

# COLLECTIVE RAMPART

The Persistence of Kaisariani's Open Block Against  
the Privatization of Athenian Housing

Richter Jean



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*The Persistence of Kaisariani's Open Block Against the Privatization of Athenian Housing*

Theoretical Statement TPOD EPFL 2024–2025

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## INTRODUCTION

From the precarious camp to urban model, Kaisariani illustrates a fascinating transition from initial precariousness to sustainable community living. Since their emergence in post-war Athens, polykatoikies have proved a practical urban solution to the city's rapidly growing population and housing needs. Characterized by their dense, vertical structure and repetitive design, these buildings privilege privacy, often creating an environment where community interaction takes a secondary role, reinforcing a clear separation between public and private spheres. The term "polykatoikies" derives from the Greek "poly" (many) and "katoikia" (dwelling), and refers to these collective buildings typical of the Athenian urban landscape. However, some neighborhoods transgress or deviate from this model. Among them, Kaisariani offers a notable divergence. Born of a history marked by the settlement of refugees and the chaos of the Greek civil war, this neighborhood is a rare example where community ties have persisted despite the architectural constraints imposed by this standardized urban model. This neighborhood has succeeded in transforming private spaces into dynamic collective places (collective plots), defying the limits of polykatoikies to promote a rich, integrated social life<sup>1</sup>.

The story of Kaisariani begins in 1922, with the settlement of Greek refugees from Smyrna following the Smyrna Catastrophe. This mass exodus, resulting from the Greco-Turkish wars, marked an upheaval in the history of modern Greece: some 1.5 million Orthodox Greeks were forced to leave their ancestral lands to join Greece<sup>2</sup>. These refugees, often arriving destitute, contributed to the radical transformation of Athens' social and urban fabric. Kaisariani, chosen to host around 8,000 refugees from Asia Minor (the municipality now has around 27,000 inhabitants)<sup>3</sup>, rapidly developed into an emblematic community, marked by initial challenges and remarkable resilience. The first settlements, made up of tents and precarious constructions, evolved into permanent dwellings, reflecting a complex transition from a temporary camp to a densified neighborhood<sup>4</sup>.

Polykatoikies, the term introduced above for Athens' typical modern and contemporary apartment buildings, have often been seen as practical solutions to urgent housing needs in a context of rapid population growth. However, their dense, repetitive design tends to limit community interaction<sup>5</sup>. These tenement buildings are distinguished by their high number of storeys, uniform layout and optimization of space for private use. Kaisariani, on the other hand, deviates from this standard model<sup>6</sup>. The district reflects community practices that have transformed private spaces into places for collective living, bypassing apparent architectural constraints<sup>7</sup>. This research explores how Kaisariani, initially conceived as a standardized response to a migratory crisis, has been transformed into a living model of urban appropriation, marking a unique transition between precarity and permanence. She also sheds light on the fascinating concept of perpetual ephemera, where initially temporary or precarious installations are transformed into lasting elements through community involvement (temporary that lasts)<sup>8</sup>. By analyzing the development of polykatoikia in Kaisariani, this research explores how residents have adapted and reinterpreted inner courtyards, passages (collective

<sup>1</sup>Matthioudakis, A., & Pagourdakis, S. Ανιχνεύοντας την συλλογική μνήμη στην Καισαριανή (Exploring Collective Memory in Kaisariani), p. 7-19

<sup>2</sup>Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Kaisarianí, Wikipédia, <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kaisarianí>.

<sup>4</sup>Olga Balaoura, Kesariani: Design, Places and Everyday Practices, in Konstantinos Serraos (ed.), 26 Texts on City Planning, pp. 78-82

<sup>5</sup>Platon Issaias, Beyond the Informal City: Athens and the Possibility of an Urban Common, p. 249

<sup>6</sup>Δούλη, Ε., Μουσαΐ, Μ., Χαρίτου, Ε. (2017). «Καισαριανή: Η "Κρίση" ως διαδικασία της χωρικής παραγωγής», Συνέδριο Τμήματος Αττικής Συλλόγου Αρχιτεκτόνων, Αθήνα, p.12

<sup>7</sup>Matthioudakis, A., & Pagourdakis, S. Ανιχνεύοντας την συλλογική μνήμη στην Καισαριανή (Exploring Collective Memory in Kaisariani), p. 33

<sup>8</sup>Ioanna Piniara, We Have Never Been Private: The Housing Project in Neoliberal Europe, pp. 253-254

## INTRODUCTION

plots), terraces and balconies. These transformations highlight a unique social resilience in the face of architectural constraints and the historical legacy of a period marked by mass migration and successive political crises<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup>Platon Issaias, *Beyond the Informal City: Athens and the Possibility of an Urban Common*, p. 249-301

In this context, this statement explores the following general problematic: How the open block of Kaisariani has preserved, over time, a lively central collective space in contrast to the closed block (polykatoikies from antiparochi), which privatizes courtyard space?

<sup>10</sup>Olga Balaoura, *Kesariani: Design, Places and Everyday Practices*, in Konstantinos Serraios (ed.), *26 Texts on City Planning*, pp. 78-80

To illustrate in concrete terms the major transformations of Kaisariani, three case studies are presented through three distinct periods of their realization. The first case focuses on a 1930s block, built before the antiparochi. This early project embodies structured urbanization, with a central collective courtyard fostering community interaction while reflecting collaborative institutional planning<sup>10</sup>. The second case, dating from the 1960s, represents an evolution during the antiparochi era. This block, organized around a garden surrounded by four housing bars, demonstrates functional, standardized densification. The communal garden at its center, designed as a space for residents to meet and enjoy. This garden, well integrated into the architectural design, illustrates an attempt to maintain a balance between private and community life, while providing a setting conducive to daily activities and intergenerational socialization. Finally, the third case study examines a post-antiparochi block where old structures and new polykatoikies coexist. This striking contrast reveals a tension between the spatial memory of community practices and the contemporary demands of urbanization. The division of the collective plot remains non-built to this day.



FROM SMYRNA TO ATHENS



Fig.1, Smyrna to Athens, drawn by the author

## FROM SMYRNA TO ATHENS

The Smyrna Catastrophe of 1922 represents a traumatic and seminal event in the history of modern Greece. The destruction of the city by fire, accompanied by massacres and forced displacement, marked the end of the Greek presence in Asia Minor, a region where it had prospered for centuries. This mass exodus was the result of the Greco-Turkish wars (1919-1922) and led to an unprecedented upheaval: around 1.5 million Orthodox Greeks had to leave their ancestral lands to join an already economically and socially weakened Greece.<sup>11</sup>

The compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey was formalized by the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 illustrating an attempt to resolve the ethnic conflicts that had peaked during the Greco-Turkish War.<sup>12</sup> This procedure involved the transfer of over one million Greek Orthodox to Greece and around 500,000 Greek Muslims to Turkey. The aim of this unprecedented move was to create ethnically uniform states, but it soon proved to be a real trauma for the populations concerned. Although this exchange was supervised by international commissions under the direction of the League of Nations, it had disastrous human and social repercussions.<sup>13</sup> For Orthodox Greeks leaving Asia Minor and Muslims exiled from Greece, this displacement meant losing their homes, their land and often their ties to regions they had considered home for generations. These forced displacements not only disrupted individual lives, they also transformed communities in both countries<sup>14</sup>. As the capital, the city represented a promise of security and economic opportunity for these displaced populations. However, this massive influx profoundly transformed Athens, radically reconfiguring its social fabric and urban morphology<sup>15</sup>.

In Greece, the massive arrival of refugees has put enormous pressure on the two main cities of Athens and Thessalonica<sup>16</sup>. The lack of infrastructure to manage such a movement has led to a rapid rise in social conflicts between refugees and the local population. These tensions were reinforced by cultural and linguistic differences, as many refugees spoke Turkish or Greek dialects uncommon in Greece<sup>17</sup>. For many refugees, integrating into a society that often perceived them as “foreigners” was a long and difficult journey. On the Turkish side, the integration of Muslims from Greece was no easier. These communities, often used to rural and insular environments, had to adapt to new living conditions in a country undergoing rapid transformation under the Kemalist Republic. Ultimately, although seen as a diplomatic solution, this exchange of populations left deep scars in both countries. It put an end to the coexistence of multi-ethnic communities that had lasted for centuries, and played a role in reinforcing national divisions. Even today, this episode remains a sensitive subject in the collective memory.<sup>18</sup>

For a Greece already affected by the First World War and conflicts in the Balkan region, the growing number of refugees represented an unprecedented obstacle. After years of conflict and political instability, the country was still in a period of reconstruction. Refugee groups, isolated and destitute, found themselves in a country with limited infrastructure and a declining economy, making their integration even more complex<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>11</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922-2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », pp. 10–11.

<sup>12</sup>Ελένη-Μαρία Δουραμπέη, *Ιστορική και Αρχιτεκτονική Μελέτη: Οι Προσφυγικοί Οικισμοί της Αθήνας μετά την Καταστροφή του 1922*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup>Olga Touloumi et al., *Field Notes: Athens in Flux, Architectural Histories*, 2024.

<sup>14</sup>Matthioudakis, A., & Pagourdakís, S. *Ανιχνεύοντας την συλλογική μνήμη στην Καισαριανή (Exploring Collective Memory in Kaisariani)*, p. 18

<sup>15</sup>Olga Touloumi et al., *Field Notes: Athens in Flux, Architectural Histories*, 2024.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid

<sup>17</sup>Ibid

<sup>18</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922 - 2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », pp. 10–11.

<sup>19</sup>Ελένη-Μαρία Δουραμπέη, *Ιστορική και Αρχιτεκτονική Μελέτη: Οι Προσφυγικοί Οικισμοί της Αθήνας μετά την Καταστροφή του 1922*, p. 13

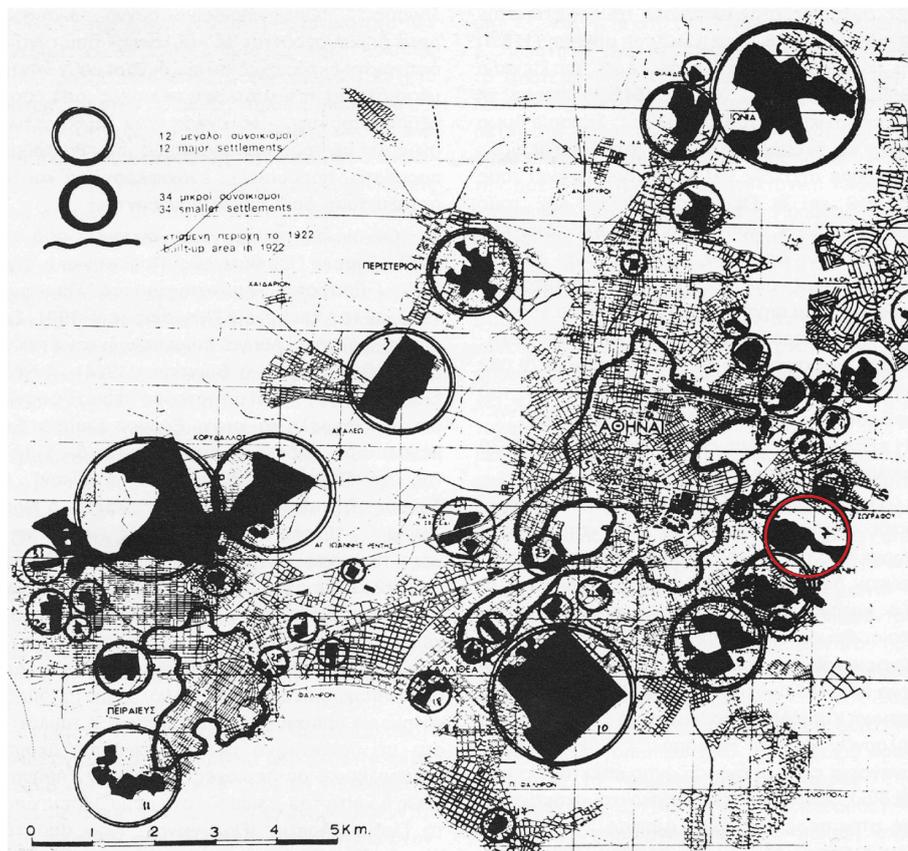


Fig 2, Map of Athens refugee districts built after 1922,  
Παπαδοπούλου, Σαργιάννης, Συνοπτική έκθεση για τις προσφυγικές περιοχές του  
Λεκανοπεδίου Αθηνών, 2006

The emergency situation demanded prompt and appropriate responses from the authorities to prevent major health and social crises.

Given this critical situation, the Refugee Aid Fund, financed by the League of Nations, played a key role.<sup>20</sup> This funding enabled the construction of temporary housing designed to provide shelter for the most destitute families. These structures, generally built quickly, were rudimentary: from tents to wooden huts or brick houses consisting of a single room<sup>21</sup>. Although vital for responding to the emergency, these shelters left many refugees in unsanitary conditions for several years. Insufficient resources allocated by the state led refugees to develop self-management solutions to alleviate their daily needs, such as installing communal water points or organizing teams to reinforce rudimentary infrastructures. These economic initiatives have also fostered a form of informal urbanization. One example of these initiatives is the fact that workshops are set up on ground-floor premises or in improvised spaces, and have shaped the morphology of the neighborhood<sup>22</sup>.

The historical map illustrates (Fig.2) the distribution of refugee settlements in the Attica region, highlighting strategic choices linked to the availability of land and its relative distance from established urban centers<sup>23</sup>. The map highlights how Kaisariani fits into this context as a peripheral and adjoining site, enabling rapid provision of temporary housing while avoiding clashes with residents of central Athens. This location reflects a balance between pragmatic emergency management and the political objectives of structured rehousing. As shown on the map of the Attica region (figure), Kaisariani, as the chosen site for refugee settlement, reflects a strategic decision to balance economic opportunities with the management of social tensions. The proximity of industrial infrastructures, such as textile factories, played a key role in the economic development of the areas where the refugees were settled. These industries linked Kaisariani to a wider economic network, facilitating the gradual integration of refugees into the local socio-economic fabric. At the same time, this peripheral location also reflected a political desire to limit immediate interaction with the established neighborhoods of Athens. This process of integration was not limited to the establishment of housing. The map also illustrates how Kaisariani was part of a developing socio-economic fabric, linking refugees to local infrastructures, markets and employment networks. Far more than simple recipients of humanitarian aid, the refugees actively contributed to the economic and social transformation of the territories in which they settled. They have brought with them a solid base of know-how in crafts, industry and commerce, which has fostered local economic vitality while stabilizing often fragile sectors. These skills, passed on from one generation to the next, were to have a lasting influence on key areas such as crafts, textiles and agriculture<sup>24</sup>.

In areas like Kaisariani, their small businesses and workshops multiplied rapidly, meeting economic needs while creating employment opportunities<sup>25</sup>. Local markets became centers of social exchange, highlighting the products and customs of refugees and local residents.<sup>26</sup> These interactions fostered social solidarity and reduced the initial conflicts between local communities and new arrivals. Moreover, their work in the textile industry enabled Greece to develop a competitive domestic industry, particularly in the post-war years. These contributions were reinforced by their participation in labor and trade union movements, giving them an active role in the country's social and political demands<sup>27</sup>.

In addition to their economic impact, refugees have also enriched urban culture in Greece. The customs they have established: community festivities,

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup>Olga Touloumi et al., *Field Notes: Athens in Flux, Architectural Histories*, 2024.

<sup>22</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922 - 2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », pp. 27-31.

<sup>23</sup>Παπαδοπούλου, Σαρηγιάννης, *Συνοπτική έκθεση για τις προσφυγικές περιοχές του Λεκανοπεδίου Αθηνών*, 2006.

<sup>24</sup>Olga Touloumi et al., *Field Notes: Athens in Flux, Architectural Histories*, 2024.

<sup>25</sup>Αναστάσης Μαθιουδάκης και Σταύρος Παγουρδάκης, *Ανιχνεύοντας την συλλογική μνήμη στην Καισαριανή*, Diplomatic Thesis, Επιβλέπουσα καθηγήτρια: Ειρήνη Μίχα, ΕΜΠ, Φεβρουάριος 2022, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup>Olga Touloumi et al., *Field Notes: Athens in Flux, Architectural Histories*, 2024.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid



Fig 3, Map of the municipality of Kaisariani in next to Athens, from Technical department, municipality of Kaisariani, redrawn by Ioanna Piniaria

<sup>28</sup>Ibid

religious festivals and craft associations, have structured the social life of the towns where they have settled<sup>28</sup>. These practices, adapted to the new urban context, became distinctive features of the refugee neighborhoods, while facilitating their gradual integration into Greek society. Thus, refugees not only rebuilt their lives, but also revitalized local communities, testifying to a resilience that continues to influence the social and urban dynamics of contemporary Greece.



## TRANSITION TO URBAN DENSIFICATION

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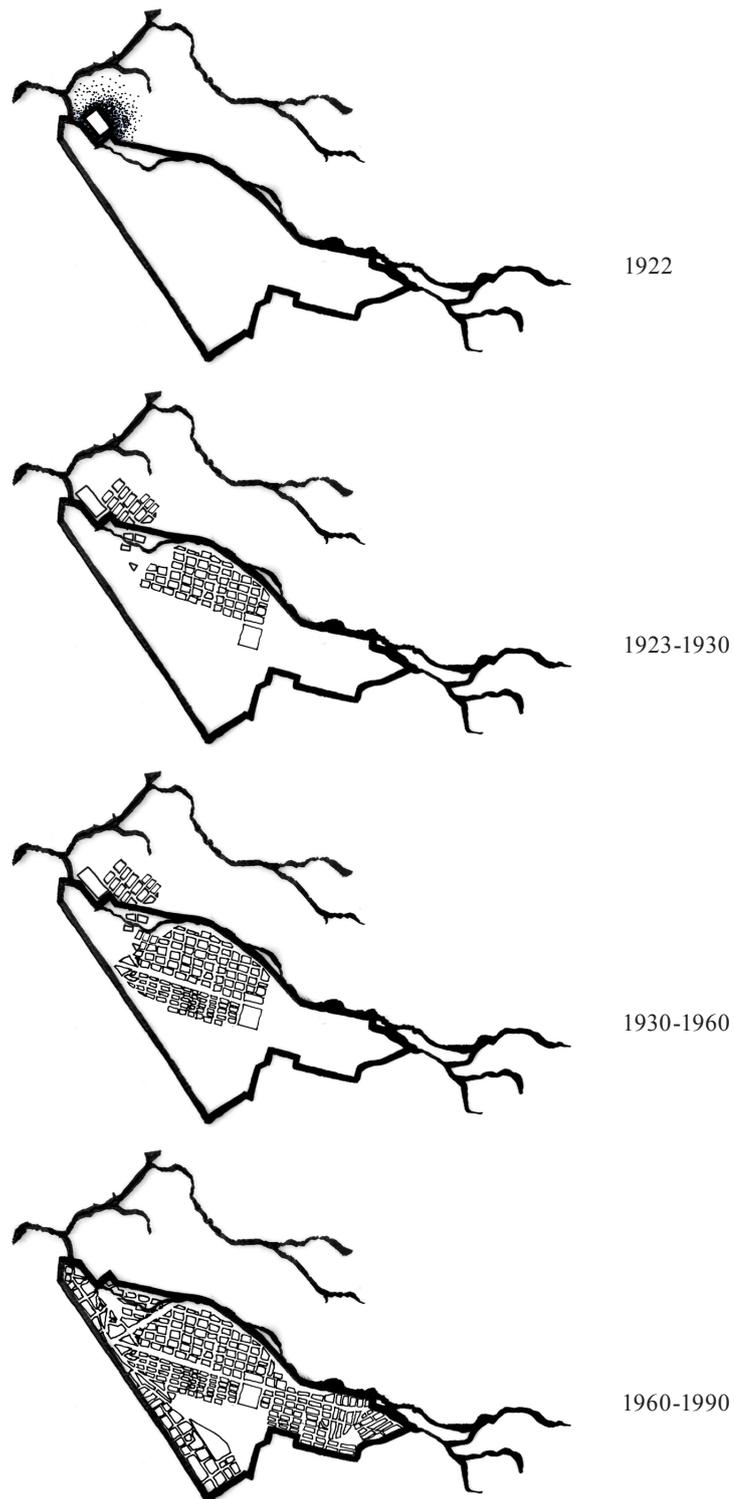


Fig 4, Maps showing the densification in the Kaisariani district from 1922 to 1990, drawn by the autor

## TRANSITION TO URBAN DENSIFICATION

The district's perimeter is located outside the municipality of Athens, which has influenced its urban structuring and social evolution. This peripheral location, while offering relative proximity to Athens, has accentuated its initial isolation and reinforced the marginalization of the refugees settled in the area. It also favored a distinct spatial organization, marked by reduced density in the early phases and the preservation of pockets of green space on the periphery. It covers an area of around 100 hectares. The Kaisariani district is structured around 2 main axes<sup>29</sup>. One, 30 meters wide, links Kaisariani to Athens in the form of a major avenue. This axis, known as Imittou, separates the Trigono area to the west from the rest of the district to the east. Trigono is characterized by its compact morphology and densely-packed polykatoikia structures, which contrast with the more aerated buildings of the eastern part. Historically, this area was one of the first urbanized spaces in Kaisariani, playing a key role in the district's development as a strategic and commercial connection point. Located at the border between the municipalities of Athens and Kaisariani, the Trigono settlement exemplifies a pivotal area where urban planning intersects with community-based initiatives, such as the proposed transformation into a sustainable model through a Community Land Trust, highlighting its potential for addressing housing and social equity challenges.<sup>30</sup>

The other axis Leoforos Ethnikis Antistaseos, 16 meters wide and oriented west-east, structures the greater part of the district. All along and from either side of this main axis are the principal square with its church, a large school infrastructure and the main shops and services. A large public park is located at the southern center of this axis. The eastern end of this axis provides access to the Hymettus forest/hill. Perpendicular to this axis, 7-metre-wide service roads form a Hippodamian checkerboard of 3,000 to 3,500 m<sup>2</sup> blocks (50m wide, 60-70m long). These blocks feature both private and collective plots of land, allowing permeability and accessibility with open courtyards, which play a fundamental role as spontaneous meeting places, laying the foundations for a strong social dynamic<sup>31</sup>. Kaisariani's transition from an improvised tent city to a densely populated urban district represents a complex process of adaptation and modernization over several decades. This chapter explores this evolution through four periods (1922 to the present day), focusing on the transformation of infrastructure, main roads, public spaces and community facilities such as schools, markets and churches.

## 1922-1930

After the Smyrna catastrophe, Kaisariani was chosen to host approximately 8,000 refugees from Asia Minor<sup>32</sup>. This choice was based on the availability of inexpensive land on the outskirts of Athens, offering relative proximity to jobs and urban infrastructure. However, the geographical isolation, lacking proper road links to the center of Athens (road infrastructure), heightened the social marginalization of the refugees, confining them to a precarious way of life. This isolation also contributed to limiting their economic opportunities by restricting their access to jobs and essential services, which were primarily located in the urban

<sup>29</sup>Μπαλάουρα, Ο. (2021). Καισαριανή: Σχεδιασμός, τόποι και καθημερινές πρακτικές, στο: Κωνσταντίνος Σερραός (επιμ.), 26 Κείμενα για τη μελέτη και το σχεδιασμό της πόλης, NTUA, pp. 78-80

<sup>30</sup>Ioanna Piniara, We Have Never Been Private: The Housing Project in Neoliberal Europe, pp. 255-256

<sup>31</sup>Μπαλάουρα, Ο. (2021). Καισαριανή: Σχεδιασμός, τόποι και καθημερινές πρακτικές, στο: Κωνσταντίνος Σερραός (επιμ.), 26 Κείμενα για τη μελέτη και το σχεδιασμό της πόλης, NTUA, pp. 78-80

<sup>32</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922 - 2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », pp. 22-24.

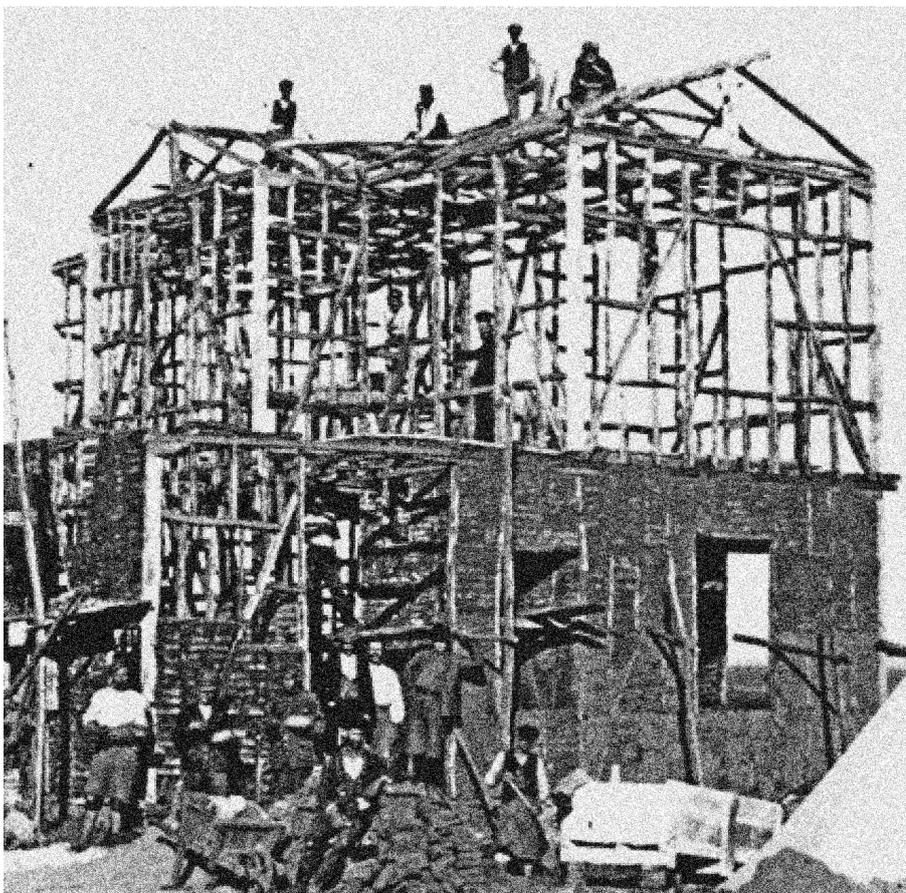
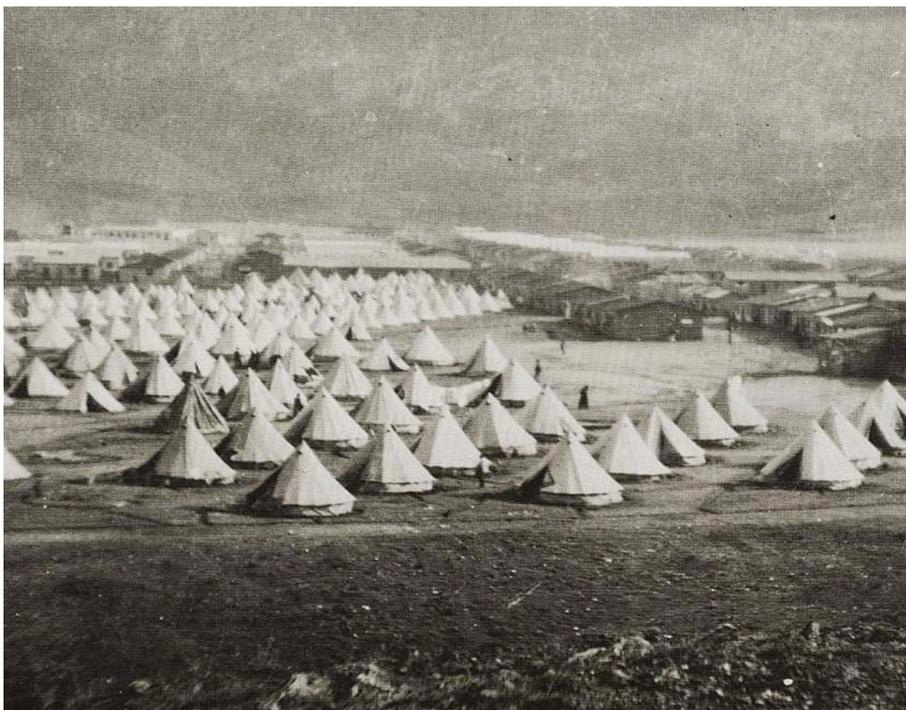


Fig 5, Photograph of the tent layout in 1922, from Γ. Κουβάς 1996

Fig 6, Photograph of a two-storey brick house under construction, from Γ. Κουβάς 1996

center. Furthermore, this geographical separation reinforced a sense of social exclusion while delaying the integration of residents into the city's economic and cultural fabric.

The first settlements consisted of tents and rudimentary barracks, roughly aligned around narrow passages and improvised communal spaces<sup>33</sup>. These constructions, made from salvaged materials, could not protect their inhabitants from either harsh weather conditions or health problems stemming from the lack of potable water and adequate sanitation facilities. In 1923-1924, a significant transition took place with the construction of 500 wooden barracks and 1,000 small brick houses, known as “πλινθόκτιστες”<sup>34</sup>. The inhabitants, actively involved in consolidating the structures, often adapted the building materials to improve their functionality and durability<sup>35</sup>. These rudimentary habitats, organized in rectilinear blocks, featured open central courtyards. These spaces, often described as “open-plan spaces”, facilitated an essential community dynamic. The modifications made reflected a collective effort to stabilize living conditions and reinforce a sense of belonging. The organization of the road infrastructure (urban structure), although rudimentary, enabled direct connections between the new neighborhood and the city center<sup>36</sup>. This organization into blocks and open courtyards, initiated at this time, laid the foundations for the morpho-typology explored in the three case studies presented in the following chapter.

#### 1930-1960

During this period, residential housing evolved in two main directions. On the one hand, two-storey brick houses evolved with the addition of new infrastructure to better meet the needs of a growing population. On the other hand, state-funded polykatoikia, like the one on Central Block on the plot “9A” built in 1935, marked an important transition. These polykatoikies, although designed to meet a high demand for housing, incorporated central courtyards and semi-public infrastructure, reflecting an attempt to retain community dynamics while adapting urban morphology to increased density<sup>37</sup>.

The inhabitants, while adapting to the new housing conditions, enriched these spaces with private gardens at the foot of the buildings and communal facilities such as showers, toilets, etc, thus underlining the continuity between the social dynamics of the tent camps and the new forms of urban habitat. Gradually, two-storey stone houses replaced some of the brick ones, signalling moderate densification. These buildings, better adapted and more durable, introduced modern infrastructures such as paved roads and functional collective spaces. During this period, essential public facilities were also built, such as schools, local markets and churches<sup>38</sup>. This moderate densification and the introduction of public facilities explain the configuration of the blocks analyzed below. Community dynamics linked to shared spaces can be found in the later “polykatoikies” and collective courtyards

#### 1960-1990

In the 1960s, the antiparochi system transformed the neighborhood. This mechanism enabled the exchange of land for housing units in new buildings, known as polykatoikies. These buildings, often four to six

<sup>33</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, «Καισαριανή 1922-2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών», pp. 22-24

<sup>34</sup>Ibid

<sup>35</sup>Platon Issaias, *Beyond the Informal City: Athens and the Possibility of an Urban Common*, p. 53

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

<sup>37</sup>Δούλη, Ε., Μουσαΐ, Μ., Χαρίτου, Ε. (2017). «Καισαριανή: Η “Κρίση” ως διαδικασία της χωρικής παραγωγής», Συνέδριο Τμήματος Αττικής Συλλόγου Αρχιτεκτόνων, Αθήνα pp.12-13

<sup>38</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, «Καισαριανή 1922 - 2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών», pp. 27-40.



Fig. 7, The regulatory plan of Kaisariani, General Secretary of Athens K.Kotzias,1937, from Ioanna Piniara, We Have Never Been Private: The Housing Project in Neoliberal Europe

<sup>39</sup>Ibid

floors high, profoundly altered the urban morphology, replacing the former communal courtyards with parking lots or built-up areas<sup>39</sup>.

Photographs show « polykatoikies » with uniform facades, characterized by shared balconies and common staircases, which nevertheless maintained a certain degree of sociability. Although functional, these buildings reflected a standardization imposed by the high demand for housing and economic constraints. This period marks the turning point towards more standardized modern configurations, as shown by the late polykatoikies of the blocks analyzed.

Since the 1990s, Kaisariani has achieved its current morphology. The current distribution of land uses, as shown on the map (Figure), highlights the dominance of residential areas within a dense urban fabric. Green spaces are concentrated on the periphery, notably around Hymette Forest<sup>40</sup> and Skopetirio Park, leaving the inner areas of the blocks often devoid of functional open spaces. These spaces, often asphalted or transformed into parking lots, bear witness to the continuing urban pressure on the district<sup>41</sup>. Modern buildings coexist with remnants of the past, creating a unique architectural dialogue, where contemporary buildings respect and integrate historic structures. Local initiatives are actively seeking to rehabilitate heritage buildings such as old polykatoikia or emblematic edifices, while preserving green spaces, to ensure a lasting balance between modernity and historical memory, reflecting Kaisariani's social and urban transformations. Ethnikis Antistaseos Avenue remains a vital axis for the district, connecting Kaisariani to the rest of Athens while serving as a landmark for commercial and social activities<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>40</sup>Platon Issaias, *Beyond the Informal City: Athens and the Possibility of an Urban Common*, pp.43-47

<sup>41</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922 - 2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », pp. 27-40.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid



CASE STUDIES: THREE DIFFERENT BLOCKS IN THE KAISARIANI DISTRICT



Fig. 8, Location of the first case study, drawn by the author

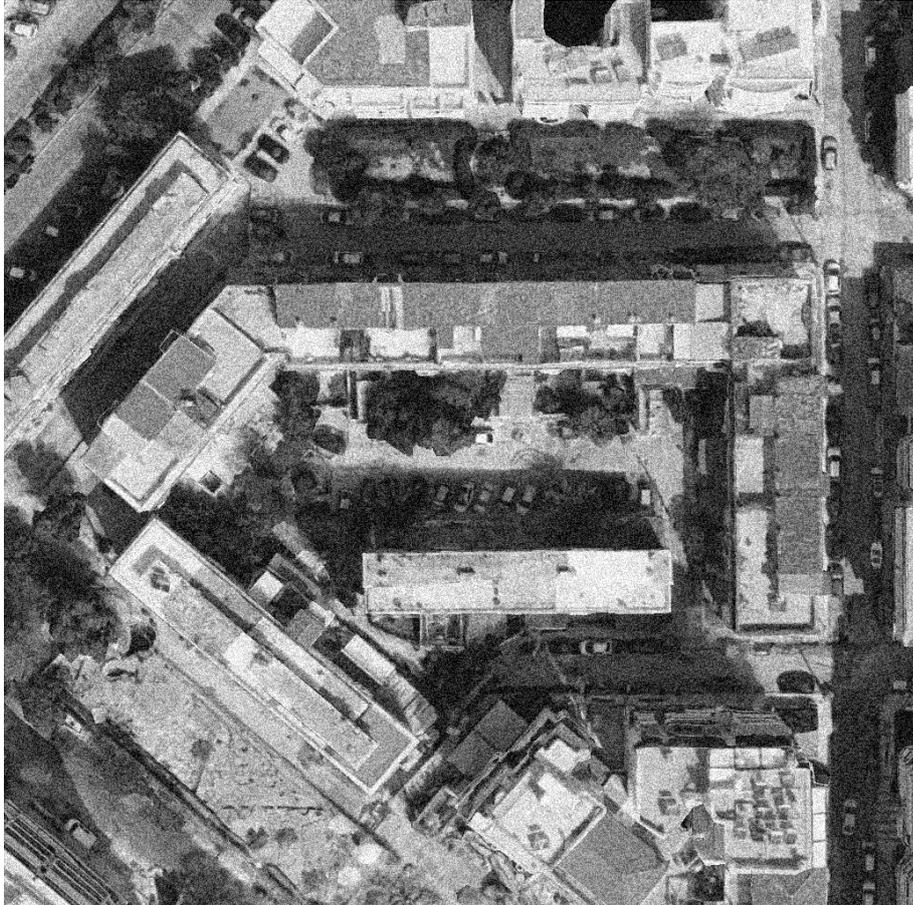


Fig. 9, Sky view of the block, from google earth

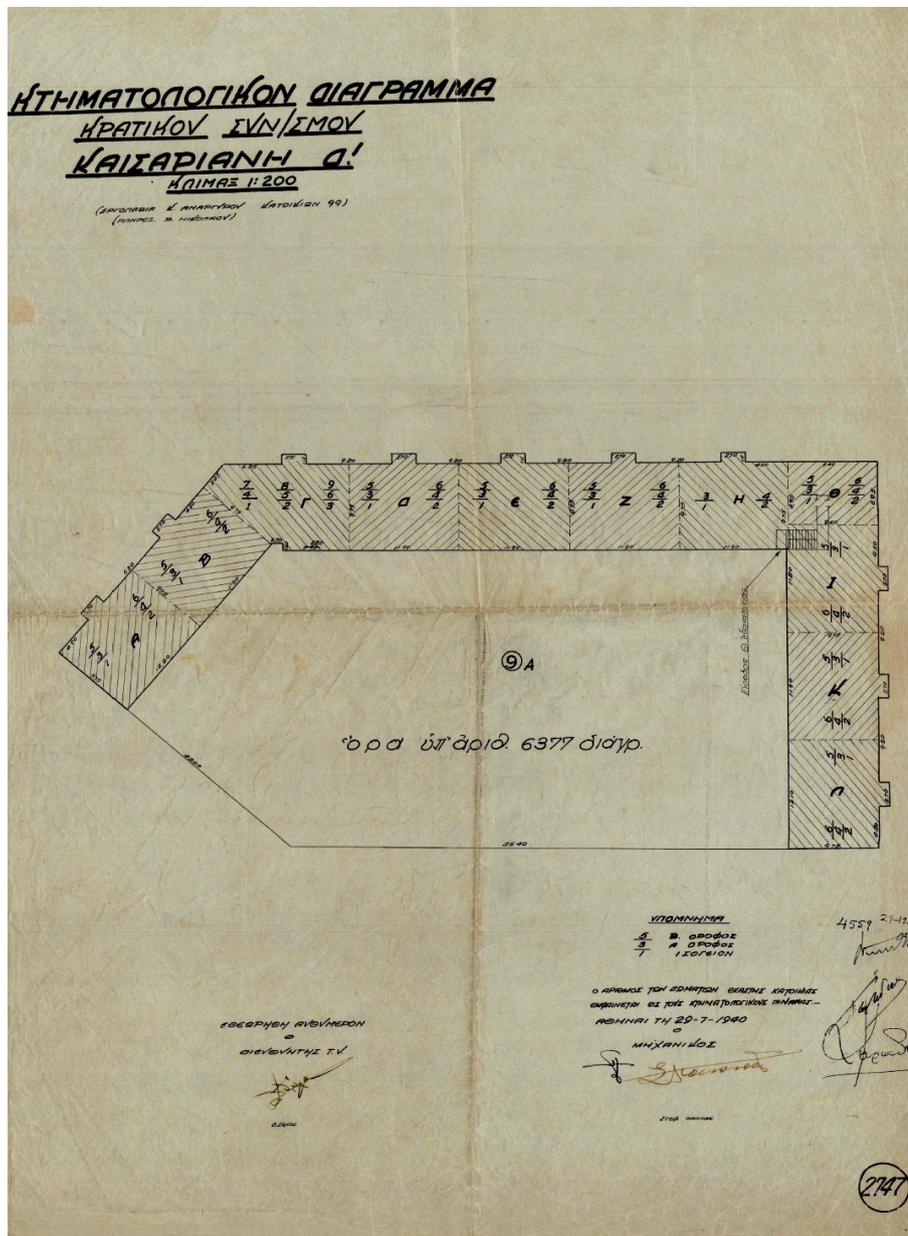


Fig 10, Greek archives showing the plots, 1935, Municipality of Kaisariani

## The OT-9a Housing Colony

The first case study is the OT9a block housing colony, a key example of the beginnings of neighborhood densification through the establishment of housing for refugees. This block, located directly opposite the Trigono, is an example for analyzing the morphological and social evolution of Kaisariani. It is particularly interesting because it was built before the emergence of the antiparochi model, marking an early phase of structured urbanization in Athens. Built in 1935 to accommodate refugees, it testifies both to the first structured urbanization initiatives and to the dynamics of the gradual appropriation of space by residents. The operation was part of an institutional project led by the T.Π.Π., founded in 1922 to manage the refugee crisis. In collaboration with the E.A.Π., the T.Π.Π. coordinated the division of the plots according to a rigorous organization<sup>43</sup>. A historical cadastral document from the archives (Figure 10), dated 1935, clearly illustrates this planning: a large and unique plot was structured to accommodate housing around a U-shaped configuration, while retaining open areas for communal use<sup>44</sup>. While the State took charge of building lots allocation and framework such as supporting walls, roofs and the basic configuration of the communal courtyard, residents completed the finishing touches and gradually added extensions as required, such as vegetable garden management. From the start, this logic introduced social flexibility into the evolution of the block, where institutions provided a structured framework while allowing residents to adapt spaces to their daily uses<sup>45</sup>. This collaborative model reflects a transition between formal planning and informal practices, in radical contrast to the standardized polykatoikia that emerged after World War II through the antiparochi system. In fact, it can be seen that in Europe in the 1920s, collective spaces were generally taken into account in the realization of projects, unlike the more individual post-war models of the 1950s, which tended to eliminate collective spaces.

The morphological organization of this block reflects a clear division between public, collective spaces and private. The private spaces, designed on several levels, are represented by bi-oriented apartments, which offer an orientation on the street and on the courtyard. Collective spaces, in particular the alleys and the open central courtyard play a key role as meeting, storage and communal living areas<sup>46</sup>. Finally, public spaces, symbolized by the connection with the Trigono, reinforce this urban dynamic by linking the collective courtyards with the surrounding streets. At the foot of the buildings, on the courtyard side, collective vegetable gardens were created. These gardens were later extended by a mineral courtyard, which today serves as a collective parking lot. However, after the initial construction, other buildings were added to the block in 1958<sup>47</sup>, well after the introduction of the antiparochi, at a time when this system was influencing urban dynamics. These additions, while responding to the growing need for urban densification, altered the original balance between collective and public space. By partially closing the open perimeter, these new buildings changed the form of the courtyard, while respecting the logic and spatial organization of the 1935 building. Their implantation has maintained a notable permeability, which, although minimal, preserves a functional link between the communal spaces and the urban environment. This continuity distinguishes this block from other polykatoikia in Athens, where later extensions have often completely obstructed communal spaces. Here, the logic of the layout follows that of the original building, reinforcing a certain urban coherence and potential for shared use, despite the increasing constraints of densification.

<sup>43</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922-2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », pp.37-50.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid

<sup>45</sup>Ibid

<sup>46</sup>Ibid

<sup>47</sup>Ibid

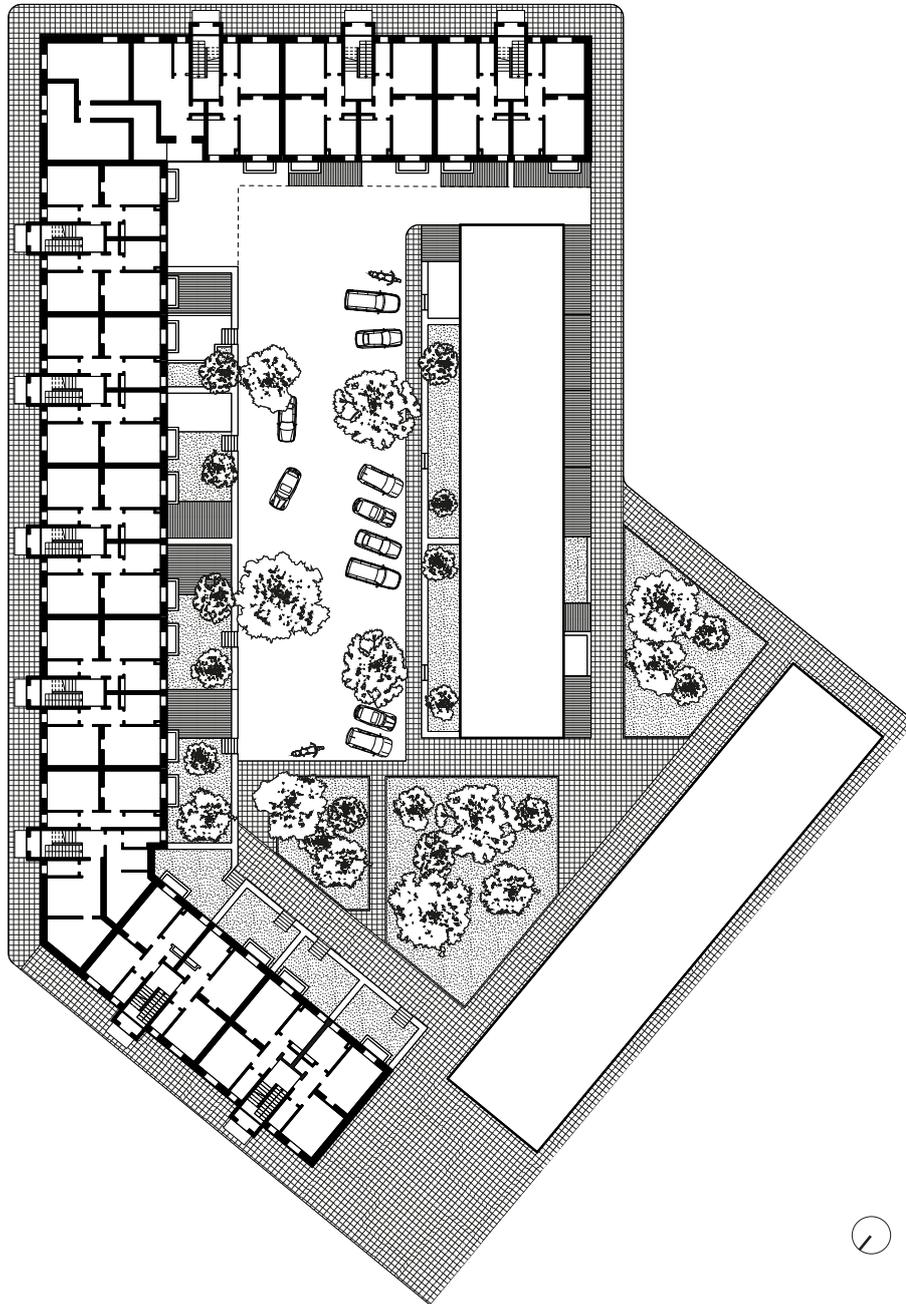


Fig. 11, Morpho-typological plan of the block, 1:500, drawn by the author



Fig. 12, Section, 1:200, drawn by the author

COLLECTIVE RAMPART

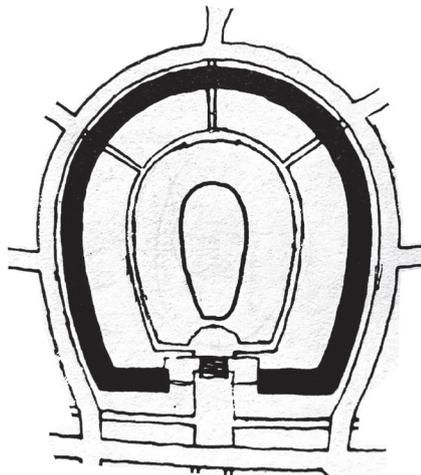
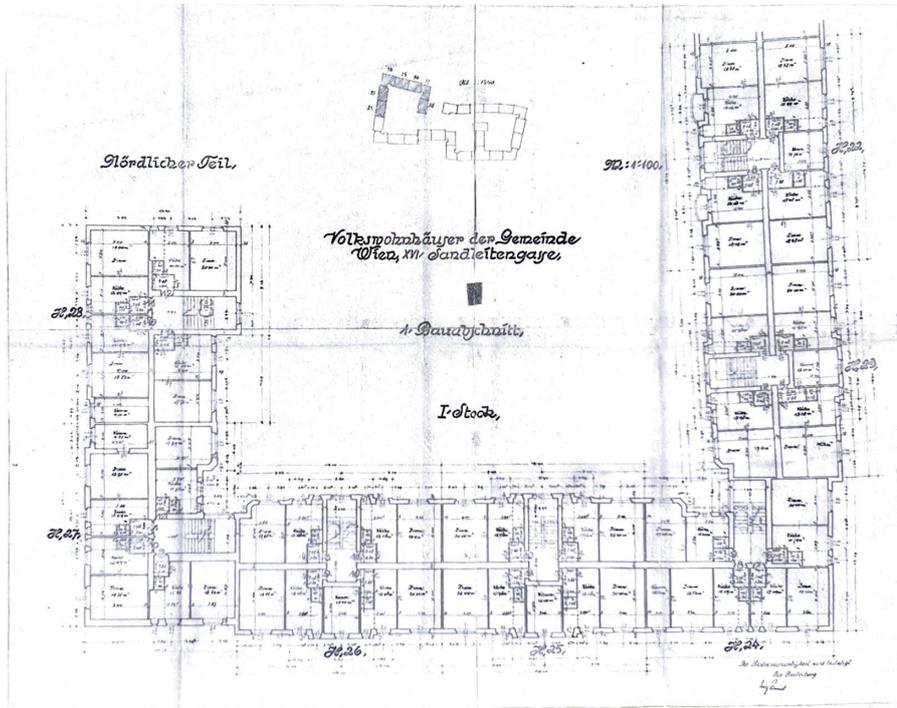


Fig. 13, Plan of Sandleiten complex, from Manfredo Tafuri, *Vienne la Rouge*, 1980.

Fig. 14, Plan of Grossiedlung Britz, from Rolf Rave, Hans-Joachim Knöfel, *Bauen seit 1900 in Berlin*, Kiepert, Berlin, 1968

The Kaisariani block bears notable similarities to the Sandleiten complex, built in Vienna in 1924, or Bruno Taut's "horseshoe" at Grosssiedlung Britz built in Berlin in 1925-31. The complexes adopt a U-shaped form that structures the central courtyards as semi-private places for collective and social uses. These projects share a common objective: to provide functional, accessible housing for working-class families, while promoting shared spaces to encourage collective living. The central courtyard of both developments illustrate this desire to articulate common spaces as an extension of private dwellings<sup>48</sup>. The morphological plan of Kaisariani (Fig.11) clearly shows this open structure, which favors circulation and connectivity between the courtyard and the surrounding urban space, as does Sandleiten. The courtyard is a crucial buffer space, acting as a fluid transition between the intimacy of the apartments and the bustle of the surrounding streets. They absorb the multiple functions of collective and everyday uses, such as storage, domestic activities or neighborly gatherings, while preserving domestic life in adjacent apartments. This intermediate and hybrid space thus facilitates social appropriation while maintaining a balance between private and public. Their social programs converge, illustrating a common desire to create collective housing adapted to the needs of residents while respecting morphological and spatial constraints<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>48</sup>Manfredo Tafuri, *Vienne la Rouge*, Marseille, 1980, p. 169

<sup>49</sup>Ibid

<sup>50</sup>Rolf Rave, Hans-Joachim Knöfel, *Bauen seit 1900 in Berlin*, Kiepert, Berlin, 1968, 146.1.

<sup>51</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922 - 2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », pp.37-50

<sup>52</sup>Rolf Rave, Hans-Joachim Knöfel, *Bauen seit 1900 in Berlin*, Kiepert, Berlin, 1968, 146.1.

Comparison with the Siedlungen Argentischen Alle (Fig.15) allows us to develop a more in-depth typological analysis. Both examples, have access to housing from the street and feature two main rooms, symmetrically arranged around a staircase<sup>50</sup>. Each staircase serves two walk-through apartments on each floor, offering a dual orientation to the street and courtyard. This bi-oriented configuration ensures cross-ventilation and maximizes light. The apartment features a centrally positioned kitchen, courtyard side, for easy access from the other rooms, compact sanitary facilities accessible from the central corridor, street side and symmetrically arranged living areas: the living room courtyard side, and bedroom street side. This organization allows efficient distribution of domestic functions while optimizing space<sup>51</sup>. These spaces are extended by balconies overlooking the courtyard. In the examples, each apartment is designed with a clear separation between private areas (bedrooms and living room) and service areas (kitchen and bathroom). This functional, uncluttered and repetitive layout is an ideal model for workers' housing in twentieth-century Europe<sup>52</sup>. This type of building has an inverted floor plan compared with a typical Haussmanian (bourgeois) building, in which the performance spaces (living rooms, balconies) are on the street side and the bedrooms are on the courtyard side, which is consistent with the logic of day and night functional programs.

Flat roofs are another important typological feature. In the cross-section illustrated (Fig.16)), we can clearly see the gradual appropriation of roofs as communal spaces by residents. Unlike the roofs of typical Athens polykatoikia, which are often under-used or limited to technical functions, the terraces on this block are transformed over time into genuine extensions of domestic spaces. These roofs become multi-purpose areas that fulfill different functions according to the needs of the inhabitants: from laundry drying areas, essential in a context where private spaces are limited, to improvised gardens that introduce an element of nature into a dense environment. At the same time, the terraces also serve as meeting and social areas, enabling residents to exchange ideas and strengthen social ties. These appropriations, both practical and communal, testify to the ability of residents to adapt built space to their everyday uses, while optimizing its collective and domestic potential.

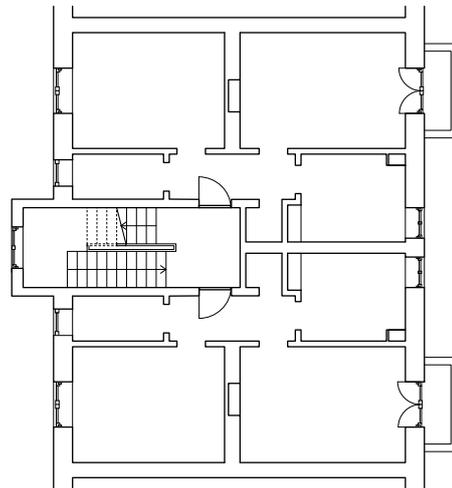
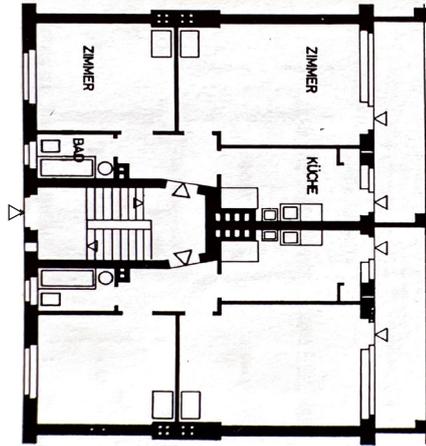


Fig. 15, Typological plan of two apartments of Siedlungen Argentischen Alle, from Rolf Rave, Hans-Joachim Knöfel, Bauen seit 1900 in Berlin, Kiepert, Berlin, 1968.

Fig. 16, Typological plan of two apartments of the study case, drawn by the author.

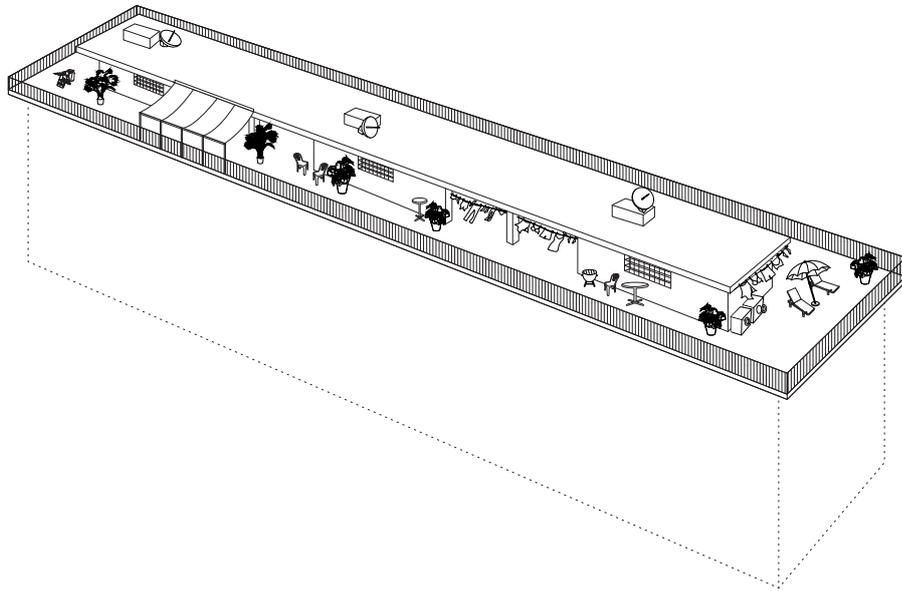


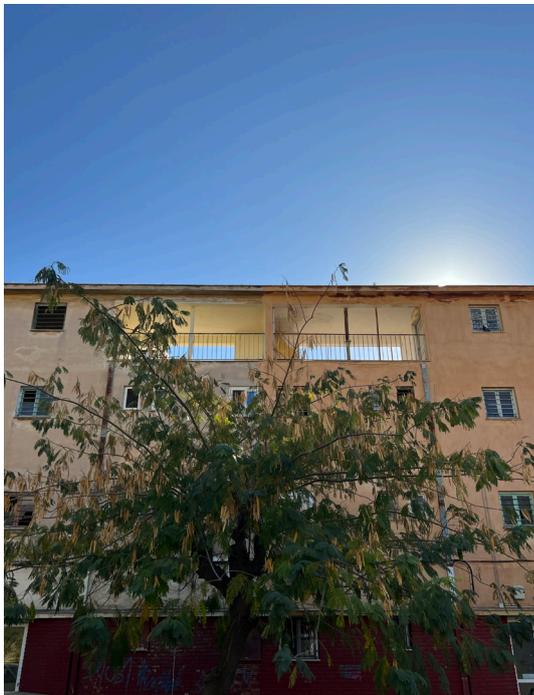
Fig. 16, Perspective of the roof of one of the 1958 buildings with spatial appropriation of people, drawn by the author.

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Photographs of bullets holes from the civil war,  
taken by the autor

CASE STUDIES



The block over time, 2024  
photographs by the autor

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Fig. 16, Location of the second case study, drawn by the author



Fig.17, Sky view of the block, from google earth

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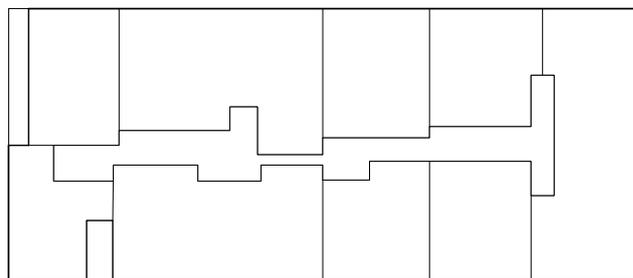
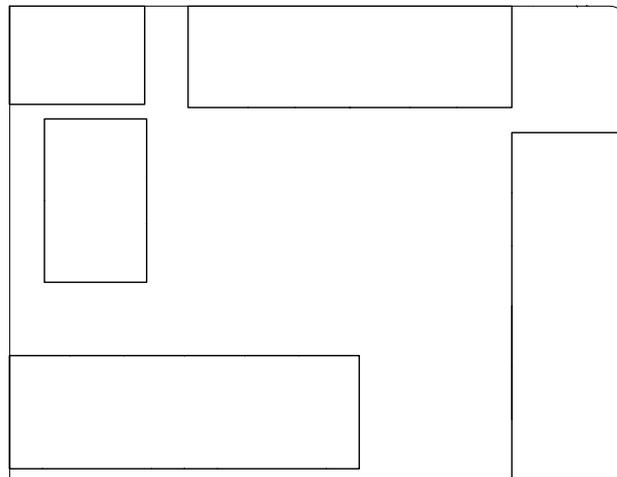
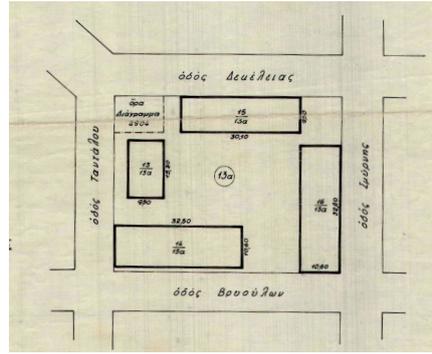
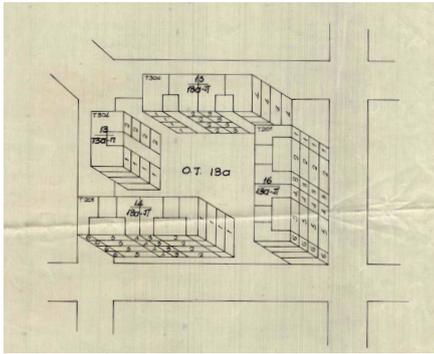


Fig.18,19, Greek archives showing the plots and a axon showing the repetitions of the levels, Municipality of Kaisariani, 1935

Fig. 20, Comparison between two different courtyard typology in Kaisariani. One is an open courtyard, while the other is a victim of antiparochi, drawn by the author

## The Park Block OT-13a

<sup>53</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, «Καισαριανή 1922 - 2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών», pp.53-63

Initially, as in the rest of Kaisariani, the plot was occupied by small wooden or brick houses, intended to house refugees arriving in the 1920s. These precarious constructions were gradually demolished to make way, in 1960<sup>53</sup>, for a unitary project consisting of four bars of housing. This transformation rationalized the block's plot structure by introducing a central collective space, a direct legacy of the refugees' social and spatial practices.

Despite the urban densification inherent in this project, the collective space has been preserved, reflecting a desire to maintain the community principles specific to Kaisariani. Presumably aimed at the greek's middle class, the project appears to have been designed to accommodate typical families consisting of a father, mother and two children. This interpretation is based on a hypothesis deduced from the characteristics of the project, such as the typology of the dwellings and their spatial organization, as well as the social needs present at the time. For the government, the project could have served a dual purpose: resolving housing needs while fostering a certain social mix within the neighborhood. Although not explicitly mentioned, this objective seems to be reflected in public policies aimed at preventing the marginalization of refugee populations. For example, the characteristics of housing estates, such as the preservation of common spaces and their openness to a variety of social groups, testify to a strategy aimed at encouraging harmonious cohabitation between different social classes. This approach was also based on a conscious strategy of social integration through home ownership, which reinforced residents' sense of security, while preventing Kaisariani from becoming a socially or economically isolated space.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Ibid

An essential difference between this case study and the previous one lies in the layout of communal spaces and the formation of courtyard. In the first case study, the central courtyard is conceived as an adaptable space, allowing residents to gradually appropriate the area to create gardens or communal living spaces. Here, it's the buildings themselves that organize the collective space, moving from the idea of a courtyard forming around the dwellings to an opposite logic, where the project is conceived from a pre-existing central courtyard structured by housing bars. The communal garden is directly integrated into the architectural project and delivered as a structured, landscaped high quality space. This distinction reflects different approaches to the management of communal spaces: on the one hand, a logic of gradual appropriation by users, and on the other, a desire to offer an immediately functional and collective setting. This underlines the evolution of architectural and social practices between the two periods, while highlighting the different ways in which communal spaces can contribute to community life.

The four main buildings form an open block structuring a central garden, which is a element in the social dynamics of the block. This collective space is actively used for daily activities such as gatherings, children's games and drying laundry. It also embodies a social memory, inherited from the early community practices of the refugees, and maintains a structuring role despite urban transformations. Today, the courtyard is laid out as a communal garden, providing a place for residents to meet and relax. The ability of these spaces to adapt to community needs is a testament to Kaisariani's own social and spatial resilience.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup>Μπαλάουρα, Ό. (2021). Καισαριανή: Σχεδιασμός, τόποι και καθημερινές πρακτικές, στο: Κωνσταντίνος Σερραός (επιμ.), 26 Κείμενα για τη μελέτη και το σχεδιασμό της πόλης, NTUA, pp. 78-82

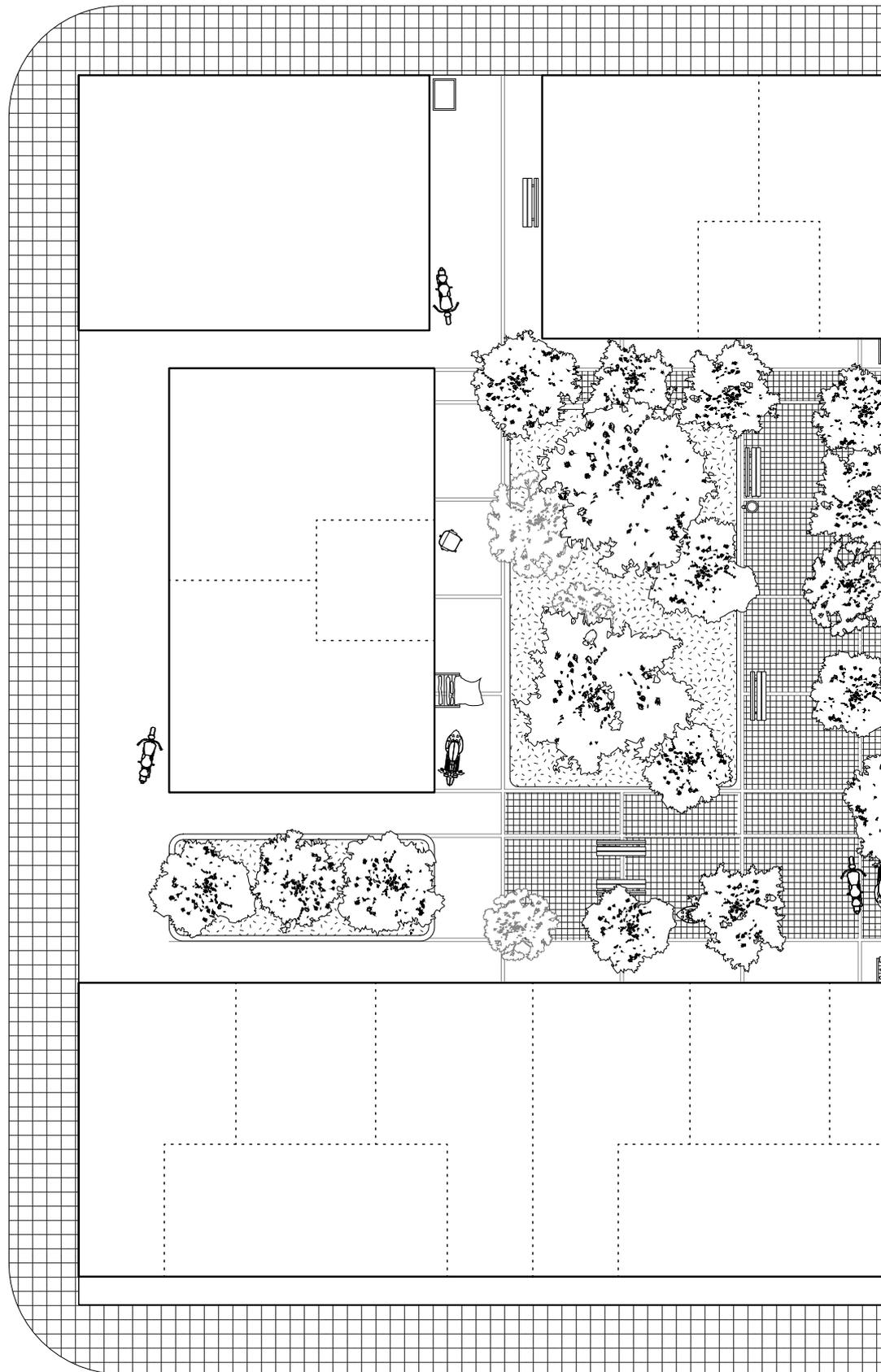
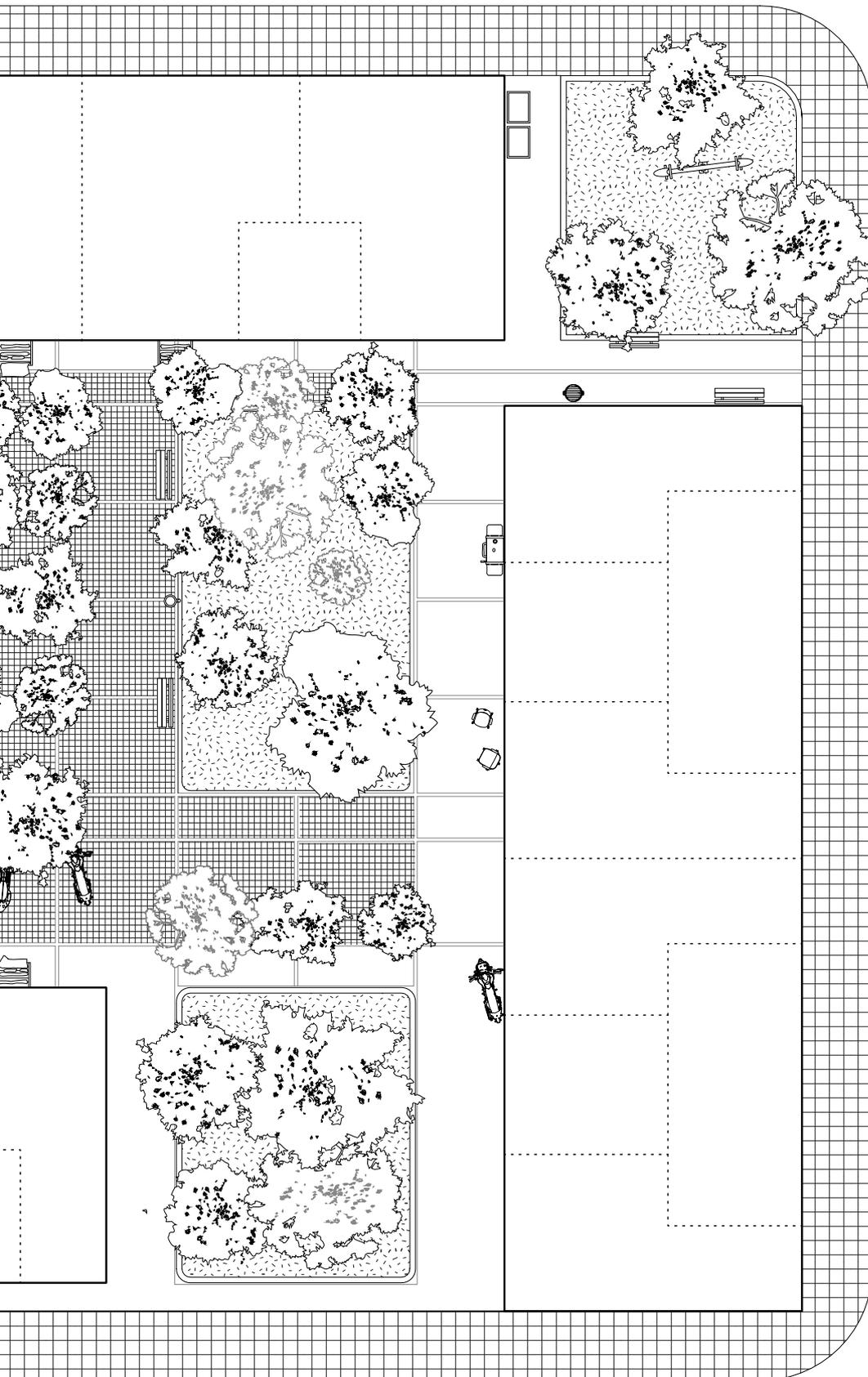


Fig.20, Plan of the courtyard today, 1:200,  
drawn by the author



# COLLECTIVE RAMPART

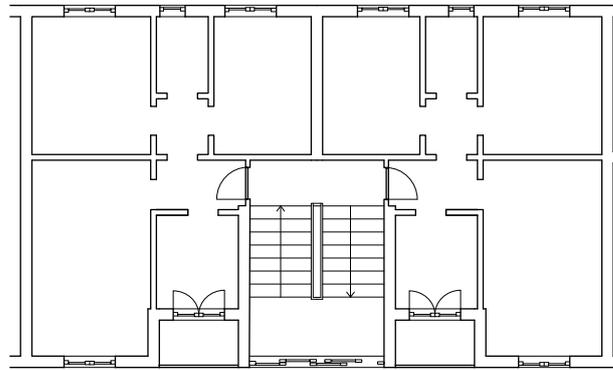


Fig. 21, Typological plan of two apartments of one of the buildings' study case, 1:200, drawn by the author.

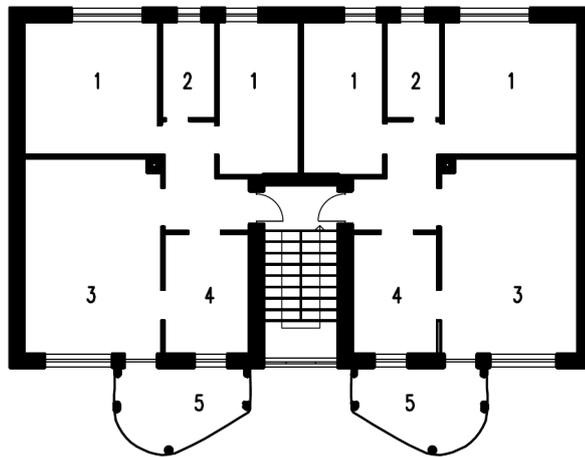


Fig. 22, Typological plan of two apartments of Siedlungen Argentischen Alle, from Rolf Rave, Hans-Joachim Knöfel, Bauen seit 1900 in Berlin, Kiepert, Berlin, 1968.



Fig.23, Geneva's Square de Montchoisy, 1932, from Fondations Brillard Architectes

<sup>56</sup>Ibid

<sup>57</sup>Καισαριανή - Συγκρότημα πολυκατοικιών εις Καισαριανήν. Σχέδιο δρυμίσσεως οικοδομικών τετραγώνων, πολυκατοικιών και διαμερισμάτων.

<sup>58</sup>Μπαλάουρα, Ό. (2021). Καισαριανή: Σχεδιασμός, τόποι και καθημερινές πρακτικές, στο: Κωνσταντίνος Σερράος (επιμ.), 26 Κείμενα για τη μελέτη και το σχεδιασμό της πόλης, NTUA, p.82

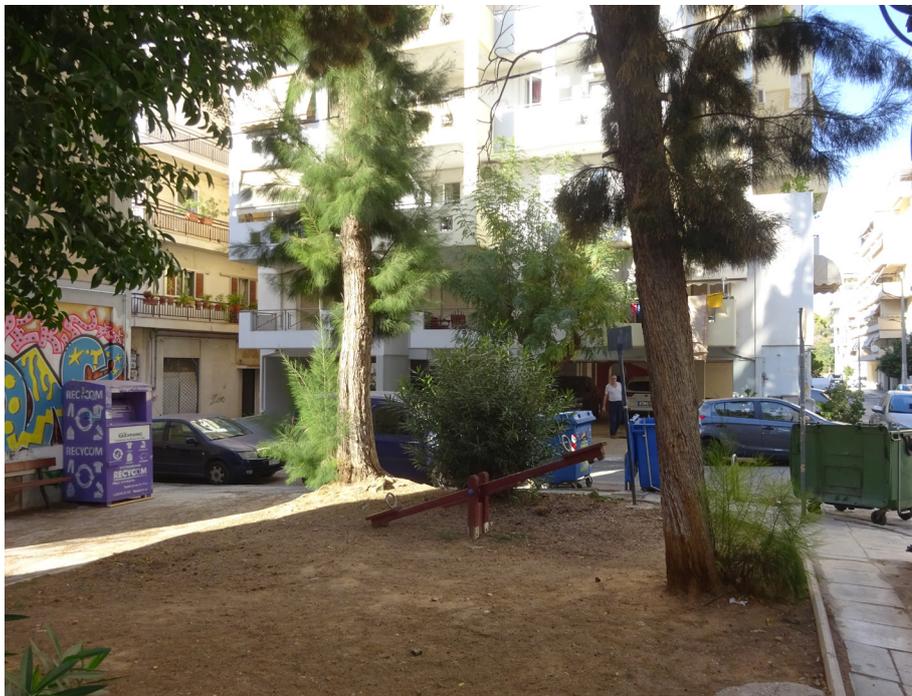
<sup>59</sup>Ioanna Piniara, We Have Never Been Private: The Housing Project in Neoliberal Europe, p. 244

The buildings feature central staircases, courtyard-facing entrances and balconies that allow visual interaction between apartments and communal gardens. These architectural elements promote a fluid transition between private and communal spaces, reinforcing the neighborhood's social cohesion. The design of the block favors functional and visual permeability, enabling fluid circulation between adjacent streets and interior communal spaces. This organization reflects the changing relationship between public and private spaces over time, a recurring phenomenon in Kaisariani as part of the adaptive practices of refugees<sup>56</sup>. In the upper right-hand corner of the plot, a courtyard overlooking the crossroads has been converted into a children's play area. This development reflects the evolution of collective uses towards adaptation to contemporary needs, while reinforcing the permeability of the block. At the top left of (Figure), the heading "Διάγραμμα 2504" can be distinguished, which means "plan 2504" in Greek, and is often used to designate a particular plot in a cadastral register or plan. Located at the corner of the block, this building is a rare testimony to the first collective infrastructure for refugees. Probably originally designed as an administrative center or temporary storage space, its atypical morphology and lack of clear division reinforce its functional and public character. Over time, it has been potentially converted to residential use, reflecting the flexibility of the infrastructure in response to increasing densification needs<sup>57</sup>.

This brings us to the building's spatial organization. The entrances and vertical circulation are on the courtyard side, with balconies positioned on either side of the stairwell. Lounges are located on the courtyard side. Although Geneva's Square de Montchoisy is designed for a more affluent social class and features a much larger morphology, both projects share an open courtyard logic and a spatial organization that favors community interaction. The Kaisariani block, on a much smaller scale, places greater emphasis on human scale and diversity of use. The Square de Montchoisy, designed to reduce urban noise thanks to an open-block organization, shares with Kaisariani this desire to offer residents calm and appropriate spaces, despite different economic contexts. In Geneva, noisy rooms (such as kitchens) are organized towards the street, while quiet spaces (bedrooms and living rooms) open onto the central courtyard, a principle that could be echoed in Kaisariani. Both models promote functional and visual permeability while structuring semi-public spaces such as communal gardens, benches or children's infrastructure.<sup>58</sup> A comparison with other European residential projects, such as the Siemensstadt Settlement in Berlin (1929)<sup>59</sup>, highlights notable similarities in the spatial organization of the apartments. The floor plans of both cases feature a functional layout with through rooms, optimizing ventilation and natural lighting. Each apartment comprises bedrooms (1 and 2), a living area (3), an integrated kitchen and dining room (4), and a balcony (5)(Fig.22). These spaces are distributed around a staircase that serves two apartments per floor, favoring a compact and rational organization. In the case of Kaisariani, this organization also highlights a local adaptation to economic and social constraints, while sharing principles of spatial efficiency observed in other contemporary projects. This comparison shows how similar solutions can be reinterpreted in different cultural and geographical contexts.

The central garden, a structuring element of the block, plays a crucial role in the social dynamic. The plan shows how this space is laid out with benches, play areas and footpaths, while showing the spatial appropriations by residents. These appropriations, such as planting, laundry-drying areas or relaxation spaces, testify to the way in which residents invest this collective space to meet functional and social needs. This organization also highlights the continuity between the original architectural intent and the park's current uses.

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The block over time, 2024  
photographs by the autor

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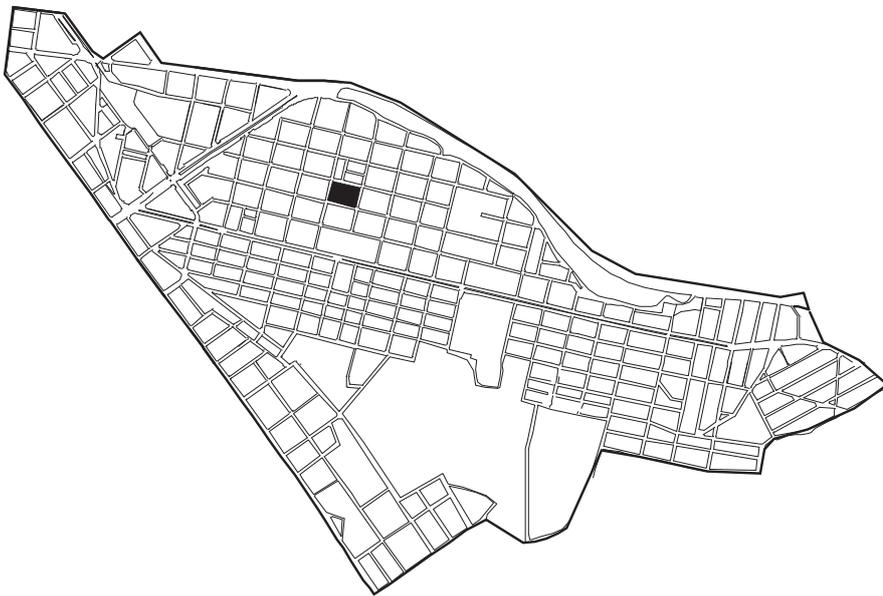
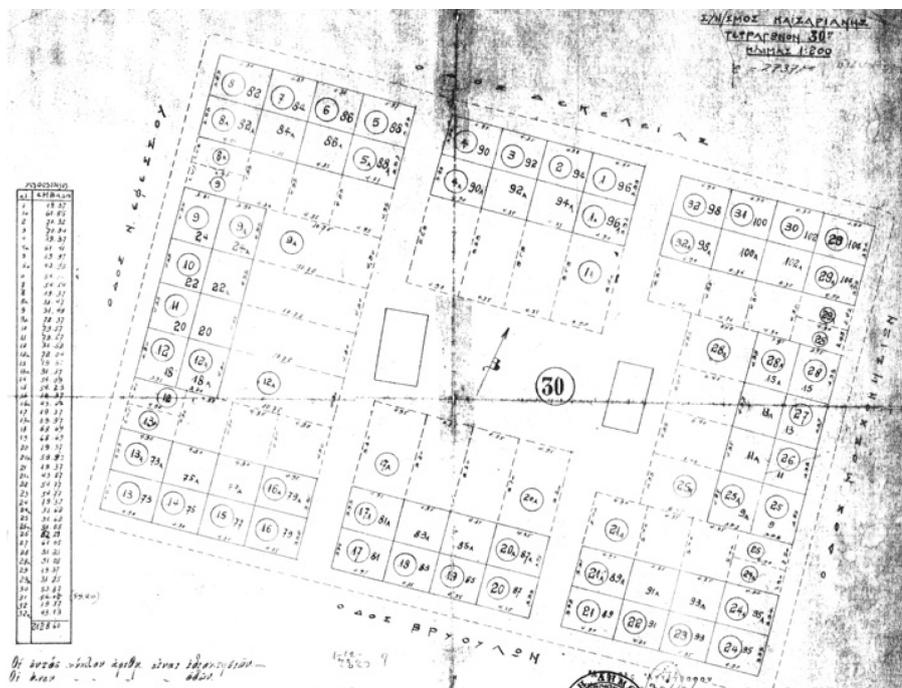
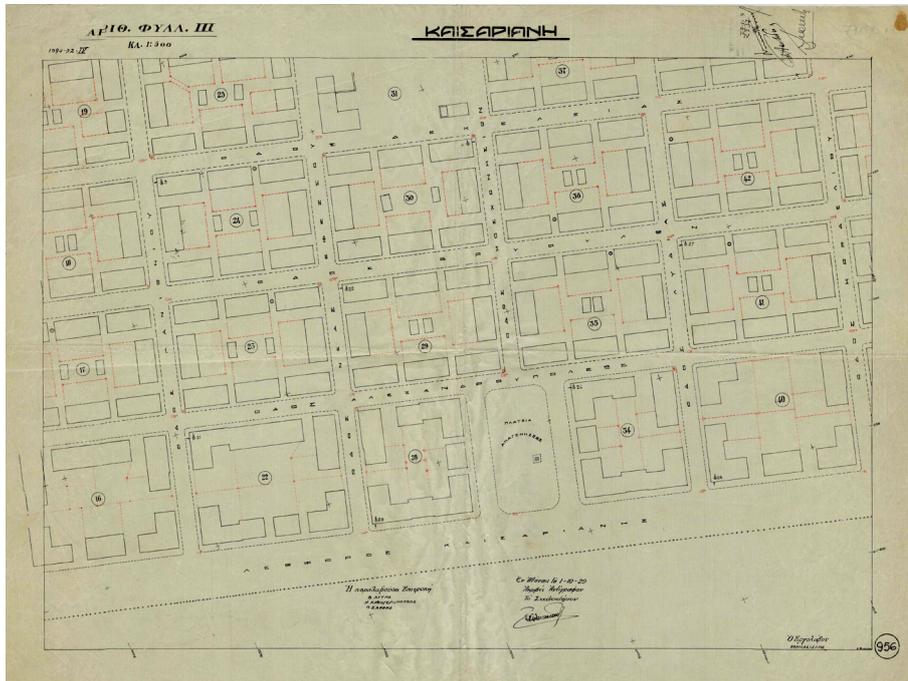


Fig. 24, Location of the third case study, drawn by the author



Fig. 25, Sky view of the third case, drawn by the author

# COLLECTIVE RAMPART



## The Contrasted Block OT-30

This mixed and contrasted block, characteristic of most of the neighbourhood's blocks, is a fascinating example for analyzing the coexistence between the spatial memory of collective practices and late modern transformations. This situation is particularly striking in that the polykatoikia inserted here belong to a post-antiparochi period, which gives them a late character in the process of urban densification in Athens. The collective plots of this block were essential in preserving spatial permeability and avoiding total privatization of the inner courtyards. They have left traces that testify to a resilient heritage and a spatial organization capable of adapting to the changing needs of residents. These spaces, originally conceived as communal, are now functional hybrids that maintain a link between the ancient and the modern. One of the most interesting aspects of the block is the social mix it creates. Different social classes live together in this space, creating a unique dynamic within the Kaisariani district. This mix, both social and temporal, is the result of the coexistence of generations of inhabitants rooted in the collective memory of the area and newcomers who reflect the contemporary transformations of the city, but also of former inhabitants who, through antiparochi or social ascension, have retained or reinvested this space. The old low brick houses, organized around communal courtyards, retain their spatial permeability despite the changes in the urban fabric. These buildings, from the first phases of refugee resettlement, bear witness to the adaptive strategy of institutions such as the EAPI to overcome the initial lack of resources<sup>60</sup>. These buildings are a living memory of community practices in past decades. A historical plot plan from the archives (Fig.26) and administrative documents such as property deeds (Fig.27) show the initial organization of the block. These elements illustrate how institutions<sup>61</sup>, designed plots with centralized common spaces and a rigorous division of properties, allowing a balance between private and collective spaces. The deed of ownership for a specific plot (Fig.27) also reveals the initial management logic, where the basic structure of the dwellings was provided while finishing and extensions were left to the inhabitants. These documents highlight the successive evolution of the block, which maintained a certain functional continuity between collective spaces and individual uses, while adapting to the growing needs of residents. These elements reflect the central paradox of this theoretical statement: the tension between memory and modernity, where spaces adapt without losing their original identity.

This is a typical case for the whole of the Kaisariani district, since this block has a large number of private plots, which have evolved, and a collective plot structure that has persisted over time (permanence and persistence). The morphological evolution of this block is characterized by a marked contrast between the original structures of the refugee houses and the polykatoikia introduced in the 1980s-1990s. The comparatives before-and-after axons (Fig.29,30) highlights the stages of morphological evolution, from a fabric dominated by refugee houses organized around a central courtyard to a complex where modern polykatoikia redefine built volumes and collective uses. This illustration clearly shows the evolution of structures: the original refugee houses, organized also around a courtyard, have gradually been replaced or supplemented by modern polykatoikies. The visual contrast is accentuated by the introduction of taller, denser buildings, which change the spatial dynamics of the block. These drawings show how modern volumes have partially respected the original layout, while at the same time disrupting the permeability of the communal walkways and the courtyard. The contrast between the post-modern polykatoikia and

<sup>60</sup>Μαρία Αραχωβίτη et Βασίλης Χατζής, « Καισαριανή 1922-2016: Επαναπροσδιορισμός αστικού τοπίου και κατοίκησης στην ιστορική περιοχή των προσφυγικών », p.40

<sup>61</sup>Ibid, p.41

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Fig.28, Screenshot from google street view

<sup>62</sup>Ibid

the former refugee dwellings is striking. The latter, single-storey with communal courtyards, were designed to maximize community living. By contrast, the polykatoikia of the 80s and 90s introduce a functional architectural language that integrates visually but reduces the continuity of communal uses<sup>62</sup>. These modern buildings feature walk-through apartments, staircases, lift, côté cour, and balconies overlooking the street. Transformations in walkways and permeability also illustrate these tensions. These images show how the introduction of polykatoikia has altered access and the continuity of common spaces. Some plots have been merged to become a single plot, making it possible to build a polykatoikia. The pilotis of late polykatoikia restored some of the permeability, creating semi-public passages between streets and interior spaces<sup>63</sup>. The central courtyard, once conceived as a pivotal collective space, is now partially used as a parking area. This change illustrates the new functional requirements imposed by urbanization. However, patches of vegetation remain and still serve as meeting points for local residents. The post-modernist polykatoikia of the 80s and 90s represent a significant architectural evolution. Their design aimed to maximize functional uses while maintaining visual interaction with communal spaces. However, their standardization led to a partial loss of the community richness originally present in the block.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid

The old small brick houses retain a layout of a communal space (living room, dining room and kitchen) on the street side and individual spaces on the courtyard side. Some have created extensions to the dwelling, such as verandas on the public domain. Access to this block is all from the street, for both the old small brick houses and the polykatoikies. The modern polykatoikia show a variety of different typologies, but in most cases the living room and the balconies are systematically arranged on the street side. This juxtaposition of old and new creates a unique visual and social dynamic, accentuated by the progressive appropriation of shared spaces. This typological variety, which stems from history, has a non-unitary character that is nonetheless charming and resilient. The transformations of this block reflect a constant tension between conservation and adaptation. The courtyards, initially conceived as meeting and social spaces, have gradually been divided between communal, private and functional uses (parking, storage). Despite these evolutions, traces of the original structure remain in the spatial organization and practices of the inhabitants, who continue to invest these spaces in a hybrid manner. In conclusion, this block illustrates how appropriation practices and social dynamics can transform a standardized space into a lively place adapted to contemporary needs, while preserving a strong spatial memory.

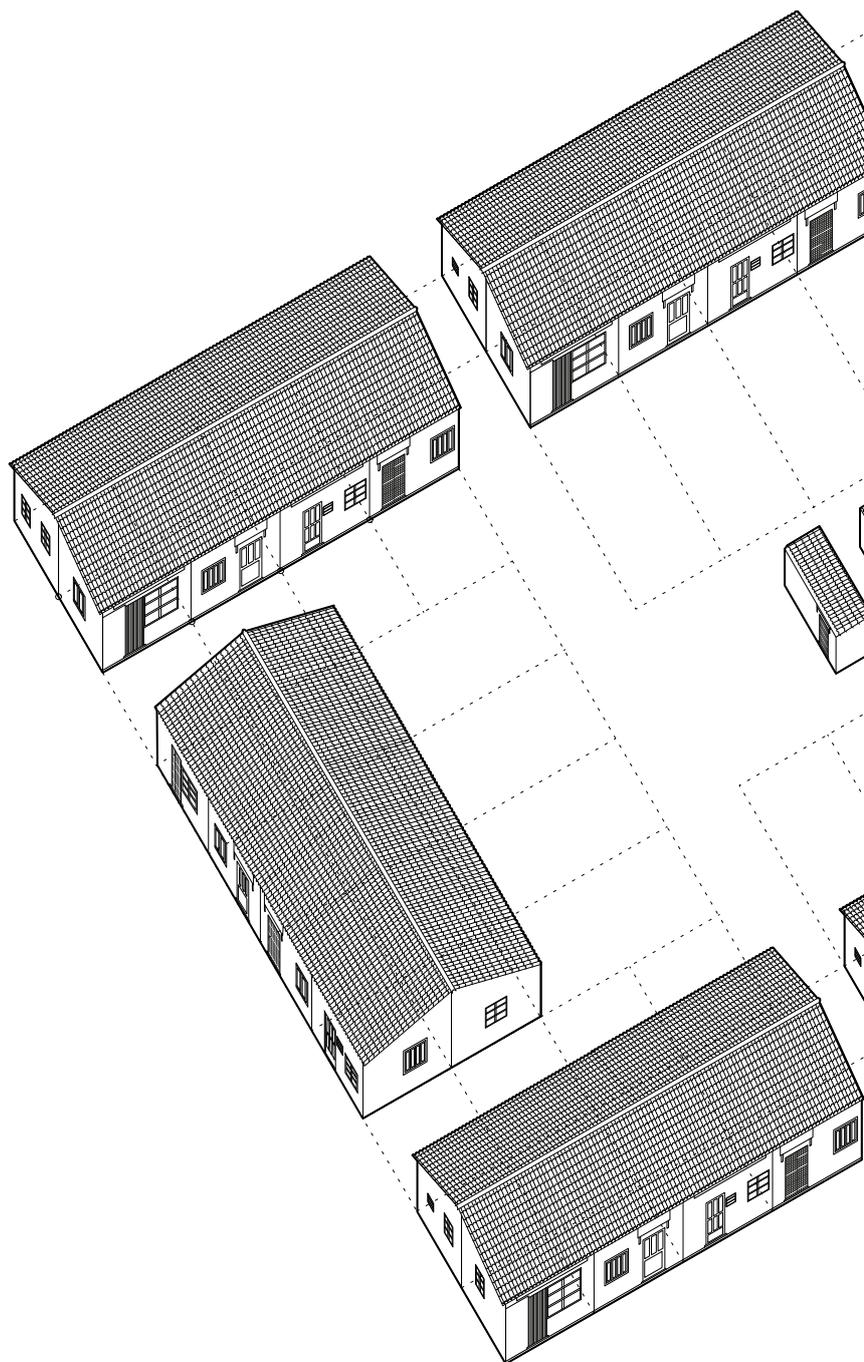
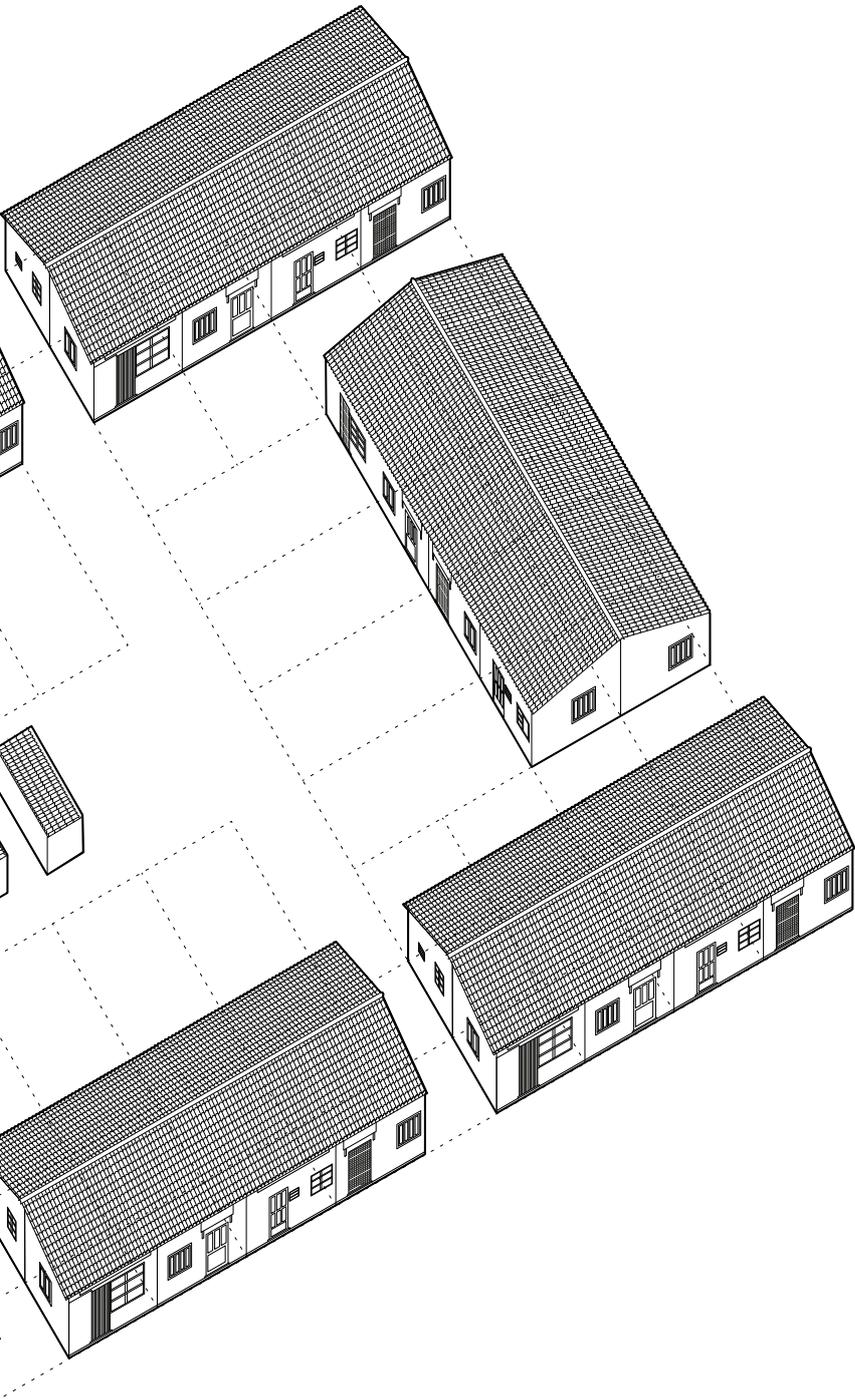


Fig. 29, Axon of the model of 1923, 1:350,  
drawn by the author



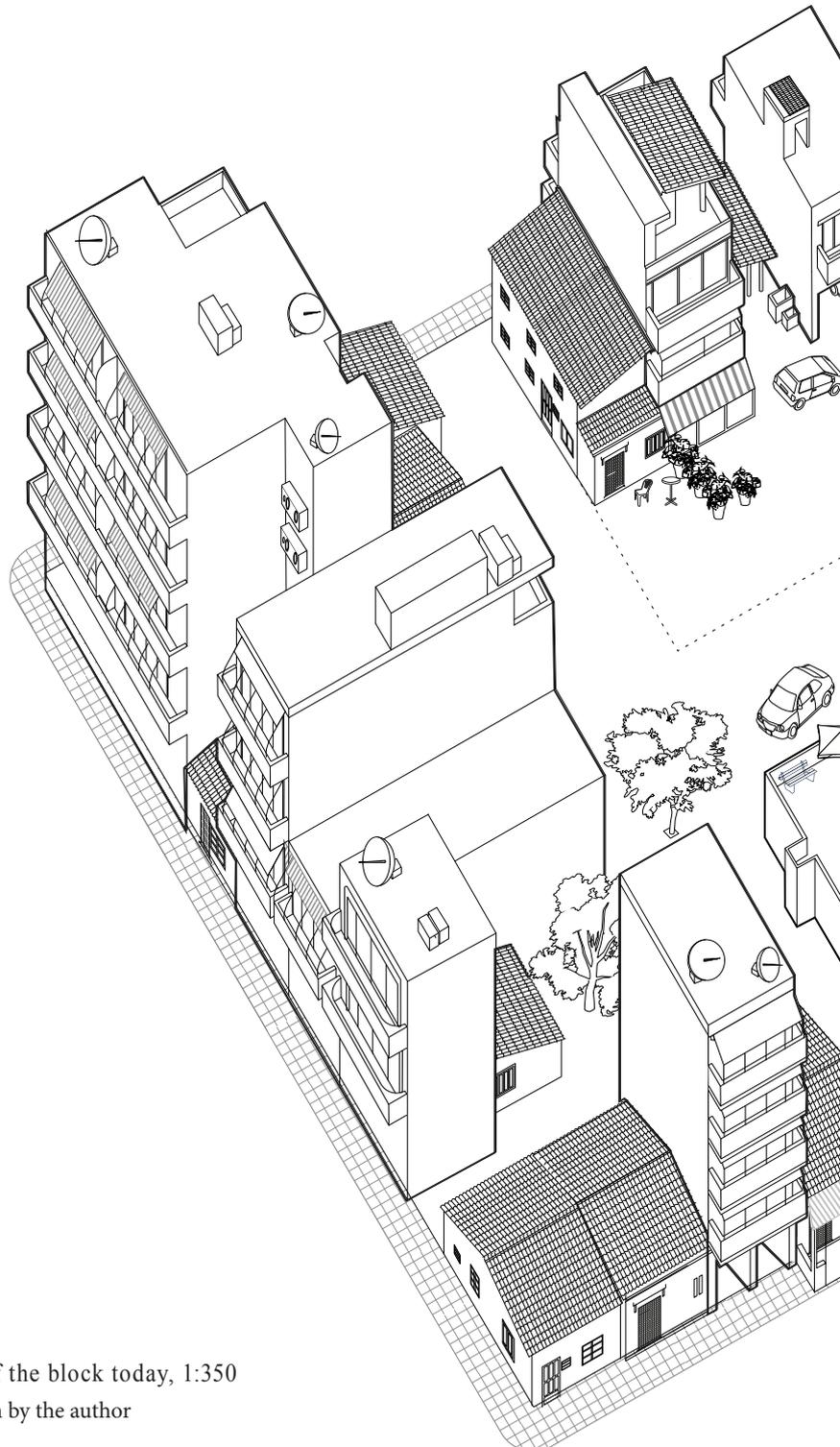


Fig.30, Axon of the block today, 1:350  
drawn by the author





## CONCLUSION



Photograph taken by the author, 2024

## CONCLUSION

The residential observations gathered in Kaisariani confirm the persistence of a community dynamic which, although weakened by certain urban developments, is still perceptible in the use of communal spaces. The majority of residents interviewed live in multi-storey polykatoikia and have noted a change in the way communal spaces are used. While courtyards and communal passageways are still used in some blocks, particularly for informal interaction or occasional gatherings, their use has declined compared with previous decades. Some spaces that were once designed for collective use, such as terraces, have been reappropriated in a more individualised way, becoming private extensions while sometimes retaining a social function.

Local shops also play a key role in neighbourhood cohesion, although their dependence on other parts of Athens for certain administrative and cultural functions is acknowledged. Cafés, kiosks and small shops are still places where people socialise and help to maintain community links.

As for social dynamics, mutual aid between neighbours still exists, although some accounts point to a gradual reduction in the forms of solidarity that were once ubiquitous. However, local events, associations and municipal initiatives continue to structure collective life and preserve Kaisariani's identity in the face of urban change.

The three case studies confirmed the initial hypothesis concerning the resilience of the open block and the persistence of collective spaces despite changes in their use over time (such as the transformation of the toilets into a car park in the third case).

The typological analysis revealed two main variations in the internal layout of the dwellings, oscillating between individuality and shared spaces, depending on whether they face the courtyard or the street. The location of vertical walkways, entrances and display facades varies in each case, resulting in three distinct typologies.

The first case illustrates how maintaining a single plot has helped to preserve a communal courtyard. Although the courtyard's surface area has been reduced and its opening onto the public space restricted, it remains a place for social interaction. The second case highlights the role of a central garden, designed in a formal and structured way, which has ensured the survival of a high-quality communal space. The third case shows that the creation, from the outset, of a collective plot within the block has made it possible to preserve an unbuilt void, which can be used for a variety of purposes. Initially occupied by toilets, it is now a car park and could, in the future, be transformed into a green park.

In conclusion, the closed polykatoikia island derived from the antiparochi, by its introverted character and its courtyards whose main purpose is ventilation, limits the possible evolutions and prevents any transformation of its interior over time. Conversely, the open block encourages the creation of communal spaces that enhance the quality of the urban living environment.

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Collective énoncé team

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Gay Apocalypse, François Mégret

Mechanical Symphony, Paulina Ornella Beron

Murder on the Floorplan, Léo Perrin-Livenais

Peasant-Mania, Julia Maraj

Speculative Coastlines, Emile Iacopo Jourcin & Melina Schechinger

The Architecture of the Superblock, Michelle Mortensen

The Boundaries of Labor, Lea Marzinzik

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