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ATHENS URBAN AGE TASK FORCE ORGANISED BY LSE CITIES AT THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND THE ALFRED HERRHAUSEN GESELLSCHAFT

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Front cover image: Lycabettus Hill, Athens
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# **FOREWORD**

LSE Cities at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the Alfred Herrhausen Gesellschaft have jointly organised the Urban Age programme since 2004. What started as an international investigation of cities has developed into a comprehensive programme of research, engagement and collaboration with urban leaders and city administrations across the world. Our core interest has been understanding the connections between the physical world and its social and environmental impacts, with an increasingly strong focus on innovations in urban governance and policy-making.

Over this period, Athens has experienced a number of tumultuous changes and is now re-investing in its future. This is why the Urban Age Task Force – a two-year initiative started in 2020 – was established with the City of Athens to better understand the city's spatial and social dynamics, and to exchange knowledge and best practice on how to make the city more liveable and sustainable.

This spatial compendium contains an in-depth analysis of Athens' unique DNA. It compares its urban structure with other global cities and provides new insights into its metropolitan and local spatial, social, economic and environmental attributes.

The publication is being launched to coincide with the Athens Urban Age Forum, which completes a series of workshops between urban experts and policymakers from Athens, Paris, London, Barcelona, Milan and Vienna – cities that are at the vanguard of urban policy innovation and practice in the fields of sustainable mobility, public space and liveability.

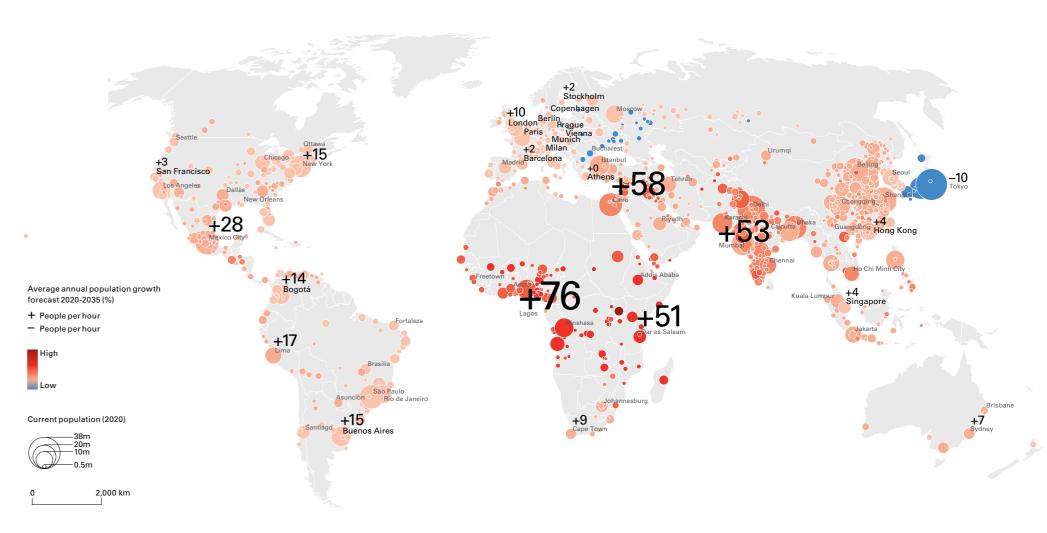
As one of the densest cities of Europe, and one which experienced rapid urbanisation after World War II, Athens has undergone a number of shocks and its population has declined. The extreme compact urban form poses significant challenges to transport mobility and quality of the environment. Its poli-katikia apartment buildings form a homogenous concrete mass of ageing building stock, with a relatively low level of open and green spaces within the city boundaries, which exacerbates the urban heat island effect and the liveability of the inner city.

In the current post-pandemic phase, the city is making new investments in its urban infrastructure and public realm to improve quality of life and reverse population decline. It is our hope that the work of the Athens Urban Age Task Force will contribute to this urban renaissance.

Ricky Burdett, Director, LSE Cities

**Anna Herrhausen**, Executive Director, Alfred Herrhausen Gesellschaft

# **WHERE CITIES ARE GROWING 2020–2035**



Data source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2018)

# **COMPARING CITIES**

The Urban Age has assembled data comparing Athens to 15 other cities in Europe and across the globe. Indicators cover a range of demographic, spatial, social, economic and environmental measures providing an overview of city-wide performance – not a ranking – based on information principally gathered prior to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Using statistics from the UN World Urbanization Prospects, Athens reveals a flat growth curve (after a period of negative growth), like other European cities including Berlin and Milan (0.1 %–0.2%), lower than Stockholm and London. By contrast the Colombian city of Bogotá has the highest growth rate at 1%.

The City of Athens is the smallest in the sample at

38.9 km², with over 660,000 people living within a much wider metropolitan region of 3.8 million people (based on data from the last available census of 2011), with the second highest density in Europe (after central Paris). Athens' administrative area is very compact with 16,615 people/km², three times higher than more dispersed cities like London (4,697 people/km²) and five times higher than Berlin (3,105 people/km²). Athens' population swells with 6.4 million international visitors a year (which is still only one-third of the annual visitors to London, Paris and Singapore), with consequent stress on urban infrastructure and housing stock, including Airbnb rentals.

While some Latin American cities are expected to

experience a stronger economic growth in the coming decades, Bogotá and Buenos Aires (at US\$17,497 and US\$23,606 GDP per capita) still earn less than the average for Athenians, who at US\$32,484 are the lowest earners in Europe and also earn considerably less than their counterparts in Singapore (US\$66,864) or San Francisco (US\$72,390). The recent economic crisis has hit Athens hard; unemployment increased significantly, but it has now settled at 10.6% in the Attica Region.

European cities including Athens, Barcelona, Berlin and Munich have a relatively equitable income distribution. Despite high rates of unemployment, Athens is in fact one of the least unequal cities (GINI 0.29), while North and

South American and Asian cities have more extreme levels of inequality (with higher GINI indices).

Although Athens is investing in sustainable transport, car ownership remains the highest of the sample at 799/1,000 persons, followed by Milan and Prague, while the residents of the compact Asian cities of Hong Kong and Singapore own fewer cars at 77 and 157 cars/1,000 persons respectively. Only 11% and 17% of daily trips are made by car in Paris and Barcelona, while in Athens recent data suggests that 30% take cars to work but lose more time in rush hour than any other city except for Bogotá.

While more than half of trips in Athens are made by public transport (52%), active mobility (walking and cycling)

remains low, reflecting its topography and limited cycling infrastructure which is only 2.6 km, in comparison to Paris, which has expanded significantly and has 730 km. Mass transport networks in Barcelona and Milan are more than double the length of Athens', while Paris, a dense city like Athens, has five times more (1,238 km).

Motorisation rates also impact on the levels of pollutants such as CO<sub>2</sub>. Paris, with over half of the total number of residents walking or cycling, has one of the lowest annual amounts of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (2.3 tons per capita), while in Athens the level is two times higher (5 tons per capita). Many other European cities present lower values than 3 tons per capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, including Stockholm, Copenhagen,

Barcelona and Vienna. Green spaces in cities are instrumental in mitigating the impacts of air pollution, the urban heat island effect and living at higher densities. The City of Athens is currently exploring ways of improving its provision of green space, which at 6.63 m² per person is lower than most European cities – a third of London's. Stockholm (41.6 m² per person) and Prague (35.7 m² per person) are the greenest cities in Europe, while the high-density Asian cities of Hong Kong (34.6 m² per person) and Singapore (30 m² per person) reveal a good balance between the built environment and nature in the city.

	İ	%	÷Ť	•	km²	km²		60+	\$	×	3	Š	%				•	0		<i>₹</i>	, <b>~</b>		*
	Current population in the city (millions)	Total population within region/metropolitan area (millions)	average annual city population growth 2020-2035 (%)	Population growth per hour (2020-2035)	Average density inside admin area (pers/km²)	City area (km²)	Total international visitors (millions)	Current older population (% of total population)	GDP per capita, 2014 (PPP, \$) (thousands)	Unemployment rate (%)	Income inequality (GINI Index)	Life expectancy (years)	Voter turnout in the last local elections (%)	Percentage of trips made by public transport w	Percentage of trips made by alking and cycling	Percentage of trips Comade by car	Car ownership rate (per 1,000 pers)	Time lost in rush hour per year (hours)TomTom	Rail Network System Length (km)	Cycle Network System Length (km)	Annual CO <sub>2</sub> emissions (tons per capita)	Daily water consumption (litres per capita)	Green space in the city (m²/pers)
ATHENS	0.66	<b>3.8</b> 2011	2018	2018	<b>16,615</b> GIS	<b>38.9</b>	6.4	19	<b>32</b> <sub>2014</sub>	10.6	0.29	<b>81.3</b>	<b>33.4</b> 2019	<b>52.0</b> 2018	12.4	<b>30.4</b> 2018	<b>799</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>243</b> GIS	<b>2.6</b> <sub>2021</sub>	5.0	143	<b>6.6</b> <sub>2019</sub>
BARCELONA	1.60	<b>5.0</b>	0.3	2.2	<b>11,716</b> GIS	<b>102</b>	7.0	22	<b>36</b>	10.2	0.29	<b>83.6</b>	66.2	40.1	<b>35.3</b>	16.6	<b>273</b>	128	<b>597</b> GIS	<b>211</b>	<b>2.1</b>	107	<b>3.9</b>
BERLIN	<b>3.80</b> <sub>2019</sub>	<b>5.3</b> <sub>2018</sub>	0.1	0.6	<b>3,105</b> GIS	<b>891</b> GIS	6.2	19	<b>36</b> 2014	6.3	0.29	81.2	66.9	<b>27.0</b> 2017	43	<b>30</b> 2017	<b>339</b> <sub>2012</sub>	124	<b>1,296</b> GIS	<b>760</b> <sub>2009</sub>	<b>5.1</b> <sub>2017</sub>	112	22.7
COPENHAGEN	0.60	1.9	0.6	1.0	<b>4,788</b> GIS	<b>102</b>	<b>3.2</b>	14	42	5.5	0.34	80.0	61.9	19.0	49.0	<b>32.0</b>	<b>262</b>	104	<b>625</b>	385	<b>2.5</b>	104	<b>25.3</b>
LONDON	9.10	12.4	0.8	9.5	<b>4,697</b> GIS	<b>1595</b> <sub>GIS</sub>	19.6	10	<b>57</b> 2014	4.8	0.39	82.9	<b>38.9</b>	<b>37</b> 2019	27	<b>35</b> 2019	307	149	<b>1,969</b> GIS	<b>362</b>	<b>3.6</b> 2018	<b>164</b> <sub>2013</sub>	19.2
MILAN	1.40	<b>5.1</b>	0.2	0.8	<b>5,903</b>	<b>182</b>	6.6	22	41	<b>7.6</b>	0.31	83.3	<b>58.7</b>	42.3	13.2	<b>39.3</b>	<b>570</b>	149	<b>611</b> GIS	160	4.8	<b>228</b>	13.8
MUNICH	1.50	2.9	0.4	0.7	<b>3,931</b> GIS	<b>311</b> GIS	4.2	<b>17</b> 2019	<b>56</b> 2014	<b>3.1</b> 2018	0.29	83.4	<b>75.7</b> 2018	24	42	34	471	131	<b>725</b>	943	<b>5.9</b> 2017	146	22.0
PARIS	9.80	12.9	0.6	8.0	<b>18,269</b> GIS	<b>105</b> GIS	19.1	<b>15</b>	<b>57</b>	11.0	0.33	84.2	42.3	<b>32.0</b>	<b>57.0</b>	11.0	414	163	<b>1,238</b>	<b>730</b>	2.3	300	9.8
PRAGUE	1.30	2.2	0.2	0.4	<b>2,216</b> GIS	<b>496</b> GIS	9.2	19	<b>47</b> 2014	1.7	0.30	80.7	29.5	47.0	<b>32.0</b> 2016	20.0	<b>538</b> 2012	128	<b>757</b> GIS	<b>350</b>	6.5	<b>232</b> <sub>2009</sub>	<b>35.7</b>
STOCKHOLM	0.90	2.3	0.9	1.8	<b>3,317</b> GIS	<b>215</b> GIS	2.7	<b>16</b> 2019	<b>56</b>	6.0	0.32	83.1	<b>82.4</b>	29.0	28.0	41.0	<b>361</b>	133	<b>397</b>	<b>760</b>	2.7	<b>95</b>	41.6
VIENNA	1.92	2.8	0.7	1.7	<b>3,467</b> GIS	415	8.0	17	49	10.7	0.4	80.7	<b>65.3</b>	<b>38.0</b> 2019	<b>37</b> 2019	<b>25</b> <sub>2019</sub>	<b>371</b>	105	<b>515</b> 2021	1,661	1.8	130	<b>15</b> 2021
BOGOTA	8.30	9.2	1.0	13.5	<b>7,148</b> <sub>GIS</sub>	<b>1,634</b>	1.3	9 2019	<b>17</b>	11.6	0.50	<b>78.9</b>	<b>55.0</b>	<b>47.9</b>	<b>30.5</b>	14.9	148	230	N.A GIS	<b>476</b>	1.6	130	18.9
BUENOS AIRES	<b>3.10</b> 2019	<b>17.5</b>	0.8	<b>15</b> 2018	<b>12,109</b> GIS	<b>204</b> GIS	2.8	15	24	8.7	0.50	<b>77.2</b>	67.1	<b>77.0</b> 2017	3.0	16.0	<b>395</b>	133	<b>565</b> GIS	300	6.5	669	10.1
HONG KONG	7.50	<b>7.5</b>	0.5	4.4	<b>6,456</b> <sub>GIS</sub>	<b>1,098</b>	<b>26.7</b>	16	<b>57</b>	2.8	0.47	<b>85.3</b>	<b>71.2</b>	82.0	10.0	<b>7.0</b>	<b>77</b> 2019	131	<b>244</b> GIS	225	<b>5.7</b>	130	<b>34.6</b>
SAN FRANCISCO	0.90	6.7	0.7	<b>2.6</b> 2018	<b>4,567</b> <sub>GIS</sub>	<b>123</b> GIS	3.0	<b>16</b> 2019	<b>72</b> <sub>2014</sub>	2.5	0.50	82.1	41.6	<b>30.5</b>	<b>26.7</b> <sub>2019</sub>	42.7	<b>502</b>	147	<b>402</b> GIS	<b>346</b>	6.4	<b>664</b> <sub>2015</sub>	24.6
SINGAPORE	4.00	<b>5.9</b>	0.6	4.1	<b>5,169</b> <sub>GIS</sub>	<b>719</b> GIS	19.8	14	67	2.2	0.38	<b>83.6</b>	93.7	<b>57.0</b>	14	29.0	<b>157</b>	135	<b>222</b> GIS	440	8.4	141	<b>30.0</b>





# **WHERE PEOPLE LIVE**

Residential density is a critical measure for understanding how people live. The diagrams below identify the number of people living in each square kilometre, represented through hexagons, of a 100 x 100-kilometre urban region. For each of the cities, a 3D representation of residential density is presented, displaying variations in density across the city and the metropolitan area (in different tones of red) and outer areas (in grey). The taller the spikes, the higher the density. Except for Athens where the last available census data (2011) was used<sup>1</sup>, for all other cities data from the 2015 World Global Human Settlement (GHS) population grid was used to calculate residential densities.

Among the nine cities compared, Athens, with an average

density (16,615 pers/km<sup>2</sup>), emerges as the second densest city after Paris (18,269 pers/km²), illustrating the highly compact and continuous nature of their urban development with relatively low-rise buildings (under ten storeys). While the high-rise nature of Hong Kong (with residential towers of up to 30 storeys) explains its extreme peak density (106,780 pers/km<sup>2</sup>), Athens emerges as the third highest in terms of peak density (37,461 pers/km²) after Paris (38,756 pers/km<sup>2</sup>).

Berlin and London appear as relatively dispersed, lower-density cities in comparison to others in the sample. Berlin has the lowest average density levels at both city and metropolitan level with an average density of 3,105 pers/km<sup>2</sup> inside the city, while London with 4,697 pers/km<sup>2</sup> presents clusters of high density scattered in its outer areas. In London the Green Belt acts as a containment boundary for urban expansion and with consequent lower densities in the city's immediate outskirts.

The ratio of the taller spikes to the average density in Athens is relatively low (2.3), together with Paris (2.1) and Barcelona (1.8), which is indicative of the typical European urban form composed of apartments and mansion blocks arranged along continuous streets. Other cities, with a more varied and fragmented urban structure, present much higher ratios; for example Hong Kong (16.5) and San Francisco (5.4).

The maps below illustrate the urban footprint of nine cities, showing where people live in relation to their administrative boundaries (at city, metropolitan and regional scale). Read in conjunction with the residential density diagrams, these maps offer insights on the nature and distribution of urban development and the jurisdiction of different levels of urban and regional governance.

What stands out is that over the last century the urban expansion of the Greek capital has spilled over the legislative boundaries of the City of Athens, sprawling across a much wider area within the Attica region, which is surrounded by mountains and the sea. The density diagrams demonstrate

that the city becomes more fragmented and dispersed as it extends outwards into neighbouring regional units.

As with other urban agglomerations, this mismatch between the functional metropolitan region and its governance arrangements creates challenges to developing strategies and implementing policies that can deliver sustainable change in areas of mobility, the environment and economic performance.

The City of Barcelona, with its dense inner city equally constrained by mountains and the sea, has experimented with new institutional arrangements to manage regional and metropolitan coordination. London has benefitted

from a clear boundary that defines both a growth limit (the Green Belt) and the administrative capacity (since 2000) of the Mayor of London who controls the transport, housing, environmental and economic development agencies of a metropolitan region of nine million people.

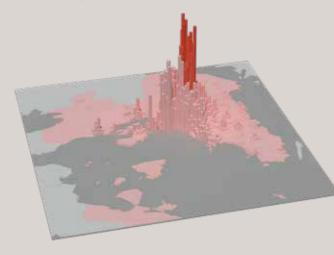
Vienna, Milan and Berlin offer alternative models of efficient metropolitan and regional governance, while Hong Kong has in recent decades effectively functioned as a city-state in charge of all planning, development and transport strategies, albeit with increasing influence from national government.



Outer areas

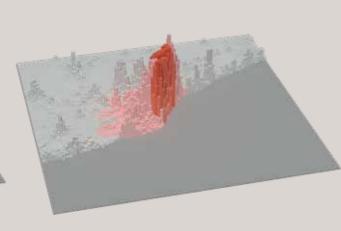
# **ATHENS**

Peak - 37,461 pers/km² (inside admin area)



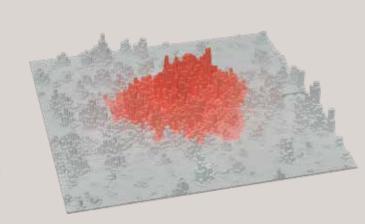
# **BARCELONA**

Peak - 23,925 pers/km² (outside admin area)

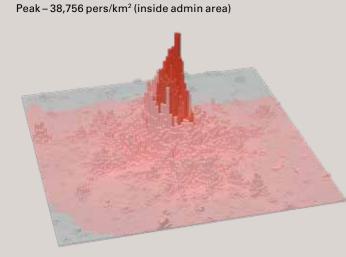


# LONDON

Peak – 18,769 pers/km² (inside admin area)

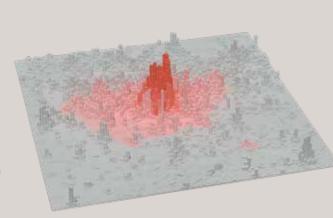


# **PARIS**



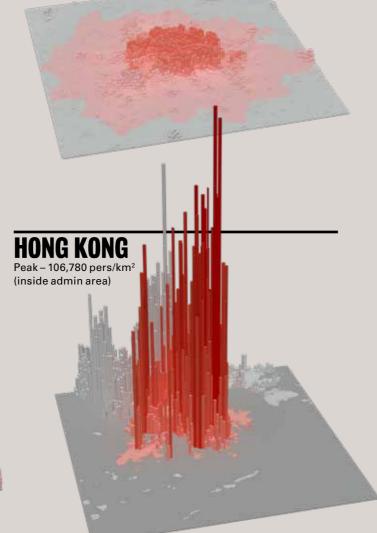
# **MILAN**

Peak – 17,927 pers/km² (inside admin area)



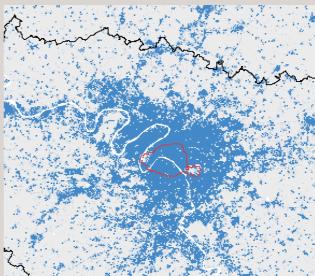
# **BERLIN**

Peak - 7,428 pers/km² (inside admin area)

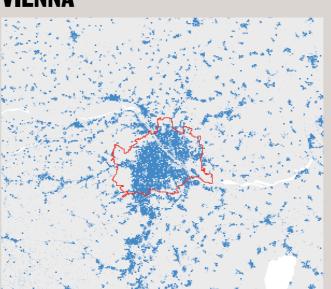


# **PARIS**

**ATHENS** 



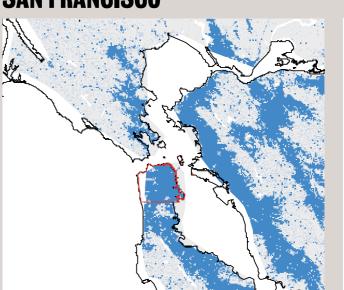
# **VIENNA**



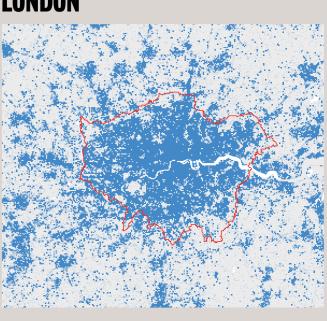
**BARCELONA** 



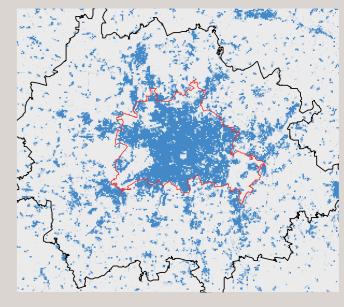
# **SAN FRANCISCO**

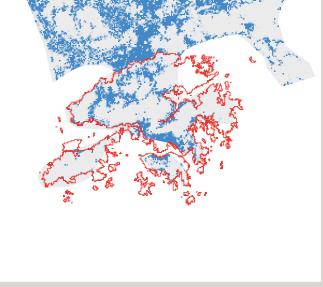


# LONDON



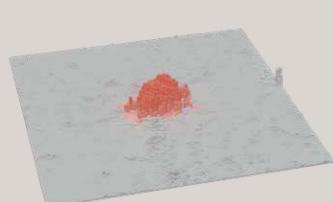
# **BERLIN**

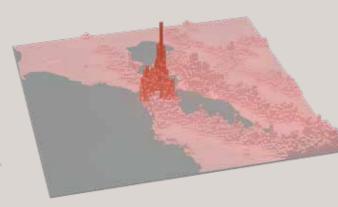




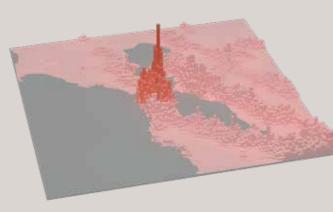
# **VIENNA**

Peak - 8,518 pers/km<sup>2</sup> (inside admin area)





# **SAN FRANCISCO** Peak - 24,524 pers/km<sup>2</sup> (inside admin area)

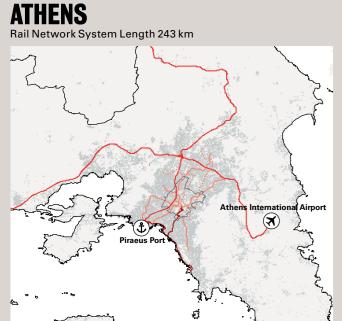


# **HOW PEOPLE TRAVEL**

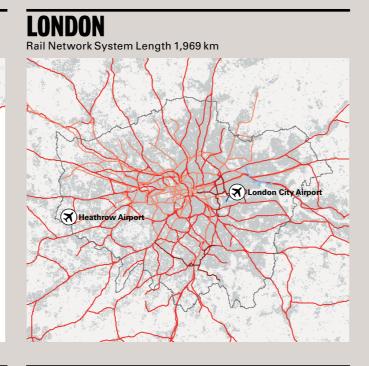
Mass public transport provides the infrastructure of connection that supports multiple dimensions of urban life at neighbourhood, metropolitan, and regional scale. Apart from contributing to productivity, competitiveness and the local economy, sustainable transport – as well as walking and cycling – is a key factor in reducing car-dependency, improving a city's environmental footprint and the well-being of its residents.

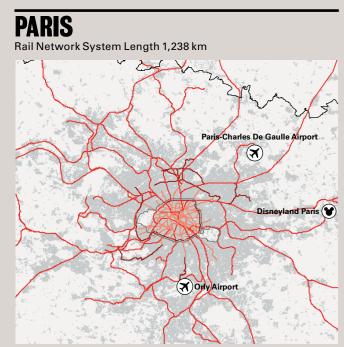
Among the nine cities, London has one of the oldest and most extensive urban and suburban rail networks in the

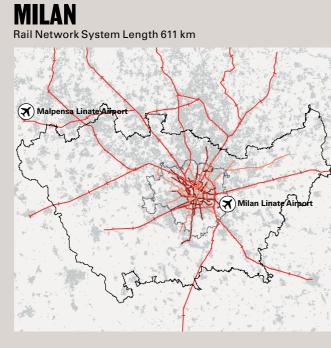
world (1,969 km) connecting the relatively low-density city to its wider metropolitan region. Within the same 70 x 70 km area, Athens's 243 km network is about 20% of that of Paris (1,238 km), but the city is planning to increase its capacity by at least 15%. Athens' transport network is shorter than that of other mature European cities, such as Munich (725 km), Milan (611 km) and Barcelona (597 km). Larger populations living in the higher-density cities of Singapore and Hong Kong are better served by shorter but highly efficient mass transport systems.



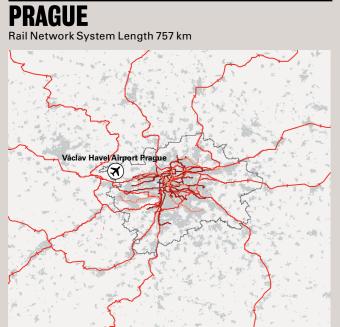




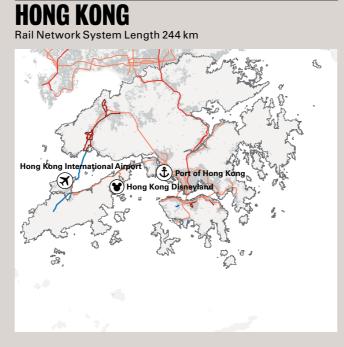








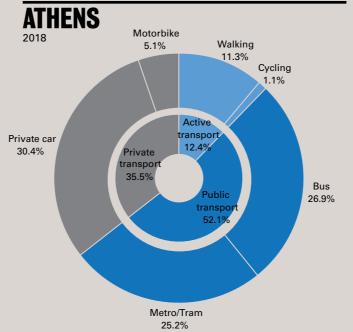


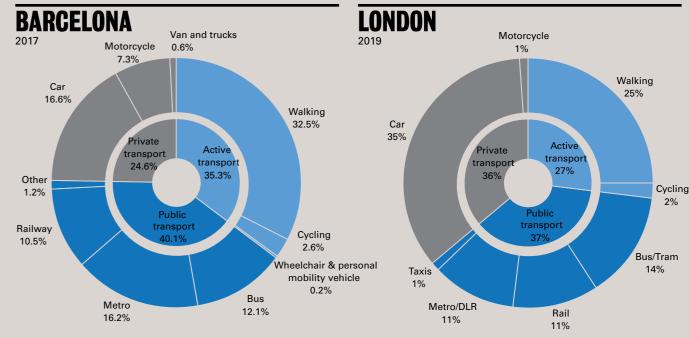


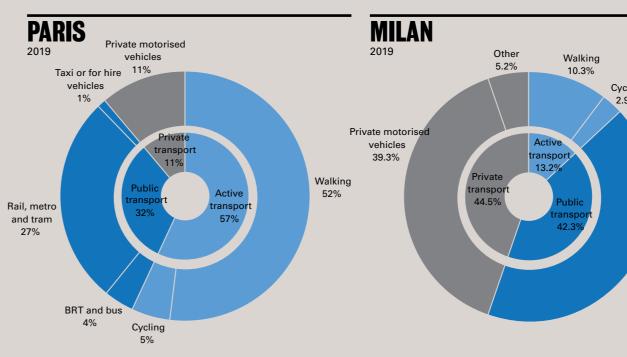
The way people chose to get to work in these nine cities is a function of distance, accessibility and mix of uses as well as local topography, climate and culture. Modal split pie charts indicate how people move around their city, whether by private car, public transport, or more active mobility including walking, cycling and scooters.

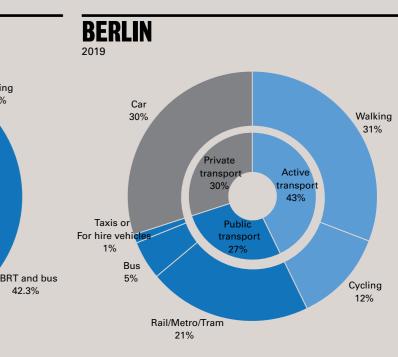
It is striking to observe that 82% of 7.5 m Hongkongers use public transport to get to work and only 7% use a car. If you add walking and cycling, Paris reaches an impressive 89%, and only 11% drive private cars. According to the most up-to-date data provided by the City of Athens, more than half of the population uses public transport, while around one-third uses private cars and just over 12% walk or cycle. Active mobility is far more pronounced in Prague, Barcelona and - increasingly - in London, where significant investment has been made in the public realm and cycle infrastructure. Despite recent policy interventions Berlin and Milan still reveal relatively high commuting patterns, with 30-39% using private cars.

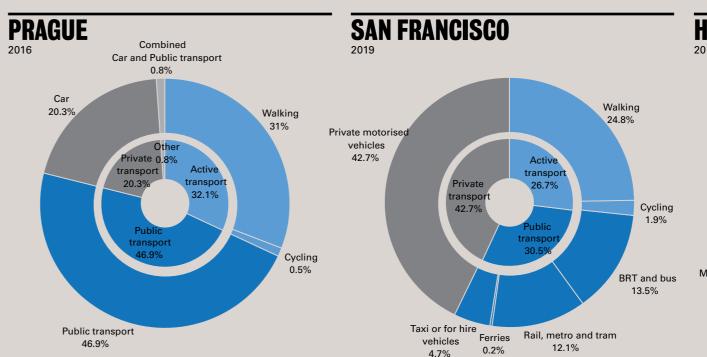




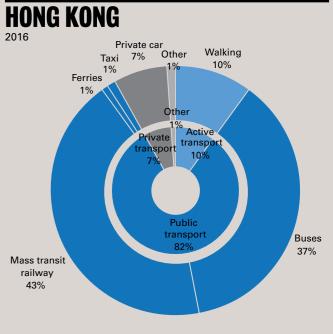








4.7%



# **INEQUALITY**

Every city experiences inequality, with higher and lower levels of social deprivation, but its distribution across its geography can vary considerably, as shown below in Athens, London, Paris and Barcelona. Mapping deprivation provides insights on where poverty or wealth are clustered or which neighbourhoods lack access to or are well-provided with basic social services and economic opportunities.

basic social services and economic opportunities.

Using data from the Social Atlas of Athens, a striking east—west divide across the 'Athens basin' is revealed, with greater deprivation (darker colours) concentrated on the western areas at both the municipal and metropolitan scale.

This pattern is linked to the city's historic development,

path dependencies and concentration of deprivation enclaves in the metropolitan periphery. Within the City of Athens boundary, the distribution is more nuanced, with less deprived or more affluent areas in central and eastern districts.

The analysis is based on recent research on 'multiple deprivation' in Athens,<sup>2</sup> which considers employment levels, housing conditions and access to education. The data confirms that over the last 20 years, there has been a persisting legacy of socio-spatial division and the deepening of a centre-periphery differentiation across the region. At a more detailed scale, the Athenian common building type

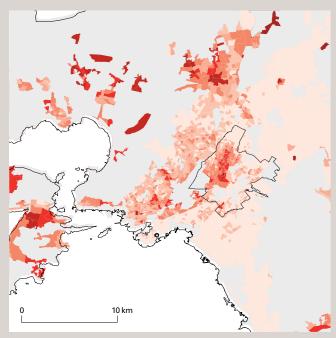
poli-katikia has nurtured a degree of vertical social segregation, with more affluent families occupying upper floors and more deprived residents lower floors with less access to fresh air and light. This east—west division is totally reversed in London, where historically more deprived residents have lived and worked in the dock areas to the east of the city and more affluent residents are concentrated to the west and along the periphery. Paris has a different distribution of inequality, with a more affluent centre and deprived periphery, much concentrated in the north-eastern fringe.

Higher deprivation

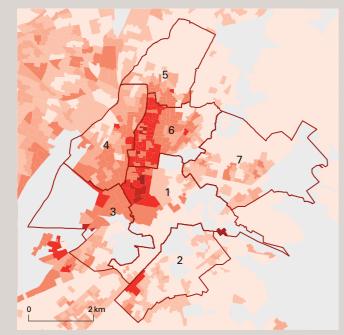
# **ATHENS**

Deprivation index (2021)

# **REGION**

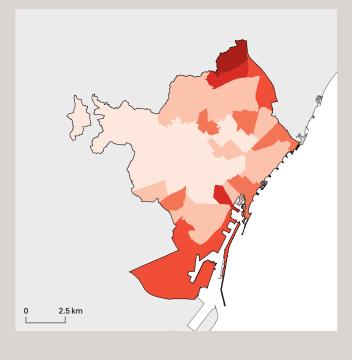


# LOCAL



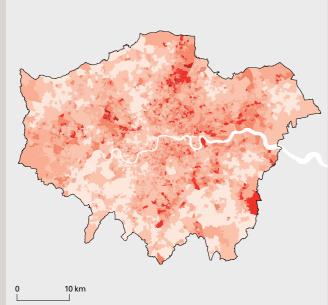
# **BARCELONA**

% households with severe deprivation (2019)



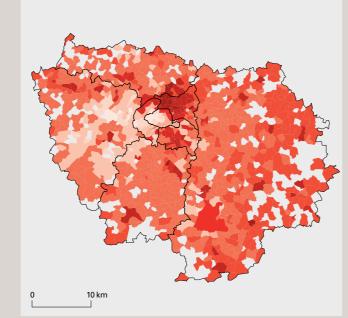
# **LONDON**

Index of Multiple Deprivation score (2019)



# PARIS AND ÎLE-DE-FRANCE

The social geography of Ile-de-France communes' residents according to household income profile (2015)



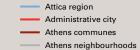


# **GOVERNANCE**

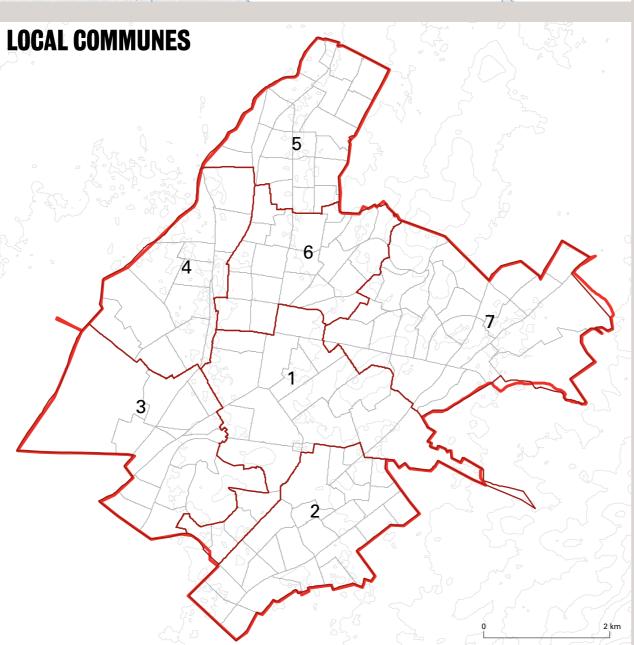
The degree to which government can deliver efficient planning and services is dependent on the power, jurisdiction and accountability of different institutional levels. The diagram on this page (right) illustrates how the different scales of regional, municipal and local administrative structures relate to the urban footprint (in grey) indicating where people live and work in the wider Athens region. The City of Athens itself is divided into seven municipal communes and smaller residential neighbourhoods (below).

The organisational charts (facing page) show which levels of national, regional, city and local government structures are responsible for delivering key public services such as transport, education and health, alongside maps illustrating their geographical boundaries. As the charts suggest, there are numerous, multi-level agencies involved in determining policy and funding of different sectors, with a considerable variation of powers split between the Mayor, the Regional Governor, the regional decentralised administration, central government and various state institutions.

The City of Athens is the capital city, administrative and symbolic centre of the Greek State. It is one of 66 municipalities of the Attica Region, and while the city's population is just under 20% of the wider region, it occupies only 1% of the land area. The City of Athens is part of one of four Regional Units of Athens - central, northern, western, and southern sectors – which encompass 35 municipalities in total. It is led by a directly elected Mayor and the Municipal Council, whose 49 members are elected by local registered voters. Seven separately elected municipal commune councils have limited administrative powers and are further sub-divided into 129 residential local neighbourhoods.







# **GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE**

ECONOMY	ENVIRONMENT & PLANNING	INFRASTRUCTURE & TRANSPORT	EDUCATION & CULTURE	HEALTH & SOCIAL SERVICES	SECURITY	OTHER							
	GREEK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT												
FINANCE  DEVELOPMENT & INVESTMENTS  TOURISM  MARITIME & INSULAR  POLICIES  AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT	ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY  CLIMATE ACTION	INFRASTRUCTURE & TRANSPORT	EDUCATION  CULTURE & SPORTS	HEALTH  WORK & SOCIAL AFFAIRS  MIGRATION & ASYLUM	FOREIGN POLICY  DEFENCE  CITIZEN PROTECTION  JUSTICE	CABINET OFFICE INTERNAL AFFAIRS DIGITAL GOVERNANCE							
ATTICA DECENTRALISED ADMINISTRATION													
	PLANNING & ENVIRONMENT			MIGRATION	CITIZEN PROTECTION EMERGENCY	INTERNAL ORGANISATION							
			ATTICA REGION										
FINANCE  DEVELOPMENT & INFRASTRUCTURE  AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT	SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT & CLIMATE CHANGE	TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION	SPORTS & CULTURE	HEALTH & SOCIAL CARE	CITIZEN PROTECTION  DEFENCE & EMERGENCY	INTERNAL ORGANISATION INFORMATION & DIGITAL SERVICE LEGAL SUPPORT							
			CITY OF ATHENS										
FINANCE  MUNICIPAL PROPERTY  REVENUES	URBAN PLANNING & ENVIRONMENT  URBAN DEVELOPMENT  GREEN SPACES & FAUNA  STRATEGIC PLANNING, RESILIENCE, INNOVATION & DOCUMENTATION	ROAD CONSTRUCTION  TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE  CLEANING & RECYCLING	CHILDHOOD & EDUCATION  SPORTS & CULTURE	HEALTH SOCIAL CARE	MUNICIPAL POLICE	INTERNAL ORGANISATION  LEGAL SUPPORT  CITIZEN SERVICE  INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION & PUBLIC RELATIONS							

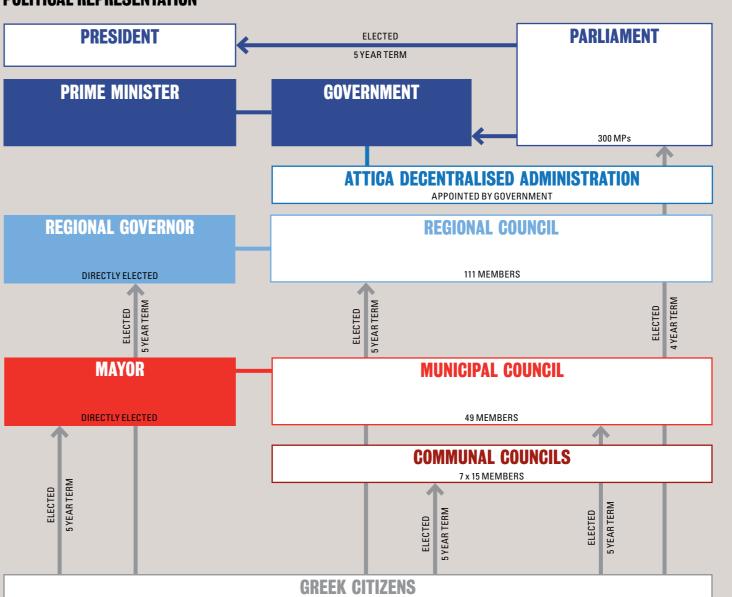
# GREECE

332 municipalities



# **ATTICA REGION**

# POLITICAL REPRESENTATION



# ATHENS REGIONAL UNITS



# CITY OF ATHENS



# **PEOPLE**

Understanding population change and demographic trends provides city administrations with core information on which to base planning and investment strategies. Like other countries, Greece undertakes a detailed national census every ten years, so accurate data on Athens is currently based on the 2011 census (the 2021 census was affected by COVID-19 and is still in progress).

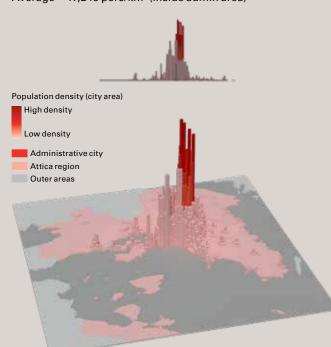
The last three last censuses of 1991, 2001 and 2011 confirm a continuous decline of the residential population, dropping

from 772,072 to 664,046 people in the space of 20 years. While accurate figures are not available for the status quo, estimates suggest that there has been a further slight decline and stabilisation in recent years.

The level of residential density followed a different trajectory: it increased in the first decade, and dropped in the second. Peak density increased from 40,466 pers/km<sup>2</sup> in 1991 to 46,217 pers/km<sup>2</sup> in 2001 and then decreased quite substantially to 37,461 pers/km<sup>2</sup> by 2011. The average density rose from 17,249 pers/km<sup>2</sup> to 18,995 pers/km<sup>2</sup> and then dropped to 16,615 pers/km<sup>2</sup> (2011). The fact that the residential densities in the metropolitan area outside the City of Athens increased from 2001 to 2011 confirms that Athens has decentralised, with some residents moving out to the suburbs, a process that will have continued as a result of the effects of the economic crisis.

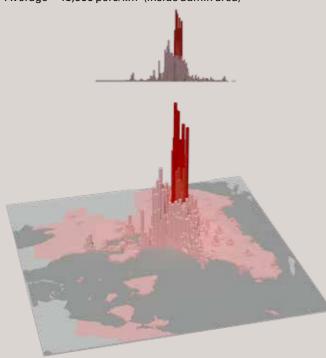
# **ATHENS 1991**

Peak - 40,466 pers/km<sup>2</sup> Average – 17,249 pers/km² (inside admin area)



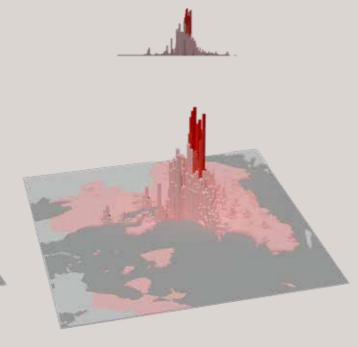
# **ATHENS 2001**

Peak – 46,217 pers/km<sup>2</sup> Average – 18,955 pers/km² (inside admin area)



# **ATHENS 2011**

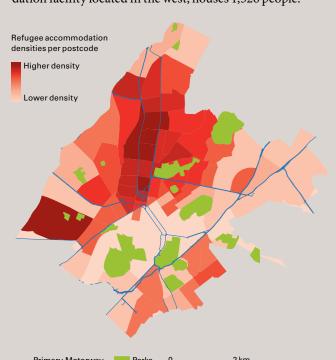
Peak - 37,461 pers/km<sup>2</sup> Average - 16,615 pers/km² (inside admin area)



# **REFUGEES**

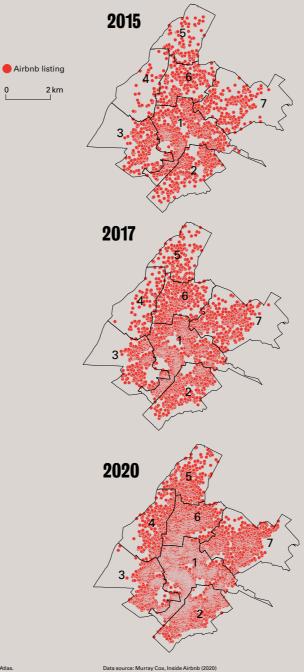
Camp total (2022): 1,326 refugees Apartments total (2021): 7,236 refugees

Over the last decade, Athens has been the arrival point for hundreds of thousands of refugees from different global regions, reaching peak numbers from 2015 onwards. While the flow has now reduced, the City of Athens has responded with a range of initiatives – including the earlier synAthina programme - to provide shelter and accommodation and support integration. The ESTIA programme, run by the City of Athens and other partners, has provided rented housing to vulnerable refugees and asylum seekers, accepting over 7,000 individuals in 1,500 units.<sup>4</sup> A recent mapping exercise based on postcode mapping reveals that refugee and asylum seeker accommodation are concentrated in the northern parts of the city, while Eleonas Camp, a major temporary accommodation facility located in the west, houses 1,326 people.<sup>5</sup>



# **SHORT-TERM RENTALS**

The replacement of traditional residential patterns with short-term rentals, dramatically accelerated by the meteoric rise of Airbnb in cities across the world, has fuelled the processes of gentrification and touristification, especially in the more deprived areas in Athens, which are becoming increasingly unaffordable to some economic groups. In just five years, from 2015 to 2020, Athens saw a 556% increase in the number of Airbnb listings, with a major concentration of nearly half in central districts (like Koukaki and Exarchia), close to historical sites and cultural facilities, with fewer properties available in northern and western communes.



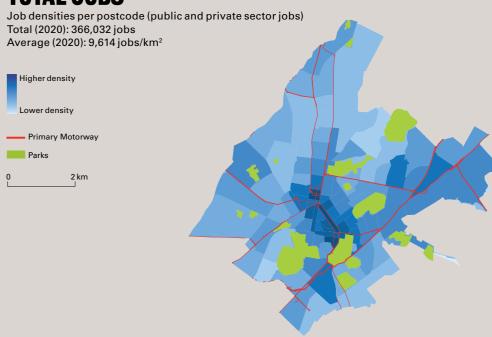
# **JOBS**

Mapping employment densities offers a different perspective on how a city is experienced, revealing clusters of specialisation including industrial areas, public sector, financial services and creative economy districts. By identifying job densities per postcode three underlying patterns of employment in Athens are made evident. Firstly, there is a major concentration of jobs in the city centre, particularly in the public sector jobs, reinforcing the centrality of the city. Secondly, topography plays a major role, with employment clusters placed in flatter areas with good accessibility. Thirdly, many jobs are located along the major linear road axes linking the city to the outskirts. While public sector jobs are highly clustered, private businesses and companies are more dispersed across the city's urban fabric.

Estimates suggest there are total of 366,032 jobs<sup>6</sup> in the City of Athens in the public and private sectors, reinforcing its significant role as an economic engine at the metropolitan, regional and national level. Its entrepreneurial activity is underscored by the fact that 265,730 or 73% of all jobs are in private companies or businesses<sup>7</sup> while 27% are in the public sector8.

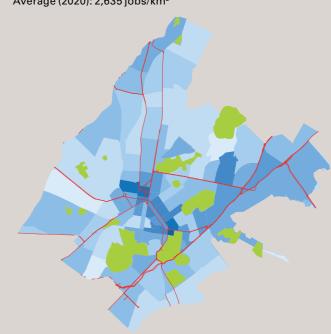
The number of individual employees in private companies is also instructive, with a high ratio of 6:1 between businesses with fewer than five employees and with more than five, highlighting the importance of small-scale businesses – either family-run or small entrepreneurs – contributing to the inner-city economy. By contrast, many larger-scale businesses are located in the periphery to the east and west, in larger plot sizes and close to or along main arterial roads.

# **TOTAL JOBS**



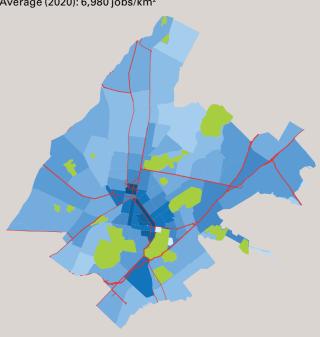
# **PUBLIC SECTOR JOBS**

Job densities per postcode Total (2020): 100,302 jobs Average (2020): 2,635 jobs/km2



# **PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS**

Job densities per postcode Total (2020): 265,730 jobs Average (2020): 6,980 jobs/km<sup>2</sup>



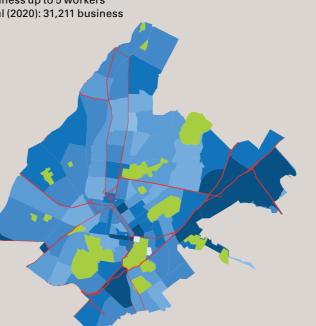
# **LESS THAN FIVE WORKERS**

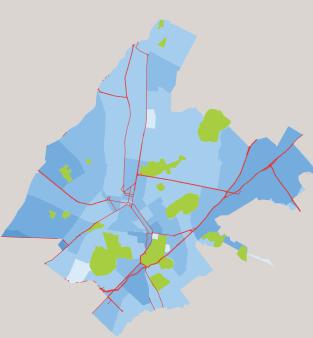
Number of business per postcode (per type of business) -

Business up to 5 workers Total (2020): 31,211 business

# **MORE THAN FIVE WORKERS**

Number of business per postcode – with more than 5 workers Total (2020): 5,123 business







# **OPEN SPACE**

This section explores the structure of open space both within and outside the City of Athens. The larger-scale map illustrates how the Athens Basin is framed by a mixed Mediterranean landscape with mountains of relatively high altitude – to the east (Mount Hymettus 1,062 m), to the west (Mount Egaleo, 469 m and Mount Pikilo, 465 m) and further out to the north-west (Mount Parnitha, (1,413 m) and to the north-east (Mount Pentelikon, 1,109 m) – and by Faleron Bay to the south. All these natural assets are within a five- to ten-kilometre radius of the centre of the city and even though they are not fully accessible, they contribute to the wider environmental and social ecosystem of the region. Many are used for leisure and other weekend activities by Athenians living at high inner-city densities, where temperatures are exacerbated by the urban heat island effect. The extended seafront onto the Mediterranean provides a

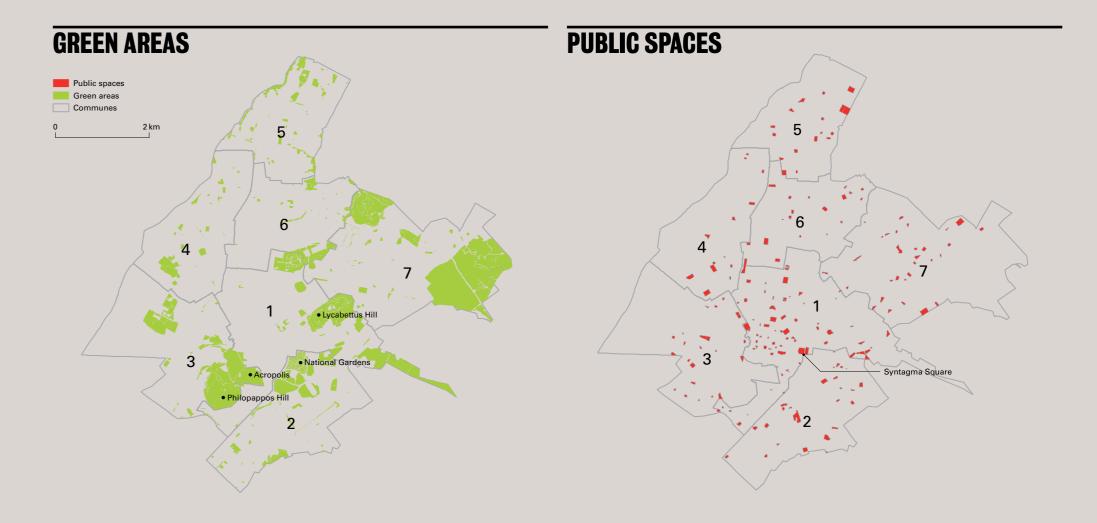
well-ventilated and much-used social amenity, especially during the increasingly hot summer months.

The analysis of both soft and hard open spaces within the boundaries of the City of Athens at the commune level revels a more complex distribution of amenities. Using data provided by the City of Athens, the maps identify the location of public spaces, such as squares (defined as paved areas surrounded by buildings) and green areas (defined as smaller- and larger-scale public, open and natural spaces), which contribute to the social and environmental dynamics of the city's different districts. A more granular understanding of the urban DNA of Athens' seven communes is provided in the table below, which documents the size and density of public spaces and green areas as well as population density, nationality, age and levels of deprivation level.

**PARKS AND GREEN AREAS** Mountains and large scale metropolitan open spaces Inner-city green Administrative area 5km buffer 10km buffer Proposed parks

In the City of Athens, most green areas are distributed along a south-west/north-east axis linking Commune 3, Commune 1 and Commune 7, which perform well in terms of green space provision with an average of 17 m<sup>2</sup> per person compared to much lower levels of 2 m<sup>2</sup> per person in the northernmost communes. While western and northwestern neighbourhoods have less access to green areas - Commune 4 has the lowest green area provision in the city – the mixed-use industrial district of Eleonas is set to benefit from investment in sports facilities and a recreational park. Twenty-two neighbourhoods in the City of Athens with over 87,000 residents lack any green space provision. Of the 232 public open spaces and squares in Athens, the majority are concentrated in central areas, with 38% located in Commune 1, providing a relatively generous amount of 2.4 m<sup>2</sup> per person for its residents compared to lower

proportions in more peripheral communes. The north-central Commune 6 (Kypseli), for example, has the highest residential density but lowest proportion of public open space at 0.4 m² per person. At the neighbourhood scale, the Historical Triangle and Plaka-Monastiraki areas contain 15 public spaces each (30 in total) while peripheral areas are less well provided. Forty-four neighbourhoods – nearly one-third of the total, housing over 150,000 people – lack any public space provision.



# **URBAN DYNAMICS**

Comn	Communes		Green area				Public spaces					Socio-economic indicators					
Name	area km²	Population density (pers/km²)	Total green (m²)	Average size (m²)	Green density (m²/km²)	Green per person (m² per pers)	Total number	Average area size (m²)	Total area (m²)	Public space density (m²/km²)	Public space per person (m² per pers)	% of Greeks	% of 65+ population	Average deprivation	% Refugee accomodation	Number of airbnb listings per km²	Jobs density (jos/m²)
1	7.70	10,041	1,769,928	12,553	229,911	23	89	2,115	188,199	24,447	2.4	73	21	4.7	5	726	19,604
2	4.94	20,954	675,216	3,112	136,787	7	34	2,809	95,520	19,351	0.9	83	21	5.5	6	385	8,157
3	5.45	8,608	860,791	18,315	157,816	18	24	1,950	46,800	8,580	1.0	84	17	4.4	2	215	4,507
4	4.51	18,731	224,790	5,352	49,819	3	15	3,256	48,835	10,823	0.6	79	16	4.0	10	89	5,232
5	4.03	24,441	335,712	3,904	83,332	3	18	4,719	84,934	21,083	0.9	81	18	5.2	8	70	3,219
6	3.70	34,658	121,933	2,345	32,929	1	20	2,730	54,605	14,747	0.4	64	19	3.2	57	328	3,525
7	7.55	15,617	2,370,572	18,814	313,802	20	32	2,712	86,769	11,486	0.7	81	20	5.3	10	103	10,374

Note: For methodological reasons, small continuous green areas extending beyond the city boundaries were also included in the measurements.

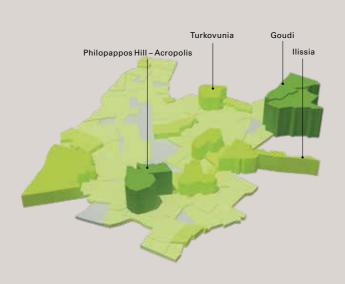
Data sources: Athens Municipality institutional data; © OpenStreetMap contributors and LSE Cities.

These three-dimensional visualisations illustrate the levels of hard and soft open spaces that exist across the City of Athens and its different neighbourhoods. They map the number, distribution and size of public spaces and green areas within each of the city's neighbourhoods, with taller peaks in the diagrams indicating higher values of individual indicators. Reinforcing the data tabulated on page 21, the diagrams show that central and some eastern districts are well endowed with hard and soft open spaces, but that northern and western fringes are less well served.

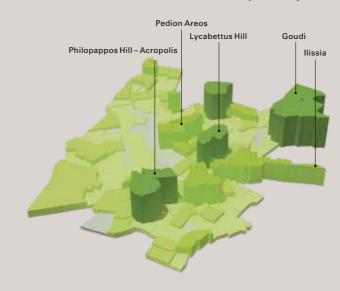
# **GREEN AREAS**

Higher value No val

# TOTAL GREEN AREA IN EACH NEIGHBOURHOOD



# AMOUNT OF GREEN AREA IN PROPORTION TO THE SIZE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD (M<sup>2</sup>/M<sup>2</sup>)

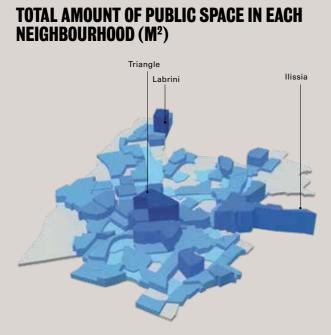


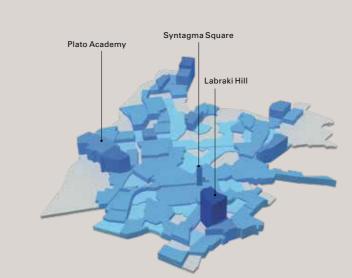
# **PUBLIC SPACES**



No value

# AVERAGE SIZE OF PUBLIC SPACE PER NEIGHBOURHOOD (M²)

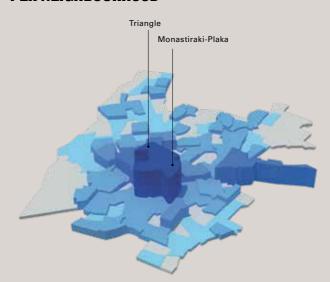




# AMOUNT OF PUBLIC SPACE IN PROPORTION TO THE SIZE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD (M<sup>2</sup>/M<sup>2</sup>)



# TOTAL NUMBER OF PUBLIC SPACES PER NEIGHBOURHOOD





# **LOCAL CHARACTER**

By drilling down into eight selected neighbourhoods in each of the city's seven communes, the report offers insights into the spatial and social character of Athens' uniquely dense urban culture. Organised in order of levels of residential density, a sequence of eight 500 m x 500 m sub-areas

are analysed in terms of urban form (using figure-ground mapping and satellite views) and three-dimensional quality (through photographs) with a brief commentary on their social and spatial nature. The featured areas are Kypseli (Commune 6), Pagkrati (Commune 2), Ampelokipoi

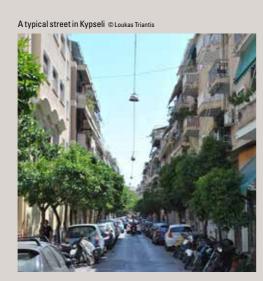
(Commune 7), Kato Petralona (Commune 3), Ano Patissia-Kypriadou (Commune 5), Neos Kosmos-Aghios Sostis (Commune 2), Plato Academy (Commune 4) and Plaka-Triangle (Commune 1).

# Ano Patissia-Kypriadou Kypseli Plato Academy Ampelokipoi Plaka-Triangle Kato Petralona Pagkrati Neo Kosmos – Aghios Sostis

# **KYPSELI, COMMUNE 6**

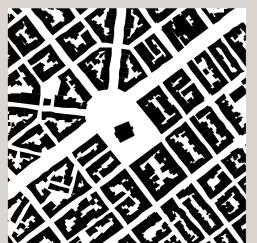






Kypseli is the most densely populated and compact of the selected areas, with few green spaces and the presence of some small-scale local squares. It is a lively, mixed-use residential area with a high concentration of businesses. The urban fabric is dominated by the most common building unit in Athens, the poli-katikia, ranging from five to seven floors. It has the highest levels of deprivation and an ageing population, and accommodates a culturally diverse population with a large number of refugees. The high number of Airbnb listings and increase in property values associated with the arrival of the metro line is fuelling the potential for gentrification.

# **PAGKRATI, COMMUNE 2**







Pagkrati is the second most densely populated residential area and has low levels of deprivation. The high numbers of Airbnb listings, combined with the low numbers of refugees, are indicative of the area's social and economic status. Nevertheless, the demographics show an ageing population, with 23% aged 65 or over. As with Kypseli, the urban fabric is compact and dominated by the *poli-katikia*, which create a contrasting streetscape. Some areas have wide pavements and tall trees, providing shading and pleasant walkable environment conditions, while other streets are particularly narrow and dense. Open spaces cover almost half of the area, attracting a young population

# **AMPELOKIPOI, COMMUNE 7**







Ampelokipoi is a dense and popular mixed residential area with a high level of commercial activities. The urban form is compact, also defined by the *poli-katikia* building typology, arranged on a network of narrow streets with limited amount and quality of open space. Although green spaces are scarce, some large-scale urban parks are in close proximity. The area is inhabited by mid-income social and economic residents and has relatively low levels of deprivation, ethnicity, ageing population, Airbobh listings and refugee

# **KATO PETRALONA, COMMUNE 3**







Kato Petralona is a medium-density neighbourhood defined by smaller and lower poli-katikia buildings ranging from four to five floors. Located close to some large-scale urban parks and archaeological sites, such as Philopappos Hill, it is made up of small-scale land property plots and building typologies. The area has a younger population than other districts and is less culturally mixed, with high levels of Airbnb listings and average levels of deprivation.

# **ANO PATISSIA-KYPRIADOU, COMMUNE 5**







Ano Patissia-Kypriadou is a less densely built-up area than others in Athens. The high percentage of open spaces, almost half of the total area, is mostly due to its creation as garden-city urban planning model. The dominant poli-katikia apartments blocks are slightly lower – for example in comparison to Kato Petralona – accompanied by early 20th-century buildings of a smaller scale. Many residents are of Greek-origin and the neighbourhood has one of the lowest levels of deprivation and Airbnb listings across the sample. The area stands apart from the surrounding northern neighbourhoods, in terms of both physical design and socioeconomic profile.

# **NEOS KOSMOS – AGHIOS SOSTIS, COMMUNE 2**



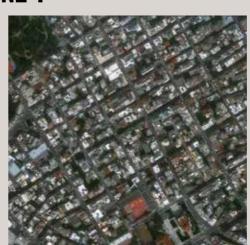




Neos Kosmos-Aghios Sostis is another medium-density neighbourhood. Its western section, Aghios Sostis, was developed in the 1960s on modernist planning principles with a fabric of detached large-scale buildings. On the eastern side, Neos Kosmos is arranged along a network of narrow streets with typical four-to five storey poli-katikias. The unique modernist features of Aghios Sostis explain the highest levels of open spaces (more than 60%), as well as its low compactness. The sample area presents a dominantly Greek-origin ageing population and average levels of deprivation. It also presents low levels of refugee accommodation and low concentration of Airbnb listings, despite its

# **PLATO ACADEMY, COMMUNE 4**



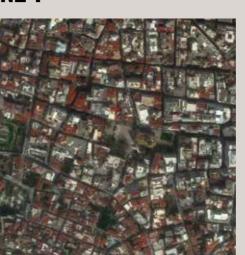


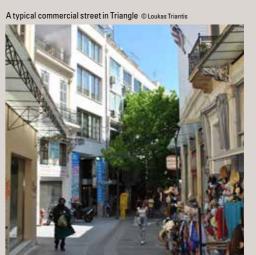


Plato Academy, named after the archaeological site, is the sample area with the lowest residential densities. Its building typologies include the units of four to five storey poli-katikia combined with a few early 20th-century buildings. The open spaces cover almost half of the total area, comprising narrow and wide streets and local squares. The high levels of deprivation, along with the highest number of small-scale buildings, are indicative of a low-income population. The projected development of the New Panathinaikos Stadium in Votanikos, as well as the upgrading of Plato Academy Park, are expected to have an impact on the area.

# PLAKA-TRIANGLE, COMMUNE 1







Plaka-Triangle, at the heart of the city's historic centre, is a busy and lively area of low population densities and extremely high jobs densities. Being a largely touristic site, the area hosts the vast majority of temporary accommodations such as Airbnb. Its compact urban form refers to the dense medieval grid with meandering narrow streets. Plaka is the oldest residential community around the Acropolis Hill, with neo-classical style dwellings, while the Triangle (Emporiko Trigono) is the commercial heart of the city, made up of a varied building stock. The open spaces cover 40% of the total area and include an extensive network of pedestrian streets, public squares and archaeological sites.

4

# **COMPARING NEIGHBOURHOODS**

The spider-diagram representation of selected social and spatial variables of the eight selected sub-areas graphically display the variation in urban experiences across Athens based on the data tabulated below. They reveal that residential densities and provision of open spaces are not directly correlated with social deprivation or employment levels. The top three densest sub-areas, Kypseli, Pagkrati and Ampelokipoi, present different social and environmental characteristics. The Plaka-Triangle area in central Athens has a relatively low residential population density but high

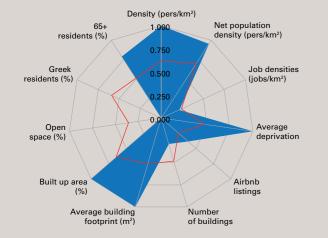
number of Airbnb listings and jobs, with a younger population and generous levels of open and green space. Kypseli, by contrast, is very densely populated with low levels of open space provision. Its residents are more deprived and include significant numbers of refugees and foreigners.

The sub-areas in western and northern Communes 3, 4 and 5 - Kato-Petralona, Plato Academy and Ano Patissia-Kypriadou – have a higher percentage of local Greek residents living in areas with limited amounts of green and public space, and fewer Airbnb listings. Pagkrati, in

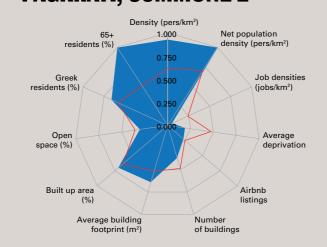
the southern Commune 2, has an elderly population living in higher densities, with fewer short-term Airbnb rentals and limited proportion of open space. In general, there are greater concentrations of refugee accommodation in more deprived areas, while the central and eastern parts of the city concentrate around 80% of public and private sector jobs.

The analysis reveals that beneath Athens' seemingly homogeneous, dense and continuous fabric lie diverse urban realities reflecting the complex social, economic and political forces that have shaped its past, present and future.

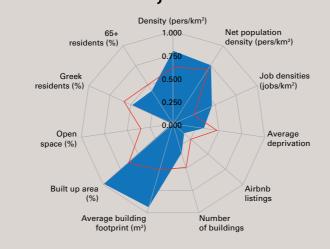
# **KYPSELI, COMMUNE 6**



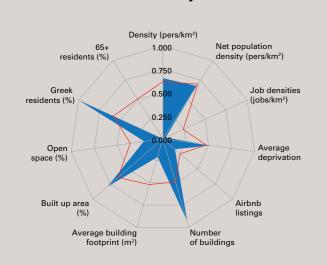
# **PAGKRATI, COMMUNE 2**



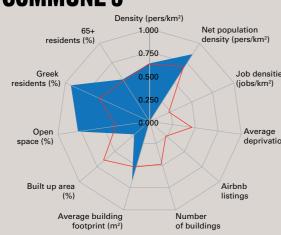
# **AMPELOKIPOI, COMMUNE 7**



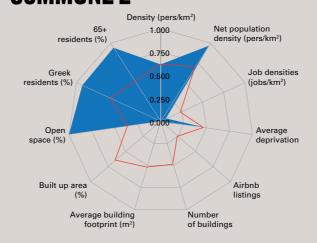
# **KATO PETRALONA, COMMUNE 3**



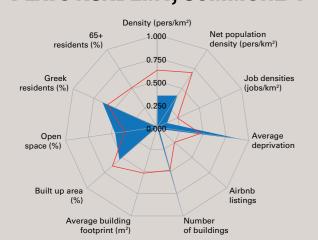
# ANO PATISSIA-KYPRIADOU, COMMUNE 5



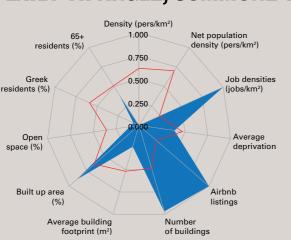
# NEOS KOSMOS – AGHIOS SOSTIS, COMMUNE 2



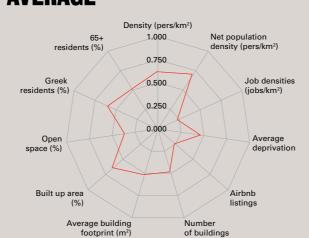
# PLATO ACADEMY, COMMUNE 4



# **PLAKA-TRIANGLE, COMMUNE 1**



# **AVERAGE**



Due to methodological reasons, all values were normalised between 0 and 1, where 0 is the lowest value and 1 the highest.

Name	Density (pers/km²)	Number of buildings	Average building footprint (m²)	Net population density (pers/km²)	Built up area (%)	Open space (%)	Average deprivation*	Greek residents (%)	65+ residents (%)	Airbnb listings	Job densities (jobs/km²)
Kypseli	34,978	602	261	55,760	63	37	3.4	68	22	194	7,761
Pagkrati	32,542	630	221	58,374	56	44	5.5	81	23	118	3,400
Ampelokipoi	28,117	615	254	45,035	62	38	5.1	77	19	85	14,322
Kato Petralona	23,573	835	174	40,677	58	42	4.7	88	17	93	2,866
Ano Patissia-Kypriadou	22,660	495	225	50,920	45	55	6.0	87	20	10	1,986
Neos Kosmos – Aghios Sostis	22,317	496	199	56,645	39	61	4.8	86	23	18	3,688
Plato Academy	13,458	861	151	25,869	52	48	3.6	81	17	23	5,046
Plaka-Triangle	2,227	850	177	3,694	60	40	5.0	69	19	490	28,777

\*Note: For the average deprivation, the lower the value the most deprived the area.

# Satellite view of Athens showing the Historical Triangle, Faleron Bay to the south and the mixed industrial area of Eleonas to the west

nage collected on 4 April 2022 © 2022 Maxar Provided by Eu



### **URBAN AGE**

The Urban Age programme is an international investigation of cities jointly organised by LSE Cities and the Alfred Herrhausen Gesellschaft. Through conferences, research, advisory work and engagement, the Urban Age explores the diverse spatial, social, economic and political dynamics of global cities in different regions of the world. Since 2005 the Urban Age has built an extensive knowledge base with interdisciplinary expertise. It is an authoritative source of comparative data and visual information on over 60 global cities and urban regions, and a repository of critical writings, reflections and presentations by urban leaders, practitioners and experts. Urban Age conferences have been held in cities across five continents, including Addis Ababa, Delhi, Rio de Janeiro, London, Hong Kong, Istanbul, São Paulo, Mumbai, Mexico City, Johannesburg, Berlin, Shanghai and New York City. In 2019 the Urban Age Task Force was launched to work with city governments and help deliver sustainable urban change at the environmental, social and spatial level.

# LSE CITIES

LSE Cities is an international centre at the London School of Economics and Political Science that carries out research, graduate and executive education, engagement and advisory activities in London and abroad. It studies how people and cities interact in a rapidly urbanising world, focusing on how the physical form and design of cities impacts on society, culture and the environment. Extending LSE's century-old commitment to the understanding of urban society, LSE Cities investigates how complex urban systems are responding to the pressures of growth, change and globalisation with new infrastructures of design and governance that both complement and threaten social and environmental equity.

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The Alfred Herrhausen Gesellschaft promotes a free and open society and its cohesion. Democracy, the social market economy and sustainability are the foundations of such a society. Its work is based on the values of Alfred Herrhausen: on freedom and responsibility, on competition and compassion. Alfred Herrhausen thought and acted with the aim of crossing and overcoming boundaries. In his memory, the Alfred Herrhausen Gesellschaft creates platforms for discussions to enrich relevant discourses during selected events, and in publications and other media.

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LSE is a specialist university with an international intake and a global reach. Its research and teaching span the full breadth of the social sciences. Founded in 1895 by Beatrice and Sidney Webb and set up to improve society and to "understand the causes of things", LSE has always put engagement with the wider world at the heart

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UNHCR Greece, City of Athens, and NGOs Arsis, Praksis, Nostos and Solidarity Now. Date of extraction: March 2021. Limitations: The collection of data on refugees and asylum seekers presents challenges du to constant changes.ADDMA, City of Athens. Date of extraction: April 2022.

Ministry of Interior, ICAP, Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT). Date of extraction: January 2021, census 2011.

7 ICAP Business Services group. Date of extraction: January 2021. Limitations: The validity of the data rests on a process of data collection by ICAP (hence not a registry). This is estimated to include around 80% of legal form businesses, around 90% of Ltd. businesses, and self-employee businesses. The number of jobs refers to formal jobs and employees and does not take into account jobs in the informal sector. All of them are active businesses, with different times of update. Possible deviation ma

8 Ministry of Interior (Department of Integrated Information System of Human Resources and Statistical Analysis, Registry of Human Resources, General Directory of Human Resources of the Greek Public Sector). Date of extraction: January 2021. Limitations: The validity of the data rests on the input of public institutions and organisations. Data includes employed in the independent public authorities, legal organisations, decentralised administrations, and local governments. This does not include the military sector, for security reasons. Possible deviation due to short-term

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