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Housing Technologies and the 1922 Migration to Greece: On the Interaction between Historical and Contemporary Encounters

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Abstract

Beginning in 1922, an influx of ethnic Greek refugees from Asia Minor arrived in Greece, roughly doubling the population of the Athens area at the time. The technologies employed to house these refugees have had lasting impacts on urban design, in addition to socio-economic effects for the residents. Choices such as placing refugee settlements outside of the existing urban areas, or providing families with only minimal living space and utilities, have shaped development in these areas. Over time, refugees and their descendants have adapted the housing settlements to fit their needs via the construction of illegal extensions, the redesign of indoor spaces, and the modification of public outdoor spaces.

In order to study these interactions and expand the present literature, this thesis combines literature review with refugee testimonies of living conditions and public opinion data from today's inhabitants. By looking at the experience of housing Asia Minor Refugees in the 1920s and 1930s from an STS perspective, we see key areas of improvement that can help address current and future refugee inflows. Particularly, we find that an STS approach can be employed to address both the housing of migrants currently in Greece and the remaining issues related to the original Asia Minor Refugee settlements.

Keywords: refugee housing, urban development, Greece, Asia Minor, STS, Athens, Nikaia

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Introduction

Today we are living with global migration patterns that necessitate a variety of housing technologies to cover the needs of migrants and refugees. Within the field of Science, Technology, and Society (STS) there is a community that studies issues at the intersection of STS, borders, security, and critical migration. Through this thesis, I examine an understudied area within the field, which looks at the housing technologies used for addressing migration. By way of examining the Greek case following the events of 1922, I will contextualize the impact of technical choices regarding housing. As the work analyzes interactions of individuals with housing technologies, it considers Langdon Winner's argument that technology alone does not mold society to fit its patterns, but rather the social system, in which technologies are embedded, also shapes technology (Winner, 1980, p. 122).

After the September 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe, the Greek State was confronted with a unique housing challenge as a result of the arrival of over one million ethnic Greeks onto Greek territory. The events of 1922 resulted in the Lausanne Treaty, which outlined the mandatory population exchange of 1.2 million Greeks in Asia Minor to Greece and 500k Muslims in Greece to Turkey (Salvanou, 2017, p. 122). At the time, the total population of Greece was only ~5 million, with the total population of Athens and Piraeus at ~500,000, of which 77,000 resided in the surrounding suburbs (Bournova, 2015, p. 49). By 1928, after the settlement of many Asia Minor Refugees, the population of Athens grew to ~800,000, of which 210,000 resided in the suburbs. As a result of this influx, a unique urban fabric developed in Athens to house the new population.

While there is significant literature that discusses the struggles of the Asia Minor Catastrophe or the successful integration of refugees, due to a combination of political factors and issues of integration there has been little published on the early challenges of the refugees, particularly in relation to housing (Kritikos, 2021, p. 4278). Additionally, much of the urban planning literature from this period focuses on the neoclassical architectural style and aesthetics, which mainly centers on wealthy inhabitants (Kritikos, 2008, p. 498). Therefore, I seek to combine historical statements by refugees and opinions of present-day residents with secondary literature that addresses housing policies, in order to study how technological choices at an institutional level

impacted how residents interacted with spaces, both historically and presently. Given the capacity of the project, this research focuses mainly on the Athens/Piraeus region.

Presently, Greece continues to face a crisis in regard to refugees and their housing. In 2015, over 800,000 refugees and irregular migrants arrived in the country, according to the UN International Organization for Migration. Following the March 2016 EU-Turkey common declaration, which closed previous migration routes and attempted to block migrants' movements, tens of thousands of refugees were left trapped in Greece. Here it is important to note that in this case the total number of refugees remaining in Greece made up less than 1% of the country's total population, as compared to the Asia Minor refugees constituting roughly 25% of the population upon their arrival 1922-1924. In this sense, creating suitable and more permanent housing structures for the present-day case should have been more feasible. However, many of the 2015+ refugees were housed in camps, airports, fields, and ports in conditions that could not meet basic needs (Kotronaki et al., 2018, p. 892). Often, the construction and design of the present day refugee camps was based on informal decisions by army officers and contractors, while excluding architects, urban planners, and refugee-residents from the design process, and without having any public call or competition for the housing design (Tsavdaroglou & Lalenis, 2023, p. 56). Despite the growing presence of community development programs, the refugee camps still face a top-down management model with Greek police forces in charge, with no refugee participation in management. This draws a parallel to the 1922 case wherein the responsible organizations had control over the design and construction of refugee settlements, without resident consultation in the process (Kritikos, 2008, p. 505). Most commonly, present-day refugee camps in Greece consist of a white grid of tents or containers that are arranged in a Hippodamian grid, with a barbed wire fence and other surveillance measures surrounding the perimeter (ibid). Compared to the urban area of Athens, the majority of state-run refugee camps are located in the periphery, cut off from social services, creating a physical separation of the inside/familiar and the outside/stranger (Tsavdaroglou & Lalenis, 2023, p. 57). This also provides a clear analogy with the experience of many Asia Minor Refugees in Athens who were abruptly settled at the city's periphery without roads to access daily necessities such as water. However, in the case of the Asia Minor Refugee settlements, this geographical separation eventually reshaped the region's urban geography by enlarging and connecting the Athens and Piraeus regions.

Given that an STS approach is necessary to address present issues concerning housing technologies in refugee camps and in areas of the 1922 refugee settlements, this work provides an insight into the living history of the post-1922 refugee settlements by detailing interactions between technologies and society. To accomplish this, this paper researches how the Asia Minor refugees interacted with and adapted to the housing technologies from 1922 until today. This may furnish a novel perspective on the present-day issues relating to the housing of migrants, as many of the prior Asia Minor refugee settlements are now inhabited by new waves of immigrants and refugees. Throughout this paper I will contextualize the housing technologies and urban development that was formed as a response to the arrival of Greeks from Asia Minor, and I will add to the existing literature by reviewing how these technologies have had a long term impact on areas of the original refugee settlements. This analysis will be based upon a presentation of primary sources that includes original architecture plans of refugee housing and historical interviews from refugees, in addition to surveys and interviews with present-day residents of these areas that focus on what services or spaces are most needed, and what should be done with the currently derelict original refugee houses. Considering the interplay between technology and society, this work will examine how individuals have interacted with the housing technologies in order to demonstrate the impact of technology and the cycle of it shaping social experiences and vice versa.

In the following section, a critical review and synthesis of the secondary literature will address the policies of the main institutions involved in housing the Asia Minor refugees and how these choices impacted the way that the refugees interacted with and adapted to the relevant housing technologies both historically and today. In addition, this section will synthesize the impacts of housing settlement decisions on the urban environment, identity, and politics in the years that followed. It will then outline the STS theories used to frame this work and the methodology of the research employed. Finally, a presentation of the research on primary sources will be provided, followed by conclusions and suggestions for future actions and further research on the topic.

Review and Synthesis of Secondary Literature

History of Housing Institutions, Policies, and Strategies

History of Institutions and Social Housing

Immediately upon the arrival of refugees from Asia Minor in 1922, improvised housing was the common practice, mainly in churches and fields until permanent dwellings could be constructed. In the subsequent period, two institutions were created to manage the longer term shelter arrangements for the refugees. The Refugee Relief Fund (RRF) was established by the Greek government and was the first body to confront the issue of housing refugees (Myofa, 2023, p. 322). The organization created the first refugee quarters outside of the cities of Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki, followed by settlements outside of the smaller urban areas of Volos, Edessa, and Eleusis (Kritikos, 2008, p. 501). The Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC) was also created in the same period, as an autonomous body from the Greek state that was supervised by the League of Nations. By 1925, the RRF was dismantled as its duties overlapped with those of the newly established RSC and as its prefabricated sheds and houses were not sufficient for the refugees' needs (ibid). In total twelve primary and thirty-four secondary settlements were created on the outskirts of the existing areas of Athens and Piraeus, leading to the development of suburban areas previously uninhabited (Myofa, 2023, p. 323). Outside of the RRF and RSC, the Ministry of Welfare also began constructing temporary settlements by the late 1920s, and by 1930 it became the sole authority responsible for the needs of urban refugees (Kandylis, et al., 2018, p. 79).

It is key to note that the housing programs that Greece underwent were unprecedented at the time, as there had been no previous obligation or central government funding for housing to be built for marginalized groups (Kritikos, 2008, p. 508). It was common, however, in Greece and in neighboring countries to distribute land for agricultural development to refugees considered loyal to the nation, on a small scale, specifically near borders or among locals seen as dangerous, as a way to increase the ethnic population and stability near the borders (Venturas, 2022, p. 302). Even in present times, Athens presents a unique case as there is no social housing for rent: the main model of housing provision is homeownership. This is due to the lack of development of a true social housing sector: social housing was initiated out of the urgent need to house refugees from Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace and Pontus, rather than as a permanent organized policy to

address social issues such as homelessness (Myofa, 2023, p. 319). At the time of the first social housing in the 1920s, the Greek government lacked experience in housing rehabilitation, it did not have predetermined public policies for housing vulnerable populations, and it was faced with limited financial resources as a result of the Balkan Wars and World War I in the preceding period (Myofa, 2023, p. 323). This combination of factors impacted the way the country would address the housing response, which has left lasting urban planning impacts on the urban fabric today.

Architectural Choices in Athens and Impact on the Lived Experience

To understand the urban design of Athens and its refugee housing, it is necessary to look at the years prior to 1922. In the period from 1898-1914 the overarching urban planning practice was perfect geometrical planning for projects around the Acropolis, following academic town planning principles (Kritikos, 2008, p. 503). Following this period and until 1922, design was characterized by the ambition of the nationalist dream of the Great Idea, which included cosmopolitan and expansionist goals, as evidenced from an urban planning standpoint by the formation of Ministry of Transport. However, in the housing created in response to the events of 1922, the focus was simplicity of design and materials, leaving behind any romantic and visionary architectural doctrines, as they were seen as inappropriate for mass housing programs (ibid).

The Refugee Relief Fund began the construction of new settlements in Athens and Piraeus, constructing 22,337 homes in total, made from wood, brick, or stone (Kritikos, 2008, p. 500). The RRF constructed the first four refugee settlements in Athens on the outskirts of the existing urban fabric from 1922-1925. The organization was later replaced by the Refugee Settlement Commission, which was tasked with allocating the funds from the League of Nations meant to develop and implement policies for refugee resettlement. This was a key strategy by the League of Nations for creating methods of governance, given that large-scale bureaucracies, surveying techniques, mapping, information-gathering, recording, and standardizing were all necessary for the implementation of these projects (Venturas, 2022, p. 311). The RSC constructed a variety of 13,500 new dwellings in Athens, enough to meet about 20% of the refugee population's needs (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 79). This included the refugee settlements of Kokkinia, Nea Ionia,

Kesariani, and Pangrati, where the organization constructed small houses out of stone, brick, or mudbrick at the outskirts of the city, creating new suburbs (Kritikos, 2008, p. 502).

The Ministry of Welfare also began constructing temporary settlements in the 1920s, though many were of poor quality and over time led to the emergence of urban slums (Kandylis, et al., 2018, p. 79). As a result, the Ministry's strategy post-1930 became one of slum clearance, demonstrated by the demolition of shacks in slum areas from 1933-1939 and the construction of new housing units for the refugees originally residing in the shacks. The Ministry's architectural style was influenced by the modern architecture of the time, including Bauhaus and Le Corbusier – today, these flats can be seen in Alexandras and Dourgouti (Myofa, 2023, p. 326). The Ministry also allowed for the concession of a plot of land for the construction of a residence, wherein the beneficiary refugees would be responsible for constructing the residence themselves (Myofa, 2023, p. 326).

In Piraeus, six municipalities were developed for refugee rehabilitation: Nikaia-Rentis, Keratsini-Drapetsona, Korydallos, Perama, and Piraeus (Tousis, 2021, p. 22). These areas exemplify different architectural styles, as they were constructed in different periods by different organizations. In Nikea-Rentis, Keratsini-Drapetsona, and Perama there are enclaves of refugee housing (ibid). Drapetsona also contains social housing complexes constructed by the Ministry of Welfare. In Piraeus and Korydallos, however, the State provided plots of land to the refugees for construction. Within these areas class distinctions among refugees impacted the type of housing that was provided or constructed by the residents, which we will explore further below.

In the 1930s, innovative Greek architects saw the large-scale housing construction as an opportunity to implement the values of modernist architecture, such as functionalist principles in the layout of the buildings (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 85). In certain cases of blocks of condominiums, architects included common open spaces or green spaces, which went against the pattern of continuous construction of residential buildings that prevailed in the privately constructed areas of Athens (ibid). Despite this advantage, the peripheral location of many of these settlements often led to the creation of isolated areas that were disconnected from the city. Furthermore the presence of temporary encampments and permanent settlements by the state

created an accentuated divide between the affluent center of Athens and the poorer refugee neighborhoods, adding a visual boundary to the separation of the refugees and the prior inhabitants (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 79). While the growth of the urban core eventually alleviated the concern of geographical isolation, in refugee settlements where architectural innovation had been accepted, physical building characteristics developed that served to demarcate a difference between social housing and regular building types for non-refugees of the same economic strata. Features such as the lack of balconies as a way to increase common space, outdoor staircases, and small, shared building entrances all created a "symbolic inferiority" for residents (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 86). Space that was common or open was often appropriated by the neighboring residents to be employed for private use, such as the construction of an extra room, garden, or yard space, which became a pattern across many refugee areas. Additionally, the bureaucratic structure in which housing units were constructed and distributed led to a homogenous profile of housing estates in both style and ownership demographics, since authorities often segregated different economic strata of the refugee population (ibid). The RRF re-classified refugees according to their wealth to determine whether they would be housed in buildings subsidized by the state or in self-housing built by themselves, including arbitrary non-approved dwellings (Kritikos, 2008, p. 500).

Formally, the allocation of apartments was decided by lottery based on the number of family members and on the precondition that none of the beneficiaries' family members were homeowners or landowners in another area (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 86). Given the pace of construction and this allocation system, some refugees remained homeless, eventually settling on vacant land and forming makeshift accommodations near the settlements built by the state. This phenomenon was seen in the areas around Vyronas, Kaisariani, Nea Filadelfia, and Palaia Sfageia. Other refugees built shacks in vacant land found in Gyzi, Ilisos, Asyrmatos, and Dourgouti (Myofa, 2023, p. 323). These residences were often only one room, lacking a kitchen or bathroom, and had no official road infrastructure to connect them to the center of the city (Bournova, 2015, p. 51). Additionally, refugees could differentiate their living conditions based on the amount of wealth they managed to bring from Asia Minor. For example, some had the ability to buy their own land or contribute their own material. Refugees in better economic standing also resorted to building their own houses directly next to the land owned by the RSC

and RRF when there was no space available within the settlements (Kritikos, 2008, p. 505). The refugees themselves oversaw the construction of these houses and made significant financial contributions, which set the homes "a class apart" from the state-built refugee dwellings and self-constructed shacks (ibid). Architecturally, the dwellings were also differentiated due to the use of better materials, such as stone instead of timber, and with the layout resembling that of a small villa (ibid 501). This created nicer suburbs, often inspired by principles of European town planning, as seen in the areas of Ymittos, Nea Smyrni, and Nea Filadelfia.

These areas stood in contrast to Kokkinia, Kesariani, Nea Ionia, Pankrati, and Vyronas, which were must less privileged economically and demonstrated significant uniformity due to a lack of variation in design. This is largely due to the fact that policy-makers of the settlements had authority over the land and construction rather than the refugees themselves contributing to the design and building process (Kritikos, 2008, p. 501). To this point, functional issues also arose, given that the housing issues were addressed in an empirical way without consideration for the population's needs, as evidenced by sanitation issues, significant overcrowding, pollution issues, insufficient lighting, and an unstable water supply (ibid). Neither the State nor the RSC had taken on the role of providing the necessary sanitary facilities for the refugee settlements.

Despite these planning failures, interviews by Z. Kyrisopoulou in 1959 with refugee residents of the Koudouriotis Settlement (officially titled Embirikon), revealed that even with the great length at which refugees had to trek to get water and to dispose of it, the settlement remained clean and free of smell. Interviewees pointed to a tradition of neatness among people from Smyrna as the reason for achieving this feat amid the challenging terrain (Kritikos, 2008, p. 506). The Koudouriotis Settlement (located across from the Alexandras Avenue Apartments designed by Kimon Lascaris under the training of Le Corbusier) was constructed early in the refugee response to provide a demonstration that a permanent solution to refugee settlement was possible (Figure 1). The area received funding from the Red Cross and the Greek Americans from the Diaspora to construct a village of brick houses (Rodogno, 2014, p. 94).

Figure 1

Koudouriotis Settlement: “A refugee city that was built by Greek Americans--A model of cleanliness and order”

Source: United States Library of Congress: Prints and Photographs Online Catalog LC-USZ62-131133

Other refugee areas, such as Kesariani, did not have the same outcome, given the intense combination of a lack of sewage systems or water supply, alongside farms with animals, carpet factories, and industrial activities (ibid). The majority of the refugee areas were being put through a period of densification, wherein the top priority was housing for workers on the outskirts of the existing urban area. The increase of living spaces into the built area combined with a lack of regulation led to these areas missing effective services such as sewage and disposal systems, water supplies, road systems, and educational/social facilities (ibid 506). These

conditions created difficulties in the spatial relations among refugees, causing everyday quarrels over resources and space.

A noteworthy phenomenon was also demonstrated by refugees deciding on their own where to officially settle, despite efforts to place them. This points to the idea that two key concerns during the first years of settlement were employment opportunities and the reestablishment of family life, therefore resulting in continuous internal migration (Kritikos, 2008, p. 502). To this point, many refugees abandoned the mountain or border settlements they had been placed in and headed for cities, both with employment and kin in mind, with some illegally occupying houses built by the RSC and others taking land on the outskirts to build shacks. By 1928 many were settled after wandering, supporting the already large influx of refugees that laid the groundwork for the urbanization of many Greek cities (ibid 503).

Financing

The combination of organizations that worked to house the refugees also varied in their financing structures for the different methods of housing, determined by whether the refugees were provided with pre-built houses or plots of land where they could build their own homes. Initially, every refugee was entitled to a house in the refugee settlements, provided that they did not previously receive a plot of land to build on or already own a home (Bournova, 2015, p. 50). Under this scheme, recipients were required to repay 70% of the cost of the house in 15 years, however, no interest was charged (ibid). This meant that beneficiaries had to pay a low price to attain ownership, further contributing to Greece's system of home ownership in social housing, rather than renting. On this point, the only restriction that came with these subsidized loans and the procurement of private ownership was the prohibition of the recipients selling the refugee houses to any non-refugee households (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 79). This restriction remained in place even after the repayment of the loan.

Additionally, the Greek state gave the RSC the task of distributing 500,000 hectares of land to the refugees. The land itself acted as mortgage for the lenders with the income acting as collateral (Venturas, 2022, p. 307). This land was largely to be used in rural settings to reduce the risk of peasant radicalism among locals or social unrest among large numbers of refugees in

cities, while also placing ethnic Greeks near the Northern borders where they could defend the country's territory. Given that the Great Powers wanted to prevent loans from being used for military purposes while simultaneously maintaining the countries' fragile borders, this system enabled loans to flow in independently of the government, thereby allowing more control over the funds and resettlement plans. Simultaneously, this benefited Greek politicians who could blame the RSC for any unsatisfactory redistribution of land from prior citizens to refugees (ibid).

Additionally, while housing was free for the first waves of refugees, after 1924 the RRF required a low rent or arrangements for eventual purchase of the land, as part of a new philosophy (in line with the RSC) to provide more permanent housing (Kritikos, 2008, p. 507). This, along with the mix of other organizations that worked to provide housing, created a patchwork of different funding methods, architectural styles, and ownership that has left lasting impacts on the urban fabric today (Figure 2). Many refugees were unable to pay off their debts or refused to pay, seeing housing as the only compensation for their losses (Myofa, 2023, p. 326). Others, however, paid and took all the steps to receive housing, but were not housed for many years or, in some cases, ever (Kritikos, 2008, p. 506). In 1944, these issues led the state to cancel the debts, thereby creating questions of ownership that still impact whether abandoned refugee housing can be demolished, sold, etc. today. For this same combination of reasons, the state was also very lenient in regards to the creation of illegal or unapproved buildings or extra constructions, which are a key architectural characteristic of prior refugee areas today.

Organization	Housing Policy
Ministry of Public Welfare	Provided free of charge
Refugee Relief Fund	Symbolic Low Rent
Refugee Settlement Commission	Sold or rented permanent dwellings
National Bank of Greece	Auctioned land for the private building of houses
Informal/Unorganized	Erection of unapproved buildings

Figure 2

Housing Organization and Financing System

Source (Kritikos, 2008, p. 507)

Interaction with Housing Technology

Cultural Practices and Changing Spaces

For insight into how the unique needs and cultural practices of refugee groups impacted the way they interacted with the housing they were assigned, Renee Hirschon and John Gold (1982) provide a relevant case study conducted in the 1970s on the area Yerania/Kokkinia (currently referred to as Nikaia). This area included 80,000 square meters of prefabricated housing units, built at the edge of the Athens-Piraeus conurbation and has since become a part of the urban expansion (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 65). Originally each house was built for two families, with two semi-detached dwelling units with mirrored layouts, each with two rooms, a kitchen, and a toilet. It is significant to note here that by 1970 the total floor space of the settlement was over twice as large as that of the original construction, due to extensions into courtyard spaces and the excavation of basement units (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 65).

Because of limited economic means, modifications to original refugee structures reveal important socio-cultural and spatial priorities. Nearly three quarters of the units had basements added because they required no costs for walls or a ceiling. Over time, the dwellings were eventually subdivided between several households. This subdivision was due to Greek dowry provision, whereby the bride's family was expected to provide material possessions for the new family, and in urban areas this often took the form of a house or separate living quarters. Given the economic standing of many residents, the common pattern became for the bride's parents to subdivide their own dwelling to provide a dowry. Typically the ground floor was partitioned among married daughters, while parents moved into rooms which they had excavated into a basement, as basement units were not seen as suitable for dowry purposes (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 66). This created dwellings divided into several self-contained units, each with separate kitchen and living rooms, although typically sharing a toilet and bathing facility. Oftentimes the original kitchen areas were converted into living rooms or bedrooms, and new cooking spaces were created in hallways, basement alcoves, under stairways, and beneath the sidewalk, averaging about 2 sq meters of floor space (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 67). Though small, they remained an important symbol for the family unit and a physical expression of the woman's sphere of domain in the family. The kitchen also signified independence for each family unit, particularly for newly-married couples who became both spatially and economically independent. Kitchens were never shared, no matter how small this required them to be

(Hirschon & Thakurdesai, 1978, p. 248). Even where mothers and daughters shared a unit, each still had their own kitchen: upon survey of 42 dwellings, there were 60 kitchens present (ibid). Thus, it is clearly evident how individuals made physical changes to the spaces and technologies in order to better work with relevant social and cultural practices.

Additionally, the interior design and arrangement of the apartments demonstrates the compromise between preserving cultural values and working with limited space. The two main rooms were often used as bedrooms and reception areas along with storage space and other mixed uses. As a result, this created a mixture of furniture in the rooms, giving an impression of clutter. Particularly the main room was often kept for the reception of formal visitors and would contain a central dining table with matching chairs, a display cabinet with rows of glass and china, one or two sofas that also served as beds for children, and a corner that was used to store clothing (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 67). In smaller homes this room may have had the double bed for a married couple, the dining table, chairs, and a wardrobe. Despite these spatial constraints, space-saving furniture was notably absent. The combination of rooms and furniture into one space was largely due to the cultural factor of wanting a separation between reception activities (eating, socializing) and domestic activities (food preparation). The notion of this separation also existed in terms of its connotation, wherein a room that was most frequently used as a child's bedroom or for food storage that also acted as the formal reception room when guests were visiting, was still referred to as a formal reception room, despite this being a less frequent use of the space. This presence of a formal dining room demonstrated that socio-cultural considerations often outweighed practical spatial issues, in this case stemming from the cultural practice of seeing it as obligatory to provide an appropriate environment to offer hospitality to visitors (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 68).

Neighborhood ties were very developed in Kokkinia, likely due to the lack of deep kinship ties as a result of the circumstances of refugee resettlement. The social pattern was mainly led by women, largely balancing out the private nature of the home, with women acting as the main assessors of competitive relations between households, largely based on the external appearance of the dwellings and the external space surrounding it (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 69). This included taking care of the sidewalk and street as if they were part of the residential domain,

most often in the space extending from the wall through the middle of the road. Women cared for this space, sweeping it once or twice daily, with some using whitewash to mark clear boundaries. This care for the exterior of the household and external space was seen to reflect the state of the interior. In this regard, despite the subdivision of households, the walls of the dwellings were all painted in one color, making the presence of subdivision indiscernible. A variety of colors were used including green, yellow, blue, grey, rust, and cream, in order to make a statement about the identity of the residents.

Another common way the refugees interacted with the housing technologies, or lack thereof, was through informal gatherings in the neighborhood streets in the areas between houses that offered exterior space. Afternoon meetings were seen as significant, and even included visitors from other neighborhoods (Hirschon & Gold, 1982, p. 70). They typically began with a wife taking a chair from inside the home out onto the pavement, facing her own door while working on crochet or embroidery. Soon the group began to grow and the seats began to face outwards with an extra chair being brought as a tray for coffee cups or to be offered voluntarily to a newcomer. In this sense, the sidewalk acted as a relaxed extension of the home with the indoor furniture in the open area bridging the gap between public and private space.

The case of Kokkinia demonstrates how refugees adapted to deficiencies in both size and cultural practice within the housing spaces that they were given. The commitment to maintaining a separate reception space away from household tasks to uphold hospitality traditions, the additions to the provided units to maintain marital practices, and the use of private furniture to enable socializing in outdoor spaces, all demonstrate creative solutions to housing technologies that did not take these needs into account. These experiences and practices also provide significant insight into the role of women at the time and the spatio-temporal behaviors required to keep up with the obligations of the family, household, and neighborhood. The residents of Kokkinia demonstrated effective adaptation to high-density housing, while simultaneously upholding cultural practices by re-establishing the uses of the housing technologies and surrounding public spaces.

Expanding this to present day, the urban physiognomy of Kokkinia (now Nikaia) has been altered by this semi-private semi-public use of outdoor space, including the communal spaces inside each block and the pedestrian corridors that connect the blocks to each other. In the 1990s there were official attempts to regenerate these spaces, which consisted of placing concrete planter boxes between blocks (Tousi et al., 2022, p. 13). However, these updates did not meet citizens' needs, as they offered no seating infrastructure to support the spaces' use as a gathering space. As a result, citizens still bring their own chairs for evening gatherings, as they did for the decades before this regeneration. This case demonstrates that even in recent times, the same mistakes are being made with urban intervention and development, wherein residents' spatial and cultural needs are not taken into account when considering the implementation of new technologies.

Refugee Areas Today

Today, social housing in Athens sits in a stigmatized position, despite having a variety of architectural styles and being constructed in different periods (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 87). Stigmatization can be attributed due to two main factors: first, the challenging conditions of the original constructions and, second, the limited maintenance of the buildings. Residents have historically and presently had limited financial ability to take on improvement projects. Additionally, because the social housing was designed to be owner-occupied, residents could not move or sell the homes as they did not have full legal rights to ownership unless they paid a nominal sum, which many did not want to do given the constant changing in financing (Hirschon & Thakurdesai, 1978, p. 248). As a result, the homes became an asset passed down to descendants to live in or to generate income if they decided not to occupy the homes themselves. The latter became very popular for families that experienced upwards social mobility and relocated outside of the settlements (Kandylis et al., 2018, p. 88). Over time, this movement pattern, intensified by the issue of unclear ownership (as a result of multiple inheritors, shared ownership, non-repayment, or bureaucratic obstacles in legal transfer) led to dereliction, thereby contributing to the degradation of the refugee neighborhoods (ibid).

Slum clearing programs by the Ministry of Welfare also had a large impact on refugees from Asia Minor and their location within Athens. These programs took place during the post-World

War II period, with the demolition of shacks and new apartment block construction in Dourgouti, Kaisariani, Tavros, Drapetsona, and Aigaelo in the 1950s (Myofa, 2023, p. 327). In the interim period between demolition and the new apartments being ready, the residents were given a subsidy which many used to settle in a new neighborhood, thereby further changing the social and geographic structure of the region. The Workers' Housing Organization (OEK) was established in 1954 and became very active in housing refugees, slum residents, and others affected by natural disasters (ibid, 329). They constructed two-story detached houses in addition to large apartment buildings standing at three, four, eight, and ten stories. The construction blocks had a provision for the formation of open spaces and green areas and units were arranged in rows with distance for light and ventilation. Together, the Ministry of Welfare and OEK constructed 31 estates post-war with 11,930 dwellings. Over time, the financial issues of some owners led to gradual degradation of housing units, as did the abandonment of some of the originally constructed Ministry of Welfare apartments. Presently, there is a strong need for renovation of housing estates, even though the organizations that originally developed them have been abolished.

Tousi (2021) notes that the separation of refugee and non-refugee areas remained in place until the 1950s for housing complexes in the Piraeus region. This factor contributed to social exclusion as the areas were located 1 – 4 km away from non-refugee urban areas. Existing refugee areas were deteriorated by urban planning legislation in the 1960s and 1970s that allowed for increased building heights (Tousi et al., 2022, p. 10). Higher, more populated buildings blocked sunlight to the smaller original refugee homes and often resulted in poor natural ventilation. Even today, many prior refugee areas experience the phenomenon of "neighborhood effects", wherein unique socio-economic traits are experienced by one area of a broader region, given its geography (Tousi, 2021, p. 25). The presence of both limited social and geographic mobility can contribute to higher unemployment rates, lower educational levels, and poor living conditions. These neighborhood effects can trap households in a cycle of degradation. Considering this, it is explicable how Greece continues to have a high proportion of the population in danger of social exclusion, from issues such as neighborhood effects, with nearly 35% at risk compared to the EU median of about 22% according to Eurostat in 2019 (ibid).

Today, original social housing complexes still remain, hosting mainly elderly people and the aforementioned economic migrants. However, different areas have confronted the original building stock differently. In Nikaia, 40% of the old refugee housing is still in place today, providing the most clear example of a large settlement (Figures 3 and 4). Other areas, however, due to topographical conditions, have been more scattered with the approach. Agios Ioannis Rentis, for example, which was previously agricultural land, has refugee enclaves placed between these former spaces, something which today has led to high rates of empty properties given the issue of a devalued and obsolete social housing stock. From a demographic perspective, starting in the 1990s many refugee families abandoned the old housing units as they had improved their economic status and could afford new apartments elsewhere. This middle class outflow was met simultaneously with an inflow of economic migrants from Balkan countries and the former USSR in the 1990s, who became the next group to occupy the prior refugee houses, followed by migrants from Asian countries after 2005 (Tousi, 2021, p. 28).

Figure 3

Example of semi-derelict building in Nikaia with characteristic outdoor staircases

Author's work, February 2019

Figure 4

Example of informal extension of original refuge housing into common space in Nikaia

Author's work, November 2021

Cultural Identity and Memory

There has been a tumultuous history surrounding the construction of a historical memory for the Asia Minor Refugees. Kritikos (2021) identifies the main characteristics by which Asia Minor Refugees are traditionally framed within Greek historiography as, firstly, with a focus on their persecution prior to leaving Turkey or, secondly, with an emphasis on the miracle of national homogenization upon their resettlement in Greece. In attempts to prevent self-criticism or any remembrance of multicultural experiences, this "history from above" style ignored issues related to the linguistic diversity of refugees, in order to put forward the idea of incorporation and integration, and it left out any mention of the discrimination and exploitation the refugees faced.

Furthermore, under the military dictatorship of 1967-1974, authors were unable to question national unity or produce political academic writing, which often led to the exclusion of the history of the refugees' integration into Greek society. In this period, issues of cultural and political life of the refugees were omitted and were replaced with stories of suffering in Turkey and the triumph of the achievement of the Greek state in settling the refugees, describing the refugees as fellow Greek siblings who were immediately welcomed into the country (Kritikos, 2021, p. 4273). In the 1980s new textbooks discussed the economic impact of refugees losing their homes and their previous lives in Asia Minor; however, these were criticized and replaced. By the 2000s, history textbooks discussed more details regarding the geographic and economic differences of refugee groups; however, they were still largely presented as having a homogeneous cultural identity, thereby demonstrating how the state sought to control memory in times of uncertainty (Kritikos, 2021, p. 4278). Simultaneously, in popular culture, people embraced a stereotype of Asia Minor refugees being hard workers who were able to start over from nothing in Greece, often referencing success stories of individuals such as Aristotle Onassis or Prodromos Athanassiades "Bodossakis" (ibid). Today, there are organizations and clubs that celebrate the cultural practices from the refugee groups through music, dance, and cuisine, however, they largely remain silent on the issue of the initial hardships upon the refugee's arrival.

Apart from discussions of the historical memory in textbooks, Exertzoglou (2016, p. 347) notes that the national refugee memory was associated with specific public narratives and was put into the public discourse by the refugee press and refugee associations. At first the theme of victimization allowed for a central and summative story; nonetheless, it proved to be an unproductive method for refugees to articulate their demands from the government, by posing the group as a potential burden in rebuilding Greek society after their inflow. As a result, this was soon countered with the portrayal of refugees as intelligent and hardworking members of Greek society (Exertzoglou, 2016, p. 353). This view of refugees as redeemers of society was clear in the North of the country, where many refugees were settled to increase the Greek population versus minorities near the borders (Venturas, 2022, p. 307). However, different news outlets took on different narratives for political gain as it related to refugee groups (Exerzoglou, 2016, p. 360). A unique example aimed towards refugee voters, One Kosmos focused on the

living conditions of the refugee settlements, saying that the state was to blame for poor conditions and action was required. Other sources typically focused on the traditional narrative of death, violence, and blame regarding the Catastrophe. It is also important to note that the refugee groups had vastly different experiences both before their arrival and during their initial years in Greece, and as a result, groups held to their local identities, causing them to coexist in tension during the integration process. To this point, while the Greek State utilized the various languages of the refugees as an integration tool in primary schools, it simultaneously created barriers to the refugees' social mobility by institutionalizing entrance exams for high schools/universities and mandating archaic Greek as the official language of instruction (Kritikos, 2021, p. 4277).

Refugees also experienced discrimination from an employment perspective, as poverty left the refugees vulnerable to exploitation by politicians and employers. As of 1928, over 80% of new workers in Greek industry were refugees. Within the refugee labor force ~60% worked in the carpet industry and over 30% in the tobacco industry (Kritikos, 2021, p. 4275). Women were also largely employed, with female refugees comprising over 80% of the labor force of the textile industry and over 70% of the made-to-measure clothing industry by 1930. However, the female workers were excluded from labor unions, leaving them no right to strike, thereby creating a condition where they received only one half or one third of male wages (ibid). This vulnerability and resulting exploitation can be partly explained by the fact that many men of military age were detained in Ankara, leaving the women on their own in Greece (ibid).

Summary

Through this literature review, it became evident that the key issues regarding housing for the inflow of refugees into Greece beginning in 1922 are centered on the design of the spaces and interaction with the housing technologies by the refugees themselves, and the impact that housing institutions' choices had on the urban framework. These issues were demonstrated by the work of Kritikos (2008), Venturas (2022), Hirschon (1978), and Tousi (2021) and included analysis of how refugees adapted private and shared spaces to fit their cultural needs, the procurement and construction of homes, and the demographic outcomes of urban areas. These main topics all converge on the theme of Asia Minor Refugees finding adaptive solutions to

address the deficiencies, oversights, or missteps by the institutions in the housing settlements. As a result, this work fits into the broader field by providing a synthesis of the architectural aspects, the social, economic and political context, and the present-day perspective. Given this, within the primary research, it was necessary to analyze both historical and present-day accounts regarding the experiences of living in and adapting to the refugee housing.

STS

While the realm of literature about the Asia Minor Catastrophe and Greek Refugees discusses at length about the memory of lost homelands, how refugees impacted politics after their settlement, and their contributions to Greek society, the history and details surrounding their housing remain less well-known. While this is partly due to political framing, it may also be due to a view of technological determinism. Refugee housing was viewed by politicians and historians as unavoidable/uncontrollable, given that the settlements were introduced to the state by experts, institutions, and politicians. However, in reality, refugees were changing these spaces on their own. The minute details of how and why the refugees changed the provided housing is key to the experience of their interaction with these technologies. Considering the secondary literature, within the small housing units provided to them, individuals made changes to the spaces to fit their cultural, spatial, and familial needs. This included excavating basements and constructing additions on sidewalk space, adding kitchens, and redetermining the intended usage of rooms to fit cultural practices. At the same time, while the refugees could reshape some aspects of the technologies, they were not able to continue their lives exactly as before in Asia Minor considering the difference in the natural environments, infrastructure conditions, and available services. The spatial adaptations are supported by Winner's conclusions that there is a dynamic by which technology is shaped by social forces, but simultaneously technology also shapes society.

The adaptations and actions taken by the refugees within the housing settlements also support Winner's point that technological determinism cannot be taken on its own. Instead of technology developing independently and molding society to fit its patterns, it is influenced in both design and implementation by social and economic forces (Winner, 1980, p. 122). Winner also notes that even in seemingly innocuous design features, social or political influences by the designers may lie within (ibid, p. 123). In the case of the refugee settlements, this point was exemplified in two main characteristics: firstly with choices around the size and quality of housing given to refugees and secondly with the location of settlements. Despite the Asia Minor refugees existing as a product of Greece's "failed irredentist aspirations," the housing units were the only form of compensation for the property they lost in the population exchange (Exertzoglou, 2016, p. 316). Considering this along with the fact that much funding for the settlements came from the League

of Nations, it is noteworthy that the institutions chose to provide each family with such small units arranged in such high density and without urban infrastructures such as roads, water, and sewage systems. Additionally, planners chose to locate the settlements outside of the existing urban area of Athens, often without road access. This demonstrates a strategic choice of separation via both technologies (housing) and the lack of technologies (road infrastructure). These choices further support Winner's idea that through either deliberate or unconscious choices, societies create the structures that technologies exist in, which have an impact on daily life through our commutes, communication, and movements in the long term, thereby creating order to human activity (Winner, 1980, p. 127). It is for this reason that an STS approach to addressing refugee housing technologies is essential. As demonstrated by the case of Athens, the technologies that shaped the physical refugee houses also shaped urban development. Road and rail infrastructure were established to meet the needs of the residents of the peripheral settlements who needed to commute to central Athens for work, services, education, etc., thereby showing the cyclical nature of society creating a structure for the technologies to exist in, the technologies impacting the ways in which people behave, which creates another structure in which more technologies can be situated.

The same way that political relationships are given careful attention, technologies must also be given attention, since even seemingly insignificant technological updates or changes can have long-lasting social effects that impact the way people interact with technologies, spaces, and each other. As Winner discusses, offering political analysis for or against the use of a particular technology allows the argument to extend beyond the usual and quantifiable issues of economic costs, health risks, safety issues, and environmental impacts. As a result, discussion can be broadened to encompass how the choices about technology will shape the quality and system of human interactions (Winner, 1980, p. 131).

Furthermore, contemplating the design and construction process of the refugee settlements, we consider Winner's discussion of centralized, hierarchical managerial control versus worker participation. In the case of the refugee housing in Greece, both post-1922 and present-day, there is a theme of top-down management with no input from residents about design. Historically, some have sought to neutralize the moral arguments towards participatory involvement by

pointing to issues of practicality and efficiency when there is no clear hierarchy or leader. In many cases, when a technology addresses a practical necessity, the discourse around which actions or choices can be justified may escape moral and political reasoning (Winner, 1980, p. 133). However, it is necessary to examine the context of a specific technology to understand whether there is a need for a stronger presence of public management or input. Therefore, Winner argues, the study of specific technical systems and their histories is necessary to understand which technologies are important (Winner, 1980, p. 135). As a result, in the context of this work, we examine the political history surrounding the creation of the housing settlements in Greece, in addition to the actual housing technologies utilized, so as to understand how and why the technologies were implemented.

Research Methodology

Both primary and secondary research were employed within this thesis. The secondary research consisted of reading a variety of research in three main categories: 1. Literature about the history of the Asia Minor Catastrophe, 2. Literature detailing the organizations and policies that created refugee housing, 3. Research that focused on the experiences of the Asia Minor refugees in Greek refugee settlements. Outside of these thematic groupings, publications related to the current housing policies for refugees and on refugee camps in Greece beginning in 2015 until today were also studied.

Material was gathered by searching research publication databases for articles related to the arrival of refugees to Greece after the events of 1922 and to the areas in which they were housed. The first step was to read the abstracts from a large variety of works before determining the relevant pieces for this specific research. Upon selecting the initial relevant publications, the next round of reading included key publications that the first round of papers had cited within their texts. This expanded the depth of research in each of the aforementioned categories. This included additional context on the demographics of the country after the arrival of the refugees, details on the geopolitical setting in Greece that impacted the way the refugees' stories were depicted, and specific architectural details that also focused on the refugees' interactions with the built environment.

The goal of this literature review was to understand the historical setting in which the refugees arrived in Greece, to create a mapping of the methods used to house refugees, and to learn how refugees adapted housing technologies to their needs over time. Throughout reading the secondary literature, it became evident that common threads of discussion centered on the process of obtaining refugee housing, the choices of the various housing organizations in location, material, and architecture, and the early conditions of the settlements. As a result of this convergence, it was possible to make an assessment of the relevant, related secondary literature in order to arrive at the particular grouping of sources that were utilized in the paper. Upon completing the critical review of secondary literature, it was clear that it was also necessary to find historical first-hand accounts by refugees and urban planners and to gain insight into

present-day experiences. Therefore, the primary research for this paper included two distinct parts, the first focusing on historical material and the latter focusing on the present day.

To read participant accounts of the early experiences of refugees in Greece after 1922, I visited the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens, Greece. In its archives, I accessed a series of three texts entitled “The Exodus”, which compiles recordings by refugees on their experiences, both before they left their homes in Asia Minor and upon arriving in Greece. These text-witnesses form a special section of the archives of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies that were used to compose the book. In reading this material I became familiar with the individual-level experience of initial arrival and early settlement, as opposed to seeing this information from an institutional perspective.

Another aspect of the historical primary research included original photographs, newspaper articles, and architectural plans from the 1920s and 1930s. The aforementioned documents were collected by the National Hellenic Research Foundation and were shared in the context of this project. Broadly, this collection of materials provided insight into the discourse at the time of the construction of the refugee housing. The historical newspaper articles provided details regarding the construction projects, labor force, and neighborhood conditions in Nea Kokkinia. The topical diagrams gave a visual overview of the layout of the housing blocks and units. This was further contextualized by early photos that showed the completion of the refugee housing blocks from an aerial view and specific details on the housing units. Due to the time constraints and availability of materials, many of the primary sources focus on the area of Kokkinia (Nikaia). If more time and resources were available, the primary research would have been extended to find and recover materials from other refugee areas in Athens, Thessaloniki, and Volos. However, it is worth noting that upon discussion with relevant researchers in the field, the sources for the Nea Kokkinia settlement are unique in their comprehensiveness and breadth, making the area a good case study. Additionally, the area has been discussed in the secondary literature and can be contextualized with present-day research from the same area, given the relatively unchanged urban layout in the municipality.

The primary research that addressed the present day situation in select Asia Minor refugee areas included participatory urban planning work, through a survey and interviews originally conducted in the context of my Fulbright Research Project in collaboration with Dr. Evgenia Tousi. As a result, this work is an expansion on and follow-up to the research initiated during the Fulbright grant which focused on community input regarding the regeneration of abandoned spaces in Piraeus and West Attica. The survey was open for responses from October 2021 – May 2022 via the online platform Google Forms and was available in both Greek and English. Results were gathered anonymously from local residents, urban planners, architects, business owners, students, and short-term visitors of all ages in the Attica region. The survey was disseminated via email, link, and scannable QR code on posters handed to passers-by and posted at local shops and educational institutions. We note that given the digital nature of the survey, it is possible that certain population groups may have been underrepresented in the results due to lack of access to electronic devices to complete the questionnaire.

Questions were separated into three main categories:

1. Demographic information to understand the respondents' ages, places of residence, education level, and employment
2. General questions on abandoned land in the region and what type of land use the respondents felt was needed in place of these currently abandoned sites
3. Optional, site-specific questions that allowed participants to express which land use would be most beneficial at a particular site that they chose to respond about

The survey results were analyzed and visualized on an aggregated level using Microsoft Excel. For the purposes of this work, I employ only the optional, third section of survey questions, wherein participants had the ability to respond about the refugee neighborhood of Nikaia in West Attica or the abandoned Fertilizers Factory, Lipasmata, in Drapetsona. Given that the questions varied in specificity, they were made optional, allowing the number of responses for each question to vary. The survey had 586 respondents in total, with 131 choosing to answer the first, more specific question about Nikaia, 354 answering the more general Nikaia question, and 189 answering the question about Drapetsona.

In the context of the same research we also interviewed students of a high school in Drapetsona, a former refugee settlement located along the coast of Attica near Piraeus. Through group conversation with students we gathered qualitative results regarding what services, facilities, or spaces the area currently lacks, in addition to opinions on the nearby, large-scale abandoned industrial site of Lipasmata. It is also important to note that many workers in this factory, prior to its closure, were refugees from Asia Minor.

Through these methods we were able to gain insight into current conditions in the selected post-refugee areas. This research was conducted as a method of participatory urban planning, so as to include residents' opinions when examining both the present and the future of the studied areas. The pertinent literature suggests that in order to bridge the gap between experts or policy makers and local communities, participatory planning and design can be employed (Mantysalo 2005, Pg. 5). Furthermore, these methods provide access to unobservable or less measurable factors such as how public spaces are currently being used both formally and informally, and where/how community members gather.

Presentation of Research on Primary Sources

Through the review of secondary sources, it became evident that the combination of commentary by original inhabitants, details of the original architecture plans, and opinions from present-day residents would provide a relevant perspective to the current literature in the field. As a result, I conducted primary research in those categories that could offer a connection between the early technical decisions around refugee housing, the way housing was initially experienced by residents, and the way that people interact with these spaces in the same areas today. Therefore, the guiding inquiries throughout the primary research were both visualizing the historic settlements from an urban planning perspective and seeking more granularity on the experience of living amid these technologies, both historically and presently.

Refugee Testimonies

Beginning with the text-witnesses that compose the book "The Exodus", the majority of refugees' testimonies included a recounting of the initial moments of the individual's arrival in Piraeus or Thessaloniki. This included stories of the quarantine in the harbors, families separated, people temporarily residing in alleyways, mandatory haircuts, and experiences of death around them. The details and stories of these first moments in Greece were present in the majority of the stories and while many ended here, some went on to discuss the early settlement process and experience of the housing. To this point, a recurring theme throughout the stories can be seen in the recounting of events by Γεώργιος Κάραλης (1959), in which he notes that while his family was even optimistic, at first, about their move to Greece, upon seeing the living conditions, they soon regretted coming, asking "What can I do with freedom, when my stomach is empty?" (p. 255). He also describes the initial housing situation, where his family spent two years in a basement in Epirus with no jobs or land, only an allowance of 150 drachmas (the equivalent of less than $3 USD at the time) per month per family.

Μαρτυρία Μαριάνθης Καραμουσά recounts the muddled process of receiving housing in the settlements. She notes that in 1924, when settlements were being built in Kokkinia, Podoniftis and Porades, in some cases refugees would simply place an item of theirs in the room and they could claim it as their own. At the time many units still did not have doors, windows, or tiles.

There were cases where inhabitants would take the windows or doors down from the few units that did have them and use them to make fires for warmth or cooking. After two years, her husband was able to join her in Kokkinia and they eventually built their own home, worked, raised children, and remained living in the settlement area (p. 195).

Similarly, Καλλισθένη Καλλίδης in 1953 recounts that after staying in the streets for weeks the committee told his family they would be settled in a village that was similar to their home village of Ferteki. However, aside from having vegetation, there was no other similarity, and the area had no other settlements or inhabitants. The family first stayed for 15-20 days in tents before the Refugee Settlement Committee provided shacks, and over time the family resorted to making their own changes to feel comfortable (p. 260).

The testimonies also reiterated the concept of internal settlement to reunite with families and to find work opportunities, which was discussed in the secondary literature by Kritikos (2008). One such example is demonstrated in the recounting of events by Βασίλης Χατζηαθανασόγλου in 1963. He noted that his brother had been separated from the family, and that when they discovered that he was in Agrinio they gathered and sent funds for him to travel to Piraeus (p. 449). From there he would reunite with the family and move into their home. He adds that, there, the parents installed a carpet loom where the sisters and cousins weaved items for the father to sell in Piraeus to support the family. They eventually grew enough to operate a carpet factory and a textile factory in Kokkinia. Χατζηαθανασόγλου reiterates that during and after the settlement process, his family's main complaint remained that the Greek government did not provide a plot of land or a house, and that they had to create their home and their livelihood by their own means without government support (p. 450). The same pattern is shown by Παντελής Ιωαννίδης in his 1961 testimony, where he notes that after being brought to various regions to work with very little food, he reached Vourla, Drapetsona in 1922, where he stayed for six months, together with four to five people, in an empty room that was provided by the government (p. 464). Eventually they were ordered to build shacks, using the bricks and reeds around them, and upon completion he brought his sister who was in Lefkada to be together, before moving together to Kokkinia in 1940 (p. 465).

Examining the settling of refugees in relation to their vocations, Νικ. Καραγεωργίου recounts the process of his group due to their agricultural and clergy background. He notes that at first the Ministry of Agriculture suggested settling them in Katerini in Makedonia with 80 acres of fertile land; however, after examining the region, the group of compatriots determined that Xylokeriza (Nea Makri) in Attica would be more suitable given their background, though it was only 40 acres of land of forest and barren land. Beginning in November 1923, the families settled temporary in military tents, warehouses, storehouses, and in empty cells from the Monastery of Metohi (p. 480). The land they would eventually cultivate was a wooded area with only pine, bushes, stones, and swamp areas. The only other inhabitants were a few families who lived in cloth tents, and earlier immigrants from Smyrna who worked as laborers in surrounding fields. In the Spring of 1924, construction of the settlement started, and it continued until 1927 under the direction of RSC officials. Each rural house was 500 square meters (including the green space) and consisted of a bedroom, kitchen, stable, and corridor made out of wood and tiles, without windows, ceilings, or floors. Καραγεωργίου emphasizes that despite the fact that this land was to be delivered in return for that lost under the population exchange, the settlement service still charged 22,000 drachmas for the unfinished farmhouses, which the refugees had to complete themselves with wood granted to them by the commission. The refugees also constructed clay pipes and tanks for water access, and later aqueducts with reservoirs. Καραγεωργίου notes that because of the workload of the RSC, they did not have engineers for the region, leaving the residents to distribute the agricultural land and clear it with tools they purchased themselves. The families subsisted by selling charcoal from the burned remnants of the cut branches and limestone from the surrounding rocks (p. 481). Eventually, the continued harsh conditions caused many families to sell their land for a small sum and leave for Athens or Piraeus. By 1934 the Rockefeller Foundation completed draining works of the nearby swamp that caused agricultural and health problems due to malaria. From then on personal upkeep from the residents was required until eventually the area was established into an American naval base.

The only transport to Athens was two small trucks that took two hours to reach the city. Originally there was no school, only one teacher who taught the children in a small shack before the community constructed a bigger school lot. In 1925 the RSC granted a horse and plow to each family along with wheat and barley to sow (482). By 1928 the community started

viticulture but the yield was too low so they could not proceed with the technologies available at the time. As a result the group began mutually working to dig wells to irrigate vegetable gardens which they used to grow and sell produce in surrounding villages. The final distribution of estates by the Ministry of Welfare occurred in 1931, with 40 acre plots going to the 86 families from Makri and six from Smyrna who were already residing there, in addition to plots for a primary school and church (p. 483). In 1948 the group started distributing undesirable crops to military conscripts or those stationed in Nea Makri. Over time the area grew to have physicians, nurses, medical specialists, and an electric company creating a good environment for raising children (p. 484).

The Nea Makri settlement's story demonstrates the constant interactions between technology and society. The group choosing to reside in this region created the foundation for the technologies that would be needed to inhabit the area, make the agricultural land usable, and reach other parts of Attica. In response, technologies were employed for housing and farming, which the residents adapted to fit their environment until it eventually became well suited for their needs.

Overall, this section of the primary literature review added another layer of technologies to the history: the technologies that refugees constructed themselves to support their work or their living conditions. It is poignant that the text-witnesses chose to include information about the machines they built to help provide their income, which parts of the housing they had to add themselves, and the services (such as plumbing) they had to install to make the areas livable. These patterns further emphasize the history of the refugees engaging with technology to make up for the missing elements within the technologies in their settlements.

Architectural Plans and Photographs

Continuing with the historical primary sources, the Technical Department of the Refugee Resettlement Committee published a series of architectural plans of the Nea Kokkinia settlement with different perspectives and levels of detail. Figure 5 shows an aerial view of the settlement at the household level, demonstrating the Hippodamian grid pattern. Figures 6 and 7 provide additional detail by zooming in on a block or multiple blocks of flats, showing how each household would be divided into dwellings. This includes the entrances, shared water closets,

corridors and connecting roads. From the combination of these architectural plans, one can visualize the population density of the refugee settlements as described in both the primary and secondary sources. This can be seen in the first organized residential area of Nea Kokkinia with 36 building blocks, wherein each block had 8-20 houses, standing at 25 meters each. These houses would be split to host at least two families. Each housing unit had two rooms sized 3.25 m^2 by 4 m^2 and included a 2 m^2 by 3 m^2 kitchen. The size of the courtyard was variable depending on each block (Hirschon & Thakurdesai, 1978, p. 247). Considering Gold and Hirschon's research regarding the cultural practices around the separation of space and the subdivision of dwellings, these photographs help demonstrate the spatial ingenuity required of the refugees to meet their needs within the small spaces provided. The different phases of construction in the Nea Kokkinia region also demonstrate changes in decisions around technologies. The housing outlined in the photos below demonstrates the initial phase of RSC construction from 1924-1926. However, in the second phase, beginning in 1927, the blocks of houses were separated by 10-meter lanes to form a road network.

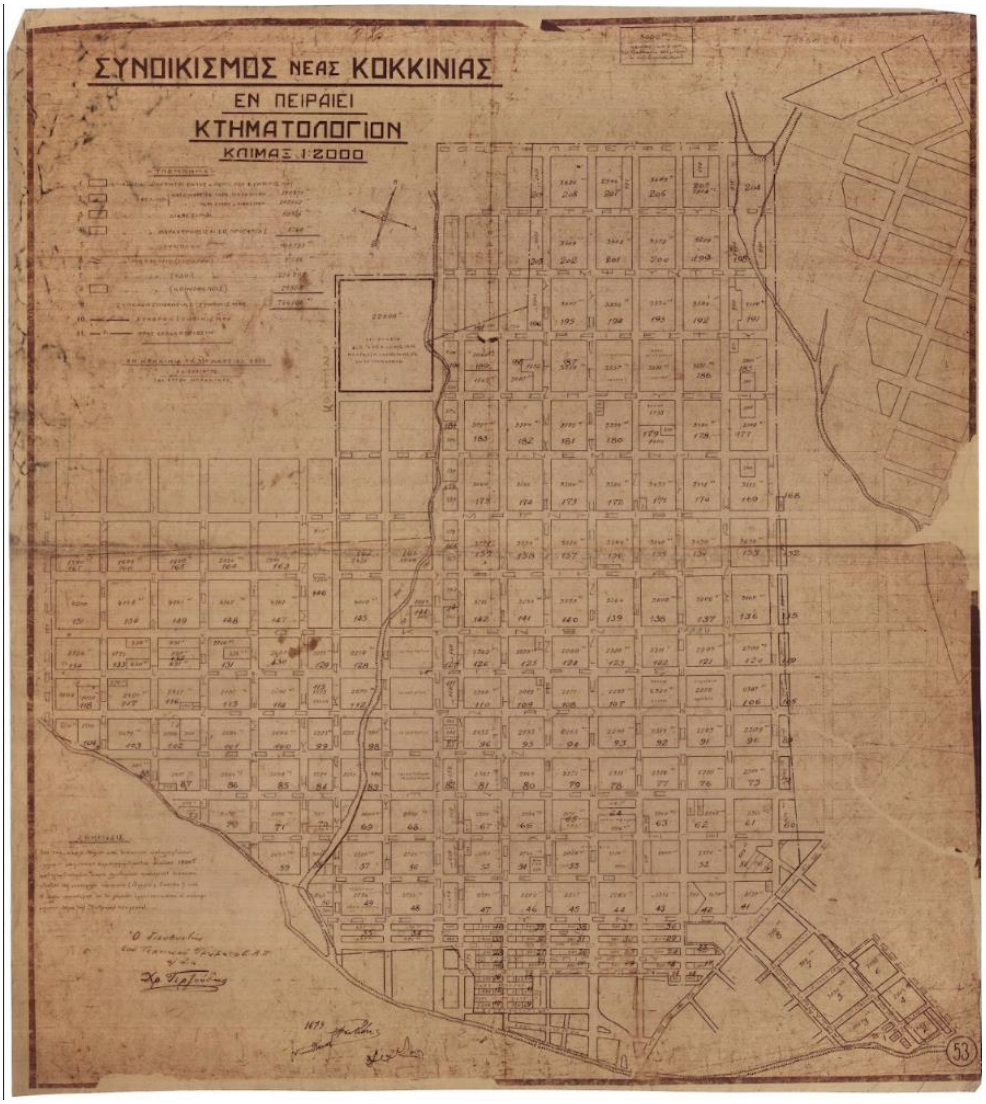

Figure 5

Land map of the Technical Department of the Refugee Resettlement Committee (REC) for the settlement of Nea Kokkinia

Source: Τεχνική Υπηρεσία του υπουργείου Υγείας [Technical Service of the Ministry of Health] Κτηματολογικός χάρτης του Τεχνικού Τμήματος της Επιτροπής Αποκαταστάσεως Προσφύγων (ΕΑΠ) για τον συνοικισμό Νέας Κοκκινιάς [Land map of the Technical Department of the Refugee Resettlement Committee (RRC) for the settlement of Nea Kokkinia]

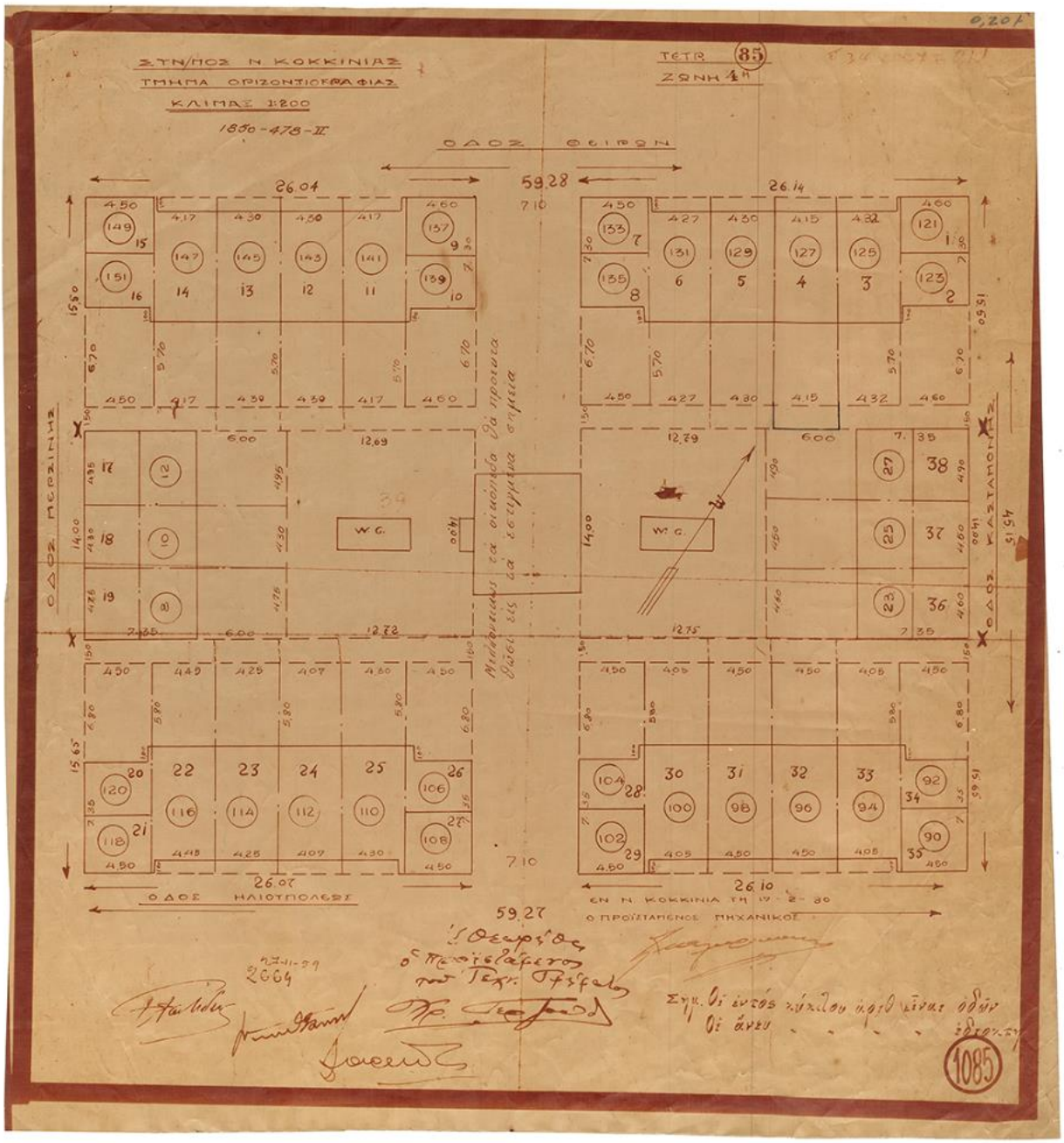

Figure 6

Architectural plan of block 85 in Nikaia, Scale 1:2000

Source: Τεχνική Υπηρεσία του υπουργείου Υγείας [Technical Service of the Ministry of Health] Κτηματολογικός χάρτης του Τεχνικού Τμήματος της Επιτροπής Αποκαταστάσεως Προσφύγων (ΕΑΠ) για τον συνοικισμό Νέας Κοκκινιάς [Land map of the Technical Department of the Refugee Resettlement Committee (RRC) for the settlement of Nea Kokkinia]

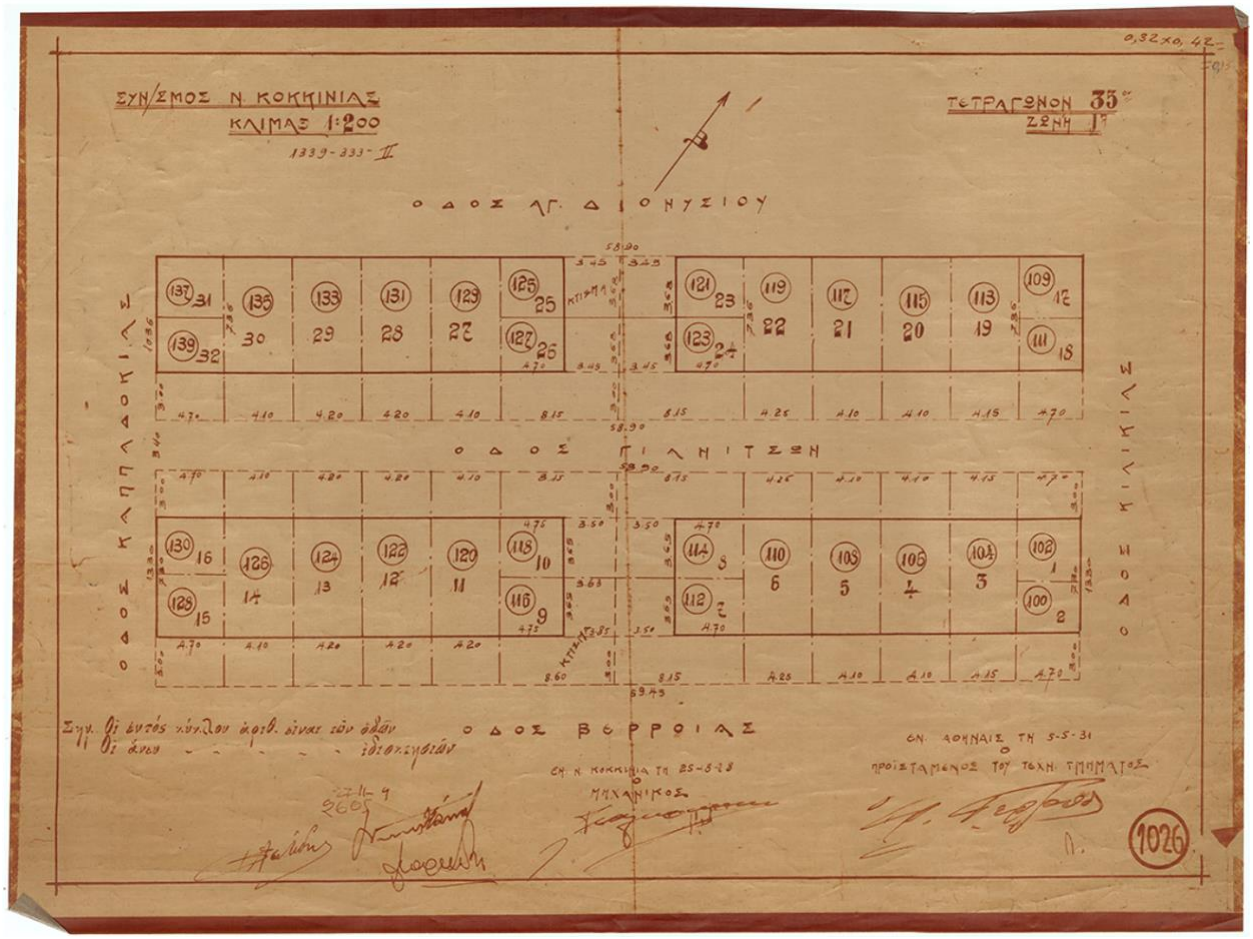

Figure 7

Architectural plan of block 35 in Nikaia, Scale 1:2000

Source: Τεχνική Υπηρεσία του υπουργείου Υγείας [Technical Service of the Ministry of Health] Κτηματολογικός χάρτης του Τεχνικού Τμήματος της Επιτροπής Αποκαταστάσεως Προσφύγων (ΕΑΠ) για τον συνοικισμό Νέας Κοκκινιάς [Land map of the Technical Department of the Refugee Resettlement Committee (RRC) for the settlement of Nea Kokkinia]

The "Refugee Diary", published in 1925, provides insight into the early construction of the area, in the article "Nea Kokkinia, most massive neighborhood with 42,000 residents, miracle of planning and decency". The article describes that the area has been a marvel partly thanks to Dionysios Kokkinos, the Director of Technical Projects of the Settlement of Kokkinia, who has

been the “soul of the neighborhood” since the start of construction, creating a “smiling environment” for suffering refugees. It also noted that 3,480 workers were employed for the settlements’ construction, 99% of whom were refugees themselves. Between the start of construction in June 1923 until publishing in 1925, 1,150 homes had been built. At the time of writing, there were coffeeshops, restaurants, and stores, in addition to industrial shops and carpet factories. Some of the neighborhood had already been electrified, with the rest soon to follow. A rainwater ditch had been built in the north towards Korydallos which used to flood the entire area; however, the author notes that this had been channeled away and paved concrete roads had been created. Additionally, piping for hydraulic works was under planning to dispose of additional water. The article also details that a study of lighting and water piping infrastructure had been submitted, as well as plans for the construction of a central market and four primary schools.

It was clear that this article took a very positive tone towards both the conditions and infrastructure of the settlement and the directors of the project itself. However, it also provides particular details about the development and installation of technologies to meet the residents’ needs, drawing attention to the movements to electrify the neighborhood, install drainage systems, and create road infrastructure.

Survey on Current Conditions

To gain insight about current conditions in present-day refugee neighborhoods, our survey asked respondents if they were familiar with abandoned refugee housing in Nikaia. Respondents who were familiar then had the opportunity to answer the question: “if these sites were to be refurbished, what land use would you find most beneficial?” Participants could select any combination of the following choices for future land use, as we enabled the feature of allowing respondents to select more than one of the below options:

a) Community garden
b) Park, nature trail, green area with athletic activities
c) Working or co-working space
d) Library
e) Cultural center/museum/art exhibition space

f) Commercial/Retail
g) Touristic/Leisure use
h) Restaurant/Cafe
i) Residential

The total number of respondents to this question was 131, while the total number of options selected was 344, given the ability to select multiple answers. This means on average respondents picked between two and three options from the available list. As seen in Figure 8, the most popular response was for a cultural center, museum, or art exhibition space, with 55% choosing this as their preferred regeneration option at currently abandoned refugee housing. This was followed by the choices of "Community garden" and "Park, nature trail, green area with athletic activities" at 42% and 41% respectively. The next highest option was to restore these spaces to their prior functions as residential spaces, with 30% of participants selecting this option.

However, when placing the options into categories by their implied land use, the results present a different case. For this analysis we split the original options into the following five categories:

1. Outdoor/Green Space – Options a and b (Community garden and ark, Nature trail, and Green area with athletic activities)
2. Academic Space – Options c and d (Working or co-working space and Library)
3. Cultural Space – Option e (Cultural center/Museum/Art exhibition space)
4. Commercial Use – Options f, g, and h (Commercial/retail, Touristic/Leisure, and Restaurant/Cafe)
5. Residential Use – Option i (Residential)

As shown in Figure 9, the combined category of outdoor/green space was selected by 83% of the participants. The choice with the next highest response rate was cultural space, with 55% of respondents selecting this option, followed by academic spaces, such as library or a co-working space at 49%.

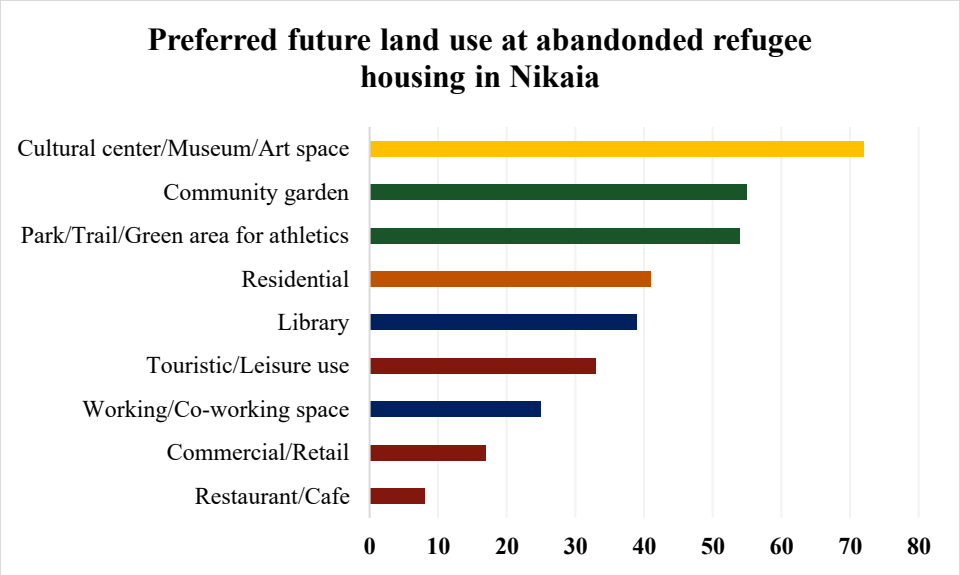

Figure 8

Alongside options for greenspace, respondents also seek cultural and residential space

Source: Author's survey data

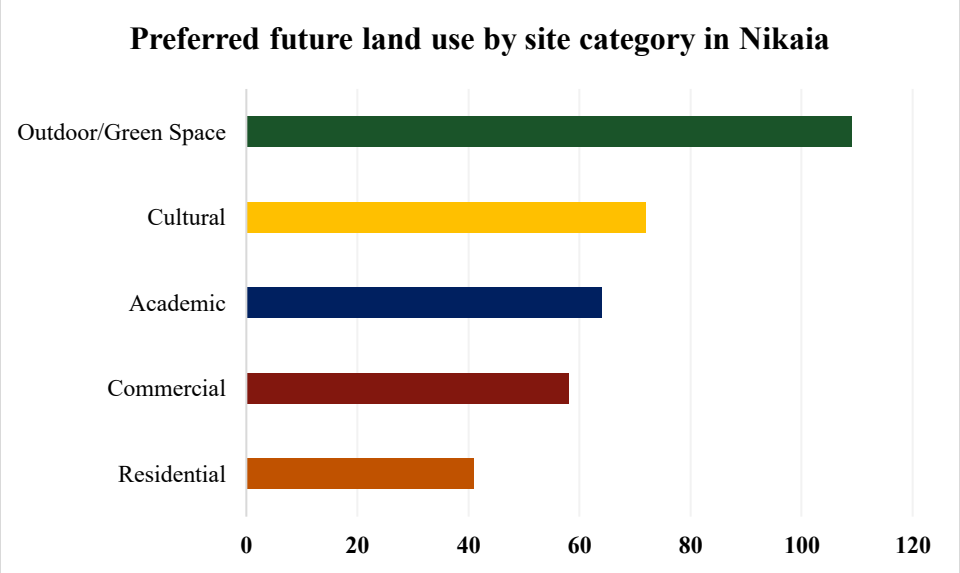

Figure 9

When grouping regeneration options by site category, greenspace is the most desired future land use for derelict refugee housing in Nikaia

Source: Author's survey data

These results point to two main issues faced by Nikaia today. Firstly, while the design of the original refugee settlements did include courtyards, they are mainly cement with small, low planter boxes and offer little shading from plants and no grassy areas where residents can sit or play sports. As a result, we see over 80% of respondents hoping to see a garden, park, or outdoor space for activities, thereby demonstrating that original choices around technologies and design have impacted the needs of the residents 100 years after their installation. Additionally, while many areas of Central Athens have mixed land use with museums, shops, and housing all mixed within the same block or even within the same building, given the original settlement layout of Nikaia, the area hosts only residential land uses. This historical consequence can explain why over half of the respondents stressed that they would like to see a museum or cultural space housed within the prior refugee homes.

As a next step and to better understand opinions towards the historical memory of the buildings, we asked participants: "If you are familiar with refugee housing in Nikaia, which method of regeneration do you prefer?" Respondents could choose from the following options:

a) Demolition of select abandoned housing units based on their condition
b) Extensive demolition of abandoned units to provide land availability
c) Preservation without demolition

354 respondents answered this question, with over 50% choosing selective demolition based on the condition of each housing unit as shown in Figure 10. 33% of respondents chose the option for extensive demolition to increase available land in the area for other uses, with only 15% of respondents choosing the non-demolition option. These results point to a situation where the absence of certain land uses, such as the aforementioned greenspace and cultural or museum space, is recognized and supersedes the need to preserve the architectural history of certain buildings.

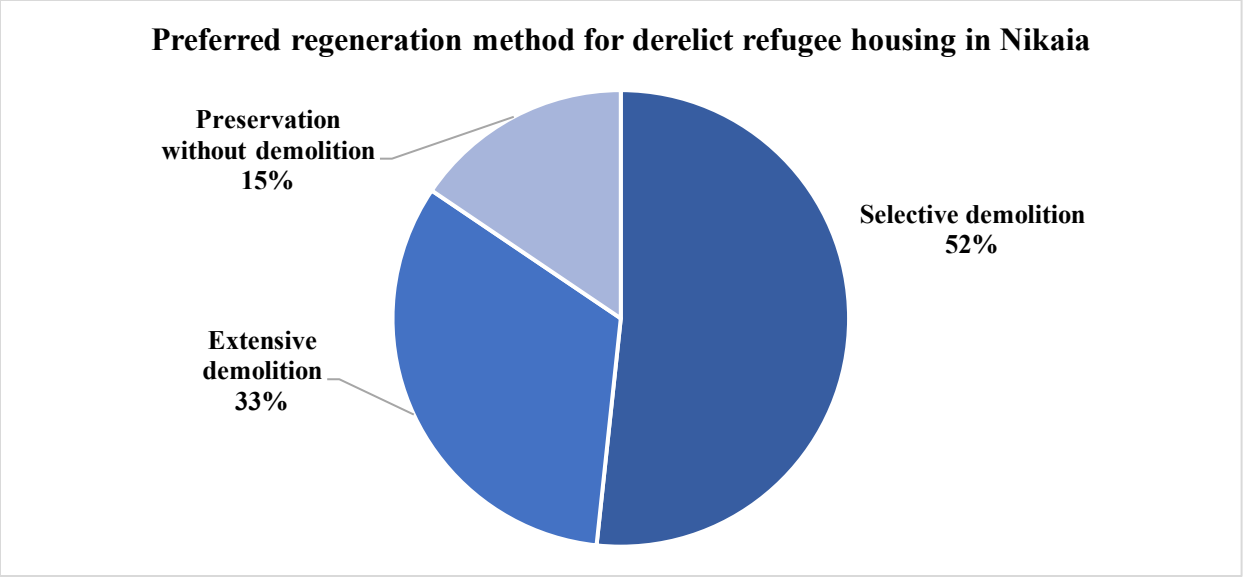

Figure 10

Respondents prefer selective demolition of abandoned housing units based on their condition

Source: Author's survey data

Student Interviews

To gain more granular detail from current residents in a still stigmatized refugee area, we chose Drapetsona, which presently still suffers from high population density, lack of facilities, and high rates of unemployment. In particular, to understand the experience of this space for current and future residents, we interviewed students at the 1st EPAL (vocational high school) of Drapetsona. In an open discussion, students shared the need for educational land uses, with many noting that they would frequent a public library/workspace for communal studying with computers and internet access. Many also expressed concern with pollution, given the presence of industrial sites and nearby activities with toxic waste storage. They agreed that current projects and proposals seem to only benefit commercial interests or investors, such as proposals for hotels and manufacturing or shipping facilities at the currently abandoned site of Lipasmata. Finally, community members expressed the sentiment that regeneration of abandoned land is not a priority for politicians, as there is more pressure on other issues.

The early choices about housing density in Drapetsona have contributed to an area which remains overcrowded with a lack of access to required services today. Additionally, given high

unemployment rates and low incomes, the area continues to suffer from social stratification. As Kandylis et al. exemplify in the 2018 article, “Exceptional Social Housing,” the very location of Drapetsona wedged to the back and side of Piraeus has created a separation and isolation disconnecting it from the city. Whether inherently political or not, the technologies used, such as high-density housing and the lack of road connection, have impacted the development and the perception of the area.

Additionally, in the previously discussed survey, respondents were also given the opportunity to answer what type of land use they would like to see at the currently abandoned Drapetsona Fertilizers Factory, Lipasmata. This 640.000 m^2 factory and surrounding land space is where the majority of refugees living in Drapetsona were employed until its closure in 1999. The survey options for regenerated land usage were the same as previously listed for the question on preferred regenerated land uses in Nikaia, and respondents maintained the ability to select multiple options. The overwhelming majority of respondents sought green space as the regenerated land use for Lipasmata, with 74% of respondents selecting the option for a park, trail or green area, and 57% selecting a community garden, as shown in Figure 11.

These results reflect the lack of greenspace in Drapetsona, which comes as a result of the housing technologies employed in the 1920s that gave the area its characteristic dense urban core. As a consequence, today’s residents seek to adapt the most promising unutilized space to fill this hole in their needs.

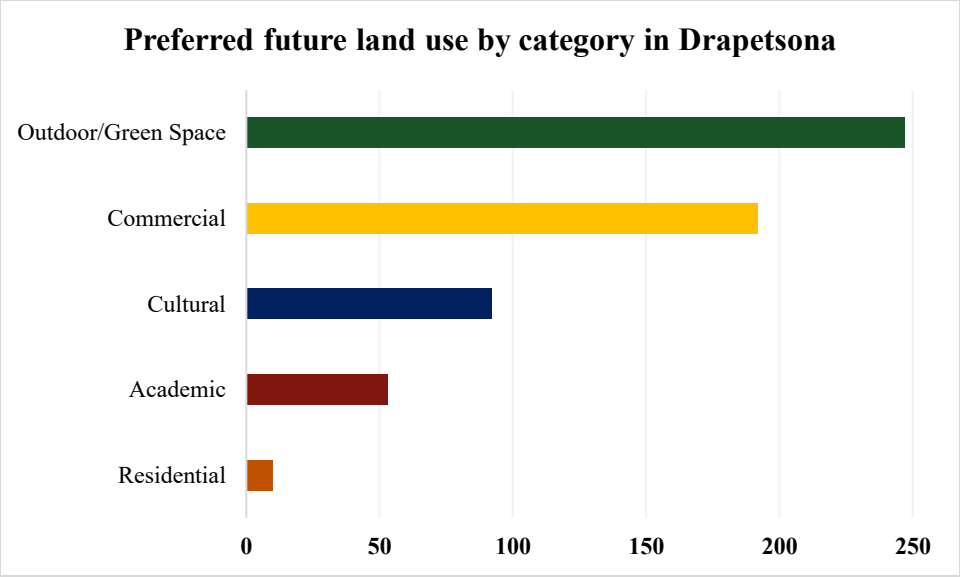

Figure 11

At the abandoned Drapetsona Fertilizers Factory, greenspace is the most desired future land use

Source: Author's survey data

Summary

In accordance with the secondary literature, the primary research demonstrated from a historical and current perspective how the refugees initially experienced the housing, how they changed the spaces both with their own technologies and cultural practices to suit their needs, and how these choices continue to impact how the spaces are used today. The combination of historical testimonies with present day interviews and surveys support the claims of Kritikos (2008), Kandylis (2018), Myofa (2023), and Tousi (2021) that, historically, the organizations that provided housing did not provide all of the required supporting technologies which contributed to the social stratification of certain areas over time. Additionally, residents provided greater detail on the supplementary constructions discussed by Tousi et al. (2022) and Hirschon and Gold (1922) in the secondary literature. Finally, the primary literature also provided new information, such as details on the initial arrival and early housing conditions, the process of attaining and adapting housing, and the land uses that are most needed in the former refugee areas today.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

The institutions that provided refugee housing and the socio-political context following the Asia Minor Catastrophe played a key role in shaping the corresponding housing technologies, which continue to impact residents today. Complementing this, as examined in the primary research, the unique adaptations that refugee families made to the settlements to suit their needs is also key to understanding the broader interaction between refugees and housing technologies. Using these insights, this thesis demonstrates that the issue of refugee housing is not a matter of nonpolitical design choices, given that the residents and the technologies will continue to have cyclical and reciprocal interactions that shape one another. Additionally, given that issues in prior and current refugee areas continue to exist today, this research is a living history which may also provide consideration for future choices around refugee housing.

While Hirschon and Gold (1982) provide insight into how the initial refugee-residents adapted to the technologies of the settlements via split-room usage and extensions, the primary research within this thesis provides a present day look at how elements such as location and design choice have impacted socioeconomic standing or what current residents lack in these spaces. This research challenges the textbook account that often only discusses the successful integration and embrace of Asia Minor refugees, by studying the testimonies of the refugees themselves regarding the processes of obtaining and adjusting to housing. Additionally as shown by Kandylis et al. (2018) the occupation of public land, self-construction of homes, and the creation of slums that occurred after 1922 influenced the long-term strategies for addressing housing for vulnerable groups in Greece (p. 79). As we see from Kritikos (2021), the historical memory around Asia Minor Refugees typically did not depict challenges during resettlement. Considering the STS perspective, we deconstruct this story to show that technological choices around how and where to house the refugees have had long-lasting social impacts. We apply Winner's approach to see the dual impacts of technology on society and society on technology, noting how people have adapted their spaces and how factors such as location and infrastructure have changed social and economic outcomes.

The case of Asia Minor refugee housing also presents parallels that can be used for analysis and research on how to improve refugee housing in the present day, while simultaneously emphasizing the need for an STS approach. Similar to the earliest makeshift housing in Greece's main ports immediately following the Asia Minor Catastrophe, present-day refugee housing was constructed in an emergency situation with the idea that it would operate only as a temporary shelter. However, unlike the eventual outcome of permanent housing or land given to Asia Minor refugees, many of the initial present-day refugee camps in Greece have remained in operation as "semi-permanent" housing despite being designed only as interim emergency shelters. This expectation of temporality versus permanence has impacted the materials, facilities, and locations of current refugee camps, demonstrating the politics embedded within the design choices.

Geographically speaking, present-day refugee camps are cut off from social services and hidden outside of the city, much like the 1922 refugee settlements, before Athens expanded to incorporate these areas. One step towards incorporating refugees into the urban fabric rather than separating them is through physical proximity, which has begun to occur through accommodation solidarity initiatives and squats in abandoned buildings (Tsavdaroglou & Lalenis, 2023, p. 62). Present-day refugee squats have provided an opportunity for self-governance by refugees, with many noting that it is where they have felt the safest during their time in Greece (Tsaydaroglou & Lalenis, 2023, p. 61). However, many of these spaces have faced demolition or closure by the Greek State. This stands in sharp contrast with the case of illegal extensions, constructions, and seizures of empty houses by Asia minor refugees in the 1920s, where the State was very lenient and flexible (Kritikos, 2008, p. 507).

We draw attention to the similarity of top-down management of camps with no refugee input or management, as this lack of opportunity for resident input in settlement design was the same for the post-1922 refugees. As a result, the technologies employed were not sufficient to meet the needs of the specific group they were used for, therefore necessitating the aforementioned inhabitant-led additions. Given this history, future research could explore how best to incorporate the spatial and cultural needs of refugees into housing design so that the technologies better suit the inhabitants from the start. This could prevent a period of unsatisfactory living conditions and

even improve safety by creating a situation whereby residents do not need to source materials and self-construct new features to meet their needs. Additionally, as Hirschon and Thakurdesai (1978) point out, knowledge of cultural values and practices plays a key role in a shelter, effectively fulfilling the needs of the group it intends to house. Therefore, we register the role of participatory planning in refugee housing for future studies as a way to better consider and incorporate the technological and social dimensions of housing.

Throughout the context of this research it became evident that when faced with housing technologies that do not meet their needs, refugee-residents will adapt provided spaces and infrastructure to fit their cultural requirements and transportation necessities, as they relate to access to services and employment opportunities. Further research at the intersection of STS and migration can be conducted on how to regenerate prior refugee housing settlements and construct suitable refugee housing with consideration of STS approaches. Additional research could also explore whether prior refugee housing units in Athens that are currently abandoned could be utilized for social housing today.

In examining the history of refugee settlement in Greece, it is essential to study how refugees have experienced housing, in order to understand in what ways their needs have been met and in what circumstances adaptation was needed. Considering these issues, this thesis has examined how refugees interacted with housing technologies in Greece after the events of 1922, in order to provide both historical and present-day insight into the experience of these housing technologies.

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