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ABSTRACT

A full solution of the employment problems of countries in the stage of development now existing in Greece, to a great extent depends upon the possibilities of achieving the accumulation of capital necessary for the establishment of new industries and other investment. It is important for Greece to promote economic progress in the different regions so as to avoid an exaggerated concentration in the already over-congested present centers and the emigration abroad of the most dynamic elements of the young generation. Also in this context, proper manpower policies will be of importance so as to promote the improvement and necessary adjustment of human resources. The following is of particular importance: (1) a reorganized Employment Service with better information about the labour market for employers and employees, (2) vocational guidance and counseling, (3) vocational training facilities for young and adults, and (4) appropriate aids to economically desirable mobility. This would also include positive measures to promote the return and reintegration in the Greek economy of workers having acquired new skills and experiences abroad. Activities in all these fields should be part of any program for economic and technical assistance to Greece. (Author)

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**manpower policy
and problems in**

GREECE

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FOREWORD

The O.E.C.D. has already published reports on Sweden and the United States in the series « Reviews of Manpower and Social Policies. » The following report deals with employment problems in Greece, and has been drawn up as a result of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee's review, and on the basis of the papers submitted to it and the discussions to which they gave rise.

As a first step, three « examiners » visited Greece: Professor Fourastié of the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, Chairman of the Manpower Committee attached to the Commissariat Général du Plan d'Équipement et de Modernisation (France); Mr. Madinier, Chargé de Mission at the Commissariat au Plan and Rapporteur of its Manpower Committee; Mr. Pilliard, Head of the O.E.C.D. Manpower Division.

The report of the three examiners was discussed at the October 1963 session of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee. The Greek Authorities were represented by Mr. Christidis, Head of the Greek Delegation to the O.E.C.D., accompanied by Mr. Marcopoulos, Mr. Malatestas, Director-General of the Ministry of Labour, Mr. Polyzos, Director of Social Policy at the Ministry of Co-ordination, Mr. Doussis, Director of Economic Planning at the same Ministry, and Mr. Hatzidimitriou, Director of the Employment and Unemployment Insurance Office.

The examiners' report raised a number of questions, and others were brought up at the meeting. The Greek authorities replied to a number of the points made. It was agreed that they would draw up, on their side, a report setting out the views of Greece in these matters.

The Greek authorities' report was considered by the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee at its September 1964 session. Mr. Christidis, Mr. Polyzos and Mr. Hatzidimitriou were accompanied by Mr. Pavlakis and Mr. Kassimos of the Ministry of Labour, and Mr. Balapoulos of the Ministry of Co-ordination. Supplementary questions were put to the Greek Delegation, which provided the further particulars requested.

With a view to combining both the examiners' report and the Greek Authorities' report, and taking account of the factual material brought to light during the discussions, it was decided that Professor Kayser, of the Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines of Toulouse University would be asked to draw up a composite report.

It is this report which follows. In agreeing to its publication, the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee approved the summary of the conclusions drawn from the Greek review and set out on the last page.

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INTRODUCTION

MAIN FEATURES OF THE GREEK ECONOMY

1. The Greek economy is « *in process of development* »: for the last ten years, the production indices have been steadily rising, while both the infrastructure of the country and living conditions have remarkably improved. This new epoch can be said to have started in 1953-54 when the scars of the Civil War were beginning to fade: a new drachma was created at what later proved to be a stable rate of exchange (30 drachmae to the dollar), and production resumed its upward trend. Bank deposits were expanding once more while the deficit on the balance of trade slowly shrank.

2. However, the climb began from a long way down, for production did not re-attain its pre-war level before 1951. One must not therefore be dazzled by the rate of growth: despite an increase of 7.4 per cent per year at constant prices between 1954 and 1961, the Gross Domestic Product is still small and Gross National Income, at current prices, still amounted to only \$ 407 per capita in 1962.

3. Having at last hoisted itself clear of the \$ 400 water-mark, can the country be said to be at least past the « taking-off point »? An investigation of Greek economic structures gives reason to doubt that this is so, for it brings out the typical limping gait of under-developed mediterranean economies: the impact that the olive crop, at the usual two-yearly interval, has on growth rates shows the considerable importance which the traditional agricultural sector still assumes.

TABLE 1. RATE OF GROWTH OF THE GREEK ECONOMY
PERCENTAGE INCREASE PER YEAR IN GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AT
CONSTANT PRICES

1956-57	8.3 per cent	1960-61	11.2 per cent
1957-58	2.7 per cent	1961-62	4.2 per cent
1958-59	4.3 per cent	1962-63	7.8 per cent
1959-60	3.8 per cent		

4. In ten years (1951-1962), the share of National Income accounted for by Agriculture has only fallen from 33.5 per cent to 27.6 per cent and, what is more important, the manufacturing industries have only increased

their share from 16.4 per cent to 17.9 per cent. The relatively satisfactory growth rates for National Income thus conceal some degree of structural sluggishness. It is important to stress this point before dealing with the active population, since it is precisely the agricultural sector—the growth of which plays so important a part in the entire economy—which is the source of the main outflows of manpower.

TABLE 2. GREEK NATIONAL INCOME

	1952 (CURRENT PRICES)	1962 (CURRENT PRICES)	AVERAGE PERCENTAGE YEARLY GROWTH (CONSTANT PRICES)
Agriculture, fisheries, forestry	33.5	27.6	4.9
Industry	21.4	26.6	9.6
<i>of which manufacturing industries</i>	16.4	17.9	8.4
Services	43.9	42.5	5.6
Net income from abroad	1.2	3.3	17.5
National Income	100.0	100.0	6.6

5. Furthermore, though it is true that the economic infrastructure is stronger than it was, that domestic savings are now making a genuine contribution to the development of the country, and that public finance is on a sounder footing, the fact remains (and this is a characteristic feature) that building still accounts for 60 per cent of private investment.

6. Lastly, the trend of foreign trade shows up and emphasizes the structural weaknesses of the economy: the sluggishness of export trade is equally due to the fact that primary products account for the best part of output and to the declining trend of world prices for basic commodities. The soaring increase in imports is due not only to capital development requirements but also to the pressure of consumer demand resulting from the allocation of foreign aid. In short, the balance of trade is thus badly upset and the balance of payments only saved by a large surplus on « invisibles » (emigrants remittances, shipping and tourism).

7. There has been unquestionable progress in agriculture, some of its resources are still untapped, and its achievements must be regarded as the direct result of modernisation, but the general feeling is that in Greece as elsewhere the whole economic future depends on industrialisation.

8. However, the present situation of the industrial sector is not particularly cheerful. Its weakness is revealed not only by the fact that this sector employs only one fifth of the active population and accounts for only a quarter of the National Income (and only 13 per cent and 18 per cent respectively, if we take the manufacturing industries alone), it is the actual structure of the industrial sector which is mainly at fault.

9. If we consider first the branches which make up this structure, the metal and chemical industries are conspicuously weak:

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF VALUE ADDED ACCOUNTED FOR BY MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Food	27 per cent	Metal industries	15 per cent
Tobacco	12 per cent	Chemicals	6 per cent
Textiles, clothing	21 per cent	Others	12 per cent
Building materials	7 per cent		

10. Next there is the social structure: according to the 1958 Industrial Census, of 105,000 firms (excluding «cottage industries») less than 1,000 were joint stock companies. Less than 6,000 employed more than nine persons, and only 720 employed 50 or more (in all, less than a quarter of the industrial labour force); in 1962, only 17 firms—including seven in the tobacco industry—employed more than 1,000 persons: only 30,000 firms were mechanised, and only in 843 of them did the power available exceed 100 horsepower (CV).

11. Lastly, there is the geographical structure: Athens with its surrounding area embraces nearly a quarter of the total population, over half the manufacturing industries of the country, and so accounts for 54 per cent of the employment figures and 56 per cent of Value Added. Two-thirds of the labour force employed in firms with more than 100 wage or salary earners live there. Its predominance is particularly overwhelming in the following fields: metal manufacturing, publishing, ready-made clothing and footwear (80 per cent concentration). This concentration of industry is of course coupled with that of other economic activities which both foster its growth and thrive on it themselves. 43 per cent of the active population employed in commercial occupations work in Athens, and, if the wholesale trade is taken singly, they account for 66 per cent of the country's total turnover. Eighty per cent of Greek imports are unloaded in ports situated in the Athens area and housebuilding in Athens has been as much as 67 per cent of the figure for the entire country.

12. The recent putting in train or commissioning of a few large units is likely to change this state of affairs; i.e., construction of three sugar mills; European-wide development of the activities of a textile firm; installation of more chemical fertilizer factories; first stage towards a national iron and steel industry; formation of an international concern for the production of aluminium and, lastly, the creation at Salonika of a large industrial complex embracing fuel and power, petrochemicals and iron and steel.

13. But it still remains to be seen whether these «graftings» will lead to a sufficient proliferation of labour-intensive industries at the earlier stages, and, above all, at the later stages of the productive process, for this

seems to be the only way to reshape the present structure of the Greek economy radically and permanently and bring it into line with present-day development.

14. Structural problems thus lie at the very core of all the future changes and development in Greece.

15. Under a special Agreement which came into force at the end of 1962, Greece has *Associate* status in the European Economic Community. This Agreement brings considerable short and middle-term benefits to the Greek economy: within the Common Market, Greek products are immediately entitled to exactly the same treatment as those of the Six, thus implying a substantial gain for agricultural exports. Furthermore, Greece is allowed some latitude for the erection of the Common External Tariff and specially extended time limits for the lowering of Customs barriers. Exports, by the Six, of industrial products which are also manufactured in Greece will not be allowed into the country duty-free until 1984; goods which do not fear competition will not be duty-free before 1974.

16. However, a time-limit has been set, and the radical changes which development implies must be accomplished before it expires.

17. The present institutional, structural and administrative arrangements of the country are such that the executive authority clearly has wide possibilities for swaying the course of development. Although the weapons which the Law provides have hitherto been used by governments more to safeguard vested interests than to promote genuine changes, a dynamic approach to government intervention is conceivable. This could in fact embrace a very wide field, with indirect measures such as controls, special levies, tax exemptions, subsidies and preferential rates, or direct action through nationalised or semi-nationalised concerns, such as the Electricity Authority, the State Railways, the Industrial Development Organisation, the Agricultural Bank of Greece, the Bank of Greece, the National Bank, the National Tourism Organisation, etc.

18. For better efficiency, the Greek Government also has a Planning Department. Though still on a modest footing and concerned with what can only just be described as indicative planning, it has already supplied the Government with a Five-Year Plan (in 1960) and with ten-year development prospects (in 1962). It is, in particular, through such programmes that Greece plainly reveals the inadequacy of its resources and applies for foreign aid, on the familiar principle that this aid is intended to « trigger off » development.

* * *

19. Even this quite summary review of the basic data concerning the Greek economy shows fairly clearly that only the elaboration of a delibe-

rate policy in all sectors of economic and social activity can bring the country up to the high level of development which is within its reach.

20. From this angle, the matching of manpower requirements and resources is, without question, a key objective. That is why it is vitally important to investigate the factors on which the labour market situation depends and the possible contents of a rational manpower policy.

Chapter I

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

1. According to the 1961 census, the Greek population was 8,388,553, or 9.9 per cent more than in 1951, but this overall figure does not give as clear an idea of the rate of increase as can be had from the annual estimates: the yearly rate of growth before the war usually ranged between 1.2 and 1.5 per cent, but was down to an average of 1.1 per cent in the first few years after the war and had dropped distinctly below 1 per cent by 1954.

2. Assuming that the information given by the 1951 census is accurate—although the overall figures are doubtless slightly under-estimated and although the registration of births, and especially of deaths, was probably deficient, at least in the early stages—the Greek population balance sheet for the period from one census to the next can be shown as follows:

Gross increase in population	755,752
Surplus of births over deaths	963,149
Net emigration (calculated)	207,397

3. In practice, emigration must have been larger, probably beyond the 250,000 mark, but the fact remains that, during this period, migration was distinctly outstripped by the natural growth of the population.

4. This was no longer true in the most recent years, even if it is borne in mind that the total number of emigrants must be scaled down to allow for those who return home permanently:

TABLE 4. NATURAL GROWTH AND MIGRATION

	SURPLUS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS	DEPARTURES
1959	99,347	23,684
1960	96,676	47,768
1961	86,087	58,837
1962	85,827	84,054
1963	80,913	100,072

5. Under present conditions, the growth of the population is thus coming to a standstill. The setback is recorded in the official figures based on the estimates calculated as at 30th June of each year. They indicate that the growth rate fell from 0.9 per cent in 1960-61 to 0.6 per cent in 1961-62.

NATURAL GROWTH

6. The crude birth rate has fallen since the war to a remarkable degree and now seems to be steadied at a level similar to that of Western Europe. After ranging between 25 and 30 per thousand in the 'thirties it has not exceeded 20 per thousand since the war (even though the official registration of births has much improved). The lowest point was reached in 1963, i.e. between 16.8 and 17.2 per thousand, according to the population estimates.

7. The birth rate has fallen so sharply because family planning has become more common: a first proof of this is the considerable difference which still remains between the birth rate in rural communities (21.2 per 1,000 in 1961) and in the towns (15.1 per 1,000 in Athens, 15.6 in Salonika) where new outlooks spread far more quickly. More evidence is given by the fertility rates: these, which exclude the impact of the age structure (general fertility rate = number of births per 1,000 women aged from 15 to 49), are particularly low: 69.2 per 1,000 in 1961, or distinctly less than in several Western European countries.

8. The crude death rates are much lower than they were before the War even though, here too, registration must have improved. Invariably above 13 per 1,000 up to 1940, they fell below the 8 per 1,000 level by 1949 and have remained there since.

9. However, they have ceased to fall for the last ten years or so, partly because the infant mortality rate has reached a level consistent with present standards and ways of living (40 per 1,000) and partly as a direct consequence of the ageing of the population.

10. On balance, the natural rate of growth is slowly declining, as can be seen from the following table.

TABLE 5. CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES

Per 1,000.

	BIRTHS	DEATHS	SURPLUS
1954.....	19.2	7.0	12.2
1958.....	19.0	7.1	11.9
1959.....	19.4	7.4	12.0
1960.....	18.9	7.3	11.6
1961.....	17.9	7.6	10.3
1962.....	18.0	7.9	10.1
1963.....	17.1	7.7	9.4

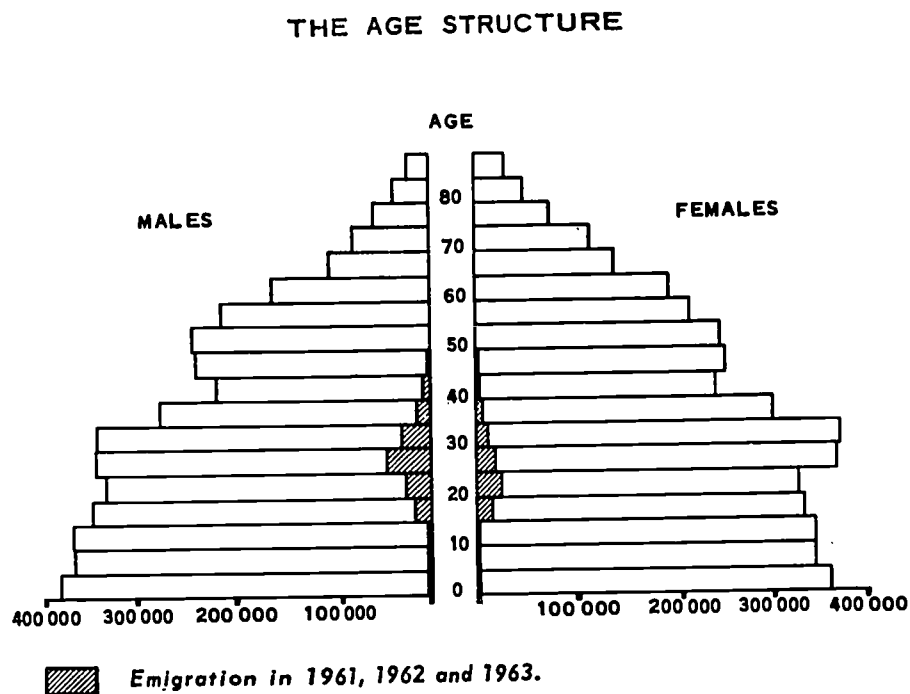
EMIGRATION

11. All the essential data concerning emigration are discussed in Chapter III, but its scale and quickening pace must be briefly mentioned here to show how it fits into the demographic situation as a whole.

12. During the first 20 years of this century, 400,000 emigrants left « old » Greece, that is to say, areas in the Centre and Southern part of the country with a population of about 2.5 million. From 1951 to 1960 recorded emigration for the country as a whole was only slightly over 250,000; departures were at a much slower rate. In 1960, however, the pace quickened, the 1914 record was beaten and departures doubled from one year to the next. By 1963, the yearly rate of emigration (number of emigrants compared with the total population) was 1.2 per cent (as against an average of 0.8 per cent at the beginning of the century).

THE AGE STRUCTURE

13. The adjusted figures for the last census give the age structure of the Greek population as on 1st January, 1961, that is to say, at a time when it only dimly reflects the impact of additional emigration. More data for measuring its significance will be found in Chapter III.



14. The age pyramid, in five-year age groups, suggests a population which is still fairly young, but there is a significant break on its bottom slopes. The Second World War has left its mark by thinning the ranks of the « juveniles » age-group (age 15-19), while the post-war upturn in the birthrate, though plainly noticeable in the 10-15 age group, has had only a limited influence. The 5-9 age group reflects the impact of family planning and the repercussions of the depleted numbers in the 35-44 age group. The « infants » (0-4) being mainly the offspring of persons born during the population « bulge » between the wars, are slightly more numerous because of the elimination of this latter factor.

15. It is precisely in the 25-34 age groups that the highest pre-war birthrates can be traced, and they even include more females than do those for present-day children. However, on each side of the bulge there are two deep troughs carved by the losses in two World Wars. Lastly the smoothly traced summit of the pyramid shows that the increase in average life span is a recent development.

16. This image thus bears the signs of serious structural disequilibria. The traditional division into three or four groups, in order to measure the burden that the « naturally » inactive age groups lay on the community, does not give a sufficiently striking picture of the serious problems arising from the demographic structure of Greece.

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF ADULTS BY FIVE-YEAR AGE GROUPS
In percentage.

	M	F
15-19 years	7.6	7.1
20-24 years	8.8	8.5
25-29 years	8.4	8.7
30-34 years	8.4	8.7
35-39 years	6.0	6.2
40-44 years	5.2	5.6
45-49 years	6.0	6.0
50-54 years	5.6	5.5
55-59 years	4.9	4.8
Total	60.9	61.1

17. In fact, emigration—which essentially affects the 20-34 age groups—combined with the upcoming « hollow-ranked » generations must be dangerously reducing and levelling off the percentages accounted for by the « young adult » age groups: in 1964, each of the four five-year groups ranging from age 20 to age 40 probably does not exceed—where males are concerned—eight per cent of the total.

INTERNAL MIGRATION

18. The huge importance of internal migration in the economic and social life of present-day Greece is borne out by various calculations and surveys:

- a) According to the pilot census of 1960, 56 per cent of the inhabitants of Greater Athens were not born there (total immigration estimated at 867,000). According to the general census of 1961, 218,200 persons settled in the capital between 1956 and 1960, i.e. 13.9 per cent of the city's population.
- b) In the five years from 1956 to 1960, 690,000, i.e. nearly one Greek in every ten, moved their homes inside the country. But it must be admitted that this figure includes small intra-rural migration as well as migratory drifts in the true sense. This latter type, according to the calculations for net migration, could have involved over 600,000 persons in the ten years from 1951 to 1961.
- c) It has been reckoned that, from 1956 to 1960, some 250,000 persons, or 50,000 a year, moved from rural and semi-urban areas to towns with a population exceeding 10,000 (80 per cent of them going to Athens).

19. The main course and destination of these currents is clear: they run chiefly towards Athens and, to a lesser degree, Salonika, the only city classifiable as a provincial capital. Local concentrations, if not completely absent, leave no lasting effect: in 39 towns out of 55, migration leaves a negative balance or breaks roughly even. If Salonika, Athens and its immediate satellites are excluded, there remains only about a dozen provincial towns with a flourishing population. It looks as though the Greek provincial towns and large villages act essentially as relay points for the main population drifts: 57 per cent of the migrants to Athens come from there.

20. This state of affairs handicaps local economic development, but it must be emphasized that, at the receiving end, this migration does not seem to foster the growth of a poverty-stricken and under-employed fringe of town workers as it does in most under-developed countries. In Athens, the employment ration is higher for migrants than for non-migrants (80 per cent for males aged over 10 years, as compared with 64 per cent), and unemployment ratios are much the same for both groups. It does seem that the attractive side of migration here plainly outweighs the drawbacks.

THE DIVERSITY OF REGIONAL SITUATIONS

21. Migration is both a factor and a token of the wide regional disparities which are a feature of the social geography of Greece: the human and economic environment is in fact extremely heterogeneous, and this explains both the strength of the impulses behind the drifts of population and the obstacles to evenly-balanced development.

22. With regard to the rough direction of population trends, attention must first be drawn to the shrinking pattern of distribution of the Greek population over the last 20 years. The outer fringes of the country are conspicuous for a persistent decline which began or was accelerated during the War: the frontier areas on the mainland, nearly all the islands and southern Peloponnesus are losing their inhabitants. Against this, obvious progress is being made along the stretch which runs roughly along the Athens-Salonika axis: from Attica and east-central Greece, where the « pull » exerted in the vicinity of the capital is most directly felt, to the rich plains of Eastern Thessaly and of Western and Southern Macedonia, the living core of Greece is increasingly taking shape.

23. Apart from these two typical entities—the outer fringe and the core—the Greek provinces show a variegated picture where demographic trends are concerned. Only one unit stands out from the rest: the group formed by Western Thessaly and Southern Epirus where the rapid growth is due to the still elementary stage of demography in that area.

24. The trends differ in line with the respective factors of change and, in this respect, the disparities are striking. At « departmental » level, for instance, birth rates range from 28.31 to 14.48 per thousand, death rates from 5.78 to 10.46 per thousand, the ratio of the « under 15 age group » to the total population from 37.61 per cent to 21.28 per cent, and the rate of emigration to other countries from 39.43 to 1.22 per thousand.

25. However, the most significant and portentous disparities are those between the capital and the rest of the country. They can be stated in terms of « consumption »: Athens has more than half the hospital beds and 85 per cent of the specialist medical practitioners in the country, 70 per cent of the students enrolled in Greek higher education establishments, one motor car for every 55 inhabitants (as compared with 436 for the rest of the country), and accounts for 60 per cent of the power consumed in Greece as a whole. Yearly average income per capita is 35 per cent higher, and growing faster than elsewhere; average household expenditure in Athens is 1½ times as much as in provincial towns.

26. This shows how necessary it is to « regionalise » the studies, projects and action taken in Greece for purposes of economic and social development.

POPULATION FORECASTS

27. The above procedure could usefully be applied in particular to population forecasts, but a misapprehension of local migration trends can lead to serious errors in this field.

28. At national level—to which the principal projections refer—it is considered fairly certain that the natural increase will continue to slacken down. The death rate, already at a fairly low level, will decrease only very slowly: in this connection, the ageing of the population offsets the

improvement in sanitary conditions which entails, in particular, a lower infant mortality rate. As for the birth rate, this should fall partly as a consequence of the « hollow-ranked » generations coming to the age of parenthood, and partly because of family planning. It is however possible that with an improved standard of living and the introduction of a policy in favour of larger families, the fertility rate might decrease more slowly than expected: it might even climb up again slightly in the towns. According to the projections of the National Statistics Institute, the yearly surplus of births over deaths will, in any event, decline.

29. According to Assumption I, the fertility rate would remain at its average level for the period 1950-1955—which is quite unrealistic; according to Assumption II, fertility rates decline at a somewhat slower pace than they did in the 10 years 1950-1960; in both cases, there is a slow decline in the death rate.

TABLE 7. PROJECTIONS OF YEARLY RATES OF NATURAL GROWTH AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

	1950-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980
Assumption I	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.8
Assumption II	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7

30. According to Assumption II, the age structure is appreciably altered, the population becoming relatively older.

TABLE 8. POPULATION FORECASTS BY AGE GROUPS EXCLUDING EMIGRATION

	UNIT: THOUSANDS				PER CENT			
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1950	1960	1970	1980
0-14	2,167	2,174	2,254	2,195	28.7	26.1	24.6	22.3
15-64	4,877	5,477	6,053	6,532	64.5	65.8	66.1	66.5
65 +	510	676	853	1,102	6.8	8.1	9.3	11.2
Total	7,554	8,327	9,160	9,829	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

31. The above forecasts have been calculated, from 1960 onwards, without taking emigration into account. They can only therefore serve as a basis for a fresh series of forecasts which are most difficult to work out owing to the elasticity of this new factor which must be reckoned with. But one thing is certain: emigration at its 1960-1964 level roughly cancels out the natural increase and, should it continue, the population of Greece might cease to rise above its present figure.

Chapter II

**MANPOWER SUPPLY AND DEMAND
ACTIVE POPULATION TRENDS AND PROSPECTS**

1. According to the 1961 census, the active population of Greece was 3,663,100, or 43.6 per cent of the total population and 53.1 per cent of all persons aged 10 years and over. Within this active population, females accounted for only 32.9 per cent and persons in employment, 93.5 per cent.

ANALYSIS BY SECTORS

2. Agriculture (which, throughout this review, also covers stock-breeding and fishing) is the main activity: it employs 1,185,000 men and 761,500 women, or 53.4 per cent of the total active population (men, 48.2 per cent; women, 63.9 per cent).

3. Outside the agricultural sector, females no longer account for more than 26 per cent of the active population. The breakdown of the total active population by sectors is shown in the following table:

TABLE 9. BREAKDOWN OF NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVE POPULATION BY SECTOR

	REAL FIGURES			TOTAL IN PER CENT
	M	F	TOTAL	
Mining and Quarrying	19,900	1,400	21,300	1.2
Manufacturing industries	327,100	153,900	481,000	28.1
Building and Civil Engineering	165,300	1,500	166,800	9.7
Water, Gas and Electricity	20,100	1,000	21,100	1.2
Commerce, Banking and Insurance ..	224,200	39,400	263,600	15.3
Transport	153,300	6,000	159,300	9.3
Other Services	291,000	152,100	443,100	25.9
Miscellaneous	72,000	79,900	151,900	9.3
Total	1,272,900	435,200	1,708,100	100.0

4. These figures underline the relative weakness of the secondary sector. Only 28.1 per cent of the non-agricultural active population is employed in the manufacturing industries, even allowing for the fact that

they cover all occupations in the industrial sector, including self-employed persons doing repair work, odd jobs, etc. The breakdown of the active population by branch of activity is as follows:

TABLE 10. BREAKDOWN OF THE ACTIVE POPULATION
IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

	NUMBER	PER CENT
Food, drink, tobacco	87,600	18.2
Textiles	58,900	12.2
Clothing and footwear	117,800	24.5
Timber	51,600	10.8
Paper	17,600	3.6
Chemicals	16,200	3.4
Building materials	20,900	4.4
Metals	59,000	12.3
Mechanical engineering	29,300	6.1
Miscellaneous	22,100	4.5
	481,000	100.0

5. It will be noticed that the chief industries—metals, mechanical engineering and chemicals—account for a relatively small share: barely more than a fifth of the industrial active population (21.8 per cent) and less than the clothing industries alone. The lion's share of this sector is in fact taken by those industries which are most directly linked with consumption, often even in the narrowest local context.

6. The industrial census of 1958, which reckoned the manufacturing industry labour force at 432,000, gauged the fundamental structural weaknesses of this sector. The relative importance of cottage industries (in the strict sense of industrial work undertaken in the home) is considerable: 67,228 persons are employed in them. Merely in the clothing and footwear sector already mentioned, they employ a labour force of 47,132 as compared with 74,974 in industry proper—including firms employing less than five workers, which make up the most numerous category. More than half the labour force (53.2 per cent) is employed in firms comprising from 10 to 49 persons of working age. Only 26.5 per cent are left for employment in firms having 50 or more persons of working age.

7. The tertiary sector (Commerce, Transport, Other Services) has a labour force of 865,900, or 23.6 per cent of the total active population and 51 per cent of the non-agricultural active population. Within this sector, Commerce, Banking and Insurance (263,600) together with Transport and Communications (159,300) roughly balance the combined figure for Administrative, Domestic and « Other » Services. These services combined provide most of the jobs for women in industry proper and in the « cottage industries ». Women account for 32 per cent of the labour force in the manufacturing industries, 15 per cent in Commerce, but 34.5 per cent in « Services », the latter ultimately accounting for 42.4 per cent of the women employed in non-agricultural sectors.

GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

8. The geographical distribution of « departmental » activity rates by no means follows a standard pattern. This is due not only to the location of the towns, where the employment of young people and women is relatively slight, but even more so to the location of crops. Owing to the large female labour force required for the growing and harvesting of tobacco, Eastern Macedonia and Thrace have the highest activity rates in Greece. But because of the technical problems arising from the interpretation of activity rates, particularly because of the haziness which invariably surrounds the census figures for the female active population in agriculture, it is impossible to make projections on this motley geographical basis in order to get even a summary idea of local manpower surpluses.

9. Greater Athens accounts for 40 per cent of the labour force in the secondary sector, and Greater Salonika, 8.6 per cent; one half of all industrial employment is thus concentrated in these two big cities alone, the other half being shared between the main provincial towns and the rural parts of the country, and this sharp contrast is emphasized by the fact that the industrial activity rate—ratio of industrial labour force to total population—in the provinces (excluding Athens and Salonika) is only 12.7 per cent; the corresponding figures for the manufacturing industries alone (and it must again be emphasized that these include « cottage industries ») drops to 8.5 per cent.

10. The nine « departments » lying on the Athens-Salonika-Kavala axis together account for nearly two thirds (64.2 per cent) of the persons employed in the secondary sector.

TABLE 11. GEOGRAPHICAL BREAK-DOWN OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT (1961)

	EMPLOYMENT IN THE SECONDARY SECTOR		EMPLOYMENT IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES		EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES PER CENT OF ACTIVE POPULATION
		%		%	
Athens.....	273,700	39.7	200,400	41.7	27.9
Salonika	59,600	8.6	43,400	9.0	30.5
Other towns ¹	169,200	24.5	121,900	25.3	23.9
Rest of Greece	187,800	27.2	115,300	24.0	5.0
Total	690,300	100.0	481,000	100.0	13.1

1. Towns with a population of over 10,000.

11. The geographical distribution of the tertiary sector obviously matches the contours of the urban districts but, here too, it must be remembered that Athens (43.2 per cent) and Salonika (7.6 per cent) account for over half of the total population employed in the tertiary sector. In the provinces, the corresponding employment rate is only 15.1 per cent.

UNEMPLOYMENT

12. No comparison whatsoever is possible between the statistics based on the records of Placement Offices and those resulting from the 1961 census. Those in the first category omit all persons who, for any reason, do not see fit to report that they are seeking employment; the second set of figures is based on the answers to a question which left a good deal of scope for subjective interpretation, since «unemployed workers are those who have been employed for less than ten hours during the week preceding that of the census, or who have had no employment at all, and who replied, when questioned, that they were looking for work».

13. According to the Ministry of Labour statistics, the number of *registered unemployed* is declining slightly; in any event, this can be taken as a sign that the labour market is not moving in the wrong direction—doubtless because of the relief of pressure afforded by emigration.

TABLE 12. REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED — MONTHLY AVERAGES —
UNIT '000
ADJUSTED FOR SEASONAL VARIATIONS

	1ST QUARTER	2ND QUARTER	3RD QUARTER	4TH QUARTER
1960	88	92	84	82
1961	81	75	76	71
1962	69	78	80	74
1963	73	74	68	62
1964	62	—	—	—

14. According to the census of March 1961, the number of unemployed was much larger: 238,700, or 6.5 per cent of the active population. Of this number, 87,300—more than a third—were young people seeking employment for the first time; 36,000 of them belonged to the agricultural sector and a few thousands or even tens of thousands could be classified as seasonally unemployed.

15. The statistics for 1961 underline the thorniest problems which unemployment involves or brings to light.

16. *Female unemployment.* Nearly half the unemployed are women, which means that the unemployment rate in the female labour force is particularly high. When broken down according to branches of activity, female unemployment is found to be considerable in the tobacco industry, where women account for two thirds of the numbers employed and where the work is seasonal, and also in the textile industry; here, the staff turnover for young people is swift as it is more profitable for the firms concerned to get cheap labour by employing apprentices.

17. *Employment of Young people.* This problem does not arise merely in the textile industry and in the « Prenuptial » age group where the demand for female employment is particularly strong. It applies to all categories; the number of jobs open to young people and young adults is quite plainly inadequate; in the first place, young people are themselves very often lacking in the professional skills which the labour market requires and, secondly, the competition for jobs in administration and services is such that most of them are inevitably allocated to adults. Lastly it must be pointed out that a substantial proportion of the young people with a good educational background are affected; ten per cent of the active population having attended a secondary school are unemployed, compared with 7 per cent for workers having completed their elementary schooling and 6 per cent for those who dropped out.

TABLE 13. UNEMPLOYMENT RECORDED BY THE 1961 CENSUS —
STRUCTURE BY AGE AND SEX

AGE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	PER CENT	PER CENT OF THE ACTIVE POPULATION
10-24	50,100	56,800	106,900	44.2	12.0
25-34	32,400	29,500	61,900	26.0	6.3
35-44	16,700	14,100	30,800	13.0	4.9
45-54	14,000	10,900	24,900	11.0	4.0
55-64	10,000	2,300	12,300	5.0	3.2
65 +	1,700	400	2,100	0.8	—
Total	124,900	114,000	238,900	100.0	6.5

18. *The sectors affected.* This is difficult to analyse exactly because, of the 238,900 unemployed, 87,300 are seeking employment for the first time and, what is more, 38,000 (15.8 per cent) did not indicate to which branch they considered they belonged. The remaining unemployed, however, are most unevenly distributed: 15 per cent in Agriculture, 23.8 per cent in Industry and 8.7 per cent in « Services ».

TABLE 14. UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SECTOR

	UNEMPLOYED	ACTIVE POPULATION	PERCENTAGE
Agriculture	36,000	1,955,000	1.8
Mining and Quarrying	4,000	21,300	1.8
Building	19,000	166,800	11.3
Manufacturing industries	37,100	481,000	7.7
<i>of which</i> Drink and Tobacco	17,300	37,300	46.4
Water, fuel and power	1,000	21,100	4.7
Commerce	3,700	263,600	1.4
Transport	9,000	159,300	5.6
Other services	7,900	443,000	1.8

19. Unemployment rates are particularly low in mining and quarrying, commerce and services. (Within this latter category, domestic servants have the lowest rates, 2.7 per cent, and merchant seamen the highest, 6.1 per cent.) The rates are fairly high in industry but, for familiar technological and seasonal reasons, the tobacco (and drink) industry accounts for nearly half the industrial unemployment; the high rate of unemployment for building is also partly due to seasonal fluctuations.

20. The low unemployment rates in agriculture raise the question of under-employment. Although it is most difficult to measure this exactly, it has been reckoned in the light of the 1961 census that some 625,000 persons were under-employed, including 475,000 in agriculture. But it would be truer to say that the agricultural labour force is ill-employed rather than under-employed in the strict sense since careful investigations have shown¹ that local and seasonal surpluses are now coupled with genuine shortages in peak periods.

21. *Geographical aspects.* The mobility of the population, however substantial, is not sufficient to offset the extremely high concentration of employment supply. Although the population in Athens is growing swiftly owing to the influx of migrants, there is less unemployment there than in other Greek towns.

TABLE 15. PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYED IN THE ACTIVE POPULATION, 1961

	GREECE	ATHENS	OTHER TOWNS
Men.....	4.9	7.7	9.0
Women	9.5	16.7	24.6

22. According to the figures which the Ministry of Labour publishes each month in the light of the Placement Office records, unemployment rates in the provinces are in fact particularly high. Many towns, whose industrial activity is seasonal because they are situated in mainly agricultural areas, suffer from very sharp fluctuations in employment in the course of the year and almost all of them have a very large manpower surplus all the time. In the following table, monthly average unemployment rates are calculated by comparing the average number of registered unemployed in February and July 1964 with the active population, the latter being taken to be 36 per cent of the total population in 1961 (i.e. the overall activity rate for provincial towns: exact figures are available for the active population in Athens, Salonika and Patras).

1. Surplus Labor in Greek Agriculture. Center of Economic Research, Athens, 1962.

TABLE 16. UNEMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED GREEK TOWNS, 1964

TOWN	TOTAL POPULATION 1961	REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYMENT RATE
		FEBRUARY	JULY	
Athens.....	1,852,709	32,022	43,369	5.2
Salonika.....	378,444	12,137	10,123	7.8
Patras.....	102,244	3,842	3,017	8.6
Heraklion.....	69,983	3,446	4,397	13.0
Volos.....	67,424	6,223	3,788	20.8
Larissa.....	55,391	1,984	1,729	9.8
Kavala.....	44,517	7,010	4,038	34.9
Serrès.....	40,063	4,002	2,513	22.6
Agrinion.....	30,670	2,290	1,544	17.4
Verria.....	25,765	573	1,662	12.4

23. These few examples show how Greek unemployment problems require close investigation, for the tragic scale of unemployment in many large provincial towns is clouded by the overall figures.

FORECASTS

24. In such a case as Greece, a knowledge of the past is of little use for judging future developments. But it is not altogether pointless to bear in mind the main aspects of the changes in the structure of the active population between the two last censuses (1951-1961) before considering the forecasts of the planning authorities.

25. From 1951 to 1961, the structural change of the active population seems to have been particularly slow. A fairly rough assessment—which is as far as one can go in view of the technical differences in the data supplied by each census—shows that the activity rates of the total population are much the same: 43.1 per cent and 43.7 per cent, and that the distribution by sectors is not significantly altered.

TABLE 17. BREAKDOWN OF ACTIVE POPULATION BY SECTORS IN 1951 AND 1961

	1951	1961
Agriculture.....	56.8	53.4
Mining and quarrying.....	0.4	0.6
Manufacturing industries.....	13.3	13.1
Building.....	2.2	4.6
Fuel and Power.....	0.3	0.6
Commerce.....	6.4	7.2
Transport.....	4.0	4.3
Other services.....	11.4	12.1
Unspecified.....	5.2	4.1
	100.0	100.0

26. On the other hand, the active population has risen by 11.75 per cent in ten years, but the increase is by no means evenly spread. The agricultural population (+4.9 per cent) and even the industrial population (+ 10.8 per cent) have risen less quickly than the average; on the other hand, the labour force has increased in building by 134 per cent, in commerce by 25.5 per cent and in « services » by 21.3 per cent.

27. On this basis, ordinary linear projections hardly seemed suitable, and the Greek authorities had to work out their forecasts with the help of detailed analyses by sector and by product: the forecasts of economic growth, weighted according to estimated improvements in productivity, ultimately lead to forecasts of employment and of the active population's adjustment to the employment pattern.

28. Thus, according to the Memorandum drawn up in 1962 by the Ministry of Co-ordination and submitted to the O.E.C.D., the forecasts are that, given a growth rate of 6 per cent and an increase in productivity of 5.1 per cent per year, employment will rise, from 1961 to 1971, by 1.1 per cent per year on average: 1.1 per cent in agriculture, + 2.8 per cent in industry and 3.3 per cent in « services ». In round figures, this implies the supply of 600,000 additional jobs outside agriculture in ten years; 300,000 of them would be filled by the natural increase in the labour force, 200,000 by the release of agricultural manpower and 100,000 by absorbing some of the unemployed.

29. Other forecasts, published more recently, give a prospective balance sheet of the labour market for the ten years 1963-1973 and, according to different variants, the net rate of increase in total employment they suggest is only between 0.7 and 0.9 per cent.

TABLE 18. OUTLINE TREND OF THE LABOUR MARKET 1963-1973
AVERAGES OF VARIANTS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION

MANPOWER RESOURCES	EMPLOYMENT
Natural growth of active population ¹ +460,000 (12.5%)	Agriculture .. -250,000 (-15%)
Emigration of gainful workers -260,000	Industry +140,000 (+20%)
Decrease in unemployment + 90,000 (-40%)	Tertiary Sector +400,000 (+38%)
Net increase in manpower availabilities +290,000	Total +290,000 (+ 8%)

1. Allowing for a change in the activity rates for women and young people.

30. By and large, it seems clear that the « emigration » and « release of agricultural manpower » variants are far more conjectural than those for the increase in employment. In both the forecasts summarised above, they seem to have been estimated too cautiously.

31. As a matter of fact, emigration to other countries at its present rate is enough to upset the labour market forecasts entirely.

Chapter III

EMIGRATION — A MAJOR ISSUE

1. Emigration has so far been only roughly and empirically computed by the Greek National Statistics Institute. Most Greeks can cross the frontiers freely and only a few of those who leave the country are officially known to be classifiable as emigrants, that is to say, those who have a Ministry of Labour contract. Hence, notwithstanding the partial data obtainable from this source, the number of « permanent emigrants » is reckoned entirely on the basis of the forms which all outward-bound travellers have to hand in to the Police at the frontier. It is by sorting these forms, with due regard to the information on three points: country of destination—occupation—date of last entry into Greece, that ordinary travellers can be sifted from genuine emigrants.

2. These statistics are, in principle, a poor indication of permanent emigration (i.e. extending over several years) as they cannot be compared with the figures for emigrants returning home, these figures being practically unknown. It has been asserted that these might amount to 30 or 35 per cent. This would cover *all* those inward bound, even for a temporary stay but does not show which of them are returning home permanently. Only one criterion is available on this point: the difference between the recorded number of emigrants to Germany up to January 1963 (108,000) and the number of Greek emigrants counted in Germany at that date (89,149). If allowance is made for those who returned home provisionally, this difference—everything considered—is rather slight, but should normally increase as time goes on.

3. In any event, the methods of computing permanent emigration, combined with the small scale of repatriation so far, make it possible to investigate the matter on the basis of the statistics supplied, the latter apparently implying only a slight over-estimate.

THE DATA AVAILABLE

4. From 1950 to 1954, the total number of departures did not exceed 20,000 a year, and at least two-thirds of them were for countries overseas; from 1955 to 1959, they ranged from 20,000 to 30,000 a year, the percentage of overseas emigration remaining the same. The sudden change came in 1960: first in the numbers involved, since departures rose to

nearly 50,000 and, secondly, in the geographical pattern, since the overseas countries (especially Australia, the United States and Canada) took less than 40 per cent. These trends were subsequently confirmed: in 1963, there were twice as many departures as in 1960 and overseas countries no longer accounted for more than a quarter.

TABLE 19. DEPARTURES AND DESTINATIONS

YEAR	NUMBER	DESTINATION	
		OVERSEAS PER CENT	GERMANY PER CENT
1959.....	23,684	58.5	10.7
1960.....	47,768	37.0	44.8
1961.....	58,837	29.3	52.7
1962.....	84,054	26.1	59.0
1963.....	100,072	24.5	64.7
1964 ¹	51,227	24.7	69.8

1. First six months.

5. Emigration has to be analysed by age and sex to understand its implications. The sex ratio shows that women are not considerably outnumbered: 40.7 women for every 100 emigrants in 1959, 38.1 per cent in 1963. Female emigration was already substantial when the main outlets were overseas, Australia and Canada then taking a large number of couples and domestic servants; it is once again taking a large share in the flow of emigrants to European countries, after a period when the drift to Germany consisted almost entirely of men (80 per cent in 1960).

6. When the age pyramid of emigrants is compared with that of the total population, the drain on the youth of the country is amazing: 4.7 per cent of the 25-29 age group in a single year!

7. Nearly half the emigrants are from 20 to 30 years old, an age-group accounting for only 17 per cent of the total population; nearly four-fifths of the emigrants, i.e. those aged between 15 and 35, fall within age groups accounting for a third of the population. There are also significant differences in the ages of male and female emigrants: 43.2 per cent of the women emigrants are aged between 15 and 25 as compared with 28 per cent for men.

8. *The geographical origin* of emigrants has considerably changed since they have had access to the German labour market. The main traditional sources of emigration were the Southern Peloponnesus, various islands in the Aegean and a few mountain areas in Western Macedonia, but the stream is now fed by the country as a whole. Though the flow of emigration from Crete and Central Greece is still slight and from Thessaly and Peloponnesus only moderate, it assumes huge proportions

in Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace: all the « departments » bordering the mainland frontiers from Corfu to Turkey lose from 1 to 4 per cent of their total population each year and, in some cases, nearly a tenth of their active population. Four-fifths of this heavy stream goes into Germany.

TABLE 20. EMIGRANTS DRAWN FROM EACH AGE GROUP IN 1962

AGE GROUP	NUMBER	EMIGRANTS	PER CENT
MEN			
0-14 years	1,114,302	2,201	0.2
15-19	346,078	5,608	1.6
20-24	333,916	8,959	2.7
25-29	343,016	16,064	4.7
30-34	342,708	10,241	3.0
35-39	273,351	4,729	1.7
40-44	214,217	1,907	0.9
45-49	235,587	872	0.4
50 and over	926,625	1,168	0.1
Total	4,129,800	1,749	1.25
WOMEN			
0-14 years	1,057,826	1,915	0.2
15-19	335,086	4,692	1.4
20-24	329,151	9,145	2.8
25-29	369,716	7,294	2.0
30-34	375,486	4,231	1.1
35-39	300,039	2,062	0.7
40-44	241,759	891	0.4
45-49	251,434	494	0.2
50 and over	1,060,374	1,373	0.1
Total	4,320,871	32,097	0.7

9. *The socio-occupational classification* of emigrants is difficult. The statistics available on the basis of departures are hazy: it would appear that 48.1 per cent of the emigrants in 1962 were unskilled, but there is no doubt that a good many of these were in fact farmers, as the very slight proportion (7.4 per cent) shown for this category is quite at variance with what can be seen by direct observation. Craftsmen and semi-skilled workers account for 8.1 per cent, while persons classifiable in the inactive population, mainly female, account for 28.1 per cent.

10. At the receiving end, at least where emigration to Germany is concerned, the range of occupations is fairly wide, but while the branches of economic activity in which emigrants have found employment are known, the precise knowledge of occupational gradings needed for a fair appraisal of the situation is lacking. The single significant clue given by the German authorities is that only 15 per cent of the Greek workers are classified as skilled.

TABLE 21. BREAKDOWN OF GREEK WORKERS
EMPLOYED IN GERMANY, 1963

	NUMBER	PER CENT
Agriculture	314	0.3
Mining and quarrying.....	4,705	5.2
Building.....	5,687	6.3
Metals	37,608	41.7
Textiles and clothing	12,567	13.9
Other manufacturing industries.....	22,612	25.0
Commerce	1,473	1.6
Services	5,453	0.6

* * *

11. A quick glance at these figures brings out the *selective* aspect of emigration and, hence, the serious disequilibria it inevitably entails. At each end of the migration channels, excessive specialisation is a risk: the huge importance which the German labour market has assumed, on the one hand, and the scale of the exodus from certain parts of Greece, on the other, may give reason to fear disastrous consequences if the economic situation should change. The drain on the younger generations is no less disquieting: besides the risk of damaging the demographic potential of the country it unquestionably deprives the population of its most vigorous elements. Moreover, the absorption of very many emigrants in heavy industry obviously dashes any hopes of their acquiring occupational skills that can be used in Greece.

EMIGRATION POLICY

12. Greek emigration is not left to drift at random or according to the natural impulses engendered by a free economy: to some degree, it is organised, channelled, supervised and protected by the authorities, but to some degree only. The Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (I.C.E.M.) has in Greece a Delegation which deals with advertising arrangements and with the guidance, recruitment, pre-selection and briefing of would-be emigrants to overseas countries. It also deals with transport: from 1st February, 1952 to 31st March, 1963 it organised the departure of 74,367 persons. But total overseas emigration during this period amounted to over twice this figure, i.e. roughly 180,000. As for emigration to Germany, though subject to the agreement signed by Germany and Greece on 31st March, 1960, this too partly escapes official supervision since there is nothing to prevent a Greek subject from travelling to Germany by his own devices. In 1962, the Ministry of Labour reported the departure of 31,893 persons with contracts, whereas the National Statistics Institute reckoned the number of emigrants at 49,532.

13. The most striking aspect of the work done by the *I.C.E.M.* is the vocational training of would-be emigrants. This training is organised by the Greek authorities within the existing structures and partly financed by the *I.C.E.M.* Accelerated training courses, lasting from 4 to 6 months, are provided in Athens, Salonika and Volos for industrial workers (electricians, fitters and turners). In 1962, 325 would-be emigrants to the Argentine and Brasil took courses: 252 were awarded certificates and 216 actually went. Training costs range between \$ 370 and \$ 1,550, of which the *I.C.E.M.* pays half. Training courses for employment in domestic service or the hospitals, entirely financed by the *I.C.E.M.*, are also available for young women: in 1962, 1,768 persons were enrolled for such courses, 1,064 were awarded certificates and 1,043 emigrated to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In order to standardize and concentrate these training facilities, the Greek government is building in Athens, with the help of the *I.C.E.M.*, a « Vocational Training and Emigration Centre » on the same lines as the one established at Salerno (Italy). It will comprise a male section for industrial workers (160 trainees every 6 months) and a female section for the training of catering, domestic and hospital staff (275 trainees every 4 months). It will also house all the other services concerned with arrangements for emigration. It is expected to begin operations in 1966 and the contribution of the *I.C.E.M.* will amount to \$ 145,000.

14. The Agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Greece of 30th March, 1960, which sponsors two-thirds of the departures to the Federal Republic of Germany, provides for a system of collaboration between the Greek and German official services. The German recruiting commission notifies vacancies to the Ministry of Labour in Athens. In the light of these vacancies, the Ministry allocates among the « departmental » manpower services the authorisations for the departure of would-be emigrants already placed on a waiting list. The German commission endorses the contracts signed with future employers, issues work permits valid for one year, is responsible for travel arrangements and pays the corresponding expenses. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the Greek commission defends the workers' interests and supervises the application of the Agreement.

15. The *I.C.E.M.* and the Agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Greece are the pillars of an emigration policy which, incidentally, embraces other bilateral agreements of a more limited kind. This policy—at least up to 1963—has consisted in giving unstinted support to emigration by treating it as an essential safety valve for the labour market and in defending and protecting the personal interests of emigrants to the utmost in the following ways :

1. Emigrants' rights and the general interest fully safeguarded by agreements on emigration itself or other matters such as trade, investment etc. between Greece and each of the countries absorbing a large number of emigrants.

2. Elaboration of special programmes between the countries concerned.
 - a) to provide would-be emigrants with full and reliable information on working and housing conditions and on the general way of life in the country where they propose to go;
 - b) to specify the period for which emigrants will be employed and how they are to be repatriated;
 - c) to offer emigrants the possibility of linguistic, technical and vocational training at the expense of the country of destination either before they leave or during their period of employment abroad;
 - d) to supervise the application of the agreed conditions concerning emigration and to provide emigrants with assistance through Greek officials appointed for this purpose by Greece itself, the cost being borne by the foreign firms concerned; and
 - e) to carry out in Greece, on favourable terms, capital investments financed by the countries which take Greek immigrants.
3. Listing and selection of candidates for collective emigration by the Greek services concerned, the latter having the possibility of recruiting them from various areas and occupations in accordance with the Greek general employment plan.

16. Recently, the principles underlying emigration policy seem to have changed. The Greek authorities, whilst considering « that emigration is still desirable, in the short run, in a country with 250,000 unemployed and serious underemployment in agriculture » feel that « in the long-run, as the population increased more slowly and more job opportunities arose, it might be a serious hindrance to economic progress ». « Emigration had been far higher than forecast . . . In order to achieve the targets according to plan, it must not be allowed to go over 30,000 per year in the next ten years (statements by the head of the planning department of the Greek Ministry of Coordination, at the sixth session of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee of the O.E.C.D., October 1963).

THE EMIGRATION BALANCE SHEET

17. A balance sheet can be made up for emigration on the basis of its essential results, some of which are still unfortunately a matter of rather hazardous guesswork, but others are quite evident.

18. The plainest and most accurately recorded items concern the balance of payments. It is common knowledge that the surplus on invisibles has very largely offset the trade deficit in recent years. Emigrants' remittances account for a considerable share of the earnings on invisibles account and exceed those for tourism and transport alike but it cannot be truly claimed that the recent increase in emigration has really altered the structure of the Balance of Invisibles:

TABLE 22. STRUCTURE OF THE BALANCE OF INVISIBLES
\$ million.

	1960	PER CENT	1961	PER CENT	1962	PER CENT	1963	PER CENT
Tourism	30.5	14.7	43.1	17.6	54.2	18.6	67.9	19.1
Transport	67.3	32.4	90.8	37.4	92.4	31.7	109.4	30.6
Emigration	90.4	43.4	98.3	40.5	117.2	40.2	128.5	36.1
Others	19.5	9.5	11.2	4.5	27.8	9.5	50.6	14.2
Total	207.7	100.0	243.4	100.0	291.6	100.0	356.4	100.0

19. The foregoing table shows that emigrants' remittances have risen somewhat less quickly than the overall figures for Invisibles. The probable explanation is that remittances from overseas emigrants subsided somewhat while those from European emigrants increased.

20. If we move from the national economy to the economics of the individual householder, it is clear that everywhere in Greece emigration has had an impact on the levels and patterns of family spending and sometimes even on public amenities. In the villages of southern Greece, emigrants having made their fortunes overseas have financed projects often of a useful kind, i.e.: roads, water supplies, schools, etc., either out of public spirit or to commemorate their own achievements. In the villages of northern Greece, remittances from emigrants in the Federal Republic of Germany that do not go into saving accounts are sometimes spent on housebuilding, but are far more often used for supplying a wider range of goods: in these areas, the market economy gains more ground and—owing to the « demonstration effects » closely bound up with emigration—brings about swift changes in mental outlook.

21. Emigration must of course also be credited with the markedly easier pressure of unemployment and underemployment on the labour market. The fall in unemployment, in particular, is very closely connected with it, since there has been no plentiful outcrop of new jobs. However, it is difficult to see from the statistics for departures, how far emigrants are classifiable according to urban and rural origin. For urban districts, at least, internal migration largely cancels out the decongestive effects of emigration to other countries, and employment problems in the provinces are no easier than before. Where rural districts are concerned, the combination of external and internal migration produces alarming disequilibria. The contagious effect of seeing people go, which of course primarily affects the reproductive age-groups, which are also the most industrious elements of the community, has already reduced the human potential of certain areas below the level required to raise or maintain the Gross Product. In recent years, output has actually declined, or failed to materialise, not only owing to temporary scarcities of agricultural labour but also because of the lack of enterprise and of organisation resources, without this being counter-balanced by the slightest sign of any spontaneous agricultural re-adjustments to bear out the optimistic forecasts of the Planners.

22. This being said, the extent to which emigration can be regarded as a profitable investment for the Greek economy depends above all on what ultimately becomes of the emigrants. Information on this subject is lacking but since, according to the German authorities, only 15 per cent of the emigrants are regarded as skilled, the conclusion is that 85 per cent of them, being apparently entirely unskilled when they leave their country, are not usually equipped or trained to make any headway outside certain narrow fields which hardly improve their technical potentialities.

23. Only a small proportion of the people who emigrate are regarded as having considerably improved their level of skill during their stay abroad—those having already attained some degree of proficiency before they left. On their return home, they become a most valuable asset for the Greek economy. But do they really return, and if so, do they use their newly acquired qualifications to reduce the shortage of skilled labour in the Greek economy, or do they simply use their savings to set themselves up in business? As the answer to this is not known, investigations would be most useful.

Chapter IV

MANPOWER POLICY AND ITS INSTRUMENTS

1. The need for the organisation of the labour market and, more generally, for a manpower policy was hardly recognised in Greece before the end of the Second World War. In the early stages, however, when governments were confronted with serious economic and social difficulties, the only purpose was to find the most suitable ways of making and immediate improvement in the living conditions and standards of the workers. Several years elapsed before the authorities realised the weight that should be given to employment policy in development programming, and before they recognised that this required much stronger action on their part than mere relief measures.

2. As a legacy from its early days, however, manpower policy is equipped with a vital and most powerful instrument whose range of action has gradually increased to match the widening aims set for this policy itself, that is to say, the Unemployment Insurance and Employment Authority (O.A.A.A.). Founded in 1954¹ the O.A.A.A. is a public body, financed by the Social Insurance Institute (I.K.A.)² and works under Ministry of Labour supervision. Unemployment Insurance, family allowances and the benefits paid to serving reservists are under its direct control, but it finances other services the management of which has been transferred from it to the Ministry of Labour, i.e. employment services, vocational guidance and vocational training, and various works of public interest. The appropriation of O.A.A.A. funds in 1962 was as follows:

1. Up to the war, only certain categories of workers were entitled to Unemployment Insurance; entitlement was extended to all categories of workers and all areas in 1945 and Unemployment Insurance became part of the general scheme of Social Security in 1951.

2. The I.K.A. draws its financial resources from a 24.5 per cent levy on wages and salaries in industry and « services » (employers' contributions 16 per cent, workers' contributions 8.5 per cent). The share allotted to the O.A.A.A. is equivalent to 7 per cent of the wage bill subject to this levy.

Unemployment benefits	Dr. 270	million
Family allowances	» 250	»
Allowances to reservists	» 15	»
Placement offices	» 12	»
Vocational training	» 15	»
Scholarships (technical schools)	» 3	»
Emigration	» 2,5	»
Works of public interest.....	» 100	»
Total	Dr. 667,5	million

ALLOWANCES AND BENEFITS

3. In this context, it must first be borne in mind that Greece has an elaborate system of social security which has recently been extended to the agricultural sector.

4. Family allowances were introduced in 1958. They are allocated to wage and salary earners in industry and commerce only, on the basis of the contributions (2 per cent) levied on workers and employers. The fund balances its budget, but allowances are restricted to two children and are subject to certain conditions concerning previous employment (250 days' work during the year) before they can be claimed. 192,000 persons were receiving family allowances on 31st December, 1962.

5. The system of unemployment insurance embraces wage and salary earners in industry, commerce and related activities. To qualify for benefits, insured persons must be registered in a placement office, and hence able and willing to work: as they must also have been in employment for some time during the year preceding registration, young people seeking employment for the first time are disqualified. Benefits are paid for a maximum of five months (and 300 days in 4 years) and they amount to 40 per cent or 50 per cent of wages, depending on the category concerned. This insurance is therefore a long way from covering all the unemployed in the country: persons receiving unemployment benefit in 1962 ranged roughly between 15,000 and 35,000 a month, whereas the number registered in placement offices went as high as 80,000 (adjusted for seasonal fluctuations), and whereas the 1961 census gave roughly 200,000 unemployed outside the agricultural sector.

6. It must also be pointed out that the viscosity of employment has a direct impact on the level of unemployment. For instance, 42 per cent of the workers who lose their jobs do not find other employment at once and therefore claim unemployment benefit. Admittedly, wage and salary earners do have some legal protection against unemployment through dismissal: the compensation payable by the employer in such cases ranges from 10 days to two months pay for wage earners and from two months to four years' salary for employees paid on a monthly basis.

7. Lastly, the programmes for works of public interest which are financed by the O.A.A.A. and organised by the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Works and the Town Councils are also classifiable under benefits. From 30,000 to 35,000 totally or seasonally unemployed¹ are engaged each year for a period exceeding one month on average (from a million to a million and a half man-days) for urgent public works projects. An added advantage of this procedure, besides the wages earned by those concerned, is that it enables some of them to complete the period of employment required to qualify for unemployment benefits. For the institutions which allocate financial resources, this is one of the biggest items: Dr. 100 million are spent on it each year, or 13,3 per cent of the resources of the O.A.A.A.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AND PLACEMENT OFFICES

8. The administration of the Employment Service, which has an absolute monopoly of placement operations, is an important function of the Ministry of Labour and employs a staff of 200. As already pointed out, the funds made available to this Service come from the O.A.A.A.

9. However, in the eyes of employers and the public generally, this service, which supervises 51 placement offices in the biggest towns, plays only a somewhat passive role in registering events. There are no clearing operations for employment supply and demand at national level and, at local level—in a country where unskilled labour is over plentiful and skilled manpower extremely scarce—the employers see no need to recruit their staff through placement offices and therefore confine themselves to reporting their manpower operations as required by law. This is apparently what serves as a base for the large « placement » figures (243,000 in 1963) published by the Ministry of Labour.

10. The Ministry has no illusions about this state of affairs and, incidentally, proposes to reorganise and improve the working of placement offices shortly (by appointing more and better qualified staff) to enable them to play an active part in the fulfilment of employment policy.

11. The appointment of a body of vocational guidance experts is a step in this direction. These advisors, after training at the Psychotechnical Research Centre of Athens, are usually seconded to placement offices where they give careers advice and sometimes find jobs for young people; they are also concerned with the selection of candidates for apprenticeship courses.

1. Eligibility is restricted to residents of the area in which the works project is sited and several years' contribution to the insurance scheme is also required.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

12. In the developing countries, vocational training can be seen to be one of the most powerful levers of manpower policy. In Greece, apprenticeship and the vocational training of adults comes under the control of the Ministry of Labour while technical schools are under the authority of the Ministry of Education.

13. Apprenticeship has been organised since 1962. The legislation introduced at that time provides for apprentice earnings ranging from 15 per cent of the standard wage for the trade at the start to 75 per cent after 4 years; up to age 17, the daily work shift must be 1 hour shorter than standard and 2 hours a day must be spent on theoretical training.

14. About 50 apprenticeship courses have been organised; candidates—70 per cent of whom are appointed after a competitive examination—must have attended a primary school for six years and a secondary school for two years. They choose their trade from a list of jobs vacant by sector and by firm which the Ministry of Labour publishes each June in the light of information supplied by employers. In 1962, 1,800 apprenticeship vacancies were offered in this way.

15. Adult training affects even fewer people; the present programme, comprising 24 courses, provides occupational re-training facilities for between 600 and 700 workers each year. These are evening courses—two hours a day, five days a week—given by industrial concerns which provide their own instructors; two of the most powerful firms with the largest labour forces in the country—Piraiki-Patraiki in the textiles industry, and the Greek Powder and Cartridge Company in the armaments industry—are given as an example; under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Labour and with subsidies from the O.A.A.A., they provide six monthly accelerated training courses for a few dozen of their employees.

16. Furthermore, in order to get quicker and more effective results in this field, the Greek Government has recently decided to build accelerated training centres in the following areas: Athens, Salonica, Patras and Volos.

17. Technical education, which comes under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, is also mainly dependent on private enterprise and, here too, only a limited number of people are affected. In 1957, just before the Educational Reform, only 37,000 pupils were enrolled in technical training establishments as compared with 285,000 in secondary schools; even so, most of them were merely attending evening classes in private schools.

18. The reform of 1959, whereby the Ministry of Education was made responsible for organising technical training, has led to the establishment of State technical schools which have begun to give full-time courses at elementary, secondary and higher education level. The first are intended to train semi-skilled and skilled workers; the second, foremen and technicians, and the third, « assistant engineers » and senior technicians. At present, two State schools which classify themselves in the « higher

education » category are functioning in Athens, and there are 13 « secondary » and 7 « elementary » schools in the provinces; in all, they have somewhat over 5,000 pupils. Fourteen State secondary schools providing evening courses only together account for 2,000 pupils. The evening courses provided by forty secondary and 105 elementary private schools cover 36,500 pupils.

19. Lastly, the two traditional sections of secondary education (Classics and Science) have now been supplemented with six occupational training branches, as follows: technical studies, economics, merchant shipping, agriculture, domestic economy and languages.

20. It must be stressed, however, that despite the crying shortage of technicians on the Greek labour market, technical education still plays a far weaker role in the country than it should do. Even though there was an improvement of 65 per cent from 1955 to 1962, the enrolment ratio for secondary technical education in Greece is the lowest in Europe. This is doubtless due to the social prestige still exclusively enjoyed by classical studies, but the lack of qualified teachers is perhaps an even more important factor. Under the pressure of circumstances, engineers or technicians on a part-time basis and paid at hourly rates, have had to be entrusted with teaching jobs which they were ill-trained for.

21. In view of this state of affairs, the need for a teachers training school was so keenly felt that, with assistance from many international quarters (O.E.E.C./O.E.C.D., United States Government, UNESCO, United Nations Special Fund), a « Training Institute for Technical Teachers » was founded; temporary accommodation was provided to get it started, and work on a magnificent set of permanent school buildings has begun. Several hundred teachers have already been trained there.

* *

22. In short, it is clear that even nowadays relief policy absorbs the best part of the funds and is still the major concern of the Greek authorities as regards action in the field of manpower and employment. The minor role imparted to planning, which is restricted to the drafting of reports and kept aloof from concrete development activity, does not for the time being offer any prospect of a continuing policy for channelling the flow of the active population in particular sectors. The inadequate role allotted to technical and vocational training, notwithstanding recent efforts, in any case runs counter to any conceivable move in this direction. Lastly, the very structure of Greek industry, and to some extent the outlook of its leaders, banishes any hope that private initiative, which is so important in this field, will ever be capable of playing its proper role and making State intervention less essential and all-embracing.

CONCLUSION

1. In Greece as in other developing countries—but more particularly perhaps because the conditions required to « lift the country off the ground » seem to be fulfilled in this case—manpower policy is intimately linked with economic policy as a whole. The solution of the problems arising from relatively high unemployment and agricultural under-employment, combined with the insufficiently effective use of manpower, very largely depends on the achievement of ambitious structural changes in the economy: failing well-balanced industrialisation on a massive scale, there can be no new approach to harmonious development, by means suitably adapted to match resources and requirements.
2. In their report to the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee, the Greek authorities have shown how clearly they are aware of this decisive aspect of the problems confronting them in shaping the course of the economy: « the problem of employment », they say, « will be solved mainly by industrialisation on a larger scale ». To encourage this industrialisation, the State must provide the appropriate infrastructure, that is to say: research, industrial management training, creation of the services essentially required by industry, electrification, and a large inflow of foreign capital both in order to install new industrial units and to collaborate with similar existing firms in Greece.
3. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that no industrialisation policy will secure the most effective employment of the population if the latter proves unable to fit into the new structures. In the industrialised countries, this has entailed a lengthy process of adjustment involving a series of social upheavals. It therefore follows as a matter of course that, in countries where industrialisation starts in the middle of the 20th century and where the changes it implies are inevitably more drastic, human problems of adjustment at individual and community level become crucially important and must be shown in broad daylight.
4. Manpower policy is an essential instrument for development.
5. In this field, the Greek authorities have worked out precise targets based on the soundest principles. Having found that the slow pace of economic progress « is largely due to the present low level of education, training and occupational specialization of the labour force », the Government, in a statement to the Greek Parliament on 30th March, 1964,

announced its determination to « give prominence to human investments, for it considered them highly productive and cheaper than any other short-term investment ».

6. A close examination of the official documents published in connection with industrialisation and manpower policies shows, however, that the means proposed for putting these policies into effect probably do not measure up to the targets.

7. The swift growth of employment in the secondary sector is assumed to depend mainly on public investment. But on the authorities' own admission, these investments—which, it is true, are much higher than before—will affect road infrastructure, housing, programmes for regional public works and for the electricity supply authority, telecommunications, etc. They are not therefore the type of investment which is likely to develop industrial employment properly so-called, and are more apt to increase employment in the building and civil engineering industries where, as is well known, the multiplier effect is slight¹.

8. As for the employment services, there seem to be no plans for giving them, in the near future, the resources and autonomy suitable for promoting the smooth operation of the labour market as a whole. They are too closely bound up with the insurance scheme, and their financial resources are too small, to enable them to act as a clearing-house for employment supply and demand as between different sectors and areas, or to formulate and handle special programmes designed to encourage the geographical and occupational mobility and social adjustment of the labour force.

9. Whatever the intentions and possibilities of the authorities may be, they have difficult problems to solve in keeping the resources of the country and the population properly balanced. These problems—the investigation of which brings out the vital choices to be made with regard to manpower policy in Greece—can be classified in three categories: the distribution of the active population by sectors, the geographical distribution of the active population (that is to say, regional action) and, lastly, the question of emigration.

A BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE BY SECTORS

10. The labour force statistics are inadequate: the best source of information, i.e. the population census, dates from 1961 and the data yielded by it will lose more and more of their significance until they are replaced, and this cannot be done until 1971 (i.e., when the results of the 1970 census are analysed). More flexible means of observation, giving a more up-to-date record of events, must therefore be found: the quarterly survey of industrial employment is a first step—capable of improvement—

1. In statistics and technical reports, it generally seems recommendable to give the secondary sector separate treatment so that the manufacturing industries will stand out from the rest.

in this direction. But beyond the observation of the more conventional categories, it also seems essential to make a close inventory of the lesser-known sections of the labour force which doubtless contain considerable latent resources.

11. In fact, a rational manpower policy in a country such as Greece must include the recovery of the unused labour potential existing not only in the younger age-groups, the female population and the farming community (this being a familiar issue) but also among the « marginal units », i.e. the truly marginal types engaged in no gainful activity either permanently or intermittently, but above all the « pseudo-marginal units ». These are still commonly encountered in the towns at « cottage-industry » level, or doing various kinds of repair work or « odd-jobbing », and they constitute an untapped supply of labour and skills which the ordinary statistics entirely conceal. They are officially part of the industrial active population but their productivity is obviously extremely slight, and there can be no doubt about the fortunate results if—by ways and means which remain to be investigated—they were transferred to truly productive work.

12. For them, as for the truly « marginal » units, the unemployed and also a far from insignificant part of the population which is in steady employment, decisive progress implies vocational training or re-training. The development of vocational guidance services and the widespread adoption of apprenticeship contracts in industry, better yields combined with enhanced social prestige for technical education, accelerated vocational training centres for adults—all these measures taken together should quickly supply the country with the skilled personnel it requires. Even so, if the training of the labour force is to be correctly co-ordinated with national economic development, it must also be possible to measure requirements in the light of the policy decisions and programmes adopted.

13. The evaluation of these requirements, on which the entire educational and training policy must depend—and not the other way round—is therefore of vital importance. Yet despite the efforts of the planning services, and those of the O.E.C.D. in connection with the Mediterranean Regional Project, it still seems that this has not been done quite satisfactorily and, above all, not correctly integrated with the development programmes. For instance, agricultural employment policy has scarcely been studied in relation to the technical changes in agriculture and, in particular, with reference to farm mechanisation and irrigation.

14. Above all, it may be asked—as did the Economic and Development Review Committee in August 1964—whether « in view of the direction given to public investment, which was based mainly on agricultural infrastructure, roads and tourism, it may be thought that the employment objectives were somewhat over-estimated. The private investments of recent years have certainly improved the competitiveness of Greek firms, and judging from the index of industrial production, productivity has

progressed considerably in view of the apparent stability of employment. The possibilities in this respect are far from being exhausted and unless, therefore, there is an important increase in the growth of industrial production, the employment problem is likely to grow worse in the years ahead. With regard to agriculture, while the volume of its output can still be enlarged, not only can its labour force not be increased, but it is weighed down by a considerable unemployed or under-employed human potential. There remains the tertiary sector, which in recent years, has accounted for more than 40 per cent of the gross domestic product. In a country in process of development this percentage is excessive, and it is to be hoped, therefore, that the labour force of this sector, which already represents a very large part of the active population, will not increase appreciably in future ».

REGIONAL POLICY

15. The geographical mobility of the Greek population is considerable but runs more or less in one direction only, both as regards destination (Athens and Salonika being the two poles of attraction) and occupational changes, the primary sector in the provinces feeding the tertiary sector in big cities. This mobility must normally be regarded as a good factor and fortunately nothing is done to impede it.

16. However, these unduly one-sided trends put added stress on a balance which is already dangerously upset. A big effort should therefore be made to enable the provincial towns—now simply used as relay points—to hold back much of the drift from the land, and since it is not desirable for the tertiary sector to go on expanding, to provide more opportunities for employment by the reorganisation or modernisation of industry or by local industrialisation. As part of the widening of their activities, and by co-operation between Government departments, the Employment Services could help in this direction at regional or local level.

17. Regional policy must certainly imply the revival of provincial towns where unemployment and under-employment are the chief problems, but another type of problem is almost as urgent, namely, centralisation and authority at regional level. As a policy target, the choice of a few small provincial capitals as « make-weights » seems one of the most safely reliable approaches to area development.

18. Lastly, it seems that, in this connection, the Athens-Salonika axis should be given a specially high rating: being well situated, in fine natural surroundings, and already partly equipped where infrastructure is concerned, it should soon become the backbone of development in Greece.

19. Regional policy, by a well spread and effective allocation of employment opportunities, should be capable not only of leading to an increase in the number of jobs but also of priming the entire country for the optimum use of its natural and human resources.

MAKING EMIGRATION A SOCIAL ASSET¹

20. All the foregoing comments are pointless, however, if some device is not found to regulate the still unstemmed flow of emigration. Should this flow gain strength, every forecast could be destroyed, every project undermined and the course of economic and social development permanently distorted. Even worse, the ageing of the population could very soon outstrip its growth, with all the consequences this implies.

21. However, there can be no question of restricting emigration simply by a high-handed decision: any attempt to stop emigration, or introduce emigration quotas, would be considered an intolerable hardship by those affected.

22. The most urgently important problem now confronting those in charge of manpower policy in Greece—which ultimately means those in charge of the economy—is therefore the following: how can the sum total of benefits accruing to emigrants individually from their work abroad be converted into a social asset? The reply to this mainly lies in the utilisation of acquired skills, and affects both the vocational training of would-be emigrants before they leave and the institution of structural arrangements for their re-integration on their return.

23. If we care to look at this from a fairly lofty level, we come back to the concept of an overall economic policy. A bold and inspired policy of this kind, could be skillfully applied, in the agricultural sphere, to encourage co-operative farming and mechanisation and, on the industrial side, to provide inducements for the installation or creation of « pump-priming » firms which could quickly bring about the optimum conditions for the employment of the labour force.

1. On 18th March, the Prime-Minister made a statement on his government's policy as regards emigration. This policy, which is part of an overall policy to increase employment opportunities, should be directed towards lessening the disadvantages of emigration and using it to the best advantage for the national economy.

With this in mind, while respecting the individual's rights guaranteed by the Constitution, the Authorities reserve the right to encourage or discourage the emigration of certain categories of the population, and to guide organised or subsidised migration towards those countries where it will most benefit the individual or his national community. They will also assist emigrants and their families before and during their stay in the foreign country and also on their return, to enable them to make the best use of the experience gained.

A number of measures on these lines have been taken or are foreseen. Some have been in the form of a reduction of funds granted for overseas emigration and a tighter control on this emigration, while others have been designed to encourage the return of Greeks working in European countries at the end of their contract so that they can fill the posts available in their home country.

**SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS
DRAWN BY THE
MANPOWER AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
ON MANPOWER POLICY
AND PROBLEMS IN GREECE**

As was underlined in the Council Recommendation on Manpower Policy (1964), a full solution of the employment problems of countries in the stage of development now existing in Greece to a great extent depends upon the possibilities of achieving the accumulation of capital necessary for the establishment of new industries and other investment. It is important for Greece to promote economic progress in the different regions so as to avoid an exaggerated concentration in the already over-congested present centres and the emigration abroad of the most dynamic elements of the young generation. Also in this context proper manpower policies will be of importance so as to promote the improvement and necessary adjustment of human resources. The following is of particular importance: a reorganised Employment Service with better information about the labour market for employers and employees; vocational guidance and counselling; vocational training facilities for young and adults; appropriate aids to economically desirable mobility. This would also include positive measures to promote the return and reintegration in the Greek economy of workers having acquired new skills and experiences abroad. Activities in all these fields should be part of any programme for economic and technical assistance to Greece.

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