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A case of ritual compliance?

The role of European Structural Funds in the shaping of the Greek employment policy (1995-2008)

by Dr. Yiorgos Ioannidis

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Abstract

The relation of the Greek employment policy to the European one, as it was formulated within EES and the Lisbon strategy, was a particular one. The Greek employment policy fully adopted the form, the structure and the discourse of the EES but it was only marginally influenced by the "way of doing things." The compliance of the Greek employment policy with the European guidelines for employment was primarily aimed at ensuring the precious flow of the European resources, and only secondarily at improving the effectiveness of the implemented policies. In that sense, the case of Greece, can be described as a case of "ritual compliance"; that is an adherence to the form rather than to the substance of the matter, a practice whose main objective is the unobstructed flow of European funding.

1. Prelude

The Starting point of the paper, is a common acknowledgment, made by the majority of the researchers of the Greek employment policy; that is the low effectiveness diachronically demonstrated by employment policy in Greece, as well as the fact that the implementation of the employment programmes in Greece is characterized to a large extent by "irrational" and paradoxical practices which often result in the annulment of the proclaimed objectives.

The basic hypothesis is that by examining the Greek employment policy in correlation with the wider socioeconomic context, within which this policy was implemented, we can explain the phenomenal irrationalities by bringing forward a "latent consistency" or a "latent rationality" of the policy in question. This way we can also explain the diachronic persistence of consecutive Greek governments in policies, which at first glance seem ineffective. Through this analysis another form of "effectiveness" gradually comes into light; the potential of the employment policy to

absorb the social tensions which were generated by the radical transformation of the economy and the society.

The broad framework to be analysed was determined by two essential factors; the fundamental transformation of the Greek economy which defined the contents of the employment policy, and, the adoption of the European Employment Strategy (EES) which determined the form of the Greek employment policy.

2. The European Employment Strategy and its effect on the national employment policies

The European employment policy and more specifically its coordinated version (EES and the Lisbon Strategy) was developed to promote a policy of structural reforms in the labour market, which were based on the rhetoric of the knowledge economy, and organically included the restrictions (both political and macroeconomic) set by EMU (for further see Ioannidis 2012). The special feature of EES is that it adopted the “need” for labour market flexibility, but at the same time it altered it by introducing the rationale of a “regulated deregulation” (Ioannidis 2011). The emphasis on the participation of the social partners, the introduction of the dimension of quality in employment, the policies for combating social exclusion, the reference to the workers in poverty, the policies concerning gender equality etc. constitute some of these differentiations.

According to the European Commission web-site¹, the EES aims at strengthening the coordination of national employment policies by involving Member States in a series of common objectives and targets. Moreover, the EES established a multilateral surveillance framework, notably the Joint annual report on employment/Joint employment report and the Employment Guidelines proposed by the Commission and adopted by the EU Council. These documents form the basis for the National Action Plans (NAPs) prepared by the Member States, and recommendations of the Council of Ministers to the different Member States.

The EES also introduced a new working method, the “Open Method of Coordination (OMC). The literature on the OMC is extensive due to the fact that the OMC introduced a new form of European governance (Bruun 2001, Heidenreich and Bischoff 2008, Régent 2002). The general positive reception of the new procedure is

¹ <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=101&langId=en>

closely related to its ability to generate political consensus without legal obligations. The OMC has managed to produce some results, due to the open nature of coordination in a field (employment and social policy), where the divergences among the Member States are still large. However, its main usefulness is to be found on the political level. The EES and the OMC gradually produced a convergence of ideas, concepts and rules of action (Pochet 2004: 6).

With regard to the degree of influence of the EES on the national employment policies, several methodological approaches have been developed which should be considered complementary rather than controversial. Barbier's (2004) approach concentrates on the changes that the EES brought about in the national discourse about employment, in the organization of the public administration and in the planning and implementation of the employment programmes. De la Porte and Pochet (2002), Büchs (2004) and Hartlapp (2009) focus on the nature of the implemented policies and underline the mutual learning aspects of EES. Zeitlin (2005) emphasises the importance of the gradual development of a shared discourse, the significance of mutual learning and the possibility of strategic use of the EES in the internal political disputes. The degree of consensus regarding the already implemented employment policy also plays an important role, since it has been observed that the broader this consensus is the more limited the influence of the EES is (Mailand 2003, 2006, de la Porte and Pochet 2002). The extent to which the Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) are developed, constitutes an additional factor. Countries that are closer to the EES rationality tend to comply with it to a larger degree; consequently, the countries of the European South have encountered more intense pressure in adapting to EES requirements (De la Porte and Pochet 2004: 75, Mailand 2005: 72). There is also the issue of the community resources; the more a country depends on them, the greater the influence of EES on its national policy is (Mailand 2006, de la Porte and Pochet 2002).

The above points are confirmed from a number of evaluation studies of the EES produced from the European Committee (for example COM(2002) 416) but also from independent research. In summary, almost all of the assessments conclude that the EES contributed to the convergence of the aims of national employment policies (Casey and Gold 2004) and to the convergence of the processes by which these policies grow (Mailand 2005: 5, Biagi 2003, Ekengren 1998). In some cases, the EES has helped to develop an evaluation culture (Jacobsson and Vifell 2007, Toulemonde

2000) and had positive effect on the coordination of the policy on national and European level (López-Santana 2009: 8). EES also managed to strengthen the social dialogue (Mailand 2005: 5) and to promote the ALMP especially in those countries where these policies were marginal (Euromemorandum labour market group 2003: 6). Finally, the EES had positive effects especially on mainstreaming the gender dimension for national employment policy (Zeitlin 2002: 2, Mósesdóttir and Thorbergsdóttir 2004).

Nevertheless, the above does not necessarily mean real convergence. As Vifell (2004) mentions, the Public Administration in almost all of the Member States has demonstrated an impressive flexibility to adapt to the EU requirements; from ritual compliance with the EU requirements to the differentiation of the discourse used according to the audience. In that sense, there is a wide consensus among the researchers² that the cases in which the ESS had a direct impact on the national employment policy are rather rare and the effect of the EES in everyday production of politics remained low.

So, the effect of EES did not include an element of convergence to a “common standard” and the European employment policy cannot be viewed as the effort of a state or of a group of states to export a model for the labour market. By “coordinating” their employment policies, the member states sought to create a reformed framework for their own labour markets. The contents of the European employment policy are a mere projection of the domestic agenda of the national governments on the European level (Ioannidis 2012).

3. An estimation on the dependence of the Greek employment policy concerning the European funds

The role of the EU funding of the employment policy in Greece is instrumental. Nonetheless, quantifying is not easy since neither OAED nor the ESYE/ELSTAT (the Greek Statistical Service) publish on a regular basis the relevant data. However, by combining data from the State Budgets, from the budgets of OAED, from Ministerial

² For instance see Ardy and Umbach 2004, Ballester 2005, Biffi 2007, De la Porte and Pochet 2004, Eichhorst and Rhein 2005, Graziano 2008, Jacobson and Schmid 2002, Lindsay 2004, Milner 2004, Pochet 2006, Viser 2002, Watt 2004, Zohnöfer and Ostheim 2005, Lèonard 2005

Decisions on employment programmes and from reports produced for the CSF (evaluations, progress reports, updates, etc.) it is possible to reach a rough estimation.

Table 1 demonstrates the estimation using data extracted from the annual budget of OAED for the period 1989 to 2008. However, the figures should be treated with reservation since OAED's bad habit to often change the structure of its annual budgets does not facilitate cross-annual comparisons. In any case, as seen in Table 1 in the time period 1986-2006 European funds cover by average the 41.8% of the total expenditure on Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) like job subsidies, vocational training, entrepreneurship promotion and measures for special population groups. To be more specific, the European funding covered 55.7% of the total ALMP expenditure during the years 1989-1993 (1st CSF), the 41.2% during the period 1994-1999 (2nd CSF) and the 41.7% during the years 2000-2006 (3rd CSF).

	OAED's total revenues	OAED's total expenditure	Expenditure on ALMP			Expenditure on benefits	Operational costs & other types of expenditure	Total ESF inflows*	OAEDs ESF funding		
			TOTAL	minus expenditure from LAEK, ELKA, ELPEKE	LAEK, ELKA, ELPEKE expenditure				In mil.	as % of ALMP minus LAEK/ELKA	as % of total ALMP
1989	96.285,5	96.285,6	25.913,9	25.913,9	-	53.745,5	16.626,1	39.914,0	7.846,0	30,3%	30,3%
1990	112.887,0	112.887,0	28.923,6	28.923,6	-	65.081,0	18.882,4	56.369,0	-	n.a.	n.a.
1991	168.782,0	187.932,0	51.060,8	51.060,8	-	107.477,5	29.393,7	63.505,0	33.615,0	65,8%	65,8%
1992	209.239,0	239.897,0	67.069,9	67.069,9	-	136.558,8	36.268,3	69.972,0	39.605,0	59,1%	59,1%
1993	234.094,0	234.094,0	72.701,1	72.701,1	-	126.674,4	34.718,6	109.394,0	43.383,4	59,7%	59,7%
1994	263.080,1	263.080,1	70.466,0	70.466,0	-	150.170,0	42.444,1	131.300,0	48.728,3	69,2%	69,2%
1995	296.534,8	296.534,8	92.971,6	64.041,6	28.930,0	153.248,5	50.314,7	66.500,0	39.500,0	61,7%	42,5%
1996	319.419,3	301.149,3	100.368,3	69.123,9	31.244,4	153.636,8	47.144,2	69.100,0	40.000,0	57,9%	39,9%
1997	358.525,5	399.927,3	128.307,9	95.508,6	32.799,3	218.539,1	53.080,3	89.500,0	40.000,0	41,9%	31,2%
1998	377.902,9	377.750,0	136.632,8	102.321,0	34.311,8	185.638,5	55.478,7	128.500,0	45.000,0	44,0%	32,9%
1999	430.134,9	394.400,0	147.736,9	111.250,9	36.486,0	180.462,0	66.201,1	211.265,0	60.000,0	53,9%	40,6%
2000	1.502,1	1.395,0	586,7	468,6	118,1	570,9	237,3	679,0	290,8	62,0%	49,6%
2001	1.422,2	1.404,8	564,4	427,4	137,0	615,8	224,6	248,0	68,5	16,0%	12,1%
2002	1.660,3	1.547,8	630,3	450,9	179,4	689,0	228,6	361,0	386,3	85,7%	61,3%
2003	1.894,7	1.652,2	696,9	525,6	171,3	686,8	268,5	584,0	220,0	41,9%	31,6%
2004	2.132,1	2.088,3	747,4	556,3	191,1	937,2	403,7	640,0	431,5	77,6%	57,7%
2005	2.258,8	2.129,8	836,3	630,6	205,7	939,7	353,9	576,0	425,6	67,5%	50,9%
2006	2.452,7	2.385,2	1.001,0	782,1	218,9	1.021,2	363,0	552,0	438,9	56,1%	43,8%

Sources:
OAED Annual Budget.
*, Ministry of Finances, Annual State Budget of the corresponding year

It should be noted that according to other sources of data the above mentioned numbers underestimate the importance of the European funds. For example, according to OAED's 1988 Budget (p. 13) the European funds covered about 55% of the total expenditure on employment programmes. In our estimation the figure for that year is only 31%. Secondly, according to OAED the funds from the 1st CSF accounted for almost 73% of the total ALMP expenditure (OAED 1994: 53). Our estimation is 55.7% but it is not clear if OAED counts the national participation as well. Finally, in a report of the European Commission to the Council and the European Parliament (COM (2000) 16 final) it is stated that the funding of ALMP in Greece from the European Social Fund cover the 58.4% of total expenditure. In our estimation, the corresponding percentage is only 49.6%.

It is most probable that the estimation divergences are due to the fact that the data refer to different time periods. For example, the official duration of the 2nd CSF was covered from 1994 to 1999 but in practice the disbursement of the funds had been characterised by a time-lag (say for example 1996-2001). In respect, the "average community funding of the Greek ALMP during i.e. the 2nd CSF" is not the same as the "average community funding of OAED's budget on ALMP for the period 1994 to 1999". The same can be said for the other CSFs as well. A second reason justifying estimation divergences is the fact that the ALMP in Greece are not funded solely by the ESF and are not implemented solely from OAED. For example, labour market interventions like entrepreneurship supported in rural areas had been funded from ERDF through programmes implemented from the Ministry of Development or Finance. Nonetheless, the main conclusion from all the estimations is that without the European funds the implementation of active labour market policies in Greece would not be possible.

Analogous problems arise in the estimation of the employment outcomes (beneficiaries & job creation) of the co-financed employment programmes. The data presented in Table 3 is extracted from various Greek official documents and reports of the E.U. (see also Table 8 to Table 11 in the annex). Nonetheless, these numbers should be treated cautiously since the methodology under which these numbers have been calculated by the Greek authorities, remains unknown. Moreover, what is also unclear is the exact referred time period regarding the number of employment policies financed by more than one CSF. An alternative estimation is depicted in Table 2. These data are extracted by the Ministerial Decisions during the period 1982 to

2009 on employment programmes including some type of action on direct employment creation (job subsidies, self-employment subsidies and Stage programmes). These data should also be treated with caution since they are referring to the total number of potential (not actual) postings. In other words, it is not known if all the potential posting were finally filled (in some programmes all the postings have been covered whereas in others only the 50% has).

Year	Total	Job subsidies	Entrepreneurship promotion (subsidies for self-employment)	Stage programmes	Other programmes	Total Employment	Net employment effect
1982	21.194	20.000	-	-	1.194	3.491.300	-38.000
1983	28.764	25.000	-	-	3.764	3.532.127	40.827
1984	16.575	14.000	-	-	2.575	3.549.359	17.232
1985	21.751	15.000	-	-	6.751	3.581.856	32.497
1986	27.318	19.500	1.100	-	6.718	3.597.613	15.757
1987	29.378	18.700	5.409	-	5.269	3.595.474	-2.139
1988	44.873	29.900	5.120	-	9.853	3.654.837	59.363
1989	40.347	29.700	6.793	-	3.854	3.667.431	12.594
1990	34.077	24.138	7.748	-	2.191	3.716.732	49.301
1991	21.533	16.000	5.533	-	-	3.630.857	-85.875
1992	16.840	12.000	4.840	-	-	3.683.038	52.181
1993	17.823	14.000	3.823	-	-	3.715.363	32.325
1994	36.383	28.700	7.683	-	-	3.786.157	70.794
1995	51.350	40.900	10.450	-	-	3.820.510	34.353
1996	72.600	58.000	14.600	-	-	3.868.283	47.773
1997	60.000	44.700	15.300	-	-	3.853.335	-14.948
1998	25.820	18.020	7.800	-	-	4.023.676	170.341
1999	86.997	48.634	12.903	22.500	2.960	4.040.371	16.695
2000	134.176	85.349	18.540	20.000	10.287	4.097.875	57.504
2001	35.688	6.282	2.182	23.000	4.224	4.103.211	5.336
2002	39.623	6.699	2.460	25.000	5.464	4.190.175	86.964
2003	65.083	30.000	-	30.000	5.083	4.286.561	96.386
2004	22.200	13.000	4.500	4.700	-	4.330.497	43.936
2005	51.903	30.500	4.900	16.503	-	4.381.936	51.439
2006	44.160	14.171	5.182	24.691	116	4.452.817	70.881
2007	47.530	18.156	6.100	22.370	904	4.519.854	67.037
2008	38.809	22.741	4.718	10.436	914	4.582.544	62.690
2009	109.244	64.695	25.549	19.000	-	4.531.900	-50.644

Table 3: Community funds and Greek labour market			
	1 st CSF (1989-1993)	2 nd CSF (1994-1999)	3 rd CSF (2000-2006)
Number of persons on direct employment creation programs	110,171 ⁽¹⁾	210,000 ⁽²⁾ 214,054 ⁽³⁾	154,014
Jobs created due to CSF programs at the end of the CSF	50,000	50,000- 100,000	245,065
Sources: (1): OAED 1994, 53-56 (2): Ministry of Labour n.d., 8 (3): Program supplement of the O.P. Employment and Vocational Training, http://www.prosonolotahos.gr/default.asp?pid=8&lang=1			

In any case, what is quite striking is the fact that the number of the annual declared potential postings through direct job creation programmes equal from 32.3% to 668.8% of the net employment effect of the corresponding year. Given the fact that almost all of these employment programmes were co-financed by the EU it is quite clear that the employment policy in Greece is absolutely depended on the European funding.

Regarding the reasons behind the extensive dependence on the European funding of the Greek employment policy, one can look at the structural inefficacy of the unemployment protection system. The system of employment insurance in Greece covers only a small part of the unemployed population, whereas the unemployment benefit itself, is completely inadequate to protect against poverty, even the lucky few who are entitled to it. The eligibility criteria for the unemployment benefit targets only those who have been regularly employed in the past for a relatively long period of time (Papadopoulos 2006). Consequently, the most populous groups of the unemployed –namely (a) the young unemployed with no work experience who have not yet established the right to the unemployment benefit and (b) the long-term unemployed who have exhausted the maximum time period of its granting– are excluded from the unemployment benefit. These categories of unemployed constituted on average 72.2% of the unemployed in 1980s, 77.4% in 1990s and 73.8% in 2000s. A direct consequence is the low percentage of the unemployed receiving the unemployment benefit (Figure 1). Just 5.4% during the 1980s, 7.4% during the 1990s and 12.3% in 2000s. At the same time, the proportion of the previous income covered by the benefit, is one of the lowest in Europe (Table 13 in Annex).

The minimum protection offered to the unemployed combined with the government's unwillingness –due to the significant budgetary cost– to extend the

coverage rate of the unemployment benefit, created a strong incentive to develop policies that could act as a benefit substitute. Implementing policies funded by European funds constituted a promising alternative especially in those cases in which it was possible to “passivise” the active policies. The vocational training programmes serve as a good example for this practice. The extension of those programmes, which provided a payment for the trainee, functioned as a substitute for the unemployment benefit. A substitute that is financed by community resources as opposed to the unemployment benefit that is funded by national resources. The vocational training policy –essentially an active labour market policy– was virtually “passivised”. Eventually, this practice resulted in “recycling” a great number of unemployed-trainees in the same or in different programmes—a practice of which the Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED) was well aware of (interview with Yiannis Aivaliotis, Director of OAED’s Vocational Training central service). For instance Dimoulas (2005: 227) points out that at least half of the unemployed that were trained in 1981-1998 did not receive the unemployment benefit, while Kritikidis (n.d.) mentions that at least 20% of the unemployed who attended some vocational training programme in the Vocational Centre of the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE) had already attended another programme in the past.

4. Two cases of ritual compliance

4.1. Job subsidy and the Stage programmes

The “Stage” programmes are programmes that are addressed to the unemployed that have no previous working experience. Consequently, their primary aim is a young people and specific population groups which are facing problems entering the labour market. A typical Stage programme will provide part-time employment (usually 5 to 7 hours daily) for a period of 6 to 12 months. Since the total compensation of the beneficiary was covered by OAED a Stage programme minimises the wage cost for the company making it much more attractive to businesses than hire subsidies.

In the Greek version, Stage programmes were marked by a serious distortion in terms of their targeting and function. The first Stage programme was launched in 1999 (YA 33685, FEK 1443b / 13.07.1999) and was about the recruitment of 2,500 people up to 30 years old in the healthcare system. In essence, the programme was an attempt to provide a short-term solution to the under-staffed Greek healthcare

system in a period of fiscal adjustment which did not allow recruitment of regular staff (interview Miltiadis Papaioannou, Minister of Labour at that time).

However, this solution also presented powerful political advantages. The most important was the bypassing of the ASEP (*Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection*) procedures that is the formal procedure for getting a job in the public sector. By this practice, whoever had a political connection was to be placed as stagier in Public Organisations. Given the fact, that the placing in a stagier position in a Public Organisation or even Ministry, could end up in proper hiring the beneficiaries on their part, regarded their recruitment as a forerunner of their being appointed as established staff in the public sector. The success of the project was assured and after a while another two massive Stage programmes were launched (20,000 jobs in 1999 and 20,000 jobs in 2000).

Stage programmes evolved into a massive mechanism of bypassing ASEP. This mechanism functioned as follows: initially a number of people were placed as stagiers in Public Organisations or Ministries for a period of twelve (12) months up until 2002 and eighteen (18) months after 2002. Just before the expiry of the programme by ministerial decree, the duration of the programme was extended for another 12-24 months. After the compilation of this extra period, ASEP announced a competition for hiring candidates in the above mentioned institutions. Even though this “competition” was open to everybody, according to the terms, a two-year prior work experience in a “similar field” was granted with extra points. So, the ex-stagiers were on the top of the candidates’ list and they were appointed as established staff.

The first to introduce this system was the PASOK government; however, the mechanism grew gigantically at the time of the New Democracy administration. During 1999-2008, 184.000 stage job vacancies were created (Table 4); 57% were placed in institutions of the public sector, in Local and Regional Authorities (OTA) and Public controlled Social Security Organisations; 16% were placed in private companies and 29% were placed both in the private and the public sector, the vast majority of which was granted to the public sector.³ The Manpower Employment

³ [2](#)The allocation of Stage placements is the following: Ministry of Health 23,100, Ministry of Culture: 8,600, Ministry of Employment: 4,000, Ministry of Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works: 3,220, Ministry of Interior: 2,324, Ministry of Education: 913, Ministry of Development: 500, Ministry of Finance: 250, Ministry of Defense: 251, Local and Regional Authorities: 37,300, Public Controlled Social Security Organizations: 7,000, Chambers of Commerce: 1,200, State General Accounting Office: 120, General State Archive: 560. Last but not least, the organization “Athens 2004” was favoured with 23,000 job vacancies.

Organisation (OAED) employed in its services as stagiers at least 3,000 people, a number equal to 25% of its personnel. Additionally, out of 86.000 stage vacancies that were announced in the period 1999-2004, 74.000 were announced in the election years 1999, 2000 and 2003.

The political dimension of the Stage programmes is obvious. Thus, although after 2007 the EU practically stopped financing these programmes,⁴ the number of the stagiers did not decrease. The political benefits were so extensive that the expenditure was covered by the institutions themselves (social security organisations, local and regional authorities, and ministries). At the end of 2007, it was widely known that the only function of these programmes was the reproduction of clientelism. In 2010, in the eve of the economic crisis, the newly appointed director of OAED Dr. Elias Kikilias criticised the previous management of the Organisation by stating that “they wasted the reserves of the Organisation in pseudo-programmes, such as the Stage ones” (Kikilias 2010).

Total number of Stage program postings (from 1/7/1999 to 31/12/2009):	184.011	100%
<i>Number of Stage beneficiaries in programs concerning postings in public sector</i>	<i>105.050</i>	<i>57%</i>
<i>Number of Stage beneficiaries in programs concerning postings in private sector</i>	<i>29.161</i>	<i>16%</i>
<i>Number of Stage beneficiaries in programs concerning postings in public & private sector</i>	<i>49.800</i>	<i>27%</i>
Source: Ioannidis 2012		

1999	22.500	13%
2000	20.000	11%
2001	8.300	5%
2002	4.100	2%
2003	17.037	10%
2004	4.700	3%
2005	13.533	8%
2006	23.141	13%
2007	19.491	11%
2008	14.086	8%
2009	27.270	16%
<i>Postings under PASOK administration</i>	<i>71.937</i>	<i>42%</i>
<i>Postings under ND administration</i>	<i>97.521</i>	<i>58%</i>
Source: Ioannidis 2012		

⁴ Out of 24 programmes of the period 2007-2009, just 3 were co-financed by community resources.

	Co-financed by EU funds		Financed only by national funds		Total	
Time-period	Num. of programmes	%	Num. of programmes	%	Num. of programmes	%
Total	30	46%	35	54%	65	
1999-2005	14	64%	8	36%	22	
2006-2009	16	37%	27	63%	43	
Time-period	Num. of postings	%	Num. of postings	%	Num. of postings	%
Total	93,785	62%	56,988	38%	150,773	
1999-2005	76,823	87%	11,463	13%	88,286	
2006-2009	16,962	27%	45,525	73%	62,487	

Source: Ioannidis 2012

As far as the recruitment subsidies are concerned, Table 2 demonstrates that during the time period 1981-2008 the number of jobs subsidised, constituted a large part of the net job creation of the Greek economy. Therefore, there emerges a “paradox” in the Greek employment policy, a paradox which lies in the simultaneous validity of three conditions: a) the expenditure of the ALMP in Greece as a percentage of GDP being among the lowest in the European Union, b) approximately half of the subsidised jobs remain vacant, c) the subsidised jobs are approximately equal to 50% of the net increase in employment in the economy.

The only plausible explanation, which is also the “entry point” in the political economy of the employment policy, is that the direct job creation programmes did not actually create new jobs, but they merely reduced the labour cost for jobs that either way would have been created. In particular, according to the studies available⁵ (**Σφάλμα! Το αρχείο προέλευσης της αναφοράς δεν βρέθηκε.**, Annex) the wage subsidy ratio was kept on high levels fluctuating from 50% to 100% (Table 12); the majority of the companies that participated in these programmes were small or very small companies (EKKE & EEO 2001, PAEP 2004, European Commission 2005), and according to them by participating in a programme they improved their competitiveness through decreasing the cost of labour (EKKE & EEO 2001, Chletsos

⁵ Karantinos 1989, Misyri 1989, Athens University of Economics 1993, Centre for Economic Policy Studies 1994, OMAS LDT 2001, EKKE & EEO 2001, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2002, PAEP 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2004d, 2005a, 2005b, Urban Management 2004, European Commission 2005, Center for Women's Studies & Research 2006, VFA 2007, Ombudsman 2007, General Secretariat for Community and other resources 2007, Dimoulas K., Michalopoulou K. 2008, OAED 2008a, 2008b,

and Kaminioti 2006). There were also cases of programmes tailored to the needs of the companies and not the needs of the unemployed.⁶

In short, the extensive employment subsidies constituted a mechanism for decreasing the labour cost especially in small and medium enterprises, which were the main users of these programmes. This mechanism was part of an informal strategy implemented in order to preserve the competitiveness of these companies, which otherwise would have suffered by the liberalization of economy and its opening up to international competition. This is the key to explaining the ineffectiveness of the employment programmes. On the one hand, these programmes were ineffective in answering the needs of the unemployed. However, they were exceptionally “effective,” when it came to decreasing the labour cost in the less competitive small and medium companies.

That explains the fact that although for 28 years the shortage of statistical monitoring and evaluation had been noted by all the institutions involved (both national and European), no real effort has been made to confront the problem. The bottom line, however, is that the lame statistical monitoring allowed the unobstructed reproduction of the political economy that the employment programmes created; namely the reproduction of relations among the political elites, the companies and the institutions that were assigned with the implementation of the employment policies.

4.2. The vocational training

The vocational training policy in Greece was introduced due to the pressure exercised by the E.U. but it was implemented in such a way that it served the domestic political economy. The seven (7) laws and the dozens of ministerial decrees issued from 1989 to 2004 reflect the effort made by the state to control but also foster the development of that particular market, the conflict of interests among the main actors, as well as, the tensions generated by the constant pressure of the European Union.

⁶ In 2005 two mammoth programmes were announced. The first one was addressed to retailing companies that employed up to 3 employees and granted twenty-month subsidized employment for 10.000 unemployed. The second one was addressed to companies with less than 50 employees and granted twenty-one-month subsidized employment for 7.800 new employees. However, there was no specific reason for subsidizing employment for 10.000 people who would work in small retailing businesses (apart from the pressure exercised by the proprietors of these businesses), as there was no specific reason for subsidizing 7.800 people to work in small businesses (apart of course from the pressure exercised by the businesses themselves).

From 1989 to 1996 there was a significant increase in the funding of vocational training programmes. Namely, the vocational training expenditure rose from 0.04% of GDP in 1987 to 0.24% in 1990. This rise can also be detected in the number of trainees that increased from 360.000 during the first CSF to 550.000 during the second one (OAED 1994: 56, Vretakou & Rouseas 2002: 34). Nevertheless, in spite this unprecedented increase in the funding and in the number of trainees no systematic effort was made to create an official register of the institutes/centers implementing these programmes. Actually, the legislative framework made no provision at all for the basic requirements on infrastructure, training equipment or human resources (Karalis 2003: 16). As an outcome even sport clubs and Holy Metropolises implemented vocational training programmes within the framework of the first CSF (General Secretariat for the Management of Community and Other Resources 2007: 28). However, this did not generate any problem at all in the absorbency of the EU funds. On the contrary, the relevant Operational Programme of the second CSF (“Ongoing Vocational Training and Promotion to Employment”) demonstrated the highest rate of absorbency of all the operational programmes of the CSF (Ministry of Labour 2001: 23).

The absence of any system of control or certification led to the emergence of a large number of companies operating in the field of vocational training. The precise number of these “institutes” is unknown and fluctuates from 3.500 (Economic and Social Committee of Greece 1988: 2) to 1.200 (Papadeodosiou and Stavrou 1993: 42). The bottom line is that the first two CSFs created a demand for vocational training services, which the private companies hastened to satisfy either autonomously or as subcontractors. At this stage, the “poor organisation” of the monitoring system contained an underemphasized “consistency.” The absence of any control resulted in the waste of resources, but at the same time it allowed the emergence of a “critical mass” of private vocational training companies; the majority of today’s certified vocational centres were established during this period. Nowadays everybody agrees (for example, Karalis & Vergidis 2004, Efstratoglou 2004, Palios 2003, Kokkos 2005, 2008, Doxiadis et. al. 1993, Vergidis et. al. 1999, Karalis 2003, UNESCO 1997, 1999) that this situation led to the quantitative expansion of vocational training without the relevant improvement in the effectiveness and the quality of the services provided.

The pressure for a rationalization of the vocational training system came initially from the European Commission which demanded that only certified centres

should be eligible to implement co-financed training programmes (European Commission 1994: 63-64). The realization of this obligation was a prerequisite for the unhindered funding of the whole O.P. for the employment. Nevertheless, the criteria adopted by the Ministry of Labour aimed only at the exclusion of the freelancers one-man training “centres”. The certification process was carried out by a 4-person committee with no administrative support and no mechanism of checking the validity of the dossiers submitted by the vocational centres. In practice, the 1994’s certification targets limited themselves in excluding only the virtual companies. At the end of the process 481 Vocational Training Centers (KEK) in total –332 private ones– where certified. Even so, the inability to check “beyond the paper” permitted even night-clubs to be certified as vocational centers (Dimoulas 2002: 130). Given the above it is no surprise that 1996 European Commission’s inspection resulted in a 2-year financial “freeze” of the Operation Programme as a pressure to the government to develop a new and functional certification system (Amitsis 2000: 98).

In 1997 a new certification round was launched with new criteria and processes. The new criteria prevented at least half of the 481 prior certified KEK to apply. In total, 296 dossiers were submitted out of which 262 passed successfully (149 from the private sector). It is worth mentioning the way the resources of the second CSF were used in the process of the market clearing: the public expenditure on the vocational training programmes skyrocketed just before the suspension of the relevant Operational Programme in 1997, and again just after its implementation in 1998. In other words, it was something like a “payment in advance” and a “payoff” to the proprietors of the institutions for the investments they had made. At the same time, only during the period 1994-1996, more than 200.000 people participated in vocational training programmes, out of which 80.000 were trained in private vocational centres (Karantinos et. al. 1997: 36). In practice, this meant 100% capacity utilization of the private training centres for at least two years given that after 1997’s certification, the total training capacity of the vocational institutes reached the amount of 35.000 trainees per year.

To make a long story short, the same procedure was also followed in the 2001 and 2003 certification rounds. Every time the certification criteria was a bit stricter in order to clear-out the market, the restrictions concerning the number of the sub-offices and of the thematic fields were revised upwards in order to help the remaining companies grow bigger. The successive certifications gradually reduced the number

of the vocational training institutes from 3.500 (1989-1993), to 481 in 1994, to 262 in 1997 and 283 to 2001.

The third period is the one of the liberalization of the market (2005-), since all the restrictions of the past concerning the minimum and the maximum number of the sub-offices, the thematic areas and the legal form of the vocational centres were canceled. Nonetheless, the government retained a significant tool in order to promote its targets according to the number and the size of the KEKs; the allocation of the training programmes among the KEKs. It was only after 2010 that this tool was to be gradually withdrawn after the pressures of the bigger companies. The “training voucher” which the unemployed-user can use in any KEK of his/her choice resulted in the first TV advertisement from a KEK in June 2010. The outcome is the present-to-day structure of the ongoing vocational training system which numbers 274 certified vocational centres with 540 certified education structures.

However, the scope of the vocational training programmes did not change; they remained focused not to the needs of the trainees but to those of the vocational centres. After 2005 there was a considerable increase in the programmes targeted at workers in comparison to the ones directed to the unemployed (in the time period 2007-2009, just 28% of the programmes targeted at the unemployed compared to 40% of the programmes in the time period 2003-2005) due to the fact that the potential worker-trainees can be easily tracked down; on the contrary, in the case of the unemployed, the vocational centres should track down the unemployed, organise and implement accompanying actions like employment promotion, monitor the integration of the participants into labour market etc.

In general, training the unemployed is more expensive and requires greater organisational and managerial potential. On the other hand the training programmes for the unemployed were limited, to areas in which the training centres had previous experience and their implementation was relatively cheap. The majority of the programmes are mainly related to two fields of training: informatics and economics-management. Moreover, the significance of these thematic areas increased over the years; from 55% over the programmes in 2003-2005 to 64% in 2007-2009.

From 1994 to 2009 the number of the KEK decreased, but their average size grew considerably. Additionally, contrary to the number of the vocational centres, the vocational training programmes were doubled from 8.800 in 2003-2005 they rose up to 16.064 in 2007-2009 (EKEPIS 2006, 2008, 2011). However, the effectiveness of the

vocational programmes remained low (General Secretariat of Community Funds 2007, Lamans Lmd 1999, Kokkos n.d., 2008, EKPA 2005).

The absence of public intervention during the first phase (that is the period of capital accumulation), as well as the shallow certification criteria during the first half of the second period (that is the controlled clearing of the market), are often used in order to demonstrate the well-known organisational problem and the “special” ways of the Greek public administration. Respectively, the attempts to rationalise the system through the successive certification cycles are described as a process of gradual maturing.

Nonetheless, from the political economy’s point of view what matters is the latent functionality/rationality of the intervention absence during the first period, as well as, the latent rationality of the increased intervention after 1997. From the government’s point of view, the political benefits of giving out money without specific criteria are more than obvious and they need not to be further explained. But, it should be noted that the most important benefit for the state, was that it managed to partly deal with the insufficiency of the unemployment benefit which excludes the majority of the unemployed (the long-term due to the depletion of the maximum period of assistance, and the youth due to the fact that they don’t meet the minimum requirements). Since the vocational training programmes, which include a payment for the participant, acted as a substitute for the unemployment benefit. Secondly, the lack of evaluation and certification criteria provided a temporary flexibility that allowed higher rates of EU funding absorption.

5. The transformation of the Greek economy, the gradual emergence of a new structure in employment and the dual dimension of the EES impact.

Summarizing the arguments presented so far, two factors, namely the transformation of the Greek economy and the activation of the EES, formed the broader framework within which the Greek employment policy was developed and implemented.

5.1. The Transformation of the Greek economy and the gradual emergence of a new structure in employment and the labour market

The years between 1980 and 2006 constitute a time period of important changes in the Greek economy and labour market. In 2008 the Greek real GDP was 82% “larger”

than in 1980, a growth that took place almost entirely after 1995. During the same period, the Greek economy was transformed into a “service economy” with a complementary manufacturing sector and a marginal agricultural one. A change that became evident in the sectoral composition of employment as well.⁷ Moreover, the major change in the structure of the labour market is relevant to the “boom” of salary earners from 50% of the total employment in the early 80’s to 65% in 2008. Nonetheless, the established business culture did not allow any room for alternative strategies regarding profit-making, other than the squeezing of the labour cost (Ioakeimoglou 2011). At this very point, the first tension/ contradiction can be observed. At the time when the real wages were increasing as a result of the economic growth, maintaining low labour costs was the dominant business strategy for ensuring profit-making. This, was the first contradiction that the employment policy was asked to resolve. The way it actually resolved it is the political economy of this issue; in other words, the complex of interests that it promoted.

This political economy can be approached on the basis of three types of interventions: recruiting subsidy programmes, Stage programmes and the vocational training policy. Recruiting subsidy programmes functioned as a mechanism for keeping the labour cost at low levels, the Stage programmes reproduced clientelism by creating bypasses to entrance into public sector, whereas the vocational training policy ensured a broader social consensus as it benefited a wide range of “players” (the political elites, the private companies, the unemployed and the social partners). At the bottom line, all these policies aimed at diminishing the tensions arising from the liberalization of the economy, and therefore ensured the necessary social consensus for the unobstructed implementation of the modernizing agenda. In that sense, the phenomenal irrationalities of the Greek employment policy started to be explained by bringing forward the “latent consistency” or the “latent rationality” of this policy, namely the potential of the employment policy to absorb the social tensions which were generated by the radical transformation of the economy.

5.2. The dual dimension of EES to the Greek employment policy – final remarks

⁷ The gross value added (GVA) of the primary sector decreased from 13.7% to 3.5%, the GVA of the secondary sector decreased from 27,6% to 17,8%, while the GVA of the services rose from 61.4% to 78.7%. Employment in agriculture decreased from 31% to 11.7% of total employment, while employment in the secondary sector decreased from 28% to 22%. At the same time, employment in the field of services increased from 41% to 66% of the total employment.

The impact of the EES on the Greek employment policy presents two conflicting dimensions. On the one hand, the EES has significantly affected the content but also the processes by which employment policy is implemented. Sakellariopoulos (2006: 21) mentions that the coherent labour market interventions in Greece can be traced only after 1997 due to the activation of the EES. Likewise, when it comes to legislative action after the year 1993 the legislative initiatives in the field of employment have been multiplied. The modernization of legislation on health and safety at work and the strengthening of the legislative framework on gender equality can be directly attributed to the European influence although, as Yiannakourou (2003, 63-64) mentions, in many cases the government just replicated the European Directives without accompanying them with those settings that would enable effective implementation. Moreover, under the influence of the EES the government created a number of institutional bodies (such as the National Commission for Employment and Social Protection and the Greek Social and Economic Committee) in order to promote social dialogue (Mouriki 2002, Feronas 2004). Likewise, the policies on *active aging* and on lifting the state's monopoly on the provision of employment services can be attributed to the effect of the EES (Yiannakourou 2003: 63) while the vocational training policy has been developed almost exclusively due to EU pressures (Ioakimidis 2000: 298).

The effect of the EES to the domestic rhetoric/discourses on employment cannot be ignored. Simitis' government (PASOK) endorsed the European discourse to such an extent that in 1997 the social dialogue procedure on the reform of the labour market was entitled "*Social Dialogue for Competitiveness, Growth and Employment*" aiming at a "*Confidence Pact*" among the Unions, the employers and the State. The connection with Delor's White Paper on Competitiveness, Growth and Employment and the European Confidence Pact is obvious. Other key concepts of ESS also gained special weight in the discourse of employment policy: *competitiveness*, *entrepreneurship* and *equal opportunities* were core components of PASOK modernizing discourse of the period 1996-2004. The political affinity between the EES and the dominant at that time European social democracy –part of which is PASOK– resulted in a positive response on the part of the Greek political elite towards the European employment policy.

Therefore, the allegations of the Ministry of Labour Affairs seem to be sincere, when maintaining that the influence of EES on the Greek employment policy was

significant when it comes to establishing quantified objectives, the legislation, formation, implementation and financing of the new policies (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2002). Accordingly, there is not a single official document either in the Ministry of Employment or in OAED or in any other institute or organization of the Greek state, which raises questions concerning aspects of the EES. Actually, all the official documents regarding the employment policy are making a strenuous effort to demonstrate the close connection between the European guidelines and the policies implemented in Greece

However, all the above-mentioned developments represent just one side of the coin. The same researchers certify that the learning aspect was particularly limited in the case of Greece (Nakos 2005, Kazakos 2010), the involvement of the social dialogue institutions in the actual production of employment policies remained marginal (Yiannakourou 2003, Tsarouhas 2008), the National Action Plans for Employment look more like lists of policies where the implemented programmes are registered, the participation of the Social Partners remained only in paper and the way that policies were implemented did not change that much (Tsarouhas 2008: 357). The fact that Greece holds the negative record on the European recommendations (always on the same issues) is in favor of this claim.

In short, under the influence of the EES, the Greek employment policy obtained a new idiolect, the process of its implementation acquired a more formal structure, social consultation was reinforced, new directions were pursued regarding the objectives of the employment programmes, such as the emphasis on preventing the unemployed from long-term unemployment, the stress on training, and the overall promotion of the active policies over the passive ones.

Nonetheless, the relation of the Greek employment policy with the European one, as the latter was formed within the EES and the Lisbon Strategy, is a singular one. On the one hand, the Greek employment policy fully adopted the form proposed by the EES; on the other hand, though, the way this policy was implemented was determined by internal factors and by the effort to satisfy the interests of specific groups which were not always in coordination with the proclaimed targets of the EES. Greece never developed anything like a strategy for employment; the programmes that were implemented were full of inconsistencies; the training system is still of low quality and its potential to support the productive structure of the country is doubtful.

The Greek employment policy –despite being influenced by the EES– was implemented in such a way that would serve the internal priorities of the country. In order to maximize these funds and secure their uninterrupted flow, the Greek government has to demonstrate a strong bond among the implemented policy and the employment guidelines not to mention the general philosophy of the EES. The attitude of the Greek governments towards every single event concerning the EES formation can be interpreted accordingly. The need to maximize the flow of the European resources made the Greek government “flexible” as to the exact content of the employment policy itself. So, the Greek governments adhered consistently to a strategy bearing two fundamental features; support of any proposal aiming at promoting a European dimension/funding on employment policy, but also systematic abstain from any debate concerning the content of this policy even in those cases when the EES objectives were not in line with the needs of the Greek labour market (i.e. the increase in self-employment).⁸

The Greek employment policy fully adopted the form, the structure and the discourse of the EES but it was not essentially influenced by the “way of doing things.” The compliance of the Greek employment policy with the European guidelines was primarily aimed at ensuring the precious flow of the European resources, and only secondarily at improving the effectiveness of the implemented policies. In the case of Greece, we observe a kind of “ritual compliance” (Barbier 2001).

⁸ A relevant example would be the negotiations for the revision of the European Treaty which resulted in the Amsterdam Treaty; the actions of the Greek government concerning the shaping of the employment policy agenda were so marginal that in his political autobiography Mr. K. Simitis (the Greek prime minister at the time) makes no reference to employment issues when writing about the Amsterdam Treaty and the Greek government..

6. Statistical Annex

	GDP	EU funds net inflows		ESF	ERDF	EAGF	From other European funds
		Current, prizes, 1981-1999 in bil. of Drachmas, from 2000 on in €	As % of GDP				
1981	2.050,1	9,1	0,4%	-	-	-	-
1982	2.574,7	40,6	1,6%	1,5	4,5	46,4	6,8
1983	3.079,2	73,4	2,4%	2,2	5,8	71,8	13,1
1984	3.805,7	83,7	2,2%	3,2	6,1	88,1	15,0
1985	4.617,8	122,6	2,7%	8,0	12,0	111,2	15,8
1986	5.514,8	182,1	3,3%	10,2	50,5	205,2	7,7
1987	6.271,9	244,3	3,9%	20,4	47,1	218,1	33,4
1988	9.169,0	259,9	2,8%	26,6	49,0	240,2	32,9
1989	10.895,2	353,5	3,2%	39,9	84,7	323,9	13,3
average 1981-1989	47.978,3	1.369,2	2,9%	112,1	259,8	1.304,8	137,9
1990	13.143,1	474,8	3,6%	56,4	94,3	418,3	26,7
1991	16.230,5	605,9	3,7%	63,5	142,6	536,2	45,1
1992	18.766,1	815,6	4,3%	70,0	252,0	627,7	64,0
1993	21.135,7	1.053,4	5,0%	109,4	322,0	832,8	62,3
1994	23.983,6	1.113,9	4,6%	131,3	326,2	903,8	58,0
1995	27.235,2	1.094,3	4,0%	66,5	432,6	844,1	63,8
1996	29.935,1	1.414,5	4,7%	69,1	571,5	885,1	148,6
1997	33.132,7	1.296,5	3,9%	89,5	475,1	943,7	163,4
1998	36.042,2	1.377,0	3,8%	128,5	605,3	922,6	175,8
1999	38.447,0	1.547,3	4,0%	211,3	253,2	947,6	169,7
average 1990-1999	258.051,2	10.793,3	4,2%	995,4	3.474,9	7.862,0	977,4
2000	136,3	4,60	3,4%	0,68	1,94	2,90	0,49
2001	146,3	4,03	2,8%	0,25	1,78	2,78	0,62
2002	157,6	3,88	2,5%	0,36	1,60	2,73	0,62
2003	171,3	3,06	1,8%	0,58	0,95	2,90	0,18
2004	185,2	3,62	2,0%	0,64	1,52	3,03	0,45
2005	198,6	3,23	1,6%	0,58	1,34	3,13	0,41
2006	214,0	4,56	2,1%	0,55	2,15	3,45	0,58
2007	229,4	4,01	1,7%	0,78	3,07	2,96	0,46
2008	245,5	4,83	2,0%	0,99	2,86	3,22	0,41
average 2000-2008	1.684,1	35,8	2,1%	5,4	17,2	27,1	4,2

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
<i>ESF beneficiaries by type of operation*</i>					
Vocational Training	156.905	199.392	123.201	196.519	:
Vocational guidance	1.297	804	:	325	:
Hiring subsidies	12.720	35.595	62.413	84.056	:
Wage subsidies	4.992	12.923	1.245	:	:
Relocation subsidies	19.080	23.739	21.470	9.304	:
Social integration	3.300	7.300	7.483	:	:
Technical help	707	20	20	94	:
Other measures	69	:	567	:	:
Total	199.001	279.773	217.298	263.279	299.147
<i>Basic labour market data**</i>					
Total employment	3.395.139	3.442.319	3.450.487	3.460.851	3.395.139
Net employment in comparison with the previous year	37.307	47.180	8.168	10.364	61.580
Unemployed	312.974	302.500	285.653	284.831	302.234
Percentage of subsidised jobs on the net employment	34%	75%	764%	811%	
Beneficiaries of ESF funded programs as a percentage of the labour force	5,4%	7,5%	5,8%	7,0%	7,8%
Sources: * annual ESF annual reports ** Labour Force Survey, Q2					

Operation Program	euros	Beneficiaries
FP Employment promotion	45.535.161	107,171
FP Special actions	3.735.594	4,601
FP Apprenticeship	18.081.050	51,406
FP Vocational training	6.679.805	19,386
FP Competitiveness and Tourism	357.204.672	173,809
Local Government support programs (1990-1991)		2,999
Total	431.236.282	359,372
source: OAED 1994		

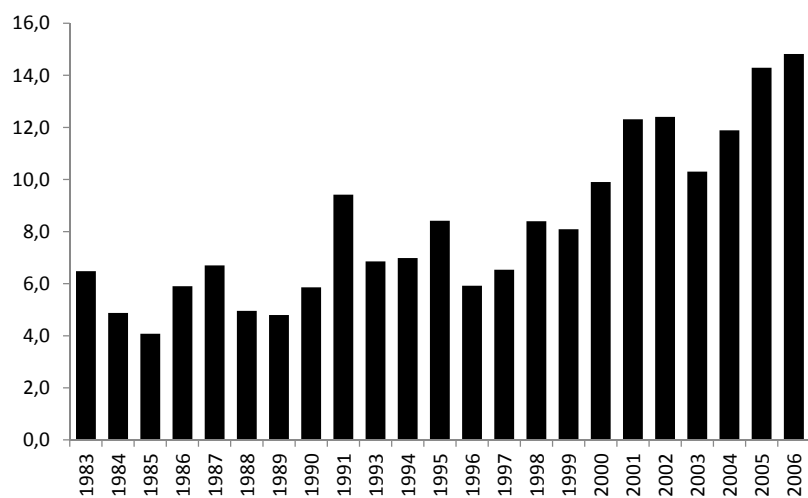
Vocational training of unemployed	115,349
Job creation subsidies (hiring subsidies, entrepreneurship promotion, Stage programs)	210,000
Vocational training of workers	208,875
Vocational training of self-employed	141,416
Total	715,640
Source: Ministry of Labour n.d., 8	

Action	Num. of jobs
ΑΞΟΝΑΣ 1: Ανάπτυξη & προώθηση ενεργών πολιτικών για την καταπολέμηση και τη πρόληψη της ανεργίας...	140.695
METPA 1.1 & 1.2: Ενίσχυση υποδομών ΟΑΕΔ	4.314
METPO 1.3: Κατάρτιση ανέργων	5.911
METPO 1.4: Προώθηση ανέργων στην απασχόληση (ΝΟΕ και Stage)	119.102
METPO 1.5: Κατάρτιση ανέργων στον τομέα του πολιτισμού & του περιβάλλοντος	11.368
METPO 1.6: Ενίσχυση απασχόλησης ανέργων με την συμμετοχή των ΜΚΟ	
ΑΞΟΝΑΣ 2: Προώθηση της ισότητας των ευκαιριών πρόσβασης στην αγορά εργασίας...	26.405
METPO 2.1: Καταρτιζόμενοι άνεργοι ευπαθών κοινωνικών ομάδων	1.852
METPO 2.2: Άνεργοι ευπαθών κοινωνικών ομάδων σε προγράμματα ΝΟΕ & ΝΕΕ	12.924
METPO 2.3: Παρεμβάσεις σε περιοχές/κλάδους υψηλής ανεργίας	11.629
ΑΞΟΝΑΣ 3: Προώθηση της κατάρτισης	240
METPO 3.1: Αριθμός δομών που θα πιστοποιηθούν	240
ΑΞΟΝΑΣ 4: Προώθηση της επιχειρηματικότητας	64.516
METPO 4.1: Προγράμματα ΝΕΕ	60.690
METPO 4.2: Κατάρτιση αυτοαπασχολούμενων	662
METPO 4.3: Κατάρτιση εργαζομένων	497
METPO 4.4: Κατάρτιση δημοσίων υπαλλήλων	2.667
ΑΞΟΝΑΣ 5: Βελτίωση της πρόσβασης των γυναικών στην αγορά εργασίας	13.209
METPO 5.1: Γυναίκες σε δράσεις συμβουλευτικής	0
METPO 5.2: Χρηματοδότηση υποστηρικτικών δομών (παιδιά, ηλικιωμένοι κλπ)	7.728
METPO 5.3: Γυναίκες σε προγράμματα stage	5.481
ΑΞΟΝΑΣ 6: ΤΕΧΝΙΚΗ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ	
TOTAL	245.065

Table 12: Subsidy level for hiring programmes					
Year	Minimum wage of unskilled worker with no previous experience	Subsidy			
		as % of wage		In Drachmas/euros	
		minimum	maximum	minimum	maximum
In Drachmas					
1982*	885	20	40	165	330
1983*	984	25	55	246	541
1984	1.202	33,2	66,5	400	800
1985	1.314	45,6	100	600	1.350
1986	1.618	49,4	92,7	800	1.500
1987	1.789	44,7	83,8	800	1.500
1988	2.074	48,2	86,8	1.000	1.800
1989	2.459	40,7	69,1	1.000	1.700
1990	2.911	51,5	72,1	1.500	2.100
1991	3.315	54,3	69,4	1.800	2.300
1992	3.839	52,1	70,3	2.000	2.700
1993	4.411	49,9	63,5	2.200	2.800
1994	4.934	44,6	81,1	2.200	4.000
1995	5.344	46,8	93,6	2.500	5.000
1996	5.753	52,1	86,9	3.000	5.000
1997	6.059	41,3	90,8	2.500	5.500
1998	6.364		62,8	4.000	4.000
2000	6.988	57,2	100,1	4.000	7.000
2001	7.114		98,3	7.000	7.000
In Euro					
2002	22,3	65,9		14,7	
2004	25,21	55,5	100,1	14	26
2005	26,41	30,2	70,1	8	18,5
2006	27,18				
2007	29,39				
2008	31,32				

*: source Karadinos 1989: 36

Figure 1: Percentage of unemployed receiving unemployment benefit



Source: LFS, Q2

Table 13: Replacement rate of the unemployment benefit in European member states of OECD, 1981-2007

	1981	1983	1985	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007
Austria	29	25	29	28	29	31	27	33	32	33	32	32	32	32
Belgium	45	44	43	43	42	42	40	39	40	39	38	42	41	40
Denmark	54	56	53	49	52	52	51	65	62	61	51	50	50	48
Finland	24	25	34	36	34	39	38	36	34	34	35	36	35	34
France	31	31	34	38	37	38	38	37	37	37	44	39	39	39
Germany	29	29	28	28	28	29	28	26	26	27	29	29	24	24
Greece	6	6	7	8	7	13	13	15	16	17	13	13	13	13
Hungary	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	13	13	13	13
Island	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	41	43	45	33
Ireland	28	32	28	30	27	29	31	26	29	29	30	32	34	37
Italy	1	1	0	0	3	3	17	19	18	34	34	34	33	32
Luxembourg	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	27	27	27	27
Netherlands	48	47	55	57	55	53	53	52	52	52	53	53	35	34
Norway	29	29	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	41	43	34	34	34
Poland	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	11	12	11	10
Portugal	9	7	22	31	32	34	35	35	35	45	41	40	40	43
Spain	28	28	34	34	34	34	32	39	39	38	36	36	36	36
Sweden	25	28	28	30	29	29	28	27	27	24	37	41	39	32
United Kingdom	24	22	21	19	18	18	19	18	18	17	17	16	16	15

Source: OECD, Tax-Benefit Models.

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