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Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe

Final Country Report

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[1] In addition to the 23 Central and Eastern European Countries with a state planned economy past, Greece and Turkey were included as reference countries in the study with the aim to draw lessons learnt from their rather extensive migration waves in the past.

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1. Socio-Economic and Political Overview

In the first half of the 20th century, Greece experienced two major transformations. First, after the Balkan wars (1912-1913) the northern regions were annexed and integrated into the country, some 80 years after the establishment of the Greek state. Secondly, in 1922-1923 the defeat of the Greek army fighting against the Turks in Asia Minor and the subsequent Lausanne Treaty, which imposed a compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, led to the resettlement of more than one million refugees in Greece. Within less than twenty years World War II devastated Greece. After liberation the meager resources of the enfeebled state were not devoted, as elsewhere in Europe, to repairing the ravages of war, as much of the American aid was channeled into military objectives due to the civil war between communist and government forces (1946-1949). The civil war cast a long shadow over the politics of the 1950s-1960s. The primary objective of post-civil war governments being the containment of communism, liberal rights were often negated. The priority of combating communism, combined with the primacy of foreign over domestic policy which was due to the Cyprus issue, led to a serious neglect of efforts to restructure the economy. During the 1960s political turmoil culminated with the military coup of 1967. The military regime coup in Cyprus in 1974, followed by the Turkish invasion of the northern part of the island, brought Greece and Turkey to the brink of war, and precipitated the collapse of the Greek military regime. With the political change of 1974, the conservative party of "New Democracy", which won the first free elections, led the difficult transition to democracy. The overriding priority of the conservative party leader (K. Karamanlis) was the accelerated accession of Greece to the EEC, a goal which was achieved in 1981. The restoration of democracy also brought the re-incorporation of the left within the political system after more than two decades. Within a few years those who had felt politically marginalised and economically excluded formed the constituency of PASOK, the socialist party, which was founded by A. Papandreou in 1974, and won the elections in 1981.

In spite of all the adversities, Greece, integrated within the western economy during the Cold War, participated in the rapid process of post-war economic development. Despite the lack of adequate and methodical planning and very high military expenditure, after the 1953 devaluation, which was coupled with a tight monetary policy, the country entered a twenty-year period of monetary stability and economic growth (Graph 1). Before 1974 the rate of GDP growth was one of the highest among capitalist countries, averaging 6.5% a year between 1950 and1973 (Close, 2002, p. 48).

The structure of the Greek economy changed greatly during the 1950s and 1960s. Agriculture declined from 29.1% to 15.5% of GDP, manufacturing increased from 11.5% to 21%, while construction increased from 5.5% to 9.7%. The service sector declined between 1951 and 1973 from 45.7% to 41.4% of GDP, but still remained quite large (Tsaliki, 1991, pp. 1-6).

Agricultural production increased in value only two-fold between 1950 and 1973, because even in 1973 farms were one quarter their average size in EEC, 80% were approximately 5 hectares or less. Most of the agricultural labour force consisted of the owners and their families, with only 10% consisting of wage-earners. Fragmentation of each farm in scattered pieces made the use of machinery, fertilisers and pesticides more laborious (Close, 2002, pp. 50-51). The structural problems of Greek agriculture (small and scattered lots, outdated farming methods, lack of equipment, system of agricultural credit, etc.) account for unemployment or underemployment in rural areas, where it was estimated that peasants were employed only during 65% of their working days (Kassimati, 1984, p. 29), and for the low income for farmers which led to their massive exodus. In 1957 the average agricultural income was 57% of the average income in cities and in 1963 it reached 48% (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 247).

With economic development oriented, for its greater part, towards maritime activities, trade and construction, the secondary sector of the economy, despite its growth from 1961 to 1971, could not absorb the populations which abandoned the rural areas (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 449). With a few exceptions, the actual industrial enterprises tended to be small, family based and concentrated in low technology sectors. Even in 1969 workshops with up to 10 people continued to employ over half the workforce. Construction was especially important as a motor of economic growth and helped reduce high unemployment rates. Employment in construction grew from 2.4% of the active population in 1951 to 9.7% in 1981, whereas, in the 1970s, another 8-10% of the labour force was employed in some occupation related to shipping (Antonopoulou, 1991, pp. 234-235; Bredima, 1991, p. 237). Tourism also offered a major outlet in the large service sector as the number of tourists had more than quadrupled by 1960 and quadrupled again during the following decade (Tsaliki, 1991, pp. 1-6; McNeill, 1978, p. 217). However, industrial development in its greater part along with a large part of the tertiary sector was concentrated in the Greater Athens region, leaving the rest of the country with few job opportunities. Thus, one eight to one ninth of the Greek population as a whole emigrated between 1951 and 1980, mainly to Australia, Canada and, from 1960, to Germany (Clogg, 1992, p. 149). Land workers and the owners of small and scattered pieces of farming land, who had failed to respond to the drive to integrate agricultural production into a market economy, represented about two thirds of those who migrated abroad.

As regards the demographic trends, during the period 1950-1973, life expectancy at birth in Greece rose sharply from 52.9 years in 1940 to 65 years in 1950 and to 71.8 years in 1970 (Close, 2002, p. 58). Moreover, fertility rates declined between 1950 and 1975 from 2.6 to 2.3 children per woman. The latter, combined with the high rates of emigration, contributed greatly to the ageing of the population. Between 1961 and 1981 the age group over 65 years doubled in absolute numbers.

Despite the fact that living standards rose steadily, reduction of poverty by economic growth was only gradual and the fruits of economic recovery were unevenly distributed. Real wages remained below the pre-1940 level until 1956. Concentration of income was high by the standards of advanced industrialised countries. Per capita income of the farming population was far below that of the urban workforce for much of this period, and the gap tended to widen. Indirect taxation tended to increase in relation to direct taxation, and even direct taxation hit harder small and middle-size incomes. Per capita income in the greater metropolitan region in the 1960s was over twice the one in the majority of other areas, and over 50% greater than in most affluent provinces (Petmesidou-Tsoulouvi, 1992, p. 142; Close, 2002, pp. 67-76). However, even if the fruits of economic growth were unevenly distributed, nonetheless living standards rose slowly but steadily throughout the 1950s and 1960s, per capita income almost doubled between 1955 and 1963, while prices rose by only 17 per cent (Clogg, 1992, p. 149).

The military junta (1967-1974), by applying/enforcing a policy of profligate borrowing and offering lavish inducements to foreign and domestic investors, was able to sustain, at least until 1973, the momentum of economic growth. However, unequal distribution of income widened. In the early 1970s the lowest income groups (40% of the total population) received, after taxation and social benefits, 9.5% of the national income, while the top income groups (17% of the total population) received 58% (Close, 2002, pp. 61, 78). However, inequalities were mitigated by opportunities for upward mobility and by traditionally egalitarian distribution of land and therefore of housing. Thus, in the 1980s 53% of households in large cities owned their homes, whereas in the whole country it was 75% (Tsoulouvis, 1987, pp. 719-720).

The growth of the post-war Greek state was not accompanied by the development of its welfare functions. During the 1950s and 1960s social services were stunted by lack of public funds and hampered by the geographical inaccessibility of a large part of the population. Governments spent little on health, welfare and housing. Expenditure on health and welfare reached 5.2% of GNP in 1960, compared with 13.5% in France. Medical practitioners of all

types were concentrated in the metropolis, leaving desperately few in rural areas, especially in remoter areas. In 1962 the social insurance system still had immense gaps, only 1/3 of the population over 10 adhered to an insurance scheme, and only 41% of the population over the age of 55 received a pension. Governments went some way towards reducing the gaps in the 1960s. In 1961 an insurance scheme which provided farmers with pensions and cover against old age, disability, sickness and crop failure was established. Other insurance schemes expanded to cover the remaining urban employees. In 1973, people on low incomes in towns became eligible for free medical cover (Petmesidou-Tsoulouvi, 1992, pp. 137, 141; Andricopoulos, 1976, pp. 18-48; Gough, 1996, pp. 6-7; Venieris, 1996, pp. 262-263). Government expenditure on education was 2.1% of GNP in mid-1960s. However, illiteracy rates fell steadily among those aged 10 and over from 32% in 1951 to 14% in 1971 and the proportion of the economically active population with only primary education fell from 63,7% in 1950 to 27,7% in 1973 (Close, 2002, p. 74).

According to Emke-Poulopoulou, *"unemployment, underemployment, limited job opportunities and low and unequally distributed incomes among sectors, regions and classes were the prevailing traits for most of the post-war era. These were the objective factors that drove the Greeks away from their country*" (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 147). Post-war emigration resulted effectively from extensive unemployment and underemployment rates and from the feeling of insecurity caused by the precariousness and instability of income, which in turn were due to the deficient exploitation of the national resources and unequal distribution of income and resources. Many rural areas suffered from the lack of opportunities for education, deficient transport and communication, inferior housing and healthcare and lack of opportunities for entertainment. In 1958 64% of households in Athens had electricity, in 1964 35% of urban households had running water, by contrast, only 13% of rural households[2] in 1961 had electricity, and only 11% had running water (Vernadakis, Mavris, 1991, pp. 127-131). As a result of internal and external migration, the population in the poorer rural areas declined severely, especially in the smaller islands and in mountainous areas (Wagstaff, 1982). The economically active population of Greece in these areas was highly reduced and the local economy collapsed causing more outmigration and desolation (Close, 2002, p. 63). In some areas people moved from the mountains down to the plains exploiting the opportunities for land cultivation given by those who, at an earlier stage, moved away from their villages to the cities or abroad.

For a large part of the population, bad living conditions and a virtually nonexistent welfare state combined with the gradual spread of consumerist values and the rising awareness of the differences in the standard of living set the conditions for a mass emigration abroad. A government survey of 1962 found that 83,5% of the rural emigrants declared that lack of employment opportunities was their reason for going. Political persecution was also an important motive. Later on, however, the most common motive was the desire to improve one's family status. A survey published in 1978 revealed that 3 times more people had left the country to improve their financial status than those forced by the absence of alternatives (Vernardakis, Mavris, 1991, p. 121; Tsoukalas, 1987, p. 123).

The prerequisites for an exodus from Greece had been around for a long time, but the job opportunities had to become concrete before the massive move abroad could begin. Active recruitment by Western European countries, the wages these countries offered, which were three times higher than those in Greece, the relative security of an employment contract and the various benefits and insurance schemes persuaded the bolder among the young people to leave the country temporarily. Papageorgiou, a strong proponent of the 'pull factor' explanation of migration, places his emphasis upon 'pull' factors like the differences in wages and employment opportunities in German industry and Greek agriculture. His results,

[2] Rural households were defined by the National Statistical Service of Greece (NSSG) as those living in communities with a population below 2000 people. Urban households were those living in cities over 10.000 inhabitants and semi-urban those established areas with a population in-between these levels.

based on the extensive use of statistical evidence, showed that the ratio of manufacturing wages and the levels of unemployment in Germany were the most important factors for the explanation of the emigration patterns (Papageorgiou, 1973; Stathakis, 1983, pp. 205-210).

Overall, Greek post-war emigration forms part of a broader population movement from the agricultural economies of the Mediterranean to transoceanic and European countries with a strong and expanding secondary sector. This migration was mostly dictated by the needs of the labour markets of Western countries and especially of those of Northwestern Europe. Migration to Western Europe was, more specifically, intended to be a temporary import of cheap labour and was subject, much more than migration to other continents or in other periods, to a policy of organised labour importation drafted by the governments and employers in the host countries' (Venturas, 2002).

2. Main emigration and internal migration trends and patterns

2.1 Main emigration trends

Although the absolute numbers of Greek emigrants have always been small, in relation to the size of the population, Greece is among the countries with a very high percentage of emigrants (Kotzamanis, 1987, pp. 92, 96, 110). From the last decades of the 19th century to 1924 the USA received an estimated 500,000 Greeks (Moskos, 1999, p. 105), a large part of whom originated in the Peloponnese. Thus emigration had been a well-known means of material advancement since the beginning of the 20th century in the some regions. Post-war emigration was just as massive as that of the beginning of the century, but only a small part was directed to the former main destinations.

For the 1946-1954 period, and for the period after 1977, there are no official data because the National Statistical Service of Greece did not register emigration. According to the official statistics of the National Statistical Service of Greece, the number of "permanent emigrants" for the period from 1955 to 1977 was 1,236,290 (Table 1). This figure is not entirely reliable because it was based on departures from Greece reported at the border, so that those who returned to the country and emigrated again after a while were counted several times. Moreover, it does not include illegal emigrants or those who left declaring that they intended to stay abroad for less than a year. According to expert estimates, however, the number of emigrants between 1946 and 1977 was approximately 1,300,000 (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 153). With the population of Greece ranging between 7,600,000 in 1951 and 9,200,000 in 1971, this mobility affected almost one in nine persons (Kotzamanis, 1987, pp. 92, 96, 153).

The USA, although a traditional destination country, received relatively few Greek migrants in the twenty years that followed the end of WWII due to USA restrictive immigration policies, implemented in the inter-war period but still in place up till 1965. From 1955 to 1976 some 140,000 emigrants settled in the USA, mostly under the family reunification decrees implemented by the new immigration legislation of 1965 which abolished the older quotas. However, during the 1950s many emigrants left Greece for other overseas destinations. After Greece became a founding member of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration - the first international organisation accorded with the task of regulating migration flows in the immediate post-World War II era - in 1951, a significant proportion of emigrants left for Australia, Canada, Argentina and Brazil with the assistance of the organisation mission in Greece: 57.600 emigrants were assisted by the ICEM during the 1950s (Agapitides, 1960, p. 6). Overall emigration to overseas countries continued during the 1960s. Thus in the period from 1955 to 1976, apart from the 140,000 migrants settling in the USA, some 175,000 settled in Australia and 86,000 in Canada (Papagalani-Kalafatis, 2004, p. 329; Chassiotis, 2000, p. 528; Petropoulos et al., 1992, p. 23).

If in 1955 66.4% of Greek emigrants headed to overseas countries, after the enactment of the German-Greek migration agreement in 1960, the main destination of emigrants changed and emigration rates augmented abruptly. In 1963, only three years after the signature of this agreement, 74.2% of emigrants were settling in European countries (Papagalani-Kalafatis, 2004, p. 329). Of the estimated 638.000 emigrants to European countries, the largest number - 83% - went to West Germany and the rest to Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Emigration to West Germany alone accounted for 53% of the total number of emigrants in the period 1960-1977 (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 48; Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 110).

Whereas overseas emigration was largely permanent, outflows directed to European destinations were characterised by pronounced mobility and high return rates. Germany, the main European receiving country, actively attempted to promote the temporary character of immigration and to dissuade permanent establishment. It is estimated that by 1964 some 30-40% of the emigrants had returned to Greece (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 48). In 1973 almost one in every five emigrants heading to Germany was migrating for the second or third time (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 130).

Post-war emigration was also characterised by a high number of returns. The returnees were only counted between 1968 and 1977 when 237,500 returned, half of whom came from Germany and 57.500 from overseas countries, mainly Australia. By 1980, the number of repatriates had reached 390.000 (Chassiotis, 1993, p. 153; Chassiotis, 2000, p. 535). Based on indirect calculations it can be claimed that net emigration in the 1951-1971 period reached 758.000 (Graph 2), while in the 1970s the number of returnees exceeded the number of emigrants (Graph 3) (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 97). After mid 1970s the National Statistical Service of Greece stopped registering emigration. The only relevant data available are the recent estimates of Greek emigrant stocks[3] abroad provided by the World Bank which on the basis of compiled data (World Bank Factbook on Migration and Remittances 2011) show that in 2009 the population of the country was estimated at 11.3 million with an emigrant stock of 1.209.813 (10.8%) of the total. The main destination countries were Germany (470.350), USA (151.239) and Australia (140.114).

From the 1990s onwards, however, Greece, a sending country throughout the 20th century, was transformed into a destination country with more than 10 per cent of its inhabitants being born abroad.

2.2 Main internal migration trends

During the civil war (1946-1949) some 700.000 people, 10% of the population, were forced to abandon their homes, thus marking the beginning of a flight to the cities characteristic of the post-war period (Clogg, 1992, pp. 145-168). The villagers' view that city life was preferable for its economic opportunities, material comforts and cultural attractions was quite widespread before 1940, but was further disseminated by the first contact of many villagers with urban centres in the 40s and by increased accessibility to the outside world due to road development and rising numbers of vehicles, telephones, radios, etc. thereafter (Close, 2002, p. 60). After 1949, political reasons drove the exodus too, as those defeated in the civil war sought refuge either abroad or in the anonymity of the large cities.

Moreover, the development of the secondary sector of the economy in the urban centres, during the 1950s and 1960s acted as a magnet for a large part of rural-agricultural labour force of prime age, which led to intense migratory waves. According to statistical data

[3] Country of birth and country of citizenship information are used to estimate migrant stocks and migrants are persons who move to a country other than that of their usual residence for a period of at least one year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes their new country of usual residence (UNPD).

regarding the internal migration flows for the periods 1956-60 and 1966-70, the number of those that had migrated within the country appears to have reached high levels. It has been estimated, that 8% of total population had migrated during the first period and 9% during the second period. The overwhelming majority of those came from rural-agricultural areas and settled in urban areas, mainly in the Athens area (Table 2). From 1970 onwards, internal migration towards urban centres has shown a significant slowdown.

More precisely, the total number of those who left the countryside in the 1950-1973 period was massive: 560,000 in the 1950s, 680,000 in the 1960s, 620,000 in the 1970s. Between 1951 and 1971 the proportions of the urban and rural populations were reversed, from 38% and 48% respectively, to 53% and 35%. Between 1951 and 1961 the population of Greater Athens increased by 35%, between 1961 and 1971 by 37% and during the following decade by a further 19% (Clogg, 1992, p. 145-168; Chassiotis, 2000, p. 530). Greece ceased to be largely rural and became urban, as the proportion of population living in towns rose between 1940 and 1991 from 33% to 59% (Table 3). As a result of this high internal migration, the number of migrants leaving the country after an interim stop in some Greek city rose with time (Close, 2002, p. 61).

Undoubtedly, the incentives of internal emigrants were first and foremost economic. They moved from the rural areas with a view to find some stable and decent income from wage employment in modern industrial activities. Yet, this massive exodus of labour force from rural areas, took place without any planning by the state and at a much faster pace than the capability rate of the, at the time, developing manufacturing sector to absorb such labour force. In this respect, external emigration helped to avoid a situation of disorder, by absorbing part of the potential unemployed workforce, although, overall, this rural exodus led the urban labour markets to a confusing and unbalanced situation. At the same time, emigration directly or indirectly contributed to increasing the income of those who had remained in rural areas and agriculture either because they could expand the size of their farm renting the land of those who had left or because of the remittances they received.

Rural areas are handled by certain writers in terms of a ‘closed’ social and economic system which operated reproducing itself in isolation from the rest of the society. According to this approach, post-war urbanisation gave the rural population an opportunity for an exodus from this isolation. In Greece a large number of rural communities have had a long history of external economic relations. As a result, rural exodus often constituted a response strategy of the family to these external economic pressures (Sutton, 1983).

Vergopoulos (1975), however, considered the rural exodus to be a consequence of the commercialisation of agricultural production and of the ‘unequal exchange’ which leads to a rural household budget deficit. For Kavouriaris (1974), increased productivity in agriculture, as a result of mechanisation and worsening terms of trade, intensified the proletarianisation of the peasantry and increased ‘latent’ labour. However, urban areas could not absorb this surplus population, which remained ‘floating’ furnishing external migration afterwards. Kavouriaris’s “push” approach did not, nevertheless, ignore ‘pull’ factors. In his work he discussed imitation, social values, the attraction of city life and the absorbing capacity of German labour market. He considered them though of secondary importance and complementary to ‘push’ factors. Papageorgiou indicates a stronger contribution of non-economic factors and mainly “the guidance and assistance of relatives and acquaintances” (Papageorgiou, 1973; Stathakis 1983, pp. 205-210).

According to the National Statistical Service of Greece the population of rural areas fell between 1961 and 1991, increased by 3% in the 1990s and stabilised as a percentage of total population, to just over 25%. The support of CAP and the arrival of international immigrants in the early 1990s have been crucial in this direction. However, more on this will be discussed later in this report.

2.3 The main characteristics of emigrants

The majority of Greeks who emigrated in the period 1955-1977 were young and of working age. Children between 0-14 years and adults over 45 constituted 58% of the entire population but accounted for a mere 18% of all emigrants. Some 58.6% of the emigrants from 1955 to 1976 were between 20 and 35, although they made up just one fourth of the total population. The average age group of emigrants to Western Europe was 25-32 years. However, the number of children of 0-14 years who migrated rose over time in the context of family reunification (Kotzamanis, 1987, pp. 126-134; Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 70).

Up until 1954 the Greek state prohibited emigration of single women under the age of 35 fearing a demographic decline. After the annulment of this measure, Australia and Canada initiated programs for the migration of women in order to balance the ratio between the two sexes in their inflows. Therefore, from 1959 to 1982 female participation in emigration to Australia was 52% (Trimi-Kyrou, 2004, p. 323; Petropoulos et al., 1992, p. 26). In intra-European migration too, although the proportion between the two sexes was 82 men in every 100 emigrants in 1961, the ratio went down to 55 per 100 emigrants in 1965-1970. Thus, during the 1960-1976 period, female participation in migration was around 42% (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 68; Chassiotis, 1993, p. 140). Apart from the rising numbers of women emigrating after WWII in comparison to previous migration waves, it is also worth noting that their role changed, as women now migrated in much higher rates in order to participate in the labour market. Because of this, in 1972, 85% of Greek migrant women in Germany were employed (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 80).

The statistical data about the occupations of the emigrants are particularly unreliable, as the emigrants declared the profession they believed would facilitate their acceptance in the host countries (Mavros, 1965, p. 14). Moreover, many farmers and land workers heading abroad would make an interim stop at some urban centre in Greece, where they would stay for a while and find various kinds of temporary employment. It is deemed certain, that two thirds of the emigrants worked in the primary sector; the stream of migration was fed predominantly by small-scale farmers and farm labourers. Some 20-25% of the migrants came from secondary production (mainly from construction or from small-scale manufacturing), and about 10% worked in the tertiary sector (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 152). All studies and indications point to a low level of education among the emigrants, the majority of whom had completed all or some grades of elementary school (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 107).

Minorities

There are no statistics or studies on minority population outflows. From the scarce information we have, we know that Greek state policies towards the emigration of ethnic or other minorities were inconsistent. At times the policies stimulated emigration amongst them, while at others they prohibited their outflow. The large part of the Slavophone minority concentrated in certain border districts of Macedonia, who suffered severe discriminations before WWII, was forced to move into neighbouring Yugoslavia after the Civil War. Amongst those who remained in Greece many had ties to overseas countries due to migration waves which had preceded the integration of these regions into the Greek state. Many of those however, profited from the family reunification programs the receiving countries (especially Australia and Canada) even though the Greek state at times prohibited the outflow of inhabitants living in regions near the borders.

In contrast, the Muslim minority in Thrace did not have overseas networks and thus could not take advantage of the fact that outmigration of its members was tolerated up to the end of the 1950s. In the 1960s outflows of Muslims were prohibited. Greek Muslims only managed to profit from emigration opportunities after 1970 when the Greek state decided to promote their departures (Kotzamanis, 1987, pp. 223, 306, 437). Many settled in Turkey while German estimates suggest that today there are between 12,000 and 25,000 Muslims

from Greece residing in Germany (Clogg, 2002, p. 84; International Assembly of Western Thrace Turks).

The main discrimination against members of minorities living abroad was the Article 19 of the Greek Citizenship Code. This Article allowed the government to revoke the citizenship of non-ethnic Greeks who left the country. According to official statistics 46.638 Muslims lost their Greek citizenship from 1955 to 1998, until the law was non-retroactively abolished in 1998 (Human Rights World Watch Report 1999 Greece).

Returnees

According to several researches, most returnees returned to Greece (Table 4) in order to cater for the needs of their families (children's education, health etc) (Bernard, Comitas, 1978; Unger, 1984; Unger, 1986; Dikaiou, 1994). However, those returning from Germany in 1966-1967 and after 1973 were equally pushed by the economic crisis and higher unemployment rates in the host country and attracted by higher growth rates in the homeland (Petropoulos et al., 1992, p. 39; Glytsos-Katseli, 2005, p. 340). The restoration of democracy in 1974 was also an influential factor for their decision to return to the homeland, whereas state policies promoting return migration in both receiving countries and Greece do not seem to have played an important role (Petropoulos et al., 1992, pp. 38, 52).

During the period 1971-1985, 32% of all those returning to Greece were children of migrants born abroad. Amongst the returnees born in Greece 42% had lived for more than 10 years abroad, 29% for 5-10 years, and 23% for 1-4 years. 60% belonged in the economically active age group, but with a higher percentage of older subgroups than the emigrants, 52% were men and 60% were married. The overall unemployment rate of returnees from Germany was 10.4%, as compared with 6.9% for non-migrants, and was especially high amongst those who settled in cities, women and the older age group (Petropoulos et al., 1992, pp. 138-143). According to a research undertaken in the province of Macedonia in 1976-1977, in a sample of 500 returnees from W. Germany, it was found that among them 33% declared to be housewives, 18% were working in the primary sector, 13.4% were unemployed, 10.2% had their own enterprise, 4.6% were construction workers and only very few were working as industrial workers (1.2%). Another finding of this research was that 46% of the sample had returned to the same occupation they had before emigrating. For example, of the 179 respondents (35.8% of the total sample) who were farmers before migrating, 72 returned to the occupation of a farmer (i.e. 40.2% of the total number of farmers before migrating), 36 were unemployed (20.1%), 23 had their own business (12.8%) and 22 were housewives (12.3%) (Kollarou, Moussourou, 1980, pp. 30-31, Kassimati, 1984, p. 42).

Even when migrants returned with sizeable amounts of capital, opportunities for investment, apart from housing, were minimal. Small businesses such as shops and cafeterias could not survive easily in rural areas. Their most pronounced impact was in agricultural mechanization, the housing boom, the proliferation of small service establishments, and the growth of tourist-related infrastructure. A survey among six nationalities (one of which were Greeks) of immigrants in West Germany in 1985 showed that 36% of their savings had been used to purchase houses, apartments, building sites or household equipment, compared with only 7.3% cent to purchase machinery, including agricultural machinery, or small businesses (Glytsos, 1995, p. 155).

The percentage of returnees from overseas countries was limited to 24%, but their characteristics differed in part from those returning from Germany. Returnees from overseas countries were more often born abroad, they chose to settle in cities and Greater Athens in higher percentages, had higher percentages of independent professions and employees and higher education levels (Petropoulos et al., 1992, pp. 64, 87-88, 97, 105, 141; Glytsos, Katseli, 2005, p. 343).

Return migration reduced the demographic impact of outflows with the exception of a few districts, which never regained their populations (Papadakis, Tsimbos, 1990, p. 83). Notably 37% of returnees in the 1968 to 1977 period established themselves in Macedonia and 23% in the Greater Athens region. 69.2% of the returnees established themselves in urban areas and amongst them 48% in Athens and Thessaloniki. Thus, a significant percentage of returnees settled in cities near the villages they had left when migrating abroad. These percentages reflect the relative importance of outflows from the respective regions but also familiarisation with the urban way of living abroad, the continuing underdevelopment of the countryside in Greece and the economic importance of Athens and Thessaloniki (Petropoulos et al., 1992, pp. 42, 56, 62, 64, 138).

3. Nation-wide labour market and social development trends under the influence of emigration

3.1. Economic and labour market developments

Demographic effects

Emigration and repatriation have affected in different ways the size, the rate of evolution, the structure by sex and age group, the mortality, the ageing and the traits of the Greek population. The effect of emigration, in particular, on the size and rate of evolution of the population has been negative, depriving the population of the most vigorous and dynamic age-groups (Table 5). That is, apart from the fact that there was a negative correlation between fertility and emigration, during the period of intense emigration, 1961-1971, an acceleration in the ageing rate of the Greek population was also noted (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, pp. 488). The ageing of the population was particularly marked in rural areas, due to high levels of migration both to urban centres and abroad by persons of child-bearing age. Decreasing mortality rates have also contributed to the ageing of the population.

Emigration and labour market developments

Two tendencies were noticed with regard to the production structure in the exodus period of 1955-77: first, a relative socio-economic ‘differentiation’ of agricultural producers and, secondly, an inter-regional ‘homogenisation’. The position of the family farm as a unit of production was strengthened and interesting differentiations appeared in terms of mechanisation, labour productivity and forms of production. This slow process of concentration of agricultural production had been on the way generating ‘hidden’ unemployment, which found an exodus to migration. By doing so, it favoured the development of ‘differentiated’ agricultural production expressed in the increased mechanisation and consequently in the increasing pressure on the family-unit of production. This process generated new ‘hidden’ unemployment and remained as a consistent pattern in the whole 1961-1971 period. Thus, in the 1960s the process of the industrialisation of the country was accompanied by serious structural changes in agriculture, which strengthened and boosted even further the serious migration tendencies which reduced the agricultural population by one third (Stathakis, 1983).

It is characteristic that during the peak migration period the economically active population in agriculture fell from 54% in 1961 to 41% in 1971 and 30% in 1981 (Moissidis 1986, p. 61). Almost 80% of migrants who originated in the rural areas belonged to the age group of 15-39 years highlighting the serious demographic and economic implications of the rural exodus for the sector and the countryside in general. Evident of that is the ageing of rural population in the decades that followed. Thus, in the emigration period the age group over 65 years nearly doubled its share in the rural population rising from 7% in 1951 to 13.2% in 1971. In many regions of the country (the islands, Epirus, Peloponnese and some parts of Macedonia) total population was reduced by one fifth and a few hundred villages

were being deserted. More specifically, the decline of the economically active population in some regions of northern Greece in the core period of emigration (1960-1974) took an unprecedented extension. Moissidis (1986, p. 62) reports that in this period in the regions of Ioannina, Kavala and Kilkis the decline was around 30%, in Serres 33%, Florina 36% and Drama 40%.

The size of emigration in the 1960s caused an anxiety about the depletion of the economically active age group, which had declined by 11% in that decade. Governments proved imcompetent to check the flow and pace of emigration or specify the population groups from which emigrants could be drawn. By the mid-1960s acute seasonal shortages of labour were apparent in some areas, and agricultural wages rose steeply. Scarcity of people with technological, technical and managerial skills, particularly in manufacturing industry, further worsened because of emigration. Thus, criticism against the emigration policy of Greece became intense in the mid-1960s when the Union of Greek Industrialists and other powerful economic bodies noted the lack of seasonal workers for harvesting agricultural products and the drain of significant numbers of skilled workers (Pepelassis, 1965, p. 40). One of the implications of rural exodus was the contraction of the size of cultivated land in certain dynamic crops. Cotton and tobacco fields were reduced in size between 1962 and 1975 from 278,000 hectares to 138,000 for the former and from 147,000 to 94,000 for the latter (NSSG 1976). On the other hand, the shortage of labour, negatively affected the rural sector and attempts were made for an organised modernisation of Greek agriculture related to the prospects of the introduction of new labour intensive crops (Moissidis, 1986, p. 63).

In a OECD study of the economic and social impact of intra-European movements of the labour force, which was carried out in 1970 in the cities of Kavala, Thessaloniki, Volos and Patras, it was found that the repercussions on the labour market were different between the rural and the urban areas. More specifically, emigration abroad restricted the size of internal migration flows to the urban centres thus negatively affecting the balance of supply and demand of labour in the latter (Pierobonis, 1971).

Emigration in combination with economic development in Greece in the late ‘60s resulted: 1) in the increase of labour wages (and the improvement of the economic situation of the employees) especially in the secondary sector and 2) in labour shortages in specific sectors of the economy, mainly unskilled workers in the sectors of agriculture, stock-breeding and industry. In particular, during the period 1963-1973, wages increased annually by 11.26%, which meant that, considering that the increase in the cost of living was 3.85%, the real increase in wages was 7.41% annually (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p.290).

As regards “brain drain”, a note should be made of the fact that it was not an issue at the time of mass emigration, just because in Greece there was limited demand for brain power. Research and technology were at an early stage of development and thus played only a minor role in the Greek economy. In contrast, the large numbers of students going abroad to study led indirectly, in the long run, to a restricted “brain drain” as many of them settled in the USA and other countries (Chassiotis, 1993, pp. 141-146).

As regards the skills development of migrants during the migratory period, it is generally accepted that the majority of returnees did not acquire any occupational skills or vocational training abroad. Only a few had learned a craft, for example, in the building trade. As a result, it is a fact that emigration did not substantially contribute to the acquisition of skills (Robolis, Xideas, 1996, p. 299). Even those who underwent some training abroad acquired skills, which were not suitable for low-level productive technology in Greece, and they were not willing to work in the industry (Fakiolas, 1984, p. 40; Unger, 1984). According to an OECD research quoted by Petropoulos et al. (1992, p. 20), returnees usually did not turn to occupations pertaining to their qualifications, instead they filed up in whatever means of earning a living by self-employment. It is claimed that they did not contribute substantially towards economic development, neither with the utilization of their savings for investment purposes nor with the utilization of their skills and experience. On the other hand, emigration

financed skill formation of dependants either in the host country or in Greece (Glytsos, Katseli, 2005, p. 376).

The low level of skills development of the migrants abroad and the weak absorption of returnees by the Greek labour market contributed to the high unemployment rate among returnees. After their return, the overwhelming majority of returnees were economically active. As a result they placed some pressure on the job market, especially in the migration gain regions such as the urban areas of Athens and Thessaloniki. In total, the unemployment rate of the returnees was 10.4 per cent (8.7 per cent for males and 13.9 per cent for females) compared with 6.9 per cent for non-migrants. Sixty per cent of the unemployed were in the 30-64 age bracket compared with 34 per cent for non-migrants (GSGA, 1990, p. 96; Glytsos, 1995, p.155).

Remittances

As regards remittances, evidence suggests that these have played a vital role in the economic growth of the country. From 1950 to 1964 remittances amounted to a total of 1,120 million dollars, while from 1965 to 1975 they reached a total amount of 4,660 million dollars. More specifically, in 1972 remittances represented 4.9% of the Gross National Income being at its highest, while in 1974 it represented 3.5% of the Gross National Income (or 3.4% of the GDP). These amounts do not take into account the savings of the emigrants that were not converted into drachmas as well as the amounts sent or brought into Greece unofficially (Kassimati, 1984, p. 36).

During the period from 1960 to 1972 one third of the balance of payments and almost one fifth of total export receipts were covered by remittances. After 1969 remittances from Germany comprised a significant percentage: in 1970 they amounted to 38.73% and in 1982 26.53% of the total. Remittances contributed in restructuring investments invigorating mainly the construction sector, and they influenced the level and structure of consumption. The individual pattern of consumption of remittance recipients improved very drastically, as did the local standard of living in areas of heavy migration, as the recipients shifted to more urbanized consumption habits (Glytsos, 1993, p. 154). Glytsos maintains that in the early 1970s, remittances alone contributed to a 3% increase in consumption and a 4% increase in production due to their investment in construction and locally produced consumer goods (Glytsos, 1993). They revitalized certain departments in countryside as a large part was invested there, mainly in the construction sector (Glytsos, 1993). However, remittances also contributed to a deterioration of trade competitiveness, through the expansion of imports, of liquidity and of the demand for non-tradables (Maroulis, 1986; Katseli, 2001). They also contributed in the preservation of marginal/traditional rural structures and became a regular income directed mainly towards consumption (Vergopoulos 1975).

According to estimates, at the beginning of the 1970s remittances in Greece generated a multiplier of 1.7 in gross output (one extra drachma of remittances generated 1.7 drachma of gross output), accounting for more than half of the GDP growth rate. Furthermore, high proportions of employment were supported by remittances: 10.3% in mining, 5.2% in manufacturing and 4.7% in construction. Moreover, the capital generated by remittances amounted to 8% of the installed capacity in manufacturing. Of particular interest is the finding that spending on consumption and investment produced similar multipliers of respectively 1.8 and 1.9. Moreover, expenditure on housing was found to be very productive, with a multiplier of 2 (OECD, 2006, p. 155).

On the whole, in the period 1955-1982 Greek remittances amounted to a total of 12.6 billion dollars. At the intense period of emigration remittances represented 4-5% of the annual Gross National Income and approximately 1/3 of the invisible receipts (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 483). Remittances promoted economic growth, employment, and

capital formation (Glytsos, 1993, p. 154). After 1982, remittances stopped playing such an important role in the Greek economy (Papagalani, Kalafatis, 2004, pp. 333-336).

Diaspora involvement

When the numbers of Greek workers in the European host countries increased and Greek state officials realised the relatively permanent nature of emigration, the post of Labour Attaché was created in certain Greek consulates, “Greek Houses” were opened in cities around Western Europe and there was an effort to set up schools or offer language courses for children of emigrants, with teachers hired for that purpose (Royal Decree 1964). The Greek state helped in ensuring the presence of priests and Orthodox churches in places were Greeks had settled, and at times financed and organised cultural events for them. Thus, with the encouragement of the European host countries promoting the temporary character of migration, Greek governments installed a network of organisations abroad to help maintain the ties between the homeland and expatriates in order, amongst other motives, to safeguard the inflow of remittances. Active policies were undertaken to attract remittances, including the relaxation of controls on foreign exchange transactions by emigrants and the offer of relatively attractive interest rates on long-term currency deposits (Glytsos, Katseli, 2005, p. 354).

Greek governments tried at different times to involve the Diaspora both in overseas countries and in Europe in economic development schemes and in plans of regional development by promoting their trips to the homeland in order to stimulate tourism and by offering incentives for the import of their capital. The state offered Greeks abroad tax reductions for the purchase of property with foreign currency brought into the country and tried to attract investments (act 1262/1982). Yet, the Greek state did not manage to gain the confidence of Greeks living abroad who invested mainly in private property and the tertiary sector, especially in tourism.

3.2 Social security

The post-World War II international context, the regime charted by international organisations, bilateral migration agreements and the welfare policy of Western European countries provided the sending states with some opportunities to negotiate issues concerning their expatriates but their dependant position gave them little scope for laying out consistent and effective policies.

The internationally widespread model of organised migration was adopted by Greece soon after WWII and, when the option arose, it was decided to promote intra-European migration. This policy was based on the common belief that intra-European emigration would be temporary, that the shorter distances made it easier to control those who settled in Europe and, initially, that the training of Greeks who would work temporarily in the industries of developed countries would ultimately benefit the Greek industry (Makris, 1961). As part of this policy, Greece signed migration agreements with several European countries: with France in 1954, Belgium in 1957, Germany in 1960 and the Netherlands in 1966 and later with Switzerland (1974) and Sweden (1978).

These labour migration agreements safeguarded, if only partially, the officially emigrating Greek workers and their families, securing for them (at least in theory) the same conditions of employment and largely the same rights as for the native workers. Officially, they guaranteed work and accommodation for a minimum of one year, healthcare and other social benefits. The agreements specified the obligations of the contracting governments and the immigrants and regulated various practical issues (Venturas, 1999, p. 90). Making use of the relatively favourable international political and economic situation and the system of bilateral agreements, Greek governments tried to secure some guarantees regarding the living and working conditions of emigrants in the host countries.

In most cases Greece tried, if belatedly, to improve on the migration agreements in terms of the Greek immigrants' social security rights in European countries by signing bilateral social security agreements with various host countries. Greece signed social security bilateral agreements with: France in 1958 (Decree of Law 3869/1958), Belgium in 1958 (Decree of Law 3870/1958) and 1969, Germany in 1962 (Decree of Law 4259/1962), the Netherlands in 1969, Switzerland in 1974 and Sweden in 1978. These social security bilateral agreements aimed at ensuring the social security and pension rights of the Greek migrants and the transfer of those rights upon their return to Greece. Among the main provisions included, were healthcare coverage (including maternity), compensation for work accidents and work illness, pension entitlements, family benefits and in some cases unemployment benefits (ex. Greek-German bilateral agreement). Yet, there were many difficulties in the implementation of the provisions of these bilateral agreements with regard to the returnees, mainly due to the limited capacity and the bureaucratic procedures of the Greek Social Insurance Foundation.

After the accession of Greece to the EEC in 1981, Greek emigrants and returnees from countries of the EEC had their social security and pension benefits secured by the relevant regulations of the EEC (408/71 and 574/72), which replaced all bilateral agreements with EEC countries leading to an overall improvement of the position of Greek migrants. Nevertheless, certain provisions in favour of Greek returnees included in some of the bilateral agreements were kept applicable by the Greek side, nearby the EEC coordination rules. One such example can be singled out, namely the unemployment benefit. According to the bilateral agreement signed in 31st of May 1961 between Greece and Germany, emigrant workers that remained unemployed upon their return to Greece were entitled to unemployment compensation for up to six months (for 3 years of employment abroad) and up to three months (for less than 3 years but more than 26 weeks of employment abroad). Germany contributed to the unemployment compensation by 85% until 1980. From 1981 onwards, when Greece entered the EEC, this provision came to an end and it was replaced by the relevant EEC regulations, that is, 3 months unemployment compensation. Yet, the Greek State preserved the right of the returnees, until May 2010, to choose between the EEC unemployment compensation and the unemployment benefit foreseen in the bilateral agreement, but paid 100% by the Greek state, i.e. without the German contribution, since this agreement was not in force any more.

However, certain arrangements that had aimed at helping returnees, actually harmed them. For example, in Germany, there was a provision that allowed Greek migrants to redeem their social security contributions for the years that they had worked there. As a result, many migrants rushed to take back their social security contributions, thus giving up their social security rights upon their return to Greece (Glytsos, 1995).

The Greek governments also took initiatives in the 1980s to assure the transfer of social security and pension rights of returnees from some non EEC and overseas countries through the signing of social security bilateral agreements (Sakellari, 1985). By signing these agreements Greek governments assured the transfer of social security and pension rights of returnees from one country to the other. In most of these agreements, it was provided that the years that the returnee had worked in both countries were to be taken into account when examining his/her entitlement to pension.

Furthermore, for those who were not covered by EEC regulations or bilateral agreements, or for those that did not qualify for a pension in Greece, specific provisions gave Greek returnees the option of enrolling into a special voluntary scheme (social insurance and medical care coverage for them and their families) of the Greek Social Insurance Foundation. This was provided to the Greek returnees who had worked abroad, if they paid employee and employer contributions upon their return to Greece (art. 5, LD 57/1973, art. 1, Act 1296/1982, Act 1070/1980, Act 1469/1984). Medical care was also provided to pensioners who returned to Greece after working abroad (and who had no social security rights in Greece before emigrating) if they paid 8% of their monthly amount of pension (Sakellari,

1985). However, there is no available data as to the number of persons who benefited from these special provisions.

Finally, there were also a few other arrangements that were found in general bilateral agreements ratified by Law, for example the social security arrangements found in article 11 of Law No. 2893/1954 between Greece and the USA (Patras, 1972, p. 358). This Law covered pensions, unemployment benefits, compensation for accidents at work etc for the Greek migrants in the USA and the USA citizens in Greece. However, there is no available information as to the number of migrants/returnees covered by these bilateral agreements.

3.3 Poverty and Social Exclusion

It is commonly acknowledged that there are no available data or research outcomes as regards income distribution and its relation to emigration. Nevertheless, poverty during the period 1960-70 was less acute and widespread due to mass emigration and the economic growth of the period after the WW II. As already mentioned, emigration is considered to have raised the income of the farmers who had remained in agriculture, and of those who moved from barren mountainous regions to cultivate more fertile areas abandoned by the emigrants.

A study carried out by Karagiorgas for the National Centre for Social Research of Greece in 1990 examined the three Household Expenditure surveys (1957/8, 1974 and 1982), in order to establish the changing characteristics of poverty and deprivation in these periods. Its main conclusions can be summed up as follows (Karantinos, Koniordos and Tinios, 1990, pp. 20-21):

- Overall inequality was reduced between 1974 and 1981/82 both for urban and rural areas at approximately the same rate. This was due to a redistribution of consumption from the top 10% of the income quintiles towards the bottom ones. Emigration, remittances and the improved performance of the economy contributed to the reduction of inequalities in both rural and urban areas.
- In rural areas inequality was reduced for the entire period (1957-1982). In urban areas, on the contrary, inequality increased between 1957/8 and 1974 and was reduced thereafter. However, the reduction was not sufficient to bring it back to the levels of 1957.
- Total consumption increased considerably over the whole period (implying reductions in absolute poverty), as the entire distribution shifted upward. The increases were greater in the period up to 1974, seemingly a consequence of the impact of remittances.
- A key characteristic of the data is the persistent dualism in consumption standards between urban and rural households. Average consumption per head was some 40% higher in urban areas.
- Over the period rates of growth of consumption were greater for poor households. Despite this though, the “consumption gap” between them and the rich widened in absolute (though not in percentage) terms.
- Over the period the characteristics of the poor change. In particular, greater percentage of total poverty is accounted for by the urban areas, secondary and tertiary occupations as well as by small households.

As regards the role of remittances on alleviating poverty and social exclusion, it seems that especially in the first waves of migration in the post war period, remittances were used exclusively for the coverage of the basic needs of the family left behind, for example for the provision of care to the elderly parents, for the provision of education to their children etc. (Moussourou, 1991, pp. 109). In short, migration in the ‘50s and ‘60s contributed immensely to the survival of the families left behind. Several studies (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986; Kollarou, Moussourou, 1978 etc) pointed out improved conditions in housing, cleanliness,

feeding and dressing of the migrants' families as well as the purchase of property, houses, consumer durables by emigrants and their families. Most emigrants from rural areas maintained strong bonds with their families in the homeland and tried to ensure their social protection and support. These were practices underpinned by a moral code which was considered to be the main characteristic of the traditional rural society and which has survived until recently.

4. Labour market and social development trends in net migration loss/gain regions

4.1 Identification of net loss/gain regions

The mechanisms driving the outflow of population did not provoke equivalent emigration rates all over the country. In the 1955 to 1977 period 45% of outflows were from Macedonia (with the districts of Drama and Florina at the top), Thrace and Epirus (Papagalani-Kalafatis, 204, p. 332). Twelve districts had higher than average emigration rates (Florina, Kastoria, Laconia, Arcadia, Corinthia, Messinia, Leucada, Samos, Chios, Lesvos and the region of Greater Athens) (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 225). Furthermore, the departments with outflows to overseas countries (mainly the Southern regions, the islands, Florina and Kastoria, regions which had high emigration rates during the 1890-1924 period and well-established migration networks) and those which fed emigration to European countries were not the same (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 397) (Map 1). After 1960, when the European labour markets opened up and the number of departures tripled, there was a significant change in the geographical provenance of migrants as most now departed from the North, whereas former overseas emigration came mainly from the southern regions of Greece. Macedonia contributed 36% of all migrants and 44% of those who went to European countries; the Peloponnese, by contrast, contributed 7.5% of all migrants and just 3.5% to European migration (Kassimati, 1984, p. 20) (Graph 2).

Post-war emigrants to Western Europe came mainly from the northern regions of Greece which were annexed and integrated into the country some 80 years after the establishment of the Greek state, in the second decade of the 20th century. It was in some departments of these northern regions that most of the ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities living in Greece were established. These regions (mainly Macedonia and Thrace) had received extremely large numbers of refugees after 1922 when the Greek army fighting against the Turks in Asia Minor was defeated and the subsequent Lausanne Treaty imposed a compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. These regions had also been particularly affected by the agrarian reform of the interwar years, which aimed mainly at assisting the settlement of the refugees increasing thus the numbers of rural farming population. These extensively rural regions became the main emigration regions in the post-war period. Therefore, it is not surprising that the European countries recruited a large proportion of their Greek labour force amongst the descendants of the Asia Minor refugees who had settled in the rural regions of Macedonia and Thrace during the inter-war period.

Moreover, the northern regions had suffered hardships during World War II and more so than any other part of the country during the civil war (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 152). Finally, due to both the distance and the poor quality of transport, the northern part of the country had a deficient access to the labour market of Greater Athens where most of the jobs in the secondary and tertiary sector were to be found (Kotzamanis, 1987, p. 400).

The cause of migration from rural to urban areas, as well as abroad, was due to the lack of employment opportunities in, or near, the rural areas. Available data reveal that there were whole regions suffering continuous loss of population – the end destination of which were the growing urban centres of Athens and Thessaloniki and the receiving countries in Europe and elsewhere. In that sense, migration gain regions became rather the two main

urban poles of the country often operating as buffer zones before the final movement of rural population abroad.

According to the Regional Development Plan, 1981-1985, less developed (or lagged) regions are narrowly defined to be those in which regional GDP per capita is considerably lower compared to the national GDP per capita. Thus, for instance, in the seventies Thrace, Eastern Macedonia, Epirus and the islands of the eastern Aegean had between 50,000 and 70,000 drachmas GDP per capita when the national average was 92,000 drachmas and the eastern Sterea region had 100,000 drachmas GDP per capita. Depopulation was an important feature of these less developed regions. Just under one half of the farms in these regions were small-scale (23% were up to 1 hectare and 21% were between 1 to 2 hectares). In somewhat over one-third of all small-scale holdings household members were held outside work in addition to working on their own farms. The scale of operation was generally too small to warrant employment of salary or wage workers (Petras McLean, Kousis, 1988).

4.2 Labour market development in net migration loss/gain regions

This part does not explore labour market developments in net migration loss/gain regions because there is no relevant data available. Instead it concentrates on the post-emigration developments in the rural regions of the country, which suffered mostly (compared to the urban regions) the implications of mass emigration.

The post-emigration developments in rural regions

After 1970, rural exodus declined importantly as a result of the decline of employment opportunities offered especially abroad. In periods of economic development like the one between 1950-70 agricultural policy involved the boosting of rural exodus whereas in the stagnation period following 1970 it provided the incentives for restraining marginal producers in the rural areas. An incentives policy for industrial decentralisation in this second phase along with the development of tourism and construction in rural areas gave the opportunity to large numbers of under-employed farmers and rural population with no other alternative employment possibilities in either the internal or the external labour markets to remain in the region combining very often more than one job (Stathakis, 1983).

Spatial decentralization was favoured by: 1) Wage differentiation between the metropolitan centres and the less developed rural regions with abundant cheap labour force, 2) The diseconomies of agglomeration identified with high costs of land and space in urban centres, 3) The easy access to natural resources, 4) The regional policy incentives for the establishment and movement of industrial activity outside the large urban cities of Athens and Thessaloniki introduced in early 1960s (Stathakis, 1983, pp. 280-283).

In the period 1961-1991, tourism developed in various rural regions of Greece which had the comparative advantage of the combination of coastal zones and rural environment. Thus, in a number of rural island regions (Crete, Lesvos, Chios, Ionian Islands etc.) we experience the development of tourism without a clear competition or decline of agricultural activity. The two sectors seem to complement each other in the early phase of tourist development and in a seasonal continuation of their activities. These regions improve both their economic and demographic indicators. According to the NSSG the population of rural areas fell between 1961 and 1991 but increased by 3% in the 1990s stabilising the population of rural areas, as a percentage of total population, at just over 25%. With regard to employment, despite the fact that we cannot be as precise as we would like (because of the nature of tourist employment and its seasonality), it is evident that in 1991 employment in tourism in some regions had reached percentages over 10% of the economically active with Dodecanese reaching 19.08%, Corfu 15.78%, Lasithi in Crete 10.8% and Rethymno in Crete 10.58% (Avgerinou-Kolonia, 2000). On the other hand part-time complementary unregistered employment of rural population was increasing giving rural regions a ‘multifunctional’ character.

In the 1990s underemployment (below 140 labour days on the farm) concerned over two thirds of the farm family population. Under-employment is particularly evident in the plains and coastal areas, where modernisation (mechanisation, agricultural investments etc.) had played a significant role in reducing labour on the family farm and opportunities for off-farm employment were definitely higher making pluriactivity a more widespread phenomenon. Growing over the past three decades, pluriactivity is mainly confined to farms under 5 ha. It has reached 30% of farm heads, while for nearly 20% of them off-farm employment is their main employment. According to OECD, nearly 40% of farm household income in Greece is today off-farm income while 35% of European farmers had another gainful activity other than agriculture in 2007 (ECORYS, 2010).

Over the past three decades the demographic factors connected with the massive rural exodus of the 1960s as well as the restructuring of agriculture and the expansion of other, non-agricultural activities have caused seasonal (mainly) labour shortages in agriculture and tourism that have not been filled by the indigenous population in rural Greece (Kasimis, Papadopoulos, 2001). In a study carried out by Ananikas and Daoutopoulos (Kathimerini, 1990) in the late 1980s, it was found that only 11% of young people in rural areas declared they wished to work and stay in rural areas. The higher their education the more they wished to leave. Additionally, the research showed that the size of their family farm did not affect their desire to leave.

Labour deficiencies have undoubtedly had substantial negative implications on the cost of production and the competitiveness of Greek agriculture. In such an environment, migrants arrived in Greece en masse after the collapse of the regimes of Eastern European countries in 1989. Easily crossed borders with Balkan neighbours and extensive coastlines quickly turned the country into a receiver of migrants. As a result, in the period 1991-2001 it received the highest percentage of migrants in relation to the size of its labour force. Seen in retrospect, the arrival of these migrants has offered solutions to these pressing problems and has at the same time generated new demands for labour and new jobs in agriculture and the countryside in general (Kasimis, Papadopoulos, 2005).

Despite these developments, the demographic picture continues to remain grim. Across the EU25 on average almost 17% of the population of Predominately Rural (PR) regions is over retirement age, compared with a little over 16% in the Significantly Rural (SR) regions and under 16% in the Predominately Urbanised (PU) regions[4]. In the PR regions of Greece the proportion of retired people is over 20% (SAC, 2006). A large portion of total national population (nearly 1/3 of it) lives in rural areas (Table 4). In 2001 the economically active population of rural regions was less than 1.2 million people (43.7% of total rural population). The activity rates for urban areas and the country as a whole were 47.9% and 46.8% respectively.

Rural population and women, in particular, are confronted both with higher unemployment and with long-term unemployment rates, in comparison to people living in urban areas and in the country as a whole. Unemployment rates of rural population were in 2004 higher for predominantly and significantly rural areas (11.2% and 11.5%) compared to people living in predominantly urban regions (9.1%) and the country (10.5%). Similarly, a long-term unemployment rate for predominantly rural areas (54.1%) was higher than for the predominantly urban (50.4%) and the country (52.2%) (European Commission, 2008).

Despite the importance of the primary sector for the Greek economy its role tends to be a diminishing one, while its main characteristics remain more or less unchanged: predominance of self-employment over paid employment, low productivity, small size of agricultural holdings (4.3 hectares), land fragmentation, vulnerable market structures, low skill levels and ageing of population - 57% of owners are over 55 and farm heads over the

[4] Predominantly Rural Regions are those with above 50% population in rural communities; Significantly Rural Regions are those with 15-49% population in rural communities and Predominantly Urbanised regions are those with less than 15% population in rural communities.

age of 65 have increased to over 1/3 of the total, while the percentage of farm heads under the age of 35 was reduced to nearly 5% of the total (European Commission, 2008).

During the last years one may observe a number of trends revealing a process of de-agriculturalisation of the Greek countryside: the growth and diffusion of pluriactivity to other than the head family members, the increase in the flexibility of labour and especially of female labour within the family farm, the increasing inter-relationship between urban and rural labour markets and the changing gender roles within the family farm are only an indication of these tendencies. These tendencies are significantly reinforced by the extensive use of migrant labour in the 1990s. Migrant labour contributed positively in overcoming a 'disguised' crisis in Greek agriculture by reducing the labour costs of production and satisfying labour needs in peak seasons. Additionally, it gave the family the opportunity to 'redesign' its allocation of family labour on and off the farm in the context of a strategy for either the survival or the expansion of the farm unit. This sharpened the survival strategies of the farm families and contributed to a (post-) modern transformation of Greek countryside.

4.3. Poverty and social exclusion in net migration loss/gain regions[5]

Poverty and social exclusion in rural areas, in the past thirty years, have not attracted the attention of either research or policy makers and there are no available data as regards poverty and social exclusion at the regional level. Even today, the National Statistical Service of Greece (NSSG) does not distinguish between rural and urban poverty. Neither the National Strategy Reports on Social Protection and Social Inclusion nor the Operational Programme: Rural Development Program of Greece 2007-2013 (Ministry of Rural Development and Foods, 2007) present any analysis regarding either the extent of poverty and social exclusion in rural areas or the various population groups of rural areas facing high rates of poverty and social exclusion.

Relevant studies and Eurostat data show that throughout the last 30 years both the at-risk of-poverty rates in the country and some high poverty-risk population groups remained unchanged. Moreover, various studies on poverty and social exclusion in Greece have concluded that poverty has remained higher in rural areas than in urban areas during the last 30 years, while it is unequally distributed geographically.

Tsakloglou and Panopoulou (1998), in their study for the year 1988, used poverty line at 60% of median equivalised disposable income and discovered that the poverty rate for rural areas was 27.4% while it was 24.2% for the country as a whole. The rural poor accounted then for 47.2% of the total number of poor households. The share of poverty in rural areas decreased to 46.1% in 1993/94 (Tsakloglou 2001). Psaltopoulos (no date) defined, for 1999, poverty line as 60% of median equivalised consumption expenditure and found that the at-risk-of- poverty rate for rural households was 32.3% against 13.2% for non-rural households. Generally speaking, households living in rural areas are over-represented among the poor (Tsakloglou 2001).

As to the contribution of remittances in reducing poverty, it has been observed that the major part of the remittances from emigrants went to the regions with the lowest income (mostly rural) and, as a result, the multiplier effects of these remittances contributed towards lessening the regional per capita income disparities (Papageorgiou, 1973, p. 269). It should be pointed out, however, that both net migration loss and migration gain regions exhibited an improvement in the living conditions of the households during the period under investigation.

As regards infrastructure, lagged regions (see 4.1) were characterized by low economic, social and cultural infrastructure and opportunities for personal achievement. For example, only about 8% of the national expenditure on public works was directed to Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace, rural regions with high rates of emigration and repatriation.

[5] The material of this section is drawn from the recent work of N. Bouzas (European Commission 2008)

These regions were also undersupplied with hospitals, hospital beds and doctors. Much of the road network was of poor quality and during severe weather periods some rural roads were not accessible (Petras McLean, Kousis 1988, p. 592).

According to the five year Economic and Social Development Plan 1983-87, prepared by the Centre of Planning and Economic Research, five basic regional problems were identified: 1) regional economic inequalities, 2) excessive population concentration in Athens and to a smaller extent Thessaloniki, 3) unequal distribution of infrastructure and social facilities, 4) unbalanced economic structure within many regions and 5) unbalanced network of population settlements. Thus, improvement of the transport network to serve regional development, to reduce geographic inequalities in health care and unequal distribution of social welfare among regions, and to improve regional water supplies and sewage systems, were among the targets for needed improvement (Petras McLean, Kousis, 1988, p. 592).

Today, the Greek welfare system still offers limited protection against poverty and social exclusion. Empirical studies on certain population groups of rural areas reveal that women (Tsakloglou, Papadopoulos, 2002), elderly (Moissidis, Antonopoulou, Dycken, 2002) and immigrants (Kasimis 2008) are confronted with high risk of social exclusion. Despite the progress achieved over the past twenty years households in rural areas enjoy a lower standard of living in comparison to the rest of the households throughout the country (Mitrakos, Sarris, 2003). The provision of health care services, education/ training facilities, services to dependent members of households (children, elderly, ill persons, etc) is not as satisfactory as in the urban areas. There is a lack of adequate (in quantitative and qualitative terms) health infrastructure at a regional level, while the situation in the provision of long term care could be characterized as more acute.

As the National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013 states "*the health system in Greece has relatively adequate infrastructure and specialized medical staff, but it is hospital-centred, with weaknesses in the rational distribution of infrastructure, buildings and staff, and in its efficient and effective operation. …Greek citizens are unhappy especially with regard to the regional dimensions of services offered"* (Ministry of Economy and Finance, 2006, p. 27). In other words, the provision of health and long term care services in rural areas and especially in remote parts of them, needs to be expanded in order to upgrade the health status of the people in rural areas and to ameliorate the individual health cost which now "*is higher for the residents of rural areas in comparison to the residents of urban areas due to the inexistence of economic scales, high cost of transportation and high cost of staff training*" (Psaltopoulos (no date), p.14).

In those remote regions (which were particularly hit by emigration in the 1950s and 1960s) arriving immigrants from third countries from 1980 onwards, seem to have undertaken a very important role; that of both a worker and a caretaker. More particularly, on the one hand they work in the improvement and revival of the traditional housing environment, thus contributing to the conservation of the rural landscape, and on the other hand, they provide aged households with the labour necessary to preserve the traditional way of living they would have otherwise, most likely, lost. In the absence of a satisfactory social welfare system in these areas, migrants undertook the support role hitherto played by family members.

The rural population has a lower education level compared to that of the country and urban areas. A percentage of 69.5% have received elementary education, 14.3% have not completed elementary school or are illiterate, 14% have received secondary education and only 1.2% hold a university degree. Primary and secondary schools are not widely provided in rural areas because of the limited numbers of children. Children are transported to the nearest operating schools by a state financed system of either buses or taxis. The young people of rural areas, however, quit more often the nine years compulsory education in comparison to young people in other areas (Kanellopoulos, Mavromatas, Mitrakos, 2003).

5. The impact of migration on vulnerable groups

5.1 Women

The impact of emigration on women left behind in Greece has not been thoroughly studied. Moreover, aggregate data or estimations on this matter are hardly available. Nevertheless, from a research survey conducted with 25 women left behind, it was found that 78% of them presented psychopathological problems (Lyketsos, 1977). However, these findings have been questioned by researchers and cannot be considered representative for the total population of women left behind, since the sample was too small.

As regards emigrant women, it seems that those who returned to their place of origin in agricultural or semi-agricultural areas, from which they had emigrated, were in a better position as regards reintegration. According to Panayotakopoulou (1981), they would usually invest the savings they had managed to accumulate with their husbands in purchasing cultivatable land, in mechanical cultivation, in the purchase of tractors, agricultural vans, sowing machinery, etc., and in building modern one-storey houses, the ground-floors of which are usually turned into business premises - coffee-shop, taverna, grill-room – worked by the couple, together or in shifts, to earn additional income. This category of female migrants encountered fewer difficulties, both in the family as well as in the social field. Reunion with their children materialised in places where the latter had emotional and social links with their grand-parents, relatives, friends, school, natural surroundings, etc. But also in cases where children repatriated together with their parents, and were of school-age, they did not find it difficult to adapt to the social environment, because it was not unknown to them.

On the contrary, the female migrants who, after repatriation, followed a second internal migration with their families to urban or semi-urban areas, felt lonely in unfamiliar surroundings. Characteristically many claimed: **"***We feel strangers among strangers, as we did when we first went to Germany, with the exception that here they speak our language"*. According to an empirical research of 1972, most Greek emigrant women, who had worked in the host country, when they returned in Greece wanted to return to their prior situation of being housewives (Patiniotis, 1990, p. 226) as they considered wages and allowances low compared to those offered in the host countries. Furthermore, female migrants-returnees faced difficulties in obtaining a job mainly due to the lack of relevant experience and to the age of their return (40-45) which was considered non-productive. According to Panayotakopoulou (1981, pp. 219-224), difficulties for their occupational reintegration and their general insertion into economic life were much greater than those faced by men, and they often created conflicts between the couple when the decision to repatriate had not been unanimous. In the reunion with their children they faced additional psychological problems as mutual adaptation did not take place in the familiar village environment. It is claimed that the length of their stay in the host country influenced the way they confronted their problems in Greece. The lesser the time they had spent abroad, the better were the chances for re-adaptation and reintegration. Another research study revealed that returnee Greek mothers showed more "anxiety revealing" attitudes towards their children than mothers still living in the host country (Dikaiou, Haritos-Fatouros, Sakka, 1987).

Migrant women faced another serious problem on their return because many of them did not have any social security coverage upon repatriation. Although bilateral agreements with various host countries had been signed (see also chapter 3.2), in practice many of the women returnees, especially those who had worked for a short period of time abroad and were unable to find employment in Greece upon repatriation, were not entitled to a pension or insurance coverage because, as a rule, they had redeemed their insurance rights in the host country, either in order to meet financial commitments, or because they were unaware of their option to take up a voluntary insurance scheme in Greece. After the admission of

Greece in the European Community (1981), coverage was transferable among member countries of the European Community according to the EEC regulations.

5.2 Children

The number of children who were left behind, growing up as quasi-orphans is not available, but there were indications that it was substantial, especially in Northern Greece (Macedonia and Thrace). The only data available was from emigrants heading to Germany. According to these data, 17% of the Greek migrant families with 2 children had left one child behind and 36% of the Greek migrant families with 3 children had left one or two of them in Greece. In 1980, of the total number of children of Greek migrants in Germany 33.3% was living in Greece (GSGA, 1990, pp. 267-284). In another sample survey conducted in 1975 with children in a village near Kavala (northern Greece), it was found that 25% of the primary school students and 35% of the high school students were separated from their parents due to emigration. Of those children, 8% had been separated for 1-2 years, 52% for 2-10 years, while another 40% for over 10 years (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 409).

Although information on children left behind is limited, there are indications that they were facing practical problems (for example the inability or ineffectiveness of grand parents to take care of them), but also psychological problems (such as neuroses, attitude and health problems due to the feeling of insecurity created by the absence of their mother). Children were characterised by shyness, timidity, inability to form close personal relationships and lack of self-confidence. Research findings, based on a sample survey, showed that some children expressed anger or felt shame because their parents had left them, whereas others believed that their parents were suffering privations in a foreign land for them to have a better future. On the other hand, it was found that top priority spending of remittances was given by the emigrants for the education of their children, where expenditure figures of the recipients more than doubled (Glytsos, 1993). Although hard evidence is not available, it seems that remittances have played an important role to raising the school enrolment of the children left behind, and thus may have contributed to a higher level of education amongst them (Kollarou, Moussourou, 1978). A note should be made of the fact that this has not been the result of any institutional factors, but rather of the strong desire of the parents to offer better opportunities to their children.

As regards the children that returned, according to the results of the Micro census 1985-86, the number of children aged 0-14, that came to Greece with their returnee parents during the period 1971- 1986 amounted to 81,031 or to 12.9% of the total population of Greek returnees.

From a literature review one may confirm that the contact with the country of origin complicated the life of migrant children even further, especially for those children who did not have the opportunity to attend Greek education classes in the host countries (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986). The problems that they faced at home, together with an inferiority complex created by their perception of prejudices against foreigners, had an immediate effect on migrant children's school life. As a result, the reintegration of the children of returnees into the Greek educational system was difficult. The children had to face problems of language and adaptation. Indeed, disconfirmed expectations about the children's education and employment prospects posed additional difficulties for the families of the returnees.. In Greece, education has been traditionally regarded as an important medium of social mobility (Dikaiou, 1994, p. 36). Nearly two thirds of the couples of returnees with school-age children expressed a desire for their children not only to finish secondary school, but also to follow university studies and/or receive specialized training. Parents expected the State to introduce special measures to help their children integrate into the Greek educational system. But in the 80s, the situation did not meet the requirements of the returnees. Their children, especially those in rural areas, were left almost alone to face education or social difficulties (Dikaiou, 1994, p. 37). Furthermore, training programmes

especially designed for unemployed migrant youth were not always successful. According to Dikaiou, unpublished data by the Greek Ministry of Labour (no date available) show that 50 per cent of returning youth failed to pass training programmes because of language difficulties or lack of interest. Some researchers pointed to the danger for the children of returnees to become an "underclass" of unskilled workers living in the same underprivileged conditions as their parents did before migration (Dikaiou, 1994, p. 37).

5.3 The Elderly

Micro census data of 1985-86 revealed that in the period 1971- 1986 Greek returnees over 65 years old amounted to 28,503 people, which was 4.5% of the total number of the returnees (Petropoulos et al., 1992, p. 195).

Data from the National Statistical Service for the period 1968-1976 reveal that yearly approximately 2.800 elderly on average returned to Greece. Of those returnees 60% were women migrants (United Nations, 1982, p. 36)

In the general population the percentage of the people over 65 years old increased from 6.8% of the total population in 1951 to 13.2% of the total population in 1981. In particular, the ageing indicator (i.e. the relation of the population 65 years old and over to the population 0-14 years old) showed an increase from 23.4% (in 1951) to 58.8% (in 1981) (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 353).

From a survey of the World Health Organization (Heikkinen et al, 1983) which was conducted on elderly people in eleven countries, among which the rural areas of Greece with net migration loss, it was found that 25% aged 60-64 and 35% aged 85-89 were living together with four or more people. What is more important is that 26% of the total number of old–age people was living with their grandchildren. The social and family networks seem to have played a rather important role in Greece due to the inadequacy of other home and residential services. Data suggest that the elderly were mostly taken care of by relatives, friends and neighbours. According to empirical data, 53% of older people frequently received meals from others, while a 6% to 20% had their clothes washed (United Nations, 1982).

In the same survey, it was also found that the elderly men in rural Greece - in comparison to the other 10 countries- spent more time (almost 80 days yearly) in general hospitals. This was attributed (among other factors) to the limited infrastructure for those with permanent illness in Greece (United Nations, 1982, p. 14) (Table 6). This is connected to the lack of healthcare services provision at home and institutional care until the 1980s. The level of primary health services varied greatly among different population groups, insurance organisations and area of residence. In particular, in rural areas, provision of local health services was of particularly low quality level due to the lack of willingness of doctors to practice in those areas. Given this situation, unpaid family care work along with privately financed services (by the elderly and/or their family) played a central role in covering needs. Until the late 1970s long-term care services for frail elderly people were almost exclusively provided through a limited number of institutional care structures, mainly private including the church, which were situated in urban areas.

Even today, the number of elderly people living in institutions providing social care is extremely low (0.6% according to 2001 census data). This is still attributed to the importance of family ethics in Greece but also to the shortage of places and their uneven distribution within the country, as well as, to the low quality of the provided services (Moukanou, 2009). As a result, during the last fifteen years, it has been observed that privately financed services have expanded with the large inflows of female migrant workers (often undocumented) who provide cheap and flexible domestic care work. This trend has partly filled the arising gap between high demand for formal care services and limited supply and has allowed elderly people and their families to meet care needs (Moukanou, 2009).

Community care was formally introduced in 1979 via the establishment of the first Open Care Centre for the Elderly (KAPI) by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in the area of the Athens. By 1992, there were 257 KAPIs spread all over the urban areas of Greece, of which 87 were set up/ located in the greater Athens area (Ziomas, Bouzas 1992). Domiciliary care was introduced only in the late 1990s via the programme "Help At Home" and expanded in 2003 under EU co-funding, covering both urban and rural areas. At the same time Day Care Centres for the Elderly (KIFI) have also been created in urban and semi-urban regions, linked operationally with KAPI (Open Care Centre for the Elderly) which are now being run by the local authorities. The Day Care Centres for the Elderly (KIFI) are run by municipal enterprises, associations and private non-profit bodies, co-funded mainly until recently by the European Social Fund. The Centres offer daily hospitality and care to elderly people, who cannot support themselves and whose relatives are unable to help them because of work or economic difficulties and/or health problems of their own. These three initiatives are considered as the main social policy interventions, which have considerably benefited the elderly population in urban and rural areas over recent years.

As far as the living conditions of the elderly are concerned, data from the WHO survey in 1982 (Heikkinen et al, 1983), revealed that only 20% of the elderly had running water, 30% had a telephone, while 64% had an external W.C. and a 5.9% had none. Yet, it is hardly possible to provide any concrete information or evidence based data regarding the changes in the life of the elderly following the return home of them or their children.

As regards their economic situation, available data for 1971 suggest that for the majority of old men (74.5%) the basic source of income was their pension, while the basic source of income for the majority of elderly women (54.1%) was the family and/or other persons (Table 7).

According to another study based on the data from the Household Budget Survey of the year 1974, it was estimated that 43.7% of the families which only consisted of old people were under the "poverty line". Of those elderly living alone, 2 out of 3 men and 3 out of 4 women were under the "poverty line". In general it was estimated that 20% of the population living in poverty were elderly people (Kanellopoulos, 1984).

5.4 Post-conflict Refugees and IDPs

Greek political refugees were persons who were forcefully moved to Eastern European countries (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland or the USSR) during the 1946- 1949 civil war and were not permitted by the Greek governments to return to Greece until the fall of the Greek dictatorship in 1974. By the early '80s about 40,000 had returned, half of whom settled in Macedonia and Thrace and many in Athens. Of those, only 30% had been born in Greece, the others were their foreign-born children (Glytsos, 1995, p. 160).

A survey by the General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad on the re-integration of these refugees showed that 38% held degrees of tertiary education, 33% were unemployed and two-thirds of these were women. Lack of fluency in the Greek language was a problem, especially for many of those who had not been born in Greece. Over two-thirds of the returnees indicated that their economic situation in Greece was worse than it had been in their countries of former residence, while 46% said that their adjustment to Greek society had been "difficult" (Glytsos, 1995, p. 160).

Among the problems faced by the political refugees, who had been deprived of their Greek citizenship, were those of naturalization, of the dispossession of their property, the transfer of their insurance and pension rights, the vital problems of employment and housing, the question of military service etc. (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 493).

5.5 Roma

It should be stated right from the outset that there are no reliable data available on the situation of the Roma population and their migratory movements for the period 1950-1990. Roma people living for centuries in Greece were only granted citizenship at the end of the 1970s. Roma lacking documentation in the emigration period missed the opportunity of emigration abroad, limiting their movements inside the country providing cheap, flexible labour to seasonal agriculture. The 1951 census registered 7,429 individuals with Roma as their mother tongue in Greece, but this number appears to comprise only Roma who lived in Western Thrace. Since 1951 the Greek censuses do not collect data on ethnic affiliation, language or religion, and thus there is no official registration of the Roma populations in Greece (Triantafyllidou, p. 9, 30). The majority of the Greek Roma are Orthodox Christians, but most of those who live in Western Thrace are Muslims. Although there is no official data on Roma group migratory movements, it has been observed that, during the 1980s, a part of the Muslim gypsies of Thrace were incited to migrate primarily in the prefecture of Attica as manual workers in high risk sectors.

The Roma are scattered all over the country, with greater density in regions of northern Greece (Eastern Macedonia – Thrace and Central Macedonia), northwest and west Peloponnese Epirus and Etoloakarnania, in several areas of the region of Thessaly (Larissa, Farsala, Sofades etc.) and in the greater area of Athens and west Attica. Today, it has been estimated that they are settled in approximately 240 locations most of which are found in the periphery of the big cities all over Greece. Conservative estimations speak of approximately 250,000 individuals of Roma/Gypsy origin. A large number of them have adopted a sedentary and urban way of living (Hellenic Republic: National Commission for Human Rights, 2001; Greek Helsinki Monitor, 1999).

We can learn a few things about the characteristics of the Roma population from a field study, which was conducted in 1980 in the area of Ano Liosia in Attica, in 211 Roma households. This study had a sample of 1.319 persons of whom 51.5% were male and 48.5% female. The households had a mean average number of 6.25 members in comparison with 3.39 members of the Greek population for the year 1980 and 68% of the households had more than 4 children. As regards their age composition, 43.9% were under 14 years old, and 4.4% over 50 years old. From the 211 families that were investigated, 100 of them had a Greek citizenship. Only 7.6% of them were insured, while the rest had no social security coverage. As regards the social benefits, only 15.2% stated that they had received some benefits, while 62.1% had a 'welfare booklet' (as citizens of no financial means) which provided them with free treatment in public hospitals, as well as elementary health services. Their mother tongue was Romani idioms (20.1%), Gipsy (38.4%) and Greek (14.7%) (Kokkinakis, 1983).

As regards their current situation, research reveals their extremely vulnerable position. Yet, there is no official reliable data on the situation of Roma population in Greece as regards poverty and deprivation. The most recent data available is from a sample survey (Eurodiastasi & Oikokoinonia, 2008). According to it, the economic situation of most Roma is not stable, since their income depends largely on their jobs, which are seasonal. Many households rely on the seasonal employment of one member and/or on welfare benefits that they are entitled to as large families and as citizens of no financial means. In general, the income of the vast majority of Roma households is low, much lower than the poverty threshold in Greece. The difference between the economic situation of the Roma and the rest of the Greek population is substantial. That is, 74.8% of the Roma households' sample had a yearly income of less than 6000 € (benefits included), when the official poverty threshold for Greece in 2005 (EU-SILC data) was 5,650€ for a single person household. Another 13.7% of households had an income 6,001€ to 9,000€ and 10.7% had an income of 9,001€ to 20,000€.

The Roma face several problems as a result of neglect and discriminations, including high percentages of child labour, low school attendance, police discrimination and drug trafficking. The most serious issue is the housing problem since many Roma live in tents often facing extremely harsh conditions, on properties they do not own, making them subject to eviction. Some municipal authorities have expelled them without providing alternative accommodation. The European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) reports that a large proportion of the Roma who live in Greece, live in 52 improvised and dangerous tent encampments while most others reside in poorly constructed dwellings lacking access to basic services such as electricity and water (European Roma Rights Centre, 2011). As regards data on education, several sample surveys, though presenting different percentages, come to the conclusion that most of the Greek Roma, particularly the older generations, are effectively or functionally illiterate. Roma are reported to be excluded from many citizenship rights and benefits and the integration of Roma in the social security system is low (Council of Europe's European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 1999). In the last decades these issues have been partly addressed with state and EU funding.

Recent migratory movements have been observed of Roma people entering Greece. Informal estimates of the number of immigrant Roma in Greece put the figure at tens of thousands, probably close to or possibly even more than 100.000. Most of these people come from Albania, but others come from Bulgaria, Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Romania. Some of these persons are temporary migrants, performing in particular seasonal agricultural work in Greece, and then return home. Others are involved in scrap metal recycling. The majority of these people have "been legally living in Greece for over a decade, although a few have obtained citizenship. Roma migrants in Greece are outside of the scope of state programmes". Moreover, "the residence of these newly arrived Gypsies in Greece goes relatively unimpeded, as the public authorities tend to avoid addressing the problems of this particular group". (Ziomas, Bouzas, Spyropoulou, 2011).

In 2001 an Integrated National Action Plan for the social inclusion of Roma was adopted by the Greek government. The plan was structured around two priority axes, namely a) housing and infrastructure and b) actions concerning Roma empowerment and access to basic services (health, education etc.) and covered the period 2002-2008. Funding was drawn directly from the State budget, while resources from the European Social Fund were utilized to a certain extent. Yet, implementation of this programme did not live up to expectations, not only because it was short of meeting its stated objectives, but also because it failed to ensure an integrated approach on the ground. Almost ten years after the launching of the Integrated Programme, the state of affairs as regards the Roma people in Greece, the causes of their social exclusion, the multiple problems which they are faced with, the adherence to discrimination etc remain, more or less, the same. Their living conditions continue to be inhuman and degrading, while they remain deprived of a wide range of their fundamental rights (Ziomas, Bouzas, Spyropoulou, 2011).

Over the last year, a preparatory process is underway by the Greek Government for designing a new policy framework and strategy for the Roma inclusion in Greece. According to the Greek National Reform Programme 2011-2014, *"as far as the social inclusion of Roma is concerned, a medium and long term strategy is being processed entailing a threefold framework for their social inclusion: I) horizontal actions of mainstreaming in policies, II) targeted measures at the national level and III) targeted territorial actions. Currently, special programmes providing access to education for Roma children are implemented, while 33 centres will provide social care services to Roma population ranging from legal support to promotion into the labour market*" (Ministry of Finance, 2011, p. 53).

5.6 Other ethnic and religious communities

There are no reliable data available on the situation of other ethnic and religious communities for the period 1950-1990, but historical approaches have pointed out the discriminations minorities in Greece faced up until the 1990s' and their social and economic disadvantaged position.

There is an officially recognized -protected under the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne- Muslim minority of 110,000 to 120,000 members residing in Thrace composed primarily of ethnic Turkish, Pomak, and Roma communities (US Department of State, 2010). Apart from grievances regarding the appointment of muftis and restrictions on the usage of the term "Turkish" when describing the minority, the main discrimination against the minority was the Article 19 of the Greek Citizenship Code. This Article allowed the government to revoke the citizenship of non-ethnic Greeks who left the country. According to official statistics 46.638 Muslims lost their citizenships from 1955 to 1998, until the law was non-retroactively abolished in 1998 (Human Rights World Watch Report 1999 Greece).

There is a small Greek-Orthodox Slavic-speaking minority living in the province of Western Macedonia. In the last census which included the question of mother tongue in 1951 41.000 people claimed to speak the Slavic language. However, after nearly a century of assimilation policies, of emigration and expulsions this is an extremely limited group.

6. Policy responses

6.1 Encouragement of circular migration

During the post-war period and up to the mid-70s' many host states encouraged temporary migration, but policies on circular migration were rarely designed. Policies encouraging temporary migration (such as work and residence permissions tied to short-term contracts with specific employers, impeding family reunification, etc) did not lead to the anticipated results as many immigrants finally settled permanently in the host countries. The failure of these policies was mainly due to the large demand for cheap unskilled labour force, the employers' resistance to the continual rotation of workers and the syndicates' opposition to discriminatory policies which would make employers opt for migrant workers.

6.2 Encouragement of return migration and support of the integration of returnees

The oil crisis of 1973-1974 with the consequent collapse of the demand for foreign labour in Western European countries, led to increased numbers of repatriates. The termination of emigration in the mid-1970s, the realisation that the settlement of many Greeks in Western Europe was permanent, the rising numbers of returnees, the concern about demographics and the political changeover of 1974 contributed to a switch in the policy of Greek governments. The interests of the Greek state shifted to repatriation and the social and psychological problems of emigrants, both in the host countries and in their reintegration into the Greek economy and society (Terlexis, 1979; Kollarou, Moussourou, 1980). Repatriation was encouraged through sizeable reductions of taxes and import duties on consumer durables especially cars, as well as through credit provisions for the purchase of assets and land that were financed by imported foreign exchange. Governments failed to create appropriate incentives for the channeling of migrant savings to productive uses, but their policy of attracting the savings of migrant designing special tax allowances, particularly for the purchase of housing was successful (Glytsos, Katseli, 2005, pp. 354-355, 368). In late 1970s, as Glytsos (1991, p. 118) claims, one-fourth of Greek emigrants to Germany deposited their savings in Greek banks and another fourth divided them between the banks in both countries while half of the emigrants opted for the German banks.

In 1980 a German-Greek agreement on assistance to the economic reintegration of migrants in Germany wishing to return to Greece was signed. This agreement was however never ratified by the parliament and was thus never enacted (Kontis, 1990, p. 224). After 1981, the objectives of the newly elected socialist government's policy towards Greek emigrants were to improve their living and working conditions, but above all to facilitate their return to Greece.

Special maximum age limits for hiring returnees from Western Europe (who had resided at least 15 years abroad) and political refugees in the public sector were established (55 years old against 35 for the local population) (Act 1735/1987), mortgages with favourable terms for the purchase of houses were provided (Act 1150/1981), and waived customs duties for importing household items and cars (Acts 1643/1986, 1731/1987) were enacted. The setting up in 1982 of a General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad (GSGA) constituted a turning point in government policy on emigrants and returnees (Act 1288/1982). For the first time a special government agency was created to deal with their problems, so that more coherent measures might be taken. The GSGA published and distributed informational brochures, organised cultural events abroad and summer camp in Greece for youngsters living abroad, provided information to returnees, etc. Among the priorities of the GSGA was to organise emigrants and create bodies, in which the expatriates would be represented, that would advise the state on relevant issues.

Particular emphasis was given to Greek language education for the children of emigrants'. From 1981 onwards and up to the mid-1990s the state provided for the education of those children in Western Europe by running all Greek schools, and more generally through funding and organising language classes.[6] 1996 saw a change in this policy when a new law was passed on Greek education abroad (Michelakaki, 2001). At the same time, special classes in certain state schools and even special state schools were created in Greece for the smooth integration of the children of returnees into the Greek educational system (art. 45, Act 1404/83, art. 2, Act 1894/90, PD 435/1984, PD 369/1985). Special provisions were also enacted in order to facilitate their entry into tertiary education (art. 3, Act 1351/1983). Many seminars and vocational training courses were organised for unemployed returnees and for the children of returnees (Daritsi-Kodella, Nikoloulia, 1990, p. 437-461).

The creation of all Greek schools for the education of the children in Western Europe has been criticized because it did not take into account the necessity of integrating younger generations into their host countries and the local educational system, at the same time as the cultivation of knowledge of the Greek language and culture. The Greek educational policy for the children of returnees was considered as ineffective (e.g., the requirement of a minimum of more or less homogeneous classes of 10-25 students for the preparatory classes of the first two years of school established in the early 1980s, for students from Germany and the English speaking countries, was hard to realize unless many students travelled long distances). Furthermore, the separation of these students from their indigenous counterparts, leading to their isolation, should have been avoided if their integration to the Greek society was to be eased. These problems were subsequently overcome through the establishment of remedial classes of 3-9 children, after which they were integrated into classrooms with students born and educated in Greece, yet critics have claimed that teachers were inadequately qualified and that there was a lack of audio-visual equipment. Whole special schools established in the mid-1980s in Athens for English speaking children, and in Thessaloniki for English, French and German speaking children, were also judged inappropriate because an even larger number of these students were separated from the regular Greek educational system (Glytsos, 1995, p. 159)

[6] Law 2413/1996. In the 1990s the state spent around 60 million euros a year for Greek language teaching abroad, and it appointed about 2000 teachers on secondment to foreign countries (1500 to Western Europe), at a time when there were no more than 105,000 students worldwide taking various kinds of Greek-language teaching (Kondyli 2002: 224).

In general, the various measures taken by the State to support the social integration of returnees have been insufficient and fragmented and failed to form part of a comprehensive approach to addressing the needs of the returnees.

Various ministries faced the question of repatriation from conflicting angles and policies changed without serious consideration. Public administration deficiencies, administrative complexity, insufficient information and excessive bureaucratic procedures had all played a negative role in the reintegration process of the returnees. Besides, counselling and guidance through social services were not provided to migrants after repatriation. The main reason was that social services in Greece were limited and "poorly planned" and thus were unable to meet the existing and emerging social needs of the returnees effectively. In most cases the support for their reintegration was rather fragmented and it was mainly concentrated on educational matters. As a result, needs in many sectors (housing, labour market etc.) could not be met, while in other sectors there was a serious overlap in provision by multiple public bodies. The multiplicity of bodies was also linked to geographical inequalities: in some areas there were many bodies offering the same services, each serving a small proportion of the population, while in other areas (mainly rural areas) there were serious shortages of services. The lack of coordination among the service providers made this situation even worse. On the other hand, the Greek public sector agencies were more often than not uninformed about the opportunities international organisations or the EEC offered or did not consider the reintegration of returnees of top priority (Daritsi-Kodella, Nikoloulia, 1990, p. 459).

It is worth noting that, although public social policies and, in particular, the social welfare policy in Greece have improved since the late 1980s, most of the challenges described above continue to some extent to persist today.

6.3 Reintegration of IDPs and refugees

In order to support Greek political refugees on their return to Greece, special organizations were established such as the Committee of Repatriation and Reception of Political Refugees in Thessaloniki (1983), and the Centre of Psychic Hygiene in Athens (1984). Their aim was to assist in the reception and reintegration of refugees into Greek society and economy. In addition, associations of Greek political refugees were established aiming at providing help to the returnees through seminars on Greek language, intermediation in the solution of bureaucratic problems etc.

Returning political refugees were entitled to temporary relief assistance, as well as to other beneficial arrangements such as free medical and hospital care in the national Health System, priority for mortgages by the Agricultural Bank of Greece etc. The guarantee of social insurance coverage for the political refugees proved to be a difficult task: agreements were signed after years of negotiations with Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany. In order to ease the pressure as regards the social security coverage, a law was established in 1985 including the political refugees in the Greek Social Security Organisations.

As regards the labour market, unemployed refugees were entitled to unemployment benefits from the Public Employment Organisation (OAED) as well as vocational training or retraining. In addition, OAED paid for their settlement and for a 2 year rent subsidy if they moved to any region other than Athens and Thessaloniki. Moreover, refugees who were in tertiary education were entitled to enrol in the Greek universities under certain criteria. Furthermore, in 1991, two educational programmes were addressed to Greek political refugees. These programmes were mainly financed by the European Social Fund (Glytsos, 1995, pp.161-162).

6.4 Development of net migration loss/gain regions

In the 1970s, regional policy incentives were mostly fiscal rather than financial (direct financing of investments by the state or banks, interest loans etc.) and consisted of different types of profit and income tax allowances, allowances on taxes associated to imports of machinery, raw materials and spare parts, incentives related to the exclusion of firms from tax on wages and finally reductions on the Gross Domestic Value Tax imposed on firms. Regional Policy plans in this period provided incentives for new investment, the establishment of industrial estates and other infrastructure (transport etc.), the improvement of social infrastructure (education, health) and finally organizational and institutional measures.

In this context, many state measures targeting returnees from 1982 onwards aimed at the decentralization of the population by providing incentives for settlement in rural areas. In general, this target was not achieved. On the contrary, during this period the number of the returnees residing in rural areas decreased, while the number of returnees residing in urban areas – and especially in Athens in the period 1981-1985- increased.

Among the measures addressed to disadvantaged net migration loss regions, were the establishment and support of cooperatives, where priority was given to attracting migrants and their savings in regions of high emigration (Glytsos, 1995, p. 157; Moussourou, 1991, p. 193). Unfortunately, these measures were judged inadequate. During the period 1975-1980 only 5 production cooperatives were created, involving 311 returnees. This was due to both bureaucracy and limited interest on behalf of the returnees.

In 1982 state measures for returnees were strengthened and included, among others, a lump-sum for the settlement of the returnees in the countryside. In addition, the Agricultural Bank of Greece also had a special service for the promotion of migrant investment, offering technical, economic and financial assistance to prospective migrant investors in agriculture. The rate of economic development of Northern Greece (i.e. Macedonia and Thrace) may be due to the returnees' industrial experience or to economic conditions created by the growing returnee population in the region and to the special measures for economic development taken by the state and supported by the banking system, as mentioned above (e.g. Law N. 289/1976, the Law on "active urban development etc.) (Kollarou, Moussourou, 1978, p. 437).

Policies for rural development and social cohesion

The fact that social cohesion problems did not constitute a clear target of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) explains the absence of such policies at the national level. It comes as no surprise therefore that the Ministry of Rural Development and Foods states quite clearly that poverty and social exclusion are not within the policy goals of the Ministry. Thus, one notes that the outcome of the first (1986-1993) and second (1994-1999) programming periods of CAP in Greece have not contributed to limiting the socio-economic differences in the rural areas of the country. It is characteristic that the "…implementation of CAP measures seems to have benefited large agricultural holdings and holdings producing specialised products" (Psaltopoulos, 2004, p. 348). In short, the presuppositions set prohibited small farmers to improve their productive capacity and through that their socioeconomic position.

It was only the 3rd programming period "Operational Programme: Rural Development –Reform of countryside 2000-2006" that included a number of measures, which could indirectly affect poverty and social exclusion in rural areas. In particular, the development of the countryside through the Rural Development Integrated Programmes was allocated a total of 600 million euros. In the context of the EU Initiative Leader +, 40 projects were designed to improve the social and economic prosperity of the rural population of mountainous and less favoured regions. After the implementation of Operational Programme "Rural Development – Restructuring of the countryside 2000-2006", the evaluation showed that quantitative goals were satisfactorily achieved. Development programmes specific to mountain rural areas were designed and implemented at the regional/local level and received financing from several EU

policy funds. However, no evaluation is available as to the effectiveness of these measures in alleviating the development problems of the emigration loss regions. However, "qualitative" aspects of the Programme were not satisfactorily implemented because of failures of planning and administration (Ministry of Rural Development and Foods, 2007 b, p. 53-57).

Many years after the implementation of CAP, Greek agriculture still faces more or less the same structural problems, while the development of the countryside and the quality of life in rural regions show lower levels of improvement compared to urban regions. The 4th programming period's National Strategic Plan for Rural Development 2007-2013 (ESSAA), implemented through the Operational Programme: Rural Development Programme 2007-2013 (PAA) is focused on the "*sustainable rural development through the improvement: of primary sector and food production competitiveness, as well as of environment, in a worth living countryside*" (Ministry of Rural Development and Foods, 2007a, p. 21) .

The Programme has been developed across the two Pillars of CAP (containing four basic Axes of intervention). Pillar 1, which concerns the Guarantee Section and Pillar 2, which concerns Rural Development. Pillar 2 is expected to have an indirect impact upon poverty and social exclusion composed of two axes: a) the improvement of quality of life and the supporting for diversification of the economies of rural areas and b) the promotion of action aiming at the improvement of competitiveness and quality of life in rural areas, through the Community Initiative "Leader" (Ministry of Rural Development and Foods, 2007a, p. 22).

However, the sums of money devoted to rural development through Pillar 2 seem to be relatively the same as in the previous Rural Development Programme 2000-2006. Furthermore, it is expected to concern small-scale interventions of limited impact with regards to combating poverty and social exclusion. The Regional Policy Programme of 2007-2013 is structured around five Regional Operational Programmes (ROP). These Regional Programmes are planned to implement interventions in:

- social infrastructure and services,
- health and social care,
- culture (cultural infrastructure, protection and promotion of cultural heritage),
- accessibility and environmental actions at a local level,
- policies for sustainable urban development,
- policies to reinforce mountain and insular areas.

Yet, its implementation is slow while the economic crisis has restrained any public expenditure contributions and initiatives.

6.5 Support to vulnerable groups related to migration

During the period in which Greek emigration was taking place there were no specific policies and measures designed in order to ameliorate the position of vulnerable groups created by migration. The relevant measures described above were adopted after 1981.

6.6 Best practice examples of policy responses

During the period in which Greek emigration/repatriation was taking place the concept of best practices was not used and no specific measures of the Greek state can be placed under this heading. Nevertheless, the establishment and operation in 1983 of the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad (GSGA) could be acknowledged as a policy response to the right direction.

The GSGA's competences were determined by the presidential decree 104/1983, while the structure and its organisational structure were determined by the presidential decree 131/1989. Among its main responsibilities were: a) The protection of the rights and interests

of the Greeks abroad both in the country and in host countries and the provision of assistance b) The study and recommendation of measures to support expatriate Greeks on social, cultural and economic development issues etc.

Although the setting up of this Body was considered necessary for the promotion of the interests of Greeks abroad, it seems that it did not live up to expectations. Demands for upgrading its role and operation have not been met. In general, although the GSGAs activities cover all the relevant areas of interventions (education, labour market, social security etc), it does not have the legislative authorization to decide on issues other than organizational issues of Greeks abroad, hospitality, information and cultural identity (GSGA, 1990, p. 480).

Moreover, the church had also been involved in programmes for the integration of refugees and repatriating Greeks, principally through its Centre for Support of Repatriating Migrants. The Church aimed at filling an important gap in this area because public services for repatriating Greeks focused on those from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republic, while those of the Church focused on those returning from Western Europe, mainly Germany. Among the main activities of the centre were: Social work and counseling, provision of information about rights and relevant governmental measures, assistance with matters concerning Greek social services etc. According to the estimates of the Centre approximately 25,000 persons had been served during the period 1975-1990. It should be mentioned that their offices were located only in Athens and Thessaloniki and thus access for citizens residing in other areas was limited (Karantinos, Cavounidis, Ioannou, 1993)

7. Key challenges and policy suggestions

7.1 Key challenges of the social impact of emigration and internal migration

Greece entered the post-war II period with significant inequalities in working conditions, in incomes and in productivity between the urban and the rural-agricultural sector and with a significant size of surplus labour force in rural areas. These economic and social conditions, as well as the exclusion of the adherents of the left from the economic, social and political life of the country after the defeat in the civil war (1949) until the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974, constituted the main emigration push factors. These push factors were combined with a pull factor, namely the demand for labour force by a number of countries mainly in Europe. Evidence suggests that during the period 1955-1971 at least one million Greeks, that is 1/9 of the total Greek population, was pushed to emigrate to overseas countries (Australia, United States and Canada) and to Europe (mainly West Germany) in order to find a job. At the same time an intense internal migratory wave from rural-agricultural to urban areas (mainly in the Athens area) was observed. Both these migratory movements resulted in the abandonment by the prime age groups of the population of the countryside and, in particular, of the most disadvantaged and remote areas of Greece.

While both relief of unemployment and remittance income were substantial, such factors played only a minor and essentially passive role in Greek growth. Greek domestic capital markets failed to offer the incentives essential for channeling remittance capital towards productive sectors and activities. The main beneficiaries of the process were some migrant households which saw their socioeconomic position improve substantially. In short, it seems that Greece failed to positively exploit the migratory movements abroad of its population in this period.

Moreover, the mass repatriation that ended in net migrant return after 1974, when democracy was restored in Greece, contributed to an increase in unemployment, while after 1982 continuing flows of returnees led to a deterioration of working conditions. In particular, OECDs' 1982 Report for Greece states that the GDP's long-term stagnation, the high growth

of the labour cost and the continuous return of Greek emigrants resulted in the deterioration of the conditions in the labour market (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 264). The percentage of unemployment among repatriates was found to be higher than that of the local population. Jobs were hard to find, wages were lower and working conditions poorer. Even when emigrants returned with sizeable amounts of capital, opportunities for investment, apart from housing, were minimal. Small businesses such as shops and cafeterias could not survive easily in rural areas. For many migrant women who held jobs while away, problems of repatriation were exacerbated by lack of employment (Dikaiou, 1994, p. 36). With few employment opportunities in rural areas, many migrant women were confined to their home and the raising of children. This led to the loss of economic independence for the women and exacerbated the problems of the returnees, as they had only one source of income. It seems that the Greek returnees faced problems of reintegration mainly due to the fact that they were not informed about what they would confront back to their homeland. The situation was even worse for Greek refugees coming back to Greece from Central and Eastern European countries as they were faced with additional problems such as: dispossession of their property, problems with the transfer of insurance and pension rights, lack of employment opportunities, housing difficulties etc. As regards education, the reintegration of migrants into the Greek educational system was also difficult. The children had to face problems of language and adaptation. Indeed, disconfirmed expectations about children's education and employment prospects posed additional difficulties for the returnees' families.

The socio-economic impact of return was better felt in smaller towns in which the returnees were more likely to make a major contribution to its vitality. The vast majority of returnees, however, settled in (and around) Athens and a few other large cities where their main contribution was an addition to an already distorted tertiary sector. Their most pronounced impact has been in agricultural mechanization, the housing boom, the proliferation of small service establishments, and the growth of tourist-related infrastructure (Papademetriou, 1985, pp. 217-218).

International migration literature is generally negative in its evaluation of the effectiveness of repatriation policy; the experience of Greece seems to be no exception. It may be said that apart from some spasmodic measures for treating specific problems for those returning home, the response of the Greek State has been characterized by a lack of proper preparation and planning to receive them. In fact, the overwhelming majority of both Greek political refugees and Greek migrants returned before most of the related measures were introduced (Glytsos, 1995). This suggests that factors other than repatriation policies, such as the economic recession in host countries, the fall of dictatorship and economic prospects in Greece, or, for the target migrants, fulfilment of their aims, were more effective determinants of return than measures adopted for encouraging them to return to Greece (GSGA, 1990, p. 102). With the benefit of hindsight, one can see that certain policies aimed at helping returnees may have actually harmed them. For example, many migrants rushed to take back their social security contributions in host countries, thus giving up their social security rights (Emke-Poulopoulou, 1986, p. 436). Lack of policies or bureaucratic hindrance may have also led to the "undesirable" utilization of returnees' savings as well as of their work experience and the skills they acquired during employment in the foreign country (Fakiolas, 1994, p. 588).

In short, the challenge for integrating the Greek returnees into the labour market, the economy and the society at large, though identified by the Greek state, was not accompanied by specific measures and integrated targeted policies. The Greek state's policy towards returnees remained largely inconsistent, ineffective and devoid of long-term strategy.

7.2 Policies to be taken by different actors

Emigration of economically active population undoubtedly reflects both income and employment conditions dominating in the sending regions. As some writers put it (Papageorgiou, 1973), had income and employment opportunities not acted as push or pull

factors, the number of people emigrating would have been much smaller. In Greece prevailing regional differences and their implications have, at times, acted as an inducement towards interregional and international migration. To this end integrated regional development plans and policy interventions should be given high priority in order to: develop infrastructure programmes to support economic growth and regional integration, create an appropriate environment for private investments, develop strong public sector institutions and good governance, strengthen trade integration in the region, reduce social exclusion and poverty, build environment programmes at the regional level, strengthen the region's interaction with other regions. Such plans should be articulated in the context of migration movements.

As it was stressed earlier (see 6.4 above), integrated rural development plans in Greece are restricted only to the Regional Development Plans - Priority 4 (Leader programme) involving the Ministry of Rural Development and Foods and the Local Action Groups (LAGs), while rural development as such is under the umbrella of CAP. The philosophy of these programmes empowers people to participate in the labour market, gain employment and contribute to social cohesion. However, the implementation of these programmes has been limited, widely affected by the economic decline in the country that has, more or less, blocked state expenditure. The limited success of these measures may also reflect unresolved problems in the coordination of EU, national and local administrations for policy implementation. This may be due to the fact that the EU has up to now worked with a so-called 'ideal-type' of state structure and operation representative of some North-Western states, without a good knowledge of state operation in some other European states like Greece where policies of social equality and cohesion have had so far a low priority compared to the other European states.

Although Greek governments, within the limits of the unequal balance of power, tried to put pressure on Western European countries for them to take measures protecting the social and economic rights of Greek nationals, it was far more reluctant and inefficient when it came to plan and implement policies concerning emigrants or returnees in Greece itself. This was due to many factors, amongst which we can cite: the fact that emigrants rarely voted in Greek elections; that, as Greece had many serious social problems at the time, the fate of emigrants' and returnees' was not a top priority; that the Greek state does not have the tradition and political culture of policy planning in advance, but rather of ex-post handling of difficulties. Thus, for example, Greek state officials, believing that emigrants would acquire skills while working in industry abroad, underestimated the fact that their nationals were not required by Western European labor markets for skilled jobs. Consequently, Greek state officials did not demand receiving countries to place Greek immigrants in apprenticeship or training programmes, in a period when Greece lacked training programs in general. Moreover, the Greek governments content with the inflow of remittances which contributed positively in alleviating the deficit in the balance of payments, they did not take measures to channel remittance capital towards productive sectors or activities.

The lesson to be learnt from the Greek experience, is, in our view, that governments, in order to put up effective policies, have to plan policies on a long-term basis drawing from reliable data and foreseeing the needs of their country and people. They also have to place emigrants and returnees amongst their priorities. However, these conditions are rarely met as governments more often take decisions on a short horizon plan and without access to all necessary information, having more in mind rather their political clients than emigrants and returnees.

As regards returnees, the Greek state should have already put in place, prior to the period of massive repatriation, several policies in order to capitalize on return migration and to accommodate the social integration of the returnees and their families. Such policies should include: competent information and guidance to those willing to return about the employment possibilities and circumstances in the country, settlement of matters related to social insurance for those having worked abroad and their families, organisation of public

services at the regional and local level to provide assistance and support on matters such as education, employment, entrepreneurship, health and social care provision etc.

It should be emphasized, however, that all these policy measures should be articulated in a comprehensive migration strategy. The responsibility for the implementation of such a strategy should be accorded to a central public body, which will be also responsible for the coordination of the various measures taken by the different competent ministries. Among other things, such a body should put in place the necessary instruments (including monitoring and evaluation) and establish appropriate links with regional and local levels administration. Educational programmes are considered very crucial in both the process of integration in the host country and the reintegration in the sending country, and thus should be given a high political priority. Greece has implemented various such programmes since the 1980s, though their success has been questioned, and their results have been at variance.

From experience gained up to now, information supplied to returnees should have an inter-State character, i.e., start in the host country and be completed in the country of origin. Those who return, regardless of the place they settle, should be aware of the services available, within or outside the community, which are responsible for assisting them in their needs and problems. Concerted effort to implement a holistic approach is thus required. An important component of this effort should be the implementation of programmes designed to effectively re-insert returnees, and especially children, into the country's social, cultural and educational mainstream. Such policies, when instituted, would redress one of the most severe adjustment problems faced by returning families.

To this end, there is a need to establish clear vertical links between national/European and local/regional levels to ensure that European, national and local actions are mutually reinforcing. There is also a need for effective horizontal administrative and institutional arrangements at both national (inter-departmental coordination) and local levels (i.e. partnership and institutional coordination), so as to integrate the efforts of all actors at the point of delivery. The extent to which the different areas of policy responsibility –economic development, social policy, employment and education policies- are managed in a comprehensive and coherent manner at higher levels of governance, is conducive to a good governance context at local and regional levels.

Local actors should be fully informed of EU and national policies and, taking these fully into account, be encouraged whenever possible to design local strategies for return migration as opposed to isolated initiatives and projects. Regional levels of administration should be able to utilize their resources in pursuit of a policy and programme mix that they consider to be appropriate to regional conditions. In other words, the 'centre' sets the European and national policy framework and objectives, but it is for the region to decide on the most effective measures to achieve these objectives.

In this context, to overcome the fragmentation of the various related policies aiming at the social integration of the returnees and to increase the effectiveness of such policies, it is proposed to set up competent coordinating bodies at European and national levels, which among other things, will be responsible for articulating and implementing the various EU programmes (financed by the European Structural Funds) specific actions relating to emigration and return migration. Among the actions which should be financed are school educational programmes, vocational training, employment and entrepreneurship promotion for returnees etc.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: **Post-war Greek emigration by destination**

Year	Total	Overseas[1]		Europe	Mediterranean countries[2]	Not declared
1946		1,558	68,473			
1947		4,901				
1948		4,819				
1949		4,263				
1950		4,635				
1951		14,155				
1952		6,640				
1953		8,820				
1954		18,682				
1955	29,787	19,766		6,068	3,417	200
1956	35,349	23,147		7,780	4,181	241
1957	30,428	14,783		13,046	2,415	184
1958	24,521	14,842		6,507	2,998	114
1959	23,684	13,871		6,713	2,696	404
1960	47,768	17,764		26,927	2,848	229
1961	58,837	17,336		39,564	1,730	207
1962	84,054	21,959		60,754	1,141	200
1963	100,072	24,459		74,236	1,113	264
1964	105,569	25,327		79,489	696	57
1965	117,167	29,035		87,242	795	95
1966	86,896	33,093		53,050	626	127
1967	42,730	26,323		15,658	664	85
1968	50,866	25,891		23,501	746	728
1969	91,552	28,425		62,392	571	164
1970	92,681	24,153		68,106	244	178
1971	61,745	18,690		42,552	194	309
1972	43,397	13,239		29,089	196	873
1973	27,525	11,706		15,131	182	506
1974	24,448	12,380		10,891	442	735
1975	20,330	8,806		10,095	920	509
1976	20,374	8,155		10,238	1,036	945
1977*	16,510	5,842		9,262	739	667
1955-1977	1,236,290	507,465**		758,291	30,590	8,021

* period from the 1st of January to the 31st of September 1977
** 1946-1977

1 – Countries in North and South America, Asia, and, Africa except Mediterranean countries.
2 –Mediterranean countries: Israel, Egypt, Cyprus, Turkey, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya.

Source: Kotzamanis (1987), p. 95 based on NSSG, *Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, years 1955-1978

Table 2: Main types of migration flows between regions of different degree of urbanisation

	1955-61		1965-71		1975-81		1985-91	
Internal migrants	(.000)	(%)**	(.000)	(%)**	(.000)	(%)**	(.000)	(%)**
Total of internal migrants* Migrated from: to:	644,8		764,5		806		598,9	
From rural areas to Athens	107,8	16.7	117	15.3	98,5	12.2	30,4	5.1
From rural areas to other urban areas	108,9	16.9	138,7	18.1	129,5	16.1	49,6	8.3
From rural areas to other rural areas	108,6	16.8	83,8	11	55,9	6.9	26,6	4.4
From other urban areas to Athens	72,8	11.3	93,8	12.3	79,4	9.9	47,2	7.9
From urban areas to other urban areas	35,4	5.5	53,8	7	77,7	9.6	73,3	12.2
From urban areas to rural areas	23,4	3.6	26,5	3.5	45,6	5.7	73,9	12.3
From Athens to other urban areas	18,9	2.9	31,6	4.1	63,2	7.8	60,3	10.1
From Athens to semi-urban areas	9,2	1.4	14,9	1.9	38,5	4.8	52,5	8.8
From Athens to rural areas	12,3	1.9	18,7	2.4	48,6	6	64,4	10.8

* Not including those moved within the metropolitan areas of Athens and Thessaloniki
** As percentage of total migrations of the period.

Source: Kyriazi-Allison E. (2000).

Table 3: Greek population and spatial placement (%)

Year	Urban	Semi-urban	Rural	Total
1920	22.9	15.2	61.9	100
1928	31.1	14.5	54.4	100
1940	32.8	14.8	52.4	100
1951	37.7	14.8	47.5	100
1961	43.3	12.9	43.8	100
1971	53.2	11.6	35.2	100
1981	58.1	11.6	30.3	100
1991	58.9	12.8	28.3	100
2001	59.7	13.1	27.2	100

Source: Kotzamanis V., Androulaki E., (2009), p: 95, table 3.

Table 4: Return Migration

Years	Total	Men	Women
Total	**237,524**	**128,065**	**109,459**
1968	18,882	10,165	8,717
1969	18,132	9,484	8,648
1970	22,665	12,284	10,381
1971	24,709	13,531	11,178
1972	27,522	15,088	12,434
1973	22,285	12,210	10,075
1974	24,476	13,597	10,879
1975	34,214	18,421	15,793
1976	32,067	16,676	15,391
1977*	12,572	6,609	5,963

* period from the 1st of January to the 31st of September 1977

Source: Kotzamanis (1987), p. 94 based on NSSG, Statistical Yearbook of Greece, years 1968-1978

Table 5: Population in Greece by age groups, 1961-1991

Year	1961		1971		1981		1991	
Age group	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-14	2,243,962	26.75	2,223,904	25.36	2,307,297	23.68	1,974,867	19.25
15-64	5,457,937	65.06	5,587,352	63.72	6,192,751	63.59	6,880,681	67.06
65+	686,654	8.19	957,116	10.92	123,9541	12.73	1,404,352	13.69
Total	8,388,553	100	8,768,372	100	9,739,589	100	10,259,900	100

Source: National Statistical Service, Statistical Review 2001

Table 6: Number of places for old age people in institutions per 1000 old age people – 1977

Prefecture	Number of places/ 1000 old age people
East and Central Greece	5.5
Central and west Macedonia	4.6
Peloponnisos and West Central Greece	3.9
Thessaly	2.2
East Macedonia	6.2
Crete	5.8
Epirus	5.7
Thrace	4.6
Eastern Aegean Islands	13.5

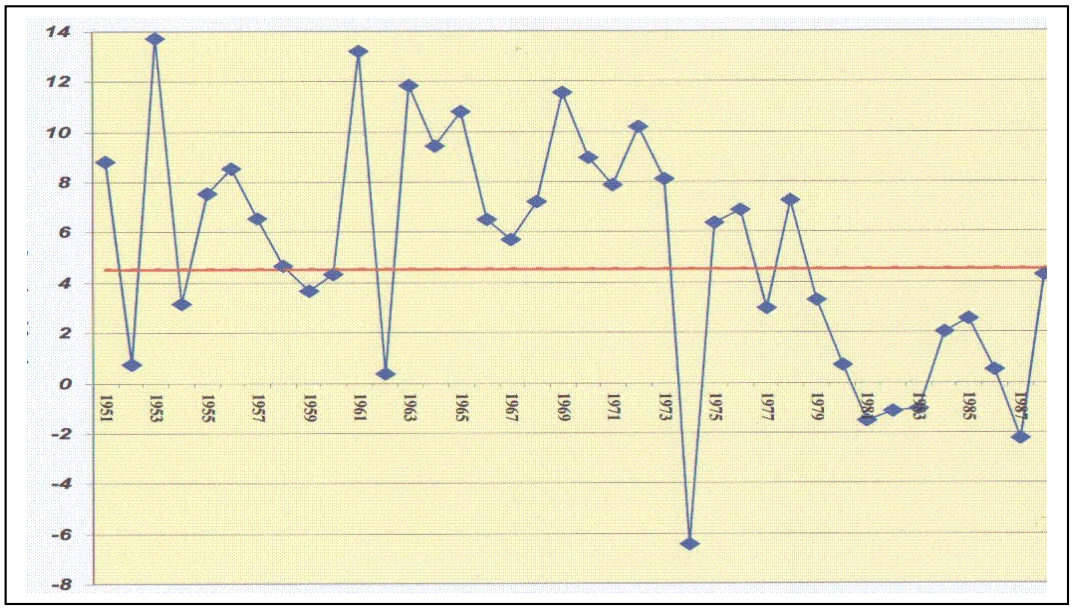
Source: Extracted from: United Nations, (1982), p. 61.

Table 7: Main source of income for population over 65 years old -1971

Basic source of Income	Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%
Income from property	17,832	6.4	14,748	3
Pension	207,876	74.5	200,676	40.8
Benefits	4,956	1.8	10,100	2.1
Family and/or other persons	48,268	17.3	266,924	54.1
Total	278,932	100	492,448	100

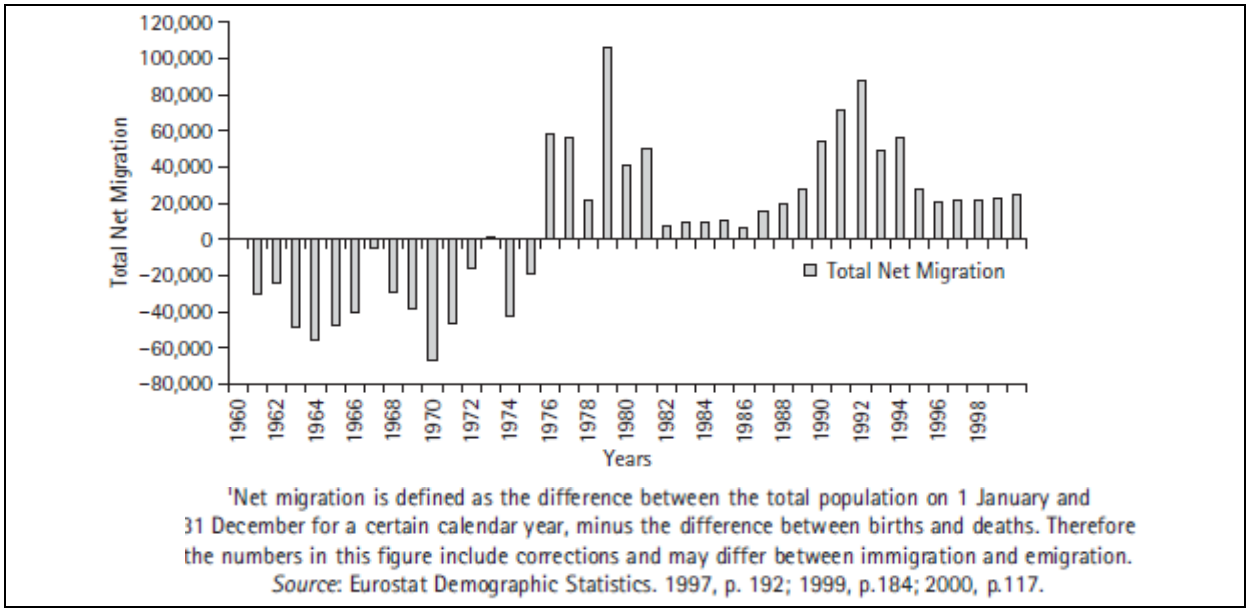
Source: National Statistical Service - Population Census 1971, Extracted from United Nations, (1982), p. 57.

Graph 1: Annual Change of Greek GDP and average annual rate, 1951- 1987



Source: Presentation by T. Iordanoglou in the Open Seminar of Economic History, 2010-2011

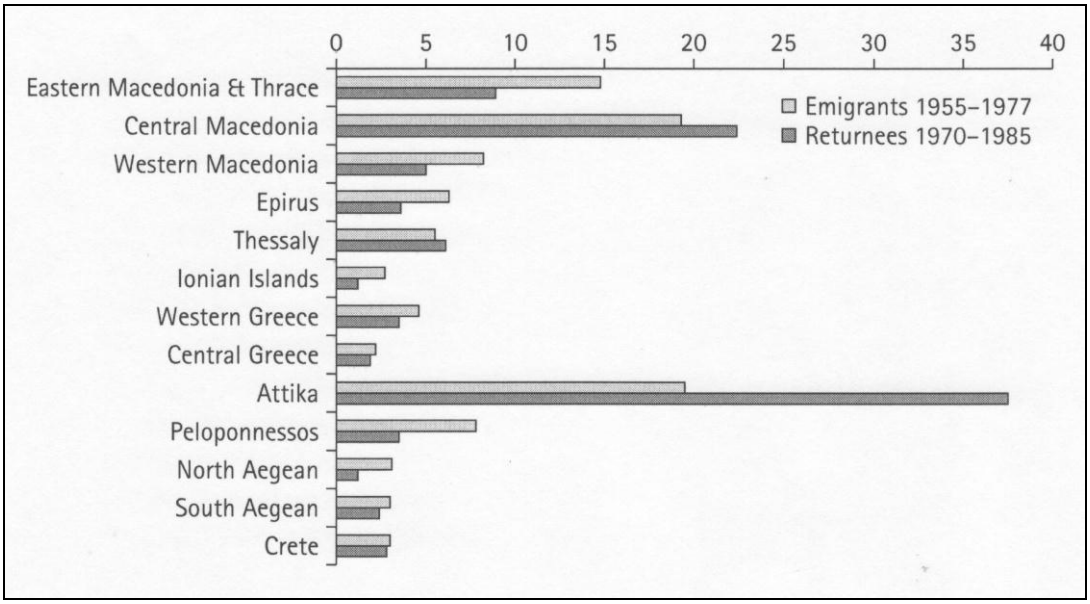
Graph 2: Greek total net[1] migration 1960-1999



'Net migration is defined as the difference between the total population on 1 January and 31 December for a certain calendar year, minus the difference between births and deaths. Therefore the numbers in this figure include corrections and may differ between immigration and emigration.
Source: Eurostat Demographic Statistics. 1997, p. 192; 1999, p.184; 2000, p.117.

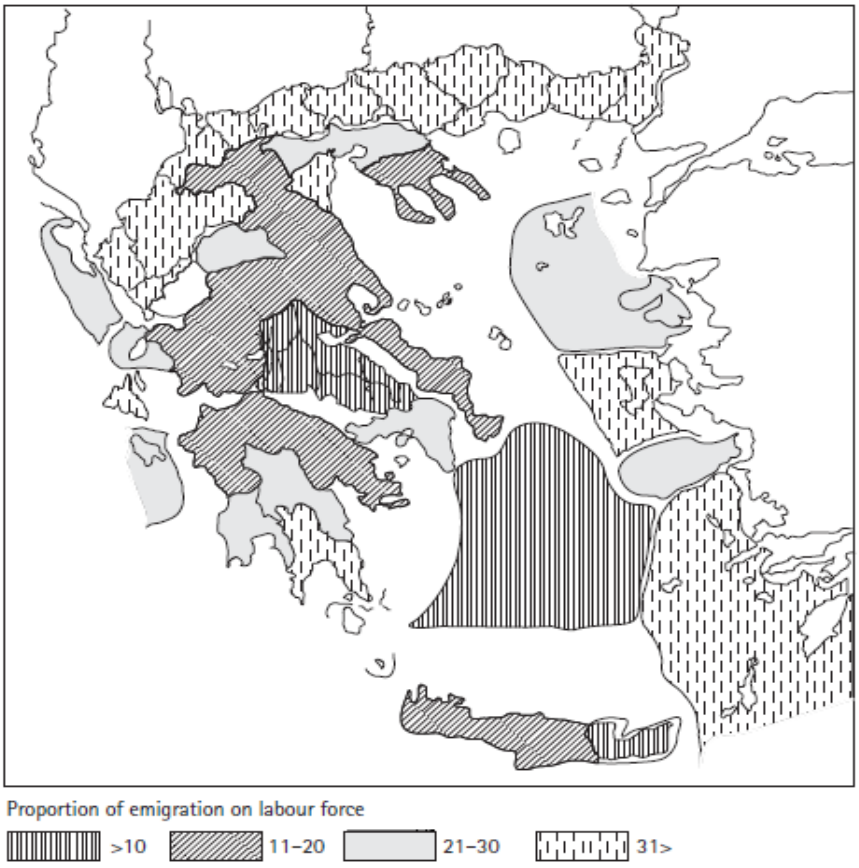
Graph extracted from Glytsos & Katseli, (2005), p. 340

Graph 3: Regional shares of emigrants (1955–77) and returnees (1970–85) (Greece=100)



Source: Extracted from: Glytsos & Katseli (2005), p. 345

Map 1: Greek Emigration Areas 1955-1977



Map extracted from Glytsos & Katseli, (2005), p. 344.