

Gender, Children and Families in the Greek Welfare State

Theano Kallinikaki

Introduction

Since the early 1990s there has been increased interest in the Greek welfare state and an attempt by social policy experts to categorize it within one of the main classification schemes offered by comparative social policy literature. Social policy experts have focused on the similarities the Greek welfare state shares with the other South European EU-member welfare states (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) and have concluded they constitute a discerning welfare structure (Ferrera, 1996; Petmesidou & Mossialos, 2006; Sotiropoulos, 2004; Matsaganis, 2002). The Greek welfare state is characterized as “corporatist” (Matsaganis, 2002), “continental” (Katrougalos, 1996), and as a “familist gender regime” (Davaki, 2006), with static, paternalistic, clientelist models of social organization (Petmesidou, 2006a). According to Lewis’s (1992) classification of welfare regimes, the Greek welfare state is identified closest to the “strong male breadwinner cluster,” which is characterized by low female participation in the labor market and full provision of care to children and the elderly by the female family members. As in other South European countries the welfare of Greek citizens of all ages depends on family arrangements and networks instead of on state provisions. This status quo reflects Flaquer’s (2002) argument that “the welfare state in South Europe is the Mediterranean figure of family welfare.”

Specific attention has been given to the particularities and the fragmented role of the Greek welfare state, which intervenes in selected cases, on behalf of individuals or groups, in an effort to maintain social peace and cohesion (Petmesidou, 2006b; Stasinopoulou, 2002). Emphasis is placed on public support of multi-children families (with at least four children, but since 2007 families with three are eligible for support as well) (Matsaganis, 2002; Mousourou, 2004). Social Policy researchers authors have documented the weakness and inefficiencies of the Greek welfare state in meeting its citizens’ needs (Petmesidou, 2006b; Papatheodorou & Petmesidou,

T. Kallinikaki (✉)

Professor of Social Work, Department of Social Administration, Democritus University of Thrace, Komotini, Greece

e-mail: thkallin@socadm.duth.gr

2006) while Taylor-Gooby has concluded that “it spends roughly the same as much of Europe, but is less effective in meeting the needs of its poorest citizens” (Taylor-Gooby, 2006).

Petmesidou’s recent studies and comparative investigations offer a comprehensive description of the current development of the Greek and the South European welfare states, each within their own historical and social contexts. These studies have identified significant similarities and differences in social, economic, and political structures across Southern Europe by tracing the historical development in each area. In addition they have identified distinctive features including the lack of industrialization, a rapid change from an agrarian-based economy to a service-oriented economy, a large informal economy, the traditional contractual relations, a weak collective solidarity and civil society, the predominance of paternalistic, clientistic structures of the social organizations, and nonuniversal welfare provision except for a universal health system (Petmesidou, 2006a; Petmesidou & Mossialos, 2006; Papatheodorou & Petmesidou, 2006).

Despite the similarities between the Greek welfare state and other South European welfare states some significant differences must be taken into consideration. First of all, attempts to study the Greek welfare state must take into consideration the territorial structure of Greece, which is often overlooked in studies of other countries. The territorial aspect is particularly important as a result of the mainland–island and urban–rural divides in Greece. Both service development and service access is significantly different and complex for the inhabitants of island and rural areas. In addition, state and religion are not separated and religious affiliation in Greece is particularly strong. The Greek Orthodox Church is a powerful institution both politically and economically. It has an active involvement in the main political controversies and national issues, including the elimination of the notation of citizens’ religious affiliation on identity cards, the practice of civil weddings and the legislation of gay and civil partnerships. In addition the Greek Orthodox Church influences educational and moral issues, policies and family values¹ and promotes negative perceptions of abortion and positive perceptions of traditional family roles and the family size (for example the provision of a generous benefit for the third child of Orthodox families in Thrace²). The Church provides its own means of social protection to the poorest parishioners in the form of donations of clothes and regular meals, and in the form of institutional care for elderly and unprotected children and adolescents. Last years its social provision was expanded to Greek citizens living abroad by the establishment of a nongovernmental organization (NGO).

Greek citizens, governments and social researchers have never been satisfied with the existing welfare model. In every day communication the term “welfare state” is synonymous with the provision of allowances to those who live in poverty, those

¹One example (among many) is the official title of the “Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs.”

²Thrace is located in northeast Greece, one of the most underdeveloped areas of Greece, where the only officially recognized minority (Muslims) resides.

who are neglected and permanently disabled and refers to social workers, the professionals who serve as the mediators in provision of these allowances. During the last 30 years the terms “welfare state expansion” and “reform” have become popular topics in the rhetoric of political parties and politicians, and of ministries and organizations. This rhetoric is a result of the interplay between domestic politics, changing family structures, and European influences, stemming from of the country’s integration into the EU. Sectors of major importance, such as health and social care,³ education, social security, and public administration are currently either undergoing reform or reform is planned for the future. Welfare reform must take into consideration new risks and social problems which emerge as a result of phenomenon including demographic ageing, continuing urbanization, changing gender roles, the increase in long-term (more than 1 year) and female unemployment, employment in the underground economy, and increased influx of immigrants.⁴

The aim of this chapter is to provide an outline of the changing structure and fluidity of the modern family and to summarize the main objectives of the reform in the sphere of family policy and other policies that affect families and children. The social work perspective of the author looks at the micro process taking place and takes into account a wide view of society’s continuous change and recent evolution in the areas of employment and migration which affect families and children living in Greece.

Issues and problems faced by reform strategies will be dealt with in the first section of this chapter. The second section briefly reviews the emergence of gender issues as a concern of female employment policy. The third section presents changes that have taken place following developments in demographic ageing, urbanization, changing gender roles and employment patterns that have had a substantial impact on both family values and on family schemes. The fourth explores the formation of the welfare state with regard to the family and, in more detail, income support policies, including the absence of services supporting families and children. Finally, the fifth section focuses on mothers’ employment reconciliation policies, and offers some recent data for processing.

³The most extensive reform was introduced by Law 2082/1992 on the “reorganization of social welfare and new methods of social welfare,” which was replaced by Law 2646/1998 on the “Reorganization of the National System of Social Care and Other Provisions” which provided for the transition of the Centers for Family Care, from the state-run responsibility of the National Welfare Organization, to the second-tier local authorities in 2003 (l. 3106/03).

⁴Unquestionably, for Greece, which has traditionally been a country of emigration, the migrant waves produced serious, multifaceted economic and social effects. At the end of 2004 the number of immigrants was estimated to be 950,000 non-EU foreigners, mostly Albanians, Bulgarians, and Romanians, and 200,000 fellow Greeks (homogeneous). This is compared to the estimated total number of immigrants in 1991 which was 270,000 (Mediterranean Migration Observatory, 2005, p. 1). Immigrants are concentrated in the Municipality of Athens, some 132,000, 17% of total population, Thessaloniki, with 27,000 and 7% of local population, and some tourist islands close to the border with Albania. According to 2001 census data, immigrants, mostly illegal, consist of 10.3% of the Greek workforce and 7% of the total population. In 2007, 112,000 illegal immigrants entered the country.

Reform's Initiatives and Arrangements Affecting Families and Children

The high level of economic growth during the 1990s in Greece has not led to a considerable growth in employment, diminished poverty rates (the government did not introduce a guaranteed minimum income program for all groups at risk of poverty⁵), or a visible convergence among regions/prefectures (Petmesidou & Mossialos, 2006; Ministry of Economy, 2007). Social expenditure as a percentage of the Greek GDP has increased while the expenditure on social protection as a percentage of the GDP, grew from 21.2 in 1992 to 27.2 in 2001. When expenditure on social protection is measured in purchasing power standards (PPS) Greece lags behind most countries of the EU-15. In 2001 the PPS in Greece was 3.971 whereas the EU-15 average was 6.405.⁶ Public expenditure on pensions has always been high; in fact in 2004 Greece paid the highest percentage (51.3%) in Europe (EU-15 average was 46%). Families and children were granted only 6.9% of the social budget and the unemployed received 6.0% as compared to the EU-15 which was 8.0 and 6.2%, respectively. After social transfer payments in Greece the percentage of persons at-risk of poverty fell from 23 to 20%, whereas the EU-27 average after transfers fell from 24 to 15% (European Commission, 2005). In 2007 the total expenditure for social protection dropped to 22.64% of GDP (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, 2007).

In the process of reforming policies concerning gender issues, the disabled, decentralization of services, employment, vocational training, regional development, policies of a high importance for families in different stages of their life cycle and children, Greece has adopted EU policy tools for consultation and decision making and implemented many programs, co-funded by the EU.

The Ioannis Kapodistrias Act, 2539/1997, was the most important reform. This institutional reform of the local administration merged 457 municipalities and 5,318 administrative communities across the country into 900 municipalities and 133 communities. Numerous state responsibilities were transferred to the municipalities (family advice centers, holiday camps for children, preschool and out-of-school care, and home care for the elderly) and local communities became able to participate in planning and implementing social and local development policies. Despite the inadequacies of these services as a result of funding and staff shortages and inexperience (Sotiropoulos, 2004; Kallinikaki, forthcoming), consumers overwhelmingly trust them because of their geographic and social proximity

⁵A measure for mature families is a means-tested, "social solidarity benefit" (EKAS), introduced in 1996, of 230€ (from 1/1/2008) that has been given to low income pensioners as a supplementary pension. Single people older than 65 without social insurance receive a monthly allowance of 266€ for housing assistance. In 2008 the Ministry of Economy established a National Fund for Social Cohesion "in order to reduce the risks of social exclusion aiming to define a new financial support for those at risk of poverty" (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, 2007).

⁶In 2001 the average social expenditure in the EU-15 was 27.5%, ranging from 14.6% in Ireland to 31.3% in Sweden, whereas Greece shared the eighth position with the UK (27.2%) (European Commission, 2005, pp. 42–43).

(as compared to the centralized public services) and support their permanent operation and further development (Stratigaki, 2004). Similarly, the establishment of Civil Service Offices in all second-tier local authorities was positively accepted by Greek citizens.

One important development was the establishment of various observatory bodies and specialized committees set up in order to collect, summarize, and document a wide range of “social” data. Although this data lacks any attention to the extent and depth of the social phenomenon under consideration and to the adopted policy processes and/or its effects, the purely numerical and statistical data does facilitate a basic study of these policies and social phenomenon.

The welfare reform included a number of programs co-funded by the EU and incorporated “good practices” for social integration in a wide range of areas and objectives. These had an impact on families and children of specific vulnerable groups of the population (i.e. the improvement of public accessibility for the disabled, the integrated action plan for Roma settlement 2002–2004, the settlement of those who were repatriated and school attendance policies for children of former inmates and immigrant children). In addition, significant efforts are being made to reduce adult illiteracy through adult education centers and second-chance schools. However, as a result of their pre-determined short duration and subsequent discontinuation, the lack of close interaction between them and of synergy with other crucial policies of economic growth and competitiveness, and their incompatibility with the procedures and the skills of the existing organizations and services these reforms were not sufficiently effective. Imitation programs promote “one size fits all” policies within Europe⁷ which do not respond to the material or emotional needs of specific groups or to the culture of a local community, and do not adjust according to the living conditions of the recipients. For example, the participants in an allowance program for unemployed repatriated women refused to participate in personal counseling, stating: “we know how to raise our children, the thing that we need is a job and we need it now” (Zaimakis & Kallinikaki, 2004). Another example is the introduction of an annual benefit of 300€ for low income households (up to 3,000€ per year) with children between 6 and 16 years who are pupils of the 9-year-compulsory education, living in deprived, mountainous areas. As a result of the first implementation of this policy, a significant number of children who had not previously registered for school, or who had dropped out of school, registered. Unfortunately schools in these disadvantaged areas were uninformed of the policy and unprepared to welcome the significant wave of pupils due to lack of room and staff and the absence of an inclusive attitude towards them and their parents. Thus, the schools merely registered the students but did not actually teach them and thus the policy proved essentially ineffective.⁸

⁷As Ian Gough mentioned last April in his speech in Athens.

⁸Pupils living in these deprived areas, in mountainous areas or on the borders of the big cities, have the highest drop-out rate from compulsory education. These communities face severe socio-economic problems, high unemployment rates, and large numbers of illiterate adult population. People live in very poor housing, and in some cases there is not even running water and heating facilities. Interventions aiming to develop motives or incentives for the integration of these

Developments in legislation in fields such as decentralization of services for drugs addicts, foster care, and transfer of public services to the local authorities are significant, but have not been accompanied by essential reforms in service structures or by advanced staff training and new staff engagement. While some were introduced unilaterally, most of the new laws have to be interpreted by official decisions or documents signed by Ministers of the relevant Ministries. Some decisions were delayed for a long time due to related pending financial decisions, connected programs awaiting establishment, or the need to hire new professionals. Delays in construction, repair of buildings, or negative reactions by local residents because of the establishment of a social service close to their homes, produced further implementation delays or diminished their effects (from the outset, the allotted duration of the programs were shorter than needed for their effective establishment).

In the case of the National Health System the deficiency in primary care and the inefficient operation of the hospital care has significantly affected families. Thirty years after the establishment of the National Health System and despite the continuing efforts to improve its provisions, major geographical inequalities regarding the quality and infrastructure of medical care still persist. The development of primary medical and mental care in urban areas has been delayed, while both primary and secondary care in peripheral areas is limited. The private sector is particularly expanding in the maternity – gynecological, cardiac, and psychiatric fields.

The most recent reform of the social security system, which has had a significant effect on families and children, is focused on cutting the large number of social security organizations, increasing labor market participation, regulating pensions, and ensuring the long-term sustainability of the social security system especially in light of the rising financial needs as a result of demographic ageing, the health system and public finances. Although the reform of the social security system took place in the context of massive strikes and both worker and pensioner demonstrations, it did not include initiatives aimed at ensuring a “safety net” for all disadvantaged groups.

While many initiatives were aimed at reducing clientalism, this phenomenon has not been affected. Greek social welfare, and Greek society in general, is the victim of extensive clientalism. Clientalism affects all parts of Greek life; among other things it is a way of being trained, employed (mainly permanently), admitted for specific medical care, and accepted into a local community. As an integral part of the political and economic system, it hinders in-depth welfare reform and the adoption of universal, holistic policies for families and children.

children into primary schools and to encourage them to stay at school until they complete their 9-year compulsory education must be holistic (affecting aspects of individual, family, and social life that influence the relationship between children, their families, and school). For example, www.museduc.gr: *supporting minority pupils living in underdeveloped areas*.

Gender Issues

Gender is a relatively new issue in Greece, first introduced by the Greek women's movement in the early 1980s (after the restoration of democracy in 1974). The women's movement mainly contributed to legislative reform in favor of gender equality and women's self determination, which was defined for the first time by the new constitution, adopted in 1975. Gender-segregated schools were abolished and women entered the military service. Unsurprisingly the evolution of gender equality occurred during the socialist government (PASOK) as part of the 1983 family law and the legislation of other laws such as the "Implementation of Gender Equality in Employment Relations" (law 1414) and "Facility to Employees with Family Obligations" (law 1483).

Gender equalization policies in employment also occurred as a result of the Europeanization process in Greece, especially in areas where women were absent or less represented. Women entered the Merchant Marine Academies on equal terms as men without a quota. The direct result of this was an increased number of women in naval professions. In addition, since 2002 the ratification of the Code of the Hellenic Coast Guard (Law, 3079/2002) has abolished all quotas, which previously restricted women's access to the Coast Guard.

During the last decade a number of bodies were established in order to contribute, influence, and monitor the development and implementation of effective and inclusive policies and act against gender discrimination. The General Secretariat for Gender Equality, established by the Ministry of Interior, Public Administration, and Decentralization, is responsible for planning gender-equality policy in all fields. It supervises and finances the Center for Equality Issues (KETHI), an organization dealing solely with gender equality. In addition, it operates three advisory centers providing counseling and legal support services on matters of employment and entrepreneurship to women who belong to special categories, those threatened by social exclusion, those unemployed for a long-term period, and those over 45 years of age. Moreover, KETHI, as a coordinating agency, has implemented various projects promoting gender issues, which were co-financed by the European Commission (80%) and the General Secretariat for Gender Equality (20%). For example the project entitled "Equal Partners: Reconsidering men's role at work and private life," aimed at informing and raising public awareness, mainly of men and fathers, of the need to reconcile and harmonize their work obligations and family life by redefining stereotypes concerning the role of the father. In addition, in order to promote equality between women and men and combat stereotypes in the educational sphere, KETHI implemented the project "Training of Teachers and Intervention Programmes to Promote Gender Equality," which offered educational visits and informational lectures to teachers and pupils of the three last grades of elementary schools, secondary schools, and technical educational schools all over Greece.

The promotion of gender equality was also introduced in the tertiary education system at the graduate level (in eight universities and four technological educational institutes). These institutions aimed to reform their curricula and to include subjects

on equality. Three universities offer postgraduate majors in equality issues and many others offer several research programmes on equality issues.

The Parliament passed law 3488/2006 in order to promote equal treatment of men and women in terms of access to employment and work relations, and the reduction of sexual harassment in the workplace. This law defined sexual harassment for the first time, tackling gender-based discrimination in the workplace, and created the legal stipulation to compensating victims. All forms of gender in terms of access to employment, and the establishment, evolution, and termination of employment in private and public sectors were also abolished.

Recently, a National Committee on Equality between men and women was established as a permanent social dialogue board (Art. 8 of the Law 3491/2006). The Committee's task is to contribute to the national strategy for equality between women and men, formulate necessary policies and measures and monitor their implementation, as well as evaluate their results both at the national and regional levels.

It must be noted that the EU policy of equality between women and men has been criticized. The EU policy is based on the idea of financial equality of women which comes from the liberal tradition. This tradition holds that women must integrate into the labor market by adopting required qualifications. This overlooks the existing structural gender inequality in areas with familial social structures, where discrimination of women is still reproduced (Sbunter-Kleemann, 2000).

Gender issues remain a priority for policy makers in Greece. The permissive "Administrative Reform 2007–2013" includes an axis entitled "reinforcing gender equality policy" aiming at "the improvement of quality and effectiveness of gender equality policies planned and implemented in the country, the integration of gender equality in the whole range of public action, at the level of central and local administration, and the reinforcement of the position and participation of women in the public and social sector, and, especially, in decision-making centers" (Ministry of Economy and Finance, 2007). The road to gender equality remains long. According to recent research undertaken by the Research Committee of Piraeus University (2008), women are paid 11% less than their male colleagues and they represent 9% of the members of Chambers, 7% of the members of the Board of Directors of the largest firms, and 15% of the existing enterprises are female.

Family and Family Policies in Greece

In Greece, marriage, maternity, and children are "under the protection of the state." This protection is officially defined by the Greek constitution (Article 21). This protection manifests itself mostly in the form of provision of financial aid to families, tax exemptions, allowances and subsidies, and less through the provision of services. Family policy does not exist as a distinct, autonomous field. It is promoted in pieces, through policies applied for personal rights, gender equality, and child-care rearing. Policies not specifically designed in relation to families, such as tax

policies, social insurance and employment policies, impact families and women. Most ministries (Interior, Labor, Education, and Health) and state agencies make decisions that take into consideration domestic responsibilities, which usually include demographic implications. Although the role of the family as a welfare provider has been documented extensively by various studies, a systematic policy supportive of the multifarious needs of the families has not been developed. Family members gain access to delivered care only after they have been identified as members of a specific age and disadvantaged category group.

In Greece, as in the other Mediterranean countries, families are characterized by traditional roles and family solidarity is strong. The married, or remarried couple with children is the most common family structure. According to FFS in Greece the vast majority of people living with a partner are married (Symeonidou, 2002), and more than 90% of children in Greece live with both parents (UNICEF, 2007). Although the average number of persons per household has declined significantly, from 4.11 in 1951 to 2.80 in 2001, the majority of the population live in households of at least two persons (Symeonidou, 2002). The family unit is responsible for education, accommodation for the unmarried, care of offspring, and extra care in case of crisis (loss of employment, serious health problems). It traditionally served, and to an extent still continues to serve, as a “shock absorber” institution (Matsaganis & Tsakoglou, 2001, p. 192). Despite its increasing fluidity, family remains the most important provider of welfare and the mechanism of redistributing resources by filling in income gaps for first-time jobseekers and elderly family members (with low minimum benefits) and by providing childcare services.

As in other South European countries, in Greece the number of home owners is high (Castles & Ferrera, 1996), which is meant to diminish social insecurity both in the present and in the future. As Trifilletti (1998) has argued home ownership is a primitive form of security against social risks. It is encouraged by the loan policies for employees in the public sector and other categories of employees.

The most important change to the Greek family was introduced by the major reform of the Greek family law in 1983 (replacing the legislation dated from 1946). Following this reform, women are allowed to keep their surname after they get married and can have a legal residence different from that of their spouse. Furthermore, spouses now are able to make decisions together in regards to any marital issue and exercise parental care (the term “father’s force” was abolished). The surname of children is determined by common declaration made before the wedding by both parents and can be the surname of either or both parents. Children born out of wedlock have equal rights to those born within marriage, except in regards to surname (that of the lone parent) and parental care. Important improvements include the introduction of divorce by mutual consent, the maintenance and claim to part of personal property of either spouse during marriage, the health insurance provision to divorced wives and widows through their ex-husbands, and the assignment of childcare to one of the two parents without any discrimination.

Since 1982 (Law 1250) the distinction between religious and civil marriage was created and the anachronistic institution of the dowry⁹ was abolished. However, the tendency towards orthodox marriage remains strong and is supported by the Greek Orthodox Church.¹⁰ More than 90% of marriages take place in Orthodox churches, and the remainder take place in municipalities (Eurostat, 2008).

Since 1986 abortion during the first 12 weeks after conception has been legal. Abortion can be performed after 12 weeks only in cases where there is a high risk to the health of either the embryo or the mother. This improvement was important because it permits the coverage of the medical procedure under social insurance and encourages young women to visit hospitals and gynecological clinics.

Demographic ageing and uncertain changing conditions in employment have affected family values and gender roles and have had a substantial impact on family structure. Fluidity, as a way of organizing private life, is the main characteristic of the modern Greek family (Mousourou, 2005). The occurrence of nontraditional family structures, especially that of the single parent family (10.9%, although it is the lowest in Europe), intercultural marriages, divorced parents and unmarried cohabitation (in 2001 it was 1%, but among the population between 16 and 29, the rate was 8%) have increased (Eurostat, 2004). These changes and the increase in births out of wedlock (1% in 1970 as compared to 4% in 2001) reflect an erosion of traditional family structures. Younger generations of both sexes are more likely to delay starting a family in favor of pursuing tertiary education. In 2006 the average age of a woman at the time of their first marriage was 28.2 years old, whereas in 1998 it was 25.9 years of age and in 1970 it was 22.9 years of age. Other demographic trends that have increased are the average age of women at the birth of their first child (29.8 in 2006 as opposed to 28.35 in 1996 and 26.2 in 1981), and the average life span (75.9 years for men and 81.0 for women in 2007 as opposed to 72.2 and 76.4 years respectively in 1981 and 67.3 years and 72.2 respectively in 1961) (Laboratory of Demographic and Social Analysis, 2007).

Marriage rates declined from 6.4 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1991, to 5.30 in 2001 and even further to 5.18 in 2006. The fertility rate dropped dramatically from 2.28 per 1,000 women in 1960 to 2.21 in 1980 and then to 1.29 in 2001 (Eurostat, 2004). The average duration of marriages has dropped and converged in the 1990s with the EU average of 12 years (Bagavos, 2002).

Divorce rates have increased from 96.9 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1981 to 101.2 in 2001 and then to 221.1 in 2005 (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2007). Marriage duration and number of children have a stabilizing effect on marriage; most of the dissolved marriages last at least 10 years (58%) and take place when

⁹Dowry was property given from a bride's parents to her husband as a precondition for marriage. It was considered as the basis for a good start of a daughter's married life. It has taken another form; that of immovable property given to children (daughters or sons) at the start of their independent life, usually when they get married.

¹⁰People who are married in a civil wedding are not allowed to baptize a baby (to be a godfather or a godmother) and cannot expect to have an orthodox funeral ceremony.

couples' children are between 7 and 18 years of age. Other factors related positively to the divorce rate are parental divorce of spouses, pre-marital cohabitation, religiosity, and place of origin. However, the employment and education of women are not related to divorce rates (Symeonidou, 2006). Moreover, the divorce rate was affected by the new legislation, which allowed for easier divorce processes. The quickest time needed for an official consent divorce is 12–18 months while the cost is at least 1,500€.

Changes have occurred in the way families live. Fathers of younger generations are more participatory in the responsibility for their children's care than in the past. The once strong tradition of daily shared family meals has recently changed and only 58.1% of parents report that they talk with their young children several times a week. This is lower than the average in OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries (62.8%) (UNICEF, 2007).

As noted above, existing family policy is strained in terms of specific measures for those in serious need. Some are available for large families and those "at risk" or in a crisis situation. Extra tax regulations are made for families with disabled members and allowances are granted to the heavily disabled.¹¹

The tax free income of 12,000€ increases by 1,000€ each for the first and second child, and increases to 6,000€ for the third child. Family and child allowances are given to all salaried employees (both spouses) in the public and private sector with children under 18 years of age or up to 21 if the children are students. A cash benefit of 2,000€ is provided to each mother after the birth of her third child. Parents with three or more children receive allowances (a monthly allowance for three or more children, a lifelong pension for the mother), and all family members are eligible for specific rights (reduced public transportation fares, reduced electricity and water supplement bills, tax release, duty free cars and housing). Children with two or more siblings receive priority places in kindergartens and in the employment force, they study in the universities that operate in or close to their family's place of residence, and the eldest son is drafted for 2/3 of the obligatory military training.

The clear preference for large families is evident from the universal provision that favors large families and from the fact that the allowances for these families are financed through the state budget; whereas marriage, maternity, and children allowances are dependant on employment and financed through employee contributions. Thus, unemployed spouses and parents are excluded from these provisions. Furthermore, due to the diversity of different insurance organizations, total provisions differ according to the employment sector, family income, and number of children (Matsaganis, 2002).

¹¹ Individuals with disability levels of 67% or more, unable to be employed are granted an allowance of 360€ per month. This allowance is administered by the welfare Ministry and financed by state off-budget, independent resources. For blind persons, the employed and pensioners receive 266€, students and lawyers 532€, whilst deaf people and those suffering from anemia receive 266€.

Policies supporting a family's structure include job-protected parental leave extended to fathers, paid leave, and flexible working hours. In addition, an employer cannot refuse to employ a woman on the grounds of pregnancy or recent childbirth, and a woman who has been on maternity leave can return to her work at an equivalent post, terms and conditions and can benefit from any improvement in work conditions. This protection also applies to working parents making use of parental leave to raise their children.

In the public sector maternity leave is guaranteed for 5 months (two before and three after birth) paid at 100% of existing salary, while in the private sector only 4 months is guaranteed. Mothers working in the public sector can choose between a 9-month breast-feeding paid leave or a reduced time schedule of either 2 h a day for 1 year following maternity leave or of 1 hour a day for 2 years. In the private sector mothers can work for 1 h less for 30 months after birth, or 2 h less for 12 months. Fathers can use this right when their wives do not use it. Unpaid parental leave (3.5 months for each parent in the private sector) and an additional maternity leave of 2 years for a child less than 6 years old, in the public sector, which increases by 1 year for each additional child, is available, but not generally used by working parents.

Single-mother households in Greece are more at risk of experiencing poverty and social exclusion (Kogidou, 1995). This group of single-mothers lives in low socio-economic conditions and lack resources and support, especially since in many cases the father has disappeared and they are thus more vulnerable to social exclusion and poverty. "Unprotected children" up to 16 years of age, living with their mother, receive a monthly allowance of 44€. Single parent families, like other family structures, in crisis situations (specifically "urgent socio-medical problems") are given an extra benefit of 234€ annually. Most of these households survive or have consumption patterns higher than their income due to informal support provided by the extended family (Bagavos, 2002).

Under the common EU policy perspective single mothers are considered among other vulnerable groups (persons with disabilities, former inmates, ex-drug addicts, immigrants) and can benefit from programs implemented for "employment and vocational training" and "new jobs and new self-employment entrepreneurship."¹²

The attitude within Greek society towards single parent families is seemingly contradictory. According to recent research¹³ representatives of Greek social organizations, NGOs, and consumers of family policy measures argue that single mother households, those with many children, with disabled members, Roma families and

¹²Within the program "Employment and Vocational Training" specialized agencies provide social support services to the above-mentioned vulnerable population groups in order to develop their social and professional skills and facilitate their social inclusion.

¹³International research on "Improving Policy Responses and Outcomes to Socio-Economic Challenges" (IPROSEC) carried out during 2000–2003, in 11 countries, eight EU member states: France, Great Britain, Ireland, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Sweden and three under accession: Estonia, Hungary, and Poland.

families from other minority groups, require state provisions. On the other hand, the representatives of large families' associations have rejected measures supporting single parent families, claiming that they are responsible for the declining rate of nuclear families in the country (Stratigaki, 2004).

Services supporting familial relationships in the case of divorce or parent's temporary or persistent inability to fulfill their parental duties are limited, fragmented and according to research findings they are minimally accepted by citizens. NGO professionals stated that Greek adults believe that family issues must be solved independently within the family "because they are private issues and must be protected as such" (Stratigaki, 2004). The National Social Emergency Center which offers temporary accommodation, advice, and counseling in crisis situations, operates only in Athens and Thessaloniki and its service provision falls short of expectations set at the time of its establishment in 1998. A sort of gateway access to welfare services for families and children is through the Welfare Directorates of the prefectures situated in the capital of each prefecture, in addition to a number of the Centers for Family Care, recently transferred to the second-tier local authorities. These institutions provide very limited primary care services and family assistance as a result of staff shortages and the absence of an efficient link to other social and health services (Petmesidou, 2006b).

Because of a number of structural (service/professional shortages, provision of institutional childcare) and cultural reasons (grandparents replace automatically parents in crisis situations) foster care is underdeveloped in Greece (Kallinikaki, 2000). According to the National Organization of Social Care, the administrative office of the official state organization responsible for child protection, at the end of 2000 the total number of children in foster families was 596, while 1,277 children resided in residential care (Vergeti, forthcoming). However, the Greek Ombudsman (2006) reported in 2005 that the foster parent program was not put into operation. The introduction of "professional" foster care¹⁴ did not impact its implementation except in some cases of relative foster care of long institutionalized mental health patients, which was introduced through the major reform of psychiatric care (Kallinikaki, 2000).

Adoption services are also not adequately developed and the adoption process is still slow and bureaucratic with long waiting lists of candidate adopters. Many of these candidate adopters turn to international social services or adoption services (mostly to Balkan or Asian countries). According to the national register of adoptions during 2005, 603 adoptions were carried out in Greece. These were 322 boys and 281 girls, and more than half (324) of the adoptees were born into marriage (Institute of Social Protection and Solidarity, 2007).

¹⁴The cash monthly benefit is 260€ per child, 340€ when the child or adult is disabled, 450€ in case of severe disabilities, and 850€ when the child is HIV-positive.

Children

When we discuss children's welfare or social needs in Greece, we refer to 1,660,899 under the age of 15, who constitute about 15.5% of the total resident population (10,934,097, 2001-Census),¹⁵ and to the approximately 150,000 immigrant children under 15, mostly from Albania, other Balkan countries and Poland, who live in the country.

The Greek family is child-oriented and parents invest in their children's future living conditions and specifically in their earning potential through investment in education. Article 16 of the Greek constitution defines all levels of education in public institutions as free for all Greek citizens. Parents are legally obliged to send their children to school for a minimum of 9 years. Required school books for all subjects and at all levels of education are provided for free to all students. Furthermore, transportation to mandatory education is provided free of charge to students who live far from schools. It is also noteworthy that foreign minors living in Greece both legally and illegally are obligated to the same minimum school attendance as the native minors. Recently, the government, aiming to enable access to the educational institutions, introduced two new annual, financial contributions. Families with children studying in universities in cities other than the place of their residence are now eligible for 1,000€ assistance per academic year (Law 3220/2004) and families, whose annual income is no more than 3,000€ and have children up to 16 years of age who attend public schools are eligible for 300€ per school year. Law 3518/2006 revised the admission conditions for preschool education; children can begin attending kindergarten after they turn four and are obligated to attend kindergarten after they turn five.

Public education is free of charge and since the academic year of 2008–2009 included two foreign languages. At least one of these languages is usually English. However, parents of secondary school students, especially during the second half of secondary school, pay a significant amount in order to support their children's achievement and to prepare them for national examinations required for university studies.¹⁶ In addition, families supplement their children's education with private tutorials, foreign languages, music, and athletics. Parents supplement their income with small-scale entrepreneurial activity or occasional, unstructured contracts with the labor market (i.e. seasonal work, day-laborers, working from home). Increased unemployment among university graduates has not diminished the new generations' positive orientation towards university studies. However, they tend to select subjects appointed to a qualified profession or those related to a position in the labor market.

Unquestionable developments have occurred in the education of disabled children. Disabled persons now have free access to universities without examinations.

¹⁵This is below the average percentage of children per total resident population in the European Union.

¹⁶The Ministry of Education introduced "additional instruction" and "complementary training" measures offered in the schools as after-school classes in order to reduce the private lessons' rate but this did not affect the attitudes of students and parents, who trust them more.

Law 2817/2000 encourages the integration of disabled pupils into general schools by providing them with tutorial classes but it also continues to allow divided education outside the framework of general education. Special units operate for children between 4 and 14 years of age, another for those between 14 and 18 and general and technical units for those between 18 and 22. The operation of “reception classes”¹⁷ and tutorial classes for disabled pupils, in general schools, did not attract all of them. During the 2003–2004 school year 4,355 disabled pupils studied in 209 special school units of all levels (between 4 and 22 years of age) (NSSG, 2008).

Although corporal punishment in schools and general violence against children has been prohibited by law since 1998, there are parents and teachers who use physical punishment as a disciplinary method. In the last two decades cases of violence against children have surfaced and television panels and news programs have engaged in long discussions on the subject. While a number of child-abuse cases are reported to the Children Rights Department and various NGOs, additional cases remain hidden. In comparison to other OECD countries, Greek minors experience more violence in the form of physical fighting and less violence in the form of bullying (UNICEF, 2007).

With regard to prevention and regulation of domestic violence, a new law 3500/2006 prohibits domestic violence, perpetrated by all family members independent of their age. In addition, the law defines the punishment for “interfamily corporal damage” in accordance with its severity and the ability of the victim to resist. Victims are entitled to supportive social services and teachers who observe any violent mark on a pupil’s body are required to report it to the District Attorney or to the nearest police station.

Greece has enacted laws, ratified international conventions, and adopted a number of measures all in order to promote and advance children’s rights. The National Observatory of the Rights of Children, the Ombudsman’ Department of Child’s Rights¹⁸, and the Child Health Institute are among the institutions dealing specifically with children’s rights. Since 1989, the minimum employment age in the labor force, family businesses, agricultural, forestry, fishing and livestock sectors, has been 15. Adults who force minors under their care to beg for financial benefit are sentenced to a term in prison.

Since 1973, the state-run orphanages have been converted into childcare centers and the schools that previously operated inside them were closed or converted into

¹⁷Reception classes are those that welcome foreign pupils or pupils who have delayed starting school aiming to improve their social and communicative skills (language etc.) and to prepare for their participation in the general classes.

¹⁸The Children Rights Department during its 4.5 years of operation (until 13.12.2007) accepted 1,108 references. 38.1% of those references related to violations of children’s rights in educational issues – mostly issues concerning organization and delivery of supportive measures for weak pupils and their school access. However, 18.7% of the cases related to family and childcare substitutes. A significant number of references related to the welcome conditions and health–social care issues of immigrant and refugee minors. (<http://www.synigoros.gr/0-18/gr/children> and <http://www.e-paideia.et>).

general schools. Since 1960 a benefit has been given to “unprotected children,” under the age of 14, who are defined as orphans (those who have lost either parents or just their father), children whose fathers cannot support them because of health reasons, drug addiction or prison, and children born out of wedlock. This benefit was 44€ in December 2008. Children who live in childcare centers or in institutions do not qualify for this allowance.

Minors, both those with and without special needs, under the age of 18, who experience abuse, neglect, or live conditions which risk their well-being (physical or mental) can be placed either in foster families or in the very limited hostels located in the capital cities. Most of them live in anachronistic institutions, which remain the main solution. SOS Child Villages have been expanding in parallel with residential care offered by NGOs. The residential care for abused and neglected children and for chronically ill and severely disabled children has eluded the attention of the social care reform. Moreover, health insurance schemes do not include long-term domiciliary social care in rehabilitation centers or in homes for the chronically ill.

Parents, Usually Mothers – Employment Reconciliation

Employment in Greece has four major characteristics: extensive self employment (32% in 2001), low levels of part-time employment (4% of total employment), very low levels of part-time work (the lowest among EU countries), and extensive informal employment (private practice of disciplines, teaching foreign language lessons, working from home). Traditionally men were employed full-time while women were employed part-time in small family businesses and agriculture. During the period of socialist government in the 1980s the public sector expanded significantly. Because of the stability, permanent character, reliable salary payment and allowances of the public sector, employment in this sector is preferred over the unstable, short-term contracts and conditions linked to productivity that characterize the private sector.

Recently there has been a significant reduction of employment in industry and agriculture. While in 1990 27% of those employed worked in industry, in 2001 only 24% were employed in this field. In agriculture the percentage employed has reduced from 23% in 1990 to 16% in 2001. Simultaneously a rapid expansion of employment in the service sector has occurred from 50% in 1990 to 60% in 2001 (European Commission, 2002). Employment rates, especially of women, are still low. In 2001, the women who were employed, or were actively seeking work, constituted approximately 49% of women of working age whereas the EU-15 average was 60% (European Commission, 2002).

According to Korpi (2000), welfare state support for dual income families must be assessed according to three indicators: the public day care services for children between 0 and 2 years of age, paid maternity and paternity leave, and public home assistance for the elderly. These three indicators are in a transitional stage in Greece. Care services, both for children and the elderly, operated by local authorities,

municipalities, and the ministry of education have recently increased and since 2001 many public primary schools adopted an extended timetable (ending at 4 p.m.).

Admission eligibility for preschool education was revised in 2006 (Law 3518/2006), as was described in the section about children above, and includes two possible years of education with a mandatory second year (for children that are 5 years old). In the case of children with special needs, the situation is more complex. The majority of these students are taught in state special schools that follow the official calendar of the mandatory schools (starting day, free days, holidays) but are not full-day schools, instead finishing at 1 p.m.

Despite the considerable development of the private sector in provision of care, many employed women depend on elderly relatives for childcare, while many others pay a significant portion of their salary to immigrant women for childcare. In Greece 14% of women between 45 and 49 years old live in cohabitation with three or more generations. This high rate of cohabitation among the generations indicates the important role played by women as caretakers for their grandchildren while parents work outside the home. This trend serves to substitute the weak and inefficient welfare state (Symeonidou, 2002). According to FFS findings (2004) 46.4% of the childcare for children under 3 years old with two working parents is the responsibility of grandparents.

Municipalities and communities throughout Greece have welcomed the program "Help at Home" (in 1998) for persons over 65 years of age and for the disabled, who live alone. However, this program is not subsidized for people who need continuous care (Amera, Stournara, & Manara, 2002). Most of the people in long-term, continued care are cared for by their daughters, daughters-in-law,¹⁹ or by 24-h immigrant nurses (Triantafillou & Mestheneos, 2001). Private-sector institutional care for the elderly is rapidly increasing in urban areas. However, admission into these institutions is not a socially accepted solution to elderly caretaking. Less than 1% of those 65 years and older reside in an institution in both for-profit and the not-for-profit sectors. This is lower than the EU average (8–11%) and lower than the average in other South European countries (3% in Italy) (Ackers & Dwyer, 2002).

In 2006, the total employment rate was 61%. Female employment stood at 47.4%, while male employment was 74.6%. In 2006 the rate of the population between 15 and 64 years of age was 67.0%; that of women was 55.0% and that of men was 79.1%. Employment rates of women in Greece are lower than that in other Southern European countries and in the EU at large. In addition, employment rates of young women depend on whether they have children or not, with the rates dropping among women with children (Table 1). The employment rate of older workers (aged 55–64) was 42.3% in 2006. 26.6% of women in this age group were employed, which was significantly lower than the corresponding rate of men (59.2%).

¹⁹A payment or allowance for this hard job has been demanded by interested associations since the middle of the 1980s, but remains unfulfilled (Triantafillou & Mestheneos, 2001).

Table 1 Employment rates of women and men (aged 25–49), depending on whether they have children (under 12) – 2006

	Without children		With children		Difference	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
EU 27	76.0	80.8	62.4	91.4	–13.6	10.6
Greece	64.1	82.5	57.0	96.8	–7.0	14.3
Italy	66.7	80.7	54.6	93.8	–12.1	13.1
Portugal	77.3	82.7	76.4	94.2	–0.9	11.5
Spain	75.5	84.3	58.8	93.2	–16.7	8.8

Source: Extracted from Eurostat, European Labour Force Survey, annual averages (European Commission, 2008)

Table 2 Long-term unemployment rate – females

	1995	2000	2003	2006
EU (27)	–	4.6	4.5	4.0
EU (15)	5.8	4.1	3.7	3.5
Greece	8.1	10.1	8.9	8.0
Italy	10.0	8.4	6.6	4.5
Portugal	3.2	2.0	2.7	4.4
Spain	16.4	7.4	7.7	2.8

Source: Extracted from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page>

According to the latest available data of the National Statistical Service the downward trend of unemployment continued in 2007. In fact, women's unemployment rate dropped to 12.6% according to data of the 2nd quarter of 2007 (NSSG, 2007) but the long-term unemployment rate has remained stable for the last 10 years (Table 2). The structure of unemployment per age group shows increased rates of unemployment among young people between 15 and 24 years of age. The unemployment rate of young people in 2006 was 25.2%. However, the fact that the National Statistic Service does not consider those who participate in short-term job training, stage positions (of 4 months), or seasonal jobs as unemployed, must be taken into consideration.

According to data provided by the Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED)²⁰ in 2007 there were 434,996 unemployed people and 328,654 people

²⁰Under the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, OAED operates decentralized offices which provide regular information on the availability of different categories of unemployed persons and on the incentives offered for their employment. It also provides activities to strengthen the position of the unemployed and develop the conditions for matching labor supply and demand (counseling on job seeking, training in utilizing specific tools like drafting a curriculum vitae and improving interview skills, etc). 625,000 people benefited from employment programmes such as “New Jobs”, “New Self-Employed Programme” and “Stage”, from 1/1/2006 to 30/4/2007 (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, 2007).

seeking employment. The unemployment benefit is 440€ per month for 12 months after the end of a job contract and is among the lowest in the EU-15 especially for unemployed single people and unemployed married couples. The unemployment benefit for a couple with two children replaces 44% of the previous earnings (the EU-15 average is 70%), for a single unemployed person the benefit replaces 41% of previous earnings and for a single parent with two children the benefit replaces 47% of the previous earnings. Relative to other EU countries, unemployment support is lower when a number of different factors are taken into account. First of all, average wages in Greece are among the lowest in Europe. In addition no safety net exists for the unemployed after the entitlement to the insurance benefit has expired and finally, the monetary value of the benefit package for the unemployed continually erodes (Papadopoulos, 2006).

Women's participation in the work force has recently been promoted through increased incentives for "feminine entrepreneurship". OAED has undertaken a project allowing women who have children under 6 years old, or who take care of relatives with disabilities, to use their own residence as the headquarters of their enterprise. Moreover, the above-mentioned equality bodies (General Secretariat for Gender Equality) have initiated the project "Positive Actions in Favor of Women in Small, Medium, and Large Enterprises" which assists women working in these kinds of enterprises to obtain additional qualifications in order to promote their career on more favorable terms. Furthermore, the Research Center for Gender Equality has implemented a programme providing counseling services to women from disadvantaged groups who participate in the labor market. These services are aimed at encouraging women to enter the labor market, supporting their entrepreneurial activities, and promoting continued employment of women.

Concluding Remarks

As a result of the partial and deficient development of the Greek welfare state, the contemporary focus on "vulnerable groups" has effectively reproduced existing power relations and preserved the disempowering approaches intended to prevent absolute misery. Welfare arrangements suffer from serious imbalances and instability, which in turn cause inequalities, inefficiencies, and the lack of initiatives aimed at tackling paternalistic, clientelistic structures of the social organizations. Moreover, these arrangements do not promote the prevention and deinstitutionalization of the chronically ill – disabled infants, children, and adolescents.

The increased fluidity of the modern family, which is characterized by growing rates of nuclear and single-parent families and increased female participation in the labor force, limits its capacity to "protect" fellow family members in need. However, the family unit remains the most important provider of welfare and mechanism for the redistribution of resources.

Policies impacting the family unit are fragmented and are more demographically focused. The allocation of resources for children and the elderly have been

introduced in order to encourage female participation in the labor market and support the reconciliation of domestic and professional responsibilities, and thus are aimed at reducing the domestic care responsibilities of women. Moreover, these policies do not take into consideration any pedagogical and psycho-social aspect of child development; for example the long-term impact of a reduced bond between mother and child.

The Greek family is child-oriented whereas Greek social policy emphasizes allowances and services that are client-oriented. Any reform responding to the weakness of the Greek welfare state discussed in this paper must undoubtedly focus on the implementation of a cohesive family policy and the development of family community services aimed at providing pluralistic and holistic approaches to native, immigrant and refugee families and children.

Despite shortcomings, improvements have taken place and the specific needs of excluded populations have been increasingly fulfilled. Limited attention is given to personal and social rights, refugees and asylum seekers are not adequately protected.

Reforming a residual, undeveloped, familialist, clientalist regime, like Greece, is not an easy, quick process. Furthermore, this process was not a national/subnational demand initiated by citizens associations, local communities, or by the organizations themselves, nor was there a consensus with regard to how the needs of the general population and specific groups could be facilitated.

Future improvements are expected to support regional initiatives to promote a strategic approach to social care, anti-poverty initiatives and to contribute to preventive, not merely curative, requirements.

References

- Ackers, L., & Dwyer, P. (2002). *Senior citizenship – Retirement and welfare in the European Union*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Amera, A., Stournara, A., & Manara, A. (2002). *Program help at home: Implementation report*. Athens: Central Union of Municipalities and Communities (Greek).
- Bagavos, C. (2002). *General monitoring report on the situation of families in Greece*. Vienna: European Observatory on the Social Situation, Demography and Family – Austrian Institute for Family Matters.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2005). *Statistical data on immigrants in Greece: An analytic study of available data and recommendations for conformity with European Union standards*. Athens: Mediterranean Migration Observatory.
- Castles, F. G., & Ferrera, M. (1996). Home ownership and the welfare state: Is Southern Europe different. *South European Society and Politics*, 1(2), 163–184.
- Davaki, K. (2006). Family policies from a gender perspective. In M. Petmesidou & E. Mossialos (Eds.), *Social policy developments in Greece* (pp. 263–285). London: Ashgate.
- European Commission. (2002). *Employment in Europe*. Luxembourg: Office of Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission. (2005). *The social conditions in European Union 2004*. Luxembourg: Office of Official Publications of the European Communities.
- European Commission. (2008). *Report on Equality between women and men 2008*. Luxembourg: European Communities.

- Eurostat. (2004). *European social statistics: Social protection expenditure and receipts*. Luxembourg: European Communities.
- Eurostat. (2008). *European social statistic: Social protection expenditure and receipts*. Retrieved from <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page>
- Ferrera, M. (1996). The “Southern model” of welfare social Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 6(1), 17–37.
- Flaquer, L. (2002). Is there a special model of family policy in Southern Europe? In L. Maratou-Alipranti (Ed.), *Families and welfare state in Europe: Trends and challenges in the twenty-first century* (pp. 47–84). Athens: Gutenberg (Greek).
- Greek Ombudsman. (2006). *Annual Report 2005*. Retrieved from http://www.synigoros.gr/annual_2005_gr.htm
- Institute of Social Protection and Solidarity. (2007). *Report 2005–2006*. Athens: Institute of Social Protection and Solidarity (Greek).
- Kallinikaki, T. (2000). Foster care for mentally ill adults in Greece. In National Organization of Social Care (Ed.), *Foster care* (pp. 207–218). Athens: Greek Letters (Greek).
- Kallinikaki, T. (2010, forthcoming). *Tracking the rights of prevention and primary intervention in the health, mental health and welfare systems*. In National Observatory for Children Rights (Ed.), *The child rights in Greece of 21st century*. Athens: Nea Genia (Greek).
- Katrougalos, G. (1996). The South European welfare model: The Greek welfare state in search of an identity. *Journal of South European Social Policy*, 6(1), 39–60.
- Kogidou, D. (1995). *Single-parent families: Reality, prospect, social policy*. Athens: Nea Synora (Greek).
- Korpi, W. (2000). Faces of inequality: Gender, class and patterns of inequalities in different types of welfare states. *Social Politics*, 7(2), 27–191.
- Laboratory of Demographic and Social Analysis. (2007). *Demographic profile of Greece 2007*. Volos: University of Thessaly (Greek).
- Lewis, J. (1992). Gender and the development of the welfare regime. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2(3), 159–173.
- Matsaganis, M. (2002). Social policy and family in Greece. In L. Maratou-Alipranti (Ed.) *Families and welfare state in Europe: Trends and challenges in the twenty-first century*. (pp. 161–186). Athens: Gutenberg (Greek).
- Matsaganis, M., & Tsakoglou, P. (2001). Social exclusion and social policy in Greece. In D. G. Mayers, J. Bergman, & R. Salais (Eds.), *Social exclusion in European social policy*. (pp. 188–203). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Ministry of Economy and Finance. (2007). *National reform program 2005–2008: Implementation report 2007*. Athens: Ministry of Economy and Finance.
- Ministry of Employment and Social Security. (2007). *Social budget 2007*. Athens: General Secretariat of Social Security.
- Mousourou, L. (2004). Employment: and family life. In L. Mousourou & M. Stratigaki (Eds.), *Social policy issues* (pp. 73–106). Athens: Gutenberg (Greek).
- Mousourou, L. (2005). *Family and family policy*. Athens: Gutenberg.
- National Statistical Services of Greece (NSSG). (2007). *Greece in figures*. Athens: NSSG.
- Papadopoulos, Th. (2006). Support for the unemployed in a Familistic Welfare Regime. In M. Petmesidou & E. Mossialos (Eds.), *Social policy developments in Greece* (pp. 219–238). London: Ashgate.
- Papatheodorou, C., & Petmesidou, M. (2006). Poverty profiles and trends. How do southern European countries compare with each other? In M. Petmesidou & C. Papatheodorou (Eds.), *Poverty and social deprivation in the Mediterranean: Trends, policies and welfare prospects in the new millennium* (pp. 47–94). London: Zed Books.
- Petmesidou, M. (2006a). Tracking social protection: Origins, path peculiarity, impasses and prospects. In M. Petmesidou & E. Mossialos (Eds.), *Social policy developments in Greece* (pp. 25–54). London: Ashgate.

- Petmesidou, M. (2006b). Social care services: Amidst high fragmentation and poor initiatives for change. In M. Petmesidou & E. Mossialos (Eds.), *Social policy developments in Greece* (pp. 319–358). London: Ashgate.
- Petmesidou, M., & Mossialos, E. (2006). Addressing social protection and policy in Greece. In M. Petmesidou & E. Mossialos (Eds.), *Social policy developments in Greece* (pp. 1–21). London: Ashgate.
- Scbunter-Kleemann, S. (2000, May). *Gender mainstreaming as a strategy for modernising gender relations*. European Commission: European Observatory on Family Matters.
- Sotiropoulos, D. A. (2004). The EU's impact on the Greek welfare state. Europeanization on paper. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 14(3), 267–284.
- Stasinopoulou, O. (2002). *Modern Social Policy Issues. From the Welfare State to “new” welfare pluralism. Care and aging – the modern pluralistic challenge*. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Stratigaki, M. (2004). State interventions in the private life of the family. Prospects of the family policy. In L. Mousourou & M. Stratigaki (Eds.), *Social policy issues* (pp. 293–328). Athens: Gutenberg (Greek).
- Symeonidou, H. (2002). *Fertility and family surveys in countries of ECE region: Standard country report – Greece*. New York and Geneva: United Nations.
- Symeonidou, H. (2006). *Divorce Greece: country report*. Retrieved from www.iue.it/personal/Dronkers/divorce/Symeonidou.pdf
- Taylor-Gooby, P. (2006). Greek welfare reform in a European context. In M. Petmesidou & E. Mossialos (Eds.), *Social policy developments in Greece* (pp. 405–411). London: Ashgate.
- Triantafillou, J., & Mestheneos, E. (2001). Greece. In I. Philip (Ed.), *Family care of older people in Europe* (pp. 75–95). Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- Trifilletti, R. (1998). Restructuring social care in Italy. In J. Lewis (Ed.), *Center social care and welfare state restructuring in Europe* (pp. 175–206). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- UNICEF. (2007). *Child poverty in perspective: An overview of child well-being in rich countries, Innocenti Report Card 7*. Florence: Innocenti Research Centre.
- Vergeti, A. (2009). *Clinical social work with families in crisis situations*. Athens: Topos (Greek).
- Zaimakis, G., & Kallinikaki, T. (2004). *Locality and multiculturalism. Sapes Thrace*. Athens: Greek Letters (Greek).