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Development dynamics and social change in Athens under globalization as a driver for new planning instruments

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Abstract

The Athens metropolitan region undergoes important economic and social territorial changes under the effect of various components of globalisation, particularly during the last twenty years. The dynamic growth of certain activities' sectors which are closely connected with the globalisation (and the European unification) process, as well as the creation of important infrastructures for the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, accelerated the development of certain zones of the city while, inversely, the fast decline of "backward" sectors devitalised numerous city areas.

These changes also affected considerably the social territorial structure of the metropolitan region. Moreover, other social - demographic factors -which are also included in the frame of the globalisation process- had very important territorial effects, as for example the unprecedented for Greece and particularly for Athens intensification of the external immigration since the beginning of the '90s. In conclusion, new much more intense territorial development disparities as well as a new social-territorial segregation -both being evident indicators of a process towards a risk society- are shaped in Athens.

As it is also stressed in the paper, the spatial (regional / urban) planning of the Greek capital has not met these new challenges. It remains focused in sectoral and normative ("classic") interventions and it has not developed new suitable tools of spatial planning: new forms of urban governance and integrated urban interventions.

Introduction

The paper examines the recent reshaping of the territorial developmental and social structure in the Athens Basin under globalization, as a driver for new planning instruments. It is based on the conclusions of a broader work of the authors and D. Manousaridi -see in Angelidis & Karka & Manousaridi (under publication).

The dynamics of the developmental role of Athens is approached firstly in the frame of globalisation and European integration, in relation to the more specific changes in Greece's development. Then, the recent developments in the localisation of enterprises in the Athens basin related to the dynamic development of certain zones and the decline of others are analyzed. Emphasis is given to the social transformations and particularly to the form of social territorial inequalities in contemporary Athens. Finally, the degree of adaptation of spatial planning instruments to the economic and social changes in Athens is examined

Development dynamics and social change

During the two last decades, at international level, important changes at the characteristics of development are realized. Everywhere, in all the regions and the cities, deindustrialisation and tertiarisation have advanced. More specifically, the service sector is not only extended but also restructured. The increase of activity and employment in some of its branches is much more considerable. This increase concerns firstly the "tertiary of the secondary sector", the provision of services to the enterprises and the services that are related to research and technol-

ogy. However, certain branches that are often not connected directly with technological changes, but with newer consuming models are also considerably expanded. On the contrary, in certain "traditional" personal services or even in other "basic" services, as e.g. "Storage" (transformed gradually in "Logistics"), employment is increased with substantially lower rates or even decreased (cf. inter alia in: Castells 2006, Hall – Pfeiffer 2000). These economic and, simultaneously, spatial transformations are associated with the technological modernisation in the base of the advance of new technologies, particularly of the Information Communication Technology (ICT) and mostly of the Internet, more generally in the base of the course to the "Information Society" or the "Knowledge Society". Consecutively, they are connected closely with the changes in the regional, national and international role of metropolitan regions. As Sassen (2002) points out:

A growing number of cities today play an increasingly important role in directly linking national economies with global circuits. This, in turn, contributes to the formation of new geographies of centrality that connect cities in a growing variety of cross-border networks.

The functioning of the metropolitan regions as nodes of international networking is directly associated with the composition of their economy and employment, and in particular with the dynamics of certain categories of services.

In this framework, important social-demographic changes, such as the ageing of local population, the reformation of employment and the impressive increase of influx of foreign immigrants in the developed countries - and particularly in their metropolitan regions, provided that these offer more possibilities of employment, anonymity, etc, advance rapidly. As it is noted in many relative studies (cf. indicatively: Fitoussi et al 2003, IAURIF 2005), all these developments, in relation to the important redeployments of the growth areas, involve considerable spatial redistributions of the social classes and intensification of the social segregation in the cities and, even more, in the metropolitan regions. More specifically, as it is stressed in IAURIF 2005, most recent developments demonstrate that:

The social territorial differentiation is expressed primarily with the spatial concentration of the upper income classes. These are the most separated in space.

Also, the role of education and of its infrastructures in the cities is acquiring much greater importance (Fitoussi et al 2003).

In this framework, the metropolitan regions constitute to an important degree a preferential field for the detection of changes that are also presented, with a certain delay, in other urban regions.

The need for new planning instruments

According to the above, nowadays, changes in the territorial developmental and social structures of cities accelerate considerably and the problems of the urban areas, mainly of the metropolitan ones, become much more complex; their confrontation requires, apart from the intervention of public administration, the active participation of numerous collective bodies of the private sector or semi-public bodies. Also, the relationships between different spatial levels and, therefore, between bodies governing spatial entities at different spatial levels have become more complex.

Therefore, a new form of urban regions governing emerges, called "urban governance", which better integrates into the spatial governing of cities the action of the above numerous and various stakeholders (actors), promoting vertical and horizontal partnership between them. It, finally, requires increase of the flexibility in the decision-making process and in the constitution and application of territorial policies. Lisbon Strategy emphasizes the use of methods of collaboration and participative decision-making, as the "Open Method of Co-ordination" as more suitable tool than the traditional method of setting rules.

European Commission stresses the need to promote urban development in order to meet cohesion priorities in the period 2007-2013 by implementing integrated strategies for cities, promoting planning for urban regeneration and associating key partners in the cities in the achievement of planning objectives:

Support should focus on the development of participative and integrated strategies capable of tackling the high concentration of economic, environmental and social problems affecting urban agglomerations..... The key partners in the cities and local authorities have an important role to play in achieving these objectives.

The preparation of a medium- to long-term development plan for urban regeneration is generally a precondition for success as it ensures the coherence of investments and of their environmental quality" (Commission of the EC, 2005 p. 30).

Athens in Europe and in Greece: between the "Lisbon agenda" and the "Greek particularities"

The paper refers to Athens, which, as the most developed part of Greece, already presents important changes of such character. As it results from the above, in order to study them, we need to refer not only to the internal zones of Athens but also to its role in the wider European space and in Greece, which influences more and more the internal development of the city.

Athens constitutes a Metropolitan region, which has expanded during the last decades to the whole area of Attica. However, the analyses that we present here refer to the Basin of Athens, an area which is surrounded by mountains from the West, the North and the East and by the sea from the South; this area constitutes the largest and most important part of Athens/Attica and, more specifically, of the mainland of the administrative region of the Athens-Piraeus super-prefecture -which includes the Prefectures of Athens and Piraeus- and consists of 55 Municipalities (cf. below on the Maps). *In next, where we mention "Athens" we refer to the Athens Basin.*

Athens includes a very important economic and human potential –indicatively, its population amounted in 2001 at 3.206.000 residents. Consequently, the approach of its territorial developmental and social dynamics constitutes a particularly wide and complex subject. Here we will limit ourselves in the examination of the main, in our opinion, sides of this dynamics, referring for more extensive analyses and documentation to the above mentioned work to which the authors participated. In this framework we use basic indicators/ criteria; we do not discuss the social and economic behaviours etc (cf., inter alia, for the discussion of these criteria in: Charron & Apparicio 2006).

We should finally refer to the lack of data for the localization of enterprises in Athens after 1996 at level lower than that of the municipality (cf. in NTUA – UT 2006). For the confrontation of this problem, we processed at this level the data of the ICAP database for the economics, the employment and the localisation of Athens' enterprises for the year 2004. Cf. more analytically for the conditions of use of these data in: NTUA - UT 2006. We also used at municipality level all the available data for the period 1991-2005 (NSSG 1993 and 2003, 1996-2006, 1997-2006).

In this fifteen years period, the economic and employment changes in all three economic sectors (primary, secondary, tertiary) in Greece and in Athens / Attica -more specifically in the Athens Basin- keep pace with many aspects of the economic transformations at international and European level; however they present some particular characteristics.

The rates for all the groups of Lisbon indicators / criteria –"Knowledge Society" / KS, human potential, social conditions- are unfavourable for Greece compared to almost all the European Union -15 countries.

The participation of the economy of Athens (as for the total of Attica) in Greece tends to remain very high in certain branches, mainly in those that have strategic importance for the development and, simultaneously, national and international range, as are, characteristically, the Higher Education, the Research and Technology, the financial sector, the provision of services to the enterprises etc. The size of the enterprises (both in manufacture and services) in Athens, as in the Country, remains small compared with the EU-15 average size. Depending on the branch, the differences as for the employment and/or the economic potential (assets and turnover) average are very important. Particularly in certain branches, as the Retail trade, the number of very small enterprises is much higher in Greece.

More generally, Athens, as the main node relating Greece with the developments in the European space, presents higher values as for the Lisbon indicators compared to the Country - particularly concerning the KS; however these values are much lower than the EU-15 average.

Spatial development in Athens

Athens presents deindustrialisation and tertiarisation. In the period 1991-2005 (NSSG 1993 and 2003, 1996-2006, 1997-2006; ICAP 2006) it participates in the employment in the services in Attica quite more than it does in the population. The important growth of services in Eastern Attica has not limited the high rates of development of services in Athens.

Concerning the changes per municipality, during the above period, in certain groups of branches –mainly of services but also of industry- the economic potential was increased without corresponding increase of the employment, provided that, because of the technological modernisation (closely related to the KS) an important number of jobs were suppressed. This concerns characteristically the Banks where labour force increased only a little. As specifically for the employment, almost all the branches of services of Athens presented a considerable increase of their employment; however some branches presented a more important increase rate in the employment, as the Real Estate, the Education, the Hotels- restaurants, the Health and the Domestic personnel. In absolute numbers, the Labour force was increased more in the Wholesale and the Retail Trade. *In other words, the more important increases concerned the sectors which are connected with the new patterns of consumption.*

Provided that, in Athens, the technological adaptation but also the economic concentration of enterprises in the current more internationalised economic environment have advanced relatively less until now (compared to the EU-15 average), it is expected that they will continue in next years; therefore, *important pressures will be exerted to the employment in specific branches mainly of the tertiary sector*, as e.g. in the Retail trade. Such pressures will be also exerted to the secondary sector, even if the employment in this has already been shrunken considerably. The intensity of these pressures depends also on other factors, as, inter alia, the level of external immigration in the future.

Towards a new pattern of economic activities localization in Athens

In the two last decades a very important territorial redistribution of the economic activities is in progress in Athens. This restructuring has accelerated since the middle of the '1990s until the middle of the 2000's decade. It has accelerated even more after the construction of some major infrastructures of the city: new airport, additional metro lines, new important urban highways, for the 2004 Olympic Games. It is clear that in the next years a radically different pattern of localisation of both the secondary and the services sector will be accomplished.

Firstly, services in the central business district are not developing, although this last keeps up an important amount of employment as well as many head offices of important enterprises. The drift of service activities from the city centre combined with the creation of new firms, lead to an impressive development of the Northern and North-eastern zones and to a considerable but comparatively less important development of the Southern and South-eastern zones of the city. The influence zones of the greater avenues are the most developing. This redistribution concerns most of the services' branches but it is more important in the case of the dynamic ones. Inversely, in the Western part of the city as well as in the wider region of the Piraeus port, industrial activity and employment are shrinking; only the Storage / Logistics activities maintain certain dynamics.

It could be pointed out globally, even very schematically, that accelerating new type tertiarisation of Athens, primarily strengthens the perimetric, mainly Eastern zones of the city. On the other hand, the deficit of growth that has been created longly-lasting in old, mainly Western, industrial regions, are just now beginning to be covered by new installations of service activities with slow rhythms.

Social changes in Athens

In the last fifteen years, the social-demographic changes in the entire Athens basin were impressively intense but also accelerating. This concerns firstly the territorial redeployment of the population. While the movement of population from the Basin of Athens to the eastern Attica was very important, the total population of the Basin remains stagnant, but with reduction in the wider central zone of the city and intense shifts towards the North-eastern and the South-eastern zones. The population of Athens is today comparatively more aged than that of Greece. The population of the central zone of the city is even more aged. The rates of unemployment of the women, the young and the disadvantaged classes, particularly those having a low level of education, remain considerably high. The number of foreign immigrants increased significantly since the beginning of the '90s. Their participation in the total population of Attica increased from 2,6 % in 1991 to 10,0 % in 2001.

The older form of spatial division between the Western and the Eastern parts of Athens remains while its social content is changing

The income is undoubtedly the most important indicator of social division as it is directly related to the wealth level, to the accession to education and health services etc. Here we use the "average taxable income of individuals" published by the Greek Ministry of Economy. The relevant data were treated at municipality level of Attica by K. Prodromidis (Prodromidis 2006; Prodromidis & Kati 2005). We have further processed these data in the framework of our approach. We note that the data refer to the declared income which differs to a certain extent from the "real" income.

Based on the relevant data, we constructed the Graph 1 of the average income per municipality of Athens classified by descending order of income - x values. In the axis X (values y), each municipality corresponds to a line segment that is proportional to its population. Thus, the population of each income zone (category) is also taken into consideration. In the base of this graph, we classified the population of Athens in four wide and eight narrow groups which we characterize as: A (A1 and A2), B (B1 and B2), C (C1 and C2) and D (D1 and D2). We do not present here a map of the income per municipality, as the total length of the paper is restrained; however this map is very similar to that of the education level - cf. below.

We stress that the current social distribution, based on the population incomes, has a new "content", provided that these incomes emanate from different activities sectors than that in the past (e.g. much more from the tertiary sector and less from the secondary sector).

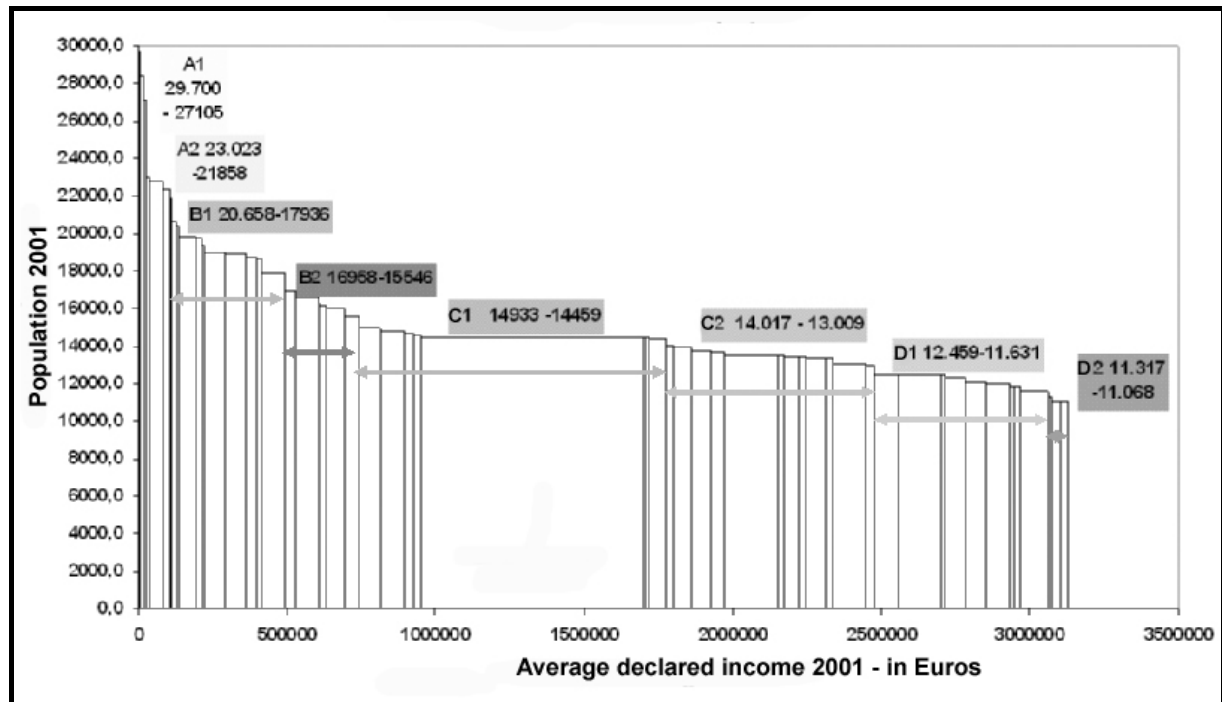
Although we don't further discuss the distribution of the population in social groups, we could firstly identify an intense differentiation / polarisation between higher and lower level income social groups in Athens. More specifically:

- A very small part of the population has very high incomes.
- The largest part of the population has intermediate-high and intermediate-low incomes while a comparatively small part of the population has very low incomes. In other words, the "intermediate" (or "middle") and "intermediate-low" income social groups are very wide. Furthermore: the size of the average income of the "very low" (1 and 2) social groups does not differ considerably from the corresponding size for the "low" ones and this last does not differ, also, considerably from that for the "intermediate - low" groups. We can, consequently, stress with certainty that in Athens the extent of the intermediate social groups (based on the income distribution) is even more increased compared to the "two tiers societies" – concept signifying that nowadays in the populations

of the developed countries (or even regions) the intermediate social layers are much more extended than in the past.

At territorial level (per municipality), there is also a strong polarization between higher and lower level income social groups. This polarisation follows to a large extent the older territorial division scheme: Western / Eastern Athens (cf. indicatively in: Burgel 1976, Maloutas 2000); however it presents important new characteristics. More specifically:

- The "upper-1" and "upper-2" as well as the "intermediate-1" layers (A1, A2, and B1) concentrate in the Northern-North-eastern Athens. It should be stressed that the "upper-1" layers have selected as place of residence, city areas with very high built-up patterns –and, of course, very high land prices- which were developed from the beginning in the base of a local Plan (this is not the case for a great part of the city), with low Built-up Coefficients, with high percentage of green spaces etc. In Athens, these layers ("upper-1") tend to be more separated in space than the rest of the population - cf. in the Introduction.



Graph 1: Average income per Municipality of the Athens Basin 2001

Source of data: Prodromidis - Kati 2005 – additional analysis of data and creation of the graph: M. Angelidis

- The "intermediate-2" (B2) layers concentrate mainly in the Southern-South-eastern part of the city. The "Intermediate-low-1" (C1) layers inhabit mainly in the wider central area of Athens while the "intermediate-low-2" (C2) ones are represented mainly in Piraeus and in municipalities of the central region. The "very low-1" (D1) layers correspond mainly to the Western part, to the ex industrial Southern part as well as to the North-western part of the city. Finally, the "very low-2" (D2) layers correspond to two old "port-industrial" municipalities and in a municipality with intense presence of Roma.

In a second step, we examined the degree to which the income is related, at Municipality level, with other characteristics of the population. This investigation showed the following:

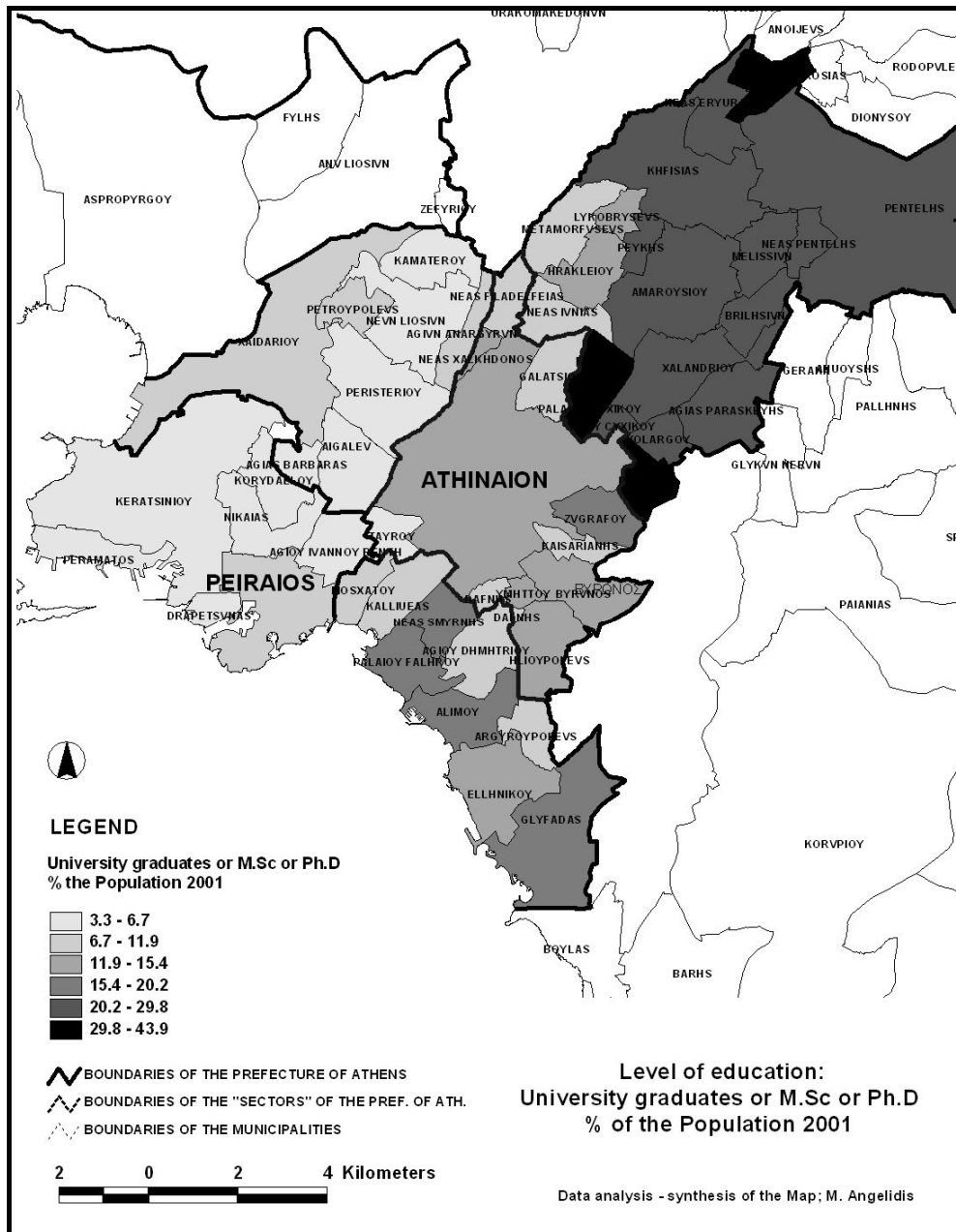
- There is an impressively high correlation with the "high level of education" –counted by the percentage of University / MSc / PhD graduates in the total of the population (rate: 0,975). The spatial distribution on the basis of this indicator is presented in the Map 1. It is obvious that in poorer and presenting deficit of development areas the level of education of the human potential is very low.

- There is a very high correlation of the income with the percentage of employers and workers for their own (0,917) and with the conditions of habitation measured in the basis of the number of rooms per dwelling (0,936).

- A relatively smaller degree of correlation is presented with the rate of unemployment (-0,703) and with the rate of employment in the secondary sector (0,771). This difference is partly owed in that some "socially ascending" municipalities include some areas of residence associated with old industrial areas –which are shrinking nowadays. This also partly explains the fact that the rate of correlation of the income with the "low level of education" (measured by the percentage of illiterate and those who they did not finish the elementary school but they know writing and reading) in the total of population (-0,494).

- There is very low correlation -at municipality level- (0,175) with the presence of foreign immigrants (% of the population). However a very high concentration of immigrants is presented in certain areas of the central zone of

Athens (because of the high accessibility, the "anonymity" offered etc) but also in low income zones inhabited by people working in industry.



Map 1: Level of education: Rate (%) of the University graduates or M.Sc or Ph.D in the total of Population 2001 - per Municipality of the Athens Basin.

Source of data: Greek National Statistical Organisation - data analysis: M. Angelidis

In a third step, we examined the differentiations in the interior of municipalities (at building block level) using as indicator the "high level of education", the spatial distribution of which, as we saw, is almost totally correlated with the income. These differentiations are very important - as, indicatively, in the case of the Western and the Eastern parts of the municipality of Athens ("Demos Athinaion" in Greek –see in the Map 1) which covers the main part of the central area of the city.

As an overall result, mainly the Central-Western and North-North-western parts of Athens, as the bigger part of the wider region of Piraeus and mainly wide industrial areas but also some smaller such areas include territorial units which present characteristics of social segregation. Taking in addition into consideration the conclusions as for the spatial development dynamics in Athens, we could stress that in these areas an important deficit of growth and employment has been created.

Social segregation and development deficit in these areas constitute an overall challenge, which can be delt with a strategy for the entire metropolitan area which will prioritise the development of these zones combined with integrated interventions for upgrading their attractiveness for investments in relation to the construction of neces-

sary infrastructure. This will ensure the increase of employment opportunities but it is not enough. It should be combined with the upgrade of the local human potential (as well as of that of the corresponding wider areas), the social support of residents and the upgrade of the quality of life in these zones.

Until today, there has been no effective implementation of spatial strategies, not enough integrated urban interventions and no emphasis on the upgrade of the human potential. All these have been said by national and regional authorities to be implemented in the period 2007-2013.

The implementation of these policies necessitates new planning instruments. Spatial (regional / urban) planning of the Greek capital remained for a long period focused in sectoral and normative ("classic") interventions. Therefore, it should develop new, more integrated and more "open" tools: more appropriate spatial strategies giving emphasis in prospective analysis, more flexible and permanently readjusted planning procedures and more integrated urban interventions. It should finally be implemented through new forms of urban governance.

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