

**Gender equality in Greek Employment policy:
A story of Europeanization?**

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Abstract

This paper examines the impact of the European Union on Greek employment policy (GEP) with a particular focus on gender equality promotion. It argues that Europe introduced a number of pro-gender equality policy goals, measures, and institutions altering significantly national policy. The interplay between the various forms of EU stimuli and their respective domestic impact identifies three distinctive periods: the pre-EU stimuli period in which gender equality in GEP is absent; during the mid 1980s-1997 period, the GEP only *absorbs* the EU stimuli (consisting of hard law (directives) and EU funded vocational programs) resulting in a piecemeal introduction of gender equality policies; finally, the post Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) period in which the EU through its soft law (EES/OMC guidelines) induces a significant change of GEP by strengthening significantly its gender equality aspect. Yet, the Europeanization effect is classified as *upgrading*.

Introduction

In this paper, I examine the impact of the European social policy on Greek employment policy with a particular focus on gender equality, arguing that Europe introduced a number of pro-gender equality policy goals, measures, and institutions altering significantly national policy. The interplay between the EU stimuli and its domestic impact distinguishes the post-authoritarian era of employment policy into two distinctive periods: the period before and after the institutionalisation of the EES in 1997. More specifically, before the EU membership Greek gender equality promotion in employment policy is scarce if at all existent; after membership and until 1997 the EU influences Greek employment policy mainly with its vocational programmes; the final stage starts with the institutionalization of the European Employment Strategy (EES) in the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) where the EU influences domestic policy with its soft-law. Empirical evidence shows that the highest degree of change took place in the third period where under the influence of the EES there was a significant change both quantitatively and qualitatively as regards to gender equality in employment policy.

This paper is divided into two main parts: the first part discusses the features of Greek employment policy before the EES's introduction. The second part discusses the influence of the EES on domestic employment policy with regard to gender equality promotion. Change is measured using two typologies: the Europeanization typology of domestic change (inertia, accommodation/upgrading, transformation) and Hall's typology of social learning.

1. Pre-EES period: Gender Equality in Employment Policy absent due to ideology, politics and underdevelopment.

Before we examine the influence of the EES on Greek employment policy as regards to gender equality, I will present the main characteristics of Greek employment policy before the introduction of the EES. This analysis is vital for two reasons: first, to present the main characteristics of employment policy before the introduction of the EU stimuli in order to delineate the EU's impact on domestic policy after its introduction; second, to establish that the EU stimuli is indeed an external variable to domestic policy making and not the result of uploading of domestic preferences, policies, etc, to the EU level. In the following, I discuss the features of Greek employment policy of this period with a particular focus on gender equality measures, arguing that the latter was absent because of the combined result of political developments, the new elites and their ideology that

emerged during (and institutionalised after) its transition to democracy, and in a less significant extent Greece's lower levels of development compared to the richer EU members.

Gender equality in Greek employment policy before EU entry is crucially affected by the legacy of previous decades. In short, during the post-war period the Greek state gradually increased its involvement in social and economic processes. However, its intervention had a highly ambivalent character as it had scarcely been based on any systematic or co-ordinated planning processes. Moreover, interventionism and centralisation of decision making coexisted with a confusing liberal attitude by the state, whereas *"any clearly defined policy about which social strata or sectors of the economy would benefit from state intervention was absent"* (Petmesidou 1991: 36; see also Petmesidou and Tsoulouvis 1990). Nevertheless, there should be no doubt that the dominant policy model during this period is statism, that is, state's intervention in the economic and social activities. What is more, statism is accompanied with clientelism, which marginalised any autonomous political organisation of the disadvantaged classes or groups (Diamandouros, 1983; Haralambis, 1989). Statism and clientelism was combined with the predominant role of the public sector in providing employment resulting in a strategic use of the public sector from political elites: through the provision of employment in the public sector could satisfy voters and/or expand their electorate. In addition, trade unions are highly subordinate to party politics while the pressure from civil society, social partners and other societal actors for progressive redistribution is weak (Marinakou, 1998: 241).

Consequently, social provisions and welfare (redistributive) resources were not allocated on the basis of social need and social citizenship rights; rather, they were restricted to those groups that were the winners in the struggle for access to political power and the state machinery –namely, public sector employees (Petmesidou 1991: 32). Moreover, social policy has been restricted to scant, piece-meal measures taken by the state in cases of emergency (Iatrides, 1980). Overall, during this period, a minimalist (almost non-existent) welfare state is formed that distributes its ever-increasing part of revenue to households depending on their links to the poles of political power. According to Petmesidou (1991), statism and clientelism instead of underdevelopment or economic pressures (such as periods of recession, lack of recourses) can explain best the non-existent employment policy, and more broadly, the limited, highly fragmented and uncoordinated social policy during the post-war era.

The aforementioned features of the Greek social policy, overwhelmingly define employment policy which is almost non-existent; most of the measures that could help promote employment (e.g. training, subsidies to companies to hire unemployed as trainees, employment friendly legislation) are rudimentary. Goals such as the improvement and regulation of human capital have barely been central in the social policy considerations of state officials, politicians and industrialists throughout the post war period (Petmesidou, 1991: 36-37). As a result, contrary to what happens in the majority of the OECD countries, where the corresponding of vacancies and job-seekers becomes the most crucial goal of their Public Employment Services (see OECD, 1984), placement, counselling and vocational guidance was never developed in Greece. For instance, until the 1980s the Greek Employment Offices – which were introduced in 1937 - were merely distributing benefits (Karamessini 2006: 240).

Gender equality in employment policy, furthermore, is completely absent not only in policy measures, goals, etc. but also in policy makers' concern. What is more, the combined effect of statism, the predominant role of the public sector in providing employment, and clientelism made any concern about gender equality redundant: for policy makers the method of direct hiring to the public sector constituted the dominant method of

helping their constituents to find employment. In addition, (and related to the previous one) another crucial reason for this absence is the underdeveloped -if at all present- notion of vulnerable groups. The Greek welfare does not show any interest and capacity in tracing who needs (additional) support in order to create targeted measures that would improve their skills and employment rates. Finally, one should not underestimate the very limited female participation in the labour market combined with the weak feminist movement in Greece. In sum, there were no agents both inside and outside the labour market to promote gender equality in employment policy, whereas the structure of the Greek economy did not necessitate -at least directly- gender equality provisions.

Even though the fall of dictatorship in 1974 marked in many ways a new period for Greece, especially in terms of democratization and a new era for Greek-EU relations, the post authoritarian period until the mid-1980s witnessed minimal change regarding gender equality in employment policy. It was only after the introduction of the EU financed vocational programs targeting women in the mid 1980s that unemployed females could receive some specific help designed and targeted especially for them. This is quite surprising, considering the PASOK successive governments' pro-gender equality agenda. In the following, I argue that gender equality in employment policy has been neglected as a result of the reproduction of the aforementioned model of employment and gender equality policy; despite PASOK's rhetoric about the necessity of change (in Greek *Allaghi*) and gender equality, none of the aforementioned obstacles regarding the introduction of gender equality in employment policy was abolished.

The first step in understanding the absence of gender equality in employment policy is to outline the context of the decade which begun officially in the 1981 elections. For the first time in Greek political history, a radical left-wing party representing a new coalition of newly left-radicalised social strata (mainly middle and lower middle ones¹) took office (for a more detailed analysis of the 'rise to power' of these strata see Petmesidou 1991: 40-42). These strata became the main supporters of a societal majority in Greece that during the 1980s brought (and kept) to power the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). Because their position in the small and distorted Greek market was fragile, their existence and reproduction was owed to the favourable distribution of state resources. Political power, therefore, became in their eyes the only realistic source of improving their welfare.

As a result, their expanding influence on the state machinery had a significant impact on state policy orienting it, among others, towards increasing social provisions and a rhetoric emphasizing the need for decentralisation (Petmesidou and Tsoulouvis 1990). Although social expenditure increased significantly, this concerned only pensions² whilst expenditure on other social policies remained unchanged or grew only slightly (Petmesidou 1991: 42). Despite PASOK's extensive rhetoric before and after the 1981 elections for the need of improving welfare provision and policies, along with the overall promotion of social and economic development, no specific tools were formulated for these goals to be achieved nor did any learning process in social and other planning took place (ibid: 45). Similarly to the pre-1981 period, the main concern of policy makers throughout this period was to satisfy the economic demands of their voters through the

¹ The socio-professional groups comprising the middle and lower middle strata in Greece are the following: small business owners, crafts people, self-employed professionals and civil servants (Petmesidou 1991: 40). The lower middle strata are employees of public and wider public sector (including banks and public corporations). Although the author uses the term class in plural ('middle classes') to "show the high degree of fragmentation among middle-class strata" (1991:45) using the latter term seems more appropriate in describing the Greek social stratification.

² In the 1980s expenditure of pensions was doubled without any significant changes in the overall structure and financing of the social security system.

strategic use of the state apparatus, and its funds, combined with the preferential tax provisions favouring small business and self employed against the state revenue.

Focusing on gender equality, PASOK's liberal pro-equality and pro-women agenda provided a fertile ground for growing hopes of a sweeping step forward regarding equal opportunities during the 1980s. In this respect, the PASOK governments in both of their five-year plans (1981-1985 and 1985-1989) for Economic and Social Development introduced a radical agenda for women's equality in the workplace and protection of motherhood. The decriminalization of abortion and the free provision of family planning by all state hospitals marked a turning point in the role of women in Greek society. These, by any standard, decisive changes regarding the state's treatment of women and their legal and social rights, created a rosy picture regarding the gender sensitivity of PASOK governments. Surprisingly, in the European and American Press, Greece was portrayed almost as a paradise for women (Marinakou, 1998: 245). Nonetheless, most of the pro-gender reforms concerned family policy whilst gender equality promotion in employment policy was neglected. Moreover, despite the legislative reforms, family policy did not include any incentives for the increase of female employment; in the mid-1980s only 5% of children aged up to four years old could find a place in state kindergartens and only 30% of the population of children aged from four to five and half years old could be accommodated in state nursery schools (Pantelidou-Malouta, 1994: 203).

This inefficient family policy, along with PASOK's generous income policy and the lack of any policies to promote gender equality in employment policy had a negative effect on unemployment, which became an acute problem especially among the young and women. During the 1980s female unemployment increased significantly and Greece became one of the countries with the highest unemployment rates –usually second after Spain. Youth, female and long-term unemployment was traditionally one of the highest in the EU-15. A rather popular argument found in the literature regarding the extremely harsh employment situation of these two groups is founded in a rather cultural explanation. According to this analysis, young and women are much less employed in Southern Europe and Greece in particular because they were de-prioritised as a result of the male-breadwinner model of society, economy and welfare: people not seen as family breadwinners find difficult to get employed as it is the family's responsibility to look after the young and the men's to look after wives, sisters, and mothers (Katrougalos and Lazaridis, 2003: 43; for Greece see among others Papadopoulos 2006). However, the aforementioned analysis suggests another equally plausible explanation: these groups were the ones that were less/not involved in the political process and the clientelistic networks. As a result, they were left behind in the mass hiring policies in the public sector not because of cultural prejudices or preferences but because of lack of direct participation in the tango between political elites and voters.

In sum, despite young and women being the ones struck harder by unemployment there is no concern to identify any vulnerable groups which should receive targeted help. In particular, Greece did not have a policy for gender equality; the only legislation as regards to equal treatment (which is outside the scope of employment policy) can be found in the 1975 Constitution and Law 46/1975 which stipulated for the first time the principle of equal pay for work of equal value (Karamessini 2006: 241). Lack of previous experience, the aforementioned characteristics of the Greek social policy together with a weak women's movement, which despite its contribution to a series of legislative reforms regarding gender equality, has neglected the field of employment are the main explanations for the absence of a gender orientated employment policy (Karamessini 2006: 239).

This changed slightly only with the EU policies on vocational training and gender equality. The EU influences domestic employment policy with its 'hard' legislation

(directives) along with subsidies and numerous vocational programmes financed by the CSFs and ESF. The latter had the greatest impact on domestic policy, as recourses and social spending on vocational training and other active labour market policies (ALMPs) increased significantly, upgrading, therefore, the existing rudimentary national efforts as well as institutionalizing new policy goals, measures, logics, practises and target groups namely young and women. In addition, due to the EU vocational programmes the ALMPs are gradually becoming an important element of employment policy. As the amount of funds increased in the 1990s due to the consecutive Community Support Frameworks (CSF) and ESF programmes for human resources development, the EU programmes became the main policy tool for employment promotion.

Using the Europeanization typology of measuring the degree of domestic change, the impact of the EU stimuli on Greek employment policy in this period amounts to absorption³; the degree of domestic change, therefore, is low. Likewise, drawing on Hall's (1993) typology of degrees of social learning in this period the EU's programmes resulted in a first order change in domestic employment policy with regard to gender equality promotion: the instruments settings are changed in the light of new experience or knowledge while the overall goals and instruments of policy remain the same (Hall 1993: 273).

2. Gender Equality as an EES Pillar (1997-2003): Soft law - strong Europeanization?

The institutionalization of the EES in 1997 was pivotal for the integration of gender equality into the employment policies of most EU member states. Since then, the EU influences domestic policy with its soft-law; it is argued that this soft law led to a significant change both quantitatively and qualitatively as regards to gender equality promotion in Greek employment policy. The development of this 'soft law' is very interesting and understanding its variation and change over time is crucial for measuring the domestic impact of the EES. During its first period (1997-2003), the EES has a number of non legally binding policy guidelines, objectives and targets clustered into four thematic components famously known as 'pillars' of the common Employment Policy Guidelines⁴: *employability* which refers to a new active labour market policy, involving a shift from welfare to work; *entrepreneurship* which lists guidelines that will make it easier to start and run businesses and expand the service sector; *adaptability* referring to the modernisation of the work organisation, that is, to accept a greater variety and flexibility of work contracts; and *equal opportunities* aiming to promote not only equity goals/measures but also to enable greater employment growth through increased female labour force participation (Larsson 2000; Kleinman 2002). The equal opportunities pillar organised policy measures around three objectives: tackling gender gaps in employment and unemployment (pay and income gender gaps were included later); reconciliation of work and family life; and facilitating return to paid work. What is more, the inclusion of a new guideline in 1999, requiring member states to adopt a *gender mainstreaming* approach throughout their NAPs, provided a significantly additional momentum to the integration of the gender equality objective into employment policy (Rubery et al. 2000). The visibility (and leverage) of the EES was further enhanced by the two commitments made at Lisbon in 2000: first, the inclusion of a specific target (60%) for the female EU employment rate to be reached by 2010, and second, by asking member states to expand childcare provision, with reference to best practice provision in EU member states. The

³ The degree of domestic change is labelled as 'absorption' when 'member states incorporate European policies or ideas into their programs and domestic structures, respectively, without substantially modifying existing processes, policies, and institutions.' (Börzel and Risse 2003: 70).

⁴ As defined at the Luxembourg Jobs Summit.

overall EES stimuli, therefore, introduces two parallel goals: mainstreaming and dedicated equal opportunities programmes.

2.1. Gender Mainstreaming in the 1st EES period: From piecemeal anti-discrimination measures to Gender Mainstreaming

From a complete absence before the institutionalisation of the EES in Amsterdam, a rather marginal concern in the first 1998 NAP, Greek employment policy witnessed thereafter -for the first time in modern Greek history- an introduction, expansion and essentially institutionalisation of gender equality promotion in employment policy. Both annual planning of employment policy through the NAPs and gender mainstreaming (in equality and employment policy especially) were novel processes for the Greek policy makers (Stratigaki 2002). Surprisingly, despite the lack of any previous experience or policy instruments gender mainstreaming has made progress since the drafting of the first Greek NAP in 1998. Two years after its introduction, the principle of gender mainstreaming marked an additional turning point in Greek employment policy. The main difference between the two periods (before and after 2001) was not primarily the increase of the quantity of measures suggested at the EU level but that the perspective of gender equality in employment became broader and the need for institutional mechanisms to ensure gender mainstreaming was inserted in the Greek context. Nonetheless, the change of the Greek employment policy regarding gender promotion has been neither rosy nor consistent. Gaps do exist, while some policy measures have not been fully implemented.

In particular, since 1998 measures promoting gender equality in employment policy were introduced under all pillars of the EES. One major change that occurred in Greek employment policy regarding gender equality promotion in the context of gender mainstreaming is the law 2839/2000 on the 'Regulation of matters regarding the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Public Administration and other provisions' which was passed in order to implement the EU Council Recommendation (96/694/EC) on the balanced participation of women and men in the decision-making process and introduces for the first time a gender quota system in governing councils, administrative boards and collective bodies in the public sector and the Regional Equality Commissions in order to promote and implement equality at the regional level (Ioakeimoglou 2000). In this respect, it should be stressed that EU Recommendations are without legal force and differ from regulations, directives and decisions, in that they are not binding for Member States. The incorporation of this non binding (soft) recommendation which was voted in 1996 into Greek law just one year after the formal introduction of the gender mainstreaming guideline into the EES is not coincidental; indeed, these new policy measures were introduced under the EES's influence (VFA and Metronalysis 2002: 68-69).

Nevertheless, until 2001, the measures included under the first three pillars were very few. After the 2001 NAP, however, their number was significantly increased. In addition, a qualitative turn is observed: whilst, until 2001, they consisted of preferential treatment provisions in job creation schemes and positive action measures to promote female entrepreneurship, after 2001 new positive action measures were included such as training of job counsellors in Employment Promotion Centres (KPAs)⁵. In addition, as a result of the Greek government's response towards the Council's recommendations⁶ of

⁵ See respective table of the Appendix.

⁶ Greece was asked to "Check thoroughly the counter motives that are created from the tax and benefits systems, which are possible to prevent, especially women, from participating in the labour market, in order to increase the female employment rates and examine the possibility of reducing taxes on labour and/or earned income, in order to raise the employment rate"; in addition, "Greece should also encourage, within a gender mainstreaming approach, greater participation of women in the labour market".

1999, 2000 and 2001 regarding the relationship between the tax system and disincentives for employing women three laws (Law 2753/1999), (2874/2000), (2837/2000) aiming at providing incentives for hiring low paid employees. In addition the law regarding the promotion of part-time work and other forms of atypical employment (2639/1998) was passed as tool for increasing female employment. All these laws, despite being passed earlier, were fully implemented only by 2001 (VFA and Metroanalysis 2002: 33; NAP 2001).

It should cause no surprise that all tax exemptions are targeted on the workers at the lowest pay or on those on precarious employment; this is the type of employment that a majority of women was getting when they managed to become employed. This more 'lousy' jobs' approach in Greek policy making is a direct effect of the EES initial goal of full employment which meant increasing employment rates without focusing on the quality of employment. After the 2003 revision, however, the EES added quality of employment in its goals (not only more but also better jobs) in response to the growing criticism that Lisbon agenda was about increasing precarious forms of employment (Karamessini 2006: 252). In Greece, the promotion of part-time employment has been hampered due to the unpopularity of these jobs among Greek women as most of them are created in occupations and sectors that provide salaries below the poverty line. However, successive governments have tried to increase the attractiveness of part-time work by creating jobs in the public sector where working conditions are better than in the private (Rubery et al. 2004: 201).

Similarly, in the 2002 NAP the effort to include gender mainstreaming measures is intensified. Besides maintaining existing measures introduced after the EES (New Jobs and Young Entrepreneurs), new methods of promoting gender mainstreaming as introduced, such as, individualised counselling for women in the regional action plans in the context of KPA, and a quota of 60% for women in training programmes and in subsidised employment. This becomes an overarching policy which makes Greece one of the countries that has strongly gender mainstreamed active labour market measures (Rubery et al. 2007). Third, new programmes are being introduced especially in the field of education and training under all the Operational Programmes of the 3rd Community Support Framework, with special emphasis on improving the skills of women to boost their employability and entrepreneurship⁷. These new programmes are part of the National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAPGE) 2001-2006, a new institution introduced under the direct influence of EES's gender mainstreaming guideline (VFA and Metroanalysis 2002: 68). The NAPGE promoted four strategic targets: promotion of equality between men and women in economic life⁸; promotion of equal participation and representation in the political social and economic sectors⁹; promotion of equal access and of equal

⁷ Under the activities of the O.P. Education and Initial Vocational Training' and the Community initiative equal. For further information, see Employability table.

⁸ Actions in the sectors of employment, information society, vocational training, promotion of women's entrepreneurship, of equal pay and harmonisation of professional and family obligations

⁹ Legal regulations institutionalising quotas, actions aiming at promoting women in decision taking in the economic and political fields, the leading boards in the public and private sector, trade union committees and professional agencies

application of social rights for men and women¹⁰; promotion of a change of gender roles and stereotypes¹¹.

The NAPGE is a major turning point in Greek employment policy as regards to gender equality promotion. First, for the first time in Greece policy making, a concrete and structured plan was set up for gender equality promotion with a particular emphasis on employability, entrepreneurship, and gender mainstreaming. Second, gender mainstreaming is introduced as a strategic goal of policy making especially in relation to the management of the EU funds resulting in operational and regional programmes for the years 2001-2006 which are extensive and promote gender equality. Third, the NAPGE is the result of the close cooperation between two new institutions which have been created under the EU stimuli in order to promote gender equality in Greece, that is, the General Secretariat of Equality¹² and KETHI. According to the European Database on Gender Mainstreaming, it was the collaboration of these two institutions and their active participation in planning the actions for the 3rd CSF and the NAP that resulted in the inclusion of many actions for gender equality in the Operational Programmes¹³, like those of the Ministries of Labour, of Development, of Education and of Agriculture (EDGM 2001). However, according to Karamessini (2006: 251) the inclusion of gender equality as a separate axis (with 10 per cent of the total budget) in these Programmes is not due to these institutions but to pressure from the European Commission during negotiations with the Greek government. In any case, it should be stressed that this policy change which resulted in the promotion of gender equality in employment policy is either indirectly (through an institution created under the EES influence) or directly (through the direct pressure of the European Commission) attributed to the influence of the EU.

In addition, the EES resulted in the establishment of some new institutional mechanisms, processes and instruments that would be responsible for promoting gender mainstreaming. In 1998, the Regional Committees for Equality started to operate in every region aiming at the promotion and strengthening of the Gender Equality. In addition, as already mentioned above, the General Secretariat of Equality was established (VFA and Metronalysis 2002: 68) along with the Special Inter-ministerial Committee for Gender mainstreaming. The former became -along with KETHI- the main institution in Greece to promote gender equality in employment policy. Both of them implemented a number of studies and research projects regarding gender inequality in employment policy and through their participation in the NAPs and the overall Greek employment policy making introduced a number of new policy measures following the EES recommendations. Although the Special Inter-ministerial Committee had a promising start it has not met since March 2001 (NAP 2001; Rubery et al. 2004). Finally, a number of regional institutions were established and provided for the first time in the Greek context localised support, information and counselling to all women along with institutions such as the 'Regional Social Integration Units' for women coming from excluded groups of the population. It should be noted that all the aforementioned institutional developments were

¹⁰ Actions and steps in the legal framework for the completion of Greek legislation or its harmonisation with community legislation, but also in sectors of quality of life like health, welfare and social infrastructure, environment, violence against women and trafficking. Special and integral actions for sensitive groups of women socially excluded. Basic action of this target is the application of legislation, the information and awareness rising of the citizens

¹¹ Actions and practices concerning harmonisation of family and professional responsibilities, the models promoted by the media, special interventions and measures for raising awareness in the sectors of education, culture and every expression of life

¹² It was established in the context of the EES's gender mainstreaming guideline (VFA and Metronalysis 2002: 68).

¹³ Operational Programmes: "Employment and Vocational Training" (72 billion drachmas); "Competitiveness" (12 billions); "EPEAEK" and "Education and Vocational Training" (amounting to a total cost of 23.5 billion drachmas).

accompanied with new funding and hiring of high educated staff (psychologists, sociologists, economists, etc.) in order to realise their mission.

2.2. 'Traditional' Gender Equality: Promoting gender equality through provision of care for dependants

The EES resulted in introducing new policies with the rest of gender guidelines that promoted traditional gender equality policies. Focusing on Greece, one example of the strong influence of the Council's recommendations is the 2002 NAP: its authors seem to be preoccupied with meeting the 2002 Council's recommendation¹⁴ which urges Greece to extend the care facilities for children and other dependants in order to reduce the employment and unemployment gaps. The new policy initiatives exclusively referred to public care services for children and elderly aiming to tackle the main problem of Greek women that halts them from entering the labour market, namely, taking care of the vulnerable members of the family (NAP 2001; NAP 2002). These measures are the following: the extension of operating hours in nurseries and the institution of daylong kindergartens and primary schools; the creation of new crèches, nurseries, and kindergartens; the establishment of care centres for the elderly, and the finally, the creation of new after-school recreation centres for children. All the aforementioned measures, the majority of them appeared in the beginning of the EES in 1998 as small pilot programmes, grew significantly in each consecutive NAP in the number of institutions and staff employed, the allocation of financial resources and coverage in the period until 2003 (NAP 2003). The EU funds (ESF, CSF programmes) were crucial in financing many of these projects in their early phase and onwards; however, most of them (especially the new educational institutions) were funded through national resources.

It has to be stressed that the EES reinvigorated a policy which had started in the early 1980s after the rise of PASOK into power, that is, to provide the necessary institutional framework that will alleviate women from the responsibility of taking care of dependants in order to enter the labour market. However, as it has been analysed above, this policy was rather incremental, piecemeal and ineffective. In contrast, the EES marked a qualitative and quantitative turning point in Greek employment policy: qualitatively, the EES altered the process of policy design and implementation by introducing a more holistic approach to the issue of reconciliation and above all a clear demarcation from the previous period; quantitatively, the EES induced change in the numbers of the new institutions, measures and allocation of funds to them. Likewise, the Greek government - for the first time- tried to incorporate the social partners in promoting gender equality. Besides the training and activation of trade unionists on gender equality issues, a significant development of this period is the National General Collective Agreement (EGSIE) for 2002-3. Two of its articles (6 and 7) provide for more favourable conditions for single-parent families to obtain childcare leave and annual paid leave. These legislative measures are the result of agreements and actions taken by the state with the direct/indirect involvement of the social partners in the framework of incorporating the EU Employment Guidelines (Kretsos 2003).

In addition, due to the EES guideline concerning tackling gender gaps, since 1998 a number of policy initiatives have been introduced aiming to raise awareness, knowledge and reduce the differences between genders in pay, representation and social stereotypes. These constitute mainly studies on gender gaps and educational programmes aiming at tackling social stereotypes and promote gender equality. However, in this period there are

¹⁴ According to the 2002 council's recommendations Greece should "take effective and comprehensive action to reduce the employment and unemployment gender gaps. To this end, care facilities for children and other dependants should be extended.

very few legislative reforms to tackle gender gaps in the labour market. Even though some new measures were implemented¹⁵, the level of implementation should be considered low especially in the private sector where labour protection is at best weak. This problematic implementation should be seen in the general dual labour market between the public sector employees with high protection and the private sector ones who are not enjoying the equal rights granted by law. In addition, the lack of cooperation from social partners who generally are either indifferent or negative towards gender equality is a crucial reason for the lack of significant progress in this policy area.

3. The impact of the EES after 2003: Fading Europeanization?

In the following, I argue that both EES revisions (2003 and 2005) resulted in the weakening of the EES stimuli regarding gender equality promotion; this altered significantly EES's domestic impact on Greek employment policy. Consequently, a direct correlation between the EU stimuli and the domestic reforms emerges. In this section the domestic impact of the EES after its first revision is discussed. The distinction between the two periods is necessary since the EU stimuli regarding gender promotion in the context of the EES changes: from one of the pillars under which a number of guidelines are structured it becomes only one guideline (among ten). Even though the essence of the previous guidelines is still existent, gender mainstreaming is less visible (Rubery et al. 2004). Moreover, a new key institution in promoting the EU stimuli is the Employment Task-force Report (KOK report) which undermines the promotion of gender mainstreaming (see Rubery et al. 2004). In addition, member states do not have to respond annually but in a three year perspective a development that puts less pressure on the domestic level to incorporate the EU stimuli. Even though gender equality and gender mainstreaming remains an essential goal of the EES, the hypothesis to be tested is that the 2003 revision has a negative impact on the EU leverage to promote domestic reforms.

3.1. Gender Mainstreaming: a continuation of the previous period?

Even though, in the NAP of 2003 some gender mainstreaming measures are reported, they constitute a continuation of previous measures and logic. In this respect it should be stressed that, contrary to the authors of the 2003 NAP, these measures do not constitute a real progress regarding gender mainstreaming promotion; rather, a marginal effort to promote gender employability and entrepreneurship. The authors of the NAP 2004 report that some new programmes are introduced 'as a response to the EU's recommendations' with a particular focus on women (see employability and entrepreneurship table). In addition, a new policy amendment focuses on the promotion of female (mothers of minor children is set as a target group and the quota of 60% out of the unemployed that are hired should be women) part-time employment in the public sector to fill vacancies in new kinds of social services (Rubery et al. 2004: 116). Even though the proposal for promoting female part-time work is a reiteration of the EES recommendations from earlier years, the links with boosting women's employment have been made more explicit in this new period –especially in the 2004 NAP (ibid: 205). A negative aspect of these reforms is the lack of any reference to the impact on gender segregation (ibid: 226).

Nonetheless, an important development which took place in this period is the second National Plan for Equality 2004-2008. In a similar fashion to the first, the Plan sets new goals, measures and programming for gender equality promotion. The second plan, however, is important for two additional reasons: first, -for the first time in Greek

¹⁵ Such as the extension of provisions to protect pregnant and breast-feeding women in all workplaces and other various measures to promote equality at the workplace listed in the Appendix.

employment policy- the plan was followed by a progress report been published in 2006. The report reviews initiatives taken thus far, including relevant policy measures and practical support services. The review also assesses progress in the regulatory framework and with regard to training provisions. Proposals for future plans and actions are then outlined (Karakioulafis 2007)¹⁶. – continuing progress).

Second, the plan highlights the general change of perspective, goals and discourse regarding gender equality promotion in employment policy. Contrary to the early 1980s when gender equality was promoted as an issue of social justice, under the EES influence gender equality was perceived also as an issue that hinders economic development and competitiveness. It is this general perspective that through the gender mainstreaming guideline was incorporated into national employment policies which had neglected the issue of gender equality. This change of perspective, goals and discourse can be traced directly in the National Plan for Equality 2004-2008 which highlights this particular swift in Greek policy making under the influence of the ‘Lisbon Process’. According to the authors of the NPE (2004), even though gender equality is promoted by numerous international institutions besides the EU, such as, the UN, the Council of Europe, and the ILO, it is only the EU that stresses the economic and developmental aspect of gender equality; all the others focus only on the political aspect, that is, on equality of rights, participation, etc.

In addition, Greece provides for the first time gender disaggregated statistics on stocks and flows of registered unemployed, as well as their participation in active labour market programmes (ibid: 76, 137-138). The latter is a direct result of the EES which necessitates under the gender mainstreaming guideline adequate monitoring of the gender equality measures. Finally, in this period, a welcome change is the upgrading of the equality bodies in the drafting of the NAPs (ibid: 213).

However, setting national employment targets for both sexes which were included in the NAP of 2003, does not happen indicating a less focus on rising (female) employment rates (Rubery et al. 2004: 73). Nevertheless, this should not be overestimated; the omission of the employment rates is for both sexes and in 2004 there is a change of government in Greece that may have disrupted the linear domestic response of the past. Even though the disappearance of employment rates is a negative development, it may not be directly related to gender mainstreaming and a disregard for female employment. What is more indicative of a backtracking on gender mainstreaming is the disappearance of the target of 2% annual growth in female employment until the year 2010. Despite being introduced in 2003 it is not mentioned in 2004.

3.2. Gender Equality Policies (former fourth pillar): a loss of momentum?

Concerning the promotion of the dedicated gender equality measures in employment policy, the second period of the EES does not have a distinct impact compared to the previous period. Indeed, the main development of this period is the continuation of existing policies especially the continuous expansion of institutions providing care to dependants. Even though the EGGSIE expert for Greece argues that in 2004 the closing of the employment gaps in relation to men and to the Lisbon target is the top priority (Rubery et al. 2004: 40), there are no new measures to promote reconciliation of family and work life –a key obstacle to entering the labour market of Greek women. The same applies, furthermore, to the goal of reducing gender gaps. Even though in the 2004 NAP a range of policy measures are said to assist in meeting the target to reduce the gender gap, these are not new measures. Rather, they are maintained from the previous period of the EES. However, considering the significant problems which Greek women face in regards to

¹⁶ Further research is necessary in order to assess this programme as it is still ongoing.

entering the labour market, the huge gender gaps, the inadequate provision of care and social services and the low level of return to paid work of the inactive population, this period is characterized by a low degree of influence of the EES on the Greek employment policy.

Nonetheless, a significant change of this period was the overall budgetary commitments for new social measures regarding the implementation of the aforementioned actions. According to the data presented at the 2003 NAP, the financial resources for 'New spending on employment and the family' from non-existent in 2003 would be increased to 426 millions (Euros) in 2004, rising to 545 in 2006 up to 905 in 2008 – an increase of 905 millions of Euros over the next 5 years (NAP 2003: 22). The importance of this change is twofold: first, the financial upgrading of new social measures relevant to employment and family –the two key areas for improving female employment– and second, the introduction of programming in the policy making process as –for the first time– Greek policy makers introduce a concise schedule of social policy financing for a five-year period.

4. The impact of the EES after the Lisbon Re-launch: the end of gender equality and of Europeanization?

The 2005 revision of the EES under the re-launch of the Lisbon process marked an even greater downgrading of the EU stimuli as regards to gender equality promotion. In particular, there is no specific gender equality guideline and the EES has been integrated with the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines (BEPG). Consequently, member states have to respond in the same document both to macro and micro economic issues and to employment. Third, instead of specific policy measures, member states have been granted the freedom to report general policy priorities/principles; as a result, member states can report vague statements as their response to the EES guidelines without worrying about concrete domestic reforms. Now it is up to them to mention gender equality promotion measures or even any measures to improve employment (for example Italy does not include anything on employment in its 2005 NAP). Nevertheless, two significant developments take place regarding gender mainstreaming and gender equality policy at the European level during 2006. These include the agreements to a 'road map for gender equality' and to a gender equality pact by the Council of Ministers. These developments along with the recommendations of the EU council regarding the promotion of gender equality in member states' employment policy should in principle have placed a considerable obligation on member states to promote gender equality in their implementation reports of 2006 (Rubery et al. 2006: 14).

In order to validate this paper's hypothesis about the degree of influence of soft law under the EES the Greek response in this period should show the following pattern: after 2005 gender mainstreaming and gender equality promotion loses momentum at the EU level and Greece's effort to promote gender equality falters. This should change only in 2006 due to the developments at the EU level; these developments which not only reiterate EU stimuli on gender equality but also make an explicit call to member states to incorporate EU guidelines will cause a more substantial response from Greece in order to incorporate the EU stimuli. In other words, *soft law can induce a greater domestic change when it is high on the agenda, creating thus a momentum, or adds new obligations to member states.*

4.1. Gender Mainstreaming

In the Greek 2005 NRP even though gender mainstreaming is not mentioned, a new focus on female labour market participation and promoting equal opportunities are specified as top 5 policy priorities (Rubery et al. 2005: 14). In addition, there was greater emphasis (than the previous two NAPs) on female labour market participation rather than female employment that is on supply rather than demand issues. The 2005 revision of the European Employment Strategy and especially the Council's recommendations certainly contributed to this turn of emphasis (ibid: 61). For Greek policy makers, reaching the Lisbon targets for female employment depends primarily on the promotion of flexible labour relations, especially part-time work, and special employability programmes for unemployed women. In this respect, there is the promise of flexible labour relations to increase employment opportunities for young people and women.

The new centre-right government of New Democracy passes two laws which follow and materialize this policy goal (see Appendix). Nevertheless, it should be stressed that promoting flexibility in order to meet mainly the need of employers has a twofold impact: although it may result in increasing female employment rates, as more women will be employed in precarious forms of employment, this policy may have negative effects for women and reconciliation of work and family life (ibid: 124). Albeit part-time work contributes to raising employment rates this particular law is quite problematic since all jobs offered are offered are fixed-term and do not provide either employment security or a stepping stone to longer-hour jobs neglecting thus one of the most beneficial aspects of part-time employment (ibid 130). As in 2004, Greek policy makers cite the existence of educational and vocational programmes especially for women aiming to their entry to the labour market. The only new measure in 2005 is the orientation of distance learning education programmes to 'working students or women obliged to stay at home' under the human capital guideline.

In contrast, after 2006 a number of new policy reforms regarding gender equality are taking place at the domestic level. Even though programs aiming in enhancing employability and entrepreneurship are a constant aspect of Greek employment policy throughout the EES, after 2006, some novel developments are taking place. First, some new programmes are implemented based on the notion of 'integrated intervention' which is materialised through integrated intervention schemes for unemployed women only (see respective tables for further details about these new programmes). The beginning of integrated intervention schemes is a qualitative turning point in gender equality promotion in Greek employment policy because women are not simply the target of training but of an overall intervention which combines counselling, training, personalised approach and support after the vocational training. In other words, women receive a much more structured and organised support compared to the past. In addition, after 2006, following a period of immobility, new institutions are established as the advisory centres of KETHI are increased by the establishment of five new branches.

In 2006, furthermore, there is a breakthrough regarding the participation of social partners in promoting gender equality in employment policy. For the second time in Greece, gender equality will be an issue not only of governmental policy but also of social partners as 'social deliberations' between the government and the 'most representative' Employers' Organisations (SEV, ESEE, GSEVEE, EVEA) and the Hellenic Network for Corporate Social Responsibility, aiming to facilitate the participation of women in employment and the reduction of women's unemployment were successful resulting in: the signature of a Protocol of Cooperation between the social partners aiming to promote equal opportunities for women and men in enterprises and of a Memorandum of Cooperation between the General Secretariat for Gender Equality and the Hellenic

Network for Corporate Social Responsibility, aiming at further promoting equal opportunities between women and men in enterprises.

4.2. Gender Equality Policies

Similar to the gender mainstreaming measures, in 2005 there are very few new developments regarding the specific gender equality measures. As regards to reconciliation measures the existing ones are maintained with a particular focus on improving community care facilities for dependants. In this respect, childcare services are improving while in all NRPs of this period, the policy to maintain and expand daylong schools national funding is reaffirmed. Nevertheless, in 2005 it has not been effectively implemented due to delays in hires and wage cuts for the temporary personnel hired to provide courses and activities (Rubery et al. 2005). Finally, there is a new proposal to provide incentives for large corporations to run day-care centres but without details on the form and type of incentives; moreover, there is no evidence so far on the degree of implementation. It should be stressed, however, that despite the tangible improvement on child care facilities since the beginning of the EES¹⁷, Greece had the largest gap with respect to the Barcelona targets in child care provision among the old EU-15 members. Overall, these measures do not constitute any significant change of policy; considering the great distance between the Greek situation and the Barcelona targets we could safely conclude that the EES does not apply significant pressure or influence in domestic reforms in 2005.

Nonetheless, in an identical to the gender mainstreaming measures fashion, after 2006 there is a significant progress in promoting reconciliation of work and family. In particular, besides the annual improvement of community care institutions, the reconciliation of work and family life aspect of Greek employment policy is enhanced substantially through two main developments that take place in 2006. First, a new institutional framework for the promotion of Women's employability is introduced, aiming at the reconciliation of work and family life based on the application of individualized approach. Second, a number of new legislative measures in the new Code of Civil Servants (Law 3528/2007¹⁸) which was agreed between the government and ADEDY (i.e. the Supreme Administration of Civil Servants' Associations) promote significantly reconciliation and help women in family responsibilities with a special focus on unmarried mothers as well as for mothers of many children (for further details about these measures see appendix). Third, and quite surprisingly, Greece provides a positive programme of policy action in its new 2006 legislation on Equal Treatment in employment relations focusing on the private sector. This development marks a turning point in Greek employment policy as until then there were no policies on increasing gender inequality in the private sector¹⁹. Finally, in 2007, the policy of reconciliation is further enhanced with new programmes which are implemented by the K.E.T.H.I, which acts as a coordinating agency (for further details see appendix). Even though more action

¹⁷ Until 1998 there were hardly any institutions to provide care services or any all day schools in order to alleviate the family responsibilities of women. In 2006 there are 396 structures operational (partially funded from the O.P. 'Employment and Vocational Training'), employing 1.972 persons and serving a total of 50.000 people (the elderly, children and those requiring assistance); the Regional Operational Programmes are supporting the operation of 1,120 structures employing 4,400 individuals and serving another 50,000 persons'. In sum, as of 2006, 1516 care facilities were operational employing 6372 persons and serving 100.000 persons. In addition, until the end of 2006, there will be in operation 4,500 all-day schools and 2,000 all-day kindergartens. All these institutions have been created under the EES influence (NAP 2006: 45).

¹⁸ The measure was announced in the 2006 NRP as a draft Code; in the 2007 NAP it is mentioned as a new law.

¹⁹ Further research is necessary in order to establish the reasons behind this development.

is necessary, these new measures are of paramount importance in promoting gender equality in employment policy.

With regard to tackling gender gaps, furthermore, empirical evidence show a similar domestic response: while in 2005 there are no policy initiatives, after 2006, under the influence of the European pact for gender equality which reiterates the closing of gender gaps and the combating of social stereotypes, a plethora of new measures are introduced in order to tackle gender gaps in education and combat social stereotypes regarding gender relations (see appendix). However, even though Greece (along with Malta, Spain, and Italy) has the highest gender employment and pay gaps in Europe,²⁰ it remains one of the few countries in the European Union with no policy on tackling the gender *pay* gap. Gender equality in employment is interpreted in terms of closing the gender employment rate gap, not the gap in the quality of employment. For these reasons the gender pay gap is not a preoccupation of the 2005 and 2006 NRPs. (Rubery et al 2005; 2006). The rise of the female activity rate depends only on the development of social care services. Likewise, mobilisation of the inactive is realised through the admission of the inactive into all active labour market programmes (a policy that is not mentioned in the NRP) and through the development of community care services (mentioned in the NRP) (ibid: 103-104).

5. Assessing the EES's domestic impact

In evaluating the impact of the EES on Greek employment policy, the same two previously used typologies are employed. Using the Europeanization typology the EES's impact has been equal to accommodation/upgrading²¹ with a clear trend towards transformation²². Even though the degree of domestic change is high this classification is more appropriate than transformation due to the gaps and low degree of implementation of the institutional reforms as well as to the low degree of statistical monitoring. Likewise, the EES's domestic change in policy amounts to a situation which is between Hall's (1993) second and third type of learning.

Despite the high degree of domestic change, there should be no illusions about the overall gender equality promotion in employment policy: Greece is far from having a completely gender equal employment policy. In other words, even though the EU mainly through the EES changed significantly employment policy as regards to gender equality promotion this does not mean that what is necessary in order to have a gender equal employment policy was introduced. In this respect, gaps do exist, policies are insufficient and more effort and measures are needed in all fields of employment policy in order to claim that domestic policy is achieving gender equality (Rubery et al 2004; 2005; 2006). Undeniably, the European influence has been paramount; likewise, it has not been enough.

²⁰ For all of these countries the gender gap in employment for the low educated women is above 33%; even though in most EU countries the gender gaps for the high educated women is low, these countries along with Luxembourg are again on the top with gender gaps exceeding 10%. In Greece, in particular, the gap was widened in 2004 from 10.9% to 14.1% (Rubery et al. 2005: 11).

²¹ The degree of domestic change is labelled as 'accommodation' when 'member states accommodate Europeanization pressures by adapting existing processes, policies, and institutions without changing their essential features and the underlying collective understanding attached to them. One way of doing this is by 'patching up' new policies and institutions onto existing ones without changing the latter (Héritier 2001). The degree of domestic change is modest.' (Börzel and Risse 2003: 70).

²² The degree of domestic change is labelled as 'transformation' when 'member states replace existing policies, processes, and institutions by new, substantially different ones, or alter existing ones to the extent that their essential features and/or the underlying collective understandings are fundamentally changed. The degree of domestic change is high.' (Börzel and Risse 2003: 70).

Closing remarks: Back to theory

People who love soft methods and hate iniquity forget this; that reform consists in taking a bone from a dog. Philosophy will not do it.

John Jay Chapman (American Poet 1862-1933)

Most of the literature on the EES reflects Chapman's harsh saying: soft law has more or less been weak in promoting real change in member states' employment policy (Foden and Magnusson 2003; Govecor 2004; Jacobsson and Viffell 2007). Fortunately, the literature does not suggest introducing iniquity; for some, the answer is to strengthen the links of the EES with the hard law pillar of European Employment policy in order for the EES to acquire a 'real bite' in domestic policy making. This would happen either by using instruments of soft law to facilitate the implementation of hard law, or by using hard law to ensure the implementation of soft-law directives (Rhodes 2005: 302; see also Sharpf 2002).

The findings of this research, however, seem to challenge these arguments. First, the EES has been crucial in introducing and shaping gender equality measures in employment policy; it was only after the EES when Greece reformed significantly both quantitatively and qualitatively its domestic employment policy in order to facilitate gender equality by introducing the following novelties: new institutions with new staff and funds, new policy measures, tools, targets and methods, a number of legislative reforms to promote gender equality in labour law, and a change in the process of policy design and implementation. Second, the EES promoted a very specific 'recipe' for reforms: in order to promote gender equality the focus is on the promotion of flexible labour relations, especially part-time work, and special employability programmes for unemployed women. With regard to the female activity rate, its rise depends on the development of social care services. Gender equality in employment is interpreted in terms of closing the gender gap only in employment rates and not in the quality of employment. This approach explains why the gender pay gap has not preoccupied domestic policy makers (Rubery et al. 2005: 72) and why this policy was informally delegated to the social partners (Rubery et al. 2001).

Third, by comparing the three periods of the EES and their domestic impact on the Greek case, a very interesting realization takes place: the main problem that hinders the EU's effect in gender equality promotion is not that its policies are based on soft law; the EU stimuli since the beginning of the EES have been characterized by the same degree of 'softness'. This did not obstruct the EU to initiate and determine national reforms regarding gender equality promotion in employment policy. Instead, it is the weakening (after 2003) and marginalisation (after 2005) of the EU stimuli in terms of visibility, priority, precision, and specificity. In addition, the change of focus of the EES and the Council's from purely employment issues to micro and macro economic stability resulted in the decrease of employment policies' importance and their inclusion in a 'growth and stability' logic. National reforms follow this change of focus. As a result, gender equality promotion in employment policy lost momentum. Similarly, when in 2006 the EES stimuli were reiterated then Greece followed suit and revitalised reforms. The same applies to the procedural aspects of the EES: during the first period the EES cycle is annual resulting in a much more intense progress compared to the two following ones. Thus, soft law is effective when it is adequate in terms of specificity, creates momentum and puts some kind of pressure to member states.

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APPENDIX

New Measures (32 total) Promoting Female Employability (Mainstreaming)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher Amount of subsidy for women in all job creation schemes (NAP of 1999); • Quotas for women in all employability measures equal to the female share in Employment (NAP of 1999); • Work Experience programme for the improvement of women's skills in rural, mountainous or insular areas (NAP of 2000); • Promotion of part-time work and other forms of atypical employment (2639/1998) (2000) • New Jobs programme: subsidies for full-employment four-year programmes, part-time four-year programmes and limited contracts of 9 months duration. The programme provided for gender mainstreaming through the provision of special incentives for women (2000, 2001, and 2002). • Pilot project for the social integration of Muslim women in Metaxourgeio – Athens (2000); • Exemption from social security contributions for full time-employees receiving the minimum wage (2837/2000) (2001) • Training of job counsellors of the Employment Promotion Centres (KPAs²³) to assist unemployed women (2001) • Introduction of individualised counselling for women in the regional action plans in the context of KPA (2002) • Education and training programmes for women in new technologies, e-commerce, management, etc. financed by the social partners (2001) • Programme to combat exclusion from the labour market of single-parent families (2001) • A quota of 60% for women in training programmes and in subsidised employment (2002) • Vocational programmes focusing on the promotion of equal opportunities for access to the labour market and improving women's access to the labour market (O.P. Education and Initial Vocational Training') (2002) • In the Community Initiative Equal the training contributes through integrated interventions to combat discrimination and gender inequality in the field of employment

²³ The NAP 2004 created by the new government of New Democracy in an effort to assess the policies of the past it reports that until then, 71 KPAs had been developed employing 471 labour advisers who provide the unemployed with a personalized approach. The authors of the NAP qualify this by adding that is done 'to a limited scale until today'. Specifically, according to the data provided by the Employment Observatory Research-Informatics (PAEP) on 31/8/2004, 17% of the registered unemployed had benefited from personalized services, while the corresponding percentage for women amounts to 20%. Nevertheless, progress is considerable as women, the young, handicapped persons and other sensitive groups are better supported either by special measures or by selective treatment resulting from general measures. Thus the 2004 NAP stresses the re-determination of the role of the KPA's and outlines an extensive relevant reform to be implemented (more details will be provided in a different chapter regarding the institutional changes that the EES induced).

- New job programmes for women, intended to provide work experience and promote the employment of unemployed women aged 18-65. It provides 5,000 jobs and lasts for 21 months (2003).
- Programmes to provide vocational experience (Stage) in IT and Communications skills for unemployed graduates, with a special stage for facilitating entry of women into the ICT labour market (Part of the O.P. 'Information society') (2003).
- Actions to promote tele-working, with priority given to business plans which will help an increase in employment in regions experiencing difficulty of access to productive centres, and to vulnerable population groups and women (Part of the O.P. 'Information society') (2003).
- The development of a network of community services acting as a stimulus to the creation of new jobs and as a precondition allowing women to seek employment (2003).
- Employers' contributions for hiring unemployed women with at least two children are subsidized for one year (2003).
- This measure is strengthened and upgraded in NAP 2004 as it is included in the Law 3227/04 "Measures for the remedy of unemployment and other provisions" (2004)
- Employers' contributions on behalf of replacements for women on maternity leave are also subsidized (2003).
- OAED implements a 'New Jobs Programme' for 5,000 women aged 18-65 (18 months) (2003)
- Policy measure on the promotion of part-time employment in the public sector to fill vacancies in new kinds of social services developed by the public sector: not only are 'mothers of minor children' are considered to be one of the target groups of this initiative but also the 60% quota for women applies in the case of other target groups comprising unemployed individuals (2004).
- The provision of accompanying support actions to 9,000 unemployed women and their promotion in employment policy actions, with co-financing from various Operational Programmes (the project will also continue during 2004-2005)
- Further increase of subsidies to the amount of the employer's contribution for businesses employing unemployed mothers (2004)
- Distance learning education programmes with a particular focus on 'working students or women obliged to stay at home' (2005)
- New law on working time which enhances temporal flexibility for the employer by encouraging flexible weekly working time, working time over a four month period and permits annual working time whereas combining flexible working-time arrangements with overtime hours is also permitted (2005).
- New law on part-time work in the public sector which has been specifically aimed at women. Albeit part-time work contributes to raising employment rates this particular law is quite problematic since all jobs offered are offered are fixed-term and do not provide either employment security or a stepping stone to longer-hour jobs neglecting thus one of the most beneficial aspects of part-time employment (2005).
- Special programmes for unemployed women, whose participation is encouraged by the provision of special incentives (2005, 2006).
- Signature of a Protocol of Cooperation between the GSGE and the SEV, GSEVEE, ESEE, EBEA, in relation to promoting equal opportunities for women and men in enterprises. The Protocol is in force for an indefinite period of time and it is subjected to evaluation after the first two years of its implementation. The protocol states that the parties should jointly undertake a political commitment to carry out a

range of coordinated actions for the purpose of monitoring, raising awareness of and ultimately addressing the incidence of unequal treatment of men and women in access to employment, certain occupations, vocational training, career advancement, pay levels, and with regard to terms and conditions of employment in general (Karakioulafis 2007). In particular, the employer side will take initiatives to sensitise their members in gender equality issues; promote women's entrepreneurship and lifelong learning; use an existing Fund (L.A.E.K.) to finance the replacements during maternity leave and other reconciliation measures in SMEs, and consider promoting new forms of work organisation assisting reconciliation of work and family life. The General Secretariat for Equality will fund research and studies, grant financial and non-financial incentives and award annual prizes to firms promoting gender equality at the workplace (Rubery et al. 2006) (2006)

- Signature of a Memorandum of Cooperation between the General Secretariat for Gender Equality and the Hellenic Network for Corporate Social Responsibility, aiming at further promoting equal opportunities between women and men in enterprises (2006)
- A new institutional framework for the promotion of Women's employability, aiming at the reconciliation of work and family life, based on the application of individualized approach. This new institutional framework will be put into force after the 30th of April 2007 (2006)
- New Program «Positive Actions in favour of women in Small-medium and Large Enterprises» implemented by the General Secretariat for Gender Equality in the framework of the O.P. "Employment and Vocational Training". Approximately 1,300 women have benefited in 2006 and in the first semester of 2007. For the second round of this project 143 Plans, with a budget of €14.2 million, have been approved and the beneficiaries will be in total 19,800 women (2006, 2007)
- In all New Self-Employed Programmes, women who have children under 6 years old, or who take care of relatives with disabilities, are given the option of using their own residence as the headquarters of their enterprise. As a result, a total number of 40,500 women benefited from the employment and self employment programmes during the period 1.1.2006 – 30.4.2007.
- Special integrated intervention, combining counselling on how to enter into the labour market by either acquiring work experience, subsidization of an employment position, or setting up an independent business activity (beneficiaries: 3,880 women) (2007)
- New Programme "Improvement of the conditions for the inclusion of women from disadvantaged groups into the labour market" (2007)

New Measures (18) Promoting Female Entrepreneurship (Mainstreaming)

- Higher Amount of grants to unemployed women for business start-ups in areas of high unemployment (1998)
- Creation of structures for Female Entrepreneurship (through NOW initiative) (1999)
- Special programme for women entrepreneurs in manufacturing (1999 and 2000)
- Support and networking of women's cooperatives and businesses in rural areas (2000)
- Measures providing financial and technical support to unemployed women willing to start a small business (2001)
- Special incentives (mainly subsidies) and training to women entrepreneurs (2001, 2002)

- Subsidies to Young Entrepreneurs to create new businesses. The programme incorporated the equal opportunities dimension through the provision of special incentives for women (2001, 2002)
- Support of female entrepreneurship in rural areas and in rural tourism, handcraft and cottage industries (2001)
- Removal of administrative barriers to business start-ups for women (2001)
- Development of local networks, on the initiative of the Confederation of Industry, to provide counselling with the aim of promoting female entrepreneurship (2001).
- A series of Female entrepreneurship programmes starting from January 2003 (2003)
- The General Secretariat for Equality, in collaboration with the OAED, implements numerous projects for the reinforcement of women's entrepreneurship during 2004-2006. Two innovations are introduced:
 - Young women/entrepreneurs can (this is financed by the OAED) to establish their own small business, to use their home as their place of business, in case they have pre-school children or care for relatives with a disability, and
 - The fees paid to the day care centre for children will be considered in the documents required (for approval of the proposal) (2004 - 2007).
- Implementation of action plans for equality in businesses, aiming at promoting equal opportunities and the hierarchical advancement of working women within businesses. It is estimated that 7,000 working women will benefit (the project continues also during 2004-2005)
- Special programmes for unemployed women, whose participation is encouraged by the provision of special incentives (2006)
- Special integrated intervention, combining counselling on how to enter into the labour market by either acquiring work experience, subsidization of an employment position, or setting up an independent business activity (beneficiaries: 3,880 women) (2007)
- New Programme "Improvement of the conditions for the inclusion of women from disadvantaged groups into the labour market" (2007)

Promoting Gender Equality Policies in Employment Policy (fourth Pillar)

1. Institutions and Measures (beyond the other pillars) to improve Gender Mainstreaming (7)
 - 13 Regional Centres for Equality (1998)
 - Regional Equality Committees (2000)
 - New Branches of KETHI (1999-2002, 2007)
 - Inter-Ministerial Committee for Gender Mainstreaming
 - Regional 'Information and Counselling Units' for women
 - Regional 'Social Integration Units' for special groups of women
 - The Equality Implementation Guide (2003)
2. Tackling Gender Gaps (23)
 - Information and Entrepreneurship Centres for Women – Now Initiative (1998)
 - Creation of Regional 'Information and Counselling Units' by KETHI for women

(1999-2002, 2007)

- Review of curricula and textbooks in primary and secondary education to remove gender stereotypes (1999, 2001)
- Training and activation of trade unionists on gender equality issues (1999, 2000)
- Awareness of teachers on equality issues – Pilot programme (1999)
- 30% quota for the representation of women civil servants on promotion panels (2000)
- Research projects on pay differentials by gender and career advancement of women (1999, 2000, 2002)
- Development partnerships to promote measures for equality at the workplace and employment of women in new economic sectors (2001)
- Completion of 13 studies directly related to the guidelines in Pillar 4, as part of the programme «Development of KETHI structures – O.P. Combating Exclusion from the Labour market» (2001)
- Extension of provisions to protect pregnant and breast-feeding women in all workplaces (2001)
- Indicators-based monitoring and evaluation of the progress made on equality issues (2002)
- Creation of an Observatory for Equality Issues (in the framework of the EPEAEK) (2002)
- Reform of undergraduate curricula and creation of inter-departmental programmes, seminars or lessons on issues of gender equality (EPEAEK) (2002)
- Incorporation of gender perspective into production of new teaching material for primary, secondary, general and technical education, on the basis of the specifications of the Pedagogical Institute and the Interdisciplinary Framework for Curriculum (2002)
- Changes in the Careers Guidance lesson at school in order to reconstruct stereotyped attitudes to men's and women's professions (2002)
- Positive actions for equal opportunities between men and women in small and medium-sized enterprises and large businesses (2004)
- Provision of supportive services to women belonging to vulnerable groups by specialised structures of the Research Centre for Gender Equality (2006).
- To promote equality between women and men in the educational procedure – combating stereotypes
 - Implementation of education programmes for teachers promoting gender equality (2006)
 - Establishment of an Observatory for Gender Equality in Education in Greece to promote gender studies and gender equality in higher education which is going to operate as a Documentation Centre for the effective and scientific collection, record, and processing of data concerning this field. The Programme is a product of cooperation between the General Secretariat for Gender Equality, which is responsible to plan the gender equality policy in all fields, and the K.E.TH.I., and has a total budget of € 951,000 (2006)
 - Integrated intervention schemes for unemployed women only (2006)
 - 12 projects (in eight Universities and four Technological Education Institutions) in order to reform the undergraduate curricula, by including therein courses on equality (2006) funded by the O. P. "Education and Initial Vocational Training".
 - Three major Research Programmes (Pythagoras, Heracleitos, Archimedes)

- within which several research projects on equality issues have been developed (2006)
- Educational visits/ informational lectures to teachers and pupils of the three last classes of elementary schools/secondary schools/Technical Educational Schools all over Greece (2007)
3. Reconciliation of work and family life measures (29, excluding continuation of measures).
- Extension of opening hours of public kindergartens – pilot programme (1998)
 - Daylong Kindergarten (1999 - 2006)
 - Daylong primary school (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006)
 - Increase of the financial support available for existing after-school Centres of Creative Activities for Children (1998)
 - New after-school Centres of Creative Activities for Children (1999 - 2006)
 - Extension of opening hours of public nurseries – pilot programme (1998)
 - Child-care and nursery centres to be open in the late afternoon (1999-2006)
 - New public crèches and nurseries (1999 - 2006)
 - Home help programme for the elderly – pilot programme (1998)
 - Creation of Social Welfare Units for Care of the Elderly (1999 - 2006)
 - Institutions for Social Support and Reintegration of Disabled Individuals, under the Operational Programme ‘Health-Welfare’ 2000-2006 (2001)
 - Pilot implementation of afternoon hours in ten public services (2001)
 - Development partnerships to promote new patterns of work organisation, facilitating reconciliation of work and family life (2001)
 - Programme of cash maternity allowances to working women who cannot claim these benefits from any insurance fund or are uninsured, and also do not have a satisfactory standard of living (2003)
 - Programme of subsidies for single-parent families, prepared by the Child Welfare Department of the EOKF (National Organization for Community Care) (2003)
 - Children’s Country Camps (EOKF and Social Welfare Department of the local prefecture (2003)
 - Proposal to provide incentives for large corporations to run day-care centres (2005)
 - New Code of Civil Servants (Law 3528/2007) (2006):
 - Granting parental leave to fathers as long the mother employee does not make use of it; this right is also recognised to the single parent of single-parent families;
 - In case of birth of a third child or more, it is provided that the employees are granted upbringing leave of three months with full wages;
 - The first three months of the parental leave are paid to parents of many children (after the third child). For every child beyond the third one, the leave after childbirth increases per two more months;
 - The further prolongation of the facilitation of reduced working hours for two more years is provided in case of a fourth child.
 - Facilitations are provided for the mother who adopts a child, in order to make the transition to her new family life easy.
 - Positive programme of policy action in a new law on Equal Treatment in employment relations focusing on the private sector. This programme obliges employers to promote equality at the workplace and to provide information to

workers and their representatives about a) the gender composition of employment at different organisational levels and b) the measures they intend to implement in order to improve imbalances.

- The K.E.T.H.I, as a coordinating agency, implements a programme entitled: «Equal Partners: Reconsidering Men's Role at Work and Private Life», which is co-financed by the European Committee (80%) and the General Secretariat for Gender Equality (20%). The project aims at informing and raising public awareness, mainly of men and fathers, in the need of reconciling and harmonizing their work obligations and family life, through redefining stereotypes concerning the role of father (2007)
- The O.P. «Administrative Reform 2007-2013» includes a special priority axis entitled «Reinforcing gender equality policy» (2007). This target refers to:
 - 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, through the alliances with the private sector as well as through activating civil society and N.G.O.s;
 - The reinforcement of the position and participation of women in the public and social sector, and, especially, in decision-making centres.

4. Facilitating return to paid work (4)

- Discounts in employer social security contributions for low-paid workers and the newly hired (Law 2753/1999) (2001)
- Reduction in the Employers' social security cost for underpaid employees (2874/2000) (2000)
- 7.5% premium on hourly wages of employees working 1-3 hours daily (2874/2000) (2000)
- Monthly allowance to long-term unemployed over 35 years who take up part-time jobs of at least 4 hours daily (2874/2000) (2001)

Adaptability

- Law 3250/2004 "Part-time Employment in the Public sector, Local Administration Organizations and Institutions of Public Law": introduction of quotas for women unemployed regarding the background of the personnel to be selected for part-time posts in the public sector: Mothers of minors are engaged by a quota of 20%, while for the first three out of five categories of social groups (mainly long term unemployed above 30) that have preferential treatment of 30%, 20% and 20% respectively, a quota of 60% is filled by women. (2004)

All New Institutions to promote Gender Equality in Employment Policy

Research Centre for Gender Equality (KETHI)

Expansion of the KETHI Information and Counselling for Women Units in the regions.

Staffing the 5 branches of KETHI with trained personnel (60 persons)

Further expansion (5 branches)

Inter-Ministerial Committee for Gender Mainstreaming

Regional Committees for Equality

Regional 'Information and Counselling Units' for women

Regional 'Social Integration Units' for special groups of women

Daylong Kindergarten

Daylong primary School

Creation of Social Welfare Units for Care of the Elderly

Support for existing and creation of new Centres of Creative Activities for Children