

## A "NEW" NARRATIVE FOR THE "NEOS KOSMOS"

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### **Abstract**

*A narrative for envisioning experimental and alternative interventions with a social significance and terms of sustainability in the Neos Kosmos refugee housing hotspot. Public space is an organic unity that is constantly transformed by socio-political and economic factors. Cities represent a field of diverse experiences, cultural encounters, historical memory, social transformations, and aesthetic osmosis. The field is subject to continuous mutations based on the necessities, activities, and practices of the inhabitants, infrastructures, and the environment.*

*The refugee housing complex in Neos Kosmos (Dourgouti) is an intriguing large-scale housing complex located very close to the city centre. An emblematic example of social housing, architectural-urban planning, according to the principles of modernism, developed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and at the same time, an almost invisible place of decline, disuse, exclusion, and degradation. A social field where the city's history, various refugee flows, memories, and cultural activities converge and intersect. A privileged multi-collective urban environment with untapped potential is located very close to the major traffic axis of Syngrou Avenue, which connects Athens to the sea. It is adjacent to important cultural, economic, entertainment, and tourist functions, offering large open spaces, greenery, and excellent transportation links.*

*In the central square of the "Holocaust of Kalavryta" student proposals aim to create a narrative focused on refugee housing that will introduce innovative uses and standard functions for various social groups and communities, including young people, students, artists, and creators. Such narratives will propose radical architectural arrangements based on realized cases and theoretical proposals, so that Neos Kosmos acquires a different dynamic presence and a recognizable identity. To be a sustainable space for multi-collective activities and creative meetings.*

**Keywords:** *Narratives, Architectural Design, Public Space, Social Housing.*

### **Introduction**

*“Once upon a time, the streets of the city were streets, the squares were squares, and its markets were markets. In these remote places, the first historical centres of civilization emerged, and conditions were created for the continuous negotiation of the meaning, rules, and conditions of human coexistence.”*

*Kostas Tsoukalas (2002)*

Today in Dourgouti, an intriguing and peculiar neighbourhood in the Neos Kosmos, we are witnessing a decline and the disruption of significant social processes, both reflective and resistant, as described in the preceding paragraph. The thriving refugee settlement of

Armenian and Asian Minor refugees at the dawn of the twentieth century, the once sprawling shanty town, is no longer the familiar site of multimodal participatory functions and representations but a distinct modernist urban ensemble of social housing that is inspired by the concepts and models of the Bauhaus School. A neighbourhood that today is declining rapidly. A neighbourhood that has gradually changed its face and character, organically belonging to the neighbouring area of the Neos Kosmos, without sharing common identifying characteristics with it.

The current presentation is a narrative about the visioning of experimental and alternative interventions with a cultural, historical, and social sign and terms of new technologies, sustainability, and viability in the neuralgic and forgotten area of the refugee apartment buildings of the Neos Kosmos, with a focus on the redesign of the central square of the Dourgouti residential area.

Various socio-political and economic forces reshape the organic unity of urban public spaces. This transformation reflects the fact that cities are not just physical locations, but rather dynamic experiences woven from cultural encounters, historical memory, aesthetic influences, social shifts, and ongoing reinventions. A field of transformations and variability that is subject to continuous transformations according to the needs, activities, and daily practices of the inhabitants, infrastructure, and environment. If the buildings are "built texts," as Tassis Papaioannou writes, texts that record and tell the stories of the people who built them, but also of those who lived there in the past or still live in their spaces today, we understand to what extent the public space in Dourgouti, as the commonplace of expectations and encounters of refugees uprooted from their homelands, constitutes an important narrative environment with the stigma of memory. "It is also composed of words that form sentences; these in turn form texts, so that in the end, by reading them, you get closer to understanding the essence of their architectural space" (Papaioannou, 2022).



*Examples from student design studies. 'Design of Urban Spaces I' Studio, Fall 2022*

The area of refugee apartment buildings in Neos Kosmos (Dourgouti)<sup>1</sup> is an interesting large-scale residential complex very close to the city centre. An emblematic example of social housing is architectural-urban planning, according to the principles of modernism, which was built gradually during the 20th century and is at the same time an invisible, almost invisible place of decline, disuse, exclusion, and degradation. A social field in which the history of the city, the different refugee flows, the memory, and the cultural actions meet and intersect. The "urban memory" as a deposit is not easily understood in such everyday contexts of multi-layered stratigraphy. According to Crinson (2005), the urban places are often viewed as a

<sup>1</sup> The name Dourgouti, according to C. Biris (Toponyms of Athens, 1945, and The Renaming of Settlements, 1971), originates from an Athenian businessman named Douroutis or Dourgoutis who owned this area. According to another version, the name is a corruption of Dumuz Dame or comes from a certain Durgut Aga, who owned a large part of the area and piggeries.

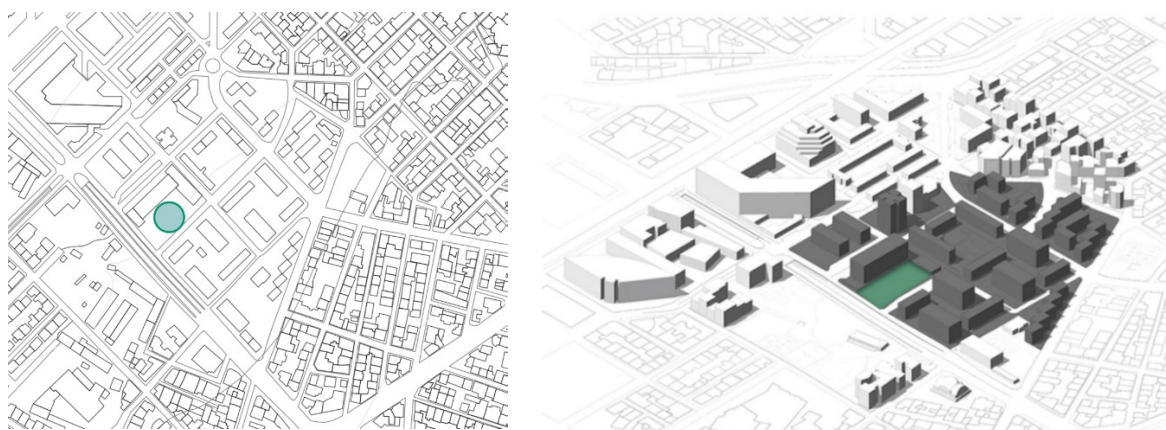
physical collection of tangible and intangible items and activities that serve as a reminder of history through its development, destruction, and reconstruction.

A privileged multi-collective urban exception with greenery, large open spaces, and a very good transport connection to the city centre, but with untapped potential. This happens although it is located near the major traffic axis of Syngrou Avenue that connects Athens with the waterfront and is adjacent to public uses of great intensity and interest: important cultural, educational, economic, recreational, and touristic functions: universities, cultural centres, and arts, hospitals, and clinics, but also large hotel complexes, company buildings, and catering facilities.

### Urban islands of diversity. The city and memory

“My family was a refugee; my father was born in Izmir. We lived in apartment building Z in Dorgouti on Syngrou Avenue until I finished university. From a very young age, I heard friends of my father and mother, neighbours, and parents of my friends discussing with pride and bitterness at the same time the role of the settlement in the Occupation, the Battle of Athens, and the post-occupation persecutions.”<sup>2</sup>  
(Pantelis Arapinis, 2023: 10)

In his work Maurice Halbwachs highlighted the centrality of space in the construction of collective memory and empathy, noting that the mnemonic recall of spaces by members of a community is as vital to social memory as the recollection of periods (Halbwachs, 2013: 158). The Neos Kosmos district has been in a state of limbo and abandonment in recent decades, although there is a strong interdisciplinary interest in the distinct character of the area from historians, architects, urban planners, social anthropologists, etc.



Examples from student design studies. ‘Design of Urban Spaces I’ Studio, Fall 2022

The neighbourhood’s collective public history begins with “Armenika”, the shantytown of the first Armenian refugees who found refuge in the Mprahami fields and the garbage dump of eastern Athens in the decade 1914–1924, and which expanded with the settlement of

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<sup>2</sup> The apartment building Z together with E and ST was the works of the modernist architect Angelos Siagas. The apartment buildings were built in the period 1938-40, completing the complex of apartment buildings A, B, C, and D in parallel to Syngrou Avenue, which had started to be built a few years earlier, hiding the refugee shacks from the boulevard—the entrance of the city—by the architects Dimitris Kyriakos and Kimonas Laskaris. In 1965, George Papandreou, with the slogan “death in the shack,” founded the new settlement of Dourgouti. The shacks and the “Italian” are demolished, new apartment complexes are built, and after a lottery, 865 apartments are distributed to the beneficiaries. The last building constructed in the area was a twelve-story tower very close to the square.

the Asia Minor Greeks in 1922<sup>3</sup>. The first settlers built small makeshift shacks on stilts with adobe walls and a roof made of wood, tins, and the portable materials of the Mprahami and Vourlopotamos rivers (Arapinis, 2023: 20, 34). In June 1923, over 5,000 refugees lived in the settlement, while the first constructions of organized housing began in 1924 with the "Italika", 24 single-story houses in 4 rows of 6 buildings towards the current Lagoumitzi street and on the outskirts of the settlement (Arapinis, 2023: 20, 34). The self-organization of the mainly Armenian residents created a memorable and rich product market, again housed in makeshift shacks, the second largest in the city after Varvakeio market, which played a special role during the occupation period. There were two bakeries, a pharmacy from 1927, two photo studios, the famous "Ararat" refrigerators (standard wooden ice refrigerators), sugar shops, second-hand shops, carpenters, grocers, greengrocers, fishmongers, butchers, which until 1927 also functioned as slaughterhouses, butchers, lace workshops, barbershops, goldsmiths, nut shops, stationery shops, sweet shops (samali, baklavas, loukoumia of Istanbul), clothes, etc. There were also three taverns and cafes with hookahs, ouzo, and opium dens, where he spent the hours of the male population. Also, souvlaki and kebab with pies, as we know them today, were spread by the itinerant Armenians of Dourgouti in 1920, as they travelled all over the centre of Athens with their grill cart, making their souvlaki famous (Arapinis, 2023: 35, 55).



Examples from student design studies. 'Design of Urban Spaces I' Studio, Fall 2022

The "city of partisans" as the district was called according to the local writer Pantelis Arapini for the massive participation of the residents in the Resistance during the Occupation and for the silenced memory of the Block, which had 147 or maybe even 200 dead and numerous displaced people in the Nazi camps (at least 2500 inhabitants)<sup>4</sup>. The extensive bibliography, personal testimonies, research, publications, posts, and reports express "the face of a lost State", "the neighbourhood of the lost homeland" or "another city within the city". As "the more discredited and incomprehensible Dourgouti seemed to the 'outsiders', the more their sense of belonging to this entity had an unacknowledged or acknowledged authority in the lived thought of its inhabitants... Disregard drove most of the youth of Dourgouti in the 1960s and 1970s to feel that their neighbourhood was the only way out for integration and

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<sup>3</sup> Throughout the history of Dourgouti, its inhabitants were denigrated as not having the "necessary qualifications" for social integration. The fact that the majority of them were Turkish-speaking, Greeks and Armenians were considered "allogeneic" and more undesirable than the rest of the "Turkish-origins" as a result of which they had difficulties accessing education and work (Arapinis, 2023:584).

<sup>4</sup> One of the most recognizable buildings in the area, the Intercontinental Hotel, is today located on the site where the ETHEL tire factory operated, which was the place of gathering and execution of the men of Dourgouti during the bloody blockade of the same name in the summer of 1944.

acceptance, the only safe space. Even when they were looking for individual solutions by resorting to the subcultures of gamblers and bullies” (Arapinis, 2023: 587).

Today, the refugee apartment buildings of Dourgouti in the “back yard of the big hotels” and with Syngrou Avenue as the impassable border<sup>5</sup> still constitute an island of diversity in the vast sea of a multi-collective, chaotic urban environment. No longer with the character of a "magical city" as the extensive shanty town had been sensibly named and captured by the lens of Nikos Koundouros, in his film of the same name in 1954 (perhaps a tautology since the labyrinth formed by the refugee shacks housed, among other things, witches and magicians, making the neighbourhood famous in Athenian society), but with the special weight of a "memorial place, lieux de memoir" (Nora, 1996) where public history intersected through intensity and momentum with the individual and collective journeys of people. Real memory contexts have disappeared, prompting the formation of worlds of memory. The projection of a world of memory is thus an indication of memory's loss, as well as society's need to depict what appears to no longer exist (Nora, 1996, p. xii). Nora (1996) argues that in postmodern history, communal memory is replaced by sites of memory. Lieux de mémoire encompass historical persons, publications, emblems, and commemorative events, as well as buildings, monuments, and places.

### **Common space. Managing a boundary**

“I would like there to exist places that are stable, unmoving, intangible, untouched and almost untouchable, unchanging, deep-rooted; places that might be points of reference, of departure, of origin (...) Such places don't exist, and it's because they don't exist that space becomes a question, ceases to be self-evident, ceases to be incorporated, ceases to be appropriated. Space is a doubt: I have constantly to mark it, to designate it. It's never mine, never given to me, I have to conquer it.”  
Georges Perec (1997: 91)

Squares are vital points of urban life and identity. Multifunctional hubs of interactions and communication where heterogeneous activities converge and different participatory experiences meet. Popular places where citizens meet the "other", contact, and ferment with otherness. At their limits, the network of meetings, relationships, events, and incidents unfolds in the form of a theatrical act. In their space, a spatial condition of gestation of contingencies and a dynamic balance of contrasts underlie. The city's squares are spacious fields of associations and contrasts, landscapes of erotic potential meetings, and gardens of memory that, with their transgressive function, come together and connect events regardless of their time sequence, related to each other because they happened in the same space. In their spatial contexts, the cycle of surveillance closes to reopen but also devises a way to undo it by the members of the rural communities of the city. The need for resistance is born, and the desire for freedom is forged. Urban life is being inspected, and new ideas and trends are being tested. The conformity of morals, the appeal of innovations, as well as the compatibility of Western new ways with tradition and local and national ideals, are checked (Moirá, 2018: 209).

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<sup>5</sup> Koukaki, the closest district to Dourgouti on the opposite side of Syngrou, was considered a different, more developed territory. When a resident of Dourgouti was asked, "Where do you live?" in order not to be characterized as a resident of an area of poverty and immorality, he answered, "I live in Koukaki" (Arapinis, 2023: 46).



Examples from student design studies. 'Design of Urban Spaces I' Studio, Fall 2022

The boundary of a district like Dourgouti is not a line on the map but a threshold space, a place with a hybrid form and distinct semantic content and character, which potentially allows the transition between heterogeneities and dipoles: from the past to the present, from the local to the hyperlocal, from active homogeneous communities of residents to abandonment, oblivion, and obscurity, from the continuous urban planning system of Athens to the free, with high-rise buildings and other single-story buildings and many free green spaces. The transition from the labyrinthine suffocating structure of the original settlement with improvised shacks, which had extraordinary functional self-organization<sup>6</sup>, participation, solidarity, collectivity, and cohesion (which was expressed in the creation of schools, churches, sports clubs, and associations and the mass resistance of all the residents of Dourgouti to the conqueror), is gradually led by the creation of social housing apartment buildings to free retirement, to pass today into obsolescence and inactivity.

The square of Kalavryta Holocaust<sup>7</sup> (with its elongated flower beds and rich tree plantings that dictate the movements of pedestrians without allowing standing, gathering, and communication, the traditional plane tree, and the commemorative plaque in the centre) is bounded on one side by the apartment buildings and the Health Centre, which have sheltered arcades, transparent passages and thresholds, and ground-floor shops (most of which are closed, except for a cafe and a restaurant, while they could create an interesting commercial situation), and on the other hand by the supra-locally important road axis of Lagoumitzi (which at the height of the square is underground to pass under Syngrou Avenue). These elements give the space the character of open-air relaxation, which refers primarily to the community according to the standards of the closed courtyards of the emblematic social housing complexes of the Weimar Republic and Red Vienna. In such complexes, the courtyards (according to the declarations of the modern movement) ensured the needs of the residents, but at the same time, they established a condition of porousness that created a strongly public, open, and multi-referential character.

### **Designing the public space of the city. A square-threshold**

The presented design proposals are resulted from the Fall 2022 course studio 'Design of Urban Spaces I', in the Department of Interior Architecture. The core framework of the studio deals with interventions and configurations of public urban spaces (squares, sidewalks, buildings' exterior spaces, etc.), emphasizing on their historical, collective and cultural identity. The design intention of the studio is to mark the space with traces upon topics: such as : the human relation to nature, the human relation to the history of place, and the human

<sup>6</sup> The refugees who came from urban populations, mainly from Asia Minor, had a rich culture of urban public life, so they quickly managed to transform the slum ghetto into a neighborhood with a rich community life.

<sup>7</sup> The naming of the square in reference to the massacre of the male population and the destruction of Kalavryta is another paradox, stemming from the tragic event of the Dourgouti block, where many men were executed and the neighborhood was set on fire. The two events are marked by parity in the square with identically rudimentary, conventional, and indifferent monuments that refer to the executed.

relation to other cultures. During the particular Fall 2022 studio framework was focused on the urban place of Dourgouti neighbourhood. In particular, the student's teams try to retrieve from oblivion the inactive historical and cultural urban memory (Crinson, 2005) of a cohesive and homogeneous community that lived there. Studying the cultural deposits (Eco, 1992), the historical documents, and the photographic material to refer to the lost spatialized collective identity of the space<sup>8</sup> and the active communities that once lived in it, incorporating in their design proposals new recruitments and needs. Not in terms of belonging to urban gentrification, the design lifestyle, and the tourist phantasmagoria, which the neighbouring hotel and entertainment facilities are probably looking for, but to create a common space for negotiation with alterities where new appropriations, sharing initiatives, and inventive theatrical practices will emerge, which will revitalize the space (Stavrides, 2016: 205).

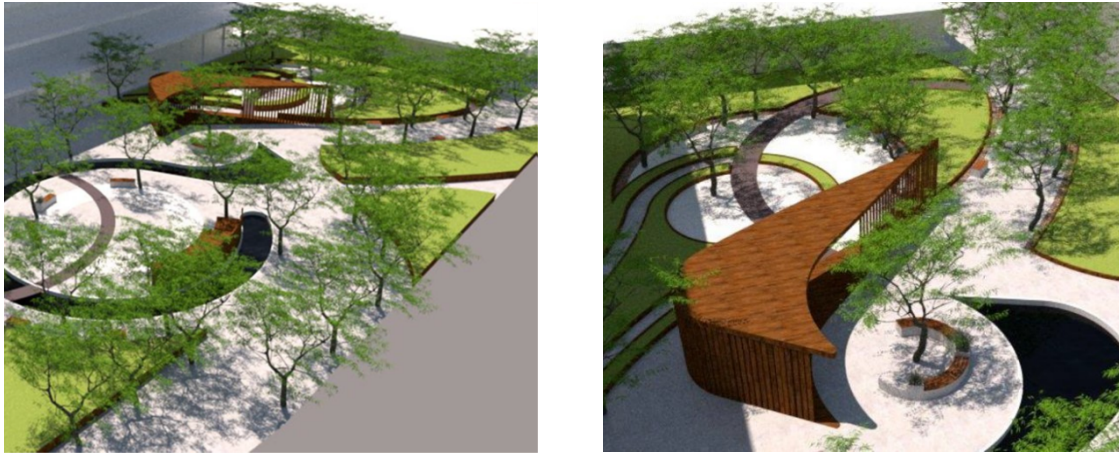


Examples from student design studies. 'Design of Urban Spaces I' Studio, Fall 2022

The student proposals for shaping the central square of the Kalavryta Holocaust pursue a holistic design narrative that will focus on the urban planning unity of the refugee homes, giving priority to the architectural management of the square space with a cultural and social sign. A design intervention that will invent new uses and standard functions for public urban space, focusing on the different social groups and collectives that can potentially inhabit it. It will propose radical architectural configurations based on realized examples and theoretical frameworks so that Dourgouti acquires a different dynamic presence and a recognizable identity. To be a sustainable open space for the osmosis of the private and the collective, versatile multi-collective activities, and creative multicultural meetings. Inspired by the character of public life in Naples, Benjamin (Benjamin, Lacis 1925, 165–66) wrote, "As porous as this stone is the architecture. Building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades, and stairways." capturing a process of appropriation that transforms the urban space into an expressive theatre of potential encounters (Stavrides, 2007).

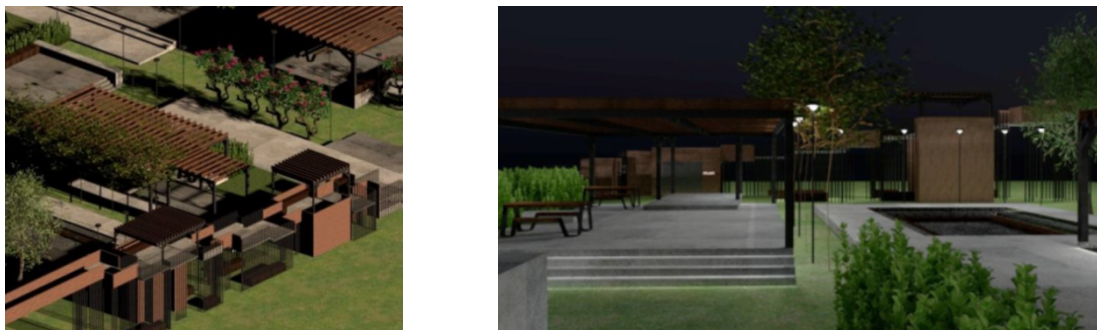
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<sup>8</sup> Arapinis points out that the rich photographic material (Hans Gerber, 1955) and research material of the slum are attributed to the visit of French intellectuals in 1934 on the ship "Patris II" with the aim of "marrying classicism with the innovations" (articles published in *Les Cahiers du Sud* and in the magazine *Voyage en Grèce*). This was mainly due to the persistence of the journalist and writer Madeleine Paz, who was deeply moved by the situation of the refugees. She visited Dourgouti a second time, accompanied by her friend, the writer Lilika Nakou, and conducted extensive field research in the neighborhood, characterizing it as "The other Acropolis." She confessed to her friend, "I have never seen so much beauty next to so much misery" (Arapinis, 2023: 46).



Examples from student design studies. 'Design of Urban Spaces I' Studio, Fall 2022

The statement of the traces of the students' reflections about the lived space and its habitation constitutes the content of a study that investigates the aesthetic parameters of the physiognomy of the place, the needs of permanent and occasional users, and the socio-political components. That is, the architectural design study aims to be guided by the coexistence and dialogue of heterogeneities: trends, social groups-communities, values, functions and uses. To expand the spatial scope of a space that can function as a focus courtyard core. The investigation aims to explore a space that is not rigidly defined by the design study. It involves ephemeral, flexible, and reversible constructions that create an "emerging mosaic of fragments of order, an artifact that is reshaped by inventive actors" (Stavrides, 2016: 208).



Examples from student design studies. 'Design of Urban Spaces I' Studio, Fall 2022

Architectural design research focuses on reflection on human activities, the combinations of free spaces that will serve them, and their multiple and alternative associations. To understand the place as a frame of reference and inclusion in the wider environment. The importance of designing outdoor spaces as an interconnected unity of the built and the unbuilt. Synthetic logic is called upon to invent the line of human movement within the spaces and the charged condition of the stasis and gathering areas formed around it by organizing individual microcosms. It determines the functional clarity of the spaces and the prioritization of the geometric forms in their formation, and above all, it elaborates the limits of the individual spatial formations, their surface, and depth to produce the greatest possible degree of freedom in their appropriation and use by the inhabitants. Calvino also points out the complex multi-meaning relationship between geometry and human actions, writing about the "tension between geometric logic and the mosaic of human existences" (Calvino, 1974: 114). In this way, the once closed and self-referential urban enclave and today's island of diversity and

neglect, with the breaking of the boundaries and the revitalization of the functions, become a threshold for meeting different identities and different life itineraries (Stavrides, 2016: 105).

The design intervention focuses on an architecture of the public space that attempts to express the psychological qualities and bring back to its focus the humans, as a physical being addressed to all senses at the same time and not only to sight. It additionally refers to the perception of the ephemeral habitation of public space as a mesh of actions, practices, experiences, cultural diversity, historical memory, social disturbances, and transformations, and the square as a container of life that is studied in terms of aesthetic negotiation and cultural and historical identity.



Examples from student design studies. ‘Design of Urban Spaces I’ Studio, Fall 2022

According to the above, the students create informal symbolic gates in their studies form informal symbolic gates to clearly demarcate the entrance to the square. They enhance plantings to isolate road noise and alter the relationship between built environment and nature. Through the scaling and layering of plantings, by alternating different types of trees and plants (including aromatic plants and edibles, short and tall shrubs, deciduous trees, or evergreens), the perspective reading of the landscape and viewing axes are modified. This filtering enhances views of the urban environment, creates differentiation in light and shadow, and enriches the multi-sensory experience of the space (through colours, smells, animal shelters, natural bird sounds, etc.). Designers create shading structures and floor coverings to regulate thermal behaviour using various materials such as soft, hard, semi-hard, and waterproof materials. They design easy-to-use urban and technological equipment (Wi-Fi), stands, and amphitheatre constructions to facilitate the participation of residents and visitors in impromptu performances, artistic events, and occasional entertainment gatherings. Their aim is to facilitate the integration of the individual and collective character of the space. They opt for constructing graded approaches and paths, along with adding water channels. These elements serve not only to cool the space during hot seasons but also to guide the movements of pedestrians. They imbue the flow of time with meaning and promote mental peace and relaxation. They select appropriate lighting sources to create graded lighting in the space, ensuring safety during night-time movement. Finally, they focus on recalling the recent history of the area by incorporating elements of public art. These include architectural configurations that define the landmark's character, the integration of historical archival and informational material using QR codes, Augmented Reality technology in sculptural constructions, and more. The urban landscape of Dourgouti can be improved and extended through augmented reality, allowing residents and visitors to deduce the positioning and organization of places or to acquire a more profound comprehension of their surroundings (Makris, Moira 2021). Three-dimensional computer models can be positioned in physical space to recreate historical events or even the remains of demolished buildings or landscapes (Moira, Makris, 2018). Simultaneously, the digitally augmented environment will highlight

and inspire qualitative aspects of the frame of reference across various spatial scales, including atmosphere, psychogeography, emotional horizons, and more. These elements serve to enhance memory, highlighting collective and cultural deposits (Eco, 1992) of local history related to the slum and the vibrant refugee communities that once resided there.

The specifications, focuses, and prerequisites mentioned in the context of the studies aim to ensure that the square area does not solely function as a park with an emphasis on greenery. Instead, it should be transformed into a place for collective actions and meetings, relaxation and entertainment, play, and communication, with perceptual and design differences.

## **Epilogue**

"In the plaza you gain another view: the view of the sky"

Luis Barragan

"Reality must often be invented to become true"

Jorge Sembrun

" Look, from this neighbourhood, hope is gone..."

Suheil Dugem, refugee, resident of Dourgouti<sup>9</sup>

The design expression of management at Kalavryta Holocaust Square concerns memory, historical integrations, cultural transformations, and the daily practices of the residents. The poetics of transition unfold a potential field of freedom as it relates and articulates different places, allowing for crossings. Stories, the narrative assemblages of the meaning of human everyday practices, establish spaces as they show how human action excretes its space and time. The public place in Dourgouti is reclaimed through the wanderings and gatherings of permanent residents and occasional visitors and is reconstituted as the set of fragments of a playful everyday life since space exists according to de Certeau (1984) when it becomes the field of action when, in the broadest sense of the term, it is inhabited. When, according to Stavros Stavrides, action gives life to places, it causes different spaces to be born as it introduces change and movement, i.e., variations, to the established identities of places. Intimacy with the city is a result of common actions; it expects human communication; the rhythm of walking that moves the body from place to place is an experience and apotheosis of the senses.

The intention to re-manage the public space in the Dorgouti attempts to serve the deepest essence of an architecture that listens to the dreams of society and that is understood as a language, as a narrative that unfolds in space. As the creative passage from the fertilizing seed of the central idea to the design imprint and construction. The inventive, organizing, and assembling process, through which the space becomes aesthetically and functionally adequate, ensures human need and does not produce a work cold without depth, which initially impresses you but secondarily keeps you at a distance. The studies negotiate the meaning of public common space design in terms of social focus, and cultural and historical identity. They reflect on the re-approach of the functions, uses, and practices that welcome the human being with analytical and synthetic tools that draw form and content from social becoming, tradition, history, and memory, diversity, and multiculturalism, which are cutting-edge issues today and inherent characteristics of the Neos Kosmos.

Dourgouti neighbourhood in the Neos Kosmos is looking for a multi-dimensional "New Narrative" that will give it a new questionable identity. The identity of a common place, as

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<sup>9</sup> The interview conducted by Suheil Dugem, a Syrian refugee and activist from Aleppo, with the Oral History Group of Dorgouti, reveals insights into the current situation in Dorgouti. He lives in the old refugee apartment building Z. (Arapinis, 2023: 615).

required by collective memory and the prehistory of an island of diversity, but not of exclusion and enclosure, within the city.

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