21st century Athens: planning in the post crisis era

Socio-spatiality, power relations and the right to the city

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NASA observatory (http://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/4000/4739/olympics_iko_2004206_lrg.jpg)

Centre image:
taken by the author during the insurrection of December 2008

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Spatial units of the SPA, (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012)

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Master thesis
MSc Environmental and Infrastructure Planning
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Groningen, August 2013

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"The old world is dying away, and the new world struggles to come forth: now is the time of monsters."

Antonio Gramsci.

Selections from Prison Notebooks, 1971.

Acknowledgements

Completing this thesis was aided by several people at various different stages, which I wish to thank.

My supervisor, Justin Beaumont, has been patient with my familiarization of a more theoretical topic. His consistent avoidance of steering and persistence on asking insightful questions helped me to refine, focus and outline a research design and formulate my research questions. At the same time, his challenge of my motivation sparked a greater determination on my behalf at a crucial point during the research.

What has come to be known as the "Focus Group", namely Mufty, Wietske, Leena, Glory and Britta, for their help, support and constructive opposition in exam and assignment preparation, but also for the laid back evenings after (and sometimes before) those where completed. This thesis would have never started without them.

Britta, for taking the time to look at yet another thesis and discussing points that need to be better defined or improved.

Nikos, for his constant and enthusiastic support to simply keep going. Our abstract discussions where often confronting but always honest.

Giannis, for being there and being real.

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Introduction in the form of a research proposal

The aim of this thesis is to investigate what role can plan play in the socio-spatial (re) development of crisis ridden Athens. The socio-spatial status quo of a city is decisively shaped by planning practice on a national and urban level. The current crisis on the planes of economy, values and culture has presented itself as a result of profit making being high in the agenda of established power relations and solidified values of neo-liberal origin, through institutionalized practice and process. The effects of such a mindset can also be tracked in past planning initiatives (or the lack thereof), by the endorsement of market rather than societal priorities. The crisis has further exacerbated these effects, further constraining the right to the city as a result. These issues are examined in the case of Athens, Greece, where the effects of the crisis are fully deployed in terms of unemployment, restricted mobility, social segregation and exclusion, changing the socio-spatial arrangement of the city. These issues might stray from the main focus of planning efforts, but can planning contribute in alleviating them? How do these thematic problems represent the right to the city for citizens within established power relations?

Rationale

Planning emerges as a highly interdisciplinary practice that combines elements of decision making, management, policy, politics, geography, sociology and philosophy. The role of planning is to identify the issue at hand, involve the affected stakeholders and facilitate a process that results in a solution. Planning is usually carried out by a state body in close cooperation with other governance arrangements and stakeholders. However, the role of planners is influenced by established power relations and policies. This already multi-factor task is further complicated under crisis conditions. The insurrection on December 2008 in Athens, before the crisis broke in Greece, has been interpreted by scholars to involve claims to the right to the city (Petropoulou, 2010). Fiscal reform and the accompanying austerity measures have drastically reduced public spending for planning purposes. Therefore, the issue of how planning can contribute to the right to the city under such conditions arises as a challenging topic. Is it at all feasible then to pursue an agenda involving the right to the city in a time of crisis? The city of Athens appears as a comprehensive case study on the topic.

Theoretical engagement

To deal with the case study of Athens and answer the main research question about the possible role of planning in the socio-spatial (re)development of Athens within the crisis, a theoretical background is required. Such a background should be able to clarify the reasons and routes that have lead to the current socio-spatial arrangement of the city and the main characteristics of this socio-spatiality. In the case of Athens a major planning initiative was carried out to serve the hosting of the Olympic Games in 2004. Such a planning initiative however, dictated under the mindset of competitiveness, profit making and image can have an effect on issues related to civic needs and urban development under "normal" conditions (Chorianopoulos, Pagonis, Koukoulas, & Drymoniti, 2010). How can priority of planning efforts for an event with duration of a month be justified over the long term needs of a city and its residents? The lack of other substantial planning efforts within this period serves as a first level indicator. For this reason dealing with power and justice under the idea of the right to the city becomes appropriate.

The theoretical engagement is spread out across four main theoretical strands: a. planning theory including the role of the planner, b. aspects of critical urban theory (i.e. power relations), c. the right to the city and d. the role of planning in the (re)development prospects for the right to the city in Athens.

Planning practice is not isolated from power relations that dominate the public realm. As power embeds the ability to define rather than discover reality (Flyvbjerg, 1998), the hierarchy of goals for planning is to a great extent formulated by current power relations. Accordingly, political actors become experts in identifying the extent to which a democratic process can be transgressed in a non-democratic fashion (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Even when planning is practiced in a more democratic way, the achieved consensus is shaped under unequal relations of dominance (Flyvbjerg, 1998), that distort the actual needs and wants of the people. Furthermore, economic conditions make contradictions of systemic nature come forward, while at the same time breed disenfranchisement and discontent, making justice demands overtake needs in the minds of people (Marcuse, 2009a). While this could initially suggest incoherent discrete actors, these are united under the notion of the right to the city, pointing to capitalism as the reason of bringing them together (Marcuse, 2009a). Therefore capital prevalence and the lack of support for action on a collective level affects the socializing process of citizens, who make the defense of property their only way, if only personalized, of reaction, thus creating fortified fragments within the city (Harvey, 2003). In the case of planning and its outcomes, this can have a major effect to the socio-spatial arrangement of and the right to the city. Such an occasion suggests that opposition to power and its control over urban space has to be of non-market origin, however opposition on a political level remains of crucial importance for urban space control (Marcuse, 2010). Also important are the forms of power, inequality, injustice and exploitation under capitalist development within and among cities (Brenner, 2009).

But what is contemporarily meant by the right to the city? Peter Marcuse defines the term as a moral claim founded on fundamental principles of justice, of ethics, of morality, of virtue, of the good. The right is not dealt with in the strict legal meaning, but rather in the sense of every discrete part of a complex totality (Marcuse, 2009b). David Harvey furthers this notion to more than the individual access to resources, claiming that the right to the city embodies the "right to change ourselves by changing the city" according to our aspirations (Harvey, 2003). Probably the most important aspect of the right to the city is the absence of a predefined 'roadmap' that is to be implemented, substituted by the ongoing process of formulation by the participants that seek a 'supportive living environment' (Marcuse, 2009a).

Research objectives

The main research question of the thesis is what role can planning play in the socio-spatial redevelopment of crisis ridden Athens. Due to the highly polarized political situation in Greece and the nature of the project, interviews will not be used for the research. Instead, a desk study will be performed, in order to address the research question, while maintaining a stance of objectivity, based on previously published data, both from institutions as well as from scholars. Prior to any analysis, a brief history of the socio-spatial arrangement and condition of the Athens is due. Contextual factors regarding the urbanization of Athens will be analyzed, along with a review of the policies and planning efforts undertaken in the city of Athens before the 21st century will be carried out.

In order to be able to answer the main research question, some sub-questions need to be answered first.

1. What were the main socio-spatial characteristics of Athens prior to the crisis?

Socio-spatial changes include the interactive relationship between space and society. It includes aspects of demographic nature, societal analysis of residential areas and the use of public spaces (characteristics of the people like ethnicity, educational, level, age, gender, etc). For this part, the report by the National Centre for Social Research, published in 2008, will be used as a source. The report examines social and spatial transformations in Athens during the 21st century. Explicit focus will be given to aspects of housing, housing mobility, social mobility and education as an indicator of social status. Keywords for searching relevant documents include: Athens, socio-spatial, development, urbanization.

2. What has been the effect of planning efforts carried out in preparation for the Olympics in 2004? What is planned for the future?

For this question the planning efforts implemented for the 2004 Olympics will be examined. This examination will have a double focus, first on the intended goals and secondly on the actual impacts of the planning efforts carried out. For this research question scientific literature as well as text from scholars will be used a source. Keywords for searching relative documents include: Athens, Olympics, planning, infrastructure.

3. Which are the claims of the right to the city in Athens before the crisis?

The right to the city is constituted by several other rights. Among them we can distinguish the access to transportation, transparency in governance, the right to use public space and the city center. To answer this question data for claims to public space from the National Centre for Social Research report will be analysed together with scientific literature on the insurrection that took place in December 2008. To do so we have to look at what are the people demanding and in which parts they feel more excluded. Has there been a change in terms of how people claim the right to the city over time?

4. What role can planning play in the socio-spatial redevelopment of crisis ridden Athens?

Based on the analysis, the steps which planning practice needs to take in order to change the characteristics of Athens will be formulated. This part will come in the form of suggestions for moving forward. The outcomes of the analysis will be reflected on the theoretical background of the thesis to produce a comprehensive answer to the main research question of the role of planning in the socio-spatial (re)development of crisis ridden Athens.

Case study and methodology

But why chose for Athens, Greece? The global financial crisis that began in 2008 in the US was followed by an economic downturn in Europe in 2010 with Greece being in the eye of the storm. The sovereign debt crisis of the Greek state is dealt with under the mechanism of Troika (European Commission, International Monetary Fund, European Central Bank), which effectively dictates a massive and violent reform of the socio-economic realm. The socio-spatial impact of this reform in the city of Athens is so far unknown, mostly due to the rapidly changing conditions and the fact that these changes are ongoing. However, understanding these socio-spatial changes is essential in order to address the issues that stem from it now, but also in future time.

Greece, as most of the southern EU states, has been subject to spontaneous and rapid urbanization starting in the mid 80's (Leontidou, 2010; Petropoulou, 2010), an important side effect of which was the transition from a migrant origin to a migrant destination (King & Black, 1999). The integration to the Euro zone brought further and again rapid shift in speedily implementing neo-liberal models of development (Petropoulou, 2010). The Olympic Games of 2004 led to a more centralized role of Athens within Greece (Petropoulou, 2010) and of fast track development projects in the city for hosting the event, making more pertinent in this case the reshaping of land uses and development under the driver of profit (Harvey, 2003). This initiated the first movements of opposition, peaking to what has come to be known as the "December" of 2008. Initiated by the unprovoked assassination of a 15 year old pupil, massive riots and protests spread county-wise, with people of different ages (although mostly youth), social and financial derivation taking part. This insurrection has been attributed to several reasons that can be enveloped under the term of the right to the city.

The insurrection took place before the crisis broke in Greece, and has decisively cross fertilized grassroots and urban movements in Athens since, radicalizing civilian response (Petropoulou, 2010). Less than a year later, in March 2009, local residents took the initiative to occupy and transform a parking space (owned by the Technical Chamber of Greece) to a park, removing the concrete floor, planting trees and installing a children playground, within two days. The park, situated less than 100m away from where the assassination that sparked the December insurrection took place, remains operational until today under an open popular assembly of residents and users, constituting an open space where cultural and sports events are taking place. This grassroots initiative of spontaneous, popular "planning" constitutes an important symbolic act against exclusion and deprivation of the right to the city, despite its small spatial extent. It is in effect the right to the city in practice. Several other initiatives along the same rationale have taken place since and opposition to further development and construction close to the center has risen.

The methodology for this thesis includes literature research and conceptual analysis. After an introduction to the topic, a review of relevant literature will be carried out. In this part the theoretical framework of the research will be developed, based on the strands of planning theory, critical urban theory and the right to the city. An exploration of planning initiatives and their role in shaping the current socio-spatiality of Athens will follow. In this part (mostly focused on the 21 century) contextual factors, major incidents and civilian response will be presented.

Lastly, the findings of the case study will be reflected on the theoretical framework developed. This will lead to conclusions in the form of suggestions as the possible role of planning in (re)developing the socio-spatiality of Athens within crisis.

Theoretical background

From planning theory to the right to the city, through power relations.

The chapter intends to decipher the interconnection between planning theory and power relations in shaping the right to the city. The three theoretical strands that will be used for carrying out the research are presented bellow. These theories are used as tools to provide a theoretical background on which the case study is examined. The theoretical strands are sequentially presented and discussed and are incrementally incorporated to underline their interconnection. As a conclusion to the chapter, the theoretical framework, constructed on these three sectors will be presented,

Rationale

Protesting against urban renewal or urban development projects, protesting against the new educational measures or public transport can be seen as an action against the exclusion from participating in their formulation and the way the corresponding institutions treat them (Mayer, 2009). The increasing violence of these protests in recent years reveals the degree of urgency and importance for the participants (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2009). As was the case in the past, most such protest and movements have been led by the young, the students and the migrants with the focus shifting from the work place to the neighbourhood (Mayer, 2009). The struggle for a different world vision is spread within the geographic locations of the city itself: the workplace, the university, the public space. The enemy in this case is faceless but it can be outlined as the process of profit making against human social needs (Brenner et al., 2009). Within a market driven rationale, social infrastructure and political culture have become a commodity from which people are excluded (Mayer, 2009). Past established rights are eroded away and access of the poor part of society to the city is hindered (Mayer, 2009). The crisis has amplified such discrepancies and has generated a parallel legitimization crisis regarding decision making and politics (Brenner et al., 2009; Mayer, 2009). Qualitatively the growing demand of the excluded endorses the belief that the system is structurally unequal and calls for a different structure (Mayer, 2009). The practice of such a different structure needs to legitimize itself in the process (Mayer, 2009).

But the challenge, as Brenner et.al. point out (Brenner et al., 2009), is to decipher the origins that led to the current multilateral crisis and the civic sociospatial organization. Even though not all of the movements or protesting aim for systemic change, the current movements in Greece have not yet been mainstreamed or digested by the system. The spatial problematic, in the words of Edward Soja (Soja, 1980), does not substitute class analysis, but rather it acts in a complementary way within the capitalistic civic realm. Space is therefore socially created and its regional and international importance is produced through organization and production mechanisms of capitalism development (Soja, 1980). The current socio-spatiality is perceived to have followed a route enveloped by the results of previous planning practices with their embedded power relations, affecting the notion of the right to the city.

Planning theory

In this subchapter, three selected epistemologies of planning theory are addressed. These epistemologies were chosen as representative of the different phases planning has gone through in the recent Greek history, after the military dictatorship of April 21st 1967. In this chapter I seek to identify not the processes or objectives of each branch, but rather the guiding principles based on which planning is practiced. These guiding principles influence processes, objectives and outcomes nevertheless, but this is largely defined by their underlying rationale. Specific importance is given to the role of the planner in each of them. The inquiry of planning processes aims at addressing the policies and interventions that have affected socio-spatiality in Athens, while the attention to the role of the planner aims to support the suggestion of how planning can contribute to a new socio-spatiality in crisis ridden Athens.

Rational/Comprehensive planning

Rational or comprehensive planning is central in the development of the modern understanding of urban planning. It was rooted on positivist theory and practiced under the conception that the world around us and the systems that operate within it can be fully understood. This understanding meant that all problems arising can be analyzed, understood, and dealt with (Black, 1990). Required was a problem to be addressed, analysis of possible action courses, that once processed would generate a clear, scientific solution of indisputable suitability (Simon, 1960). The core principle was therefore expert scientific knowledge and logic (Allmendinger, 2009). The result of rational planning was not a mere future design taking into account the dynamics of the city, but it also entailed the means and the actual implementation of this design (McLoughlin, 1969). It enveloped the idea that the knowledge to deal with planning issues can be found in science and applied after remote investigation freed of contextual or location dependencies (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007).

Directly derivative of this rationale is the level of control and prediction on the planning process but most importantly the planning outcome (Allmendinger, 2009). The development and peak practice of rational planning was amid the sixties. The adoption of systems theory from the biological sciences (McLoughlin, 1969) and the demand for quantification was triggered by the need of many European countries to restructure the core of their infrastructure and housing that was still suffering the echoes of the Second World War. There was a demanding and imminent problem that needed to be effectively and quickly addressed. Planning was carried out in the name of public interest, which was sharply defined since society was quite homogeneous. The increase of computing power enabled the use of models that examined all possible scenarios. Scenarios that were later evaluated based on assessment criteria to come down to a final plan for implementation (McLoughlin, 1969). Rational planning can be therefore characterized as a stepwise implementation of a routine with decision making occurring at each discrete stage of the process (Allmendinger, 2009).

The planner's role within rational planning was that of the expert. It was the planner who designed and interpreted the components of the system, gathered the required data and after processing presented the outcome as objectively as possible and with no ideological colouring (Faludi, 1973). Other actors could influence the weighting and priorities of the criteria, but the planner maintained a level of experience and undisputed knowledge (Allmendinger, 2009). In

this sense there was a centralization of power and decision making, which did nevertheless recognize different levels of governance in the form of national and regional bodies.

The straightforwardness of rationale planning makes it ideal when the issue at hand is highly technical in nature. In such projects, this approach is still used and proves to be effective. However, the increasing complexity of planning and geography of a globalizing world requires a more comprehensive approach.

Neoliberal

Rising during the 70's while economic crisis where taking place, neo-liberal planning was a response to rethinking the role of the state. Planning was in contact with the idea that individuals act as self-centred utility maximizers in market terms on their personal life, but at the same time act for the public interest in their instrumental societal role (Lane, 2000). Thatcher and Reagan remain today as aggressive historical examples of practiced neo-liberalism values during the 1980s (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2010; Peck, 2001; Peck & Tickell, 2002).

Despite the acceptance of the market as a regulating societal mechanism, neo-liberalism recognized that the state should have a degree of control, to help rather than intervene with the market mechanism. Effectively the state is reduced to a technocratic facilitator of a market economy aiming at deregulating, to enable an obstacle free function of the free-market immutable laws (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck, 2001). Resulting from this, urban governance focused on supporting and maintaining a business friendly and attractive climate and image for the city to stimulate investments (Harvey, 1989), within a competitive globalization framework (Peck & Tickell, 2002). This was largely carried out by the "creation of a new infrastructure for market-oriented economic growth" and the destruction of established governance through reforms oriented towards the market (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). Nevertheless, there is no single recipe for such a transformation and therefore neoliberalism remains dynamic (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2010) in a lot of ways since the mixing between deregulation and market support can have several ratios. It is therefore not static and not likely to completely collapse in an eruption of failure (Peck et al., 2010) .

By neo-liberal planning we refer to a strong state that embraces market-oriented values, bringing together liberalism and neo-conservatism moral authoritarianism (Peck, 2004). A liberal view suggests that markets are able to regulate themselves, driven by inequalities. While conservatism argues for a strong government with a disciplined society that highly respects hierarchy and subordination. The values endorsed by neoliberalism brought to the centre of decision making economic values. Economy was considered as the best consultant in addressing allocation, distribution and coordination (Gleeson & Low, 2000). In its total endorsement of market values, neo-liberalism suggested that state activity would be a solid practice that did not require alterations when encountering new social, economic or other circumstances (J. Gray, 1993). Planning was therefore based on the "principles of competitiveness, market-orientation and accountability" (Sager, 2009). The power of the neoliberal argumentation stems from the technocratic nature of the state as a facilitator (Peck, 2004). Essentially this meant that cities would be transformed to entrepreneurs seeking economic development by luring flexible production and consumption as well as capital flows into their urban space (Harvey, 1989).

Similarly as this has been beneficial for private companies urban entrepreneurialism adopts market and business rationality as the effective way of governance (Sager, 2009), in which the market is what disciplines politics. Providing local development and employment growth is favoured over providing urban services and facilities leading to single purpose institutional agencies (Sager, 2009) while it casts aside collectivist strategies (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

This was done by a centralized decision making process, which unlike rational planning did not make scale distinction between national and local levels (Allmendinger & Thomas, 1998). The rationale is effectively enforced through rule regimes and only policed and defended by local scale institutions (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Collaboration was deemed too difficult to achieve and a call for a visionary leader developed, that would shape this new urban "enterprise" towards a specific goal or even a specific political end (Harvey, 1989). Urban entrepreneurialism therefore leads to increasing wealth and income inequalities even amidst strong growth (Harvey, 1989) where image prevails over substance. Decision making was carried out in the national scale and accordingly passed down to all levels of governance. The planners in this case were deprived of their previously acquired knowledge and expert status. Their role was limited to providing information to the market on investment decisions (Allmendinger & Thomas, 1998), or providing his expertise in legal and procedural matters (Sager, 2009). At the same time a tension is growing for the role of the planner between his reduced professional autonomy and justifying his actions in monetary or efficiency grounds (Imrie, 2000).

Even the hardest critics of neoliberalism acknowledge its ability to adapt and transform, making it at the same time very difficult to deal with. However what lies at the core of its values remains profit and capital reproduction through the creation of space (Harvey, 1989). It therefore can be regarded on a basic level as an opposing driver for the right to the city agenda.

Collaborative/Communicative

As development started taking place societies grew less homogeneous. There was no longer a unique solution to all problems, nor was a centrally decided plan suitable for this new diversified society, since that would be an oversimplification (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007). There was a call for a channel of communication between decision making and society as a whole (Allmendinger, 2009). A dialogue needed to open between two sides that up to now had been having parallel monologues. Planning had to be made into a interactive process within a complex and dynamic arena in terms of economic, social and environment (Healey, 2003). Furthermore marginalized interests of smaller groups should also be enabled to join the process and support their views (Sager, 2009), in an inclusive dialogic approach (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007).

Collaborative planning introduced two new terms in the planning realm: dynamic and complex. Contrary to neo-liberal planning where state intervention is govern by timeless values and to rational planning where knowledge is objective, this new form of planning recognized the changing nature of society, which in turn required a social construction of knowledge and practice (Allmendinger, 2009). Practice and process formed during the past are not considered applicable to a rapidly changing society. New approaches and more importantly new scientific knowledge needs to be created through society, to incorporate cultural diversity (Healey, 2003).

Under this light, collaborative planning is applied based on two pillars: the critical and the normative (Allmendinger, 2009). It is critical in the sense that it recognizes that planning practice only helps to perpetuate the status quo and normative in its strive to provide an alternative towards a more democratic practice. The expected outcome is a socially just outcome that stems from an equally just process (Healey, 2003).Hence, planners cease to be experts, but rather provide educated information and advice to the decision making mechanism and officials, who are the ones with the end decisions (Greed & Allinson, 1996). Therefore, the role of the planner is to ensure representation of all interested groups and actors (Margerum, 2002) and in this sense planners rather point towards future actions than define them (Allmendinger, 2009). Based on moral values, the planner is to include the excluded and empower the powerless (Sarkissian, 2005). The planner acts as a facilitator or mediator and less as an expert (Sager, 2009) aiming at achieving cohesion, solidarity and inclusivity (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007). This new platform of actors with interest on the issue at hand is then expected to construct this new knowledge from the individual aspects that each group has to offer, an inclusion of all types of knowledge (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007). Knowledge is therefore negotiated and is expected to provide new insights leading to innovative solutions. It is essentially an interactive relation and a governance process at the same time (Healey, 2003).

The values of collaborative planning bear the embedded idea of planning being a democratic process and are approaching the Habermassian discourse ethics (Sager, 2009) that are discussed in the next section. It aspires to do so by removing power distortion in the Foucaultian terminology from formal, informal and physical structures and processes (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007). The construction of knowledge from society through the sum of the actors that take part in planning ensures the democratic legitimacy of the practice itself. Essentially collaborative planning takes a step towards decentralization of power, working towards a consensus (Healey, 2003). It achieves this by mediating conflict, exposing domination and recognizing and avoiding distortions (Sager, 2009). The process itself aims at developing a plan that would be accepted by all participants and would also achieve something greater than what each actor would be able to achieve on its own (Allmendinger, 2009; Sager, 2009). Decision making is still taken through established structures in a top down way however, with a significant input from societal actors. The goal is to achieve negotiated consensus building for a place and time specific solution (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007).

Sager mentions the values that are central in such a process (Sager, 2009):

Responsiveness to other parties in the planning process and to the general public

Freedom of speech

Equal opportunities for communicative action across race, sex and religion

Justice based on domination-free arguments (dialogue) instead of the right of the powerful

Bureaucratic neutrality serving people according to criteria of need and communicative difficulties rather than power, money and social status.

Collaborative planning is contemporarily considered as a promising process and practice to address spatial issues. Nonetheless, as pointed out earlier, neoliberalism is not an ideology only encountered in planning and even though such planning practices might be contested, the political realm still operates at large under the neoliberal regime. This complicates the implementation of collaborative practices, mainly by undermining the equality principle of the participants.

The three planning practices, although collaborative planning has had very little input so far, portrait how we have come to the current socio-spatial arrangement of Athens. This will be further elaborated with examples in the case study chapter.

Power relations

This section discusses the theoretical approaches towards power relations. These power relations are not analyzed based on how they are implemented in processes, but rather on a more abstract and overarching way. Specific attention is paid on the suggested <u>ways to overcome</u> such power relations, as they are proposed from the two major theoretical approaches of Jurgen Habermas and Michael Foucault.

Theory of power relations

Entering the realm of power relations enfolds a very distinct but often not recognized acknowledgment. As Peter Marcuse eloquently mentions, this means that there exist two sides in each debate, the dominant one and the oppositional, those who hold power and those who are subject to it (Marcuse, 2010).

Within the domain of power relations two theories can be identified. Both of these theories recognize the existence of power, but go about different ways of addressing it. Jurgen Habermas argues that to overcome power distortions, a communicative rationality needs to be employed. Within this communicative rationale, participants are brought together freely, and equally, without coercion to negotiate a cooperative truth (Habermas, Lenhardt, & Nicholsen, 1992). Habermas does not expect this to materialize on its own, but rather suggests five procedural requirements that would be able to ensure this ideal communication (Habermas, 1993):

i.   No party affected by what is being discussed should be excluded from the discourse (generality)

ii. All participants should have equal possibility to present and criticize validity claims in the process of discource (autonomy)

iii. Participants must be willing and able to empathize with each other's validity claims (ideal role taking)

iv. Existing power differences between participants must be neutralized such that these differences have no effect on the creation of consensus (power neutrality)

v. Participants must openly explain their goals and intentions and in this connection desist from strategic action (transparency)

Additional to these requirements, and given Habermas's conclusion on the democratic nature of humans, the discourse itself should be given unlimited time (Habermas, 1993). It is exactly this belief in procedural rationality that is adopted in the communicative planning approach mentioned in the previous section. According to Habermas, the means by which this is achieved is through constitutions and laws, for it is them that would enable the emergence of this diverse society (Habermas, 1994). This prioritization suggests that a top-down scheme would be needed for realizing his ideal conditions for discourse.

However the sense of urgency with which decision making and implementation of development plans are formulated (Brenner et al., 2010) negates at least one of the criteria which Habermas defines as conditions for ideal communication.

Furthermore, one can question if communication is, or can be practiced in the absence of power instead of being exercised through power (Flyvbjerg, 1998a; Flyvbjerg, 1998a). While Foucault agrees with Habermas on the importance of rationality, he argued that nothing can be judged outside of its context (Foucault, 1984). Foucault therefore argues that every form of power should be challenged (Foucault, 1984). Consequently any form of government has to be analyzed and critiqued against domination (Foucault, 28 June - 5 July 1984). Dealing with power, Foucault stresses that one must emphasize on its dynamics, to understand how power works before taking action, since action itself entails exercising power (Flyvbjerg, 1998a). There is no prescription of process nor outcome. Rather, of utmost importance is to maintain conflict and strip power relations of their cloak, for this is imperative should a move towards a domination free society be envisioned (Flyvbjerg, 1998a). In his own words, Foucault suggests (Chomsky & Foucault, 1974):

> *"to criticise the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them"*

Criticizing Habermass, Foucault argues that his ideal communication could only be materialized within a process freed itself of power representations, where domination is minimized (Foucault, 1988). Foucault can therefore be seen as an advocate of bottom-up processes both in terms of procedural practice but also in terms of content.

Ultimately the different approaches between Foucault and Habermas can be summarized as the tension between control versus struggle and of conflict against consensus (Flyvbjerg, 1998a).

The scale of geography is argued to be a pathway to power through creation of trans-scale hierarchies or the restriction of the impact of local initiatives (Scott, 1995). Reconfiguration of urban space can therefore be achieved only through interconnected everyday struggles on all scales of geography in order to challenge established power relations (Brenner, 2000).

In terms of power collaborative planning can include power of managing the process, of knowledge and information, of not collaborating, the ability to mobilize and organize action (Margerum, 2002). Therefore consensus building requires sharing power to achieve power parity (B. Gray, 1989). The increased timeframe needed for collaborative planning to materialize requires commitments in terms of facilitation and participation of and in the process (Margerum, 2002). The extensive uprising that took place in Athens in 2008 prior to the full unfolding of the crisis can serve as a first order indication of the stance that, at least part of, the citizens took regarding the Habermas and Foucault attitude towards power. The legitimization crisis of Greek politics within the state, also suggests that efforts to control the decision making process are implicitly felt as condemned. This relates to how previous planning practices have affected the socio-spatiality of Athens and how they have been perceived by the citizens.

The right to the city

The right to the city as a notion includes several embedded ideas regarding politics and governance. These implicit ideas are not the main focus of this chapter, but rather act as contextual factors endorsed in our analysis. Important to derive from this chapter is the constructive claim of the right to the city in terms of governance and policy making.

Theory of the right to the city

The term of the right to the city was initially introduced by Henry Lefebvre. In the context of capitalism Lefebvre argued that the urban process itself has a central role for capitalist survival and thus becomes an arena of political and class struggle. In so doing it transcends the scale of the city or country and enters the realm of the national and even beyond it (Lefebvre, 2003). What was meant by the term right to the city was the right to command, or at least influence, the urban process, as Harvey argues (Harvey, 2003).

But what is the context in which the right to the city emerged in? It is within a world where private property rights are above all other forms of rights. A world in which urbanization is galloping, using mechanisms of privilege and wealth congregation, while leaving those who are outside the influence circle excluded (Marcuse, 2009). This process of urbanization creates an intrinsic connection between urban growth and capital expansion, since urbanization itself is fueled by the capital need of new places of production and consumption (Harvey, 2003). This relentless need for expansion affects the political arena and favours concentrated decision making, abolishing collective action.

However, this does not imply that democratic processes are abandoned. They are instead bent, as fiscal restructuring and favouring of the capitalist agenda is legitimized through urban governance in an indirect way. As a result disenfranchisement and content for politics grow among the population (Marcuse, 2009). Reflecting on power relations, the right to the city entails a claim to some kind of control, of "shaping power" on the urban creation (Harvey,

2003). It therefore recognizes the domination, exploitation and repression of finance capital and seeks a wider part of society that will push forward its agenda (Harvey, 2003; Marcuse, 2009). If this is to happen through established institutions, their control has to again return to democratic control against the common enemy of capital values (Marcuse, 2009).

The World Charter for the Right to the City distinguishes the following points as discrete elements that constitute the right to the city (Social forum of the Americas, World Urban Forum, & World Social Forum, 2005): full exercise of citizenship and democratic management of the city, social function of the city and of urban property, equality no-discrimination, special protection of groups and persons in vulnerable situations, social commitment of the private sector, promotion of the solidarity economy and progressive taxation policies, planning and management of the city, social production of habitat, equitable and sustainable urban development, right to public information, freedom and integrity, political participation, right to justice, right to public security and peaceful, solidarity and multicultural coexistence, right to water and to access and supply of domestic and urban public services, right to public transportation and urban mobility, right to housing, right to work and lastly right to a healthy and sustainable environment.

The right to the city is therefore based on "fundamental principles of justice, of ethics, of morality, of virtue of the good", as Peter Marcuse stresses (Marcuse, 2009). It represents the demand for essential participation to the totality of the issues related to the future city and to society as a whole. In it lie values that oppose the capitalist system and strive for a genuinely democratic society, which through process valued accordingly, would form the totality of this future society. To achieve this, it has to be clear what the common enemy, but also what the common goal is (Marcuse, 2009).

Henri Lefebvre's comprehensive analysis is able to create a direct link through the three strands of theory examined here. Production of space, structural embedded-ness of power and the effects of hierarchy on socio-spatiality shape the theoretical framework of this research. More specifically, temporally, space is mobilized under the 'state mode of production' to produce space through infrastructure, planning or policy at different scales and locations (Lefebvre, 1977; Lefebvre, 1978). Lefebvre argues that the state, as an institutional mediator of uneven geographical development, attempts to address polarizing sociospatial effects on different scalar levels (Brenner et al., 2010; Lefebvre, 1977; Lefebvre, 1978). It is exactly through this mediation that hierarchical structures are created to enable securing, maintenance and perpetuation of this structure (Lefebvre, 1977; Lefebvre, 1978), carrying along and ever transforming the sociospatial effects. It is exactly in this context of neoliberalism of the state that transformation can be achieved through conflict based on the right to the city agenda (Lefebvre, 1991).

The right to the city and consequently the struggle for the right to the city, require mobilization and action outside the established and institutionalized structures of modern society. Whether or not such efforts will be incorporated by the highly adaptable capitalist system once dealt with or addressed remains to be seen. Regardless, defending or furthering the agenda of the right to the city suggests some kind of non-systemic initiative to rattle the status quo. Again the response of the Athenian citizens comes to focus. The way they have protested and opposed the

status quo reveals how they perceive that the right to the city is currently represented in the Greek capital.

Theoretical framework

This section aims at building on the interconnection between the theories as presented earlier to construct the overarching theoretical background for examining the case study. From planning theory and the role of the planner, to power relations and the right to the city, there exists, I will argue, a connection that affects the socio-spatiality of urban settings. This connection is however not straightforward. It is masked in procedural and institutionalized practice and therefore becomes harder to identify at least without conflict.

Interrelation

As planning moves from positivism to a post-positivism era, several aspects of what and how problems are perceived, analyzed and addressed gradually change. What is now being practiced endorses social and historical contexts for theories and normative criteria for choosing theories. A collaborative planning approach surfaces as the most practiced one, deploying the communicative rationale for carrying out the planning process. Therefore, planners no longer decide, but rather advise about possible solutions to the problem at hand (Allmendinger, 2009). This new turn in planning practice is not without problems, the most prominent of which are the embedded idea of planning itself in the process and the reluctance to shape what the future brings, which is rather outlined. Accordingly, such a communicative rationale could lead to desired outcomes in the absence of systemic or other distortions (Allmendinger, 2009). It can be deducted however, that such distortions could only be avoided in a society that is free of power relations and not within the modern capitalist world.

Planning is therefore practiced in a context where it is shaped by and a recipient of, conflicting interests and competing forces that seek the perpetuation or the alternation of the established ones (Soja, 2010), by means of power relations. In the modern world, such power relations are more hidden and harder to track (Allmendinger, 2009). Power distortions can occur in several different ways within planning for example by the formulation of a scientific truth (Allmendinger, 2009), by defining reality (Flyvbjerg, 1998b) and therefore determining the scope of the problem, or by the prevalence of moral and political values in setting and carrying out the agenda. Power influence can subsequently be embedded in processes by people who initiate them but also from those who carry it out. It is exactly when power is embedded that makes it more difficult to distinguish, isolate and fight.

Regarding planning outcomes, such power relations affect the agenda and can influence several different aspects. The way public space is shaped and dealt with, information and transparency in decision making, access to the city centre, eligibility and quality of services, financial prosperity, environmental quality for and equality of the citizens are some aspects eligible to be affected. These aspects, but more importantly their totting up and interdependence constitute the right to the city (Marcuse, 2009). Therefore the right to the city serves as an umbrella notion against which planning and power relations are dealt with.

Framework

Although collaborative planning has not yet fully dislodged previous planning practices, it has gained ground. Within this evolution of the planning practice, the planner himself has gradually lost authority and power. However the power that planning entails and the planner bears for designing and materializing space, has not been lost itself. It has diffused between other actors, not necessarily public or even individuals that still influence and set the agenda of <u>what</u> planning deals with. In this category for example one can easily name lobby groups, investors, powerful public figures and political parties.

The more open planning process however, has enabled also other interest to be voiced throughout the planning process. The degree and the way in which this is done, is subject to again to power divisions and discrimination. Not all actors involved have an equal saying in the design process. The investing side, whether public or private is not entering the discourse as an equal to a resident group. The ideal communication is therefore absent. Outlined here is the issue of <u>how</u> the planning process is actually carried out, meaning the agenda execution. This is highlighted by the large number of oppositional actions in the form of active protest, after the design phase has concluded. Should these opinions or views had been taken into account actions like this would not take place.

Completed planning projects have an effect most residents of the space in which they are realized and even beyond it. Depending on the scale and nature of the project they can have a small or a substantial effect. What is the matching then between what planning aimed for and what it achieves, and how does it affect other people for which the project itself was not concerned with? The important aspect here is <u>who and how</u> is influenced by the completed planning initiative. The right to the city with its comprehensive core values serves as a means to reveal the compacting effect of planning as a whole. The sums of planning efforts shape a reality against which the right to the city is contested. At the same time the way through which claims to the right to the city are manifested is also an indicator of how power relations are internalized by civilians.
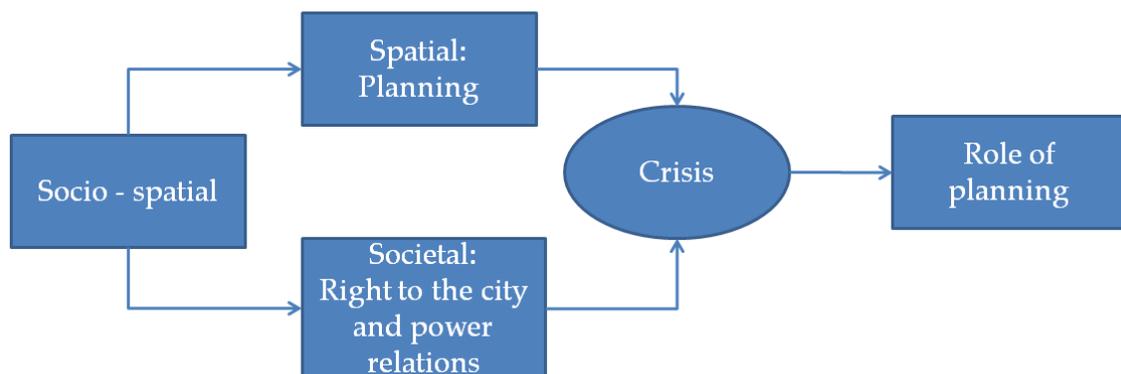
Figure 1. A schematic diagram of the interconnectedness of the strands that shape the theoretical framework

Concretely, by examining what planning deals with, how it does so and who and how it affects, constitutes the framework for this research. Planning efforts so far, their merits and receipt

from the society as well as the citizen's claims for their city and their right to the city outline the first part of the thesis. Following this, which will be further developed in the case study chapter, a new socio-spatiality within crisis and the role of planning in shaping it will be examined.

Methodology

The main research question of the thesis is what role can planning play in the socio-spatial redevelopment of crisis ridden Athens. In this chapter the methodological choices are outlined, and explained. Based on these choices the research questions are structured and laid out.

Rationale

Prior to any analysis, a brief history of how the current capital of Athens came to its current arrangement is important. In order to understand the socio-spatial arrangement and contemporary condition of Athens one has to look into how the city evolved after the mid 20th century. Since the end of the Second World War, Greece in general and Athens in particular has undergone a civil war, followed by a turbulent period of political instability during which a democratic government was replaced by a royal coup. Successively, monarchy was overthrown by a military coup that lasted until 1974, after which it was overthrown by the people after the violent repression of student uprising opposing the regime. A democratic government was elected for the first time and a referendum was carried out, where the people rejected the notion of monarchy. In 1981 Greece joined the European community which later evolved to today's European Union.

In essence these historical developments mean that the Greek state is one of the younger democracies within the Eurozone. Furthermore, the turbulent years have substantially disintegrated social cohesion, cultivating uncertainty and disbelief between the people, as well as between people and the state, that survives until today. They are therefore important to address, in order to be able to understand under which conditions the institutional framework and governance practice has been established, but also the rate of increase of the population of the Greek capital.

Following the historical context of Greece, the focus turns to Athens in the 21st century. Here we have to consider the main planning projects that were realized within the city. The hosting of the Olympic games plays a crucial role since much of the infrastructure was designed with the games in mind. At the break of the century the Athenian metro starts to operate, followed by a new airport that began operations about a year later. New stadiums were built all around the city to host the Olympic Games and were also followed by the creation, for the first time of bus only lanes to increase transport speed and reliability of public transport. Adding to this was the re-introduction of the tram in 2004 followed by the suburban railway in 2005. In the meantime a new ring road around Athens called Attiki odos was constructed and started operating in 2003. Renovation of the biggest park in the centre of Athens, Pedion tou Areos was completed in 2010, while the old airport space new use is still under debate.

The domination of transport planning over any other planning interventions in the 21st century is not unrelated to the needs of the city, but also highlights the low degree of regulation of other issues related to the civic life. The high population density of the city combined with the topography of Athens make possible interventions even more difficult. Substantial influx of migrants both domestic and international also comes to play in terms of the changing demographics of the city, together with the high percentage of self-owned housing. It is exactly these contextual and historical aspects that frame the socio-spatiality prior to the crisis.

Methodological choices

A single case study research suggests a detailed contextual and procedural investigation of the theoretical issues of the research (Hartley, 2004). Therefore, the studied phenomenon is not isolated by the context in which it is manifesting, but rather in the research strategy of a case study the context is consciously a part of the design (Hartley, 2004; Yin, 2002b). The case study approach is particularly appropriate for research questions which require an understanding of social and organizational processes (Hartley, 2004). It involves a systematic accumulation of evidence to validate or generate theories of broader interest (Hartley, 2004).

A multiple case study research is more appropriate when the research involves hypothesis testing or program evaluation in an attempt to generalize the research findings (Barkley, 2006) or construct an explanatory middle-range theory(Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004). It further involves the identification of patterns among the different cases examined (Barkley, 2006; Yin, 2002b). Furthermore, a multiple case study seeks to (Barkley, 2006):

"(1) find familiar results under similar circumstances or (2) find dissimilar results for predictable reasons (I.e. dissimilar circumstances matter as predictive theory)" (p.8)

For the research topic chosen, a single case study is better suited, since the research focuses on the contextual factors that have affected socio-spatiality in Athens and these factors are embedded in the formulation of the research. No hypothesis testing, generalization of the findings or a pattern is sought and therefore a multiple case approach is not found to be appropriate. The single case study of Athens chosen, is suitable for research that deals with a unique, extreme case (especially within the EU context), but at the same time it is representative in the authors opinion of broader interest (Hartley, 2004; Yin, 2002b) in the domain of urban planning and development.

The methodology for a social science research differs substantially from that of the hard sciences. Most hard science data are undisputable, obtained through an experimental process that is controlled and can be reproduced. On the other hand, in the social sciences quantitative data could be open to more than one interpretation. Therefore, even though quantitative data are often used in the social sciences domain, most often they are accompanied by a qualitative analysis of the researcher. As a result, qualitative research can be influenced by the researcher's opinion or the context of the research itself (Marshall & Rossman, 2006) .Within this reasoning it is therefore important for the researcher to argue as to why he is using his specific inputs and explain possible inconsistencies that might occur (H. J. Rubin & Rubin, 2005) .

A quantitative research suggests the existence of a testable hypothesis, which includes concepts that can be measured in terms of quantity or in numbers (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2007; Kothari, 2009). Furthermore, a quantitative study implies control over the studied variables in such a way that it can be replicated by other researchers (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2007) and makes use of statistics, tables or charts(Neuman, 1999).

Compared to quantitative methods, a qualitative one assumes a more holistic view that encompasses the research topic within its own contextual surrounding (Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004), in its own natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In doing so it is interpretive(Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and maintains a more objective, unbiased stance towards the problematic since it is doesn't seek to validate or disprove an existing theory (Marschan-

Piekkari & Welch, 2004). A qualitative approach can prove appropriate when secondary data can be incomplete or unavailable (Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004). Lastly, a qualitative method attempts to answer "how" questions (Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004) and study phenomena to reach a better understanding (Neuman, 1999) .

Since this research bears no control over the variables and processes of the study and does not deal with quantifiable data, a quantitative approach is deemed inappropriate. Rather, a qualitative method is found more suitable, because of the nature of the research. The strong contextual dependency of socio-spatiality, the particulate context of crisis and the localized effect of the planning initiatives further empower this choice. Furthermore, the availability of data mostly comes from secondary sources in order to address socio-spatiality in Athens. Quantitative data are used in some instances but only to highlight influential characteristics, rather than introduce a measurable aspect to the research.

The analysis of qualitative data can have three forms: explanatory, narrative and exploratory (Yin, 2002a). An explanatory analysis can be deployed to provide causal interpretation and further extend a theory to a larger topic or issue (Tellis, 1997). Narrative analysis suggests that a theory is developed before commencing the research (Tellis, 1997). Moreover, descriptive research, also known as ex post facto, suggests that the researcher has no control over the variables of the research, but it can include attempts to pinpoint the causes in spite of the aforementioned lack of control (Kothari, 2009). The exploratory method suggests the generation of a hypothesis, discovering and predicting a new topic (Neuman, 1999; Tellis, 1997).

Of the three forms of qualitative data presented, exploratory and narrative analyses are relative for this research. Exploratory analysis can be deployed to find the causal relationships that shape socio-spatiality and connect them with the developed theoretical framework. It is evident that due to the temporal nature of this research, that control over the variables that formulate it is not present. However, engaging data and literature in a descriptive manner, enables the identification of causal relationships. It is precisely these causal relationships that are going to be addressed as a final goal of the thesis, aiming to find ways in which planning can contribute to a (re)development of Athens after the crisis.

Secondary data collection refers to data already available, originally collected at an earlier time by a different person and probably for a different cause than the current research (Johnson & Turner, 2003). As Johnson et. al. mentions (Johnson & Turner, 2003) ,data falling under this category could include: official documents, physical data, archived or research data.

Data collection for the research will be entirely comprised of secondary data. These data will stem from special publications of research institutes, government publications, journal articles and internet sources. The information gathered will formulate the context that leads to the challenge of today. This context includes the socio-spatiality, the planning efforts already carried out and the claims to the right to the city. It is in this context in which planning is asked to contribute in the (re)development of Athens will be set.

Overall, a single case study with a qualitative approach, using explanatory, descriptive and exploratory analysis will be used. The design of the research is presented graphically in Figure 2. Occasionally and when appropriate secondary data will complement the analysis, but will only serve to draw qualitative characteristics. Due to the complexity and interconnected nature of a

case study and in order to avoid shifting the research topic or the assuming of a narrative stance (Hartley, 2004), research issues have to be focused around a small number of research questions (Stake, 1995). The research questions presented later in this chapter are designed in way to enable a step-wise approach in carrying out this research and maintain a specific focus.
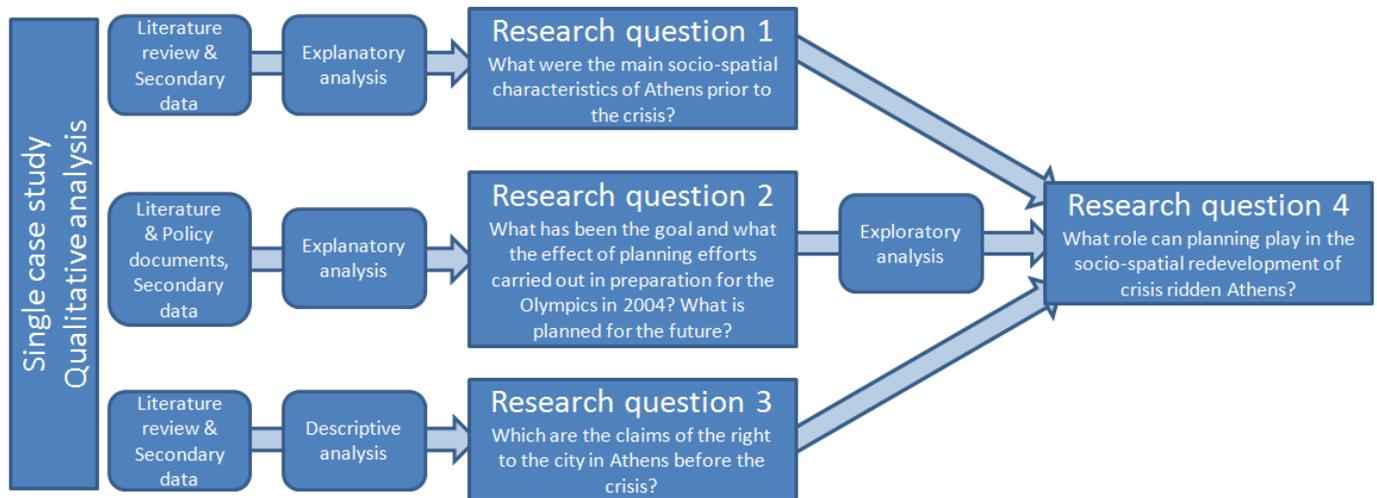
Figure 2. Methods used for the research and individual research questions

Research questions

In order to be able to answer the main research question, some sub-questions need to be answered first.

Research question 1:

What were the main socio-spatial characteristics of Athens prior to the crisis?

Socio-spatial changes include the interactive relationship between space and society. They include aspects of demographic nature, societal analysis of residential areas and public spaces (characteristics of the people like ethnicity, educational, level, age, etc) but also the form of public spaces themselves. Contextual factors regarding the urbanization of Athens will be analyzed, along with a review of the policies and planning efforts undertaken within the city of Athens in the 21st century need to be carried out.

The rapid urbanization process that took place in Athens, together with the entrepreneurial stance of the city as a cultural touristic destination, especially as an aftermath of the Olympic Games fast track development and the prevalence of large scale planning projects come to focus. These developments highlight a city that was planned according to needs other than those of the residents themselves.

More specifically and drawing on the research report of the National Centre for Social Research on Socio-spatial transformations in Athens of the 21st century, the following aspects will be the focus of this part:

Socio-economic structures, Housing segregation, Use of public space in Athens and Educational discrimination.

Housing segregation in Athens has not been substantial, mainly due to the existence of culturally developed support networks such as family support. However, the influx of migrants, both domestic as well as international, together with new options for housing have created a complex situation for the housing domain. Following this a geographic distribution of households and their social and class distinctions will provide a more comprehensive understanding.

The use of public space relates to the existence and activity of urban movements, attaining to attributes such as the types of action, time continuity, their organizational structure and their geographic distribution. Furthermore, data from field research regarding the actual use of public spaces and the socio-demographic characteristics of the users will also be included. Educational discrimination will be analyzed on the basis of differences between undergraduate and post-graduate studies. The important aspect here is that as access to higher education becomes more widespread, students from "higher" social strata differentiate even further.

This section mostly focuses on the period up to 2008, which marked the breaking of the crisis. However, the available data and references do not always regard the same time range. This could introduce an element of obliquity to the analysis.

Research question 2:

What has been the goal and what the effect of planning efforts carried out in preparation for the Olympics in 2004? What is planned for the future?

For this question the planning efforts implemented for the 2004 Olympics will be examined. This examination will have a double focus, first on the intended goals and secondly on the actual impacts of the planning efforts carried out. For this research question scientific literature as well as text from scholars will be used a source. From these sources the overlying framework based on which the development of Athens has commenced will be presented.

The second part of the research question will deal with the planning initiatives in the urban scale for Athens. The main sources for this part will be the Regulatory Plan for Athens (2012). The RPA of 2012 also outlines the development until the year 2021. Specific areas of focus relate to public transport networks, transport design and public spaces. An analysis of the main points of the Regulatory/Strategic Plan and the principles outlined there will be carried out.

Research question 3:

Which are the claims of the right to the city in Athens before the crisis?

The right to the city is constituted by several other rights. Among them we can distinguish the access to transportation, transparency in governance, the right to use public space and the city centre. To answer this question data for claims to public space from the National Centre for Social Research report will be analysed together with scientific literature on the insurrection that took place in December 2008. To do so we have to look at what are the people demanding and in which parts they feel more excluded. Has there been a change in terms of how people claim the right to the city over time?

Of specific importance in this part is the insurrection that took place in December 2008, regarded as a contemporary cry for the right to the city. The insurrection managed to unite different societal claims from a range of origins and therefore touches upon the totality of the civic rights that comprise the right to the city. Starting with the events and the driving forces

behind the insurrection, I will follow the further development of the demands in the civic realm of Athens.

The crisis has affected Greece in general and Athens in particular in several ways. Of specific focus to this research are the effects of the crisis in terms of the annual growth rate of the country, the changing income of the residents and the unemployment rate. These factors play a significant role as the context in which future planning efforts will be undertaken.

Research question 4:

What role can planning play in the socio-spatial redevelopment of crisis ridden Athens?

Following the previous research questions, the main research questions will be addressed. Based on the socio-spatiality prior to the crisis, the planning efforts undertaken so far and the effects of the crisis, suggestions and guidelines for future planning in Athens will be discussed. These suggestions will connect to the theoretical framework developed.

Case study

This chapter aims at presenting the background information that will be used to carry out the research. The chapter is divided in four major subchapters. The first subchapter aims at providing some background information on the city of Athens and setting the context of the case study as a whole. The following three chapters are structured according to the research questions. The second subchapter addresses issues of socio-spatiality, focusing mainly on housing, the distribution and use of public space and social mobility (i.e. with regards to education). The third subchapter provides an overview of the planning culture in Greece. Furthermore it examines planning efforts carried out for the Athens Olympics in 2004 and concludes by examining the strategic/regulatory plan for the future of Athens. Lastly the fourth subchapter deals with the claim of public spaces starting before the Olympics, the insurrection and its effects on claiming rights to the city and closes with a small overview of the crisis. The information provided here serve as the basis for answering the main research question in the analysis chapter. Some quantitative data are presented when deemed appropriate, but only serve as qualitative indicators, aiding qualitative interpretation.

Contextual aspects for the city of Athens

Following a long period of occupation by the Ottoman Empire (1453-1821), Athens was proclaimed the capital of this new Greek state in 1834. However, the city started playing a leading role in the development of the country no sooner than the first decade of the 20th century (Burgel, 1976). Its population grew abruptly in the following years due to major migration waves, the first one in 1922, of Greeks living along Turkey's west coast and a second internal migration wave of people arriving from rural areas immediately following World War II (Figure 3). Other factors that influenced the city's development were the Civil War (1946-1949) and a Dictatorship (1967-1974). The influx of illegal immigrants, mostly in the area of Athens, in recent years further exaggerated the problem of fast urbanization (Tzouvadakis & Batsos, 2011) (Figure 24).
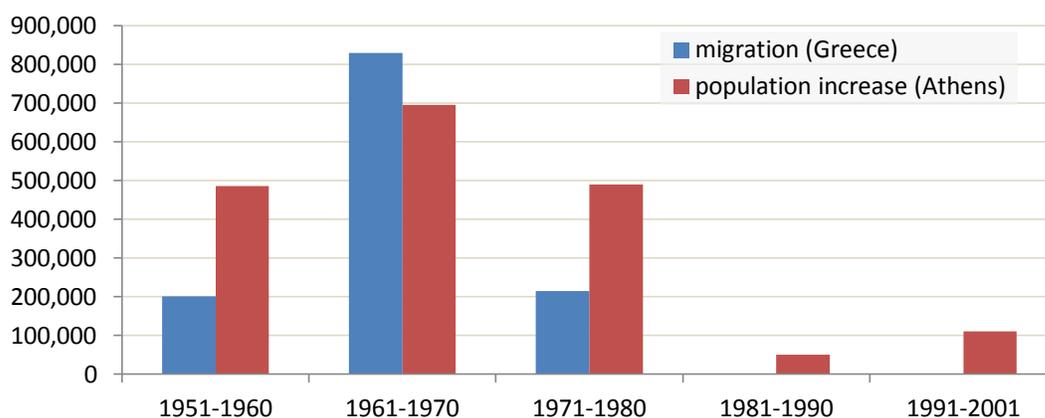
Figure 3. Migration in Greece and population increase of Athens. Source: (Maloutas, 2008)

These historical landmarks created an unstable political, social, and economic environment in Greece, and especially in Athens, which influenced the spatial development. Urban and transport planning were almost absent and private interests were free to speculate. Housing development was funded by the capital of small land owners and whole suburbs were authorized after they were constructed (Maloutas, 1990; Philippidis, 1990). It was only in 1985 when a political framework of urban planning was institutionalized for the first time (Official Journal of the Hellenic Republic, 1985) but its basic principles have not been applied yet, while there is no such a framework for transportation planning.(Milakis, Vlastos, & Barbopoulos, September 2008).

The current conurbation of Athens is comprised of 5 areas. These areas include: Athens basin and Salamina centred around Athens, West Attica centred around Megara, North Attica centered around Kapandriti, East Attica centred around Lavrio and Island Attica centred around Egina. The built area of the Athens basin includes administrative boundaries of 59 municipalities, is comprised of 40,000 building blocks and occupies an area of 323km^2, of which 66% is used by buildings (Avdelidis, 2010). The Athens conurbation is home to about a third of the country's population, and more than a third of the national GDP is produced within its boundaries (OECD, 2003). Table 1 provides an overview of the development of the Greek capital over the last two centuries.

Table 1. Brief overview of the various phases in the development of Athens metropolitan area. Adapted from (Avdelidis, 1999) with additional data from (Sarigiannis, 2010)

1830-1860	Influx of old and new residents in Athens **1832**: Athens becomes the capital of the Greek state: -First city plan -Adjustments to the original plan which was not realized (owners protest) -Shaping of the center and the old city -Expansions and transformations of urban web, within the boundaries of the initial plan -Heavily fragmented urban land ownership
1860-1921	-Tenths of isolated expansions and hundreds of adjustments of urban plans -This is established as a way of planning **1862**: Civic plan validated by law
1921-1940	Confluence of migrants following the Asia Minor events: -Unelaborated housing solutions in the surrounding where land access was easier Within the migrant neighborhoods a narrow organizing of building takes place **1924**: New Urban Plan -Linear accumulation of industry between Athens and Piraeus -Increase of building coefficient in the center (maximum height of buildings) -Unregulated constructions
1950-1965	Internal migration phenomenon: -Significant development of housing -New suburbs are emerging everywhere around the city -West basin absorbs a great amount of population influx -Construction of new housing areas with unregulated building, not included in the urban plan, that where later incorporated and legitimized

	-High building coefficients in central areas **1954-1965**: Regulatory Plan of Athens Basin, it is not applied, but statistical processing and data collection is carried out for the first time **1955-1958**: Introduction of "Antiparohi" (the owner of the land allows the developer to build, in exchange for right to a part of the completed property), which resulted in: -Regulated constructions: speculation as to the height and vertical expansion -Unregulated constructions: speculation as to the boundaries of the tract and horizontal expansion
1965-1979	-Unregulated housing development -High-rise buildings and "Antiparohi" are established as development methods **1976**: Urban Plan and Schedule of the Capital City area (never applied) **1979**: Regulatory Plan "Capital City 2000" -first effects of unregulated development: air pollution, destruction of forest areas
1980-1997	Urban web keeps expanding through the established methods: unregulated development in areas outside of the Urban plan (these are later legitimized by expanding and adjusting previous urban plans) **1982**: *Action of Urban Reconstruction* so that all municipalities have urban plans **1985**: Regulatory Plan and Program for Environmental Protection of the wider Attica Area **1985**: Preparation of General Urban plans for the sum of the built up areas **90's**: Big development projects funded by the E.U. (attempts to improve functional issues of urban and peri-urban space)

Changes in the urban web were enabled through modifications of the urban plans and inclusion of unregulated developments in the new plans. At the same time the building coefficients of built up areas were increased. Table 2 summarizes the expansion of the city of Athens during the biggest part of the 20th century. In Table 3, an overview of the land use changes between 1961 and 1991 is presented. Lastly, Table 4 lists the population changes between the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century.

Table 2. Areal expansion of Athens. Source: (Avdelidis, 1999)

	Area of urban web (increase in km^2)	Area of urban web (% increase)
1920	35.9	-
1920-1945	76.3	212.5%
1945-1990	243.9	217.4%

Table 3. Land uses in Athens 1961 and 1991. Source: (Avdelidis, 1999)

L a n	1961	1991

	Sum	Agricultur al land	Forest	Water bodies	Built area	Sum	Agricultur al land	Forest	Water bodies	Built area	other
Athens (km^2)	419.3	73.8	66.9	4.3	271.3	457	35.2	68	0.8	323.1	30.3
Athens (%)		17.6%	16%	1%	64.7%		7.7%	14.9%	0.2%	70.7%	6.6%

Table 4. Population changes in Athens, 1991-2001. Source: (Polizos & Vatavali, 2009)

	1991	2001	Population change (number of people)	Population change (percentage)
Urban Area of Athens	3,072,992	3,165,823	92,831	3.0%
Athens Prefecture	2,577,609	2,664,776	87,167	3.4%
Piraeus Prefecture	524,358	541,504	17,146	3.3%
East Attica Prefecture	296,263	403,918	107,655	36.3%
West Attica prefecture	125,263	151,612	26,435	21.1%
Total	**3,523,407**	**3,761,810**	**238,403**	**6.8%**

The city is expanding towards every direction, with the North East part being the most prominent one, followed by the south part (Appendix, Figure 22). The centre of the city appears to be more heavily affected by this, while surrounding municipalities are less so (Appendix, Figure 23). Also significant is the population ageing in the North suburbs (Kifissia), where the municipality has been already established for quite some time. These figures can be found on the Appendix.

The characteristics of the build environment in Athens (Appendix, Table 13), suggest that it is more similar with other Southern European cities. Furthermore, Athens appears to be closer to big cities of Asia, Africa and India in terms of spatial arrangement (Figure 4) and population density (Figure 5)
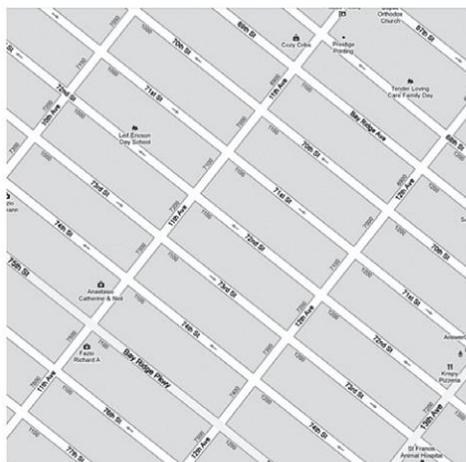
New York

Mumbai
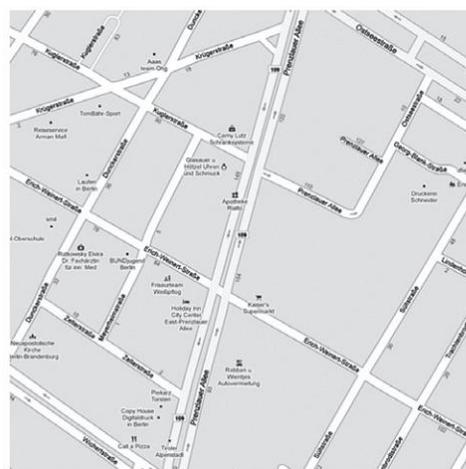
Berlin

Athens

Paris
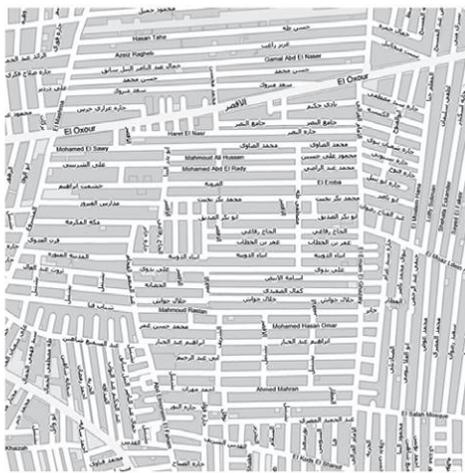
Cairo

Figure 4. Section of city centre maps. Maps are all of the same scale, depicting an area of 600m x 600m. Source: (Makrygianni & Tsavdaroglou, 2011)
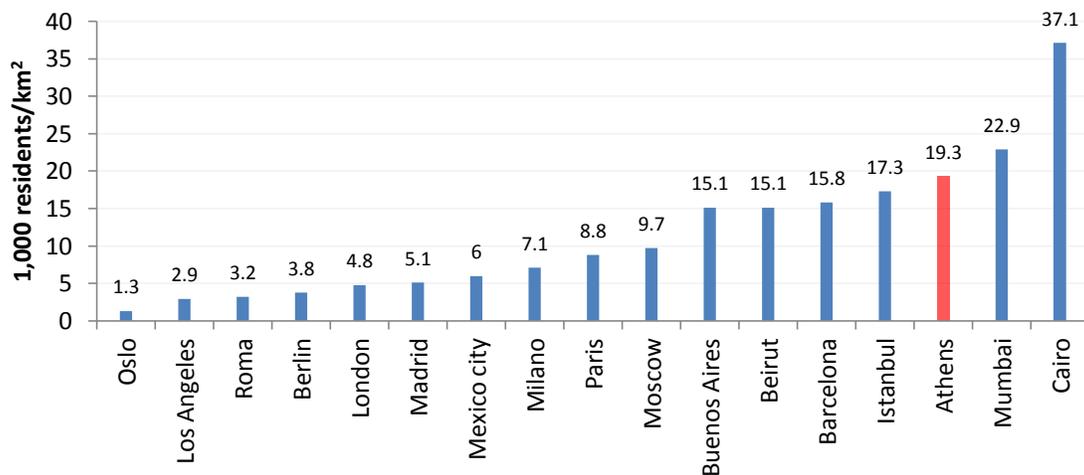
Figure 5. Population density in metropolitan areas. Source : (Makrygianni & Tsavdaroglou, 2011)

Following the tradition of other Mediterranean cities that are expanding in an unplanned manner, Athens is growing, lacking a design. Growth is mostly based on small and self financed property development, while urban infrastructure projects are usually lacking (Chorianopoulos, Pagonis, Koukoulas, & Drymoniti, 2010).

These characteristics of unregulated development can be recognized in the following aspects of the urban landscape of Athens (Economou, Petrakos, & Psycharis, 2007; Leontidou, Afouxenidis, Kourliouros, & Marmaras, 2007):

- High density urban core and poor land use efficiency in the periphery

- a diverse mix of land use in the center and a the same time absence of public open spaces

-poor offerings of public transport or environmentally friendly infrastructure leading to a high dependence on car mobility

-a distortion of natural and historical landscapes from growing unregulated urban uses.

Socio-spatial regime in Athens before the crisis

Housing

Urbanization has triggered social mobility from the rural areas to big cities and lately even inter-state migration. According to Sassen (Sassen, 1991), market deregulation created the social polarization of the global cities and was driven by financial neoliberalism. This in turn has led to the concentration in the world-cities of the high level services that are necessary for the function of a capitalistic economy, creating job positions of high specialization. At the same time

the need for a large number of employees with routine tasks and provision of services for the working elite has commenced. Lastly the presence of immigrants that take up the lower positions of the professional spectrum adds to the social polarization in these mega-cities.

Sassen (Sassen, 1991) further suggests that this social polarization also generates a spatial polarization with the mechanism of wealthier people moving in labour neighbourhoods and absorbing them through gentrification. At the same time, key city locations are privatized by big multinational companies that gradually expel and isolate working class people to areas with lower demand for housing. The reduced social mobility of labour people gradually reduces obstacles for developing segregation.

In 1950 Athens was the capital of an agricultural economy, where 47.5% of the population was working on agriculture and 55.3% of the active population was employed in the primary production sector (Fragos, 1980). The country had sequentially gone through war, occupation and civil war. The problems of the civil war for the defeated party of the civil war in small cities started an internal migration process towards the anonymity of big cities (Kayser, 1968; Rokos, 1994). As a result the population of Athens tripled in 30 years time. This internal migration coincides with the migration of Greek workers towards the labour markets of Western Europe (Maloutas, 2008).

The labour market of the big cities of Greece could not absorb all job seeking migrants, but a big construction market was created to house the incoming population, which absorbed the biggest part of the newcomers (Maloutas, 2008). This trend of integration of internal migration in the construction sector is similar among developing cities of the South (Allen, Barlow, Leal, Maloutas, & Padovani, 2004). In Athens in particular, part of the migrants were integrated in labour and some quickly outgrew this social domain.

The newly developed middle class in Athens was facilitated by (Maloutas, 2008): i) the viability of family business in commerce, ii) the ability to be employed in high status professions such as doctors, lawyers and mechanics, iii) the mass employment in the public sector services as a social provision of clientelism democracy (Tsoukalas, 1987) and iv) the influx of foreign currency from international migrants that was exaggerated due the difference in living standards.

These conditions were managed by a newly developing democratic society that insufficiently developed big industry and a social provision state (Poulantzas, 1975). Incentives were given in the form of tax reductions, unregulated civic expansion and the land use changes of agricultural land to civic land (Maloutas, 2008), leading to a reduced cost of implementation of migrants during an era of increased urbanization. As a result the development character of the city was shaped towards an independent, small scale economic activity with an atrophic social provision mechanism (Maloutas, 2008). The lack of social provision was partly compensated by the aid of family agents in areas such as housing, elderly care and care for the sick. As a result self-owned housing was socially spread and access to mid and higher education became widespread. This education access led to the quick population of higher professions and public sector employment. The construction industry was therefore the main economic driver as a profitable industry in the absence of other consumer domains (Economou, 1988). Self-owned housing

secured accommodation and enabled the workforce to take advantage of the fluid opportunities for employment.

Together with the fast growth of the middle class, some other conditions favoured the gradual decrease of social mobility, namely (Maloutas, 2008): i) reducing opportunities for developing new small family business, ii) increased competition for social mobility for higher status profession, due to the growth of the last and iii) substantial reduction of the ability to be employed in the public sector due to fiscal reforms.

In these conditions of reduced social mobility the growing middle class reproduction becomes constantly harder. In their effort to at least maintain their status the middle class reduces the mobility of the labour people, who also have fewer ways to achieve a social advancement. Under the new conditions, except for the labour market, housing and education underwent significant changes (Maloutas, 2008):

-access to housing. In 1986 almost 50% of households were living in self owned houses with no real differences between the different social strata (Maloutas, 1990). In 2001 there was already a big difference between labour and middle class, with labour class people having a substantially lower percentage of self-owned housing. This difference was intensified by the influx of international migrants during the 90's.

-Higher education stopped to offer an equivalent job prospect due to the inflation of the degrees in the labour market. As a result social mobility increased and diversified for each individual educational route, with middle class people aiming for education that leads to high status self-employment and labour class people pursuing education that would enable their employment as public servants (Lambiri - Dimaki, 1974). The reduced positions in the public sector reduced the mobility of lower social strata.

The lower social mobility was intercepted after 1980 by European funds and was diffused both for labor people, as well as for middle class people who were able to maintain their status. At the same time, the influx of international migrants at the beginning of 1990 boosted small family businesses while at the same time substituted household labour at a time where women (who used to populate household labour) were increasingly entering the labour market.

Gradually it was not only the internal migrants that required housing but also the increasing number of middle class households. As a result, since 1950 the mechanism of "Antiparohi" (land owners provide the plot to developers in exchange for a number of apartments (Leontidou, 1990a; Prevelakis, 2001)) created an oversupply of 5 to 7 stories high apartment buildings in and around the centre. This system dominated the market through a special tax regime that exempted all intermediate transactions from taxation, boosting this particular means of house production. The dominance of this method of development was further favoured due the minimal required amounts of starting capital, as well as the lack of capitalization in development caused by land fragmentation (small parcels).

During 1960 the municipality of Athens (home to more than a quarter of the Athenian residents) saw an increase in population of 40% (Maloutas, 2000) because of the availability of new houses offered. This mechanism had important consequences to housing segregation through two different processes (Maloutas, 2008):

i)   The dense building of houses around the centre and the deterioration of the living standards in them. Further impact was caused by the rapid increase of car ownership without the appropriate expansion of infrastructure.

ii)   The gradual dominance of purchasing houses instead of the previous methods of self-construction or self housing. As a result the market became the regulating mechanism for housing, excluding those who could only achieve house ownership through self providing ways.

Two contradicting trends developed. The dichotomy between the civic centre and the labour neighbourhoods of the peri-urban diminished. As a result the suburbs around Athens became socially more homogeneous, while the centre of the city witnessed a greater social mixture (Maloutas, 1997).

In the centre of the city this mixture created a new, horizontal form of social segregation, with people of higher social status occupying the top floor of apartment buildings and labour class people populating the lower and ground floors of these same buildings (Leontidou, 1990a). This is a unique characteristic for Athens among the cities of the South resulting from the rapid urbanization and the accelerating devaluation of the lower floor apartments (Maloutas & Karadimitriou, 2001). However, considering segregation indexes, the centre of Athens remains less segregated (Arapoglou, 2006; Maloutas, 2007b).

The prevalence of market forces and the absence of state regulation for housing resulted in alternative networks such as family and friend bonds to shape the neighbourhoods of the growing city (Maloutas, 2008). This can also be tracked back to the names of the neighbourhoods which are usually named after the origin their residents. It also goes a long way to explain the need for spatial aggregation of these networks to allow the establishment and function of these neighbourhoods.

Housing mobility within the city of Athens quite often regards moving within the boundaries of the previous place of residence, towards the houses of spouses or in any case close to family or other support networks. Most of the resettlement is performed with the opportunity to move to a self owned house which doesn't necessarily mean a new neighbourhood (Maloutas, 2004).

The gradual monetization of the services provided by these support networks reduced the dependency of housing choices close to support network for the middle class (Maloutas, 2008). Labour class people however still remain dependant on these networks and their clustering is more resistant over time. Social mobility seems to not be connected to housing mobility inside the city.

The increased social mobility and low housing mobility leads to the question of the effect of spatially confined mobility in segregation. The social mobility confined in labour neighbourhoods reduces housing segregation while increasing the social mixing in these areas. This local social mobility is intra-generational and recent and therefore the support networks still strengthen the coherency even for members that are employed in different domains and live in better quality houses.

The social mobility however is subject to the spatial context of the neighbourhood. Higher income neighbourhoods demonstrate higher social mobility, which is lower for middle class and even lower for labour neighbourhoods (Maloutas, 2004).

Avoidance techniques justify the daily moving of children from areas where schools are not consider good enough to be educated in private schools for higher social class people. Important to note is the increase of school segregation despite the reducing housing segregation (Maloutas, 2008). This manifests in the cases where parents choose an educational route that combines high expectations in terms of academic performance and chances of desired social fellowship that offer chances for higher social mobility. These choices are evermore followed by higher and mid-higher income households under a growing competition for social mobility, creating a dynamic social segregation moving wealthier offsprings away from their neighbourhoods and addicting them to the company of people with similar societal origin (Power, 2003).

Since 1990 inflation and interest rates were reduced, making mortgages accessible to a wider range of social strata. This marked the first substantial growth of housing loans and led to the increase of property prices (Emmanuel, 2004). The increased prices led to exclusion for some potential buyers who betake rental houses. In term, this results in an increased mobility in housing since renters are less attached to their housing environment. The non-regulation however turned this trend towards increasing housing segregation. The commoditisation of housing (Esping-Andersen, 1990) therefore disturbs the socio-spatial stability that was established by support networks during the period that followed the war.

The increasingly liquid housing market is further intensified by other aspects (Maloutas, 2008): i) the development of the peri-urban created a two way mobility axis between higher quality houses in the suburbs and diminishing quality in the centre, ii) the construction of significant infrastructure projects during the preparation for the Athens Olympics of 2004 radically changed the effective distances (in terms of commuting time) made it possible to live in the suburbs and work in the centre, affecting property prices, iii) most importantly the influx of international migrants for which no housing program was in place were pushed towards renting houses in the least expensive neighbourhoods of the city, or at the lower floors of apartment buildings (Lazarides & Psimenos, 2001; Psimenos, 2004). Although no ghetto's where developed, cheap housing intensified the deterioration that was already growing in some areas of the centre, while also intensified the segregation between new and old, poorly maintained buildings that the immigrants tolerated easier due their lower cost. These lower cost houses were further devaluated as their owners lowered the maintenance levels even more following their low rental prices, creating a self propagating mechanism. At the same time, external migration

intensified the racial segregation of services (schools, health and entertainment) on the local level.

Distribution of civic space

An empirical study suggests that the most important mechanism of social segregation is the propensity of agglomeration between household of each social class in areas with increased coherence towards a particular social class and the dispersion away from areas that do not meet the requirements. It therefore focuses on two aspects (Emmanouel, 2008): what is the main mechanism that defines social segregation and distribution and what is the role in this mechanism of each class according to differences such as economical and social status and housing situation.

The filtering theory (Grigsby, 1971; F. W. Smith, 1966) suggests that new houses are constructed for the middle and upper incomes and the ones that are left behind when they move to them are taken up by lower income that are also improving their living conditions.

Two interpretations can be given. Based on hedonic choice (Tiebout, 1956), sorting households on the scale of areas and social segregation according to income and preferences. A household that moves to a higher or lower income area will reduce the benefit level of that household (Cheshire, 2007). Based on the simple matching on the economic scale, each social group moves to the neighbourhood typical of or slightly better than its own consumption level. The second case appears to be closer to the Greek reality.

Table 5. Categories of social classes. Source:(Emmanouel, 2008)

Class	SIZ (Spatialy Integrated Zones)	Average mothly expenses in euro*	Characteristics 1999	number of households 99	percentage 1999	number of households 2001	percentage 2001
1	1	1590.56	Freelancers - Non wage earners				
1	2	1558.91	Managers etc. - wage earners				
1	3	1492.86	Employees - higher education	479	16.9%	194,250	14.9%
1	4	1403.57	Managers - non wage earners & Rentiers				
1	5	1313.85	Freelancers - wage earners				
2	6	1202.24	Retired - higher education				
2	7	1176.40	Housewifes - High school diploma				
2	8	1109.12	Technical assistants etc				
2	9	1001.34	Businessmen & Managers without wage earners	831	29.4%	419,240	32.1%
2	10	985.38	Students, Armymen				
2	11	982.15	Retired - Technical education & High school				
2	12	961.02	Employees - no higher education				
3	13	935.60	Technicians & Operators - with wage earners or housekeepers				
3	14	848.00	Salesmen & Services - wage earners				
3	15	841.77	Salesmen & Services - non wage earners	815	28.8%	318,620	24.4%
3	16	728.02	Technicians & Operators - High school diploma				
3	17	722.72	Technicians & Operators - no high school diploma				
4	18	691.13	Retired - no high school diploma				
4	19	689.86	Farmers				
4	20	670.40	Housewifes - no high school diploma	701	24.8%	373,960	28.6%
4	21	641.23	Unemployed without profession - Unable to work				
4	22	521.70	Unskilled workers				
				2,826	100.0%	1,306,070	100.0%

*converted from drachmas at a rate of 1 EUR=340.75 drachma

Data based on the 2001 census

The research divides Athenian households in 4 major categories based on income according to the 2001 census. The households were further divided in 22 subgroups based on the household head's profession, position inside the profession, occupation (for non-economically active), and educational level. This subdivision was based on the extent that these characteristics affect the living standards of the household.
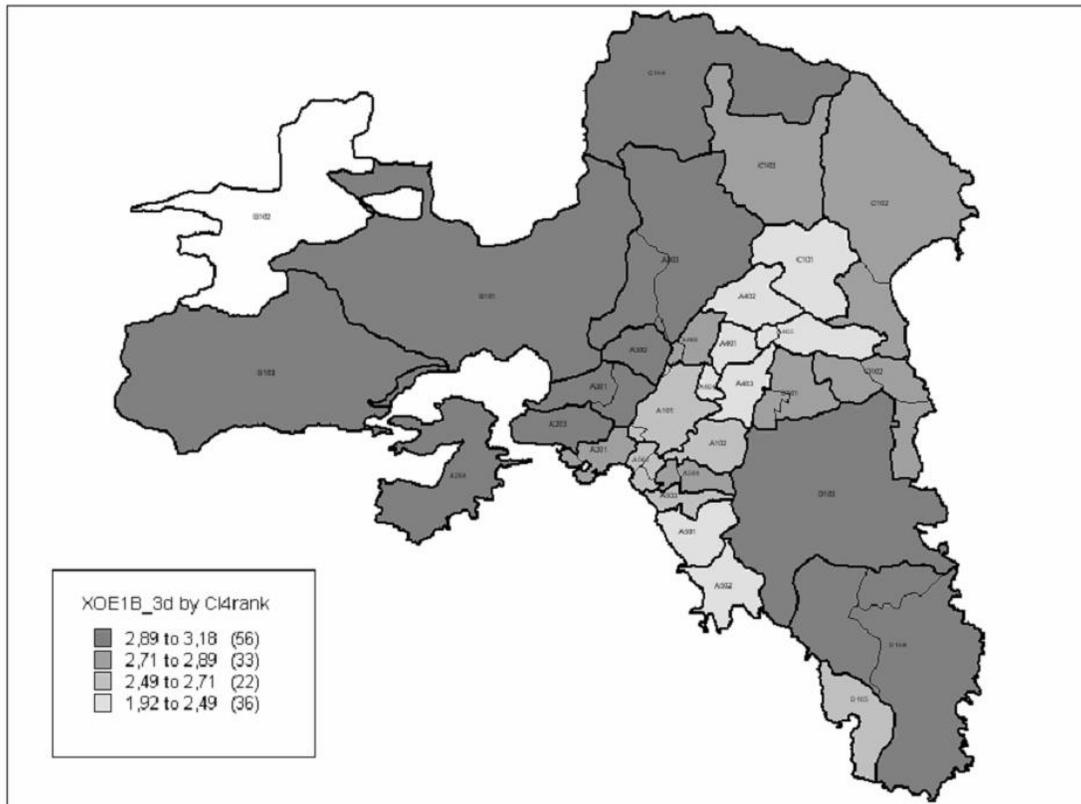
Figure 6. Map with the Spatially Integrated Zones, according to the percentage composition of each zone. Source: (Emmanouel, 2008)

The spatial allocation mechanism in its totality is composed of intense characteristics of social interaction, forming a system of socio-spatial congruence/spatial competition. Simplifying the parameters, the researchers internalize the assumption that the most decisive distinction of status in the Greek society that behaves in parallel but still independently of economic stratification is the educational level. This assumption is based on the fact that the educational level appears to be the highest parameter on the sensitivity analysis of mobility and coherency – expulsion that affects the geographical distribution of households (Emmanouel, 2008). At the same time the educational level is very closely linked with economic class in the Greek context. Furthermore according to the EEA (Emmanouel, 2008) the educational level correlates highly with the living standards, highlighting the class importance of education, as well as the social consciousness between status and educational level.

For couples, the sum of individual educational ranking of the couple is increased by 2 units and then divided by 2, since if both partners have a high education, the expected societal status is higher if only one of the partners does. This generates 13 categories (Table 6), which were grouped in four classes so that the population is divided as follows: higher education 20%, mid-higher education 20%, lower-mid education 30% and lower education 30%.

Table 6. Categories for educational level. Source: (Emmanouel, 2008)

1999 code	2001 code	Educational Rank	Educational level
8	1	8	Doctoral degree
8	2	8	Masters degree
8	3	8	University degree
7	4	5.5-6.5	Technical University degree
5	5	5	College degree
5	6	5	Highschool degree (6 grades)
6	7	5	Technical Highschool degree
6	8	5	Technical Professional School degree
4	9	4	Highschool degree (3 grades)
3	10	3	Elementary degree
2	11	3	Elementary student
1	12	3	Did not finish elementary (can read & write)
1	13	3	Can't read or write

The research concludes that spatial division in Athens is mainly defined by the demand and supply for households under a competitive monopoly regime for housing (Emmanouel, 2008). The parameters of social and economic class do not appear to directly affect the spatiality of household distribution in the city. Under the analytical approach of the researchers, the civic sociology and social geography of the city are contextual factors, since the analytic analysis applied aims at locating the mechanism that can interpret household distribution. And the mechanism in the case of Athens is mainly the market supply and demand.

Public space use

The geographical space of reference is the sum of open spaces with natural characteristics that are situated within the Attica region, the administrative unity of the greater urban area of Athens. An open, public, free or outdoor space is considered as the part of a city, which can be both delimited or not and it is potentially used by people, pedestrians or with motorized transport means. Squares, parks, roads, spaces free of buildings, forecourts, recreational spaces and coastal spaces fall within this category. The public nature suggests the right to any person to cross or enter the space, without any social, financial, political, cultural or time restrictions and without any applicable fee.

The methodology used was observational field work, with visual on site recognition coupled with photographic documentation, on the basis of sociological research (Avdelidis, 2008). A few

qualitative interviews (both structured and non-structured) were carried out with selected subjects of all ages. The questionnaire included social and demographic data of the subject, the relationship with the space, individual uses, personal judgment and habits. The research was carried out at a period with mild weather and at a time where the composition of the users is in accordance with the habits and daily rhythm of the city. The total number of subjects amounted to 2665 observations, 17 non structured interviews and 213 structured interviews.

The main part of the city occupies a space of less than 20km^2. Three out of five municipalities do not contain forest land uses, although smaller parts of forest exist in all five municipalities. A detailed description of the public spaces included in the survey can be found in the Appendix (Table 14), together with the detailed results of the use of each space (Figure 25).

The most important characteristic that can be derived from the survey is that public spaces are mostly used (>75%) from a single person or two people (Figure 7). As the data suggest these public spaces are not that often used for collective activities (<10%). Furthermore, the educational level of the public space users suggests that they are mostly used by high or higher educated people.
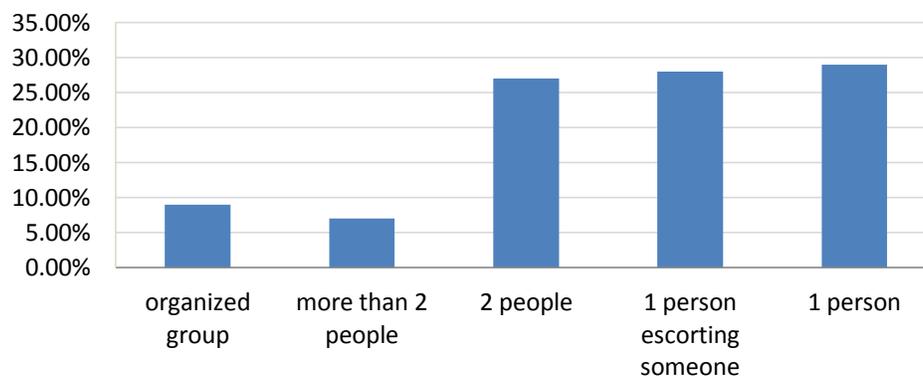
Figure 7. Number of people to use natural public spaces in Athens. Data source: (Avdelidis, 2008)

Higher education and reproduction of discrimination

The role of education in perpetuating social reproduction of inequalities has been studied in depth by several researchers (Baudelot & Establet, 1971; Bernstein, 1971; Boudon, 1970; Bourdieu, Passeron, & Shattock, 1970; Bowels & Gintis, 1976).

Marxist theories for education linked the school system with production structures, suggesting that the educational institutions were structured in a way that produces competent workers, that would assume socially defined employment positions in order to maintain the social status quo (Bowels & Gintis, 1976).

The relative risk aversion theory suggests that the drive for higher education stems from the desire to avoid downward social mobility (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997). The theory suggests that in order for the offsprings of the middle class to maintain their social position, they have to

surpass the educational level of their parents, since the value of an educational diploma is lowered over time (Van de Werfhorst, Herman G & Andersen, 2005).

The increase of public access to state universities in Greece has created the phenomenon of diploma inflation (Bourdieu, 1984; Passeron, 1982). This is mostly realized by the offsprings of middle class families, who in order to socially reproduce aim for higher level of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Highest education diplomas (Masters) are such a symbolic capital that enables the offspring of mid and higher social strata to seek better employment conditions (Hadjiyanni & Kallas, 2005).

This is especially evident in the presented data, most notably in the highly regarded universities of Athens and more specifically in the studies that are connected with high status employment (Hatzigianni & Valasi, 2008). Impressive is the interest of middle and higher social strata offspring in educational programs that lead to employment as freelancers, and high executives of both the public and private sector. Such studies include Medical studies, Legal studies and Technical studies which can be seen to reproduce on a generational level, creating terms of social selectivity. At the same time, studying abroad is another way of establishing this differentiation from other competitors of the social arena.

Table 7. Master students classified according to paternal occupation. Source: (Hatzigianni & Valasi, 2008)

Paternal occupation	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004
Members of legislative bodies	2%	2%	0%	0%	3%
Scientific or artistic professions	29%	33%	27%	26%	30%
Technical assistants and similar occupations	11%	8%	8%	8%	10%
Desk employees and similar occupations	16%	15%	23%	24%	17%
Service sector employees	10%	11%	9%	10%	8%
Farmers and breeders	6%	6%	5%	5%	5%
Special technicians	16%	17%	11%	10%	13%
Industrial machinery operators	4%	4%	4%	3%	5%
Unskilled workers	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%
Armed forces	3%	3%	3%	4%	4%
Non-trained not seeking work	0%	-	0%	0%	0%
Unemployed seeking work	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Uknown	1%	-	7%	6%	2%

Table 8. Master students classified according to paternal education. Source: (Hatzigianni & Valasi, 2008)

Paternal educational level	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004
Masters degree	6.0%	6.0%	6.0%	5.0%	6.0%
Bachelors degree	29.0%	29.0%	32.0%	30.0%	31.0%
Technical university degree	9.0%	10.5%	10.0%	11.0%	12.0%
Highschool diploma	24.0%	24.0%	23.0%	25.0%	25.0%
Technical highschool diploma	9.0%	8.0%	8.0%	8.0%	9.0%
Elementrary diploma	19.5%	19.0%	18.0%	17.5%	15.0%
Did not finish elementary	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%	2.0%
Illiterate	0.5%	0.5%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Planning culture, 2004 Olympics and future planning

Planning practice in Greece

Urban plans need to undergo a very complicated but centralized political process in order to be ratified (Othengrafen, 2010). Furthermore the council of state has ruled unconstitutional the attempts for delegating higher decision power to municipalities, favouring political tokenism and centralizing decision making in the role of the Ministry of Environment, Spatial Planning and Public Works (Othengrafen, 2010). Spatial planning as a discipline is practiced by architects, therefore lacking aspects of comprehensive planning or strategic visions (Othengrafen, 2010).

The highly praised societal value of house ownership allows the construction sector to expand the boundaries of urbanized areas not fearing legal or other consequences (Othengrafen, 2010). The absence of the state makes the people have no expectation of it in terms of provision, relying mostly to family and neighbourhoods for services and facilities (Othengrafen, 2010).

These above mentioned issues and practices can account for (Othengrafen, 2010):

-continuing urban sprawl and the absence of regulation in the Greek and Athenian planning practices

-the weak presence of strategic goals and visions in terms of long term planning and the focus on land-use developments

-the perception of planning as a supporting mechanism, or as a simple technical decision making tool for urban design.

Figure 8. Planning trends and tradition of spatial planning in Europe. Source: (Othengrafen, 2010)

Olympics

The Olympic games of 2004 were perceived as a starting point for Athens to solve some of its chronic issues, mostly regarding urban transportation and regeneration. The regeneration plan was carried out by the Ministries of Culture and Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works, the Municipality of Athens, the Prefecture of Athens and Piraeus, the Technical Guild of Greece, the National Tourism Organization and the Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens SA, coordinated by the 2004 organizing committee (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004).

The Olympic Games were considered as a way to increase the competitiveness of the city. This was carried out in two ways (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010):

> -the aim to reduce fragmentation i(in the sense of peripherality), to improve transportation and commuting. Key examples in this aspect are the Metro, the new airport, the ring road (Attiki Odos) and the rail network (both the tram and the suburban railway).

-the aim to improve the attractiveness of Athens as yearly tourist destination (i.e. the unification of archaeological sites, regeneration of the waterfront area, business and entertainment venues) (Beriatos & Gospodini, 2004)

The plan included construction work for the renovation of the historic centre (unifying the archaeological sites), the restoration of monuments and squares in the historic city as well as the so called "non-competitive" projects. These included the improvement of transport infrastructure (roads, junctions, new metro lines, tram network), of public open spaces and the removal of advertisements from building facades (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010; Kissoudi, 2010).

Prior to the Olympics Athens was a congested city (car ownership: 350 cars per 1,000 inhabitants) in which a mere 30% of habitats used public transport on a daily basis. The metro (Figure 9) and other rail networks (tram, suburban railway) were considered crucial to the improvement of the quality of life.

Table 9. Comparison of pre- and post Olympic conditions in Athens. Source: (Boukas, Ziakas, & Boustras, 2012)

Pre-Olympic Status	Post-Olympic improvements
Unplanned residential areas	Expansion of the metro network
Obsolescent infrastructures	Construction of the tram network
Degraded built fabric	Pedestrianisation of streets for connecting the city centre's cultural areas aiming to the reunification of Athens archaeological sites
Traffic congestion	Aesthetic improvement and renovation of the hospitality industry and built fabric
Environmental pollution	Urban and cultural regeneration (i.e. culture clusters like the areas of Psiri and Gazi)
Lack of pedestrian areas	New Acropolis Museum
Limited accessibility to the coast of the city	Transport system (tram, metro stations, airport, etc.)
Outmoded tourism superstructure	Connection of the city to the Southern coast

Figure 9. The existing and planned development of metro lines in Athens. Source: (Tzouvadakis & Batsos, 2011)

The impact of the Metro expansion was significant as it connected more than 20 municipalities and the new airport, improving commuting times, quality of city life, congestion and air pollution. Furthermore, the existing line (28km), was renovated, increasing line capacity to 26,000 passengers per hour (Bovy, 2004). The expanded metro line now serves about 650,000 people per day and it is estimated to have reduced car use in the city centre by 70,000 cars on a daily basis (Kissoudi, 2010). The metro stations in which parking spaces have also been included in the design serve as good examples of transfer stations and have also integrated bus lines. These stations have become gates of economic growth, fostering interconnectedness (Tzouvadakis & Batsos, 2011). In the stations that these action were not implemented mostly due to alliances between real estate that have kept prices high, halting city planning integration (Tzouvadakis & Batsos, 2011).

The new suburban railway expanded the railway network linking the newly developed suburbs of the growing Athens conurbation. The tram line connected the centre with the South suburbs, following the coastline for the bigger part of its route. Attiki Odos (Attica Road) was also constructed. This was a 67km highway crossing 30 municipalities also connecting the new airport with the national highway network. In total 140km of new road networks were constructed (Kissoudi, 2010). Lastly new buses using natural gas replaced the biggest part of the bus fleet (Tatsiopoulos & Tziralis, 2007). In spite all this infrastructure works. post-Olympic

Athens returned to pre-Olympic traffic chaos within months of the conclusion of the event (Kissoudi, 2010).

The unification of the archaeological sites aimed to highlight the historical heritage of the city linking the most important monuments of Ancient Athens. These included the Acropolis, the ancient and Roman Agora, the Library of Adriano, the Keramikos district, the Plato Academy, Iera Odos (the Sacred Road), Thisseio, Filopappou Hill, Pnyka, the Aeropagus and the temple of the Olympian Zeus) as well as monuments of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine era, together with 20th century buildings of architectural importance (neoclassical), green spaces and the new Acropolis museum.

It is evident that the largest part of planning efforts during this period aimed at maximizing the effect of the Olympic Games publicity, to establish Athens as a touristic destination in the future. Tourism is a major income for the Greek state, which attracts more than 12 million tourists per year (Kissoudi, 2010).

Table 10. Post Olympic use of some of the venues constructed for the 2004 Olympics in Athens. Source: (Olympic Properties, 15 Sep 2008)

Venue	Post Olympic owner	Post Olympic use
International Broadcasting Center (IBC)	Lease to Lamda Development SA	Shopping and recreation center
Galatsi Olympic Centre	Sonae Sierra SA and Acropol SA	Amusement park
Agios Kosmas Sailing Center	Seirios Tech SA	International convention center
Faliro Marina	Hellenic Sailing Federation	
Nikea Olympic Center	Piraeus University	
Markopoulo Olympic Shooting Center	Ministry of Internal Affairs	Police training center
Helleniko Olympic Complex	Various short term contracts	Conferences, Commercial Exhibitions, concerts
Badmington Hall Goudi	State	Theater

Despite the fact that several of the Olympic venues did not find a use after the games, they are still expected to contribute as recreational places for both residents and tourists (Kissoudi, 2010).

With the exception of the transportation plans (most notably the metro), the other efforts of planning for the Olympics have either moderately achieved or failed to achieve the aspirations, as set prior to the games. Regardless, it is important to notice that these aspirations were mostly focused on improving the image of the city and facilitate the development of tourism (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010; Kissoudi, 2010). Furthermore, planning was carried from special purpose agencies and under the pressure of implementation prior to the launch of the Olympics

(Pagonis, 2006). The lack of a comprehensive planning approach and the aim for increasing competitiveness did not allow for a consistent spatial development policy, resulting in urban sprawl (especially in the Messoghia area) (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010).

In terms of urban development and sprawl two key points can be made. Firstly, the newly established spatial links have altered the dynamics of development by linking previously isolated urban areas, thus expanding the functional urban limits of the metropolis (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010). Secondly the high infrastructure investments have changes real estate prices and dynamics intensifying development pressures (Delladetsima, 2006) that was mainly channeled towards the Messoghia plain. Figure 10 and Figure 11 visualize the extent of sprawling in the Messoghia plain just before the Olympics.

Urban competitiveness literature suggests that both demand and supply sides need to be addressed to enhance growth perspectives. In Athens however the supply side was never stimulated and as a result local governance (on the metropolitan scale) structures failed to be developed and in their absence land use planning became heavily path dependant (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010). Planning structures, visions, practices or traditions were not part of the legacy in the post-Olympic era. Institutional framework to regulate urban growth is therefore still absent and this constantly undermines future social and environmental goal for urban development (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010). It is exactly the effects of the applied planning (in terms of competitiveness) that have lead to sprawling and car-centric urbanity, something seen as poor economic performance in relevant literature (Cervero, 2001).
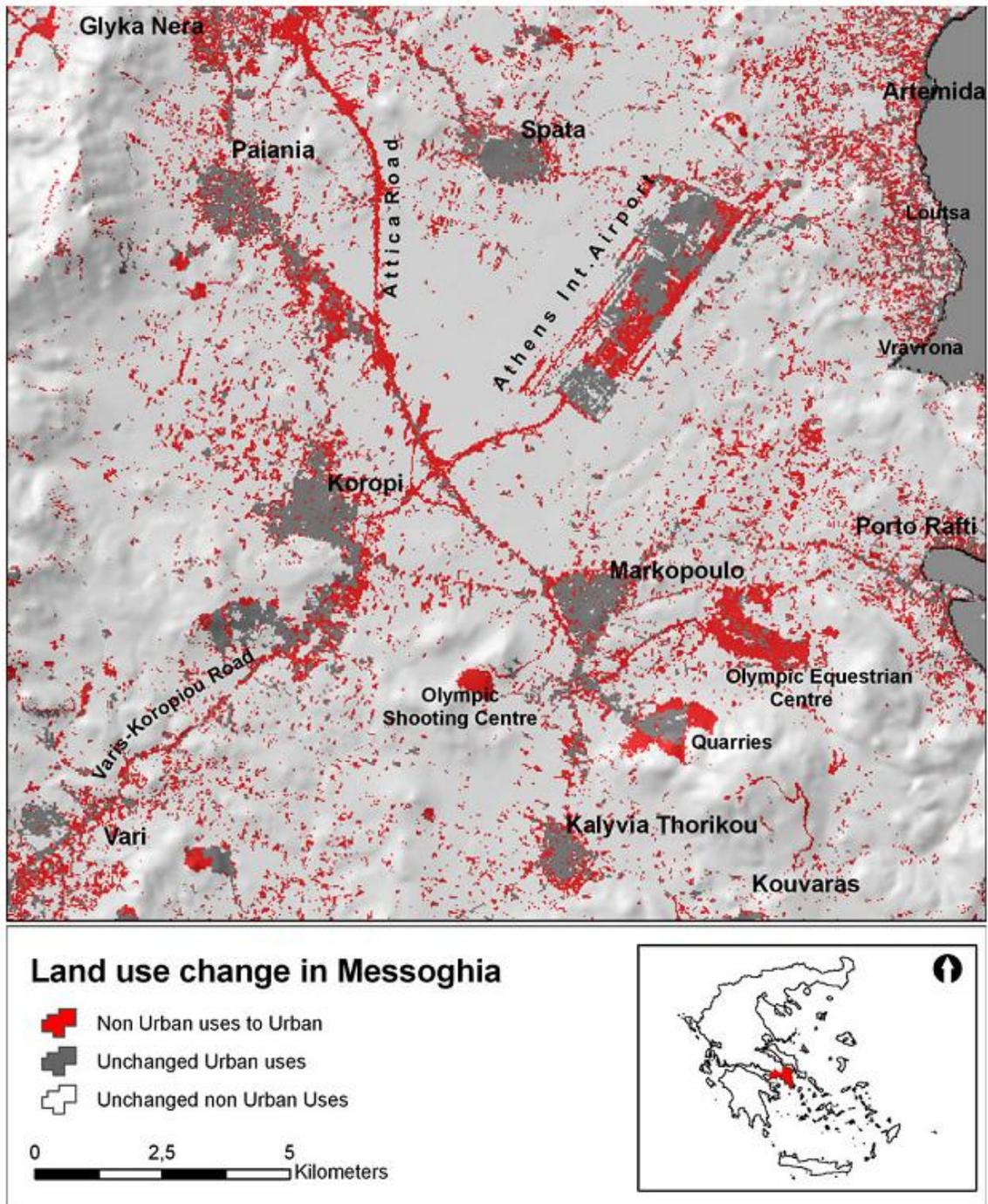
Figure 10. Land use change in Messoghia (1987-2003). Source (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010)
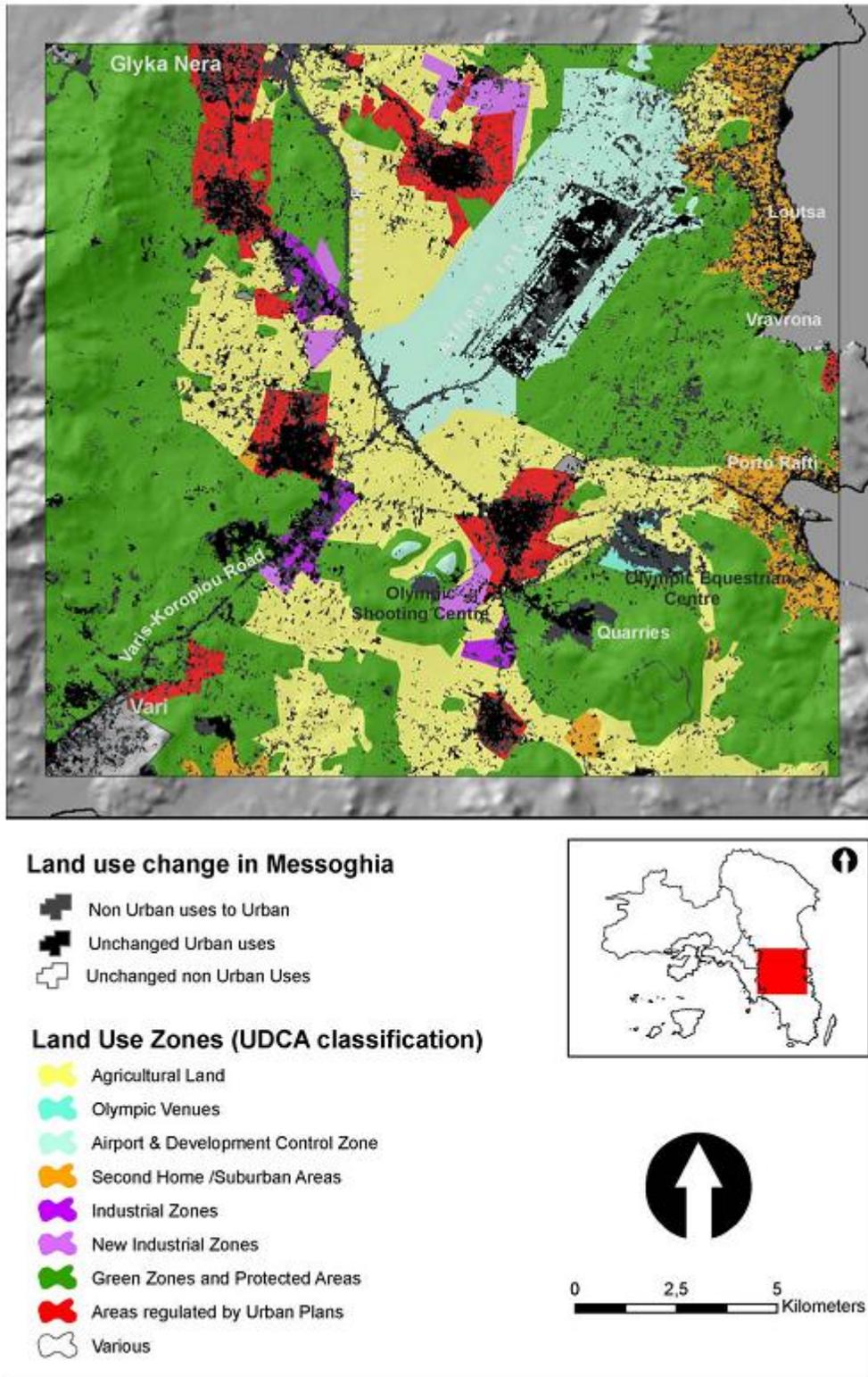
Figure 11. Land-use change overlaid to Messoghia land-use zones. Source: (Chorianopoulos et al., 2010)

Strategic plan for Athens/Attica

Contrary to the mention by Othengraphen (Othengrafen, 2010), Athens does have a strategic vision for the city. The strategic plan for Athens/Attica is a development plan for the spatial organization of the city and the broader region of Attica. Included in the document are the goals for the coming decade but also beyond it, operating tools for achieving them and the evaluation and integration of sectoral policies (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012). The document is fairly extensive, but some key aspects of the underlying framework are highlighted below.

The strategic plan for Athens firstly identifies structural deficits that were inherited from the strategic plan of 1985 (which was not implemented, and was even overruled in some cases). These are(Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012):

- Structural deficits in the strategic planning of spatial development and arrangement, under population growth and insufficient planning of major infrastructure within an overarching framework.
- Significant changes in the functioning and behaviour of the building sector due to urban expansion to new areas within Attica

Both these reasons are acknowledged as reasons that could foster and deepen the crisis.

As a background on which it is called to act, the following aspects are recognized (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012):

- Stabilization of population growth within Attica, with significant population restructuring within the basin
- The inefficiency of land development, as the same space could host close to double the current population
- The use of new traffic infrastructure and urban rail systems

The three main axes around which the plan is devised include(Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012):

- Economic development: balanced, socially just and environmentally sustainable. Strengthen the international role of Athens, improve competition and promote innovation.
- Environmentally sustainable spatial development with effective and consistent protection of the environment together with the cultural heritage, preservation of natural space and biodiversity and adaptation to climate change.

- Improvement of quality of life for all residents, equalization in the allocation of development resources and benefits, perceived as basic conditions for sustainable economic growth and social cohesion, promotion of policies so as to mitigate social exclusion phenomena.

Furthermore the SPA identifies production as a lever for economic growth and social sustainability, the environment as major resource for the future, culture as an incorporating agent of society, social cohesion as a challenge and urban revitalization as a goal (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012).

The plan further recognizes four special unit (Athens Basin, East, West and Island Attica) as a basis for spatial arrangement. These areas further categorized into i) Developments poles of International, National and Interregional importance, ii) Balancing and Cohesion Centres ad iii) Environmental Sustainability areas. The hierarchy between them is subdivided into metropolitan centres, inter-municipal centres of broad range and municipal centres. All these aspects are presented in Figure 26 (Appendix).

The development poles are subdivided in areas exhibiting a strong potential in particular productive sectors, factoring their interconnection with junctions of transport networks as well as areas in decline that include important architectural stocks that could host new land uses. Figure 27 (Appendix) depicts the spatial distribution and characteristics of such areas.

Furthermore, the SPA unifies all goals towards multi-functionality, improving accessibility (through the rail network) and controlling urban space, in an effort to stimulate centrality and a more cohesive city (Figure 28, Appendix). These goals are expected to be reached through urban regeneration that recycles city stock and the application of building restrictions in non-urbanized areas. Urban regeneration will include metropolitan scale interventions and local scale renovations, giving priority to residential and mixed uses areas lacking social infrastructure. Regeneration will be further achieved by stimulation of redevelopment using bioclimatic methods and lastly revitalization of Athens/Attica as a place of residence and destination. Already drawn city plans are to be strictly respected and organized residential development stimulated.

Regarding transport the support for a cohesive city is again highlighted. In the domain of transport inhibition of linear development along road axes and incentives of development based on spatial units will be implemented. A strong focus on minimizing public car use within the Athens basin and other centres of spatial units is also highlighted. The expansion of the rail network remains high on the agenda, with planned expansions of 85km, together with the introduction of Bus Rapid Transit. The final aim is to establish a "spinal cord of the single and integrated urban and transport planning for Attica Region" (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012). However, improvement and expansion of the road network is also planned.

The right to the city, power relations and crisis

Claim of public spaces

The research was based on documenting protests regarding protection or claims for public space in Attica between 2001 and 2005, using daily newspapers, magazines and websites (according to (Hocke, 1999)). The characteristics of a protest is related to any of the following (Rucht & Ohlemacher, 1992; Rucht & Neidhardt, 1999): a) takes place in a public space, b) is independent of public authorities, c) is carried out by a collective body and d) aims to express disagreement and to influence decision making, or social, political and economical conditions in general. As a public space, any civic space with free access and public usage is considered.

Regarding the demands of protests, three types can be recognized: collective consumption (Castells, 1977; Castells & Lebas, 1978; Lowe, 1986), protection of the city from social and natural threats and protecting quality of life and lastly to claiming more influence or control over decision making and local institutions (Pickvance, 1995).

Regarding the morphology there are some characteristics that make civic movements a distinct category. These can be summarized as follows (Kavoulakos, 2008):

-The subject of the action is of non-institutional origin

-The systematic use of protest methods (in contrast with NGO, political parties) and the temporal duration of using protest methods

-The relative duration and continuity of action of collective bodies

-The element of networks between the groups that organize actions (working towards the formulation of a collective consciousness and identity)

-The pursuit of social change that is not framed under existing procedures, shapes and contents

Dynamic protests include an element of violence, not in the form of a collision or riots, but in the form of intentional encumber (i.e. protest gatherings, marches, occupations, blockage). Conventional actions aim at raising awareness, influence decision making processes and enforcing the notion of justice (i.e. speeches, discussions, volunteer work, cultural events, collecting signatures, recourse to justice).
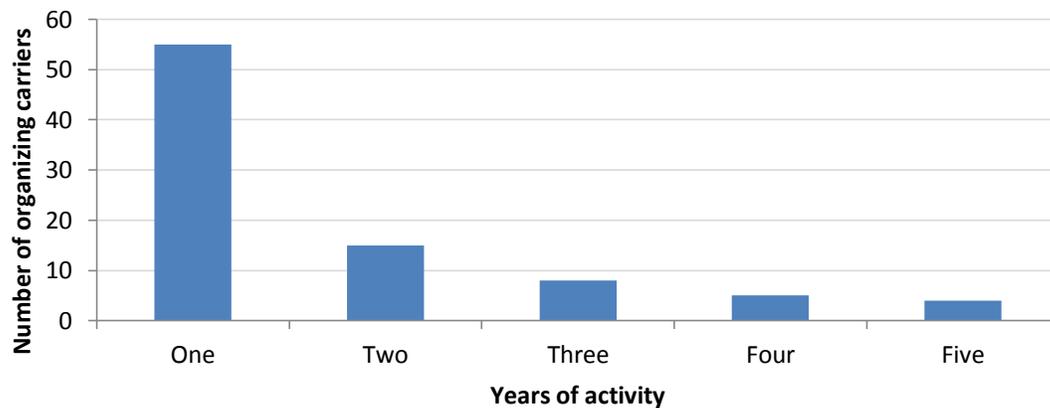
Figure 12. Number of organizing carriers regarding public space protests. Data source: (Kavoulakos, 2008)

Table 11. Characteristics of organizing carriers and number of events. Data source: (Kavoulakos, 2008)

Carrier characteristics	Number of protest carriers	Number of carriers active for more than 3 years	Number of events organized by carrier with more than three years of presence
Municipal parties	11	1	6
Organizations with legal substance	20	7	61
Informal organization	56	9	136
	87	17	203

Table 12. Spatial distribution and number of organizing carriers active for more than 3 years. Data source: (Kavoulakos, 2008)

Area of actions	Number of carriers active for more than 3 years
Center of Athens	8
West Athens and suburbs	0
North and East suburbs	2
South suburbs	3
Piraeus	0
City periphery	0
Supra-local action	4
Sum	17
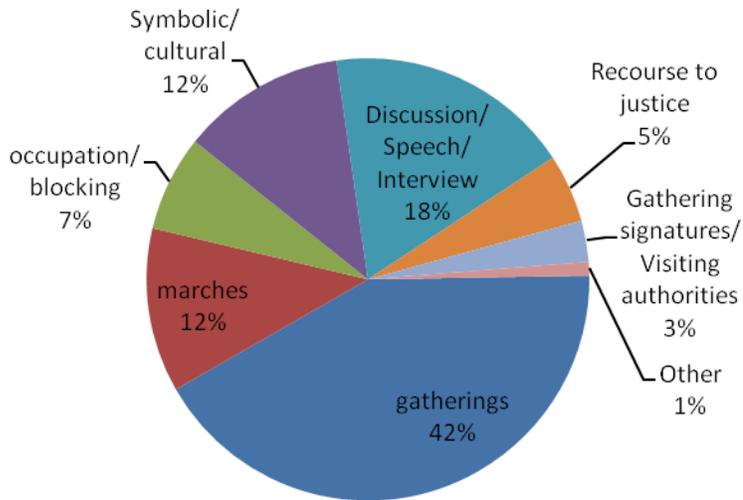
Figure 13. Types of protest events. Source: (Kavoulakos, 2008)
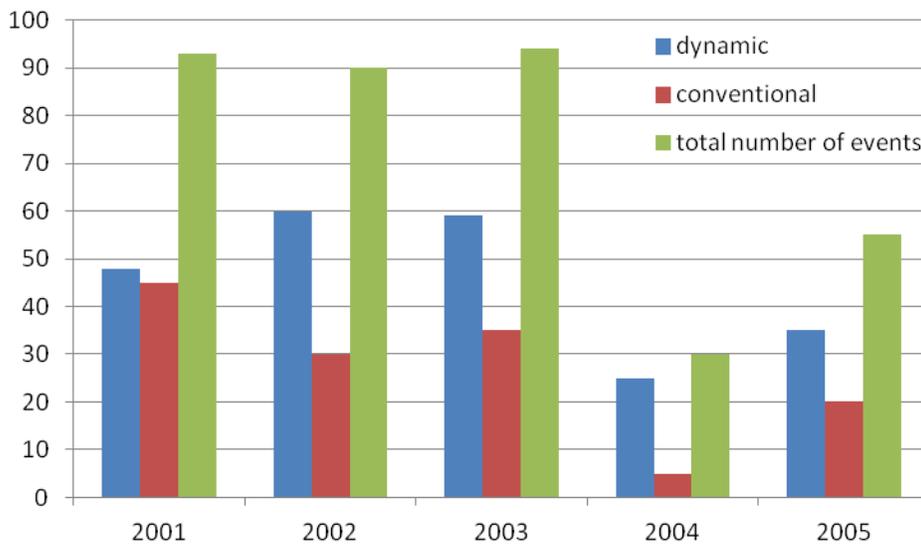
Figure 14. Temporal distribution of protest events. Source: (Kavoulakos, 2008)
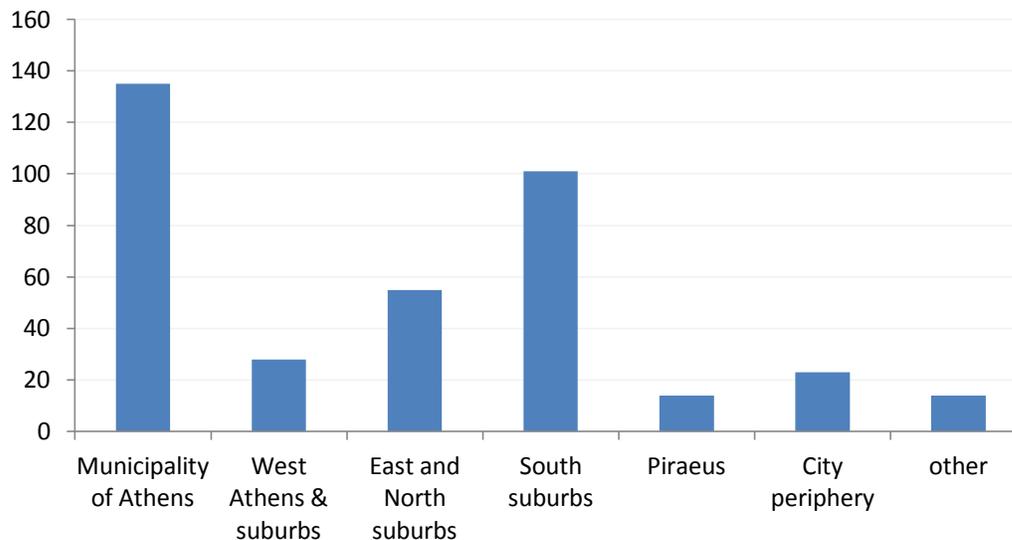
Figure 15. Spatial distribution of protest events. Data source: (Kavoulakos, 2008)

The study had a descriptive character and came to the following conclusions regarding the events (Kavoulakos, 2008):

a) Mostly organized by non-institutional bodies, b) It was more often dynamic than conventional, c) The organizing networks presented a high degree of interaction, d) the number of events was mainly defined by temporal circumstance, e) a significant amount of local carriers organized events mainly on circumstance and f) the aim for wider social change is evident in the formulation of claims of organizers active for longer terms.

Therefore, the characteristics of civic movements are met regarding protection and claim on public space in Athens, and are particularly present in the municipality of Athens.

Insurrection

After Greece became part of the Euro in 2003, a rapid change in policy implementation by means of fast track development took place (Leontidou, 2010). This resulted in a large scale privatization of public land, contrary to the Master Plan of 1985, in turn restricting access for Athenian citizens (Leontidou, 2010).

Following the unjustified shooting down of a 15-year-old student by a police officer, young people who identified with the victim started to violently protest against what they perceived as a restriction of their right to use public space (Leontidou, 2010).

Greece, as most of the southern EU states, has been subject to spontaneous and rapid urbanization starting in the mid 80's (Leontidou, 2010; Petropoulou, 2010), an important side effect of which was the transition from a migrant origin to a migrant destination (King & Black, 1999). The integration to the Euro zone brought further and again rapid shift in speedily

implementing neo-liberal models of development (Arampatzi & Nicholls, 2012; Leontidou, 2010; Petropoulou, 2010). The Olympic Games of 2004 led to a more centralized role of Athens within Greece (Petropoulou, 2010) and of fast track development projects in the city for hosting the event, making more pertinent in this case the reshaping of land uses and development under the driver of profit (Harvey, 2003). This initiated the first movements of opposition, peaking to what has come to be known as the "December" of 2008. Initiated by the unprovoked assassination of a 15 year old pupil, massive riots and protests spread county-wise, with people of different ages (although mostly youth), social and financial derivation taking part. In Athens, the insurrection began and spread mostly around the city centre, unlike the uprising in Paris (2005) that was mostly confined to the suburbs. As explained in the socio-spatiality section, Athens does not have ghetto areas despite its socio-spatial differentiation.

The recent regeneration of the centre of Athens had increased rent prices while large chain stores were dominating the urban landscape. As symbol of this, the large Christmas tree in the constitution square became in the eyes of the revolting crowd a symbol of this dominance. Therefore on a symbolic level attacking it was an act of reclaiming public space (Figure 16), in a common effort to express a different public culture and a claim of the city (Stavrides, 2010). The rage was collectively targeting symbols of the affluent society and state bodies (especially police stations) (Stavrides, 2010). Through this process the right to the city was transformed towards a notion of rights through the city, regarding civil rights, rights for immigrants or labour rights (W. Nicholls & Vermeulen, 2012).

Figure 16. Burning of the Christmas tree in the center of Athens during the insurrection.

The cross-fertilization of this uprising with other claims of protest (discussed in the section of protection and claim of urban space) turned them into urban social movements (Castells & Gallego, 1986). Previous differences in the agenda of protests and their political differences were transcended through the insurrection, creating micro-struggles that brought together and cross-fertilized different groups and interests (Arampatzi & Nicholls, 2012). This insurrection has been attributed to several reasons that can be enveloped under the term of the right to the city and the political discontent (Kretsos, 2011)

A different type of differentiation of groups and classes resulting from spontaneity and poor housing regulations, together with small property ownership is established in Athens. Unlike the neighbourhood segregation of the creation of enclaves encountered in other European cities, vertical segregation in terms of social class is present in Athens (Arapoglou & Sayas, 2009; Leontidou, 1990b; Maloutas, 2008). With the deepening of the debt crisis however ghettoes are also starting to emerge (Leontidou, 2012).

Aside of the claim for a "right to the city" and confrontation with the status quo on different terms (Leontidou, 2010; Vradis & Dalakoglou, 2011), new collective movements and solidarity spawn from the uprising.

After the intense protesting for public space in the period of the Athens Olympics, new realms of urban protest emerged. These protests were highly interconnected by means of digital coordination, linking them with other movements in Europe and the international sphere. The movement of the piazzas (peaking at a period of intense racist discourse from other EU countries and especially German magazines (Focus, Bild and Spiegel) (Leontidou, 2012)), was strongly fought against by the riot police. This highlighted a new era of inter-EU colonialism and exposed the rhetoric of EU unification (Leontidou, 2012), highlighting the fundamental antinomies between EU-liberalization and the political stability of the Greek state (Bratsis, 2010).The cleansing of public space from protesters by the police was thought to be a means of dissolving the movement (Leontidou, 2012), highlighting again the importance on the way public space is used to the political agenda. Opposing to this, social movements acted against the state by defying it and trying to oppose its planning regulations (Castells, 1977; Leontidou, 2006).

One of the effects of globalization has been the creation of identities and cultural ties that transcend the notion of nation or territory (Kalandides & Vaiou, 2012), leading to the practice of citizenship across borders and in different geographical scales (Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006; Sassen, 2003). In the case of the insurrection, this was furthered by activist agents that were able to bring together people, movements and demands across district and national borders (Arampatzi & Nicholls, 2012).

Nepotism and corruption that resulted from the dominance of two political parties in the political arena of Greece after the dictatorship has generated widespread discontent and discredit against decision making processes especially amongst the youth (Karamichas, 2009; Vradis & Dalakoglou, 2011).

The insurrection took place before the crisis broke in Greece, and has decisively cross fertilized grassroots and urban movements in Athens since, radicalizing civilian response (Petropoulou,

2010). Less than a year later, in March 2009, local residents took the initiative to occupy and transform a parking space (owned by the Technical Chamber of Greece) to a park, removing the concrete floor, planting trees and installing a children playground, within two days. The park, situated less than 100m away from where the assassination that sparked the December insurrection took place, remains operational until today under an open popular assembly of residents and users, constituting an open space where cultural and sports events are taking place. This grassroots initiative of spontaneous, popular "planning" constitutes an important symbolic act against exclusion and deprivation of the right to the city, despite its small spatial extent. It is in effect the right to the city in practice. Several other initiatives along the same rationale have taken place since and opposition to further development and construction close to the centre has risen.

Figure 17. Parking place converted to a park. Images of before and after. Source: (Self managing park, 2013)

Educational policy was heavily politicized, especially since education has been seen as enabling upward social mobility (Maloutas, 2007a; Sotiris, 2010). The changing of curricula towards training and at the expense of education has further led to the perception of people investing in their qualifications only to harvest on it later on (Sotiris, 2010). However the gap between aspirations and reality has been grasped by the students and emerging members of the workforce that also posses the capacity to transform their discontent into a social demand, giving birth to a new quality of movements in the 21st century (Sotiris, 2010). Youth movements have been therefore the source of a new collective identity embracing solidarity, hostility towards authority demanding radical change in most aspects of social life (Sotiris, 2010). Therefore the insurrection cannot be seen a blind response to social conditions, but rather a self conscious, self identity in rebellion not eager to negotiate (Psimitis, 2009, January).

During the time of the insurrection university students (who had struggled hard to get a position in the university) were starting to realize that at best they could be offered a job paying 700euro per month (Kalyvas, 2010; Karamichas, 2009). This was in the pre-crisis time still. The same way youth and unemployed were also heavily affected (Sotiris, 2010). Prior to the insurrection a general strike was called against the attack to labour rights and the increase in unemployment (Karamichas, 2009). What emerged from the riots was a unity in difference (Sotiris, 2010).

The protest during the riots were spatially widespread (throughout the country) occupying civic symbolic ground with a larger than expected number participants (Kalyvas, 2010) expressing deeper social, political and ideological conflicts within an emerging capitalist crisis (Sotiris, 2010; Arampatzi & Nicholls, 2012). As a result extra-institutional actions, civil disobedience and public unruliness was taking place (Kalyvas, 2010). Although these protest failed to hold space and to organize it in a political fashion or breed political subjects, their actions were determined against a single target that was the state in its totality and not only the government (Bratsis, 2010; Kalyvas, 2010). This absence of order created a power vacuum (Arampatzi & Nicholls, 2012) that included for the first the notion of a rebellious immigrant, since several immigrants joined the uprising (although not with a particular identity) that had no political rights prior to the event (Kalyvas, 2010). The insurrection was therefore a holistic cry, reflection on society and aiming at instituting a new one through its process (Castoriadis, 1998).

The discourse on the right to the city suggests that mobilizations respond to "neoliberal urbanization" battling them struggles towards a better and more just city (Beauregard, 2004; Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2009; Harvey, 2003; Marcuse, 2009; W. J. Nicholls & Beaumont, 2004; Purcell, 2003; M. P. Smith, 2012; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). The origins and claims of the right to the city are rooted in the urban and their discourse and concepts are also drawn from the urban (Uitermark, Nicholls, & Loopmans, 2012).

Movements within cities do not always explicitly call for the right to the city; therefore the frame of the right to the city becomes balances between interpretation and distortion of the relevant urban claims (Attoh, 2011). Therefore the right to the city as a conceptual grasp is more relevant for analysts than for activists (Uitermark et al., 2012).

Greek crisis

The crisis that began from the USA and the "housing bubble" (considered the most important in the history of capitalism (Subramanian & Williamson, 2009)) spread to the rest of the world through the international trade and Global Commodity Chains (Sassen, 2006). Global Commodity Chains are networks around commodities or products that link households, enterprises and states through the world economy sphere (Gereffi, Korzeniewicz, & Korzeniewicz, 1994). Recently Global Commodity Chains have been diversified incorporating several specialized steps (Sassen, 2010). The high interconnection degree between national economies and the globalized framework around Global Commodity Chains resulted in the spread of the crisis from the USA to the most developed and interconnected economies.

The region that was hit more severely by the crisis was Eurozone. Integration within the Eurozone was based on the concept of a single market and a single currency, lacking however fiscal and political integration (Petrakos, 2012). This notion was backed by the assumption that uneven development within the Eurozone would be regulated by the market (Hadjimichalis, 2011). Within the Eurozone the crisis firstly appeared in the Periphery of the EU (Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain) moving towards more central member states. The crisis struck mostly the Spanish real estate sector, the State of Greece and the banking system of Ireland (Hadjimichalis, 2011).

One of the member states that were more affected by the crisis was Greece. Lapavitsas et. al. identify four reasons for this (Lapavitsas et al., 2010): i) high deficit, ii) state corruption, iii) manipulation of financial figures and iv) the small size of the state which makes speculation easier than for other, bigger states. The high borrowing rates for the Greek state in order to refinance older debts, to recapitalize bankrupt banks combined with massive tax evasion from higher income groups resulted in problematic economic and consequently social conditions after 2010 (Figure 18).
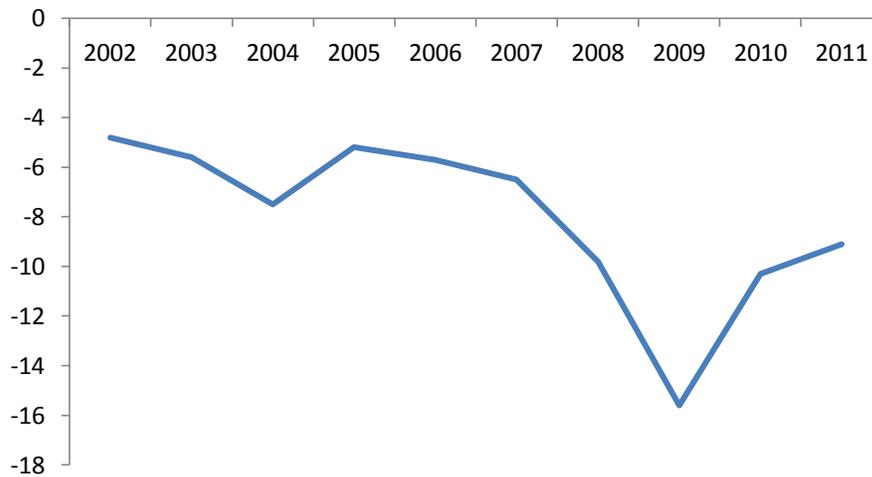
Figure 18. Greek fiscal deficit (% of GDP). Source:(Eurostat, 2012b).

Since Greece joined the Eurozone in 2011 it had a steadily high deficit, one of the highest within the EU for 2000-2003. In 2009 the national debt was almost 300 billion euro, while in 2011 it was already more than 150% of the national GDP (Figure 19).
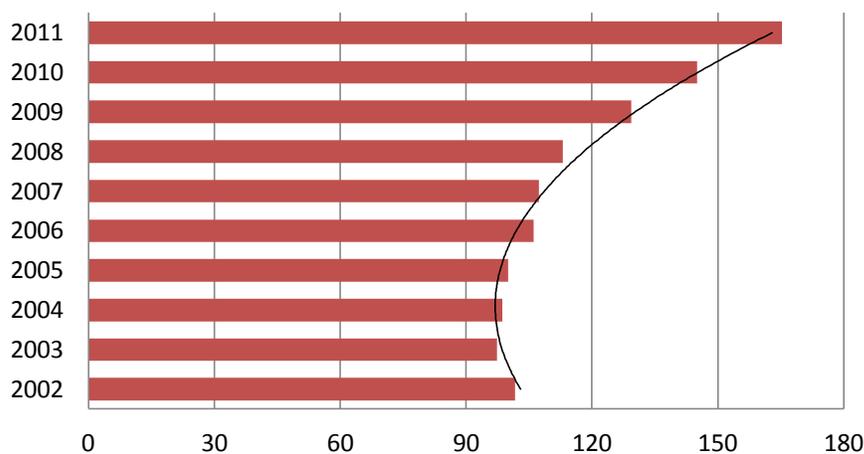
Figure 19. Greek public debt (% of GDP). Source: (Eurostat, 2012b)

The stability program that was applied significantly deteriorated the living standards of the Greek population. As result of the fiscal restructuring that Greece was forced to implement, unemployment sky rocketed (Figure 20). In the last quarter of 2011 unemployment reached 21% and in March 2012 it was still increasing (21.9%). For the young people the situation is even worse, since more than 50% of young people in Greece were unemployed in the beginning of 2012 (ELSTAT, 2012). During 2011, 31% of the Greek population was at ri of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat, 2012a).
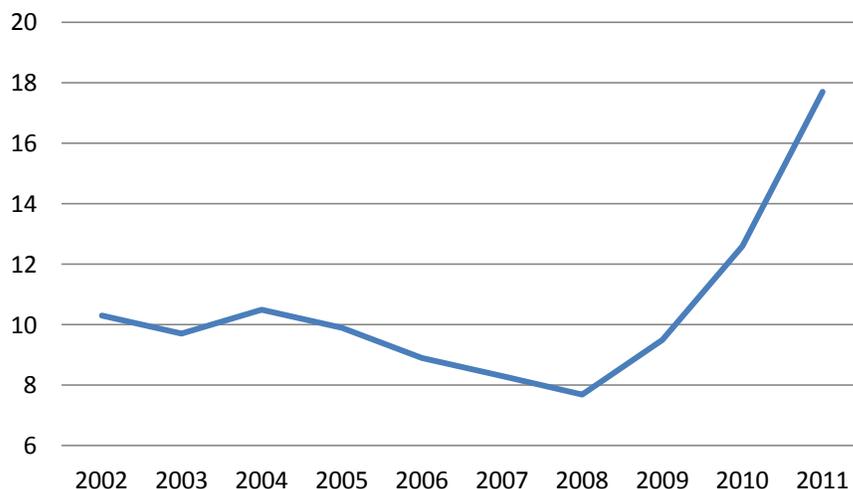
Figure 20. Greek annual unemployment rate. Source: (Eurostat, 2012b)

Regarding economic growth, after a period of relatively positive growth, the growth rate began to fall from 2006 on. Following the interventions of the EU-ECB-IMF and the implementation of the stability program, the recession galloped further, reaching -6% in 2011. This way, Greece became the first national state after the Second World War to stay in recession for more than 5 years (Figure 21).

The implications of the crisis and the implementation of austerity policies and fiscal restructuring include a 50% decrease of the real average income per capita and 8% decrease in labour costs. The Institute for Labour of National Trades Council predicts the number of unemployed people to exceed 1,2 million at the end of 2012. These numbers regard official unemployment, while unofficial number is expected to be even higher.
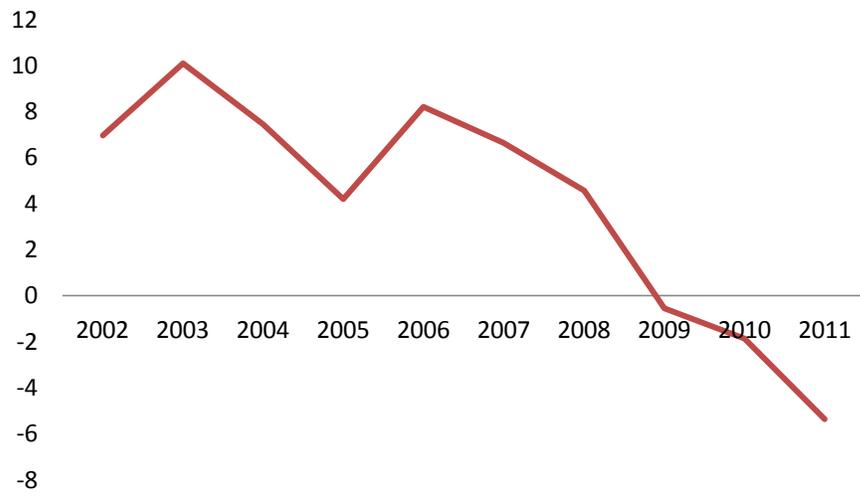
Figure 21. Greek annual growth rate. Source: (Eurostat, 2012b)

Case study analysis

Following the case study chapter on Athens, an analysis will be performed. The findings of each pillar will be reflected to the relevant points addressed in the theoretical background and developed in the theoretical framework. A first order attempt to bring together the different aspects will be discussed.

Socio-spatiality

The socio-spatial regime in Athens appears to have developed under poor regulation and conditions of rapid urbanization. The current regime regarding housing has been mostly influenced by the establishment of "antiparohi". Under this development mechanism small land owners have been enabled to develop their land without the necessity for development capital. Development capital is inputted by the developers who offer the land owners right to part of the developed housing.

This has resulted in the creation of horizontal social segregation. This means that people from a higher social status populate the top floors of apartment buildings, while labour class people populate the lower and ground floors of the same buildings. The later influx of international migrants continued this trend, further lowering the market value of lower floor apartments. The establishment of horizontal social segregation however has, at the same time, constrained the development of ghettoes in the city of Athens. Due to horizontal social segregation, neighbourhoods remain fairly diverse. Nevertheless, in more recent years this trend appears to be changing.

In terms of housing mobility, the absence of state regulation has facilitated the emergence of new households close to family or other support networks. This creates the contradiction of high social mobility, but a low housing mobility, since a resettlement for a new household is usually established within the effective range of the aforementioned support networks.

The ramifications of the large changes in infrastructure after the 2004 Olympics reduced the effective commuting time, making it possible to live in the suburbs but still work close to the centre. Therefore, more affluent social classes were able to buy houses around the new transport nodes, again under the absence of regulation. The only regulating mechanism appears in any case to be the supply and demand of the market and as a result more affluent individuals/families demonstrate increased social and housing mobility.

Furthermore, two other societal trends can be identified, the first being the dependence of income to the educational level. This means that higher educated people usually have higher incomes, assuming high social status positions in both the public and the private sector. The second one is the reproduction of discriminations through education, meaning that (as statistical data suggest) progeny of higher income/status families seek higher educational tracks to prevent downward social mobility. This has led to the perpetuation of reproducing prime house ownership to higher social strata (linked with higher educational credentials), since their economical status enables them to meet the market regulated housing pricing demands.

Lastly, on the realm of public space use, we can identify that public spaces are most notably used by small groups (less than two people). This fact, combined with the importance of housing in shaping the spatial distribution of Athens can be regarded as prioritizing private property versus the collective use of space. Whether this constitutes a conscious choice or a reflex to the established regime of socio-spatiality cannot be evaluated through the available inputs.

Planning practice

The chronology of the rapid urbanization of the city of Athens (Contextual aspects for the city of Athens) reveals that, at several stages, comprehensive and visionary plans for the development of Athens where drawn in the past. However, none of them was actually implemented, as most of the time planning was carried out under a sense of urgency. This created a paradigm of planning practice, which undermines future planning initiatives and questions the validity of future strategic plans.

As was presented in the case of housing, the market was established as the regulation mechanism of development. The decisions for supporting market values in planning have stemmed from centralized decision making bodies such as the Ministry of Environment, Spatial Planning and Public Works. These characteristics pertain to forms of neoliberal planning as discussed in the theoretical background section.

The way major projects where designed and developed for the 2004 Olympics, further strengthens this argument. Decision making bodies and committees put together solely for carrying them out already point out to a lack of an overarching planning vision. Their implementation and construction was carried out bearing in mind the Olympics alone, without contextualizing them with the needs of the city. The post-Olympic use of most venues classifies them as a creation of capitalist space, aimed to serve a single purpose without including possible integration to the civic landscape. As Brenner & Theodore (Brenner & Theodore, 2002) mention, Olympics related infrastructure projects fall under the category of "creation of a new infrastructure for market-oriented economic growth".

Infrastructure projects aimed at increasing interconnectedness and economic activity, but did little to be integrated with the areas through which they pass. Urban sprawl that resulted from their use (most notably in the area of Messoghia), as well as the related housing mobility around the new transport axes serve as indicators to this point. A notable exception remains the construction of the metro network which has had a very positive effect on transportation inside the city. The implementation of the metro network did reduce commuting time and environmental impact. At the same time however it enabled further unregulated urban sprawl cantered around the new metro stations.

The whole conception of the development projects carried out during the Olympics was targeted at increasing the appeal of the city as a touristic destination. Tourism remains an important income source for the Greek state and Athens in particular. It is exactly these priorities that are identified by Harvey as representative of neoliberal planning, in which cities are functioning as entrepreneurs. Aiming at attracting capital interests and the creation of space for business fails to address the needs of residents, intensifying already present problems.

Moving towards the future and examining the strategic plan for Athens/Attica, we can draw two conflicting conclusions. On the one hand, the strategic plan succeeds in identifying the aforementioned characteristics in the civic development. Most notably the lack of an overarching framework for regulating development is pointed out. Contrary to this, the main axes for future development, and especially their prioritization and the extent to which they are analyzed, suggests a stronger focus on economic development. Following this, the other pillars are guided by principles of sustainable development and the improvement of residential quality of life. These qualitative characteristics of the strategic plan, coupled with the non realization of previous visions/strategic plans casts a shade over the effectiveness of this latest plan.

The strategic plan also attempts to address issues of urban sprawl and unregulated development. In the official document it is stated that the new drawn city plans should be strictly respected. Suggested ways to control urban expansion mostly include effective transport networks as a means of regulation. The successful integration and adoption of the metro as a daily commute means which has helped reduce private car use seems to act as an example in this case. Nevertheless, the domination of the mechanism of "antiparohi" doesn't seem to be addressed. Therefore implications that it could continue to prevail and shape housing development remain.

Despite the targeting (positive, to a certain extent) of issues that need to be addressed by an overarching city planning, the strategic plan for Athens fails to address issues touching upon the process of planning. Mention of a more inclusive planning process or an open dialogue with residents remains absent. Consequently, there seems to be no room for a more inclusive planning process, or the intent and space (in terms of process but also time) to include local bodies/parties, interest groups or the general public. In this respect the strategic plan is still following the established planning practice, with the absence of the planner's role; planning is still carried out mostly on the national level with little delegation of decision making to the provincial and municipal level. Therefore, the established centralized planning process can be expected to remain as the main decision making level, with characteristics of inflexibility and lack of diversity perpetuated. In this aspect no distinction is made between national and local levels, as discussed by Allmendinger.

The absence of a discrete role for a planner and the aggregation of decision making in centralized bodies leaves very little space for planners, and even less for the inclusion of interest groups. Furthermore, the maps presented under the strategic plan (Figure 26,Figure 27,Figure 28) bear characteristics of a modernized adaptation of rational planning, meaning that goals and means to achieve them are predetermined. This leaves very little room for negotiating possible solutions, at an era in which the intensity of the problems and their additional intensification post-crisis is expected to further strengthen this approach, as problems grow and need to be quickly addressed.

In view of also the other aspects of the analysis that follow, development of Athens in the 21st century demonstrates most characteristics identified under Neoliberal planning. Market as the regulating mechanism, the creation of new infrastructure (Brenner & Theodore, 2002), entrepreneurial behaviour of the city in producing and consuming capital flows which further increases income inequalities while sustaining growth (Harvey, 1989), the absence of scale

distinctions on local levels (Allmendinger & Thomas, 1998) and capital reproduction through the creation of space (Harvey, 1989) are some of the most important ones, as discussed and presented in the theory chapter.

The right to the city and power relations

The number of protests regarding the claim of public space prior to the Olympics, which was thoroughly documented, suggest that early in the last decade cries for the right to the city started to formulate. The multitude of projects carried out during that period serves as an explanatory reason for direct and targeted protests and claims. The following years and as the issues evolved civilian response took on another form.

Peaking at the insurrection of the 2008 December, civilian response radicalized and intensified. Social exclusion of youth and the feeling of not having a say in shaping things led to a violent outburst. The semantics assigned to symbols of capitalist development made them the targets of civilian wrath. This destruction process in physical terms simultaneously generated creative responses. Taking over the streets and reclaiming public space led to a spontaneous planning act of the public. Transforming a parking place to a park, without any legitimization from official institutions was one of the tangible contributions that stemmed from the uprising. The fact that the park remains operational today and was accepted and used by its creators and local residents (which might have not been part of the insurrection) makes it a successful project of "guerrilla" planning. This outcome therefore demonstrates the eagerness of civilians to be part of shaping the city, an issue that seems to have been given little attention by decision makers so far.

Lefebvre argued about the importance of the urban process as an arena for political and class struggle and in essence this was adopted by the participants of the insurrection. Harvey (Harvey, 2003) further suggest that the right to the city aims to influence if not command the urban process and its linkage to urban growth and capital expansion. On top of these characteristics, a generational aspect of the claim could further be identified in the insurrection, pertaining to youth composition of the insurrection body.

The creation of the park together with the violent rupture of societal discontent can further be seen as approaching power relations from a Foucaultian perspective. The combination of the power vacuum manifested during the riots and the creation of the park not only challenge established power relations, but further established an opposing power by exercising action. It can be seen as a parallel of what Foucault describes as stripping the cloak of established institutions to be able to target them and fight against them.

At this point it can be argued that this "Foucaultian" outburst manifested itself as a direct result of the absence of communication (let alone ideal communication or consensus) described in Habermasian terms. The aforementioned planning practice and urban development have already revealed that negotiation, communication and the seeking of a common ground where absent before. One can further suggest that is exactly this absence that formal state institutions and decision making centres failed to pursue, which bred discontent leading to the outburst and challenge of power.

These events manifested prior to the crisis. Following the effects for the crisis on the Athenian population and especially considering the further marginalization of youth (e.g. youth unemployment) it appears that a new wave of discontent and power challenging is currently being bred. Insight to the exact characteristics however of the current situation in terms of the right to the city and power relations is lacking since research programs on these issues during the crisis have been very little if any.

The role of planning

Arriving at the synthesis to answer the main research question we can gradually construct the major points stemming from the individual research questions. From these points and following the developed theoretical framework we can start pointing out the main points that planning should address in the era after the crisis.

In terms of socio-spatiality we can note the absence of housing regulation and the prevalence of market forces. Also, we can identify that regulatory plans have been conceptualized slower than the growing pace of the city, resulting in developed areas being added to the civic plans post construction. Furthermore, we have established that creation of a horizontal segregation in terms of housing, and support networks as a decisive factor in housing location. Moreover, the expansion of the city along the new infrastructure has yet again reproduced the same mechanism of higher income urban sprawl, aided by the inter-reproduction of social class in terms of education and income.

Planning practice has been found to mostly comply with neoliberal values, where centralized decision making centres, guided by market values design and carry out the planning process. Other bodies were created in the case of the Olympics for specific purposes, lacking an overarching framework, aiming to develop single use spaces and infrastructure under the regime of urgency. Future regulatory plans seem to identify several of the issues from previous efforts, but the proposed plans embrace rational planning approaches, maintaining economic development as the number one point in the agenda.

Claims to the right to the city can be seen as having escalated from prior to the Olympics towards the insurrection. The latter can be seen as embodying the totality of claiming public space and the ability to influence and be part of a changing city. During the period from the Olympics to just before the crisis, civilian response radicalized, assuming a "Foucaultian" perspective in claiming civic shaping power. The example of "popular" planning in the case of the grassroots created park, serves as the ultimate cry of exercising the right to the city without institutional approval. In any case, the insurrection itself can be seen as societal reflexes being more acute than economic indicators in identifying the existing crisis before its outbreak.

The previous planning attempts in Greece and Athens in particular, stray away from any kind of inclusion of civilians or interest groups in the decision making process. This appears to be both engraved in the planning culture as well as in the institutions themselves. Civilian response towards established decision making has been disenfranchisement, discontent and ultimately fierce opposition. A better delineation of the position of the planner and authorization to

him/her to bring in several interest groups could gradually alleviate the "Foucaultian" civilian attitude towards a more Habermasian approach.

However, implies the establishment of few other changes as a prerequisite. A more far-sighted vision on planning and a more integrated approach towards the interconnectedness of the individual planning projects and tasks is called for. In this way, crucial time will be given to the planning process, the planners and the civilians to co-formulate a vision and strategy for the future. It will further alleviate the sense of urgency, ever-present before, that suffocates space for collaboration in terms of both time and process.

Lastly, civilian initiatives such as the park created in the place of a parking should be studied with a different perspective. They serve to both demonstrate the need of the people in terms of land use (in need of a park), but also their interest in being included in its creation. A decision making process that works for the people, should embrace the concept and outcome and use it as a guiding principle for its future planning initiatives. Stubborn opposition of institutional power to such a popular project does not help in breeding the aforementioned inclusive planning process. It rather further justifies and pushes for opposition on the already aggravated civilian "front".

Conclusion

In this chapter the analysis carried out so far will be integrated to a final conclusion. Firstly a short review of the theoretical background and research methods will be given and concluding remarks will then be drawn. Implications to theory, policy and politics will be discussed and lastly a reflection on the research carried out and pointing out possible future research will commence.

Review and summarization of theory

The thesis has examined the following theoretical strands: Planning theory, power relations and the right to the city that where discussed in separate sub-chapters. The importance of three types of planning where examined (namely Rational/Comprehensive, Neoliberal and Collaborative/Communicative) and the main characteristics of each one where identified. Rational/Comprehensive planning was found to tackle planning problems assuming a define outcome and means to achieve it. Neoliberal planning was found to be mostly shaped by market economy with a strong, centralized state that implements such ideas to decision making. Collaborative/Communicative planning is defined by attempting to solve problems within a dynamic and diversified society by including as many actors possible and seeking consensus among them. Under the theme of power relations the distinction between a consensus building process through ideal communication advocated by Habermas was contrasted to the Foucaultian perspective of challenging established power relations. Lastly the right to the city with its complex and more abstract terminology was discussed. The right to the city encompasses several different ideas and notions pertaining to civilian participation in the process of shaping the city.

In developing the theoretical framework for the thesis an integrative framework was established. Examining what planning deals with, how it does so and what are the effects of planning to civilians and the right to the city was the framework. Weaving the connections between planning theory (and practice), power relations and the right to the city we have examined socio-spatial effects in the city.

Review of research methods

For the research part of the thesis, the single case study of Athens, Greece was chosen. Athens was chosen because of the interest regarding the context of crisis. Prior to that, Athens had witnessed a rapid urbanization process and a major development of projects for hosting the Olympics in 2004. Furthermore, prior to the crisis an insurrection took place which was seen by participants and scholars as a claim for the right to the city, its violent nature challenging established power relations.

To carry out the research a qualitative research method was chosen. The research was split in specific research questions. Using literature sources, policy documents and secondary data, we have analysed them using explanatory, descriptive and exploratory analysis. The availability of data was found to not be abundant, especially lacking in terms of data post-crisis. However the several different sources dealing with the insurrection and its effects proved crucial, since the notion of the right to the city is hard to concretely define.

In accordance to the theoretical framework and the methodological choices, the research was divided in three main parts: socio-spatiality, planning practice and the right to the city together with power relations. Firstly, sources and supporting data were presented in the case study chapter, which were then analysed in the analysis chapter.

Case study analysis and conclusions

The analysis of the case study was carried out in order to answer the research questions formulated in the methodology chapter. Below the research questions are presented again, followed by the answers as derived from the analysis of the case study.

> Research question 1: What were the main socio-spatial characteristics of Athens prior to the crisis?

In terms of socio-spatiality, housing segregation was found to take the form of horizontal segregation, meaning that higher income people populate the higher floors of apartment buildings. This has been a result of poor housing regulation and of the mechanism of antiparochi, under which small land owners could develop their land without the need to provide development capital. The absence of housing regulation has led to market regulation of housing, which in turn favoured the emergence of new households close to family or other support networks. These two characteristics enabled the contradictory trends of high social mobility, coupled with low housing mobility, owed to the respective characteristics of market regulation and the importance of support networks to new household location.

Furthermore, there seems to be a very strong connection between income distribution and educational level, which also appears to reproduce within already highly educated families. The market regulation of housing enables these high income families to demonstrate a higher degree of housing mobility. Lastly, the use of public space is predominantly from one or two individuals, with social events taking place a lot less frequently. Together with poorly regulated housing mobility public space use suggests the prioritization of private property over the collective use of civic space.

> Research question 2: What has been the goal and what the effect of planning efforts carried out in preparation for the Olympics in 2004? What is planned for the future?

Regarding planning, the Olympic projects focused mainly on infrastructure development, carried out by centralized and build-for-purpose public bodies of decision making, embracing neoliberal planning values. Due to the strict temporal framework for these projects, planning was carried out under a sense of urgency and the projects where not contextualized with the needs of the post-Olympics city. The main aim of the projects was found to focus on economic development and increasing the attractiveness of the city as a touristic and capital destination, lacking a long term vision of the civic space.

Future planning for the city identifies, to a certain extent, the lack of an integrative approach towards planning. At the same time it still highlights economic development as the main goal for the future and centralized decision making remains the procedural way of implementation. Suggested mechanisms however for battling urban sprawl still focus on transport networks as a means of regulation, maintaining a modernized version of a rational planning approach.

Discussion or mention of a different, more inclusive planning process is notably absent and focus is still given to centralized decision making, without an outline for the planner role.

> Research question 3: Which are the claims of the right to the city in Athens before the crisis?

Several protests of different characteristics and nature, documented just before the completion of the Olympics projects, pertain to claims for the right to the city. Prior to the crisis, a significant unrest in the form of an insurrection took place, where the largest number of participants where youths. Their claim for a better future took the explicit form of occupation of public space and targeted attacks to symbols of capitalistic development. Several scholars have recognized characteristics of right to the city claims to the insurrection. The importance of the insurrection timing (few months before the financial crisis) demonstrates the acuteness of youth societal reflexes, ascribing more importance to the insurrection act

From the opposition to Olympic developments until the insurrection we can observe a radicalization of claims for the right to the city. This can be portrayed both by the form (i.e. protest vs. riots/insurrection) and the outcome of the claims. While the outcome of protesting to Olympic developments is deemed unsuccessful, following the insurrection the people managed to install and manage a park without any institutional legitimization. The symbolism of the park highlights the transition from negotiating inclusion to the decision making process in a Habermasian sense, to a more Foucaultian approach where power is claimed and exercised by the citizens.

> Main research question: What role can planning play in the socio-spatial redevelopment of crisis ridden Athens?

Planning in Athens is called to perform in a highly challenging context. The notable absence of housing regulation, with housing development being added to civic plans after their construction emerges as a major issue for the city. Furthermore, previous strategic visions for the city failed to materialize, creating disbelief and a negative custom for planning. At the same time, the increasing discontent of civilians has progressively radicalized and become more violent, further rupturing the poor links between institutionalized state bodies and residents. The presence of crisis has further augmented societal inequalities and welfare and despite that fact that no pertinent concrete research post-crisis can be located, it can be reasonably expected to exaggerate the pre-crisis problems.

In turn, following the crisis, urban sprawl, partly enabled by infrastructure expansion, needs to be accounted for by a more integrative approach in urban design. Moreover, a more collaborative approach needs to be adopted for planning as a whole, since past efforts have exaggerated, rather than mitigated, the centralization of the planning process and the effects on the civic and civilian realms. The radicalization of civilian responses needs to be taken into account and efforts towards inclusion of interest groups and consensus building should be sought for. Removing the urgency aspect and allowing a long term, inclusive process would foster a better planning practice including the people and acting for the people.

Implications

Points regarding implications on theory, policy and politics can be made, following the conclusions of the research.

On theory, the concept of socio-spatiality theme would benefit from a more elaborated provision of data. Especially in the Greek and Athenian context, indexes with content and temporal consistency appear to be lacking. Furthermore their interconnection and contextualization with policy and planning is rather weak. A framework that would stronger connect these topics could help make future research and decision making more concrete and possibly more effective.

Regarding the right to the city, looking into relevant literature, a lack of a sharper outline of what is included under the term is evident. The whole notion of the right to the city has not evolved substantially since its conception by Henry Lefebvre, although a return to the topic is attempted by contemporary scholars. Its theoretical nature makes any attempt to tackle it troublesome. Nevertheless, concretely linking the notion and breaking it down to qualitative research sub-topics would enable cross comparison under different contexts. Additionally, in light of the age composition of the insurrection, a generational aspect could be considered as a topic in itself.

Regarding policy design and implementation, the increasing demand to comply with EU derived legislation reduces the degree of liberty of national governments. The imposed fiscal and institutional restructuring (under the EU, ECB and IMF) on crisis hit countries further complicates the extent to which policy on the national and regional level can abide by with both residential and more centralized demands. While this phenomenon still unravels, studying its effects on the various scales (EU, national and regional) in terms of decision making could be an interesting and insightful task.

Lastly, none of these issues manifest themselves in the absence of other political aspirations and goals. Under changing economic dynamics on the global front, political decisions revolve more and more around economical aspects and societal welfare is marginalized in the agenda. Is there room for a re-prioritization and could this be envisioned in the future? A possibility for a more bottom-up decision making and agenda setting has been envisioned before, but the conditions for its surfacing remains unseen. Could the civic level acts as a springboard for such a change?

Reflection

In this subchapter an attempt to critically reflect on the research itself and provide some recommendations is undertaken. More general recommendation on the topic will also be presented below.

We have been able to weave the connection between planning, the right to the city and power relations in the city of Athens. This has been done by a qualitative research, but some aspects could be analysed in a more quantitative matter. However, the parts of the research could be individually examined to a greater depth. Furthermore, interviews (of both institutional bodies

and civilians) could also be used to generate a more holistic approach. In order for this to commence some prerequisites would need to be present. These are presented here in the form of recommendations.

The first point would be the low availability of data regarding social and socio-spatial indicators. This absence in itself partly highlights the lack of an integrative approach to planning in Greece. Using inputs from purely social sciences could generated a more comprehensive approach to the issues regarding planning. This would either call for an inclusion of this type of research from decision making bodies, or for the implementation of such an approach from research institutions.

Building on this, the second point would be that excising sources used for socio-spatiality, although carried out by a research body might not be necessarily peer reviewed or of academic standards. Despite the fact that most authors of the research have published articles in academic journals, scientific sources on the topic would greatly benefit the analysis. Thirdly, the role of the planner and planning in general doesn't appear to be distinct in the case of Athens. While this is pertinent to the planning culture of the country, the furthering of EU integration could be a driver for change in this aspect.

Further research

Taking this thesis as a starting point, some further aspects worthy of research can be noted. Having establish the link between planning, the right to the city and power relations with socio-spatiality, it would be of interest to focus on the temporal evolution of this relation. Socio-spatial sources and data on Athens after the crisis are not yet available, while the 2011 census data has still not been made public. When these sources can be accessed in the future, looking into the post- crisis Athens would be worth investigating. As mentioned in the implications, a systematization of socio-spatiality indexes, temporal consistency of available data and constructing an inventory, on a primary or secondary level, could deepen the understanding and further sharpen the results of the current research.

The interest in this case would be not only in terms of planning, but also on the effects of the crisis in e.g. income distribution, housing mobility but also in terms of power relations. Is the legacy of the insurrection and the radical civilian response that followed still active today? Public opposition to governmental decision making appears to give a positive answer, but a more academic and systematic approach would yield more concrete conclusions. The degree to which civilian participation, in terms of numbers but also substance, changes and to what extent, what are the main factors affecting it might serve as interesting topics. To this end, a systematic documentation of the evolution of public opposition, characteristics and whether or not they bear characteristics of civic movements in the long term would add clarity and definition to the research results.

Another point would be to asses to what extent the implementation of the regulatory plan for Athens will be implemented. Being the first strategic planning document since the 80's, but put together and probably carried out under the context of crisis make it an interesting topic. The evolution of the decision making process and the effects of planning could be studied, under the

restructuring carried out as a demand from the EU support mechanism. Underpinning the study with social data emerges as another interesting topic to study. A more detailed analysis of previous regulatory plans and a follow up of their evolution and implementation (or not) would create a comprehensive background framework, providing a chronological aspect of planning practice.

Appendix

Πηγή: ΕΣΥΕ
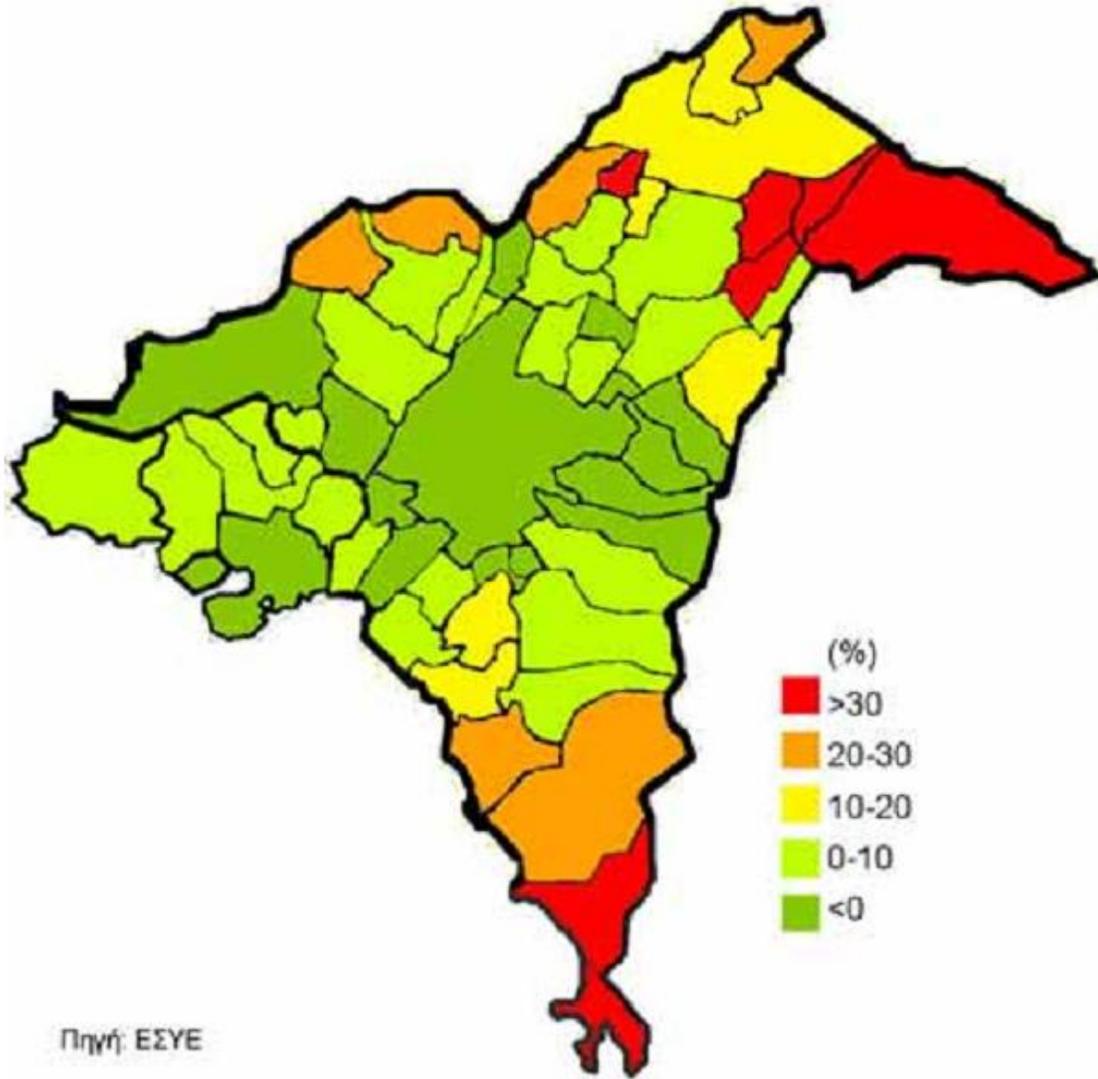
Figure 22. Population evolution of the municipalities of the Athens prefecture 1991-2001. Source (Polizos & Vatavali, 2009)
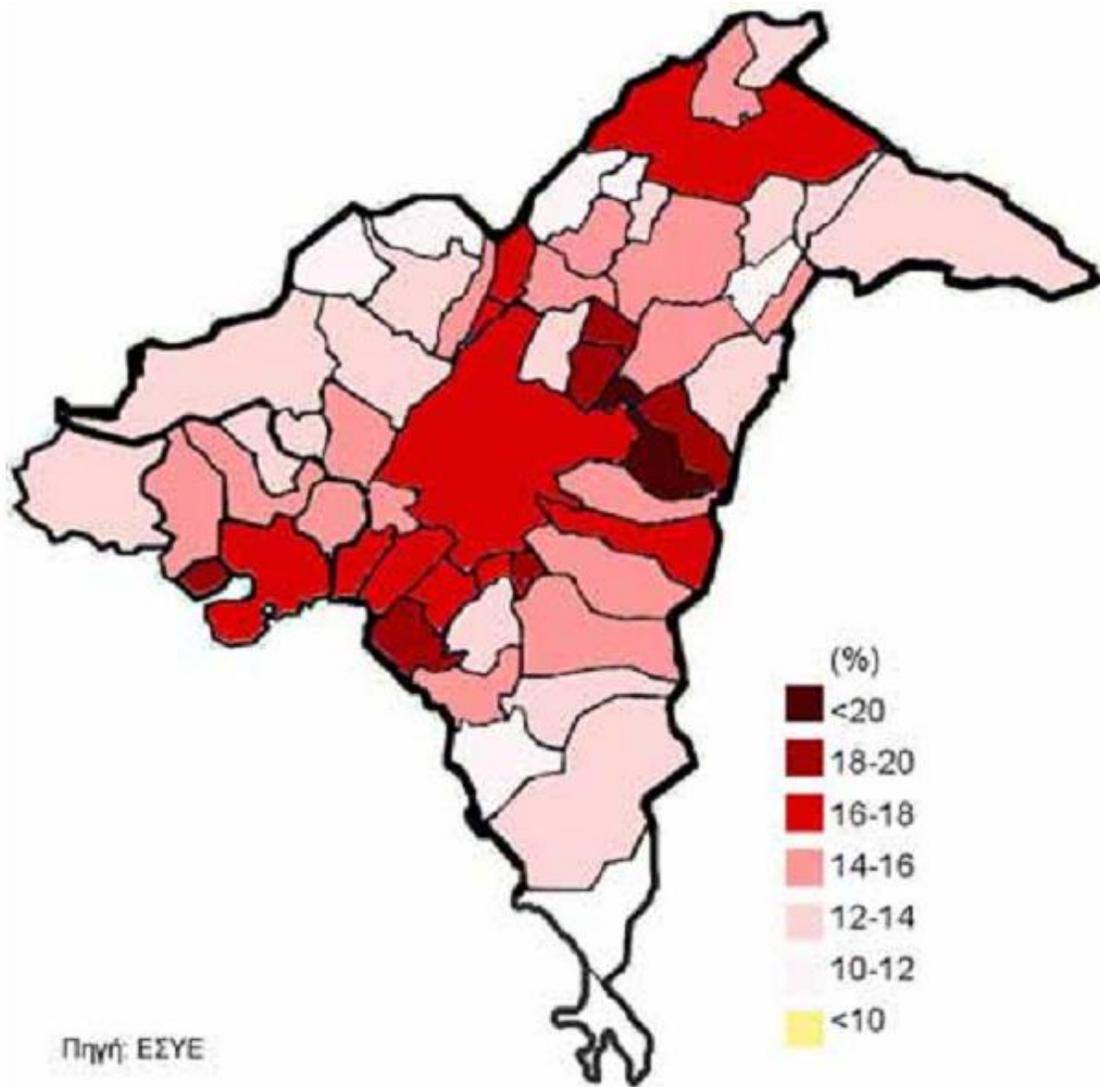
Figure 23. Population ageing in the Athens prefecture in 2001. Source: (Polizos & Vatavali, 2009)

Table 13. Geometric characteristics of streets. Source: (Makrygianni & Tsavdaroglou, 2011)

Metropolitan areas	Average street width	Average density of cross-roads
Berlin	15-120m	270m
New York	15-45m	245m
Los Angeles	15-190m	220m
Moscow	10-80m	180m
Beijing	5-160m	160m
Buenos Aires	10-135m	115m
Barcelona	5-60m	115m
Paris	6-70m	110m
Mexico city	10-60m	95m
London	10-90m	90m
Milano	5-55m	75m
Athens	5-50m	70m
Mumbai	4-45m	50m
Beirut	7-35m	45m
Instanbul	2-45m	40m
Algiers	10-25m	40m
Napoli	5-35m	35m
Cairo	3-70m	35m
Baghdad	3-70m	30m
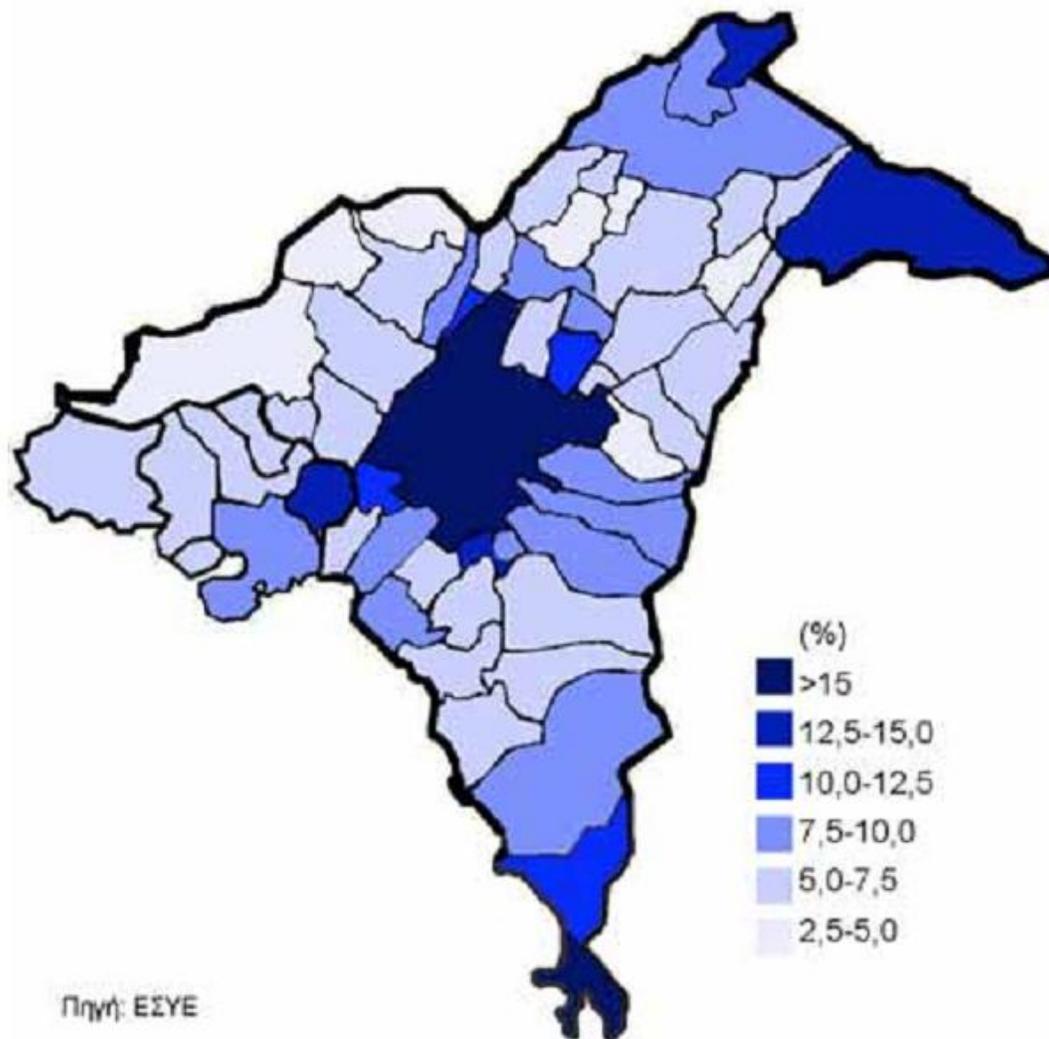
Figure 24. Immigrants in Athens in 2001. Source: (Polizos & Vatavali, 2009)

Table 14. The different public spaces included in the research and their main characteristics. Source: (Avdelidis, 2008)

Name	Location	Natural space, facilities	Area	Collective activities
1. National Garden, Zappion grove	-Part of the historical center of the city -Coterminous to the Commercial center -Coterminous to zones of state and legislative buildings -Part of a wider open zone (national garden - Zappion - Zeus Temple - gymnastics club -	-Park: created and planted in 1836-39 -Includes: botanical garden, zoological garden, artificial lakes, playgrounds, Zappion mansion, café's, libraries, anctiquities, , routes, free green spaces	258 acres	-Exibitions, celabrations, commercialand athletic activities, conferences, international meetings -Supra-local importance

	Arditos hill archaelogogical spaces, sports spaces, public buildings and green spaces -Inside the municipality of Athens, 2nd municipal compartment			
2 Hill of Hippios Kolonos	-Inside dense civic landscape -Inside the borders of the Municipality of Athens, 4th municipal compartment	-Hill with coppice and park -Includes: green spaces, historical tombs, archaeological space, café, routes	≈17	-Local importance within the municipality
3 Flisvos - Eden beach	-Part of the city beach in Saronikos gulf -Indies the Zone of Sea Front from Faliro to Koropi of the program for the creation of zones of absolute protection of free, green and sports spaces in the peri-urban area -Inside the borders of the municipality of Paleo Faliro	-Coastal zone with 1250m of coast -Includes: swimming coast, sidewalk, playgournds, restaurants, sport facilities, winter sea sport facilities, port facilities of fishermen, free space, rocky area	≈48	-Sports, fishing activities, commercial exhibitions, concerts -Local importance for special activities
4 Filopappou Hill	-Inside the historical center of Athens -Coterminous of the old city and Plaka -Part of the greater zone of archaeological spaces and green spaces -Inside the borders of Athens municipality, 3rd municipal compartment	-Hill with coppice -Includes: extended green areas, archaeological spaces, routes, churches, research center, theater, café,restaurant	400	-Religious activities and celebrations, social ceremonies -Supra-local importance on a country level
5 Siggrou grove - Anavrita	-Part of agricultural inland of the 19th century -West boundary is Kifisias avenue -Inside a wider zone of health, welfare and educational institutions	-Coppice, park and agricultural area Includes: big area of forest, agricultural activities, hives, sports facilities, theater, institute of agricultural research, legacy buildings	≈950	-Sports and artistic activities -Supra-local importance for the North suburbs and sometimes for the city

6 Perama	-Coastal west border of housing area -Located at the border of housing and industrial areas -Part of the sports and green areas, coterminous with schools and the public cemetery -Inside the borders of the Perama municipality	Beach and waterfront with a coastal length of 800m -Includes: swimming coast, sidewalks, taverns	30	-Local importance, within the municipality
7 Selepitsari park	-Inside the area of Tourkovounia (Nikeas) -Inside the borders of Keratsini municipality and partly of Nikea municipality	-Hill with no vegetation and park under construction in an old quarry	≈700	-Local importance for the western suburbs

National garden

café or restaurant 13%
playground 14%
sports 2%
walking, strolling 39%
escorting, group meeting, discussing 15%
resting 2%
hanging out 15%

Anavrita

social game 36%
waiting (for PT, smoking, standing) 3%
walking, strolling 12%
escorting, group meeting, discussing 7%
collective activity 11%
resting 1%
hanging out 11%
playground 11%
sports 8%

Filopappos

walking, strolling 49%
passing with mototrized transport/parking 5%
sports 4%
hanging out 41%
resting 1%

Flisvos

collective activity 1%
walking, strolling 7%
escorting, group meeting, discussing 12%
fishing 1%
resting 46%
waiting (for PT, smoking, standing) 1%
social game 3%
passing with mototrized transport/parking 1%
sports 8%
hanging out 15%
playground 5%

Perama

passing with mototrized transport/parking 55%
sports 13%
café or restaurant 1%
hanging out 8%
resting 4%
collective activity 1%
walking, strolling 13%
fishing 3%
waiting (for PT, smoking, standing) 2%

Selepitsari

walking, strolling 12%
social game 20%
escorting, group meeting, discussing 31%
sports 16%
playground 17%
hanging out 1%
collective activity 3%

Figure 25. Types of use for natural public space in Athens. Data source: (Avdelidis, 2008)
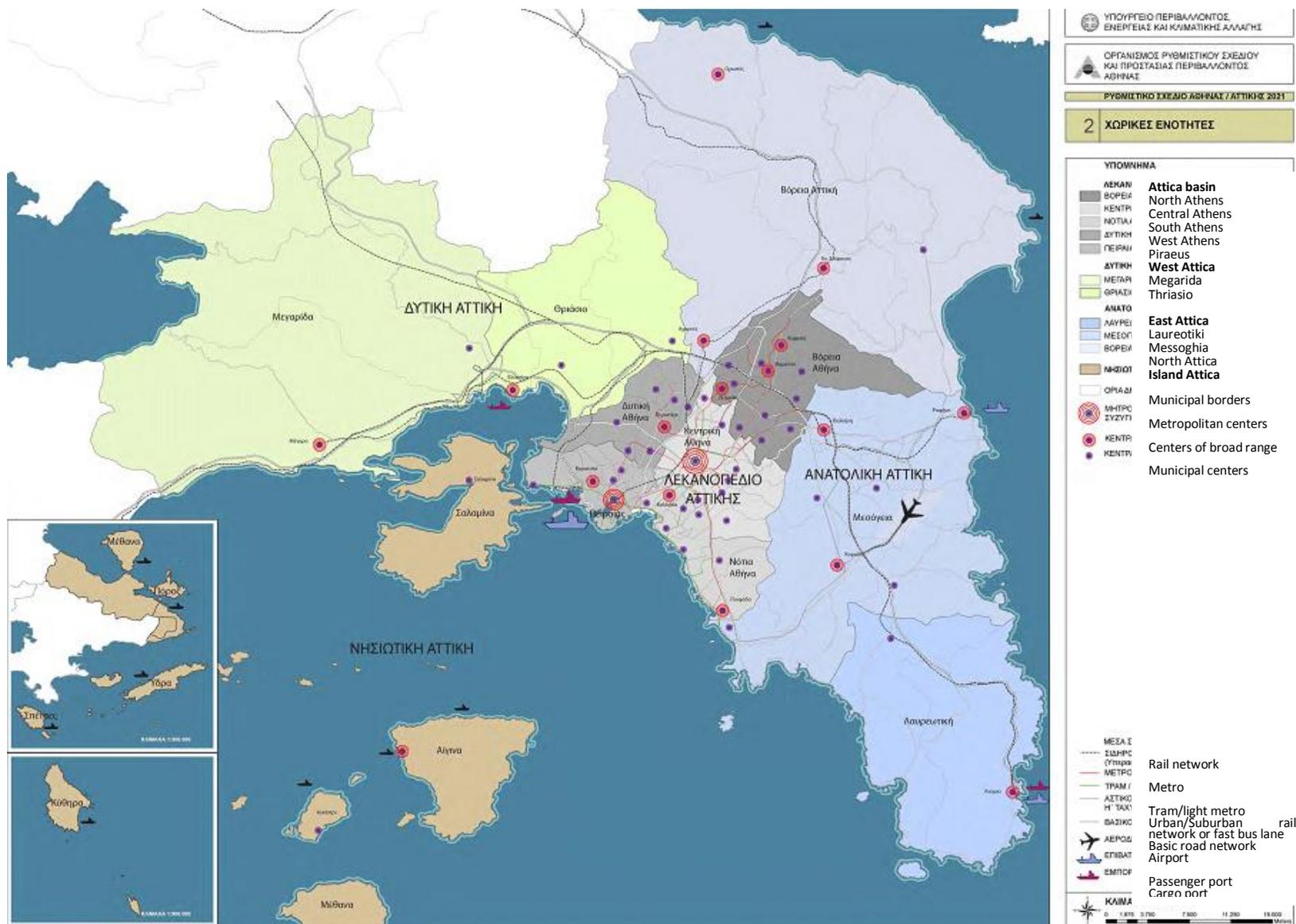
Figure 26. Spatial Units of the SPA. Source: (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012)

The legend labels (right side of map):
- Development poles
- Culture – Tourism
- Other uses
- Research – Education
- Secondary sector
- Wholesale/Supply management
- Metropolitan centers
- Centers of broad range
- Municipal centers
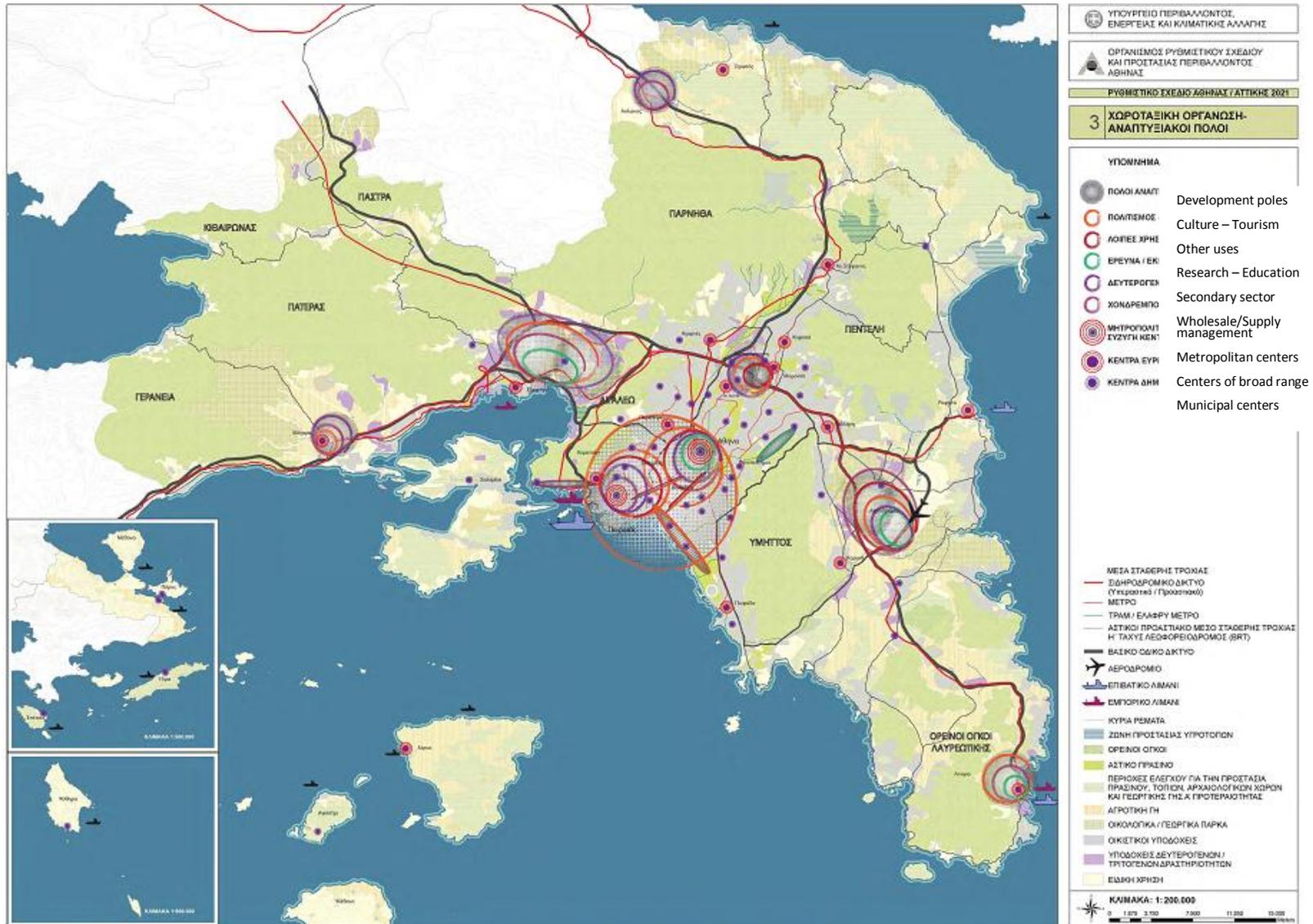
Figure 27. Spatial organization and development poles. Source: (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012)

Figure 28. Rail network and planned expansions. Source: (Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change & Athens Strategic Plan and Environment Organization, 2012)

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