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Social Cohesion and Development

Vol 14, No 2 (2019)

https://epublishing.ekt.gr | e-Publisher: EKT | Downloaded at: 06/04/2025 13:23:28

Social Cohesion and Development

Biannual Scientific Review,
Autumn 2019, volume 14, issue 2

Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη

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Φθινόπωρο 2019, τόμος 14ος, τεύχος 2

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SOCIAL COHESION AND DEVELOPMENT

Biannual Scientific Review

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Annual Subscription: 250 €

Published by the Society for Social Cohesion and Development,
Athens 10677, 12 Kleisovis str., Greece, Tel./Fax 003 210 3303060,
E-mail: epeksa@otenet.gr, info@dionicos.gr

ISSN: 1790-9368

Ετήσια συνδρομή: 250 €

Εκδίδεται από την Επιστημονική Εταιρεία για την Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη
Κλεισόβης 12, Αθήνα 10677, Τηλ./Φαξ 210 3303060,
E-mail: epeksa@otenet.gr, info@dionicos.gr

ISSN: 1790-9368

Social Cohesion and Development

Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη

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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΑΚΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ 2019-2020
ΣΕΙΡΑ: ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

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ΣΕΛΙΔΕΣ 480
ΔΙΑΣΤΑΣΗ 14 x 21
ISBN 978-960-6619-91-5
ΚΩΔΙΚΟΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΕΥΔΟΞΟ 86199868

Η εμπορευματοποίηση της κατοικίας συνιστά ένα θεμελιώδες ζήτημα των σύγχρονων κοινωνιών. Ενώ τα στεγαστικά προβλήματα οξύνονται, οι στεγαστικές πολιτικές περικόπτονται εκθέτοντας ολοένα περισσότερες ευάλωτες ομάδες στον κίνδυνο της στεγαστικής επισφάλειας. Αναδυόμενα κινήματα κατοικίας αντιστέκονται στις αρνητικές επιπτώσεις των νεοφιλελεύθερων πολιτικών στη στέγαση και αντιπροτείνουν εναλλακτικά υποδείγματα κοινωνικής διαβίωσης. Ο συλλογικός τόμος, με τις πολυεπίπεδες προσεγγίσεις του ζητήματος της αστεγίας, έρχεται να καλύψει ένα σημαντικό κενό στην σύγχρονη βιβλιογραφία.

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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΑΚΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ 2019-2020
ΣΕΙΡΑ: ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

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Νίκος Ξυπολυτάς

Πρόσφυγες στη Μόρια: Οι συνέπειες μιας αποτρεπτικής μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής

ΣΕΛΙΔΕΣ 136
ΔΙΑΣΤΑΣΗ 14 x 21
ISBN 978-960-6619-87-8
ΚΩΔΙΚΟΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΕΥΔΟΞΟ 86192110

Ένα πολύτιμο και ρηξικέλευθο βιβλίο για την μελέτη και γνώση του προσφυγικού ζητήματος στην Ελλάδα. Ο τόμος παρουσιάζει τα αποτελέσματα μιας επιτόπιας έρευνας που πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Υποδοχής και Ταυτοποίησης της Μόριας στη Λέσβο. Στόχος της είναι η ανάδειξη των αδιεξόδων μιας αποτρεπτικής μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής και η επισήμανση των σοβαρότατων συνεπειών τους στους ίδιους τους πρόσφυγες. Μέσα από το λόγο των εγκλωβισμένων συνανθρώπων μας αναδεικνύονται οι μακρές διαδικασίες περιθωριοποίησης των προσφύγων.

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Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη 2019 14 (2), 79-88

Social development and public debt sustainability

Chara Vavoura, *National and Kapodistrian University of Athens*
Ioannis Vavouras, *Panteion University*

Κοινωνική ανάπτυξη και βιωσιμότητα του δημόσιου χρέους

Χαρά Βαβούρα, *Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών*
Ιωάννης Βαβούρας, *Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο*

ABSTRACT

The issue of public debt sustainability is of exceptional importance in the case of Greece. As a rule, the relevant analysis is limited to the examination of the fiscal policy measures reported to contribute to reducing public debt leaving out the investigation of the factors that caused the country's debt crisis. The objective of the present paper is to explore the determinants of Greece's debt crisis and the strategy required to address it. Our work highlights the issue of social development, which is found to be a necessary condition for ensuring the long run sustainability of the country's public debt.

KEY WORDS: Social Development, Governance, Public Deficit, Public Debt, Political Budget Cycles, Shadow Economy.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το ζήτημα της βιωσιμότητας του δημόσιου χρέους είναι κεντρικής σημασίας στην περίπτωση της Ελλάδας. Κατά κανόνα, η σχετική ανάλυση περιορίζεται στα μέτρα δημοσιονομικής πολιτικής τα οποία εκτιμάται ότι συμβάλλουν στον περιορισμό του δημόσιου χρέους, χωρίς να διερευνώνται οι παράγοντες που προκάλεσαν την κρίση χρέους της χώρας. Σκοπός της παρούσας εργασίας είναι η διερεύνηση των προσδιοριστικών παραγόντων της κρίσης χρέους της Ελλάδας και της αναγκαίας στρατηγικής για την αντιμετώπισή της. Στο πλαίσιο αυτής της ανάλυσης αναδεικνύεται ως κεντρικής σημασίας το θέμα της κοινωνικής ανάπτυξης, η οποία βρίσκουμε ότι αποτελεί αναγκαία συνθήκη για τη διασφάλιση της μακροχρόνιας βιωσιμότητας του δημόσιου χρέους της χώρας.

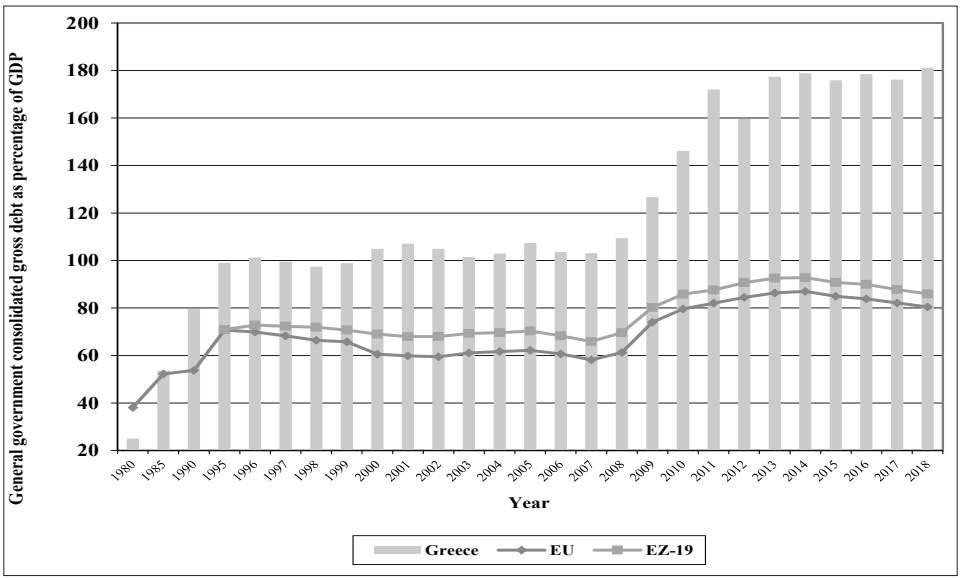
ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Κοινωνική Ανάπτυξη, Διακυβέρνηση, Δημοσιονομικό Έλλειμμα, Δημόσιο Χρέος, Πολιτικοί-Δημοσιονομικοί Κύκλοι, Παραοικονομία.

1. Introduction

In the year 1980, the general government consolidated gross debt as percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in Greece amounted to just 25%, which was well below the European Union (EU) average of 38.1%.[1] Since then, the country's public debt has been steadily increasing. In 1985, it reached the average EU levels and, by 1990, it far exceeded the EU average. As a result,

the issue of public debt sustainability makes its first appearance in Greece in the late 1980s. In 2000, the Greek public debt that amounted to 104.9% of GDP exceeded the EU average of 60.6% of GDP by 44.3 percentage points. The deviation of less than 50 percentage points lasted until 2008. In 2009, the gap mounts to 52.7 percentage points (126.7% compared to 74%). In 2010 the divergence reached the 66.6 percentage points (146.2% compared to 79.6%), while in 2011 it reached the 90.1 percentage points (172.1% compared to 82%). In 2012 the difference between the Greek and average EU public debt shrank to 75.2 percentage points (159.6% compared to 84.4%), but the decrease was mainly due to the "haircut" of private sector bonds, known as "Private Sector Involvement – PSI".[2] In 2013 the divergence bounced back to 91.1 percentage points. That relative size was maintained until 2015 but, in 2016, it increased further and, by 2018, it had exceeded the 100 percentage points (100.8). That year the Greek public debt reached the level of 181.2% of GDP, and amounted to 334.721 million euro. In 2018, the Greek public debt, as a percentage of GDP, was by far the highest of all EU member states, followed by those of Italy (134.8%) and Portugal (122.2%). The spectacular increase in Greece's public debt during the period 2009-2013, both in absolute (millions of euro) and in relative terms (as percentage of GDP), is attributed to large public deficits associated with negative real GDP growth rates. In Figure 1 we depict the evolution of the general government consolidated gross debt as percentage of GDP in Greece, the EU and the Eurozone in the years 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995-2018.

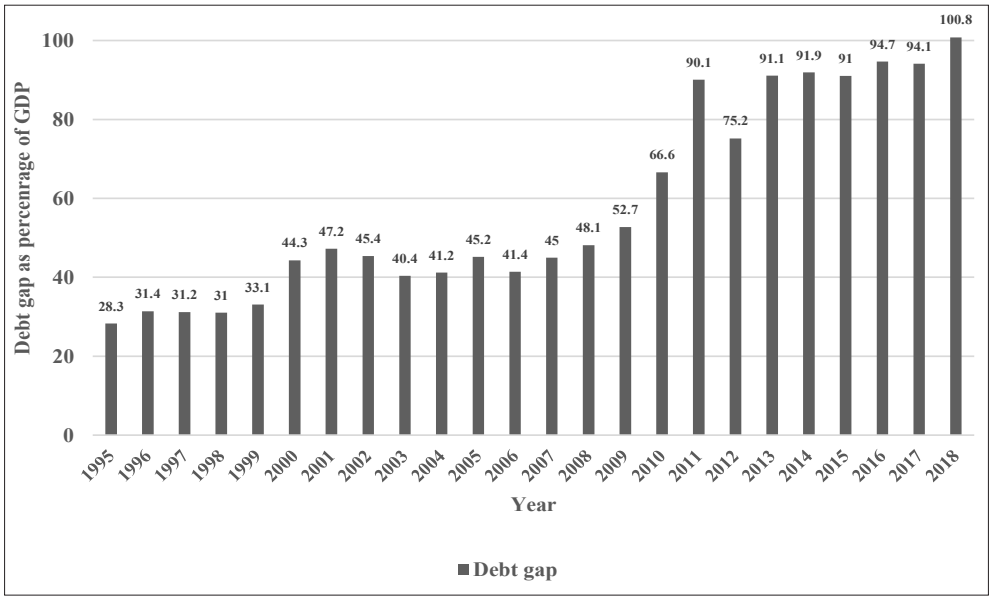
Figure 1: The evolution of the general government consolidated gross debt as percentage of GDP in Greece, the European Union and the Eurozone in the years 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995-2018



Source: Eurostat, Government deficit/surplus, debt and associated data (update: 22.10.2019). Note: EU = European Union of 28 for the period 1996-2018 and European Union of 15 for the period before 1996, EZ-19 = Eurozone of 19.

The evolution of the general government consolidated gross debt gap as percentage of GDP between Greece and the EU over the period 1995-2018 is more clearly depicted in Chart 2.

Chart 2: The evolution of the general government consolidated gross debt gap as percentage of GDP between Greece and the European Union over the period 1995-2018



Source: Chart 1.

The large increase of Greek public debt in absolute and relative terms poses serious issues of public debt sustainability although we must note that there does not exist a generally accepted definition as to when a public debt becomes unsustainable. According to the European Commission (EC), the public debt is sustainable when the government of the country referred to can continue to service it without requiring unrealistically, from the social and political points of view, large corrections to its future revenues or primary expenditure path. In practice, debt sustainability is assessed by asking the question whether the current course of fiscal policy can be sustained without facing an exploding debt path.[3] Moreover, the EC has developed a debt sustainability analysis (DSA) framework to identify "vulnerable" countries from the point of view of public debt sustainability (EC, 2014). This framework is in line with the relevant framework developed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for market-access countries (IMF, 2013). It is beyond the scope of the present paper to identify and analyze the details of DSA in market-access countries. It suffices to note however that, assessing debt sustainability for market-access countries involves probabilistic judgments about the trajectory of debt and the availability of financing it on favorable terms (IMF, 2013). In market-access economies like Greece the conditions of markets to finance a country do not only depend on the economic and political performance of the borrower, but also on the international willingness to finance and the availability of funds as well (Karavitis, 2018).

2. The main determinants of public sector deficits

The most important factors that affect the size of public sector deficits in the Greek economy are the following (Vavouras, 2019). Firstly, the bureaucratic mode of production in the public sector, the main characteristics of which are the "allocative inefficiency" (the level of public sector output is not the socially desirable) and the "ineffective cost management" (the cost of production is higher than that the effective use of resources requires). The bureaucratic mode of public sector production results in higher budgets than those that could be technically possible and leads to low rates of productivity growth in this sector, that are accompanied by increases in public expenditures. The increases occur because, in order for the public sector to maintain a steady relative share of the total product produced, it must continuously increase the relative quantities of the capital and labor that it uses as inputs.

Secondly, the strengthening of the distributive role of the state. From the year 1974, when the expansion of public deficits started, the redistributive role of the state began to increase a phenomenon which intensified in the 1980s, 1990s, and especially in the 2000s. Transfers, which in 1973 constituted only 8.3% of GDP, had increased to 11% in 1980, and, in 2000, transfers and, in particular, under the ESA 2010,[4] social benefits other than social transfers in kind (including social security cash benefits, privately funded social benefits, non-funded employee benefits, and social welfare benefits) were estimated at 12.3%, while by 2010 they had increased to 17.7% of GDP. That is, they had more than doubled as a percentage of GDP compared to 1973. In 2012, they are estimated to have grown further to 20.3% of GDP. Subsequently, during the period 2013-2017 they stabilized between 19 and 20% of GDP. In 2018, it is estimated that they amounted to 18.6%. It is worth mentioning that, in this category of public expenditure expressed as a percentage of GDP, Greece presents one of the highest figures in the EU. Indeed, in the years 2011, 2012 and 2016 Greece, although in a period of economic recession and debt crisis, showed the largest size as a percentage of GDP relative to all other EU countries. In 2012, for example, the countries closest to Greece were France (19.5%) and Italy (19.3%), while the average in the euro area countries was 17.1% of GDP and the EU total 16.4% of GDP.[5] The strengthening of the redistributive role of the state has therefore been an important factor in expanding public spending and thereby exacerbating public deficits.

A third factor, which has contributed in recent decades and continues to contribute to the widening of public deficits in the case of Greece, is the widespread underground or shadow or hidden economy. The shadow economy, which has been a structural phenomenon in Greece for decades, has a continuing major impact on the country's fiscal policy, and this is evident given that one of the most important reasons, perhaps even the most important, of the existence and growth of the shadow economy is tax evasion, including evasion of social security contributions. Notice that the widening of tax evasion leads to an increase in the tax burden on the official economy, a fact that constitutes an incentive to increase the propensity of tax evasion, as the latter is determined by, among other factors, the existing level of tax burden. Thus, economic policymakers, and in particular state governments, are involved in a "vicious circle", since the lower the tax base due to the shadow economy, the greater the tax burden on the official economy in order to collect a given amount of taxes.

The impact of the shadow economy is not only limited to the public revenue side, but also extends to the public expenditure side, mainly as a result of the pressure it exerts on increasing transfer payments. If then public deficit is expressed as a percentage of GDP, that is (G – R)/Y,

where G is public spending on consumption, investment and transfers, R is public revenue and Y is GDP, the shadow economy is associated with the following effects on the relative size of public deficit: First, it has a positive effect on the fraction numerator (G – R), since it increases G and reduces R ("numerator effect") and secondly, it affects negatively the fraction denominator (Y), since Y appears significantly lower than it actually is ("denominator effect"). If the shadow economy covers a large portion of the total economy (official economy and shadow economy), as it is the case of the Greek economy, both of these effects have a significant impact on the absolute and relative size of public deficit and therefore on public debt.

For example, in the case of Greece, we can refer to the following specific years. In 1990, the "official" general government deficit and debt, that is the general government deficit and debt as they were estimated and recorded by the relevant state authorities (Ministry of Finance) accounted for 15.9% and 79.6% of GDP respectively. We have estimated that the "real" general government deficit and the "real" general government debt, that is the government deficit and debt after the integration of the shadow economy, amounted to 0% and 47.9% of "real" GDP respectively. Moreover, in 1999, when the "official" general government deficit and debt were estimated at 1.9% and 105.8% of GDP respectively, we have estimated that the "real" general government deficit and the "real" general government debt amounted to -4.1% and 76.6% of GDP respectively. That is, in 1999, without the shadow economy we would have a significant budget surplus of 4.1% of GDP.[6] We have also estimated that if the control of the shadow economy had only begun in 2006 and the shadow economy in Greece had been reduced to the OECD member-country average and had been incorporated to the recorded GDP, only during the period 2006-2010, the general government debt which was estimated to have grown from 107.7% of GDP to 144.9% during that period, would have increased from 92.9% to 112.2% of GDP, that is it would have been reduced by 32.7 percentage units.[7]

The above three factors have undoubtedly exercised significant effects on the size of public deficit in Greece and thus have contributed to the increase of its public debt. However, the most significant effect on the widening of public deficits and the increase in public debt in Greece has been the pursued political behavior. Looking at the evolution of the general government deficit as a percentage of GDP over the period 1980-2018, we observe the following: the years of general elections 1981, 1985, 1989, 1990, 1993, 2004, 2009 and 2015 coincide with spikes in the levels of public deficit as percent of GDP. It is obvious that, at least during the 1980s and up until the mid-1990s, intense electoral-fiscal cycles or political budget cycles (PBCs) appeared in Greece. From the mid-1990s on, there are four election years (1996, 2000, 2007 and 2012) on which there is no jump of public deficits. These election years happen during periods when the country was following fiscal policy rules either to comply with the fiscal criteria for joining the Economic and Monetary Union or the fiscal rules imposed by the European institutions when Greece was subjected to the Excessive Deficit Procedure under the corrective arm of the Stability and Growth Pact.

Considering these cycles, we conclude that public deficits as percentages of GDP increase before parliamentary elections and then, during the election cycle or election period, efforts are made to reduce them. Thus it can be argued that public deficits in Greece are not so much the result of accidental disruptions, structural instability or government failures in pursuing economic policy, but rather the result of governmental efforts of maximizing the number of votes cast in the forthcoming elections with the implementation of their ideological or party programs (MacRae, 1977). The acceptance of the existence of political-fiscal cycles or PBCs implies the acceptance of the hypothesis that governments themselves, facing a "myopic" electorate, and applying clien-

telistic practices, are not only unwilling to limit the relative size of public deficits, but rather have incentives to create PBCs. That is, it is accepted that governments hope that voters in the ballot box will mainly remember the recent period of benefits and not the austerity periods. In other words, they have a short memory or a "myopic perspective".[8]

Perhaps, the most important negative consequence of the PBCs is that, after some repetitions, the latter are integrated into the system of society's expectations, with the result that even very stringent stabilization programs become ineffective, since voters have been convinced that any stabilization policy will not continue for the entire phase of the election cycle, but will be abandoned before the elections, so that the ruling party (or parties) can maximize its (or their) chances of staying in power.

3. The strategy to tackle the country's fiscal problem

The analysis of the determinants of large public deficits and consequently the drivers of the enlargement of the Greek public debt indicates the general directions of what should have been the long-term policy response. Appropriate policies were repeatedly announced but were never effectively implemented. Public declarations often abstained from the objectives actually pursued by economic policy-makers yielding the inevitable result of the debt crisis, prompted by the global recession of 2007-2009.

According to the analysis outlined above, the effective control of the country's fiscal problem in the long run presupposes the following. Firstly, improving the public sector's productive process, notably by reducing the negative effects of its bureaucratic mode of production (budget control and public spending), which can be achieved by introducing a system of incentives and disincentives for the public sector management. Increasing public sector productivity and in particular increasing the productivity of the public sector employees can be achieved by improving its organization and administration methods, via the use of new technology, and by improving the quality and the use rates of the factors of production used and in particular of labor (education, retraining and specialization of public employees).

A second direction of the policy required is to limit the shadow economy. As it has already been noted, one of its major causes is tax evasion and evasion of social security contributions. There is a rich literature regarding the proposals on controlling the shadow economy. Crucially, we should point out that the control of shadow economy cannot be based on short-term recovery measures. It is only made possible through the formulation and implementation of a long-term policy aimed at limiting the conditions for its existence and growth. This policy should aim at improving the effectiveness of the tax system (improving its structure, improving its transparency, improving the organization of tax authorities, improving the system of tax confirmation and collection and improving the level of business accounting), improving the financial system, reducing distortive state interventions in production and consumption processes, and finally improving the level of tax ethics or tax morality. Finally, the reduction of the shadow economy could also be achieved through the improvement of the national accounts techniques in order to facilitate the recording of economic activity.[9]

A third key direction in tackling public deficits and public debt seems to be the change of the political behavior of both politicians and the electorate. From the above analysis it appears

that, as long as the existing voter-politician relationship is maintained, it is extremely difficult to eliminate PBCs. Change of political behavior implies changing the behavior of both parties. Politicians should not passively react to their constituents' preferences, perceptions and priorities, especially when they are incompatible with the more general social goals. This presupposes that governments should place greater emphasis on the implementation of their programs than on their political benefits, at least as they realize them in the short run. In addition, by improving their socio-political awareness, voters would become more capable to find out and "punish" governments that have created PBCs in order to increase their re-election chances. This would eliminate the phenomenon of PBCs.

4. Social development as a necessary condition of public debt sustainability

The causes of the Greek fiscal problem outlined above, that is the low public sector productivity, the expansion of the shadow economy and the pursued political behavior through the creation of politico-economic cycles or PBCs, are mainly the outcome of a low quality of governance which is characteristic of the upper-level political staff as well as the lower-level state bureaucrats. The behavior of these governance agents is largely determined by the level of political and social development prevailing in a given economy but also by their personal morals and principles. Sociopolitical development therefore becomes a central issue.

Social development is concerned with the processes of change that lead to improvements in human well-being, social relations and social institutions that are equitable, sustainable and compatible with the principles of democratic governance and social justice (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2011). The World Bank states that social development means the transformation of institutions to empower people (World Bank, 2005). These definitions emphasize social relations, institutional arrangements and political processes that are central to efforts for achieving desirable development outcomes. From this perspective, the concept of social development moves beyond a singular or one-dimensional focus on economic growth and material concentration, towards a multi-dimensional approach that integrates social, cultural and political achievements into the fundamental conceptualization, measurement and practice of development. Therefore, social development depends upon social transformation which focuses on qualitative changes in the cohesion and organizational structure of society, that contribute to better information and awareness of its members which help to highlight its collective goals and improve the degree of their collective achievements.

However, social development must be accompanied by political development. Political development refers to the ability of governmental structures and processes to respond to social change (Nye, 1967). Political development is therefore based on social development and implies, like social development, social transformation. Thus, ultimately, social development becomes the fundamental condition for reinforcing the role of the people as the originator of the political system.

The quality of governance is undoubtedly a critical issue for the sustainable tackling of the public debt crisis in Greece. Under this perspective, the strategic goal of tackling the debt crisis as well as the selected means in order to achieve this objective, should be feasible and compatible with the existing restrictions and the structure of the economy as well as the operation of

the economic, social and political system. This constitutes the core matter of the so-called issue "morality of governance". As a main determinant for improving the quality and the incentives of governance, emerges the need for a deep change of the established political culture and social beliefs through a long-run strategy of political and social transformation. Without this transformation, improvements in economic terms are unlikely to be sustainable over the longer-term (Vavouras and Syrmali, 2015).

Within this analytical framework, the goal targeting at the treatment of debt crisis and the means chosen for its achievement, should be attainable and compatible with the constraints, the structure as well as the function of the underlying economic and political framework. Also, the quality of governance proves to be a critical factor for the sustainable management of the debt crisis through the exercise of consistent and efficient and, as a consequence, reliable policy measures. At a more fundamental level, improving governance depends to a great extent on the improvements of the political culture as well as the level of social development. As Yehezkel Dror points out, improving the quality of senior government staff is of the outmost importance in improving governance, since no structure can offset a moderate governance leadership, nor mitigate the damage caused by corruption (Dror, 2001).

Sociopolitical development requires the acceptance on behalf of society of a new system of beliefs about the state and the political system. Moreover, it presupposes a structural change of the established political culture, which can be gained through an appropriate long-run strategy leading to a change in the perception of state power, both on the part of the political system and on the part of citizens. This results in a correction of the distorted perception of both the role and the content of the state and state power in both parties.

However, it should be emphasized that improving governance quality is not mainly the result of some exogenous to the society factors, such as the European institutions, although under certain circumstances they may also contributed. It presupposes the development of the society itself as highlighted above. This change cannot be the result of the influence of some random factors, unpredicted crises or externally imposed policies, but rather the result of adopting an appropriate institutional reforms strategy aimed at raising the awareness of society. This improvement of society awareness will lead to the improvement of the society's organization methods that will make full use of the skills and resources available to achieve its goals. The crisis of public debt in Greece is difficult to deal with in the long run effectively, in so far as the level of social development is limited, allowing members of society to have an individualistic behavior and representatives of the political system a clientelistic one. This is the core issue of public debt sustainability.

Notes

1. The data before 1996 refer to the EU of 15 and for the period 1996-2018 to the EU of 28.
2. The PSI took place following the decisions of the EU Summit of 21 July 2011 and 27-28 October 2011.
3. European Commission, 0. macro_2_lecture_3_debt_sustainability_short.
4. European System of Accounts 2010.
5. Eurostat, Government revenue, expenditure and main aggregates: Social benefits other than social transfers in kind, payable.
6. See Vavouras and Manolas (2004, appendix 4).

7. See Vavouras, Manolas and Sfakianakis (2012).
8. For an analysis of the phenomenon of PBCs in Greece, see mainly Vavouras (1999), Afonso, Zartaloudis and Papadopoulos (2015), Chortareas, Logothetis and Papandreou (2016), and Lockwood, Philippopoulos and Tzavalis (2001).
9. For an analysis of the contribution of the shadow economy control to successfully tackling the country's debt crisis, see Manolas, Sfakianakis and Vavouras (2013).

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ISBN 978-960-6619-83-0
Σελίδες 672
Διασταση 17 x 24

Η σημερινή οικονομική κρίση επαναφέρει επιτακτικά προς συζήτηση τα ζητήματα της κοινωνικής πολιτικής και του κοινωνικού κράτους. Ο παρών τόμος, αν και σχεδιάστηκε πρωτίστως ως διδακτικό εγχειρίδιο, αποτελεί μια κριτική και συνολική εισαγωγή στα θέματα αυτά. Πολυεπίπεδες προσεγγίσεις εξετάζουν τις κύριες έννοιες, το περιεχόμενο και την εξέλιξη του σύγχρονου κοινωνικού κράτους. Παρουσιάζονται οι επιμέρους κοινωνικές και δημόσιες πολιτικές, όπως η απασχόληση και οι εργασιακές σχέσεις, η κοινωνική ασφάλιση, η υγεία, η κοινωνική πρόνοια και ο κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός, οι πολιτικές για τους μετανάστες και τους πρόσφυγες, η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική. Κοινωνικοί κίνδυνοι, κοινωνική προστασία, κοινωνική αλληλεγγύη, κοινωνικά προβλήματα, κοινωνική συνοχή είναι οι άξονες γύρω από τους οποίους δομούνται αυτές οι πολιτικές. Οι οριζόντιου χαρακτήρα κοινωνικές πολιτικές επικεντρώνονται στο φύλο, στην τοπική αυτοδιοίκηση, σε υπερεθνικό και ευρωπαϊκό πεδίο, στην κοινωνική οικονομία και στην επιχειρηματικότητα. Τέλος, αναλύεται ο ρόλος των βασικών πυλώνων και εργαλείων άσκησης και εφαρμογής κοινωνικών πολιτικών, όπως αυτός της κυβέρνησης, των συνδικάτων, της κοινωνίας πολιτών και των επιχειρήσεων. Τα κεφάλαια του τόμου, γραμμένα απλά και κατανοητά από έμπειρους πανεπιστημιακούς και ειδικευμένους στο αντικείμενο ερευνητές, προσφέρουν μια συνολική και περιεκτική εικόνα των αντίστοιχων πολιτικών, της εξέλιξης και της εφαρμογής τους.

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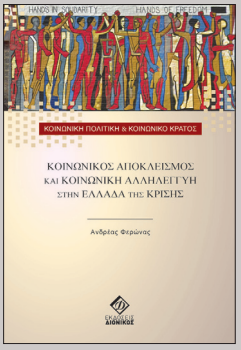
ΣΕΙΡΑ: ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ



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ΔΙΑΣΤΑΣΗ 14 x 21
ISBN 978-960-6619-86-1
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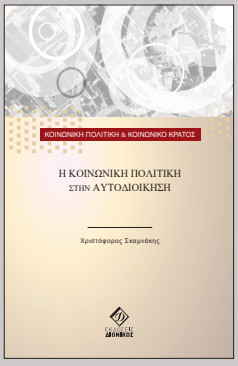

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Social Cohesion and Development 2019 14 (2), 91-104
Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη 2019 14 (2), 91-104

The use of internet and domestic violence offenders behaviours in Greece

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Χρήση του διαδικτύου και συμπεριφορές δραστών ενδοοικογενειακής βίας στην Ελλάδα

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to investigate the correlations between the use of communication technology and intimate partner violence, in terms of manifestations of aggressive behaviours, changes in modus operandi, stalking behaviours and the use of coercive control through communication technology. The subjects of the study are courtmandated offenders (n=21) who are enrolled in a therapeutic program specifically designed for domestic violence offenders. Finally, recommendations for future research and policy and practice are offered.

KEY WORDS: Domestic violence, offenders, new technologies, Internet, electronic violence.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το άρθρο αυτό προσπαθεί να αναζητήσει τις πιθανές συνδέσεις μεταξύ της χρήσης των νέων τεχνολογιών και της συντροφικής βίας, μέσα στο πλαίσιο καταγραφής των εκδηλώσεων των βίαιων συμπεριφορών, των αλλαγών στα συνηθισμένα μοτίβα των συμπεριφορών αυτών από την πλευρά των δραστών, στις συμπεριφορές καταδίωξης των θυμάτων, καθώς και στην άσκηση καταπιεστικού ελέγχου της ζωής των θυμάτων μέσω της χρήσης της τεχνολογίας. Το δείγμα της έρευνας αποτέλεσαν 21 δράστες οι οποίοι κατόπιν εισαγγελικής εντολής παρακολούθησαν θεραπευτικό πρόγραμμα ειδικά σχεδιασμένο για θύτες ενδοοικογενειακής βίας. Από τη μελέτη προέκυψαν ενδιαφέροντα αποτελέσματα και προτάσεις για μελλοντικές έρευνες και πρακτικές, όπως αναλύονται στο κείμενο παρακάτω.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Ενδοοικογενειακή Βία, δράστες, νέες τεχνολογίες, Διαδίκτυο, ηλεκτρονική βία.

1. Introduction

This study addresses the phenomenon of domestic violence and how it is being compounded by the widespread use of new technologies and the Internet. The purpose of the study is to show how perpetrators of domestic violence use modern electronic means to use violence and threats to their victims. This is a new form of electronic violence, which is being added to the forms we know so far, and in a particularly traumatic way for victims of domestic violence. The investigation conducted via in-depth interviews with 21 domestic violence perpetrators attending the Criminal Intervention Program at the Institute for the Prevention, Treatment of Violence and Gender Equality "BIA STOP", which is a non-profit and accepts victims and perpetrators of domestic violence from various parts of Northern Greece.

In the past two decades there have been numerous policies and legislations in Greece, attempting to address intimate partner and domestic violence. The first formal and comprehensive strategy to combat Domestic Violence in Greece was developed in 2006 (Law 3500/2006), with a series of legislative and policy reforms, as well as the establishment of a network of shelters and women's aid centers (Georgiakaki, 2007). The latest data points that 19% of women have experienced physical or sexual intimate partner violence in Greece since the age of 15 (EIGE, 2012), with only a small number reaching out to the police (14%). However, for those women who do seek help, there is an organised network of shelters and women aid counselling centers, supported by local, national and international NGOs and public agencies (Safety Net, 2004). Although the legislation has considerations for offender accountability and treatment programs, the lack of formal governmental guidelines has resulted in the ineffective and fragmented application of this component of the law.

The Domestic Violence Amendment of Law N. 3500/06 came about in April 2018, with law N.4531/18. The following key amendments were included:

- The Accused will be prohibited from issuing a firearms permit (this includes hunting rifles and sporting guns)
- Domestic violence is broadened to include same-sex couples (actually the definition of gender is expunged completely, rather the law talks about partners) and former partners
- Marriage below the age of 18 is prohibited
- Customs and religious practices are not above the law, and cannot be used as an excuse to commit a crime
- Stalking is outlawed
- The Istanbul Convention is accepted and inducted in its entirety as part of the Greek Law.
- Protective measures in the form of Orders of Protection for the victims are more actively enforced.

Additionally to the above, the introduction of the Penal Mediation programme for the offenders was added into the Law. This clause in the Domestic Violence Law was innovative for the Greek legislative system. This specific clause offers mandatory specialized counselling for offenders in exchange for more severe measures for their offense, such as imprisonment.

There are three conditions that have to be agreed upon by both the victim and the offender: (i) the offender must move away from the family house for 'a reasonable time period'; (ii) he/she has to offer monetary and other restitution for the harm he/she has caused; and (iii) he/she has to follow a mandatory specialized counselling programme for a minimum of 3 years. In addition,

the offender must apologize for his/her behaviour to the victim and give an 'oath of honour' in front of a district attorney or judge that he/she will not repeat such actions in the future (Murrell, Christoff, Henning, 2007). The psychosocial implications of the law imply the attribution of blame from the offender, the risk minimization to the victim and the normalization of conflict resolution.

2. Literature Review

The violence that arises in the relationship of a couple, and it is primarily against the couple of women is a major social problem that is being explored globally, with a large number of surveys in recent years focusing in recognizing the root causes of domestic violence. On the other hand, the Internet intrusion into modern life has brought rapid changes in the way of communication. In the modern digital age, more and more citizens, irrespective of the educational, social, economic and age, they choose to use the Internet to meet their different needs, but many times also to develop divergent behaviors through it (Spitzberg & Hoobler 2002). Additionally, the large spread of the Internet over the last decade has led many users in pathological internet use. Often Internet users who spend many hours in front of the screen develop violent behaviors as well Internet is an inexhaustible source of intense experiences, many of which lead to adopt negative behaviors and standards (Weinstein and Lejoyeux, 2010). The study aims to investigate the violent behaviors manifested by Internet users to their partners as a result of long-term use of the Internet, or the behaviors adopted through it, but also of it nervousness that leads to the Internet's offenders through its long-term use or in from the involvement of users in fields of electronic crime (electronic gambling, cyberbullying, sending and receiving illegal online material, Sexting, etc.) (Fengqiang, Jie Yueqiang, Lei, 2016). It also examines whether the Internet with its negative influence contributes to the practice of any form of violence against victims of domestic violence (mainly in women and children), especially when the victim intervenes when he is staggering on the Internet and spending many hours in front of the screen neglecting other key obligations (Lucero, Weisz, Smith-Darden, Lucero, 2014).

Identifying forms of online violence against women and women girls there are various forms of online violence against women and from women among others, like online tracking, nonconsensual pornography (or "Vengeful pornography"), defamation and harassment on grounds of sex, social stigma attributed to women because of their sexuality, unwanted pornography, sexual extortion, threats of rape and life personal information and data leakage, and electronically supported human trafficking (Woodlock, 2017).

The survey focuses on those forms of online violence being practiced in women's and girls' weight and are inextricably linked to violence from a strait partner; the reason is what we already know about the serious impact that violence from a close companion has to the victims. These styles are on-line persecution, internet harassment and non-consensual pornography. Like the violence of a close companion being exiled off the Internet, so does the online violence against women can be manifested by different forms of violence, which include sexual, physical and, as prompted by the growing trends, economic violence from which the present or future job position of the victim is at stake due to information published online. It should be considered that on-line violence might end up physical violence. However, further research into their experience needs to

be carried out about victims of online violence against women and girls, to better understand its impact. There are no common definitions for these forms of online violence women and girls at EU level and, for that reason (Lucero, Weisz, Smith-Darden, Lucero, 2014). The following explanations are based on a literature review. Online tracking or web tracking is tracking via mail, written (or web) messages or tracking through Internet. Tracking involves recurring incidents, which in individual cases could potentially be innocuous acts but will overall could undermine the victim's sense of security and cause it anxiety, fear or disruption. Such acts may include:

- Send emails, text messages (SMS) or instant messages that are offensive or threatening.
- Post offensive comments about the victim on the internet.
- Post personal photos or video of the victim online or through mobile phone. These acts must be committed repeatedly by the same person to are considered online tracking. Internet harassment Internet harassment can be manifested in a number of ways. In the framework of this publication may include:
- Unwanted emails with sexual content, written (or online) messages.
- Inappropriate or offensive suggestions on social networking sites or in online chat rooms.
- Threats to physical and / or sexual violence through emails mail, written (or web) messages.
- Verbal hatred expressed in language that defames, offends, threatens or targeting a person based on their identity (gender) and other attributes (such as sexual orientation or disability). Non-consensual pornography also known as online exploitation or "vengeful pornography", the non consensual pornography includes the online distribution of photos or videos sexual content without the consent of the person who stars in them (Woodlock, 2017). The actor is often a former companion, who acquired pictures or videos at lasting relationship and aims at publicly humiliating the victim for to avenge the end of the relationship. Nevertheless, the perpetrators are not necessarily comrades or former comrades and motivation is not always revenge. The images can also be intercepted by the computer, social media accounts networking or the victim's phone and may be used with the purpose of causing actual damage to the actual life of the target (such as dismissal victim of his / her work) (Southworth, 2002). In recent years, many women's incidents have been reported through the press who have been victims of non - consensual pornography in EU Member States and on United States and several of these women committed suicide. According to research, up to 90% of the victims of venal pornography are women (18) and the number of incidents is increasing. Also, the number of sites associated with vindictive pornography is constantly increasing. To these sites users can post pictures that are accompanied by personal information such as the address of the victim, his employer and links that refer to his / her online profiles. Still another relative trend with equally devastating consequences for the victims is the live retransmission of incidents of sexual abuse and rape in the media of social network. Two projections have already been recorded in 2017 incidents: one in Sweden and one in the United States, according to which live online retransmission of victims' rape via of the "Facebook live" feature (Woodlock, 2017).

A systematic review of the bibliography was carried out within the project (electronic and manual search) in order to investigate the area during the issue which is on the agenda for research and development policy in Europe. The online investigation has been conducted from April 2018 to August 2018 in five databases: PUBMED, SCOPUS, WEB OF SCIENCE, EBSCO and HEINONLINE. The review included all publications issued: a) in English, b) as of January 2006 until

August 2017; (c) had summaries; and (d) focused on the Member States of the European Union. Also conducted by hand search in Greece, Cyprus, Sweden, Austria and Slovenia in 20 scientifically reputable journals of these countries in the fields of "Legal Science", "Social Sciences" and health". In the online search, 136 published studies were found and manually search for another 26, possibly related, publications. After in-depth study of these articles, identified 12 articles that responded to everything the eligibility criteria. On the basis of the analysis, four crucial issues were identified (a) conditions and relations; (b) regulation and access to the fundamental online rights, c) cultural standards and social attitude, d) h support the system. Gender inequality is labeled as basic a subordinate factor. What is clear from its results is that there is little evidence in Europe about the issues. OR setting up monitoring mechanisms could be effective prevention and intervention strategies. Support resources and resources for them directly involved are necessary to facilitate the reporting of abuse; effective victim support and the treatment of the victims. End, more efforts are needed to enhance its awareness problems of the internet users themselves and society (Spence-Diehl, 2003). As in most Member States, the various forms of online violence in the burden of women and girls is not prosecuted, data from police and the judicial authorities concerning the phenomenon are insignificant. Member States in which various forms of online violence against women and girls are being prosecuted criminal data, the data collected are not broken down by gender of the victim and the perpetrator, nor on the basis of the relationship between them, which limits her usefulness of the data. Due to this lack of data, it is difficult to analyze gender violence and to compare violence against women; girls on the internet with violence outside the internet. In the present study an attempt will be made to investigate their behavior perpetrators of domestic violence with regard to the use of the internet or other means communication.

3. Methodology of research

For the purpose of this study, qualitative research was the one chosen, during which researchers seek the meaning as well as the way people experience events (Willing,2001). Qualitative research proves itself useful, as it helps the researchers to develop a more elaborate and thorough account and understanding of the subject being studied, in addition to helping them develop theories especially when they lack full knowledge of the matter upon study .Knowledge in approach and understanding of experiences, tends to be unique (Isari-Pourkos, 2015). The researchers are aware in advance that every social phenomenon, requested to be studied, has already been given an explanation by the very same subjects who are experiencing said phenomenon. Nevertheless, they ought to understand the various ways people experience their social standing and whether they interpret their status in it (Tsiolis, 2015). Qualitative research is characterised from the researcher's pursue to search for and to fully comprehend each subjective insight, belief and experience of a target group related to a case, thus aiming for a deeper interpretation of each case study. The process being followed in accordance to qualitative research, consists of 6 steps: establishment of apparent outline, formation of research question, sample of the research, clarification of the method used for data gathering, presentation of method of data analysis and finally specification of the way being presented and written (Mantzoukas, 2007).

More specifically, researchers observe, analyse and describe phenomena plus reality, objectively. They examine evidence and try to collect as much data as possible, to help them with the

study of each subject. Having gathered the data, they analyse them and demystify them, linking them at the same time with the existing bibliography. It really must be noted that when qualitative research is concerned, portrayal of data is based upon subjective views, judgements and behaviours of the research sample (Eisner, 1991).

In this case, the technique being used was that of Content Analysis. Content analysis as a method of analysis of quality data is a systematic and objective way of describing and recording of the events. It is also known as a method of document analysis, while allowing the researchers to test theoretical matters leading to the best grasp of data. Through context analysis, sorting out the words in sub categories relating to the initial frame of reference, becomes conceivable. It is regarded that when listed in the same categories, words, phrases, etc, obtain the same meaning (Cavanagh, 1997). It is a way of research method for effective recursive and solid conclusions stemming from the original environment data, pointing thus, to the supply of knowledge, to the gaining of knowledge and to the representation of facts and practical manual of action (Krippendorff, 1980). The aim here is for a comprehensive and broad description of the phenomenon and for the analysis result to be meanings or categories capable of describing it.

Context analysis may be used twofold. By inquiry-based and deduction. In an inquiry-based method, researchers are mindful of the existing theories relating to the subject being examined. Data analysis is based on pre-existing theories and current connection with the collectible data,is the new purpose. On the other hand, the deductive method pays less attention to the theory and focuses instead on the data and its results. There, the theoretical background takes a back seat for the researchers, while data is what actually leads to the accounting of the results. In other words, when using the deductive method, researchers are rather focusing on the collection of data, its analysis, on the recording of the results coming from them, and finally they put their emphasis on whether there is or not a connecting link to the theory available. The purpose of such method is, to pinpoint prototype evidence that should stand to shape new, theoretical approaches (Galanis, 2018).

3.1 Methods and research tool

For this study, the depth interview was used as the primary research tool. It is the most popular form of data collection, in a qualitative research, and the most manageable, to boot. However, special preparation is required from the researchers, because it has to be based upon the very research questions and the scientific principles that they are carried on (Isari & Pourkos, 2015).

Specifically the tool used here, was that of semi-constructed interview. That kind of interview, refers to the presence of a preset set of questions that are construed by the researchers before the research process begins. Those are best be open-ended questions, so that the participant feels free to talk about the researched subject, without the researcher's own intervention and personal views or attitude. The questions, then are being recorded on the interview guide, which the researcher may go back to. During the interview, the researcher may leave something out, add or even change up the line of the questioning guide ,in order to get the desired information and to adjust that way the interview to each participant's special requirements. Semi-constructed interview is celebrated for its vast flexibility, researcher and participant, both concerned (Kallio ,Pietila, Johnson & Kangasniemi,2016). Choosing this particular tool for the current case, completely serves the relevant research needs. In effect, that means that the researcher was able to be already informed of the subjects needed to discuss with the participants beforehand, ensuring that the research objective be achieved. This style of interview is unique in helping the

participants since they can freely mention what they consider important without any restrictions, whatsoever (Rabionet,2011).

In this particular research an interview guideline was drafted, consisting of the following topic areas;

- Various forms of domestic violence exercised by the offenders
- Frequency of exercised domestic violence
- Importance of exercised domestic violence
- Different ways in which the offenders performed domestic violence
- Internet and its relation to domestic violence
- Ways in which the offenders exercised online violence
- Ways that the victims were abused through online violence
- Correlation of domestic and online violence
- Addictive online behaviours leading to domestic violence.

All interviews were conducted, in accordance to the interview guidelines, by the social worker and Phd holder of the Department of Social Administration and Political Science, who took part in the research team of the above project. The interviews took place in a specially designated area of the non-profit organisation "Violence Stop", ensuring that each and every rule of the Data Protection Act was in place for the utter protection of the offenders in addition to the ethics and methodology of social work governing the research interview, regarding qualitative research.

3.2 Research Objective

The subject objective here, is the study of the domestic violence phenomenon and how it is related to the offender's interaction with new technologies, more specifically the internet's effect on them. In particular, the reasons leading the domestic violence offenders to such extreme doings shall be analysed and how they are enabled in doing so, by the use of internet. Through the suggested research, will be attempted an outlined profile of the domestic violence offeder's personality, and how such violence is amplified via the modern technologies.

Partial objectives of this research is to shed light on the diverse forms of domestic violence the offenders carry out, they way they abuse new technologies in order to threaten their victims, the online mediums used in accomplishing their violent acts, the various ways of accepted online abuse by the victims, the different forms of addictive online behaviours that may lead to domestic violence as well as, the existing correlation between the traditional form of domestic violence and the online one.

Internet is nothing more than a micro-world of modern society; through it's anonymity and vastness it so easily offers, shepherds the domestic violence offenders into adopting violent attitudes and eventually into online violence at the expense of spouses/significant others, by employing a number of ways, as we'll examine later on.

3.3 Research Sample and participants

Volunteers in the research were 21 domestic violence offenders, 20 men and 1 woman, all of whom participate in the criminal inter-mediation program of the non-profit organisation "Violence Stop". This particular organization specialises in the prevention and therapy of domestic violence and observes both aggressors and sufferers of violence, providing at the same time psychological and social support while offering one to one or group counselling.

The assailants age were between 25-65 years old; more notably, 6 offenders were between the ages of 25-35, 4 men and one woman were between the ages of 36-45, 6 of them were between the ages of 46-55 and finally, 4 of them were between 56-65 years old.

They all were from diverse work environments;1 of them used to work as a civil worker, 8 were contractors, 6 men and 1 woman were in the private sector, 3 of them were farmers while 2 of them classified as unemployed. In regards to their educational background, 12 offenders claimed to have finished compulsory education,6 men and 1 woman attended secondary school, while 2 of them were university graduates.Place of origin of the assailants were as follows; 7 of them were coming from a rural area, 7 were coming from a bub-urban area and 6 of the men and 1 woman were of an urban origin.

All of the participants were fully informed of the purpose of said research, of their volunteering, of confidentiality in relation to the interviews, of the guarding of their personal data and consented to the present findings. Furthermore, some of the subjects were in agreement for their interviews to be recorded;those who refused to do so, the notes were written down by the researcher. For the execution of this research, the final approval towards the research team was given by the board of the non-profit organisation "Violence Stop".

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Forms of domestic violence carried out by the assailants

During the interview analysis, becomes apparent that all 20 offenders both men and one woman, implemented a number of ways of domestic violence. To begin with, all of them agree that they exercised verbal violence, whether the victim was their spouse or children. The offenders showcased verbal violence by swearing at their victims, yelling at them, calling them all the names under the sun, judging them, fighting with them and/or slandering them to relatives and friends.

At the same time, along with verbal violence, 18 out of 21 offenders accepted exercising psychological violence while 14 out of 21, consider having displayed emotional violence, to boot. Relating to both those forms of violence,all men and one woman, reported incidents where emotional blackmail was frequent "I would often threaten to divulge the secret past of my spouse to the children". Another offender claimed that "I was indifferent towards E. and I rejected her, I was paying more attention to other women, now that I think about it I accept it and I am sorry about it". Another one reported that "when I got mad, I was giving her the silent treatment for up to three days, no matter how hard she tried to make up". Four of them said that they were pathologically jealous of their spouses,not having any kind of control over it. They were creating fights over non-matters that only now they can recognize were non-existent. We also got the following report out of an offender "I would always criticise her over her religious beliefs, I would just not accept that she'd rather spoil our Sundays by going to the church".

Another form of violence the offenders who participated in our research, reported was that of economic nature towards their victims. Expressly, 7 of the offenders reported having displayed monetary violence to their victims by having the budget management of the household even when the victim had its own salary. An assailant reported "i was never giving her any extra money other than what was needed for the day to day living of our household". Another reports "I already had two credit cards on both our names, but I was the only one who knew the pin

numbers. I could not trust her to shop on her own since she was reckless in the past…".Also, an offender claimed that "I was the only one working, so, it was only natural that I would be the one managing our budget. Whatever E.wanted I got it for her,anyway, I didn't think she needed to handle extra money herself,on top of that".

The most consequential form of violence, and the one that brought most of the offenders to the criminal intermediation programme, is physical violence. According to the data obtained through the interview process, 17 out of 21 offenders said to have shown physical violence. This time it was displayed, always correlating to what they admitted having done, by means of punching, kicking, hair pulling, slapping, pushing, squeezing/pinching, by putting pressure on the throat, attacking them with a heavy or sharp object and twisting of arms. An offender reported "as soon as I realised that she was having an affair, everything went blank. I stormed into the house and started pushing her and punching her, all over". Another stated that "…from time to time i would slap her and when she would get on my nerves, I would pull at her hair. When she reported me to the police, I sprained her hand accidentally, I was only trying to make her hurt". Furthermore, another claimed that "…she would keep on hitting the child, despite my always telling her not to. Last time she did so, I lost control and I shoved her hard. It was only that and she went and reported me for that". Another said "I attacked her whilst she was with her new partner. My mind went foggy when I saw they were having my child with them. I just went for it, and that's when a huge commotion started and the police came"

Finally, a number of the subjects being interviewed, mentioned having exhibited online violence towards their victims. 9 out of 21 domestic violence offenders, reported having threatened their victims using their mobile phone, through social media, through online chat rooms, and via e-mails. We will closely deal with the ways they acted upon those threats below,in another sub category. Our participants had to answer a separate question regarding online and mobile phone related domestic violence.

4.2 Frequency, importance and means of domestic violence

A separate group of questions given to the offenders was all about the frequency of displayed domestic violence upon their victims. According to their answers, 10 out of 21 offenders regard that they rarely had to use domestic violence or that it was a one off incident and the sole reason a report was filed. Those consider themselves to have been caught under extreme psychological pressure and intense anger and that is what led them to their actions. All 10 of them, exercised physical, verbal and psychological violence towards their victims, 6 out of 10 accepted to have emotionally abused their victims, while 4 of them used online violence as well. 4 out of 21 acknowledged to display recurring violence, meaning, from time to time. Those, stated to exercise violence under specific conditions and only after having been provoked by their victims. Those particular offenders admitted to having been warned by their victims that they would be reported to the authorities, if they continued to behave in any way violently against them, ever again. Out of those attackers, 4 of them demonstrated physical,online and verbal abuse;meanwhile 3 agreed to having displayed psychological, emotional and monetary violence against their prey. Chronic violence, translating to continuous and for a long period of time, 7 out of 21 oppressors admitted to. Those found it hard to believe that eventually they would be reported to the police.Out of those particular ones, 3 admitted to physical violence, 5 to psychological and emotional abuse, 4 agreed to monetary violence and 1 to online violence.

As far as the importance of the form of violence all 21 perpetrators effectuated, and according to their own beliefs relevant to their actions, 6 out of 21 believe to have acted violently upon their prey, 9 of them characterise their displayed form of violence as of moderate violence, whereas the remaining 6 of them believe the force they displayed was extremely light. It has to be noted that the above 6 ones, strongly believe that they were unlawfully and spitefully reported by their targets and they really should not be part of the programme as part of the penalty inflicted on them by the greekjustice. Despite that, they do consider it to be helpful to attend and do wish to fully complete it.

4.3 Forms of in action online domestic violence

All of the offenders interviewed, claimed to have exhibited domestic violence via the traditional means commonly known up till today. As far as online violence 9 out of 21 displayed, 8 out of 9 said they acted through mobile phones either by cursing or verbally threatening their victims by sending intimidating,extortionate and offensive texts from their mobile to that of their receiver. Those also admitted to making repeated and anonymous calls to their victims with the sole intention of terrifying them.

More specifically, 6 out of 9 oppressors owned up to social media trolling against their significant others. 4 out of 6 said they did so by blackmailing their victims that they would publish revealing photographs of them showcasing intimate moments of the couple (naked/half naked photographs, sexually explicit photographs, re-touched photographs). 2 out of 6 offenders, were also in possession of explicit videos exposing the victims and bullying them that they would leak said videos on social media or expose them to their immediate friends and family through social media again, in case their victims refused to attend to their wishes or in case they fled the abusive relationship. Moreover, 5 oppressors declared that they did publish to their victim's account (Facebook, Instagram) sickening messages about the victims bad mouthing them and offending their dignity and personalities. The reason for acting that way, was to spite the victims for failing to comply to their wants and wishes or to bully them.

Through online chat rooms 2 out of 9 offenders of online violence confessed to having demonstrated domestic violence targeted to their prey, by threatening them and using offensive and crude remarks aiming at their humiliation and disgrace. The same behaviour was cultivated by another of the participants; he was sending threatening emails to his partner along with rude photographic material. Once again, the mere target of the assailants was to make sure they terrify their victims so that they were easily manipulated. 2 out of 3 of them avowed to continue to send alarming and sinister messages to their victims, long after the lawsuit had been filed, resulting in interim measures as seen fit by the authorities.

4.4 Domestic violence and the use of Internet

As seen above, 9 domestic violence offenders continued to threaten their victims via the Internet or/and mobile phone. Although sticking to traditional forms of domestic violence is extremely harmful to the physical and psycho-emotional state of the victims, use of online violence has been proven to be awfully traumatic for the victims as it exposes them to an unfamiliar environment. Vulgar remarks, defamation, threats, exposure of personal data, smearing uploads, all create a sense of panic and tension to the victims, since exposing them to the enormity of the Internet, alongside the feeling that those evil acts may very well continue to exist online and are near im-

possible to forever delete, most often than not , cause the victims extreme anxiety, phobias, bouts of depression and there have even been reported phenomena of suicidal ideation; something that is rare to come by when dealing only with the traditional forms of domestic violence.

Also, during the current research another correlation between domestic violence and the Internet was unearthed. More specifically, 5 offenders alleged they performed violence against their partners because they were spending time online. The offenders maintained that engaging online caused their significant others to overlook the family affairs and obligations, while 3 out of 5 felt jealous as they believed ,without having any indication or proof that their partners were chatting to or seeking another lover. Those feelings of anger and jealousy would often lead to family confrontations and fights as well as enforcement of physical, verbal and psychological abuse directed from the assailant towards the victim.

Lastly, 4 out of 21 perpetrators conceded that due to their excessive use of the Internet, regularly neglected their family and business obligations. Further to this, 2 of them displayed physical, verbal and psychological violence directed at their victims when those kept asking them to take a break and pay more attention to family matters. One of the offenders said "I was hooked on online gaming. Finishing work all I cared about was logging on and start playing, again. More often than not I would not care to even eat. I would play for hours on end until midnight stroke not paying any attention whatsoever to my wife and kids. When they would ask me to stop, huge rows would start. I couldn't control my anger, I thought that I wasn't being an annoyance to them so they ought to stop pestering me,too". The second one out of the two of them, was addicted to online gambling. He would gamble amounts of money vital for the everyday existence of his family. In his own words, "I always used to gamble. I would win and i would lose. When i figured how to play online from my own pc at home,not having to go to the bookers, I got obsessed. I would even get up at 2-3 am just to gamble. I was waiting with bated breath for a game to come up so that I could gamble away. I was no longer watching the games out of pure pleasure like I used to, but now with pure agony to win back my losses. I had secretly used up my family savings and I just kept on playing trying to win back the money so I could return it back and then, I would stop. I kept fighting with my wife as she would constantly tell me how irresponsible I was and how I had ruined them both financially and psychologically. We reached the point of no return due to my gambling passion".

In those last cases, we observe that the form of violence inflicted is not online violence,per se, however it is directly related to either the offender's use or the victim's use of the Internet. It is another parameter demanding special clarification as the dependable relationship of either the offender or the victim with the online world creates negative feelings often leading to, as we have already noted above, stressful circumstances of various forms of domestic violence.

5. Conclusions

As the analysis of the data has shown, there is clearly an important correlation between domestic violence and electronic violence. In our modern age, the uncontrolled use of the new technologies and the internet cannot help but influencing greatly the social behaviours of the people and thus leading them to pathological situations and acts. Consequently, the phenomena that are created as a result of that, take huge problematic dimensions and need further research to be explored.

In the same vein, the phenomenon of domestic violence has been expanded from the usual, well known, traditional forms of violent acts to the modern new technology ones, which as the research among others, has shown, they are the same as violent and traumatic as the ones we knew so far. In other words, additionally to the physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, verbal, and economic violence, it is electronic violence that has been added up, exercised through new technologies and the internet.

Electronic violence, may not involve physical pain, but it appears it leaves deeply marked signs to the victim making their lives seem humiliated and unbearable, as this form of violence involves the public advertisement of insulting and humiliated comments, pictures from victim's private life etc. As a result of those acts, victims very often feel overwhelmed by fear, shame, stress, depression, even feel suicidal. Additionally, victims are forced to stay in the violent relationships as they are threatened by the offender to publicize their personal data to the internet, rendering the threat of electronic violence a violent act itself. This approach gives food for thought regarding the conduct of further research of this phenomenon as it can be foreseen that it can be expanded to all age groups and settings such as the home, the work, the social gathering places etc via the cellphones that everyone carries with them 24 hours a day.

Furthermore, it seem to be a phenomenon that is progressing over time as more and more people of young ages are well knowledgeable about how to use new technologies, rendering them potential victim and/or offenders of electronic violence. This was also seen in the results of this study as younger offenders used new technology such as the cellphones or internet at a higher percentage than the elderly ones. Also, the educational level of the offenders seem to play an important role according to this study. Offenders with low educational level show low use of electronics and thus almost none exercise of domestic violence via those, as opposed with the offenders of higher educational backgrounds, who are more likely to exercise electronic violence as they acquire higher knowledge and applicability of new technologies and use of internet.

The research sample is obviously limited and accordingly this study, being a qualitative one, does not claim generability to the results. Still, the researchers claim that the phenomenon is progressing rapidly and suggest further studies to be planned and implemented by social disciplines such social work, psychology, sociology, law, etc., so that more data to be added to the understanding and combating of the issue and to new approaches to the criminality in domestic sphere worldwide

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Social Cohesion and Development 2019 14 (2), 105-122
Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη 2019 14 (2), 105-122

Social security compliance in times of crisis. Evaluating the factors for non-compliance in the HORECA sectors in Greece

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Η συμμόρφωση στους κανόνες κοινωνικής ασφάλισης σε περίοδο κρίσης. Αξιολόγηση των παραγόντων μη συμμόρφωσης στον κλάδο Επισιτισμού-Τουρισμού στην Ελλάδα

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ABSTRACT

This article studies the impact of the economic recession, labor market deregulation and social security reforms on the level of non-compliance in Greece. It examines the theoretical framework of non-compliance in post-industrial economies, as well as the design of social security systems in preventing contribution evasion. To assess the evolution of non-compliance, especially under conditions of crisis, we examine the results of the INE-GSEE survey on the HORECA sector. According toour research findings, employers follow non-compliant practices in order to maximize their profits, taking advantage of the precariousness of workers, whereas workers accept or collude with non-compliance as a survival tactic within a highly competitive environment. Non-compliance in the Greek labour market appears to be a multi-factor phenomenon that cannot be explained exclusively in terms of a unique perspective.

KEY WORDS: Non-compliance, contribution evasion, HORECA sector

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το άρθρο αυτό ερευνά τις επιπτώσεις της οικονομικής ύφεσης, της απορρύθμισης της αγοράς εργασίας και των μεταρρυθμίσεων της κοινωνικής ασφάλισης στον βαθμό μη συμμόρφωσης στους κανόνες της κοινωνικής ασφάλισης στην Ελλάδα. Εξετάζει το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της μη συμμόρφωσης στις μεταβιομηχανικές κοινωνίες και την πρόληψη της εισφοροδιαφυγής σε σχέση με το σχεδιασμό συστημάτων κοινωνικής ασφάλισης. Η εξέλιξη του φαινομένου της μη συμμόρφωσης σε περίοδο κρίσης αξιολογείται εξετάζοντας τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας του ΙΝΕ-ΓΣΕΕ στον κλάδο επισιτισμού-τουρισμού. Σύμφωνα με τα ευρήματα της έρευνας, οι εργοδότες υιοθετούν πρακτικές μη συμμόρφωσης για να μεγιστοποιήσουν το κέρδος τους εκμεταλλευόμενοι την επισφάλεια των εργαζομένων, ενώ οι εργαζόμενοι αποδέχονται ή συναινούν σε αντίστοιχες πρακτικές ως στρατηγική επιβίωσης σε ένα ιδιαίτερα ανταγωνιστικό περιβάλλον. Το φαινόμενο της μη συμμόρφωσης στην ελληνική αγορά εργασίας εμφανίζεται ως ένα πολυπαραγοντικό φαινόμενο που δεν μπορεί να ερμηνευτεί αποκλειστικά από μία και μοναδική προσέγγιση.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Μη συμμόρφωση, εισφοροδιαφυγή, κλάδος επισιτισμού-τουρισμού

1. Introduction: Description of objectives and methodological issues

Non-compliance with social security or labor rules is a phenomenon of growing concern for researchers and policy makers that leads to unfair economic competition and the "opportunistic actions of employers to reduce labour costs" (Goveia & Sosa, 2017, p. 90). Assuming that during an economic crisis competition accentuates, non-compliance is expected to rise in times of economic crisis as well, thus reducing social security protection, compromising financial sustainability and leading to a disrespect for decent working conditions. Tackling issues of non-compliance is a "wicked" endeavor, according to Williams (2014), in the sense that it involves complex problem-solving along with their interrelated factors and unintentional side-effects. "Wicked" problems are difficult to formulate and there is no definitive solution to them. They are also interrelated with other problems and implicate various actors (Rittel & Weber, 1973). Therefore, articulating suitable measures and combining them with other policy measures constitute delicate tasks that should be adjusted for each labour market separately.

This study attempts to examine the causes of non-compliance practices in Greece. Greece has been viewed since 2009 as an economy that has experienced deep economic recession, which has deregulated its labour market and profoundly reformed its social security system. The estimated size of the Greek informal economy during the period 2003-2017 steadily decreased from 28.2% to 21.5% (Schneider, 2017). According to Medina and Schneider (2018) this decrease was smaller in 2018, from 26.1% to 21.5%, although still leaving Greece well above the OECD average (11.6%).

In an effort to contain the expansion of the informal economy and wage the fight against undeclared work, appropriate measures must be designed. A deeper understanding of the factors that generate non-compliance practices and behaviours is of outmost importance in order to design and implement appropriate policies, whether they entail prevention, deterrence or the redesigning of incentives and motivations. To evaluate non-compliant behaviour in the context of labour markets and social security systems in deep crisis, Sections 2, 3 and 4 provide an overview of the different approaches towards the informal economy and the literature on contribution evasion. This sets the theoretical framework to discuss the results of a survey conducted for the Research Institute of the General Confederation of Greek Workers (INE GSEE) in Section 5. The questionnaire for this research was designed to target workers in the HORECA sectors. These sectors are of considerable interest because comprise the third largest sector of workers in Greece: they employ up to approximately 400,000 workers during the summer months, according to ELSTAT (2017-2018). Furthermore, they have a large enough demographic range and they present the largest number of social security and labour violations (SEPE, 2018; ILO, 2016).

2. Different approaches to non-compliance and theoretical framework

Within a non-compliance approach, error, evasion and fraud can be tackled through prevention, detection and deterrence (Goveia & Sosa, 2017). In terms of contribution evasion, non-compliance normally refers to non-registration according to social security rules and the

underreporting or misreporting of earnings or the nature of the work offered. Non-compliance practices are considered to be a sign of labour market flexibility and insecurity and are therefore expected to apply mostly to more insecure categories of workers, such as young workers or migrant workers, the low paid and those in non-standard employment. The more flexible and insecure a labour market is, the more non-compliance practices will spread.

Different remedies have been proposed as solutions, reflective of the acknowledged causes. The modernization perspective considers the informal economy as a side effect of an underdeveloped economy. The informal economy is viewed as a traditional sector that has not yet been modernized (Geertz, 1963), based on the assumption that the informal economy is larger in less developed economies, even though the informal economy is not a by-product of underdevelopment. An informal economy is, rather, an inherent aspect of market economies and the deregulation of globalized economies (Castells & Portes, 1989; Davis, 2006). Beyond the legal approach that defines informality as not formal work (Daza, 2005), informality is an intrinsic part of the reduction of costs, the intensification of national and international competition and, finally, the flexibilization of production and work methods (Dibben & Williams, 2012, p.566).

The neoliberal approach recognizes regulation as a burden to economic competition and the labour market (Becker, 2004; De Soto, 2001; London & Hart, 2004). Consequently, undeclared earnings and non-compliance could be remedied through deregulation (De Soto, 1989) and the distinction between compliance and non-compliance is meant to become obsolete or at least less relevant, since there will be no social security and labour rules left to comply with (Williams, 2014). The neoliberal perspective incriminates high taxation, corruption and excessive state regulation for the extent of the informal economy. According to this perspective, the real problem is the extent of regulation and not informality (De Soto, 1989) and non-compliance practices as well as informal economy trends "are a rational response by micro-entrepreneurs to over-regulation by government bureaucracies" (Becker, 2004, p.10).

Another approach is based on the classical utilitarian theory. Stake holders are viewed as rational actors that maximize their utility between the cost of non-compliance and the gains of compliance, a balance connected to the probability of inspection controls and the severity of sanctions (Becker, 1968). A further approach focuses on the lack of deterrence disincentives and non-compliant behavior, where the advantages of contribution evasion are greater than the expected cost of inspection policies (Allingham & Sandmo, 1972; Grabiner, 2000). The deterrence approach focuses on the cost side of the equation, increasing the probability of control and the severity of sanctions (Grabiner, 2000) in the search for a kind of negative reinforcement (Williams, 2014). The approach that focuses on the shift from non-compliant to compliant practices (Evans et al., 2006; Williams & Windebank, 1998) relies on the benefits this brings for businesses and workers (ILO, 2002; Adom & Williams, 2014). Respect for the quality of employment is maintained and compliance with social regulation has a positive impact (Gallin, 2001; Polese, 2014). This is thus another approach that entails positive direct controls that render declared work favorable for workers (Williams, 2006; Renooy et al., 2004).

Besides direct measures, indirect measures are proposed that are not based on self-motivation according to one's interest, but on societally-directed motives such as morality, the perception of justice and redistribution or reciprocity (Alm, 2011). This approach considers stakeholders as social actors and counts on their cooperation (Williams, 2014, p.20). The disparity between formal and informal values and norms can be challenged by adapting formal institutions to the values and norms of society (Murphy, 2008). Indirect measures attempt to

align what legal entities define as acceptable and what could potentially be socially acceptable. Regarding tax evasion as well as social contribution evasion, the existence of redistributive justice for citizens, that is to say taxes and social contributions, are deemed just costs for the public goods and services provided by the government or social security scheme (Richardson & Sawyer, 2001; Kirchgassner, 2011). Participants are expected to be compliant if the tax or social security system is perceived to be fair, whereas in a system that is perceived as unfair non-compliance is expected to be high (McGee, 2005).

In contrast, the political economy perspective explains the expansion of non-compliance as a product of inadequate state regulation and intervention. This perspective considers that the informal economy is "an integral component of the new down-sizing, subcontracting and outsourcing practices emerging under deregulated global capitalism" (Williams, 2015). Undeclared work provides the economy with a non-institutional method of flexibilization of production and cost reduction. Undeclared work is therefore viewed as another form of unregulated low-paid and insecure work that is performed by workers as a survival tactic (Davis, 2006; Gallin, 2001). Non-compliance is a result of insufficient intervention in work and social security arrangements (Slavnic, 2010). According to this perspective, reinforcing labor market intervention and social protection can minimize non-compliance.

As these actors develop strategies beyond the reach of formal regulatory frameworks in order to cope with their vulnerable situation, they contribute to a reproduction of irregularity that results in growing informalization (Slavnic, 2010, p. 4), because the informal economy is not in principle a marginal economic phenomenon nor a negation of the formal economy (Harding & Jenkins, 1989). In fact, the informal economy can only be understood in relation to the formal economy. The economic and institutional opportunities for the expansion of the informal economy may be the outcome of the composition of advanced economies. Economic restructuring is linked to the decline of the manufacturing-dominated industrial complex of the post-work era and the rise of a service-dominated economic complex (Sassen, 1994). This new complex is oriented towards global markets and generates high profits (Sassen, 1994). The expansion of the informal economy should not be viewed as an anomaly but as a necessary outcome of advanced capitalism (Sassen, 1994). Social security and labour regulations were designed according to the old manufacturing-dominated industrial complex and the expansion of the informal economy leads to economic processes that diverge structurally from the old model. As Sassen observes: "The shape of the informal economy changes according to the opportunities created and constraints imposed by the formal economy" (Sassen, 1994, p.2292). Workers in low profitability sectors are precarious and consequently inclined to evade social and labour legislation in order to reduce operating costs and become more competitive. The informalization of the economy is therefore a result of the need for businesses to reduce costs and to increase flexibility and profit margins (Sassen, 1994, p.2299).

Economic informalization is a consequence of economic, political, and social changes which are often seen as "post-Fordist transformations" (Sassen, 1994; Slavnic, 2010).Traditional regulatory frameworks are considered obstacles to capital accumulation (Slavnic, 2010). These processes of flexibilization and deregulation were promoted by state intervention (institutional deregulation) and by state abstinence (deregulation through non-compliance). From one point of view, informal work signifies a clear breach with state regulations although from another point of view non-compliance signifies continuity with the trends towards the deregulation and flexibilization of the formal economy, from less regulation to no regulation. The weakest workers are

mostly affected by the informalization of work and they "become both object and means of the flexibilization strategies" (Slavnic, 2010, p.15). They develop survival strategies that reproduce the informalization process. The process of informalization is directly associated with the exacerbation of economic exploitation, social and institutional exclusion (Schierup et al., 2006). In such circumstances, engaging in the informal economy is a kind of adjustment or survival strategy for those economic actors who otherwise would not be able to survive (Slavnic, 2010, p.6).

3. Factors of non-compliance related to the design of social security institutions

It is believed that in order to evade social insurance contributions employers usually collude with workers and that compliance success relies heavily on participants (McGilivray, 2001). Employers have several incentives for evading social insurance contributions, but the principal reason is to increase their income after taxes and contributions (McGilivray, 2001, p. 4). Another reason can be traced to the complexity of social insurance and labour law procedures, given the low risk of being caught due to inefficient detection mechanisms andt he severity of the penalties imposed by inspection authorities (McGilivray, 2001, p. 5-6). Prioritization of current needs in the expenses set aside for future use or of unforeseeable needs might lead to non-compliance practices, but this behavior also depends on the adequacy of (net) wages, the level of social insurance contributions and the characteristics of the insured social risks. In labour markets where wages are considered low, employers are thus supposed to have an additional incentive to evade social insurance contributions in order to meet their pressing current needs, in particular if the level of social insurance contributions is considered relatively high. This tendency is assumed to be accentuated for long-term risks in particular, such as old-age insurance, that facilitate short-term behavior (McGilivray, 2001). In contrast, for health insurance contributions, employers are expected to be less eager to lose their acquired rights.

Scheme design features are also believed to be crucial to the incentives of employers not to comply with social insurance and labour regulations. McGilivray mainly distinguishes social insurance pension schemes by the tight or loose link that is fixed between old-age contributions and retirement benefits, which is another important factor of non-compliance. Following this criterion, he assumes that the tighter the link the stronger the incentive to contribute for employers (2001, p.6). The first element of pension scheme design is the salaries to be included in the calculation of pension replacement rates. Final salary schemes provide little incentive for the full declaration of earnings. They are thus liable to irregular manipulation and may result in underreporting of earnings. Instead, calculation formulae that incorporate the entire lifetime earnings are considered to produce individual incentives for theregular reporting of earnings. These characteristics are by default incorporated into DC pension schemes, whereas DB schemes are not considered suitable for safeguarding compliance.

Depending on the design features of social insurance pension schemes, non-compliance and contribution evasion have diverging effects on different actors. In DB pension schemes, contribution evasion normally leads to the fixing of higher contribution rates, the fixing of lower replacement rates or both by the scheme's administration in order to assure its financial sustainability. The scheme's administrators bear the risks, whereas adjustments weigh on all participant contributors,

pensioners or both irrespective of their compliant or non-compliant behavior. On the other hand, DC programs, notional or funded, by default reflect the risk of inadequate pensions on workers according to their compliant or non-compliant practices. Non-reporting or under-reporting of earnings leads to lower pension rights or no insurance-based pension rights at all. Normally, the scheme's administrators are not faced with the financial sustainability risk that is embedded in the calculation formula, yet pension schemes are nevertheless expected to assume more responsibilities through the recourse to minimum pension financing (Arenas de Mesa, 2000).

Bejakovic (2016) considers that contribution evasion in Croatia is associated with the loose link between contributions and benefits. However, this "rational choice" assumption is not verified in practice (Schulthess, 1998, p. 139; Mesa-Lago, 1998, p.782).In fact, the experience acquired by pension reforms in Latin America implies the opposite results (Gillion et al., 2000, p. 255), leading the research into the major factors for contribution evasion practices back to the preference for short-term benefits and the maximization of current earnings (McGilivray, 2001, p. 7).

Minimum pensions are considered as another element of pension schemes that are related to the accentuation of non-compliance practices. Minimum pension income guarantees aim at eliminating the risk of pensioner poverty and mitigating pension income inequalities at the lower level. According to this approach, minimum pensions limit the need for workers to declare work that exceeds the minimum contributory period, thus creating a so-called "moral hazard" (Spraos, 1997). But the choice to eliminate minimum retirement income guarantees exposes low-income workers to the risk of poverty, refuting the promises for adequacy and challenging the confidence of the participants in the social security scheme. In this case, the tight link between contributions and pensions operates mainly as a disincentive for participants, as a way out of old-age poverty, provided that they can work and contribute enough to receive an adequate retirement income.

In DC schemes, when non-compliance results in inadequate pension benefits, contribution evasion may force workers to stay longer in the labour market, thereby increasing the average real retirement age (McGilivray, 2001, p.9).This is the main reason why mandatory multi-pillar schemes supposedly control non-compliance and specifically social contribution evasion in a more efficient manner, compared to PAYG pension schemes (Demarco & Rofman, 1998, p. 5-6). But the architecture of a social security system and its embedded incentives are not irrelevant to the generosity of the contributory element and the minimum guarantee component. If replacement rates for long and shorter careers are at the level of social assistance benefits for old age, eventually low-wage workers, precarious and NSE workers could find that it is not worthwhile for them to contribute to the pension system, as their NDC pension entitlement will be lower, equal or not much larger than the social assistance minimum they would be entitled to anyway. Workers who will be entitled to a pension marginally greater than social assistance benefits will not be motivated to contribute efficiently (Marano et al., 2012).

Financial sustainability is not the only issue, however. Social security is a societal institution that must ensure its social and political sustainability. In general tax theory, the level of public taxes is inversely connected to the workers' willingness to pay their taxes (Williams, 2011). In order for social contributions to avoid such a disincentive correlated to public taxes, a tight link must be established. Other scholars believe that trust in the welfare state is correlated with a greater willingness to help the needy (Habibov et al., 2017), focusing on redistribution rather than on the adequate replacement of accrued contributions.

For the ILO, trust in the social security system is essential for its success and the good governance of social security schemes reinforces trust in them and guarantees their legitimacy (ILO,

2001). One of the major concerns for the financial sustainability and the adequate social protection of workers is the continuing informalization and de-standardization of work, which deprives social security institutions of the necessary means with which to protect the working population and their families (Standing, 1999; ILO, 2004).There is a self-sustaining virtuous circle of legitimacy and high levels of compliance (Enoff & McKinnon, 2011, p. 103), which may potentially transform into a vicious circle of non-compliance and lack of legitimacy.

Consequently, besides the issues of embedded "carrots and sticks", the belief and confidence of workers in a social security institution are assumed to be just as crucial. The support of the workers participating in social insurance schemes is critical for the schemes' financial viability (Demarco & Rofman, 1999, p. 2).The extent of non-compliant practices may threaten the system's social and political legitimacy, with repercussions for the financial sustainability of a social insurance scheme and the social protection of its participants (Goveia & Sosa, 2017, p. 88).Similarly, social security institutions must gain the trust of participants and have legitimacy, otherwise the question of their financial sustainability may arise (Enoff & McKinnon, 2011). The extent of non-compliance phenomena on labour markets is therefore variously correlated with the low credibility and legitimacy of social insurance schemes.

4. Labour Market and Social security reforms in Greece 2010-2018

Our attempt to examine the causes of the non-compliance phenomenon in Greece focuses on the evolution of the formal labour market and in the design of the social security system along with its probable effect on the informal economy. During the period in question (2010-2018), a radical reform agenda for the Greek labour market and social security system was designed and implemented. Due to the severe economic and public debt crisis, the Greek labour market underwent a profound restructuring. The austerity policies of internal devaluation generated a 25% GDP recession, 30% unemployment rates, 20% nominal reduction of minimum wages and 40% average reduction of public pensions (Robolis & Betsis, 2016). Labour cost devaluation was accompanied by a vast program of labour market deregulation and public sector privatization. At the same time, non-compliance with social security and labour regulation rose significantly. Collective bargaining and mediation procedures were deregulated (Ioannou, 2011). The Greek labour market has been submitted to a process of flexibilization, through easing the cost of dismissals and through the spread of Non-Standard Employment (Koutroukis, 2017). Besides deregulation and flexibilization, the Greek labour market has been largely recommodified in the sense that that the main role for establishing wages and the terms of employment has been transferred from the social partners and the state to market rules (Zamparloukou, 2014).

The social security reforms carried out during the same period have been characterized by unprecedented cuts to benefits and the sweeping restructuring of the organization, values and mechanisms of social security (Koumarianos, 2018). Large-scale interventions were implemented in an effort to move from a unique public pillar system to a multi-pillar one (Palier, 2005, Hinrichs & Jessoula, 2012). Among the numerous reforms, we focus on the public pension reform and specifically to the strengthening of the link between pensions and past contributions, the abolishing of minimum pensions and the establishment of a new poverty alleviation mechanism.

Against the backdrop of these structural reforms, the legitimacy of the Greek social security system was undermined and the trust that workers have in it gravely challenged. The political and social context of the reforms was highly conflictual due to the absence of a political consensus and the urgent way in which the Memoranda of Understanding were imposed (Sakellaropoulos, 2019). Social security expectations were set aside and retrenchment reforms were introduced every six months, leaving participants in social security schemes feeling insecure because of the constantly changing arrangements. Suffice it to say that almost all of these reforms were conducted without any substantial social dialogue. Regardless of the political and social context, the reforms had an enormous impact on social security benefits, leading to an average reduction in pensions of 40% (Robolis & Betsis, 2016). This social benefits retrenchment was accompanied by a recalibration of social security values and priorities and a new architecture for the public pension system, both main and auxiliary.

The backbone of this restructuring in Greece is based on a new balance between redistribution and the contributory principle. As regards the non-contributory part of pensions, minimum pensions have been abolished and a distinct section of the main pensions has been institutionalized to provide protection at the level of social assistance endowments under strict circumstances. The contributory part of the main pensions, on the basis of actuarial equity, is designed so as to establish a tight link between contributions and pensions, while auxiliary pensions operate under the generic NDC rules (Palmer, 2003). Replacement rates, however, are significantly low for the contributory part of the main pension, reaching only 42.8% after 40 years of contributions and limited to only 11.5% after 15 years of contribution. In this context, social security incentives are inadequate, while inspection mechanisms cannot be relied upon to provide appropriate incentives. Consequently, in Greece low-income and NSE workers are must now contribute in order to access a contributory pension that is marginally above social assistance allowances for the elderly and those without an adequate standard of living.

5. The studyon HORECA: identity of the study

The sample of 506 workers consisted of workers who were anonymously or randomly informed of the research and who answered electronically, so as to assuage any concerns and to mitigate any anxiety they may have had about giving sincere answers. The questionnaire was designed in collaboration with the Panhellenic Federation of Workers in HORECA (POEET). Before conducting the study, several trial questionnaires were completed in order to trace possible miscomprehensions and ambiguities in the questions. The final form of the questionnaire was made publicly available to the workers from December 2018 until September 2019 and during this period 506 workers from the HORECA sector participated anonymously in the research.

A share of 51.4% of participants stated that they had worked in the alimentation sector while 63% did so in the tourism sector in the years 2017-2018. The participants were 48% male, 51.78% female and 0.2%"other". The age groups 25-34, 35-44 and 45-54 represent 84% of the total participants, while the ages of18-24 and 55+ together do not exceed 16% of the participants. Quantitative comparisons with ELSTAT data verify that the age distribution of the sample that participated in the research was similar to the age distribution of the population of workers in the sector. The large majority of participants in the study are of Greek origin (97.43%). These

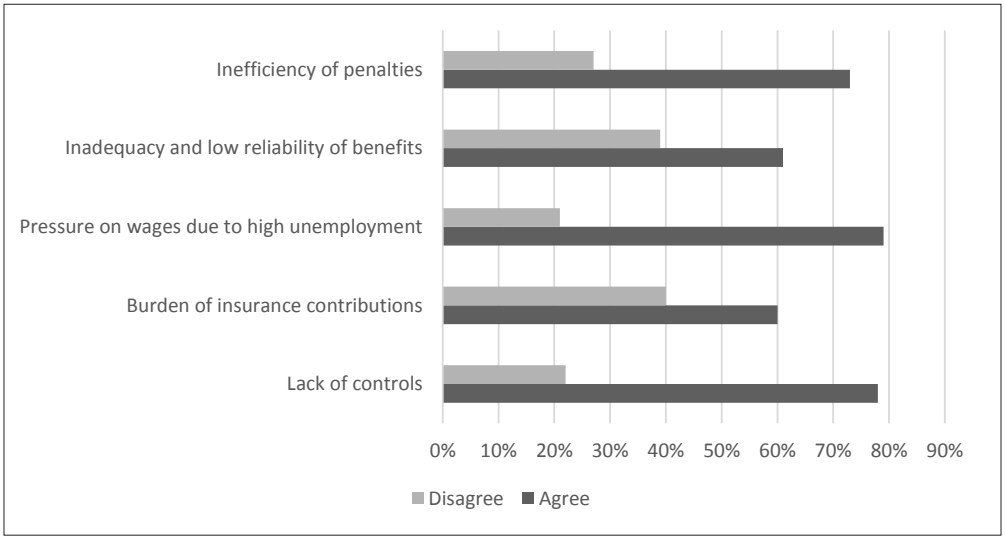
participants do not reflect the real image of foreign worker participation in these sectors. The non-participation of foreigners in the online study can be explained by the difficulties in translating the questionnaire into the most common foreign languages and to the reduced use of electronic platforms by the trade unions of the foreign workers. According to recent ELSTAT data for the year 2018, 13% of workers in the sector were foreigners and they constituted 40.12% of undeclared workers (Kapsalis, 2019). For this reason, non-compliance rates recorded in the present research constitute a minimum level of non-compliance rates. As regards the geographical distribution of the sample, participants covered the whole territory of Greece, reflecting in a sufficient manner the real distribution of workers in the HORECA sector. As for how long they had worked in this sector, 54% of the total participants stated that during the period examined (2017-2018) they had been working in them for at least one year, 26% for 7 to 12 months and the remaining 20% of workers for less than 6 months of occasional employment during the years in question. According to the Eurobarometer No 402 conducted in 2013, 64% of the participants knew someone who has been working undeclared but only 2.9% stated that they themselves did undeclared work. This study has been designed so as to ensure the absolute anonymity of the participants and its irrelevance to any deterrence measures, in order to obtain sincere answers and realistic results.

6. Evaluating the causes of non-compliance

Workers in the HORECA sector were asked if they had been forced to engage in or if they colluded in non-compliance practices during the period 2017-2018. According to their answers, workers that had participated in non-compliant employment were asked to evaluate and explain their behaviour, while workers who stated that they were employed in a manner that fully respected social and labour legislation were asked to evaluate only the factors that contribute to the development of the informal economy in Greece.

All participants in the study, whether they had worked undeclared, under-declared, misdeclared or declared themselves fully compliant with social law arrangements, were asked to evaluate the underlying causes for and the actions to be taken against non-compliance in the Greek labour market. Most participants (79%) acknowledged the importance of the pressures on wage costs exercised by employers, especially during a period of high unemployment (Sassen, 1994). An equally important factor, according to the participants, is the absence or inefficiency of controls and deterrence measures (77%) (McGilivray, 2001). A related factor, that of inefficient or inappropriate penalties, also had a high level of participants in agreement (72%). The inefficiency and low trust in social security benefits is considered one of the main reasons that generally contribute to non-compliance (Enoff & McKinnon, 2011), as is the excessive level of social insurance contribution rates (60%).

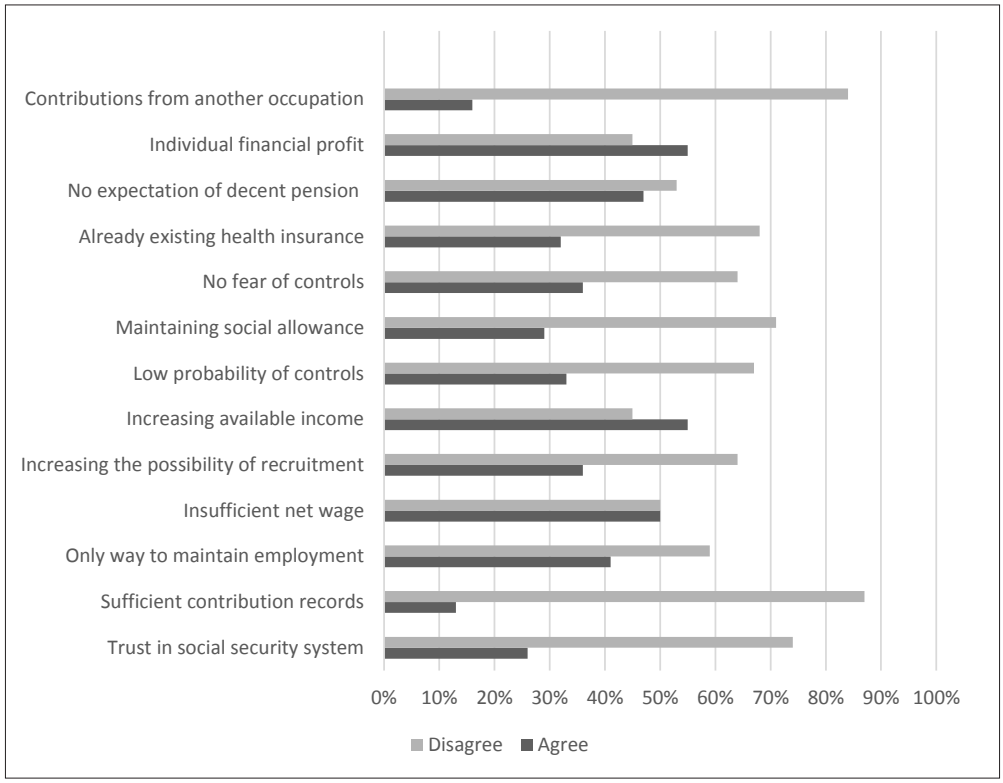
Table 1: Evaluation of the causes of non-compliance in Greece



The findings of the INE-GSEE study direct our attention to the increased pressures on employers in times of crises, when workers, collectively and individually, lose their bargaining leverage (Schierup et al., 2006). These pressures are not counterbalanced by deterrence policies by the state, and there is an absence of efficient inspection mechanisms and appropriate penalties. These main factors for non-compliance are accentuated by a growing mistrust of the social security institutions, mainly as regards their adequacy and they indicate that workers consider social insurance contributions rates to be too high in relation to their low earnings and the expected low adequacy of benefits accrued. Participants' responses on the overall factors related to non-compliance phenomenon were compared to answers on the evaluation of specific personal non-compliance practices.

After evaluating the phenomenon of non-compliance in Greece, participants were asked to explain the reasons for their non-compliant behavior. They had the opportunity to evaluate their choices in relation to a range of factors that are connected to undeclared work and contribution evasion. Their answers have been divided into two groups: the factors that contributed to their collusion or consent to non-compliant practices; and the factors that contributed to the behavior of their employers. It is worth underlining that these evaluations were made by workers who, according to their statements in the study, were working in situations of non-compliance with social security and labour arrangements in the period 2017-2018 and that they were asked to evaluate their own behaviors and their employers' specific behavior and not simply to express their opinions about the overall causes of the informal economy or undeclared work.

Table 2: Evaluation of personal non-compliance practices



Lack of trust and confidencein the social security system: 74% of participants who admitted having worked in a non-compliant manner and having either colluded with their employers' proposal or made such a proposal themselves show a general trust in social security institutions and believe that social insurance contributions are worth the value. In contrast, 26% of non-compliant workers appear to mistrust the social security system and for them this lack of confidence contributes to their acceptance of non-compliant practices at work. This finding verifies the importance of trust in social security institutions for the compliance of participants but also reveals that there is still confidence in the role and the efficiency of social security in Greece. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that 3 out of 4 workers are willing to participate in non-compliant practices despite having declared their confidence in the Greek social security system. This implies that the legitimacy of a social security system in the eyes of participants is not a sufficient factor for compliance. Additionally, the fact that they do not anticipate receiving a decent pension at the end of their working lives appears to be an important factor for the non-compliance of workers. Nearly 1 out of 2 workers (47%) believe that the expectation that their pensions will not be adequate has contributed to non-compliance practices. Specifically, 23% of participants answered that they absolutely agree with this assumption. It is useful to examine these answers in relation to the age groups of participant workers. It is interesting to note that the absence of the anticipation of a decent pension affects younger age groups to a great extent

but the effect on older age groups is even greater. In fact, 75% of workers above the age of 55 consider this factor as being very important for their compliance behavior as they believe they will be faced with an insufficient pension in the near future (McGilivray, 2001).

The large majority of participants (87%) who admitted having worked in a non-compliant manner appear not to be affected by the existence of sufficient or insufficient contribution records in order to access pension benefits. The existence of adequate contributions does not seem to be a decisive factor (disincentive) in the choice of non-compliance with social security labour arrangements. Despite the fact that the old-age insurance schemes have been profoundly remodeled in order to maximize compliance incentive and strengthen contribution evasion disincentives, the assumption that reforming a DB pension scheme to a DC one will improve incentives cannot be verified. On the contrary, assuring health insurance coverage is more important, since1 out of 3 workers (32%) responded that they accepted non-compliant practices in their work because they had already secured access to health insurance for themselves and their families. The assumption that there is a lower incidence of short-term risks in insurance myopia is thus reinforced.

Insurance coverage by other/parallel economic activity: 16% of workers claimed that they accepted non-compliant practices because they had no motive to comply since they already had insurance coverage through another economic activity. In contrast, 84% of participants in the study were accepting of non-compliant behaviors even though they had no other social insurance coverage.

The need to maintain one's job and earnings: 40% of participants who admitted having worked in a non-compliant manner and that they either colluded with their employers' proposal or proposed this themselves stated that this was the only choice available in order to keep their job. The existence of high levels of unemployment and the deregulation of dismissal arrangements have reinforced the bargaining power of employers. This has led to 4 out of 10 workers being forced to accept non-compliant behavior. In contrast, 6 out of 10 workers have accepted non-compliant practices in their work, although they believe that even if they had not this would not have endangered their position. Additionally, 1 out of 3 workers (36%) who admitted having worked in a non-compliant manner and that they either colluded with their employers' proposal or proposed it themselves stated that agreeing to undeclared or under-declared work was the only way to avoid dismissal by their employer.

The precariousness of workers in the Greek labour market after the economic crisis is vividly depicted in the participants' answers. Contribution evasion clearly appears to be a survival tactic used by workers within a highly insecure and deregulated institutional framework. 55% of workers who admitted having worked in a non-compliant manner stated that they accepted non-compliant practices because they wanted to increase or sustain their available income. Additionally, 1 out of 3 workers (29%) responded that they accepted non-compliant practices in their work because full compliance would result in the loss of an essential benefit or allowance of either a contributory or non-contributory nature. Usually, fully undeclared workers can claim unemployment allowance and under-declared workers can claim social solidarity allowances for poverty reduction. In this case, non-compliance is combined with social benefit fraud (NAO, 2006).

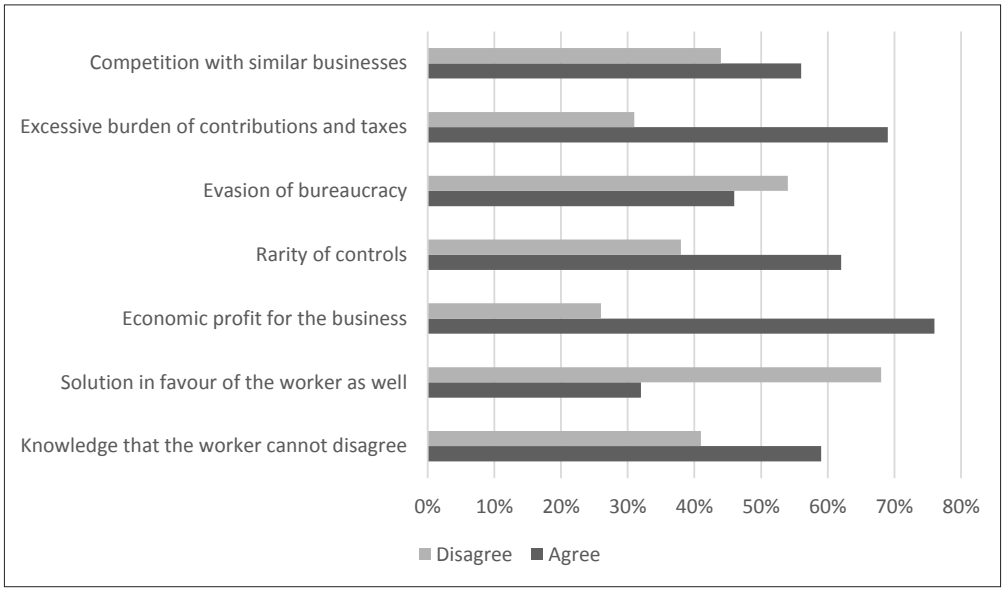
Limited or insufficient net earnings: 1 out of 2 workers that developed some form of non-compliant behavior were affected by the inadequate level of net earnings. Insufficient net earnings are usually the result of excessive rates of tax and social contributions or a result of a wider reduction of wages, net or gross. Individual economic interest seems to contribute to the non-compliance of 55% of workers who are willing to increase their net earnings in the short term by non-complying to labor and social security legislation. Non-compliance is regarded as an eco-

nomically favorable solution within a highly deregulated and insecure economic and institutional environment, where individuals cannot rely on the state or their trade union.

Inefficiency of deterrence measures: As for the deterrence policy adopted by the state, the approach that believes that the informal economy and contribution evasion can efficiently be contained through increased regulations and the intensification of inspection mechanisms (McGilivray, 2001) seems to be verified. One out of 3 workers responded that they accepted non-compliant practices in their workplace because they were not afraid of inspection controls and did not consider them probable. This finding reveals the inefficiency of control mechanisms in the Greek labour market. At the same time, it was interesting to find that 2 out of 3 workers responded that they accepted non-compliant practices in their workplace even though they considered that the controls implemented by the competent authorities were probable. A wider conclusion can be drawn that the overall deterrence measures are inefficient as disincentives to undeclared work and contribution evasion if state policies are limited solely to them. Additionally, 1 out of 3 workers responded that they accepted non-compliant practices in their work because they are not afraid they will suffer during a possible eventual inspection. In conclusion, the overall inspection mechanisms combined with the associated penalties have been inefficient in Greece.

Elsewhere in the questionnaire, participants were asked to evaluate possible factors that lead employers to the unilateral imposition of non-compliance practices.

Table 3: Unilateral imposition of non-compliance practices by employers



The most important factors according to participants were the need to increase the profitability of the business (76%) and their belief that tax and social contribution rates were excessively high (69%). Other important factors are the awareness of employers that workers will be obliged to accept the proposals (59%) and that they will not be subjected to labour or social security inspection controls as well as the need to compete with other businesses in the same

sector (56%). Lastly, time-consuming and complex bureaucracy is considered as an important factor for 46% of participants while 32% of participants responded that employers believe that non-compliance is equally beneficial for workers as well.

7. Conclusions

According to the neoliberal perspective of rational individual response, the 2010-2018 reforms would contribute to the containment of the informal economy, undeclared work and non-compliance practices with social security arrangements. Nevertheless, the results pointed in the opposite direction. The shadow economy has expanded during the first years of the Greek economic crisis and it started to deflate from 2015 onwards, although only marginally meaning that there is still a significant problem of non-compliance.

Inthis article, we have tried to trace the factors behind non-compliance in the Greek labour market and particularly in the HORECA sector. The analysis of the evolution of the Greek labour market during the economic crisis as well as of the social security reforms describes a deregulated, flexible, precarious and insecure labour market. In this respect, we can observe that inadequate deterrence policies were undermined by austerity policies. According to the findings of our research, employers follow non-compliant practices in order to maximize their profits, taking advantage of the precariousness of workers, whereas workers accept or collude with non-compliance as a survival tactic within a highly competitive environment. The state's role does not seem to limit itself to the deregulation of the labour market, because it individualizes social risk in pensions, rendering workers more insecure, while failing to implement efficient inspection mechanisms. The fight against non-compliance in social security and labor arrangements depends on the power of the authorities to impose compliance and on citizens' trust in those same authorities (Williams, 2014). Governments may choose to focus on deterrence policy measures or measures enhancing citizens' trust. Normally, though, where there are high levels of non-compliance, authorities lack capacity in both fields, as is the case in the Greek labour market.

Non-compliance in the Greek labour market appears to be a multi-factor phenomenon that cannot be explained exclusively in terms of a unique perspective. On the contrary, our research supports the assumption that the fight against non-compliance is a "wicked" problem (Williams, 2014).The design of social security institutions in Greece and particularly those covering long-term risks, such as old-age insurance, may be blamed for not providing appropriate incentives for compliance and for losing the trust of insured workers. Tightening the link between contributions and benefits individualizes social risks and reproduces income inequalities from work to retirement (Hinrichs & Jessoula, 2012).In Greece, the virtuous circle between compliance and legitimacy (Enoff & McKinnon, 2011) has evolved into a vicious circle of low levels of trust that generate non-compliance.

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Social Cohesion and Development 2019 14 (2), 123-131
Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη 2019 14 (2), 123-131

Extreme deprivation and social protection in the EU

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Ακραία αποστέρηση και κοινωνική προστασία στην ΕΕ

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ABSTRACT

By utilizing SILC data, the paper reveals extreme deprivation trends and patterns and assesses the role of different social protection types in this field across the EU-15. It shows that the extent of extreme deprivation is high in south European countries (and especially Greece), whereas Nordic countries exhibit very low levels. The empirical findings corroborate the significance of social protection in tackling extreme deprivation through both in-cash and particularly in-kind benefits.

KEY WORDS: Extreme deprivation, social protection types, social policy implications, Survey on Income and Living Conditions, European Union-15.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Αξιοποιώντας δεδομένα από την SILC, το άρθρο αποκαλύπτει τάσεις και πρότυπα της ακραίας αποστέρησης και εκτιμά τον ρόλο διαφορετικών τύπων κοινωνικής προστασίας στο πεδίο αυτό μεταξύ των χωρών μελών της ΕΕ-15. Το άρθρο δείχνει ότι η έκταση της ακραίας αποστέρησης είναι μεγάλη σε χώρες της νότιας Ευρώπης (και ιδιαίτερα στην Ελλάδα), ενώ σκανδιναβικές χώρες επιδεικνύουν πολύ χαμηλά επίπεδα. Τα εμπειρικά ευρήματα επιβεβαιώνουν τη σημασία της κοινωνικής προστασίας για την αντιμετώπιση της ακραίας αποστέρησης μέσω τόσο παροχών σε χρήμα και ιδιαίτερα παροχών σε είδος.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: Ακραία αποστέρηση, τύποι κοινωνικής προστασίας, προεκτάσεις κοινωνικής πολιτικής, Έρευνα Εισοδήματος και Συνθηκών Διαβίωσης, Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση-15.

1. Introduction

This paper offers an empirical exploration of extreme deprivation in the EU from a social protection perspective. Extreme deprivation is operationalized as the enforced incapacity to afford certain goods and services. It affects not only the so-called invisible poor (i.e. homeless people, undocumented migrants, Roma, etc.), but also quite many registered individuals and households. This extreme deprivation condition has mostly been associated with developing countries. However, the 2007-08 world economic crisis and the ensuing recession and domestic devaluation in some countries have worsened deprivation outcomes in the EU. This development has attracted scientific and political attention towards aspects of extreme poverty or deprivation that have systematically been overlooked in the past (e.g. see Bradshaw and Mayhew, 2011).

The aim of this paper is to shed light on extreme deprivation in the EU from an empirical point of view by utilizing EU-SILC data. Employing the concept of extreme deprivation offers the

analytical advantage of capturing the structural, relational, multi-dimensional and persistent nature of social disadvantages. However, a problem with the deprivation indicator is that what are considered necessities varies from country to country and changes when countries get wealthier. This makes it more difficult to be certain when comparing countries over time based on the deprivation indicator. Moreover, other weaknesses of deprivation are that lacking a deprivation item may be a lifestyle choice, so people may think they cannot afford an item when it is just a low priority, as well as that deprivation items may be present but not functioning (Bradshaw and Mayhew, 2011).

For comparative purposes, the empirical analysis includes the old EU-15 member states (Luxemburg is not counted in, however, because it is considered an outlier due to its extremely small population and high living standards). To investigate the impact of the social protection systems, which are strong determinants of the cross-country variability in poverty (Papatheodorou et al., 2008; Papatheodorou & Petmesidou, 2004; 2004), the chosen countries are grouped into four welfare regimes (i.e. Conservative-Corporatist, Liberal, Social-democratic and South-European) (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Leibfried, 1993; Ferrera, 1996; 2000; Papatheodorou and Petmesidou, 2004; 2005). So, what is the extent of extreme deprivation across different social protection systems in the EU? What is the role of social protection under circumstances of harsh austerity in some instances? Which policy interventions are most relevant for extreme deprivation alleviation (or more ambitiously eradication)? This chapter provides relevant answers with the aim to enrich the academic discourse and to inform the policymaking process on the association between extreme deprivation and social protection in the EU.

The rest of the chapter is structured as follows: in the next section, the main conceptual, theoretical and political aspects of extreme deprivation are analysed. In the following section, methodological parameters of the analysis are described and empirical estimates of extreme deprivation and social protection in the EU-14 are presented. In the last section, the empirical findings are wrapped up, main policy implications are discussed and concluding remarks are made.

2. Conceptual and theoretical background

In the EU context, the concept of deprivation expresses the inability to afford items considered by most people to be desirable or even necessary to lead an adequate life. This indicator distinguishes between individuals who cannot afford certain goods or services and those who do not have these goods or services because they do not want or do not need them. The so-called extreme deprivation indicator is defined as the enforced inability to pay for a certain number of items or services (4 or more of 9) (Eurostat, 2020a).

Multifaceted deprivation implies persistence over time and rigidity to policy measures leading to the reproduction of socioeconomic disadvantages over time and across generations (Papanastasiou & Papatheodorou, 2019). Thus, intercepting intergenerational transmission of disadvantages has been placed high on the EU policy agenda and rhetoric over recent years (Papanastasiou, 2018; Papanastasiou and Papatheodorou, 2019). This phenomenon corroborates the structural holes in the functioning of contemporary economies, in which many people get trapped for long timespans (e.g. joblessness or in-work poverty).

Conceptualizing deprivation as structural or relational leads to an understanding of it not merely as social exclusion, but mostly as the differential integration of disadvantaged individu-

als and groups into the socioeconomic and political processes of modern capitalism (Murray, 2002; Bracking, 2003; du Toit, 2004; Hickey & du Toit, 2007). Drawing from structuralist approaches, this conceptualization of deprivation brings to the forefront power relations and social stratification patterns as most relevant to understanding the causes of extreme deprivation. As power structures and the unequal income distribution among social strata are endemic to capitalism, then deprivation needs to be seen more as a structural or relational characteristic of contemporary society.

Such theoretical conceptions of deprivation come in stark contrast to more functionalist approaches emphasizing dysfunctional individual traits due to poor family endowments as the main causes of deprivation (e.g. bad health, inadequate skills, low motivation, etc.). From this perspective, the most influential theoretical approach is the one of "human capital", which posits that poverty and deprivation are due to low productivity because of insufficient family investments in education, resulting in income losses and poverty entrapments for individuals (Mincer, 1958; Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1966; Becker &Tomes, 1979; 1986).

As already mentioned, this theory has exerted great influence and, thus, the lion's share of the antipoverty funds has been invested in "human capital" policies. This approach is consistent with the Paretian optimality, as supposedly everyone benefits from education reforms without changes in the income distribution of a given society, and it became a main pillar of the neoliberal agenda from 1980 onwards. This development signified the paradigm shift from social protection to social investment (Petmesidou, 2009; 2014).

Social investment is the main EU antipoverty strategy and is based on "capacitating" policies (e.g. childcare, education, training, lifelong learning, rehabilitation, etc.), so that individuals can obtain the means to insert themselves into the flexible labour market (Petmesidou, 2014; Bouget et al, 2015). The concept of social investment is based on the implicit distinction between the voluntary and involuntary poor (formerly known as the distinction between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor) (Papanastasiou & Papatheodorou, 2017b). Thus, people at risk of poverty but capable of working and dependent on welfare are often the main target group of activation measures.

At a societal level, nonetheless, this development brings about the desocialization and depoliticization of poverty and deprivation, as many are led to believe that social disadvantages are ascribed to individual traits rather than the structural circumstances of the socioeconomic environment. The EU countries have opted for drastic cuts and restructuring in social spending by individualizing social risks and privatizing welfare functions (Papanastasiou & Papatheodorou, 2017a; 2017b). At the end of the day, recommodifying the status of the individuals vis-à-vis the market is the main objective of the activation and workfare strategies implemented throughout the EU, albeit to differing extents among member states.

3. Methodological parameters and empirical findings

Extreme deprivation means that a household is lacking at least 4 of the 9 items (in Eurostat's language), which are considered necessary to have an adequate life. These items are the following: to pay rent, mortgage or utility bills, to keep a home adequately warm, to be able to face unexpected financial expenses, to eat meat or proteins regularly (or vegetarian equivalent), to go on holiday once a year, to own a television set, to own a washing machine, to own a car and to

own a telephone. The empirical analysis utilizes EU-SILC data referring for the most part to the 2005-2018 period.

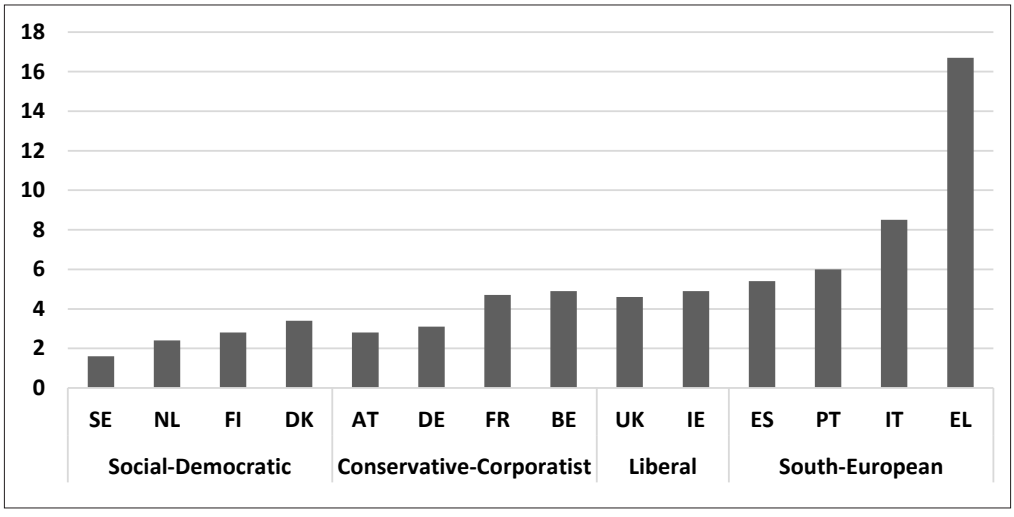
The European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) aims at collecting timely and comparable cross-sectional and longitudinal multidimensional microdata on income, poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and living conditions. The EU-SILC project was launched in 2003 based on a «gentlemen's agreement» in six member states (Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg and Austria) and Norway. The EU-SILC legal basis entered into force in 2004 and covers now all EU countries, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland; some other countries participated on a voluntary basis (Eurostat, 2020b).

The countries under study are the EU-14 (Luxembourg is left out as an outlier), which are grouped into four welfare regimes following Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology and the relevant academic discussion on the south European welfare model (Leibfried, 1993; Ferrera, 1996; 2000; Papatheodorou & Petmesidou, 2004; 2005). The grouping is as follows:

- Conservative-Corporatist: Germany, France, Austria, Belgium,
- Liberal: Great Britain, Ireland,
- Social-democratic: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Netherlands,
- South-European: Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal.

Based on the information presented above, the extreme deprivation rates in 2008 are illustrated in Figure 1. By and large, EU countries with similar and longstanding welfare states exhibit quite similar extreme deprivation rates. The countries of the social-democratic welfare state exhibit very low extreme deprivation contrary to south European countries (and especially Greece in which the extent of extreme deprivation is quite alarming and deserves special attention), whereas the countries of the conservative-corporatist and the liberal welfare state stand in between.

Figure 1: Extreme deprivation (% of the population), EU-14, 2018

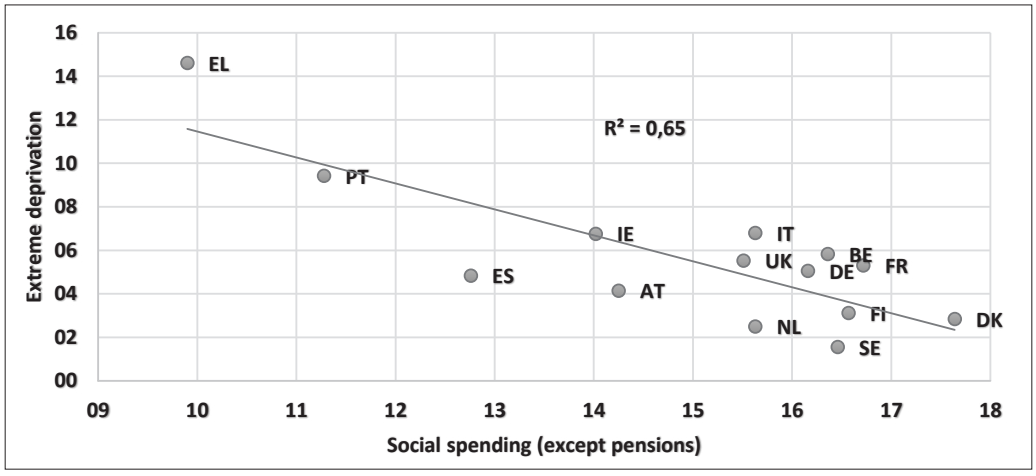


Source: EU-SILC

A simple and straightforward way to operationalize social protection is through social spending, that is, the various in-cash and in-kind provisions in the areas of pensions, healthcare, family/children, sickness, disability, unemployment, housing, etc. Social spending can further be merged into two categories: a) old age and survivor pensions and b) other social transfers (i.e. family, unemployment, health, housing, care, etc. provisions in cash and in kind). Preliminary analyses showed that pensions have much lesser explanatory capacity over extreme deprivation in the EU-14 compared to other social transfers. Thus, the remaining analysis includes social spending except for old age and survivor pensions.

Based on this methodological choice, Figure 2 shows that other social transfers (except pensions) alone explain almost 65% of the variability of extreme deprivation across the EU-14. This finding indicates that social protection, and especially other social transfers, are consistent predictors of the variation in deprivation outcomes in the EU-14. So, the goal of extreme deprivation alleviation can largely be attained through social benefits in cash and in kind, which have a wide redistributive dynamic if based particularly upon universality as shown by previous studies (Papatheodorou and Petmesidou, 2004; 2005).

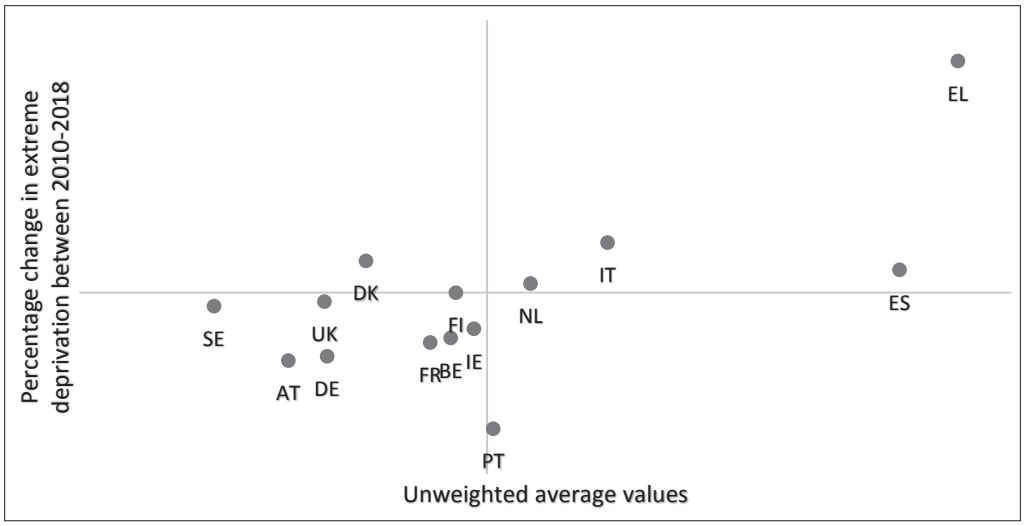
Figure 2: Social spending (except pensions) and extreme deprivation, EU-14, (2005-2017 average values)



Source: EU-SILC

A critical matter is the effect of the Great Recession (and of austerity measures) on extreme deprivation outcomes in the EU. Such information can be obtained by showing the relative stance of the chosen countries in terms of extreme deprivation rates between 2010 and 2018. Figure 3 reveals that Greece has sustained the biggest blow in terms of living standards. The main reasons for Greece's position relate to both domestic (e.g. huge gaps and inequalities in social protection) and external (e.g. enforced austerity) factors as shown by Papanastasiou and Papatheodorou (2017). In contrast, no other EU-14 country has shown such worsening of living standards since the outbreak of the economic crisis. Notably, Sweden kas kept extreme deprivation to really low levels. The countries of the Conservative-Corporatist regime lie close to the EU-14 average amounting to 6.125 (the crossing point of the vertical axis).

Figure 3: Relative stance of EU-14 countries in extreme deprivation (2010-2018)



Source: EU-SILC

4. Policy implications and concluding remarks

The abovementioned empirical findings clearly reveal some patterns in extreme deprivation outcomes across the EU-14. The EU countries belonging to the social-democratic welfare regime exhibit very low extreme deprivation. This can be attributed to the still generous and universal character of social protection in those countries. By emphasising in granting a great deal of benefits in-kind, the Nordic countries manage to minimise deprivation items, living the households with adequate resources to deal with other sorts of economic difficulties. Furthermore, the EU countries representing the conservative-corporatist and the liberal regime occupy in-between positions in terms of extreme deprivation outcomes.

In contrast, the worst performance in respect of extreme deprivation outcomes is displayed by the south European countries. Among the former countries, Greece sticks out as the one with by far the worst extreme deprivation outcomes in the EU-14. As Papanastasiou and Papatheodorou (2017a) have shown, the dramatic worsening of living standards in Greece is part and parcel of the Great Recession which since 2008 manifested itself on a world scale. Yet, the authors argue that it is not the recession itself, but the austerity policies imposed by the foreign lenders (EC, ECB, IMF) bringing about the most devastating socioeconomic implications.

Greece serves as an illustrative case of recent developments in social protection design and provision. Introducing the former Social Solidarity Income (SSI) as a form of minimum guaranteed income under Memorandum 3, while phasing down or cutting back on other social transfers, foreign and domestic policymakers transform the Greek social protection system into a liberal one. Thus, the goal of social policy is being shifted from promoting overall welfare to dealing merely with extreme deprivation through the SSI (Papatheodorou, 2017; 2018).

At the end of the day, these social protection developments are indicative of the EU policymakers' drives and priorities leading to individualized social risks and privatized welfare functions. This is attained by emphasizing the need to combat extreme deprivation through targeted and means-tested social provisions, while systematically neglecting (or even abandoning) the goal of promoting overall welfare by strengthening the regulatory and redistributive mechanisms EU-wide.

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ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

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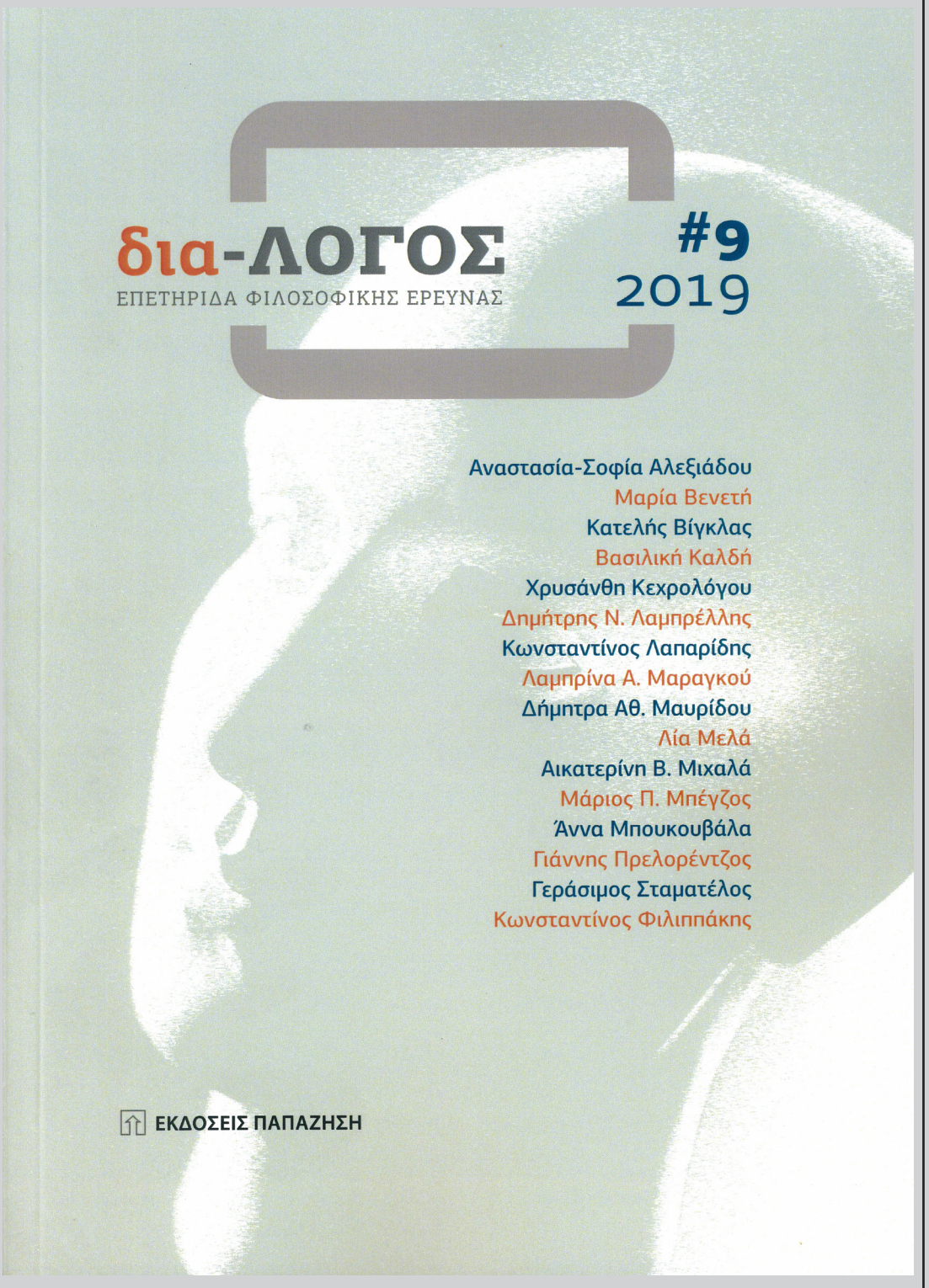

Αναστασία-Σοφία Αλεξιάδου
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Κατελής Βίγκλας
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Κωνσταντίνος Φιλιππάκης

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΠΑΠΑΖΗΣΗ

Social Cohesion and Development 2019 14 (2), 133-136
Κοινωνική Συνοχή και Ανάπτυξη 2019 14 (2), 133-136

Hellenic Republic: *Voluntary National Review on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development*, High-level Political Forum on sustainable development, July 2018

Dr. Nikos Trantas, *General Secretariat of the Government*

The progress made in implementing Agenda 2030 and the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), is being reviewed in the High-level Political Forum for Sustainable Development (HLPF), which meets under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council (annually) and the General Assembly (every four years). Greece participated for the first time in the HLPF of July 2018, presenting her Voluntary National Review (VNR) on the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

The 156-page VNR Report (i) presented the institutional mechanism put in place in Greece, which aims to ensure the collective political ownership and commitment in accomplishing successfully the SDGs and in fostering a whole-of-government approach; (ii) highlighted the national policy and legal framework incorporating the SDGs and focusing on the national priorities for the SDGs; (iii) showcased the role played by key stakeholders in the implementation of the SDGs, through the adoption of a whole-of-society approach; (iv) provided some keys means of implementation for a comprehensive and integrated achievement of the SDGs at all governance levels; and (v) presented the main steps to be taken with regard to the follow up and review process of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs.

As it is stated in the VNR Report, Greece is strongly committed to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 SDGs, as they provide an ambitious, visionary and transformative framework for a new, equitable and sustainable development path. Ensuring that "no one is left behind" is a high political priority for Greece, as the country is exiting a period of prolonged economic crisis. Greece's utmost objective is to reap the full benefits that the SDGs provide in order to reframe the country's development perspectives. The "SDGs lens" can shape policies to achieve a balance between economic development, social cohesion and protection of the environment and of natural resources. Fulfilling the vision for a fair, equitable and sustainable development for all, for present and for future generations, along with achieving the SDGs, necessitate the adoption of strategic priorities and streamlined policies in all sectors, tailored to the specific national context and needs. Greece endorsed in 2017 at the highest political level and through a wide social dialogue, a set of eight overarching National Priorities for the SDGs, which are also in line with the National Growth Strategy adopted by the Greek government in 2018. The Strategy aims at reinvigorating the Greek economy, promoting social well-being and justice without exclusions, ensuring environmental protection and safeguarding the country's unique ecological wealth. The eight Greek National Priorities for the SDGs encompass all 17 SDGs, and reflect, in a balanced and integrated manner, the three dimensions of sustainable development. They include:

- Fostering a competitive, innovative and sustainable economic growth (linked to SDGs 9, 8)
- Promoting full employment and decent work for all (linked to SDG 8)

- Addressing poverty and social exclusion, and providing universal access to quality health care services (linked to SDGs 1, 2, 3)
- Reducing social and regional inequalities and ensuring equal opportunities for all (linked to SDGs 5, 10)
- Providing high-quality and inclusive education (linked to SDG 4)
- Strengthening the protection and sustainable management of natural capital as a basis for social prosperity and transition to a low-carbon economy (linked to SDGs 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15)
- Building effective, accountable and transparent institutions (linked to SDGs 16, 17)
- Enhancing open, participatory, democratic processes and promoting partnerships (linked to SDGs 16, 17).

The vision of sustainable development for Greece is not a recent endeavour. The effort was initiated with the country's first National Strategy for Sustainable Development, in 2002. However, it is now that Greece has adopted a truly strategic approach, where sustainable development issues are anchored at the highest political level. In turn, this ensures collective political ownership and commitment to the successful achievement of the SDGs. Policy coherence is pursued both "horizontally" across policy sectors, including the agricultural, tourism and cultural sector, and "vertically" at all levels of governance, from national to local. Based on the fact that the implementation of the SDGs goes beyond the responsibilities of the central government, Greece has adopted a "whole-of-society" approach, giving particular attention to ensuring strong stakeholder engagement from the stock-taking to policy design and implementation stages, and to awareness raising at all levels.

Among Greece's key successes with regard to the implementation of the SDGs at the national level, is the set-up of a robust long-term institutional mechanism encompassing a "whole-of-government" approach. This includes, inter alia, an active operational Inter-ministerial Coordination Network, steered by the General Secretariat of the Government (Office of Coordination, Institutional, International & European Affairs), a key centre-of-government entity, appointed to lead and coordinate national efforts for the achievement of the SDGs with a long-term perspective.

In order to define the national starting point and measure the distance for achieving the various SDG targets, Greece undertook for the first time an in-depth stock-taking exercise to track and evaluate the current state as well as progress. In this framework, a detailed mapping of all national policies and of the corresponding legal frameworks relevant to the SDGs has been carried out. Since many policies are already implemented in Greece through the EU aquis, the mapping focused on identifying missing policy instruments, areas of insufficient action and areas for cross-sectoral co-operation to ensure policy coherence and spread good practice, both domestically and through the country's bilateral and international partnerships. To enhance transparency, partnerships and accountability, actions and activities have been carried out with a wide array of non-state actors. These have all been recorded and included in the VNR Report, highlighting the role of key stakeholders in the implementation of the SDGs.

The results of the mapping exercise, detailed in the 2018 VNR Report, underline that the unprecedented economic crisis that Greece faced in recent years forced a shift of focus in political priorities, with the predominant economic policies often creating divergence rather than contributing to the accomplishment of the totality of the SDGs.

Therefore, it has been essential for Greece to focus on the *social pillar* of sustainable development, with measures to address the short-term difficulties of the different affected groups.

Priorities included the fight against unemployment, particularly for youth and women, the reduction of social inequalities, progress in gender equality and the promotion of social inclusion for immigrants and other vulnerable population groups. The above have been implemented through a robust social solidarity system, establishment of a minimum guaranteed income for all, universal access to quality health care services, fight against energy poverty for vulnerable citizen groups through a reduced social residential electricity tariff, support for "energy communities" and free access to quality education to everyone at all education levels. Social pillar policies have been implemented with a particular outlook to regional cohesion, placing emphasis on the less advantaged geographic regions of the country, such as remote islands and mountainous areas.

Regarding the *economic pillar* of sustainable development, Greece attached, over the last years, particular importance to policies and measures for competitive, innovative and sustainable economic growth. Good examples encompass measures for improving the business environment, promoting social and solidarity economy and encouraging domestic and foreign direct investment, for highlighting the role of human capital as a key driver for economic growth, for supporting research, technological development and innovation, for sustainability in agricultural and rural development, for efficient and effective tourism products and services, and for developing reliable and sustainable infrastructure and transport systems.

With regard to the *environmental pillar* of sustainable development, important progress has been made in recent years, in all related SDGs. Key national priorities are the shift towards circular economy and sustainable consumption and production patterns, as a means for creating new jobs, reducing, reusing and recycling waste and increasing resource efficiency. A National Action Plan on Circular Economy was endorsed by Greece in April 2018. With regard to the transition towards a low carbon and climate resilient economy, Greece remains firmly committed to the Paris Agreement objectives, and is already in a good place to meet its national GHG emissions reduction targets earlier than 2030. Successes also include the full application of Integrated Water Resources Management principles, considering both social aspects and ecosystem needs, and the significant increase in the penetration of renewable energy sources. The completion of flagship projects, such as the interconnection of many non-connected islands to the electricity grid of the mainland by 2030, will facilitate the achievement of climate change mitigation goals and support the reduction of air emissions. Finally, important progress is achieved towards the full digitalization of land-uses across the Greek territory (in land and sea), through the National Cadastre and the development of forest maps, which by 2020 will ensure the full protection status of the ecological wealth of the country, facilitate investments and control urbanisation. In parallel, sustainable urban mobility is promoted as a priority, in Greek cities, to improve quality of life, increase energy efficiency and decrease GHGs.

Concerning the institutional dimension of sustainable development, Greece, in order to build effective, accountable and transparent institutions and enhance open, participatory and democratic processes, promotes specific structural and institutional reforms, especially in the public administration, with the view to achieve broader systemic transformations. The reforms aim at boosting employment and enhanced transparency, competitiveness, innovation, and more efficient service provision to citizens. Measures include the expansion of e-governance tools, the fight against corruption, the protection of human rights and the enhancement of strong partnerships within borders, between all stakeholders, as well as beyond borders, by promoting international cooperation bilaterally, regionally and globally.

The 2018 VNR Report presents some immediate next steps that will capitalise on the experience of the VNR: (i) A National Implementation Plan for the SDGs will be elaborated, engaging all stakeholders at all stages, from the design and implementation of actions to monitoring, evaluation and review. The Plan, apart from enhancing consistency with the national growth strategy and mobilizing resources for implementation, will also focus on identifying key cross-cutting priorities to be pursued through new cross-sectoral and vertical integration tools and arrangements that will produce a special value added for the implementation of the SDGs in Greece. (ii) The Hellenic Parliament will play an instrumental role in this overall follow-up process through joint parliamentary committees meetings to review progress, provide guidance to fine-tune line actions and ensure the mainstreaming of the SDGs in all legislative and policy frameworks. (iii) Emphasis will be given on the quantitative and qualitative monitoring of progress. Using data and statistics is of outmost importance for the successful implementation of the SDGs, and so is the role of the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) in providing high quality official statistics, within the framework of the global and European SDG indicator sets.

Following the regime change after the July 2019 election, and the provisions of law 4622/2019, a redesign of the center of government and the functioning of the ministries is taking place. The details of the changes remain to be settled by a presidential decree, which has not been issued yet (as of December 2019). In the meantime, this affects the progress of the SDGs implementation in Greece, as it is described in the "Next Steps" chapter of the 2018 VNR Review. Pending issues include the appointment of the competent center-of-government body that will now take up the leading/coordinating role, the degree of correlation between the SDGs and the new growth strategy, and possible revisions and adjustments of the national priorities.

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Νίκος Ξυπολυτάς,
Πρόσφυγες στη Μόρια: Οι συνέπειες μιας αποτρεπτικής μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής

Αθήνα: Διόνικος, 2019

Το προσφυγικό ζήτημα έχει καταστεί μείζον στον κυρίαρχο δημόσιο λόγο την τελευταία πενταετία, προβαλλόμενο συνήθως με χαρακτηριστικά εγκληματικής απειλής ή κινδύνου εθνικής αλλοίωσης. Πρόκειται για μια συνειδητή πολιτική κατασκευή συναρμοσμένη με το ευρύτερο πνεύμα της προαγόμενης κατασταλτικής διαχείρισης. Τάση που προϋπήρχε της αύξησης των προσφυγικών ροών και επιδέχεται βαθύτερων ερμηνευτικών σχημάτων.

Η κρίση του 2015 δεν προξενήθηκε από την αντικειμενική αδυναμία διαχείρισης ενός «φυσικού φαινομένου» που οδήγησε στον (ιδιοτελή στον δημόσιο λόγο) προσδιορισμό του ως προσφυγική κρίση. Αντίθετα, πρόκειται για μια συνειδητή πολιτική επιλογή που προϋπάρχει της τελευταίας πενταετίας. Η μεταναστευτική πολιτική της ΕΕ, στην τριακονταετή πλέον διαδρομή της, συνυφάνθηκε με τη δομική στόχευση της οικονομικής ανάπτυξης. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, το δόγμα της επιλεκτικής μετανάστευσης επεδίωξε να φιλτράρει και να διαλέγει εισροές με βάση τις ανάγκες των ισχυρών οικονομικά ευρωπαϊκών κρατών.

Αυτή η διαδικασία διαλογής εκπληρώθηκε άλλοτε με ήπια και άλλοτε με πολύ πιο σκληρά μέσα, αλλά, πάντοτε με τη μέριμνα αποχαρακτηρισμού της Ευρώπης ως ελκυστικό προορισμό για τους υπηκόους τρίτων χωρών. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό ένα φάσμα ημιτελών και ανολοκλήρωτων διαδικασιών, όπως το Κοινό Ευρωπαϊκό Σύστημα Ασύλου, αδυνατούσαν να διαχειριστούν με επάρκεια τον δυναμικό χαρακτήρα του προσφυγικού, δίνοντας στη συνέχεια τη σκυτάλη στα μέτρα της καταστολής. Η στρατιωτική συνοριακή φύλαξη, οι πρακτικές ψηφιακού ελέγχου και ο χαρακτήρας του στρατοπεδικού ανθρωπισμού αποτέλεσαν κεντρικά εργαλεία μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής της 'πολιτισμένης Ευρώπης'.

Η κρίση διαχείρισης των προσφυγικών ροών της τελευταίας πενταετίας αποτελεί, επομένως, την κορυφή του παγόβουνου ή, ακριβέστερα, την εκδήλωση ενός προαναγγελθέντος συμβάντος. Η αξιοποίηση θανατοπολιτικών και βιοπολιτικών πρακτικών, όπως οι πνιγμοί στα νερά του Αιγαίου ή η διαμονή σε συνθήκες ταυτόσημες με αυτές του θανάτου, όπως στα κολαστήρια τύπου Μόριας, συνιστούν την ένταση ενός προϋπάρχοντος πνεύματος παρέμβασης.

Το βιβλίο του Νίκου Ξυπολυτά *Πρόσφυγες στη Μόρια* συστρατεύεται με αυτή την πλευρά των κριτικών αποσκοπώντας στην επιστημονική τεκμηρίωση των παραπάνω ισχυρισμών. Πρόκειται για μια πρωτότυπη και χρήσιμη επιστημονική μελέτη για πολλούς λόγους. Πρώτον, γιατί, όπως θα αναφερθεί παρακάτω, προχωρά στη διαμόρφωση ενός ολιστικού θεωρητικού σχήματος «προετοιμασία, τοποθέτηση, εσωτερίκευση» ικανού, όχι μόνο να ερμηνεύσει τα αίτια διαμόρφωσης των βιοπολιτικών εφαρμογών, αλλά, να προσφέρει ευρύτερες προεκτάσεις θεωρητικής κατανόησης των θυλάκων παραγωγής και αναπαραγωγής των κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων στον σύγχρονο καπιταλισμό.

Δεύτερον, γιατί χρησιμοποιεί τα στέρεα εργαλεία κοινωνιολογικής ανάλυσης που διαθέτει προκειμένου να εφαρμόσει εμπειρικά στο πεδίο τον παραπάνω θεωρητικό ισχυρισμό και να τον αποδείξει. Τρίτον, γιατί προχωρά σε μια απόπειρα κατανόησης και επεξεργασίας του

κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού μέσα από τα μάτια των υποκειμένων. Σε μια περίοδο όπου η έμφαση του επιστημονικού πρίσματος έχει επικεντρωθεί στη μελέτη των πολιτικών που οδηγούν στον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό, ο Ξυπολυτάς έρχεται να συμπληρώσει το οπλοστάσιο της γνώσης με μια συνεισφορά που απορρέει από τα μάτια των αποκλεισμένων. Διάσταση ισότιμης και αδιαίρετης επιστημονικής αξίας με τη μελέτη των θεσμών και η οποία, συχνά, υποτιμάται ή παραγκωνίζεται από το επίκεντρο του επιστημονικού διαλόγου και όχι μόνο στο προσφυγικό.

Μεταβαίνοντας μεθοδικότερα στην παρουσίαση των περιεχομένων αυτού του συμπυκνωμένου βιβλίου (έκτασης 132 σελίδων), διαπιστώνουμε ότι αποτελείται από πέντε κεφάλαια με λογική αλληλουχία και επιστημονική πληρότητα (συνδυασμός θεωρητικής και εμπειρικής έρευνας). Κεντρική στόχευση της ανάλυσης του είναι η ανάδειξη των υποκειμενικών διαστάσεων της προσφυγικής εμπειρίας σε Σύριους, Ιρακινούς και Αφγανούς πρόσφυγες. Η ανάλυση αυτή επιχειρείται, προκειμένου να γίνει κατανοητός ο τρόπος με τον οποίο οι νέες αυτές υποκειμενικότητες περιστρέφονται γύρω από την έννοια του ατομισμού και της ανάγκης για επιβίωση.

Ο Ξυπολυτάς υποστηρίζει ότι ο ατομισμός και η διαφυγή από συλλογικές κοινωνικές ταυτότητες είναι το μόνο θεμιτό μονοπάτι που ανακαλύπτουν οι πρόσφυγες, προκειμένου να διασφαλίσουν τη βραχυπρόθεσμη επιβίωση τους. Η διαδρομή αυτή διασχίζεται τόσο πριν, όσο και πολύ πιο μετά από τον εγκλεισμό τους στη Μόρια.

Στην προσπάθεια του να αναπτύξει αυτόν τον ισχυρισμό προχωρά στη διατύπωση μιας ολιστικής προσέγγισης του αποκλεισμού των μεταναστών. Αυτή η προσέγγιση, κατά τον Ξυπολυτά, είναι μια συνισταμένη με τουλάχιστον τρεις αλληλένδετες συνιστώσες: την προετοιμασία, την τοποθέτηση και την εσωτερίκευση. Η προετοιμασία αναφέρεται πρωτίστως στις διαδικασίες διαμόρφωσης και κατασκευής των προσδοκιών των μεταναστών. Διαδικασίες που συντελούνται στον τόπο προέλευσης. Εκεί, οι μελλοντικοί μετανάστες βιώνουν τον αντίκτυπο της κοινωνικοοικονομικής κρίσης της χώρας τους και εξοικειώνονται με τον αξιακό της χαρακτήρα. Η τοποθέτηση, σχετίζεται με την εκ προοιμίου τοποθέτηση των μεταναστών σε χαμηλού κύρους επαγγέλματα στην αγορά εργασίας της κοινωνίας υποδοχής. Τέλος, η εσωτερίκευση, αφορά στα χαρακτηριστικά της χαμηλού κύρους εργασίας. Εν προκειμένω, συνδέεται με τις συνέπειες της τοποθέτησης σε χαμηλού κύρους επαγγέλματα στους ίδιους τους μετανάστες εργαζόμενους.

Όπως επισημαίνει: στη μέχρι τώρα βιβλιογραφία το πεδίο της προετοιμασίας αφορούσε αποκλειστικά τη χώρα προέλευσης. Στην περίπτωση των προσφύγων της Μόριας, ωστόσο, αυτό φαίνεται να εκτείνεται σε τρεις διαφορετικούς χώρους: Τις χώρες προέλευσης, την Τουρκία ως ενδιάμεσος σταθμός και τα ΚΥΤ των ελληνικών νησιών. Τα στάδια της τοποθέτησης και της εσωτερίκευσης δεν έχουν ακόμα πραγματοποιηθεί. Η εμπειρία των προσφύγων ωστόσο μέχρι τον εγκλωβισμό τους στα ΚΥΤ προλειάνει αποφασιστικά το έδαφος για το βίωμα των επόμενων δύο σταδίων και την ολοκλήρωση του αποκλεισμού τους.

Από τις τρεις αυτές διαστάσεις που αναλύει θεωρητικά ο Ξυπολυτάς επιλέγει να εξετάσει εμπειρικά το στάδιο της προετοιμασίας, μέσω της επιτόπιας κοινωνιολογικής έρευνας του στο ΚΥΤ της Μόριας. Στη Μόρια ολοκληρώνεται η πορεία περιθωριοποίησης των προσφύγων. Πορεία που έχει ξεκινήσει από τις συνθήκες δίωξης από τις χώρες καταγωγής τους και έχει ενταθεί σημαντικά στον ενδιάμεσο σταθμό τους: την Τουρκία. Μια χώρα που δεν σέβεται τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα.

Στη Μόρια οι άνθρωποι έρχονται αντιμέτωποι με τον εγκλεισμό σε ένα καθεστώς ακραίας στεγαστικής υπερπληρότητας (είναι ενδεικτικό ότι τους τελευταίους μήνες ζουν περίπου 22.000 άνθρωποι σε ένα κέντρο χωρητικότητας 6.000 θέσεων στέγασης) και απαράδεκτες συνθήκες διαβίωσης. Κατά τον Ξυπολυτά, με τους τρόπους αυτούς τα ΚΥΤ υπηρετούν πολύ ευρύτερους

σκοπούς από τον αποτρεπτικό χαρακτήρα των υφιστάμενων συνθηκών διαβίωσης. Εξίσου, αποτελούν ένα προηγούμενο σκαλοπάτι από την επακόλουθη αποδοχή της οποιασδήποτε εργασιακής – και κοινωνικής εν τέλει – συνθήκης διαβίωσης τους προσφερθεί. Οι πρόσφυγες, λοιπόν, κατά το τελευταίο στάδιο της προετοιμασίας (εν προκειμένω κατά τη διαμονή τους στη Μόρια) υπονομεύεται η κοινωνική και εργασιακή τους ταυτότητα και, έτσι, εξοικειώνονται με τον κοινωνικό ρόλο που εξυπηρετεί τις κοινωνίες υποδοχής να εκπληρώσουν.

Η πολιτισμική εξοικείωση με τους κανόνες και τα χαρακτηριστικά της χαμηλού κύρους εργασίας αποτελεί τον βασικό άξονα μιας νέας εργασιακής ταυτότητας που κατασκευάζεται στο πλαίσιο της κρίσης διαχείρισης των προσφυγικών ροών. Η εργασία του Ξυπολυτά εισάγει στον εγχώριο ακαδημαϊκό προβληματισμό σημαντικά επιστημονικά εργαλεία που βοηθούν, όχι απλώς να δοθούν απαντήσεις στο γιατί η ΕΕ και το ελληνικό κράτος διαμορφώνουν πολιτικές απάνθρωπου κυνισμού, αλλά και, να διαχυθεί στον δημόσιο λόγο ότι τα θύματα αυτής της αποτρεπτικής μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής, μακροπρόθεσμα, δεν είναι μόνο οι πρόσφυγες. Είναι συνολικά η εργατική τάξη της οποίας, επακόλουθα, το βιοτικό επίπεδο και τα εργασιακά δικαιώματα, σε ένα τοπίο αχαλίνωτης εργασιακής εκμετάλλευσης των προσφύγων, ακόμα περισσότερο θα απορρυθμιστούν.

Νίκος Κουραχάνης,
Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο

Ανδρέας Φερώνας
Κοινωνικός Αποκλεισμός και Κοινωνική Αλληλεγγύη στην Ελλάδα της Κρίσης,
Αθήνα: Διόνικος, 2019

Η βαθιά και παρατεταμένη οικονομική (και όχι μόνο) κρίση που δοκίμασε την Ελλάδα την τελευταία δεκαετία άφησε βαθιά τα αποτυπώματα της πάνω στον κοινωνικό ιστό και οδήγησε σε μια ραγδαία αύξηση των μελετών που εξετάζουν τις επιπτώσεις της πάνω στη φτώχεια και τον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό. Στην πλειονότητά τους οι μελέτες αυτές εστιάζουν στις εισοδηματικές διαστάσεις του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού και επιβεβαιώνουν ότι η φτώχεια έχει γίνει πιο μεγάλη και πιο βαθιά, η ανεργία έχει εκτοξευτεί σε απαράδεκτα υψηλά επίπεδα, η στέρηση είναι πολυδιάστατη και η κοινωνική μειονεξία συσσωρευμένη. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, η προστιθέμενη αξία του νέου βιβλίου του Ανδρέα Φερώνα *Κοινωνικός Αποκλεισμός και Κοινωνική Αλληλεγγύη στην Ελλάδα της Κρίσης* έγκειται ακριβώς στο ότι επιχειρεί μια βαθύτερα κοινωνιολογική και πολυδιάστατη ανάλυση των κοινωνικών επιπτώσεων της κρίσης, που συνάδει απόλυτα με τον διεπιστημονικό χαρακτήρα της κοινωνικής πολιτικής.

Στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος του βιβλίου βρίσκονται δύο θεμελιώδεις έννοιες για την κοινωνική πολιτική – ο κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός και η κοινωνική αλληλεγγύη. Το ενδιαφέρον αυτό μετουσιώνεται σ' ένα διττό σκοπό. Πρώτον, τη διερεύνηση της προστιθέμενης αξίας τους ως θεωρητικών εργαλείων για την ανάλυση και ερμηνεία των κοινωνικών προβλημάτων των σύγχρονων μεταβιομηχανικών κοινωνιών. Δεύτερον, την εξέταση των επιπτώσεων της δομικής οικονομικής και κοινωνικής κρίσης που βιώνει η χώρα μας, τόσο στην ένταση και το περιεχόμενο

των φαινομένων κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού, όσο και τον μετασχηματισμό ορισμένων παραδοσιακών πτυχών κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, το βιβλίο επιχειρεί να διερευνήσει μια σειρά ερωτημάτων, όπως: Τι σημαίνει κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός και τι κοινωνική αλληλεγγύη; Ποια η σχέση μεταξύ των δύο εννοιών και ποια η αναλυτική και ερμηνευτική τους αξία για την κατανόηση των σύνθετων και πολυδιάστατων μορφών ανισότητας και περιθωριοποίησης των σύγχρονων μεταβιομηχανικών κοινωνιών; Ποιες οι επιπτώσεις της οικονομικής κρίσης στην όξυνση των προβλημάτων κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού στην Ελλάδα; Ποιες νέες μορφές κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης αναδύονται στη χώρα μας ως αποτέλεσμα της κρίσης και ποια η συνεισφορά τους στην καταπολέμηση του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού και την ενίσχυση της κοινωνικής συνοχής;

Το βιβλίο εκκινεί από μια θεωρητική επισκόπηση του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού. Το πρώτο κεφάλαιο επιχειρεί, αρχικά, να ερμηνεύσει με κοινωνιολογικούς όρους τη σταδιακή επικράτηση του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού, ως κεντρικής έννοιας για την ανάλυση της κοινωνικής μειονεξίας στις σύγχρονες κοινωνίες. Το βασικό επιχείρημα που αναπτύσσεται είναι ότι η σταδιακή υποκατάσταση της φτώχειας από τον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό δεν συνιστά απλώς μια εννοιολογική μετάβαση, αλλά σηματοδοτεί την εγκαθίδρυση ενός νέου κυρίαρχου «παραδείγματος» για την ανάλυση και ερμηνεία των κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων στο πλαίσιο της μεταβιομηχανικής κοινωνίας. Το παράδειγμα της κοινωνικής τάξης, με τη φτώχεια ως κεντρικό εργαλείο ανάλυσης της κοινωνικής μειονεξίας αντικαθίσταται σταδιακά από το παράδειγμα του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού με κεντρική ιδέα την «απόσταση», την «απόσπαση» ή τη «ρήξη» από τους ανθρώπους που είναι ενταγμένοι σε ένα σύστημα κοινωνικών σχέσεων και δραστηριοτήτων που θεωρούνται φυσιολογικές ή συνηθισμένες. Το κεφάλαιο καταλήγει συνηγορώντας υπέρ της προστιθέμενης αξίας του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού για την ανάλυση και ερμηνεία των σύγχρονων κοινωνικών προβλημάτων, η οποία μπορεί να συνοψιστεί στα ακόλουθα: (α) εξακολουθεί να παρέχει μια πιο ολιστική και περιεκτική εικόνα της κοινωνικής μειονεξίας (β) ο σχεσιακός και δυναμικός χαρακτήρας του, μας επιτρέπει μια βαθύτερα κοινωνιολογική ανάλυση της κοινωνικής μειονεξίας, σε σύγκριση με την πιο ατομοκεντρική και οικονομοκεντρική εννοιολόγηση που εξακολουθεί να χαρακτηρίζει τις περισσότερες προσεγγίσεις για τη φτώχεια και (γ) με την έμφαση που δίνει στην υπαιτιότητα και τον φορέα (agency) μας επιτρέπει να αναζητήσουμε τις αιτίες του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού έξω από τα ατομικά χαρακτηριστικά των αποκλεισμένων, στις άνισες σχέσεις εξουσίας και στα εγγενή δομικά χαρακτηριστικά του παγκοσμιοποιημένου καπιταλιστικού συστήματος.

Το δεύτερο κεφάλαιο προσφέρει μια θεωρητική επισκόπηση της έννοιας της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης, συμπληρώνοντας, έτσι ένα σημαντικό κενό στην ελληνική βιβλιογραφία. Εστιάζει κυρίως στην κοινωνιολογική συζήτηση περί κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης, επιχειρώντας να εντοπίσει τους διαφορετικούς τρόπους με τους οποίους προσεγγίζεται στη βάση πέντε βασικών πτυχών που εμπεριέχονται στην έννοια: (α) των θεμελίων ή πηγών της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης, (β) των ορίων της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης, (γ) των στόχων της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης, (δ) του βαθμού του συλλογικού προσανατολισμού της αλληλεγγύης, και (ε) τις προσδοκίες ως προς τις υποχρεώσεις και τα καθήκοντα των ατόμων, ως μελών μιας συλλογικότητας, κοινότητας ή της ευρύτερης κοινωνίας. Η βασική υπόθεση εργασίας που διατρέχει ολόκληρο το κεφάλαιο είναι ότι η έννοια της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης μετασχηματίζεται μαζί με το μετασχηματισμό της κοινωνίας.

Το τρίτο κεφάλαιο ξεκινά με τη διερεύνηση της εννοιολογικής σχέσης ανάμεσα στον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό και την κοινωνική αλληλεγγύη. Μέσα από την εξέταση μιας σειράς συναφών εννοιών που έχουν συνδεθεί με τον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό, όπως η «κοινωνική ένταξη» (social inclusion), η «κοινωνική ενσωμάτωση» (social integration), η «κοινωνική συνοχή» (social cohesion)

και το «κοινωνικό κεφάλαιο» (social capital), ο συγγραφέας καταδεικνύει ότι οι περισσότερες έχουν ως κοινό πυρήνα την έννοια της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης. Κατά συνέπεια, η ενίσχυση της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης αναδεικνύεται ως βασικό πρόταγμα για την καταπολέμηση του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού και την αποκατάσταση της κοινωνικής συνοχής. Η ανάλυση στο τρίτο κεφάλαιο αναδεικνύει ότι η συζήτηση περί κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού και κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης δεν έχει μόνο θεωρητικό ενδιαφέρον, αλλά και κρίσιμες πολιτικές και κοινωνικές προεκτάσεις.

Ως λογική συνέχεια, τα δύο τελευταία κεφάλαια (που συνιστούν και το οιονεί εμπειρικό μέρος της εργασίας) εστιάζουν σε αυτές τις προεκτάσεις. Παράδειγμα η ελληνική περίπτωση, όπου διερευνώνται οι επιπτώσεις της κοινωνικοοικονομικής κρίσης με όρους διεύρυνσης του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού και μετασχηματισμού της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, το τέταρτο κεφάλαιο προσφέρει μια επικαιροποιημένη ανάλυση των επιπτώσεων της κρίσης στον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό, περιλαμβάνοντας και ορισμένες ποιοτικές, δυσχερέστερα μετρήσιμες διαστάσεις του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού (υλικές στερήσεις, πρόσβαση στην αγορά εργασίας, πρόσβαση στην κοινωνική ασφάλιση, την υγεία και τις κοινωνικές υπηρεσίες, βιώματα κοινωνικής απομόνωσης κ.λπ.). Από την ανάλυση προκύπτει ότι ο κοινωνικός αποκλεισμός στις διάφορες μορφές του (υλικές και μη) αποτελεί πλέον ένα πρόβλημα με βαθιές ρίζες στην ελληνική κοινωνία.

Τέλος, το πέμπτο κεφάλαιο επιχειρεί μια κριτική επισκόπηση ορισμένων βασικών πτυχών του μετασχηματισμού της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης στην Ελλάδα της κρίσης. Αφετηρία του εγχειρήματος αποτελεί η συνοπτική επισκόπηση των παραδοσιακών χαρακτηριστικών της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης στην Ελλάδα πριν από την κρίση ώστε να καταδειχθούν το εύρος και η ποιότητα των αλλαγών. Στη συνέχεια, αναλύεται ο μετασχηματισμός της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης κατά την περίοδο της κρίσης σε δύο βασικούς άξονες: (α) τη θεσμοποιημένη αλληλεγγύη του κράτους ευημερίας, και (β) την άτυπη αλληλεγγύη. Τα βασικά επιχειρήματα είναι δύο. Πρώτον, ότι οι μεταρρυθμίσεις του ελληνικού καθεστώτος ευημερίας που δρομολογήθηκαν στο πλαίσιο εφαρμογής των μνημονιακών υποχρεώσεων της χώρας μετά το 2010, οδήγησαν στην περαιτέρω αποδόμηση μιας ήδη υπολειμματικής θεσμικής κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης. Δεύτερον, ότι τα τεράστια κενά στην κοινωνική προστασία εξαιτίας της κρίσης και η αδυναμία της θεσμοποιημένης αλληλεγγύης να αντιμετωπίσει τις κοινωνικές της επιπτώσεις, αποτέλεσαν ένα 'παράθυρο ευκαιρίας' για την ανάδυση και ενδυνάμωση νέων μορφών άτυπης κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης.

Με βάση τα δεδομένα της ανάλυσης και τη συνθετική τους αξιολόγηση, το βιβλίο καταλήγει στο συμπέρασμα, ότι παρά το γεγονός ότι η άτυπη αλληλεγγύη φαίνεται ότι διαδραματίζει σημαντικό ρόλο στην παροχή άμεσης βοήθειας σε εκείνους που υποφέρουν περισσότερο από τις κοινωνικές συνέπειες της κρίσης, δεν είναι ικανή να καλύψει τα τεράστια κενά κοινωνικής προστασίας που διευρύνθηκαν από την υποχώρηση της δημόσιας παροχής. Κατά συνέπεια, δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί πανάκεια για την επίλυση κοινωνικών προβλημάτων, ούτε υποκατάστατο της θεσμοποιημένης αλληλεγγύης. Η μάχη για την αποτελεσματική καταπολέμηση του κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού και την αποκατάσταση της κοινωνικής συνοχής σε συνθήκες κρίσης προϋποθέτει μια ριζική αναστροφή του μείγματος μεταρρύθμισης του ευρύτερου ελληνικού καθεστώτος ευημερίας. Βασικές παράπλευρες συνιστώσες θεωρούνται η ανόρθωση της οικονομίας, η υιοθέτηση ενός σταθερού και προοδευτικού φορολογικού συστήματος, η δημιουργία σταθερών θέσεων εργασίας με αξιοπρεπείς αποδοχές και η οικοδόμηση ενός δικτύου δημόσιων καθολικών παροχών και υποδομών.

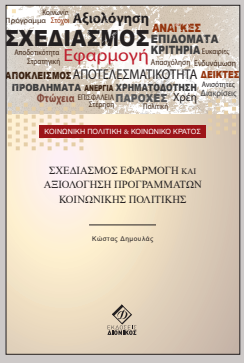
Αναμφίβολα, το βιβλίο του Ανδρέα Φερώνα έρχεται να καλύψει ένα σημαντικό κενό στην ελληνική βιβλιογραφία. Αποτελεί μια αξιόλογη συνεισφορά, τόσο θεωρητική, προσφέροντας μια κριτική επισκόπηση της βιβλιογραφίας για τον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό και την κοινωνική

αλληλεγγύη και αναδεικνύοντας την προστιθέμενη αξία τους για την ανάλυση και ερμηνεία των σύγχρονων κοινωνικών προβλημάτων, όσο και εμπειρική, παρέχοντας μια επικαιροποιημένη ανάλυση των πολυδιάστατων επιπτώσεων της κρίσης, τόσο στην ένταση και το περιεχόμενο των φαινομένων κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού, όσο και στον μετασχηματισμό ορισμένων παραδοσιακών πτυχών της κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης. Η σαφήνεια και αμεσότητα της γραφής καθιστά το βιβλίο προσβάσιμο και κατανοητό, τόσο στους μυημένους στο πεδίο των κοινωνικών επιστημών, όσο και στον ενημερωμένο αναγνώστη.

Χαράλαμπος Οικονόμου
Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο

ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΝΙΚΟΣ

ΝΕΕΣ ΚΥΚΛΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΑΚΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ 2019-2020
ΣΕΙΡΑ: ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ



Κώστας Δημουλάς

Σχεδιασμός Εφαρμογή και Αξιολόγηση Προγραμμάτων Κοινωνικής Πολιτικής

ΣΕΛΙΔΕΣ 240
ΔΙΑΣΤΑΣΗ 14 x 21
ISBN 978-960-6619-89-2
ΚΩΔΙΚΟΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΕΥΔΟΞΟ 86183196

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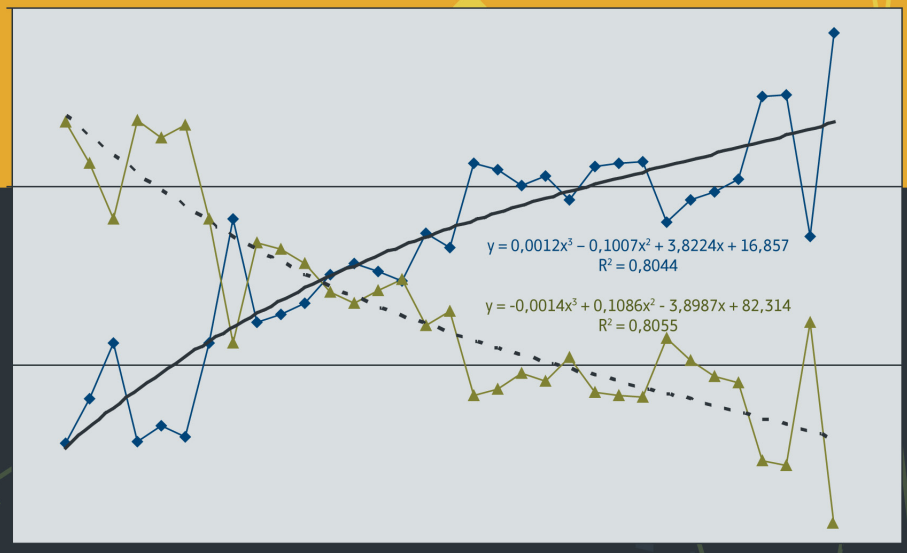

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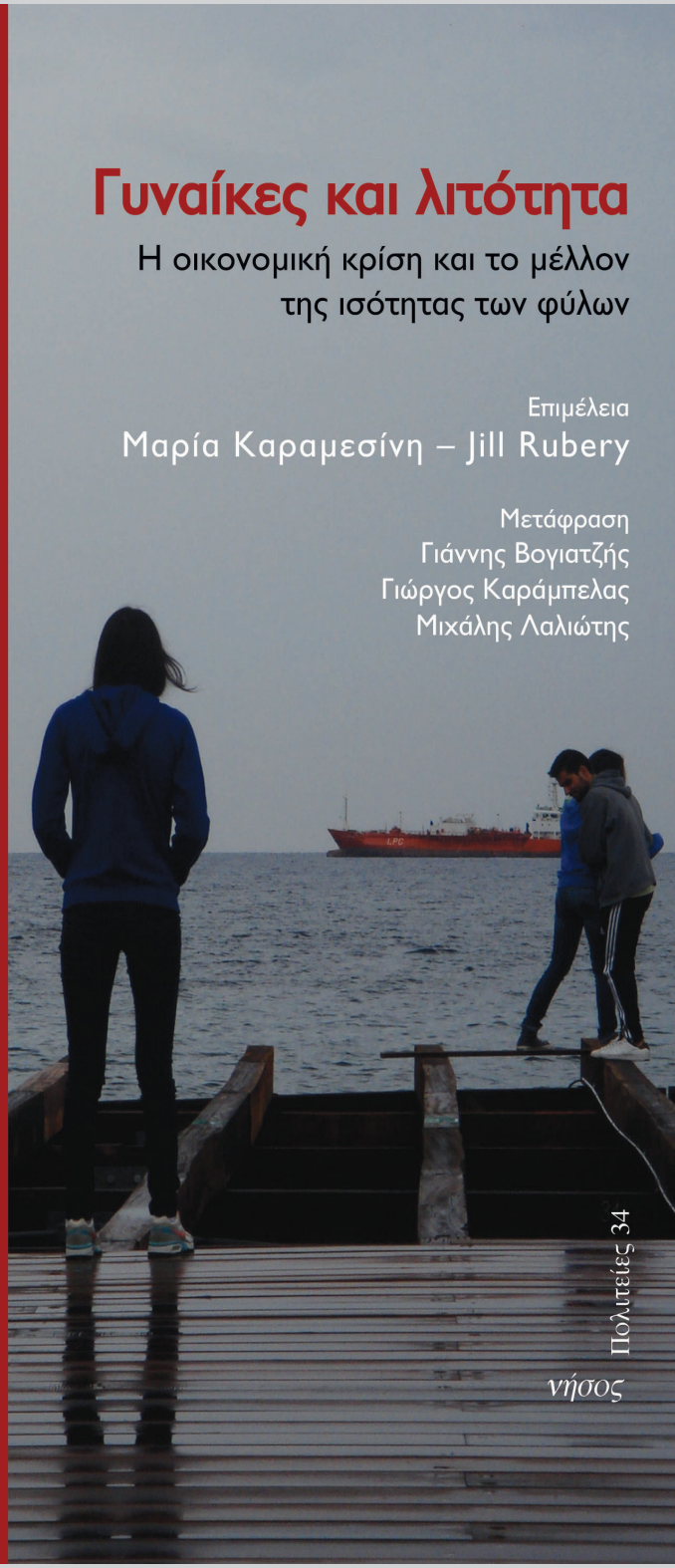

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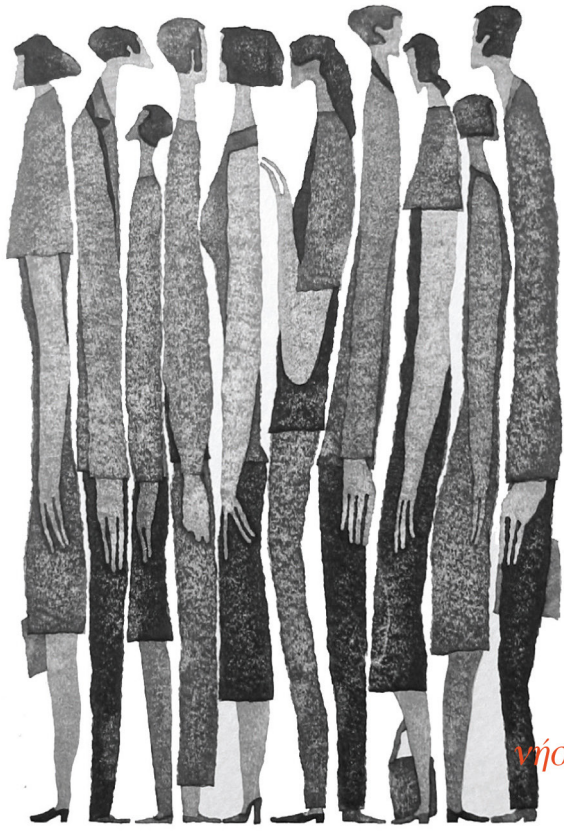

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Social Cohesion and Development is published twice a year (Spring/Autumn) by the **Society for Social Cohesion and Development**.

Printed and distributed by **Dionicos Publishers**, 10678, Athens, 9-13 Gravias str., Greece,
tel. / fax: 003 210 3801777, e-mail: info@dionicos.gr.

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Τα άρθρα αξιολογούνται από δύο τουλάχιστον ανώνυμους κριτές. Το όνομα και τα άλλα στοιχεία του συγγραφέα, καθώς και ο τίτλος του άρθρου πρέπει να υποβάλλονται σε ξεχωριστή σελίδα από το κυρίως σώμα (τίτλος, κείμενο, βιβλιογραφικές αναφορές). Τα υποβαλλόμενα άρθρα πρέπει να συνοδεύονται από δύο περιλήψεις, όχι μεγαλύτερες των 100 λέξεων, και πέντε λέξεις-κλειδιά στα ελληνικά και τα αγγλικά. Η έκταση των άρθρων πρέπει να κυμαίνεται μεταξύ 6-8.000 λέξεων, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των περιλήψεων και αναφορών. Τα χειρόγραφα των άρθρων που απορρίπτονται δεν επιστρέφονται.

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ISSN **1790-9368**