

POPULATION, INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN GREECE

Introduction

The population of Greece like that of most countries as a whole has been becoming increasingly more urban. In 1821, only 6 per cent of the population was urbanized, of which four towns had a combined population of 100,000. In the last four decades the proportion of the nation's population living in an urban environment has increased from 23 to 47 per cent or from 1,161,000 to 3,700,000.¹ For a country in which 43 per cent of the labor force is engaged in agriculture, and one with only a very primitive industrial development, Greece shows an unusual degree of urbanization. Sixty-six per cent of the population resides in agglomerations of 2,000 or more, while 47 per cent inhabit communities of 10,000 or more. This is a greater degree of urbanization than is found in any other country in Central and Balkan Europe, and when one realizes that the difference in urban concentration is so much smaller than the difference in industrial development, the percentage of urban dwellers in Greece begins to look extremely high, significant and, therefore, merits academic inspection.

Differences, however, with regards to aggregate population growth exist and are fundamental to this paper. The last pre-war figures show that in 1940 Greece had a population of 7,460,203 including the 116,000 inhabitants of the Dodecanese Islands. The first post-war census, which was

1. The commune is the smallest administrative unit in Greece usually composed of one or more localities. The National Statistical Service classifies the above into three categories: a) Urban, or those communes having a city of 10,000 or more in population; b) Semi-urban areas are those which have in their more densely populated sections communes with populations between 2,000 and 9,999; c) Rural areas are associated with localities having fewer than 2,000 people. Depending how one groups the individual localities different proportions of people in each category are received. The author has computed the densities and population numbers of all localities and has come up with a total urban percentage of 47. It includes localities which are located within a ten mile radius of the major population centers in Attica, Thessaly and Macedonia. The National Statistical Service in published figures has issued the statistics which are presented in Table 5. The discrepancy is an aggregate urban total of approximately 200,000 people.

taken in 1951 showed that the population of Greece was 7,632,801. Thus, between 1940 and 1951 the population increased by only 172,598 or 2 per cent. The small annual increase of two-tenths of one per cent was due mainly to heavy casualties sustained by Greece during the 1940-41 war, the enemy occupation, the subsequent communist rebellion, and the ensuing fall in the birth rate. Population statistics for the years 1940-45 are unreliable, but estimates as to actual net population losses for those years run as high as 560,000, a staggering figure for so small a nation.²

Since the 1951 census the population has grown at a much faster pace increasing to 8,357,536 (in 1961), or a rate of less than one per cent. This rate, however, is substantially below that of most Latin American countries, one-third less than Albania's, one-half that of most Mediterranean countries, and the lowest in the Balkan Peninsula. If the present level of population increase is maintained, the productive sectors of the economy will outstrip the natural growth increment. (Table 1 and 2).

Population Density

Greece is a densely populated country particularly in view of its climatic conditions and resource base. Densities range from zero in mountainous areas to 300 and 500 per square mile in lowland regions. The average density for the country within the last two decades increased from 146 to 166 inhabitants per square mile and represents a figure lower than any other country in Europe except Albania, Norway, Sweden and Finland. Densities per cultivated acre, however, exceed 900, a figure higher than any other country in Europe except Belgium, Italy, Holland, Norway, Germany and Austria.

Within the country, population densities vary widely with topography, resource location and degree of modernization. It is apparent from Shackleton's map³ (which is based on a previous map by Ogilvie) that the plains areas, essentially the only urbanized regions, are more densely populated while the interior mountainous regions are thinly populated. The four-fifths of the country that is too high or has slopes too steep for traditional systems of agriculture are largely unoccupied and unused except for timber. Densest settlement (above 200 to the sq. mile) is largely confined to the alluvial

2. For a vivid description of World War II famine conditions in Greece see: Valaoras, V.G., "Some Effects of Famine on The Population of Greece." *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*: Vol 24, No 3 (1946), pp. 215-234.

3. See, Shackleton, M.R., *Europe; A Regional Geography*. London, Longman's, 1954, p. 130. Also, Ogilvie, A.C., "Population Density in Greece." *Geographical Journal*; Vol. 101 (1943), pp. 251-260.

valleys and basins, with their fertile well-managed commercial farms and superior communications.

Essentially, there are two types of population concentrations exceeding 200 inhabitants to the sq. mile. First, there is the main series of population clusters along the litoral in the coastal plains, deltas, and on the islands fringing the Aegean and Ionian Seas. For the most part, these areas, with the possible exception of one, are all discontinuous and represent nothing more than local clusterings of dense population separated from others by less dense hilly areas. Furthermore, the five largest cities are all ports, and except for Greater Athens, a definite correlation exists between their distribution and that of dense rural population. Every port city in Greece having a population of 25,000 or more is surrounded by a rural density of 200 or more.

A second but smaller class of population groups consists of those communities concentrated within the few isolated interior basins. By far, the most important are the valleys of Yiannina in Epirus, Ptolemais and Florina in Macedonia, and Drama in Western Thrace. Further south, the largest basin is that of Thessaly, and in the Peloponnesos, the valley of Tripolis, Sparta and Kleitoria.

A Hierarchy of Urban Settlement

To substantiate the growth of urban centers by size category Table 3 has been prepared which shows the distribution of population settlement by size. At a glance it becomes obvious that Greece, despite its high urbanized quotient, is still a nation of villages, with numerous urban centers of comparatively small size. Based on this table and numerous economic and social surveys⁴ the hierarchy of population centers is composed of three orders of settlement: villages, assembly, and wholesale cities. The following statements attempt to explain their distribution in terms of the functional interactions and composition of each.

Villages refer to places with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants although most communities in the semi-urban category could be classified as villages. The average population of a village is a little less than 800 inhabitants. The total population of the 5,514 villages was 4,322,798 which means that the rural population of Greece is widely dispersed in small communities. Their presence, indeed, is a ubiquitous feature of the Grecian landscape. Frequently with a population of 2,000, villages are the recipients of raw agricul-

4. See, Ward, Benjamin., *Greek Regional Development*. Athens, Center of Economic Research, 1963. Albaugh, L., *Crete: A Case Study of An Underdeveloped Area*. Princeton, 1953. And, Hinopoulou, D.B., *E Oreine Ekonomia Tes Ellados*. Athens, 1959, passim.

tural produce, which is temporarily stored before being forwarded to assembly cities. The forwarding is done with whatever transport facility the farmer owns — usually a two wheeled vehicle, rarely a truck. With no industries and few professional services, villages are characterized with low purchasing power. They are totally dependent upon the outside world for manufactured products, and their contribution to the national economy is highly insignificant as individual units.

The 55 assembly cities are located on bulk transport facilities which are either sea, road or rail oriented. Their function is to provide storage and processing facilities for agricultural products and act as distribution centers for their respective hinterlands. Because of inelastic dependence on specialized agricultural employment is highly seasonal, their attraction for rural migrants is non-existent. As such, they form no cultural and economic links with the rest of the world.

Athens, Thessaloniki and Patras are the only wholesale cities of Greece which carry the voluminous and critical economic functions of the country. They receive the products of villages and assembly cities over trunk line routes and perform practically all industrial functions. They are the main ports, educational and political centers (Table 4).

Components of Urban Growth

According to the census of 1961, the population of Greece was eight and one-half million, and that there were two cities with more than 300,000 and one with more than 100,000. Athens, including several satellite towns, has approximately 1,800,000 inhabitants; Thessaloniki, 378,444; and Patras, 102,244. The above collectively contain nearly 30 per cent of the nation's total population and 70 per cent of those urbanized. In 1940, the same urban centers represented 62, and in 1928, 58 per cent of the total urban population of the country. Other important towns are Iraklion, regional capital of Crete; Larisa, chief regional center and largest inland city; Volos, the port of Thessaly, and Cavala, second largest city in Northern Greece.

For the geographer, the immediate questions posed are; why have urban centers grown so recently, and how and what sustains this growth? First, a look at the components of urban growth: a city may grow either from :

- a) natural population increase
- b) foreign immigration
- c) re-classification of territory from rural to urban and union of rural areas with urban.

From the findings of the analysis carried out, it can be stated that in

the 21 year period since the 1940 census, the population of urban places increased by roughly 1,400,000 of which 250,000 was due to natural increase; 70,000 to foreign immigration; a small number from urban annexation and re-classification; and approximately 1,100,000 to internal migration.⁵ Thus it appears that among the four possible sources of urban growth, internal migration is the most significant component in the growth of urban places. This should not be surprising since the rural population of Greece, unlike those of England and to some degree, the United States, has not diminished to the point where it can no longer be the major source of supply to urban growth. Indeed, the future growth of urban places in Greece still has a comparatively large pool of unemployed agricultural workers to tap. In terms of demographic terminology, it can safely be assumed that rapid urbanization is not the result of a higher natural increase in cities. Death rates in urban places tend to be somewhat lower than in rural areas, but birth rates also tend to be lower, so that the rate of growth from reproductive change is roughly one per cent lower than in rural areas.

Looking at the situation graphically, the Table 5 illustrates the urban, semi-urban and rural trends in the country as a whole, since 1928. It is immediately apparent that there has been a strong movement of population from the rural into the urban places and more specifically, into Athens and Thessaloniki, the two largest cities in Greece. Notwithstanding the fact that the natural rate of growth is lower in the urban than in the rural areas at each succeeding census, the population of towns has constituted a growing percentage, while that of the rural areas has formed a diminishing proportion in the total population. In the first 80 years of the nation's history, the ratio of urban to rural growth was almost negative; from 1900 to 1920 it was 1:1, and in the last 20 years it has been 4:1 (Figure 1).

The spatial description of the above is presented in Figure 2 where the main directions of the internal migrant pattern resulting in permanent settlement are illustrated. All other urban centers received less than 10,000 migrants since 1949 and have been omitted from this discussion. Those migrants who moved to the Thessaloniki area came from the transhumance sections of the Pindus and Rhodope mountains, while the primary sources of the Athens region are the Aegean Islands, the Peloponnesos, and Western Greece.

Historically speaking, internal migrations are of recent occurrence in

5. It should be stated that this is not, by any means, a net figure. Included here are people who formerly fled to escape the urban food shortages, and who returned to their homes after the war. For a more detailed discussion see: Bernard Kayser, *Géographie Humaine de la Grèce*. Athens, Centre des Sciences Sociales d'Athènes and Presses Universitaires de France, 1964. Pp. 103-111.

**RURAL, URBAN and SEMI-URBAN
POPULATION GROWTH 1920-61**

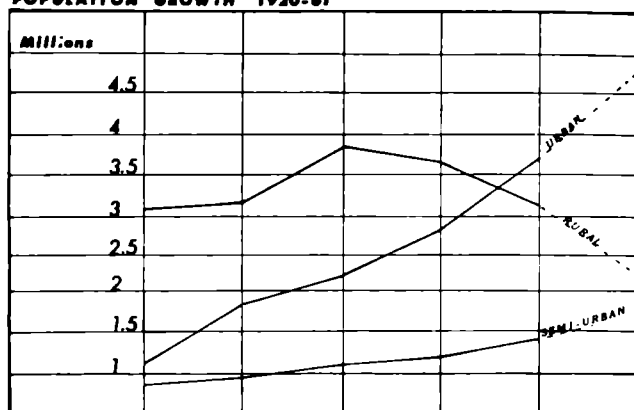


Figure 1

**INTERNAL MIGRATION SINCE
1940**

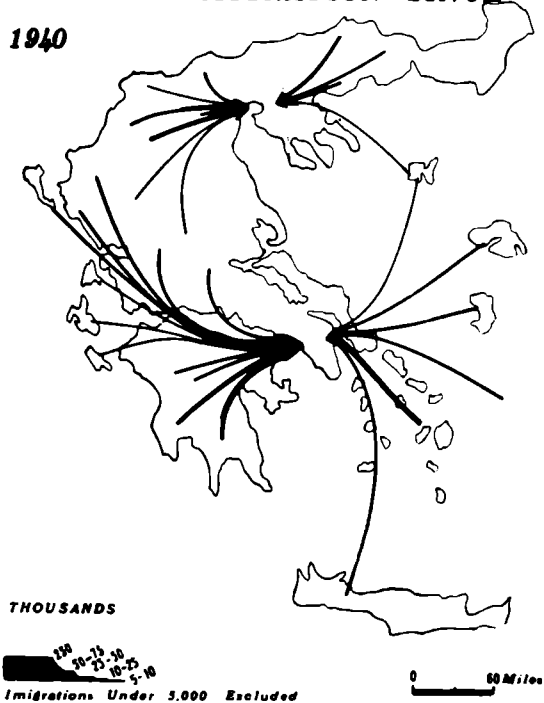


Figure 2

Greece, and despite the fact that reliable statistics on internal migrant flows are lacking in the United States, certain distinguishing characteristics of different types of population movements are clear. Before national independence in 1832, the only migratory movements were those arising from personal reactions, misfortunes or opportunity, and affected only a small segment of the population, particularly those people in the islands and the southern Peloponnesos. These were and still are, the colonizing Greeks who settled in practically every major city in Europe and the Mediterranean. In post-Turkish times most movements resulted from warfare, which were often but not always national in nature. In the 1920's the greatest planned movement of people in the history of the Balkan Peninsula occurred when less than 500,000 Turks left Greece for an estimated 1,500,000 Greeks from Ottoman dominated lands. In short, emigration is history to the Greek people from antiquity, and is nothing short of a long accustomed but painful tradition. Unhampered internal immigration resulting in permanent settlement, however, is a recent post-World War II phenomenon.

The more recent development of urban growth is the result of the ability of such centers not only to attract rural populations but to hold them once migration has attained momentum. Thus, the current movement of people has to be seen in the context of forces which caused them to settle permanently in cities, and in the ability of urban places to provide employment and services. As a result sharp distinctions can be made in Greece today between areas of low emigration and primitive subsistence economy, areas of heavy migration which lack cash crops or which land is short, and areas of low migration and high economic and educational advancement with emigration at the professional level.

The Patterns of Movement

The population of the Eparhias of Greece shifted significantly as a result of the tremendous changes in the national economy which accompanied World War II. The same forces which caused population shifts throughout the Balkans operated in Greece — a state which was greatly affected by these movements because of her dependence on the export of key semi-luxury agricultural products (tobacco, olives, olive oil, currants, etc.). In general, three types of movements occurred during and after the war. First, there was a movement away from the cities during the war which was largely attributed to the German policy of food import restrictions. Further, the Italian and Bulgarian invasions in the frontier areas of the country resulted in additional movements away from the northern border areas. The trend since

1945, however, has been rural to urban in its direction with no appreciable movement back to the farm and the frontier regions of Northern Greece. Changes in the regional distribution of population for the last two decades is presented in Figure 3. Between 1940 and 1961 the Eparhies were almost equally divided — 61 gaining, 71 losing and 7 remaining relatively stable. Decreases ranged from 1.4 to 55 per cent; Thyasmos and Margaritiou in the White Mountains of Crete losing more than 50 per cent. Eparhies showing a stable population are in fact declining since approximately 1 per cent of the annual growth increment migrates. There are 7 such Eparhies all scattered and in mountainous areas. The greatest absolute increase in population occurred in Attica, Vardar Valley and Thessaly. Greater Athens increased by more than 850,000 and Thessaloniki by 125,000, while the various Thessalian Eparhies increased by less than 100,000.

There are in general, five major contiguous areas of decline; four on the mainland and one in Crete while the Ionian and Aegean Islands represent areas of discontinuity. All seven regions are located in those parts of Greece having the greatest local relief; Dinaric, Pindus, Dorian and Rhodope ranges, the White Mountains of Crete and the faulted and submerged massif of the Aegean islands. Within these areas, no cities of growth are to be found except for Calamata, Sparta and Tripolis. In the Central Pindus and Rhodope regions, population densities for the most part are less than 20 inhabitants per sq. mile, and outward migration is greater than natural increase.

Even though population decline is a common characteristic of both islands and mountainous districts no one simple generalization seems sufficient to explain losses in all seven areas.⁶ Earthquakes, lack of water, limited natural resources, chronic soil erosion, and poor agricultural prices all play a part in promoting grinding poverty and ultimate migration.

By far, the largest source region of migrants are the upland districts of the country. It is in the hilly areas where poverty is extreme — where less than 20 per cent of all villages before the war were electrified, where semi-nomadic herding activities still prevail, and where rural under-employment is most chronic⁷. In the Central Pindus range, for example, no large towns are to be found and the average village size is less than 400, while one out of every 80 persons is an urban dweller. In the southern Peloponnesos approxi-

6. Hinopoulou., *op. cit.* See also, Mc Neill, W.H., *Greece: American Aid in Action*. New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1957. In addition, Smothers, F., W.H. McNeill, and E.D. McNeill., *Report On The Greeks*. New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1948.

7. Hinopoulou., *op. cit.* For a good description of Epirus and community development, see, Mendras, Henri., *Six Villages d'Epire; Problèmes de Développement Socio-économique*. Paris, UNESCO, 1961.

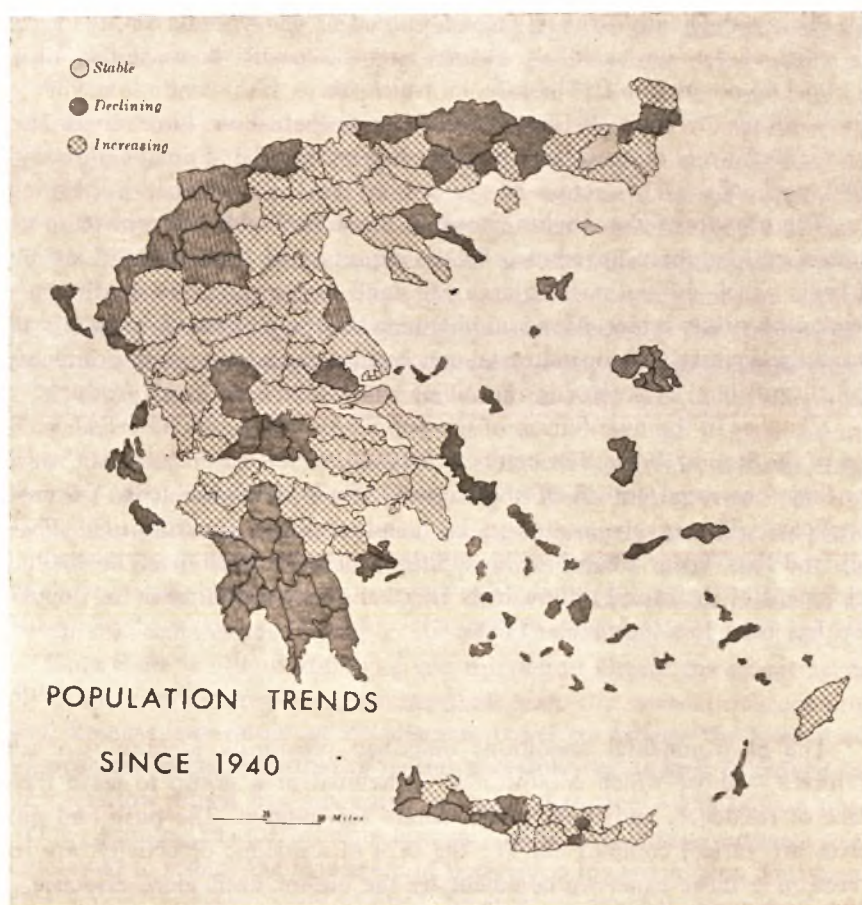


Figure 3

mately 80 per cent of all villages are losing population and census checks reveal that this trend has been in existence ever since the turn of the century.

In contrast to the poverty-stricken and population losing regions, the major area of sustained growth is the Aegean litoral. It is divided into three parts. In terms of population numbers, the most important is the Attica Plain with Greater Athens; second, the city of Thessaloniki and the growing cities of the Vardar valley, Struma and Ptolemais. Between the above two loci of population is Thessaly in which there is a continuous line of towns within the basin. It is significant to note that these three areas have experienced a rate of growth 60 per cent higher than the national figure since 1940, and collectively contain 80 per cent of the nation's urban population.

The growth of the Aegean litoral is associated with the growth of urbanism and has been augmented by the migration of farm population from districts which did not possess large cities and by the suburban development about each urban center. Along and between the three population clusters are found the country's major industrial concentrations and the most productive agricultural land contributing the major share of the national product.

Changes in the distribution of the population along the litoral since the end of the Second World War can be attributed to two major causes; of which the first—the rapid growth of the capital, Athens, is undoubtedly the most significant. The steady expansion of commercialized agriculture in Thessaly and the Vardar Plain has, in addition, played a large part in the development of the litoral although its effect on the concentration of population has been less spectacular (Table 6).

Push and Pull Forces

The environmental conditions described previously identify two sets of forces — those which condition an individual or a group to leave their place of residence, and those which attract the migrant. The push and pull forces are varied, complex and for the sake of academic objectivity, are reserved of a more extensive comment by the author until more evidence is accumulated. However, a few generalizations can be made at this point.⁸

The most important pull attraction of the cities is their ability to provide employment, higher wages and the better life. Employment opportunities are greatest in Athens and Thessaloniki as evidenced by the migrant flows. These two cities have unique advantages over other cities in their ability to *pull* and hold the migrants. Most significantly, they are the largest

8. For a good cultural discussion see, Mead Margaret (ed.), *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*. New York, American Library edition, 1960. Pp. 57-95.

cities, and, therefore, situated in the most developed parts of the country. Since the rural areas of Greece are untouched by the more fundamental forces of national economic growth, the distribution of efficient and productive economic activities in Greece are strongly concentrated in a few cities. Approximately 85 per cent of all Greek industry is concentrated in the five largest cities with Greater Athens alone contributing over 59 per cent and Thessaloniki 17 per cent.⁹ This means that the few existing large cities, with their social and technological equipment for support of industrial functions attract the bulk of new enterprises and as a result, the bulk of migrants seeking employment. The main determinants of the location of industries are proximity to markets and accessibility to raw materials. In the former respect, the big city has an obvious advantage over its smaller would-be competitors. Furthermore, these same centers are also the largest ports which have natural advantages since fuels are shipped by water, and the volume which passes through them necessitates the construction of the best and largest port facilities. Other ports, and there are about 500, are characterized by hinterland functions which are not based on solid growth forming activities. Thus, Calamata is a city which processes and through its port exports olives; Iraklion, citrus fruit and olives; Corfu, olives; Cavala, tobacco; Itea, minerals, and so on. The list is practically endless. Inland cities function primarily as gathering and agricultural good processing centers, and as places of distribution of light consumer goods over a limited area. They are not seats of learning, and form no cultural links with the outside world as do Thessaloniki and Athens (Table 7).

Since there is little tradition of urban living in Greece the recent urban growth has created problems. Foremost has been the internal migrant problem. Because two-thirds of all migrants travel to Athens the most pressing problem seems to be that of halting this flow—or at least to reduce the rate of inflow which has amounted to more than one—half million since 1945. So pressing has the problem become that in 1953, the government proposed a bill to reduce the movement of population toward Athens. This legislative action, however, was dropped because of popular opposition, and no other measure has since been instituted.¹⁰ If present growth trends continue Athens will have a population of 4 million by the end of 1975. And yet, there is very little the government can do to stop agricultural workers

9. For a more complete picture see, *Guide To Investment In Greece*. Industrial Development Corporation, Athens, 1962. Also, Coutsoumaris, George, *The Morphology of Greek Industry*. Athens, Center of Economic Research, 1964.

10. *Report Of The Urbanization Survey Mission In The Mediterranean Region*. New York, United Nations, 1959. Pp. 1-36, Annex II.

from migrating unless rural development schemes are put into practice to absorb surplus rural unemployment.¹¹ Even then, the measure remains doubtful since every Greek wants to get out from his village. To every young Greek the city is synonymous with success, opportunity and social acceptance. Furthermore, there is a growing conviction that no one has lived until he has gone to Athens or Thessaloniki for employment and that such experience is an essential prelude to the attainment of a respectable social status. Provincialism is anathema to a young Greek and a social affront if he is described as a "hick." In his endeavor to become an urbanite or an *Athenian* he acquires a new vocabulary such as *thank you*, *merci*, *chow*, or *afendi*. He is conscious of his assimilation process and does little to hinder it. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the migrants is their ability to adopt the economic, political, social customs and attitudes of the urbanites causing but little friction between the city-born population and themselves. Hence, there is no indication that either the extent, direction and speed of this rural to urban movement will change; indeed, some of the signs, e.g., in the rate of new construction, suggest that the present patterns of human movement are becoming more marked. Meanwhile, the urban problems which Greece heretofore ignored are mounting.¹²

Of equal importance is the dual problem of water and power supply. As cities continue to grow they will be increasingly conditioned by certain geographic features. Taking the country as a whole, precipitation is deficient and seasonal distribution uneven. Summers, for example, are a period of maximum temperatures, low humidity and aridity. These are conditions which accentuate the need for water not only for man but for agricultural plants as well. The water supply of cities is therefore intensified on the one hand by the rainfall regime peculiar to the dry subtropical climate and the competition from non-human uses.

Summary

As we recapitulate, five basic generalizations can be made at this point about rural to urban migrations in Greece.

a) Rural to urban migration in Greece is not negligible, but a widespread phenomenon affecting anywhere from 50,000 to 100,000 individuals yearly.

11. An interesting survey of surplus agricultural labor in Larisa, Edessa, Veroia, and Drama is presented in, *Surplus Labor In Greek Agriculture 1953-1960*, by Adamantios Pepelasis and Pan Yotopoulos. Athens, Center of Economic Research, 1963.

12. National Statistical Service of Greece, *The Population Inflow Into Greater Athens*. Athens. National Printing Office, 1964. Pp. 13-16. Also, Kayser, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-112.

b) The two largest streams of migration are toward Athens and Thessaloniki.

c) There is little evidence of reluctance on the part of the villagers to undertake a trek to the city to seek employment and permanent settlement.

d) The present upswing in the growth of urban centers is the direct result of internal migration and not, as in the 1920's of forced international immigration.

e) In numerous areas round the country, resources are insufficient to support the population above a property level. Common characteristics of most of these areas is a population which is economically stranded, socially pocketed and have a higher than average birth rate. Hence, against static or declining resources, a mounting population surplus is created, which, in the absence of new resource developments, can only be relieved through migration. It is from these overcrowded regions that Athens and Thessaloniki have drawn a large part of their populations over the last 20 years, and from which a continued exodus of people is to be expected in the future.

Table 1.
THE POPULATION OF GREECE, 1821-1961

<i>Census Date</i>	<i>Number</i>
1821 ¹	938,765
1839	823,773
1853	1,035,527
1861	1,096,810
1870 ²	1,457,894
1896	2,433,806
1907	2,631,952
1920 ³	5,531,474
1928 ⁴	6,204,684
1940	7,344,840
1951 ⁵	7,632,801
1961	8 388,553

1. Estimate based on the census of 1828.

2. Including the Ionian Islands.

3. Including Macedonia, Epirus, Crete, the Aegean Islands.

4. Excluding Eastern Thrace and the islands of Imbros, and Tenedos.

5. Including the Dodecanese Islands.

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1962.* p. 12.

Table 2.
URBANIZATION IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	<i>Per Cent of Country's Population in Cities 100,000 and over</i>	<i>Per cent of Country's Population in Cities 20,000 and over</i>
France (1946)	16.6	31.9
Sweden (1945)	17.4	29.2
Egypt (1947)	19.3	28.5
Switzerland (1950)	20.6	31.2
Greece (1951)	22.3	31.9

Source: Tomazinis, Antony Rudolf., *The Application of Advanced Planning Practices to Greece*. Unpublished thesis, Georgia Institute of Technology, May 1959. p. 40.

Table 3.
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION CENTERS AND THEIR POPULATION BY SIZE

<i>Population size Class</i>	<i>Number of centers</i>		<i>Population</i>	
	<i>1940</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1940</i>	<i>1961</i>
Over 400,000	1	1	1,124,109	1,852,709
100,000-399,999	1	2	278,145	517,218
50,000-99,999	2	3	134,489	207,771
20,000-49,999	23	23	459,485	710,556
10,000-19,999	29	29	400,335	437,897
5,000-9,999	46	71	296,995	439,433
2,000-4,999	379	377	1,097,359	1,022,147
1,000-1,999	990	871	1,275,911	1,172,459
900-999	258	221	285,555	207,440
800-999	317	293	266,070	246,517
700-799	417	309	316,924	229,830
600-699	498	441	373,495	286,114
500-699	539	492	295,900	275,518
400-499	689	642	308,942	302,363
300-399	693	648	265,426	239,482
200-299	587	651	163,910	162,764
100-199	389	449	60,292	70,867
0-99	93	123	5,188	7,297

Source : Census of 1940 and 1961.

Table 4.
FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE POPULATION CENTERS OF GREECE

<i>Type of Settlement</i>	<i>Population and Type of Activity Characteristic of Each</i>
Village	Population below 5,000 people. Staple merchandising. First step in farm produce collection
Assembly City	Population above 10,000 and below 100,000. Farm produce purchasing; partial marketing of products; flour milling, etc.
Wholesale City	Population above 100,000. Port city. Importer and exporter of foods, industrial products. Acts as a national gateway. Place of high order goods. Educational, cultural, manufacturing and commercial functions.

Table 5.
URBAN, SEMI-URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION TRENDS SINCE 1928

	<i>1928</i>	<i>1940</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>1961</i>
URBAN	1,931,937	2,411,647	2,879,994	3,628,105
SEMI-URBAN	899,466	1,086,079	1,130,188	1,085,856
RURAL	3,373,281	3,847,134	3,622,619	3,674,592

Source : *Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1962* p. 26

Table 6.
POST-WORLD WAR TWO TRENDS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

<i>Urban Center</i>	<i>1940</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>1961</i>
Greater Athens	1,124,109	1,378,586	1,852,709
Thessaloniki	278,145	297,164	378,444
Patras	83,283	93,037	102,244
Volos	54,919	65,090	67,424
Iraklion	44,684	58,285	69,983
Larisa	32,686	41,016	55,391
Khania	36,512	40,069	40,331
Katerini	21,569	29,166	32,973
Kozani	14,022	17,651	21,537
Karditsa	14,024	18,543	23,708

Source : National Statistical Service of Greece.

Table 7
MAJOR INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRICES BY REGIONAL LOCATION*

<i>Region</i>	<i>Per cent of Total Enterprises</i>
Greater Athens	59
Thessaloniki	17
Peloponnesos	8
Thessaly	4
Crete	3
Aegean Islands	2

* Does not include handicraft industries.

Source: Industrial Development Corporation, Athens, Greece.