

LOCAL AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Costis Hadjimichalis

**Professor Emeritus, Department of Geography, Harokopio University,
Athens**

hadjimichalis@hua.gr

The top 1% controls 46% of world's wealth. —Oxfam

...STILL NOT ENOUGH...

THE 99%

M. WIERKER

What kind of local development is possible in such unequal and unjust world?

Application of a local development strategy will usually contain several steps:

- defining the territory and the problem or development issues under consideration
- defining and analyzing the parameters of problems/issues and checking whether they generate from elsewhere
- sensitizing local actors and promoting a local forum and organizing participation without exclusions
- designing a local planning strategy and securing financial and political support
- Implementation, evaluation and monitoring.

In reality these steps often tend to feed into each other.

A major theoretical problem concerns the definition of the “local”

- **Scale**
- **The “politics of scale”: scales as social products of power struggles**
- **Globalisation does not always undermine the significance of the local**
- **Local is global and global is local, hence the term “glocal”**



Gold Mines in Skouries, Halkidiki, Greece



“Stop gold mining” movement in Halkidiki, northern Greece, against Extractivism. Tear Gas in the woods, mass protest in Ierissos and Thessaloniki.



Uneven Development originally developed within Marxian political economy but not by Marx himself

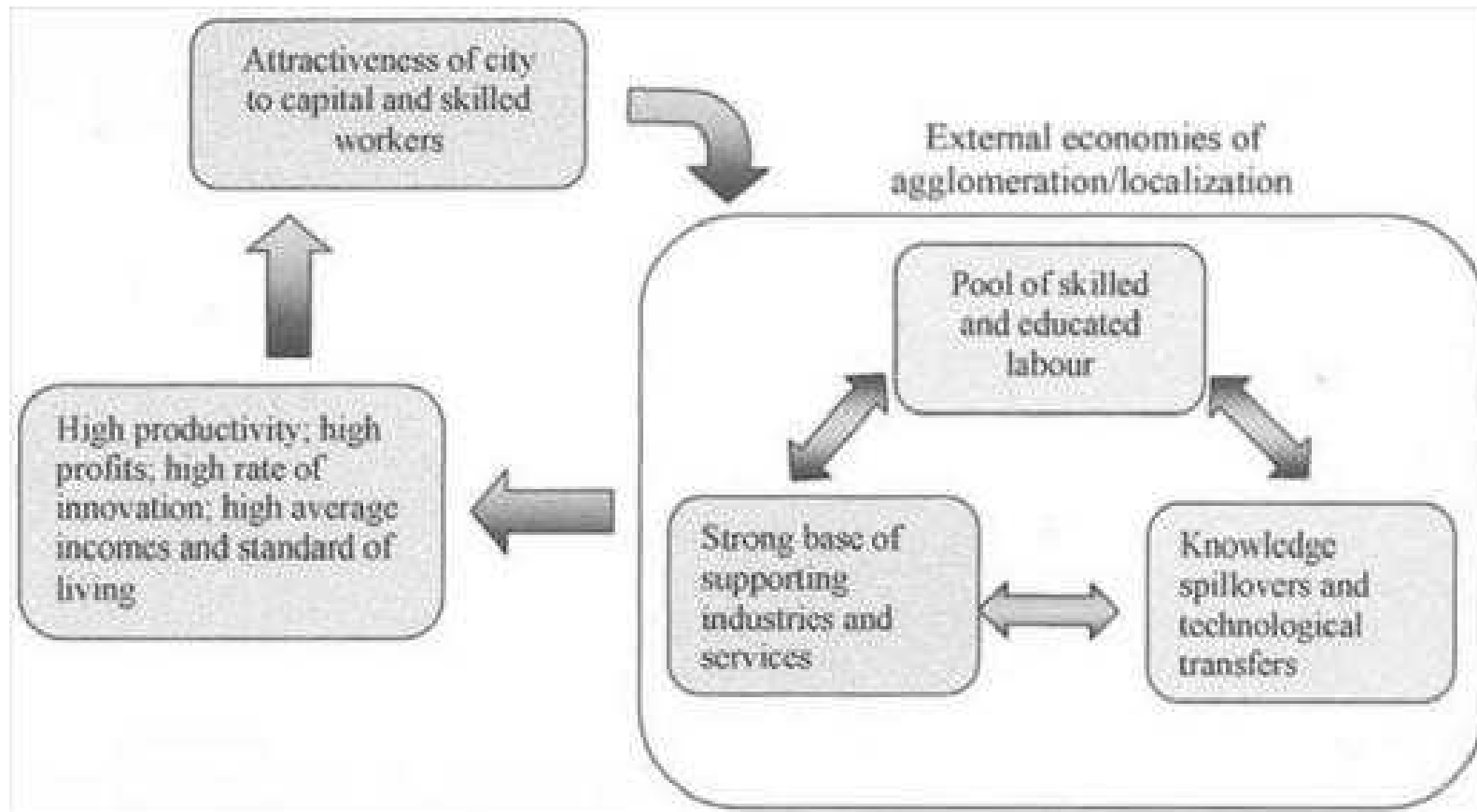
Leon Trotsky 1906 “Uneven and combined development”

David Harvey 1982 *The Limits to Capital*

David Harvey 2014 *Seventeen contradictions and the end of capitalism*

“...Without uneven geographical development capital would surely have stagnated” (p. 161)

Neil Smith (1984) a “see-saw” theory of uneven development



Gunnar Myrdal's "cumulative causation" in an urban agglomeration

- Empirical investigations in the late 1970s discovered cases of “spontaneous” growth, away from old industrial cores and subsidized backward agricultural regions, without direct assistance from the central state or inward investment.
- Small firms with strong entrepreneurial spirit initiated a “bottom-up” local growth.
- Paradigmatic local areas included:
 - Silicon Valley and Orange County in California,
 - Third Italy, in North-East-Central Italy,
 - the ‘M4 corridor’ in South UK and
 - South Bavaria in Germany



Silicon Valley, 2005

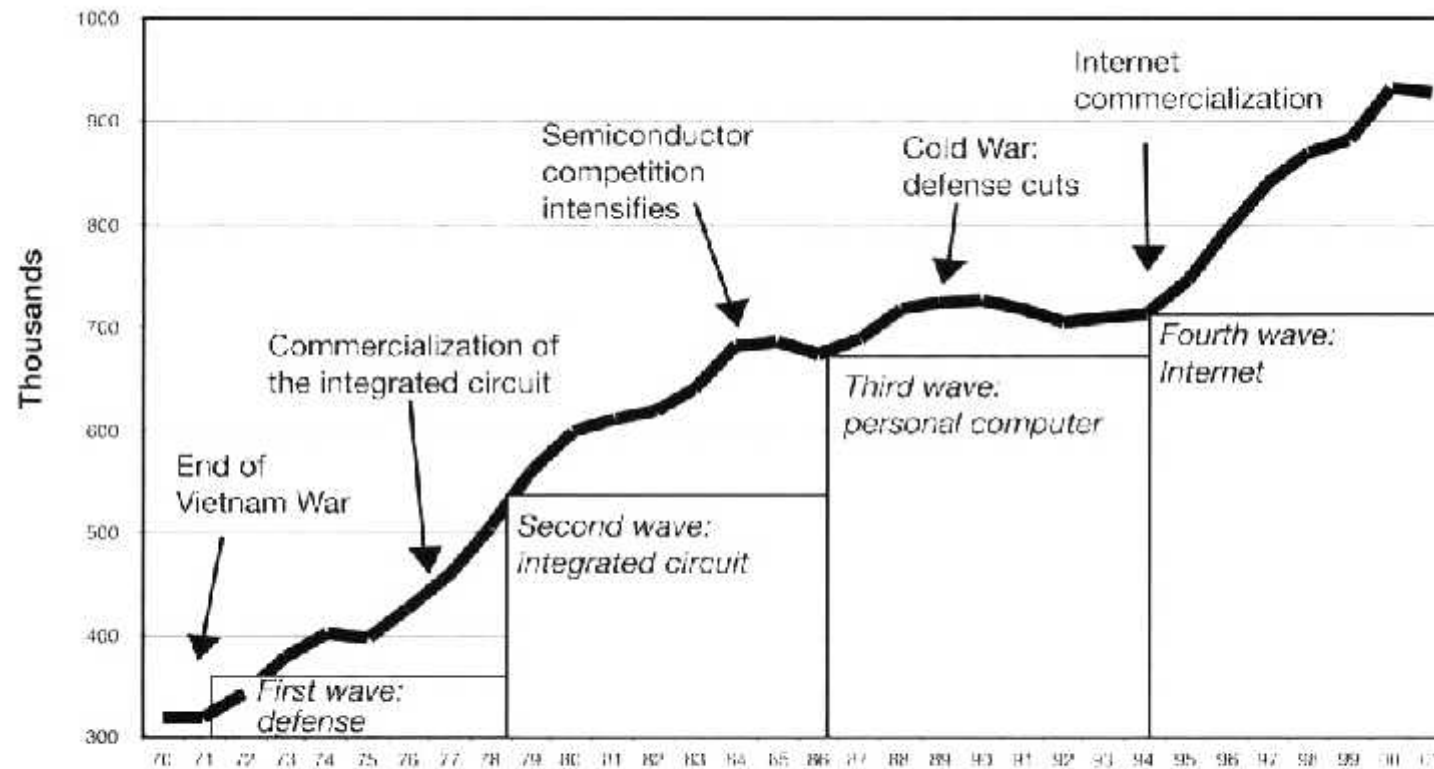


Figure 7.7 Employment and technological eras in Silicon Valley, 1970–2001

Source: Henton (2001: 7)

In the late 1970s, the sociologist Arnaldo Bagnasco published his book *Tre Italie* (1977), questioning the north-south divide in Italy. He described the particular economic dynamism of north-east Italy and particularly in Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and the Marche. The dynamism based itself on dense networks of small family firms in *industrial districts*, located in small historical towns, combined with agriculture and tourism. Each industrial district is specialized in a particular product, such as ceramic tiles, textiles, clothing, footwear, furniture, musical instruments and other, following localities' historical specialisations.



Fig. 7.1 Locations of Fiat production facilities in Italy

Figure 1 Industrial Districts in Italy



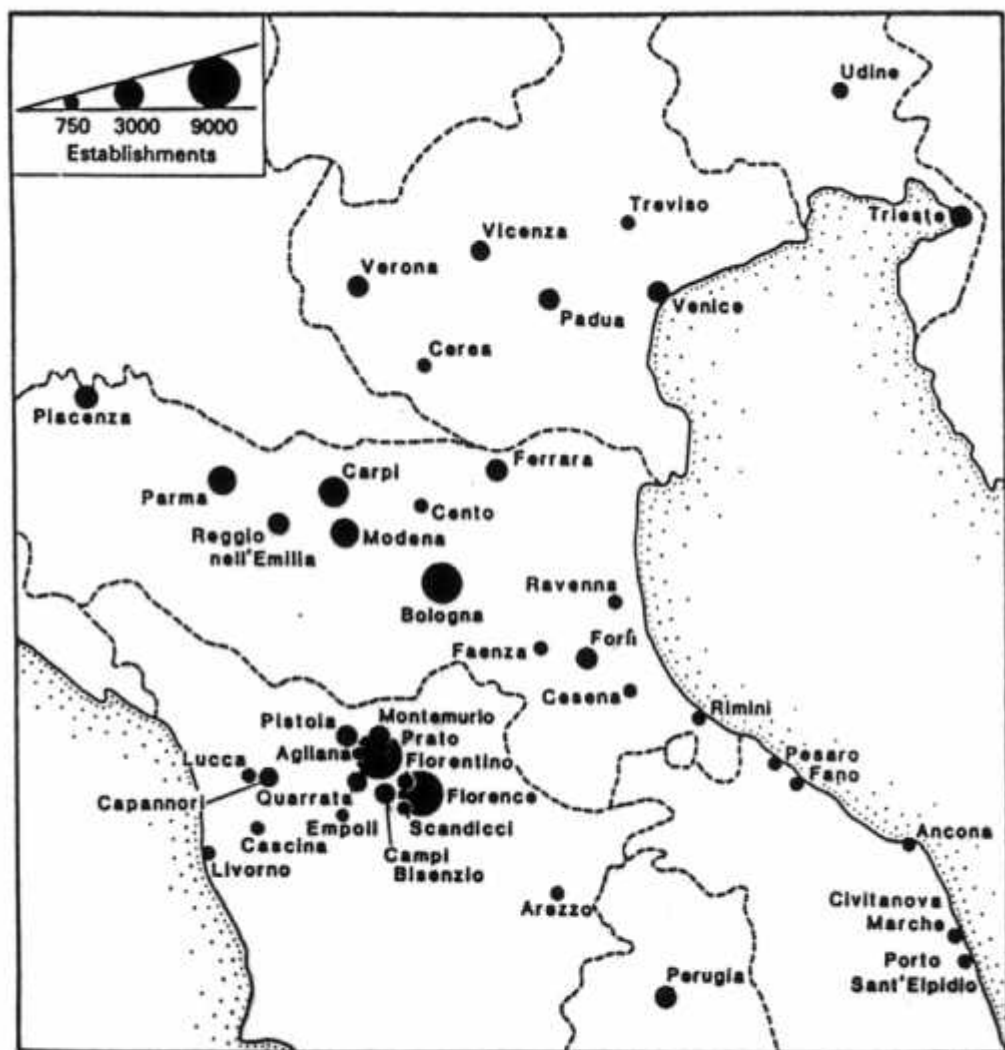


Figure 5.3. Third Italy: Communes with 750 manufacturing establishments or more, 1981. Source of data: 6° *Censimento Generale dell'Industria, del Commercio, dei Servizi e dell'Artigianato*, 26 ottobre 1981.

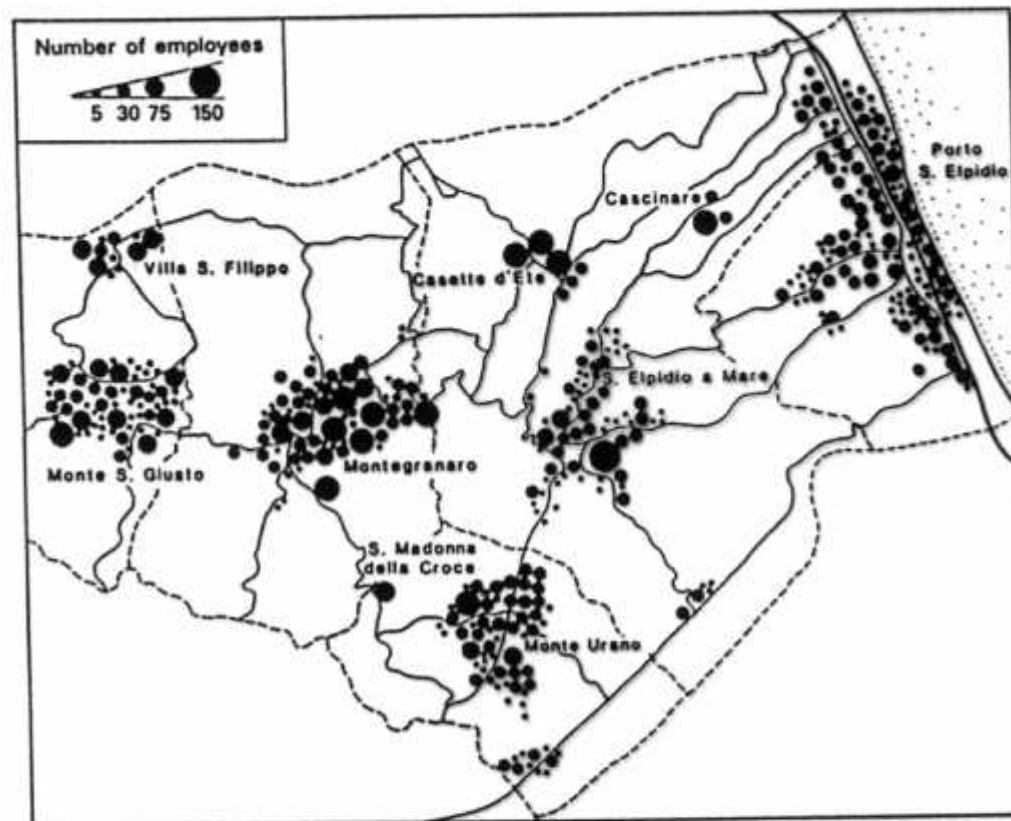
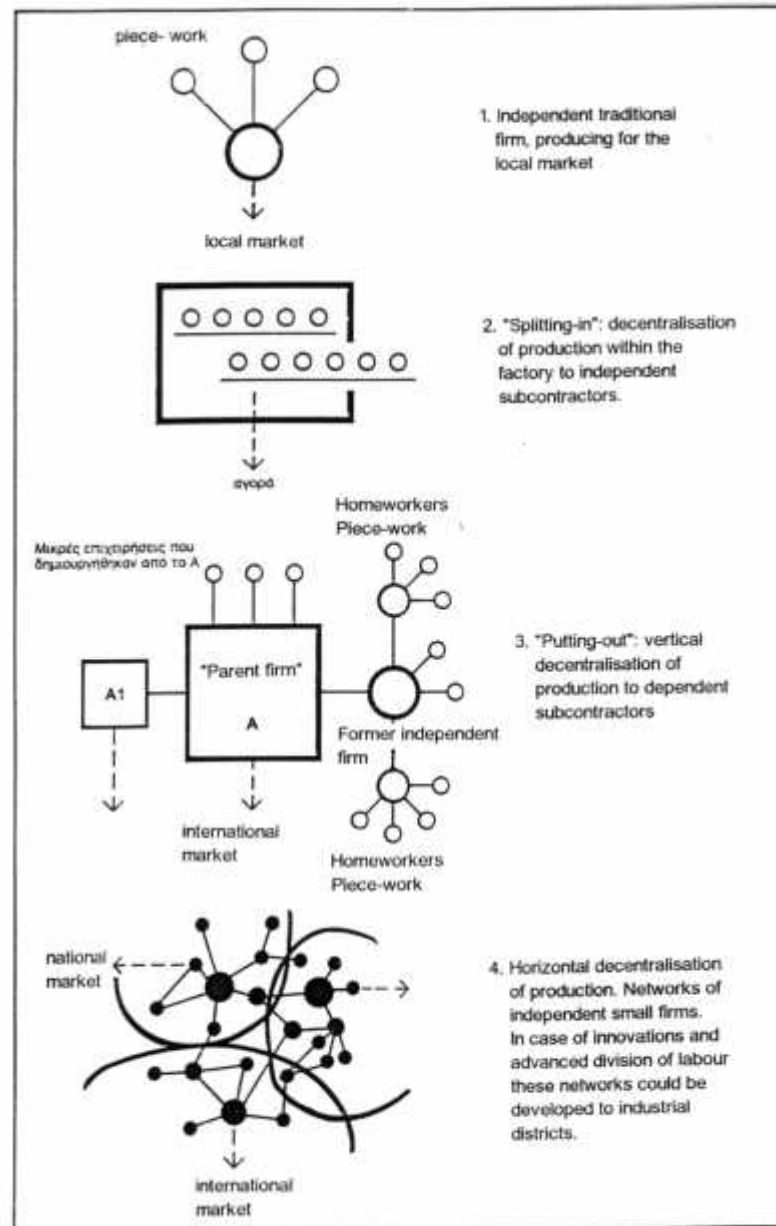


Figure 5.4. The locational structure of the shoe industry in the area of Porto S. Elpidio, Marche. Redrawn from Agostinelli et al (1983, figure 5).



Typology of SMEs networks in Third



**A small shoe firm in
the Industrial
District of Macerata,
le Marche, Italy
(2005)**



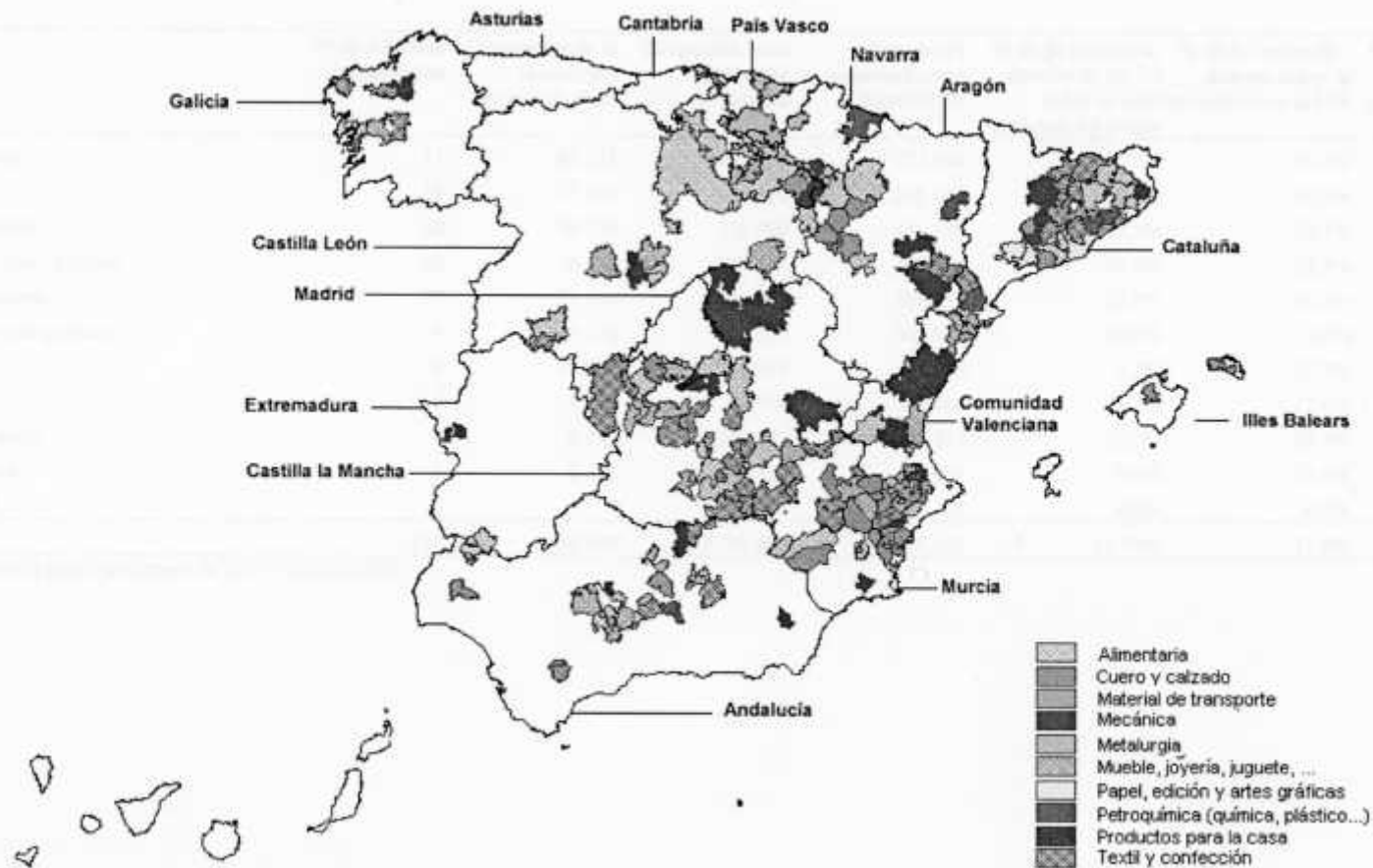


Modern and old small industries in the Industrial District of Modena, Italy (2005)

1. the ***Italian School of Third Italy's Industrial Districts*** (IDs)
(Key figures include G. Becattini, R. Camagni, A. Sforzi, G. Garofolli, G. Dei Ottati and many more)
2. the ***French School of Milieu Innovateur*** (innovative local environment)
(Key figures include Ph. Aydolot M. Quévit, D. Maillat, O. Crevoiser and latter C. Courlet and B. Pecqueur)
3. the ***British industrial restructuring perspective*** (Localities Studies in the 1980s) (key figures include Ph. Cooke, K. Morgan, A. Amin, N. Thrift, R. Hudson, H. Beynon and others)
4. The Californian school on ***agglomeration economies and transaction cost analysis*** (key figures A. Scott, A. Saxenian, M. Storper, D. Walker among others)

“New Regionalism”

Figura 7. Distritos industriales en España. Metodología ISTAT adaptada. Año 2001



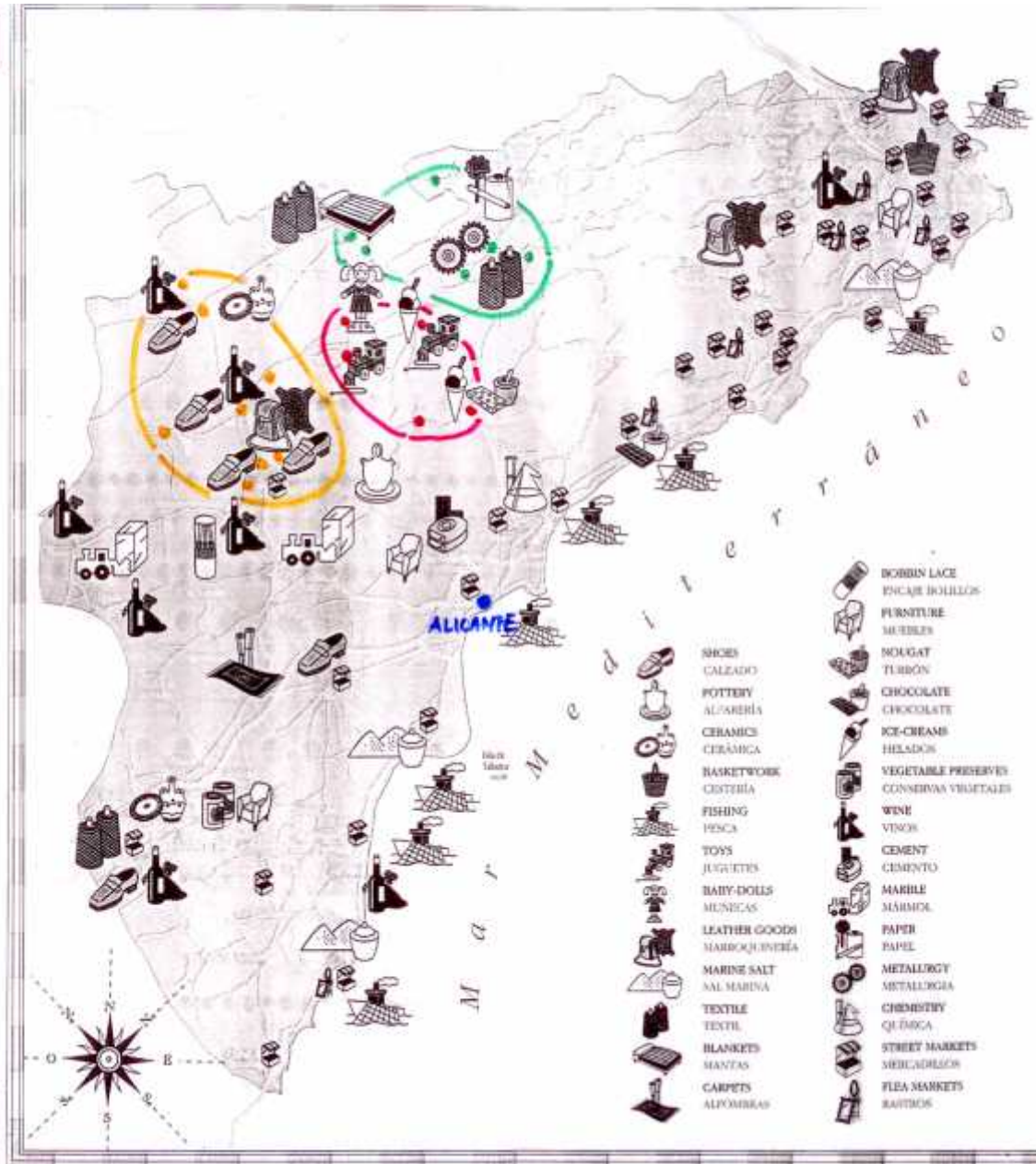
**Industrial
Districts in
Spain, 2001**

Fuente: Elaboración a partir de Censos de 2001 y DIRCE (INE).



**The shoe-production
industrial district in
Alcoa, Murcia, Spain
in the late 1980s**





Valencia's industrial districts, Alicante Province in the late 1980s

Misreadings, Omissions, Problems

- 1.** simplistic binary opposition between mass production and flex-spec
- 2.** a similar binary opposition occurred with endogenous and exogenous factors guiding development
- 3.** a major confusion on scale
- 4.** related to the problem of scale, is the study of localities (mainly by economists) as bounded territorial entities and as though they were firms
- 5.** a very selective appropriation of the complexity and richness of local productive structures
- 6.** a lack of attention to the role of the state and other supranational entities introducing various protectionist and assistance measures
- 7.** looking only on success in the context of competitive capitalism
- 8.** a remarkable silence/neglect of other sectors such as tourism, trade and agriculture and to millions of “ordinary” localities everywhere



Λαγανάς Ζακύνθου

**Zakynthos Island, the beaches of
careta-careta reproduction**



Μάλια Ηρακλείου

Malia, Heraklion, Crete



The most important omission is the uneven relations among localities, successful and unsuccessful alike, in other words the hard reality of uneven geographical development

In the 1990s many IDs in Third Italy, Silicon Valley and in other localities faced crisis and challenge the grandiose claims about flex-spec

Just at the very moment that policy prescriptions based upon the assumed bases of success, the conditions on which success was based were being eroded.



**The prototype of
luxurious hotel-
golf tourist
development in
the
Mediterranean**



Cavo Sidero, in eastern Crete, a 2.500 ha monastery area is dispossessed by an English company for luxury tourism real estate and golf courses



Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko, south-east Athens, operated by 200 volunteers, doctors, nurses, technicians in shifts

