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## Session 70 Main Session



### SHELTERING THE DISPLACED: HOUSING THE 'OTHER' AND THE MAKING OF THE POST-WAR CITY

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#### Keywords

Postwar Europe, migration, urban  
policies, housing models,  
postcolonial legacies, welfare

#### Synthesis

This session explores how post-war population movements reshaped European cities through categorized housing policies targeting newcomers.

It examines their socio-political and spatial impacts, and investigates the dynamics of integration, segregation, and urban transformation.

The decades following World War II saw major demographic shifts in Europe due to forced displacements, decolonization, labor migration, and rural-to-urban movement. These flows—sometimes encouraged by European states to support reconstruction and modernization—reshaped the social and spatial fabric of cities, generating urgent housing and infrastructure demands. National and local authorities, often backed by international organizations, developed targeted housing policies for populations categorized along geopolitical, administrative, or ethnic lines. Social housing, initially for the working classes, was redefined to include schemes such as transitional settlements, hostels, camps, and shelters for “foreigners”. These forms of housing institutionalized differentiated management of inhabitants, without however accounting for their social and cultural realities. Shaped by the circulation of architectural and planning paradigms—from modernism to welfare urbanism—such models contributed to hybrid or contested urban forms and reinforced segregationist logics, often inherited from colonial legacies, even in countries without direct colonial legacies. In parallel, grassroots and activist responses proposed solidarity-based alternatives and challenged dominant representations of stigmatized housing forms.

This panel explores housing strategies and migrant housing forms developed in Europe after 1945, by states, cities, NGOs, and since the 1990s, city networks addressing migration. We invite contributions focusing on migrant housing forms – transitional shelters, camps, collective or informal housing- with attention to policy/model circulation, the socio-spatial inequalities produced, and integration into welfare systems, labor markets and development ideologies.

#### Axes of analysis

- Continuities and contrasts between social housing and migrant-specific housing: postcolonial legacies, planning principles, architectural forms, and everyday practices.
- Plurality of actors and scales: role of states, cities, NGOs, international bodies (UNHCR, World Bank), and grassroots efforts in shaping housing categories.
- Urban and territorial policies: inclusion/exclusion of migrant housing in urban agendas; environmental conditions and vulnerabilities of such settlements.
- Appropriation and resistance: how inhabitants negotiate or reshape their environments; the role of activism and social sciences in transforming narratives.

We welcome comparative and multi-scalar approaches. This panel contributes to wider debates on migration, housing, and the transformation of post-war European cities—topics that remain politically charged today.

# **Main Session 70, *Sheltering the Displaced: Housing the “Other” and the Making of the Post war City***

Marilena Kourniati and Athina Vitopoulou

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## ***ABSTRACTS***

### ***Section I. Humanitarian Governance and Housing Categories in Post-war Europe***

#### **1. Feeding, Housing, and Re-Educating Europe: UNRRA Camps in Post-War Italy as Mediterranean Laboratory of Humanitarian Governance**

Chiara Maria Pulvirenti, Italy Sapienza University of Rome

This paper examines the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) operations in post-war Italy (1944–1947) as part of a wider European effort to govern displacement through intertwined strategies of food relief, housing, and welfare. Conceived at the intersection of national reconstruction and international humanitarianism, the Italian UNRRA mission turned refugee camps into laboratories where assistance, temporary accommodation, and civic re-education were combined to manage mobility and coexistence in the aftermath of war. The inclusion of Italy—an ex-Axis nation—within the UNRRA framework decided at the 1944 Montreal Conference marked a major political and moral shift. As in other European contexts, UNRRA operated through existing national welfare and administrative structures, including those inherited from the fascist regime, adapting them to new humanitarian goals. This nationally grounded implementation coexisted with the internationalist ethos of its staff—technicians, educators, and welfare officers from multiple countries whose expertise circulated across borders. The encounter between these two dimensions produced hybrid practices of relief that redefined both the meaning of assistance and the management of displaced populations. The research draws on an extensive body of archival sources: operational reports, diaries, correspondence, and administrative files preserved in the United Nations Archives (New York), the Herbert Lehman Papers (Columbia University), the Fiorello La Guardia Papers (New York City Municipal Archives), and the Amministrazione Aiuti Internazionali at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome. These materials reveal how the camps established in Lecce, Bari, Caserta, Ancona, Bologna, and Rome functioned as infrastructures of differentiated housing, where food provision, welfare services, and educational programs were negotiated daily among international officers, national administrators, and refugees themselves. Building on the bottom-up perspectives of Jessica Reinisch on "grassroots internationalisms", the paper approaches the UNRRA through its practices and human networks rather than its institutional rhetoric. It argues that these camps make visible the contradictions of post-war humanitarianism: the coexistence of national persistence and international renewal, of inclusion and control, and the attempt to rebuild Europe through the intertwined politics of food, housing, and care.

## 2. **Rehabilitating the Periphery: Sheltering the Rural Displaced in Postwar Greece (1945-1947)**

Maria Anna Kaprara, Architectural Association School of Architecture

This paper explores how postwar international humanitarian and welfare actors constructed Greek rural populations as ‘internally displaced subjects’ whose return to the countryside was framed as essential for national economic rehabilitation and for addressing homelessness and overcrowding in the urban centres. Focusing on 1945-47 and examining the operations of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration [UNRRA] Greece Mission in relation to emergency sheltering, the paper analyses how UNRRA, the Greek state and rural inhabitants jointly shaped housing categories, relief priorities and territorial hierarchies in the immediate aftermath of WWII. Wartime devastation, famine and violent reprisals by the occupying forces had forced many rural inhabitants into urban centres. Upon liberation, civilian relief in Greece, first organised by the Military Liaison and later by UNRRA, centred on relocating populations to their ‘old homes’ (or where those once stood). Driven by the dual aim of relieving urban overcrowding and restoring agricultural workers as a ‘high priority in relief’, this mechanism attempted to stabilise the country and support the global project of postwar recovery. The periphery was reframed as both a productive landscape and the primary site for emergency sheltering, relegating urban relief to a more complex, dependent and slow-burning project. UNRRA’s sheltering strategies relied on repairing and rebuilding vernacular structures due to severe shortages of materials, labour, and tools. Reconstruction work was carried out by rural inhabitants while most of the necessary materials and equipment were supplied by UNRRA, distributed through the Agricultural Bank of Greece, creating a hybrid framework in which government-led, humanitarian-promoted self-help practices coexisted. Drawing on UNRRA shelter policies, Greece Mission reports, and emergency laws (1945-1947), the paper argues that these interventions produced a governable rural subject rendered productive and later reintegrated into state-led reconstruction. By centring internal displacement and rurality, it traces how UNRRA’s provisional sheltering practices may have influenced early Marshal Plan development and housing strategies in Greece, showing that welfare priorities and reconstruction logics emerged through negotiations between national needs, international agendas and humanitarian mandates.

### **3. The urban rehabilitation of Neorefugees carried out under United Nations auspices; the case of Thessaloniki, Greece.**

Sotiria Alexiadou, Greece, University of Thessaly

Refugees under the mandate of the United Nations, who in Greek were called “νεοπρόφυγες = Neorefugees”, emerged after World War II and the signing of the Geneva Convention in 1951. The refugees who arrived in Greece in the late 1950s and early 1960s came from various countries, such as Russia, Romania, and Armenia. Some of them were of Greek nationality, but their nationality was not a criterion for inclusion or exclusion from rehabilitation programs if they met the social and economic criteria. A special “NeoRefugees Directorate” was established within the Hellenic Ministry of Social Welfare for the rehabilitation of “neorefugees”. Urban rehabilitation programs included housing and professional rehabilitation in urban areas such as Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki. The housing rehabilitation strategies followed for this social group differed from the programs that had been implemented until then and concerned other social groups, such as the refugees of 1922-1925 or those affected by World War II –guerrilla warfare victims, bombing victims, etc. Factors that contributed to the development of different rehabilitation strategies were the number of beneficiaries, their geographical distribution, and, above all, the way in which the programs were financed. This paper focuses on data concerning the housing rehabilitation of refugees under the mandate of the United Nations in Thessaloniki, presenting the different practices implemented by the Ministry integrating or segregating them in the urban space. It examines the urban planning and architectural identity of the complexes that were rebuilt in the city for the beneficiaries, the “Neorefugees”. At the same time, it compares these programs with housing rehabilitation programs for other social groups implemented during the same period by the Hellenic Ministry of Social Welfare. The research is based on primary material from the archives of the Hellenic Ministry of Social Welfare and press publications from the study period.

### ***Section II. Labour Migration, Welfare Urbanism, and the Housing of the “Internal Other”***

#### **4. The Internal Other: Italian Miners, Labour Displacement and Urban Segregation in Post-war France**

Marco Spada, Italy, University of Messina

This proposal investigates the migration of Sicilian and Sardinian miners to France in the aftermath of World War II as a key episode in the social and spatial transformation of post-war

Europe. Drawing on extensive archival research in Italy and France, it reconstructs the trajectories of thousands of southern Italian workers recruited by the Office National d'Immigration between 1947 and 1953 and resettled in the industrial and mining regions of the Gard, Moselle, and Pas-de-Calais. These flows, though presented as responses to labour shortages in reconstruction France, reveal a deeper process of internal European displacement: the relocation of peripheral populations into highly segregated urban and industrial environments. The miners' settlements - ranging from barracks and temporary housing to purpose-built cités minières - became laboratories of social control and integration. They embodied the contradictions of the French welfare state: conceived as instruments of inclusion through labour, they in fact reproduced spatial hierarchies and cultural marginalization, separating "Southern" Italian migrants from both French workers and other foreign groups. In this sense, these housing forms mirrored the differentiated management of post-war populations described in broader European contexts, where social housing intersected with migration policies and the governance of "foreign" labour. By comparing Sicilian and Sardinian cases, the proposal highlights contrasting modes of political and union mobilization exported to France: while Sicilian miners, shaped by a culture of cooperation with the CGIL and the Italian Communist Party, found natural allies in the CGT and PCF, Sardinian workers, marked by a tradition of autonomous and radical conflict, developed more independent forms of organization within French mining communities. These political subcultures, carried across borders, decisively shaped the miners' strategies of adaptation, resistance, and solidarity in the host country. Ultimately, this proposal situates the migration of island miners within the broader making of the post-war European city, showing how these communities, positioned at the intersection of labour demand, housing policy, and social marginality, reveal the emergence of a new "internal otherness" within Western Europe and within reconstruction-era France.

## **5. The urban transformation of Turin and the arrival of Istrian refugees through the testimonies of the inhabitants of the Vallette-Lucento district from 1945 to 1980.**

Boris Pesce, Fondazione Istituto Piemontese Antonio Gramsci Torino

The essay is part of the bed of social history and urban history and intends to shed light on the home, the neighborhood, as a place of daily life, social struggle, inclusion and exclusion, in the context of the great urban transformation of Turin connected to the reconstruction of the city after the destruction of the war and the new town plan, through the testimonies of Istrian refugees who arrived in Turin and inhabitants of public housing buildings specially built for them, together with those for immigrants from southern Italy, in the Vallette-Lucento district of

Turin from 1945 to 1980. From the interviews emerges the difficult path of entry into the city, from the shacks to the coveted council house, but also the distrust and racism of the people of Turin. There is also criticism of the construction of a district without any urban planning criteria, without adequate services (especially regarding poor connections with the city centre), social and physical isolation, without taking into account differences in geographical origin, social status. The gap also emerges between what was planned by urban planners and politicians, albeit with considerable scientific and economic commitment, and reality. However, there are also positive aspects, the joy of having a new home, the solidarity between immigrants, the union experienced in the struggles to improve housing conditions through neighborhood committees, the occupations of houses, the satisfaction with a new job, the support, but also the emergence of patronage phenomena, by political and trade union associations and organizations.

## **6. Urban transformation and social housing: The Nizzoli Associati's projects for Taranto Nord**

Francesca Prelz Galiani, Italy Polytechnic University of Bari

The paper aims to analyse some of the projects drawn up for the mediterranean city of Taranto, located in the Ionian province of Apulia region, by the Nizzoli Associati architecture studio of Milan, dated from the second half of the 1960s and due to the establishment of the 4th Italsider Steel Centre, nowadays better known as 'Ex Ilva'. This study is part of the PhD programme currently being in Polytechnic University of Bari, Dipartimento di Architettura Costruzione e Design (ArCoD). The Nizzoli Associati's projects taken into consideration are the houses for Italsider employees in the urban plan for Taranto Nord (1969 – 1971). The two complementary projects have been combined in a new residential quartier developed for over 10.000 people, in which sheltering labour migrants and local groups of individuals who do not necessarily come from urban backgrounds, but who will become part of an urban integration project. In this paper, «Housing the 'Other'» would mean understand how social housing could be linked to labour migration and to rural-to-urban movement in urbanization's phenomenon, which was particular and with specific characteristics in this mediterranean city; public role is essential to understand the «Making of Post-war City», in which steel production is part both in the rationalisation of housing buildings and in the industrialisation of construction sites, as well as in economic and demographic effects on the city and province with the arrival of an industrial giant, such as Italsider. After the expansion of the site ended in 1975, the IV steelwork became the most important industrial plant in southern Italy, the second largest in Italy after Turin and FIAT, and the largest steelworks in Europe. In this context, housing policies for working class was adopted by national government authorities and the city of Taranto was aimed at making the leap from being partly agricultural and partly military, because of its Navy Arsenal, to become a modern

city, with a welfare urbanism and a cutting-edge infrastructure. The projects of Nizzoli Associati were developed to create a flexible and programmatic urban system that could be expanded over time, presented by architects as possible alternative to the General Town Plan. In this study, urban policy instruments available between 1960 and 1980 in Taranto area are the key to speak about the Nizzoli's projects for the expansion of the city, as part of a national urban coordination plan.

## **7. Post disaster resettlement models in Greece. The case of New Viniani**

Vaso Trova, University of Thessaly & Nikos Belavilas, Greece

This paper investigates the model employed for the construction of new settlements in Greece, specifically aimed at relocating mountainous or rural communities affected by seismic events. The case study examined is the relocation of the mountain village of Viniani following a major earthquake in 1966. This case exemplifies a broader planning approach that was applied in similar contexts throughout the country. The earthquake left the original settlement irreparably damaged, leading state authorities to launch plans for its relocation and rebuilding. The design for New Viniani was undertaken by the Ministry of Public Works in 1969. Construction commenced that same year and was completed in 1973. The protracted construction timeline and substandard living conditions led a significant portion of the population to abandon plans to relocate to the new village, opting instead to move permanently to the regional capital Karpenisi or other urban centers. Notably, the urban and architectural design of the new settlement bore little resemblance to either the original spatial configuration or the local building traditions. Its spatial organization follows a simplified Hippodamian grid, a model whose use in Greece can be traced to the early rural refugee settlements of the early twentieth century. This planning approach presupposes the availability of flat terrain, and the selection of the relocation site was therefore dictated by the model's requirements—specifically, land capable of accommodating the regular geometric logic of the imposed plan. Likewise, the architectural typology of the new rural dwellings adhered to a standardized design introduced in 1949 by the Ministry of Reconstruction. The evolution of urban design theories and planning ideologies from the interwar period through the late 1960s appears to have exerted limited influence on the generic form and implementation of post-disaster resettlement schemes in Greece. These settlements occupy an ambiguous conceptual position between the austerity characteristic of industrial housing projects and the spatial ideals associated with the modern movement. They thus reflect a predominantly pragmatic and utilitarian response to urgent housing needs rather than an engagement with the local culture of the area. As a result, residents struggled to develop a sense

of familiarity or belonging within the new settlement, and those with the means to do so soon migrated to other places in the country or abroad.

## **8. Post-war Tabula Rasa: Emergency Housing and the Emergence of a New Social Contract in Cyprus**

Frixos Petrou & Konstantinos Avramidis, Cyprus, University of Cyprus

This paper explores how architecture was deployed by the Republic of Cyprus in the aftermath of the 1974 war to both respond to the crisis and, in the same stroke, shape the post-crisis landscape. The state-built housing estates constructed for displaced persons by the Republic of Cyprus offer a unique opportunity to examine the relationship between architecture, subjectivity and class composition. The tabula rasa approach to housing the internal migrants of the war allows for a clear snapshot of the state's approach to the (re)production of labour power and the governance of an unsettled population transitioning from agrarian to urban-industrial life. The estates are situated within their historical, legislative and material contexts, framing how the state contemporaneously mediated the urgent needs of displaced and disenfranchised communities, while accommodating agendas of urban growth, social stability and capitalist development. Our analysis examines the atlas of typologies developed for the estates, as well as architectural and spatial characteristics of the Strovolos II project. A thorough analysis of the various typologies deployed across the Republic of Cyprus' territories offers insight into the state's role in mediating social reproduction, both on the field of everyday life as well as in the larger sense of protecting the social relation specific to the capitalist mode of production. The issues of labour and gender in connection to architecture and the role of the state are particularly prominent in the analysis. The paper draws on archival research as well as a process of re-drawing and dissecting the original designs. Research through teaching further demonstrates critiques, alternatives and contemporary approaches to the decaying estates, developed by our students. The paper contributes to broader debates about the role of architectural design in processes of social reproduction and capitalist accumulation. It highlights the state's response to a dramatic socio-political crisis and a staggering housing shortage as a result of an intense wave of (internal) migration, in a historical moment quite different than our own. Nevertheless, the insights gained are relevant not only for Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, but contribute to wider debates on the relationship between architecture and class composition, as well as issues of housing, displacement, and social reproduction.

## *Session III. Postcolonial Legacies and Racialized Housing Policies in European Cities*

### **9. Rehousing the Modern City: Private Developers and Collective Housing for the Displaced in Post-war Paris (1945–1977)**

Noé Demeuré-Rouzin, France Université de Paris Sorbonne

In post-war Paris and its inner suburbs, the housing crisis reached an unprecedented scale. Rural exodus, demographic growth, migrations linked to decolonization, and urban renewal operations caused massive population displacements. In this context, private developers, often in dialogue with the State and municipalities, played a decisive role in creating a new residential landscape designed both to rehouse people and to reshape the city by welcoming new populations. This production, ranging from standardized collective housing to luxury apartment buildings, revealed both an architecture of necessity and an architecture of distinction. In western Paris, especially in the 16th arrondissement, elegant modern buildings became showcases of bourgeois modernity, while in the eastern districts and nearby suburbs, large-scale and often simplified housing estates were built for middle- and working-class families displaced from the old city. These spatial and aesthetic contrasts reflected a growing socio-economic segregation but also the diversification of private development strategies in response to evolving market demands. Drawing on examples by architects and developers such as Fernand Pouillon, Jean Ginsberg, Raymond Lopez, and Henri and Abro Kandjian, this paper examines how the design and visual representation of collective housing contributed to shaping narratives of differentiated rehousing policies. Professional journals such as *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *Techniques et Architecture*, and *Urbanisme* serve as key sources to understand how these projects were presented within the image of a modern city. By placing private development at the heart of post-war housing policies, this study reconsiders the role of developers and architects as mediators between economic constraint, aesthetic ambition, and social transformation, in a metropolis that rehoused its displaced populations while redrawing its symbolic borders through the construction of the *périphérique*.

## **10. Postcolonial Migration and the Dutch-Surinamese Housing Question in 1970s Rotterdam and Amsterdam**

Tim Verlaan Netherlands, University of Amsterdam

This paper examines the contested role of housing in the migration and settlement of Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands during the 1970s. While over 300,000 Surinamese migrated to the metropole in the years surrounding their country's independence in 1975, municipal governments in Rotterdam and Amsterdam implemented dispersal policies that contradicted Surinamese migrants' legal status as Dutch citizens. Although framed as efforts to prevent "overconcentration" and promote integration, these housing policies reflected enduring colonial legacies and racialized anxieties within Dutch society. Drawing on archival records, municipal documents, social surveys, press reports, and the activities of Surinamese welfare organisations, our study demonstrates how local policymakers, housing corporations, and grassroots movements clashed over questions of access, equality, and belonging. By centring housing as a site of both discrimination and resistance, the paper highlights the urban dimension of postcolonial migration and underscores the agency of Surinamese migrants in shaping debates about housing rights, integration, and citizenship.

## **11. We are not cattle! Migrant housing policies and boarding houses in Amsterdam, 1970-1985**

Ole Lechner, Netherlands University of Amsterdam

This paper examines the housing problems faced by recently immigrated minorities in Amsterdam during the 1970s and 1980s, focusing in particular on their overrepresentation in boarding houses ('pensions') - privately run lodging facilities that were often unhygienic, unsafe, and overcrowded. The central question concerns why these groups in particular ended up in such inadequate housing and how the municipality of Amsterdam responded to this situation. Drawing on newspaper articles and archival materials from municipal departments and social organizations, the paper reconstructs the housing history of migrants who lived in boarding houses. *Visual* sources are analyzed to reveal the actual living conditions, while spatial mapping with QGIS illustrates the geographic distribution and concentration of these boarding houses across the city. Using an intersectional approach, the research explores how factors such as ethnicity, gender, income, and length of residence restricted migrants' access to the housing market. This analysis shows that structural barriers and institutional exclusion created and

maintained precarious living situations for immigrant communities. The study also demonstrates that meaningful municipal intervention often occurred only after serious or fatal incidents drew public and political attention. At the same time, the boarding house emerges as an urban phenomenon that reflects broader tensions between migration, housing shortages, and public policy during a period of major spatial and demographic transformation. By situating the boarding house within these intersecting developments, the paper contributes to a deeper understanding of how urban inequality was formed and contested in late-twentieth-century Amsterdam.

## *Session IV. Housing, Memory, and Grassroots Responses in Late 20th- and Early 21st-Century Cities*

### **12. Strangers Among Their Own: Late Resettlers (Spätaussiedler) in the Marzahn-Hellersdorf District of East Berlin from 1990 to the 2020s**

Veronika Sharova, Germany, Independent researcher

The Marzahn-Hellersdorf district in the East Berlin is often referred to as a disadvantaged cluster of outdated concrete prefabricated buildings whose residents support the right-wing “Alternative for Germany” party. However, the district's symbolic landscape is richer than the myths surrounding it. The paper focuses on the spatial dimension of the multiple sociocultural identities of Marzahn's immigrants. The collapse of the Eastern Bloc brought about a wave of migration, including that caused by cultural factors. A notable phenomenon was the program of late resettlement to Germany: according to it, former USSR citizens of German origin “returned to their roots.” Since 1990s, they have made up a significant part of the migration flow in Marzahn-Hellersdorf, forming an urban community united by the common cultural background, language, specific integration patterns, and dynamics of interaction with the host community. Standardized prefabricated housing — a recognizable feature of the Marzahn-Hellersdorf landscape since the 1970s — was used to house late resettlers (Spätaussiedler). These Plattenbau buildings were also used for “Heims”: temporary accommodation centers for refugees. Heims became a significant element of the symbolic landscape of the district, influencing the perception by both the local community and the late resettlers. Spätaussiedler found themselves in a situation of multiple identities. Being German by origin, they were forced to integrate into the host community, sometimes facing accusations of “new colonialism.” They also integrated into a unified Germany amid the symbolic conflict between “Ossies” and “Wessies.” The visually Soviet-esque

environment turned out to be a place of social crisis and challenge, of conflict interactions, but also of finding solidarity with the host community. The paper highlights the results of a study on the spatial memory of residents of Marzahn-Hellersdorf district with a migration background: Russian Germans from the Soviet Union and second-wave migrants born in former East Berlin. The study examines how the residents perceive their living environment, which was once considered an example of “architectural socialist utopia” in the GDR and is now known for its negative reputation. It examines the relationship between political/administrative decisions regarding the organization of Spätaussiedler's lives in Marzahn, as well as the grassroots initiatives of the local community and the migrants themselves.

### **13. Ethnoscapes and the Dynamics of Social Resilience: A Comparative Analysis of Integration Experiences in Paris and Berlin, 1970–2015**

Eleftheria Gavriilidou, Greece, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

This paper investigates ethnoscapes, as conceptually introduced by the work of the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, as evolving socio-spatial constructs through which shifting regimes of migrant incorporation, urban governance, and social resilience are materially and discursively inscribed. Focusing on Paris and Berlin—two key European metropolises shaped by late-20th-century labor migration from the Global South—the study traces how integration policies, planning paradigms, and spatial practices have reconfigured urban environments between 1970 and 2015. Informed by field engagement, collaborative work with the sociocultural platform Bi’bak in Berlin, Wedding district (2016–17), and insitu in Parisian satellite districts (Les Grands Ensemble, Ivry-sur-Seine), during a residency at the research hub “Architectures, Milieux et Paysages” (2019), the paper adopts a dialectical approach to the tensions between inclusion, spatial differentiation, and symbolic boundary-making. By juxtaposing the contrasting trajectories of urban integration and segregation in the two contexts, the paper foregrounds the transformation of governing rationalities over recent decades and elucidates how the design, planning, and regulation of ethnoscapes produce long-lasting social and spatial effects, in the different civic contexts, that of France where the citizenship law is based on both *jus sanguinis* (right of blood) and *jus soli* (right of soil), and that of Germany which is historically rooted in *jus sanguinis*. The study is structured into three interrelated sections that together articulate its theoretical and analytical framework. The first section investigates the notions of social mixing and integration through the conceptual lens of the ethnoscape, while also revisiting key texts on spatial democracy, urban inclusion, and equitable access to the city as fundamental dimensions of social resilience. The second section focuses on the postwar regimes of citizenship and assimilation that shaped the incorporation of newly arriving populations in Paris and Berlin, with particular attention to the spatial policies of the 1970s and 1980s and their material imprints on the urban landscape. In contrast, the third section

examines the emergence of contemporary “immaterial” forms of social and cultural inclusion that developed after 2010 in response to the European refugee crisis, highlighting new practices, policies, and cultural mediations that reconfigure the production of ethnoscape

## **14. Solidarity initiatives and refugee squats in Athens after the 2015 “crisis”**

Eleni Koutsouraki, Greece, Hellenic Open University & Athina Titopoulou, Technical University of Crete

In 2015, Greece received 856,723 refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea and other countries, who crossed the Aegean from Turkey. While EU member states failed to manage the “crisis”, citizens responded with an outburst of solidarity and the “Refugees Welcome” movement developed intense activity across Europe (Bermúdez, 2020). Solidarity initiatives in Greece developed many different areas of action, including the creation of refugee shelters and camps (Rozakou, 2016). In February 2016, the closure of the Balkan route and the subsequent EU-Turkey Joint Statement left 57,042 refugees stranded in Greece, of which 9,935 in Athens (Harris, 2016). The housing options provided by the State were far from covering these needs, resulting in many being homeless (Galgano, 2017). Thus, thousands of people found refuge in squats in the centre of Athens, with the help and support of solidarity groups (Arampatzi, 2017). This paper aims to examine the impact of solidarity initiatives regarding refugee squats in Athens since 2015. Desk research has recorded all the squats that operated/operate in Athens. They mainly offered shelter, food, medical care, legal support, language classes and activities for children. Furthermore, they aimed to organize solidarity actions and interconnect them in the city. Their main characteristics were self-organization, non-cooperation with the State, and non-receipt of State funding. These self-organized housing projects provided open common places for meetings, mutual assistance, social action and contributed to the elimination of racial discrimination, while public structures were dominated by segregation and exclusion (Mitchell & Sparke, 2020). The central government welcomed such initiatives at first, but later started repressing them. The paper will attempt to analyse this change of attitude and compare it with the role of the municipality of Athens, which reinforces multi-level coordination between central government, international organizations, NGOs and solidarity initiatives, through the establishment of Athens Coordination Center for Migrant and Refugee Issues (ACCMR). The sample of the qualitative part of the ongoing research consists of 10 persons who participated/participate in solidarity initiatives/refugee squats. Through semi-structured interviews, they share their experience regarding good practices, obstacles and other aspects of managing the “crisis” through solidarity initiatives.