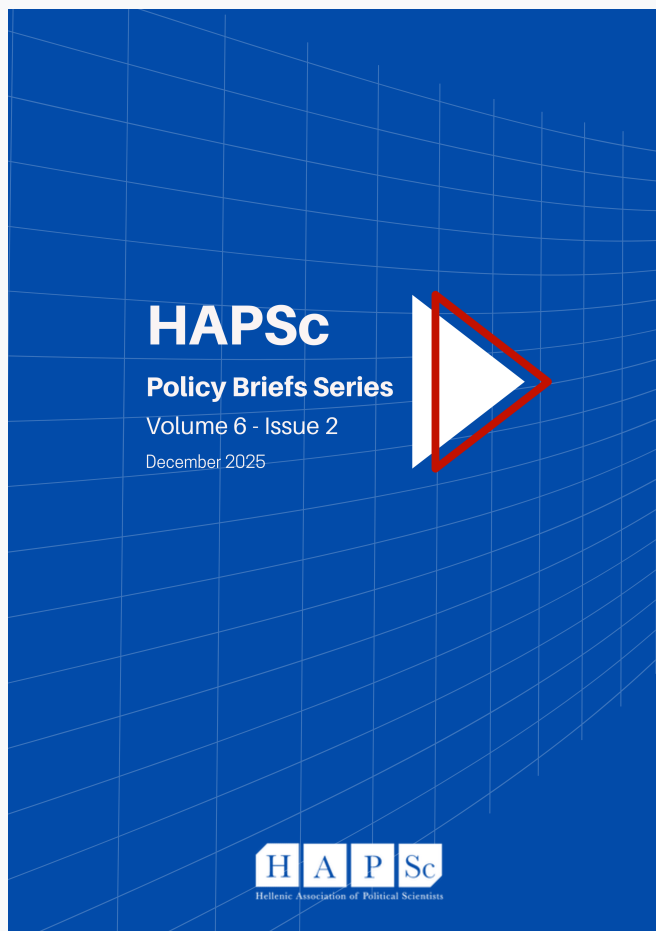


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The Missing Development Link of Ageing: Why Age-Friendly Policies Matter for Greece

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The Missing Development Link of Ageing: Why Age-Friendly Policies Matter for Greece¹

Ioakeim Vravas²

Abstract

Europe is experiencing a rapid demographic transition by population ageing and low fertility. Political discourse and research have widely framed ageing and a fiscal and welfare challenge, focusing on pensions, healthcare costs and labour supply. While these concerns are legitimate, this problem-oriented framing limits the capacity of policy to address ageing as a structural condition shaping territorial development, particularly in municipalities and regions experiencing demographic decline. This policy brief argues that the absence of a development-oriented narrative and evidence of ageing constitutes a strategic blind spot in Greek policy making. Drawing on European policy evolution, emerging research on the longevity economy and age-friendly policies, and early evidence from the first Greek municipality participating in the WHO Global Network for Age-Friendly Cities and Communities, the brief explores if age-friendly policies can contribute to a city's development. The case of Alexandroupolis suggests that age-friendly measures are already perceived by residents and local stakeholders as benefiting not only older adults but the wider community. This signals a gap between the perceived local reality and policy frameworks, with the local community understanding ageing as a development issue, rather than solely a welfare concern. The brief proposes policy directions for integrating ageing policies in the respective local, regional and national development strategies in Greece and to as separate issue of concern.

Keywords: Age-friendly cities; Ageing; Development; Greece; Demographic decline

Introduction

The demographic shift towards an ageing population is one of the most significant transformations in Europe. By 2050, the median age in the EU-27 is projected to increase by 4.5 years, with the population aged 75–84 expected to grow by over 50% (European Commission, 2023). Greece is among the most prominent cases: declining fertility and increasing life expectancy result in a steadily ageing population with acute effects at national, regional and local level. Public and political discourse, in line with the mainstream discourse at EU level, has largely approached these trends through the lenses of fiscal sustainability, pension systems and healthcare costs. Ageing is thus predominantly understood as a challenge to be managed, rather than a structural condition to be governed strategically.

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This framing has shaped policy priorities. Ageing-related interventions are primarily situated within social policy and welfare policy domains, often as compensatory or protective measures. While such interventions are essential, their positioning outside the broader development-oriented policy fields limits their political visibility and institutional resilience, especially in times of economic pressure and competing, especially at local level, where demographic effects are mostly experienced. This problem-oriented framing shades the ways in which ageing already interacts with local economies, public space, social infrastructure and community life. In many Greek cities and regions, older adults constitute a significant share of residents, users of public services, consumers in local markets and participants in social networks. Yet, these dimensions rarely translate into a coherent policy narrative that recognised ageing as a factor shaping territorial dynamics and municipalities' potential.

Ageing and the Local Dimension in Policy

The European Union has recognized ageing as a key challenge since the 1990s, but its policy responses have traditionally been framed in terms of economic sustainability rather than local development. Early policy documents, such as the European Council's Communication on the elderly (1990) and the European Commission's Towards a Europe of All Ages (1999), primarily focus on the financial implications of an ever-ageing population, putting emphasis on pension system sustainability, healthcare costs, and workforce participation. Ageing was primarily seen as a macroeconomic issue, initiating reforms in labor markets and social protection systems (European Commission, 2009), while the territorial aspect was missing from the policy discourse.

Since the early 2000s, a shift has been observed, with policies and strategic papers mainly coming from the Regional Development and Cohesion perspective increasingly acknowledging the social and territorial dimensions of ageing. The Green Paper on Ageing (2021) continues this chronologically intensifying trend, explicitly linking ageing policies with territorial development. The document acknowledges that ageing populations are not evenly distributed across Europe, with rural and remote areas experiencing faster ageing and depopulation, while urban centers face housing shortages and healthcare access issues. The Green paper also has three specific chapters on the territorial aspects in access to education (2021, p:6), to care and services (p.18) and a territorial perspective of employment and productivity (p.10). While the Green Paper on Ageing introduces a more diversified and territorial sensitive discourse, it maintains the structural limitations of previous EU policy documents. It provides space for local development perspectives but without introducing or suggesting new tools or pathways to realise them. The outcome is a modest, not bold document that acknowledges the need

for territorialisation in ageing policy, but falls short of delivering a roadmap or even a frame for how this turn could be operationalised in practice.

Why a Development Narrative Matters

Such policy framings are important because they define and guide programmatic and strategic options from local authorities. 43% of towns and 40% cities with fewer than 250.000 inhabitants in European Union experienced population decrease between 2011 and 2021 (OECD, 2025). This demographic decline, together with population ageing, places local governments under strain, by increasing demand for care services and related infrastructure. The simultaneous weakening of local labour markets and tax resources needed to sustain these services (Andrews & Dollery, 2021), result to increasing financial pressure to cities' budgets (Kim, 2018; Rodríguez Bolívar et al., 2016). Pressure on pension systems, increased healthcare provision concerns (Lee, Shin & Park, 2017; Berk & Weil, 2015) and potential constraints on long-term economic growth (Maj-Wasniovska & Jedynek, 2020) have described ageing primary as welfare and fiscal challenge in policy discourse (Zuniga et al., 2021).

Nevertheless, this dominant perception of ageing as a burden for SMCs is not uncontested: studies directly contest it by claiming that an ageing population is not compromising Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth (Acemoglu & Restrepo, 2017). In addition, the whole new sector of Silver Economy, emphasising the role of older adults as consumers of age-friendly tourism, assistive technologies or health services (Wierzbicka & Farelnek, 2024) has now become an EU strategic priority (EC, 2023), with a greater emphasis on tourism (Gaušas et al., 2025). In metropolitan cities worldwide, older adults are increasingly recognised as contributors to sustainable urban development (Han et al., 2021). In the same direction, Calvo and Ondiviela (2022) argument that the cities that become more age-friendly, become more inclusive and attractive to talented people of working age, critical contributing development factors. In addition, evidence from 308 Portuguese municipalities (Ferreira et al., 2021) shows only a small negative relation to local socio-economic development and fiscal sustainability, evidencing that the governance underperformance is more closely linked to other factors, such as natural constraints, the concentration of citizens, and political ideology. These examples highlight older adults' potential contribution in communities, which is overlooked by GDP metrics and economic growth-centered understandings of local development.

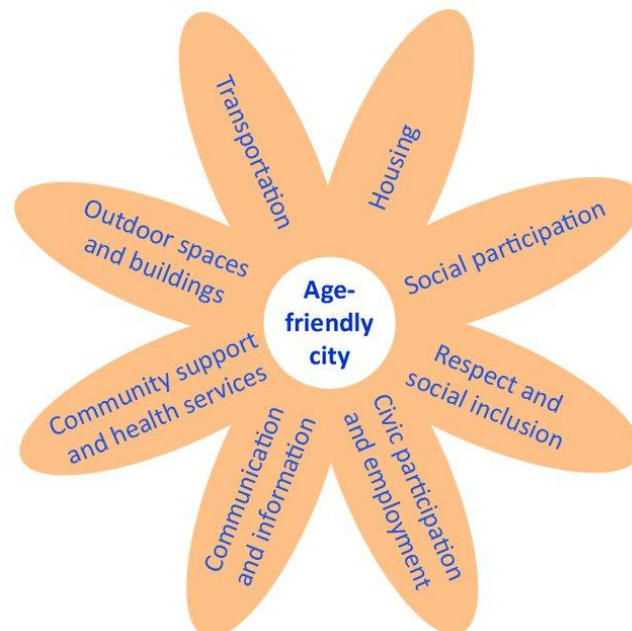
Literature provides further evidence of the positive impact of ageing in urban contexts, beyond production and economic metrics. From strengthening social capital (Cho & Kim, 2016), implementing urban agriculture initiatives (Middling et al., 2011) to preserving local cultural capital

(To & Chong, 2017), academic research suggests that rather than a challenge and a budgetary threat, older adults can be a resource for future urban transformation and development. The concept of longevity economy as the whole system of economic opportunities and challenges that emerge from the increasing number of people living longer, leading healthier lives at national and local level (Klimczuk, 2021) was even endorsed by the European commission’s Vice-President for Democracy and Demography calling to recognize increasing lifespans as an opportunity for economic and societal growth (Šuica, 2024).

Longevity Economy and Age-friendly Policies as a Latent Development Tool

Despite this debate, research has not examined whether the most prominent tool that local authorities have for developing age-friendly policies and actions, the Age Friendly Cities and Communities framework (AFCC), can play a role in urban development, beyond welfare effects. Endorsed by the World Health Organisation (WHO), AFCC has become a globally used reference tool for local authorities (Zuniga et al., 2021; Pope et al., 2024), raising awareness of the impacts of demographic change (Scott et al., 2021) and shaping local policy (Ferreira et al., 2021). The framework is founded on the principles of active ageing, “*the process of optimising opportunities for health, participation, and security in order to enhance quality of life as people age*” (WHO, 2002).

Figure 1. The 8 Domains of the WHO Age-Friendly Cities and Communities Framework



Within this debate, AFCC seeks to integrate older adults into the economic, social, cultural and civic fabric of urban life. While AFCC has been widely adopted and studied as a framework for improving conditions for older adults, existing research has remained primarily within welfare-oriented and

service-delivery rationales. The small body of age-friendly evaluation and impact research, AFCC evaluations in California and Finland (Ruza et al., 2015; Valkama & Oulasvirta, 2021), and a meta-evaluation of AFCC evaluations in the United States (Black & Oh, 2021) still see older adults primarily as passive recipients rather than active contributors to cities' life, without assessing impacts on the wider community.

This leads to a paradox: at times where cities are facing financial sustainability risks due to ageing populations, age-friendly initiatives do not demonstrate economic returns, while requiring additional financial investment by local authorities. Therefore, it is not surprising that age-friendliness becomes vulnerable to the recent economic downturns, seeing relevant policies and projects downgraded or cancelled (Buffel & Phillipson, 2016; McGarry, 2024; Gupta, 2021; Thurairaj et al., 2025). Age-friendly policy development competes with urban planning policies that are directly linked to economic growth and capital accumulation (Han et al., 2022) and thus are left behind in agendas and public funding.

A dual gap emerges from policy and academia work: while AFCC is explored, it is not researched with a developmental lens and while ageing impact on local development and government is an emerging body of research, it keeps AFCC out of the framework. The absence of AFCC developmental understanding to overcome this conflict of interest is remarkable, given that the territorial development theories explicitly recognise non-economic values and non-technological forms innovation, including new governance arrangements, policy commitment and institutional memberships, as potential levers of a territory's development (Torre, 2023). If AFCC membership operates not only as a social or welfare intervention but also as a new institutional engagement, then its adoption may constitute an institutional innovation with territorial development impacts.

Emerging Evidence from a Greek Case

The city of Alexandroupolis in Greece provides a timely case for exploring the intersection of age-friendliness and territorial development. With a slightly declining population of 71,751 of which 22% aged over 65, according to the 2021 census and an ageing index of 143.01 (ELSTAT, 2023), it faces both demographic transition and strategic transformation. Alexandroupolis is currently the only Greek municipality participating in the WHO Global Network for Age-Friendly Cities and Communities. As part of its initial participation cycle to the network, mixed-methods research was conducted among 261 residents aged 60 and over and key municipal actors, assessing the city's age-friendliness (Vravas, 2025). While the findings cannot be generalized nationally, they provide insights into how age-friendly policies can be understood and developed at local level in Greece.

Alongside the assessment of the city as moderately age-friendly across the eight WHO domains, a key finding was that both residents and stakeholders interviewed in the research associate age-friendly measures with benefits extending beyond individual wellbeing. When explicitly asked if cities that care for older people are better for every citizen, a clear majority of older adults in the sample (70%) perceived city-wide benefits of age-friendly policies and measures. Infrastructure improvements (78%), social and cultural activities (76,8%), followed by overall quality of life (69.5%), tourism (67.4%), jobs creation (48,8%), consumption increase (47,7%), support of small business (40,8%) and attracting new investments (37,6%), were perceived as potentially benefiting from a city's age-friendliness. Similarly, across all interviews, references to social, spatial, symbolic and at a lesser extent economic dimensions of Alexandroupolis development, indicate that the interviewed municipal stakeholders acknowledge developmental elements to age-friendly measures.

These findings indicate that in Alexandroupolis, age-friendliness is not understood in care and welfare terms but partially through development terms for both stakeholders' groups, confirming Klimczuk (2021) on longevity economy opportunities at local level. Older adults and municipal actors converged to the opinion that cities that care for older adults become better for all residents. While not always expressed in structured policy language, this perception already sets the stage for more advanced framing of ageing, not just as a burden to be managed. This recognition is consistent with literature that supports a more holistic understanding of territorial development, beyond purely economic terms (Andrews et al., 2013; Yarker et al., 2023).

Alexandroupolis is not entering the age-friendly policy process with a purely technocratic or welfare mindset. The idea that making a city more friendly for older people also makes it better for everyone seems to resonate, at least in principle and provides a space for negotiations between stakeholders, as Torre (2025) described it. This constitutes an early expression of institutional innovation, not yet formalised in governance, but already present in the discourse, generating convergences and partially cleavages. The municipality can emerge as the enabling factor that can establish shared agendas and coordinate multipartite activities throughout the process of the participation in WHO AFCC network and thus, stimulate, developmental returns of ageing policies for the city.

Implications for Policy and Governance in Greece

First evidence from Alexandroupolis suggests the new reframing of ageing as a potential development lever does not need large-scale programmes, but rather changes in governance, institutional coordination and narrative alignment. At local level, municipalities need analytical tools and policy mandates to integrate age-friendly objectives into planning, sociocultural policy and service design.

At regional level, ageing should be considered in cohesion and development strategies, particularly in regions facing depopulation. At national level, policy frameworks should avoid reproducing ageing as welfare and labour concern.

Operationalising those findings, first, ageing should be explicitly recognised as a territorial condition in development strategies, not only as a demographic trend. This recognition would allow local and regional authorities to consider investments in livability, accessibility, healthcare and social infrastructure as part of sustainable development strategies. The case of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace and the launch of the Demographic Observatory, implementing the National Demographic Action Plan provides a unique opportunity for such reframing, based on evidence and research. Evaluation frameworks should move beyond service outputs and integrate indicators related to participation, spatial use, perceived attractiveness and economic returns.

Second, age-friendly initiatives should be embedded within policy instruments rather than treated as parallel or competitive agendas. Linking them to urban regeneration, cultural programming and local service delivery can increase their reach, sustainability and spill over benefits for the wider communities. Greek local authorities should be supported to shape comprehensive development strategies localizing the National Demographic Action Plan.

Third, creating jobs and attracting investments in an area that is supposedly holding back growth can be a paradigm changer at local level. Longevity economy should be explored as local and regional economy drivers, not only in terms of importing innovation, but also as sustainable dimensions of local economy. A planning for yearlong tourism could and should integrate the market of people over 60; the local construction sector could benefit from more adequate housing; local universities research could focus on the changing demographic realities of local societies as part of their applied research; social economy initiatives can cover services provision gaps in rural and mountain areas. Longevity privileged zones connected to local challenges, providing economic benefits could be piloted in areas of Evros and Western Macedonia.

Conclusions

Ageing is often discussed in terms of limitations and losses. This brief has argued that this framing is incomplete and strategically restrictive. While ageing, undoubtedly, poses significant challenges, it also shapes territorial realities in ways that policy can influence positively. Age-friendly policies offer one pathway to engage with this reality, but their potential will remain underused without a coherent integration into broader development discourse and policy making.

The case of Alexandroupolis suggests that ageing can already be understood local as relevant to participation, space, community and economic life. Translating this understanding into durable policy requires careful governance, realistic expectations and a commitment to treat ageing as a structural component of development rather than a welfare challenge. While further evidence from other cities and regions is needed, supporting comparative and longitudinal research, for Greece, embracing this shift is not a matter of romanticised optimism, but of strategic necessity.

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