The Governance of Land Use

COUNTRY FACT SHEET GREECE

The planning system

Levels of government and their responsibilities

Greece has two subnational levels of government in addition to the national government; 13 regions (περιφέρειες) and 325 municipalities (δήμοι). Furthermore, seven decentralised administrative units (αποκεντρωμένες διοικήσεις) exist that are a deconcentrated part of the national government.

In the complex system of spatial planning in the country, the national government has by far the most important responsibilities. It is in charge of the framework laws on regional and urban planning, environmental protection and regional development. In addition to all laws concerning these fields, it also enacts all by-laws concerning the planning process. More unusually, the national government also approves almost all of the large number of spatial plans in the country. Of the 25 different types of spatial plans that exist, 22 are approved by the national government, out of which 47 are jointly approved with the decentralised administrations.

Regions have very few responsibilities on land use. Mainly, they concern advisory roles in the creation of some spatial plans. The decentralised administrative units are responsible for approving a detailed land-use plan and jointly approve four other plans together with the national government. Municipalities play advisory roles in the approval of some local land-use plans. They were also responsible for the approval of a local land-use plan that has legally been abolished in 2014 (some plans of this type under preparation at the time of their legal abolition will still be completed and eventually approved by the municipality).

A special role is played by Enterprise Greece, a business promotion agency that has the authority to fast track strategic investment projects. It is involved in the preparation and approval of Special Spatial Development Plans of Public Properties and of Special Spatial Development Plans of Strategic Investments. Both plans can override regular plans and can also speed up environmental licensing. Due to these functions, Enterprise Greece is arguably more important for land-use decisions than any level of subnational government in Greece.

An important issue in Greek land-use governance is the question of enforcement. Generally, a large number of illegally constructed buildings exist in Greece. In most cases, developers face no or only mild fines and it is unusual that the demolition of illegally constructed structures is enforced. Partly, the reason for this is the absence of any administrative permitting procedure that confirms that a new construction is in accordance with existing land-use plans.
Organisation of spatial and land-use planning in Greece

General framework (OLD)

National

- General framework (OLD)
- Primarily policy / strategic guidelines
- Partial geographical coverage

Regional

- Regional frameworks of spatial planning and sustainable development
- Define the basic spatial planning priorities for 12 years; exists everywhere except in the Attica Region
- Scale: 1: 800,000; 1: 250,000

Municipal

- Development control zones
- Regulate land use in rural areas
- Scale: 1: 25,000; 1: 10,000

- Special frameworks of spatial planning and sustainable development
- Provide directives for specific economic sectors, infrastructure networks, or territories
- Scale: 1: 1,000,000

TOWN PLAN STUDIES
- Provide detailed zoning regulation for a municipality
- Scale: 1: 2,000; 1: 1,000

DEVELOPMENT CONTROL ZONES
- Regulate land use in rural areas
- Scale: 1: 25,000; 1: 10,000

INTEGRATED URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS
- Deal with issues of economic growth, social cohesion, environmental degradation and quality of life
- Scale: 1: 25,000; 1: 10,000

GENERAL URBAN PLANS
- Regulate land use in urban areas
- Scale: 1: 25,000; 1: 10,000; 1: 5,000

SPECIAL FRAMEWORKS OF SPATIAL PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
- Provide directives for specific economic sectors, infrastructure networks, or territories
- Scale: 1: 50,000; 1: 25,000

RIVER (WATER) MANAGEMENT PLANS
- Scale: 1: 1,000,000

GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF SPATIAL PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
- Provides directives for the spatial organisation and co-ordinates policies, programmes and investments

SPECIAL ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES
- Scale: 1: 50,000; 1: 25,000

SPECIAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES / SPECIAL SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS
- Cover high priority areas (public and private)
- Scale: from 1: 50,000 to 1: 1,000

INTEGRATED URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS
- Regulate land use in urban areas
- Scale: 1: 25,000; 1: 10,000

GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF SPATIAL PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
- Provides directives for the spatial organisation and co-ordinates policies, programmes and investments

RIVER (WATER) MANAGEMENT PLANS
- Scale: 1: 1,000,000

REGIONAL OPERATIONAL PROGRAMMES
- Further specify zoning elements contained in Town Plan Studies
- Scale: 1: 1,000; 1: 500

Note: The Law 4269/2014 abolished or replaced some plans (see following page for the new structure of the spatial planning system). Plans approved under the old legislation remain valid until their eventual replacement.
Organisation of spatial and land-use planning in Greece

**General framework (NEW)**
- **NATIONAL SPATIAL STRATEGY**
  - إِنِّيِّكُ الْحُرَّاقِيَّةُ الْعَلَمِيَّةُ
  - Indicative document to set out principles and objectives for spatial development
  - Will replace the General Framework of Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development

- **REGIONAL SPATIAL FRAMEWORKS**
  - ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑΚΟ ΧΩΡΟΤΑΞΙΚΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ
  - Define the basic spatial planning priorities for 12 years and contain directives for the spatial organisation
  - Will replace the Regional Frameworks of Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development
  - 1: 100 000; 1: 25 000

- **INTEGRATED URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS**
  - ΣΧΕΔΙΟ ΟΛΟΚΛΗΡΩΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗΣ
  - Deal with issues of economic growth, social cohesion, environmental degradation and quality of life
  - Scale: 1: 25 000; 1: 10 000

- **DEVELOPMENT CONTROL ZONES**
  - ΖΩΝΗ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΕΛΕΓΧΟΥ
  - Regulate land use in rural areas
  - Scale: from 1: 25 000 to 1: 5 000

- **LOCAL SPATIAL PLANS**
  - ΤΟΠΙΚΟ ΧΩΡΙΚΟ ΣΧΕΔΙΟ
  - Regulate land use in a municipality
  - Will replace the General Urban Plans
  - Scale: 1: 25 000; 1: 10 000; 1: 5 000

- **SPECIAL SPATIAL PLANS**
  - ΕΙΔΙΚΟ ΧΩΡΙΚΟ ΣΧΕΔΙΟ
  - Replace the old Special Plans
  - Have the same legal status as Local Spatial Plans and can override them
  - Created ad hoc for areas of strategic importance
  - Scale: from 1: 25 000 to 1: 5 000

- **SPECIAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES / SPECIAL SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS**
  - Plans approved before 2014 remain valid

- **SPECIAL ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES**
  - Scale: 1: 50 000; 1: 25 000

- **RIVER (WATER) MANAGEMENT PLANS**
  - Scale: 1: 1 000 000

**Sectoral Plans**
- **NATIONAL SPATIAL PLANS**
  - ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΧΩΡΟΤΑΞΙΚΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ
  - Set out directives for specific economic sectors, infrastructure networks, or territories
  - Will replace the Special Frameworks of Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development

- **REGIONAL OPERATIONAL PROGRAMMES**

- **LAYOUT/IMPLEMENTATION PLANS**
  - ΡΥΜΟΤΟΜΙΚΟ ΣΧΕΔΙΟ ΕΦΑΡΜΟΓΗΣ
  - Detailed zoning regulations of a municipality
  - Scale: 1: 2 000; 1: 1 000

Legend:
- Override other existing plans
- Sub-ordinate plans must conform
- Sub-ordinate plans do not need to conform
- Primarily policy / strategic guidelines
- Primarily land-use plans
- Partial geographical coverage
**Spatial and land-use plans**

Greece has 25 different types of spatial plans, by far the largest number of all OECD countries. The picture is further complicated by a reform in 2014 that has only been partially implemented as of 2016. The diagrams on the previous pages provide an overview of the structure of land-use plans before and after the reform.

The very large number of spatial plans has several origins. Some of the existing plans were legally abolished earlier, but remain in effect because they have not been replaced by more recent plans. In many other cases, specific types of plans exist for specific purposes, such as special plans for different types of urban development. Lastly, there is a significant overlap between plans. The same area might be covered by four different types of zoning plans.

**Major laws and regulations**

As in most countries, the building code is an important law that regulates various aspects of construction activity. It is generally relevant for all types of developments, unless more specific rules have been established by a particular plan covering the area.

Two important decrees regulate development in areas outside of town plans and areas inside settlements without a town plan. They are enacted by the national government but interpreted and enforced by municipalities. Since these areas correspond to a substantial part of the national territory, these decrees have an important impact, although sometimes they are weakly enforced. Another important decree specifies the categories of land use that could be included in the different land-use plans. Although this decree has been abolished with the recent reform, it remains in force for all old land-use plans until they are replaced.

**Co-ordination mechanisms**

As land-use planning is almost exclusively the domain of the national government, little scope for co-ordination between levels of government exists and municipalities have few incentives to align their policies with those of the national government beyond what is legally required.

In order to achieve horizontal co-ordination between different branches of the national government, one ministry has an overall responsibility for land-use policies and produces strategic plans that are supposed to guide the entire government. However, as strategic plans are only guiding instruments with few enforcement mechanisms, it is within the responsibility of individual ministries whether they take them into account.

**Expropriations**

In Greece, land can be expropriated for public use and for private use for a fairly large number of reasons, including public infrastructure, resource extraction, nature reserves, housing developments, and commercial developments. In all cases, the central criterion is whether a planned development provides a public benefit. In this context, the meaning of public benefit goes beyond a pure monetary gain for the state or a private actor and usually includes social aspects as well.
Recent and planned reforms to the system of land-use planning

In its broad outline, the current system of land-use governance has been in place in Greece since 1983. However, numerous reforms have been made since then. Most recently, a reform in 2014 has replaced several old land-use plans with new ones and changed the categorisation of land-uses in plans. However, this reform has in large parts not been implemented and a modification of it was under preparation as of the time of writing.

Land cover in Greece

![Land cover at the national level](chart)

![Land cover in functional urban areas (FUAs)](chart)
Land-use trends in Greece

Greece has a per capita land consumption that is somewhat below OECD average. Between 2000 and 2012, it experienced significant increases in its total share of developed land as well as in its per capita land consumption. Over the same time period, a strong suburbanisation pattern emerged. Population in the commuting zones of urban areas grew significantly, whereas it declined in urban cores. This was partially matched by increasing shares of developed land in commuting zones. As of the time of writing, no more recent land cover data is available that can show the full effect of the economic crisis. Outside of large urban areas, Greece is characterised by a relatively low share of developed land, as well as of forested land.

Source: OECD calculations based on Corine Land Cover dataset.
## Land cover at the national level in Greece

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land cover (km²)</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Urban regions</th>
<th>Intermediates regions</th>
<th>Rural regions close to cities</th>
<th>Rural remote regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
<td>131 949</td>
<td>7 467</td>
<td>15 946</td>
<td>29 966</td>
<td>78 569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total developed land</td>
<td>3 742</td>
<td>1 008</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>1 681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of total</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual change in developed land, 2000-12</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in developed land, 2000-12</td>
<td>0.69%</td>
<td>0.39%</td>
<td>0.93%</td>
<td>0.33%</td>
<td>0.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural land</td>
<td>51 269</td>
<td>3 016</td>
<td>5 361</td>
<td>14 110</td>
<td>28 782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of total</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual change in agricultural land, 2000-12</td>
<td>-21.9</td>
<td>-3.3</td>
<td>-4.8</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in agricultural land, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.04%</td>
<td>-0.11%</td>
<td>-0.09%</td>
<td>-0.01%</td>
<td>-0.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forests</td>
<td>24 872</td>
<td>1 034</td>
<td>2 853</td>
<td>6 000</td>
<td>14 985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of total</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual change in forests, 2000-12</td>
<td>-42.4</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-4.5</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in forests, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.17%</td>
<td>-0.24%</td>
<td>-0.16%</td>
<td>-0.01%</td>
<td>-0.23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Land cover per capita (m²)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land cover per capita (m²)</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Urban regions</th>
<th>Intermediates regions</th>
<th>Rural regions close to cities</th>
<th>Rural remote regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total developed land per capita</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in developed land per capita, 2000-12</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td>0.27%</td>
<td>0.66%</td>
<td>0.18%</td>
<td>0.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural land per capita</td>
<td>4 609</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>4 621</td>
<td>9 436</td>
<td>8 515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in agricultural land per capita, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.21%</td>
<td>-0.22%</td>
<td>-0.36%</td>
<td>-0.16%</td>
<td>-0.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forests per capita</td>
<td>2 236</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>2 460</td>
<td>4 012</td>
<td>4 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in forests per capita, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.33%</td>
<td>-0.35%</td>
<td>-0.43%</td>
<td>-0.16%</td>
<td>-0.37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Land cover in functional urban areas (FUAs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land cover in FUAs (km²)</th>
<th>FUAs</th>
<th>Urban core</th>
<th>Commuting zone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total area</td>
<td>7 866</td>
<td>1 182</td>
<td>6 685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total developed land</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of total</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual change in developed land, 2000-12</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in developed land, 2000-12</td>
<td>0.42%</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural land</td>
<td>3 413</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>3 087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of total</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual change in agricultural land, 2000-12</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in agricultural land, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.10%</td>
<td>-0.14%</td>
<td>-0.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forests</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of total</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual change in forests, 2000-12</td>
<td>-4.3</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>-2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in forests, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.47%</td>
<td>-1.23%</td>
<td>-0.36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Land cover per capita in FUAs (m²)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land cover per capita in FUAs (m²)</th>
<th>FUAs (50 000+ inhabitants)</th>
<th>Urban core (only FUAs 500 000+)</th>
<th>Commuting zone (only FUAs 500 000+)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total developed land per capita</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in developed land per capita, 2000-12</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
<td>-0.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural land per capita</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in agricultural land per capita, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.02%</td>
<td>-0.46%</td>
<td>-1.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forests per capita</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual percentage change in forests per capita, 2000-12</td>
<td>-0.39%</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>-2.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Changes in per capita values for land cover in TL3 regions computed using 2001 population figures.

**Source:** All land cover statistics for Greece based on OECD calculations based on Corine Land Cover dataset.