

Urban Resilience, Changing Economy and Social Trends.

Coping with socio-economic consequences of the crisis in Athens, Greece



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Preface

The development of resilient cities is the crucial factor for sustainable development. Resilient cities are cities that are prepared to absorb and recover from any shock or stress (natural hazards, human-made shocks such as a financial crisis, etc.) while maintaining its essential functions, structures, and identity as well as adapting and thriving in the face of continual change. “Building resilience requires identifying and assessing hazard risks, reducing vulnerability and exposure, and lastly, increasing resistance, adaptive capacity, and emergency preparedness” (ICLEI 2017).

To contribute to building resilient cities, we are very happy that the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) and the German Federal Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt) grant our joint research project or exchange “Resilient as Challenge for European Cities (HeKris): Developing urban planning strategies and concrete projects” from 2017 to 2019. The project is based on a partnership between the National Technical University of Athens – NTUA (Faculty of Architecture) and the Leibniz University of Hanover – LUH (Faculty of Architecture and Landscape). The primary objective of HeKris is to train Greek and German students as well as young researchers to develop integrative strategies and creative approaches for resilient cities, including new and robust governance arrangements between public, private and civil stakeholders (governance structures).

This book is the result of the Athens Summer School 2018 on resilient European cities that took place from 24th to 29th June 2018. The summer school focused on “Urban resilience, Changing Economy and Social Trends” and asked the participating interdisciplinary student groups to develop strategies and approaches to cope with the economic, social and demographic changes and the financial crisis in the urban area of Athens. This volume thus presents (1) contributions from scientists that were involved in the summer school and other external experts, explaining socio-economic phenomena and various communal approaches enhancing social resilience; (2) the output of an exhibition of a futuristic scenario to question a post-crisis sequence of events; and (3) the ideas, concepts and strategies that the students developed to deal with social and economic issues. With this book we hope to contribute to the discussion on building more resilient and sustainable cities – a debate we will continue with the following summer schools and exchanges.

Frank Othengrafen and Konstantinos Serraios
Hanover and Athens
December 2018

Part 1

Introduction

Southern European Perspectives when Dealing with Socio-economic Consequences of the Crisis

Laura Chocontá

Leibniz University Hannover

The late 2000s crisis has transformed Europe. Especially in the south, governmental efforts to face the situation become visible in institutional changes in favour of austerity and which, at the same time, were detrimental for the welfare state, the democratic representation, and labour relations, finally set off social protests (ZAMORA-KAPOOR, A. & COLLIER, X. 2014). The implemented policies reduced the state's participation in the economy, which lowered the economic activity, increased unemployment rates, reduced consumption, and sank the image of the governments (ibid.).

In such dire political and economic scenario, citizens' increasing disaffection towards their traditional democracies and the handling of the crisis encouraged the rise of alternative forms of conducting politics: such as the surge of new political actors and innovative alignments of communities to deal with the socio-economic issues (ibid.). Civil Societies Organizations, for example, had to develop tactics of interaction, different tools of communication and be more flexible in management skills to solve pressing problems (EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE 2013: p. 3).

The transformation of the socio-economic relationships inside communities in Southern Europe and their perspectives when dealing with the crisis can be an opportunity to rejuvenate planning and enable different and potentially more productive and cooperative approaches to decision-making processes. The

***Learning about
resilience***

following contributions provide insightful and critical examinations of some context in Southern Europe, their processes and some lessons to learn about resilience:

In Greece, the economic crisis and the fiscal consolidation policy resulted in deterioration of service delivery and caused serious discontent towards the local representatives. As a result, the local political system and the representatives were unable to sustain the political discontent of the local people who voted against them. „**Political Resilience in Times of Economic Crisis and Local Government Reforms**“ written by *Yannis Psycharis, Dimitris Kallioras and Evangelia Psatha* presents the case of the Municipality of Volos, Greece and examines the resilience of the local political system under the pressures for reforms and the implementation of restrictive policies during the period 2010-2014.

Using the city of Athens to carry out the argumentation, the paper „**Athenian Urbanism and Urban Resilience**“ written by *Thanos Pagonis* discusses the relations between the concepts of urbanism and resilience. By understanding “urbanism” as a collective condition that shapes the production of built space and social relations formed around it, the article claims that deep understanding of urbanism in a particular place is crucial for urban resilience planning.

In both Greece and Germany, the importance of initiatives has risen significantly in the last years. The third contribution from *Filip Śnieg, Lena Greinke and Frank Othengrafen* „**Community Resilience through the Influence of Grassroots Initiatives**“ shows how these solidarity movements can increase robustness and adaptability to various crises in their local context. It suggests that future practice and science should focus even more on the contribution that initiatives can make to community resilience and sustainability on different scales in cities.

„**Struggling Against Entrenched Austerity**“ by *Simone Tulumello* provides an overview of the housing politics in contemporary Lisbon, Portugal. By reflecting on housing crisis and struggles, the chapter takes two conceptual steps. First, it explores the entrenchment of austerity in the field of housing by

building on an understanding of austerity as the downloading of vulnerability to risk from the economic to the social sphere. Then, it questions the capacity of emerging social movements' potential to fight the social vulnerability brought by austerity and establish themselves as a 'resilient' alternative to the dominant models of economic development.

The fifth contribution „**Grassroots Economic Activism in Hard Times**“ written by *Riccardo Guidi* explores and questions “alternative forms of resilience” that citizens of Southern European countries have developed in response to the crisis. First, it illustrates the “alternative forms of resilience” perspective; then, it re-frames it into the more complex possible trends of grassroots economic activism in the shadow of crisis; finally it uses the case of alternative food networks in Italy in hard times to test the “alternative forms of resilience” hypothesis against competing ones. Although limited, the analysis shows that grassroots economic activism in times of crisis present a complex intertwine of persistencies and transformations.

Just like these contributions from scientists involved in the Summer School and other external experts, the research concerning socio-economic phenomena and various communal approaches enhancing social resilience should be continued, and their results shared in open scenarios where they can be used as a tool for development.

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1. Political Resilience in Times of Economic Crisis and Local Government Reforms

The case of the Municipality of Volos

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Panteion University University of Thessaly

Abstract

Economic crisis and fiscal consolidation policy in Greece had a tremendous impact on local government finances and the provision of services and local public goods to citizens and localities. The implementation of these policies resulted in deterioration of service delivery and caused serious discontent towards the local representatives. As a result, the local political system and the representatives were unable to sustain the political discontent of the local people who voted against them. The chapter presents the implemented policy, the political discontent and the voting outcomes for the case of the Municipality of Volos and examines the resilience of the local political system under the pressures for reforms and the implementation of restrictive policies during the period 2010-2014.

Introduction

The departure for the present research endeavor stems, mainly, from the interdisciplinary concept of resilience. According to the literature the term resilience denotes: (i) the capacity of ecosystems, individuals, organizations or material to cope with disruption and stress and retain (regain) functional capacity and form, ; (ii) the capacity of a system to adjust and respond in ways that do no damage or jeopardize effective functioning, remaining on an existing developmental trajectory or making the transition to a new one; and (iii) the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and recognize while undergoing change, so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure and feedbacks (MARU 2010, SIMMIE & MARTIN 2010, PSYCHARIS et al. 2014). This indicates that examining for resilience requires the consideration of: (i) the amount of change that a system can undergo, while retaining its structure and functions; and (ii) the degree to which a system can create, sustain or reorganize its capacity to learn and adapt (CHRISTOPHERSON et al. 2010, PENDALL et al. 2010, PSYCHARIS et al. 2014). Apparently, the greater resilience is related to less dependence upon globally footloose activities, with a greater economic diversity and/or with a determination for more significant structural changes (BRISTOW 2010, MARTIN et al. 2016, TSIAPA et al. 2018). It is thus no surprise that the concept of resilience has attracted a lot of interest, which is, arguably, emanated from the extent, the depth and, in many cases, the duration of the recent (year 2008) economic crisis. Indeed, the economic crisis has exposed (regional) economies to (external) shocks, drawing attention to differences regarding their capacity to adapt accordingly (BRISTOW & HEALEY 2015, ERAYDIN 2016, TSIAPA et al. 2018). Yet, despite this fact, the dimension of political resilience still remains in an embryonic stage in the literature. The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the literature of resilience by focusing on resilience of local political systems during the period of economic crisis and fiscal reform in Greece.

The economic crisis in Greece coincided with the “Kallikratis” administrative reform, which made provision for an extensive administrative merger of municipalities and communities (L. 3852/2010). The number of Municipalities was reduced to 325 from 1034 and new fiscal rules were introduced for local government budgets.

Although the Kallikratis Programme aimed to simplify local administrative procedures, its implementation was at a time of a dramatic cut – reaching 50% – in the municipal funds (L. 4093/2012). In most cases, the previous policies resulted in an inability to maintain common and green spaces, school buildings and municipal infrastructures efficiently, while cleanliness visibly deteriorated and plans for new works were abandoned.

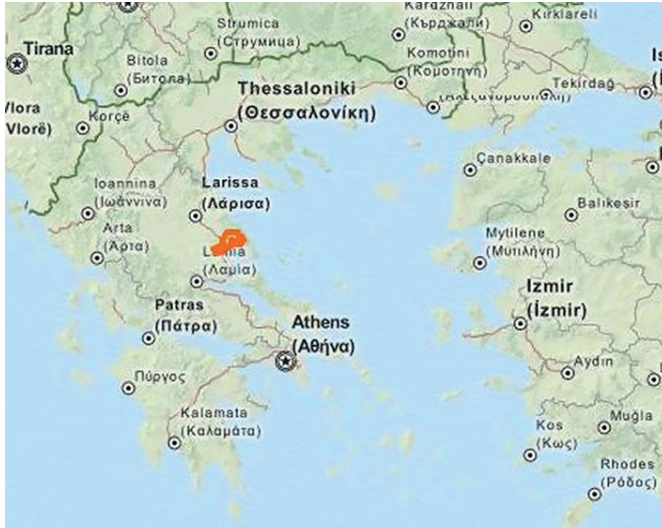


Fig. 1. The location of Volos. Source: Author's elaboration

In the case of Volos, which is a medium-sized city located in Central Greece (see Fig. 1), after the “Kallikratis” administrative reform, which provided the amalgamation of several neighboring municipalities, the new Municipality of Volos included nine Municipalities; the former Municipalities of Volos, Nea Ionia, Iolkos, Agria, Nea Agxialos, Aisonia, Artemida, Portaria and the former Community of Makrinitisa (see Fig. 2). According to the recent population Census (year 2011), Municipality of Volos has 144,449 inhabitants (1.3% of the population in Greece). Comparing to the penultimate population Census (year 2001), Municipality of Volos exhibited a population increase of 2% (from 141,675 inhabitants). Comparing to the former Municipality of Volos, the “current” Municipality of Volos, that now includes 9 former municipalities, exhibited (period 2001-2011) an enormous population increase of 75.2%! This increase highlights the challenges that (the “current”) Municipality of Volos has to

be dealt with, within a stressful fiscal situation. This is why the Municipality of Volos constitutes a representative case-study to examine the resilience of local political system.



Fig. 2. The municipality of Volos and its constituent parts. Source: Author's elaboration

The analysis of the chapter is based on: (a) secondary statistical data, from established statistical sources, on the political, social and economic context of the Municipality, (b) municipal documents and press releases (c) articles and texts from the local Press about the Municipal fiscal problem, and (d) interviews with local actors, who have a deep knowledge of the Municipal fiscal problem. The interviewees came from the political leadership, including the Mayor and the deputy Mayors, the Municipal administration, and representatives of the local productive organizations.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: After this concise introductory section, the second section of the chapter presents the socio-economic context of the city of Volos. The third section provides the fiscal profile of the Municipality of Volos. The fourth section presents the perceptions and causes of the fiscal problem in the Municipality of Volos and the corresponding public debate. The fifth section discusses the resilience of local political system to economic pressures. The sixth section pre-

sents some conclusions. In the Study Boxes A1 and A2, there are some quotations from the interviews there were selected from local representatives and stakeholders.

Currently, together with the neighboring, medium-sized, city of Larissa, Volos is, often, considered to be an alternative development pole (“the Larissa-Volos dipole”), between the metropolitan poles of Athens and Thessaloniki (see Fig. 1). The “dipole” concept is based on the rationale that each city may specialize in complementary functions at an equivalent level in the urban hierarchy. However, Volos does not seem to make use of this “dipole” dynamic. To the extent that the “dipole” concept has worked, it has mainly availed Larissa (for instance, when multinational companies make investment location decisions). Yet, Volos is widely considered to have significant advantages which (may) equal to equivalent development perspectives. The city of Volos is located close to the main Greek transportation networks, it has an important port and an airport, and it is the administrative and the academic center of the University of Thessaly. The city of Volos, also, disposes a significant industrial tradition and a coastal hinterland of a well-recognized natural beauty, suitable for tourism development. Overall, Volos is a city that offers a high-level quality of living. Despite this remarkable multidimensionality of development prospects and living standards, however, Volos has not achieved a satisfactory level of economic development. Especially during the late 1970s, Volos experienced a strong de-industrialization wave, partially encountered with the foundation of the University of Thessaly, in the late 1980s, which offered employment opportunities and attracted specialized workforce. Currently, and after the outbreak of the economic crisis (year 2008), Volos is under a new economic decline, experiencing an income decline and suffering from high unemployment rates.

Reaching the share of 51.6%, the vast majority of income declarations in the Municipality of Volos (year 2012) come from either pensioners or rentiers, according to the allocation of declarations per profession. Only the 48.4% of declarations come from “economically active” taxpayers that exercise a “working” profession (i.e. private or public sector employees, merchants,

The socio-economic context of the city of Volos

farmers, freelancers). After the outbreak of the economic crisis, the Municipality of Volos experienced a decline of 22.0% in terms of declared income¹. Particularly, from the level of €16,151 per declaration (year 2008), the Municipality of Volos exhibited a decrease (in, year 2005, constant prices) to the level of €12,598 per declaration (year 2012). Added to the population trends, such a decline provides another highlight with respect to the challenges that the Municipality of Volos had to face. Pensioners declare 37.0% of income in the Municipality of Volos (year 2012). Rentiers declare another 5.4%. Thus, only the 57.6% of income is declared from taxpayers that exercise a “productive” profession (KALLIORAS et al. 2018).

Overall, the main economic sector in the Municipality of Volos (year 2011) is the tertiary sector, with a share that represents 74.3% of employment. The secondary sector is rather small, representing 21.0% of employment, and the primary sector is extremely small, representing just 4.7% of employment. This extremely small share of the primary sector is quite logical as the Municipality of Volos mostly contains urban areas. Unemployment rate reached the level of 37.4% (year 2013)², experiencing an increase of 29.3 percentage points after the outbreak of the economic crisis.

The fiscal profile of the Municipality of Volos

The “sudden” change in the city’s administration scheme, under the “Kallikratis” reform, combined with a fall (instead of a raise) of the municipality’s financing from the Central Government (due to the handling of the economic crisis) (PSYCHARIS et al. 2018). The debt of the Municipality of Volos reached the level of €17,000,000 (year 2014) (see Table 1). The debt of the Municipality of Volos represents the 0.87% of the Greek municipal debt (i.e. the total debt of all municipalities in Greece). Noteworthy is the fact that even though, during the period 2011-2014, the debt

1 Despite its shortcomings (i.e. inefficiencies in measurement, spatial mismatch between product and income), per capita GDP remains the most commonly-used measure of development. Having no (officially published) per capita GDP data at the municipal level, declared income data provides a reliable proxy. Usually, declared income presents a high degree of correlation with per capita GDP.

2 Data refer to the prefectural level as there is no unemployment data at the municipal level.

of Municipality of Volos is getting decreased in absolute terms (in constant, year 2005, prices), its relative share with respect to the Greek municipal debt is getting increased. Noteworthy is, also, the fact that even though, during the period 2010-2011, the debt of Municipality of Volos is getting increased in absolute terms, its relative share with respect to the Greek municipal debt is getting decreased. In per capita terms, the debt of the Municipality of Volos is around 120 euros per inhabitant (year 2014) (see Table 2). This amount is 0.67 times as much as the corresponding amount of the Greek municipal debt per capita.

Spatial Unit	Municipal debt (euros; constant, year 2005, prices)				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Greece (Greek Municipalities)	1,614,993,57	3,039,394,22	2,857,538,51	2,233,031,80	1,955,145,11
Municipality of Volos	13,428,071	22,895,992	21,546,242	17,884,957	17,096,334

Table 1. The debt of the Municipality of Volos. Sources: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR/Authors' Elaboration

Spatial Unit	Municipal debt per capita (euros per inhabitant; constant, year 2005, prices)				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Greece (Greek Municipalities)	147.7	277.9	261.3	204.2	178.8
Municipality of Volos	94.0	160.3	150.8	125.2	119.7

Table 2. The per capita debt of the Municipality of Volos. Sources: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR/Authors' Elaboration

The list with the Greek Municipalities that were included in the "Memorandum of the Local Administration" was published (year 2011) and the Municipality of Volos was not among the over-indebted municipalities. In particular, according to "Kallikratis" criterion 2 (i.e. legal criterion for characterizing a municipality as over-indebted), a municipality's total amount of debt should not exceed 60% of its annual revenues. Thus, with respect to the aforementioned criterion, the Municipality of Volos was in a relatively good position. Yet, especially during the period 2013-2014 this share is getting increased (see Table 3). Given

that the debt of the Municipality of Volos is getting decreased in absolute terms, the aforementioned trend indicates that the problem that Municipality of Volos faces is mainly on the side of revenues.

Spatial Unit	Municipal debt (% of Municipal revenues)				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Municipality of Volos	20.1%	32.5%	36.4%	29.5%	49.8%

Table 3. The debt of the Municipality of Volos as a percentage of the corresponding revenues.

Sources: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR/Authors' Elaboration

The expenditures of the Municipality of Volos were, mostly, associated with operational costs and staff payment (see Table 4). Only a small fraction of the expenditures is allocated for investment purposes. With respect to the revenues of the Municipality of Volos, the vast majority comes from general grants (see Table 5). A significant part comes from taxes and fees.

Spatial Unit	Municipal expenditures (%)			
		Operational costs	Staff	Investments
Municipality of Volos	2010	64.8%	18.4%	16.8%
	2011	74.0%	20.7%	5.3%
	2012	76.4%	12.5%	11.2%
	2013	70.1%	19.9%	10.1%
	2014	74.4%	20.4%	5.2%

Table 4. Allocation of the Municipality of Volos expenditures. Sources: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR/Authors' Elaboration

Spatial Unit	Municipal revenues (%)			
		General grants	Earmarked grants	Taxes and fees
Municipality of Volos	2010	73.4%	4.9%	21.7%
	2011	78.7%	1.4%	19.9%
	2012	72.5%	5.3%	22.2%
	2013	75.8%	1.0%	23.2%
	2014	81.2%	1.1%	17.7%

Table 5. Allocation of the Municipality of Volos revenues. Sources: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR/Authors' Elaboration

According to KALLIORAS et al. (2018), selected statements of different groups of actors on the problem of Municipal debt (i.e. local politicians of the majority, the opposition, the administration, others) (Box A1 and Box A2) reflect that the causes of the high-level debt of the Municipality of Volos may summarize in the reproduction of wrong practices (i.e. clientelism, nepotism) encountered in the Central Government, and in the misconception that Central Government has to ability and the willingness to finance municipalities. On the one hand, a reason for the Municipal debt was the intentional inclusion of uncollectible dues in the budget (as revenues), for which there wasn't any intention to be collected because of "client relationships"; on the other hand, a reason for the Municipal debt was the lack of a clear demarcation between Central and Municipal competencies, magnified by the lack of a rational costing of the services offered by the Municipality. There is also the argument that the debt is caused not only by the limited revenues but also by the un-rational management of resources (Box A2). While the previous perceptions, more or less, concern most of the Greek cities, in the case of Volos a remarkable cause for the debt has also been the undervalued cost of the expropriations needed for the city plan to be implemented. This view of the problem was mostly stressed by the representatives of the Municipal administration, indicating the different (and more 'accounting') perception of the problem's causes. Another interesting view of the problem is the allegation that the main cause of the high-level debt of the Municipality of Volos is the suspiciousness of the Central Government ("the State of Athens"), which provided a small amount of revenues to the Municipality.

Perceptions and causes of the fiscal problem in the Municipality of Volos and the corresponding public debate

Box A1: Selected statements of different groups of actors on the causes of the fiscal problem of the Municipality of Volos.

Citations from the majority:

- The causes of the high-level debt of the Municipality may be summarized in the reproduction of wrong practices – clientelism and nepotism –... the effort of the (former) Municipal Authority to reduce the level of debt was not communicated properly to the citizens. (Mayor)
- The basic priority of the Municipal Authority was to rearrange the finances of the Municipality. Achieving this goal required capability, on behalf of the elected and the municipal officials, but also a mentality change, on behalf of the municipal officials and the residents. Mentality change is the most important parameter... (Deputy Mayor of Finance 2010-2012)

- The main cause for the accumulation of debt in Volos Municipality was the generalized dependence of the local administration on the central government, due to which municipalities were feeling free to spend over their budget, waiting for the central government to cover the difference... In the case of Volos, another reason for the municipal debt was the intentional inclusion of uncollectible dues in the budget, for which there was not any intention to be collected because of the 'client relationships'. (Deputy Mayor of Finance 2012-2014)
- All mayors from the smallest town to the city of Athens used to form plasmatic budgets, overestimating the revenues. More correctly, they used to overestimate the costs. At the end, they had to invent plasmatic revenues to balance the budget. (Deputy Mayor of Development 2010-2014)

Citations from the opposition:

- The main cause of the high-level debt of the Municipality of Volos is the suspiciousness of the "State of Athens". Due to this suspiciousness, the Central Government provided a small amount of revenues to the Municipality. (Councilor of the Opposition and Candidate Mayor, SYRIZA)

Citations from the administration:

- The problem of debt in Volos was caused by 3 major factors: the cost of expropriations (needed for the city plan to be implemented), the fact that before Kallikratis the municipal budgets were not followed properly and the municipal enterprises which were used as a tool to plunk down money and to make recruitments. Although the procedures were legal there have been totally un-transparent. (Director of Department of Finance)

Citations from the Chamber of Commerce and Association of Industries

- In Volos, the most significant diachronic problem is the lack of a long-term commonly accepted developmental vision, which leads to the application of fragmented and short-term plans, depriving the city from development. (President of the Executive Committee of the Association of Industries in Thessaly and Central Greece)
- In the case of Volos the municipal debt is caused both by the limited revenues and by the un-rational management of resources. Especially after 2010 there have been no efforts for alternative sources of funding to be found, although the municipality holds significant estates which remain unexploited. (President of the Commercial Chamber of Magnesia)

Citations from the local Press

- The problem was caused by the chronic mismanagement and the waste of the public money. This was not the case only in the Municipality of Volos, but in the Greek Municipalities as a whole
- It is in fact a structural problem which has to do with the societies and the mentality, not with the mayors (journalist on the 'municipal reportage')

Citations from the University Community

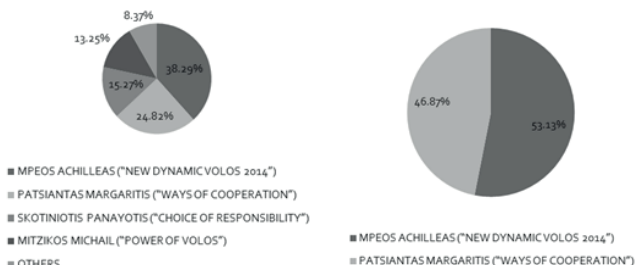
- The lack of resources, which is the real problem, is caused by the inability to collect the local taxes, but also by the fact that the Central Government does not attribute to the Municipalities the amounts they deserve (Researcher, local administration expert)

Source: Authors' elaboration

In any case, it seems that the majority of registered citizens of the Municipality of Volos do not perceive the financial situation of the Municipality as its own problem. In contrast, both the residents and the Municipal parties of the opposition usually think that the Municipality should, obviously, fulfil some specific functions (such as cleanliness, welfare, sports, culture), without being worried regarding how to fulfil these functions. There is also the opinion that the problem caused by the Municipal debt, is not comparable to the real socio-economic problems that citizens of Volos face (such as income decline and unemployment). Probably, in Volos the most significant diachronic problem is the lack of a long-term commonly accepted developmental vision, which leads to the application of fragmented and short-term plans, depriving the city from development.

Selected statements of the different groups of actors assess (Graph A2), also, the implemented measures, their performance and impact with respect to the solution of the fiscal problem of the Municipality of Volos. The basic priority of the former Municipal Authority of Volos was to rearrange the finances of the Municipality. Achieving this goal required both capability, on behalf of the elected and Municipal officials, and a shift in mentality, on behalf of the Municipal officials and the registered citizens. The downwards trend of the Municipal debt was made possible with the proper financial management despite the fact that, after the outbreak of the economic crisis, Municipal revenues were significantly low(er). “Kallikratis” administrative reform contributed significantly to this end, as it leads to centralized services (i.e. unification of the former Municipalities) with lower functional costs (i.e. closing of the supernumerary Municipal enterprises affiliated to the former Municipalities).

municipal elections (2014-1st round) - Volos municipal elections (2014-2nd round) - Volos



Graph A2: Municipality of Volos elections result (year 2014). Sources:

HELLENIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR/Authors' elaboration

Box A2: Selected statements of different groups of actors on the implemented measures, their performance and impact with respect to the solution of the fiscal problem of the Municipality of Volos

Citations from the majority:

- The downwards trend of the municipal debt is mainly due to the reduction of debt to third parties. This was made possible with the proper financial management despite the fact that, after the eruption of the crisis, municipal revenues are significantly lower... Municipalities themselves can contribute to the solution of the problem through “balanced budget” budgeting. Yet, it is important for the Central Government to improve the macroeconomic conditions of the country, because municipalities are not “isolated islands”. (Mayor)
- Trying to mitigate the problem, and adjusting to the reality emerged in the light of the on-going economic crisis, the (former) Municipal Authority of Volos reduced the number of Municipal Enterprises from 65 to 2! Yet, municipalities themselves cannot solve the problem. Without the assistance from Central Government, municipalities are going to deal with significant functional problems... the vast majority of registered citizens – as well as the municipal parties of opposition – think that the Municipality should, obviously, fulfil some specific functions (such as cleanliness, welfare, sports, culture) without being worried regarding how to fulfil these functions. (Deputy Mayor of Finance 2010-12)
- The most significant measure of the Municipal Authority to deal with the debt was the balanced budget budgeting. This measure leads to a general reviewing of the way municipal services used to be offered to the citizens and finally to the restraint of municipal spending... The limitation of the municipal resources, due to the dramatic cutback of the central funding, lead to major malfunctions and to the inability of the municipality to cover obligations to third parties (Deputy Mayor of Finance 2012-14).
- The results of the new way of budgeting were more obvious in the municipality itself rather than in the city. The number of personnel was cut significantly. Social services were not significantly downgraded because they use European funds to function. But other services, especially the cleanliness, were influenced dramatically. That had a major political cost to the party. (Deputy Mayor of Development 2010-14)

Citations from the opposition:

- The Municipal Authority supported that it has managed to reduce the level of debt. It did not mention the side-effects of a “strategy” imposed from the country lenders. These side-effects are personnel lay-off, early retirements and wage cut-off, and the, consequent, inability to fulfill basic functions, such as welfare and cleanliness. (Councilor of the Opposition and Candidate Mayor, SYRIZA)
- Municipalities themselves cannot contribute to the solution of the problem. Solution is feasible with the rise of a progressive government in power. Even in this case, however, municipalities should vindicate their right to set strategic visions without being limited to operational roles. (Councilor of the Opposition and Candidate Mayor, SYRIZA)

Citations from the administration:

- In order to solve the economic problems, the Municipality of Volos should exploit the

municipal estate with transparency, as it happens in other European cities. A permanent obstacle is that the “selling of public property” has a negative dimension. (Director of Dept. of Finance)

- The methods towards the sanitization of the municipal economics were all implemented by the Central Government. Municipalities which do not comply with the centrally set targets are punished by a further cutting in the funds. To achieve the revenues provisioned, in most municipalities now there is the will (and the obligation) to claim the uncollectible dues. (Director of Dept. of Finance)

Citations from the Chamber of Commerce and Association of Industries:

- Although local governments in Greece do not have the ability to induce taxes (excluding municipal fees), funding from the central government to the municipalities has been cut and municipal debts are used as an excuse for this cutting... The attempts to manage the municipal debt have brought a noteworthy downgrading of the municipal services' level. This consequence could have been avoided if the Municipality had been interested to exploit the remarkable real property that has 'inherited' from the former municipalities ...The whole fiscal crisis of Volos has not influenced the business climate in the city, because the Municipality does not play a vital role in it. (President of the Executive Committee of the Association of Industries in Thessaly and Central Greece)

- The Kallikratis Programme brought to light the significant problems of mismanagement in the municipalities and could have worked perfectly if the resources had not been cut so dramatically. Instead, the cut of funding caused major dysfunction problems in the city and a remarkable reduction of the social services level. (President of the Commercial Chamber of Magnesia)

Citations from the local Press:

- There was such a strict fiscal policy, that only Scrooge would have been able to follow! (journalist on the 'municipal reportage')

Citations from the University Community:

- Because of the economic crisis social needs were multiplied, while at the same time the competencies of the cities were augmented. Resources, however, reduced instead of rising. Despite those facts, there wasn't any appreciable difference in the city, to the cleanliness or the water quality for instance (Researcher, local administration expert)

Source: KALLIORAS et al. 2018/Authors' elaboration

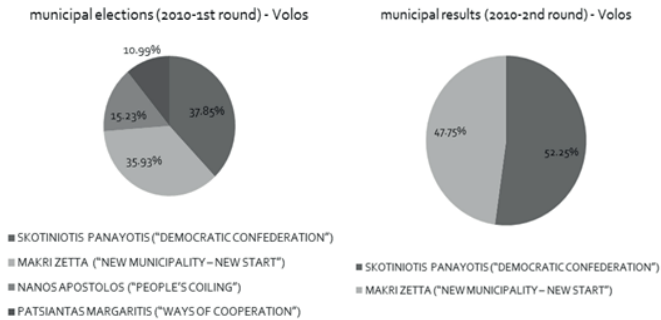
Overall, “Kallikratis” led to a general reviewing of the way Municipal services used to be offered to the citizens, allowing for the restraint of Municipal spending (e.g. the later introduced “Observatory” contributed to the cultivation of a new rationale towards transparency and to the attainment of economies of scale). Under such a framework, the former Municipal Authority of Volos implemented a “balanced budget” budgeting. Yet, this strategy, even though it had a positive impact with respect to the management of Municipal debt, created major malfunc-

tions. The side-effects of a rigid austerity strategy – top-down imposed from upper levels – were personnel lay-off, early retirements and wage cut-off, and the, consequent, inability on behalf of Municipality of Volos to fulfill its basic functions (such as welfare and cleanliness as well as infrastructure maintenance). Overall, the Municipality could not serve its institutional role (perhaps, this could have been avoided, to some extent, if the Municipality had been interested to exploit the remarkable real property that has “inherited” from the former Municipalities having constituted the new unified one). In any case, both the supporters and the opponents of “balanced budget ” budgeting agree that municipalities themselves cannot solve (without side-effects) the municipal fiscal problem, without the assistance of Central Government (e.g. through the improvement of the macro-economic conditions of the country). Of course, the involvement of Municipal administration with the business sector, cultivating a positive climate towards the attraction of investments and the facilitation of business activities, may be beneficial for the amelioration of the socio-economic conditions in the city.

***Local political
resilience of the
Municipality of
Volos***

In the penultimate Municipal elections (year 2010), Mr. Panayotis Skotiniotis, supported by PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement; social democracy), DHMAR (Democratic Left; reformatory left) and GE (Green Ecologists; ecologists) was elected Mayor of Volos (see Graph A1). Noteworthy is the fact that the outgoing Mayor, Mr. Alexandros Voulgaris was not a candidate, as his party (PASOK) had expressed the willingness to support the multi-political electoral combination of Mr. Panayotis Skotiniotis. In the next Municipal elections (year 2014), Mr. Achilleas Beos, an independent candidate, who was the former president of the local football team, was elected Mayor of Volos. Noteworthy is the fact that even though SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left; radical left) was the strongest party in the Municipality of Volos in the national (year 2012 and 2015) and the European elections (year 2014), Mr. Margaritis Patsiantas, who supported by SYRIZA, did not manage to win the Municipal elections. At the same time, Mr. Panayotis Skotiniotis, the former Mayor that had managed to consolidate the financial situation of the Municipality of Volos, experienced a (disastrous)

defeat (15.3%). This is so as, leaving out the debt issue, the previous Municipal authority (i.e. period 2010-2014), faced significant difficulties with several issues reflected in every-day life, such as the waste management, the water supply, the lighting and the maintenance of public spaces. It seems that giving the emphasis in the finances, the urban policies that were followed were not conducive to enhancing living conditions, but in fact exerted an influence in the opposite direction. Under this lens, it is not a surprise that the registered citizens perceived the previous difficulties as a failure of the previous Mayor and his team. It comes that despite the fact that Mr. Panayotis Skotiniotis had managed to consolidate the financial situation of the Municipality of Volos, local political resilience proved to be extremely low. This is a noteworthy fact given that the economic (i.e. fiscal) resilience of the Municipality of Volos proved to be extremely high.



Graph A1: Municipality of Volos elections result (year 2010). Sources:

HELLENIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR/Authors' elaboration

The economic crisis of 2008 had a tremendous impact on local government in Greece. The Kalikratis (L. 3850/2010) reform amalgamated local governments and decreased the number of Municipalities to 325 from 1034. Due to the pressures for fiscal consolidation and the deterioration of local economic conditions, local government finances were reduced and the provision of local goods and services was deteriorated. These changes challenged the resilience of local economy and society. However, the pressures affected not only local economy and society but also the functioning and the limits of local political system and the local political elites. The voting of local electorate brought in power representatives outside of the dominant

Conclusion

political system. The political resilient was in question and also the policies that were implemented. The case of Volos provides an interesting example about the reformability of political systems in times of economic crisis and the implementation of fiscal consolidation policies. However, the resilience of local political system and the assessment of policies that were implemented is an open question for further discussion and interpretation.

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2. Athenian Urbanism and Urban Resilience

Path-dependent trajectories from the post-war era to the crisis and beyond

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Abstract

The paper attempts to relate the concept of resilience with urbanism. More than just the functions in buildings, mixed land-use and maintenance of public life in the streets, 'urbanism' is understood as a collective condition that shapes the production of built space and social relations formed around it. The article claims that deep understanding of urbanism in a particular place is crucial for urban resilience planning. This is discussed in the context of Athens.

Introduction

This paper explores the linkages between resilience and urbanism with regard to Athens. Urban resilience has become the new mainstream in urban policy discourse that is shaping urban planning agendas in the EU and worldwide. Resilient urbanism is associated with 'cities being conceived and designed to be resilient to natural hazards, economic booms and busts, to domestic and international challenges and with ability to respond to crisis through adaptation' (RESILIENT URBANISM 2018). But how does resilience make sense in particular urban contexts? Are the attributes that make a particular city resilient uniform? Can cities become resilient at once or is this something that is shaped over a long-term process?

The view adopted in this paper is that the key element that makes cities resilient is urbanism itself, meaning the collective condition that shapes the production of built space and social relations formed around it. For Urbanism can be no single definition given the broad meaning of the term that varies also depending on the context that is used. In this article we relate to the original 19th century tradition of 'making cities' that involved dealing simultaneously with aspects of land management, infrastructure planning, traffic, density, articulation of private and public space and urban form while operating within a context of capitalist urban development that acknowledges the need to produce economic surplus in the production of the built environment (see for instance writings of MORALES 1978). This art of 'knitting things' together, that was 'lost' after the Second World War and arguably rediscovered recently (HALL 2016), has shaped the social morphology of some European cities for as long as 100 years, as in the case of the Cerda plan of Barcelona. In this sense, urbanism is like an 'urban DNA' and it is related to path-dependent evolutionary processes. If resilience is to make any sense at all and have an impact, then it has to fit into that particular DNA. So a primary task for policy makers is to 'decode that DNA' and try to understand how it evolves.

The paper is addressing this problematic in the case of Athens. Athens has been identified in the literature as having followed a distinct urbanization path that differs from western urban development models (LEONTIDOU 1990). Its attributes were created in the context of locally specific conditions shaped in the period

of the post-war rapid urbanization. After the 1990s Athenian Urbanism has faced several challenges, exposure to neoliberal urban strategies in the context of staging the 2004 Olympics followed by the crisis afterwards. The paper first discusses the particularities of Athenian Urbanism trying to identify the raw elements that make it resilient. Then it goes on to see how Athenian Urbanism has evolved across the last decades and how it has responded to recent challenges. The paper concludes with an assessment of how the crisis has affected the resilience of Athenian Urbanism drawing conclusions for future policy directions.

Athenian Urbanism is shaped across four key stages which are subject to path-dependent evolutionary processes. The first stage is 19th century urbanism initiated in the 1830s when Athens becomes the official capital of the newly founded modern Greek state and seat of the appointed government and the King. Athens at that time has been a small settlement of 4000 inhabitants typical of the Ottoman period in the Balkans. The city expands below the Acropolis Hill with monuments of various historical periods forming an organic part of the vernacular urban tissue.

The particular path of Athenian Urbanism

The arrival of the Bavarian administration sets forth a new direction of western-oriented urban imagery which becomes a constant parameter shaping policy discussions about urban development and planning over the next two centuries. A new identity of Athens is promoted through urban planning and state-led urban development which involves extensive excavation of archaeological sites and construction of emblematic public buildings of neoclassical architecture which form today an important part of the city's architectural heritage. The Athens plan of Kleantes-Schaubert (KALLIVRETAKIS 2016) follows the principles of 19th century urbanism in organically integrating the modern regular urban grid of new boulevards with the Ottoman old town. This has ensured continuity in urban development and boosted urbanity.

The implementation of the plan initiates speculative development processes which are related with the interests of landed

elites that interfere in the process of plan implementation by changing the street layout and location of public buildings in order to get access to development rights. This practice of local elites is about to become a key characteristic defining Athenian Urbanism throughout its historical development over the next 150 years. It is supported by continuous population growth that creates conditions of constant demand for new housing and urban development throughout the entire 19th and 20th century. FOTEINI TOUNTA (1998) has documented the way that many peri-urban forests in Attica, that were public property according to the Greek Constitution, have been converted to developable land through a process of property and development rights transfers and land use transformations that is still ongoing, almost two centuries later.



Fig. 1. The development of Athens up to 1870s as depicted on the J. Kaupert plan published in 1881. Source: NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

The next critical moment for Athens urban development is the mid-war period with 1922 being a key milestone associated with the Greek-Turkish wars (so called *Mikrasiatiki katastrofi*) which had as a consequence the arrival of 1.5 million refugees to Greece that settled mainly in urban centres of Athens and Thessaloniki. In Athens, the refugees settled where there was

available land, a fact that led to the formation of new neighbourhoods. The provision of housing for the socioeconomic integration of refugees presented a major challenge for urban resilience, to use today's terminology, given that most of the areas where the refugee population settled, lacked basic infrastructure and some were even susceptible to risks such as flooding. The refugee crisis of 1922 triggered planning responses, namely the adoption of the first planning act (Decree of 1923 'On planning and development of towns and settlements') and the launch of major state housing and land development operations that keep going on for several decades.

Meanwhile, however, the refugees brought positive energy to the vitality of Athenian urbanism by providing cheap labour force that boosted industrial development and led to the creation of new wealth. Western influences in architecture and urbanism are noted in the development of inner-city apartment buildings (Greek modernism) and suburbs with villas for the affluent local population which were planned according to the garden city principles (FILLIPIDIS 2006). The model of the typical multi-ownership condominium building (so called Greek *polykatoikia*) is born that will become the basic housing infrastructure and generator of the urban tissue over the post-war period. The population of Athens throughout this period almost doubled; from 453.000 in 1920 to reaching 802.000 inhabitants in 1928.

The third crucial period for the formation of the Athens urban development model is the post-war decades of 1950s-1970s. In this period according to writers and critics are consolidated the key defining features of Greek urbanism in terms of modes of production of the built environment, characteristics of urban form and associated social practices. The triggering factor of urban development is urbanization taking place at the national scale that leads to the concentration of internal rural migrant population in the cities, primarily Athens and Thessaloniki and abandonment of the countryside (MALOUTAS 2000). It is initiated after the end of the Civil War and is associated with policy responses to the acute housing crisis noted at the time. As MANDOUVALOU et al. (1995) point out, urban development policies in the post-war period served various functions, from

housing and welfare, to employment and promotion of consumerism, but also ensured political stability by dampening the appeal of Communism. According to them, the production of housing financed by small-scale private capital seemed at the time a choice that made sense as an economic policy but also a choice taken in the absence of other alternatives and other forms of investment capital. The production of housing is promoted indirectly by favourable regulation that supports the two dominant forms of urban development - formal and informal. The formal urban development takes place in already inhabited areas within the confines of statutory plans. Reconstruction is financed through plot based arrangements between individual constructors-investors and land owners (*antiparochi* system) favoured by increased building intensity. Informal development takes place at the urban fringe involving self-housing construction performed by rural migrants by their own means on land purchased from local farmers. State policy is favourable also in this case by tolerance of illegal construction practices and their subsequent legalization combined with incorporation within statutory plans after the 1980s. In this way, the value increase from the raised intensity is captured by primary investors.

Maloutas has stressed out the redistributive effect of these regulatory policies that resolved the problem of housing shortage and supported socioeconomic mobility in the Greek cities throughout the post-war period. Access to homeownership has been the main vehicle of social and economic integration of internal migrants (MALOUTAS 2003). This governance technology that created a multiplicity of owners became a stronghold of the resilience of Athenian Urbanism. MANDOUVALOU et al. (1995) argue that the participation in land development of a wide range of actors from many social groups, has contributed to creating social and political consensus around the various informal social practices and institutions constituting that process.

Resilience of Athenian Urbanism and the role of planning

The resilience of Athenian Urbanism as evolved throughout the above described evolutionary process is associated with a particular set of morphological and land use characteristics. The first one is the **small-scale**. This refers both to the size of the plots as well as the size of investments. Small plots mean

small investments, each plot being a separate investment. This made the process of housing development affordable to small-scale investors, thus giving them space to benefit from land rents. The second characteristic is **density**. High density made housing development profitable for land owners and constructors and created urbanization economies through proximity. The third characteristic is **mixity**. Relaxed land use regulations, particularly in central urban areas enabled a wide range of small-scale businesses, often corresponding to self-employment, such as small trade as well as services (doctors, engineers, accountants) to spread amid densely built residential areas. They are typically housed in the ground floor or in lower floors of *polykatoikia* buildings that are unattractive for housing. Besides land use mix, the polykatoikia enables also social mix through the renting of the least attractive apartments in lower floors to lower income groups and more recent migrants while the more affluent groups occupy the upper floors, (see concept of vertical social differentiation in MALOUTAS & KARADIMITRIOU 2001). This arrangement eventually enables coexistence of higher and lower income groups in the same area thus reducing social polarization. Mixity ensures urbanity and livability, elements that have been praised as positive attributes of the 'Mediterranean city' by LILA LEONTIDOU (1990) referring to Athens of 1980s in a period when other European and American cities were struggling with acute urban problems in inner cities and in the urban periphery related with deindustrialization and social segregation.

The fourth constitutive element of Athenian Urbanism is **uniformity**. Uniformity is the product of a particular land regulation policy of fixed maximum height and intensity applied uniformly to all plots in a given area. This policy can be seen as an ultimate expression of social equity and democratization in urban development as it ensures independent access to development rights to each individual plot. Meanwhile, however, it is also the ultimate expression of **individualism**. The pursuit of individual interests within the constraints of a normative regulatory framework (and often beyond that) becomes a widely legitimized social practice which disincentivises the pursuit of collective interests and provision of public goods. This has multiple expressions. One characteristic example is the infamous

shortage of open and green space in Athens and other Greek cities. Another example is the lack of regulations at the level of the building block which prevents the possibility to create unified facades, common use of courtyards at the interior of the block and other amenities. The lack of structures for collaboration represents a structural weakness which undermines the resilience of Athenian Urbanism in ways that became apparent much later when urban diseconomies settled in at the advent of the crisis. Before going into that discussion however, it is worth to comment first the role of planning and how it contributed to the particular conditions of Athenian and Greek Urbanism in general.



Fig. 2. Typical view of the urban landscape of Athens, where the main characteristics of Athenian Urbanism are distinguished. Source: Own photo

The international experience in Europe and elsewhere has shown that planning is conditioned upon the legal and institutional framework, as well as established norms and practices that differ across various governance contexts and are associated with the emergence of distinct planning cultures (KNIELING & OTHENGRAFEN 2015). The literature often highlights the weak character of planning in Greece (ECONOMOU et al. 2007). Despite pertaining to a large degree of truth, this statement risks however leading to oversimplifying judgments in rejecting the role of planning altogether claiming that in Greece there is no planning at all. Many critics would react strongly to that and would actually claim the exact opposite, namely that land and urban development in Greece is overregulated pointing to

the inflexibility and complexities of overlapping legal provisions that abide to land and property. The argument promoted in this paper is that planning cannot be separated from the specific institutional, political and economic conditions that nurtured the particular breed of Athenian urbanism. Below will be analyzed some key points of the culture of planning that illuminate the discussion about resilience.

A constitutive element of planning in Greece is related with its belated introduction. The legal framework of statutory planning is established since 1923 as mentioned already. In the 1960s vibrant discussions about the emerging Athenian metropolis contribute to the scientific development of planning but are interrupted by the advent of the dictatorship. They are consolidated after 1974 with returning professionals educated in other European countries. However, it is only after 1981 when Greece joins the European Economic Community (EEC) and gets access to European funds that urban planning is established as systematic field of public policy. By that time however, cities are already formed. The a posteriori introduction of planning in an already formed urban reality defines its de facto limited scope of intervention. The primary task of planning becomes thus the formalization and legitimization of the multitude of small-scale private developments rather than promoting the long-term collective interest in reshaping urban form and enabling the provision of public goods by constraining individual property rights. Another indication of planning weakness is related with the lack of value capture mechanisms in the allocation of development rights. Even when a fully-fledged planning system comes into effect which establishes some mechanisms for the participation of land owners in the cost of urban development (*eisfora se gi kai se xrima*), planning still does not replace the preexisting mechanisms that enable landowners to acquire development rights individually based on general regulations according to the size and location of the plot (*ektos sxediou domisi, domisientos orion oikismon*, etc). Planning thus does not constitute a break with previously established norms and rules of the operation of land development system but rather is introduced as a parallel way of allocating development rights that opens up new areas for speculative development, namely urban expansions (KARADIMITRIOU & PAGONIS forthcoming).

This distortion has profound significance for the social understandings of planning. Planning does not appear as a social claim to collective rights and public goods but as an understanding by social groups that benefited in the previous phase of unplanned land development that the mistakes of the past can be corrected not only without cost but also with significant benefits. This translates into very high expectations from planning regarding for instance improvement of the urban environment and quality of life without appreciation of the difficulties posed by the a posteriori intervention in already built-up areas and very low tolerance of the cost that these interventions could potentially have for individual property rights. The dilemma between individual and collective interest is not even posed. Collective rights do not affect individual rights but are partly added to them as subsidies. Based on this paradoxical notion is built the idiosyncratic planning culture of Athenian Urbanism.

**Challenges
faced by Athenian
Urbanism
in the recent
period**

Since the mid-1990s Athenian Urbanism has been facing major challenges with regard to resilience. These occur in two distinct eras. The first is related to the hosting of the 2004 Olympic Games and covers the period 1997-2007. The second is that of the crisis which is initiated right after around 2009 and evolves up today. Both eras have left clear imprints in the culture of planning and urbanism. Despite their differences, they present similarities in some key points and are characterized by continuities as discussed below.

The staging of the Olympics in Athens represents a major re-orientation of declared planning goals and policy discourse accompanied by major endeavours and realizations. For a planning system that was up to then geared towards fulfilling the regulatory function with limited experience in the management of public urban development projects, the Olympics mark an unprecedented momentum of complex planning operations. Within a relatively short period of time, the city absorbed a huge amount of public investment that was directed to metropolitan transport infrastructure, large scale facilities and urban regeneration projects as well as housing. This raised the feeling of civic pride and arguably boosted the city's competitiveness according to the proponents of the Games. Meanwhile, how-

ever, it exposed the city to novel challenges and risks. A major such challenge is related with coping with urban sprawl. Up to 1990s Athens was contained within the so called Athens Basin surrounded by mountains. The construction of the new airport with assorted road and rail infrastructure has triggered since the mid-1990s new urbanization dynamics in Messoghia plain, North Attica and Thriassion that gradually pushed the boundaries of the Functional Urban Area to the entire Attica region. Managing land use transformations and development control in such vast territory has been a major challenge for the local regulatory system with its noted deficiencies as pointed out by pertinent research (CHORIANOPOULOS et al. 2010). However, the resilience challenge with regard to sprawl is not limited to the loss of agricultural land and natural resources in the urban periphery but has affected also the urbanity of central urban areas by acting as a motive for households as well as businesses to relocate from downtown to the new development areas. The fleeing of middle-class groups followed by commerce and services from central Athens to the suburbs has been going on for decades. This has impacted the economic vitality of central areas, such as Kypseli and Patission, but was partially compensated by the arrival of new immigrant population that continued the filtering in process in the 1990s and early 2000th. This, however, changes in the more recent period as a result of a combination of factors that range from changing trends in global migration to local policies, such as a decision of the Greek government to relocate ministries and other administrative functions away from the centre (MALOUTAS & SPYRELLIS 2016). The combined effect of above factors exacerbated by the crisis after 2009 has affected strongly several areas creating a sense of abandonment, underinvestment and loss of urbanity.

Another aspect where continuities between the Olympics and the crisis are noted is related to governance. Critics have pointed out the over-centralized structure of decision making in metropolitan planning naming Athens 'a capital city governed by the state' (COCCOSIS et al. 2003). Throughout the last two decades this trend continues and is intensified. During the Olympics, the entire responsibility for Olympic planning and implementations is undertaken by the central government by

creating a separate legal and decision making framework that bypassed established procedures and directions of the Athens Regulatory Masterplan and Local Plans. In the period of the supervised administration (Troica) under the measures imposed by the Structural Adjustment Program, so called Memoranda, the entire planning framework is reformed in order to facilitate the process of attracting strategic investments directed to the privatization of state assets based on exemption regulations. The Athens Masterplan is characteristically revised to align to that policy. The most renowned case is the former airport of Hellenikon on the coast of Athens, the largest privatization scheme currently ongoing on a site exceeding 600ha, where the foreseen intensity has been almost doubled. The responsibility for the entire planning operation is undertaken directly by the Prime Minister Office and has involved up to now various national level controlled institutions, including a special purpose vehicle, several Ministries, the Constitutional Court and even the Greek Parliament.

The interference of exogenous factors in the operations of the land development system as a resilience challenge is noted also regarding the aspect of financing. Up to 1980s the land development system that nurtured Athenian Urbanism has been self-sustained funded by the surplus of household savings and small investors. After 1980s starts gradually the effect of external financing through the Structural Funds directed in urban infrastructure which act as indirect subsidy. After 2000 with the advent of the euro and liberalization of housing credit new funding possibilities are created through access to various forms of loan and mortgage products that are directed to land development. This period, according to critics, is associated with the creation of a bubble effect in construction and real estate sector marked by a characteristic rise of housing prices. Exposure of the local real estate market to the global financial system, however, made it susceptible to risks and dangers a fact that became painfully obvious with the burst of the global financial crisis that hit Greece in 2008 in the form of a public debt crisis that plummeted the construction sector (VLAMIS 2012).

The Olympics alone have had a major boosting effect in the land market on many levels starting from the construction of Olympic

projects themselves. It is a well-known fact that the Olympic projects of Athens, both buildings and road infrastructure, were awarded to Greek consortia of construction companies (DELLADETSIMA 2006). Moreover, it should be pointed out that they were designed as projects entirely financed by the public sector either by state funds or through EU funding and loans. This is very unlikely to international experience related with urban regeneration schemes that rest on public-private partnerships as a form of sharing the costs and benefits of the investment. This option was rejected in the case of Athens, both for ideological reasons and due to lack of capacities, as this experience has been alien to local urban development. Instead, the entire cost of Olympic projects was covered by public funding and the public sector inherited as well the burden of managing the facilities after the end of the Games. After the advent of the crisis which marked dramatic cuts in public spending the entire portfolio of Olympic facilities, all state-owned, ironically ended up to the Privatization Fund (HRADF). Hence their destination is to be allocated to private hands at a reduced price, given that they are underused and badly maintained for over a decade.

The above discussion has attempted to highlight key features in the evolution of Athenian Urbanism and create linkages with the problematic of urban resilience. The key idea promoted in the paper is that resilience is not invented from scratch but rather builds on already established modes that are inscribed in local urbanism, namely the collective condition that shapes the production of urban space and social relations that are formed around it. The latter is unique for every city, like an urban DNA, which defines its capacity to deal with unexpected pressures and absorb stress caused by change.

The presentation has been brief, providing solely an overview of key themes but still it permits to draw some basic ideas for discussion. Athenian Urbanism is characterized by persistence and resistance to change, with some of its constitutive characteristics going back to the initial conditions formed at its birth in the beginning of 19th century. This constraints its ability to change and adopt new ways, the experience of Olympic planning and development being a characteristic example. Never-

Assesing the effect of the crisis in urban resilience and policy responses

theless, this resistance represents a strength that has helped Athenian Urbanism to endure the externally imposed stress of austerity governance. The crisis has undoubtedly weakened the urbanity of central Athens neighborhoods with regard to both range of commerce and social mix. However, the urban tissue has persisted and there is evidence of various forms of bottom up responses and solidarity initiatives. This is attributed partly to the dense network of informal relations that permeate the production of urban space and have traditionally favoured spontaneous responses to challenges rather than planned interventions.

A good example to highlight this point is the renewal of *polykatoikia* housing stock of central urban areas that was created in the 1960s and 70s and suffers from chronic underinvestment, fragmented ownership structure being the main obstacle. The lack of mechanisms for intervention in already built-up areas has been and remains a renowned weakness of local urbanism that has puzzled planners and policy makers since the mid-1990s when the first instruments for urban regeneration (*astikes anaplasteiseis*) were introduced in the legal framework but were never implemented up today. After 2009, when the city centre became a focal point of urban policy, several initiatives of central and local government take place ranging from integrated area regeneration (SOAP) to large scale urban improvement (*Rethink Athens*) (PAGONIS 2013). None of them came to fruition. Instead, the key mechanism that is presently mobilizing small-scale capital investment in the renovation of the old housing stock is the Airbnb platform combined with the 'Golden Visa Program', namely a bottom up market response from a multitude of owners to a government regulation similar to the *antiparochi* in the 1960s.

However, the situation of today is a bit different. The recovery of urban land markets does not seem to generate uniform conditions of yielding from land rent, such as those formed in the post-war decades which favoured social and economic cohesion. Anecdotal evidence in the comparison of rents and land prices across different parts of Attica suggests the emergence of large disparities between some areas which turn into high end, most notably in the coastal zone, while the bulk of cen-

tral urban areas remain under the vicious cycle of the crisis. Increased polarization represents thus a new threat for the resilience of Athenian Urbanism.

Regarding the role of regulatory planning, it should be noted that not much has changed with regard to its capacity to constrain individual property rights and promote collective interests. As mentioned, recent reforms have focused mainly on creating a favourable institutional environment for promoting large scale investments while leaving the rest of the regulatory framework intact. Hence after seven years of reforms, the majority of instruments that ensure acquisition of development rights based on horizontal regulations remain in place while no new mechanisms for value capture have been created. The only reform that actually bore an impact on the system of land development has been the property tax policy that seized to be favourable for small-scale investors and owners thus breaking a policy tradition of several decades.

In conclusion, it can be said that the pursuit of urban resilience in Athens cannot be a short term objective nor a short sighted one. Rather it requires solid and global understanding of what has happened so far and why in order to target the causes that are responsible for the reproduction of problems and weaknesses. Moreover, it cannot be a goal pursued at the local level alone given that several characteristics which define the resilience of local urbanism depend on factors that fall under central government responsibility, such as the legal and institutional framework and other policies which impact on urban development. As the experience of Athenian Urbanism in coping with the crisis has shown, breaking with practices of the past is painful but also a learning process of self-understanding that is the base for moving on.

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3. Community Resilience through the Influence of Grassroots Initiatives

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Abstract

The paper shows that the importance of German and Greek initiatives has risen significantly in the last years. The German movements are mostly reflected in the harsh criticism of political undertakings; many focusing on pro-environment action, as well as a fight for human equality and the inclusiveness of the society in need. Conversely, the Greek solidarity movements often act to diminish post-crisis austerity symptoms and battle against the ubiquitous failure of politicians in Greece to respect and provide fundamental human rights and needs. It becomes clear that German initiatives are prone to criticise socio-political governances, as well as environmentally-related actions to succeed and achieve their goals, whereas Greek initiatives are bowed to tackle the occurrence of socio-economic and political difficulties themselves directly.

**Community
resilience and
grassroots initiatives**

In the last decade, the number and the importance of grassroots initiatives raised significantly all around Europe, and especially in Southern European countries (KOUSIS 2017: p. 121). These self-organised and community-managed networks are based on active citizen participation and social interactions and present new types of crisis resilience initiatives within the private and civic sector, churches, and local authorities. This finds its expression in the term 'community resilience' which is defined as the process of communities to prepare for, adapt to and recover from various disasters or crises (THORNLEY et al. 2015: p. 23).

These grassroots initiatives are characterised by 'the adaptive and learning capacity of individuals, groups and institutions to self-organise in a way that maintains system function in the face of change or response to a disturbance' (MACLEAN et al. 2014: p. 145, see also BERGSTRAND et al. 2014: p. 393). This also means that social or community resilience is basically 'influenced by [...] institutions [...] and networks that enable people to access resources, learn from experiences and develop constructive ways of dealing with common problems' (GLAVOVIC et al. 2003: p. 290). Consequently, the grassroots initiatives thus have in common that they pursue common societal aims by addressing principles such as self-organisation, voluntary participation, mutual benefit, learning and adaptation (DRAKAKI & TZIONAS 2017: p. 204, KECK & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: p. 7). Consequently, the actors – or the grassroots initiatives – have not only the capacity 'to cope with and adjust to adverse conditions (that is, reactive capacity) – but also search for and create options (that is, proactive capacity) and thus develop increased competence (that is, positive outcomes) in dealing with a threat' (OBRIST et al. 2010: p. 289, see also KECK & SAKDAPOLRAK 2013: p. 9).

The most significant influence and value on helping people in need, and therefore as well influencing urban and community resilience, is represented by the so-called solidarity movements (GIUGNI & PASSY 2001: p. 220). Those initiatives show a wide variety of solidarity practices, including local market cooperatives, cooperatives for the supply of social services, alternative forms of production, local currencies, etc. (KOUSIS & PASHOU

2017: p. 138). But how and to what extent do the undertaken activities contribute to strengthening urban and in particular community resilience (in times of the crisis)? What are the priorities of those initiatives? How do these initiatives differ in various contexts? What role do movements play in the political-administrative system and what influence do they have? Therefore, the paper reviews and examines the impacts of grassroots initiatives – more specifically solidarity movements – on forming resilience within urban communities in cities in Germany and Greece, respectively in Hanover and Thessaloniki. The primary objective of the paper is thus to identify and to analyse the influences of various grassroots initiatives on community resilience in different socio-economic and political-administrative contexts.

Greece has been selected as it is one of the European countries that have severely suffered from the economic crisis that hit Europe in 2008. The negative impacts of the crisis have appeared in economic and social spheres within the whole country, including the supposedly economically-strongest cities like Athens or Thessaloniki, which resulted in continuously growing debts, an increase of unemployment and homelessness, as well as the rise of people living below the poverty rate (ARMPATZI 2016: p. 2158). These outcomes of the crisis and the implementation of austerity measures by the Greek government were the driving force for forming many initiatives, whose main aim has been either selfless help to citizens in need and provision of essential components needed for decent living, or the radical, in many cases rioted, opposition to governmental actions (ibid.).

In the case of Germany, where the crisis has not been as powerful and affecting as in Southern Europe, the role of grassroots initiatives has a different focus. The general actions that are usually undertaken by the solidarity movements concern the current environmental issues related to climate change, such as a promotion of a vegan lifestyle, opposition to coal-based energy production or widespread tree cutting (THE GUARDIAN 2018). Moreover, worth mentioning are numerous initiatives on the German scene that deal with social inequalities within society, e.g. help with integration for migrants and refugees, as well

as supporters of politically-oriented doctrines - like Pro-Europe Movements (DEUTSCHE WELLE 2017).

Grassroots initiatives in Greece and Germany

With the help of qualitative methods, such as detailed literature research and conduction of interviews with local academics, founders of grassroots initiatives, as well as with local authority representatives, including resilience officers in the selected German and Greek case study cities, the influence of urban communities and grassroots initiatives on community resilience is analysed. Because of a high density of grassroots initiatives, Hanover in Germany and Thessaloniki in Greece were chosen in order to be compared. The cities are selected because of the similar spatial structure with a central core city and suburban environs as well as the nearly identical dimensions in size and population of their cities and their regions. Moreover, even though their role in the country - being second-tier cities, not the capital regions - is of lower significance, the occurrence of numerous active communities allows conduction of a detailed analysis.

In the interviews with local scientists and resilient officers, it became clear that the economic crisis in Greece from 2008 onwards was the main trigger and amplifier for the mobilisation of citizens (ARAMPATZI 2016: p. 2157). During this period, in particular, initiatives were launched to intercept existential benefits, which appeared to be decreased by the frequent implementation of austerity measures by the Greek Government. These significantly contributed to the further growth of the unemployment rate in the country and resulted in lower average income of the Greek citizens. Additionally, many essential services could no longer be obtained or paid for, and therefore, in order to meet this challenge and improve the situation, the initiatives had to step in. Since then, the number of initiatives in Greece has been steadily increasing, not only to fight back already-occurred economic and social outcomes of the crisis, but also because of, as claimed, too big dependency from the European Union (EU) and growing disappointment and mistrust towards the politicians of both - the Greek Government and the EU. It is one of the main reasons for their current status and relation, generally to politicians; therefore many of the Greek

movements stand up on their own, take care and govern themselves, and do not show willingness for any cooperation with officials. Nevertheless, some municipalities all over Greece, including Thessaloniki, have tried to reach out - in many cases with not necessarily satisfying results - to initiatives and movements that are based in their areas, to regain their trust and start a tight cooperation on various projects, which eventually might have aimed to increase not only community resilience but overall aspects of urban resilience.

In Thessaloniki, the cases of Perka Garden Initiative and Kinisi 136 Initiative are chosen to obtain a closer look on the local scene of grassroots initiatives, supplemented by interviews with public resilience officers and researchers. These two deserve attention due to their 'popularity' amongst local society, as well as the range of actions these two have so far done to bring people together and strengthen community resilience.



Fig. 1. Density in the city of Thessaloniki. Source: Śnieg

The Kinisi 136 is a citizens' initiative that opposes the privatisation of the water supply in Thessaloniki and instead aims to organise the water supply cooperatively with all municipalities of the Greater Metropolitan Area of Thessaloniki. As a driving force for protests against the actions of a central government in Athens, the movement was one reason why many citizens marched through the streets of the city and organised a referendum (STEINFORT 2014). The initiative played a major role in delaying the privatisation process. Founded in the summer of 2011, the movement has since focused on successful water

management in the Thessaloniki region. It also aims to protect the environment and natural resources and to enable rational use under public, non-profit, democratic and social control (KI-NISI 136 2018).

As a non-profit urban garden project for refugees, low-income families and the homeless, the Perka Garden Initiative enables people in need to grow their vegetables and fruits (PERKA 2018). One goal is to cultivate the products naturally and without chemical additives. With the help of urban gardening, the initiative aims to combat the crises mentioned above and thus strengthen the community resilience to the increasing poverty, prices and unemployment in the region. Although its legal status has not yet been fully clarified at the beginning and to some extent also today, the municipality of Thessaloniki began to support the Perka Initiative on a small scale, e.g. by supplying it with water. However, users are still in a legal grey zone because they are building their gardens on a currently unused military site for which they do not have an official permit. Nevertheless, Thessaloniki, being a densely-built city (see Fig. 1), has not many potential places, where urban gardening projects could be located entirely legally; therefore the initiatives are left with no alternatives, but to 'occupy' private areas.

Summing up, generally, the grassroots movements in Thessaloniki that emerged as a result of crisis-related hardship are usually anchored in legal grey zones or illegally. First of all, the initiatives are focusing on the delivery of urgent needs that have lately been harder to obtain, due to last decades' economic problem which negatively affected every single aspect of livability. Moreover, a try of resistance to political actions is further characteristic of initiatives in the city, especially opposing the 'buy-out' of public infrastructures as a consequence of neoliberal austerity measures.

The areas that they use for their actions are not officially permitted for such use, and in some cases not tolerated by the city officials. Furthermore, single examples of municipality-initiative cooperation, that focus on the increase of widely-understood resilience, can be found in the Thessaloniki. The resilience officers are the responsible ones for strengthening the bond to

initiatives as it follows one of the objectives of the newly introduced Resilience Strategy, by subsidising them with necessary knowledge and tools, e.g. allowing initiative-undertaken actions on a small green space in the central part of the city.

Nevertheless, in most cases, they are not supported by the government and politicians but mainly try to oppose their actions due to a high mistrust towards politicians. As an aim to boost citizens' trust, the national government has only recently passed new regulation for the support of solidarity movement. It is the sign showing the increased importance of these movements from a political perspective, but also a proof towards these actors that they have been highly neglected in the latest decades.

In Germany, the solidarity movements have been developed due to other crucial factors than in Greece. German initiatives (besides the support of migrants) are not focusing that much on life-threatening or basic needs while in Greece the focus is on these topics. Nevertheless, in both countries, the initiatives have somehow similar basis, and the same goal - namely a growing dissatisfaction of surrounding reality and an eventuality of better future, e.g. fight for rights to the city, affordable housing etc. These debates are firmly anchored in neoliberal discourses. Nevertheless, besides the similarities, the crucial difference is the level of institutionalisation of initiatives. Particularly, German movements and their actors often have a connection to political activities in the city and therefore are usually able to cooperate with local or regional authorities successfully.

The most significant focus is paid to healthier lifestyles, more conscious eating habits, concerns for the environment and future, as well as new considerations for aspects of livability are only a few reasons for the increasing mobilisation of citizens. Additionally, as known, they did not develop as consequences of powerful crises, but rather through societal and mindset changes that occurred over the last decades.

In Hanover, numerous initiatives mainly follow and focus on the trends as mentioned earlier that tend to exist all over Germany. As the examples for movements in Hanover, the "Internationale StadtteilGärten Hannover e.V." and the "Wissenschafts-

laden Hannover e.V.” were chosen to be analysed, due to their increased activity in building community resilience.

The Initiative Wissenschaftsladen Hannover e.V. is ecologically oriented and is committed to raising awareness and knowledge about the topic of sustainability. The initiative organises various events and activities in the city of Hanover in order to broaden the horizons of its citizens. In doing so, they not only want to impart knowledge but also fundamentally show people a more sustainable way of life (WISSENSCHAFTSLADEN HANNOVER 2018).

The Internationale StadtteilGärten Hannover e.V. would like to create a safe and protected place for migrants and locals in need. They do this by organising various activities in different community gardens in districts with a high proportion of migrants in Hanover. The association contributes to the formation of a community through events and contact during gardening. In addition, they supplement the possibility of cultivation with educational offers in the areas of foreign languages, nutrition, cooking and music (ISG HANNOVER 2018) (see Fig. 2).

Institutionally, both initiatives are supported by the city of Hanover. The support is the reason why both of them are seen as partnerships on the political and administrative levels. Consequently, they both receive human and financial resources to form successfully operating networks. These resources contribute directly to the formation of resilience since they support communities and strengthen bonds between and within them, which eventually might lead to more sustainable and resilient development of the city.



Fig. 2. Internationale StadtteilGärten in the city of Hanover. Source: Greinke

The examined initiatives have managed to build a well-functioning community that expands continually. The interest in them does not stop, which shows that there is a need in both cities to develop and promote resilient communities. The potential of these initiatives makes sense, both for the population and for the administration, because they help to bond society with authorities, as well as manage crises. They partly take care of providing the food of the gardeners and thus give them security. In addition, the people in the protected areas come into contact, can exchange ideas and build a community.

A significant challenge of the initiatives, however, is the (legal) continuity of the communities. In almost all initiatives, the members are fluctuating, and only a few remain permanently in the community. Those who stay are solidly anchored in the community and form an active core group that can well absorb the fluctuations. However, changing members is problematic for growing communities, especially in times of uncertainty and crises, they can cause further instability.

Overall, there are no significant differences in content between the initiatives in Hanover and Thessaloniki. They often pursue similar goals and similarly organise their movements. Usually, they decide to take care of themselves and other people in a sharing- or self-support system. Besides, it is noticeable that there are many different forms of cooperatives in both Greece and Germany that deal with various topics. Many initiatives have a leader or core group, which is well networked to local communities – and therefore knows their crucial needs – and in some case to city representatives, which allows them to develop and maintain their projects independently. Often solidarity movements succeed in raising new questions and answering sustainability issues (3S 2018).

Conclusion

Nevertheless, it is noticeable that initiatives in Greece tend to emerge out of necessity and therefore act more robustly than in Germany. It is resulting mainly from the fact that movements in German cities instead tend to criticise socio-political and ecological grievances whereas initiatives in Greece are inclined to an active struggle to reduce the occurrence of socio-economic

and political difficulties to gain some fundamental aspects of humanity. The context of the economic crisis has prepared the ground for alternative organizations and groups 'related mainly to urgent needs', on the one hand, but also to 'carve out a new type of politics through the creation of bottom-up participatory initiatives promoting a solidarity economy' on the other hand (KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017: p. 141) The Greek solidarity movements thus aim to diminish post-crisis austerity symptoms and combat the ubiquitous non-respect of the human rights of Greek citizens by politicians.

It is noticeable that social initiatives have positive effects on local communities. They can increase robustness and adaptability to various crises. Nevertheless, it is important to point out, that the impacts are often only locally limited. Solidarity movements give hope to the people and contribute to community resilience in times of crises - they are an excellent way to reduce occurring impacts and minimise their effects, which might eventually lead to getting out of crises - even if only on a very small (individual) scale. In the future, practice and science should focus even more on the contribution that initiatives can make to community resilience and sustainability on different scales in cities.

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4. Struggling Against Entrenched Austerity

From the housing crisis toward social movements for housing in post-crisis Lisbon and Portugal

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Abstract¹

This chapter provides an overview of the field of housing politics in contemporary Lisbon: the transition from the end of a period of economic crisis and deep austerity to a fast economic growth based on exportation, tourism and real estate; the intersection of historical housing problems with new trends of financialisation, touristification and gentrification; and the growth of social movements concerned with the right to housing and to the city. By reflecting on housing crisis and struggles, the chapter takes two conceptual steps. On the one hand, by building on an understanding of austerity as the downloading of vulnerability to risk from the economic to the social sphere, it explores the entrenchment of austerity in the field of housing. On the other hand, by questioning the capacity of emerging social movements to fight the social vulnerability brought by austerity, it questions social movements' potential to establish themselves as a 'resilient' alternative to the dominant models of economic development.

¹ This chapter is largely based on the lecture I gave at The Athens Summer School on Resilient European Cities (Athens, June 2018), and it stems from my involvement in some of the activist groups mentioned in the text and in two research projects: 'exPERts – Making sense of planning expertise: Housing policy and the role of experts in the Programa Especial de Realojamento (PER)' (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia; PTDC/ATP-EUR/4309/2014FCT; 2016-2019); 'HOPES: HOusing PErspectives and Struggles. Futures of housing movements, policies and dynamics in Lisbon and beyond' (FCT; PTDC/GES-URB/28826/2017; 2018-2021).

Introduction After years of deep austerity, imposed from the national (2010-2011) and European (2011-2015) level, narratives have radically changed in Lisbon. The economy is growing, the national government – brought to power in 2015 by a coalition between the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Left Block – has reverted some of the harsher austerity measures, and Lisbon has suddenly become a hub of global flows, attracting tourists, creative classes and European pensioners, but also increasing flows of real estate investment. The narratives surrounding Lisbon tell a story of resilience and coping in the face of deep austerity, and then post-austerity rebirth and hype (e.g. JONES 2017, KHAN 2017). At the same time, however, the new economic trends are fostering a fast restructuring of the housing market, which is increasingly burdening households, and especially young adults, in the access to housing. It was growth, more than the economic crisis, to trigger a deep housing crisis in Lisbon. At the same time, key reforms passed during the years of austerity – including those that have had a deep impact on the housing market by favouring accumulation over the right to housing – are not being reverted by government and parliament. This context has provided a fertile ground for the birth of a new generation of activist groups and platforms concerned with the right to the city and the right to housing (see, for instance, SEIXAS & GUTERRES 2018). Despite the big complexity and diversity of grassroots actors at play, emergent struggles have had in common the capacity to play on different arenas – seeking media visibility, negotiating with institutional actors, acting in confrontational way, producing alternative data – with the explicit goal of fighting back the commodification of housing in ‘post-austerity’ Lisbon.

In this chapter, I will provide an overview of this complex field; and take two steps toward a conceptualisation thereof. On the one hand, by building on an understanding of austerity as the downloading of vulnerability to risk from the top-down, and from the economic to the social sphere (see SAPOUNTZAKI & CHALKIAS 2014), I will discuss the extent to which the page of austerity actually has turned to the field of housing and housing policy. This, in line with previous reflections based on a very different context, that of the South of the USA (TULUMELLO 2018), suggests that austerity needs to be conceptualised as a long-

term multi-scalar governmental strategy – in contrast to a mainstream conception of austerity as a set of responses to any number of crises. On the other hand, by reflecting on emerging social movements for their capacity to fight on a number of different levels the social vulnerability brought by entrenched austerity, I will question social movements' potential to establish themselves as a 'resilient' alternative to the dominant models of economic development.

What follows is a reflection based on the work I have been carrying out as a member of two research projects on housing in Lisbon and Portugal; and, at the same time, of my involvement in some of the very activist groups and actions I will discuss – and should hence be considered as a research-informed, politically-positioned discussion.

Portugal has been one of the countries most harshly impacted by the European economic crisis and the austerity politics deployed as an answer to it. However, Portugal has always constituted an exception, albeit in different ways at different moments in time, to dominant narratives about the crisis – a 'rare beast in the eurozone', a commentator argued (KHAN 2017). The economic crisis started to hit Portugal in 2009. The then socialist government started to enforce austerity measures, while the combination of recession and bailout of banks was putting pressure over the nation's financial stability. In 2011, the socialist government failed to approve the fourth austerity package in just one year, and was forced to request external aid. After the fall of the government, in the same year, it was a new centre-right government to negotiate the bailout with the 'Troika' made up of the European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund. The new government embraced European austerity *con gusto*, cutting jobs and wages in the public sector, raising taxes, reducing social transfers (PEDROSO 2014). Not only was the government keen to implement structural reforms requested by the memorandum of understanding, but it exploited the situation to gain power over other political actors (MOURY & STANDRING 2017), going 'beyond the Troika' as proudly announced by Paulo Macedo, then Minister of Health, toward the end of his tenure in late

From the 'good student' to the 'alternative to austerity'

2015. No wonder that Portugal was, at the time, considered European austerity's 'good student' (EVANS-PRITCHARD 2012, AFONSO 2013, JORDAN 2015) – the difference with the Greek case was often remarked by Pedro Passos Coelho, then Prime Minister, who wanted to build an image of a country conforming to European mainstreams (see, e.g., FALCÃO 2015).

Despite the return to economic growth in 2015, the deep social impacts brought by austerity measures eroded in time the support to the centre-right government, and, after the elections in November of the same year, an unprecedented coalition made up of the centre-left Socialist Party, and left-wing Communist Party and Left Block was formed to support a socialist government. The majority and government's discourse was straightforward: austerity needs to be reverted. The external aid programme having been concluded in 2015, the new government started to revert some of the extraordinary measures approved during the previous years (FERNANDES et al. 2018), namely the cuts in wages of public employees, special taxes over wages and pensions, other tax increases (like VAT for restaurants), and cuts to allowances. Moreover, the minimum-wage – still the lowest in Western Europe – was repeatedly increased. At the same time, the economic trends reverted abruptly, driven by the growth of exports, and especially tourism, which had been ongoing since the years of austerity – and also thanks to a favourable external environment, including unconventional quantitative easing by the European Central Bank (TELES 2018). The reversal of some austerity measures supported the growth by providing a stimulus to domestic consumption (idem). This also proved positive for national finances, with deficit and debt plummeting. Soon, the discourse about Portugal changed, as progressive commentators worldwide saw in the new government the proof that an 'alternative to austerity' could exist (JONES 2017, ALDERMAN 2018). Portuguese Minister of Finance Mario Centeno was credited with the capacity of keeping a balanced budget at the same time as fostering economic growth, and was elected President of the Eurogroup – quite a success for a country that was, just a few years before, considered to be on the brink of bankruptcy. Portugal had found its financial 'Cristiano Ronaldo' – as Wolfgang Schäuble, austerity hawk and then German Minister of Finance, called Centeno in

2017. At the same time, a global hype was building around Lisbon, which soon became the new 'coolest capital in Europe', with newspapers and magazines describing it as a gem that had too long been hidden from the spotlight; and as tourists, students and startups started to flock in.

Besides the hype, however, there are good reasons to be sceptical of the turn of the page of austerity. Commentators from quite different backgrounds, in left-wing magazines (e.g. PRÍNCIPE 2018, TELES 2018) and political science journals alike (FERNANDES et al. 2018), suggested that in fields such as health, education, university, public transport, not much had changed.

So let me focus on the field of housing, which is particularly apt to question the contradictions of post-crisis/'post-austerity' Portugal because of its multifaceted nature. Being at the same time a basic right – as the Portuguese Constitution acknowledges (art. 65) – and a tradeable commodity, housing has always been oscillating in between the welfare state and the market, revealing itself to be a field of contradictions and deep tensions. It is not by chance that, in the aftermaths of the global economic crisis and in an age of late capitalism, housing crises are on the rise globally (MADDEN & MARCUSE 2016), bringing the housing question – in ways that remind of Engels' descriptions from the 19th century – back to the spotlight of political struggle. In Lisbon, the pressures stemming from the cycle of austerity and 'post-austerity' have impacted over an already complex field, articulating old and new crises.

The housing question in Lisbon

Lisbon is the central municipality of a metropolitan area that hosts around 3 million inhabitants. In order to understand its current dynamics, a brief reference to its recent history is in order. Since the 1980s, Lisbon metropolitan area has undergone a quite typical, if late and extremely fast, process of post-industrial transition, characterised by chaotic suburbanisation. In the process, Lisbon city has lost more than 40% of its population, dropping from around 900,000 to slightly more than 500,000 inhabitants in a few decades. In time, the fast growth of the metropolitan area, pushed by waves of immigration, before and af-

ter the 1974 democratic revolution, has not been accompanied by the establishment of a fully-fledged housing policy capable of meeting housing demands (TULUMELLO et al. 2018). Successive stages of informal settlements have been addressed by a number of specific programmes – of which, the Special Programme for Rehousing (Programa Especial de Realojamento, PER) launched in 1993 has been the most important – resulting in a complex patchwork of persistence of informal and semi-informal settlements, large public housing estates, and several forms of sub-standard housing.

If housing has been described as the ‘wobbly pillar’ of the welfare state (TORGERSEN 1987), this is particularly true for working classes in Portugal and Lisbon (see SANTOS et al. 2014). However, this is not true in general, as public policy has in time privileged favouring some classes and interests: by stimulating above all homeownership for the middle-classes, housing policy has, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, constituted a key component in the financialisation of the Portuguese economy, and one of the key triggers (via building private debt and the bank sector’s main liabilities) of the economic and financial crisis (idem).

One of the main drivers of the crisis, housing and real estate are also among the main drivers of economic recovery. Since 2015, the real estate market has exploded, with prices growing yearly double digits almost everywhere in the Lisbon metropolitan area. The real estate boom needs to be understood because of the intersection of phenomena on the demand and supply side. On the supply side, the key triggers are a number of reforms, approved before and during the external bailout, with the aim of liberalising the housing and real estate sector – as explicitly requested by the memorandum of understanding signed with the Troika (EC 2011) – and making housing a space for (foreign) investment. Already before the financial crisis, the socialist government approved a package of fiscal benefits for real estate investment funds investing in urban refurbishment, as well as a Golden Visa scheme (which grants access to the Schengen area when investing in real estate) and a number of statuses which aimed to attract wealthy Europeans to Portugal (the Non-permanent Resident Status and bilateral agree-

ments on tax exemptions for pensioners). During the bailout, the centre-right government approved a number of reforms: the reform of spatial planning, which has made real estate operations easier; the New Urban Lease Regime, which liberalised the rental market; and the fiscal regime for short-term rental, which completely liberalised the transformation from residential to touristic use.

From the demand side, the most evident trend has been the boom of tourism. As international arrivals in the country doubled between 2009 and 2017² – also because of turmoil in Northern African and Middle East countries, which pushed tourist away from many traditional Mediterranean destinations –, pressures mounted for flipping housing into hotels, hostels and short-term rentals. To make an expressive example, at the time of writing (October 2018; data AIRDNA) short-term platform AirBnb manages in the city of Lisbon around 16 thousand rentals, of which three-quarters entire homes – a market that virtually did not exist as early as 2012 (see Fig. 1). But the hype surrounding Lisbon has been bringing other groups – all of them with purchasing power significantly higher than that of local residents – in town: European pensioners attracted by the good weather and fiscal benefits, international students,³ and increasingly so ‘digital nomads’ and startupper – a field in which the municipality has recently invested quite heavily.⁴

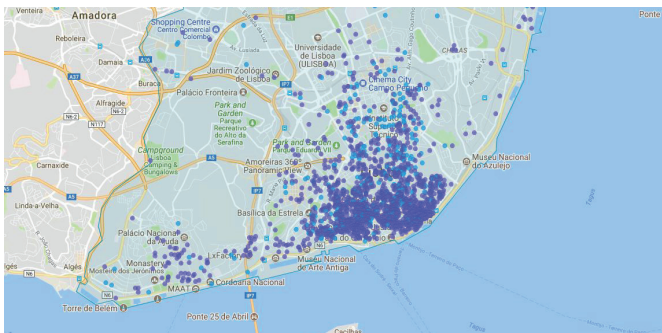


Fig. 1. AirBnB listings in Lisbon, as of October 2018. Source and copyright: AirDNA; see www.airdna.co. Reproduced by courtesy of AIRDNA.

2 World Bank data, URL: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL>.

3 Student housing may well be ‘the next big thing’ for real estate investment, as suggested by the study commissioned to local start-up Uniplaces by Jones Lang LaSalle, one of the most important global firms of real estate services (see JLL and UNIPLACES, 2017)

4 See, for instance, the site Startup Lisboa (www.startuplisboa.com/). Lisbon has also successfully bid to attract, since 2016, the Web Summit, one of the

Real estate and housing have thus become a privileged place for investment and speculation for foreign actors, both individual households moving their residency to Portugal and investment funds. Prices are skyrocketing, and even the Portuguese National Bank has alerted for the risk of a new housing bubble, and its burst to come (BANCO DE PORTUGAL 2018). The social impacts are there to see: the housing crisis, which in the crisis period tended to be limited to specific social groups, is now cutting across the social body, as more and more groups are pushed away from central areas by gentrification, tourisification and financialisation (SALGUEIRO et al. 2017, COCOLA-GANT 2018).

***Housing policy
and politics:
'post-austerity'?***

As pressures over urban residents mounted, and as mainstream media started to cover stories of expulsions and evictions, housing became a crucial political topic in 2017 throughout the country, and especially in Lisbon, where the campaign for the municipal elections of that year was framed around the housing crisis. The national government was therefore forced to acknowledge an issue that had at that point being absent from its political agenda; and created a new Secretary of State for Housing. Since then, a panoply of policies – some announced, some approved – was discussed: First Right (Primeiro Direito), a new programme for the rehousing of households living in precarious conditions; schemes for subsidised rental; and a provision that allows municipalities to regulate short-term rentals.⁵ The policy field was suddenly characterised by a range of openings, but at the same time by deep omissions and contradictions (ALLEGRETTI et al. 2018). Indeed, at the same time as he was picking housing as a new policy priority, Prime Minister António Costa denied he had any intention of regulating the market (LUSA 2017), a claim that has been repeated multiple times by the newly appointed Secretary of State for Housing, Ana Pinho. This is exemplified by two pieces of legislation recently approved. First, a new piece of national legislation allowed municipalities to fix limits in a short-term rental, and the local government of Lisbon decided to suspend new licenses in

biggest global fairs for digital technologies – which has in 2018 announced that it will remain in Lisbon for more five years.

⁵ See the provisions under the label of the New Generation of Housing Policies (Nova Geração de Políticas de Habitação), at www.portaldahabitacao.pt/pt/portal/habitacao/npg.html.

the historical centre. A local politician claimed that ‘this is like removing a dead patient from life support’ (LOURENÇO 2018, my translation). Indeed, there are reasons to believe that one such measure will do nothing more than shifting the pressure over different areas of the city. Second, the provision for fiscal incentives for long-term rental contracts has been criticised for not applying to existing contracts, creating incentives for terminating them (FRANCISCO 2018) – and hence possibly reducing, rather than increasing, tenure security. More generally, key pieces of ‘structural reform’ approved before and during the external bailout and at the core of the current housing crisis – including the spatial planning reform, the Golden Visa scheme and other fiscal benefits for speculative actors, and the regulations easing evictions – are not being subject to governmental scrutiny or action.

If, on the one hand, the reluctance of the government in regulating fields at the core of economic recovery can be understood as the fear of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs; on the other, by questioning the very nature of such recovery, deeply based on volatile financial investments and external inflows, the field of housing calls into question the very ‘post-austerity’ nature of the current Portuguese government. In this respect, the way austerity tends to be conceptualised in the European context may not help us understand the nature of recent transformations. Austerity has been, in Europe, a field of fierce political conflict, among, on the one hand, neoclassical economics, which support austerity as a necessary tool to rebuild confidence in times of crisis, and, on the other, neo-Keynesian perspectives that have put into discussion the capacity of austerity to rebalance public finances and promote economic growth (see BLYTH 2013, for a recap). However, there’s something in common to both fields, that is, an understanding of austerity as a ‘response’ to economic crises. The experiences of different contexts – for instance, US cities – suggest that, by reducing its intensity, austerity can become a permanent political technology well beyond periods of crisis (TULUMELLO 2018). Permanent austerity works, rather than through sudden and abrupt ‘cuts’ to welfare, through a variety of mechanisms that restructure state action away from ‘public policy’ and toward capital accumulation (idem). A perspective of vulnerability/resilience,

as theorised by SAPOUNTZAKI and CHALKIAS (2014), helps us understand a core dimension of the entrenchment of austerity. In these authors' view, austerity should be seen as a multi-scalar process of transformation of the multi-scalar balance of resilience and vulnerability to risk. In particular, SAPOUNTZAKI and CHALKIAS argue, austerity 'downloads' (see also PECK 2012) vulnerability, that is, it increases the *financial* resilience of the state to external shocks, but at the cost of reducing *social* resilience, impacting local territories and vulnerable groups.

Seen in this light, the case of 'post-austerity' housing policy in Portugal and Lisbon exemplifies the way austerity can, at the same time as it is alleviated, become normalised, ultimately entrenched in the system of public welfare, in three steps. First, amid a financial crisis, shock austerity measures are implemented in the name of saving the state, while 'structural reforms' are implemented in the name of creating the pre-conditions for future growth. Second, in times of rebound, amid a favourable economic environment, the financialisation of housing and real estate cum foreign investment, by supporting the recovery of financial stability, is among the core dynamics that make the reversal of the most visible pieces of austerity legislation possible. However, third, while structural reforms are not reverted amid fears that rebound could be halted, growth itself, via housing crisis, further transfers vulnerability toward the social fabric. Austerity survives the reversal of austerity, becoming entrenched in the housing system – and beyond that. Against this background, what is of civil society and bottom-up politics? Enter the new housing struggles.

Fighting entrenched austerity: toward a new generation of housing movements?

The historical connotation of Portugal as a *país de brandos costumes* (a country of mild manners) has been put into crisis by the waves of anti-austerity mobilisations during the external bailout (see BAUMGARTEN 2013). However, differently to what had happened in countries like Spain, the USA or the UK, the field of housing had been outside of the limelight of Portuguese social movements in those years. Things changed in 'post-austerity' times, and 2017 has also been the year of appearance and consolidation of a number of activist groups and platforms concerned with the right to housing and the city. Amid the great diversity and variety of actors at play, a pivotal role has been

played by Habita – Association for the Right to Housing and to the City (see www.habita.info), founded in 2005 and engaged since then in the struggles of self-built settlements in peripheral areas of Lisbon metropolitan area (DI GIOVANNI 2017). Habita has been the original promoter of the Caravan for the Right to Housing; Habita organised the open assembly from which the platform Stop Evictions was born (see below). In what follows, by focusing briefly on the multiplicity of strategies adopted by activist groups, we can start questioning their capacity to offer an alternative to permanent austerity politics.

First, the acknowledgement of the variety of struggles, both those with a longer history and those pushed by recent trends (see above), has inspired attempts at creating *networks of solidarity and struggle* among different actors. The Caravan for the Right to Housing (Caravana pelo Direito à Habitação; <https://caravanapelahabitacao.wordpress.com/>) is the most important example (see FALANGA et al. forthcoming). The Caravan, which travelled throughout Portugal in September 2017, was launched with the goal of giving visibility to housing struggles around the country, and shaping housing as a common field of struggle for populations as different as Afro-descendants living in self-built settlements and middle classes being pushed away from urban centres (see Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. The Caravan for the Right to Housing, September 2018. Source: <https://caravanapelahabitacao.wordpress.com/>.

Second, the field of housing activism has seen, possibly for the first time in Portugal since the revolutionary period of 1974–1975, the development of *confrontational actions*. This is exemplified by the work of platform Stop Evictions (Stop Despejos; <https://stopdespejos.wordpress.com>), an informal group born with the specific objective, as its name says, of stopping evictions, more often by physically disrupting their operations.

Third, another dimension of confrontational housing politics has been *squatting*. While households – and especially single mothers – had long been squatting abandoned flats in public housing estates, it was since the revolutionary period that housing squatting had not been framed as a political action. During the last few years, Habita and Stop Evictions have supported the organising of several dozens of households squatting in public estates (see <https://stopdespejos.wordpress.com/portfolio/queremos-dialogo-julho-2018/>). Squatters had been claiming that, on the one hand, no eviction should be carried out in absence of a decent solution for the households; and, second, that it is unacceptable that, in the face of thousands of households on waiting lists for accessing public housing, hundreds of publicly owned flats have been abandoned for years. The municipality has recently decided to assign some of the squatted flats to households in the waiting list, claiming that squatting unjustly disrupt priority of access to public housing (DN/LUSA 2018). This action, while evidently being an attempt at disrupting the squatting movement by putting households into conflict (see HABITA 2018), can, at the same time, be considered a partial victory of the squatting movement, which has forced the municipality to speed up its assignment practices and put more flats into use.

Another area of action, fourth, has been the construction of *bridges with academia*, of which the two project exPERTs and HOPES are two examples, and where HOPES also includes a formal action research partnership with Habita. These bridges are considered by Habita as an important component in the political construction of a new generation of social movements, as exemplified, for instance, by its long-lasting cycle of debates.⁶

This is linked, fifth, with preliminary attempts at *building (alternative) data* about the housing market and the housing crisis. This is a quite problematic field in Portugal, as the availability of micro-data over demographics, housing and real estate is limited to censuses, which take place every ten years. Both in the activist and academic community, there is a generalised perception that good data would be useful to counter main-

⁶ See the 'Events' section of Habita's Facebook page www.facebook.com/habita.colectivo/.

stream narratives about economic growth, by showing, for instance, the role of touristic deregulation in the expulsion of residents from urban centres. Recently, the website ‘I’ve lost my home’ (‘Perdi a casa’; <http://lisboa.perdiacasa.com/>) has been launched to map the processes of eviction and expulsion, with the double aim of generating bottom-up data and of creating awareness about ongoing struggles.

All of the previous strategies, sixth, have been linked with attempts at creating *media visibility* to ongoing struggles and contributing to shaping the *political discourse*, including through artistic interventions – see, for instance, the work by the collective Left Hand Rotation (see Fig. 3). In particular, activists have been concerned with the fact that media attention has been almost uniquely concerned with the impacts of gentrification and touristification over urban middle classes, thence keeping groups – including racialised ones – that have long been suffering from housing crises at the margins of the political discourse (see FALANGA et al. forthcoming).

Seventh, particularly Habita has been active in building *international networks* of struggle and solidarity, more evidently throughout its participation in the European Action Coalition for the Right to Housing and to the City (<https://housingnotprofit.org/en>), of which the 2018 meeting has been organised in Lisbon.

Finally, eight, it is important to stress how the previous strategies – and particularly confrontational actions – have been going hand in hand with the building of *dialogue with institutional actors*. A case in point concerns the aftermath of an action of disruption of an eviction in the self-built neighbourhood Bairro 6 de Maio in the city of Amadora, in Lisbon’s suburban ring (see <https://stopdespejos.wordpress.com/portfolio/bairro-6-de-maio-amadora-18-janeiro-2018/>). Bairro 6 de Maio has been fighting for its own survival for decades, since the municipality has worked for the clearance of the settlement without providing housing alternatives to many of its residents. In January 2018, Stop Evictions successfully stopped the eviction of two households. Right after, the collective, also thanks to the participation of two national MPs and two local councillors from

TERRAMOTOURISM

EMERGENCY INSTRUCTIONS IN CASE OF **URBAN TRANSFORMATION PRODUCED BY TOURISM EARTHQUAKE**

01



GET TOGETHER AND MAINTAIN THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

02



ATTACH FURNITURE, OBJECTS AND STRUCTURE THAT MAY FALL. ONCE THE IDENTITY AND PATRIMONY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY ARE LOST IT'S RECONSTRUCTION WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE.

03



AVOID ABANDONMENT. REVIEW THE STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF YOUR HOME

04



RELAX. DON'T LET PANIC TAKE OVER YOU.

05



IF YOU ARE INSIDE THE BUILDING, STAY INSIDE

06



DON'T USE ELEVATORS

07



DON'T RUSH TO THE SUBURBS

08



RESIST COLLECTIVELY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD WHERE YOU LIVE

09



IN "BRAND CITIES": TOURISM TSUNAMI AND GENTRIFICATION ALERT



Fig. 3. Project Terramotourism, by Left Hand Rotation. See: www.lefthandrotation.com/terramotourism/.

the Left Block, was able to negotiate with the municipality that no further evictions without solution would be carried out, an informal agreement that seems to be, although precariously, holding, while the national government is providing support for rehousing. But maybe the most important example in this field has been the visit to Portugal, in late 2016, of Leilani Fahra, UN Special Rapporteur for the Right to Adequate Housing. Habita played a crucial role in getting the Special Rapporteur to visit Portugal. Fahra's report (2017), released after a few months, has had a massive media impact, constituting a crucial moment in the politicisation of housing in Portugal. More generally, Habita, the Caravan for the Right to Housing and academic activists have been quite active in dialogues with the Secretary of State Ana Pinho, who has shown, particularly during the first months of her tenure, interest in building bridges with grassroots groups. Whether, and to what extent, will this dialogue really impact the policy field, becoming a component of a more participatory approach to the field of housing, is an open issue.

The field of housing activism in Portugal is ongoing fast growth and change. One crucial goal of many activists and collectives is pushing toward the convergence of different, new and old struggles. While the prevalence of homeownership had long contributed to social pacification in this field, housing crises and the progressive entrenchment of austerity seem to be opening up to the possibility that different groups start realising what they have in common, the political-economic dimension of housing in times of late capitalism (cf. AALBERS & CRISTOPHERS 2014). In particular, young, urban middle classes, who are not being supported in the path to homeownership in the same way older generations had been, may start realising the structural nature of their housing problems, and possibly join racialised and poor groups in their longstanding struggles. Against this backdrop, then, a political space seems to be open. 'We are living a new moment in the struggles in the housing field in Portugal: movements are overcoming their divisions and converging' (activist, in FALANGA et al. forthcoming). Whether this process will consolidate is still an open question.

Lessons learned: fighting permanent austerity?

At any rate, this overview of patterns of normalisation of austerity in 'post-austerity' Portugal and the new waves of housing mobilisations opens up to some conceptual arguments that – while needing deeper empirical exploration and theoretical development – help us better understand the housing field in contemporary Portugal, but indeed well beyond it as housing financialisation and its crises increasingly characterise the contemporary version of (European) capitalism. The fight against the commodification of housing – which, overall, constitutes the hallmark of housing movements in Lisbon and Portugal – can be understood as a fight against low-intensity austerity as the transference of economic vulnerability to the social fabric. In this sense, housing is revealed as a field where multi-scalar and multilevel connections are particularly relevant, both to understand policy change (take, for instance, the effects of reforms pushed by European institutions over the housing market in central neighbourhoods in Lisbon) and socioeconomic transformations. From the perspective of the promotion of urban resilience, the case of Lisbon confirms the suggestion by SAPOUNTZAKI and CHALKIAS (2014) that austerity increases *financial* resilience at the costs of *social* resilience: the boom of the Portuguese real estate market (favoured by austerity measures) is apparently easing the financial burden over the Portuguese state, at the same time as it is making households, especially in Lisbon, more vulnerable with regard to the right to housing. But more than that, a perspective of resilience/vulnerability applied to the field of housing exposes the problematic nature of the current economic growth in Portugal and Lisbon: the fact that the fast growth is based on external inflows (of tourists and other groups, of financial and speculative investments) makes the very economic recovery extremely dependent on trends that are not under the control of the Portuguese state and of its cities.

Against this backdrop, what is the role of housing politics? If austerity is devolution of vulnerability, then housing movements are actively offering alternative understandings of resilience based on the right to housing and to the city. This, however, may be at odds with the very concept of resilience, which designates the capacity of a system to recover and adapt in the face of 'external' shocks. On the one hand, the multi-scalar na-

ture of housing problematizes the idea of an 'external' origin of economic crisis – in line with accelerationist or world-ecology perspectives (CUNNINGHAM 2015, MOORE 2015) that have been advocating for the need to understand our global presence as an all-encompassing bundle of (capitalist) relations. At the same time, if austerity, from a shock doctrine (KLEIN 2008), is increasingly becoming a permanent, entrenched feature of state action, the idea of 'shock' seems to be less and less useful to understand it. Against the progressive normalisation of austerity politics, then, the ultimate challenge for social movements – and the civil society at large – is that of thinking new systems of economic and social relations where vulnerability is more equally shared, and the provision of basic rights, such housing is, becomes the core goal of state (or whatever institution may replace it in the future) action.

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5. Grassroots Economic Activism in Hard Times

Exploring Southern Europe Citizens' Alternative Resilience

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Abstract

According to an authoritative literature (KOUSIS 2017, KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017), citizens of Southern European countries have developed “alternative forms of resilience” to cope with the hardship due to recession and austerity. This Chapter explores and questions this hypothesis. The first section illustrates the “alternative forms of resilience” perspective, second re-frames it into the more complex possible trends of grassroots economic activism in the shadow of crisis, third uses the case of alternative food networks in Italy in hard times to test the “alternative forms of resilience” hypothesis against competing ones. Although limited, the analysis shows that grassroots economic activism in times of crisis present a complex intertwine of persistencies and transformations. Some evolutions appear coherent with the “alternative forms of resilience” perspective, while some diverge.

**Introduction.
Reacting to
Recession, Aus-
terity and their
Consequences**

Ten years ago (September 15th, 2008) Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy. The photos of the bank employees leaving their offices which filled global media told the biggest world economic crisis of the last century, repeatedly announced by dissenting voices after decades of neoliberalism, had begun. From the USA, the financial and economic crises quickly spread to Europe in 2009 and almost immediately the combination of financial turmoil, economic recession and sovereign debt crisis had so serious social and political consequences that Europe experienced a very 'critical juncture'.

The European countries with robust institutions, strong and balanced economies and good welfare systems resisted, whereas those with fragile institutions, weak and unbalanced economies and bad welfare systems collapsed. Here the crisis was tackled through (further) austerity measures and neoliberal structural reforms implicitly or explicitly driven by the European agencies and International Monetary Fund which significantly mobilised to save the economic fundamentals of the Euro Area (COPELOVITCH et al. 2016).

The austerity measures and structural reforms in the PIGS¹ countries were designed, approved and implemented through path-breaking policy processes aimed at giving global markets immediate and unambiguous responses to an unprecedented and contagious crisis. The political processes of austerity in Southern Europe (hereinafter, SE) appeared to raise «serious questions about democratic deficit and domestic sovereignty» and created «the basis for relevant political tensions, protests and (potential) changes» (GUILLEN & PAVOLINI 2015: p. 156).

As well known, the social consequences of economic recession and austerity policies in these countries have been dramatic. Sectorial studies have documented how the living conditions of people have worsened for crucial aspects such as health, income, job, housing etc. (KENTIKELINIS et al. 2014, STUCKLER et al. 2017, MATSAGANIS 2014, MATSAGANIS & LEVENTI 2013). United Nations (UN 2018) has reported a diminishing ability of individuals to exercise their human rights as well as of States to fulfil their obligations to protect those rights, particularly for the

¹ PIGS is the disparaging acronym quoted in a 2008 Newsweek article and widely used in the global media grouping the Southern Europe countries (Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain) which experienced the most serious sovereign debt crisis in 2009-2015.

most vulnerable and marginalized groups in society.

The economic recession and austerity policies have also had a whole array of socio-political consequences. Austerity political processes seem to have radicalised some critical trends of contemporary democracy and the popular discontent (CROUCH 2004, NORRIS 2011, SCHÄFER & STREECK 2013), beyond having further undermined the European integration project (OFFE 2015). Literature showed that SE countries citizens have politically reacted to the general hardship conditions along different paths: they have (1) developed anti-system and Euroscepticism feelings (BRACK & STARTIN 2015); (2) protested against austerity measures (GIUGNI & GRASSO 2015, DELLA PORTA et al. 2017, KARYOTIS & RUDIG 2018, DIANI & KOUSIS 2014, PORTOS 2016, ROMANOS 2017); (3) have supported the anti-austerity parties 2009-2018 elections (DELLA PORTA et al. 2017, MORLINO & RANIOLO 2017, KRIESI & PAPPAS 2015, BOSCO & VERNEY 2012). Beyond these well-documented reactions, some scholars have also advanced the hypothesis that SE countries citizens have developed “alternative forms of resilience” (hereinafter AFR) against the socio-economic consequences of recession and austerity (KOUSIS 2017, KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017).

This Chapter explores and questions the AFR hypothesis. The first section illustrates the AFR perspective, second re-frames it into the more complex possible trends of grassroots economic activism in the shadow of crisis, third uses the case of alternative food networks in Italy in hard times to test the AFR hypothesis against competing ones.

In the last years, SE sociologists and political scientists interested in social movements have robustly increased the attention on the

diverse repertoires of citizens' direct solidarity actions and aims, with economic as well as a socio-political transformative capacity, which are alternative to the mainstream/dominant capitalist economy, or aim at building autonomous communities (KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017: p. 140).

In empirical terms, KOUSIS and PASHOU (2017: p. 138) refer to a wide variety of solidarity practices, such as solidarity bar-

A grassroots reaction to the crisis? Exploring the Alternative Forms of Resilience

tering, Local Exchange Trading Schemes, local currencies, ethical banks, local market cooperatives, cooperatives for the supply of social services, alternative forms of production, critical consumption, housing and anti-eviction citizen initiatives etc. Although “grassroots economic activism” (D’ALISA et al. 2015) pre-existed the crisis, its relevance has been peculiarly interpreted within/against the context of the critical juncture SE countries have lived in the last years up to cluster these initiatives under the term “Alternative Forms of Resilience” (AFR). In AFR advocates opinion, the recent wave of solidarity economy practices would contrast the economic hardship conditions SE countries citizens have lived in the last years. According to the data of the LIVEWHAT European Project, in 2007-2016 Mediterranean countries witnessed the creation of a higher number of alternative organizations and groups centred towards covering urgent needs, compared to the non-South European countries (KOUSIS 2017). The context of the economic crisis has been considered «reinforcing and broadening the scope of such actions» (KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017: p. 142). They would «offer alternative ways of enduring day-to-day difficulties and challenges under hard economic times, related mainly to urgent needs» as well as «carve out a new type of politics through the creation of bottom-up participatory initiatives promoting a ‘solidarity economy’» (KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017: p. 141-142). AFR are then conceptualized as

nonmainstream/- capitalist economic and noneconomic activities through which citizens build community resilience when confronted with hard economic times, austerity policies, decreasing social welfare policies and threatened economic and social rights (KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017: p. 148)

Following the recent trend towards a better consideration of macroeconomic features in collective action literature, the AFR hypothesis is intended as a way to boost the attention on the political aspects of these practices. The emergent collective pattern and the political ethos would differentiate these initiatives from the usual practice of resilience.² While the latter has

² Born in the ecology and material sciences fields, the concept of ‘resilience’ has been largely used by psychologists to describe how individuals cope with major life traumas, shocks and disasters by strategies of adaptation. Extensively, also community resilience has been mainly connected to an idea of adaptation after a stressful situation (NORRIS et al. 2008),

been mainly considered in terms of individual and community strategies and significantly associated to the idea of adaptation and back to the pre-shock situation, AFR would be «bottom-up, resilient participatory initiatives promoting an alternative, solidarity economy» (KOUSIS 2017: p. 126). The anti-austerity orientation and, more importantly, the popular constituency would differentiate AFR from previous grassroots economic activism. While the latter has mainly developed in the culturally and economically richer areas and involved the politicized and socially central middle-class (FERRER-FONS & FRAILE 2014, GRASS-ENI 2014), AFR would engage the impoverished middle-class and working-class hit by recession and austerity (CRISTANCHO & LOUKAKIS 2018).

The political statute of these activities – as well as the theoretical approaches to study them – is however differentiated along a continuum between critical/autonomous and reformist extremes, where first are «formed by ideologically committed participants aiming to construct autonomous communities with collective identities (...) [and] tend to centre on mutual help and communitarian values at the grassroots level» (social movements orientation) and second seek «collaboration or partnerships with state and economic actors, and are supportive or remedial to existing and conventional structures, with less critical orientations» (policy orientation) (KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017: p. 141-155).

This conceptual framework appears to have marked a promising and original research path in the field of collective action. Nevertheless, research on AFR seems also charged with some problems. As AFR advocates recognize (KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017, KOUSIS 2017), the use of 'resilience' term is contested and ambiguous: it risks to collude with the mainstream discourse and practice of neoliberalism, neo-philantropism and 'compassionate conservatism'. They also acknowledge that the resilient initiatives existed before the crisis and sometimes originated in a distant past: since they are not a novelty, the question is rather how the crisis impacted on grassroots economic activism and its initiatives. This seems a crucial point. As some empirical studies within AFR perspective show (CRISTANCHO & LOUKAKIS 2018, UBA & KOUSIS 2018), the impact economic recession and austerity politics have had on grassroots economic activism is likely complex.

Beyond the Resilience Hypothesis. Citizens' Grassroots Economic Activism in the Shadow of Austerity.

As a way to contribute to this debate, one can better frame the AFR perspective into the debate on the transformations of grassroots economic activism in hard times. As elsewhere I contributed to show (GUIDI & ANDRETTA 2015), economic recession and austerity policies in SE countries could have impacted on grassroots economic activism in very different ways. To summarise a very complex scenario where multiple interactions probably exist, here I briefly contrast different hypotheses. I start from a 'no impact' one (Hp.0), then follow by confronting two hypotheses (Hp.1 Vs Hp.2) focused on the impacts of hard times on the grassroots economic *activists*, and finally, further two (Hp.3 Vs Hp.4) centred on the impacts of hard times on the grassroots economic *activities*. While Hp.0 is considered as itself, Hp.1 and Hp.3 as well as Hp.2 and Hp.4 can also be coupled so to shape the assumption that the critical juncture of the last ten years boosted citizens' grassroots economic activism (Hp.1+Hp.3 = boosting assumption) or restricted it (Hp.2+Hp.4 = restriction assumption) in SE countries.

→ Hp.0: No (or marginal) impact of crisis.

Considered that grassroots economic activism initiatives in SE countries started-up and developed before the crisis (LEKAKIS & FORNO 2018), they could have followed their own development path with almost any connection to recession and austerity.

Similarly to the pre-crisis context (MICHELETTI 2003), they could be considered within a post-materialist frame – that is as a way to mobilise in non-institutional forms and by prioritising goals as environmental protection, self-expression, quality of life, gender equality, democracy, honesty and transparency (INGLEHART 1990). Since the post-materialist values have generally proved to further spread in our societies in the years of recession and austerity too (INGLEHART 2018), the expectation grassroots economic activism in hard times has followed unaltered the alternative consumerism culture of the mid-1990s/first 2000s could be founded.

Moreover, one could also doubt that recession and austerity have constituted the most important source of change of grassroots economic activism initiatives. Coherently with path-dependency hypothesis (MAHONEY & THELEN 2009), grassroots

economic activism could have transformed mainly because of evolutions ‘from within’. Marginal could be the actual impacts of the macroeconomic and political features.

→ Hp.1: Reduction and/or elitism - Vs. → Hp.2: Increase and/or popularisation

It is reasonable to advance the hypothesis that some changes in grassroots economic activism can flow from the exceptionally hard and stretched context of crisis. Nevertheless, the latter can have affected it in different ways so to generate divergent results.

First (Hp.1), one could suppose that grassroots economic activism decreases when the available economic resources of its typical socio-economic constituency (middle-class) reduce. This hypothesis would be coherent with the well-recognised importance social movements scholars have given to resources as crucial means for mobilising (MCCARTHY & ZALD 1977) and would also be compatible with post-modern theory (GUIDI & ANDRETTA 2015, GIUGNI & GRASSO 2016: p. 453). Following this perspective, middle-class economic activists – once impoverished by recession and austerity – would reduce their engagement because they no longer would have resources (money, time, security etc.) to mobilise. As a result, grassroots economic activism would decrease on the whole (reduction) and/or concentrate among the more affluent societal segments (elitism).

Second and conversely (Hp.2), grassroots economic activism could develop in times of crisis. This hypothesis would be coherent with the grievance and breakdown theories in social movements studies, recently reconsidered through the frame theory (GIUGNI & GRASSO 2016, VAN STEKELENBURG & KLANDERMANS 2017, DELLA PORTA 2015: p. 81-85). Within this perspective, better than other mobilisations economic grassroots activism initiatives in times of crisis could have expressed both a self-interested and material reaction to the personal sufferings due to the crisis (loss of income, job, house, growth of precariousness, mistrust etc.) and a system protest against conventional economic actors (banks, large retailers, corporations etc.) and political authorities (government, central banks etc.). Middle-class and working-class – once impoverished by recession and austerity – would have reacted by participating to the existing grassroots economic initiatives or constituting new

ones. As a result, one can expect an absolute increase in the number of activists and/or a growing presence of impoverished middle-class, working class and underprivileged statuses having a high level of politicization in the constituency of economic grassroots initiatives. The aforementioned AFR hypothesis appears well situated in Hp.2.

→ Hp.3: Conventionalisation Vs. → Hp.4: Radicalisation

With or without changes in activists' number and profile, crisis and their economic, social and political consequences could have significantly contributed to produce some transformations in the economic grassroots initiatives, also in the interplaying with the changes other relevant actors have experienced under the pressure of crisis. Different trajectories can be hypothesised.

First (Hp.3), under the pressure of crisis economic grassroots initiatives could have been "conventionalised" – that is they could have lost their original grassroots characteristics and adopted some of the typical elements of conventional market (economic intermediations, professionalisation of activism, de-politicisation of exchanges etc.) or non-market economy (assistance logics, divide helper/user etc.). Within this perspective, the introduction of conventional market instruments the economic grassroots initiatives would compensate the fall of activism due to the economic hardship. Similarly to what happened to the organic movement (see GUTHMAN 2004), this process would move them toward conventional economy. The economic grassroots initiatives could also have been pressed by the crisis to adopt the assistance and philanthropic logics and practices so to help the impoverished (former) activists. Similarly to what happened to the co-operative and mutualistic movement (FORNO 2013), this process would move them toward conventional assistance economy. In both cases, economic grassroots activism would lose its own political ethos.

Second and conversely (Hp.4), economic grassroots activists could have reacted to the crisis by radicalizing their own action both somehow transforming the existing initiatives and launching new ones. The impoverishment of people could have urged to transform current initiatives up to reshape them as anti-crisis livelihood collective projects. Against the austerity politics, activ-

ists could have moreover developed existing initiatives toward more protest-oriented attitudes, both by launching new original campaigns and joining the wider anti-austerity movements. The aforementioned AFR hypothesis appears well situated in Hp.4.

The consideration of the possible multiple effects of hard times on economic grassroots activism allows to observe that AFR perspective situates within a peculiar interpretation which considers economic recession and austerity policies «as opportunities for the rise of collective action initiatives outside the mainstream economy» (KOUSIS et al. 2018: p. 734). Taking MOULAERT and AILENEI (2005) as a general reference, KOUSIS and PASHOU (2017: p. 143-144) assume that solidarity economy practices are anti-cyclical, that is they emerge and re-emerge «in reaction to economic threats, exploitative relations and poverty faced by considerable segments of populations».

The prefigured hypotheses can be tested into specific contexts and for peculiar forms of economic grassroots activism in hard times. A telling case is represented by the so-called Alternative Food Networks (hereinafter, AFNs) in Italy.

In the field of economic grassroots activism, food issues are centre staged (SCHLOSBERG & COLES 2016). The most relevant initiatives have dealt with the reconnection between the rural and the urban, the production and consumption, 'the economic' and 'the political' and have shaped what are called AFNs, that have been defined as emerging networks of producers, consumers, and other actors that embody alternatives to the conventional mode of food supply through the building of short food supply chains (RENTING et al. 2003: p. 394). According to BRUNORI et al. (2011), the different experiences of AFNs can be considered commoned by some pivotal constitutive elements:

- a conception of food production and consumption not as private actions but as being simultaneously political, ecological and economic acts (PETRINI 2001);
- the collaboration of a plurality of actors and artefacts that come together to build systems of food provision (GUTHMAN 2002, ROEP & WISKERKE 2005);
- new livelihood strategies for farmers (RENTING et al. 2003,

Italian Alternative Food Networks in Italy in Hard Times: a Multifaceted Scenario

GOODMAN & GOODMAN 2007) based on the search for autonomy from conventional chains;

- a search for new trust relationships with consumers (GOODMAN 2003), in order to respond to the increase in food anxieties;
- performance measured not only in terms of purely commercial benchmarks, but by the capacity to modify existing consumption, production, technological norms and to establish a 'food democracy' (HASSANEIN 2003, JACOBSEN & DULSRUD 2007).

In Italy, AFNs have significantly grown in the 2000s mainly through the initiatives of Solidarity Purchase Groups (SPGs) (FORNO et al. 2015, GRASSENI 2013, GRASSENI 2014). They are small, autonomous and spontaneous groups of people aimed at critically reflecting on their own consumption processes and collectively purchasing everyday use products respecting social and environment-based criteria (RETEGAS 1999). They mainly purchase local, fair trade, organic, seasonal, typical, unpackaged, labor-intensive products directly from producers without any intermediation. The long-lasting proximity aggregation between citizens/consumers and the strong relationships between them and producers/providers is the key feature for SPGs. They produce significant social ties through which consumption/production/co-production choices become more coordinated and reflective (ROSSI & BRUNORI 2013, GRASSENI 2014). They also allow consumers and producers to access "food socio-technical environment", challenge their own identities and values about economy and well-being, develop civic awareness and participatory competencies (BRUNORI et al. 2011, FORNO et al. 2015). Such a collective dimension makes AFNs more effective in material terms because it allows marginal producers to be paid more than in conventional long chains of market economy, and consumers to access these products at more reasonable prices.

Although incomplete and only partially updated, the analysis of retegas.org database (managed by the most important national SPGs network) allowed to show that Italian SPGs have increased in Italy almost linearly since 1999 and have further grown in the years of crisis (GUIDI & ANDRETTA 2015). Currently registered SPGs are estimated nearly 1,000, but regional explorations including the non-registered ones would allow to

count about 2,000 at the national level (FORNO et al. 2013). Coherently with Hp.2, this result could give an argument to consider the crisis as a real opportunity for economic grassroots activism.

Nevertheless, SPGs growth has been regionally unbalanced: SPGs appear concentrated in some of the richest Centre-Northern regions (Lombardy and Tuscany) and much less widespread in Southern ones. The analysis also allows to observe that 2012 per-capita GDP is significantly correlated to the 2014 SPGs rate by region (GUIDI & ANDRETTA 2015). Beyond confirming them as a typically middle-class phenomenon, this point would provide evidence to the hypothesis of an elitist concentration of economic grassroots initiatives in times of crisis (Hp.1) and would also confirm their post-materialist foundation (Hp.0).

Quantitative analyses based on such rough models appear however unsatisfying to catch the features of a so fleeing phenomenon. Mixing quantitative and qualitative (in-depth interviews and participant observation) methods gives further and better chances to deepen the evolutions of AFNs in times of crisis in Tuscany, one of the regional champions in terms of SPGs concentration (GUIDI & ANDRETTA 2015, ANDRETTA & GUIDI 2017, forthcoming).

At an in-depth glance, Tuscan SPGs do not seem to be radically changed in the years of crisis. Coherently with Hp.0, 'from within' change processes confirm their importance and the hypothesis of a path-breaking transformation is clearly to exclude. However, Tuscan SPGs likewise experience some transformations. Against reduction hypothesis (Hp.1) and supporting the increase one (Hp.2), activists appear stable or growing in number and more and more motivated to politically act through grassroots economic initiatives in the crisis context. Against the possible trend to the elitism (Hp.1) and supporting the popularisation one (Hp.2), the constituency of Tuscan SPGs in the years of crisis seem composed by more impoverished people than before; nevertheless this probably depends more on the relative worsening in the living conditions of incumbent activists than on the arrival of new working class and underprivileged activists. Against a conventionalisation hypothesis (Hp.3), in the last years Tuscan SPGs have not significantly adopted conventional or non-profit economy logics and conversely have broad-

ened and intensified their own connection with local, small, marginal producers at the expense of a broader networking. Some trends moreover appear existing toward the participation of SPGs into the public local governance of food (CALORI et al. 2017). There is instead clear evidence that conventional economy logics and actors have increased their own weight in the field of alternative food: small organic short-chain producers have evolved toward home delivery 2.0 suppliers, medium size organic retailers have significantly expanded, conventional large retailers have launched new competitive food product lines to catch the preferences of critical consumers.

Coherently with Hp.4, some relevant cases of radicalisation of AFNs in Italy exist. The most significant experiences are the “Genuine Clandestine” network and the “Mondeggi Common Good” Campaign on the hills around Florence (ANDRETTA & GUIDI 2017, forthcoming). Established in 2014, this Campaign has blocked an insolvent public agricultural enterprise was sold to private economic actors through a radical and original protest. Food activists – the most youngsters having an agriculture university education and SPGs members – have “occupied” the lands and buildings of the former public agricultural enterprise, reformed the plots, re-launched the productions and converted them in agroecological terms, involved community in cultivations and have accompanied the productive project with intense political activity. The latter has been intended to contribute to reshaping the relationships between producers and consumers, rural and urban, economy and nature and has also included the design of methods and regulations aimed at managing the self-managed farm as a common (ANDRETTA & GUIDI 2017, forthcoming).

Discussion and Conclusions

Economic recession and austerity politics have dramatically impacted on Southern European (SE) countries and exert a long-lasting influence on their society and politics. The adverse context seems to have also contributed to reshaping their economy. Among other consequences, the crisis has given economic grassroots initiatives a further impetus to such an extent that, according to CASTELLS et al. (2012), the alternative economic sector would be one of the emerging layers of European and North American economies. Social movements’ scholars (KOU-

SIS 2017, KOUSIS & PASHOU 2017, UBA & KOUSIS 2018, CRISTANCHO & LOUKAKIS 2018) have interpreted economic grassroots initiatives in SE countries in times of crisis as Alternative Forms of Resilience, an original citizens' collective reaction to hardship contributing both to tackle personal material pain and to protest against unfair capitalist economy mechanisms. The crisis would peculiarly have been an opportunity for developing this form of collective action.

This way of conceptualising grassroots economic activism in times of crisis appears nevertheless challenged by other competitive configurations of the impacts of crisis context on economic grassroots initiatives and activists. Recession and austerity politics could have unsustainably raised the cost of economic grassroots collective action with the result to decrease the number of activists and concentrate them in the most privileged classes. In the adversities, the initiatives could also have limited their scope, gone towards a routinisation and conventionalisation. The quali/quantitative analysis of initiatives' clusters in context can help to better assess if and how hard times contributed to reshaping economic grassroots activism. Taken as case-study, Alternative food networks (AFNs) in Italy in times of crisis present a complex intertwining of persistencies and transformations. Structurally concentrated in the richest regions, they have continued to be a typically middle-class based phenomenon in hard times but they also have been able to involve middle-class activists, once impoverished and stressed by recession and austerity. Although they did not significantly take the form of conventional economy actors, we have assisted to a growing presence of conventional actors in the field. The latter did not colonise AFNs niches but they interfered and got in competition with them, significantly captured the trend toward local, organic, peasant food and obstructed their further developments. Italian field of AFNs in times of crisis also seems to have become more plural and differentiated. Usual and moderate initiatives - such as Solidarity Purchase Groups - have proceeded, sometimes in a routine way, sometimes by extending and deepening their relationships with farmers. While first path risks to depoliticise economic grassroots initiatives, the second one confirms their potential in terms of Alternative Forms of Resilience in so far as in times of crisis AFNs have more and more been the crucial infrastructure for the livelihood

of a growing number of small and further marginalised food producers. Another confirmation of AFR potential comes from the radical and particularly innovative AFNs initiatives. The case of 'Mondeggi Common Good' campaign shows that recession and austerity – once tackled by processes of collective framing and coalition-building – have actually represented an opportunity for new, radical, popular grassroots economic activism. Radical initiatives experience nevertheless a peculiar problem of durability, mainly because they are somehow illegal and their relationships with institutions appear highly problematic.

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Part 2

Introduction

Coping with Socio-economic Consequences of the Crisis in Athens and The Four Concepts of the Summer School

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Athens, like most Greek urban centres, has been severely affected by the economic crisis that began in 2008. The city's economics badly suffered from impacts of the crisis that, unfortunately for the society, resulted in serious difficulties of social and economic sectors, such as growing unemployment, a rapidly increasing inflation rate, high cuts in medical care and the pension system (KENTIKELÉNIS et al. 2011: p. 1457). These and other strictly-related to crisis outcomes strongly affected the increase of general poverty, as well as vulnerability and, therefore, a sudden decrease of liveability factor in the city (PETRAKI 2013: p. 8, SAKELLARI 2013).

For planning, these economic and social changes imply dealing with multiple uncertainties and complexities that cannot be predicted. It presents the challenge of exploring flexible and innovative forms of governance which have to address specific local vulnerabilities and build capacity to accommodate future transformation - the resilient city becomes a planning goal.

From the 24th to 29th of June 2018, the second of the three planned summer schools, within the research project “HeKris - Challenges of resilience in European cities”, took place in Athens, Greece. The core point and emphasis of the Summer School 2018 were the economic, social and demographic changes and the financial crisis in the metropolitan area of the capital city of Greece; with a focus on threats that occur in spe-

cific neighbourhood areas and their consequences for people - the economic situation and the social dynamics.

The crucial question to be discussed during the event was how to deal with social and economic issues as planners and architects when aspiring for a resilient and liveable city for present and future generations. The aim was to propose an integrated perspective on the resilient development by identifying and understanding events (both, previous to the crisis and currently occurring) and their consequences, to develop planning and steering methods to handle economic and social adversities, allowing for current demographic tendencies.

The scope of work of the Summer School

The participants of the Summer School had to focus explicitly on five topics given by the organisation body. These were:

- Abandoned Buildings/Places
- Affordable Housing
- Homelessness
- Local Food Production
- Temporary Uses

The five groups - formed by German and Greek students - were bound to conduct their research and organise their activities in the centrally located Athenian neighbourhood - Exarcheia. Before starting the task, the students were provided with useful materials, such as maps of the district, and topic-related literature to prepare themselves and support their knowledge with valuable information.

Additionally, during the duration of the Summer School, interesting keynotes were presented by local and foreign researchers to broaden the knowledge of the students on the topic of urban resilience. A particular approach was the introduction of **“The Past of Things to Come: A Futuristic Study of the Case of Exarcheia”** by *Zoe Hatziyannaki*; the presentation of an installation work that displayed Exarcheia neighbourhood, and Athens at large, as a dystopian scenario where visitors obtained an opportunity to question social, public and temporal situations without a room for certainty. Just as the visitors, the

students were suggested a redefinition of the relations that occur in the location of study.



Fig. 1. Participants of the Summer School 2018. Source: Chocontá

The groups, while working on their strategies, had to recognise to what extent the chosen topics are visible in the area, get into detail about their characteristics in the local context and study the effect they have on the life in the neighbourhood. Moreover, after the analysis, the participants had to create strategies of how to deal with chosen issues using various planning tools, that could eventually contribute to building a liveable and more resilient Exarcheia.

The groups presented their final recommendations on the last day of the event. Importantly, the groups did not only focus on their single tasks but also came out with excellent, innovative ideas on how the cooperation between them could contribute to building an integrated strategy in a holistic approach. The final ideas of each group on how to deal with given topics are presented in the four following articles:

Four concepts of the Summer School

After a careful SWOT analysis and different scenarios exploration, the proposal to „**Make Exarcheia’s Housing Affordable Again**“ written by the students *Alina Ehlers*, *Carola Wilhelm* and *Dimitra Vreda* introduces the adaptation of the foreign concept of “Stadtteilbüro” (neighbourhood office) to the situation of Exarcheia so that local actors (i.e. residents, planners and architecture students) could make joint actions possible and ensure a good communication base. It was explained how such

cooperation could lead to, for example, community-based renovation of abandoned, listed or run-down buildings.

„Dignifying Life Beyond the Streets“ by *Laura Chocontá* consists of the analysis of “homelessness” situation and how Greek policies have tackled it. The critic of the current policy and parallel analysis of the spatial and social potentials of the case study area are related to one another with the inspiration from social initiatives that have been successful in other similar scenarios. The final result is a series of strategies that exposed how an integral approach to socio-economic issues could be achieved when investing in building the social capacities of a community and being more efficient with the economic resources by cooperating with other actors and interests.

The **“Community Empowerment through Establishment of a Local Food Supply Chain“** submitted by *Helia Molla Ahmadi Dehaghi, Spyridoula Driva and Diego Vizcarra Ganoza* presents network activities in Exarcheia, in which urban gardens and farms are built and farmer’s markets, as well as collective kitchens are organised. Managed by grassroots initiatives, it proposes a particular focus on empowering and supporting vulnerable groups of people who live in the area. It is expected that the local food supply chain will reduce the expenses of food production and supply. Instead, it would increase the social capital in the neighbourhood by boosting the interaction of different groups of inhabitants.

„Enhancing Community Cohesion in Exarcheia, Athens: Focussing on Temporary Uses“ by *Hanna Jordan, Jana Brenner and Evdokia Valli* outlines an approach for temporary uses as an informal planning instrument to foster urban development and increase social resilience. The primary approach includes the implementation of a temporary use agency which serves as a mediator between local initiators and owners and as a legal adviser. The goal of the concept as a whole is to promote temporary use as a flexible approach for urban transformation.

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1. The Past of Things to Come

A Futuristic Study of the Case of Exarcheia

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Abstract

The paper discusses the installation work titled “The Past of Things to Come” which was exhibited in Athens in 2018. The main idea was based on an alleged occupation of a building that developed into a critical and sarcastic narrative of a dystopic future by applying fictitious and real events. The visitors were invited to observe archive material consisting of photos, texts and video footage from surveillance cameras concerning a room which appeared to have served as a shelter in 2112 and its exterior surroundings. The work examines the case of Exarcheia and Athens at large, through a dystopian futuristic prism, suggesting a redefinition of the relations between the private and the public, the outside and the inside, the local and the global, the past, the present and the future without leaving room for fixed or secure positions.

In the central area of the city, we came across some digital material that might give more clues to the current research. Our presumptions until now are that the city, after facing serious decline due to a major crisis, was gradually deserted.

The found material includes video and images, originating mainly from surveillance cameras. The videos reveal the interior of a shielded room where some people occasionally enter, whereas the images depict the exterior surroundings where there is no human sign. The fact that the room was most likely used as a refuge, as well as, the constant monitoring and surveillance of the interior and the exterior spaces, leads to the conclusion that its inhabitants were under serious threat.

All the files were dated the year 2112, exactly when we believe that the city was completely abandoned. However, we still do not know what had happened to its residents and what they feared so much. The research is still in an early stage so we can only make assumptions.



Fig.1. The Past of Things to Come (2018)

“The Past of Things to Come” was exhibited during April/May 2018 at A-Dash project space in Athens. It was curated by Elina Axioti and supported by NEON foundation. Its main idea was based on an alleged occupation of a building that developed into a critical and sarcastic narrative of a dystopic future by applying fictitious and real events.

The visitors were invited to observe a hypothetical future archive of an occupied building, consisting of photos, texts and video footage from surveillance cameras. The documentation material referred to a room that appeared to have served as a bunker in 2112 and which was apparently located in the same building and neighbourhood that the current archive is displayed. A door in the exhibition led the visitors in this actual ‘future’ room. The surveillance cameras in that room projected their presence in the monitors outside, so the visitors of the bunker were watched by the other visitors of the archival room.



Fig. 2. *The Past of Things to Come* (2018)



Fig. 3. *The Past of Things to Come* (2018)

They became from passive observers, actual participants, they travelled in time and space: what seemed like a distanced future (or past) was not so far away and there wasn't anyone else facing it but them. What visitors actually experience, is the fluidity of time and space and as such, their role within this fluidity. As they became part of the room's archaeology, they

became part of its archival material. They are being asked not only to decode the significance of the archive, but even more, the meaning of their own visit. Could it be themselves the possible future, past or current residents of the room? The visitors, the building, the exhibition are in-between the past, the present and the future, the private and the public, the outside and the inside, which leaves no ground for fixed or secure positions.



Fig. 4. *The Past of Things to Come* (2018)



Fig. 5. *The Past of Things to Come* (2018)

DELEUZE (2005) when discusses Bergson's theories around time, suggests that what we call time or duration, it is the parallel existence of past, present and future. The present is not possible without the past (and the future) which always exist virtually in the present and constantly produces it. All these three different 'times' that we usually regard separately, coexist and interact continuously shaping our present. The real, the actual is a present which comes into material form of a possible which contains past and future: the virtual. The virtual is present but not actual, it does not materialise, it seems to be the opposite of the actual. But it is however depended from it through difference, through the movements of differentiation, encounters, disruptions etc. that the real takes, and, which therefore affect, transform and 'create' the virtual and vice versa.

Our actual existence then, says Deleuze, whilst it is unrolled in time, duplicates itself along with a virtual existence, a mirror-image. Every moment of our life presents the two aspects, it is actual and virtual, perception on the one side and recollection on the other. Even though past and present remain distinct they also share a point of indiscernibility, they construct a mutual image (like that of the mirror) which often does not reveal to us clearly its sides: which one is the virtual and which is the actual. This is how memory, fantasies, dreams work, they live in the present and although distinct from it, it is in continual exchange with it. The crystal image is the point of indiscernibility of the two distinct images, the actual and the virtual (2005: p. 79). Virtuality in Deleuze has exactly this sense of connectivity and simultaneity that past, present and future share, it is not a second nature, something else than the real but it incessantly interacts with the real, the real and the virtual become inseparable. In fact, the virtuality of the actual is what renders the actual dynamic and able of becoming other but it is also the reality of the actual that makes the virtual what it is each time.



Fig. 6. *The Past of Things to Come* (2018)

This relational notion speaks directly about space and, perhaps, urges forward into a broader idea of its nature, suggested by GROSZ (2001):

“Obviously, spatial relations happily admit relations of simultaneity: space is that which enables simultaneous or coextensive relations. Perhaps it would be more intriguing to consider spatiality in terms of the coexistence of multiple relations of succession, space as a layering of spaces within themselves, spaces enfolded in others, spaces that can function as the virtualities of the present, the ‘here’. Here a notion of virtual space will be of crucial relevance. If past, present, and future are always entwined and make each other possible only through their divergences and bifurcations, then perhaps there is a way to consider spatiality in terms of relations of nearness and farness, relations of proximity and entwinement, the interimplications of the very near and the very far, rather than of numerals of geometry.”

(GROSZ 2001: p. 128)

Space is also movable, since there are differentiations within it which have transformable relations. Its regional, static position – its topological factor, its ‘placeness’– is not as immovable as it looks as it is also a product of the connection between other places through the relations and networks that the subjects and objects create. What is more, space is actually a ‘container’ of simultaneous relations of present, past and indeed future as it is of differences and of closeness and farness. There are many other qualities of duration that can be met in space in analogous forms. Even virtuality is not an actual privilege of time, although, it seems at first that the materiality and actuality of space come into contrast with the abstract nature of the virtual.

In the episode titled “Five Characters in Search of an Exit” of the TV series “The Twilight Zone” (1961) the characters seem lost in a timeless and spaceless state, which makes them wonder not only why and how they found themselves there but also who they are, wondering of their own actual existence:



Fig. 7. *The Past of Things to Come* (2018)

- *What's going on here? Where are we? What are we? Who are we?*
- *None of us knows. We don't know who we are, we don't know where we are. Each of us woke up one moment and here we were in the darkness.*
- *How can that happen?*
- *That's the question we asked ourselves, a question with no answer. We're nameless things with no memory, no knowledge of what went on before. No understanding of what is now, no knowledge of what will be.*
- *Maybe we are in another planet or maybe we are in a spaceship going to another planet, maybe we are all insane or maybe this is a mirage, an illusion.*
- *We are all dead, this is limbo.*
- *We don't really exist, we are dream figures from somebody else's existence.*
- *Or each one of us is having a dream and everyone else is part of the other person's dream.*

- *This is a nightmare, it must be a nightmare.*
- *Yes indeed but whose yours or mine?*
- *Someone knows we are here.*
- *They have to... You have all been here for a while, a long while. Someone must feed you, someone must give you water.*
- *There's been no food or water.*
- *But we will starve to death, we 'll die of thirst.*
- *Do you feel hungry? Or thirsty, or hot, or cold, fatigue or discomfort? Or anything? Do you feel anything?*
- *No, no I don't feel anything, but it is understandable that I don't feel hungry or thirsty, this is shock or the aftermath of shock.*
- *None of us feel anything. None of us feel anything since we 've been here and we 've been here for an endless time.*
- *This is incredible, this is really incredible. Have you shouted? Have you banged on the wall? Have you done that?*
- *Often.*
- *Have you looked all around? Maybe there's a button or a reliever on the wall.*
- *For a while that's all we did. Searched, looked, felt, but then we discovered that this is the universe right here. For our purposes this is the universe, right here, this little room.*
- *After a while it will be a lot easier, perhaps there are a lot of dungeons like this, perhaps they are for the unloved, perhaps that's who we are: the unloved.*

"Five Characters in Search of an Exit", 1961, Episode 79

"The Past of Things to Come" suggests also a place of indefinite time and as such space, which the visitors are placed in a similar 'context' as the characters of the Twilight Zone's episode. The room itself and the images of the exterior do not have a strong sci-fi or futuristic imagery, they could easily be today or even in the past. They, rather, recall stereotypical representations of dystopian urban spaces. Nevertheless, the main refer-

ences in this work are around the Greek crisis, its basic idea lies within the causes and impacts of the crisis which shapes the current social and political reality. This is the main reason I have chosen to obviously relate the work with the actual building, the neighbourhood and the city of Athens. However, Athens is mentioned nowhere, in none of the texts that the visitors come across in the archival room: Neither in the introductory one nor in the following, taken from “Kathimerini” newspaper titled: “*Handelsblatt: Shadow of fear over Athens*” (8/11/2017), where all the actual names have been removed:

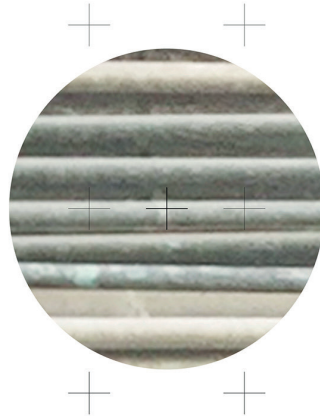
“The online newspaper speaks about “a wave of violence in the country” and “a shadow of fear over the city” referring to the repeated incidents of violence that are recently occurring in the capital. “The perpetrators throw molotov bombs, shoot from motor-bikes on the move – the city is experiencing a wave of violence. The prime minister is accused that the government does not pay any attention to the security of the citizens” the correspondent of the newspaper writes. The article also hosts statements by the mayor who speaks about a “war atmosphere” spreading around the city and stresses that the perpetrators of the attacks “want victims”.

The newspaper notes that «after the attack on the political party’s headquarters the violence has intensified and keeps spreading throughout the city. More and more frequently hooded youths cause anxiety in the centre, destroying shops, burning cars, forcing tourists to leave. The mayor notices a «shadow of fear» over the city. The post offices and most banks have long closed their branches, many merchants have left their shops. Public transport bypasses certain areas after several incidents of bus burnings. Drug dealers have the upper hand in the city» the article says, adding that «police has largely withdrawn from the restricted zone.»

8/11/2112



Fig. 8. *The Past of Things to Come* (2018)



Even though there is no indication of the city or neighbourhood the article is referring to, it is not difficult for most Athens' citizens to guess, as they have come across several similar, almost identical reports, in Greek and international press. Having the names removed the article acquires a timeless quality, but did not have it anyway? Who can remember or who can imagine a different narrative of Exarcheia neighbourhood?

The hypothetical residents of the bunker, just like the five characters in search of an exit, find themselves in a loop, they do not experience progress, linear time, but a repetition of time and thus space. One of the five characters claims that she doesn't feel anything anymore, neither remembers, another one even thinks that: "The universe is right here. For our purposes this is the universe, right here, this little room". Wondering if this place is for the unloved. The thoughts and feelings that they express were widely shared, in my opinion, during the Greek crisis. And I cannot also avoid the association, as cliché as it may sound, of Athens being the 'unloved' city.

Nevertheless, the archival room that visitors first come across is supposedly beyond the disastrous year 2112, meaning that maybe, since there is an actual archive, civilization did not after all collapse and things are at least not that bad as they looked in the past or in the future. Lines of flight and escapes are possible, just as BRIDLE (2018) underlines in the last paragraph of his text in the exhibition catalogue:

“What shimmers and shears in “The past of things to come” is the connective tissue of experience, the contrast between the dead time of historical conditioning and the always already present possibility of revision and reappraisal. We can take our place in the frame, or write ourselves out of it; draw new maps and new strategies. Huddle here, but plot our escape.”

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Make Exarcheia's Housing Affordable Again

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of Athens

Introduction

The economic crisis that affected Greece since 2011 and European Austerity politics led to considerable cuts in the Greek public budget and shortcomings of social welfare (VAIOU & KALANDIDIS 2016: p. 462). The reduction or loss of income afflicted prosperity and pushed great parts of the population into poverty. The impacts also arose regarding housing affordability (MALOUTAS 2014: p. 159). Originally, the percentage of private ownership was higher than the share of tenants (EUROSTAT 2018). However, the crisis increased the dependence on loans and slowed down purchasing activity at the mortgage market (SABANIOTIS & HARDOUVELIS 2012: p. 3). Moreover, during the crisis, the housing taxation was raised while salaries decreased, which impeded the affordability of housing for the common people. Generally, there is no comprehensive housing policy in Greece that could support people who were not any more able to afford their homes (MALOUTAS 2014: p. 159).

This is an extraordinarily relevant topic in Exarcheia, an area that can be considered as a residential neighbourhood. Still, homelessness is a significant problem as becomes apparent in the streetscape. However, there are numerous abandoned houses that form a potential that could be used for the implementation of a higher stock of affordable housing. Furthermore, the area accounts for several listed - thus protected - buildings, whose renovation underlies strict regulations, and which can hence not be adjusted for social housing. Nevertheless, an increasing share of recently opened short-time rentals (e.g. AirBnB) have also appeared for touristic reasons and have

been discussed to be one cause for the withdrawal of affordable buildings from the housing market (HOST COMPLIANCE 2018). These contradictory developments affect the housing situation in Exarcheia and can thus be interpreted as a danger for affordability in the area. In this context, affordable housing is defined as “social rented, affordable rented and intermediate housing, provided to eligible households whose needs are not met by the market” (GOVERNMENT DIGITAL SERVICE 2018) with a focus on particularly vulnerable groups like low income or homeless people.

The emerging questions are, why affordable housing is particularly relevant for Exarcheia and how the matter could be solved with regard to the particularity of the area. Thus, the present article shows an overview of the housing market and ongoing changes in Exarcheia (See Chapter 2). A SWOT analysis (see Chapter 3) was conducted to identify the potentials and risks for the neighbourhood of a more intense use as an affordable residential area. However, the expansion of a supply with affordable housing requires the involvement of different stakeholders which will be reflected by different scenarios of development which were considered as realistic (see Chapter 4). As to this, possible approaches will be presented in Chapter 5.

Exarcheia area

Exarcheia is a neighbourhood located in the historic centre of Athens and home to approximately 20.000 inhabitants in an area of 900m². Most of the inhabitants (52%) are students, artists or professionals, thus, it can be considered as a middle-income area. This also arises with a rental level of 5-10 €/m², while the Greek average (as of 2014) is approximately 4,2 €/m² (PMSCS REAL ESTATE FRANCHISING INC. 2016). The ownership rate in the area before the crisis (as of 2011) was 48% (ibid.).

The area has schools and universities (e.g. National Technical University of Athens, Law School) and institutions of culture of national importance (e.g. National Archaeological Museum) which enhance the quality of life in the area. Another contribution to this are the green, open spaces, like Strefi Hill or Exarcheia Square and multiple bars and restaurants. Notable are also some neoclassical buildings of the 19th and early 20th

century, as well as modern blocks of flats of the 1930ies. However, some of them are listed in a special category of protection, which makes their renovation cost-intensive (SMITH 2017).

The area is characterised by a distinct atmosphere of solidarity and acceptance of diversity and residents act as a community. This mood attracts alternative people who seek the area's alternative nightlife. However, this atmosphere is a mixed blessing. Exarcheia has always been characterised by fiery political action and is the centre of action of anarchist groups of Athens. Furthermore, Exarcheia is the centre of many squats that resulted e.g. from the refugee crisis (MOVING EUROPE 2016). Conflicts and road battles between anarchists and police are a common phenomenon (MIARI 2018). Unfortunate is also the fact that in the area, and especially at the Exarcheia square, there are a lot of homeless people, dealers and drug-addicted people giving the area a sense of insecurity (PETTAS 2015: p. 141). Additionally, the high share of abandoned houses beside the main axes of the area and listed protected older buildings that would require high expenses for renovation hamper the housing market.

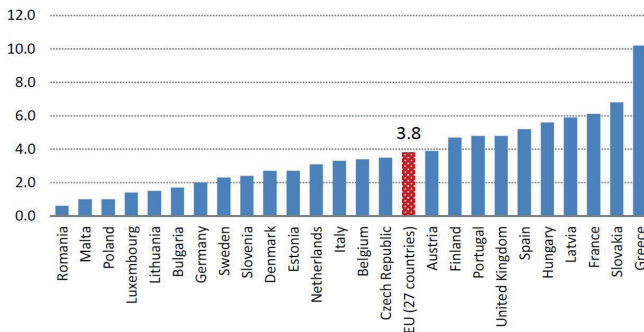


Fig. 1. Percentage of Households with problems in paying their rents and mortgages by country (PITTINI 2012: p. 8)

Like other neighbourhoods of Athens, Exarcheia was severely hit by the crisis. As shown in Fig. 1, the Greek population are the ones with highest difficulties of paying their rents and mortgages. The relevance for Exarcheia is also revealed with regard to post-crisis vulnerability. As has been referred to before, homelessness is a particular matter for the area (ARAPOGLOU & GOUNIS 2015).

A central matter in this context is the fact that in Greece, as a consequence of austerity politics, since 2012 there is no national housing policy on a rental basis that is able to compensate these shortcomings (PITTINI et al. 2015: p. 54). Nevertheless, since 2015 there have been approaches to step in here, with regard to support in the payment of rents or the supply with electricity (ibid.).

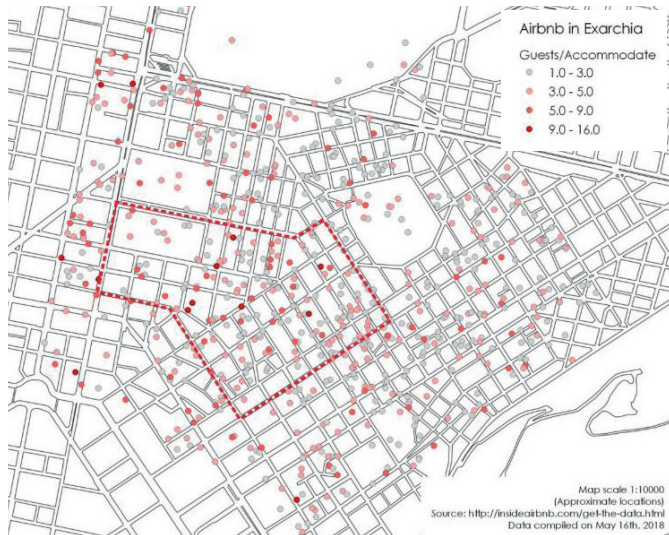


Fig. 2. Overview of Short-term rentals (AirBnB) in Exarcheia by average number of guests (COX 2018)

However, investment has experienced a new rise in Exarcheia. The area has lately attained new attention as a tourist area. For example, in 2017, an investor purchased various flats and refurbished them as accommodations for short-term rentals (CHRYSOPOULOS 2017). So, as shown in Fig. 2, Exarcheia has become a popular area for short-term tourist accommodation via Airbnb (COX 2018). Furthermore, the centrality of Exarcheia makes neighbourhood attractive and at the same time may in the future put it under pressure.

To sum up, the area is already a residential neighbourhood, which has still a high potential due to its high share of abandoned houses and a high number of homeless people in need of shelter (PITTINI et al. 2015: p. 54-55).

To identify the potentials of Exarcheia on intensifying the residential use, the authors conducted a SWOT analysis. Potentials and risks were determined regarding their impact on the development of housing and quality of life in the area.

Analysing Exarcheia

Generally, SWOT analysis (short for: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) is a strategic planning technique that is used by businesses for the analysis of their internal and external environment, when the businesses are up to take a decision concerning the objectives they have laid down (KARPPI et al. 2001: p. 15-16). Still, SWOT analysis is often used in the field of urban planning, too. It applies when an area should be analysed with regard to its strengths and weaknesses and the opportunities and threats that concern this area in order to be able to propose proper and efficient future strategies (ibid.).

Methods

One of the *strengths* of Exarcheia as a housing area are the universities and schools, that serve the residents and also attract young people, particularly students, to live in the area. Moreover, the area is easily accessible by metro and bus, as there are metro stations nearby and bus stations on the central roads of the area. In addition, there are many bars and restaurants that also attract young people from other areas and tourists. This makes the area liveable during day and night.

Analysis

Also, Exarcheia has its own character that comes from the community feeling, the solidarity and the acceptance of diversity someone can feel there. This creates a special atmosphere and reputation that make some specific groups of people feel comfortable there and increase the interest and curiosity of tourists to visit the area. Another strength is that in the area or nearby there are some important green spaces, such as the Strefi Hill, that improve the climate and enhance the quality of life.

The *weaknesses* include the feeling of danger that is created by the often confrontations between anarchists and police and, also, by the drug-dealers that haunt the area. This situation makes Exarcheia not a family-friendly district and discourages such groups of people from living there. Also, in the area there

are some abandoned houses and some listed buildings that, as explained in Chapter 2, can very hardly be used again and, hence, are fated to be ruined. Generally, one reason for such problems is the passive state and its tendency not to intervene in the housing market (PITTINI et al. 2015: p. 54-55). Another weakness is the fact that most buildings in Exarcheia are old and have an old infrastructure (e.g. heating, energy). They do not offer much comfort at a good price and are not very attractive for purchase and tenure.

The great number of homeless people in the streetscape of Exarcheia negatively affects the attractiveness of the neighbourhood. Despite the fact that there are some initiatives in the area engaged in helping these people, according to the authors' point of view this problem is still far from solution.

Among the *opportunities*, the abandoned and the listed houses, that comprise potential living spaces should be mentioned, on the condition that the ownership structure is clear. Also, the current low prices of the houses for purchases are an opportunity for probable buyers and investors, who will set in motion the local market. In addition, the increasing tourism in the area increases earnings in local shops, bars, restaurants, hotels, etc. The human resources, like students, academics, refugees, comprise also a great opportunity for the area. With their knowledge, they have the resources initiatives they can cooperate and change Exarcheia for the better.

The *threads* deal with the increasing investment that occurs in the area for touristic reasons and that could result in gentrification. In this context, gentrification is used from a Mediterranean perspective, as a long-term development driven by the free market and involving particularly entertainment and nightlife features in the public space (ALEXANDRI 2018: p. 37). At the same time, there is a Golden Visa programme from 2013, which encourages investment on a big scale by wealthy people from abroad combined with the issuance of a Greek visa (LA VIDA GOLDEN VISA 2018). This external interference in the mortgage market can be viewed as a potential threat for Exarcheia, as it possibly encourages speculation.

Overall, Exarcheia is an area that has its own, special character with the community feeling and the acceptance of diversity. In combination with the universities, the favourable infrastructure and connectivity, the bars and restaurants the area is to be lived in or to be visited. On the contrary, situations like the confrontations between anarchists and police as well as the streetscape that is characterised by abandoned buildings, homeless people and drug dealers discourage people from choosing this area to live in. At the same time, the increasing tourism creates opportunities for the local owners and to investors. Although, this increasing investment for the touristic reasons runs the risk of resulting in gentrification. In that case, current vulnerable residents can no longer afford to live in the area and will prefer to leave for a cheaper one. The threat in this matter is the possible change of the character of Exarcheia to a touristic and hardly affordable area. These considerations are the basis on which scenarios regarding the implementation of projects and policies in favour of a higher stock of affordable flats in the area were developed.

For a better understanding of the district of Exarcheia, the authors developed scenarios to analyse the current state of art and possible developments in the future. Scenario planning describes a tool using simplified models of possible states of the future to facilitate decision-making (SHOEMAKER 1995: p. 25-26). In accordance with SCHWARTZ (1991: p. 45), it is part of the strategy of planning that explores “alternative future environments” that might impact decisions. While analysing the neighbourhood, the authors discovered that there might be three scenarios that could develop over the next few years:

The first scenario describes the case of *no* change, no intervention by the inhabitants of Exarcheia, nor by the authorities. This case is characterised by the development from a rather alternative neighbourhood to a touristic and leisure hotspot. With the current shift from ownership and rental homes to short-time rentals (e.g. AirBnB) run by foreign investors, the housing market will change further in direction of short-time and holiday rentals. Along with investments and buying-up, many buildings and flats will be renovated and valorised. Resulting from this de-

Scenarios

Scenario 1: The development continues consistently

velopment the rental market will experience a shortage, which consequently implies rising rents. The shortage of living space and higher rents will lead to a smooth gentrification process (as described previously), less affordable housing, and therefore, people have to move to other districts. Especially vulnerable groups such as students, elderly people and low-income people will be affected.

Scenario 2: The residents intervene

The second scenario shows the case that the people that are living in Exarcheia understand the current development and decide to react as a community to preserve the character of the neighbourhood. The citizens work hand in hand with local initiatives in a bottom-up planning process on the reputation and the built environment of the neighbourhood. Therefore, the development, that is desired by the people living in the district can be realised. This Scenario seems possible due to the special community feeling that was identified as one of the strengths of the area and has been useful in other occasions before.

Scenario 3: The state intervenes

The last scenario presents the case of intervention by the authorities. The government detects the current development and decides to step in. Consequently, the state could set up policies, restrictions and regulations to limit investments by foreign businesses in Exarcheia. High taxes on the touristic sector and lower taxes to reduce rents, could decelerate the current development and increase the affordable housing market. This would lead to higher attractiveness of the district for residents. However, this assumption requires the recognition of the developments by the state level not only in Exarcheia.

These three scenarios show how the situation in Exarcheia could develop in the next decades and what happens if nothing changes or either the residents or the authorities intervene. From the authors' point of view, the first scenario is not desirable, because it would destroy the uniqueness of the neighbourhood, while the third scenario seemed to be rather unrealistic. Thus, due to the unwillingness and minor acceptance of state intervention in the neighbourhood, the second is regarded to be the most likely development in the future. The second scenario might be the most realistic option, since the area is known for its engagement in the past and shaping the area (SMITH 2016).

This bottom-up principle is only realistic, if the majority of the inhabitants works on the change towards an ungentrified and alternative neighbourhood. It is probable that this will not be possible without any help or intervention by the authorities. To make cooperation between citizens and state possible an additional layer for coordination in between is unalterable. A community-based planning office, based on the German idea of a “Stadtteilbüro” (neighbourhood office), that consists of e.g. residents, planners and architecture students could make joint actions possible and ensure a good communication base. This opportunity of participation makes projects commonly approved and intensifies the community feeling.



Fig. 3. Cazucá Project in Colombia (MANRIQUE et al. 2016)

This concept of cooperation between different stakeholders in Exarcheia leads to possible projects, that could be realised in the neighbourhood. Based on the idea of a project which was released in Colombia (Cazucá project)(see Fig. 3), a possible approach towards affordable housing in the area would be community-based renovation of abandoned, listed or run-down buildings.

The concept of the project is the bundling of available knowledge and means. Students of the National Technical University, which is located in the area, can apply what they have learned during their studies and use theories on a real pro-

Concept and Approach

ject. Homeless people and refugees are also part of the project, as can use and improve their manual knowledge, have a job and, in the end, possibly could get an apartment in the renovated buildings. To finance this proposition, funds of the European Union could be used. The community office, which was mentioned before, could apply for example for financial resources such as the European Social Fund (ESF). This approach is considered as particularly helpful and resilient for the area as it solves local issues proactively instead of waiting for political action from the state level.

Conclusion

To conclude, with regard to housing, it can be summarised that Exarcheia is a residential area close to the centre of Athens which is already home to numerous people.

However, firstly, the authors examined pull and push factors of the area by a SWOT analysis, discussed potential threats such as increased investment or gentrification processes and developed scenarios of involvement by different interest groups. Hence, the authors concluded, that the potentials of Exarcheia are the human capital and the widely-spread abandoned and run-down buildings, which in combination could be the basis for projects to enhance affordable housing. As a comprehensive approach at the state level was not regarded to be likely in a close future, the authors are convinced that community-based approaches have the most direct impact. A cooperative project such as the exemplarily presented that brings together people with different knowledge and abilities could help to enhance the community feeling, while at the same time it is an approach to upgrade houses into social, affordable homes, that if possible also could provide a home for vulnerable people in exchange.

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Dignifying Life Beyond the Streets

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Introduction

Home, and therefore *homelessness*, can have different meanings according to one's background but it mandates a sensitive response. An adequate approach to it should be insightful of its implications, and so, a common understanding of the term was formulated. Through brainstorming (see Fig. 1) the team in charge of the topic defined *homelessness* as the lack of physical shelter and social relations that support the dignity of life. At the same time, the relation with *dignity of life* included: a good quality of physical shelter (by keeping up with hygiene standards, providing adequate protection from environment, and having access to all essential services); the possibility to access health facilities; the existence of economic opportunities; and access to and positive participation in a social network (for a feeling of belonging and good relations with others). It was also noticed that a homelessness situation could happen during different periods and because of many reasons, but it becomes especially concerning when such case strikes suddenly and persists for long.

In Athens, after the lengthened economic crisis of 2013, about 9,100 people experienced some form of visible homelessness in the wider metropolitan area (ANDRIOPOULOU et al. 2017: p. 2). Despite the significant deterioration in the problem, no changes in the policy have been made — the current range of policies working in the issue focus on the management of its most extreme and publicly visible manifestations (KOURACHANIS 2015: p. 123), leaving a need for new responses to the issue.

New strategies should have a more conscious approach of the matter and, furthermore, they need to be a milestone in building social resilience so that future crisis can be overcome faster.

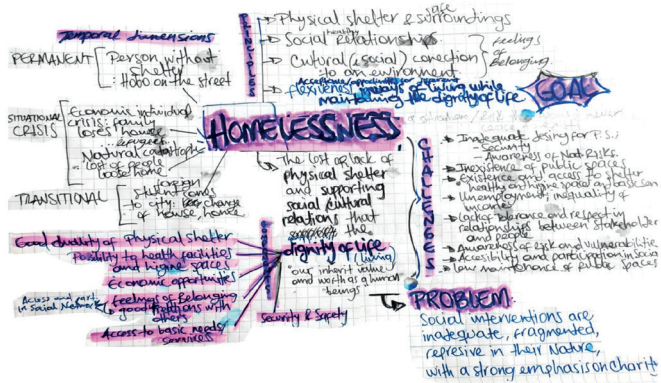


Fig. 1. Resulting mind map of brainstorming group exercise. Source: Own Creation

**Methodology:
Recognizing
Exarcheia and
Homelessness
policies**

With these previous considerations in mind, the topic of homelessness was developed through three operations: the analysis of the study area (to recognize the local situation), an overview of the existing policies and their challenges (to learn how the problem was being approached), and an online research of related initiatives and projects (to induce positive initiatives with a permanent performance).

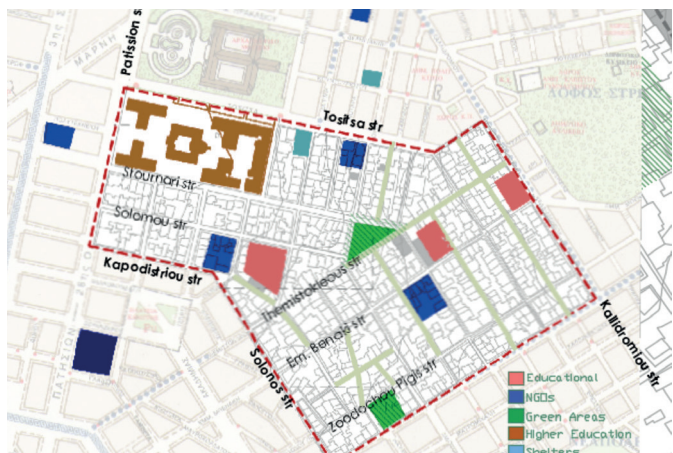


Fig. 2. Mapping of existing actors and potentials of the study area. Source: Own creation based on LUH & NTUA 2018

As a result of exploring Exarcheia neighborhood, the given study area, an inventory of the actors and other potentials were identified (see Fig. 2). At the same time, the policies that tackle the homelessness phenomenon were reviewed, and their services and challenges identified. Also, the online research of initiatives and projects that have been socially organized to support people in homelessness situation provided a bank of ideas for the group to unite efforts. This information and group discussions led to seven strategies to deal with the problem of homelessness in Exarcheia.

Starting with the mapping carried out by the team, it revealed that in Exarcheia exist: three basic education institutions, three NGOs, two public green spaces of great importance to the neighborhood, one high education institution (for law school and architecture studies) and two shelters (for immigrants). The same analysis allowed two potentials to be recognized in the neighborhood: some pedestrian paths and an „open school“ initiative taking place in one of the high schools. The pedestrian paths offer communal spaces that allow residents to interact closely with each other without worrying about traffic on the streets. As for the „Open School“, it is an initiative from citizens that consists of giving charge-free courses (organized by experienced volunteers) for anyone.

As for the review of existing policies, it included the four lines in the homelessness policy in Greece: prevention, emergency services, transitional sheltering, and housing and social inclusion. Taking as a base the document *“Confronting homelessness in Greece during a time of crisis”* from the Pantheon University, the description of each policy line, the services it provides and the challenges it faces were organized (see Table 1). In general, the literature criticizes the social interventions because they are: inadequate as they do not sufficiently respond to the different stages of the homelessness problem; fragmented as the undertaken actions do not relate to one another, and repressive due to the restriction for other ideas to be included. The paper calls for new forms of social policies to focus on reducing the risks that lead to homelessness and on promoting the inclusion of homeless people back into society.

POLICY LINE	SERVICES	CHALLENGES
PREVENTION Interventions that aim to keep those threatened by housing exclusion in decent housing conditions.	→ Housing benefits and programs to fuel poverty → Social work and empowerment services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structures have not been adequately developed: absence of a coherent network of prevention measures for the protection of housing. Few interventions of a limited scope of NGOs focus on developing social housing programs or mediation services to solve economic and social problems: but not thus far promoted at a central political level
EMERGENCY SERVICES Covering the immediate subsistence and health needs.	→ Traditional forms of protection: dorms and day centers for homelessness with in-kind provisions → Charitable institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quantitative efficiency remains unknown as there are no attempts for measuring the real dimensions of the problem A large part of the budget is intended for the provision of food. The duration of the programs is short.
TRANSITIONAL SHELTERS Long-term stays in transitional accommodation play an important part in achieving a smooth housing reintegration process.	→ Social hostels; social apartments with rent subsidies. → Treatment of mental health and addiction problems. → Efforts to connect these services with services with training and employment policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The facilities for transitional accommodation are characterized by quantitative and qualitative inadequacy, while the absence of any systematic planning of social inclusion is obvious.
HOUSING AND SOCIAL INCLUSION An attempt to solve most of the causes that lead to the loss of home. By providing employment strategies.	→ Supported employment → Psychological support services → Education and training policies aiming at enhancing his/her professional skills.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Structures have not been adequately developed.

Table 1. Resume of greek homelessness' policy lines. Source: Own creation based on ANDRIOPOULOU 2017.

Finally, the online research for initiatives provided some ideas where the spatial and social context provided homeless people with options to alleviate their situation. For example, when existing restaurants or other sorts of food merchants give the remaining edible food of the day to homeless people, instead of throwing it away (KABBAGE 2015); or when the homeless people offer "invisible tours" of their city where visitors learn about the experiences of their guides living in the backstreets (SHE-DIA MAGAZINE 2015). These ideas helped to link the studied physical context and the policy challenges in the making of new strategies. This bank of initiatives and programs also provided an understanding of the responsibilities, roles, and benefits that the different actors in the activities could have.

In parallel to all the previous actions, the exchange of thoughts and experiences in the Summer School introduced some general considerations for the group's exercise. For instance, it

had to be recognized that after the economic crisis the people living on the streets were not only the conventional most vulnerable groups (such as those with a below-average income, single-parent families, victims of (sexual) violence, the mentally ill, drug and alcohol addicts) but there were also people that previously had access to higher education or a stable job that had found themselves suddenly living on the streets (KOUGEA & SPANIDIS 2018: p. 5). New strategies should, therefore, not only tend to the permanent trends of (social) issues but also think and prepare for the way crisis could affect the traditional dynamics of the (socio-economic) system.

First, the policy lines and their challenges from Table 1 were used as a foundation for the group's proposal to structure the weak points of the existing efforts. By doing so, the group also intended to associate the different stages of the homelessness phenomenon and concerted actions and efforts. The team conversations that followed appealed to the components of the dignity of life and thought of implementations through the existing local circumstances (such as the key mapped physical spaces and actors in the study area). The arguments also often found relations with the topics assigned to other groups of the Summer School. This reasoning led the team to integrate ideas with other parties, especially those with the themes of Affordable Housing and Local Food Production. These alliances then became vital for answering the most pressing matters of access to quality shelter and basic needs. Integrating efforts permitted a more efficient use of resources and displayed a broader spectrum of success.

As a result, seven strategies were made under all the four policy lines. Starting with Emergency Services, as the most pressing issue, the intention is to find ways in which the services can initiate more enduring outcomes. In Housing and Social Inclusion, the aim is to tie the provision of material needs (shelter and income) with communal support. As for Transitional Shelters, the idea is to shift the spatial design concept of shelters towards the collective space and social interaction. At last, the strategies for the Prevention line focus on organizing the existing empirical knowledge of the actors dealing with homelessness in the field

Results: New strategies for dealing with homelessness beyond the Streets

and empowering them into policy-making and continuous improvement of the services.

Each of the strategies is described in their respective line. For further detail, the steps of implementation are sketched for the short, medium and long-term; the required actors and their roles are also briefly described (see Table 2).

Policy Line: Emergency services

→ IMMEDIATE ACCOMMODATION AIMING FOR FUTURE HOUSING

In alliance with Abandoned Buildings and Affordable Housing. As a starting point, the municipality would make an open call for the owners of abandoned places who want to allow the recovery of their spaces via public investment on construction materials. The owners of the buildings will grant the renting rights of their property (the number of years depending on the needed investment) and in exchange will be free from payment of the property’s taxes for the duration of the contract, while reclaiming a well-recovered construction once the contract is over. The municipality will manage the contracts and will work as an intermediary to keep an eye on contracts to guarantee the rights of all those involved; with the intention of giving renting contracts for 5 to 10 years in the improved constructions to homeless people.

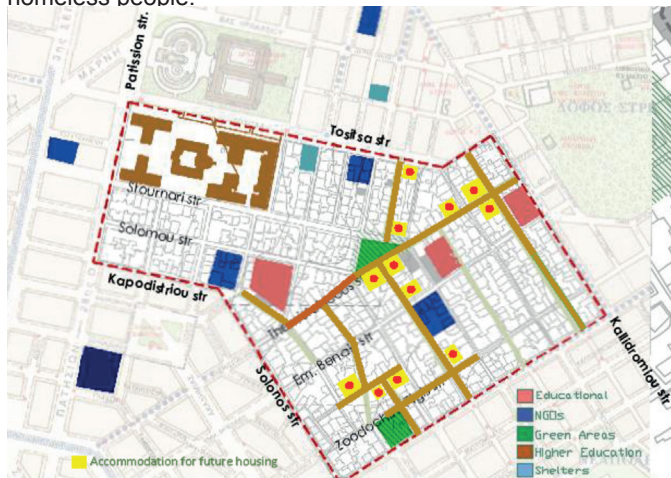


Fig. 3. Proposal of location of abandoned buildings to recover and rent to homeless people. Source: Own creation based on LUH & NTUA 2018

The architecture faculty allocated in the neighborhood will provide the necessary knowledge for plans and construction processes to recover a building while preserving its values; members of the academy can also volunteer to work in the construction and gain in-the-field knowledge. The homeless beneficiaries must actively participate in the reconstruction process of a building and gain knowledge to keep it in the right state once the reconstruction is over.

Under this idea, it could even be possible to prolong renting contracts later in the future.

It is worth mentioning that the abandoned buildings located in the previously identified pedestrian paths should be given priority to intervene. The reason for this is the generous social space accessing the house and providing more chances of close and safe interactions with neighbors (see Fig. 3).

→ PLANTING SEEDS OF SOCIAL RESILIENCE IN THE COMMUNITY:

One difficulty that governmental bodies face in the hiring of professionals to attend the need of homeless people is the limited hiring time due to legal boundaries. Such situation compromises the continuity of the recuperation process of homeless people. The proposal is that these professionals dedicate some of their working hours to spread their knowledge over homelessness in the community. It can be done in activities that bring understanding over the hardships of a homelessness situation and how to support people in this condition.

This way, it could be expected that even once the working time for the professional is over, the community around a homeless person will keep providing support to homeless individuals.

These activities and the shared knowledge can be part of communitarian free workshops in the neighborhood.

Policy Line: Housing and social inclusion

→ IMPROVING EXISTING SHELTERS

Existing temporary shelters for homeless people only offer a single bed for the beneficiaries. They do not provide opportunities for social interaction. The proposal is to improve the conditions of existing shelters by doing workshops that aim to facilitate social exchanges, e.g., building

furniture for common areas such, as sofas, dining tables, among others. Participants in these workshops should be both neighbors and homeless beneficiaries of the shelter. This kind of workshops is to be combined with the previous strategy of PLANTING SEEDS OF SOCIAL RESILIENCE IN THE COMMUNITY.

→ SHAPING SKILLS TO GUARANTEE AN INCOME

Homeless people should be able to improve or widen their capacities in a way they can make a profit out of them.

The suggestion is to orientate the charge-free workshops' offer (such as those given in the "open school" or those organized in the IMPROVING EXISTING SHELTERS strategy) towards building and strengthening abilities of homeless people for them to be able to offer a service they can guarantee an income from, i.e., offering backstreets tours (SHEDIA MAGAZINE 2015). The workshops' topics could also complement each other to give participants the opportunity to build or sharpen a "vocational profile", i.e., combination of construction workshops of IMMEDIATE ACCOMMODATION AIMING FOR FUTURE HOUSING and IMPROVING EXISTING SHELTERS strategies. This proposal is taking advantage of existing NGOs in the neighborhood supporting searches for a job.

This strategy is to be combined with PLANTING SEEDS OF SOCIAL RESILIENCE IN THE COMMUNITY.

Policy Line: Transitional shelters

→ PROJECT MANAGEMENT FOR TRANSFORMATION OF TRANSITIONAL SHELTER

Based in the challenge that spatial design of existing shelters imply for the social integration and interaction of homeless people, this proposal insists on making the design of future shelter with a focus on common spaces and social areas. Future shelters should no longer privilege some beds, but also assign areas for social gatherings, such as central common gardens, public halls, and open terraces and balconies.

This proposal is to be implemented in hand with the IMPROVING OF EXISTING SHELTERS strategy.

>>STRATEGIC INVESTMENT OF BUDGET ON FOOD PRODUCTION
The construction of future shelters is conditioned by the amount

of money that can be invested in it. Currently, the most significant portion of the budget of the organizations and institutions working in the homelessness issue is being used for food (KOURACHANIS 2015: p. 119). Allying with the group of LOCAL FOOD PRODUCTION, the proposal is to invest an initial part of the money used for food to a local food production program with the compromise that the resulting products will be given to homeless people participating in the program. On the one hand, this alliance allows more places of the implementation for the PLANTING SEEDS OF SOCIAL RESILIENCE IN THE COMMUNITY strategy. On the other, the progressive increase of local food production has the potential to lower the amount of money required for food and instead use it for improvement of existing shelters or construction of new ones (also following the IMPROVING OF EXISTING SHELTERS and STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR SOCIAL-INTERACTION ORIENTED DESIGN OF TRANSITIONAL SHELTERS strategies). Additionally, the working groups could take advantage of their collective work to promote the donation of food from numerous local establishments (like restaurants or cafes), so that no more food is wasted but also more of the budget could be released.

Policy Line: Prevention

→ SOCIAL NETWORK BUILDING FOR DATA COLLECTION

Data is an essential element for understanding the status quo of the homelessness problem. The proposal is to facilitate the collection of information by building an online platform where the different actors dealing with the issue of homelessness (NGOs, governmental bodies, social organizations) can provide information and benefit from it. Not only the number-related data would be collected, but the news over successful and failed initiatives/projects would also be shared so that the experiences can support future decision-making and promote ideas.

→ COLLABORATIVE PROCESSES FOR HYBRID CONSTRUCTION OF LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR HOMELESSNESS PREVENTION

The existing policy lines lack a legal framework that organizes the efforts to tackle homelessness in an integrated way. Additionally, because policy construction is often a work of solely governmental actors, it often leaves out valuable knowledge of field-work experience.

POLICY	NEW STRG.	STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION	ACTORS & ROLES
EMERGENCY SERVICES	IMMEDIATE ACCOMMODATION AIMING FOR FUTURE HOUSING	<p>Short term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Call for owners of abandoned buildings to allow temporary accommodation in their unoccupied properties, in exchange for non-payment of ownership taxes for the years of occupation (5-10 years) and free recovery of the building. - Evaluation of buildings and beneficiaries, assignation of houses. - Initiation of an occupation, when possible <p>Medium Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Design & planning of construction stages between willing owners, academics and future inhabitants - Beginning of social integration processes and economic opportunities. - Start of intervention in constructions with the collaborative work between academics and (future) inhabitants <p>Long Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consolidation of social integration processes and economic opportunities. - Mediation process for negotiations over renting prices for longer habitation of recovered buildings. - Listing of abandoned buildings with willing owners to include in future stages of the program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Governmental Institutions: Initial investors and policy executors - School of architecture: Knowledge providers and beneficiaries in term of laboring experience - Homeless population: Beneficiaries and working force - Owners of abandoned buildings: Long-term beneficiaries.
	PLANTING SEEDS OF SOCIAL RESILIENCE IN THE COMMUNITY	<p>Short Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focusing professional social workers activities towards the education and capacitation of social networks towards building trust-based relationships with homeless people. <p>Medium Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementation of trust-based relationship building in local activities and programs. - Documentation of experiences for future improvements. <p>Long Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis of experiences for improving and upgrading of programs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NGOs and social organizations: Coordinators and implementation of activities - Homeless people: beneficiaries
HOUSING AND SOCIAL INCLUSION	IMPROVING EXISTING SHELTERS	<p>Short Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Design of workshops around the topic of housing and furniture improvement. Choosing topics around <p>Medium Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development workshops and documentation of it. <p>Long Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sharing of experiences in-between temporary shelter facilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Professional social workers: building of programs for building community networking - NGOs and social organizations: Coordinators of activities - Voluntary participants - Homeless people: beneficiaries - Neighbors: Participants and seeds for social resilience

POLICY	NEW STRG.	STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION	ACTORS & ROLES
HOUSING AND SOCIAL INCLUSION	IMPLEMENTATION OF A GUARANTEED INCOME	<p>Short Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Design of packages of workshops around topics to build or improve working skills and/or small and medium business initiatives <p>Medium Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for selective participation in workshops to develop an occupational profile. - Accompaniment for small and medium business initiatives appliance for funding <p>Long Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accompaniment and support in job-hunting - Accompaniment and support for the implementation of small and medium business initiatives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Professional social workers: building of programs for building community networking - NGOs and social organizations: Coordinators of activities - Voluntary participants - Homeless people: beneficiaries - Neighbors: Participants and seeds for social resilience
TRANSITIONAL SHELTERS	PROJECT MANAGEMENT FOR TRANSFORMATION OF TRANSITIONAL SHELTER	1. STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR SOCIAL-INTERACTION ORIENTED DESIGN OF TRANSITIONAL SHELTERS	
		<p>Short and Medium terms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Design of widening the spectrum of modes for transitional shelters with focus on spaces for social interaction and access to basic services (drinking water and hygiene) - Adequacy of public spaces for the provision of shelters of immediate response in case of crisis. (Earthquake and heat waves) - Improving security: visibility and accessibility <p>Long Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construction of social-integrating transitional shelters and active use of facilities for local community activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NGOs and social organizations: Coordinators of activities and investors - Homeless people and in risk of homelessness: Beneficiaries - Neighbors: Beneficiaries for permanent communal active spaces and in case of crisis
		2. STRATEGIC INVESTMENT OF BUDGET ON FOOD PRODUCTION	
		<p>Short Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Investment in food production programs:- Gardening programs -Association with restaurants <p>Medium Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Workshops: Resulting in food accessibility and reducing the budget used for food; freeing of budget. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NGOs and social organizations: Coordinators of activities - Voluntaries: Teachers in workshops and participants - Homelessness people and in risk of homelessness: Food beneficiaries - Neighbors: Participants and seeds for social resilience
		3. STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR SOCIAL-INTERACTION ORIENTED DESIGN OF TRANSITIONAL SHELTERS	
		<p>Short and Medium terms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Design of widening the spectrum of modes for transitional shelters with focus on spaces for social interaction and access to basic services (drinking water and hygiene) - Adequacy of public spaces for the provision of shelters of immediate response in case of crisis. (Earthquake and heat waves) - Improving security: visibility and accessibility <p>Long Term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construction of social-integrating transitional shelters and active use of facilities for local community activities. 	

POLICY	NEW STRG.	STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION	ACTORS & ROLES
PREVENTION	SOCIAL NETWORK BUILDING FOR DATA COLLECTION	Short Term: - Agreements over the basic data in need of being collected and the collection process. - Building of online platform for data collection and publication. Medium Term: - Analysis of collected data and feedback of obstacles Long Term: - Analysis of impact and feedback for future improvement.	- Governmental institutions and politicians: lobby and implementation of policies. - NGOs: Sharing of information
	COLLABORATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF LEGAL FRAMEWORK	Short Term: - Open call for stakeholders - For exchange of experiences - To participate in roundtables for policy and strategies making. Medium Term: - Implementation of policy and strategies. Long Term: - Analysis of impact and feedback for future improvement.	- Representatives and leaders: Beneficiaries

Table 2. New proposals' stages of implementation and actors & roles. Source: Own creation

Conclusions

Through the resulting channels from the SOCIAL NETWORK BUILDING FOR DATA COLLECTION, the intention is to empower experienced groups on field-work with homeless people so they can actively participate in the creation of the missing legal framework.

Homelessness is an issue that involves social and economic aspects of life. A proper response to it requires a sensitive integration of both dimensions. Likewise, it is necessary to have a good understanding of the context (existing physical elements, circumstances of interaction, and actors and their role) and of the effects that a crisis can have on it (regarding effects over the interactions and responses of the actors). These are vital aspects of starting thinking of socio-economic resilience.

Because socio-economic phenomena have multiple dimensions, they need to be addressed through integrated actions which would also facilitate efficient management of resources

while strengthening cooperation.

A strategic approach to socio-economic resilience should support community interactions with a highly efficient distribution of resources in the short, medium and long-term without compromising the dignity of life of all the members of the society.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that sensitive and integral strategies that deal with socio-economic issues are more successfully built by joining efforts. This collaboration does not refer that government programs must be developed across sectors, but also that civil society should be given a role in action plans and other actors, such as NGOs, can provide crucial insight of problems and therefore should be given more value.

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Community Empowerment through Establishment of a Local Food Supply Chain

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Introduction

The socio-economic crisis and its consequences in the “Post-austerity” era in Greece have increased the number of homeless and unemployed people (ATHENS RESILIENCE STRATEGY 2017: p. 12). The increasing number of vulnerable people in Athens are not capable of providing healthy food and require social support to adapt to the new living conditions. This study project seeks to cope with the economic crisis and the challenges that threaten the most vulnerable groups of the society by improving their socio-economic resilience via creating and promoting an alternative self-sustaining local food supply chain. Exarcheia neighborhood in the inner city of Athens is chosen as the case study of this project.

This study suggests a network of activities and places in Exarcheia neighborhood, in which urban gardens and farms are built and farmer’s markets and collective kitchens are organized. This network of places and people are supposed be managed by grass-roots initiatives with a special focus on empowering and supporting vulnerable groups of people in Exarcheia. The effect of such local food supply chain is reducing the expenses of food production and supply by omitting the middlemen, gaining affordable and healthy food and increasing the social capital in the neighborhood by boosting the interaction of different groups of inhabitants in the neighborhood and finally improving the quality of life of the inhabitants.

The present project was initiated in the course of a one-week summer school in Athens in June 2018, which made the cooperation of the co-authors possible. In the initial phase, a field survey in Exarcheia neighborhood and data collection was carried out to recognize the current situation and come up with ideas for its improvement. The final results of this study project include an analysis of the socio economic and spatial structure of Exarcheia neighborhood and elaborated strategies and measures for the implementation of a local food supply chain.

**Definition and
Functions of
the Local Food
Supply Chain**

Local food supply chain is a term used for describing the process of cultivating and handling foodstuff in the place of the residence of a community. This process can be viewed and organized at the national, regional or neighborhood policy levels (NIKOLAÏDOU et al. 2014). Local food supply chain in the present study is redefined to fit the neighborhood scale and particularly the densely built-up areas like Exarcheia neighborhood. Based on this context-specific definition, local food supply chain includes cultivating food-stuff in the urban gardens, selling them in the local farmer's markets and preparing the food in the collective kitchens.

Establishment of a Local food supply chain is beneficial in terms of providing healthy and affordable food. It is also claimed that local food production and seasonal food diets are ecologically more sustainable (FEENSTRA 1997). Another advantage of the establishment of a local food supply chain is the increase of social capital within the neighborhood's inhabitants. In this regard social capital is considered as a collective asset that grants members social "credits", which are used as capital to facilitate purposive actions (GLOVER 2004). "In many places a logical and appropriate way to revitalize a community is development of a local food economy" (NIKOLAÏDOU et al. 2014). It is a way to manage and revitalize vacant open space while still giving citizens - through a consensus-oriented approach to urban planning and governance- the right to re-use the public space (ibid.: p. 28). Another benefit of local food production through urban gardening is co-creating aesthetic values and green landscape in the densely built-up inner city area

It should be noted that one of the weaknesses of such alternative food supply chains is in the long-term viability of the projects and their integration in planning practices, especially when there is reluctance to designate urban gardening as a special land use in zoning plans and other planning documents (NIKOLAÏDOU et al. 2014)

In Europe, local authorities have only recently discovered community gardens and often see them as an efficient way to create community dynamics (ERNWEIN, 2014: 78). “The practices of so-called urban gardening range from illegal gardening of vacant space, to gardening in individual allotments and in community gardens” (ibid.). In Greece too, there is a boom of urban gardens that is concerned with the solidarity economy and results from the need to cope social and economic external threats such as layoffs and unemployment, loss of social security and welfare, neo-poverty, stress and loss of self-esteem (ANTHOPOULOU & PARTALIDOU 2015).

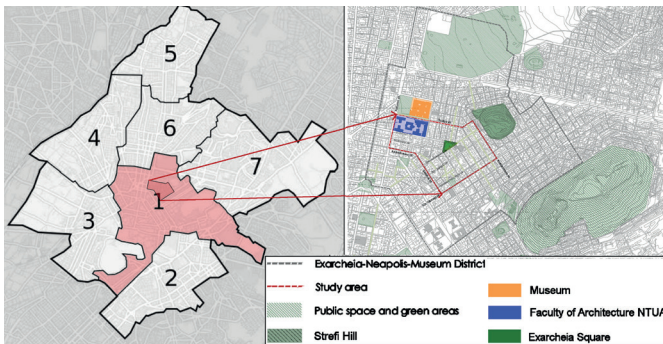


Fig. 1. The location of the study area in Athens Municipality. Source: Own depiction based on WIKIPEDIA 2015, LUH & NTUA 2018.

Exarcheia is a neighborhood in “District 1” of the Athens municipality. It is located in the inner city of Athens and is one of the oldest districts of the city. Exarcheia neighborhood is home to the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA) and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, as the two most notable monumental landmarks and Exarcheia Square and Strefi Hill as the two most popular open spaces. The study area in this project, however, was limited to a part of Exarcheia neighborhood excluding the Archeological Museum and the Strefi Hill (see Fig. 1).

Analysis of the Socio-economic Situation and Spatial Structure in Exarcheia Neighborhood

The social structure of the district is characterized by high unemployment rate (GREEK STATISTICAL AUTHORITY 2011) (see Fig. 2). The share of families with children living in the district is low and the share of elderly from the whole population is relatively high (GREEK STATISTICAL AUTHORITY 2011) (see Fig. 3). Homelessness and drug dealing are evident in the public spaces of Exarcheia. All these conditions prove that a high share of inhabitants of Exarcheia are in a relatively vulnerable situation and need support in some way to adapt to the challenges of social and economic crisis. However, high share of students and young adults in the district, high number of grass-roots initiatives and existence of an alternative atmosphere and solidarity movements, is a valuable social asset and a great benefit for the neighborhood.

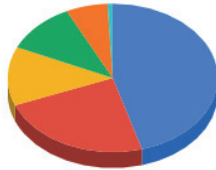
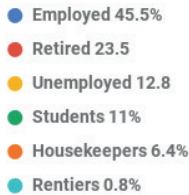


Fig. 2. Working status in Exarcheia. Source: GREEK STATISTICAL AUTHORITY 2011

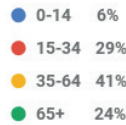


Fig. 3. Age groups status in Exarcheia. Source: GREEK STATISTICAL AUTHORITY 2011

The existing built environment in Exarcheia can be analyzed based on three categories of public, semi-public and private spaces. The diverse public open spaces, namely parks, plazas and pedestrian streets in Exarcheia are common hangouts where plenty of social interactions occur, thus providing a high potential to be used as spaces for communal activities such as gardening and trading food-stuff. Moreover, Exarcheia neighborhood possesses significant semi-public spaces with a high potential to be used for urban gardening. One of the suitable locations is the surrounding space of Faculty of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens (see Fig. 4). The Architecture School and the social activities that occur in it attract diverse people to the area and have a large sphere of influence on the neighborhood. Furthermore, private spaces and buildings can be used for cultivating, selling and preparing food-stuff. There are also plenty of private properties like abandoned buildings and empty lots as well as the rooftops, inner courts or the balconies of the in-use houses and residential apartments

that are potential candidates for urban gardening.

The proposed local food supply chain in Exarcheia is analyzed as a process consisting of two main sectors namely urban gardening and food supply. The community gardening sector focuses on the cultivation of food, like fruits and vegetables by the residents of Exarcheia whether in the public and semi-public spaces, or in the shared spaces in private apartments, or even in the individual houses. The food supply sector consists of alternative farmer's markets and collective kitchens which are organized by the grass-roots initiatives and NGOs initiated by the local community.

This model for local food supply chain is not totally new to the Exarcheia community. Existing example in the field of urban gardening is the Navarinou park (see Fig. 4), a former parking lot which was supposed to be built upon, but the construction was banned by resistance of the citizens and the parking lot was transformed into an autonomous park and urban garden. Furthermore, in the food supply sector there is a farmer's market, called "Kallidromiou Laiki"¹ in Greek, that takes place every Saturday. Another more local public market is operating twice a month in the Exarcheia square. There is also a collective kitchen called "El-Chef" that is established by a grass-roots initiative and supports immigrants. It is located in Tsamadou pedestrian street near the Exarcheia square (see Fig. 4). Food is prepared there every Saturday, and anyone willing to volunteer in the process is welcome to do so. The kitchen's organization is based on volunteering, solidarity and taking initiatives to overcome everyday issues that come up due to the effects of the economic depression. Their other programs include free Greek classes, legal and social support for the refugees and immigrants and free computer classes. During evenings and weekends there is also a coffee shop ("kafenio") operating in the premise as a gathering point (EL-CHEF 2018).

In conclusion, the analysis of the social structure and the public spaces show that Exarcheia neighborhood has a strong image

¹Street market known in every village, town or city in Greece, held at least once a week. It sells vegetables and fruits from local farmers or middlemen who deal with the local farmers, but you will also find products such as eggs, fish, herbs as well as clothing and other household goods (LAIKICUISINE, n.d.).

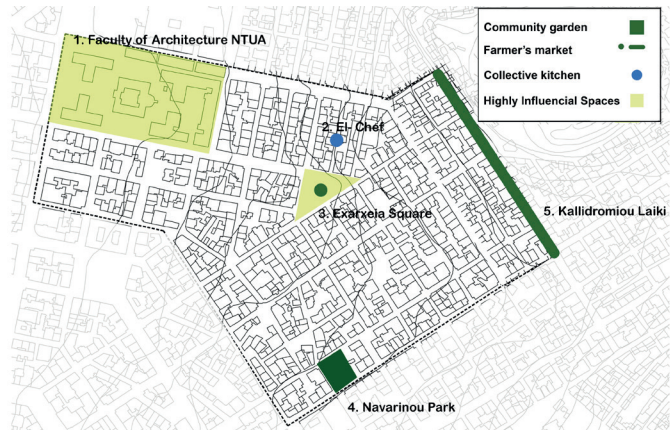


Fig. 4. Existing examples of alternative food supply chain in Exarcheia neighborhood. Source: Own depiction based on LUH & NTUA 2018

and potential to influence the nearby neighborhoods and encourage more bottom-up initiatives and actions also regarding local food supply chain. Moreover, since there are plenty of under-used public and semi-public spaces and private buildings, there is the possibility of developing a network of urban gardens that are used for local food production.

Strategies, Policies and Programs for Developing a Local Food Supply Chain in Exarcheia

The overall strategy to implement our proposed local food supply chain in Exarcheia is to strengthen the existing networks and initiatives and use the recognized potentials in the socio-spatial structure of the neighborhood to develop our proposed model. In order to operationalize this model, it is suggested to make an alliance with the strategies and programs that focus on the issue of homelessness, re-using the abandoned buildings and urban landscaping. The integration of these strategies can be supported and initiated by the public authorities in Athens municipality if the different parties recognize common goals and cooperate for their realization. The whole local food supply chain can be managed integrally by a food production cooperative and implemented by the grass-roots initiatives located in Exarcheia. Ideally, the policies that support and regulate local food supply chain can be included in the municipal and local land-use plan to secure the land tenure rights and investments in such projects.

Some small-scale, more flexible, informal and adaptive forms of urban gardening policies and programs that are also compatible with the situation of Exarcheia neighborhood are proposed in the following and depicted in Fig. 6:

- Using the semi-public open spaces in the Faculty of Architecture campus as urban gardens (see Fig. 5) and the students' workforce to hold capacity-building and awareness-raising workshops on the subject of local food supply chain and organizing programs in the Exarcheia neighborhood.
- Using the flower boxes in the pedestrian streets and flower beds in the parks for cultivation of food-stuff using the management and workforce of the citizen groups.
- Using the plazas and pedestrian streets to cultivate food-stuff and hold farmer's markets.
- Using the balconies, rooftops and inner courts of the public and private buildings for cultivating food.
- Transforming spaces in the abandoned buildings into collective kitchens and urban gardens.
- Collecting rainwater in containers or draining them to the urban gardens for watering the plants.

The Local food supply chain model in this paper is meant to be a sustainable resilience strategy for the post-austerity era in Exarcheia neighborhood of Athens. This model follows the existing trends and examples of alternative food supply in the



Fig. 5. Possible areas for cultivation inside the Faculty of Architecture campus (location indicated with a red dot in Fig. 6). Source: Own depiction

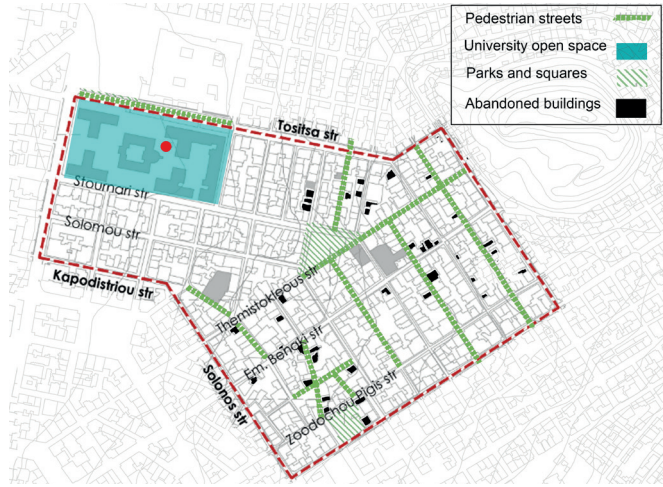


Fig. 6. Suggested public, semi-public and private spaces for interventions. Source: Own depiction based on LUH & NTUA 2018

study area. It consists of the urban gardening (where the fruits and vegetables are cultivated), the farmer’s markets (where the crops are sold) and the collective kitchens for feeding the most vulnerable groups. It is a model for a self-sustaining food supply chain, in which the neighborhood meets some of its food demand by producing healthy and affordable fruits and vegetables. However, it should be noted that this alternative food supply chain model is not capable of providing enough food for the residents at this point and in such a densely built area as Exarcheia and it is not meant to be so.

Conclusions

Arguably, the most valuable byproduct of such democratic local food supply chain is advancing the social capital in the neighborhood through cooperation of the residents in the urban gardens, collective kitchens and the farmer’s markets. With the regular meetings of the volunteers, who are involved in the programs such as capacity-building and awareness-raising workshops, new social bonds are created. These new social bonds between different groups of inhabitants increase peaceful co-existence of people in a neighborhood while helping them meet some of their daily needs.

Furthermore, in order to operationalize the concept of an alternative local food supply chain, an integration of strategies and policies that address problems such as homelessness, lack of urban green, abandoned buildings and spaces and lack of af-

fordable food is possible. The implementation of the proposed policies and programs for establishing a local food supply chain is highly dependent on the work of grass-roots initiatives and their organization capacity and the citizens. However, the limitation of such dependence on the volunteer groups and their organization capacity is always tied with a lot of uncertainties for their long term viability in reality and needs plenty of time and effort to adapt to the specific local context.

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Enhancing Community Cohesion in Exarcheia, Athens: Focussing on Temporary Uses

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Abstract

The area of Exarcheia in Athens is characterised by the effects of the economic crisis and political activism. This results in a high number of abandoned buildings and spaces and also in a considerable number of illegal squats in the neighbourhood. This paper is outlining an approach how temporary uses can serve as informal planning instrument to foster urban development and increase social resilience. By exploring and categorising temporary uses in the area, challenges were analysed and a concept was developed to respond to those problems. The main approach includes the implementation of a temporary use agency which serves as mediator between local initiators and owners and as a legal adviser. Moreover, temporary interventions are outlined as another important approach. Implemented in the public space they can respond to local needs and increase the liveability in the neighbourhood. The goal of the concept as a whole is to promote temporary use as a flexible approach for urban transformation. First, general potentials of temporary use for urban planning are outlined, to analyse second the area of Exarcheia and third, to explain the concept in more detail.

Outlining Potentials of Temporary Use in Urban Planning

Temporary Use is largely known as a flexible approach for the reuse of vacant urban spaces in planning. Scholars argue that empty spaces are an “inherent feature of capitalism with its cyclical nature and its recurring crisis” (MADANIPOUR 2017: p. 1095) and an integral result of the temporal cycles of boom and bust, resulting in an unequal spatiality of investment and disinvestment (ibid.). In the light of the economic crisis starting in 2010, the downturn has shown itself to a great extent, hitting especially Mediterranean countries severely. Consequently, still today nearly entire streets are abandoned due to the discontinuance of business and missing investment in the cities. Between a development intent, planning and implementation of physical change lag time of several years exists (NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 145). Therefore, temporary use presents the opportunity to respond to lag time and make spaces for secondary or provisional use accessible (ibid.). It can take many forms, community gardens on former industrial sites and start-up companies in warehouses are typical examples (HONNECK 2017: p. 268). Thereby it is not of essential importance if the use is “short or long, accidental or planned, legal or illegal” but intentionally of time-limited nature (NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 144). The temporal is seen as a catalyst for change, assuming the ability to support **urban transformations** and letting citizens participate in the process (see NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 145, MADANIPOUR 2017: p. 1094).

NÉMETH and LANGHORST (2014) state that the benefits of temporary uses are threefold: economic, social and ecological. From an **economic** perspective, groups which cannot afford to rent a building get the opportunity to create their own business by cheaper conditions (NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 148). Especially creative entrepreneurs might use abandoned buildings and spaces for a limited time. Temporary uses can also serve the maintenance of a lot, avoiding rising costs over time for renovation (PATTI & POLYAK 2015: p. 123, NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 148). **Social** benefits are the creation of positive attention to vacant sites within the neighbourhoods, fast respond to local needs and access to space for local communities (MADANIPOUR 2017: p. 1105, NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 148). Temporary uses can also increase vegetation on sites when used for example for community gardening, under-

lining the **ecological** benefits (NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 148). The developed concept for the case study of Exarcheia district in Athens is illustrating how those benefits of temporary use can be reached.

To understand the emphasis of temporary uses in Exarcheia, first general challenges in the neighbourhood need to be outlined. By observation, the area is characterised by a high number of abandoned buildings which are partly in a bad condition. All those vacant spaces represent significant burdens for stakeholders: increased maintenance costs for owners, reduced vitality and value of the whole neighbourhood and aggravation of social problems (PATTI & POLYAK 2015: p. 123). Moreover, the high number of Airbnb places in habitable buildings is changing the housing conditions, especially for the locals, because tourist renting decreases the available new housing possibilities for them (COX 2017). Additionally, there are missing shelters for homeless people (ARAPOGLOU & GOUNIS 2015, SAPOUNAKIS 2015) who are sleeping mainly on and around Exarcheia square as well as in the park of Strephi hill which is located next to the square. Also, shelters are missing for the high number of refugees hosted in Exarcheia (MOVING EUROPE 2016). Compared to other neighbourhoods of Athens, Exarcheia hosts perspicuously more refugees (approximately 1,200 refugees) (REACH 2017).

The analysis had the aim to categorise current temporary uses in the study area of Exarcheia. Therefore, the research team inspected the area and mapped the temporary uses which were visible when walking through the streets. The locations and types of uses are shown in Figure. 1. Temporary paintings and posters are not located on the map but visible as temporary uses of walls. They are spread all over the place and really characteristic for Exarcheia (TSANGARIS & PAZARZI 2018). There is also a remarkable number of political squats in the neighbourhood (TSANGARIS & PAZARZI 2018, MOVING EUROPE 2016), showing an extraordinary political dynamic and resistance against government. Vacant houses are occupied by political activists with the aim of different uses like for example as cultural and political centres but also as community sports

Exploring Challenges and Temporary Uses in Exarcheia

hall. Political activists also occupied buildings in favour of creating refugee accommodation which could be one reason for the high number of refugees hosted in Exarcheia.

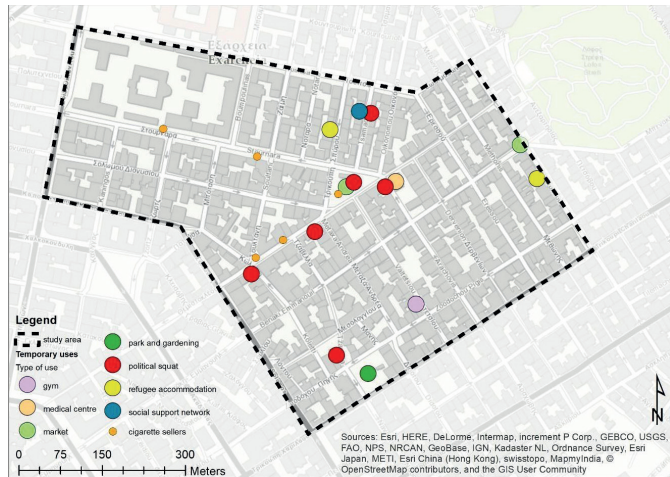


Fig. 1. Mapped Types of Temporary Uses in Exarcheia.

After the analysis, challenges for temporary uses in the area were deduced. There are lots of abandoned buildings in the area which can theoretically be used for temporary uses. A problem that must be underlined in this context is the ageing infrastructure (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 15). Due to that not every building is in the condition for further usage, because of insufficient conditions of electricity connection, sanitary facilities, safety reasons, etc. (TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS 2015). Another challenge is the presence of illegal squats in Exarcheia which are holding a high conflict potential. The main problem is that they can be emptied at every time by authorities because of their illegal status (MOVING EUROPE 2016) and are therefore highly vulnerable. As shown, the present types of temporary uses are focussed on and initiated by certain groups (most refugees and political activists) (MOVING EUROPE 2016) and therefore not accessible for the public and not enhancing community cohesion. Another widely known challenge for temporary uses is a general high mistrust of the people (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 146). The mistrust exists on all levels of government, administrative or elected and is one of the major resilience challenges (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p.15, 55, 146). This is the result of the contemporary policies, mismanagement, corruption and lack

of transparency among others throughout the last few years (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 15). Nevertheless, trust is seen as a precondition for developing a resilient city (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 48).

Based on the present types and challenges of temporary uses in Exarcheia there is the need for a concept to tackle these challenges and to promote a systematic inclusion of temporary uses. The aim of the developed concept is to generate community cohesion and public access to temporary uses as well as to overcome the high mistrust of building owners. Socially progressive goals (inclusion, diversity, access) in general enable temporary uses (NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 147). These topics are also named as goals in the Resilience Strategy of Athens, underlining the aim to become a proactive and vibrant city (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 42). According to the city's strategy, temporary uses and interventions can produce good results to implement art in public spaces (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 109, 183). Therefore, the Resilience Strategy sets a good basis and awareness of temporary use but leaves the question of 'How?' open. Cities that have a vital activist scene and squatting culture, but missing a legal framework, are struggling to regularise the collective use of abandoned buildings. As a consequence, it stays challenging "to establish transparent temporary use practices" (PATTI & POLYAK 2015: p. 129).

For the long-term implementation of the temporary use concept an independent agency helps to handle the bureaucratic process for the establishment of temporary uses in Exarcheia. Long-term refers in this context to a duration from a few months up to several years, depending on the context. It is also a goal of the city of Athens to create a legal framework for temporary uses in vacant spaces within the city jurisdiction (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 139). This sets a good base for the implementation of the agency. The agency mainly serves as a mediator between house owners and initiators of temporary uses (see Fig. 2). Therefore, it helps to collect information, to get in touch with the responsible persons and gives advice during the process. The agency helps to increase trust and establish temporary uses by focussing on cooperation with locals, cultural initiatives and NGO's.

The Planning Approach: Enforcing Community Cohesion with Temporary Uses

The implementation of an agency responds to two main challenges of temporary use in Exarcheia: First of all, the mistrust needs to be overcome. Temporary use requires open-minded owners (PATTI & POLYAK 2015: p. 128-129). Therefore, the benefits of temporary use need to be explained and promoted to owners. The agency can enhance and promote communication channels with locals, the public and non-profit sectors (PATTI & POLYAK 2015: p. 129). It supports a transparent process, enhances participation, community cohesion and promotes local culture (CITY OF ATHENS 2017: p. 109, 139). Secondly, “legal advice is another crucial aspect” (PATTI & POLYAK 2015: p. 129). To legalise temporary use and make it transparent, the negotiation of contracts between users and owners is an important aspect. Moreover, users have relatively little investment security; this also needs to be addressed by negotiating contracts (NÉMETH & LANGHORST 2014: p. 148).

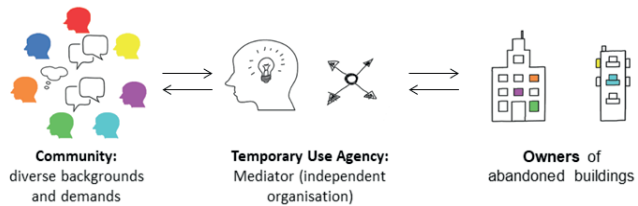


Fig. 2. The Temporary Use Agency as Mediator between Local Initiators and Owners. Source: Own Creation

As a first step to make the agency work, a database (real property cadastre) is necessary. It provides information about the abandoned buildings and their condition as well as contact data of the owners. The database will not be public and is to be managed by the temporary use agency. It provides useful and necessary information about abandoned buildings and which of them could still be available for temporary uses. A second step is to implement best practice examples, preferably with public owned buildings. With best practice examples to visit, the trust of private owners can be increased. This can help to overcome difficulties at the beginning. Also, the legalisation and simplification of the bureaucratic process of temporary uses, especially for refugee squats in the area, is another challenge to tackle with the help of the agency. In connection to the general benefits explained in the beginning of the paper, an increase in temporary uses would also create benefits for the community and the house owners in Exarcheia.

One of the main benefits for the community is that inhabitants can participate in the development of their neighbourhood and widen the bottom-up culture. This leads to an increase in cultural and social activities and events. Temporary use presents a way to get places and space for comparatively low costs but limited time. This helps especially start-ups, projects and temporary uses with an unknown future. Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 show an example of the implementation of temporary use in an abandoned building, outlining the fundamental differences in attractiveness. Examples of temporary use are exhibitions for local artists who do not have the ability to present their work in an organised gallery, events and charity parties, refugee and homelessness accommodation as well as accommodation or meeting points for others who belong to vulnerable groups.

Benefits for the Community



Fig. 3. Unused Abandoned Building. Source: FREE PHOTOS 2018



Fig. 4. Transformation as Exhibition Hall for Local Artists. Source: Own Creation based on FREE PHOTOS 2018

Incentives for private owners to make their buildings accessible for temporary use are needed. Due to the high taxes, the owners spend a high amount of money even if there is no or not yet an option to reuse or sell the building. Consequently, they are in an unfavourable situation (TRIANAFYLLOPOULOS 2015). One incentive could be that the temporary user has to pay the property tax or a percentage of it which would reduce the costs for the owner. With this option, owners would be able to keep their houses, even if they do not have the money to renew and use it at the present time. The potentially increasing number of non-local investors (referring to gentrification) could be reduced and would help to solve the conflict with the housing conditions for locals due to the high number of Airbnb's (COX 2017). Temporary use is an option to maintain the building and to renew it with the help of the initiators. By transforming abandoned buildings into something new, the whole neighbourhood's attractiveness increases. Over the long-term, this can also result in an increase in property values.

Benefits for the Owners

Temporary Interventions on Public Spaces

To not only make abandoned buildings available for temporary use but also to implement short-term uses, temporary interventions come into focus. Short-term is in this context referring to the time span of a few hours to a couple of days. The advantage of those temporary interventions is that they focus mostly on the open space and can change uses of a place for a certain time. One example, known from other European countries, is the “**Car-free Sunday**”: for one day some streets are closed for traffic but open for pedestrians, giving locals the possibility to do sports and to enjoy the surroundings without disturbing traffic noise and congestion. Also, **open-air galleries and cinemas** can enhance abandoned spaces for a certain time by creating small-scale urban transformations and increasing cultural activities in Exarcheia. Especially open-air galleries would give local artists the opportunity to not only paint their work of art on walls but also to inform about their motivations. Another example of temporary interventions are trucks with different services, driving through the neighbourhood. A “**play truck**” could offer sporty play equipment to lend for children at low costs like for example tri- or unicycles, trampolines or skipping ropes. Due to its mobility, the truck can stop at different places, providing toys to children that live in a low-income area.

Conclusions

Temporary use, in general, can work as a planning instrument for a positive development and overcome shortcomings in spatial planning and management (TRIANAFYLLOPOULOS 2015). The need to manage temporary use in the city is outlined and answered within the developed concept of the temporary use agency and the organised temporary interventions. The concept shows how an independent agency helps to overcome mistrust, manage the legal process and gives advice. Temporary use needs to be seen as an instrument for citizen participation with its potentials to foster urban development in a very positive way. Nevertheless, temporary use and its success stay highly context specific. The flexible and spontaneous nature of temporary use presents an experimental approach that can respond to the demand of diverse populations but also depends on a bottom-up culture.

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Challenges of resilience in European cities

The development of resilient cities is the crucial factor for sustainable development. In the events of crises or hazards (such as extreme societal events or financial crises), cities should be able to fulfil their societal and economic duties in the long term. In many cities, the question arises how and with which measures resilience can be increased and how strategies for successful sustainable urban development can be implemented.

The publication summarises the contributions of the Summer School 2018 in Athens that focused on the development and discussion of approaches and strategies coping with social and economic outcomes of the economic crisis in a centrally-located neighbourhood of the city of Athens - Exarcheia. The Summer School is a central cornerstone of the University partnership for joint educational and research activities at the Leibniz University of Hannover (Faculty of Architecture and Landscape) and the National Technical University Athens (School of Architecture). It is funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) as part of the project "Resilience as Challenge for European Cities (HeKris): Developing urban planning strategies and concrete projects".

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