HUMAN &
ARRIVAL CITY
RESILIENCE

Alicia Van der Stighelen | Dr. Angeliki Paidakaki | KU Leuven | '20 - '21

KU LEUVEN

FACULTEIT
INGENIEURSWETENSCHAPPEN

**Far from home? Social NGOs
building resilience in post-crisis arrival cities
through social innovation and integration**
A study of unaccompanied minor migrants' reception and
integration in Athens, Greece.

Alicia Van der Stighelen

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Master of Science in Engineering:

Architecture

Thesis supervisor:

Dr. Angeliki Paidakaki

Academic year 2020-2021

Master of Science in Engineering: Architecture

**Far from home? Social NGOs
building resilience in post-crisis arrival cities
through social innovation and integration**
A study of unaccompanied minor migrants' reception and
integration in Athens, Greece.

Alicia Van der Stighelen

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Master of Science in Engineering:

Architecture

Thesis supervisor:

Dr. Angeliki Paidakaki

Thesis co-supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Pieter Van den Broeck

Assessors:

Dr. Ruth Segers

Dr. Xenia Katsigianni

Academic year 2020-2021

Master of Science in Engineering: Architecture

KU LEUVEN

FACULTEIT
INGENIEURSWETENSCHAPPEN

Ver van thuis? Hoe sociale NGO's veerkracht opbouwen in post-crisis aankomststeden door sociale innovatie en integratie
Onderzoek naar de opvang en integratie van niet-begeleide minderjarige migranten in Athene, Griekenland.

Alicia Van der Stighelen

Master of Science in de ingenieurswetenschappen: Architectuur

"Misfortune has done for this old tower what it has done for the human character sometimes – improve it."

A Tramp Abroad, Mark Twain, 1880

01

FOREWORD

This verse is written down by the Greek tragedian Euripides (480-406BC) in the Heracleidaei or Children of Heracles. According to this myth, the descendants of the divine hero Heracles (Roman: Hercules) haunted by the homicidal king of Argos, Eurystheus, seek refuge in the city of Athens. The choice of this Greek metropolis as asylum place is due to its rule by King Demophon, -successor of his father King Theseus who was rescued by Heracles out of the underworld. The orphan children are voluntarily accompanied by Heracles' old comrade Iolaus who intensely advocates for their safeguarding. The King of Athens is willing to protect the children, thus taking the risk that he ignites a war against Eurystheus. However, his hospitality is opposed by oracles declaring the city's victory can only be secured by the sacrifice of a noble Athenian maiden. Prioritizing his own citizens, Demophon initially refuses to protect the children. Nevertheless, outside help appears when Macaria, a daughter of Heracles, volunteers by offering herself. Thereafter Eurystheus is captured by the old Iolaus in battle, and executed against Athenian law since according to a prophecy the King's spirit will protect the city. In the end, the children safely settle within the city of Athens now secured by the Greek gods. In this play written around 430BC Euripides responded discreetly on contemporary problems like asylum, the common good, justice, sacrifice and altruism, -turning out to be omnitemporal themes still relevant today and tomorrow. His plot calls for the protection of innocent people and encourages the act of moral justice.

More than two and a half millennia later, we traveled to the cradle of Western civilization to verify to what extent Euripides' empathic plea withstood the test of time in the context of housing and integrating unaccompanied minor asylum seekers. This final thesis topic actually touches upon my initial motivation to study Civil Engineering Architecture. Before commencing my university studies, my high school sparked my interest in the poetic language and philosophy of Ancient Greek culture. In 2015, they also appointed me as responsible to host a foreign language refugee class. We organized weekly reading sessions, recreational activities and small festive gatherings. Though the refugees soon found friendship and mutual understanding within the classroom despite their completely diverse backgrounds (Ukraine, Nigeria, Syria, Afghanistan, etc.), it struck me that integration with the rest of the local students turned out to be more challenging. Not only the language barrier and cultural differences contributed to social segregation on the playground, the locals also tended to hold on to migrant prejudices. Being a mixed kid myself with Chinese-Indonesian roots from my mother's side, I've always been intrigued by unconsciously socially constructed distinctions between in-and outsiders, -feeling my own position alternating along the boundary.

Beginning my studies five years ago, I wanted to contribute to post-war reconstruction of the refugees' home cities in a sustainable and innovative way under the assumption that urban systems tend to go back to 'normal' after some time. Today, conscious of an everchanging complex world confronted with not only political but also economic/pandemic/climate refugees, I advocate from an architectural eye that the role of arrival cities should be included as well when talking about the phenomenon of migration and the inseparable concept of integration. With this thesis, I thus aspire to contribute to the underexplored resilience potential of arrival cities, fundamentally substantiated by insights gained at KU Leuven.

Χορός
ἄθεον ἱκεσίαν μεθεῖναι πέλει ξένων
προστροπάν.

Choros
They are suppliants and strangers
Who look to our city for help
To reject them is to defy the gods

[102-104] in Heracleidaei - Euripides
Translation by Ph. Vellacott

01

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout my studies at KU Leuven my interest has been aroused by the philanthropic, sociologic and phenomenological aspects of architecture and urban design, looking beyond the architectural profession. I was therefore thrilled and curious to be given the opportunity to explore the role of architecture in post-disaster contexts. Looking back over the past year this thesis research and getting to know unaccompanied minors have not only extensively enriched my view on and expectations of the built environment and collective human resilience, but have also confronted me with the limitations of designed (infra)structure as human work. Hence, first and foremost I would like to thank Prof. Pieter Van den Broeck from the Planning & Development Research Unit for giving me the opportunity to work a full year on this profoundly intriguing research topic. I deeply appreciate how he welcomed us already last academic year to extensively lay out several thesis topics and alternative research methodologies, and how he gave us a running start organizing an on-campus 'thesis week' already in September. Furthermore, I'm incredibly grateful for my supervisor Dr. Angeliki Paidakaki to whom I could reach out to at literally any moment along this intense journey. As a research expert she did not only immerse me in the concept of disaster resilience. But in addition, she continuously handed me helpful tools to become a critical researcher and academic writer. While working together, she was always ready to help, ranging from recapitulating, setting out the bigger picture, sharing her critical reflections or bright insights and offering new literature to forwarding online lectures and travel tips for Athens. I could not have wished for a better mentor and companion along the way. I am also grateful for Dr. Ruth Segers and Dr. Xenia Katsigianni for reading my Master's thesis.

Special recognition also goes to Dimitra Arvanitaki and Antonis Antoniou (shelter coordinator and program director of the Association for the Social Support of Youth), for introducing me to and getting me involved in the operations of ARSIS. Despite the corona crisis, they put profound effort in supporting my leave for Athens, and welcomed me at the ARSIS shelter as a volunteer. They shared their personal experiences and expertise and set time aside for insightful discussions. Both have strongly widened my vision on the austerity and refugee crisis, social NGOs and on the conception of unaccompanied minors. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to the ARSIS staff for explaining their professional services and experiences during interviews and informal discussion, as well as for their kind welcome in the shelter and their friendship.

My last word of appreciation goes out to my crazy friends, funny brothers, happy tiger mom and curiously critical dad for their continuous support and encouragement, interesting thoughts of reflection and everlasting enthusiasm and optimism. In particular, I want to thank Lotte and Sofie with whom I lived together conducting thesis research in Athens for the pleasant and personally enriching times.

Alicia Van der Stighelen
Leuven, June 2021

A B S T R A C T

01

Post-disaster resilience scholarship has thus far primarily discussed resilience-building processes in either in situ post-disaster reconstruction or in temporary spaces intended for transition, such as refugee camps. The key actors driving resilience-building processes are the disaster-affected communities, community architects, and affordable housing providers. However, there is little knowledge - if any - of resilience processes in post-crisis arrival cities in new national territories and the role of social NGOs (which are non-governmental non-profit oriented organizations providing social services to vulnerable groups (a.o. homeless persons, migrants, low income, disabled, vulnerable youth, and persons with addiction or mental health problems) in fostering resilience in these contexts. What is especially understudied is the context of the arrival city already suffering from a preexisting multifaceted socio-economic crisis.

This research fills this knowledge gap, by studying the resilience-building potential and limitations of social NGOs' integration and political work within the arrival city. The thesis especially focuses on the aftermath of the post-2015 European "refugee crisis" when Greek social NGOs (e.g. ARSIS, METAdrasi, PRAKSIS, Solidarity Now) have taken up a leading role in housing unaccompanied minors (UAM, namely children or adolescents who are separated from and not being cared for by parents, relatives or any other adult and after arriving alone apply for asylum) and integrating them in the arrival city through education, basic needs satisfaction, medical care, psychosocial support, legal assistance, employment skill training, foreign language classes, sports and recreational activities. These actions include the preparation of UAMs in transitioning from a protected environment to autonomous living. Besides housing and social service provision, since 2015, social NGOs have also developed a politico-institutional voice through advocacy work focusing on the minors' rights, fighting against anti-migrant sentiments, and demanding more social/financial migrant state-support.

The thesis, first, preconceptualizes resilience at two scales (human scale: UAM, urban scale: arrival city) by bringing resilience theories into dialogue with literature of arrival cities, social innovation, institutional capital, multi-level governance, neowelfare state, and migrant integration. Empirical research, guided by the predefinition of the resilient arrival city, examines the dynamic integrative and politico-institutional role of social NGOs in arrival cities and uncovers the extent to which social NGOs build up (1) resilient UAMs who are well-prepared for an autonomous life as young adult recognized refugees, and (2) a resilient arrival city which uses the humanitarian crisis momentum to address pre-existing institutional voids, mold more democratic governance arrangements and introduce a more welfare oriented institutional setting. More specifically, empirical data were collected through secondary resources on the pre-existing multi-crisis context of Athens, Greece (i.e. scholar papers, data portals (e.g. Eurostat), reports and policy papers (e.g. UNHCR, EU, EC, IOM), web research on NGOs (e.g. ACCMR), and newspaper articles), two weeks of site visits in Athens, and a short-term ethnographic research and volunteering of four weeks with the Greek social NGO "Association for the Social Support of Youth (ARSIS)" – and especially one of ARSIS's shelters for male UAM, which included semi-structured interviews with key ARSIS staff (a.o. shelter coordinator, social worker, psychologist), a questionnaire to UAMs, participant observation, informal discussions (a.o. UAMs, translators, volunteers), note taking, hand sketching, and secondary resources (e.g. ARSIS and ACCMR websites).

The thesis concludes that social NGOs are protagonists in fostering resilient UAMs through holistic and adaptable integration programs, that are also tailor-made for the needs of each individual UAM and reinforced by strategic housing locations and cross-fertilization of resources with peer social NGOs. Social NGOs also bolster the resilient arrival city by creating links among each other and local authorities, leveraging best practices and benefiting from resource circulation, as well as by using the (e.g. 2015 refugee, 2020 corona) crisis momentum to (re)raise public/state concern (e.g. post-2009 austerity, post-2018 housing affordability). Their integrative impact is, however, limited due to administrative, regulative and legislative impediments, and the lack of state subsidies leaving NGOs undercapitalized in terms of available accommodation places, experienced workforce, and specialized resources (e.g. books, computers). And their political impact is hampered by fluctuating external funding and a government not committed to fulfilling its overdue state responsibility of providing adequate social/financial/policy response. Therefore, aiming to expend their integrative impact, social NGOs should increase their internal staff competence in terms of psychosocial and legal support, and UAM expertise. And concerning political impact, social NGOs should socially invest in maintaining digital and physical proximity of their allies for best practice sharing and resource circulation, and further invest in an extended network of formal state relations on (trans)national levels towards bottom-linked multi-level participative migrant governance. These collective actions could carry the capacity on a human scale to improve the living conditions and personal development of the displaced individual towards strong independency in adult life, and on an urban scale to unleash the potential of arrival cities in democratizing governance structures as a virtually and spatially shared and regulated platform by newcomers, NGOs, citizens including other beneficiary target groups (e.g. young adult refugees, homeless persons, vulnerable youth), market sectors (e.g. real estate, health care, financials), and local/national authorities.

Keywords

SAMENVATTING

01

In rampenliteratuur is tot vandaag de opbouw van veerkracht hoofdzakelijk beschreven in het kader van wederopbouwpraktijken in situ of in tijdelijke nederzettingen gericht op transitie, zoals vluchtelingenkampen. De hoofdactoren achter de opbouwprocessen van veerkracht zijn de getroffen gemeenschappen, gemeenschapsarchitecten en verstrekkers van betaalbare huisvesting. Er is echter weinig - of geen - kennis voorhanden over de opbouw van veerkracht in post-crisis aankomststeden in nieuwe nationale gebieden en de rol hierin van sociale NGO's (i.e. niet-gouvernementele non-profit organisaties die sociale diensten verlenen aan kwetsbare groepen waaronder bv. daklozen, migranten, armen, kwetsbare jongeren, of personen met een fysieke beperking, verslaving of mentale gezondheidsproblemen). En wat tot dusver vooral beperkt besproken is, is de specifieke context van de aankomststad die al vooraf lijdt onder een reeds bestaande geschakeerde socio-economische crisis.

Dit onderzoek overbrugt deze kenniskloof via de studie van het potentieel en de beperkingen in veerkrachtopbouw bij de integratieondersteuning en het politieke werk van sociale NGO's in de aankomststad. De thesis focust in het bijzonder op de nasleep van de Europese "vluchtelingencrisis" na 2015 waarin Griekse sociale NGO's (bv. ARSIS, METAdrasi, PRAKSIS, Solidarity Now) het voortouw hebben genomen in de huisvesting van niet-begeleide minderjarigen (i.e. NBM, kinderen en adolescenten zonder gezelschap of zorg van hun ouders, familieleden of andere volwassenen die na aankomst op zichzelf asiel aanvragen) en in hun integratie in de aankomststad door middel van onderwijs, bevrediging van basisbehoeften, medische zorg, psychosociale ondersteuning, juridische bijstand, arbeidsvaardigheidstraining, vreemde-taallessen, sport-en recreatieactiviteiten. Deze ondersteuning draagt bij tot de voorbereiding van de NBM voor de overgang van een beschermde omgeving naar een autonoom leven. Naast huisvesting en sociale dienstverlening hebben sociale NGO's sinds 2015 ook een politiek-institutionele stem ontwikkeld door belangenbehartiging gericht op de rechten van minderjarigen, het bestreiden van de negatieve houding tegenover immigratie en het eisen van meer sociale/financiële staatssteun voor migranten.

Allereerst preconceptualiseert deze thesis veerkracht op twee schalen (menselijke maat: NBM, stadsschaal: aankomststad) door veerkrachttheorieën in dialoog te brengen met literatuur over aankomststeden, sociale innovatie, institutioneel kapitaal, meerlagig bestuur, de neowelvaartstaat, en integratie van migranten. Empirisch onderzoek beproeft daarna, aan de hand van de afgeleide predefinitie van de veerkrachtige aankomststad, de dynamisch integratieve en politiek-institutionele rol van sociale NGO's in aankomststeden en onthult zo de mate waarin sociale NGO's (1) veerkrachtige NBM opbouwen die degelijk zijn voorbereid op een zelfstandig leven als jongvolwassen erkende vluchteling, en (2) een veerkrachtige aankomststad die het momentum van de humanitaire crisis gebruikt om reeds bestaande institutionele hiaten aan te kaarten, meer democratische bestuursregelingen te vormen, en een meer welzijnsgericht institutioneel kader voor te dragen. In concreto werd er empirische materiaal verzameld via secundaire bronnen over de reeds bestaande multicrisiscontext van Athene, Griekenland (d.w.z. wetenschappelijke papers, dataportalen (bv. Eurostat), rapporten en beleidsdocumenten (bv. UNHCR, EU, EC, IOM), webonderzoek naar NGO's (bv. ACCMR) en krantenartikelen), twee weken *site visits* in Athene, en een kortdurend etnografisch onderzoek en vrijwilligerswerk gedurende vier weken met de Griekse sociale NGO "*Association for the*

Social Support of Youth (ARSIS) " – in een van de opvangcentra van ARSIS voor mannelijke NBM, met daaronder begrepen semi-gestructureerde interviews met ARSIS-personeel (o.a. coördinator, maatschappelijk werker, psycholoog), een vragenlijst voor NBM, participerende observatie, informele discussies (o.a. NBM, vertalers, vrijwilligers), aantekeningen, schetsen met de hand en secundaire bronnen (bijv. ARSIS- en ACCMR-websites).

De thesis concludeert dat sociale NGO's protagonisten zijn in het bevorderen van veerkrachtige NBM dankzij hun holistische en aanpasbare integratieprogramma's, die afgestemd zijn op de behoeften van elke individuele NBM en worden versterkt door de strategisch gekozen huisvestingslocaties en kruisbestuiving van hulpbronnen tussen collega-NGO's. Sociale NGO's bekrachtigen ook de veerkrachtige aankomststad door connecties te leggen onder elkaar en met lokale autoriteiten, de vruchten te plukken van elkaars goede werkwijzen en hulpmiddelencirculatie, en het (bv. 2015 vluchtelingen-, 2020 corona-) crisismoment te grijpen om publieke/staats- (be)zorg(dheid) in gang te zetten (bv. rond de 2009 bezuinigingen, 2018 huisvestingsonbetaalbaarheid). Hun impact op vlak van integratie is echter beperkt vanwege administratieve, regelgevende en wetgevende belemmeringen, en het gebrek aan staatssubsidies, waardoor NGO's ondergekapitaliseerd zijn in termen van beschikbare accommodatie, ervaren arbeidskrachten en gespecialiseerde middelen (bv. boeken, computers). En hun politieke impact wordt belemmerd door fluctuerende externe financiering en een regering die niet vastbesloten is om haar achterstallige staatsverantwoordelijkheid na te komen via sociale/financiële/beleidsrespons. Daarom moeten sociale NGO's, met het oog op het vergroten van hun integratie-impact, hun personeelsbestand verbeteren wat betreft psychosociale en juridische bijstand, en expertise met NBM. En op vlak van politieke impact, moeten ze sociaal investeren in de digitale en fysieke nabijheid van hun bondgenoten (voor het delen van beste praktijken en hulpbronnen), en hun netwerk verder uitbreiden naar formele staatsbetrekkingen op (trans)nationaal niveau richting *bottom-linked*, meerlagig en participatief migratiebestuur. Deze collectieve acties omvatten mogelijks het potentieel op menselijke maat om de levensomstandigheden en persoonlijke ontwikkeling van NBM te verbeteren in de richting van een sterk onafhankelijk volwassen leven, en op stedelijke schaal om het potentieel van aankomststeden te ontketenen via de democratisering van bestuursstructuren ter vorming van een virtueel/ruimtelijk platform, gedeeld en gereguleerd door nieuwkomers, NGO's, burgers - waaronder ook andere kwetsbare groepen (bv. jonge volwassen vluchtelingen, daklozen, kwetsbare jongeren)-, marktsectoren (bv. vastgoed, gezondheidszorg, financiële instellingen) en lokale/nationale autoriteiten.

Trefwoorden

Veerkracht | niet-begeleide minderjarigen (NBM) | jongvolwassen vluchtelingen | aankomststad | sociale innovatie | bestuur | integratie van migranten | Griekenland | NGO | ARSIS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

01

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACCMR	Athens Coordination Center for Migrant and Refugee issues
AMIF	Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund
AMKA	Arithmos Mitroou Koinonikis Asfalisis (Αριθμός Μητρώου Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης)
ARSIS	Association for the Social Support of Youth
BIA	Best Interest Assessment
DG HOME	Directorate-General Migration and Home Affairs
DG ECHO	Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
EKKA	Ethniko Kentro Koinonikis Allilengyis (Εθνικό Κέντρο Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης)
EC	European Commission
EMN	European Migration Network
ERCOMER	European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations
ESI	Emergency Support Instrument
ESTIA	Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation
EU	European Union
Frontex	European Border and Coast Guard Agency
GCR	Greek Council for Refugees
HELIOS	Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection
HIM	Holistic Integration Model
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPS	Individual placement and support
ISF	Internal Security Fund
MSF	Médecins sans Frontières
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OAED	Organismou Apascholisis Ergatikou Dynamikou (Οργανισμού Απασχόλησης Εργατικού Δυναμικού)
RIC	Reception and Identification Center
SI	Social Innovation
SRC	Social Resilience Cell
TCN	Third Country National
TDH	Terre Des Hommes
TSO	Third Sector Organization
UAC	Unaccompanied alien child
UAM	Unaccompanied minor
UASC	Unaccompanied and separated child
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

INTRODUCTION

It is not the occurrence of a disruptive event itself but the post-crisis situation afterward, which is the topic of interest in disaster science scholarship. This literature has extensively described the *structural* resilience of rebuilding practices of the affected territory, and the *social* resilience of the recovery processes among the affected communities. (Davoudi et al., 2012; Paidakaki & Moulaert, 2017; Paidakaki, 2020). Originally initiated as an ecological feature in the 1970s (Holling, 1996), resilience is over time reconceptualized by disaster scholars to a constantly evolving socially transformative process enabling a system to "bounce forward" (Paidakaki & Moulaert, 2017). To date, the concept of resilience has mostly been studied *in situ*, -as to say in the area where the disaster happened. However, resilience has recently also been redefined in the alternative migratory context of temporary settlements in *new (national) territories* in refugee camps (Paidakaki et al., 2021). Nevertheless, disaster resilience scholarship lacks knowledge on resilience processes located in the *arrival city* in an urban context already affected by preexisting crises. So as a subsequent step, this research concentrates on post-crisis resilience processes in arrival cities additionally confronted with the externalities of a humanitarian crisis, -shifting focus from hosting migrants in isolated emergency settlements in a rural context to housing and integration in urban accommodation.

The main actors of disaster recovery processes comprise communities (e.g. neighborhood association, displaced community), community architects, and the so-called social resilience cells (SRC) being affordable housing providers (Paidakaki & Moulaert, 2018). Underexposed in these resilience processes is the protagonistic role of social NGOs, which are non-governmental non-profit oriented organizations providing social services to vulnerable groups (a.o. homeless persons, migrants, low income, disabled or vulnerable young people, and persons with addiction or mental health problems). The thesis thus draws on this disaster resilience literature and studies the concept of resilience in a post-crisis refugee integration context. The concept will be approached in greater detail from a dual perspective: firstly, at the human scale of the unaccompanied minor (UAM)[1],- according to UNHCR (2004) meaning a child separated from and not being cared for by his/her parents, relatives or any other responsible adult -, and secondly, at the urban scale of the arrival city. To enrich the resilience concept on these two scales, theories of arrival cities (Saunders, Meeus et al.), social innovation (Moulaert), institutional capital, multi-level governance, neowelfare state (Paidakaki), and migrant integration (Hynie et al.) will be taken aboard. More specifically, this research explores the integration and advocacy work inducing social innovation, done by the Association for the Social Support of Youth or ARSIS. This organization is a Greek NGO active in vulnerable youth support providing services under which hosting and integrating unaccompanied refugee minors in the arrival city of Athens since the post-2015 European Refugee Crisis.

---

[1] *In this research, the terms 'unaccompanied minor' (UAM), 'unaccompanied refugee minor' or 'minor' in short are used as overarching terms to provide general terminology that adresses all the children, adolescents and young adults migrating towards Europe, for any reason, regardless of their status (e.g. unregistered, asylum seeker, refugee).*

The European "Refugee Crisis" context

In 2015, Europe experienced a tremendous increase of migrants seeking refuge, -counting over one million newcomers which is four times more than in 2014 (BBC, 2016). Depicted in figure 1, they mainly arrived via (Eastern and Central) Mediterranean Sea routes and to a lesser extent through mainland via Turkey (ibid). The main driver behind this mass migration was a number of crises across North Africa and the Middle East, of which some conflicts, as the one in Syria, are still ongoing (Médecins sans Frontières, 2020). Besides fleeing conflict or persecution, a second motive for migration is moving away from poverty (BBC, 2016). These two motivations resulted in political refugees and economic migrants respectively (ibid). The most common countries of first arrival were Greece and Italy. However, many continued their journey from Greece via the Western Balkan route (see figure 1) towards the appealing northern EU member states (Weber, 2017). Namely, from 2015 to 2016, in less than 18 months, over one million people were transported through transnational smuggling operations from the Middle East and Turkey to Western Europe (Mandic, 2017). Migrants primarily claimed asylum in Germany in terms of absolute numbers (more than 476,000 in 2015) (BBC, 2016). The total number of asylum applicants in 2015 in the EU (28 countries) was 1,322,850, among which 95,205 were considered to be UAMs (Eurostat, 2021).
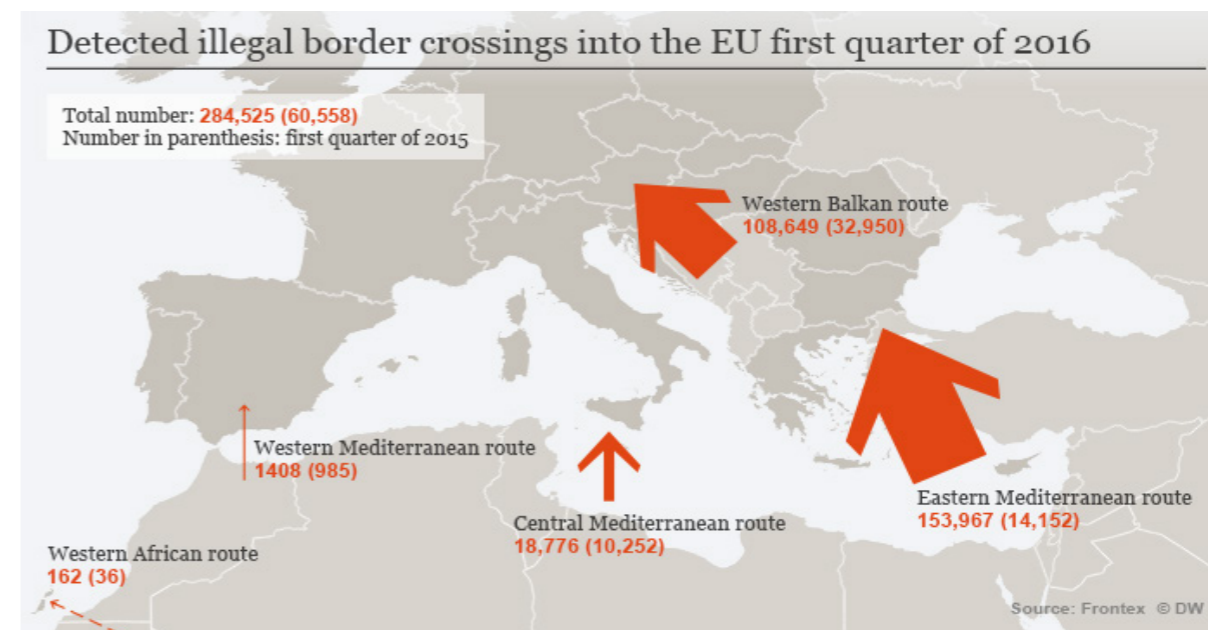

Figure 1: Detected illegal border crossings into the EU first quarter of 2015 and 2016. (Source: Frontex, 2016)

At first, the EU responded in a way of immediate action with the creation of the European Agenda on Migration by the European Commission (EC) in May 2015, containing a relocation scheme (official closure in 2018) to lighten the disproportionate burden carried by Greece and Italy (UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, 2019; EC, 2020). Additionally, the EC developed the so-called 'Hotspot approach' to assist frontline Member States, being Italy and Greece. At five demarcated points in both countries, called Reception and Identification Centers (RIC), the EU would deliver operational support such as registering, identifying, fingerprinting and debriefing asylum seekers, as well as coordinating the return of irregular migrants (EC, 2015; GRC, 2020). To enlarge the accommodation capacity in addition to the RICs, the Greek government established open and closed temporary reception and accommodation facilities for asylum seekers, known as 'refugee camps' (GRC, 2020). Seeing that these hotspots soon formed a ten-fingered funnel for the majority of arrivals, the EU obtained a negotiation with Turkey in 2016 in order to cut down the regulated flows towards the Aegean islands (European Council, 2016). At first glance, the EU-Turkey deal has shown a forceful reduction of migrant influx. In fact, irregular arrivals to the EU have been reduced by more than 90% two years after the agreement of 2016 (European Council, 2018). However, the fine print of this deal entails more strict and intricate border procedures in combination with reduced protection standards, resulting in a prolonged stay of applicants and the creation of a new humanitarian disaster (HumanRights360, 2017).

Soon, the reception islands got overcrowded and the post-2015 refugee crisis evolved to a humanitarian *reception crisis*. The Head of the Fundamental Rights Agency, Michael O'Flaherty, called the hotspots "the single most worrying fundamental rights issue that we are confronting anywhere in the European Union" (EUObserver, 2019). In this detention-like situation of migrants waiting up to several months in dreadful living and health conditions, suicide attempts, self-harm and prostitution are not uncommon (EUObserver, 2019; HumanRightsWatch, 2017). As a result, violent protests and riots occurred in the RICs between and among both Greek and third country nationals (TCN), -referring to foreigners with a non-EU nationality-, and intensified especially in the spring of 2020 (Skleparis, 2018; The Guardian, 2020; CNBC, 2020). Consequently, in September 2020 awareness about the refugee reception crisis and poor refugee living rose among Europe when fire broke out in the continent's largest refugee camp Moria (Human Rights Watch, 2020). This Greek hotspot in Lesvos, which is actually foreseen for around 2,750 migrants, bursted at the seams at the start of the Covid-19 lockdown in 2020, with more than 19,000 occupants (Spyratou, 2020). Yet a rapidly built similar replacement camp and the promise of a permanent migrant center by Greek Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis have neither satisfied nor appeased the migrant protests demanding to be resettled away from the island (Independent, 2020). Only 641 UAMs, - compared to a total of 13,575 UAM arrivals between 2015 and 2020-, were relocated to other EU Member States (Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Luxembourg and Portugal) escorted by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), - the initial mobilizer of the emergency assistance and transfer (IOM, 2021; Eurostat, 2020). According to UNHCR, in addition to UAMs, this relocation also included some others of 'the most vulnerable' asylum seekers among which elderly, disabled, women with special needs, those who require medical assistance, victims of torture/ trauma, and persons manifestly in need of international protection (UNHCR, 2021). Within the same month of September, the EC proposed a new Pact on Migration and Asylum concentrating on more efficient and faster procedures, secondly on cooperation with non-EU countries and thirdly on fair sharing of responsibility and solidarity along Member States

(EC, 2020). The latter resulted in the UK, Germany, France and Sweden becoming the Member States with the most resettlement places (5000+) for registered refugees (ibid).

Emphasizing more on Greece's situation as hosting country since 2015, the post-2015 European Refugee Crisis emerged subsequent to a preexisting post-2009 national austerity crisis. Due to a lack of adequate state response by Prime Minister Tsipras' government recovering from their own socio-economic crisis, as an alternative to the emergency RIC and refugee camps, temporary housing programs were set up by international organizations (e.g. IOM, UNHCR) and Greek social NGOs (a.o. ARSIS) taking up a protagonist role as implementing partners, and as protectors of migrants' rights through advocacy work (e.g. open letters, social media).

- An example of an emergency housing program is FILOXENIA (I and II) for Temporary Shelter and Protection for the Most Vulnerable Migrants in Greece, from 2018 to 2019 operated by IOM and funded by the EC's Directorate General Migration and Home Affairs (DG HOME) (IOM, 2021). Through FILOXENIA, no more than 6,000 of the most vulnerable migrants were brought to the mainland providing them with emergency shelter in hotels, protection and interpretation services (ibid).

- Another example is the ESTIA I and II or Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation program, which was established in 2017. ESTIA I has been co-funded by the EC's Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO) and initially functioned through cooperation of UNHCR with NGOs (a.o. ARSIS), and local authorities (UNHCR, 2021). As of June last year in 2020, UNHCR handed over the program to the State (Ministry of Migration and Asylum) and renamed it ESTIA II (ibid). The program provided cash assistance and temporary urban accommodation to asylum seekers and refugees (ibid). Counting in September 2020, UNHCR provided 82,239 cash beneficiaries and 27,930 accommodation places, respectively (ibid). The latter consists primarily of apartments (97%) along with a few buildings (3%), mainly located in the Attica region (57%) and Northern Greece (20%) (ibid).

The moment asylum seekers got registered as refugees and some of them left the housing programs (FILOXENIA and ESTIA), the state still did not enact social migrant policies concerning health care, employment and affordable long-term housing structures. While in the meantime, housing financialization also manifested itself more strongly since 2018, further feeding the crisis context (see subchapter 4.2.3) (Maloutas, Siatitsa, Balampanidis, 2020). So, around 2019, the refugee reception crisis turned into a registered refugee *integration crisis* again dominantly taken care of by social NGOs. These NGOs, lacking social and financial state support themselves, consequently continued to build up a collective politico-institutional voice through network/ alliance formation and lobbying. In response to the programs that only focus on emergency/short-term housing and in temporary accommodation schemes, more long-term alternatives are developed:

- IOM ran the HELIOS or Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection project between June 2019 and February 2021 (IOM, 2021). The HELIOS project has been funded by the EC's DG HOME and operated in collaboration with national authorities (Ministry of Migration and Asylum) along with again the

02

experienced NGO partners (o.a. METAdrasi, GCR, DRC) (ibid). Among the 27,520 beneficiaries enrolled in HELIOS, 33.40% participated in the ESTIA program as well, in addition to 32.23% on sites, 17.88% in IOM Hotels and 16.49% in RICs. The project aimed at the beneficiary's individual self-reliance and active participation in the Greek society, and at the establishment of an integration mechanism (ibid). The project included 1) integration courses in 19 Integration Learning Centers erected across Greece (6 months modules consisting of courses on Greek language, cultural orientation, job readiness and life skills); 2) accommodation support (rental and move-in cost contributions, networking with apartment owners); 3) employability support (job counseling, certification access and networking with private employers); 4) integration monitoring (assessment of the integration progress to ensure the beneficiary's independency and ability to navigate through Greek public service providers once exiting the HELIOS project); and 5) sensitization of the host community (workshops, activities, events and media campaigns creating exchange occasions between hosting and hosted communities) (ibid).

- Although a new Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion fostering social inclusion and equality (for 2021-2027) was also foreseen by the EC to be in place from March 2021 onwards, the actual start of implementation is not yet in sight (EC, 2021).

To conclude, as a substitute to the Greek Government and local authorities incapable of adequate response in time within the Greek multilayered crisis (intensified by the Covid-19 pandemic last year), NGOs take the lead in implementing and operating all emergency and temporary supportive housing and integration programs. It remains to be seen how the state and social NGOs use the corona crisis momentum to bring about governance reconfigurations through social and power relation changes collectively strengthening migrant integration policy and practices.

Problem Statement

Contemporary post-disaster resilience scholarship mainly emphasizes resilience-building processes taking place in situ or new national territory in temporary human settlements such as refugee camps in a migratory context. The key actors highlighted are the community/ community architects/ local or national authorities/ pro-growth profit-oriented developers. A knowledge gap not yet bridged is the investigation of resilience in the urban context of the arrival city affected by a multilayered crisis context. And, how social NGOs play a dominant part in bolstering the resilient arrival city and displaced individuals in new national territories is currently understudied. NGOs take up a politico-institutional role at the urban scale of the arrival city through collective advocacy work and a dynamic integrative role at the human scale of the displaced individual functioning as a substitute for the government's insufficient migrant social and housing services. In the case of an arrival city characterized by a preexisting crisis context, the potential of a newly emerging disruptive event/ crisis to address these long-standing crises and institutional voids (e.g. lack of structural social housing systems and integration programs) is currently underexplored.

Twofold Research Objective

1. On a *human scale,* to gain a deeper insight into how NGOs contribute to the development of *resilient unaccompanied refugee minors* while integrating and preparing them for an autonomous life when they become young adult recognized refugees. In particular, uncovering the dynamic integrative role of social NGOs working in integrating UAMs within the arrival city/community.

2. On an *urban scale*, to investigate how NGOs nurture the potential of bouncing forward towards a *resilient arrival city* affected by a multilayered crisis context through building up novel institutional capital and more inclusive bottom-linked governance. More specifically, uncovering the politico-institutional role of NGOs forming a collective voice advocating for more social and housing policies, by obtaining an overview of on one hand their networks on local, national and European level, and on the other hand their collective policy victories and collaboration development since 2015.

Research Questions

- Which historical key events have contributed to the multilayered crisis landscape in Greece between 2008 and 2021, and how has this crisis context shaped the governance and development of the **arrival city of Athens**?

- In which ways and to what extent have **Greek social NGOs** (supporting migrants and UAMs in particular) interacted with their peers, other allies and multi-level public authorities in terms of both the politico-institutional advocacy work and integrative social service provision?

- What are the potential and limitations of social NGOs in bolstering the post-disaster resilient UAM in terms of **integration** program implementation? What are the unique features of integration programs for UAMs designed and implemented by Greek NGOs since the 2015 European "refugee crisis"?

- What are the potential and limitations of social NGOs in bolstering the post-disaster resilient arrival city in terms of improved **governance and institutional setting** in social public policy?

Methodology

In order to answer the research questions, firstly a desk study was conducted to gain insight in Greece's multiple crisis context and reception/accommodation of UAM in the EU/Greece by social NGOs. Research methods included a review of scholar papers and documents among which data portals (a.o. Eurostat, IMF, Worldometer), reports and policy papers (a.o. UNHCR, EU, EC, GCR, UNICEF, IOM, NGOs), web research on NGOs (based on ACCMR), and newspaper articles. After gaining insight in the general context of the Greek humanitarian landscape (2009 Debt Crisis; 2015 Refugee Crisis; 2018 Housing affordability crisis; 2020 Corona Crisis) and specific features of UAM in EU/Greece, and the social NGOs supporting UAMs in Athens, a theoretical framework was built upon academic literature review of three main bodies of literature: (1) the concept of resilience in disaster scholarship, (2) migrant integration studies, and (3) theories about social innovation, governance relations, neowelfare state and institutional capital. With an aim to redefine the concept of the resilient arrival city and the resilient UAM, as well to shed light on the integrative and politico-institutional role of social NGOs in the post-disaster resilience building processes, the main bodies of literature mobilized were enriched with theories of social connections, phenomenological scholarship on feeling at home, and theories of multi-level governance .

To gain an empirical understanding of NGOs resilience-bolstering potential at both levels, fieldwork was carried out in Athens, Greece during six weeks between February and March 2021. To familiarize myself with the unique characteristics of the arrival city of Athens (built environment, neighborhood diversity, demographics), I did multiple site visits, participant observation, note and photo taking. During my stay, I went out several times for long-distance city runs. I ran two to three times a week taking arbitrary roads (depicted in red in figure 2) aiming to explore the various neighborhoods in terms of architecture, urban planning, commercial activity, natural elements, residents, visitors and corona impact. Furthermore, I explored public activity in the districts of Neos Kosmos, the historic/ touristic center and the coastal area.
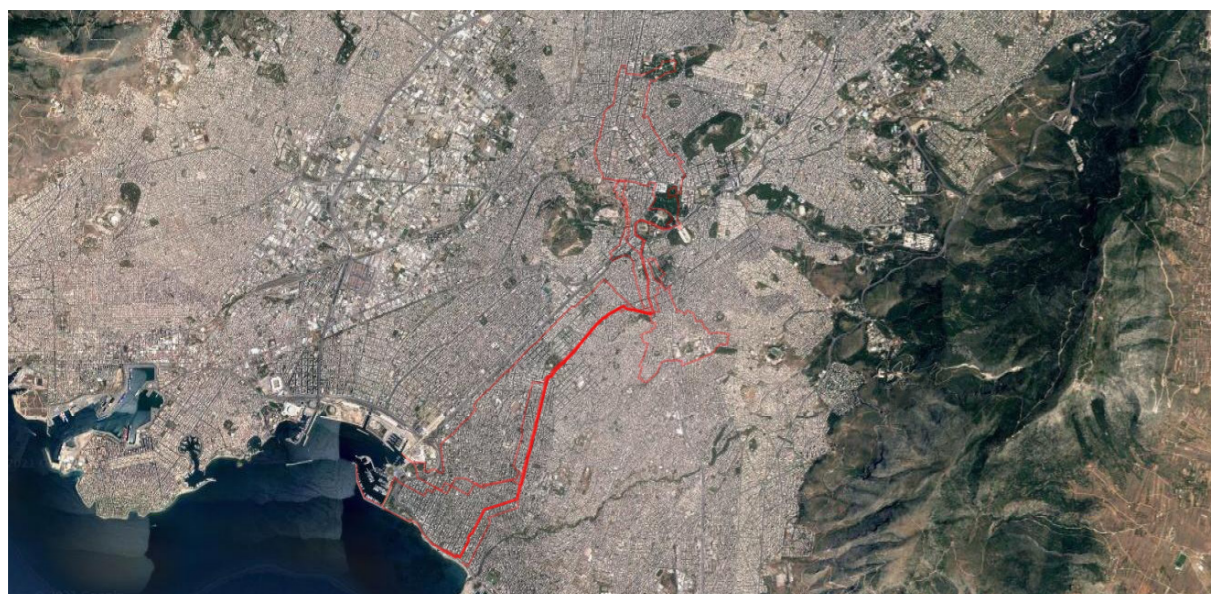
Figure 2: 9 Mapped city runs in Athens. (Source: Strava Multiple Ride Mapper, 2021)

To document the resilience-bolstering potential of Greek social NGOs at the two levels (human/ integrative and urban/institutional), after a delay of two weeks due to a Covid-19 case among the staff, I conducted ethnographic research for four weeks together with the social NGO Association for the Social Support of Youth (ARSIS) as a hybrid visitor shifting between volunteer and researcher. Since 1992, ARSIS specializes in the social support of youth and advocacy work protecting their rights (ARSIS, 2021). Since the 2015 "Refugee Crisis", ARSIS shifted its focus to migrant youth. Their support incorporates shelters for single-parent refugee families and male UAMs, safe zones and apartments across Athens, Volos, Thessaloniki, Alexandroupoli, Tirana and Kozani. The case study elaborates particularly on the operations of ARSIS in the shelter for male UAM asylum seekers in Metaxourgeio, -a transitional neighborhood located in Athens north of the historical center. The ARSIS shelter houses 28 minors (currently Afghan, Syrian, Bengali, Pakistani, Gambian) through the joint effort of 1 lawyer, 1 coordinator, 1 psychologist, 6 care-givers delivering 24h care, 2 translators (Farsi/Dari, Urdu, Arabic, English, Greek), 1 teacher (focusing on Greek language courses), 1 cook, cleaning staff and a few volunteers.

- Concerning the **volunteering part** as hybrid visitor, to get to know the inhabitants, staff, daily life practices and operations, I organized and joined a.o. sports activities, cultural games and conversations with social workers and translators, math courses, recreational activities etc. Visiting the shelter both on weekdays and during weekends on various timeslots (morning/afternoon/evening) gave me the possibility to get an insight into the minors and young men's daily life through the method of participatory observation (e.g. tea talks, board games, neighborhood strolls, homework revision, informal discussions with the minors and staff about Greece/ Europe/ culture/ religion/ home/ family/ future dreams).

- Regarding the **research part** as hybrid visitor, the empirical research on the *integrative role* of ARSIS executed on the spot consists out of (1) semi-structured interviews with key officers of the shelter (e.g. shelter coordinator, social worker, psychologist, teacher, volunteer), (2) an anonymous questionnaire handed out to 10 minors, and (3) informal discussions with the young teens and the shelter staff (e.g. social workers, translators, cook, teacher and volunteers). In addition, to get an architectural sense of the shelter accommodation and its spatial contribution to ARSIS' shelter operations, a research method consisted of mapping out 2D plans of the shelter and circulation by hand sketching (given photography of minors is prohibited respecting privacy), etc. Some examples are found in annex A (chapter 5). Concerning the *politico-institutional role* of ARSIS, the Coordinator of the male UAM shelter in Metaxourgeio and the Program Director of the NGO introduced me to the organization and shared insights on site visits, respectively to the UAM shelter and the Youth Support Center, over online video calls and in real life informal discussions in Athens. An overview of the interviews, video calls, conversations, and the questionnaire results (general participant information and average outcomes) are inserted in annex B and C (chapter 5).

Back in Belgium, a final round of desk study was conducted to gain extra secondary data on information that was briefly mentioned or not found during the ethnographic research and semi-structured interviews in particular such as information on statistics, legal issues regarding e.g. UAM (family reunification) procedures, advocacy and service networks, and Covid-19 impact on collective initiatives like ACCMR.

Scope and Limitations

Some limitations which influenced the research findings and their interpretation should be noted. Firstly, only one Greek NGO was studied during the empirical field research, focusing on just one of their UAM accommodation facilities (the Metaxourgeio shelter as compared to ARSIS' other shelters in Exarchia in Athens, Oraiokastro, Pilaia and Tagarades in Thessaloniki, Makrinitsa in Volos, and in Alexandroupoli, social apartments, and safe zones). Alternative structures and particular practices (e.g. SIL apartments) by other Greek NGOs (e.g. METAdrasi, PRAKSIS) hosting UAM individuals with varying backgrounds were not empirically investigated.

02

Secondly, six weeks of empirical research arguably do not permit to get a full representative view of an urban context finding oneself still in the intermediary position between inhabitant and tourist. Even stronger, the research was fully conducted in an exceptional pandemic situation (e.g. strict movement restrictions, temporary closure of shops, restaurants and bars, etc.). Furthermore, around the moment of our arrival in Athens, the ARSIS shelter was forced to go into lockdown for two weeks due to a corona case among its staff. Consequently, the empirical investigation of ARSIS is dominantly based on one month of observations as a volunteer.

Finally, empirical findings on the displaced UAMs are mainly derived in an indirect way (e.g. observation, informal description, group discussions with translators) given language barriers and the NGO's protection measures to respect the children's privacy. Moreover, concerning the questionnaire handed out to the minors, selection bias (e.g. geography and cultures) and question misinterpretation may have occurred given the English language barrier and possible free two-way translation between the translators and minors.

Research Outcomes

This research intents to gain insight into the resilience-building potential of social NGOs providing temporary accommodation to displaced individuals, specifically UAMs, in the arrival city in new national territory. The research therefore fills the knowledge gap by delving into the integrative and politico-institutional role of social NGOs, and the arrival city coping with a multilayered crisis context, and investigates to what extent social NGOs contribute to bolstering (1) the resilient UAM in their transition from asylum seekers to recognized refugee adults, and (2) the resilient arrival city. The thesis aims to provide an overview to social NGOs across the EU of best practices to improve their UAM housing programs and integrative social services in shelters within an urban context, and secondly, recommendations on how to strengthen their political voice in relation to allies, citizens and local/state authorities.

The rest of the master thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 presents the theoretical framework involving literature on resilience, social innovation, institutional capital in multi-level governance and integration. The chapter concludes with a provisional definition of resilience applicable in the context of hosting and integrating displaced individuals in arrival cities. Chapter 2 offers an overview of the empirical research elaborating on social NGOs' politico-institutional and integrative role of UAMs in the arrival city. More specifically, the case of the UAM shelter of the NGO ARSIS in the arrival city of Athens, Greece was investigated during February and March 2021. Finally, chapter 4 critically discusses the empirical outcomes in order to expose the opportunities and limitations of social NGOs' integration and advocacy work in building up resilient displaced individuals and a resilient arrival city.

03

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework brings together various bodies of literature exploring complementary synergies to obtain insight into the integrative and politico-institutional role of NGOs in building up resilient arrival cities and resilient UAMs. First, the chapter starts with an introduction to the concept of disaster resilience. The scientific discourse has emphasized disruptive events happening in situ or within a new national territory in temporary human settlements such as refugee camps in a migratory context but has not yet focused on the arrival city hosting the displaced population. Also, the key actors highlighted are the community/ community architects/ local or national authorities/ pro-growth profit-oriented developers, in contrast to the poorly mentioned group of social NGOs. In light of this knowledge gap, the definition of resilience is revised in the particular context of arrival cities with NGOs as the main resilience-building actors. To uncover social NGOs' influence on governance reconfigurations, theories of social innovation and governance, institutional capital and the (neo)welfare state are brought in dialogue with each other. Based on this, a predefinition of 'the resilient arrival city' and the potential politico-institutional role of social NGOs in co-shaping this is developed. To dig out NGOs' integration work, an analysis of migrant integration literature leads to a predefinition of 'the resilient unaccompanied refugee minor' and the potential integrative role of social NGOs in bolstering UAMs' integration and personal development. More specifically, this analysis further elaborates on reconceptualizations of vertical/horizontal social connections, and feeling at home. Considering these two obtained preliminary definitions, the resilience-bolstering potential of social NGOs is then empirically tested with the case of the Greek NGO ARSIS in the arrival city of Athens, Greece (see chapter 4).

To summarize, table 1 gives an overview of the bodies of literature and corresponding scholars.

Body of literature		Scholars
Resilience		Davoudi et al., 2012 Koliou et al., 2020 Paidakaki and Moulaert, 2017; 2018 Paidakaki et al., 2021
Arrival city, arrival infrastructure		Meeus, Arnaut, van Heur, 2019 Meeus et al., 2020 Saunders, 2011
Social Innovation, governance, welfare state and institutional capital		Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019 Paidakaki, 2020; 2021 Paidakaki and Parra, 2018 Penninx and Garcés-Mascarenas, 2016 Van Dyck and Van den Broeck, 2013
Migrant integration		Ager and Strang, 2008 Bakker, Cheung, Phillimore, 2016 Hynie et al., 2016 Hynie, 2018 Penninx, 2006 Philimore, 2019; 2020
Elaboration on concepts of migrant integration through additional migrant literature	Social connections • bonds/bridges • horizontal/vertical	Gericke et al., 2018 Kourachanis, 2018
	Feeling at home	De Bleeckere, 2015 Duyvendak, 2017 Heidegger, 1954; 1999 Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020

Table 1: Theoretical framework overview by bodies of literature and scholars. (Source: Author)

3.1 The Resilience scientific discourse

3.1.1 State of the art and literature gaps

The concept of resilience was originally introduced during the 1970s as ecological feature by Holling as "[…] measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance in a timely manner and still maintain its ongoing functions and controls as well as the same relationships between populations." (Holling, 1996, p.31, cited in Paidakaki, Moulaert, 2017). Directly influenced by Holling, environmentalist Timmerman (1981) linked resilience to vulnerability in the context of hazards and disasters (Koliou et al., 2020). Assuming static continuity of a system, the resilience benchmark was the duration until reestablishment to the original pre-disaster condition (Davoudi et al., 2012). However, this "*bounce back*" characteristic with the Newtonian assumption of unchangeable constancy is only applicable to ecological and structural systems. These are namely mathematically predictable, in contrast with long-term complex social systems involving human actors (Paidakaki, Moulaert, 2017; Paidakaki et al., 2021). Thus, regarding *social resilience*, shifting focus from the spatial-physical aspect (disaster-affected territory) to the social one (e.g. disaster-affected communities), the moment of disaster triggers social transformation, institutional adaptation and a desire for change to prevent recurring of the inducing situation (ibid). In this perspective, resilience is not perceived as a one-time action of the system returning to its original state, but understood as a continually changing socially transformative process (Davoudi et al., 2012). The concept of resilience is hence charged with a social learning capacity to adapt to future changes recognizing risks, anticipating disruptive events and preparing for emergency response (Paidakaki, Moulaert, 2018; Koliou et al., 2020). Therefore, in disaster scholarship, resilience is reconceptualized as carrying "*bounce forward"* ability to improve compared to the initial pre-disaster situation.

Paidakaki and Moulaert (2017) holistically reconceptualized resilience including socio-spatial/economic/political features looking at housing. More specifically, they expounded the possible redesign of the contemporary housing system to respond financially not only focusing on destroyed property (*structural* resilience), but also regarding destroyed homes and communities (*social* resilience) (ibid). Since various housing building stakeholders (i.e. pro-growth developers, non-profit community housing providers, community architects, humanitarian organizations) compete to impose their own political interests and narratives during reconstruction, Paidakaki and Moulaert (2017) accentuate the importance of dynamic governance models including citizen participation, with the state as essential actor taking on the role of "peacemaker" (ibid). The latter term refers to the function of fostering social cohesion and tolerance by bringing different actors in dialogue through organized gatherings and shared activities to collectively bounce forward (ibid).

So, bouncing forward, but whereto? Porter and Davoudi questioned the direction and prioritized beneficiaries of the described "bouncing forward"-character in social resilience literature (Davoudi et al., 2012 cited in Paidakaki & Moulaert, 2017). In response, Paidakaki and Moulaert (2018) laid out the directions of resilient disaster recovery processes which are competitively claimed by different key agents. These main actors consist mainly of communities such as displaced/ host/ local neighborhood associations and community development corporations. A second actor group are community architects consisting out of architects, designers and planners supporting projects on community-driven housing/ development/ planning/ disaster recovery.

Lastly, a final highlighted actor group involves social resilience cells (SRC) defined in the context of housing systems as "[…] affordable housing providers or housing policy implementers who organize themselves discursively and actively in their aim to influence the recovery profile of a post-disaster city " (Paidakaki & Moulaert, 2018, p.2). SRCs are furthermore dividable in three types, i.e. (1) *hegemonic pro-growth* (prioritize the exchange value and stay in contact with powerful profit-oriented institutional structures), (2) *counter-hegemonic pro-equity* (prioritize the use value of houses and fair distribution of financial resources through contact with e.g. civic/charity groups, state agencies/ authorities) and (3) *pro-materializing* (support solidarity initiatives like e.g. grass-roots rebuilding ones, community land trusts, housing cooperatives) (ibid). Hence, in contrast to the too positive and simplified presumption of one single bouncing forward direction, resilience trajectories diverge, driven by various competing SRC actors (ibid).

Resilience studies have mainly focused on natural hazards like hurricanes or earthquakes rather than human-caused/induced disasters, such as politic, economic and social disruptions (e.g. armed conflicts) (Koliou et al., 2020). In particular, *social community resilience* has been studied mainly concentrating on the recovery potential of the communities living *in situ*, -as to say in the same territory where the disaster happened. Only recently in disaster scholarship, the concept of social resilience has been investigated from a migratory perspective by encompassing the resilience potential of a displaced population in *new national territory* dealing with the externalities of a humanitarian crisis, -with a focus on community architects (Paidakaki et al., 2021). The social resilience of refugee camps is defined twofold by Paidakaki et al. (2021) as a socio-structural quality and a highly political and contentious process among hegemonic and counter-hegemonic humanitarian aid actors and allies (ibid). Nevertheless, though resilience potential in a migratory context of a displaced population in new (national) territories is already investigated, to date notably few or even no publications on resilience are studied and defined in the context of post-crisis *arrival cities*. In particular, it is currently understudied how social NGOs implementing housing and integration programs foster the arrival city's capacity of bouncing forward, -seeing the crisis as an opportunity to self-reflect on its existing social and housing policies. For this purpose, new knowledge on resilient displaced individuals and resilient arrival cities needs to be developed by converging insights from the concepts of social innovation, governance and integration, - in line with the dual social and political perspectives of Paidakaki et al. (2021). As a first step the concept of the arrival city is defined next.

3.1.2 Uncovering the post-disaster resilient arrival city

To uncover the specific context of migrant arrival cities in new national territory, the roots of the term are now investigated. Introduced by journalist Doug Saunders, arrival cities are conceptualized as places which "function to propel people into the core life of the city and to send support back to the next wave of arrivals." (Saunders, 2011, p.18). In discussions on migrants' arrival settlements among urban planning scholars, focus dominantly lies on fixed, homogeneous and clearly delineated entities/enclaves with poor residents and inexpensive dwellings, seen as "cancerous growths on an otherwise healthy city" (Saunders, 2011, p. 19; Meeus et al., 2020). For example, such arrival city phenomena occur in the form of slum quarters (e.g. bidonvilles, favelas, shanty towns) and ethnic districts or immigrant neighborhoods (e.g. Littly Italy, Chinatowns, Jewish quarters) (Saunders, 2011).

03

Saunders, in contrast, puts forward the concept of the arrival city as a set of four functions: as a (1) *network* (e.g. communication technology, family/village/neighborhood relationships, money transfer), (2) *entry mechanism* (e.g. affordable housing and job-finding assistance), (3) *urban establishment platform* (e.g. informal resources like legal deeds, loans, social connections) towards employment/ education/ able to afford a house/ political participation, and (4) *social-mobility path* into either the middle class or the upper working class (Saunders, 2011). Saunders thus indicates that the clear demarcation and physical definition of a neighborhood/quarter occupied by newcomers only (such as a refugee camp or slum) is not an arrival city premise (2016, cited in Meeus et al., 2020). The option exists of a *virtual* arrival city based on e.g. money transition or social media networks, in which the newcomers are spatially spread out across the urban territory and potentially stay on the long-term as integrated citizens (ibid). He hereby gives the example of Filipinos migrating for domestic service work who are fragmentedly distributed across the middle-class urban fabric of major cities (ibid). Moving away from the idea of newcomers' temporary geographical concentration in specific (poor and rural) neighborhoods, Zigon (2015, cited in Meeus et al., 2020) further describes how arrival situations are determined by multiple local and trans-local socio-material relations exceeding the scale of neighborhoods to multiple ones of cities and countries, - naming the arrival city concept a 'non-totalizable assemblage'. This research thus applies the concept of virtual arrival cities considered as places in which displaced individuals settle and (socio-economically) integrate, spatially interwoven with the urban tissue of the preexisting national territory on neighborhood, (possibly but not necessarily) city, regional, or national scale.[1]

3.2 Social innovation and governance

With the aim to uncover social NGOs' influence on governance reconfigurations, this section firstly explores theories of social innovation (SI) and governance. Here, social NGOs are introduced as leading actors of SI in response to the neoliberal governance form explained thereafter. An introduction to institutional capital follows, with elaboration on how SI actors, among which social NGOs, steer novel governance formations towards a neowelfare state, including bottom-linked multi-level governance. Finally, based on these insights, a predefinition of the resilient arrival city and the potential politico-institutional role of social NGOs in shaping the resilient arrival city is developed.

3.2.1 The concept of social innovation

In the face of new challenges or disruptive events, human needs emerge in society. How are they attended, and by whom? An answer to the first question is the process of 'social innovation' (SI). The term already entered French and English common vocabulary in the 19th century in the sense of radical socialism/ social reforms in the aftermath of the 1830 French Revolution but was only brought into the debate in scientific literature on community development during the last quarter of the 20th century, in the context of economic and technological innovation (i.e. globalization, Anglo-Saxon culture supremacy, and the internet revolution) (Godin, 2012 cited in Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019). In the 1980s, the concept of SI implied the satisfaction of specific human needs through a collective initiative (Chambon et al., 1982). Differing from this *outcome-oriented* approach, over the years the broadening idea of SI included also a *process-oriented* one, referring to "the collective capacity of

1 In this research, the term 'arrival city' is used as a general term that refers to the 'virtual arrival city' explained by Saunders to address the general places where migrants settle and integrate, focusing on the city scale.

societal groups to look for alternative futures and meet human needs in the face of societal challenges and crises, which have often been provoked, accelerated and intensified by market-driven development paradigms and technocratic institutional and governance arrangements." (Paidakaki, 2021, p.3). The contemporary idea of the goal of SI extends beyond sufficiently meeting human needs, to providing inventively improved conditions that further foster social cohesion (Van Dyck and Van den Broeck, 2013; Paidakaki, 2021). To now answer the second question ('SI by whom?'), SI literature predominantly highlights third sector organizations (TSO) taking the lead as SI initiators, - which encompass neither public nor private sectors, among which non-governmental organizations and social enterprises (Paidakaki, 2021). A non-governmental organization (NGO) is defined by the UN as "a non-for-profit, voluntary citizens' group, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good." (United Nations cited in DeBono, 2018, p.291). Social enterprises, in contrast, do not rely on charitable contributions and public funding like NGOs, but earn enough income to sustain themselves financially. NGOs aspire to counter social exclusion of people and deprivation of human needs towards a more inclusive democracy, giving form to an ecologically and socially sustainable economy and society (Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019; Paidakaki, 2021). In times of crisis along with the corresponding increased need for humanitarian aid, NGOs also raise issues of crisis mechanisms and offer alternative bottom-linked governance formations themselves, -with the term 'bottom-linked' emphasizing interactive connections between civil society actors and political authorities (Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019; Moulaert et al., 2019; Paidakaki, 2021). SI is thus considered an agency with socio-political, ideological and ethical properties (Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019). For SI to have 'successful' and lasting impact in the end, according to Moulaert et al. (2010), the following three main forms of change should be achieved alone or in combination:

1. **Satisfaction of human needs** (material and immaterial) not otherwise met or considered through social economy (e.g. social enterprises, neighborhood organizations, community committees, charities), institutional dynamics (of both the state and civil society) and mobilizing resources.

2. **Empowerment of marginalized social groups** through protection of their rights, enhancement of capabilities, and the (re)creation of visions/culture/identity. Thereby, TSOs on different neighborhood/national/ society increase their visibility and recognition. TSOs not only fight social exclusion by speaking up and giving marginalized groups their own voice, but strive as well to include them in decision-making processes, service delivery systems, and the labor market. The empowerment initiatives thus deeply affect organizational and institutional dynamics.

3. **Changes in social, power and/ or governance relations** within the community and between the community and society at large. These changes are of durable and community-based nature, directly linked to the second change of empowerment via culture and identity building, organizational/ institutional dynamics and visions. Relations and power reorganizations between the social economy, market sectors and the state induce resistance and struggle among all actors competing to put their interests at the front while seeking a compromise. Moulaert et al. (2010) highlight the crucial role of the state for enabling change since it decides the destination of space left for non-market-oriented SI through privatization and deregulation.

The following section elaborates on this third form of social/power/governance change to uncover the politico-institutional potential of social NGOs in bolstering the resilience of the arrival city. Firstly, an overview of governance relation types addressed in migration literature is provided. In particular, the 'centralist governance' relation type is exemplified within the contemporary neoliberal state. The analysis of neoliberal governance mechanisms uncovers scope for governance improvements. And as a tool for social NGOs to achieve these, the concept of institutional capital is taken aboard. With this capital, they initiate impactful pro-equity/pro-refugee SI processes towards a neowelfare state, with governance relations changed from top-down centralist to bottom-linked multi-level ones.

3.2.2 Governance and institutional adaptation of migrant integration

In light of the multi-dimensional aspect of integration processes, migration scholarship elaborated on the receiving society's role in integration (Penninx and Garcés-Mascarenas, 2016). Both the receiving civil society and state actively contribute to immigrants' integration on three levels, namely the micro- (e.g. individuals' attitude and behavior), meso- (e.g. organizations) and macro-level (e.g. institutions) (ibid). Based on the analysis of these levels, Penninx and Garcés-Mascarenas (2016) pointed to the influence of local, regional and national policies on integration, -possibly interfering with one another. Furthermore, their research underlined the importance to also include policy domains which do not particularly target migrants in the debate, since those affect societal institutions indirectly contributing to integration. Their final point adjusting the integration debate was shifting focus from integration government to governance and policy to policymaking, shedding light on the non-state actors involved as the organizers and implementers among which NGOs (ibid). In recent years the national focus of integration in new national territories is even transcended to transnationalism (ibid). This shift of focus sheds light on alliances and institutionalized cooperation forms developed between governmental, collective and individual actors located in two or more countries (often the sending and destination ones) (ibid). Examples of their collective activities are issues of emigrant return, political engagement, homeland investments, migrant organization donations etc. (ibid). To gain overview of the integration governance forms, Scholten (2013 cited in Penninx and Garces-Mascarenas, 2016) defined a framework of four types of relations between government levels:

1. The **centralist type** involves a clear top-down hierarchy and strict division between government levels, supported by a strong institutional structure and control mechanisms, which incentivize subordinated local levels to follow the central rules.
2. The **localist type** follows the principle of subsidiarity, -which states that matters should be handled on the most suited level to do so. This means local governments do not just implement policies from higher up, but also formulate ones themselves exchanging thoughts with other local policies through horizontal relations. Consequently, national and local policies may diverge.
3. The **multi-level governance type** encompasses vertical relations among government levels and mutual interaction without dominance of one particular level. Through multi-level networks policy frames converge, and are also produced and sustained by all actors.
4. The **decoupled relations type** involves the absence of any inter-level relations. This may lead to contradictory policies for a same target group inducing conflicts.

3.2.3 Neoliberal governance: a top-down governance arrangement

The centralist type described above by Scholten (2013) manifests itself in the neoliberal state, which manages and promotes capitalism in a legislative and regulatory way, creating an environment within which private profits are state-supported (Paidakaki and Parra, 2018). A typical feature of this state governance is top-down, techno-managerial decision and policymaking with state-backed privatization of public resources and wealth. This is with the aim to upscale the influence of commercial for-profit (and to a lesser extent non-profit) developers at the cost of pro-comaterializing and pro-equity ones (ibid).

Regarding the housing market, neoliberal governance leads to a contemporary pattern called '*housing financialization*', -meaning that real estate property is considered as a financial asset and speculation tool, rather than as a good with societal use-value (ibid). The state, deploying housing property for the accumulation of wealth, international prestige, and investment, consequently wipes out concern and public spending for social housing construction for low-income groups and public infrastructure on the neighborhood level, -resulting in both less affordable/social private residences and less qualitative public space (Siatitsa, 2019; Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019).

Concerning employment, the negative impact of neoliberalism (e.g. state-promoted deregulation) reveals itself in a fall of the labor share in all countries of the EU overall, in combination with hindered labor market access, an enlarged wage gap, and reduced social protection of workers (Barradas, 2019; Escobar, 2003). Wage or labor share represents the fraction of the income of a nation (or of a specific economic sector). A first key driver of the labor share reduction is a shift in sectorial economy composition with a decrease in general government/ non-financial activity and a rise in the financial sector with a smaller labor share. In the non-financial sector, this activity drop goes in combination with wage contraction of blue-collar and middle-class workers. Another key driver is job replacements from the manufacturing to the lower-paid service sector, and a final driver is a reduction of national corporations changing to trans- or multinational ones with weaker employment positions (ibid). Notably, in several countries (a.o. Greece), the labor share makes up already less than half of the national income (ibid). The main contributor to the decline of labor share is caused by technological progress, though the output growth aiming at profit accumulation offsets this negative trend (ibid).

Besides the lack of affordable housing and labor share, neoliberal governance demonstrates a third adverse impact on public welfare policy in terms of e.g. public resources, poverty spending, social services, health services, and unemployment insurance (Paidakaki and Parra, 2018; Kourachanis, 2021). This undemocratic state governance disadvantages vulnerable societal groups (e.g. the homeless, poor, disabled, ill) and contradicts the risen unemployment and the lack of social/affordable housing structures, which further increases the demand and need for extreme poverty management and social services (e.g. homelessness, poverty, unemployment).

As a response to this tendency towards social injustice and disregard of democratic values hindering equal participation of all citizens, alternative pro-equity and pro-comaterializing SRCs and alliances emerge (Paidakakiand and Parra, 2018; Paidakaki, Moulaert, 2018). They take up the task to critically confront the government authorities when tending to prioritize profit and growth accumulation and remind them of the state welfare mandate

03

(Paidakaki and Parra, 2018). This SI motion creates an opportunity for the design of a new socially more just political economy (such as the provision of affordable housing accessible to low-income communities, public subsidies for social housing, improved labor market access, alternative forms of social funding, etc.) and of a reinvented role of the state within a decentralized governance form (Paidakaki and Parra, 2018; Paidakaki, 2021).

3.2.4 Nexus between social innovation, governance and institutional capital

Having gained insight into the top-down governance structure by the neoliberal state, this section takes aboard adequate terminology to uncover the specific, socially innovative way in which social NGOs stand up to this social injustice (as alternative SRCs). Paidakaki et al. (2020) elaborate on governance formations in terms of inter-and intra-level ones through building up so-called 'institutional capital'. This capital enables social NGOs to set in motion a shared structure of bottom-linked governance formations:

- *Inter-level* governance refers to the vertical links between socially innovative groups, institutional structures/ public authorities, and target population towards citizen participation (e.g. community outreach, lobbying) (Paidakaki et al., 2020). When institutional structures open up to the engagement of diverse socially innovative actors and their networks, **exogenous institutional capital** is built up (e.g. inclusive public participation fora and humane public-private partnerships) (Paidakaki, 2021).

- *Intra-level* governance, on the other side, refers to horizontal relations between socially innovative groups themselves, establishing cooperations, alliances, pressure groups, coalitions, or policy communities (Paidakaki et al., 2020). These constructions come under the term **endogenous institutional capital** (Paidakaki, 2021).

In brief, social NGOs induce changes in power relations between themselves, the state, market sectors, and other social enterprises in line with the third main form of change of SI (Moulaert et al., 2010). They do so twofold; through horizontal networking, social NGOs construct endogenous institutional capital forming one strong bottom-up corps with a political voice. And through vertical outreach via lobbying, social NGOs build up exogenous institutional capital, which allows them to participate in policymaking and bring about governance reconfigurations towards bottom-linked multi-level governance. The combination of exogenous and endogenous institutional capital thus form an essential element in SI development processes by social NGOs. In particular, institutional capital enables universal need coverage and socio-political inclusion of marginalized groups, -referring back to the first and second forms of change by SI ('satisfaction of human needs' and 'empowerment of marginalized groups') (Moulaert et al., 2010).

3.2.5 Towards a neowelfare state and bottom-linked governance?

To recapitulate, so far, the chapter explained how social NGOs in confrontation with the neoliberal state aim to change housing/ labor/ social governance and policies in the arrival city. They do so by initiating SI processes in a pro-equity (and pro-comaterializing) direction involving institutional capital accumulation. Unmentioned yet is that the emergence of a crisis carries the momentum to set in motion or reinforce social innovation processes

steering resilience, to bounce forward more vigorously (Paidakaki, 2021). In times of crisis, the collective bottom-up voice adopts an activist position advocating more strongly and ultimately for a neowelfare state. The latter state form refers to one of which the "primary purpose is to facilitate the mobilization of civil society for the production of social goods and services for the common good" (Paidakaki and Parra, 2018). In this idealized situation, inter-level governance of the state and several pro-equity and pro-comaterializing SRC networks ensure sufficient provision of social services and goods (ibid). But even more, going beyond this socially just political objective of securing individual access for all, neowelfarism is only achieved when the state takes a more democratic form of redistributing its deep resources to all pro-growth, pro-equity and pro-comaterializing SRCs including social NGOs (ibid). Hence housing/ labor/ social welfare actors can only contribute to a neowelfare state when treated equally and capitalized sufficiently (Paidakakiand and Parra, 2018).

Particularly regarding the housing system, accrding to Paidakaki and Parra (2018), bottom-linked housing governance is concretized by allowing SRCs to establish co-operative networks with differently oriented SRCs and use available housing stock in dialogue with public agencies/ local authorities transforming deprived neighborhoods. These collective bottom-linked governance actions add to closing the gap in housing access inequality and include diverse housing actors towards a social and strongly subsidized housing policy (Paidakaki, 2021). This way a new political economy and more socially just arrival city potentially arise based on shared values of social mutuality and reciprocity (ibid).

3.2.6 Predefinition of the resilient arrival city

The resilient arrival city in a migratory context is an urban center affected by a multilayered crisis context, which in response bounces forward into (not only pro-refugee but also) general pro-equity and pro-materializing directions. The potential politico-institutional role of social NGOs in bolstering this resilience at the urban scale lies in the emergence of SI initiatives, -moving away from neoliberal profit-driven urban development controlled by a top-down centralist governance type. The three main forms of change achieved through NGOs' urban SI processes are (1) human needs satisfaction, (2) empowerment of marginalized groups, and (3) changes in social, power and/ or governance relations. Regarding the third form of change, NGOs steer novel governance formations through intense network building and collaboration (e.g. other NGOs, organizations, institutions, citizens, local/national authorities). Through external outreach, NGOs build up institutional capital of endogenous (e.g. NGO cooperation/ alliances/ pressure groups/ policy communities etc.) and exogenous nature (e.g. public participation fora and humane public-private partnerships including local/national authorities and citizen participation). Via this apporach, the arrival city develops towards a neowelfare state of a multi-level governance type, facilitating equal and fair participation of and social services/goods to all housing actors to resiliently cope with current and future crises or societal challenges.

3.3 Theories of migrant integration

For the purpose of predefining the resilient UAM undergoing an integration process in the arrival city, this section opens with a brief introduction to the discourse on migrant integration. Thereafter, the concept of integration is further unfolded into integration domains which are put forward in refugee integration theories.

3.3.1 The migrant integration discourse

The concept of migrant integration has appeared in academic and policy debates since the 1930s (Phillimore, 2020). In the 20th-century post-world war context, the concept of integration was considered part of classical assimilation theories (a.o. Warner and Strole), which assumed migrant settlement and incorporation through social processes into one way of life dominant in society. More concrete, those theories defined settlement and incorporation as "a more or less linear process in which immigrants were supposed to change almost completely to merge with the mainstream culture and society." (Penninx and Garcés-Mascarenas, 2016, p.3). The process of integration was seen as a *unilateral* straight-line process where the migrant had to adapt him/herself to the mainstream way of life sustained in the country of arrival (ibid). The receiving society on the other hand got assigned a static role to whom outsiders must adapt culturally and linguistically (Hynie, 2016; Phillimore, 2019). During the 1990s, integration research focus shifted from individuals and their households on the micro-level to meso-levels (e.g migrant/civil society organizations), and to macro-levels (e.g. structural factors among which labor market arrangements, policies on integration and citizenship, etc.) (Penninx and Garcés-Mascarenas, 2016). Consequently, after the turn of the century, through comparison of these factors among similar migrant groups on local and (trans)national levels, the premise of one-sided adaptation from the migrant's side was subjected to heavy criticism for three reasons highlighted by Penninx and Garcés-Mascarenas (2016):
Firstly, the conception of a *mainstream society/culture* mentioned in the assimilation theories was considered problematic since it assumes a homogenous social environment (in terms of ethnicity, religion, culture, social norms etc.); Secondly, scholars pointed out the impact of structural inequalities (such as the injustice in labor and housing market access) as critical integration hindering factors; And thirdly, empirical research uncovered the plurality of integration processes, depending on collective actors (communities, civil society, state etc.) and contextual actors (such as economic situation) (ibid).

This criticism thus led to a shift from a one-sided viewpoint on integration to a *bilateral* one, with the latter being still dominant today (ibid). Hence, discarding assimilation theories presuming acculturation and adaptation processes to one unaltered mainstream society/culture by the migrant only, the concept of integration was redefined as "a negotiation between contexts and cultures, past and present, and country of origin and country of refuge, wherein identity is contested and constantly moving" (Bakker, Cheung, Phillimore, 2016, p.5). However, in recent years, the perception on integration and emphasis changed from reaching one end point to going through a dynamic process, reshaping the concept of integration to "the process of becoming an accepted part of society" (Penninx and Garcés-Mascarenas, 2016, p.14). Nevertheless, the notion of society is still contested because of the same difficulty as with the term *mainstream* in the '90s; it still implies a cohesive social climate in which only specific types of people like migrants need to integrate (ibid).

Heated debate on the topic of integration among academics, policymakers and media arose particularly in the years following the 2015 European Refugee Crisis, shifting from refugee emergency response to actual refugee settling (Bakker, Cheung, Phillimore, 2016). In this context, interest changed from migrants to refugees specifically, - as sub-category of migrants differing from economic migrants (Phillimore, 2020). Stressing *refugee* integration, particularly scholars and NGOs criticized the insensitivity to the effects of the preliminary asylum procedure on the integration process (Refugee Council, 2006; Bakker, Cheung, Phillimore, 2016). Because from the very beginning, asylum seekers stand directly in confrontation with a new local community, new language, culture, etc. (Bakker, Cheung, Phillimore, 2016). Consequently, stating integration already starts at the moment of arrival, the one umbrella of *migrant* integration must incorporate the notion of *asylum seeker* integration preceding refugee integration. Till today, migrant integration remains a controversial concept without definition or conventional model generally agreed on (Hynie, 2018; Phillimore, 2020). Summarizing the most recent key points from this debate, migrant integration is considered a bilateral and dynamic negotiation process between the newcomers, -regardless of their asylum seeker or refugee status-, and the arrival context.

3.3.2 Domains of integration

In refugee integration theories, more common ground can be found concerning the conception of 'successful' integration (Castles et al., 2001). One of the definitions of successful integration by Hynie is "equitable access to opportunities and resources, participation in the community and society, and feelings of security and belonging in their new homes" (Hynie, 2018). Over the years, domain frames have been put forward to analyze integration outcomes and develop coherent integration policies (Ager and Strang, 2008). Three domains that often return in migrant integration literature are *socio-economic* covering employment, education, housing, health and social inclusion; secondly *legal-political* including rights and citizenship; and thirdly *culture* including language and religion (Hynie, 2018; ERCOMER, 2003; Penninx, 2006; Alexander, 2007; Ager and Strang, 2008). Ager and Strang (2008) came up with a conceptual framework consciously addressing diverse integration actors (i.e. multi-level policymakers, service providers, academics, migrants themselves). Their model consists of four levels impacting each other: (1) markers and means (health, housing, education, employment) covering the functional elements of integration; (2) social connections (social bridges and social bonds) reflecting various social relationships; (3) facilitators (safety, stability, language, cultural knowledge); and (4) foundation (citizenship and rights). In the second level of social connections, Ager and Strang (2008) include terminology formulated by other theorists of social bonds and social bridges (Putnam 1993; Woolcock 1998). *Social bonds* refer to family connections and co-ethnic networks; *social bridges* to links with other communities such as diverse alternative immigrant/refugee and/or non-migrant members; and social links to connections with social institutions and services, and participation in civic engagement activities.

Without intending to provide a complete mapping tool for socio-economic, political and institutional factors affecting integration processes, the model by Ager and Strang only modestly aimed for a normative midlevel perspective on integration, highlighting its key components (Ager and Strang, 2008). Hynie et al. (2016), by contrast, did aspire incorporating the broader changes (social, political, institutional), emphasizing the interconnectedness between the distinct levels and secondly the change in social context including the receiving communities.

Settlement policies, for example, affect the social context and at the same time shape public perception and attitude, which in their turn affect the abilities of refugees and asylum seekers to establish social relations (Hynie, 2018). Accordingly, building upon Ager and Strang's framework, Hynie, Korn and Tao (2016) came forward with an extended version of the framework called the Holistic Integration Model (HIM) presented in figure 3. Compared to Ager and Strang's model, the HIM incorporates three supplementary elements of integration; firstly mutual influence between hosted and hosting communities in the form of social bonds within the community and social bridges to members outside the community; secondly institutional adaptation which covers institutions and organizations recognizing and responding to specific refugee needs; and thirdly subjective aspects like security and sense of belonging (Hynie, 2018).

Their additions thus result in the HIM counting eight integration domains listed in table 2 (social connections; community welcome; institutional adaptation; language; culture; functional; sense of belonging; safety and security) (Hynie et al., 2016). This framework is arguably most complete and will therefore be applied as a tool for empirical research. In what follows, each subsection and its associated domains are explained.

03
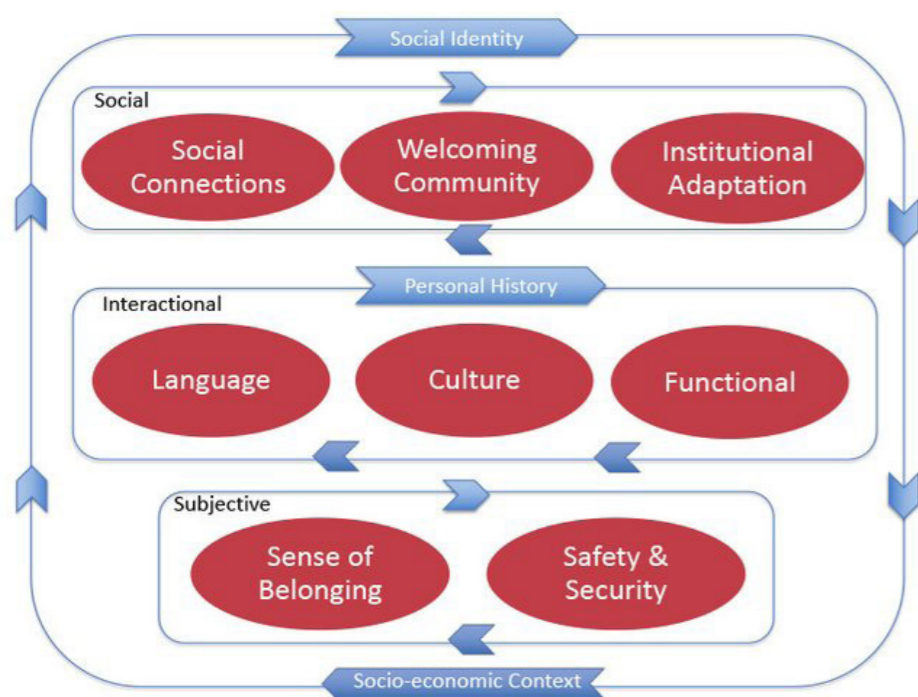
Figure 3: Holistic Integration Model. (Source: Hynie et al., 2019)

MIGRANT INTEGRATION DOMAINS
by Hynie et al., 2016
1. Social connections
2. Functional integration
3. Language adaptation
4. Institutional adaptation
5. Community welcome
6. Culture
7. Safety and security
8. Sense of belonging

Table 2: Integration domains of the HIM. (Based on Hynie et al., 2016, Source: Author)

1. **Social connections** directly refer to the term as intended by Ager and Strang's model with *social bonds* (family connections and co-ethnic networks), *social bridges* (links with members of other communities like diverse alternative immigrant/refugee and/or non-migrant ones) and thirdly *social links* (connections to social institutions and services, participation in civic engagement activities).

2. **Functional integration** covers the observable markers detected by Ager and Strang, being access to education, affordable and safe housing, stable employment and health services.

3. **Language adaptation** is generally considered a necessity as facilitator to other integration aspects such as social connections, education and employment.

4. **Institutional Adaptation** is meant as practice and policy changes by agencies and institutions. Since beliefs, norms and attitudes among the agency staff themselves affect how welcome the community is, who in their turn are also influenced by the implemented policies and practices, a strong interrelation exists between both.

5. **Community Welcome** as a more abstract version of social connections since it does not necessarily imply actual interaction. The term covers media discourse, beliefs and attitudes among the larger community, neighborhood and general public.

6. **Culture** consists of working knowledge of cultural and social norms and expectations in the new society and community. For this, an understanding of the physical, social and institutional environment is required since it is the facilitator of interactions, relationship building and resource access across all these levels.

7. **Safety and Security** touches also upon subjective perception in terms of safe housing in a safe neighborhood, freedom from harassment and crime, and economic security. The latter is also objectively measurable.

8. **Sense of Belonging** refers to subjective feelings (feeling at home) and psychological wellbeing (sense of community). The latter is perceived either negatively (social discrimination and exclusion) or positively (feeling welcome and included in a neighborhood or community). Sense of belonging is often linked to perceived social status within communities.

Although the empirical research will devote equal attention to each integration domain of Hynie et al. (2016), below follows a brief elaboration on the two concepts of 'bonding and bridging social connections' (in domain 1) and 'feeling at home' (in domain 8) because from 2016 onwards, they are more extensively described and redefined in migrant literature by respectively Gericke et al. (2018) and Duyvendak (2017).

Social connections (Integration domain 1)

For social connections, the main distinction is made between *social bonds* and *social bridges*, referring respectively to strong (shared characteristics or background) and weak ties (less in common, different social classes) (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000; Gericke et al., 2018). Though accepted by both Ager and Strang (2008) and Hynie et al. (2016), this traditional division is criticized to not hold up in the case of migrants and refugees in particular because they are based on ethnicity or nationality (Gericke et al., 2018). Offering new perspective Ryan (2011) came forward with an alternative dichotomy of vertical and horizontal social connections. *Vertical* social connections apply to individuals with different backgrounds, and access to different knowledge and resources (e.g. personal interest, education, social class, occupation) (Ryan, 2011; Gericke et al., 2018). *Horizontal* social connections on the other hand cover shared social background, knowledge and resources (e.g. nationality or ethnicity) (ibid).

03

Gericke et al. (2018) combined both divisions of horizontal/vertical and bonding/bridging social connections, depicted in table 3. Research by Gericke et al. (2018) has proven that refugees' use of vertical bridging social connections attributes most to enter new labor markets and to find secure employment. These include access to individuals and networks from the host society (e.g. officials, social workers, NGOs, co-workers, supervisors) (Gericke et al., 2018).

	Horizontal	Vertical
Bonding	• Family members living in host country • Friends/ acquaintances with same nationality or ethnic back-ground	• Organizations/ institutions based on shared religion, nationality or ethnic background
Bridging	• Friends/ acquaintances with different nationality or ethnic background	• Social system contacts/ officials • Social workers/ NGOs • Volunteers • Co-workers/ supervisors

Table 3: Horizontal/vertical and bonding/bridging social connections. (Source: Gericke et al., 2018)

Feeling at home (Integration domain 8)

Architecture theory literature on phenomenological thinking is now discussed to elaborate on the feeling at home among displaced people in a migratory context. The cradle is found in German philosophy (Husserl, Heidegger, Bollnow) originally reacting to the emergence of the theme of dwelling (German: *Wohnen*) in public debate on the post-war reconstruction of Germany (De Bleeckere, 2015). Heidegger (1999) proclaims the need of a house is older than world wars, disaster destruction or weak social services (ibid). The phenomenon of dwelling is namely treated as a state of being (German: *Dasein*) (ibid). According to him the phenomena of *Wohnen* and the correlated home respectively form the mental and material existential zero points of the humanly experienced space (Heidegger, 1954). Feeling at home is thus understood as a sense of being rooted in a center considering one's home infrastructure as temporary spatial reference point of daily life activities.

Rebuttal is found in the work of sociologist Duyvendak (2017) who criticizes the idea of the society's need to learn how to dwell and to feel at home as a condition *sine qua non* or existential premise (German: Dasein). Duyvendak (2017) brings forward four premises to feel at home, namely security, familiarity, individual independency and feeling among equals. The latter term is not referring to a homogeneous group but rather to a diversity collective with each unique contribution considered of equal importance. He points out the politicization and media popularity of feeling at home leading to marginalization, which consequently jeopardizes the integration of newcomers (Duyvendak, 2017). Migrants do apply '*homemaking practices*' (e.g. cooking, local furniture, decorating, planting, national television) towards a reproduction of images, smells and tastes from their 'ordinary' life in the country of origin (Duyvendak, 2017; Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020). This way, it's possible to construct oneself a home-from-home without detracting from the original home feeling (Duyvendak, 2017). Multiple homes and various feelings of home tied to specific places thus co-exist. Duyvendak (2017) warns for polarization phenomena within a society in a migratory context when stating feeling at home as a policy goal. Yet the ability to chase this feeling through small-scale homemaking practices is still seen as a crucial step within the integration process (Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020). In brief, feeling at home is a physical and social construction built up by both newcomers and receiving community. Nevertheless, one should be careful including this feeling to measure success of integration given the risk of exclusion, which is induced by collectively striving for one idealized shared home feeling (Duyvendak, 2017).

3.3.3 Predefinition of the resilient unaccompanied refugee minor

The resilient refugee is a displaced individual who is integrated within the arrival city in new national territory. He/she lives autonomously (1) equipped with bonding/bridging and horizontal/vertical social connections, (2) gaining a stable income, and having access to safe and affordable housing, education and healthcare services, and (3) understanding and using the local language. Moreover, the resilient refugee is familiar with the (4) arrival city's culture and customs, and feels (5) welcome in/ part of a community (e.g. ethnic/ neighborhood/ migrant/ school/ co-workers), (6) safe, secure and (7) belonging within the arrival city. The potential integrative role of social NGOs in bolstering this resilience at the human scale lies in (8) institutionally adapting themselves in terms of practice and policy tailored to the displaced individual's needs in preparation for an independent life as a new arrival city citizen.

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

With the two preliminary definitions of the resilient UAM and arrival city in mind, the resilience-bolstering potential by social NGOs of both is now empirically tested with the case of the Greek NGO ARSIS supporting male UAMs in the arrival city of Athens. The chapter starts with a general description of the city of Athens (geographic and ethnographic data, urban/neighborhood characteristics), followed by an extensive analysis of the Greek multilayered crisis context by which the capital city of Athens is affected, supplemented with an overview of essential information regarding the UAM status, statistics, asylum procedure and support by social NGOs in Athens. In turn, the chapter delves into the investigation of ARSIS, a Greek social NGO who has been working on the integration of UAMs in Athens since 2015. The focus is on the exploration of (1) its politico-institutional role through collective advocacy work and building up endo-/exogenous institutional capital for a more resilient arrival city, and (2) its dynamic integrative role preparing the young displaced individuals for an autonomous life as adult registered refugees for more resilient unaccompanied minors.

04

4.1 The arrival city of Athens, Greece

4.1.1 City of Athens: setting the scene

This research focuses on the arrival city of Athens, the capital of Greece, mapped in figures 4 and 5. This metropolitan city extends over 38,964 km², with a population counting around 664,000 in the Municipality Area and 3,153,000 in the larger metropolitan area, consisting of 93% Greeks along with a.o. Pakistanis, Bangladeshi, Albanians, and Bulgarians (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2009; PopulationStat, 2021). The built environment is mainly characterized by four to five story high apartment blocks (fig.8) charged on their ground floors with small economy businesses like local brand coffee bars, bakeries and car garages, and street kiosks in front (fig.6). However, a clear difference in the spatial quality of street pavement, public area and building maintenance is observable between the different areas, like the central ones intended for tourist visits (e.g. Acropolis hill, Syntagma square, Plaka neighborhood), the residential ones for affluent inhabitants and Airbnb units (e.g. Neos Kosmos) and neighborhoods where poorer residents and migrants live (e.g. Metaxourgeio, Omonia, Victoria). In between the buildings, -forming horizontal multi-oriented street grids which neglect the natural difference in height-, one gets a glimpse of the central Filopappou or Acropolis hills or the mountains embracing the city (fig.9). From the opposite perspective, standing on top of the green hills, one is treated with a vista to the rooftop terraces and the Mediterranean Sea both seeming to extend infinitely far.
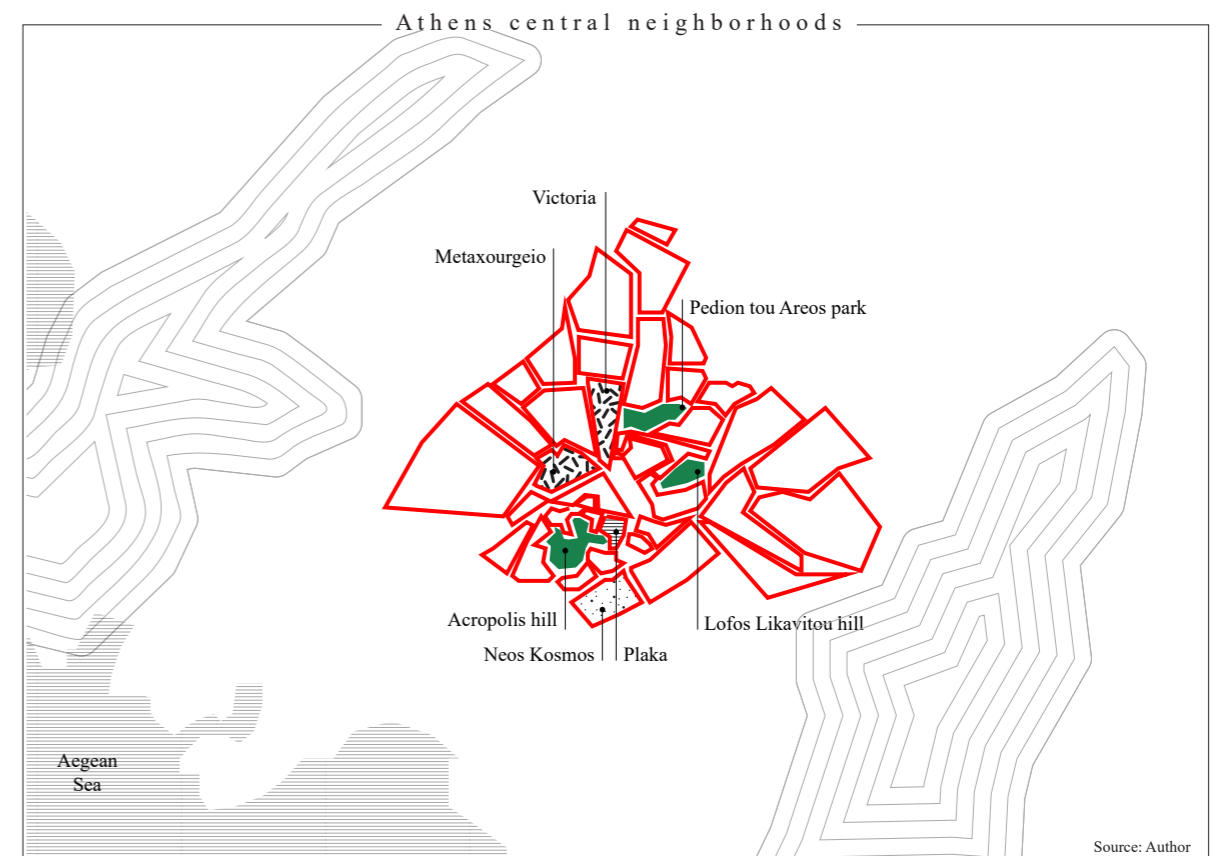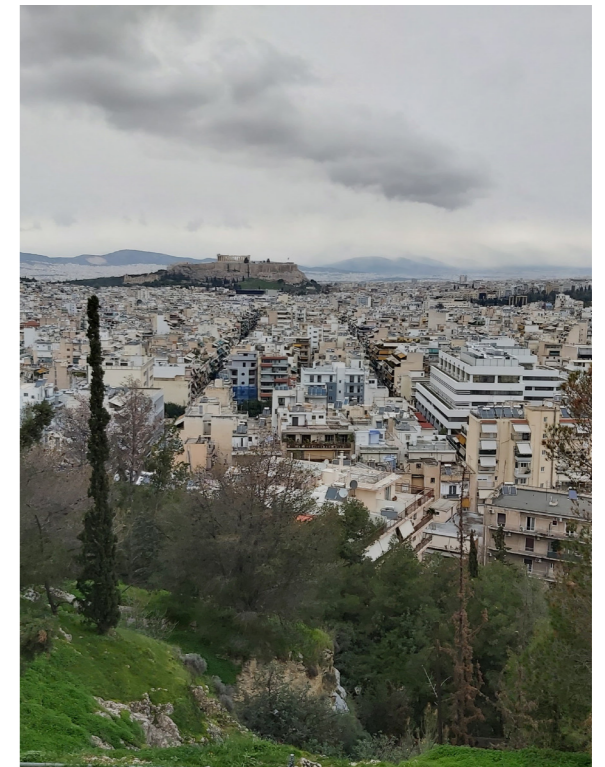

Localization Athens, Greece

Source: Author

Figure 4.

Athens central neighborhoods

Source: Author

Figure 5.

04

4.1.2 Greece's humanitarian landscape affecting the arrival city

Reflecting on Greece's humanitarian landscape today in 2021, a potential explanation for the shortness of social services in the arrival city of Athens is that the country is still recovering from the Debt/austerity Crisis since 2009, slowed down due to its decreased global economic growth and further alternative crises accumulation (Debating Europe, 2017). The key crisis events from 2008 to 2021 are outlined here below.

A. The Greek Debt Crisis (since 2008)

The roots of the Greek Debt Crisis lay back in 2001 when Greece joined the EU's Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) (Rady, 2012). To fund government budget and account deficits, Greece borrowed strongly in international capital markets resulting in external debt level and budget deficits exceeding those permitted by the EMU (ibid). As a consequence imposed by the EU the Greek government implemented austerity measures in 2009 with the aim of reducing their deficit in three years from 13.6% of the gross domestic product (GDP) to less than 3% (ibid). These measures consisted of spending cuts mainly focused on public services, a.o. reduction of pension funds, reformation of the health care system, subsidization limitations and simplification of public administration by decreasing the number of local authority levels (ibid). Combined with a loss of competitiveness on the international market, the austerity measures led to a steep rise in unemployment rates and poverty levels, significant loss of income, widened income inequality, a sharp increase in number of uninsured citizens and increased taxes for housing and consumption products (Stylianidis, Souliotis, 2018; Benmecheddal, Gorge, Özcaglar-Toulouse, 2017). Notably unemployment rates rocketed from 7.8% in 2008 to a peak of 27.5% in 2013, and decreased from then on to 15.5% in 2020 (Statista, 2021).

The financial crisis also strongly effected the health and mental healthcare system, with the population covered by public health care insurance dropping from 100% in 2008 to 86% in 2015 (Stylianidis, Souliotis, 2018). In addition, suicide rates increased alarmingly by 17% from 2007 to 2009 and by 40% in 2011 (Simou, Koutsogeorgou, 2014). Greece, as other Mediterranean nations (Cyprus, Israel, Italy, Malta, Spain, Portugal and Turkey) has a welfare system characterized by family centrality, religion and political clientelist relationships (Gal, 2010). The ongoing impact of these three welfare features manifests itself in relatively fewer public resources, decreases in social expenditure, relatively high unemployment (especially for women), and stronger support for family and religious organizations (ibid). This means that in such welfare systems low-income households not descending from a wealthy family, potentially fall in an extremely vulnerable situation (Gal, 2010; Moulaert and MacCallum, 2019).

B. European Refugee crisis (since 2015)

In 2015, several crises across North Africa and the Middle East led to mass migration towards Europe counting over one million newcomers, representing a fourfold compared to 2014 (BBC, 2016; Médecins sans Frontières, 2020). The majority of migrants came from over (Eastern and Central) Mediterranean Sea routes and to a lesser extent through the mainland via Turkey, and went ashore in Greece or Italy (BBC, 2016). As immediate action taken to cope with the 2015 European Refugee Crisis, the EU put pressure and coercion on Greece and Italy to urgently set so called 'hotspot' structures and procedures to manage the rapid migrant inflow via the Eastern Mediterranean route (EC, 2020). In response, the Greek left SYRIZA government led by Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras established in 2015 a reception policy focusing on five (of the ten) 'hotspots', - first reception facilities located on Greek islands off the Turkish coast -, which quickly evolved to detention centers in 2016 (Kourachanis, 2018). Furthermore, in order to reduce the number of arrivals, the EU reached an agreement with Turkey in 2016, -with the latter taking back illegal migrants arriving in Greece in exchange for relocation in Europe of refugees located in Turkey (EC, 2016). Aside from migrant inflow reduction, the EU migration policy aimed at temporary reception along the external borders and swift return back then.

Greece does still get financial injections from the EU for migrant management and control to this day (EC, 2021). Since 2015 the EU funding consists out of short-term emergency assistance and long-term national programs through the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) and Internal Security Fund (ISF) (EC, 2019; EC, 2021). In response to the Covid-19 pandemic additional short-term funding emerged in 2020 in the form of the Emergency Support Instrument (ESI) (EC, 2021). According to the EC, the ESI "in the spirit of solidarity and in exceptional circumstances, provides support to address large humanitarian needs within the Union when a Member State can no longer cope" (EC, 2021, p.1). An example of a project supported by EU emergency funding is the Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation or ESTIA, managed by UNHCR with participation of NGOs (a.o. ARSIS), local authorities and the Ministry of Migration and Asylum since June 2020 (UNHCR, 2021). The ESTIA I program, -renamed ESTIA II as of June 2020-, provides multi-purpose cash grants addressing basic needs and rental accommodation schemes to asylum seekers and refugees (EC, 2019; EC, 2021). But the fact is that since ESTIA's start in 2016, only few and most vulnerable asylum seekers (and to a lesser extent refugees) are targeted, -with 'the most vulnerable' referring to the elderly, disabled, women with special needs, those who require medical assistance, UAMs, victims of torture/ suffering from trauma, and persons manifestly in need of international protection (UNHCR, 2021). Through the program 82,239 beneficiaries received cash assistance and 27,930 ones got assigned a place in temporary urban accommodation, -covering a relatively small part of the 307,765 asylum seekers in Greece from 2015 to 2020 (Eurostat, 2021; UNHCR, 2021). Moreover, the so-called objective of ESTIA as "pre-integration" program was also criticized since besides temporary housing provision, all social actions were left by the Greek state to voluntary initiators, - the two implementing agencies being local municipalities and NGOs-, who received nihil financial support to that end (Kourachanis, 2019). Furthermore, ESTIA lacks transition housing programs for (semi-) permanent housing for the registered refugee beneficiaries. Therefore, a second initiative funded by the EU running from June 2019 to February 2021 emerged, called the Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection or HELIOS project by IOM. The program aimed at integrating beneficiaries of international protection, -which include registered refugees and persons who have been granted subsidiary protection status-, in the Greek society (IOM, 2021). But despite the dual focus on asylum seeker reception and refugee integration management in combination with slow economic recovery (completion of bailout packages in 2018), the state has kept their support limited to migrant impoverishment management of temporary nature (Kourachanis, 2019; Kovner, Zehavi, Golan, 2021). This was confirmed during an interview with Lefteris Papagiannakis, - former Vice Mayor for Migrants, Refugees and Municipal Decentralization and current Head of Advocacy, Policy and Research of the NGO SolidarityNow-, who stated that after the short-term assistance of the ESTIA and

HELIOS programs, asylum seekers and registered refugees relapse again into homelessness and poverty (Interview of Papagiannakis by April and Nuyts, March, 2021). Intending to integrate asylum seekers/ refugees and prepare them for an autonomous living, the few migrant integration programs thus provide only temporary occupation and very limited long-term perspectives in practice (ibid). Also public concern about migration remains and cases of violence towards asylum seekers even rose in 2020 (Kourachanis, 2019; Kovner, Zehavi, Golan, 2021). The 2015 Refugee reception crisis thus transformed into a 2019 refugee *integration* crisis.

Nowadays the state's anti-migrant policy manifests itself not only in the absence of (semi-) permanent housing programs or support, but also in terms of the health system and labor market access. The current government led by Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis, -representing the liberal-conservative center-right political party New Democracy-, abolished the AMKA (the Greek acronym for Αριθμός Μητρώου Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης, EN: Social Insurance Registration Number) for refugees and migrants, making public health structures inaccessible to them (Kourachanis, 2021). And in theory, legally TCNs enjoy equal access to the job market apart from minor exceptions (e.g. public sector jobs) (Skleparis, 2018). Nevertheless, in practice TCNs are actually mainly employed in low-skilled non-socially-secured jobs in the sectors of hotel and restaurant/ manufacturing/ wholesale/ retail trade (as unskilled or manual laborer)/ salespersons in stores and outdoor markets, or unemployed (ibid). Two main reasons for the TCN labor disadvantage are bureaucratic obstacles like getting necessary employment documents (e.g. bank account to receive salary), and secondly a lack of additional support through social services (e.g. training, work field orientation and recognition) (ibid). The Greek state offering limited social and housing services to migrants, -and actually to the Greek population in general-, is explainable in light of respectively the preexisting austerity crisis and the more recent housing affordability crisis driven by housing financialization.

C. Housing affordability crisis (since 2018)

Housing *financialization,* -speaking of when housing is regarded as a tool for wealth and investment, rather than a social good with use value-, has increasingly manifested itself in Greece since 2018 (OHCHR, 2020). According to former Vice Mayor Papagiannakis, especially before the Debt Crisis Greeks considered private property sacred in terms of rental income and family inheritance (Interview of Papagiannakis by April, Nuyts, 2021). But after 2009 the rent numbers and incomes decreased and selling property became more difficult, resulting in a decrease of home ownership rate (ibid). However, over the past ten years Greece turned into an all-year tourist destination (ibid). Consequently the country, -and in particular the region of Athens-, experienced a steep increase of number of Airbnb rentals by international investors going from 132 in 2010 to 126,231 in 2018 (Maloutas, Siatitsa, Balampanidis, 2020). The resulting financialization phenomenon led to the intensification of housing unaffordability for migrants and less fortunate citizens in particular due to skyrocketing rent prices and raised property occupation taxes (ibid). Lefteris Papagiannakis pointed out that in 2018 the social and affordable housing discussion was only put back on the political agenda when talking about refugee accommodation with the country facing an austerity and refugee reception/integration crisis at the same time. (Interview of Papagiannakis by April and Nuyts, March, 2021).

D. The Corona crisis (since 2020)

Since 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic has once again shed light on the State's anti-migration policy (Spyratou, 2020). To contain an outbreak of the virus, the Greek government implemented further restrictions on movement in and out the camps, and maintained migration services and policies on the base of temporality and exclusion (Kovner, Zehavi, Golan, 2021). During the first lockdown in 2020, many refugees did not even have access to information about the corona measures in an understandable language. Moreover, as the asylum service center was temporarily shut down, no asylum seeker could obtain a proof of application, obstructing access to the healthcare system, financial assistance and labor market (ibid). Furthermore schools closing and moving to an online environment meant that the education of asylum and refugee children was put on hold due to lack of internet and digital equipment (ibid).

Moreover, the pandemic heavily impacted tourism which is a vital economic sector for the Greek economy (56% of service exports and 26% of total exports in 2019) (Mariolis, Rodousakis and Soklis, 2020). Corona thus causes further drastic negative effects on the state's economy, health system and living standards of both Greek natives and migrants (ibid).

Figure 10 below provides a summarizing timeline listing the multiple humanitarian crises Greece copes with since 2009 depicted in red, blue, green and yellow. These colors respectively and chronologically represent the 2009 Greek Debt Crisis, the 2015 European Refugee Crisis, the 2018 Greek housing affordability crisis and the 2020 global coronavirus crisis. Focusing on pre-corona times, while following the trends in growth rate of Greece's GDP each year [% on the left y-axe] compared to the previous one illustrated in red, slow recovery from 2010 to 2019 is noticeable. Looking secondly to the number of asylum applicants [# on the right y-axe] painted blue, two key insights are the strongly grown migrant inflow in 2015, and the weakened increase through the hotspot approach and the EU-Turkey deal in 2016. Focusing thereafter on the green line, housing price comparisons per year [% on the left y-axe] steeply increased in 2018 to over 10% in 2019. Finally, taking a look at the time of emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, substantial reductions in GDP, housing prices and asylum applicants are clearly visible. These multiple crises thus form Greece's humanitarian landscape today.
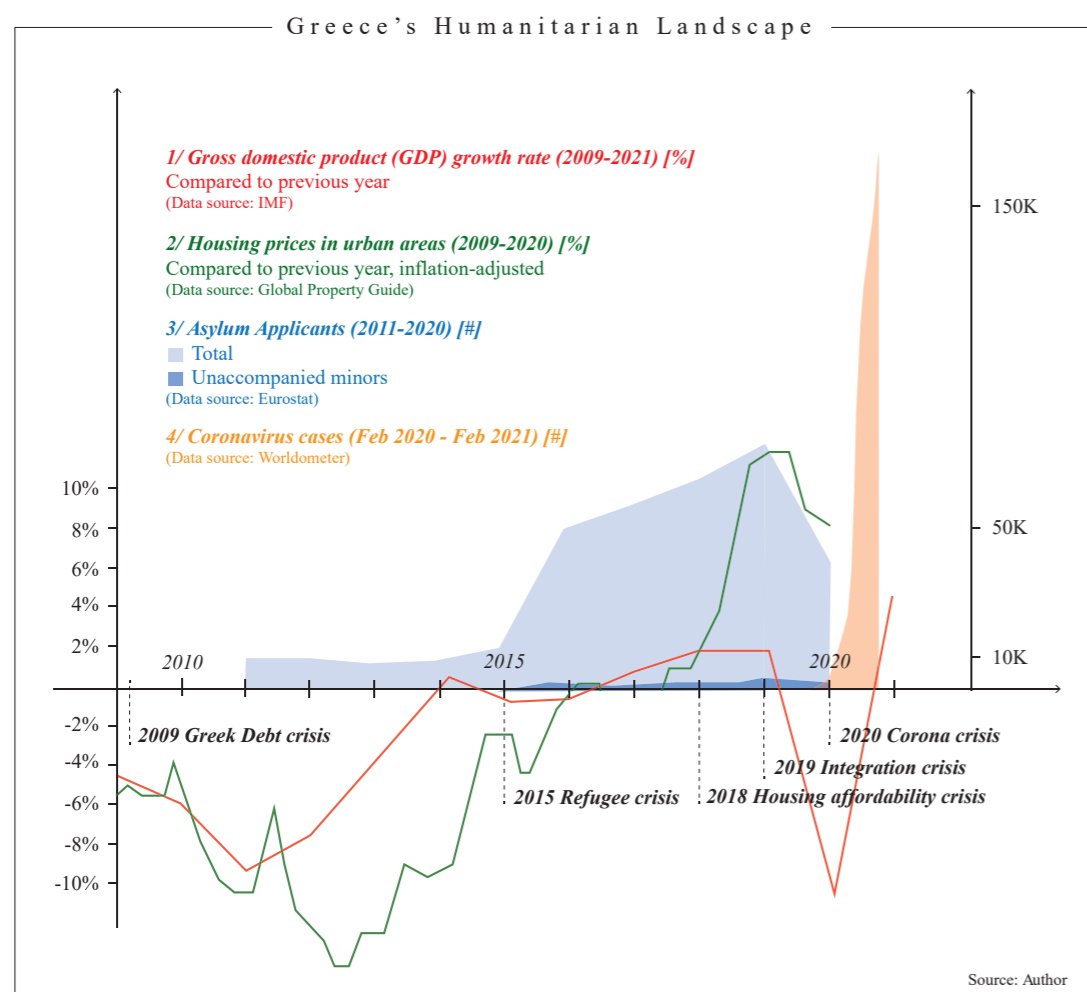
Figure 10.

In brief, due to preexisting recession and austerity measures since 2009 and the more recent financialization phenomenon, Greece has been facing a socio-economic crisis heavily impacting its own citizens in terms of access to social services, labor, affordable housing etc. As a result, the country was ill-equipped to sufficiently respond to the Refugee Crisis since 2015. This fragile socio-economic status of Greece also explains some Greeks' public concern and xenophobia towards permanent refugee settlement (FEANTSA, 2020).

4.2 Post-2015 unaccompanied minors displaced in Greece

4.2.1 Unaccompanied minor migrants in the arrival city of Athens and Greece

Back in 2015, 31% of refugees reaching Europe via turbulent sea routes and 1 in 4 asylum applicants in the EU were children (EC, 2020; UNICEF, 2020). Among these minor asylum applicants 96,000 arrived unaccompanied (ibid). As seen in the introduction, an unaccompanied minor or UAM is defined as a child separated from both parents and other relatives and not being cared for by any other adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so (UNHCR, 2004). In short, UAM arrive all alone, not to be confused with the term separated children. The latter can namely be accompanied by other adult family members and stand therefore not totally by themselves.
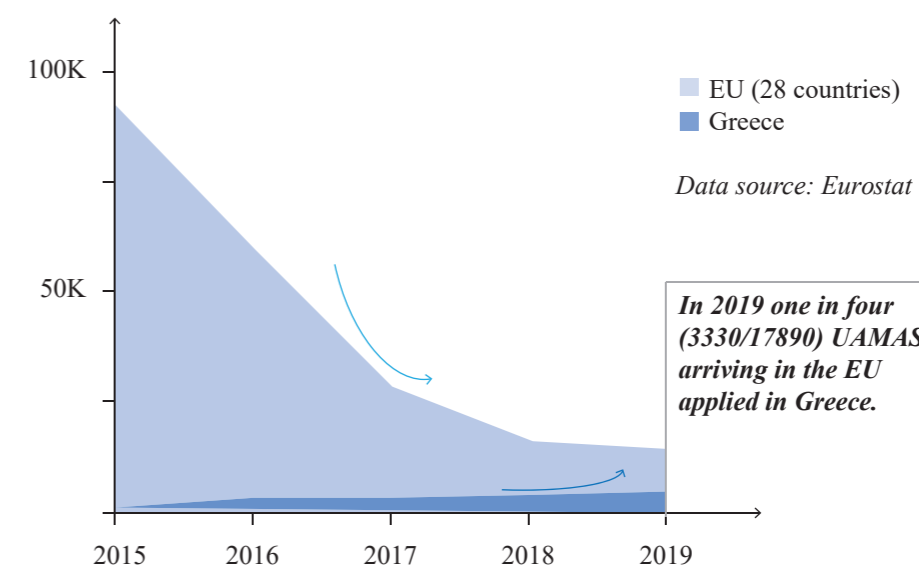
Figure 11: Asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors in the EU and Greece. (Source: Author)

Greece is the top destination of arrival since 2019 counting 3,330 UAM asylum seekers (Eurostat, 2020). Even though the absolute number of incoming UAMs in the EU has been declining over the years, figure 11 illustrates that Greek arrivals do not follow these trends and have experienced even a slight increase till 2019, -which is in line with a growing number of arrivers in general (ibid). Statistical data by the National Center for Social Solidarity (in Greek, Εθνικό Κέντρο Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης, EKKA) and UNICEF from November 2019 indicate that Greece counts 5,162 UAMs in total (Info Migrants, 2020). The majority are minors between 15 and 17 years old coming mostly from Afghanistan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Iraq and the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNHCR; UNICEF; IOM, 2019). According to IOM, the main push factors for migrations are poverty followed by war or conflict, personal violence, limited access to basic services and education (IOM, 2020). Most UAMs intentionally undertake the migration journey driven by appealing socio-economic conditions and relatives living at the destination, aiming in many cases to reach Italy, France, or Europe in general (ibid).

4.2.2 Unaccompanied minors' asylum policy in the EU

After arrival and asylum claim, an UAM waits to get registered as a refugee. In case of a positive asylum decision (59% in 2019 in Europe), the child is granted refugee status (67%), subsidiary protection (19%) or humanitarian status (14%) (UNHCR; UNICEF; IOM, 2019). The three decision outcomes,- of which the two latter are less common-, are explained below:

- **Refugee status** according to the 1951 *Convention Related to the Status of Refugees*, is granted to those who have crossed international borders as a result of a 'well-founded fear of being persecuted' on account of their religious, political, sexual or other social identity, and whose country will not or cannot protect them or may in fact be the body that is persecuting them (Hynie, 2018; UN General Assembly, 1951).

- **Subsidiary protection status** according to Art.2 of Directive 2011/95/EU, "a person eligible for subsidiary protection is a TCN or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Article 15, and to whom Article 17(1) and (2) does not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country." (Eurostat, 2019)

- **Authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons** according to Eurostat, is granted to "a person covered by a decision granting authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons under national law concerning international protection, taken by administrative or judicial bodies during the reference period. It includes persons who are not eligible for international protection as currently defined in the first stage legal instruments, but are nonetheless protected against removal under the obligations that are imposed on all Member States by international refugee or human rights instruments or on the basis of principles flowing from such instruments. Examples of such categories include persons who are not removable on ill health grounds and unaccompanied minors." (Eurostat, 2019)
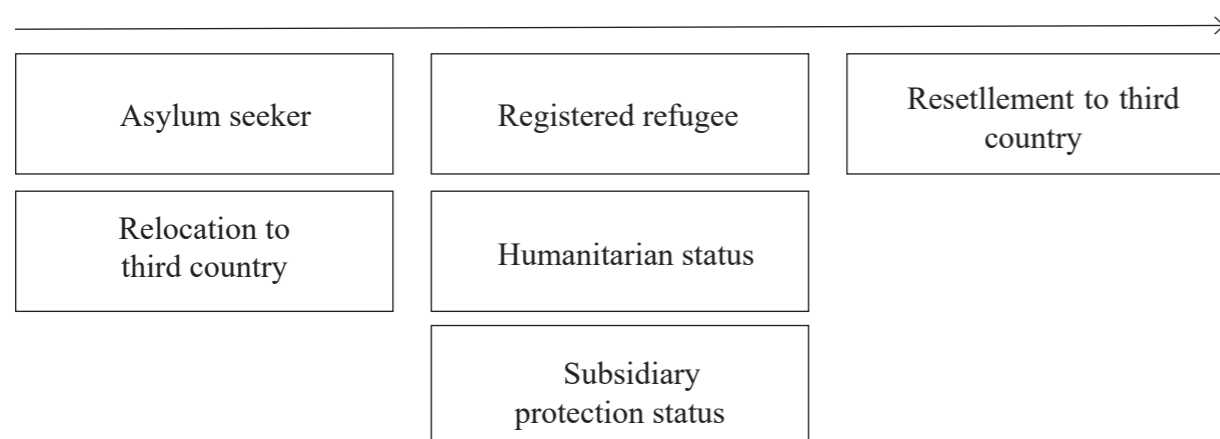
Figure 12: Asylum decision procedure. (Source: Author)

All three decisions allow asylum applicants to stay in the country of asylum and are similar in terms of civil rights. However, prominent differences cannot be neglected like for example issues concerning residence permit, family reunion, travel documents and higher education (UNHCR, 2020; Vassiliou J., 2019). A Synthesis Report by the European Migration Network (EMN) also claims the legal status influences the integration trajectory in about half of the Member States (EC, 2017).

In case of rejection the child is expected to return to where they come from. In practice Member States continue to take care of UAMs with negative asylum decisions. The EU considers the role of guardians to support the rejected UAM till return essential (EC, 2017; FRA, 2018).

In response to the fact that Greece has not enough shelter and services for its arriving UAMs due to the socio-economic crisis, the state arranges relocation to the other EU Member States through bilateral agreements. (UNHCR; UNICEF; IOM, 2019). Relocation of asylum seekers is not to be confused with resettlement of refugees. The option of resettlement to third countries namely exists for registered refugees only. IOM facilitates pre-departure training (games and exercises on culture, norms, values, tradition…), a safe transit (visa processing, flights) and post-arrival integration (ibid). In the case of UAM, relocation happens often already in an earlier stage initiated by family links and best interests of the child through a Best Interest Assessment (BIA) (UNHCR, 2020). The relocation procedure is mainly supervised by NGOs (depicted in fig. 4: METAdrasi, PRAKSIS, Arsis) together with IOM and UNHCR (UNHCR, 2020). In Athens,IOM takes cares of health, accommodation, and other pre-departure procedures (UNHCR, 2020). Regarding Greece in 2019, less than 100 UAM were relocated, all to the UK (UNHCR; UNICEF; IOM, 2019).

4.2.3 Services and policies in the EU/ Greece/ Athens for unaccompanied minors

According to Community Directives 2005/85/EU and 2013/33/EU concerning the reception and living conditions of asylum seekers, Member States are obliged to provide adequate hosting conditions, access to education, personal protection, and decent living standards ensuring physical, mental, moral and intellectual support and social development (Kourachanis, 2021). Services like creative activities, psychological support, legal representation and information about their rights should also be accessible to refugees. In the specific case of UAM without any family protection and often carrying significant traumatic experiences, there is additional need for intense psychosocial services and an institutional framework for protection, with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) being the main reference for child protection agreement (ibid). In Greece, a regulatory framework for the guardianship of UAM is defined by law in 2018, but has not been put into practice by the government due to the understaffed public sector, slow registration and lack of shelter (Kourachanis, 2021; GCR, 2020). According to this law, the juvenile prosecutor, -which is a law officer representing the state for cases with minors in particular-, functions as temporary guardian until the appointment of a permanent guardian (ibid). The latter is selected from a registry by EKKA and bears responsibility for the integration of UAM in line with the community directives like decent accommodation, legal assistance, education etc. Furthermore the guardian is obliged to ensure free expression and development of the child's political, philosophical and religious beliefs, to assist in judicial and administrative procedures, and to take steps to assign custody of the child to an appropriate foster family (GCR, 2020).

Before the European refugee crisis there was no distinction between UAMs and adult asylum seekers, resulting in them sharing the same accommodation facilities (Kourachanis, 2021). Since 2015, UAM specific accommodation forms emerged, though same social inadequacy of the emergency housing structures as in case of adult homelessness services counts (ibid). In Greece there are 5 types of UAM accommodation (table 4 & figure 13), subdivided by the emergency (1-3) or long-term character (4-5);

Accommodation type	Time span	Area	% Total shelter facilities	
Reception and Identification Center (RIC) or adjacent refugee camp	Temporary	Rural	57.8	57.8
Safe zone			15.5	
Hotel		Urban mainland	26.7	42.2
Shelter	Long-term			
SIL Apartment				

Table 4: Overview of UAM accommodation types. (Based on UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, 2019; Source: Author)

- Created in 2017, a **safe zone** is an isolated zone with 24/7 specialized staff protection and care located inside a refugee camp (open/ closed accommodation center) as temporary living space for UAMs only (GCR, 2020; Kourachanis, 2021). To date, there are ten safe zones hosting up to 300 children where they wait on average up to 6 months for a transfer to proper shelters (ibid).

- Since 2018, as an expansion to the camps, IOM set up emergency accommodation services in the mainland (Northern Greece and Attica) in the form of **hotels** (Kourachanis, 2021). This initiative was part of the PEDIA program by IOM with the support of UNICEF and some other NGOs (e.g. ARSIS), a project running from July 2018 to April 2020, which aims to ensure the provision of accommodation, protection, access to formal education, medical and psychosocial support to UAMs (IOM, 2020).

- **Shelters** are long-term accommodation facilities within urban area provided by NGOs offering more comfortable housing solutions than the safe zones and hotels. Yet, places in shelters are limited and long waiting lists exist since shelters have a narrow capacity of around 30 children on average. EKKA handles the management of the shelter referrals (Kourachanis, 2021).

- **Semi-independent Living (SIL)** practices are experimental pilot programs which have arisen since 2018 as part of the project 'Supported Autonomous Living for Unaccompanied Refugee Minors' run by local NGOs (a.o. ARSIS, METAdrasi, PRAKSIS) and funded by the EU with the support of UNICEF and UNHCR. The program offers housing and social services to UAMs between the ages of 16 and 18 to prepare them for an independent adult life (Kourachanis, 2021).

As shown in table 4, in 2019 only 42.2% of 4,815 were living in appropriate accommodation. This number is made up by 26.7% short (hotels) and long-term settlements (shelters, SIL-apartments) in urban areas and 15.5% temporary safe zones (UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, 2019). Due to the lack of shelter capacity, more than half (57.8%) of UAMs has been forced to remain in the RICs in protective custody/ detention or either in insecure/ informal housing conditions in the refugee camps (GCR, 2020; UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, 2019). This UAM distribution reveals the substantial insufficiency of housing and social support for UAM in Greece

(Kourachanis, 2021). In November 2019, the Greek government responded to the UAM shelter shortage with the 'No Child Alone plan' committed to create new structures providing long-term accommodation for 4,000 UAMs (HRW, 2019). As depicted in figure 13, a few months later in 2020 the whole country still only counted approximately no more than 300 safe zones, 500 hotel and 1,500 shelter places for 5,463 UAM (EKKA, 2020; UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, 2020). The accuracy of the above figures is questionable, because there are many cases of minors who run away from shelters into the arms of human smugglers and traffickers,- numbers which are not carefully monitored by EU Member States on a supranational level (De Standaard, 2021). In fact, in the EU 18 ,292 minors were reported missing between 2018 and 2020 (Lost in Europe, 2021). Moreover, the registration of vulnerable minor migrants is conducted in a rather chaotic way given unlisted disappearances, wrong registrations of minors as adults and vice versa, adults pretending to be minors (De Standaard, 2021).
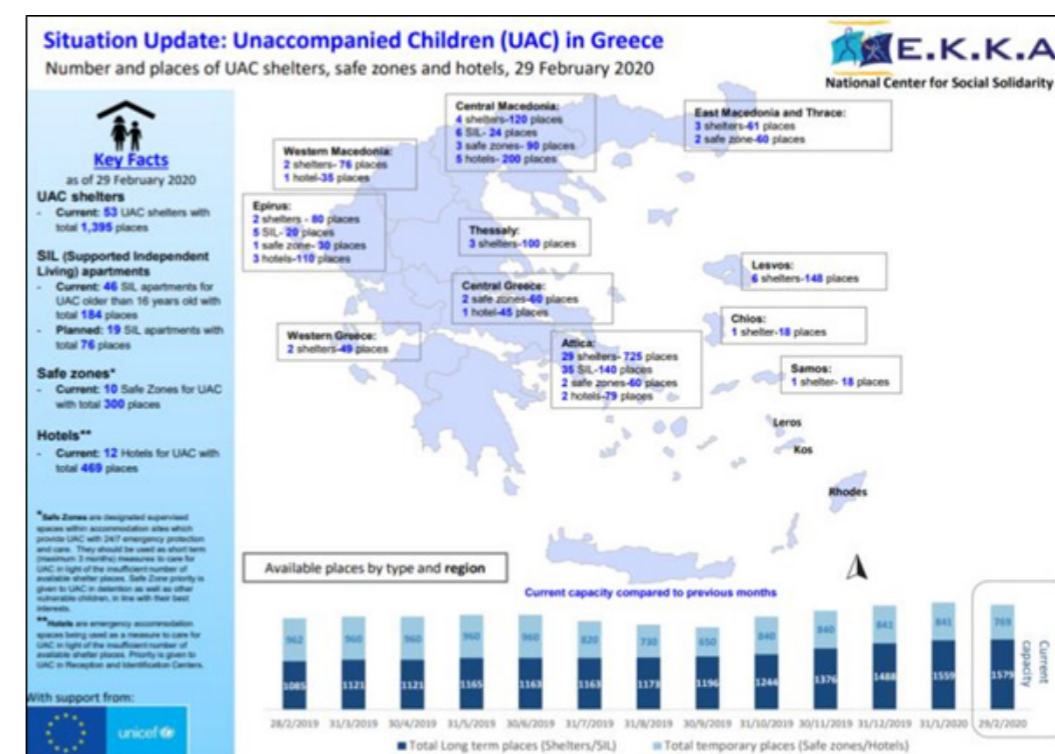
Figure 13: UAM Accommodation distribution across Greece in 2020. (Source: EKKA, 2020)

The protagonist work of Greek social NGOs in hosting minors in Athens

As indicated earlier, social policy for UAM turns out to be fragmented and privatized by NGOs taking up a protagonist role and filling in the absence of the state (Kourachanis, 2021). The state lacks social integration policy (e.g. regarding education; administrative or procedural hinder, lack of preparatory classes, intercultural material) and does not even fund the substituting NGOs (Tzifakis et al., 2017; Kourachanis, 2021). Financial support for NGOs working with UAM mainly comes from the EU, charities, and international organizations (ibid). In recent years, the main revenues of NGOs have come from private foundations (Tzifakis et al., 2017). Despite their financial uncertainty, Greek social NGOs enjoyed a tremendous revenue boost thanks to private philanthropic foundations strengthened by the 2015 refugee crisis (ibid). And apart from this increased external funding, many have internally enforced their organization through efficient operation reformations and more volunteer involvement due to temporarily grown public

concern (ibid). However, regarding social NGOs' services, insufficiency counts mainly in terms of mental health services due to NGO's inadequate psychosocial support and hindered public mental health access (e.g. social security number procedure, long waiting lists), and for their legal service being not officially responsible as NGO or volunteer lawyer (Tzifakis et al., 2017).

Figure 14 gives an overview of social NGOs' provision of 5 different UAM accommodation types: three emergency accommodation types (1) RIC, (2) safe zone, (3) hotel and two temporary housing types (4) shelter and (5) SIL apartment. Figure 14 shows how social NGOs (e.g. METAdrasi/ PRAKSIS/ GCR/ ARSIS) operate independently and parallel to each other. Children arriving in a RIC and being identified as UAM are supposed to be immediately guided to a safe zone or transferred to a hotel on the mainland. The latter gives preference to younger children. Illustrated on the right of figure 2, UAMs turning adult above 18 years old fall out of NGO support. Only a handful (SafePlace, Arsis, Solidarity Now, Solidarity for the Care of Minors and Youth) offer adult shelter. Shelter specifically focusing on protected groups like women or LGBT+ is also very limited (Zeuxis, Orange House, SafePlace).

An analysis of the services of prominent NGOs active in integration work of UAMs depicted in figure 2 indicates their support goes way beyond just shelter arrangement and basic needs provision (food, hygiene, clothes, healthcare). Though proven inadequate, figure 4 illustrates that most social NGOs in Greece strongly invest in psycho-social and legal services. And they support the children's growth by offering recreational activities (arts, theatre, music), sports, workshops, education, and employment skills training to guide them towards the labor market (ACCMR, 2021). They stimulate integration through language classes (often Greek and English), interpretation services (direct translation), and intercultural activities. Some NGOs such as the HOME Project even arrange interaction with the local community (e.g. volunteering, public music/sports/art event) (ACCMR; The HOME Project, 2020).

A second group of NGOs running day or nights centers offer similar services, depicted in the central column of figure 15. Their functions differ from basic needs supply (hygiene, daily meals, help line, etc.) to after-school day care (games, sports, informal education) to career guidance (internet access, vocational training, leadership and CV workshop, etc.) and independency skill trainer (cash assistance, cooking class). A large portion of NGO accommodation and integration services suddenly disappears when reaching adulthood, paradoxically at the moment when autonomous life preparation services are of crucial importance. And by analyzing figure 15 from top to bottom, a striking observation is the quantity imbalance between related services like firstly educational support and language courses (provided by 15 vs 7 NGOs), and secondly psychosocial support and guardianship (provided by 20 vs 4 NGOs).

04

UAM Accommodation types provided by NGOs in Athens

Figure 14, Based on ACCMR, Source: Author

Legend
● NGO
- - - multiple types provided by same NGO

RIC/ Refugee camp	Hotel	18+ Shelter
ARSIS	Iliaktida AMKE	Athens Housing Collective
Iliaktida AMKE	Praksis	Safeplace
IOM		Society for the Care of Minors and Youth
METAdrasi		Solidarity Now
Movement on the Ground	Shelter	
Solidarity Now	ARSIS	Girls and young women
Terre des Hommes	European Expression EKPETHE	Orange House
Zeuxis	Faros	METAdrasi
	Goodwill Caravan	Zeuxis
Safe zone	Hellenistic Red Cross	
ARSIS	Iliaktida AMKE	SIL Apartment
GCR	IOM	ARSIS
IOM	Medecins du Monde	METAdrasi
METAdrasi	Movement on the Ground	Praksis
Zeuxis	Praksis	Solidarity now
	Society for the Care of Minors and Youth	UNHCR
	Solidarity Now	
	The Home Project	
	UNHCR	

UAM services provided by NGOs in Athens

Legend   *Figure 15, Based on ACCMR, Source: Author*

- ●   *NGO providing service to UAM*
- ●   *NGO providing service to UAM after turning 18+*

center services   shelter services

- guardianship
- protection service
- legal assistance
- clothing & shoes
- food service
- hygiene
- psychosocial support
- health care
- family contact
- interpretation service
- recreational activities
- intercultural activities
- sports
- language courses
- educational support
- employent & career guidance
- local community interaction
- cooking courses
- cash assistance
- help line

Center
Anasa | ARSIS | European Expression EKPETHE | Faros | Humanitarian Initiative BRIDGES |
Melissa | Medecins du Monde | METAdrasi | Network for Children's Rights | Praksis | Safeplace |
The Smile of the Child | UNHCR | Velos Youth | Zaatar | Zeuxis

Shelter
ARSIS | GCR | Hellenistic Red Cross | IOM | METAdrasi | Movement on the Ground | Praksis |
SolidarityNow | The HOME Project

4.3 The resilience-bolstering potential of Greek social NGOs

4.3.1 Introduction to the case of "Association for the Social Support of Youth" (ARSIS)

Originally founded in 1992, the Association for the Social Support of Youth (in short ARSIS), is a Greek NGO supporting disadvantaged youth and protecting their rights through advocacy. ARSIS receives funding from the EU and the Greek Government (which is also supported by the EU), and additionally from private donations. The organization has several partnerships and network connections on international (e.g. PICUM), European (e.g. FEANTSA), and national Greek level (e.g. Children on the move Network) (ARSIS, 2021). Today ARSIS offers youth support in different areas across Athens, Volos, Thessaloniki, Alexandroupoli, Tirana and Kozani (ibid).

In 1996, ARSIS established a Youth Support Center aiming at youth right defense and active social support towards disadvantaged young people, offering psychosocial services and organizing street work which involves handing out sleeping bags, hygiene items, clothes and solar chargers to homeless UAMs (ARSIS, 2021). In line with Greek legislation, ARSIS defines youth as those belonging to the age group 15 to 25 years (ARSIS, 2021). Initially their general target group consisted of suppressed or socially excluded young individuals ("youth under conditions of poverty, neglect, victimization, conflict disapproval, exploitation, isolation, racism, law problems, institutionalized youth, school leavers, orphans and homeless people") (ibid). ARSIS has been mobilizing staff and volunteers working with various vulnerable groups, such as Roma people, homeless people, detainees and refugees (ibid). Since 2015, their main target group shifted to asylum seekers, and refugees in particular. As a consequence, to date, ARSIS core operations focus on accommodation and social support in safe zones, SIL apartments and shelters for UAMs or single-parent families (ibid). Besides their accommodation services, ARSIS is also active in the aforementioned Youth Support Centre, human rights education, action against trafficking, Simpraxis which is a warehouse space for the collection and distribution of several goods (e.g. furniture, food, clothing, toys, books etc.), penitentiary systems, protection action in camps through a mobile unit and several projects in cooperation with other NGOs and international organizations (ibid).

Figure 16: Fokionos Negri, public park and pedestrian avenue. (Source: Author)
Figure 17: ARSIS Youth Support Center. (Source: Author)

Besides covering basic need services like temporary housing, hygiene, healthcare and food, ARSIS has developed psycho-social support (e.g. legal advice, group work, information, liaison with social services, support to deal with personal, social, housing or other problems and needs), educational support (e.g. Greek and English language courses and educational assistance), employment preparation (e.g. soft skills development, vocational training, career counseling, job search, work placement support, workshops, social enterprise initiatives) and social and recreational mobilization (e.g. leisure activities, sports, creative art workshops, exhibitions, cultural events, visits, theatre). With the mission to develop improved methods for social youth support and to lay out a holistic support system, ARSIS cooperates with public and private services (a.o. ACCMR network). For example among others they closely collaborate with the NGO Ankaa to give additional practical skills in parallel to education like cellphone reparations, tailor workshops and hairdresser lessons.
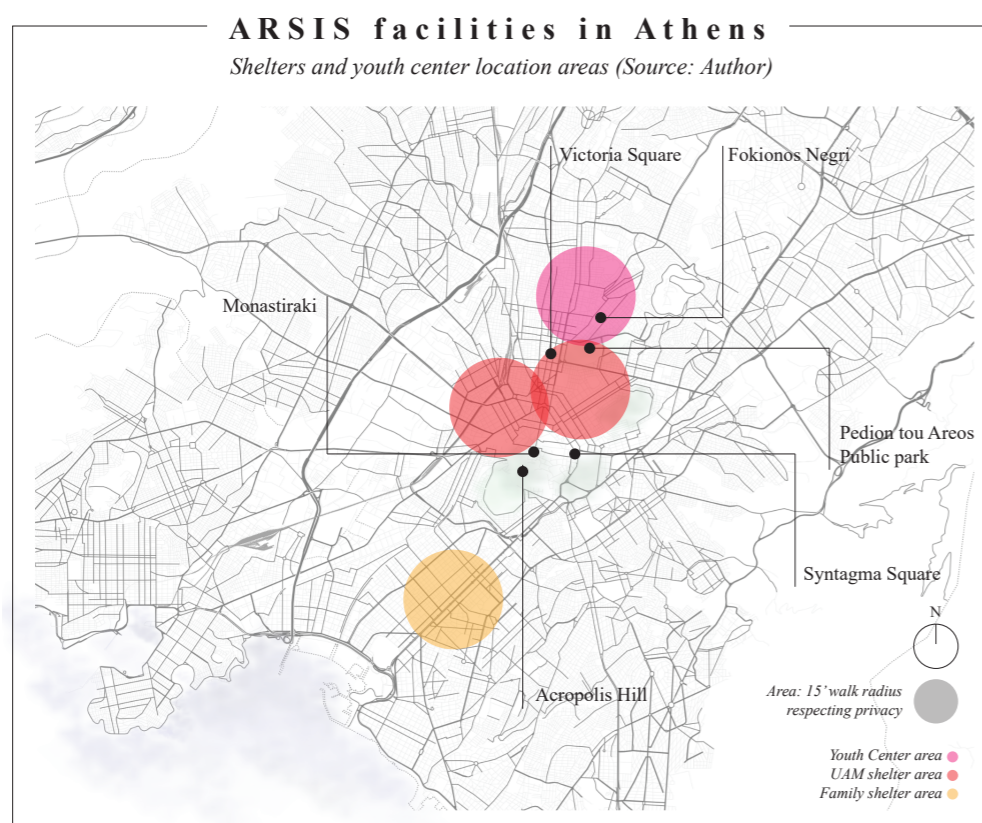
Selection of the shelter location

Figure 18.

The empirical research particularly investigates one of ARSIS' shelters for male UAMs rented and specifically selected themselves in the Metaxourgeio neighborhood of Athens. Focusing on the spatial context around the shelter, though abandoned during the 20th century, strolling around the shelter area today one discovers within the lived-in urban fabric in need of refurbishment small shops and coffee bars, lots of artistic expression in the form of graffiti and street art, student housing, a modest Chinatown, an open-air market and open spaces occupied by an active community. However, the area has little green except for terrace plants. The neighborhood implantation of the shelter is shown in figures 20 and 21. The shelter coordinator and program director described the way the organization identifies and consciously targets suitable shelter

locations. Three requirements have to be met:

- Firstly the **vicinity of public utilities** being a school, medical center, (super)market and metro station. The shelter coordinator describes she once got the proposal to relocate the shelter outside of Athens within a more rural area. The shelter infrastructure would be more spacious fully surrounded by nature, which would allow them to organize sport and agricultural activities. Nevertheless she declined the offer since the young men would be totally disconnected from public activities and their friends living in the city. She states for young children such green protective area may be a good place, but not for puberty. The metro station nearby the shelter in Metaxourgeio gives the opportunity to visit places and events further away like specific performances, museums or the beach.
- Secondly the aspect of **centrality** ensuring easy access enabling youth to find the way to ARSIS themselves. Visiting the program director in the ARSIS Youth Center, he sets an example of how the NGO wanted to settle the center in proximity of Fokionos Negri, - which is a public park and pedestrian avenue where children in need gather. Same counts for the shelter location in Metaxourgeio, given its implantation accessible by foot, bus or metro from Monastiraki and Acropolis, Syntagma, Omonoia, Victoria square and the Pedion tou Areos (public park where homeless refugees spend the night).
- Thirdly contributing to a nice **distribution** of their own existing buildings and facilities by other ally organizations. Figure 18 depicts ARSIS' settlement arrangement over the city. The shelter coordinator explains family shelters are planned in a more quiet residential area (orange color) respecting their privacy, while UAM shelters (red) and the youth center (pink) are situated in the more dense and vital city center.

ARSIS' efforts to select a central location for the shelter have demonstrated their value particularly since the emergence of Covid-19. Because of the pandemic, the Greek government has limited outdoor movement to a period of 2 hours. All citizens leaving their house need to go around with a movement permit in their pockets or send a text message with 1 of 6 reasons for movement. The minors mainly use number 6 being 'physical exercise outdoors individually or per three persons keeping 1.5m distance'. ARSIS has put an additional constraint on top allowing the minors to go out maximum three times a week, - four in case of exemplary behavior in terms of respecting the rules. The map (fig.19) shows how movement restriction has limited the minors' daily life use of space to certain neighborhood radius. Since taking public transport is strongly discouraged, visits out of the city center to one of the beaches or the hills embracing the city are totally excluded. Even for trips to the public parks (e.g. National Garden, Pedion tou Areos) or rising the Acropolis or Filopappou hills it has become a challenge to be back in time.

The building which ARSIS has picked and rents is a south facing four-level property within 5 minutes walking distance from the metro station. For the selection of appropriate housing, the number of square meters played a major role; The building has to provide, on one hand, enough private space ensuring every minor has his own 4m² in his shared bedroom. On the other hand, enough common space and storage is needed for ARSIS staff to do group activities with 28 minors. Furthermore, a fully equipped kitchen, decent bathroom and toilets, staff office space and outdoor area are required. The latter condition is currently not fully satisfied given all staff members mentioned the lack of more outdoor space apart from the rooftop balcony in their interviews.

U A M   c i r c u l a t i o n   a r e a   i n   A t h e n s

Mapping the restricted 2h movement during the corona lockdown (fig. 19, Source: Author)

ARSIS Shelter
Metaxourgeio

Victoria Square
24' walk

Pedion tou Areos Park
27' walk

04

Piraeus
38' metro

Flisvos beach
35' metro & tram

N

*2h counted as
30' walk there & back
+ 1h stay*

Acropolis Hill
23' walk

Monastiraki
17' walk

Syntagma Square
25' walk

20m
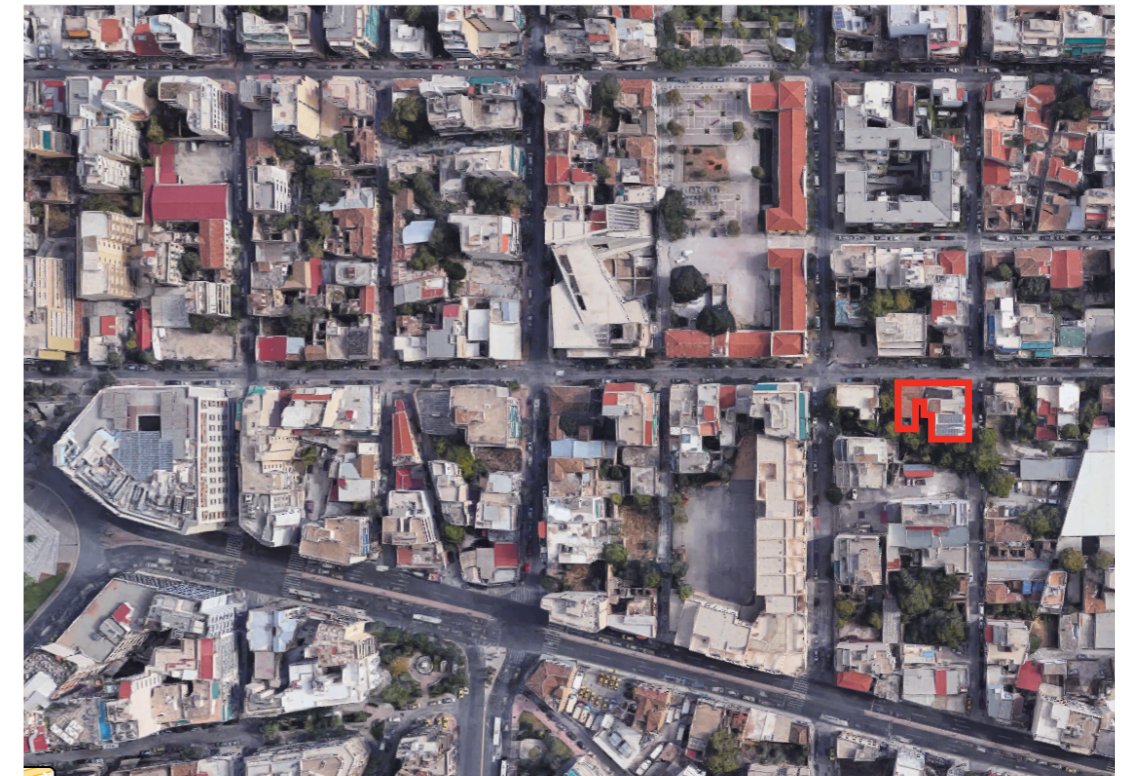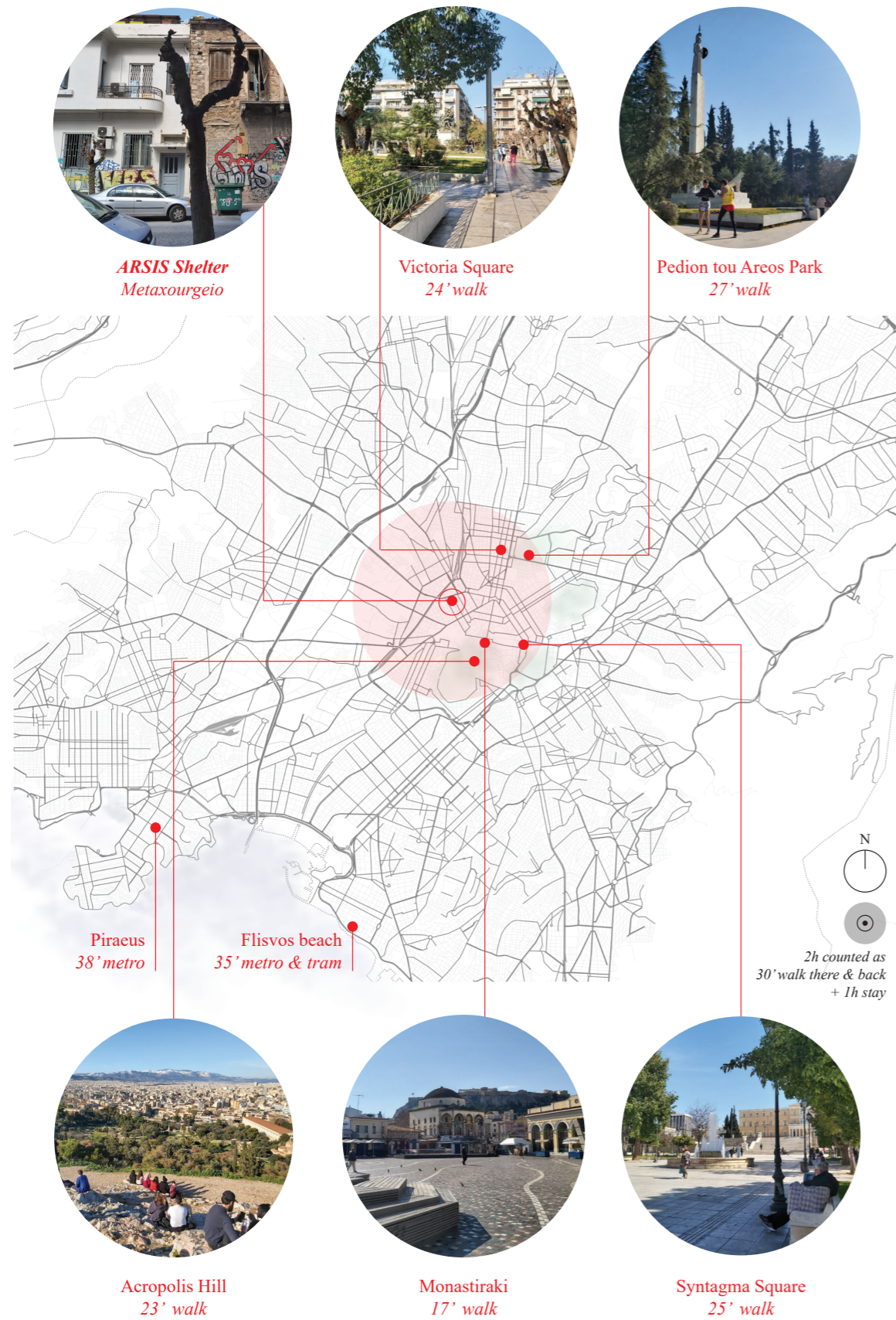
Figure 20: Shelter implantation - Rooftop view
Metaxourgeio, Athens (Source: Google Maps)
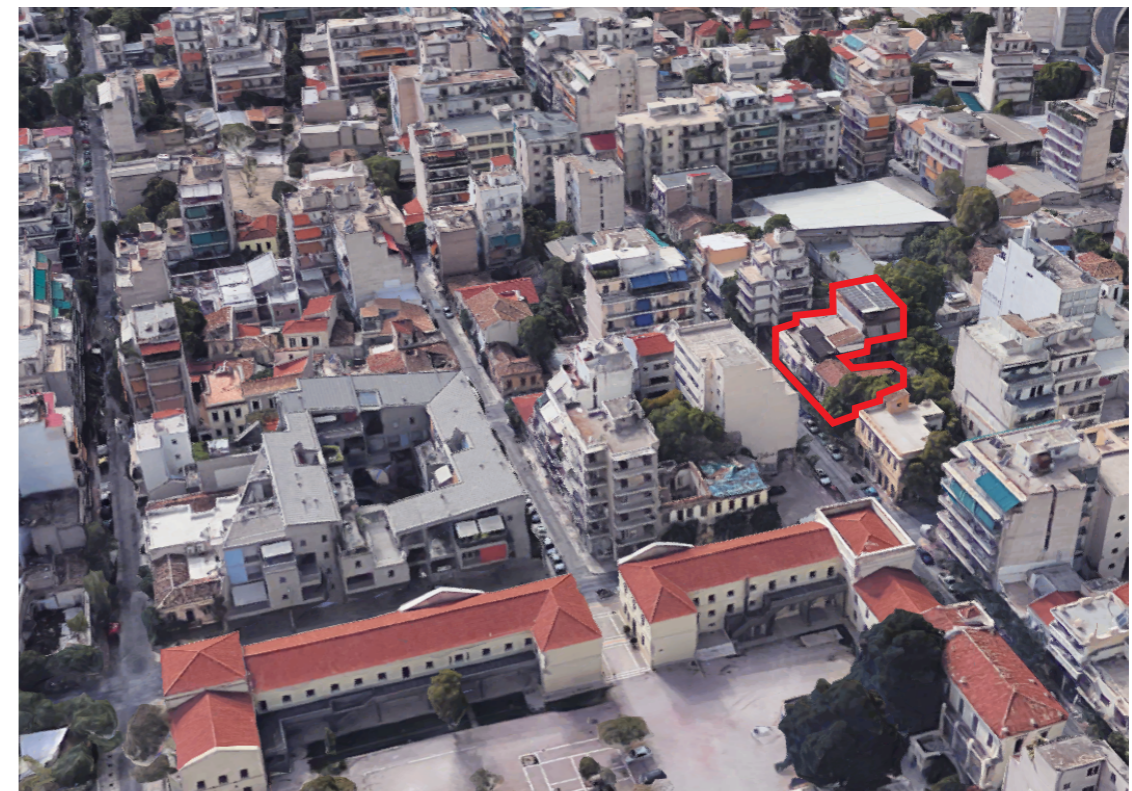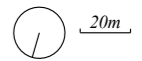
Figure 21: Shelter implantation - Bird's eye view
Metaxourgeio, Athens (Source: Google Maps)

04

Looking at the internal lay-out of the shelter depicted in figures 28-30, the core of the building consists of one central living and dining room (fig. 25) on the first floor (fig. 29) with 5 adjacent bedrooms and an adjoining small balcony, bathroom and kitchen. The ground floor (fig. 28) below gives space to a kitchenette, 5 more bedrooms, a bathroom and a small living room. On the roof (fig. 26, 27 & 30), one discovers a sun-bathed terrace as only outdoor space (fig. 24) and the staff's office spaces. The eight bedrooms shared by two to four minors are modestly furnished with bunk beds and one desk. In general the minors rest, relax, pray and take online courses (on their smartphones) in their bedrooms. Recreational activities on the other hand take place in the living room or rooftop balcony. Because in pandemic times outdoor movement is temporarily restricted (to 2 hours by the government and for the minors in particular just 3 to 4 times a week by the NGO), most group activities (e.g. board games, cultural conversations, courses) take place up here. When allowed to go out, taking advantage of the central implantation of the shelter the minors usually visit the Acropolis hill, Syntagma, Victoria square or the Monastiraki neighborhood.

04
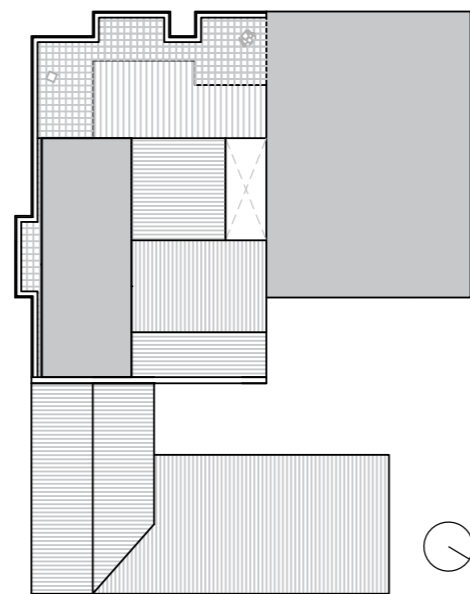
Figure 26: Shelter - Rooftop view (picture). (Source: Google Maps)
Figure 27: Shelter - Rooftop view (plan). (Source: Author)

Figure 28: Shelter | Ground floor
Scale 1:100

Circulation
Staff -----
Minors -----

secret escape window
locked since the pandemic

small library

only bedroom
with mixed
native languages

2nd entrance
wheelchair lift

laundry & dishes room

main entrance

washing machine
and sink for dishes

stairs leading to basement
used as storage space

04
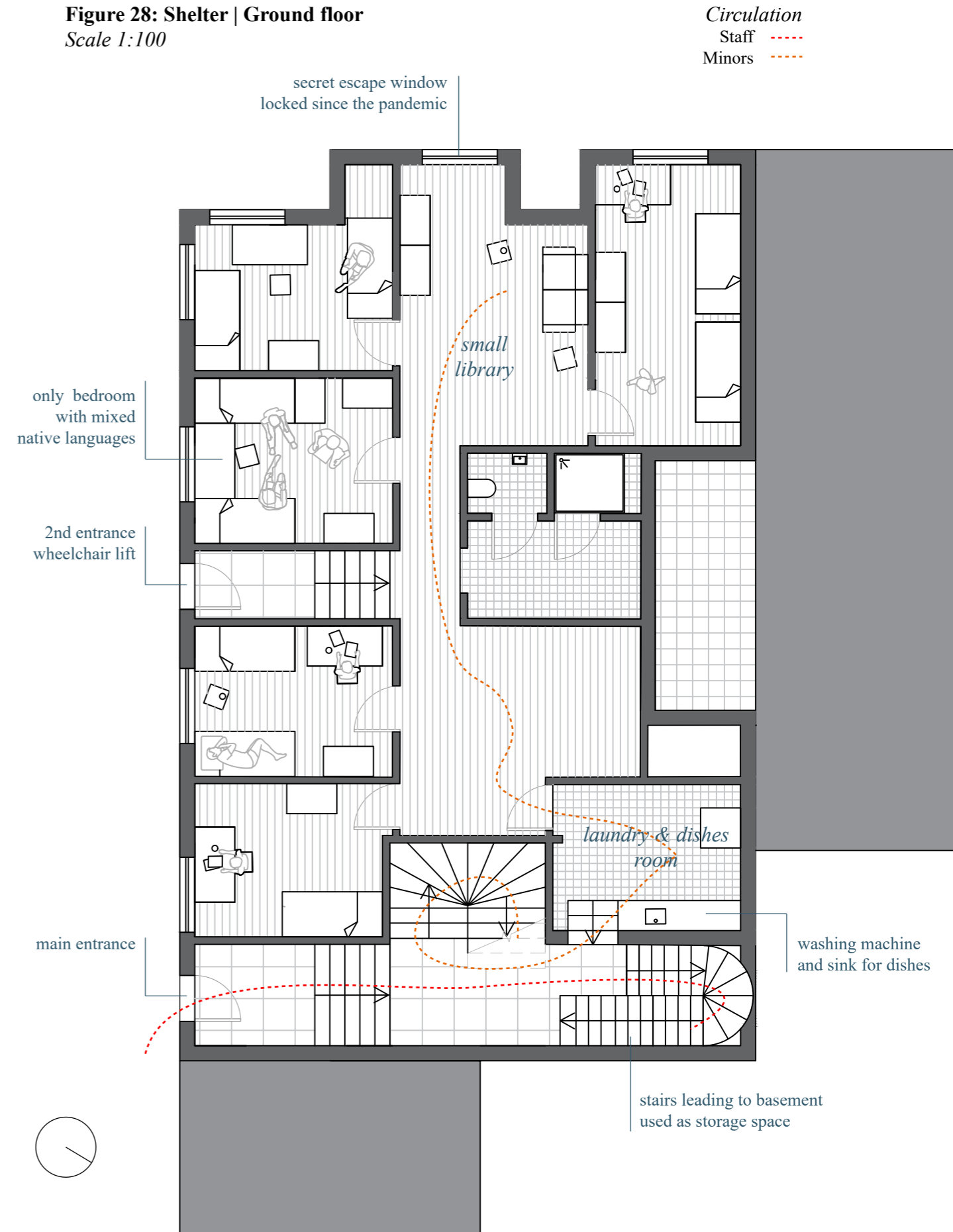
Figure 29: Shelter | +1
Scale 1:100

storage room
for the cleaning staff

balcony doors constantly open
favorite intimate smoking place

big table for games
and workshops,
note the ever present
tea thermos

living room

balcony

TV room

often used for
private or group
conversations
with social worker
or psychologist

kitchen

Figure 30: Shelter | +2
Scale 1:100

Circulation
Staff ---------
Minors ---------

private back terrace
often used for videocalls

popular smoking place
nice sunny viewpoint

*shelter coordinator's
office*

table for group chats
and teaching

small wild garden

*rooftop
terrace*

staff offices

natural laundry
drying place

*meeting
room*
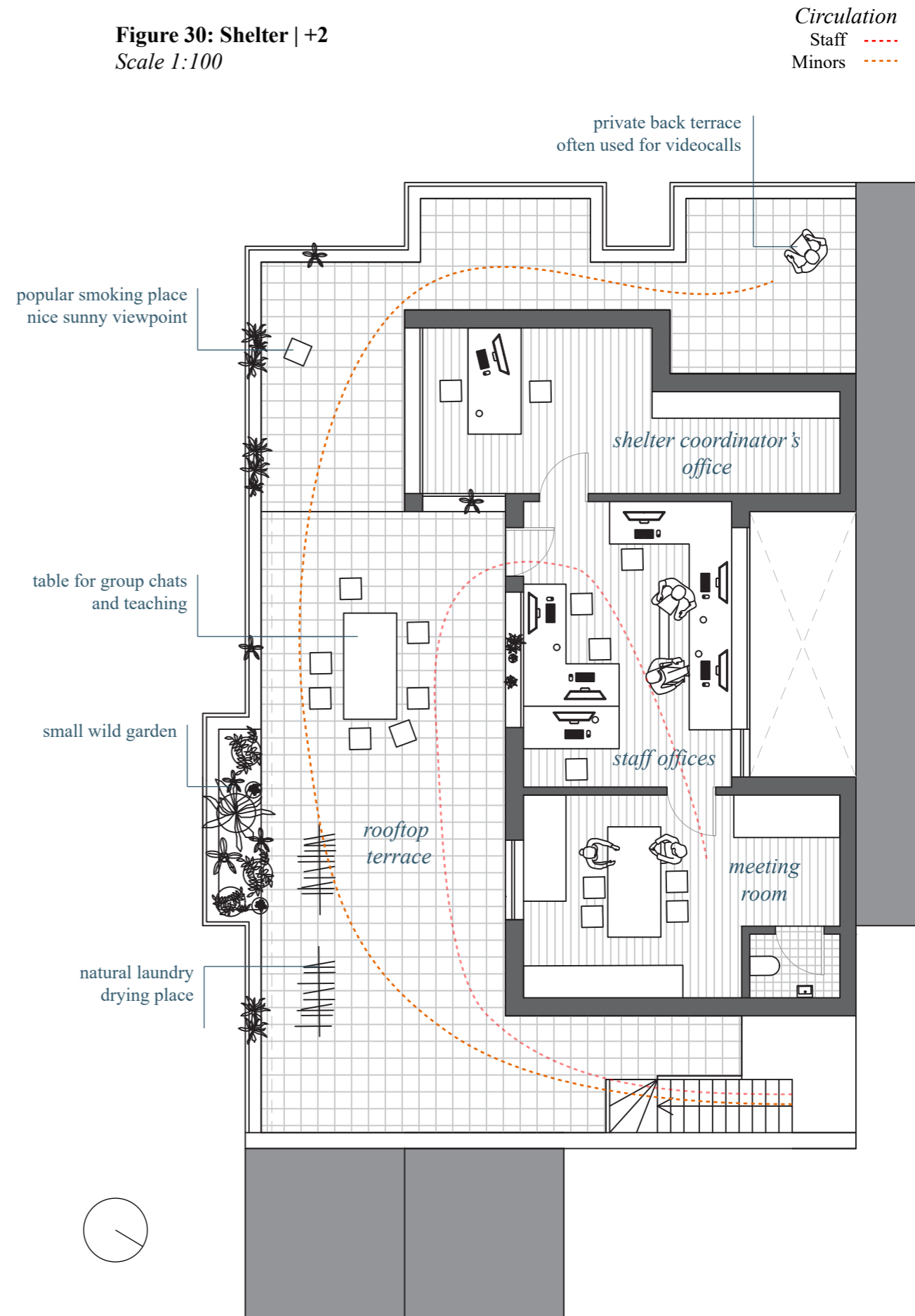
4.3.2 Uncovering the politico - institutional potential of ARSIS in co - constructing the resilient arrival city

1. Institutional voids within the multi - crisis arrival city of Athens for social NGOs

Several structural governance problems affect social NGOs' integrative potential. The first institutional void is the difficulty of access to affordable housing. Lefteris Papagiannakis (SolidarityNow) outlined the poor housing system in Athens. The combination of, on the one hand, the absence of social housing services and, on the other, the dominant presence of large-scale real estate privatization through financialization and neoliberalism curtails the accessibility to affordable housing for disadvantaged groups among which migrants and their supporting NGOs (Interview of Papagiannakis by April, Nuyts, 2021). Looking at ARSIS, the shelter coordinator confirmed that the Greek state does not provide any financial/social housing support for more spacious accommodation (e.g. with private (bed)rooms, outdoor space, enough common space), and neither does the government assign empty government buildings to social NGOs active in the homelessness sector. ARSIS has to look for decent and affordable property themselves with the additional requirement that the landlord allows ARSIS to implement its operations in his/her building. To rent a property and provide (access to) supportive social services, ARSIS relies primarily on EU funding, of which roughly 75% comes directly from the EU and 25% indirectly via the Greek government. Besides this EU financial support, the NGO counts on private donations and gifts. A second institutional void is caused by the modest social/ public budgets, and subsequent funding allocation hinders. The ARSIS program director noted that, due to frequently delayed funding allocations and the unpredictability of private source income, the total cash flow fluctuates dynamically - which over the past years has often put ARSIS in a financial predicament. Finally, a third void exists in the lack/absence of state-supported social services. The shelter coordinator emphasized how the lack of state-supported social housing systems impacts the shelter operations and the minors' skill development, both in terms of quality and quantity. Four key areas which are affected by the limited budget come to mind, i.e. more professional staff (e.g. a second psychologist/ psychiatrist, more experienced staff with expertise on UAMs), education tools (e.g. computers, books), sports equipment (e.g. treadmill, home trainer, weights, sports clothing), and varied food (e.g. meat, fish, fresh fruits and vegetables).

2. Governance transformational response by ARSIS and peer social NGOs

Since 2013 -and increasingly more since the 2015 refugee crisis - social NGOs have emerged or have become invigorated to support both vulnerable Greek natives and the incoming asylum seekers. Their advocacy has intensified especially since 2019 shedding light on the imminent refugee integration crisis. That is because at that point, beneficiaries of ESTIA - the housing and cash assistance program implemented by UNHCR in which ARSIS participated as one of the program implementer partners - had become recognized refugees and needed to leave their apartments to seek affordable housing on their own in an expensive housing market. Subsequently, in response, social NGOs have been advocating for the need of more social services, long-term refugee housing systems and integration programs preparing refugees for autonomous living.

They do so both individually and also in coalition with other NGOs and international organizations (e.g. IOM Greece). This way they collectively build up endogenous institutional capital and social transformation (e.g. inclusion of the less fortunate, homeless people and migrants).

More specifically, the program director of ARSIS explained that many (and mostly the small) NGOs operated independently without a shared platform or network. In 2017 however, an initiative arose tending to a multi-level governance type by connecting both the NGOs with other and the NGO network to the city municipality, -strengthening respectively the horizontally endogenous institutional capital and creating vertically exogenous one as well. The Athens Coordination Center for Migrant & Refugee issues (ACCMR) - an initiative by the City of Athens - brought together all the local and international NGOs, and municipal bodies active in the city of Athens in order to exchange know-how even beyond the city borders and encourage collaborations (e.g. shared social services/ activities/ resources and collective advocacy). By getting all these members around the table in the form of theme-based working groups (e.g. legal, health, gender, urbanization, etc.) and plenary sessions, the city of Athens has enabled coordination in support of integration (ACCMR, 2020). The ACCMR network and action are also communicated outwards in a transparent matter. Those who do not necessarily want to be involved in ACCMR but still seek information on integration (e.g. migrants and NGOs in and outside of Athens/Greece) find an online overview of all ACCMR members and corresponding services/ activities mapped per specific area in Athens. For example, figure 31 demonstrates a screenshot of the ACCMR online platform showing the members' initiatives among the 1st Municipal District – one of the seven administrative entities of Athens (ACCMR, 2020). The encouragement of external (to be) citizen involvement and participation further fosters the development of NGOs' exogenous institutional capital and shared inter-level and bottom-linked governance by all (social) housing actors, even beyond the arrival city borders.
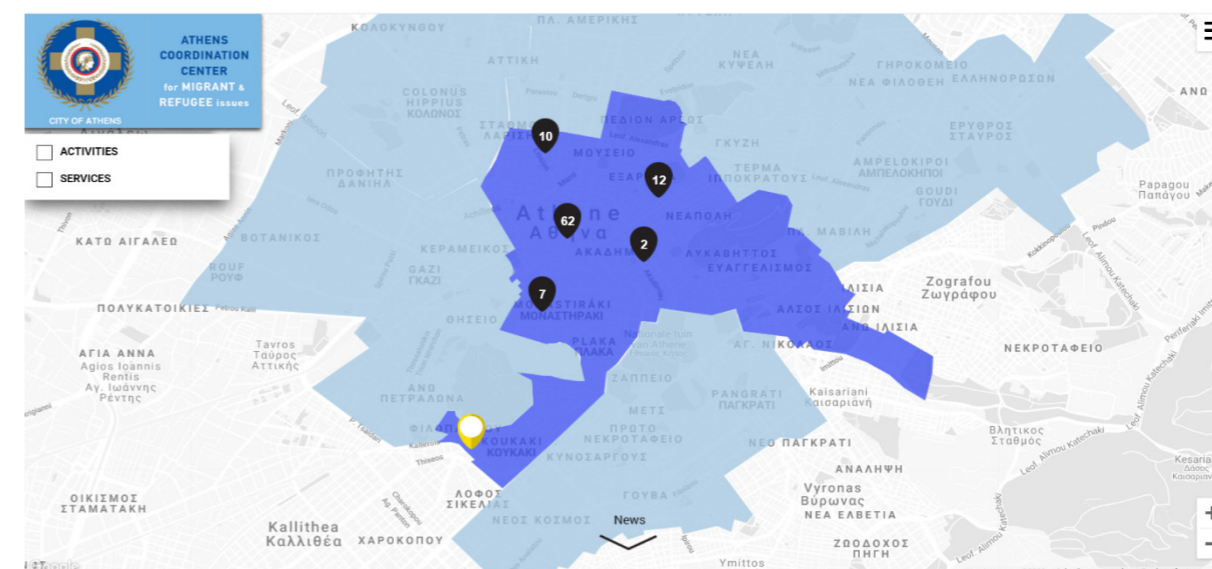

Figure 31: Online service and activity mapping by ACCMR. (Source: ACCMR, 2021)

3. ARSIS' individual and collective advocacy work

An equal pillar of ARSIS' expertise next to the social youth services is their advocacy work (ARSIS, 2021). In first instance, regarding individual advocacy work, the tools and strategies used by ARSIS consist of lobbying and directly reaching out to local and national authorities, and public campaigning. The first part entails reaching out by phone or mail to the municipality. One example given by the shelter coordinator concerns the dilapidated building right next to the shelter, depicted in figure 32 and 33, which seems as if it can collapse anytime soon. She reached out several times to the municipality asking to take safety measures, but has not received any further explanation or seen any improvement yet. Another example is the delayed start of preparatory classes for UAMs, which occur on a regular basis since 3 years ago. The teacher explains she typically registers the minors in June, planning to start their education in September. However, the Greek lessons only start in January, leaving the minors bored without any education from September to December. This issue is due to communicative and administrative difficulties with the Ministry of Education. ARSIS sent out private letters to the government in response with little result up until now.

Figure 32: Shelter's adjoining building - facade. (Source: Author)
Figure 33: Shelter's adjoining building - view from ARSIS shelter. (Source: Author)

Regarding ARSIS' collective advocacy work, the organization actively participates in network initiatives in Greece and abroad, aiming to bundle and exchange advocacy experiences/ideas and promote common goals (ibid). Table 5 below gives an overview of ARSIS' partnerships in campaigns, and local, Greek, European and international networks (ibid). According to the shelter coordinator, the NGO allocates one (or two) different spokesman to every network (including ACCMR) so that every executive of ARSIS builds up specific network expertise and shares their knowledge with the other ARSIS members.

ARSIS' partnerships, platforms and networks	
Source: ARSIS, 2021	
In Athens	• Athens Coordination Center for Migrant and Refugee issues -ACCMR
In Greece	• Collaboration Network for the Support of Youth – DISYN • National Anti-Poverty Network – Member of the European Anti-Poverty Network EAPN • Network for Accompanied Supporting Services – KESSY • National Organization Working for the Homeless – Member of the European Federation FEANTSA • Racist Violence Recording Network — RVRN • Voluntary Organizations' Network • National Referral Mechanisms for Victims of Human Trafficking – NRM • Network to prevent and combat corporal punishment in children • Network of NGOs for the Preparation of the Alternative Report on the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child • Children on the move Network
In Europe	• FEANTSA European Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations working for and with the Homeless • EAPN – European Anti-Poverty Network • EOEF – European Offender Employment Forum • EURONET – European Children's Network • CRIN – Child Rights Information Network • SEECRAN – Southeast European Child Rights Action Network • EPA – European Playwork Association • STEP BY STEP -Network for Youth Exchanges • EUROCHIPS – Network acting to protect the rights of the children of imprisoned parents • SCEP – Separated Children European Programme • ARIADNE – Network against Human Trafficking and Human Rights for SE and Eastern Europe • Social Inclusion and Vocational Integration of Asylum Seekers and Victims of Human Trafficking / SaviAV • BECAN Network – Balkan Epidemiological Study on Child Abuse & Neglect • EFCW – European Forum on Child Welfare • EU Civil Society Platform against trafficking in human beings • Campaign for the access to asylum
International networks	• DYNAMO International – Network of Street Workers • ECPAT International • PICUM – Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants
International campaigns	• Destination Unknown Campaign led by Terre des Hommes

Table 5.

The collective advocacy method of public campaigning by ARSIS together with other NGOs involves making joint statements on social media, petition sharing and sending out open letters to the government via the NGOs' websites and in newspapers, in which they not only address the decision makers but also raise awareness among the wider public. By co-signing these public documents with others, social NGOs aim to form one loud collective voice:

- On the *national* level, for example, the shelter coordinator elaborated on a case of advocacy work about governmental healthcare policy on issues like financial support and health insurance for migrants. There were delays in the process to receive AMKA social security numbers for the minors which give them access to doctors and medical care. In response, ARSIS together with 16 other NGOs (a.o. GCR, PRAKSIS, SolidarityNow) strongly advocated for a solution through an open letter to the Minister on Migration and Asylum Notis Mitarachi (ARSIS, January 23, 2020). As a result, the social security application process was accelerated.

- On the *European* level, ARSIS has raised several issues via joint statements (example 1) and open letters directed to the Greek Prime Minister, the Greek Minister of Migration and Asylum, and the presidents of the European Council, Commission and Parliament (example 2 and 3):
  1. The EU's criminalization of migrant/refugee solidarity co-signed by 101 NGOs (a.o. FEANTSA, Red Cross EU, SolidarityNow, Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen) on July 26, 2019 (ARSIS, 2021).
  2. "Children remain invisible" (demanding clarification about UAM procedures in the RICs, protection, psychosocial support and special care, family reunification processes etc.) co-signed by 21 mainly Greek NGOs (a.o. DRC, PRAKSIS, SolidarityNow) on March 16, 2020 (ARSIS, 2021).
  3. The urgent UAM relocation away from the RICs on the Greek islands to other EU Member States due to Covid-19 co-signed by 67 NGOs (a.o. Amnesty International, METAdrasi, PRAKSIS, SolidarityNow) on April 3, 2020 (ARSIS, 2021).

- On the *international* level, ARSIS participates in the international campaign 'Destination Unknown' which is a network of 19 members (o.a. ARSIS, Refugee Rights Europe, "Hope for Children" CRC Policy Center) and 11 partners (o.a. Rural Development Association, Vulnerable Children Assistance Organization) empowering children and young people on the move and advocating to respect and protect their rights through open letters, research reports publication, an online knowledge hub on child services to influence decision-makers and non-member civil society organizations, etc. (Terre des Hommes International Federation, 2019).

The Covid-19 pandemic further reinforced (mainly online) the collective advocacy action of social NGOs in confrontation with the increase in domestic violence, stress and mental health issues among the refugee community (Spyratou, 2020). During lockdown, sore points in migrant governance and services have come to light while NGOs temporarily did not meet up operating individually. For this reason, it remains to be seen to what extent their hybrid physical and online interaction influences and potentially strengthens their collective action, which aims to protect the rights of the male UAMs in the aftermath of the corona crisis.

4.3.3 Uncovering the integrative potential of ARSIS in co-developing the resilient unaccompanied refugee minor

The following subsections now describe how ARSIS' shelter operations contribute to each of the eight integration domains of Hynie et al. (2016) one by one. To recapitulate, a copy of the domain overview is provided below.

MIGRANT INTEGRATION DOMAINS
by Hynie et al., 2016
1. Social connections
2. Functional integration
3. Language adaptation
4. Institutional adaptation
5. Community welcome
6. Culture
7. Safety and security
8. Sense of belonging

Table 2 (copy): Integration domains of the HIM. (Based on Hynie et al., 2016, Source: Author)

Domain 1: Social connections

The summarizing table of the different horizontal/vertical social bonds/bridges by Gericke et al. (2018) which have been discussed in the theoretical framework (see chapter 3) is copied below.

	Horizontal	Vertical
Bonding	**-A-** • Family members living in host country • Friends/ acquaintances with same nationality or ethnic background	**-C-** • Organizations/ institutions based on shared religion, nationality or ethnic background
Bridging	**-B-** • Friends/ acquaintances with different nationality or ethnic background	**-D-** • Social system contacts/ officials • Social workers/ NGOs • Volunteers • Co-workers/ supervisors

Table 3 (copy): Horizontal/vertical and bonding/bridging social connections. (Source: Gericke et al., 2018)

A. Horizontal social bonds

While very minor has a phone and keeps in touch through social media with family members living in their home country or Europe (e.g. mother, father, uncle, cousin, siblings), not many have family living in Athens or Greece. Only one minor had brothers and sisters living in the same arrival city/country. His male and female siblings are accommodated in separate structures by different NGOs. ARSIS and the other organizations maintain these family bonds by assigning a foster parent who organizes family visits on special occasions like holidays.

ARSIS aims to foster friendships between minors with the same nationality or ethnic background through bedroom arrangements in the shelter. Consequently, given that they are able to fluently communicate with each other, most friend groups within the shelter consist of minors sharing the same country of origin. Outside the shelter the same pattern was observed, - the caregiver explained that minors tend to visit co-ethnic shop districts offering well known tastes and products in an understandable language (e.g. Afghan people look for Afghan shops and restaurants). ARSIS does not provide additional support for building co-national/ethnic friendships outside the shelter, since they attach equal importance to meeting Greek citizens as to meeting migrants from different nationalities or ethnic backgrounds. Strikingly, not all minority groups are equally represented in the shelter and the urban fabric. The only African minor, coming from Gambia, for example hangs around with the Bangla minors with whom he shares his bedroom. In fact, he seems more open to reach out to other ethnic networks as well, -though the language barrier hinders connecting sometimes (e.g. English vs Syrians speaking Arab amongst one another).

 B Vertical social bonds

Aiming to integrate into the Greek society, ARSIS does not refer minors to specific organizations or institutions which are based on shared religion, nationality or ethnic background.

C. Horizontal social bridges

Horizontal social bridges concern friends or acquaintances with different nationalities/ ethnic backgrounds, including Greek citizens. Regarding the contribution of ARSIS to building up horizontal bridge relations inside the shelter, the NGO organizes topic-based multicultural conversations (e.g. traditional food, clothing, religion, festivities) with two different ethnic groups and several recreational activities. About the latter, the caregiver stated: "We experience that sports, music, and food are three of the main bonding elements. That was a great thing. For sure, music, I consider it as an international language." (Interview by Van der Stighelen, April 2021). The observations as a volunteer at a football game on the Platia Dourouti square nearby the shelter confirmed the bonding fluency. While picking teams, it turned out that some minors from different countries did not yet know each other's names after having lived together already for some months. However, starting the game, the two teams naturally unified into two strong collective forces doing their utmost to get the ball in the goal. A talented Gambian and Afghan player found and learned to appreciate each other in this sports game. Talking about music, ARSIS encourages minors to share their taste in music. For example, on Afghan New Year, ARSIS threw a party for the Afghans and non-Afghans enthusiastically witnessing and participating in the traditional dancing. Finally, food as a third key bonding element is stimulated by ARSIS as well. While talking with the male UAMs, several of them shared how during pre-corona times the organization allowed them to take over the kitchen once a week to cook traditional food from their home countries and let everyone taste their favorite dishes (e.g. Bangla fish curry, Syrian kofta with rice, baklava, kebab).

Also outside the shelter, ARSIS stimulates building up these kinds of social connections. The psychologist explained they do so through the minors' enrollment in school and after-school programs (e.g. football league Hope Refugee FC, creative art/storytelling/comic activities, tailoring classes, IT skill workshops) organized by different NGOs (a.o. ARSIS, Athens Comics Library, Refugee Trauma Initiative, SMAAthens, GCR, ANKAA, Organization Earth) (ACCMR, 2021). In school, the minors get the chance to meet children of their age, among which Greek minors in the general classes - which provide courses (e.g. mathematics, sciences) to Greek and migrant pupils. In informal discussion, some minors talked about their multicultural (girl)friends of various nationalities, among which Greek - providing a good incentive to learn the Greek language. In addition, the caregiver stressed the uniqueness of the free public events (e.g. park concerts) in the arrival city because of the dominant attendance of migrant teens and the Greek staff of migrant organizations. According to the caregiver, NGOs always take the initiative and manage the organization themselves, often with limited or no help from local neighborhood councils in Athens. If requested, the city may assign a public location or provide equipment and infrastructure for the event. On these occasions, the minors get the chance to meet others with a similar history, who are going through a similarly difficult situation. However, the caregiver expressed the wish to enable more meetings with Greek citizens apart from NGO staff. During the pandemic, no public events have been happening, resulting in minors staying in their rooms to sleep in the afternoon, game or watch movies by night until the early hours. Many minors confirm they have not met new people recently apart from newcomers in the shelter.

D. Vertical social bridges

ARSIS takes care of establishing and maintaining minors' connections with the staff of ARSIS and other NGOs, and social institutions. About the latter, the shelter coordinator explained that every minor incorporated in the structure automatically gets access to medical care (e.g. shelter psychologist, social workers and caregivers, guidance to doctors), legal assistance (e.g. shelter lawyer), and public schools (e.g. shelter teacher). Moreover, the caregiver outlined how already after the first days of arrival, the staff asks about each minor's interests to find matching services and activities provided by ARSIS or other NGOs. In particular, ARSIS puts effort into building up close bonds of trust between the minors and the ARSIS shelter staff through informal (e.g. board games, tea chats) and formal activities (e.g. conversations with the social worker and psychologist). ARSIS thus sets up vertical bridges not only of a purely functional kind (e.g. knowledge and social services) but also of a friendly one.

Domain 2: Functional (e.g. access to affordable and safe housing, education, stable employment and health services)

1. Affordable and safe housing

ARSIS operates multiple kinds of accommodation types for male UAMs:

- Seven **shelters** under the supervision of ARSIS for male UAMs, operated in cooperation with the European Refugee Fund and the Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Social Solidarity, located in the Exarchia and Metaxourgeio neighborhoods in Athens, Oraiokastro, Pilaia and Tagarades in Thessaloniki, Makrinitsa in Volos, and in Alexandroupoli (ARSIS, 2021; European Youth Portal, 2021).
- The "**House of ARSIS**" for boys and girls aged 5-18 years old, who have been mistreated, neglected, or have fallen victim of trafficking/ exploitation in Oraiokastro, Thessaloniki (ARSIS, 2021).
- **Social apartments** for young male asylum seekers from 18-25 years old, who were previously accommodated in UAM shelters or directly referred to by other services in Thessaloniki (three apartments with a total of 23 places) and Volos (three apartments with a total of 12 places), as part of the ESTIA program implemented by UNHCR (ARSIS, 2021).
- **Safe zones** for (particularly male) UAMs created by ARSIS at RICs, housing a total of 120 children in Diavata, Lagkadikia, Ioannina, Drama, Agia Eleni, Schisto, Thebes and Kavala, in collaboration with a.o. IOM (Interreg, 2021; European Youth Portal, 2021).

When a minor turns 16 years old, ARSIS supports the move to another accommodation facility (e.g. SIL Apartment) often operated by a different NGO (a.o. PRAKSIS, METAdrasi), -on the condition that they have available places. This transition happens through handing over paper work (e.g. education enrollment, legal documents on the asylum procedure or family reunification) and consultation with the staff of both NGOs (e.g. social worker and psychologist). Due to the lack of places and the limited number of social apartments for young adult asylum seekers or registered refugees, minors turning adults often do not stay enrolled in NGO housing structures, and do not get access to affordable housing through state support.

2. Formal school education

As a next step following on housing provision, the shelter teacher registers the minor at a local school and reaches out to other nearby organizations for language lessons. To get ready for school, the shelter teacher starts Greek language courses and preparatory courses on top. ARSIS' educational contribution through the shelter teacher's function is thus fourfold; (1) Greek language teacher, (2) homework tutor for the school lessons, (3) contact person between the shelter, the organizations providing non-formal education and the schools, and (4) parent-like strictly and constantly reminding every minor to do his homework and attend his activities and classes. Given that some minors have never attended school before, the shelter teacher underlined the challenge of motivating them to enroll in school and commit to their studies.

Looking firstly at the local public schools, at the start of the European Refugee Crisis, there used to exist multicultural schools for migrants separating them from Greek children. However, in 2016, the Ministry of Education set up special preparatory classes in selected public schools in the same area of migrants' places of residence with the aim of a more balanced distribution of migrant minors across the identified schools (GCR, 2020). Getting in touch and building a relationship with nearby public schools are the responsibility of NGOs themselves, taken up by the shelter teacher. Once the minors are enrolled by the NGO, they attend the preparatory classes mainly focusing on Greek as a second language for two to three hours a day (ibid). They additionally take part in courses (e.g. mathematics, sciences) alongside Greek pupils. However, these general lessons turn out to be quite challenging given the double barrier of language

on top of a new subject matter like algebra. When minors finish a class, they get an official document stating their enrollment and score.

Greek formal education exists out of three stages:

- **Stage 1**: Six years of primary school (6-12 years old)
- Six years of secondary school (12-18 years old)
  Stage 2: Three years of compulsory Gymnasium (12-15 years old)
  Stage 3: Three years of non-compulsory Lyceum (15-18 years old), involving higher education

Since the pandemic all activities have temporarily stopped and education is completely moved to an online environment. Understanding the Greek-speaking teacher turns out to be even more difficult, while watching lessons in bed on a small smartphone screen. The shelter does not dispose of a computer room or study area except for the outdoor rooftop balcony. Also, the other way around, looking from the teacher's perspective, checking whether the minors pay attention and understand the course is complicated. The teacher describes how she cannot see what the minors write and can therefore not correct them at the very moment. Similarly to her pre-corona practices, after an online lesson, she makes sure the minors let her check their exercises when she returns in the shelter. Besides this challenge of passing on learning material over a phone, the teacher and caregiver testify to the trouble motivating the minors to strictly attend their online classes. The minors' sense of time has changed because their strict day schedules have faded due to a lack of outdoor movement or activities. Hence, a logic observation during the lockdown is the request of the UAMs to return to school.

3. Stable employment

Following on education, ARSIS contributes to minors' access to employment in a twofold way:

1. ARSIS supports minors to continue their studies at least until they have completed the **first year of the non-compulsory Lyceum**. From then on, a 16-years-old is eligible for **employment support by the Organismos Apascholisis Ergatikou Dynamikou (OAED)** (Greek: Οργανισμός Απασχόλησης Εργατικού Δυναμικού) which is the Labor Employment Office of Greece (EC, 2021). Through this organization, a minor receives financial support to go on to further education or participate in a skill training program (e.g. computer skills) continuing also after the moment when the minor turns adult and moves out of the shelter. This professional option is preferred over expensive university studies for which the costs can only be recovered over the long-term.

   Given that a certain level of elementary proficiency in the Greek language is a condition for OAED support, each minor is enrolled in additional Greek language courses taught by the shelter teacher. Depending on the level of each minor, the shelter teacher organizes classes with three or more minors. When starting lessons with a newcomer, she gives him private lessons for one to two months until he is able to take part in a bigger group. Her method consists of a combination of online lessons and real life classes in the shelter on the rooftop terrace or inside the staff office.

2. ARSIS enrolls the minors in **non-formal education programs** which is complementary education in the form of workshops, seminars and short courses to gain practical work/ social/ cultural/ life skills (UNESCO, 2021). The shelter teacher and caregiver explained how ARSIS has many collaborations with other NGOs (e.g. Ankaa, METAdrasi, Greek Council of Refugees, Apostoli, ELIX, SolidarityNow) to offer their UAMs a.o. job preparation workshops (e.g. vocational training, CV workshops, English/Greek language courses, online job search assisted by consultants), sewing lessons, hairdresser/ barber workshops, and bicycle and mobile phone repairment courses. This way each minor is encouraged to explore the job market and develop his own interests and employment skills.

4. Health services

The ARSIS staff emphasize both the minor's mental and physical care. Starting with the latter, every child is well aware they can always ask for help or share concerns in case of sickness or discomfort with their social worker or a caregiver. If needed, the social worker accompanies them to a doctor, medical center, or the hospital. ARSIS also pays attention to offering healthy food to its beneficiaries. The shelter cook tries to provide varied meals, though a lack of funding prevents purchasing extras, such as fresh fruits. Regarding daily sports activity, all minors are encouraged to explore the city, try out different sports activities (a.o. football league, martial arts, circus training), -which have been, nonetheless, temporarily put on hold in Covid-19 times. ARSIS is also flexible in allowing minors to consume energy drinks and smoke cigarettes, respecting their need to discover/experience puberty.

ARSIS also employs psychologists specialized in minors in their shelters - only one in the case of the Metaxourgeio shelter. The sole psychologist's common place of working in the shelter is the staff office on the roof. In her interview, she broadly explained her way of working. Regarding schedule and practical arrangements, she tries to consult every minor at least once a month. But depending on each case, she sees some of them up to several times a week. According to her, the key to working with UAMs is flexibility and openness. Besides the formal meetings, she regularly joins in group activities (a.o. board games, informal group discussions, creative craft activities, football games) to understand how the minors think and behave in various situations. In terms of treatment, the psychologist says she mainly focuses on the current moment: "[…] we may have quite some time to work with these minors, but sometimes we have not so much time to meet. So I try to focus my work on the now, on doing things to be well now. And slowly maybe we speak about the history and future projects. But for me, the now is more important because the things happening now are things I can cope with. Things we can control and we can work with. Since from things before, I cannot change anything. You have to try to be stronger and to feel well now." (Interview by Van der Stighelen, March 2021).

In case of severe suffering, the psychologist contacts the hospital located close to the shelter. However, scheduling an appointment is not an easy process due to a shortage of places and issues with health insurance. Namely, if children are not yet registered, they sometimes have trouble getting an appointment. Nevertheless, the psychologist explains they try everything and often find a spot through personal connections and relationships.

The psychologist shares concerns about the minors' mental health from her own experience working more than four years in the shelter and being the oldest of all shelter staff. She is worried about the low presence of psychologists in shelter structures like ARSIS. Regarding the staff composition, several social workers focus on everyday problems in contrast to just one psychologist per shelter concerning the deeper behavioral, cognitive, and emotional processes. Moreover, the staff is relatively young, lacking experience working with UAMs. As a result, the psychologist has to deal with both the minors' mental care and staff training which hinders her systematic functioning and focus on technical solutions.

Domain 3: Language adaptation

While observing the minors' daily life as a volunteer, it is noticeable how groups of friends, bedroom arrangements, and music preference are strongly related to the language of the home countries (e.g. Urdu, Bangla, Arabic, Farsi). The minors generally prefer communicating in their mother tongue (e.g. Bangla people speak Bangla) and in dialects from neighboring countries (e.g. Bangla people communicate in Urdu with the Pakistani; Iranian Persian or Farsi speakers typically understand Afghan Dari speakers). In addition to the educational language courses, ARSIS responds to this social segregation based on native language by bringing together the different language groups (about 10 in total) in cultural conversations, sports activities (e.g. football), and board games (e.g. Ludo and Uno) so minors switch from their foreign language to Greek or English reaching out to others coming from different countries and cultures. With the help of one to three translators (e.g. English-Greek, Urdu-Greek, Farsi-Greek, Arabic-Greek) within one game, everyone can patiently communicate with one another.

Domain 4: Institutional adaptation

ARSIS internally reorganizes its UAM integration programs in light of its interaction with the minors gathering input from two channels. One channel consists of the minors themselves with whom the staff (e.g. social workers, translators) gather every week in so-called 'community meetings'. During such council sessions, ARSIS gives a chance to minors to voice ideas for a policy or practice improvements (e.g. organizing more cooking activities, rescheduling bed/ mealtime, corona movement restrictions). In corona times, due to virus protection measures, the meetings preferably take place outdoors on the rooftop balcony or in the spacious TV room with all windows opened. A second channel consists of NGOs being part of the same networks (e.g. ACCMR), -arising mainly through investing in personal relations-, who do not only share resources (e.g. musical instruments, books, clothes, food, sports, and craft equipment) but also best practices among themselves.

Nevertheless, the caregiver stated that it remains unclear which of their practices are implemented and shared by the other NGOs. Mainly due to the lack of general institutional guidelines imposed by the government or the EU, ARSIS is unsure whether the organizational adaptations apply in a subsequent NGO which the minor potentially moves to (e.g. SIL apartment when turning 16 years old).

Domain 5: Community welcome

1. General public

ARSIS works against anti-migrant sentiments by critically listening to them in order to rebuff prejudices or distorted perceptions, and by highlighting facts and positive migrant stories mainly on public social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, website). According to the shelter coordinator, since 2015, the public attitude towards migrants has fluctuated over the years. She explained that at the start of the European refugee crisis public opinion polarized in skepticism on one side and gestures of generosity and solidarity on the other side. The convictions of the anti-migrant group were fed by fear of crime rate explosions and drastic changes in their everyday lives. Since these prejudices were not realized, Greek citizens' xenophobic sentiments gradually waned over time. But also on the contrary side individual and collective efforts of basic needs service have toned down in parallel with the transition from refugee emergency response to long-term accommodation needs. Still today few but very strong racist voices incite hatred against both migrants and the organizations supporting them. The shelter coordinator gave an example of anti-migrants groups often blaming NGOs for bringing in more people to the country and siphoning Greek taxpayer money, which ARSIS countered with pointing to the fact that migrant funding mainly comes from the EU instead of the Greek state. Furthermore, the shelter coordinator shared that since Covid-19 few yet loud semi-racist opinions have emerged again among the Greek society. The rumor goes that there are relatively more Covid-19 cases among migrants referring to the chaotic refugee camp management (e.g. the case of Moria, Lesvos) and migrants take away places in the hospitals due to the limited number of Covid-19 patient beds. She emphasized that this opinion is not widely shared by the public, but warned these few strong voices do drown out NGOs' limited voice through open calls on social media.

2. Neighborhood community

Talking about the community interaction within Metaxourgeio, ARSIS consciously chose to locate the shelter in this area because of its multicultural community but does not foster relations between minors and the general preexisting inhabitant group. The psychologist stated: "I do not feel we have relationships here within the neighborhood." (Interview by Van der Stighelen, March 2021). In the questionnaire and informal discussions, the minors shared that they do not feel welcome in Athens and even less in the neighborhood. They brought up several experiences of racial or hateful remarks on the street in confrontation with Greek citizens, including the police.

Nevertheless, ARSIS promotes minors' close neighborhood community connections with other UAMs and Greek minors by their enrollment in the local public school. The teacher confirmed the contrast between according to her a quite racist Greek society in general and a more welcoming school community of teachers and staff locally actively maintained by ARSIS through close communication. For example, when the shelter identified a Covid-19 case, the school teachers reached out to the shelter teacher to ask about their health and wellbeing, showing they care about the minors. Among the community ties built up by ARSIS, the ones around the school network are thus the strongest.

Domain 6: Culture

About ARSIS' contribution to a cultural understanding of the physical and social environment, the social worker described how she educates the minors about Greek culture through an individual or group discussion and city walks. She actively tries to hand them information on cultural differences and acceptance. She emphasized that it is about not changing who you are but slowly adapting and blending in. In her work, she focuses on small social customs, for example, going from what we eat to how we eat to where we eat etc. Besides educating the minors, she invites them to explore the city center together to stimulate cultural experiences (e.g. supermarket visits, sports, or arts events). During these city strolls, the minors get the chance to meet Greek people and Greek shops. The social worker explained that the arrival city's urban fabric consists of various segregated areas with specific ethnic (e.g. Pakistani, Afghan) stores and services (e.g. print shop, phone repairment). Because minors are attracted by these co-ethnic communities and neighborhoods, some of them do not even know their way to a Greek supermarket. In response, at first instance, the social worker follows along to observe and understand their circulation and destination motives (e.g. cultural relations with the country of origin, specific food, better quality) before showing them alternative locations and products (e.g. Greek cheeses), various tastes, and how to compare prices. Besides the city visits accompanied by social workers, the caregiver described before Covid-19, there used to be quite some free public cultural activities (e.g. traditional Syrian and Afghan dancing) each weekend organized by several organizations (e.g. NGOs part of ACCMR). Since the pandemic, all activities are put on hold temporarily. Consequently, connectivity with Greek citizens and minors from other organizations has fallen away for some time.

Regarding the institutional environment of the arrival city of Athens and Greece (e.g. regulations, norms, policymaking structures), ARSIS provides transparent communication only on the socio-cultural expectations directly concerning the minors' daily lives (e.g. Covid-19 measures and restrictions, migrant policies).

Domain 7: Safety and security

1. Safe housing

The questionnaire indicated that the minors feel a certain level of safety in the shelter (3/5 stars). The contribution of ARSIS to this domain is described intensively by the social worker, caregiver, and psychologist. More specifically, according to the social worker, upon a minor's arrival at the premise of the shelter, ARSIS staff clearly explain the organization regulations on entry and exit from the shelter and the respective permission requests. These strict regulations – she continued – are in line with the ARSIS' parental role of being aware of the exact location of the minors to bolster the minors' feeling of safety and caring. This support is of great importance given the challenging history some minors carry after a turbulent journey. She brought forward examples from her own experience working in a safe zone of violent incidents and children with scars from knife wounds. She, therefore, testified it is a great deal to make children feel safe coming from such circumstances. The caregiver also stressed the importance of the shelter rules and the tight schedule for sleeping, eating, and going out. Coming from a long travel time of moving abruptly from one place to another, having a residence and clear structure strengthens the minors' feeling of security and stability.

2. Safe neighborhood

All the interviewed staff described Metaxourgeio as a notorious neighborhood in terms of safety and security. They explained that the neighborhood development is neglected for some years by the city. This ignorance has resulted in façade degradation defaced with graffiti and the occurrence of litter, pickpocketing, conflicts, drugs, prostitution, and police intervention. Nevertheless, the anonymous questionnaires by the minors indicated a more positive perception of safety both within the shelter and the neighborhood. And in informal discussions, both the staff and the minors expressed their appreciation for the central location. The shelter coordinator stated furthermore that Metaxourgeio is an uprising neighborhood. She outlined that the gentrification process for ten years has accelerated the past five years, pointing to the emergence of fancy art galleries, restaurants, hotels, and bars. She stated: "Yes, for certain things, it is the police job to go and see what is going there. But I don't think it is an unsafe neighborhood for the boys. There are much more difficult neighborhoods in Athens and it is very nice that it [Metaxourgeio] is a quieter area, but so near the center." (Interview by Van der Stighelen, March 2021). She also celebrated the heterogeneous nature of the area characterized by a mix of cultures (e.g. Chinese community, artists), urban density (open space vs various building heights going from tall hotel blocks to small residential units), and functions (e.g. restaurants, bars, shops, residences, galleries, hotels, Airbnb apartments, hospital, schools). In internal staff discussions about a potential move of the shelter to a more spacious building in a different neighborhood, the coordinator expressed her/his will to stay in the same area considering it is a decent uprising place for integration.

3. Economic security

In their interviews, the staff explained how some children have gone through difficult situations before arriving in the shelter. An example given by the teacher is that some children have never attended school before, being used to child labor to provide for themselves or their family. Therefore the shelter coordinator sees the shelter and Athens as a temporary rest beacon where the minor gets the chance to live his life as an actual child or young adolescent in puberty is not obliged to work anymore. Because of ARSIS, financial concerns disappear for a while since all basic needs (e.g. house, food, clothes, bed, medical care) are temporarily provided for by the NGO. ARSIS hands out some additional pocket money (around 10 euros a week) to each minor as well, -which allows them to buy snacks and personal stuff (e.g. Greek street food Souvlaki, coffee, energy drinks, cigarettes, games). The coordinator emphasized that a child has the right to be a child, a unique fundamental period in your life never returning. That's why the organization wants to make sure the child temporarily has not to worry about money and work, encouraging him to focus on education and wellbeing.

Domain 8: Sense of belonging

1. Sense of belonging in the shelter: Feeling at home

The psychologist stated without hesitation: "No, of course they [the minors] don't feel at home. I know this, we speak about this. It is not normal to hope and think they feel at home because it is not home. It is not his family here and it is not his language. And here are not the traditions. This is temporary and that's why I want to work focusing on the now. […] We have to see

this like a moment, not trying to give something we cannot give. Home is not a realistic aim." (Interview by Van der Stighelen, March 2021).

The cultivation of feeling at home among minors is thus not prioritized by ARSIS since the organization attaches more importance to instantaneous wellbeing. According to the psychologist, the objective by the NGO to make their beneficiaries feel at home would be out of place since their stay in the shelter is considered a continuously changing transition phase. Moreover, in the questionnaire, more than half of the minors (4/7) indicated that they have been accommodated in three or more places (e.g. refugee camp, safe zone, hotel, in the streets, shelter operated by another NGO) before arrival in the ARSIS shelter. So, according to the psychologist, a shelter is a place where one waits for future steps, but never a final destination or a home. The caregiver confirmed that it is already a big challenge and takes quite some time to make the minors feel well and comfortable, given the dense shelter occupation and constant noise of 28 teenagers.

Nevertheless, ARSIS empowers the minors to own the place during their stay in the shelter by allowing homemaking practices like traditional cooking (e.g. taste of home country) and personal wall decoration (e.g. drawings, posters, pictures, crafts work), occasional one-on-one gatherings, and the previously mentioned community meetings. During the latter group talks, the minors discuss the shelter operations or schedule and propose alternatives or new ideas to the staff. The caregiver explained that inviting them to participate actively in deciding on the house rules enforces the feeling that it is their house. In brief, at a place where one feels heard and feels having a voice to speak up with, one feels belonging there.

2. Sense of belonging outside the shelter: Sense of community

About the minors' psychological wellbeing through feeling part of a community, ARSIS boosts a positive perception in the school and UAM community in the Metaxourgeio neighborhood. More specifically concerning the UAM community, in cooperation with other NGOs (e.g. NGOs part of ACCMR), ARSIS tries to make the minors feel welcome and included by the organization of free public weekend activities in the arrival city (e.g. non-formal education, theatre, food, sports, music concerts in parks or squares) in pre-corona times. Arranging such events allows the minors to meet people of the same age from different backgrounds and cultures. By meeting other migrants from similar structures, they create friend groups, thus feeling part of a community embedded in the arrival city. However, according to the caregiver, these extra-curriculum activities are highly attended by migrants and refugees and almost zero Greek citizens, except for NGO staff. Consequently, meeting and including same-age Greek people in this community is a challenging issue. And despite ARSIS' efforts, the minors told about experiences of social discrimination and exclusion in the immediate neighbor community (e.g. racist comments, police conflicts), -as reflected in the questionnaire in which they indicated to feel less welcome in the Metaxourgeio neighborhood (1/5 stars) than in the shelter (2.5/5 stars).

04

D I S C U S S I O N

The objective of this research was to uncover the politico-institutional and dynamic integrative role social NGOs play in the context of temporary urban settlements in the arrival city in new national territory, and to what extent they bolster the resilient arrival city on an urban scale and the resilient refugee on a human scale. For this purpose, firstly, a theoretical framework was built upon the synergistic combination of theories of disaster resilience, social innovation, institutional capital, governance, neowelfare state, and migrant integration. The theoretical framework closed with the derivation of two preliminary definitions of the resilient arrival city and the resilient refugee. These predefinitions were subsequently empirically examined by analyzing the two topics (e.g. the arrival city of Athens and UAMs) and social NGOs' potential and limitations in bolstering their resilience. The case study investigated particularly the social NGO ARSIS hosting and integrating male UAMs in the arrival city of Athens, Greece. This chapter reflects on the key research findings through critical re-analysis in light of previous research presented in the theoretical framework of the features of (1) the arrival city of Athens in the Greek multilayered crisis context, and of (2) the UAM displaced individuals. (3) The discussion subsequently uncovers to what extend NGOs' social services and advocacy work bolster the resilient arrival city and resilient refugee by concisely listing their potential and limitations. (4) Finally the resilient arrival city and resilient (to be) refugee are defined.

5.1 Uncovering the post-disaster resilient arrival city in a multilayered crisis context

Research findings on the Greek humanitarian landscape untangle the specific complex crisis non-resilient nature of the arrival city of Athens;

- Firstly, the 2009 Greek Debt Crisis and the austerity measures implemented in response adversely affected Greek citizens' daily life on a national scale due to reductions in public/social services and health care and lower wages, leading with a rise of unemployment and poverty to a national socio-economic crisis. The Greek recession still manifests itself in the arrival city featured by homeless persons residing in the streets and parks, numerous fragmented small economy businesses (e.g. bakeries, coffee bars, garages), and thirdly building vacancy and deterioration.

- Secondly, the 2015 European Refugee Crisis caused by political conflicts and economic disasters in North Africa and the Middle East triggered the displacement of migrant populations to new national territories across the EU. The emerging refugee crisis on the EU level coinciding with the preexisting austerity crisis on the national level induced a reception crisis in the arrival city, which was insufficient to decently host and integrate migrants because of top-down EU/state/local migrant governance with ad hoc policies focused on inflow reduction, short-term reception and return, and secondly the lack of socio-economic services due to the Greek recession. Furthermore, three years later, in 2018, the housing affordability crisis emerged in Greece affecting both citizens and newcomers because of financialization with steeply increased rent prices and property taxes. The discussion on affordable housing was only put on the political agenda responding to the refugee integration crisis in 2019 when refugees coming out of the ESTIA program suddenly turned

homeless and poor again. Despite continuous EU funding (e.g. AMIF, ISF, ESI) and (gradually withdrawing) international support (e.g. UNHCR, IOM, UNICEF) since 2015, the Greek state has failed to set up adequate transition housing structures for (semi-) permanent living and migrant integration programs (a.o. health care, education, employment services) offering long-term perspectives to registered refugees (e.g. mental wellbeing, affordable housing, and a stable income) for a period exceeding the 2 to 3 years limited support of the ESTIA and HELIOS programs. The European Refugee Crisis has thus inserted an additional group of poor and homeless migrants to the initial national socio-economic crisis of the arrival city.

- Finally, the Corona Crisis has spread across the entire globe since 2020. The virus impact stretches from a drastically changed everyday life suddenly confronted with health, hygiene, and social distance measures to a worldwide movement restriction and collective shift to a digital social and professional environment. The consequent prohibition on public meetings and activities left the urban public space abandoned and loosely maintained. Furthermore, concerning the private residences of the arrival city, the "stay at home" policies brought to light again the preexisting housing inequalities and foregrounded housing as a vital issue that impacts the lives of people (including the reception and integration conditions of refugees) and also the long-overdue state responsibility.

To summarize, figure 34 below depicts Greece's expanding humanitarian landscape affecting the arrival city of Athens from 2009 to 2021. Striking in this layered post-disaster context are the varying territories and communities affected by the multiple crises expanding in terms of scale as clarified on the right side of the figure. Analyzing the disaster sequence in Greece, a second key observation is how each consecutive crisis re-exposes the consequences of and the insufficient state-response to the previous one(s). In short, the expanding humanitarian landscape affecting the arrival city continuously and repetitively intensifies the emergence of bottom-up and the call for top-down response to the lack of socio-economic services and affordable housing systems for both arrival city citizens and newcomers.

Figure 34, Source: Author

05
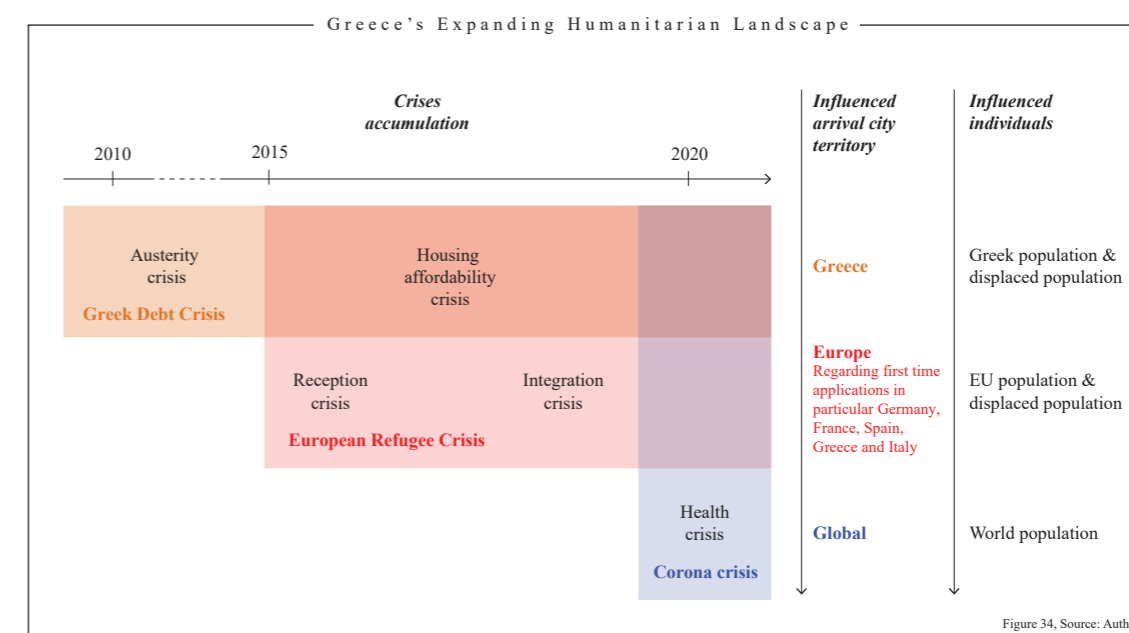
5.2 Uncovering the resilient unaccompanied refugee minor

Research findings on male UAM minors in Athens/Greece untangles 5 key insights on the particular non-resilient nature of the displaced individuals settling in the urban context of the arrival city with the social support and protection of NGOs.

- Greece and the arrival city of Athens have been confronted with a growing inflow of UAMs since 2015, which is slightly decreasing again since the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. These minors are dominantly male and aged between 15 and 17 years old. Although desk research indicated that Afghanistan, Iraq, the Syrian Arab Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Congo are the most common countries of origin, among the ARSIS shelter inhabitants and in the arrival city of Athens, a prominent group of Bangla and Pakistani minors is also present.

- The empirical research particularly focused on male UAM asylum seekers, waiting to get registered as a refugee in Greece or to be relocated by IOM/ UNHCR to another EU country (e.g. Germany, Austria, Spain) through a family reunification procedure which is legally covered by the social NGO hosting the UAM. The asylum procedure is a slow and laborious process given delays due to governmentally administrative, communicative and operative difficulties.

- Regarding UAM migrant policy, the EU relies on the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) concerning child protection in addition to general asylum seeker reception and living condition directives (2005/85/EU and 2013/33/EU). The Greek state responsible to enact the directives into national law, has been reluctant to add particularly UAM tailored social support or housing legislation in doing so, and struggles to put the Greek UAM policies into action through top-down centralist governance (e.g. 2018 Guardianship law). Furthermore there exist no specific policies for specific minority UAM groups (e.g. LGBTQ+, female UAMs, extreme trauma, UAM about to turn 18+). However, social NGOs take up a dominant role since 2015 in separately targeting and independently supporting these several vulnerable group of UAMs, inducing a decoupled relations governance type among the Greek state.

- UAM accommodation facilities consist out of safe zones, hotels, shelters and SIL apartments. In Greece, less than half (42.2%) of the (registered) UAMs resides in appropriate housing, with the others (57.8%) living in the RICs outside the urban borders or in the streets/parks of the arrival city.

- Many social NGO serve the same beneficiary group of male UAMs by providing the same set of services in shelter structures or day/night centers (e.g. psychosocial support, legal assistance, education, recreational activities, employment guidance, health care, interpretation service, food, language courses, clothing, hygiene, guardianship, cultural activities, sports, protection, local community interaction and family contact). However, the preparatory skills for an autonomous adult life (e.g. cash assistance, higher education support, employment skill training, cooking skills) are not or to a lesser extent covered by the social NGOs, while soon many UAMs have to live by themselves as young adults without NGO support.

5.3 Definition of the resilient arrival city and the resilient unaccompanied refugee minor

Reflecting on the social support and advocacy work of social NGOs such as ARSIS in one of their shelter structures in Metaxourgeio in Athens, the roles they take up and the potential and limitations of their resilience-building capacity, and the resilience of UAMs and arrival cities like Athens can be reformulated as:

Definition of the resilient (multi-crisis) arrival city
The resilient (multi-crisis) arrival city is a city that uses (e.g. 2015 refugee, 2020 corona) crises as momentums for addressing pre-existing and emerging social inequalities (e.g. post-2009 austerity, post-2018 housing affordability), and for molding more welfare oriented institutional settings and governance arrangements via shared bottom-linked platforms (e.g. ACCMR shared by the Municipality of Athens and social NGOs).
.
Social NGOs can shape the resilient arrival city by calling for radical state responses to the lack of social/financial/housing services for both citizens and newcomers, and shaping more democratic governance that moves from previous top-down governance configurations promoting austerity-driven human development and profit-driven urban development. NGOs induce governance reconfigurations through advocacy work on local, national and European level while igniting public debate. The instrument to gain and maintain influential capacity is the accumulation of institutional capital, so social NGOs continue intensifying ties with each other as allies and partners (endogenous institutional capital), and have direct and shared connections with authorities on local (e.g. municipalities), national (e.g. Ministries) and European level (e.g. EC) (exogenous institutional capital). In this way, the arrival city development is driven by a neowelfare state of a multi-level bottom-linked governance type, facilitating a more productive housing and integration policy, equal distribution of social services/goods and fair participation from and to all housing actors to resiliently cope with current and future crises or societal challenges.

Definition of the resilient unaccompanied refugee minor
The resilient unaccompanied refugee minor is a displaced young individual who is holistically integrated within the arrival city. After turning adult, the resilient young refugee lives autonomously while maintaining social connections with family, persons from the same and different backgrounds, and institutions (e.g. social NGOs), gaining a stable income, being accommodated in a safe and adequate housing unit with easy access to education and healthcare/ social services, and being able to communicate in the local language. Furthermore, the resilient refugee is familiar with the arrival city's culture and customs but also conscious of his native and other ethnic cultures, and feels part of a community (e.g. ethnic/ neighborhood/ migrant/ school/ co-workers), safe, secure and belonging within the arrival city.

Social NGOs can shape the resilient UAM by helping them find appropriate and spacious accommodation facilities which are strategically located in the arrival city through housing programs, and preparing them for the transition from a protected environment to independent adult life through holistic integration programs which are tailor-made for each displaced individual's needs. Furthermore, these programs are reinforced by being institutionally adapted through mutual cross-fertilization of resources with peer social NGOs.

5.4 Revealing the resilience-bolstering potential and limitations of social NGOs in the multi-layered arrival city — The case of ARSIS in the arrival city of Athens, Greece

NGOs' politico-institutional role (advocacy work)		NGOs' integrative role (social services)	
Urban scale of the resilient arrival city		*Human scale of the resilient UAM*	
Social NGOs' Potential	*Social NGOs' Limitations*	*Social NGOs' Potential*	*Social NGOs' Limitations*
- Social NGOs intensify **advocacy at the local and national level** in the emergence of bureaucratic impediments that cause delays in the implementation of their integration programs. - Social NGOs valorized the momentum of the Covid-19 pandemic to **advocate at the EU level** for the UAM relocation from refugee camps and safe zones to more decent accommodation in the mainland of Greece and other European countries. - Social NGOs have succeeded in arranging bottom-linked interactions with the local public authorities through shared platforms such as ACCMR. There lies potential in further collectively accumulating **exogenous institutional capital** by strengthening these municipality ties within the arrival city and expanding them to the national level (ministries of social affairs, migration, health) and international/European level (DG ECHO, DG HOME, EC). - Social NGOs have set up strategic alliances/ pressure groups via personal staff connections which allow them to bundle their individual advocacy work into one collective voice, e.g. in the form of co-signed open calls and letters. By intensifying these cooperative connections, social NGOs build up **endogenous institutional capital** with which they can activate to increase their influential capacity when interacting with multi-level public authorities and elected officials. The endogenous capital of NGOs and their influential capacity is also bolstered by igniting public debate on social and public policy gaps and needs.	- So far, the arrival city of Athens has repetitively experienced several crisis events from 2008 to date. Nevertheless, no crisis became a **turning point** for social NGOs to tackle long-standing structural problems (poverty, homelessness, social and spatial exclusion) or promote structural radical reforms in social and housing policy in Greece. Especially the refugee reception and integration crisis (since 2015) did not prove to be the momentum for social NGOs to be more politically strong because of the politically and socially **polarized society** between bottom-up solidarity movements of NGOs vs anti-migrant citizen groups. - Both the left-wing (2015-2019) and the right-wing Greek administration (2019-now) were **limitedly responsive**/less open to interact with the social NGOs, proven repetitively by poor response to ARSIS' one-way advocacy calls. With little or no direct communication (platforms) between the NGOs and governmental **ministries**, no comprehensive bottom-linked governance form can arise despite the promising connection building initiatives on the local arrival city level (e.g. ACCMR). - Social NGOs fully depend on external (often delayed) EU/state and fluctuating private donations/ charity which have fluctuated since 2015. Furthermore, due to **lack of financial sustainability**, NGOs resort to conservative advocacy tools (e.g. calls, mails, open letters) instead of exploring innovative ways to develop more radical or politically activating ones, through stronger endogenous institutional capital (e.g. larger partnerships and networks).	- The integration programs of social NGOs are designed with a **holistic** approach, encompassing functional need coverage (e.g. housing, education, employment, health), and intense psycho-social support, legal assistance, socio-cultural and linguistic knowledge etc. - Regarding the selection of housing units to rent, social NGOs choose **strategic and central locations** with easy access to various ethnic communities, social services providers/ public authorities, schools and training centers, boosting like that the integration of refugees. - Social NGOs facilitate smoother integration by **cross-fertilizing** each other's resources (housing provision, sports and recreational activity equipment, workshops, training programs, language courses etc.). NGOs could further strengthen strategic partnerships to achieve improved social service delivery for refugees in and through their interactions in their networks (e.g. ACCMR) and personal connections built-up in the field (e.g. PRAKSIS and METAdrasi). - Social NGOs, by organizing **free public events** for native residents and newcomers in corporation with municipal authorities, foster refugee integration and the cultivation of social cohesion, equality and diversity in the arrival city. - In the absence of strict government restrictions or policies on their refugee housing and integration operations, social NGOs remain **open and flexible to operationally adapt** to crisis events (e.g. moving activities to the rooftop balcony in response to the corona measures) or unexpected opportunities (e.g. charity gifts of crafts equipment give rise to mask making workshops). In this way, social NGOs can continue uninterruptedly and even intensify their integration support during unpredictable times.	- The integration programs of social NGOs are adapted to each individual UAM given their unique needs, uncertain periods of stay (differing from spending some weeks to several years within one structure) and various **administrative, regulative and legislative impediments** that cause delays in the access to social services (e.g. delays in education registration, asylum procedure, social security number application etc.) These varied integration approaches hinder smoothly aligned programs and affect the minors' wellbeing who cope with continuous uncertainty. - The total **supply of accommodation facilities** rented by the social NGOs never meets the fluctuating (and not carefully monitored) demand of homeless UAMs. Consequently, minors are forced to move between several NGOs, which hinders the development of sense of belonging in one place. - Social NGOs are often **undercapitalized**, and hence, incapable of investing in sophisticated resources (e.g. computers, books, fitness equipment) and in recruiting more experienced workforce. For example, social NGOs often replace psychologists – who have better expertise in healing traumatized youth – with underexperienced social workers. As a result, they cannot provide a more solid and technical mental health support to refugees in need.

05

CONCLUSION

Examining social innovation and migrant integration processes led by social NGOs in the post-crisis arrival city, the specific context of the preexisting crisis patchwork confronted with the externalities of a new crisis brought along with the displaced population, is unraveled. Social NGOs use the (e.g. 2015 refugee, 2020 corona) crisis momentum to (re)address the appalling conditions induced by previous disruptive events (e.g. 2009 austerity, 2018 housing unaffordability). However, in the case of Greece, though social NGOs brought back the issue of the neoliberal welfare state's lack of long-term social/affordable housing structures and migrant social/integration facilities (e.g. access to citizenship, healthcare, education, employment) on the political agenda and into public debate, so far, no crisis became the turning point to induce radical (e.g. social, housing) policy reforms or tackle long-standing structural problems (e.g. poverty, homelessness, social exclusion) due to a polarized society and a limitedly responsive (both left- (2015-2019) and right-wing (2019-now)) Greek administration.

At the urban scale, NGOs bolster the resilient arrival city by politically activating themselves and developing endogenous and exogenous institutional capital (see for example ACCMR and their interactions with city authorities). By strengthening and extending their network connections as well as intensifying their collective advocacy work (e.g. lobbying, networking, open letters/calls/petitions) to the national government level of Ministries and European level (e.g. EC), they have built up a political voice and continue to extend its reach. It remains yet to be seen whether the Covid-19 pandemic would be a momentum for social NGOs to valorize as a potential change of course towards stronger endogenous and exogenous institutional capital that would steer more radical state responses in the social/affordable housing and migrant integration institutional setting (e.g. deeper and sustainable funding) and more openness for interactions among social NGOs, newcomers, citizens, market sectors (e.g. real estate, health care, financials) and local/national authorities. However, NGOs advocacy work turns out ineffective because of the unfavorable conditions of a right-centered government, in combination with withdrawal of international organizations (IOM, UNICEF, UNHCR), EU funding dependency which are often delayed, and fluctuating donations/charities/citizen solidarity actions. Therefore, social NGOs should socially invest in maintaining digital and physical proximity of their allies for best practice sharing, and further invest in an extended network by building direct formalized and regulated state relations on national levels towards bottom-linked multi-level participative migrant governance. This way social NGOs could unleash the potential of arrival cities in democratizing governance structures in the form of a virtual/spatial platform shared and regulated by newcomers, NGOs, citizens including other beneficiary target groups (e.g. young adult refugees, homeless persons, vulnerable youth), market sectors (e.g. real estate, health care, financials), and local/national authorities.

Considering the human scale, social NGOs' potential in fostering the resilient UAM lies in reaping the fruits of their long-standing expertise and personal connections in the field (e.g. PRAKSIS, METAdrasi) built up since 2015 in their housing structures in central and strategic locations and holistic integration programs. Larger and wider cross-fertilization of resources with peer social NGOs and socially investing in strategic partnerships could further improve their social service delivery in terms of resource circulation and collective (free public) activity organization. NGOs could also improve their integrative potential by growing their manpower for the provision of adequate legal and psychosocial support (e.g. recruitment of more lawyers and psychologists, a more selective recruitment in terms of experience and professional expertise, or internal training of social workers, outsource legal and mental health services in conjunction with other NGOs or local authorities). These social innovation processes led by social NGOs could carry the capacity on a human scale to improve the living conditions and personal development of the displaced individual through a smooth integration process towards strong independency in adult life.

Future research trajectories

This thesis research was dominantly based on one case study, which is the practice of one social NGO in Athens, Greece (ARSIS), especially investigating their integration work in one of their UAM shelters based in the neighborhood of Metaxourgeio in Athens. For a more comprehensive knowledge in the interest of (re)defining the notion of resilience in long-term urban settlements within arrival cities in a comprehensive and generally applicable way, it is therefore necessary to conduct additional research in other urban accommodation facilities (e.g. Supported Independent Living (SIL) apartments, other shelters differing in amount of places/ square meters/ neighborhood and city/ funding/ outdoor space) of the same NGO and of other social NGOs targeting male UAMs and other migrant beneficiaries (e.g. unaccompanied female minors, families and other vulnerable migrants) in Athens, as well as in other Greek cities (e.g. Thessaloniki) and European cities (e.g Berlin and Stockholm).

Furthermore, the field study of this research project was fully conducted under lockdown restrictions due to the Covid-19 virus pandemic. These confinement measures affected ARSIS' operations drastically in terms of shifting to online education, a temporary cancellation of after-school activities, public events and workshops and loosened contact with other allies. Because of this isolation situation, future research should also investigate the response and adaptation of social NGOs' operations and their integrative and politico-institutional role in the aftermath of the corona crisis. This corona crisis lockdown aftermath may intensify their advocacy work steering to get more financial support to operate autonomously, to regulate

umbrella networks for NGOs to share best practices and organize public workshops or events, and to speed up processes of a.o. family reunification, relocation to other EU Member States, education enrollment.

Moreover, this thesis examined the integration work of social NGOs for UAMs during the preparation phase of the latter for an autonomous living (through cash assistance, CV workshops, employment skill training, independent cooking and cleaning skills etc.), but did not touch upon the phase where a minor actually turns eighteen and leaves the shelter. There is no close follow up or monitoring of the outcomes of the integration programs. Therefore, another eventual future research trajectory is the study of social NGOs' further integrative role and social support to UAMs during their autonomous life as young recognized refugees Exposing the potential bottlenecks which young adult asylum seekers and refugees are confronted with and communicate this feedback to NGOs could improve their services contributing to more resilient displaced individuals.

From an urbanism point of view, analyzing the two phenomena of abandoned and vacant property in Athens affecting the city image and secondly the hindered access for undercapitalized NGOs to affordable housing, creating housing programs in underused real estate (e.g. in possession of local/national authorities or Greek church institutions) may offer a solution for both. Therefore, a final potential research trajectory is the investigation and co-design of alternative social housing systems in the arrival city's underused real estate - supported by a bottom-linked governance system between social NGOs and the local authorities (e.g. municipality)/Church. More specifically, the municipality's support in the form of subsidies for the purchase of material and local labor force -activating newcomers and citizens - in return for NGO's refurbishment and repair could contribute to the urban development of the arrival city and enable NGOs' financial sustainability. And beyond, the property upgrade (e.g. sustainable energy-efficient/ spatial/ façade/ adaptive reuse/ adjacent public space) could foster urban innovation and social cohesion among the neighborhood community.

05

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACCMR (2020). *The ACCMR Digital Coordination Platform*. Available at https://www.accmr.gr/en/digital-platform.html (Accessed: November, 2020).

Ager, A. & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. (Vol. 21). Oxford University Press.

Alexander, M. (2007). *Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv*. Alderschot: Ashgate.

Andriessen A., Paidakaki, A., Susilo, C. & Van den Broeck, P. (2021). Architects' multifaceted roles in enhancing resilience after disasters. In Martins, N., Fayazi, M., Hobeica, L. & Kikano, F. (Eds.) *Enhancing Disaster Preparedness: From Humanitarian Architecture to Community Resilience* (Chapter 7, p. 129-14) Elsevier. ISBN 9780128190784, https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-819078-4.00007-1.

Association for the Social Support of Youth (2021, April 4). Interview with the NGO's shelter caregiver (A. Van der Stighelen, Interviewer)

Association for the Social Support of Youth (2021, March 16). Interview with the NGO's shelter coordinator (A. Van der Stighelen, Interviewer)

Association for the Social Support of Youth (2021, March 20). Interview with the NGO's shelter psychologist (A. Van der Stighelen, Interviewer)

Association for the Social Support of Youth (2021, March 20). Interview with the NGO's shelter social worker (A. Van der Stighelen, Interviewer)

Association for the Social Support of Youth (2021, March 20). Interview with the NGO's shelter teacher (A. Van der Stighelen, Interviewer)

Association for the Social Support of Youth (2020). *Who we are*. Available at http://www.arsis.gr/en/arsis-is/ (Accessed: October, 2020).

Bakker, L., Ceung, S.Y., Phillimore, J. (2016). The Asylum-Integration Paradox: Comparing Asylum Support Systems and Refugee Integration in The Netherlands and the UK. *International Migration* (Vol. 54, p. 118-132). International Organization for Migration.

Barradas, R. (2019). Financialization and Neoliberalism and the Fall in the Labor Share: A Panel Data Econometric Analysis for the European Union Countries. *Review of Radical Political Economics*.

BBC News (2016). *Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts*. Available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911 (Accessed: November 2020).

Benmecheddal, A., Gorge, H., Özçağlar-Toulouse, N. (2017). Rethinking Alternative Markets in the Context of Economic Crisis and Austerity in Greece. *Journal of Macromarketing* (Vol. 37, issue 2, p. 193-205). https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146717696894

Cabot, H. (2019). The European Refugee Crisis and Humanitarian Citizenship in Greece. *Journal of Anthropology* (Vol. 84, Issue 5, p. 747-771). https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2018.1529693

Castles, S., Korac, M., Vasta, E. & Vertovec, S. (2001). 'Integration: Mapping the Field.' Report of a project carried out by the Centre for Migration and Policy Research and Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford.

CNBC (2020, March). *'It's a powder keg ready to explode': In Greek village, tensions simmer between refugees and locals*. Available at https://www.cnbc.com/2020/03/01/refugee-crisis-in-greece-tensions-soar-between-migrants-and-locals.html (Accessed: October 2020).

Davoudi, S., Shaw, K., Haider, L.J., Quilan, A.E., Peterson, G.D., Wilkinson, C., Fünfgeld, H., MecEvoy, D., Porter, L. (2012). Resilience: A Bridging Concept or a Dead End? "Reframing" Resilience. *Planning Theory & Practice* (p. 299-333).

Debating Europe (2017). *Can Greece cope both with austerity and refugee crisis?* Available at https://www.debatingeurope.eu/2017/05/16/can-greece-cope-austerity-refugee-crisis/#.X8JIIMhKiUk (Accessed: November 2020).

De Bleekere, S. (2015). Het fenomeen wonen, *Bouwstenen voor een habitologie (p.19-34)*. Leuven: Acco.

DeBono, D. (2018). In Defiance of the Reception Logic: The Case for Including NGOs as Human Rights Monitors in the EU's Policies of First Reception of Irregular Migrants. *Peace and conflict* (Vol. 24, p. 291-295). Educational Publishing Foundation.

De Standaard (2021, April). *Duizenden alleenreizende kinderen verdwijnen uit Europese opvang*. Available at https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20210418_97672194 (Accessed: April, 2021).

ERCOMER (2003). *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration*. Retrieved in November, 2020 from EPIM: www.epim.info

Escobar, P. (2003). The New Labor Market. The Effects of the Neoliberal Experiment in Chile. *Latin American Perspectives* (Vol.30, p. 70-78). Sage Publications, Inc.

EUObserver (2019). *Greek migrant hotspot now EU's 'worst rights issue'*. Available at https://euobserver.com/migration/146541 (Accessed: November 2020).

European Commission (2015, September). *Refugee Crisis – Q&A on Emergency Relocation*. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/it/MEMO_15_5698 (Accessed: November 2020).

European Commission (2018, July). *Approaches to Unaccompanied Minors Following Status Determination in the EU plus Norway*. Retrieved in November 2020 from EC: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/00_eu_synthesis_report_unaccompanied_minors_2017_en.pdf

European Commission (2019, February). *Managing Migration. EU Financial Support to Greece*. Retrieved in November 2020 from EC: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/201902_managing-migration-eu-financial-support-to-greece_en.pdf

European Commission (2020). *Hotspot Approach*. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_search/hotspot-approach_en (Accessed: November 2020).

European Commission (2020, September). *A fresh start on migration: Building confidence and striking a new balance between responsibility and solidarity*. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_20_1706 (Accessed: November 2020).

European Commission (2021, January). *Managing Migration. EU Financial Support to Greece*. Retrieved in May 2021 from EC: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/202101_managing-migration-eu-financial-support-to-greece_en.pdf

European Commission (2021). *Greece - Unemployment insurance benefits and unemployment assistance benefits*. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1112&langId=en&intPageId=4571 (Accessed: April, 2021).

European Council (2021, January). *EU Migration Policy*. Available at https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/migratory-pressures/ (Accessed: October, 2020).

European Parliament (2021). *File Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion*. Available at https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-promoting-our-european-way-of-life/file-action-plan-on-integration-and-inclusion (Accessed: May, 2021).

European Youth Portal (2021). *Volunteering - ARSIS*. at https://europa.eu/youth/volunteering/organisation/60621_hr (Accessed: April, 2021).

Eurostat (2019). *Glossary: Asylum Decision*. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Asylum_decision (Accessed: November, 2020).

FRA (2018). *Returning unaccompanied children: fundamental rights considerations*. Retrieved in October, 2020 from FRA: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-returning-unaccompanied-children_en.pdf

Gal, J. (2010). Is there an extended family of Mediterranean welfare states? *Journal of European Social Policy* (Vol. 20, p. 283-300). London, England: SAGE Publications.

Gericke, D. et al. (2018). How do refugees use their social capital for successful labor market integration? An exploratory analysis in Germany. *Journal of Vocational Behavior* (Vol. 105, p. 46-61). San Diego: Elsevier Inc.

05

Global Property Guide (2021, February). *Greece - Home Price Trends*. Available at https://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Europe/Greece/Home-Price-Trends (Accessed: May, 2021).

Greek Council for Refugees (2020, November). *Access to Education – Greece*. Available at https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/reception-conditions/employment-and-education/access-education/ (Accessed: February, 2021).

Greek Council for Refugees (2020, November). *Types of Accommodation - Greece*. Available at https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/reception-conditions/housing/types-accommodation/ (Accessed: October, 2020).

Greek Council for Refugees (2020, November). *Special reception needs of vulnerable groups - Greece*. Available at https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/reception-conditions/special-reception-needs-vulnerable-groups/ (Accessed: October, 2020).

Greek Council for Refugees (2020, November). *Reception and identification procedure- Greece*. Available at https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece/asylum-procedure/access-procedure-and-registration/reception-and-identification-procedure/ (Accessed: October, 2020).

Hynie, M. (2018). Refugee Integration: Research and Policy. Peace and Conflict: *Journal of Peace Psychology* (Vol. 24, P. 265-276). http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000326

Holling, C.S. (1996). Engineering Resilience versus Ecological Resilience. In P. Schulze, *Engineering with Ecological Constraints* (p. 31-45). Washington D.C.: National Academy Press.

HumanRights360 (2017, November). *The implementation of the "Hotspot Approach" and the EU-Turkey Statement in Greece: A crisis contained, but not over*. Available at https://www.humanrights360.org/the-implementation-of-the-hotspot-approach-and-the-eu-turkey-statement-in-greece-a-crisis-contained-but-not-over/#0 (Accessed: November 2020).

Human Rights Watch (2017, November). *Asylum Seekers' Hell in a Greek 'Hotspot'*. Available at https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/30/asylum-seekers-hell-greek-hotspot (Accessed: October 2020).

Human Rights Watch (2020, September). *Greece's Moria Camp Fire: What's Next?* Available at https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/09/12/greeces-moria-camp-fire-whats-next (Accessed: October 2020).

Hynie, M. (2018). Refugee Integration: Research and Policy. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* (Vol. 24, No. 3, p. 265-276). http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000326

Hynie, M., Korn, A., & Tao, D. (2016). Social context and social integration for Government Assisted Refugees in Ontario, Canada. In Poteet, M. & Nourpanah, S. (Eds.), *After the flight: The dynamics of refugee settlement and integration* (p. 183–227). Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.

Independent (2020, September). *Greece to build permanent migrant centre to replace destroyed Moria camp.* Available at https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/greece-refugee-camp-fire-moria-migrant-crisis-lesbos-coronavirus-b436240.html (Accessed: October 2020).

Interreg (2021). *ARSIS - Association for the Social Support of Youth*. Available at http://www.ipa-cbc-programme.eu/project-partner/306/ (Accessed: April, 2021).

IOM (2020, March). *Flow Monitoring – Children & Migration. Data Collection in Europe in 2019*. Retrieved in November 2020 from IOM DTM: https://dtm.iom.int/reports/europe-%E2%80%94%C2%A0flow-monitoring-surveys-%E2%80%94-children-migration-2019

IOM (2020, September). *IOM Mobilizes Emergency Assistance and Transfer of Children After Fire at Moria Camp, Lesvos*. Available at https://www.iom.int/news/iom-mobilizes-emergency-assistance-and-transfer-children-after-fire-moria-camp-lesvos (Accessed: October 2020).

IOM (2020). *Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration.* Available at https://www.iom.int/assisted-voluntary-return-and-reintegration (Accessed: November, 2020).

IOM (2021). *Providing Education and Immediate Accommodation to Migrant Children in Greece (PEDIA)*. Available at https://greece.iom.int/en/providing-education-and-immediate-accommodation-migrant-children-greece-pedia (Accessed: February, 2021).

IOM (2021). *Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection (HELIOS)*. Available at https://greece.iom.int/en/hellenic-integration-support-beneficiaries-international-protection-helios (Accessed: February, 2021).

Koliou, M., van de Lindt, J., McAllister, T., Ellingwood, B., Dillard, M. & Cutler, H. (2020). State of the research in community resilience: progress and challenges, *Sustainable and Resilient Infrastructure* (Vol. 5:3, p.131-151).DOI: 10.1080/23789689.2017.1418547

Kovner, B., Zehavi, A. & Golan, D. (2021). Unaccompanied asylum-seeking youth in Greece: protection, liberation and criminalization. *The International Journal of Human Rights*. DOI: 10.1080/13642987.2021.1874936

Kourachanis, N. (2017). Homelessness Policies in Crisis Greece: The Case of the Housing and Reintegration Program. *European Journal of Homelessness* (Vol. 11). FEANTSA.

Kourachanis, N. (2018). Asylum Seekers, Hotspot Approach and Anti-Social Policy Responses in Greece (2015–2017). *Journal of International Migration and Integration* (Vol. 19, p. 1153-1167). Springer.

Kourachanis, N. (2019). From camps to social integration? Social housing interventions for asylum seekers in Greece. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* (Vol. 39, p. 221-234). Emerald Publishing Limited.

Kourachanis, N. (2021). Housing and Social Policies for Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Greece. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies.* (Vol. 51, p. 383-471). Abingdon: Routledge.

Mandic, D. (2017). Trafficking and Syrian refugee smuggling: evidence from the Balkan route. *Social Inclusion* (Vol. 5, no. 2, p. 28-38). doi:10.17645/si.v5i2.917

Maloutas, T., Siatitsa, D. & Balampanidis, D. (2020). Access to Housing and Social Inclusion in a Post-Crisis Era: Contextualizing Recent Trends in the City of Athens. *Social Inclusion* (Vol. 8, p. 5-15). Lisbon: Cogitatio Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/si.v8i3.2778

Mariolis T., Rodousakis, N., Soklis, G. (2020). The COVID-19 multiplier effects of tourism on the Greek economy. *Tourism Economics*. London: Sage Publications https://doi-org.kuleuven.ezproxy.kuleuven.be/10.1177/1354816620946547

McMillan, D.W. (1996). Sense of community. *Journal of Community Psychology* (Vol. 24, p. 315-325). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

McMillan, D.W. (2011). Sense of community, a theory not a value: a response to Nowell and Minord. *Journal of Community Psychology* (Vol. 39, p 507-519). Hoboken: Wiley Subscription Services, Inc., A Wiley Company.

Médecins sans Frontières (2020).*Overview of the refugee crisis in Europe*. Available at https://www.msf-me.org/overview-refugee-crisis-europe (Accessed: November 2020).

Meeus, B., Arnaut, K., van Heur, B. (2019). *Arrival Infrastructures: Migration and Urban Social Mobilities.* Cham: Sprinter.

Meeus, B., Beeckmans, L., van Heur, B. & Arnaut, K. (2020). Broadening the Urban Planning Repertoire with an 'Arrival Infrastructures' Perspective. *Urban Planning* (Vol. 5, p. 11-22). Cogitatio.

Moulaert, F. and MacCallum, D. (2019). *Advanced introduction to social innovation*. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Moulaert, F., MacCallum, D., Van den Broeck, P. and Garcia M. (2019). Bottom-linked governance and socially innovative political transformation. In *Atlas of social innovation. Second volume: A world of new practices (*p. 62-65*).* München: Oekoem Verlag

Moulaert, F., Swyngedouw, E., Martinelli, F. and Gonzalez, S. (Eds.) (2010). *Can Neighbourhoods Save the City?: Community development and social innovation.* London and New York: Routledge.

National Statistical Service of Greece (2009). *Population & Housing Census 2001*. Retrieved in May, 2021 from National Statistical Service of Greece: http://dlib.statistics.gr/Book/GRESYE_02_0101_00098%20.pdf

OHCHR (2020). *Financialization of housing*. Available at https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Housing/Pages/FinancializationHousing.aspx#:~:text=Known%20as%20the%20financialization%20of,rather%20than%20a%20social%20good.&text=Residents%20are%20often%20rendered%20homeless,housing%20that%20often%20stands%20vacant (Accessed: December, 2020).

05

Paidakaki, A. (2017). Uncovering the Housing-Resilience Nexus. Social Resilience Cells, Governance Hybridities and (Hetero-)Production of Post-Disaster 'Egalitarian' Urbanities. The Case Study of Post-Katrina New Orleans (Doctoral dissertation). KU Leuven, Leuven.

Paidakaki, A. (2021). Social innovation in the times of a European twofold refugee-housing crisis. Evidences from the homelessness sector. *European Journal of Homelessness* (Vol. 15, p. 13-34). FEANTSA.

Paidakaki, A. & Moulaert, F. (2017). Does the post-disaster resilient city really exist?: A critical analysis of the heterogeneous transformative capacities of housing reconstruction "resilience cells". *International Journal of Disaster Resilience in the Built Environment,* (Vol.8, p.275-291).

Paidakaki, A. & Moulaert, F. (2018). Disaster Resilience into Which Direction(s)? Competing Discursive and Material Practices in Post-Katrina New Orleans. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 432-454.

Paidakaki, A., Moulaert, F., Leinfelder, H. & Van den Broeck, P. (2020). Can pro-equity hybrid governance shape an egalitarian city? Lessons from post-Katrina New Orleans, *Territory, Politics, Governance.* DOI: 10.1080/21622671.2020.1773919

Paidakaki, A. and Parra, C. (2018). "Housing for all" at the era of financialization; can (post-disaster) cities become truly socially resilient and egalitarian?, *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability* (Vol. 23, p. 1023-1040)

Paidakaki A., De Becker, R., De Reu, Y. Viaene, F., Elnaschie, S. and Van den Broeck, P. (2021). How can community architects build socially resilient refugee camps? Lessons from the Office of Displaced Designers in Lesvos, Greece. *Archnet-IJAR*. https://doi.org/10.1108/ARCH-11-2020-0276

Penninx, R. (2006). "Integration Processes of Migrants: Research Findings and Policy Lessons" (p. 31-52) in Demetrios G. Papademetriou (Ed.), Europe and Its Immigrants in the 21st Century: A New Deal or a Continuing Dialogue of the Deaf? Washington/Lisbon: Migration Policy Institute and Luso-American Foundation.

Penninx, R. & Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2016). *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors.* Cham: Springer.

Phillimore, J. (2020). Refugee-integration-opportunity structures: shifting the focus from refugees to context. *Journal of Refugee Studies.* Oxford University Press.

PopulationStat (2021). *Athens, Greece Population*. Available at https://populationstat.com/greece/athens (Accessed: May 2021).

Rady, D. (2012). Greece Debt Crisis: Causes, Implications and Policy Options. *Academy of Accounting and Financial Studies Journal* (Vol. 16, p. 87-96).

Saunders, D. (2010). *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping Our World.* New York: Vintage Books.

Simou, E., Koutsogeorgou, E. (2014). Effects of the economic crisis on health and healthcare in Greece in the literature from 2009 to 2013: A systematic review. *Health Policy* (Vol. 115, Issues 2–3, p.111-119). ISSN 0168-8510. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthpol.2014.02.002.

Skleparis, D. (2018). *UNESCO Chair on International Migration Policy Brief: Refugee Integration in Mainland Greece: Prospects and Challenges.* Access in September, 2020, from Research Gate: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323784536_Refugee_Integration_in_Mainland_Greece_Prospects_and_Challenges

Spyratou, D. (2020, October). How Covid-19 has highlighted the anti-migration agenda in Greece. *FEANTSA Homeless in Europe Magazine* (Autumn 2020).

Statista (2021). *Greece: Unemployment rate from 1999 to 2020.* Available at https://www.statista.com/statistics/263698/unemployment-rate-in-greece/ (Accessed: February 2021).

Steigemann, A.M. & Misselwitz, Ph. (2020). Architectures of asylum: Making home in a state of permanent temporariness. *Current Sociology* (Vol. 68, p. 628-650). London: Sage Publications.

Stylianidis, S., & Souliotis, K. (2019). The impact of the long-lasting socioeconomic crisis in Greece. *BJPsych International, 16* (1), 16-18. doi:10.1192/bji.2017.31

Terre des Hommes International Federation (2019). *Destination Unknown – Championing the rights of children on the move.* Available at https://destination-unknown.org/explore/ (Accessed: May, 2021).

The Guardian (2020, February). *Greece sends more riot police to Lesbos after migrant clashes.* Available at https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/feb/04/greece-sends-more-riot-police-to-lesbos-after-migrant-clashes (Accessed: October 2020).

Tzifakis, N. et al. (2017). The Impact of Economic Crises on NGOs: The Case of Greece. Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations (Vol. 28, No. 5, p. 2176-2199). New York: Springer.

UNESCO (2021). *Non-formal education*. Available at http://uis.unesco.org/en/glossary-term/non-formal-education (Accessed: April, 2021).

UNHCR (1951). *The 1951 Refugee Convention.* Retrieved in November, 2020 from UNHCR: https://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html

UNHCR (2010). *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. Retrieved in November, 2020 from UNHCR: https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10

UNHCR (2020). *Explainer: Relocation of unaccompanied children from Greece to other EU countries.* Available at https://www.unhcr.org/neu/43303-explainer-relocation-of-unaccompanied-children-from-greece-to-other-eu-countries.html (Accessed: November 2020).

UNHCR (2021). *ESTIA - A new chapter in the lives of refugees in Greece*. Available at http://estia.unhcr.gr/en/home/ (Accessed: February, 2021).

UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM (2018). *Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe*. Retrieved in November, 2020 from IOM: https://rovienna.iom.int/publications/europe-refugee-and-migrant-children-europe-overview-trends-january-december-2018

UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM (2019). *Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe Accompanied, Unaccompanied and Separated.* Retrieved in November, 2020 from UNICEF: https://www.unicef.org/eca/media/12671/file

UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM (2020, April). *Minimum Child Protection Standards for Identification of Unaccompanied Children to be Relocated from Greece to other countries in the European Union.* Retrieved in November, 2020 from UNHCR: https://data2.unhcr.org

Van Dyck, B. & Van den Broeck, P. (2013). Social Innovation: a territorial process. *The International Handbook on Social Innovation: Collective Action, Social Learning and Transdisciplinary Research* (Chapter 9). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Weber, B. (2017). The EU-Turkey Refugee Deal and the Not Quite Closed Balkan Route. Sarajevo: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Dialogue Southeast Europe.

05

A N N E X E S

Annex A: Hand made sketches of the ARSIS shelter accommodation and shelter UAM residents, made during field work in March 2021 as volunteer and researcher.

05

Annex B: Average questionnaire results.

Anonymous questionnaire by 10 shelter user-experts

Source: author

Response rate
7/10 participants
2 were assisted
by an Urdu/Greek
to English translator

Gambia
Syria
Afghanistan
Palestine
Bangladesh
Spain
Germany
United Kingdom

Age
16 y/o   I
17 y/o   IIII
unknown/ private   II

Got to know Arsis
from friends   I
from others   IIIIII
e.g. social worker/
asylum office

Language knowledge
Arabic
Bangla
English
Greek
Kurdish
Other
Persian/ Farsi
Urdu

Accommodation types previously lived in

refugee camp IIII ●○○○○
safe zone IIII ●●○○○
on the street IIIII ●○○○○
shelter by Arsis IIIIII ●●○○○
shelter by other NGO II ●●○○○
SIL apartment I ●●○○○
alternative e.g. park/ hospital IIII ●○○○○

In the future

I want to be living in
the United Kingdom   I
Germany   I
Spain   III
Europe   I
Asia   I

together with
my girlfriend   II
my family   IIIII
my friends   I
alone   I

and become a (profession)

barber I
business manager II
football player II
Uber driver I
translator I
politician I
writer I

I feel prepared to live by meself in terms of
household (cooking, cleaning etc)   ●●●●○
handling my own money   ●●●○○
finding a job/ studying   ●●●●○

My favourite place in Athens
Omonia Square   II
Acropolis   III
Acharnon Street   II

My social connection in Athens with
family II   ●●●○○
kids with same background IIII   ●●●○○
kids with different background IIIII   ●●●○○
Greek citizens III   ●●○○○

I feel happy here   ○○○○○

I feel welcome
in the shelter   ●●●○○
in the neighborhood   ●○○○○
in Athens   ●●○○○
in Greece   ●○○○○
in Europe   ●○○○○

Education
Language courses   ●●●●○○
Cultural activities   ○○○○○
School (before corona)   ●●○○○
Online courses (corona)   ●●○○○

I feel
... at home
In the shelter   ●●○○○
In Athens   ●●○○○
In Greece   ●●○○○
... accepted
In the shelter   ●●●○○
In Athens   ●○○○○
In Greece   ●○○○○
... safe and secure
In the shelter   ●●●○○
In Athens   ●●●○○
In Greece   ●●○○○

Annex C: List of interviews, online video meetings and conversations with NGO staff and beneficiaries.

	Date	Interviewee	Organization and position
Interviews	16/3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Shelter Coordinator
	20/3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Shelter Teacher:
	20/3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Psychologist
	20/3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Social worker
	8/4/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Caregiver & ex-volunteer in European Solidarity Corps
Interview by fellow students Lotte Nuyts and Sofie April	3/2021	Lefteris Papagiannakis	SolidarityNow: Head of Advocacy, Policy and Research & ex-Vice Mayor on Migrant and Refugee Affairs
Online video meetings	11/12/2020	PRAKSIS representative	PRAKSIS: Volunteer Coordinator
	15/1/2021	Antonis Antoniou	ARSIS: Program Director
	5/2/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Shelter Coordinator
Conversations	3/3/2021	Antonis Antoniou	ARSIS: Program Director
	3/3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Shelter Coordinator
	3/2021	UAM residents	ARSIS: Beneficiaries
	3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Volunteer
	3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Cook
	3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Translator Urdu-Greek
	3/2021	ARSIS representative	ARSIS: Translator Farsi-Greek

05

KU Leuven
2020 - 2021