizens’ indifference for the urban space. This long-term inaction hinders the development of a comprehensive policy and carries on problems to the next generation of decision-makers. In parallel, the urban space bears the marks of car dependency and its configuration impedes the safe and reliable commute within the city. Therefore, the analysis of the elements of physical sustainability highlighted the need to reverse the degradation process of the building stock, to provide accessibility for all the users of the urban space and to enhance the vitality of the metropolitan centralities network.
66. Perspective view of a commercial street in a general residential area. The configuration of the space impedes the circulating of pedestrians and bikers.

i) Although there is enough space, it is occupied by parked cars and there is no biking lane.

ii) The placement of trees reduces the useful space at half without at least replacing the hard pavement with greenery or a softer material.

67. Planned extension of Attico Metro - line 3

68. Map of mobility infrastructure, accessibility and centralities. The centralities are places where people from different municipalities would visit or gather. They are green areas of metropolitan range, Piraeus and Egaleo centres as mobility nodes, Piraeus city centre and major leisure, cultural and athletic facilities.

Overall, both local and metropolitan accessibility are car oriented. The former is fairly good despite the lack of organized slow mobility networks, while the latter has few alternatives other than the car due to lack of connections to fixed track means and inadequate bus service. As a consequence, the diverse centralities are not well connected and therefore miss the opportunity of metropolitan impact through a coherent network.
### 3.2.b Environmental sustainability

This sphere of sustainability addresses the following: i) habitat and settlements (topography and land-use), or else the natural landscape in relation to the man-made environment; ii) availability and quality of materials (e.g. minerals, soil fertility) and energy (use and consumption, renewable resources); iii) condition of air and water (vitality, adaptability, climate); iv) condition of flora and fauna (biodiversity and vitality); v) emissions and waste (pollution, management of solid and liquid waste); vi) physical, mental and psychological health of the inhabitants. Within the context of this analysis, four out of the six elements of environmental sustainability were addressed, namely the habitat and settlements, air and water, flora and fauna and emissions and waste.

In terms of habitat and settlements, the natural landscape has left indelible traces in the configuration of modern urban environment. The topography of the periphery of Piraeus is defined by the mountainous relief of Mount Egaleo in the west, the long coastline, the river Kifissos crossing the basin from north to south and its plain area, Eleonas (see p.38). All four of them affected significantly the urbanization process and vice versa. More specifically, as mentioned above in the section 2.2 of historical analysis, the mountain slopes were gradually occupied by the migrants flowing into the area, thus the city adapted to the contours and climbed up the mountain (fig. 11a,b in p.24-25). Similarly, the coastline was transformed to serve the needs of the modern city both as a port and an urban centre. Today the access to the waterfront is inhibited by the heavy port activities along the west coast (fig.69) and the plethora of cafeterias, restaurants and yacht docks along the eastern (fig.70a,b).

Kifissos riverbed was either confined or forced underground and converted into a highway. A small part of the river was left uncovered but remained practically inaccessible and detached from the adjacent urban space (fig.71)\footnote{Kifissos river used to be one of the most important and renowned natural landmarks for all the inhabitants of the basin of Attica. People used to spend leisure time during weekends and holidays along its riverbed until the 1960s. The urbanization and industrialization processes contributed to its pollution by urban and industrial wastewater as well as its detachment from the residential areas.}. The multiple streams flowing from the hills into Kifissos river were put underground as well, yet their trace is reflected in the modern street pattern (fig. 81a). Lastly, the plain area of Eleonas was transformed from the renowned olive grove of Attica to an extended industrial zone, destroying one of the largest natural reserves of the basin.

In terms of air and water, the vitality and adaptability of the region to climate change and the urban transformations are affected by the downgraded microclimate and the flooding risks. The urban configuration “affects the microclimatic conditions because it determines at great extent the shading and airflow between buildings (ventilation)”\footnote{Karakounos & Stathakis 2013}. Proper
Shading and ventilation are crucial to the atmospheric cleansing and cooling of an urban area and they are both influenced by the orientation and width of the streets, the height and shape of the building blocks and the building density. Unfortunately, the spatial characteristics throughout the periphery of Piraeus obstruct the successful regulation of the microclimate. The location of the city on the bare mountain slopes in combination with the high density of urban space impede the air renewal and lead to temperature rise (fig. 72-73). Likewise, the unfavourable proportion of (narrow) streets to the height of buildings prevents the cleansing of air from gas emissions that accumulate and get trapped within the urban fabric (fig. 74). This already suffocating feeling in public space is further deteriorated by the lack of organized greenery in tactical intervals that would increase significantly the shading area and contribute to temperature reduction due to the plants’ “lower thermal capacity and thermal conductivity in relation to building materials and outdoor spaces (Gianna, 2002)” (Karakounos & Stathakis 2013). The urban greenery would also act as a filter by absorbing about 50% of the solar radiation while reflecting 30% and emitting only 20% (Karakounos & Stathakis 2013).

Another issue of adaptability is the recurrent flooding incidents that occur in case of heavy winter rainfalls and provokes several damages, from ground-floor and basement flooding to paralysis of the road network and landslides (fig. 75 a, b). This is mostly due to the unthoughtful, unplanned and reckless way of urbanization since the post-war era. The lack of an organized plan for urban extension resulted in low quality drainage infrastructure that might serve adequately the everyday life but fails to cope with emergencies. In addition, the covered streams (fig. 81a) and the extensive use of impermeable paving materials add to the limited infiltration capacity of the urban space.

In terms of flora and fauna, the periphery of Piraeus shares the same general characteristics with the rest of Attica and Greece. It has an astonishing biodiversity due to the country’s favourable climate, the diverse ecosystems throughout the territory that provided conditions for the evolution of new species and its location south enough to be less affected by the last ice age but also at the intersection of three continents, thus allowing numerous species to survive (Bröderbauer 2013). A surprisingly large number of species of both flora and fauna are endemic, that is to be found exclusively in Greece or even Attica (Vallianatou 2012). Indicatively, at least eighty three species of flora have been recorded in public parks and squares within the five municipalities of Piraeus periphery (fig. 76-80) (Environmental Association of Municipalities of Athens - Piraeus 2012/2017), despite the intense urbanization of the area. In all likelihood, even more species can be found along the streets and private gardens’ vegetation. Likewise, it is safe to assume that an equally great number of fauna species inhabit the urban space.

The challenge regarding the biodiversity and vitality of fauna and flora is
The configuration of the modern urban environment bears the indelible traces of the natural landscape, despite its detachment from the urban scape and lifestyle. The lack of organized urban green in combination with the dense urban fabric impede the air renewal and its filtering. Due to the topography, the urban configuration and the prevailing wind directions, the periphery of Piraeus either accumulates atmospheric pollution from the northern peripheries or pushes industrial pollution towards the centre of Athens basin. The aquifer and the marine ecosystem suffer from pollution and the confinement of the water system (mostly underground) in combination with poor drainage infrastructure result in flooding. The improvement of conditions in the periphery will prove beneficial for the entire Athens basin.

81. Map of natural elements and environmental conditions in the periphery of Piraeus

The configuration of the modern urban environment bears the indelible traces of the natural landscape, despite its detachment from the urban scape and lifestyle. The lack of organized urban green in combination with the dense urban fabric impede the air renewal and its filtering. Due to the topography, the urban configuration and the prevailing wind directions, the periphery of Piraeus either accumulates atmospheric pollution from the northern peripheries or pushes industrial pollution towards the centre of Athens basin. The aquifer and the marine ecosystem suffer from pollution and the confinement of the water system (mostly underground) in combination with poor drainage infrastructure result in flooding. The improvement of conditions in the periphery will prove beneficial for the entire Athens basin.
related to its distribution throughout the built environment. The majority of small-scale green spaces have occurred as remnants of building activity that planned public green. Although there is a substantial amount of greenery, the absence of continuity disrupts the local ecosystems and undermines the biodiversity as well as the efforts to find an equilibrium of built and unbuilt urban space. While public green space remains fragmented, the attractiveness of the city decreases and common perception of people cannot recognize it as an integral part of urban space and therefore, the detachment from the natural landscape is intensified.

In terms of emissions and waste, the heavy industry and the intense port activities along the coastal zone of Drapetsona-Keratsini and Perama as well as Pireos street have always been a large-scale source of water and air contamination (fig. 81). The contamination of the aquifer was expressed mainly in the marine ecosystem and the river Kifissos. Due to improper infrastructure for waste management, urban and industrial waste would leach directly into the river and its streams and eventually into the sea. Until 1994, another major source of water pollution were the sewage treatment plants at Akrokeramos (Keratsini), where the Central Sewage Pipeline channelled the sewage and wastewater of the historical city centre directly into the sea (EYDAP 2017). After the establishment of biological treatment facilities in Psyttalia and the closedown of the Drapetsona - Keratsini heavy industrial zone, the conditions for the neighbouring municipalities have ameliorated significantly in the past decades.

Regarding air contamination, the prevailing winds disperse towards the residential areas industrial gas emissions as well as odours from the stagnant water areas where wastewater from urban functions or port activities accumulates (fig. 81). In addition to large-scale contamination sources, a series of innumerable small-scale sources of pollution within the city burden significantly the environmental sustainability of the case study area. These are mainly due to excessive car use and inadequate solid waste management throughout the periphery of Piraeus, characterized by the unreliable garbage collection system and the minimal efforts of recycling (Negas 2017 & Kanellos 2017). Overall, the main environmental challenges in the periphery of Piraeus are the loss of the original landscape, the flooding, the deterioration of microclimate, the fragmentation of public green and the atmospheric and aquifer pollution. It is evident that the natural landscape has been greatly altered by the urbanization process and in several cases it is lost. The largest part of the periphery of Piraeus accommodates urban land uses and functions, which affects severely the area's vitality and adaptability. The unplanned urbanization disrupted and polluted the local ecosystems, which in turn struggle to withstand and counteract the implications of climate change.

3.2.c _ Cultural sustainability

This sphere of sustainability addresses the following: i) sense of identity and social engagement in cultural practices; ii) creativity and recreation; iii) expression of diverse beliefs and ideas; iv) cultural diversity (manifested through equality and respect amongst and for all, independently of gender, generation, nationality, religion, social status); v) enquiry and learning; vi) memory and its preservation. Within the context of this analysis, five out of the six elements of cultural sustainability were addressed, namely the sense of identity and social engagement, the creativity and recreation, the expression of diverse beliefs and ideas, the enquiry and learning and the preservation of memory.

Regarding the sense of identity, there seem to be two different tendencies. On the one hand, the various blogs about Piraeus and its history (e.g. Pireorama, MLP blogspot, Piraeus: our city) suggest a part of local society has strong ties with the place and gets organized in order to highlight its special narrative through activities and events. In that case, the social engagement is driven by the sense of belonging and the moral duty to safeguard the collective memory. On the other hand, two interviewees claimed that the bond of the people with the urban space is based on practical needs, such as employment, vicinity to family and housing affordability (Negas 2017 & Kanellos 2017).² For them and the generation they represent, the social engagement in cultural activities is rather detached from the sense of identity and community but related to the availability and the quality of diverse forms of cultural life. The interviewees highlighted that the historical city centre of Piraeus is gaining a lot of interest after the renovation of the Municipal Theatre, while there are several cultural activities and leisure opportunities at the local scale, from the most intellectual to the most folksy.

In order to assess the other aspects of cultural sustainability, the research identified the places that contain or promote culture and cultural activities. These places host institutions and organizations that are both public and private and can be grouped in three categories: i) educational facilities (kindergartens, schools, universities), sport facilities (open fields, indoor gyms, sport halls, stadiums) and churches; ii) cinemas, theatres and cultural associations (groups or organizations united over their common origin or a common interest); iii) museums, municipal cultural centres (public institutions commissioned to promote culture and lifelong education) and libraries.

² Both interviewees are less than 30 years old and they grew up in Piraeus (Kallipoli district) and Korydallos respectively. According to G. Negas, the residents of Piraeus city centre and the surrounding neighbourhoods (Piraeiki, bay of Zea, hill of Kastella etc.) live there because of their employment in the tourist, maritime or industrial sector. For J. Kanellos, his parents chose their place of residence as a combination of vicinity to family and affordability; he thinks they would have liked to move if it was economically possible. The interviews were taken by the author and a review can be found in the appendix.
There is a great number and variety of institutions in the periphery of Piraeus that act as poles of cultural education and guardians of the national heritage and the collective memory, but they do so in an amateurish way mostly. Educational facilities and the Church are established as the main cultural institutions, while the civic society could become more efficient with proper resources and orientation. The city lacks an organized approach towards the cultural heritage of the built environment where the urban space is an active factor and the responsible institutions take on this duty as their primary focus and not as a complementary activity.

The notions of creativity and recreation, expression of beliefs and ideas as well as enquiry and learning, are primarily addressed by the institutions of the first and second category, which focus mainly on promoting culture and cultural activities. The institutions of the first group are mostly public and their services are rather targeted to specific audiences and with specific objectives (fig. 82a). It might be surprising to put churches in this category but in the Greek context, the Church as an institution plays a significant role in the cultural formation of the individuals 7. The primary intention of education and sports is to stimulate interest for science and crafts, encourage creative ideas and activities as well as instil fundamental principles such as the good sportsmanship and the tolerance for the different. The church has the complementary role of teaching acceptance, morality and respect to faith and its practice.

In parallel, the second category represents the private sector or private initiatives seeking to provide an alternative cultural product and access to different forms of art (fig. 82b). Cinemas and theatres have a strong educative role; the movies and theatrical plays often challenge the cultural, social and political conventions and expand the horizons of perception towards the unknown. Similarly, the cultural associations contribute to the appreciation, production and dissemination of arts and traditions of different regions through the gathering and display of historical and archival material and the organization of various cultural events and learning activities, such as film screenings, classes of folk dances or crafting techniques, festivities and events. The members of cultural associations are brought together by their desire to establish links to their past and preserve cultural elements of everyday life from their origins. Therefore, these institutions contribute equally to the containment and preservation of collective memory.

Memory and its preservation though are primarily addressed by the institutions of the third category, which includes the places founded precisely to contain and promote culture in the most consistent and unprejudiced way possible (fig. 82c). Their primary objective (and reason of existence) is to preserve tangible as well as intangible cultural elements (archaeological findings, items, books, etc but also recordings of customs, rituals etc). The institutions mapped under this category are the official guardians of national cultural heritage and assigned to address the authenticity and historicity of cultural elements, to keep archives relevant to cultural heritage and to communicate its content and importance.

7 In Greece, religious education is part of the official educational program throughout primary school and high school. In parallel, the religious festivities represent important landmarks for the collective life, even for the nonreligious citizens. Indicatively, most of the national holidays have a religious base while some have national/political base (usually related to deliberation wars) and just the 1st of May has social base. To the national holidays, one should add multiple local holidays based on local saints-patrons and occasionally events of local importance.

The overall impression is that the cultural facilities in the periphery of Piraeus respond adequately to the needs of cultural sustainability. However, the existing modes of participation in cultural events reveal the tendency to disassociate from the past, especially since younger generations lack the stimulus and motivation to embrace it. And there lies a second issue: the institutions with primary objective the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage lag behind in number and resources, thus being replaced by the educational system and the Church. Eventually, these institutions are established in common perception as primary cultural organizations and gain too much power in shaping basic cultural beliefs at risk of biased pedagogy. Hence, it becomes ever more difficult to highlight cultural aspects that do not coincide with the mainstream approach of the established institutions. Under these circumstances, engaging with culture and being inquisitive about the world are not perceived as an everyday and lifelong activity. On top of that, the elements of the built environment lack recognition as individual cultural assets that carry fragments of cultural heritage by themselves. The urban space and the buildings within it are seen as a shell to contain items or expressions of cultural heritage and thereby contribute to heritage preservation, rather than being considered as cultural expressions by themselves.
3.2.d Sociopolitical sustainability

This sphere of sustainability addresses the following: i) governance; ii) justice and ethics; iii) communication and critique; iv) representation and empowering and v) security. As mentioned above, the sociopolitical sustainability was only briefly analysed. Governance is analysed thoroughly in chapter 6 but overall, the vast centralization of power impedes the participation of citizens in decision-making. During the past decade though, a growing number of citizens’ movements take action, especially at the local level. In several cases, the economic crisis triggered social self-organization in various sectors, which in turn provided alternative opportunities of socialization as well as access to social amenities to a lot of people. The so called societal grocery stores and medical centres emanated from the need to support fellow citizens in socioeconomic disadvantage. These collectives became a means of communication and empowering, a reference point of democracy and political expression. Even though the fragmentation and degradation of public space works at the expense of social cohesion and spatial justice, local societies often overcome the various obstacles and shape the spaces they desire, thus changing the urban space in unexpected ways.

These kind of initiatives enhance social interaction and contribute to developing what is defined in the social sciences as ‘social capital’, a means of strengthening social ties and establishing defence mechanisms to adapt individually and collectively to the intense global changes (Public Issue 2016). Internationally, the discourse about social capital investigates the social participation in decision making, the frequency of social interactions, the general feeling of trust in people and the presence of persons to offer support in case of difficulties (Public Issue 2016). In the context of this project, it is interesting to mention the following:

• Business associations, cultural associations and political organizations are the most common civic society groups (fig. 83). The general profile of the actively involved citizen is “male, of higher education and with interest in politics”. Yet, participation in business associations is more common for men (27% versus 11% for women), individuals of 35-54 years old (25%), graduates of higher education (29%), public sector employees (51% compared to 18% for private sector employees) and people ideologically adjacent to the left-wing. Participating in political organizations is also higher for men (10%, compared to 5% for women), public sector employees (10%, compared with 6% for private sector employees) and people ideologically adjacent to the left-wing (11% compared to 8% for the left-wing). The difference at the latter attribute reveals a structural characteristic of Greek society related to politics and the connotation of fighting alongside the ‘powerful’ (political party) or the ‘worker’. Equally intriguing is the profile of NGO participants as people of higher education, residents of suburban areas and without the feeling of financial insecurity.

• In terms of social interactions, 75% of Greeks meet with friends at least once a week; men, young people (18-34 years old), graduates of secondary education, residents of suburban areas, employers and self-employed present the higher frequency of social interactions. Even so, 60% of the population has trust issues with ‘others’, revealing a general disbelief within Greek society for people further than the close environment of relatives and friends. The social trust is influenced by four main factors, namely: i) level of education, ii) level of urbanization of the (permanent) residence area, iii) income and iv) political beliefs. The second indicates the importance of spatial configuration and suggests an opportunity to provide spatial conditions that would foster social cohesion and spatial justice.

In conclusion, the economic crisis of the last decade highlighted a series of sociopolitical problems, which could be summarized in the unequal access to social services that deepens social inequality and in the limited participation in decision-making, which deprives people from their right to claim equal opportunities and benefits. Despite the significant progress in social participation within the Greek society, the statistics show that it remains somehow a privilege of gender, social status and education. Although the study will not explore this matter further, it would be a remiss not to wonder whether social participation is a taboo and a privilege or our societies undergo a severe crisis of ethics and societal values.

83. Participation in organizations and associations.
Source: http://www.publicissue.gr/2538/participation-2013/. Edited by the author

| Business association | 39 |
| Cultural association | 38 |
| Local union | 16 |
| Union of parents (school) | 5 |
| Political party or organization | 7 |
| Athletic club | 6 |
| Agricultural union | 6 |
| Non Governmental Organization | 4 |
| Sports fan club | 3 |
| University Students’ association | 3 |
| Religious organization | 3 |
| Scouts | 1 |
3.2. e _ Economic sustainability

This sphere of sustainability addresses the following: i) production and resourcing; ii) efficiency and growth; iii) regulations and justice (legality of enterprises and compliance with the regulations of fair competition); iv) consumption and use of resources; v) technology and infrastructure (access, use and innovation) and vi) trade and networking.

The main economic activities in the periphery of Pireaus are i) the port activities (cruise ship, passenger, industrial, shipyards, containers), ii) the big-scale industry along Pireas street and the western coast (as developed historically in Agios Dionysios district, Drapetsona, Keratsini and Perama), iii) the maritime and logistics, iv) the touristic businesses, v) the wholesale in the area of Agios Ioannis Rendis, and vi) the small-scale economic activities, leisure and retail in the municipality centres and along the busiest roads (primary and secondary municipal network). Although the periphery of Pireaus has maintained its extensive productive character, information that cannot be visible at first glance and periphery scale should be taken into consideration. According to Belavilas & Prentou (2015), in 2012 the city centre of Piraeus had 315 closed shops, approximately 16% of the total commercial activity. The percentage was lower in the more central streets while the types of commerce that present greater losses was clothing, luxury products and retail.

It is almost needless to say that the economic recession had a major impact in the economic centres of Piraeus periphery (fig. 84). The larger industrial areas gradually convert into drosscape, industrial buildings and workshops remain empty or misused while a vast amount of small and medium apartments remains vacant, after offices and services have ceased to operate due to the economic crisis. In addition, the economic crisis provoked extensive damage in youth entrepreneurship. Fig. 85 indicates both the decreased income from property renting and the lack of entrepreneurs as opposed to the high contribution of pensioners and employees to the average income of the area.
Fig. 86 depicts a combination of the various sustainability challenges identified in the periphery of Piraeus through the research and analysis and the following conclusions were drawn:

1. The recorded biking and running activity happens along the major axes, even without the proper infrastructure. On the contrary, the neighbourhood areas appear surprisingly inactive. Apparently there is a growing tendency to use alternative ways of transportation for the longer distances but it does not compensate for the car dependency and overuse in everyday life activities (which are experienced locally, such as grocery and leisure).

2. The axes of Kifissos highway (and river) and the roadways along the coast act as barriers within the urban space and further strengthen the detachment from the natural landscape.

3. The atmospheric contamination is dispersed towards the areas in the middle of Attica basin, thus creating regularly the phenomenon of a static fine dust cloud where topography is not that steep anymore, especially in the municipality of Agios Ioannis Rendis and the northeastern part of Piraeus municipality. These areas are also in the high-risk flooding area in case of heavy rainfall.

4. Green fragmentation is a widespread issue but there is high potential to connect the existing greenery into a network through simple, small-scale interventions and thereby recover the space of pedestrians and bikers in the city.

5. The only segment of the ordinary built environment recognized as a carrier of historical value and cultural heritage is the city centre of Piraeus, within which lies the official heritage of the whole Piraeus periphery (as presented in chapter 2).
This chapter focuses on connecting the two concepts of cultural heritage and sustainable urban development under a set of guiding principles to be applied and tested later on at the neighbourhood scale. It is the first part of the overall strategy for the periphery of Piraeus and aimed to showcase that combining cultural heritage and sustainable urban development by using the first to achieve the second can be site specific (thus providing solutions for Piraeus) but also malleable in order to steer the planning and design process according to the case, without imposing specific methods and practices, or leading to prefabricated results.
4.1. Establish a network of metropolitan centralities

The first guiding principle suggests the development of a network of metropolitan centralities in order to improve the accessibility infrastructure, strengthen the quality and efficiency of public services as well as amplify the impact of existing places of interest at the regional scale. As aforementioned, there are several locations in the periphery of Piraeus consolidated as reference points, yet deprived of proper accessibility for all. The principle focuses on connecting existing centralities and introducing a couple more. These centralities are already important destinations, thus generating substantial flows from and towards their territory. Therefore, the construction of pedestrian and bicycle networks should start along the commonly used routes in order to reach as much of the population as possible. As the network becomes accessible, efficient and beneficial to more users, the attitude of people will adapt to the idea of alternative ways of mobility and their commuting behaviour will transform. This gradual process will facilitate the integration and prioritization of slow mobility in the local and metropolitan street network.

Regarding the new centralities, it is suggested to repurpose cultural heritage elements such as industrial brownfields that are locally and regionally integrated in the urban fabric and provide significant amount of space to accommodate functions of public interest. The new uses should respond to essential social needs, like welfare amenities and leisure spaces, both lacking throughout the periphery of Piraeus. For instance, an old factory could be converted into a ‘hub’ of central offices of several public services, such as the Internal Revenue Service, the Urban Planning Service, the Power (electricity), Water and Sewage Companies (providers) etc. The local branches would still serve daily needs, but in the central, one COULD deal with complex matters of hereditary, real estate etc. In this way, the citizens will gain better services while cultural heritage will be preserved and maintained properly, thus tackling physical degradation.

The guiding principles constitute the first part of the overall strategy for the periphery of Piraeus, which also comprises design solutions at the local scale (chapter 5) and governance arrangements (chapter 6). The structure of this chapter was aligned to the decision taken in chapter 3 to focus on developing an integrated strategy that addresses the physical, environmental and cultural sustainability as a representative version of the approach and methodology suggested by this project. Hence, the two principles related to sociopolitical and economic sustainability are only briefly mentioned. The principles were composed as a synthesis of conditions to use the cultural heritage elements of the ordinary urban environment in favour of sustainable urban development. Each addressed primarily one sphere of sustainability while always offering collateral benefits for all.

4.1. ONE STRATEGY - FIVE PRINCIPLES

The principle of the metropolitan centralities network

Main objectives: inter-connect, attract attention and stimulate interest for regeneration projects, promote societal well-being and life-long education

Qualities of locations: cultural heritage sites of considerable size and metropolitan accessibility

Types of interventions: urban parks, social amenities, public spaces of culture, art, technology and science, research and experimentation

- Existing centralities
- New centralities
- Metropolitan connections
- Municipality connections
- Impact and spillover of the centralities
- Municipality borders
4.1.b_ Develop multi-scale green networks

This guiding principle focuses on reintroducing urban green in order to tackle the environmental degradation of the urban environment. The suggestion of multi-scale green networks comprises two basic scales. The first refers to the use of larger areas, such as industrial brownfields, as urban parks. However, finding available space of substantial size in the dense urban fabric of Piraeus periphery is rather challenging, while it is easier to find small patches that remain vacant (of uses or structures) or misused. Therefore, other ways are required to release space as well as connect the abundance of individual free spaces in a green network to compensate for the extensive built surface.

Hence, the second scale takes advantage of the structure of the urban environment and concentrates on incremental interventions and their inter-connection. On the one side, this approach suggests the transformation of the mobility infrastructure in order to accommodate slow traffic combined with greenery. Fig. 90-92 are indicative of the transformations at the metropolitan, municipality and neighbourhood scale. On the other hand, it is suggested to locate empty or abandoned plots and connect them through the pedestrianized street network that prioritizes slow mobility (fig. 93). This network will be further connected with some of the inner unbuilt space of the urban blocks (the akalyptos). In that way, the characteristic small-sized properties, the residential character of the street network, the structure of the urban blocks and the buildings’ typology are used to cut through the built environment and scale up the effect of focal, incremental interventions. The implementation of this principle will improve essentially the aesthetics and the environmental conditions of the periphery of Piraeus but it will also benefit the configuration and quality of public space, thus providing conditions to increase meaningful social interactions and social cohesion.

90, 91, 92. (from up to down) Indicative representation of the transformation of the mobility network according to its spatial characteristics, in order to receive more urban green.

93. The principle of multi-scale green networks for the periphery of Piraeus.

**Main objectives**: release the urbanization pressure, increase the ground permeability, regulate the microclimate and biodiversity, re-naturalize and connect the fragmented natural elements into a recognizable landscape

**Qualities of location**: unused plots (unbuilt or with empty buildings that could be demolished), pedestrian axes and sidewalks, residential street network that does not accommodate heavy traffic, already existing parks and squares

**Types of interventions**: form green corridors by ‘stretches’ the existing green and introducing new; create green pockets by using the scale and configuration of the ordinary city block; densify and release space to nature; pedestrianize or give priority to slow mobility

*Street network* + *Akalyptos*
4.1.c_ Integrate culture in everyday life

The second guiding principle suggests the reuse of cultural heritage elements of exceptional narrative or architectural and historical value as small-scale, local based, thematic centres in order to empower civic society and engage citizens in protecting and disseminating cultural heritage, reinforce the role of cultural institutions, foster cultural diversity, creativity and empirical learning and harness the potential of the built environment in heritage preservation and sustainable urban development. The intense urban transformations in combination with the general indifference to cultural heritage as an important investment for sustainable development causes high risk of oblivion and historical distortion. In other words, the decay of a building representative of an architectural style induces the loss of underlying sociopolitical, economic and aesthetic ideas that this architecture stood for.

The principle focuses on using buildings or heritage sites of strong narrative and exceptional architectural or historical value to set up a network of small museums, libraries, archives and exhibition centres. These places will host thematic cultural functions that refer directly to their own special character. For example, the (abandoned) residence depicted in fig. 88 is officially declared a heritage monument and a representative example of the influence of eclecticism in urban architecture of Piraeus (probable at the beginning of the 20th century). Instead of being left to collapse over time, it could be converted into an exhibition space or archive devoted to this specific architecture and its history. Similarly, specialized thematic exhibitions could be installed in former industrial facilities referring to the production process or inside unused refugee houses recounting the immigration history in modern times. Applying this method to a series of cultural heritage elements, a network of diverse ‘micro-spaces’ in the logic of an open air museum would unfold throughout the periphery of Piraeus.

Considering the built environment itself as a living museum, its diverse elements can reveal pieces of its past and eventually synthesize the complete story. The site specificities are used not only as spatial capital but as conceptual references as well, in order to promote history learning and sensitize people to diverse facets of collective life and memory. It is further proposed that NGOs or local associations that already show an interest in relevant subjects take over the operation of the cultural micro-spaces with the aim to decentralize the existing top-down management system and increase social participation, thus strengthening social bonding and the sense of community. Lastly, by establishing cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment as a pole of attraction for locals and foreigners, this approach also offers economic opportunities for local investment through various sectors, such as the construction industry, tourism and education.
4.1.d _ Develop a network of social amenities

The fourth guiding principle aims to establish a functioning network of welfare provisions in order to counteract the lack of public services to address local needs and primary level social care (such as healthcare, elder care, nurseries, homeless shelters etc), which in turn is a fundamental cause of the increasing social inequality. Given the number of vacant buildings that are officially and unofficially considered as cultural heritage elements, the principle suggests to refurbish them and accommodate the mentioned functions at local level. Their position within the densely populated urban fabric makes them ideal to serve the citizens’ daily needs but also accessible by public transportation. In addition, the multiplicity of building typologies allows diverse functions based on site-specific characteristics of the cultural heritage elements. The challenge of social representation, empowerment and participation in decision-making is further addressed in the chapter of governance through the proposed arrangements.

For instance, some of the declared neoclassical buildings in the city centre of Piraeus could be refurbished as elderly homes and create a network of communal houses where elders live in a protected environment, yet they keep a minimum independence and have access to social life and public services. These smaller scale investments could also be more economically profitable and attract local investment by the private sector, under the general management of public.

Main objectives: provide social services for all, improve living conditions from the welfare point of view, enhance equity

Qualities of locations: individual buildings of historical or architectural significance, industrial heritage for large facilities due to metropolitan accessibility and considerable size, public space as part of the city's structure

Types of interventions: reuse spaces for diverse kinds of social care: first-aid centres, children’s hospital, elder homes, centers for victims of domestic violence, refugee integration centers, kindergartens and nurseries, vocational centres etc.

4.1.e _ Develop multi-scale productive landscapes

The fifth guiding principle addresses the challenges of shrinking local economies, increasing drosscape and misused opportunities of port and logistic activities. As in the case of green networks, two basic scales of development are suggested. The first refers to the rising drosscapes of Agios Dionysios district and Agios Ioannis Rentis that have traditionally accommodated productive uses such as industry, wholesale, workshops and storage. The principle prioritizes the productive sector of metropolitan impact in these two areas because they provide appropriate spatial infrastructure, well established metropolitan accessibility and connectivity as well as historical continuity in terms of functions. Their relation to the port, the railway and the transportation axes can support national and international companies of logistics, maritime affairs and specialized industry. Production and manufacture should be combined with green infrastructure, without excluding the integration of residential functions as well.

The second scale aims to reinforce local investment by reusing individual buildings as specialized local markets and entrepreneurship hubs. Economic recession had a great impact on local economies that do not know how to react. In that case, successful cases need to expand their know-how and experience while the urban space needs restructuring in order to adapt to the new social demands and attract long-term investments. The suggested approach is similar to the principle of social amenities; individual buildings worth maintaining for heritage reasons should be prioritized to accommodate offices, local manufacture and services. Another way of strengthening economic vitality and competitiveness based on harnessing cultural heritage is to support entrepreneurship that focuses on that specific sector, whether from the perspective of tourism or sociocultural services. In that case, the cultural heritage elements are used as conceptual capital, rather than spatial, in order to provide relevant services.

Main objectives: confront economic recession, make the economic sector more adaptable and resilient to global changes

Qualities of locations: small scale neighbourhood centres, larger scale areas around the port and the transport axes

Types of interventions: reuse of local built stock to accommodate creative hubs and high-tech or other start-ups, special markets and local investments; reuse of larger areas for logistics and focus on trade, networking, money exchange, maritime sector and R&D
5 _ DESIGN SOLUTIONS AT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD SCALE

5.1_ Introduction to the chosen area: Agios Ioannis Rentis and Apollon
neighbourhood
5.2_ Cultural heritage elements of Apollon neighbourhood
5.3_ Challenges of sustainable urban development in Apollon neighbourhood
5.4_ Transformations: the principles applied
  5.4.a_ Intervention plan
  5.4.b_ Visualization

This chapter is the second part of the overall strategy and focuses on
demonstrating possible outcomes of the suggested method in the Apollon
neighborhood in the area of Agios Ioannis Rentis. The following analysis
identified the elements of cultural heritage and the challenges of sustainable
urban development at the local scale and proposed a series of interventions
that show the applicability of the guiding principles. The identification process
followed similar steps as the one presented so far for the periphery of Piraeus.
View of the design area at the late 1920s. The first electricity plant of Athens is visible at the foreground, at the intersection of river Kifissos and Pireos street.

Source: http://mlp-blo-g-spot.blogspot.nl/2013/02/blog-post_4.html
The area of Agios Ioannis Rentis is located quite centrally, along the river/highway Kifissos and the axis of Pireos street (fig. 96). It might have been inhabited in the prehistoric times due to its location just before the swampy area of Alippedon (see p. 38) but there are no clear indications about it. At the beginning of the modern Greek state, it had a dual purpose: it was the supplier of agricultural products for the urban centres of Athens and Piraeus but also an important leisure destination for the working class (fig. 101). Due to its role as food provider, the area was one of the last to receive refugee population. Gradually it was industrialized due to its proximity to the river and the transportation infrastructure. The first official community of Renti was created in 1925 and the first urban plan in 1935.

The chosen neighbourhood area concentrates at the same time several representative layers of cultural heritage (historically and thematically) while it faces a series of urban sustainability challenges due to the spatial, sociopolitical and economic transformations of the city.

The urban development of the area started with the immigration of Greek refugees from Asia Minor. In 1932 the state granted them land and the right to build. One plot per family, about 16 m² of covered space and 32 m² of open.
The plan also indicated a publicly accessible courtyard in the middle with the common hygiene space (fig 97 - 99). Small, ‘light constructions’ were gradually added to the original 16 m² making room for a kitchen or extra bedrooms. Since then, the initial buildings underwent several transformations (fig. 102-104). Some kept their randomness with added elements and expansions. In some plots, typical double-family houses of mid-war or post-war period replaced the refugee houses while in others the dwellings were replaced by the typical polykatoikia (multi-storey residential building) (p. 58). In any case, the overall structure of the blocks has been maintained. Narrow-face and long plots and buildings, lined up at a continuous front, with a courtyard in the middle (the element of akalyptos) and the characteristic high coverage of the plot’s surface.

Although the area of Agios Ioannis Rentis had preserved its agricultural character until the mid 1960s, the new industries changed its potentials. Employment opportunities in combination with urbanization pressure by adjacent neighbourhoods led to more industries, which in turn brought workers looking for affordable housing. Next to the refugee settlement, the urban space was shaped by scattered buildings at the beginning and a systematic construction phase during the 1960s.

The industrialization of the area started with the electricity power plant in 1869, which was also the first of Athens. Through time, the most important industries around Apollon neighbourhood have been the electricity power plant (1869-1982), the paper manufacturer SANITAS, the packaging manufacturer BIZ, the metallurgical plant (Elliniki Metallourgiki), the candle factory Apollon, the tannery and the chocolate factory ION (1930). All but Apollon candle factory were situated along Pireos street.

Today only the chocolate factory ION is still working and it is a benchmark of successful Greek industries. The packaging factory is demolished (brownfield), the candle factory does not exist and some of the buildings of the metallurgical plant were converted into big commercial stores. The electricity power plant and the former paper factory were officially declared as industrial heritage. The paper factory was partially renovated and occasionally used for cultural purposes.

From the historical evolution of the design area, the cultural heritage elements that arise are the industrial facilities along Pireos street, the refugee houses along with the internal courtyard, the renovated tannery, the river Kifissos, a number of single-family and double-family houses due to architectural interest, the modernistic building of shape Ξ (n.6 on fig. 99) as well as the street pattern orientation parallel to Kifissos and towards Pireos street.
101. The river Kifissos in 1907 (area of Agios Ioannis Rentis)

102. Self-construction of house. Kokkinia 1922. The constructions were similar at the area of Agios Ioannis Rentis
103. Old refugee houses in Apollon neighbourhood (probably in 2006 or before).
Source: Papadopoulou & Sarigiannis (2006)

104. The same refugee houses in Apollon neighbourhood today.
Photo by author (August 2017)
5.2 Cultural Heritage of Apollon Neighbourhood

This section focuses on identifying the cultural heritage elements based on the distinction between official and unofficial cultural heritage. Official cultural heritage and unofficial due to historical evolution were covered by the introduction and you may find them at the map at the end of the current section. What remains to be mapped is the spatial expression of the cultural heritage elements as a result of the building regulations. The analysis is done with a series of parameters based on the three thematic groups of the section 2.2.c.

The parameters are used indicatively in two typical blocks of the chosen area. The goal is to recognize the way that certain cultural heritage elements are expressed. Due to the similar structure with the rest of the blocks, it is safe to deduce - for the moment- the respective structural elements throughout the neighbourhood and present them all together at one map (p. 122, fig. 113).

In order to define the element of multi-functionality, the different uses found in the two blocks were mapped (fig. 105). For the elements of horizontal ownership (and thus multi-ownership) and the attitude of owning immovable property, which translates into the great amount of owners and stakeholders, the parameters mapped were the number of plots within the block and the amount of properties and proprietors by plot (fig. 106-107). The number and configuration of the plots highlights their characteristic small size and the long, narrow-face shape.

For the structural and morphological elements, the parameters were used as following: the proportion of built-unbuilt space and the number of structures are indicative of the coverage of free space and the configuration of akalyptos (fig. 108-109). The position typology and the steps needed to reach ‘home’ express the relationship of public-private (fig. 110). The elevation of the two blocks’ facades and the building typology (single-family house, double-family house or multi-family house) are the definitive parameters of the area’s skyline (fig. 111-112).
The detailed analysis of the two representative blocks allows us to draw conclusions about the elements and characteristics that need to be integrated into the intervention proposal. For example, the scale and type of functions show that the reuse of spaces should accommodate low profile land uses, such as small commerce or local health care.

The proportion of built and unbuilt space (fig. 108) makes evident the problem of high land coverage and the need to release space and redesign the open space with softer pavement and more user-friendly qualities. At the same time, the fragmentation of open space stresses the importance of incremental and focal interventions such as a network of green pockets.

Fig. 110 indicates the relationship between public and private space and the position typology. More specifically, the first is expressed through the number of steps needed to enter the residence (home), which represents the place of absolute privacy. The second is seen in the difference between the property line and the building line. In half of the cases, the buildings withdraw from the property line and shape a semi-private/semi-public space that influences the character of the place and its experience by the user. This transitional space facilitates the integration of a slow mobility network and fosters social interaction.

The building typology and the height combined with the width of the road define the skyline and affect the sense of openness, safety and comfort. It is crucial to respect their scale in order to avoid the disruption of the urban space by massive flows, and thus jeopardize spatial and social cohesion.

As a conclusion of the parameters’ analysis, a series of embedded characteristic can be recognized as elements of cultural heritage in the ordinary urban environment. Overall, the structure of the blocks needs to be maintained. More specifically, reuse of spaces should accommodate small scale and local impact uses. New developments should respect and enhance if possible the transitional space formed by the distinction between property and building line. No more than two plots should be allowed to merge, unless to be used as public space; developments of large scale will disrupt the continuity of the urban fabric. Likewise, the proposed and allowed housing development should not exceed the triple-residence typology in order to preserve the plot coverage and a uniform character and skyline.
113. Summary map: the elements of cultural heritage in Apollon neighbourhood

A. Remaining refugee houses in Stratou street. Photo by author.

B. The renovated building of the old tannery, today used as cultural and leisure space. Source: http://wikimapia.org/

C. Inside the main buildings of the electricity plant. Source: https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/255579347577551160/

D. View of the industrial brownfield and the elevated highway that covers the river. Source: Google view (edited)

E. The chocolate factory of ION. Source: http://www.ion.gr/history.html

F. The former facilities of SANITAS as cultural space. Source: http://www.clickatlife.gr/theatro/story/37764

Industrial heritage declared by the state (official cultural heritage)
Cultural heritage due to historical evolution
Refugee houses (remaining) and the internal courtyard
Individual buildings of architectural and historical significance
River Axios (covered by the elevated highway)

Cultural heritage due to building regulation: the structure of the block
Small sized plots (consisting a block)
Akalyptos (p. 59)

Transitional space created from the difference between the property line and the building line
Property line (where the ownership changes)
Building line (where the building can start)
5.3 _ CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN APOLLON NEIGHBOURHOOD

The physical condition of the built stock in the design area is generally good but already shows signs of decay, especially the structures that are not used. The Apollon neighbourhood is well integrated at both local and metropolitan (regional) scale. The street hierarchy and the orientation of the street pattern highlight the different characters of the design area, namely the local/residential versus the metropolitan/industrial (fig. 114).

Fig. 115 puts forward the crucial issue of green fragmentation. Although there is significant amount of green in the city, most of the times it is either private or a series of individual elements scattered through the urban fabric. The lack of connections impedes the formation of green concentrations that can compensate for the extensive built area. In our case, the industrial brownfield and the covered river represent a great potential of larger scale environmental intervention that could be combined with a network of green micro-spaces.

In terms of sociopolitical sustainability, the majority of city space is private and unfavourable for public social interaction. The configuration of public space does not foster sociopolitical representation and empowering, security and equal access to social amenities.

Lastly, the economic vitality of the neighbourhood is fairly good. A considerable variation of economic activities take place, mainly along the metropolitan and primary residential axes (fig. 118). The figure also shows the characteristic multi-functionality of urban space as well as the vacancies in the built stock. The latter create considerable urban voids that can be re-purposed or even released.
A. Space behind the sports fields as residual. Currently used as parking.
B. Old house in bad condition; street Pavlou Mela. Source: Google view (edited)
C. Old house in bad condition; street Pavlou Mela. Source: Google view (edited)
D. Structures in bad or medium condition and nonresidential. Photo by author.
E. View of river Kifissos; a representative example of downgraded natural elements and public space. Photo by author.
F. View of empty buildings in bad and good condition. They are located along Pireos street and built to accommodate light industry and offices.

- Cultural heritage buildings that are unused. They are converted into spaces of sociocultural purposes.
- Private areas with the potential to become public.
- Asphalt layer (hard pavement) with residential character.
- Structures in bad condition and vacant. They offer high potential to release space to nature and to the public.
- Structures in bad or medium condition and nonresidential. They offer higher potential to relocate.

Source: Google view (edited)
The intervention proposal for the Apollon neighbourhood focuses on the application of three principles: to introduce a metropolitan centrality that can be part of the wider network (principle 4.1.a), the integration of the city’s history in its daily life (principle 4.1.b) and the development of multi-scale green networks (principle 4.2.c).

Regarding the need to reintroduce green in the city, the proposal includes three steps. The first addresses in parallel the issues of metropolitan connections and environmental upgrade by converting the industrial brownfield into an urban park and consequently into a metropolitan centrality. Its size and location favour this larger scale transformation. More specifically, it is in the middle of the dense urban tissue, along metropolitan transportation axes and between the covered river of Kifissos and the officially declared industrial monument of SANITAS (paper manufacturer). The latter is property of the National Theatre and it has been partially renovated. Following its declaration in 1997, the reconstruction works have been funded exclusively by the actor Irini Papa who has been trying to establish a drama and acting school that would function as a space of culture and education for all citizens. Its current function status is unclear but it is certainly underused and not open to public. In addition, at the other side of the railway tracks lies the old electricity plant, which is also recognized as official industrial heritage. Therefore, the urban park offers not only a large scale public green space with multiple ecological and social benefits, but also the opportunity to form an important node that will provide a link between neighboring municipalities and other centralities of public interest.

The second step is to locate available plots (empty or abandoned) and connect them through a pedestrianized street network, giving priority to slow mobility (pedestrians and bikes). This network could be further strengthened if connected with some of the inner unbuilt spaces of the urban blocks. In that way, the characteristic small-sized properties, the residential and quiet character of the street network and the buildings’ typology contribute to establish a network of green pockets by combining the smaller pieces with almost insignificant impact into a system of green public spaces that can scale up and counterbalance the densely built urban fabric.

The third step is to relocate certain uses from older buildings of questionable physical condition into newer structures or buildings with heritage value and then release the space to nature. These green patches are mainly of medium size and will link to the residential patchwork of green micro-spaces.

Regarding the integration of the city’s history in its daily life, the proposal suggests the preservation of the remaining refugee houses and their use as small exhibition spaces or archives with special focus on the history of migration and the evolution of the Apollon neighbourhood. These small structures will further form a historical route in the style of an open air museum where one can walk through the neighbourhood and encounter stimuli to discover the place’s narrative.
5.4.b _ Visualizations

Brownfield

Unused building - former administration offices

Warehouses, wholesale providers, light industry and manufacture

Urban park as a new centrality
- major public space and link between the neighbourhoods
- re-connect to nature and re-introduce water into the city

Urban green as a filter and structuring element of the sidewalk

Relocation of uses - densification & release of space to nature

Vegetation instead of hard pavement
- neighbourhood public space/leisure space

121. Section indicated in fig. 120. The transformation of the brownfield and the industrial area before and after the suggested intervention
Abandoned refugee houses from the 1930s as exhibition spaces to form a cultural/educational route with focus on a certain historical event.

Vegetation instead of hard pavement in the unbuilt spaces

Pedestrianization of residential street network

122. View of the intersection of Chrisostomou Smirnis and Stratou streets. The focus is on the incremental transformation of the neighbourhood by bringing together several micro-spaces into a coherent green network.
Aside the design proposals, a part of recommendations addresses the role of governance in the protection and management of cultural heritage in the built environment. This analysis is the third part of the overall strategy and it shows that problems such as the incoordination of institutions, the lack of a comprehensive legal framework and the power centralization impede both the proactive action and the prompt reaction to affairs of cultural heritage in the ordinary urban environment.
6.1 _Governance Challenges in the National Context_

This section addresses three key aspects of governance and their consequences for the protection and management of cultural heritage in the built environment. The proposed governance arrangements of section 6.3 are based on this analysis.

The concept of governance in the context of this project is used based on the following definition:

“Governance comprises the traditions, institutions and processes that determine how power is exercised, how citizens are given a voice, and how decisions are made on issues of public concern. […] Since a process is hard to observe, students of governance tend to focus our attention on the governance system or framework upon which the process rests - that is, the agreements, procedures, conventions or policies that define who gets power, how decisions are taken and how accountability is rendered.”

Institute on Governance (GRAHAM et al. 2003)

The three sections analysed below are based on this approach and aim to unfold the main challenges regarding governance and cultural heritage. The structure and jurisdiction of responsible institutions expresses the components of exercise of power, decision-making and accountability; the legal framework expresses the governance system (procedures etc) and the social participation represents the interaction of stakeholders and citizens’ engagement.

Overall, the notion of governance in Greece is fundamentally connected to the state, which translates into the formal institutions of the government elected by the people and its set of departments and offices. Hence, there is not a lot of governance in the sense it is used globally to describe the process of decision making and the involvement of a wider range of actors in it. On the contrary, there is still heavy reliance on the formal government structures and lack of more informal interaction between various actors.

The reliance on the formal government has resulted in unclear jurisdictional fields, increased bureaucracy, and limited capacity of institutions at the local level. As a consequence, the mechanisms of decision-making are not only complicated but overly rigid and obscure to facilitate the integration of cultural heritage in the transforming urban environment.

6.1.a _Structure and jurisdictions of responsible institutions_

According to the Greek Constitution, the state is responsible for the protection of natural and cultural milieu by enacting preventive or repressive measures (Augoustianakis 2012). However, there is a fundamental lack of common approach toward cultural heritage among the various governmental institutions. In several cases, it remains unclear who has power over whom and how they can exercise this power, who decides and who is accountable (what are the rights and obligations).

The most illustrative example of incoordination between governmental bodies is the issue of listing elements of cultural heritage. On the one side, the Ministry of Culture and Sports declares “monuments” and “historical places” created before 1830. On the other side, the Ministry of Environment1 declares “traditional settlements” (vernacular architecture), “spaces, places or zones of protection of the traditional settlements” but also buildings or parts of them “to be preserved” created after 1830 (Parthenopoulos et al 2009 and Augoustianakis 2012). In addition, the Ministry of Environment has the power to regulate in favour of any element that contributes in preserving the special aesthetics, natural, urban, historical and architectural character of a building or area (Augoustianakis 2012).

The ministerial offices are subsequently authorized to regulate terms and conditions related to works of restoration, reuse and integration to the urban environment. These decisions override any other general or specific building restriction and give to the Ministry in charge the opportunity to intervene effectively (Parthenopoulos et al 2009). Nevertheless, there is not a conclusive indication of which institution would be in charge. The distinction is simultaneously driven by time factors as well as the typological characteristics of the elements of cultural heritage.

Although the Ministries’ standards converge in some aspects (e.g. definitions, declaration requirements, owner’s rights and compensation, time limits as well as protection, restoration and controlling processes), they also differ in others (e.g. control in protected settlements or acceptable transformations). Parthenopoulos (2009) indicates that this situation has led to fragmented listing of elements of cultural heritage that impedes the effective protection of the elements in specific as well as the historical character of the urban environment.

As a consequence of this structure, institutions and individuals in charge fail to find a common language of communication, let alone a common goal, approach and understanding. Therefore, it is common to have conflict of interests and responsibilities between different state institutions that have the same scope of action. That in turn increases the bureaucratic processes, impedes the successful preservation of cultural heritage and discourage people from participating.

1 It is officially called Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change and it is responsible for the Urban Planning and everything related to urbanism and regional planning.
6.1.b _ Legal framework and complications

The second challenge lies in the governance system and more specifically in the numerous legislative documents that regulate the procedures and policies concerning the protection and management of cultural heritage. The basic issue is that there is not a comprehensive legal framework but a series of regulations scattered through various pieces of legislation (Avgoustianakis 2012). That leads to three individual problems that need our attention.

Firstly, the protection and management of cultural heritage is subject to various legal provisions of different character and thematic focus. These provisions often overlap and they can be ambiguous and contradictory (Avgoustianakis 2012). Indicatively, there are eight distinct categories of legislation that influence the protection and management of cultural heritage (Avgoustianakis 2012):

1. The Greek Constitution
2. Special laws for the protection of cultural heritage
3. Legal provisions of the legislation for the protection of the (natural) environment
4. Legal provisions of the legislation for the protection of the urban environment, Indicatively,
6. International Conventions and Treaties, ratified by laws of the Greek state. It is interesting that international Conventions have taken several years to become official law (fig. 123)
7. Legislation of the European Economic Community
8. Decrees (mostly Legislative and Presidential) and Ministerial Decisions

Secondly, the existing legal framework proves to be obsolete due to four characteristics (Parthenopoulos et al 2009): i) the primary criterion for the recognition of an element as cultural heritage is temporal instead of examining its importance for the local culture; ii) the incentives given by the state are not competitive and they have proved inadequate to prevent degradation or support private investments, iii) the laws do not require the participation of an architect or urbanist in the committees that decide upon the cultural heritage and iv) the General Building Regulation describes the necessary process to declare an element, yet it does not refer to the appropriate methodology that the researcher should follow in order to suggest an official declaration. As a result, today there is lack of legal provisions that address the diverse typologies of cultural heritage as well as strongly decreased capacity to adapt governance framework to the emerging social, economic and urban needs.

Third, the decisions are often taken out of local context. According to the law 1, any file on a candidate element of modern heritage (not antiquity) must be sent to the regional central department and will be examined only by the (central)

Council of Modern Heritage in Athens (Parthenopoulos et al. 2009). It is then possible that the decision is made with little idea about the importance or the role of a building, an area or a site in the life of the local community. The law does not provide sufficient safety valves to protect local interests and ensure the optimum use of cultural heritage based on its context, importance at local and national level, historical significance and special characteristics.

6.1.c _ Centralization of power and civic participation

The third challenge of governance is the limited interaction of the various groups of stakeholders in the decision-making process. The low civic participation is a generalized phenomenon caused by “well-cited mono-causal explanations (like a history of adverse state formation, semi-authoritarian governance, partitocracy and clientelism)” but also “the pace of economic growth, church-state relations and ineffective policies like the lack of tax incentives and civic education” (Huliaras 2014). All the former are basically expressions of a very “big” government that seeks to settle every issue through its formal institutions while the citizens remain attached to older social norms and the perception that engaging with public matters equals participation to political organizations or a position in the public sector.

Regarding civic participation in urban planning, the intervention of citizens is practically limited to their representation of the citizens through governmental institutions and elected councilmen at the local level. The way and depth of involvement of public is determined by municipal or community councils. The

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1. Law 3028/2002 “For the protection of antiquities and cultural heritage in general”, introduced by the Ministry of Culture.
most common ways of civic participation are the press conferences, open meetings and announcements on municipal or community notice board or website. However, the role of local government and communities remains advisory, according to the relevant legislation. In case they want to strongly object to a decision, the civic society needs to appeal it to the court.

Similarly, the concept of social participation and responsibility in protecting the cultural heritage is only added in the Greek status quo by International Conventions (Gratsia 2012). Even though the International Conventions of Granada (1990) and of Florence (2010) eventually became laws of Greek state, in practice the social participation faces various organisational problems. In combination with the incoordination of governmental institutions that increases bureaucracy and their exclusive jurisdiction on final decisions, people lose their interest in engaging after all.

This situation has four negative impacts on cultural heritage. First, few people have too much power. The strong dependency on formal authorities for any kind of decision undermines projects and initiatives of local importance while it allows more space for corruption. Second, the decisions and proposals made without public participation often miss the context and therefore they reflect the needs of a desirable society or a desirable situation instead of addressing how to improve the existing conditions stepwise in collaboration with people and their demands.

Third, if not imposing, the incentives are mainly economic such as subsidies, taxation reduction, financial support from European programs, special arrangements in building regulations (related to volume ratio etc), transfer of the land-to-building ratio to another property. These motives have not proved sufficient to sensitize the citizens and they cultivate an attitude of give and take instead of respect and social obligations (Parthenopoulos et. al 2009). Fourth, the weak communication between citizens and decision-makers have led people to lose their interest and trust in the state and the governance system. Citizens do not feel included and in the end they do not believe their effort matters so they avoid engaging at the first place.

During the past two decades, organized civic society has grown in Greece, yet not as a bottom-up process. On the contrary, the evidence shows that civic participation was vigorously encouraged by EU funding for the strengthening of civic society initiatives and driven by alternative approaches on people’s mobilization by the Greek left wing (Huliaras 2014). It also seems that the economic crisis has had both positive and negative effects in self-organization and participation in the governance processes.

6.2 _ Examples in Piraeus Periphery

At this section, two cases in the periphery of Piraeus that illustrate the governance problems discussed above will be briefly examined.

The first is the former industrial–harbour zone of Drapetsona-Keratsini, an area of great significance for the industrial and urban development of the modern city. At the area we find the tomb of Themistocles, an important archaeological site; yet its landmark is the old fertilizers factory which stopped operating in 1999. By 2004 all industrial functions in the area ceased for environmental and economic reasons. Most of the facilities were demolished in 2003, despite the efforts of the Ministry of Culture’s responsible Committees to declare them as cultural heritage and save them as an entire complex.

Since then, a couple of plans have been proposed for the area but failed due to similar problems: multi-ownership, grave pollution and the international financial crisis. At the end of 2012, the then regional governor approved the environmental conditions for the re-opening of petroleum processing plants although the area had been designated as a non-industrial site to be redeveloped by the Athens Regulatory Plan Organization in 1997 and 2007. Today, after 23 years of public conflict, finally a part of the area has been successfully conceded to the municipality, which began its regeneration for cultural and sports purposes.

From this brief description, we see how the centralized power of just one person in combination with the absence of a comprehensive legal framework about what is cultural heritage, how it shall be identified and how individual issues like conflict of interests due to multi-ownership should be addressed. Priorities and jurisdictions are not clear and the public opinion has been repetitively disregarded despite the active social participation through local initiatives.

The main proposals have been a high end maritime pole in 2006-2007 and a F1 racing area in 2011-2012. They were both conducted by the private sector in anticipation of the government to adopt the proposal. Although interesting, the public needs for an extensive area of public green were disregarded and the new developments were focused on economic profits.

Indicatively, the majority of the c.650 acres area belongs to the corporation of the National Bank of Greece while other stakeholders are the municipality of Drapetsona-Keratsini, the local population, the HERACLES Group of Companies (cement producer) under the LafargeHolcim corporation, Aegean Shipping Management S.A and the Piraeus Port Authority S.A.

Since then, few people have too much power. The strong dependency on formal authorities for any kind of decision undermines projects and initiatives of local importance while it allows more space for corruption. Second, the decisions and proposals made without public participation often miss the context and therefore they reflect the needs of a desirable society or a desirable situation instead of addressing how to improve the existing conditions stepwise in collaboration with people and their demands.
The second example is about a former factory of alcoholic beverages of 1884 along Pireos street and officially declared as an industrial heritage monument. After decades of degradation and abandonment, in 2013 an investor proposed the development of a private polyclinic at its place. However, the proposal did not include use of the declared monuments but basically their replacement from a multi-storey building (7-9 floors) and the land use regulations did not include healthcare as an option. The attempt of the mayor of Piraeus at the time to change the regulations and move with the plan failed.

Both sides had reasonable arguments. The mayor supported the investor claiming that the area has competitive accessibility and healthcare units are not only needed but also upgrading facilities. On the other hand, the industrial heritage was evidently neglected, the proposal seemed to favour private interests rather than public and there was a high risk of creating a precedent for multi-storey buildings on Pireos street at the expense of cultural heritage sites.

The main problems in this case are two: first, the issue of power centralization is obvious. With a simple municipal council decision, the situation could have taken an undesirable and irreversible direction. Second, there has not been a serious effort for a middle ground solution; for instance, the functions of healthcare could have been permitted (because not all heritage can turn into museums), but the investor would have been obliged to preserve the heritage and develop the functions in more buildings of lesser height. In that way, neighbouring industrial heritage sites could have been used to create a healthcare campus instead of a super-block.

6.3 _ Governance arrangements: comments and recommendations

The analysis from the point of view of governance is important because any “efforts to create an enabling environment and to build capacities will be wasted if the political context is not favourable” (GDRC 2016). It is crucial to comprehend that any proposal redevelopment needs to be embraced by the people (various groups of stakeholders involved) and supported by an organized system of defined procedures.

The suggested governance arrangements aim to highlight certain issues and point to possible directions to overcome the complications of the current governance model, that is of the structure and operation of the main governance components as described above. Obviously not every issue can be solved in the context of this project; my intention is to put forward the importance of the governance issues and the urgency to address them promptly and systematically.

The following recommendations comprise two basic actions that can be elaborate in short-term and long-term phases. Their implementation can start happening immediately and making a difference while it will provide input and valuable arguments for more fundamental changes at the long-term phase. The ultimate objective is to create conditions to channel the energy and resources of responsible authorities into an adaptable and inclusive way of spatial planning and urban development rather than to impose changes that would complicate things.

1 | A common inventory of cultural heritage elements

The first step addresses the challenge of clarifying the jurisdictions and coordinating the numerous governmental institutions by developing a common inventory (archive) of the entire cultural heritage of the country.

Since 1997, there is a National Archive of Monuments \(^5\) (project Polemon) by the Ministry of Culture and Sports. It is an information system designed for implementation at national level. Nonetheless, the archive includes only monuments declared (and managed) by the Ministry of Culture and Sports because it was developed to be used by its departments. It does not relate in any way to cultural heritage elements recognized by the Ministry of Environment and thus it does not cover the full spectrum of cultural heritage. Also, it is only available to the employees of the specific ministry’s departments.

Under these circumstances, it is imperative to go the extra mile and enrich the existing archive as well as make it public, at least partially. To be more specific, a common inventory of the entire cultural heritage of the country will include the cultural heritage elements under the jurisdiction of both responsible ministries.

\(^5\) By “monuments”, it is meant any element recognized as cultural heritage, whether tangible or intangible.
Moving from a system of segregation and unilateral decisions towards a system of collaboration.

In order to address the lack of social participation, we need to bring together people of different background. The objective is to promote the interaction of stakeholders. This is a feasible goal because the base already exists and it does not require any new institution to be accountable. The Directorate of the Management of the National Archive of Monuments, Documentation and Protection of Cultural Goods can remain responsible for the recording and the management of the archive while the Ministry of Environment needs to cooperate in providing all the necessary information.

The process is demanding beyond doubt and it will take some time to establish a common language but the benefits are multiple. At the short-term, the enrichment of the National Archive of Monuments will allow to interconnect all the available databases of museums and collections under the jurisdiction of one institution, namely the Ministry of Culture and Sports. The existence of such a tool will simplify and optimise the research on cultural heritage, especially when the basic information (such as full list of names, location, responsible institution and relevant references) will become publicly accessible to independent scholars. That in turn will make possible the thorough and well-documented planning that fully harnesses the available data and its monitoring.

At the long-term, the development of an integrated national inventory is a fundamental step in aligning the interests and methods of the two ministries and in setting a comprehensive approach to what is cultural heritage and how it should be protected and managed (fig. 126). The experience of collaborative efforts of the two ministries is highly possible to facilitate important restructuring on how power is exercised, how decisions are taken and who is accountable.

2 | Pilot projects

The second step is to put forward a series of pilot projects that will be the experimental field for all multiple governance challenges. The pilot projects primarily deal with the problem of power centralization and lack of social participation (fig. 127). They aim to encourage the collaboration of the central government with the academic society, NGOs and citizens in order to establish a more inclusive decision-making process and stimulate the interest of society. Fig. 128 and 129 show in a diagrammatic way the implementation process of a pilot project and the involvement of various stakeholders.

An interesting point about social participation came out from the two interviews with residents of Piraeus periphery (Negas 2017 and Kanellos 2017). According to them, if you try to have an open dialogue with citizens, they will come to convince and not to listen because they are not used to this kind of inclusive planning processes. So the first step should be to approach and inform people where they already hang out. Then the municipality should give them the right to choose, yet in a subtle way like public ballot boxes where they could vote for a specific matter. The key to this process is that you give them privacy and the choice to answer whenever they want. Both interviewees agree that if the local government is persistent and realizes something that corresponds to the participation campaign, then things could actually change over time.

We see there that the lack of civic education is a threat to pilot projects. Therefore, the first wave of pilot projects should be adjusted to the special context of Greek society, as described by the two interviewees (Negas 2017 and Kanellos 2017). Gradually, they can evolve into something more elaborate and closer to similar practices in northern European countries. More specifically, the pilot projects could start with this kind of public poll and continue with workshops with people that have declared their interest in participating.

At the short term, pilot projects offer a great opportunity to actually realize an urban program for the benefit of people, even if it is at a small scale. This is an action that by itself will start changing the public’s perception about the state; it is a first step toward restoring people’s trust. In addition, pilot projects foster the contextualization of projects and thus decisions on the basis of site-specificities. They are also an excellent way to provide practical civic education so that people acknowledge the importance of other stakeholders and their potential contribution.

At the long-term, pilot projects give valuable feedback for future projects and for the revision of the legal framework. The multiple experiences will make evident what works better at local level (so it should be left open-ended) and what is fundamental to be defined. Consequently, it will be possible to formulate a comprehensive legislation that will refer solely to the protection and management of cultural heritage and address all its facets. Last but not least, the implementation of pilot projects will contribute in the democratization of processes and results and strengthen the role and impact of civic society.
128. Implementation process of a pilot project and way of evaluation.

129. Main categories (groups) of stakeholders that should be involved in the decision-making process. Possible benefits/incentives (why would they engage) are indicated in red.
7 _ SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS

7.1_ Reflection on the research methodology
7.2_ Reflection on the role of cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment
7.1 **Reflection on the Research Methodology**

The employment of various methods has contributed to a better understanding of key concepts and their spatial perspective, as well as the place of research and its special qualities. However, at this point, the question arises: did these methods provide a sufficient understanding of the matters in discussion and did the results answer the research questions.

1. **How can we define spatially the cultural heritage of the ordinary life and ordinary urban environment in the periphery of Piraeus?**

The first question addressed the content of cultural heritage and the methods to identify it spatially. The analysis of chapter 2 shows that it is possible to define spatially, both tangible and intangible elements by understanding the evolution process of the ordinary urban environment. This evolution is influenced by historical events, governance decisions, sociopolitical conditions and special cultural features. Therefore, we need to be cautious in choosing the methods and parameters that will be used to decode this process of transformation and evaluate the importance of various elements.

For instance, for the case study of Piraeus, the research used the decisions of the state (official declarations of cultural heritage monuments), the historical evolution investigation and the overview of the legal documents related to building activity to understand the periphery of Piraeus. However, a series of interviews with residents and experts could have complemented the perception of certain situations and features.

Overall, the cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment comprises all the elements that have influenced or influence ordinary life in such a powerful way that they become characteristic of the urban space and urban life. These elements pertain to the daily culture of ordinary citizens, rather than exceptional figures of national history such as royal families. They draw their significance from the fact that they are embedded in the urban space, which suggests their historical continuity and the role in the evolution of urban space. Therefore, the key question we should aim to answer as researchers, designers and planners in order to characterize something as an element of the cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment is whether it influences ordinary life, how it does so and to what degree and how it is materialized in the cityscape.

2. **Which are the main challenges related to elements and issues of sustainable urban development in the periphery of Piraeus?**

The second question addressed the contents of sustainable urban development...
and the challenges of sustainability in the periphery of Piraeus. In the context of the project, sustainable development is the multilayered approach that combines the physical, economic, environmental, social and cultural spheres of sustainability under equal terms. The analysis of chapter 3 focused on understanding these five layers through the case study of Piraeus.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of data, the information illustrated on the maps was occasionally of general character and there is the possibility for deeper and more site-specific analysis. The information available sufficiently served the objectives of the project but the principles and the design solutions could certainly be further explored with additional data such as the type of economic activities locally, the amount and distribution of air or underground pollution, the concentrations of aging population, the vacancies and the condition of the built stock etc.

Another point of reflection regarding the concepts of sustainable urban development and sustainability is the difficulty faced in including all its elements, caused by limited information and resources. For example, a major element of environmental sustainability that could have been included was the energy inefficiency in terms of production, consumption and waste. However, the project did not focus solely on environmental sustainability nor did it aim to promote the use of cultural heritage as an antidote for every problem.

Rather, the priority was to showcase the potentials to use it as a driver for sustainable urban development, which by definition addresses simultaneously, a multitude of factors from various spheres of sustainability. Consequently, the proposals made here are only a few of several possible solutions to the pressing environmental issues that resulted from the spatial analysis, namely the matters of pollution, microclimate and degraded urban greenery. Similarly, the proposals related to physical sustainability provided alternatives to tackle car dependency, but not so much the physical decay of the building stock.

3. How can physical elements of the built environment that characterize local cultural heritage be addressed spatially in order to respond to local sustainability challenges?

The elements of cultural heritage were connected to the needs of sustainable urban development under a set of guiding principles. The combination of cultural heritage and sustainable urban development attempted to establish an alternative perception of urban redevelopment and the idea that the two concepts could indeed be thought of as one system. In the context of this thesis, the principles were developed by matching the spatial and conceptual characteristics of cultural heritage to the spatial needs to counteract certain sustainability problems. The guiding principles remained quite general and provided a frame of reference within the periphery of Piraeus because the intention was to showcase the multiple possibilities of using the diverse characteristics of cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment to solve the challenges of sustainability.

A great challenge throughout the process has been the complexity of both concepts that required continuous contextualization at all phases and scales of the project. Undoubtedly, the principles presented in this report would be at least partially different in other cases. For example, the principle of multi-scale green networks in the Netherlands would include dykes and the water system as an indispensable spatial condition. For that reason, planners always need to take a step back and pose the same big question for any case: what is the problem and what kind of cultural heritage elements could contribute in solving the issue? Starting from this point, the research and design process will lead to site-specific solutions that would meet the needs of diverse urban environments and the demands of local communities.

Subsequently, the applicability of the principles was addressed at the local scale. Based on the design solutions so far, it is safe to say that the principles and the fundamental logic of using cultural heritage to achieve sustainable urban development are both realistic. The specific design concentrated in incremental changes that would not impose change but facilitate it and guide it in order to keep the structural elements of the place and the society, yet improving the living conditions. The proposals included actions that could be done since day one with minimum effort and budget (such as the pedestrianization of the local road network) and others that would need negotiation and possibly redesign (such as the demolition or reuse of buildings).

The application of principles at the local scale showed that there are options for people to start changing their living environment instead of settling issues with complicated technicalities and economic trade-offs. Yet, the proposal to reuse particular buildings or to demolish buildings could be very expensive, controversial and complicated due to bureaucracy and the ownership system. Even though the suggested modifications refer either to vacant and/or dilapidated buildings or provide the alternative of relocation of functions, the plan raises questions about the rights of people over their property and the rightful ways to properly compensate them.

Arguably, the economic crisis could be seen as an opportunity to handle this kind of controversial matters in a diplomatic and profitable manner. It is possible that some owners would actually be relieved to concede their property in exchange for non-monetary compensation because that mitigates the burdens of the economic crisis, such as favorable tax arrangements or agreements for joint investment and exploitation of the property. The key is to maintain a
realistic and flexible attitude in order to make offers that people would be ready to accept because they would meet the properties’ site specificities and thus their expectations.

4. How is cultural heritage addressed regarding governance and planning in the context of Greece and Piraeus periphery?

The last question addressed the role of governance in protecting and managing cultural heritage. The analysis showed that although people start perceiving heritage in a broader view, the legal, technical and administrative framework is rigid and complicates the actual adaptation of urban space to economic, socio-political, cultural and spatial transformations. The centralized power of the government and the obsolete means used to define and integrate cultural heritage in the built environment led to increased bureaucracy and public indifference.

The suggested governance arrangements are indeed ambitious but if properly organized into phases, they can facilitate the strategic and design proposals by simplifying the processes and most importantly by communicating the potentials to the people. Nevertheless, they pose some risks worth considering and mentioning. The first remark refers to the national inventory and the recognition of the whole range of cultural heritage in the ordinary urban environment. Declaring everything as ‘official cultural heritage’ is not the solution to the problem for several reasons. On the one hand, part of the heritage is the transformation process itself and its outcomes.

Thus, we need space and time to leave the trace of our contemporary heritage to the coming generations. A tendency to get frozen in time and to get overly attached to the past impedes the evolution of society and culture. On the other side, by “declaring monuments”, things get more complicated. And even though there are ways to simplify certain procedures, an official declaration inevitably brings upon an amount of special obligations and restrictions. What is required then is the establishment of strong principles, good education and common understanding of the significance and the potentials of cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment among the various actors.

The second remark refers to the potential impact of pilot projects on the existing governance model. The current sociopolitical and economic conditions have led to some innovations in the self-organization of civic society. Under these circumstances, the economic crisis has become an opportunity to foster the emerging social dynamics where persistent individuals develop into local leaders that can act as an inspiration and a reference point for citizens that engage actively in initiatives for the urban space. In that way, local communities can share their common interest for the city and unite under a common goal of urban redevelopment through small-scale interventions.

This structure could become a leading model of governance in the built environment regarding how to maintain and regenerate the physical environment by using the social capital instead of trying to manage everything through centrally planned regulations and master-plans. The design and structure proposals of this project built on this new mode of self-organization but with a skeptical attitude on its limitations. Having a very fragmented system of decision-making and implementation can be as damaging as immensely centralized governance. Therefore, civic society organizations need guidance through principles, agreements and constructive dialogue that could help make the right decision for very small-scale interventions.

7.2 _ Reflection on the Role of Cultural Heritage of the Ordinary Urban Environment

In the case study of Piraeus periphery, the cultural heritage of the ordinary urban environment comprises a great variety of elements, from emblematic buildings to representative industrial complexes and from emotionally and historically charged refugee settlements down to the structural elements of the ordinary urban block. Contrary to common belief, cultural heritage does not appear in the form of urban islands in a sea of unworthy structures. It is an assemblage of scattered elements of heritage value embedded in the entire urban fabric. Since it is part of the urban environment, it is only fair for cultural heritage to have a role in its development. Ignoring the various aspects of heritage of the ordinary means that we disregard the significant details that define our (ordinary) cities. Heritage gives context and without it the proposals and efforts are not realistic.

Cultural heritage in the ordinary urban environment plays a threefold role: to remind us of the past, structure the present and guide the future. By preserving it, we keep the memory (and knowledge) of the past. By reusing it, we integrate cultural heritage in the structure of everyday life. In order to achieve the third and use cultural heritage as a driver for sustainable urban development, we have to value it equally with other factors and use its underlying qualities, rather than concentrating in conserving only the ‘beautiful forms’. In other words, the role of heritage of the ordinary is definitely not decorative.

As a last remark, it is essential to acknowledge that in practical terms there are certain things that come first, like survival needs, and that is a major limitation. No matter how important the narrative of a place is, people are more likely to focus on the short-term image and profit possibility. That limitation brings an obligation to go through all the layers, evaluate them, understand their role and comprehend the relationships between them, then reconstruct the broader image and argue about the paramount significance of cultural heritage and its potential to bring prosperity and reassurance for the future.
8 _ APPENDIX

8.1_ Reference projects and their contribution
   Gazi- Keramikos, Athens
   City centre of Łódź, Poland
   Barcelona, Spain
8.2_ Circles of Sustainability: tables of contents
8.3_ Overview of the interviews
8.1 Reference Projects

During the research process, a series of reference projects was reviewed to explore the advantages and disadvantages of the implementation of heritage-driven redevelopment in cases similar to our case study. The conclusions of this analysis indicated important conditions that contributed in the synthesis of the suggested guiding principles of chapter 4.

The three reference projects are the area of Gazi-Keramikos in Athens, the city of Lodz in Poland and the city of Barcelona in Spain. The cases were examined on the basis of their narrative, the relation among the various historical layers and their expression in the urban space, the context of redevelopment (causes and conditions, goals and implementation body), what has been preserved, what has been the role of ordinary environment in the redevelopment and what are the resultant conditions to be integrated in the strategy for Piraeus periphery.

In all the three applications of heritage led urban regeneration, various cultural heritage elements were put at the centre of interest and used as an incentive and a driver for change. The public sector had the leading role and put effort to engage private initiatives and investments, despite the different context of redevelopment. The analysis of the reference projects also proved that different historical layers can coexist and find their expression harmoniously within the urban space, regardless of the course they have followed in time and the narrative of each region. This further reinforces the argument that the urban environment bears multiple narratives with great significance for the preservation of its cultural heritage.

A common feature of the three reference projects was that certain elements acted as reference points and landmarks, with the aim to stimulate the interest of investors and visitors for the specific area. In that way, the special character of the ordinary urban environment acquired a special role was highlighted and its elements were recognized and integrated rather than ignored. At this point, there is a significant difference between Barcelona and the other two cases. Only in the first case the ordinary urban environment and its structural elements were recognized and addressed as of equal importance as the prominent buildings and the (declared) historical monuments. On the other hand, the site specificities revealed particular needs and risks of urban regeneration on the basis of cultural heritage and fuelled the development of the guiding principles with crucial details. Indicatively, the sociopolitical dimension of the reference projects inspired the guiding principle for cultural sustainability as well as in the governance arrangements, where the involvement of local communities in the protection, preservation and dissemination of cultural heritage was the main priority.

A | Gazi-Keramikos

Gazi-Keramikos is a neighborhood in the center of Athens and it was chosen due to the similarities of scale, configuration of urban space, social background and narrative with the Apollon neighborhood that will be our design case (chapter 5).

The area is located close to the ancient cemetery of Keramikos, the Mpenoiki Museum and between three major axes: Pireos avenue, Pera odos street and Konstantinoupoloos street, which is also a railway axis. Its history was defined by the gas factory that operated from 1857 to 1984 (fig. 133-134). The first inhabitants were workers who self-constructed their houses and worked in heavy and light industry. Later, it became home to refugees from Thrace and migrants from the countryside who would find labour and cheap residence. While the middle class was expanding to suburbs and other urban areas were being massively rebuilt by the system of antiparoro (see p.37), Gazi-Keramikos kept a significant part of its original character up to today.

Due to de-industrialization and heavy pollution, the factory ceased its operation in 1984 leaving behind a monument of industrial heritage but also a fragmented and depopulated urban fabric. The plan of Athens Municipality to restore the old factory as a Technopolis (center of culture and technology, fig. 135) had multiple objectives: at the short-term, to preserve the industrial complex and re-brand the adjacent archaeological sites; at the long-term, to regenerate the area and foster the realization of big infrastructure like the metro line station.

The example of Gazi-Keramikos offers two valuable insights. First, the coexistence of various historical layers in an ordinary neighborhood can be an asset as long as all of them are addressed with equal interest (fig. 132). In our case, the main driver of the project was the preservation and reuse of the industrial facilities while the rest of the ordinary environment was addressed as a quaint setting for leisure time and activities. The consequence is that the scale and typology of buildings and their historical uses are overlooked and often replaced by new conditions that do not correspond to the area’s specificities. Although the archaeological and industrial landmarks create a dynamic network (as reference point) that fosters the development of the rest ordinary environment, the latter is in risk of losing its special character due to impetuous capitalization.

Second, an active community can prevent or -at least- amend interventions that do not correspond to the area’s specificities. In the case of Gazi-Keramikos, two out of three gas tanks were demolished and reconstructed in the same form but with modern materials. The social reaction saved the third original gas tank.
133. The gas factory at the mid 20th century. Source: Adrakta et al. (2005)


135. Technopolis Gazi - centre for culture and technology. The old factory after the renovation has become a famous destination for nightlife. The area around hosts from alternative theaters and underground bars to pop music scenes and fancy clubs. Source: Adrakta et al. (2005)
This reference project was chosen because of similarities of scale and narrative with Piraeus in terms of strong industrial heritage that is expressed both through the multiple industrial complexes in the city’s territory and through the citizens’ collective memory.

Łódź started as a medieval city and had a strong link with the clergy until the end of 18th century. During the 19th century, it underwent intense industrialization with focus on the textiles, which attracted working population of diverse nationalities and cultural background. The WW II and Nazis occupation devastated the city due to hunger, pollution and diseases. After the war, the period of Polish People’s Republic (Communist Poland) from 1952 to 1990 was characterized by shortages in food, medicines, gas etc but at the same time its industries were major suppliers of the USSR countries. The fall of communisme and the de-industrialization led to a critical declination and the necessity to reuse the massive amount of underused facilities and redefine the identity of the city and people.

The public sector initiated the regeneration procedure with the aim to attract private investments. From the various historical layers of the urban space of Łódź, the industrial complexes prevail as defining elements and structure the ordinary urban environment. They were frequently built as small communities including a variety of facilities such as manufacturing, residential premises for employers and employees, schools, hospitals and commercial. The multiplicity and public character of functions are reinterpreted within the contemporary city and reflected in the new uses of cultural, scientific and technological interest.

Łódź today is famous for its National Film School, its graffiti art and its unique ambiance (fig. 138-139). However, the ‘respectful’ reuse with culture, leisure, science and commerce has only increased the flows of customers and visitors without contributing in a more permanent way in the city’s advancement.

The example of Łódź is characteristic of how a disruptive event like de-industrialization can turn into a process of rethinking the city’s future. As science and commerce has only increased the flows of customers and visitors without contributing in a more permanent way in the city’s advancement. The public sector initiated the regeneration procedure with the aim to attract private investments. From the various historical layers of the urban space of Łódź, the industrial complexes prevail as defining elements and structure the ordinary urban environment. They were frequently built as small communities including a variety of facilities such as manufacturing, residential premises for employers and employees, schools, hospitals and commercial. The multiplicity and public character of functions are reinterpreted within the contemporary city and reflected in the new uses of cultural, scientific and technological interest.

This reference project was chosen due to similarities of scale and overall culture with Piraeus but mainly as a showcase of successful redevelopment through multi-scale interventions and based on maintaining and integrating cultural heritage as a primary driver.

Barcelona is famous for the way it embodies its past in a continuous urban fabric that meets the modern needs. It is remarkable how structural elements of various historical periods coexist within the contemporary city as a coherent narrative inscribed in the city’s patterns, areas and individual structures (fig. 137).

These elements go back to the city’s origins, starting with the location and configuration as a result of geographical conditions. They include remnants of the medieval period, the colonization by Madrid, the industrialization phase and the political changes during the 19th and 20th century that formed the Catalan identity. The plan of Cerda in 1857 reoriented the city towards the sea and established the physical and conceptual basis for modern Barcelona. Yet, it was the persistence of Barcelona school (versus the Modern movement) in preserving the elements of historical continuity and defining the Catalan identity that drove the city to its present character.

From the 1980s on, Barcelona’s urban waterfront has been extended and the public space reorganized throughout the whole city in a consistent network of axes and patches (fig. 141-142). The main objective has been to adapt to the new conditions while strengthening the local identity and sending a message of competency to the central government. Since the Olympic Games of 1992, the main drivers of redevelopment have been the major infrastructure works and the city’s re-branding as top destination for tourists and students.

The experience of Barcelona represents a paradigm for the following three conditions. First, a strong political background and the social need to define the place’s identity and people’s sense of belonging can act as a driver for development. Second, as cultural heritage element can be considered anything that relates to or expresses historical continuity and identity. Third, the city is both its structure and the buildings. Therefore, the elements and the relationships between them become the heritage of the ordinary environment and its appreciation empowers the past to live through the present not as a revival or conservation but as a reinterpretation.
City of Łódź, Poland

138. “There are a lot sites like that. This is a big part of the city” by Ola Gordowy, student of Architecture in TU Delft

139. View from 1914, photo by Bundesarchive & 2016, photo by Renata Głuszek.
Source: http://www.polenvoornederlanders.nl/?page_id=17904&lang=en

140. “But then they are trying to reuse the space a lot. So this is another image of the city” by Ola Gordowy, student of Architecture in TU Delft
141. The coast of Barcelona c1970s.

142. The coast of Barcelona, 2013 by Vladimir Tkalic.
Source: http://www.sail-world.com/Australia/photo/335051
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sustainability sphere</th>
<th>Content (non exhaustive list)</th>
<th>Possible sources of Information and data</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PHYSICAL</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>State of structures</td>
<td>Stability, Risk of collapsing, Architectural or Structural Damages, Transformations</td>
<td>Technical reports, Site observation, Archeological and Architectural research, Historical research through photos and archives, private archives of engineers and construction companies</td>
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<td>Accessibility, Local scale</td>
<td>Connection to the neighborhood and municipality, Facilitation of local flows</td>
<td>Technical reports, Transportation reports, GIS data about traffic, Radius and Route distance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accessibility, Metropolitan scale</td>
<td>Connection to the periphery and metropolitan area, Facilitation of heavy traffic</td>
<td>[possible data sources: national land registry, national statistics (Hellenic Statistical Authority), Google (or other similar applications)]</td>
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<td>Vicinity to centrabilities and services</td>
<td>Distance and accessibility to public services, education, health, commerce, leisure, culture &amp; sports, city centers and industrial zones</td>
<td>GIS data, analysis based on Radius distance, actual Route distance and Time needed to commute</td>
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<td><strong>ENVIRONMENTAL</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Materials &amp; Energy (availability &amp; quality)</td>
<td>Availability and Quality of raw material, Renewable and Recyclable resources, Soil fertility, Conventional and Unconventional Energy forms, Use and Consumption</td>
<td>Technical reports and GIS data on ground quality (soil fertility, ground layers etc), Statistics and Measurements about Energy Consumption, Use of alternative energy systems and their scale, Academic reports and research conducted by National Institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water &amp; Air (vitality, climate, adaptability)</td>
<td>Vitality, Considerate use of natural resources, micro-climate, Climate change and Adaptability</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flora &amp; Fauna (biodiversity)</td>
<td>Biodiversity, Domestic Animals and Species Relations, Ecosystems, Complexity and Resilience</td>
<td>Technical reports and GIS data, Statistics, Measurements and Analyses of academics and national institutions, Reports, data and information from NISGs and other Associations or individuals, Natural disasters reports, Historical research on the transformation of landscape and land use, People's narratives and micro-stories</td>
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<td>Habitat &amp; Settlements (topography &amp; land use)</td>
<td>Topography and Liveability, Land use, Original Habitat and Native Vegetation, Natural Reserves</td>
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<td>Emissions &amp; Waste (pollution)</td>
<td>Pollution, Ecological Footprint, Waste management, Reuse and Recycling</td>
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<td>Health (physical, mental, psychological)</td>
<td>Physical, Mental, Psychological, Nutrition, Hygiene, Fitness, Wellbeing</td>
<td>Health care facilities and services (coverage, specialization, response), Hospitalization rates and relevant data, Statistics and Research of Medical background, Site observation and Discussion with locals</td>
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<td><strong>CULTURAL</strong></td>
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<td>Identity &amp; Social Engagement</td>
<td>Multiculturalism, Diversity, Sense of place and Belonging, Acceptance of the different, Participation in Cultural Practices</td>
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<td>Creativity &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>Aesthetics, Arts and Crafts, Events, Celebrations, Sports, Leisure, Innovation</td>
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<td>Beliefs &amp; Ideas</td>
<td>Ideologies, Religion and Faith, Knowledge and its Interpretation, Symbols, Rituals, Emotions</td>
<td>Cultural events and participation, Reported (or not) assaults, Diversity of cultural spaces in terms of interests, Official places of Worship, Social facilities, Education facilities, Orientation and educational programs or events, Sense of identity, Recognition of emblematic heritage sites and public act to protect them, Preservation and Conservation, Listings and Recordings related to personal stories, Declared monuments or sites</td>
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<td>Cultural diversity</td>
<td>Gender and Generations representation, Reproduction and Mortality, Equality and Equity, Family as the social core, Sexuality, Quality of Life</td>
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<td>Inquiry &amp; Learning</td>
<td>Curiosity, Research and Application, Teaching and Training, Holistic Education</td>
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<td>Memory &amp; Its Preservation</td>
<td>Traditions, Authenticity, History, Archives, Protection and Conservation, Expression and Communication</td>
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<td><strong>SOCIO-POLITICAL</strong></td>
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<td>Governance</td>
<td>Participation in Decision making, Organization, Political Power, Authority, Legitimacy, Decision making, Planning and Programming, Vision, Respect, government Transparency</td>
<td>Statistics on participation at elections, city councils and neighborhood or community gatherings, Numbers, lists, Hierarchy and Jurisdiction of governmental institutions</td>
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<td>Justice &amp; Ethics</td>
<td>Access to social amenities, Law enforcement, Social and Human Rights, Social Responsibilities, Equity, Equality, Equal Opportunities, Fairness, Judgement and Penalty</td>
<td>Society's position and activity against social crimes and ethical questions, Criminality rates, Domestic violence, Reported and unreported violations, Street gangs, Police presence and engagement, Emergency response and exertion of power, Site observation on street equipment and space configuration (street lamps, visibility etc)</td>
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<td>ECONOMIC</td>
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<td><strong>Communication &amp; Critique</strong></td>
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<td>Dialog, Freedom of Speech and Act, space for Debate, Expression of Opinion, Information and Update, Privacy, Accountability</td>
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<td>Local Associations, Actions and events for different social groups but also bringing together the diverse social groups, existence of Gathering Places in Public (not only cafeterias etc), Communication of local government to people (update and notification systems), Everyday life Facilities for people in need and special social groups (elderly, handicaps etc), Statistics on Residents' background (age, education, origin, occupation, socio-political mindset, religion etc)</td>
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<td><strong>Representation &amp; Empowering</strong></td>
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<td>Participation to the commons, bridge the Gender and Generation gap, Inclusive decision making, Communication with the people, Democracy, Self-organization, Autonomy</td>
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<td>Safety, Protection, Support, Integrity, Accountability, Social Care, Defence of common goods, Trust</td>
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<td>Criminality rates, Domestic violence, Reported and unreported violations, Street gangs, Police presence and engagement, Emergency response and exertion of power, Site observation on Street equipment and space configuration (street temps, visibility etc)</td>
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<td><strong>Production &amp; Resourcing</strong></td>
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<td>Statistics of government, institutions and companies (to juxtapose), Accounting books and Tax information (background, declared income vs property assets), Economic Reports of local and national government</td>
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<td><strong>Regulations &amp; Justice</strong></td>
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<td>Legality, Tax evasion, Labor rights, Welfare contribution</td>
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<td>Statistics, Accounting books, Monthly to yearly reports, Employees’ and Employers’ opinion but also reports of inappropriate behavior, Legal cases against companies</td>
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<td><strong>Consumption &amp; use of Resources</strong></td>
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<td>Management of resources, Logistics, Process Optimization</td>
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<td>Property declaration, Technical reports and plans of infrastructure (public and private archives), Participation in Innovation conferences, events or activities</td>
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<td>Statistics, Accounting books, Monthly to yearly reports, Employees’ and Employers’ opinion, Membership in national and international corporations, associations etc, ODIT</td>
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Giannis Kanellos, 26 yrs old  
He is a dentist, studies and lives in Piraeus (next to Zea port).  

When my father’s parents came from Tripoli (middle-size town in countryside), they stayed somewhere in Athens. My mother’s family was staying in Nilenas so when they got married, they tried to find something affordable close to her family.  
I think my parents would have liked to move if it was economically possible.

Korydallos is a place that keeps you stuck. Mainly because people will marginalize you if you want to make a difference.  
Nothing really keeps me there. I don’t want to spend my life and make a family in that area.

Contrary to common belief, people of Korydallos represent the middle class left wing. And they are quite mainstream.

Surprisingly, there are a lot of cultural activities happening. Classical theatre, athletics, concerts.  
Its cultural heritage is certainly linked to the rempethiko (music genre). Not so much with politics as in similar areas like Kaiskina.

Public transportation and waste management. Of course there is lack of services.  
The location of the prisons next to the school is an issue. Especially in the summer, the inmates try to have conversations with school kids!  
Safety in public space too; there is not enough lighting or visibility.

People don’t trust anything related to the government, but do you blame them?  
The first step would be to approach and inform them where they already hang out. But you cannot - and shouldn’t - transfer the public dialogue into the private space.  
And it should be subtle, give them a choice. Public ballot boxes, like the simplified “customer service” in some shops could work. You give privacy and the choice to answer when they want.  
And if you realize something corresponding to the whole process, then it will be each time easier to engage them.

Provided that you keep the owning system and you offer something at least equal or better. It will work only if you have something to show. But it sounds really good to open space inside the blocks!

8.3 Overview of the Interviews

PERSONAL NARRATIVE
WHY THEY LIVE HERE

We live here because my mother worked here. Her job was related to the port and the shipping industry.  
We had a call and money transfer center for foreigners so we needed to be next to the cruise ship terminals. Sailors wouldn’t go much further to settle their business. We also needed to be inside the Internet grid infrastructure. The options were limited.

I live in London now. My mother still lives in the same place. We have invested in that.  
Anyway, I love Paleo Falirio more; that’s where I have my best childhood memories. I spent all the summers with my father there.  
Only a handful of my friends are actually from Piraeus.

It’s a typical middle class area. Normal settings, normal life. Most of it connected to the port or industry.  
You also have people of higher income, especially when you move towards the coast line. Most of them work with the shipping or tourist industry, that’s why they live here anyway. But if you have money, you move to the southeast of Attica.

When I was growing up, not much was happening. Now the historical center is gaining interest due to the renovation of the Municipality Theatre and an effort to promote Piraeus as a cultural center equal to Athens.  
There are several leisure opportunities, from the most intellectual to the most folksy. Things are changing, people ask for the different.

The urban environment itself is a problem. Narrow streets that you cannot navigate, confusing and unreliable transportation, bad management system for solid waste.  
I don’t feel like there is tremendous lack of public space, although I would love to see more. Safety in the parks can be an issue though and cultural sites are quite unknown.  
Health care is also a serious problem. We live close to the hospital but we maintain a private insurance with the private hospital at Neo Fairo.

Do you blame them?  
The first step would be to approach and inform them where they already hang out. But you cannot - and shouldn’t - transfer the public dialogue into the private space.  
And it should be subtle, give them a choice. Public ballot boxes, like the simplified “customer service” in some shops could work. You give privacy and the choice to answer when they want.  
And if you realize something corresponding to the whole process, then it will be each time easier to engage them.

People could accept the idea if you provide something better and don’t disturb their convenience. They see their houses as life investments and the moving as a hassle. It will take a lot to convince them that releasing space can actually work.

George Negas, 25 yrs old  
He was raised in Korydallos.

When my father’s parents came from Tripoli (middle-size town in countryside), they stayed somewhere in Athens. My mother’s family was staying in Nilenas so when they got married, they tried to find something affordable close to her family.  
I think my parents would have liked to move if it was economically possible.

We had a call and money transfer center for foreigners so we needed to be next to the cruise ship terminals. Sailors wouldn’t go much further to settle their business. We also needed to be inside the Internet grid infrastructure. The options were limited.

I live in London now. My mother still lives in the same place. We have invested in that.  
Anyway, I love Paleo Falirio more; that’s where I have my best childhood memories. I spent all the summers with my father there.  
Only a handful of my friends are actually from Piraeus.

It’s a typical middle class area. Normal settings, normal life. Most of it connected to the port or industry.  
You also have people of higher income, especially when you move towards the coast line. Most of them work with the shipping or tourist industry, that’s why they live here anyway. But if you have money, you move to the southeast of Attica.

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George Negas, 25 yrs old  
He is a journalist and lives in Thessaloniki. He lives in Thessaloniki. He

My mother’s family was limited.  
Infrastructures were restricted to the shipping industry. We also needed to be next to the Internet grid infrastructure.

I live here because my mother worked here. Her job was related to the port and the shipping industry.  
We had a call and money transfer center for foreigners so we needed to be next to the cruise ship terminals. Sailors wouldn’t go much further to settle their business. We also needed to be inside the Internet grid infrastructure. The options were limited.

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Strategies for using cultural heritage as a driver for sustainable urban [re]development in Piraeus

Heritage of the Ordinary: an Alternative View

Strategies for using cultural heritage as a driver for sustainable urban [re]development in Piraeus

Magdalini Papadam | September 2017
7. Strategic (Regulatory) Plan of Athens, 1985

The “new urban development” comes not as a planning process but as a legitimization of the already shaped situation.

Source: http://www.organismosathinas.gr/

9. Athens 2021, the new Strategic (Regulatory) Plan of Athens

There is an obvious reinterpretation and understanding of the Athenian basin with a series of metropolitan poles interconnected and with the aim of synergism/interaction.

In terms of culture, the Athens 2021 program identifies diverse cultural landscapes of priority and the intention to link, protect and promote cultural routes in a metropolitan scale.

Source: http://www.organismosathinas.gr/

6. Historical urbanization of Attica region and metropolitan region of Athens in the modern Greek state. It is interesting how the basin has always been polycentric in its form and evolution.

Source: Abdulkadir (2010)
10. Research structure scheme.
The area of Agios Ioannis Rentis is located quite centrally, along the river/highway Kifissos and the axis of Pireos street (fig. 94). It might have been inhabited in the prehistoric times due to its location just before the swampy area of Alipedon (see p. 38) but there are no clear indications about it. At the beginning of the modern Greek state, it had a dual purpose: it was the supplier of agricultural products for the urban centres of Athens and Piraeus but also an important leisure destination for the working class. Due to its role as food provider, the area was one of the last to receive refugee population. Gradually it was industrialized due to its proximity to the river and the transportation infrastructure. The first official community of Rentis was created in 1925 and the first urban plan in 1935.

The chosen neighbourhood area concentrates at the same time several representative layers of cultural heritage (historically and thematically) while it faces a series of urban sustainability challenges due to the spatial, sociopolitical and economic transformations of the city.

The urban development of the area started with the immigration of Greek refugees from Asia Minor. In 1932 the state granted them land and the right to build. One plot per family, about 16 m² of covered space and 32 m² of open.

**Introduction to the chosen area: Agios Ioannis Rentis**

94 a. The municipality at the edge of Piraeus periphery, bordering on Athens and South Attica periphery
94 b. The district of Agios Ioannis Rentis. Its name originated from the church, which dates back to the “Rendi” family
94 c. The chosen neighborhood area
94 d. Infrastructure and connections surrounding the chosen area

5.1 Plot planning for the refugee settlement Apollon
95. Apollon settlement in a state map, 1950. In the circle, the candle factory ‘Apollon’ which feeds one theory about the area’s name origin. The other theory refers to an ancient statue of god Apollo found in the area.
96. Apollon settlement according to another state map, 1959.

Sources: Analuti (c2006) [plan] & Papadopoulou & Sarigiannis (2005) [maps]

The polygons of fig. 84-85 correspond to:
1. Chocolate factory ION
2. Paper manufacturer SANITAS
3. Packaging manufacturer ΒΙΣ
4. Electricity plant
5. Metallurgical plant (Elliniki Metallourgia)
6. IKA building (social insurance system)