

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERIPHERAL REGIONS OF SOUTHERN EUROPE : THE CASE OF GREECE

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Development differentials among the regions of the European countries are less pronounced than those for the peripheral regions of countries such as Greece, Spain, Portugal and the southern parts of France and Italy, i.e. the Mediterranean strip of Europe. What are these peripheral regions, what have been their characteristic problems and development performance, over the past decade, versus the Central European regions? The paper tries to answer these questions, as well as the reasons for such differential developments, using data from recent foreign studies and some Greek ones for four typical Greek regions. Then an effort is made to review and evaluate past strategies and policy means that were suggested or applied, by various experts or international organisations such as E.E.C., or the Greek Government, for developing such regions. A special critique is attempted on the more recent E.E.C. strategies and the specially devised «integrated mediterranean programs», while some additional measures are suggested in favour of the peripheral regions of Southern Europe, including our country Greece, if the envisaged socio-economic and other objectives of E.E.C. for effective integration are to be achieved.

1. Introduction

The main objective of this paper is to support the thesis that the peripheral regions of Europe, and particularly those of South European countries like Greece, present characteristic problems that call for special regional development planning, strategies and financial support by national and E.E.C. authorities.

In the first section we review the problems and the various explanatory factors of the development of European peripheral regions. After defining such regions, we use data and other evidence from international studies that describe the structure and evolution of European peripheral regions; then we present a more detailed description of four typical Greek peripheral regions that can be considered as suffering from the characteristic acute problems of South European peripheral

* I would like to thank Mrs Helen Louri (M. Sc. Econ., L.S.E.) of the Athens School of Economics and Business Science for her valuable comments and suggestions on the original version of this paper which was presented at the XXIII European Congress of the Regional Science Association, 23-27 August 1982, Croningen, Netherlands.

regions. The theoretical arguments explaining the described inequalities between central and peripheral regions of Europe close this first section.

In the second section we examine the past strategies and policy means for developing the peripheral regions of Europe. We first review the various stages and types of strategies suggested by international experts, while subsequently we discuss critically the past E.E.C. strategies and policy means. Some Greek efforts in favour of peripheral regions are then briefly reviewed.

In the final section we attempt some comments on recent E.E.C. decisions and policies in favour of the peripheral regions together with some suggestions of additional measures for South European peripheral regions. We first outline the appropriate strategies suggested by international experts; using them as a theoretical basis we then comment in detail upon the recent policies of E.E.C. for the peripheral regions; finally drawing on the previous analyses and on the Greek experience we suggest some additional measures that suit particularly the peripheral regions of Southern Europe.

II. Peripheral Regions of Europe : Problems and Explanatory Factors

II.1. Definition, Structure and Evolution of European Peripheral Regions

The concept of peripheral regions of Europe has preoccupied many international organisations and researchers since a long time (Pierret, 1979, Keeble et al., 1981, Commission of E.E.C., 1981, Moir, 1981). Strange as it may seem, the problems of the European peripheral regions have been more fully and much earlier explored than the concept and the need for an overall strategy for regional development. Indeed, the pressing problems of the peripheral regions of Europe, including the mountain, frontier and island regions, have raised serious concern to national and international authorities and organizations. Still it is evident that peripherality is a relative concept; it cannot be defined but in relation to some other notion, namely that of central regions. Thus, any attempt to tackle effectively the special problems of peripheral regions should rationally be based on an overall concept of planning. But, as we will see later on, an overall regional regional planning concept has only recently been formulated at the E.E.C. level and can hardly be characterised as being applied as yet.

The notion of peripherality of a region has usually been loosely defined at the European level in relation to the more developed regions of Central Europe. A recent study assigned by E.E.C. to a group of experts (Keeble et al., 1981) of the University of Cambridge has produced a better basis for a more systematic definition and measurement of peripherality. According to Keeble et al., centrality or peripherality at the European level is defined through an index of relative regional accessibility or nearness to E.E.C.-wide economic activity, what they call «economic potential». This index was used also for the measurement of changes in the E.E.C. map of relative regional accessibility during the 70's, with changes in the regional distribution of economic activities and tariff barriers, following the successive enlargements of the Community from six to ten and prospectively to twelve member countries. The volume of economic activity in each of the 108 official E.E.C. regions was measured by its Gross Domestic Product expressed in EUAs, while nearness was measured by the shortest road distance between the major cities of each region or country. The index also included a tariff barrier adjustment reflecting the barrier to trade and the movement of goods imposed by the Community's common external tariff.

The detailed analyses conducted by Keeble et al. for the period 1965 - 1977 and the corresponding successive enlargements of E.E.C. revealed that relative regional accessibility has changed considerably over this period. Given the direct relevance to this paper, it is interesting to resume some of the main findings of the above-named study:

The map of regional potentials for the first year, 1977, of full economic integration of the Nine reveals *the existence of a wide disparity in relative accessibility to economic activity between the most peripheral and most central regions of the Community*. Thus, the most inaccessible or peripheral region, Calabria, recorded a potential value (1134.3 mio EUAs per km) only 11.7 percent of that of the most accessible, or central region, Rheinhausen-Pfalz (9664.1 mio EUAs per km)...

Using the regional accessibility index the level II European regions of Nine were classified in 3 categories: *central* (35 regions with potentials greater than 4400 mio EUAs per km), *intermediate* (40 regions with 2800-4400 mio EUAs per km) and *peripheral* (33 regions with potential less than 2800 mio EUAs per km). Analyses for the period 1973-77 relating to the enlarged Community of Nine confirmed a further widening of the initial centre-periphery disparities in regional accessibility while simulation of the enlarged E.E.C. of Twelve, using 1977 GDP data,

revealed that enlargement inevitably implies further widening of intra-community disparities in regional accessibility.

It is interesting to note also that for the Community of Twelve the lowest potential was recorded for the Aegean region of Greece with a value of 679.7 mio EUAs per km, i.e. 7 percent of the Rheinhausen-Pfalz maximum. Six other Greek regions recorded potentials below 10 percent, much lower than those for Portuguese or Spanish regions (see Table I). That the Greek regions suffer from the highest relative inaccessibility to central European regions is confirmed not only by the detailed analyses of D. Keeble et al. but also by reliable Greek sources (Centre of Planning and Economic Research, 1980).

TABLE I
Economic Potential Values
for Spanish, Portuguese and Greek regions in EEC of Twelve

	Region	Country	Eur. 12
156.	ANDA	ESP	1155.9
157.	ARAG	ESP	1522.2
158.	ASTU	ESP	1365.0
149.	CALN	ESP	1573.4
159.	CALV	ESP	1438.0
160.	CATA	ESP	2127.9
161.	EXTR	ESP	1070.4
162.	GALI	ESP	1108.4
163.	LEON	ESP	1329.6
164.	MURC	ESP	1223.9
165.	VALE	ESP	1635.3
166.	VASC	ESP	1848.6
167.	BALE	ESP	1554.9
168.	NINT	POR	1112.3
169.	NLIT	POR	1223.7
170.	SINT	POR	1030.3
150.	SLIT	FOR	1160.1
148.	ATHE	GRE	1300.8
172.	EPIR	GRE	0933.2
201.	THES	GRE	0920.1
173.	MACE	GRE	0922.2
202.	THRA	GRE	0741.9
174.	CRET	GRE	0810.9
171.	PELE	GRE	1099.9
204.	AEGR	GRE	0679.7
207	MAOR	GRE	0820.3

Source : D. Keeble et al., *op. cit.* p. 238

Before emphasising the intensity of peripherality of the Greek regions we should see how peripherality of the whole group of European regions mentioned earlier shows itself and how it could be explained. For the European Community of Nine we use extensively the analyses made by D. Keeble et al. and G. Pierret of the Council of Europe (1979).

Differences in economic structure, evolution and performance between central and peripheral regions of Europe have been analysed on the basis of the following variables and with the corresponding conclusions:

i) *Population* : Demographic trends in the Community's peripheral regions during the period 1973-77 were much stronger than in the central regions (+2.55 million, vs + 0.17 million). This reflected major differential shifts in both birth rates and migration trends and provides an essential background to economic employment changes, as below.

ii) *Gross Domestic Product* : Its growth over the 70's underlined a substantial and continuing concentration of economic activity in the central regions of the Community (their share rose from 43.5 to 46.7 percent between 1965 and 1977) relative to the peripheral regions (their share declined from 21.8 to 20.2 percent correspondingly). It should be noted also that, when GDP is related to population and employment as an indicator of regional output per head, the analyses again reveal a clear trend towards widening centre-periphery disparities.

(iii) *Regional Economic Structure* : Measured by employment, the economies of peripheral regions depend more on agriculture than the central regions which specialise in manufacturing and producer service industries. Generally, there is a tendency for those centre-periphery differences in regional specialisation to widen.

iv) *Manufacturing Industry* : Manufacturing structure of the Community's peripheral regions differs strikingly from that of the central regions, with a marked bias towards modern, technologically advanced and research intensive engineering industries in central areas and traditional, labour intensive industries in peripheral areas. Furthermore, this structural difference has been increasing over the last years.

v) *Employment Shift-Share Analysis* : Regional employment changes over the period 1973-79 studied through this method revealed that the Community's central regions do indeed possess a significantly more favourable sectoral structure of economic activity biased towards growing industries, while the periphery is biased towards declining industries.

vi) *Service Industry* : Analyses of employment structure and change for service industry have shown that central and peripheral regions

differ significantly in the structure of their services with a relative bias towards producer services in central regions and consumer services in peripheral regions.

vii) *Unemployment* : In 1973 high unemployment seemed to be one of the most endemic features of the European peripheral regions. Still, during the period 1973-79, unemployment has been relatively heavily concentrated in the central and not the peripheral regions. Youth unemployment, though, (ages 14-24) is more severe and has been growing more rapidly in the peripheral regions (in 1979 20% versus 7% mean youth unemployment rate).

viii) *Female Activity Rates* : Peripheral regions exhibit somewhat lower female activity rates than central areas, but peripheral rates are rising faster than those for central regions, which in some cases may reflect the filtering down to peripheral regions of older, female employing labour intensive industries, the prospects of which in the long run may be questionable.

D. Keeble et al. have used simple and multiple regression and analysis of variance to investigate both the *relative strength* of relationships between relative regional accessibility (as measured by potential) and the various measures of regional economic structure, performance and evolution, and the *Possible impact* of other locational variables. They mention that simple regression tests confirm that the relative E.E.C.-wide regional location and accessibility is consistently and significantly related to the range of indicators (as above). These tests highlight in particular a «peripherality syndrome» of low regional output (GDP) per head, unfavourable structural indices related especially to agriculture and service industries, and high unemployment rates. *These and some other features combine to present a general picture of the European peripheral regions as having a considerable relative economic disadvantage compared with central regions.* Multiple regression tests incorporated three other «control» variables (urbanisation index, national potential index and regional policy index). The results showed that Community-wide centre-periphery differences in accessibility are of greater significance than other locational factors, as the above-mentioned, in influencing regional economic structure, performance and prosperity.

II.2 Structure and Evolution of Four Greek Peripheral Regions

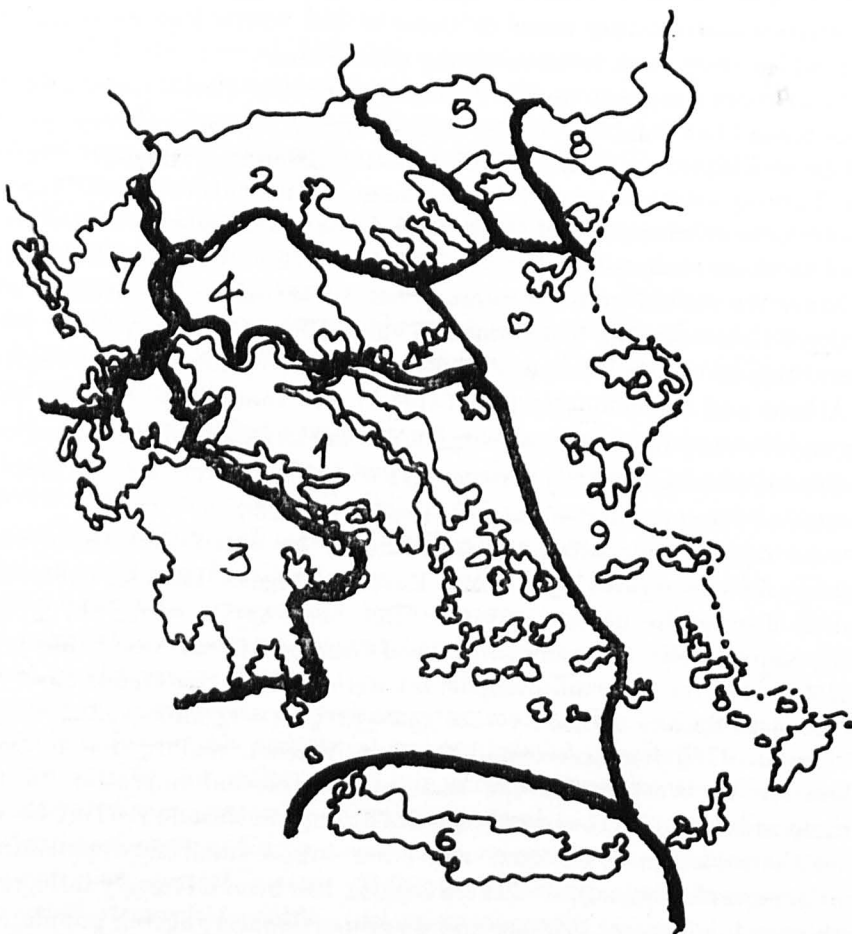
Both the First Periodic Report and the study by D. Keeble et al. contain limited analyses of the Greek peripheral regions. The periphe-

rality analysis for the Europe of Twelve mentioned earlier was not matched by detailed analysis of structure and performance as those for the Europe of Nine. We shall, thus, try to provide whatever available information on Greek peripheral regions exists, outlining their special characteristics and relating them to those of the South European regions with which they seem to have strong similarities.

For these purposes we have chosen as typical Greek peripheral regions those that combine to the highest degree lowest economic potential (accessibility) to E.E.C.-wide activities (Islands of Eastern Aegean Sea, Thrace) with low overall development, island nature (Crete, Aegean Islands), mountainous relief (Epirus) and the other features that correspond to those analysed by the study of D. Keeble et al. for the regions of Nine. We should perhaps remind that according to this study 7 out of the 9 Greek regions had potential values lower than any other peripheral region of the Europe of Twelve. The exceptions are the regions of Athens and Peloponnesos (see Table I). We should also indicate that the regions used for data presentation are the currently planning regions in Greece, corresponding to category II of European regions (see Map 1) (Centre of Planning and Economic Research, 1980).

As regards *population trends* it should be noted that the overall increase in the regions of Thrace, Eastern Aegean Islands, Crete and Epirus during the decade 1971-81 has been 4.9%, 5.1%, 9.7% and 2.7% respectively, while for Greece and Greater Athens Area it has been 10.7% and 18.8%. Far more important were the negative trends observed in the past decade 1961-71 (—7.6%, —13%, —5% and —13% versus 4.5% and 37% for Greece and Greater Athens), mainly due to large migration to Western Europe and intense internal migration to the Athens area. Despite the improvements during the decade 1971-81 because of the reversion of external migration into a small net repatriation, the demographic structure of these regions has been adversely influenced with very low natural increase and disproportionately ageing population.

Gross Regional Product changes over the 1970-77 period in these peripheral regions were much lower than for Greece as a whole and the Athens area (2.2%, 2.8%, 4.7% and 4.9% against 5.3% and 5.5% respectively). Given the considerable differences in absolute levels of GDP in the two «central» areas of Athens and Salonica and their higher rates of GDP growth, their share has increased from 37.4% and 15.6% respectively to 37.9% and 17.5% in 1977, while the corresponding share of peripheral regions has diminished from 14.2% to 11% in the same period.



Map. 1. 9 Planning Regions of Greece

Per capita GDP of the peripheral regions has improved slightly during this period due to population movements out of them and into Athens and Salonica. Except for Thrace where the influx of investments over the last 3-4 years due to very strong incentives granted by the Government has improved economic conditions, the other 3 regions continue to present serious structural problems.

Economic structure of the peripheral regions, as measured by employment distribution between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors for the year 1977 confirms the predominance of agriculture and the insignificance of manufacturing activities in these regions. Thus, agriculture accounted for 43.7% up to 63.3% of total employment versus 33.4% for Greece. Industrial employment varied between 14.2% and 23.3% versus 29.6% for the national average. (see Table II).

TABLE II
Sectoral structure of active population and CDP
(1977)

Greek Regions	Structure of Active population			GDP by sector		
	Agr. %	Ind. %	Serv. %	Agr. %	Ind. %	Serv. %
Easter continental						
Greece and Islands	9.7	40.7	50.2	6.0	34.8	59.2
— Athens	:	:	:	:	:	:
— Rest	37.7	35.1	27.2	24.4	45.9	29.7
Centra and West Macedonia	32.7	32.0	35.5	16.6	41.4	42.0
— Thessalonica	:	:	:	:	:	:
— Rest	:	:	:	:	:	:
Peloponese	56.2	19.7	24.1	37.8	25.6	36.6
Thessalie	51.3	22.1	26.6	33.3	30.5	36.2
East Macedonia	58.1	16.2	25.7	40.4	24.4	35.3
Crete	56.4	16.8	26.8	39.6	18.0	42.4
Epirus	57.0	20.8	22.2	30.9	28.5	40.6
Thrace	63.3	14.2	22.5	41.6	21.0	37.4
Aegean Islands	43.7	23.3	33.0	20.9	27.3	51.8
Total of Grece 1977	33.4	29.6	37.0	16.8	31.4	51.8

Source : E.E.C. Commission. 1981. p. 108.

In *agriculture*, Greek peripheral regions suffer from structural and other weaknesses like small and fragmented holdings, limited natural resources due to their mountainous relief (Papayannis Assoc., 1981), or their island nature, adverse climatic conditions, inadequate infrastructure works, lack of irrigating water, difficulties to manage irrigating water with neighboring countries (e.g. Thrace - Bulgaria), remoteness from major consumption and marketing centres (national and international), land ownership by non-farmers, ageing of labour force and unwillingness for certain professions (e.g. fishing) together with exhaustion of fishing areas, organisational and institutional difficulties, etc.

In *manufacturing industry*, the structural weaknesses prevailing at the national level (e.g. small size of firms, small-sized markets, high costs, etc) are far more intense in the peripheral regions. The mountainous, isolated or island nature increases transport costs and difficulties of communication, the limited or scattered population limits marketing outlets, the scarcity of raw materials, except agricultural products, narrows production possibilities to only traditional sectors and primary-based industries, with low productivity and rates of growth. In some of them labour availability, particularly skilled labour, is an acute problem, while insufficient economic and social infrastructure discourages the location of new or dynamic branches of industry. Apart from Thrace, where strong industrial incentives provoked surprising response by industrial firms recently, the other peripheral regions failed to attract investible funds for the above mentioned reasons. Cottage industries and handicrafts are the only activities that present some encouraging prospects for the future.

Employment shift-share analysis conducted by various researchers (Chiotis, 1973, Kottis, 1980) has shown that the two central areas, Greater Athens and Salonica, accounted for the largest increases in fast-growing industrial branches, while the peripheral regions had moderate increases in traditional, or local resources exploiting branches. Indeed, detailed analysis of the spatial distribution of industry in Greece (Chiotis, 1977, Doxiadis Assoc., 1980) shows that Greater Athens accounts for very high percentages of the most important, high technology and fast-growing industrial branches. Some decentralisation away from Athens over the period 1969 - 78 took place mostly in Salonica and the areas around Athens or Salonica, while locational disadvantages of peripheral regions and particularly of the islands were not remedied by incentives granted.

In the *tertiary sector*, producers services are concentrated in Greater Athens and Salonica areas, where manufacturing activity is over-concentrated. The peripheral regions lacking any significant industrial activity have also undeveloped producers services. Furthermore, they present acute problems in other services. Thus, in the *tourist sector* in which some of the peripheral regions have considerable resources, problems from insufficient infrastructure (especially transportation and communication difficulties and lack of drinking water) are pressing. At the same time overconcentration of tourism in certain areas results in adverse effects in the quality of life of the local population. Inadequate transportation links with the main urban centres and ports of the mainland by sea or air, bad conditions of inter-island transports, low technology used and low volume of traffic generated due to limited season of exploitation, difficult weather conditions and finally inappropriate infrastructure of ports and airports are among the most acute problems causing further transportation and communication difficulties.

In the *services of health and education* considerable problems exist particularly in the islands. Hospital facilities, doctors and auxiliary personnel are inadequate with the result that patients go to the Capital for more serious incidents. The same holds for educational facilities, although some university decentralisation has taken place recently. Electricity supply, water supply and sewage works present also problems in some of these regions due to their large mountainous part or island nature.

With regard to *open unemployment* it is contended (Centre of Planning and Economic Research, 1980) that the combined effect of the reduction of population and the increase of gross domestic product in some of the regions has reduced open unemployment and labour reserves. It is admitted, though, that *disguised unemployment* and *underemployment* for which reliable data do not exist should be considerable in the peripheral regions, given the predominance of agriculture. It should be noted that some of the people employed in agriculture are also occupied in other sectors in the near-by urban centres and villages or in tourism.

The above-outlined special characteristics of the four selected Greek peripheral regions confirm, we think, the generally accepted opinion that Greece, apart from the Athens and Salonica urban areas, suffers from extreme peripherality in relation to E.E.C. core regions. Furthermore, it is evident that this intensity of peripherality is due to the long distance, the island and the mountainous nature of most of the regions and their overall low level of socioeconomic development. Some of these

characteristics are common to some South European regions in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal (Council of Europe, 1981). It is in recognition of such similarities that E.E.C. Commission has devised special programmes to cater for the mountainous and particularly for the mediterranean areas of its member-countries (C.C.E., 1981). Whether these programmes are appropriate and sufficient, it will be discussed in the final section of the paper. Here it should be mentioned that recently the Greek Government has submitted to E.E.C. a «memorandum» asking for «special arrangements», given the particularity of problems that Greek economy faces due to its peripherality and other adverse features (E.E.C. Commission, 1982). These features have not, as yet, been described in detail, awaiting for the elaboration of the new Five Year Plan that will be completed within 1983. Still, the basic features cannot be different from those we already mentioned above, since they correspond to long-term and deep-rooted characteristics of the Greek peripheral regions. They also reflect the intensity of the internal regional differences between Greater Athens and Salonica areas and the rest of the country.

II.3 Some Explanatory Factors

We may now revert, briefly, to the theoretical arguments that have been reviewed by Keeble et al. and explain the observed inequalities between central and peripheral regions of Europe. According to this study the cumulative concentration of economic activities in the core European regions relative to the peripheral ones is due to the influence of four major factors-advantages:.

i) *Market Accessibility* : For manufacturing and higher order service industry centrality means increase accessibility to markets for products, i.e. for intermediate components, final demand capital or-consumer goods or financial, business or other services. Given the complex interconnection and information linkages of modern industry in E.E.C., the weight of this advantage for central regions is considerable. It results in transport cost reduction, maximisation of contacts and information and hence economies of scale, increased competitiveness and sales.

ii) *Innovation Leadership* : Technological and other innovation in modern industry (manufacturing and services) are first developed and adopted in central regions of particular countries spreading to peripheral regions slowly (Keeble et al., 1981). This leadership is at-

tributed to the advantages such regions enjoy in terms of information-maximisation and risk-minimisation for the products of the innovating firm.

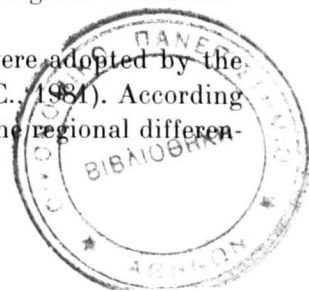
iii) *Agglomeration Economies* : Such economies are viewed as derived advantages of earlier above-average growth encouraged by centrality. They reflect cost savings to firms through various mechanisms, i.e. benefits from inter and intra-organisational linkages, access to capital markets, internal economies of scale, etc.

iv) *Labour Market Characteristics* : Central regions dispose high quality and skilled labour, while peripheral regions lack both skilled labour and corresponding job opportunities. This reflects a long history of age, education and skill selective migration from peripheral to central regions. It also reflects a functional separation of high level research, marketing etc. from the basic mass-production of standardised products within large multi-unit firms together with differences in industrial structure (high technology, skill intensive modern industry) (Keeble et al., 1981).

These factors, constituting the basic adaptations of the traditional «core-periphery» theoretical model (Richardson, 1978), can explain inter-regional differences at the E.E.C. and the national levels.

As it is noted by Keeble et al., the importance of the above factors might vary considerably with each member-country of the E.E.C. National economic performance may have an important effect upon regional economic performance. This is reflected in the fact that the more powerful European economies suffer from less serious regional problems than the less developed ones. On the other hand it should be remembered that national economic performance is somehow the product of regional performances. In that sense it is argued that national factors of development may themselves incorporate, to a significant degree, the impact of relative E.E.C. location on the structure and evolution of economic activity within their various regions. Although Keeble et al. recognised the influence of the centre-periphery differences within each country, they believe that it is at the E.E.C. rather than national scale that relative location is likely to be important for regional economic development. Such a view has important implications as to the responsibility of E.E.C. for confronting the special problems of the peripheral regions of member-countries.

The conclusions of the study of Keeble et al. were adopted by the European Commission's First Periodic Report (E.E.C., 1981). According to this report among the various factors explaining the regional differ-



ces in Europe, three are the main ones: weak economic development associated with peripherality, low industrial investment and high agricultural unemployment; imbalances in the labour market as represented by high levels of overall and structural unemployment and outward migration; situations of low employment rates and potentially high pressure of labour market supply. These factors are considered as particularly relevant for the peripheral regions of Europe by the Conference of Peripheral Maritime regions of the Council of Europe (Moir, 1981) also.

III. Past Strategies and Policy Means for Developing Peripheral Regions

III.1 Types of Development Strategies and Means

Despite the early consciousness by international and national authorities of the intensity of development problems in peripheral regions, the corresponding strategies have evolved slowly and with limited applicability and effectiveness. G. Pierret (Pierret, 1979) mentions that a comparative study carried out in 1975 by the Conference of Maritime Peripheral Regions revealed the following stages in regional planning strategies:

i) *Industrialisation as the main base.* This meant the adaptation of infrastructure (communications and industrial zones), the appeal to firms outside the region to form the initial industrialisation pole (heavy industry, mechanical or electrical industries, electronics etc.); subsequently effort for promoting local industries, exploiting indigenous resources and local initiative, either in order to remedy the shortcomings of industrial transplantation or to diversify the local economy, etc.

ii) *In the second stage, development strategy was extended to other sectors (primary and tertiary).* It was found that industrialisation had to be coordinated with primary activities and selected tertiary services, such as research centres and universities, indispensable for the development of managerial functions.

iii) *The formulation of a still more comprehensive strategy* was the third stage. Various new factors contributed to such an approach: the «locational preferences» (Richardson, 1978) of population and executives for particular places away from the congested industrial cities, in their own regions or well equipped medium-sized towns. Indeed, social and cultural infrastructure came to be regarded as a precondition to economic development. The environmental aspects and the participation of all concerned in the development efforts with *man* at the centre of the

strategy, have been the most recent characteristics of this on-going stage.

Such an evolution of regional development strategies in various countries and peripheral regions shows a departure from the original approach of transposing procedures from already industrialised regions irrespectively of the special conditions in peripheral regions; and that local and regional initiative should be considered as the essential motive power behind any regional planning strategy.

The above outlined evolution of regional planning strategy does not mean that there is an agreement as to the way it should be applied in different countries. Before reviewing the prevailing strategies for South European and especially Greek regions, it might be interesting to outline the different opinions held for developing the European regions in general. According to G. Pierret one can distinguish the following schools of thought:

i) *Strategies based on economic specialisation.* The advocates of this thesis believe that the various regions of Europe are suitable for certain functions or group of functions; and that their aptitude should be determined by scientific methods (Council of Europe, 1980) and consequently the appropriate policy designed at the E.E.C. and national levels.

ii) *Strategies based on the organisation of transport.* The prevailing aspect of this school is to reorganise the transport sector so as to slow down the process of concentration in large urban areas and through the creation of new, decentralised, trunk communications to stimulate economic development in peripheral regions.

iii) *Strategies based on urban organisation.* The importance of urban functions in economic development is still very high; but the initial emphasis on «growth pole» theory, without appropriate adaptation to the specific environment of peripheral regions, is now changed. Experience of development poles in such regions has often been disappointing, since they have not managed to promote self-development there. Instead the policy of medium-sized towns and urban networks is now preferred as more appropriate for European regions, since they permit also better living conditions, the preservation of cultural values and national heritage and the protection of the environment (Chiotis and Polyzou, 1981).

iv) *Strategy based on the environment.* The last few years the new problems raised by pollution have greatly influenced regional planning strategy. The development of peripheral regions is thought of crucial importance for saving the post-industrial Europe from suffocation.

III.2 Past Strategies and Policy Means of the E.E.C.

We may now, more concretely, review the strategies that have been advocated and/or promoted at the E.E.C. level for the less advanced regions of Ten, which correspond more or less to the peripheral regions of this presentation.

Although the importance of a regional development strategy was early recognised at the E.E.C. level (E.E.C. Commission, 1981) such a strategy did not start to take some operational form until the late 70's. It was after the preparation of the First Periodic Report on the Regions of Europe in 1980, that the basis was set for some new Regional Policy Guidelines and Priorities (Vanhove and Klaassen, 1980); these were to be used in the new Regulation of the European Regional Development Fund and the regional impact of the various Community policies. Leaving the comments for such an envisaged overall regional policy until the next section, we outline here the main views regarding past strategies and policies at the E.E.C. level.

We should first underline that the above-referred Commission's documents recognise that the last decade, and particularly the period 1974-81, the various *endogenous* factors of the European economic system have contributed to the widening of regional disparities at the level of E.E.C. of Ten. These factors, relating to the functioning of E.E.C. as a customs, economic and monetary union in a period of slow economic growth and inflation, have made more difficult the design and application of national and Community regional development policies (E.E.C. European Parliament, 1982).

These policies which can be considered as *exogenous* factors influencing the European regional disparities were confronted with various adverse conditions or actions at the national or E.E.C. levels. Thus, the continuing economic depression resulted in further contraction of local and peripheral markets of the less-favoured regions, while both national and E.E.C. sectoral policies did not encourage transfer of activities to the peripheral regions. More specifically, many countries did not respect the principle of selectivity of incentives in accordance with regional priorities; the effectiveness of incentives for peripheral regions was outweighed by the granting of aids to other areas; the restructuring of those sectors undergoing crisis was not combined with their transfers to the peripheral regions; and policies in favour of growing sectors, like electronics, accuracy mechanisms, etc., were not guiding location to less-developed areas. In general, the traditional policy means favouring the availability and

initial cost of investment proved inappropriate for securing the economic survival of firms in peripheral regions.

Community economic policies, on the other hand, did not take into consideration the special needs and potentialities of the peripheral regions. Particularly in the agricultural sector, in which Peripheral regions suffer from structural problems and income disparities, common agricultural policy seems to have worked, so far, against these regions. The Agricultural Fund's activities have favoured the cultivations and the large agricultural firms of Northern Europe, while mediterranean regions and their products have not profited, as yet, of any considerable support by this Fund. The shortcomings of agricultural policy are of particular importance for the overall development of peripheral regions, not only because of the preponderance of their agricultural activities; any real restructuring of their economy and solution of their employment problem passes through their agricultural development.

The intervention of the European Regional Development Fund has not assisted effectively the peripheral regions. The insufficient resources disposed by this Fund and their distribution in areas not always characterised as the most disadvantaged ones were the main drawbacks. Furthermore, the existing Regulation of this Fund did not provide for the effective coordination i) with the other (Social, Agricultural) Funds' activities in the same regions and ii) with the corresponding national regional development policies of the member-countries. Although the selection of regions to be assisted by the E.E.C. Funds were mostly the responsibility of each member-country, E.E.C. lacked the appropriate strategy and controlling mechanisms for promoting the coordinated development of the most in need peripheral regions.

Finally, although long recognised at the E.E.C. level and the member-countries, the regional dimension of the various sectoral policies was not taken into consideration when designing and implementing these policies. One can, thus, hardly speak of a «comprehensive» regional development policy, i.e. one integrating all sectoral and other aspects of national policies at the regional level. This drawback has special importance for the peripheral regions; the multiplicity and acuteness of development problems call for integrated programmes and coordinated action by national and E.E.C. authorities.

The modified Regulation of the E.R.D.F. and the Report of the Committee of Regional Policy and Urban Affairs of the European Parliament on the Regulation accept the above mentioned drawbacks and suggest for the first time (1982) some specific objectives, strategies and

means for the peripheral regions. Before commenting on these, we end this section by presenting some aspects of strategies followed in Greece in the past that are characteristic of South European peripheral regions.

III.3 The Greek Efforts for the Development of Peripheral Regions

In the Munich meeting of the R.S.A. (1980) we commented upon the Greek regional development policies and we underlined those features that are shared by most South European countries (Chiotis and Louri, 1980). Until very recently, regional development planning in Greece suffered from lack of quantified objectives, lack of comprehensiveness — in the sense of regionalising sectoral-national policies and synthesising them into regional plans —, lack of truly decentralised procedure of plan preparation and decision-making, insufficient regionalisation of resources and policy means and most of all lack of implementation of plans and policies.

These general shortcomings were particularly felt by the peripheral regions, which, as we saw in the first section, present more acute development problems, mainly because of their island, mountainous or isolated nature and the accompanying socioeconomic underdevelopment and disadvantages. Still, some interesting efforts for some of these Greek regions were made in the late 70's. These included the preparation of integrated regional programmes for some of the less favoured prefectures (nomos) of the island and border regions, the preparation of special programmes for rural centres and forestry areas and, more important, the preparation of the «Evros Development Project», a World Bank financed integrated programme for the nomos of Evros in the peripheral region of Thrace. This «model» regional programme, although limited in its size and with some drawbacks in its preparation, was given special coordinating and management organisation at the national and regional levels, increased financial support and decision-making power to its local management; it was accompanied by a systematic monitoring and evaluation schedule that has helped the successful implementation of the programme. If appropriately supplemented and adapted, this model regional programme could be of great value for other regions in Greece or in other South European countries, when co-financing with international or E.E.C. organisations their regional programme (Study Team for Evros Development Project, 1980).

The Greek Regional Development Programme, 1981 - 1985, submitted to the E.E.C. and approved by the Regional Policy Committee,

contains some objectives and strategies for the peripheral regions that suit appropriately their development problems described in the previous section; they also conform with the recent E.E.C. guidelines of regional development policy to a considerable extent.

Thus, the problems and potentialities of the peripheral regions are viewed within the national and interregional framework of the Greek economy and society, in its present state of development and international place. Basic development objectives and sectoral priorities at the national level were set taking also into consideration regional aspects and priorities. For each of the peripheral regions an overall or comprehensive strategy was envisaged based on the simultaneous development of all sectors, whenever possible; for those regions like Eastern Aegean Islands that had comparative advantages in one sector (e.g. tourism), emphasis was put in this sector and all linked activities and necessary infrastructure or other policy measures.

In general the E.E.C. «common outline» for elaborating integrated regional programmes was followed up in a satisfactory way, given the time and data constraints. The detailed description of the economic and social analysis of each peripheral region (by sector and sub-area), including an evaluation of past regional policy and the prospects and potentialities of each one, permitted the detection of the special features of each region. Thus, basic and additional objectives were set in conformity with the specific features of the region, sector and sub-area. Policy measures were specified, subsequently by sector, category of measures (infrastructure, other). Finally the implementation schedules and organisation were outlined for all the regions.

As it was mentioned earlier, the Greek Regional Development Programme, 1981-85, attempted a satisfactory approach to the acute problems of the Greek peripheral regions. This was not only in terms of systematic analysis and policy formulation; it concerned the *substantial issues* of development problems in peripheral regions and the *appropriate policy measures*, which is of direct relevance to the peripheral regions of Southern Europe. We should, therefore, see what strategies and policy measures seem necessary for these peripheral regions and whether E.E.C. recent decisions or envisaged policies are satisfactory. In such a review we use also some aspects of the Greek experience on peripheral regions considering them as quite relevant for the other South European countries-members of E.E.C. (prospectively of Twelve).

IV. *Strategies and Policy Means for Developing the Peripheral Regions of Southern Europe : Comments and Suggestions*

IV.1 *Strategies proposed by G. Pierret*

We may start by outlining the basic strategies suggested for the peripheral regions of Europe by G. Pierret (Pierret, 1979). He classifies his proposals under three headings:

i) *Counteracting isolation and anticipation in the matter of infrastructure.* Given the remoteness and isolation of peripheral regions due to their geographical position, island or mountainous nature etc., a basic strategy is to counteract such isolation by: improving land communication between the peripheral regions and the major centres of national and European activity; developing a satisfactory internal system of transport and communication; counteracting sea isolation by developing port facilities and whenever possible by installing industry connected with the outside world by sea; counteracting air isolation by building airports and securing regular flights with the major national and international airports. It is evident that the realisation of such strategies presupposes a European effort—through E.E.C. transport policy and collaborations among interested countries—to check concentration in central regions and anticipate investment in infrastructures that take into consideration the development needs and potentiality of peripheral regions.

ii) *Incentives to creativeness and renewal of industry.* The key strategy should be to promote the development of indigenous resources of the region by granting appropriate incentives and applying other policy means in all sectors of the regional economy. In the *agricultural sector* policy measures should tackle the special problems (e.g. those described for the Greek regions) by: land consolidation, occupational advice and training, water and electricity supply, credit facilities, incentives for retirement, production and marketing co-operatives. In the *fishing sector* which is of high importance for island and maritime peripheral regions, the serious problems must be tackled through a conscious and coordinated policy, taking into account the promotion of new industries derived from fisheries and European and national interests. The *industrial and tertiary sectors* when appropriately combined and developed, provide the best changes for securing employment opportunities in the peripheral regions and retaining their population (if this is deemed necessary, as e.g. in some border regions). The type of industrialisation depends on the

particular potentiality of the peripheral region in the various sectors (agricultural products, minerals, forests, etc.). The tertiary sector plays an extremely important role for these regions, not only in the development of tourism or the provision of services to cater for regional needs; if appropriately selected, some branches like research laboratories, data processing centres, banks and insurance companies, etc. can contribute to attracting modern industries like electronics, that is labour intensive, and can compete with regions of the third world. As we have seen for some Greek regions, cottage industry and handicrafts present considerable prospects provided that they get credit facilities, export assistance, vocational training, etc.

iii) *Development of interregional and international trade.* Some of the peripheral regions due to their location present considerable advantages for promoting interregional and international trade. If they are appropriately connected (e.g. Southern Italy-Western Greece-Syria and Middle East) and equipped with new decentralised infrastructure, facilitated by removal of restrictions and difficulties (e.g. authorisations, customs, etc.) they can promote international trade to the benefit of wider peripheral regions, Europe and the third world. Again E.E.C. transport and trade policies are very important for covering the high investment cost involved.

iv) *Exploitation of the sea and seaboard.* Fishing and connected activities, port traffic and seaboard industries, tourist development, exploitation of continental shelf and integrated organisation and urban development of the seaboard are the five options of the maritime peripheral regions. Policies for developing the coastal areas must be reconciled with those protecting them, i.e. restoring the sites, the natural environment and resources, as well as securing the optimum spatial organisation.

v) *Enhancement of living conditions.* Peripheral regions with appropriate policies, not only can develop their sectoral capacities but they can also preserve their invaluable asset for the future, the high quality of life environment. The residential preferences of post-industrial civilisation give to some peripheral regions a key advantage as leisure areas and preferred locations for certain activities. Preservation of the character of these areas, protection of the environment, balanced urban development and spatial organisation schemes, etc. are among the necessary measures.

These strategies are an adaptation for the peripheral regions of the more general regional planning strategies, reviewed in the previous

section and suggested by G. Pierret, under his function as Secretary General of the Conference of European Maritime Regions of the Council of Europe; they can also be considered as a good theoretical basis for commenting upon the recent E.E.C. policies and making some suggestions for the appropriate development of peripheral regions of Southern Europe.

IV.2 Comments on Recent E.E.C. Strategies and Policy Means for the Peripheral Regions

We may now see to what extent the above strategies are satisfactorily dealt with or anticipated by recent E.E.C. decisions, regulations or studies. Our comments are based on published material until July 1982 and particularly references No 3, 12, 14, 20, 21. From these documents one can conclude that the last three years E.E.C. authorities have moved significantly in the appropriate direction favouring the peripheral regions of Europe and establishing a comprehensive regional development policy, remedying some of the drawbacks outlined in the previous section.

The basic principles were set in the «Regional policy Guidelines and Priorities» and operationalised in the «New Regulation of the E.R.D.F.» as modified and approved by the European Parliament. It was, in fact, during the discussion by this Parliament and by its proposed motion to the E.E.C. Council that some specific objectives and means of a comprehensive development policy suited to the peripheral regions were explicitly stated. Whether these will be finally approved by the Council and implemented successfully by E.E.C. Funds and other organs remains to be seen.*

The most relevant *objectives* set for the peripheral regions are:

i) *Improving the structure of their economies* by promoting productive investment and new advanced technology industries, creating lasting employment opportunities for their population and not only by income transfers.

ii) *Mobilising the indigenous development potential of such regions* in the agricultural, industrial and service sectors, particularly through the medium and small-sized business and craft industries, tourist development, maximised participation of local and regional authorities and interests, etc.

* Until early May 1983 the New Regulation of E.R.D.F. had not been approved by E. E. C. Council.

iii) *Adapting the policy means to the specific characteristics of the various regions.* Thus, for the mediterranean regions and the mountainous or frontier regions special programmes are envisaged.

iv) *Concentrating geographically the various policy means in the regions most in need, like the peripheral regions, and coordinating in these the activities of the E.E.C. Funds and other organs through «integrated» programmes and operations.*

The realisation of some of these objectives for the peripheral regions is directly or indirectly pursued through the new Regulation of the E.R.D.F. which favours the peripheral regions of E.E.C. by the following main provisions and means:

i) *The geographical concentration of its quota section* in the less-favoured and structurally underdeveloped regions of Greece, Southern Italy, Ireland, G. Britain, Greenland and French Overseas, i.e. most of the peripheral regions. Still, the almost unchanged total amount of the quota section and the increase of the non-quota section of the E.R.D.F. up to 20% reduces the importance of this provision for the peripheral regions. This will be so, as long as total resources of the E.R.D.F. do not increase substantially and the non-quota section is absorbed, as it is highly probable, by crisis stricken central regions.

ii) *The development of indigenous resources.* For this objective the Fund (art. 16) envisages a series of measures that can help peripheral regions develop their potential, particularly in small business and craft industries, rural tourism, etc. The measures indicated refer to the provision of information on innovations and new technology, feasibility, marketing and management studies, joint activity studies among small tourist firms in rural areas, local and regional planning studies, etc. The Fund contributes up to 70% of the relevant cost. Still, the above measures, although useful for the peripheral regions, are not considered sufficiently clear and tied up with other provisions, like the integrated programmes and actions (Pasquale, 1982). Furthermore, the transfer of innovations and technology to less-favoured regions needs special institutions, like an innovations bank; and the technical planning studies support presupposes a direct help by E.R.D.F. competent services. The European Parliament has suggested specific measures in order to correct the drawbacks of the new E.R.D.F. Regulation.

iii) *The coordination of interventions of the E.E.C. Funds in each peripheral region and the promotion of comprehensive planning.* The new Regulation provides for a progressive implementation of 3-year (at least) regional programmes instead of projects; during the preparation of

such programmes the intervention of the various Funds should explicitly be taken into consideration. It also provides for «integrated» programmes or operations (art. 29); these are new concepts of geographically limited sets of actions and investments with close coordination among E.E.C. Funds, national and regional activities and financial means. An additional 10% contribution by E.R.D.F. is granted for such integrated operations. Both the increased aid percentage and the coordinated action or plan comprehensiveness implied in these new provisions have special importance for the peripheral regions. Again, doubts are expressed as to the ability and will for participation of regional authorities in preparing such integrated plans and the effective coordination of E.E.C. Funds in practice.

The most important and directly addressed to the peripheral regions of Southern Europe provision is the new «integrated mediterranean programmes». The guiding lines of these programmes were prepared by the Commission and approved by the European Council in November 1981. They reflect the explicit recognition by the E.E.C. authorities that the mediterranean regions suffer from structural and physically acute problems that necessitate special intervention by E.E.C. in order

a) to bridge the differences in income and employment levels between central and peripheral regions and

b) to ease the adverse effects from the enlargement with Spain and Portugal. The strategy and policy means envisaged by these programmes take well into consideration the particularity of the problems of mediterranean peripheral regions, as shown by the Greek case. Furthermore, it is provided that for the regions of each member-country these programmes will be adapted to their special problems through a close collaboration between E.E.C. and the corresponding national and regional authorities (Natali Report, 1982).

The general guidelines and work done up to now for these programmes* envisage the following *objectives and means* :

i) Given the importance of *agriculture* in mediterranean regions, emphasis is put on restructuring this sector, increasing productivity and incomes, securing markets, etc. To facilitate the specification of measures, analysis is proposed by category of agricultural zone (traditional irrigation, new method irrigated areas, plains, internal zones, etc.). A characteristic new approach is the relationship man-land, which is of particular

* A very recent (March 29, 1983) new document gives or more detailed description of these programmes and their envisaged budget. See. EEC COM (83) 24 final.

social and organisational importance for these regions. Hence, training programmes and special measures for retiring farmers are proposed together with financial aids for improving land exploitation and consolidation. In general the objective is to adapt the common agricultural policy to the specific needs of mediterranean regions.

ii) In *fishing* an appropriate adaptation of the Community general policy to the special conditions of these regions is envisaged through e.g. creation of infrastructure for special sea cultivations, market organisation and promotion for their products. Given the island and maritime nature of most peripheral regions, the importance of this sectoral promotion is evident.

iii) The use of small- and medium-sized firms for developing the indigenous resources in the *other sectors* and security employment opportunities for those leaving agriculture is a basic objective. Information studies about innovations, technology, new markets and the other measures we saw earlier are considered appropriate for mediterranean regions. Still, the reservations raised already as to the completeness or clearness of these measures continue to hold.

iv) *Tourist* development is an important objective for mediterranean regions not only because they have great responsibility in this sector, but also because it can help in developing their mediterranean products. Financing studies for adapting tourist development to demand, developing related infrastructure, promoting marketing and organisation for collaborating tourists firms, etc. are the main measures proposed.

v) Developing *energy resources* (solar, geothermal, wind energy) in order to reduce dependence on oil and electricity that are particularly expensive for them is another objective. Still, the envisaged measures are not explicit.

vi) Finally, improving *transports* is considered a necessary precondition for securing the development of these regions and promoting the trading interests of them and of the Community with the rest of the world.

These objectives of the integrated mediterranean programmes will be promoted mostly through the coordination of interventions and means disposed by all E.E.C. Funds and organisations in close collaboration with each member country.

Special financing from the E.E.C. Budget is envisaged when such programmes are elaborated in cooperation with each member-country.

This year an amount of 10 mio EUAS will be spent in overall preparation of such programmes*.

Other programmes favouring mediterranean-peripheral regions relate to the development of «mountainous-agriculture-unfavourable zones» (Directive 75/268/E.E.C.) or the «accelerated development of agriculture» in 22 Greek prefectures (nomos) (Proposal E.C. (82) 72 final) or «citrus cultivations» (Proposal E.C. (82) 125 final). All these programmes contain traditional policies and means that meet the corresponding problems of peripheral regions quite satisfactorily.

The above mentioned recent policies and means by E.E.C. are, as already indicated, in the appropriate direction for the peripheral regions of Southern Europe. Still, a few drawbacks of past policies remain and therefore, suggestions for improving planning, strategies and means are briefly outlined in the final part of the paper.

IV.3 Some Suggestions of Additional Measures in Favour of Peripheral Regions of Southern Europe

i) A basic precondition for coordinating successfully the above policies and measures in favour of peripheral regions is *the establishment of an overall long-term regional planning framework*. The dependence of peripheral regions on the central regions of Europe and on the corresponding national economies as well as the structural and long-term character of their problems make such a planning framework indispensable. This has been recognised by E.E.C. authorities and other organisations and experts (Pierret, 1979, Vanhove and Klaassen, 1980), but so far only some background studies have been prepared (e.g. FLEUR study, NEI) and some partial steps have been taken (the provisions of E.R.D.F. new Regulation can be considered as such steps). If the decisions taken by the Community during the works relating to the Mandate of 30th May 1980 and the new enlargement are to be carried out in favour of mediterranean peripheral regions, an overall development plan has to be worked out; this should be incorporated into the wider regional planning framework and be used for guiding and coordinating all E.E.C. interventions.

ii) In order to arrive at such a planning framework E.E.C. authorities and each member-country must collaborate closely in preparing

* As already noted a five year budget for these programmes has recently been announced.

five-year and if possible longer term plans and programmes. Given the technical inabilities in some of the South European countries and peripheral regions, *planning expertise must be provided by E.E.C. existing services or by the creation of an appropriate new agency*. Opinions have been expressed about the creation of a new European Development Organisation that would combine provision of such expertise and coordination of all E.E.C. interventions (E.C. (82) 348 Final).

We repeat here our earlier suggestion that R.S.A. scientists contribute substantially to the planning needs of peripheral regions by devising appropriate techniques and planning models (Chiotis and Louri, 1980).

iii) Sound technical planning for the peripheral regions will result in appropriate development strategies and specifications of measures in accordance with their needs. Still, the E.E.C. authorities must *develop more clearly* their ideas about *measures promoting the development of indigenous resources* or *protecting the environment*, etc. of the peripheral regions.

iv) Effective promotion of the development of peripheral regions presuppose also increased financial resources devoted by E.E.C. and the member-countries. *The resources of the E.R.D.F. in its new function, must be increased and the «integrated mediterranean programmes» financed more rigorously* by the E.E.C. Budget. *Increased access* must also be given to the peripheral regions in drawing out of the *non-quota section of the E.R.D.F.* and the *N.I.C.* for financing the small and medium-sized firms. The strict application of the «principle of complementarity» should also oblige member-countries to increase the financing of their peripheral regions.

v) *More effective promotion of the regional aspects and coordination of the various sectoral policies* of E.E.C. seem indispensable. In the transport sector, e.g., which is of primary importance for fighting isolation of peripheral regions, progress is very slow sometimes «due to reservations by member-countries» (E.C. (82) 348 Final).

vi) Some *additional measures* in favour of peripheral regions could be those suggested by P. de Pasquale (E.E.C., European Parliament, 1982): *direct administrative interventions* of E.E.C. in large multinational companies and public enterprises to favour investment in peripheral regions; *special tax arrangements and deductions* on activities and incomes in these regions; increased *credit facilities* and *promotion of joint ventures* between local-foreign and public-private capital.

vii) Increased financing of *social infrastructure*, which is a precondition for retaining the population and developing the peripheral

regions; and special care of the *environmental aspects* of development and of *spatial organisation* of their territory. Social infrastructure, although lagging behind the peripheral needs, is not sufficiently financed by E.E.C. Funds; and environmental aspects, a major future asset of these regions, have not been given the appropriate attention.

If the E.E.C. authorities, in close collaboration with national and regional authorities of member-countries, implement their envisaged policies supplemented with the above suggested additional measures, one can hope that the development of the peripheral regions of Southern Europe will start to become a feasible goal for both E.E.C. and its member countries.

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