Title: MAINSTREAMING GENDER EQUALITY IN THE 2000 GREEK NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR EMPLOYMENT: FINAL EVALUATION REPORT

Country: Greece
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Among the European Union Member States, Greece stands out because of the huge gender gaps in employment and unemployment rates. At the same time, however, the country has the lowest scores in occupational segregation by gender and an average ranking regarding the gender pay gap. The gap in employment rates is even larger between men and women with a child aged from 0 to 5 years, while discrimination against women in unemployment is higher at the core ages. Moreover, in spite of low occupational segregation, vertical segregation is very high, with women largely under-represented among legislators and managers.

The trends in gender inequality in the Greek labour market during the recent period are not homogenous. Despite progress in the female employment rate and women’s participation to self-employment and the shrinking of the gender pay gap in low-paid jobs and sectors with relatively lower wages, the gender gaps in part-time and temporary work have widened, the gender pay gap in sectors with relatively high wages has widened and women’s representation to managerial occupations and legislative bodies relative to their overall share in employment has deteriorated.

Notwithstanding the significant rise of the female employment rate during the past decade, in parallel with a smooth decline of the male rate, the gender gap is still very large. Thus, facilitating women’s access to employment, making it easier for them to keep their jobs and helping them to re-enter the labour market after temporary withdrawal remain the top priorities for action from a gender equality perspective.

Gender mainstreaming has not been integrated into the Greek NAP 2000 to a large extent, since relatively few of the general policy measures included in the NAP have an explicit gender mainstreaming dimension. The initiative with the greatest potential for gender mainstreaming in the coming years is the creation of an ‘Inter-ministerial Committee for the Promotion of Gender Equality through all Policies’ and of a whole mechanism supporting it administratively and technically.

The gender mainstreaming approach in the Greek NAP is made up by a defensive and a proactive component. The first refers mainly to quotas under the employability pillar that prevent the widening of gender gaps by ensuring the participation of women to active labour market programmes with at least their share in unemployment. The
second refers to positive action programmes under the entrepreneurship pillar, one under implementation and two at the initial stage of design. The defensive component is dominant, since its scope of implementation is very much larger than that of the proactive one.

A second feature of the gender mainstreaming approach in the Greek NAP is its narrow understanding by policy-makers in the area of equal opportunities, which goes hand-in-hand with their particular conception of equality. Gender mainstreaming is not seen as a strategy that can challenge the gendered structures and roles together with the established male norms and values of society, but as a more efficient way to help women as a disadvantaged group to achieve the male norm. The lack of gender mainstreaming initiatives under the third pillar and the absence of any measures for promoting active parenthood among men are indicative of this narrow understanding.

The Greek NAP 2000 puts its main emphasis on the employability and entrepreneurship pillars. Small priority is given to the adaptability pillar and even smaller to the equal opportunities pillar. The latter represents only 2.3% of the total budget of the NAP 2000, but its share would rise to more than 4% if the budgets of all measures appeared on the tables. Effective expenditure for equal opportunities policy rose to 4.4 billion drs. in 1998 and to 29.1 in 1999, while the budget for 2000 amounts to 39.6 billion drs.. This proves a growing interest in equal opportunities since 1998.

A twin track approach to gender equality has been followed the last three years in Greece, which involves both mainstreaming initiatives and specific equality measures. The effort has intensified on both tracks, since the number and scope of both mainstreaming initiatives and specific equality measures have increased. However, it would be a serious mistake to overestimate the progress that has been made. The mainstreaming initiatives are still few, mainly defensive and lacking a wider ambition to bring about radical social change. Significant progress has been made in social care and educational infrastructure facilitating reconciliation, but leaves are still unpaid and the take-up rates are negligible. There are no policy measures for the reduction of wage or income gaps, against segregation, for the reintegration of women and men returners into the labour market. Quotas by gender in active labour market programmes are not respected in practice. Integrating the dimension of gender equality
in employment in education policy is only at its beginnings. Progress is real but slow, especially in relation to the existing gender inequalities and the need for action.

The first priority for future action is to ensure that the ‘Inter-ministerial Committee for the Promotion of Gender Equality through all Policies’ becomes reality and that women have a strong presence among the officers of the inter-service task force whose role is to assist the Committee and monitor and evaluate the relevant policies implemented by each Ministry. It is also an absolute priority to ensure that the members of this task-force are trained in equality policy and offered external technical expertise on mainstreaming.

The gender impact assessment and evaluation technique should be promoted. All general policy measures crucial for gender equality should be evaluated from a gender perspective. Monitoring equal opportunities measures should be improved and data disaggregated by sex should become available, especially for the measures under the entrepreneurship and adaptability pillar. A great effort should be made for the improvement of official statistics with respect to vulnerable groups.

The quotas by gender for the participation to active labour market programmes should be enforced and the equal access of young boys and girls to initial vocational training should be ensured. The specialties catered by the apprenticeship system should be thoroughly examined from a gender perspective and positive action measures to combat vertical segregation should be devised and implemented. Parental leave for child rearing and parental leave for illness of child should become paid and a campaign should be undertaken to stimulate male employees to make use of them. An Observatory should be created for violations of Labour and Social Law. The social partners should become more sensitive to gender equality issues and apply quotas by sex to the active labour market programmes they finance from their common fund.

Finally, the development of the social-care and educational infrastructure that helps reconciliation should continue in the coming years, since it is by far the most important precondition for the achievement of the objective of the Lisbon Summit regarding the female employment rate.

<table>
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<th>OBJECTIVES</th>
<th>List of Measures in 2000 NAP</th>
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<td>Care (children, elderly, other)</td>
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<td>Centres of Creative Activities for Children</td>
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(i) gender impact taken into account in the design  
(ii) aimed at improving the process of gender mainstreaming  
(iii) monitored for gender impact  
(iv) aimed at closing gender gaps  
(v) aimed at improving the reconciliation of work and family life  
(vi) aimed at allowing women and men to return to the labour market
1. The gender equality deficit and the need for action

Among the European Union Member States, Greece stands out because of the huge gender gaps in employment and unemployment rates. At the same time, however, the country has the lowest scores in occupational segregation by sex and an average ranking regarding the gender pay gap. Moreover, the Greek women, together with the Portuguese, work much longer than women in the other countries of the EU.

During the past decade, the gender equality deficit in employment has been shrinking in some respects and growing or remaining constant in some other. The most important change concerns the significant rise of the female employment rate in parallel with a smooth decline of the male employment rate. Notwithstanding the progress that has been made in reducing it, the gender gap in employment rates is still very large. Thus, facilitating women’s access to employment, making it easier for them to keep their jobs and helping them to re-enter the labour market after temporary withdrawal remain the top priorities for action from a gender equality perspective.

1.1 Employment opportunities for women and gender gaps

Like in the European Union as a whole, women’s employment in Greece stagnated during the economic crisis of the first half of the nineties (1991-1993). The trend was reversed with economic recovery. Between 1993 and 1998 women’s employment in Greece grew by 12.6% against 4.5% on average in the EU. Across the same period, the respective rates for men’s employment growth were 3.6% and 1.1%.

As a result of the high growth rate of women’s employment in Greece after 1993, the female employment rate has climbed from 37.4% in 1993 to 41.3% in 1998. That is an increase of 3.9 percentage points against 1.6 points on average in the EU. The *gender gap in employment rates has shrunk* across the same period, but still in 1998 it rose to 44.1% of the male employment rate. The Greek gender gap in employment rates is now the second largest in the EU after the Spanish gap.\(^1\)

The *gender gap in unemployment rates*, measured by the ratio of the female to the male unemployment rate, *has diminished* between 1993 and 1998. Nevertheless, in 1998 the female unemployment rate was 2.2 times the male rate and this ratio was the

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\(^1\) The indicator used is the gap between rates as a proportion of the male rate.
largest in the EU. The gender gap is even higher at core ages, since the female unemployment rate is 2.5 times higher than the male rate at the age group 25-44.

What is more important to mention however is that, despite the spectacular growth of women’s employment by 12.6% between 1993 and 1998, the number of unemployed women increased dramatically (+47.3%) and the female unemployment rate escalated from 13.6% in 1993 to 17.4% in 1998. This reflects a deep and persistent change in the attitude of Greek women towards labour market participation during the past decades as well as the difficulties that young women face more than young men in their struggle to get a permanent foot into employment.

The significant growth of women’s employment between 1993 and 1998 was exclusively generated by services, since both agriculture and industry shed female and male labour across this period. The sectors in services that absorbed the greatest numbers of female workers are: wholesale and retail, education, domestic services, hotels and restaurants, banking and finance. In all these sectors women were overtly preferred to men in hires.

1.2 The quality of women’s jobs: type of contract and professional status

What are the features of the new jobs created for women between 1993 and 1998? In other words, what is the quality dimension of net job creation?

Nearly one out of three of the new jobs created for women were part-time and two out of five were on fixed term contract. As a result, the share of part-time work in female employment rose from 7.6% in 1993 to 10.6% in 1998, while the share of temporary work in female wage employment mounted from 11.1% to 14.7%. Yet, even after these increases, Greece maintains the lowest share of part-time workers in female employment and a share of temporary workers in female wage employment close to the EU average. Likewise, the Greek gender gap in part-time work is among the lowest in the EU, while the gender gap in temporary work is slightly above the EU average. Both gaps have widened between 1993 and 1998.

Most of the new jobs that were created between 1993 and 1998 were jobs for employees, but the number of employers and self-employed women also increased

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2 Measured by the ratio of the female to the male part-time rate in employment.
3 Measured by the ratio of the female to the male rate of work on fixed-term contracts in employment.
substantially. At the same time the number of female family workers declined. The
shares of the employees as well as that of the employers and the self-employed in
female employment have risen, whereas the share of family workers has fallen.

The decline of the number of female family workers by 6.4% and of their share in
female employment by 3.3 percentage points between 1993 and 1998 is an important
development, since unpaid work in family businesses is the feminized form of atypical
employment par excellence in Greece.\footnote{Together with home working on piece rate. Data on this form of work are not available. However, field research indicates that the number of home workers has also declined in the nineties.} In 1998, 21% of the employed women were
involved in it, which is a record rate among EU and OECD countries, against 5% of
the employed men. The gap between these two rates is huge.

The increase in the number of female employers and self-employed by 14.4%
between 1993 and 1998 is another noteworthy development, since the number of male
employers and self-employed decreased by 3.6% across the same period. This proves
both the vitality of younger cohorts of women, that take risks in order to break through
higher status jobs, as well as the difficulties young women encounter when they look
for ordinary wage employment.\footnote{Many self-employed women are dissimulated wage earners i.e. atypical employees who are not protected by Labour Law and do not have the rights of ordinary employees.}

1.3 The gender pay gap and occupational segregation by sex

According to the results of the European Household Panel Survey for the year 1995,
the Greek female to male ratio in hourly wages is slightly higher than the European
Union average. Table 1 of the appendix presents national data on the gender pay gap
in the nineties. We can observe the following developments between 1990 and 1998:

- The gender pay gap has shrunk in low-paid occupations and sectors (manual
  workers in industry, retail employees);
- The gender pay gap has widened in high-paid occupations and sectors (banking
  and insurance employees);
- The gender pay gap has remained constant in medium-paid occupations and
  sectors (non-manual workers in industry).

As far as the occupational segregation by sex is concerned, the Karmel and
Maclachlan segregation index, calculated on 1998 data, indicates that Greece has the
lowest degree of occupational segregation among the fifteen EU Member States. A study of women’s over/under-representation in one-digit occupational categories relative to their overall share in employment shows that between 1993 and 1997 women improved their relative representation in technical, service and elementary occupations and among plant and machine operators and deteriorated their relative representation among legislators and managers and craft and related occupations.

1.4 Gaps in the preconditions for gender equality in the labour market

Gender gaps in employment rates, pay and working time are not only due to labour market discrimination, but also to gender differences in educational attainment, occupational choices, vocational training and family obligations.

Regarding educational attainment, gender gaps have almost disappeared among younger generations, although educational choices still differ between the two sexes in terms of technical vs. general education courses, disciplines etc. It is more interesting to look at gender gaps in vocational education and training both initial and continuous. According to data referring to 1998, the female share of participants in initial vocational education and training was 46.4% (see table 3 in appendix). The female share was higher than the male one in all programmes, except for apprenticeship (25%). As for participation to continuous education and vocational training, the overall female share was 57.5% in 1998 (see table 4 in appendix). However, women’s participation to in-house training programmes was weak (30%), given that women represented 38.4% of wage earners in 1998.

The availability of publicly funded care infrastructure is important for reconciling work and family life and its lack has a negative impact on female employment rates. Only 3% of the children under 3 attend publicly funded childcare services in Greece. The respective rate for children between 3 and 6 is 70%. It is therefore not surprising that in 1998 the employment rate of Greek women aged between 20 and 44 with a child aged from 0 to 5 years was only 48%, against 60% of women without children. The gap between the employment rates of women and men aged between 20 and 44 with a child aged 0-5 is among the largest in the EU (see table 5 in appendix). Care

6 See “Indicators to monitor the implementation of the Employment guidelines on Gender Equality”, working paper for the meeting of the expert group on 23rd March 2000, Brussels 13th March 2000, D5/A2/Wpgender/D (0).
infrastructure for the elderly is even more scarce in Greece, since only 0.5% of the elderly over 65 are in institutional care, while very few of them receive publicly funded home care services.

1.5 Assessment of key dimensions and trends in gender inequality

The key dimensions of gender inequality in the Greek labour market are:

- The large gender gap in overall employment rates, which is even larger between men and women with a child aged from 0 to 5 years;
- A high discrimination against women in unemployment, mostly at the core ages;
- A very large gender gap in unpaid family work;
- A sizeable under-representation of women among legislators and managers relative to their overall share in employment;
- The low participation of women in apprenticeship and in-house training schemes.

The trends in gender inequality in the Greek labour market during the recent period are not homogenous. Despite progress in the female employment rate and women’s participation to self-employment and the shrinking of the gender pay gap in low-paid jobs and sectors with relatively lower wages, the gender gaps in part-time and temporary work have widened, the gender pay gap in sectors with relatively high wages has widened and women’s representation to managerial occupations and legislative bodies relative to their overall share in employment has deteriorated.

The need for action can be concentrated around the following policy priorities:

- Intensify the measures for reconciliation of work and family life and encourage the greater participation of men to care responsibilities in order to raise the employment rates of mothers;
- Undertake positive action measures to promote vertical desegregation of occupations, improve women’s access to decision-making positions and reverse the trend toward the widening of the gender pay gap in sectors with relatively higher wages;

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• Monitor the enforcement of the existing legislation on the social security rights of unpaid family workers;
• Ensure the participation of unemployed women to active labour market programmes according to their share in unemployment;
• Restructure the apprenticeship system in order to integrate female-dominated occupations and promote women’s participation to in-house training.

2. Assessing the implementation of gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming has not been integrated into the Greek NAP 2000 to a large extent, since relatively few of the general policy measures included in the NAP have an explicit gender mainstreaming dimension. Almost all initiatives have come from the General Secretariat for Equality, but they do not challenge yet male roles and gendered social norms, work values and organisation. They correspond to a rather defensive approach to gender mainstreaming and to a concept of equality that treats women as a disadvantaged group, which should be helped to achieve the male norm. The initiative with the greatest potential for gender mainstreaming in the coming years is the creation of an ‘Inter-ministerial Committee for the Promotion of Gender Equality through all Policies’ and of a whole mechanism supporting it administratively and technically.

2.1 Monitoring and evaluation

Assessing progress made on gender mainstreaming in employment policy requires the disaggregation of the beneficiaries of each policy measure by sex. This effort has been undertaken in Greece since the first NAP of 1998. However, statistics are unreliable in some cases, while disaggregated data are still not available for many measures. The unreliability of statistics is due to deficiencies in the data collection system of some public services and organisations. As for the non-availability of data, it does not only concern institutional measures whose beneficiaries cannot be readily estimated and broken down by sex and certain types of social infrastructure whose beneficiaries are households and not individuals, but also some active labour market programmes or financial incentives and support structures for which the data collected are not disaggregated by sex, although this is absolutely feasible.
Evaluating the impact of the NAPs by gender also necessitates the monitoring of indicators other than the male and female share of beneficiaries. Unfortunately, such indicators have not yet been constructed and monitored by national authorities. The European Commission has taken an initiative for the development and adoption of common indicators by all Member States to monitor the implementation of the employment guidelines on gender equality and Greece participates to this process.

Regarding policy targets, there is no evidence of disaggregation by gender of the targets set for general employment policy measures. It should be noted at this point that the only quantitative targets adopted in the Greek NAPs translate the common targets decided at the Community level for the first three guidelines. An exception to the rule appears under guideline 11, which aims at the promotion of self-employment and the setting-up of small businesses. A special target is set for women, which consists in increasing the share of self-employed women in female employment until it reaches the average for both sexes.

Effective implementation of gender mainstreaming uses different methods of ex-ante and ex-post evaluation of the implications for gender relations of general policy measures. (Ex-ante) gender impact assessment of such measures, carried out at an early stage of the decision-making process, is totally ignored by policy-makers in Greece. This is perfectly understandable, since the latter have no idea of what gender mainstreaming means. (Ex-post) evaluation studies of the gender impact of general policy measures that have been implemented are also nonexistent.

The Greek NAP 2000 includes an important initiative consisting in the creation of an ‘Inter-ministerial Committee for the Promotion of Gender Equality through all Policies’ and of a whole mechanism supporting it technically (see section 2.4 of the report). The implementation of this initiative is expected to improve the monitoring and evaluation of the gender equality impacts of general or specific policy measures,

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9 The Greek government has committed itself to offer by the year 2002 to every unemployed young person (18-29 years) and adult (30-65 years) the possibility to participate to an employability scheme before reaching 6 and 12 months of unemployment respectively. However, the accomplishment of these targets cannot be evaluated, since panel data on the flows in and out unemployment are not available. The target of guideline 3 is to offer to at least 20% of the unemployed the opportunity to benefit from active measures so as to improve their employability. This target has been reached since 1998 (see appendix II of the NAP 1999).
since it is explicitly stated in the NAP that ‘special emphasis will be laid on the development of tools for the design and assessment of policy for promoting equal opportunities (determining methodology, indicators etc.)’.

2.2 Initiatives to promote gender equality

Until now, the implementation of gender mainstreaming in employment policy in Greece mainly consists in introducing quotas under the first pillar, promoting positive action measures under the second and putting emphasis on reconciliation measures under the fourth. In what follows we assess the development of initiatives for gender mainstreaming in the Greek NAP 2000 within all four pillars of the guidelines, excluding the initiatives that aim at building the preconditions for the implementation of mainstreaming (tools, mechanisms), which are described in sections 2.1 and 2.4.

First pillar

Most of the employability measures included in the first three guidelines of the pillar (job creation schemes, training courses, apprenticeship) conform to the defensive definition of mainstreaming. They are not likely to increase gender inequalities since a quota for women’s participation has been explicitly set to 60%, which is a rate that approximately equals the share of women among the unemployed, young and adults. There are two exceptions to this rule: the programmes of continuous vocational training for the unemployed, where 69% of the participants are planned to be women and the programmes of initial vocational training where the prospected female participation share rises to 44.5%.

From the remaining employability measures some do not fulfill the minimum requirement for gender mainstreaming, that of ensuring that gender gaps should not be exacerbated, since the total number of beneficiaries is not disaggregated by gender. The rest of the measures are impossible to evaluate from a gender equality perspective, since the number of beneficiaries is not available.

The measures stated under the fourth guideline are misplaced, since they have nothing to do with the review of the tax and benefit system. This means that decision-

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10 We refer to the following measures: integrated programmes linking training with employment, initial vocational training in agriculture, employment promotion of unemployed
makers have not taken into account the recommendation made to Greece by the Council to ‘examine in more detail disincentives within the tax and benefit system which may discourage labour market participation, in particular of women, so as to increase progressively the female employment rate towards the EU average of 50%’. Yet we do not think that initiatives in this direction have a direct impact on employment rates. They rather affect activity rates.

The fifth guideline refers to the encouragement of a partnership approach. The measures of this guideline do not fulfill the minimum requirement for gender mainstreaming, since there is no evidence that gender inequalities in unemployment among the target groups have been taken into consideration by social partners in the design of the programmes they finance from their own resources i.e. the Employment and Vocational Training Fund. The absence of any gender equality perspective is also visible in the lack of disaggregation of the number of beneficiaries by gender.

Women constitute 56% of the anticipated number of beneficiaries of the measures under guideline 6, which is devoted to the development of lifelong learning. They participated slightly more than men to the lifelong learning programmes included in the NAP 1999. However, this is not the outcome of a gender mainstreaming strategy, but the product of the greater interest of women compared to men’s to fill up their educational gaps (‘second chance schools’, programme for the improvement of the general education of adults) and increase their qualifications (open university, special university programmes, supplementary education of university and higher technical education graduates).

The measures under guideline 7 seem to fulfill the minimum requirement for gender mainstreaming, since men and women are planned to participate on equal terms to the programmes that improve the quality of the school system and help young people with learning difficulties (additional teaching support, remedial teaching, vocational guidance). However, in the absence of any reference to how this will be achieved, we have serious doubts on the accomplishment of targets by gender.

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11 The programmes provide subsidised employment to older unemployed persons or to unemployed persons approaching retirement age.
The measures under **guideline 8** should be examined separately. The efforts of the Ministry of Education to introduce *information technology* at all levels of education are thought to equally benefit to young women and men, as revealed by the disaggregation of the anticipated number of beneficiaries by gender. However, this is a pure speculation and equality of access cannot be achieved, if gender mainstreaming is not implemented.

A quota of 60% for women’s participation has been introduced in the *apprenticeship programmes* of the Public Employment Service. If this quota is respected, the tradition of male dominance in the apprenticeship system will break for the first time. We have already observed that the adoption of a quota is consistent with a *defensive approach to gender mainstreaming* in employability policy. It is worth mentioning in addition that the apprenticeship system has recently incorporated specialties belonging to services. However, this was not because a gender perspective was adopted but because the system adjusts to structural changes in employment.

**Guideline 9** gathers all policies and measures destined to combat the exclusion from the labour market of the vulnerable groups of the population. According to the data presented in the NAP by the decision-makers, women will constitute 52 % of the beneficiaries of the programmes against exclusion in 2000. The actual participation share of women in the programmes that were implemented in 1999 was 56%. There is no evidence of gender mainstreaming in programmes against exclusion of vulnerable groups. The lack of statistics for certain groups makes policy-design difficult and the implementation of gender mainstreaming even more.

**Second pillar**

There is a general problem in evaluating the measures under **guidelines 10** and **11** of the entrepreneurship pillar from a gender equality perspective. Most measures listed under the guidelines belong to industrial policy in general (grants, big investment projects, financing institutions) and are not targeted to SMEs or to removing obstacles for employment creation. Furthermore, the gender impact assessment of such measures is difficult because of the lack of data on new hires broken down by sex.

We have one example of gender mainstreaming under guideline 11. It concerns a programme for the ‘Strengthening of Female Entrepreneurship’ in manufacturing,
which is under implementation. We describe this programme in more detail as an example of best practice in section 4.2 of the report. Apart from this programme, there are two other initiatives for the promotion of female entrepreneurship that appear among the measures of guideline 19, referring to the tackling of gender gaps. All three initiatives are consistent with a proactive approach to gender mainstreaming.

Data disaggregated by gender are not available for the beneficiaries of the measures of guidelines 12 and 13, referring to new opportunities for job creation at the local level and in the social economy and especially in services. Neither do they exist any evaluation studies on the quality of jobs created by the measures of these guidelines i.e. the Territorial Pacts for Employment, the projects financed by the Community Initiative LEADER, the recruitment of hard-to-place unemployed as school guards and the promotion of employment through the development of the cultural sector. It is therefore impossible to evaluate both the impact of these measures on gender gaps and the possible trade-off between job creation and the quality of the new jobs. This trade-off becomes more likely, since the Territorial Pacts allow for setting wages for the new jobs below the sectoral or professional minima bargained at the national level. This is an important area of the NAP for which an ex-post gender impact evaluation is needed.

The only measure under guideline 14 is the reduction of the tax on profits by 50% of the yearly employer’s social security contributions for newly recruited employees. The measure is facing serious implementation problems and its take-up rate is very low. Its evaluation from a gender equality perspective is therefore premature.

Third pillar
The most important policy measure under guidelines 15 and 16, referring to the modernization of work organisation, is Act 2639 passed in September 1998. This Act facilitated the use of part-time work in new areas (wider public sector) and forms (vertical part-time, rotating work). It did not also recognize overtime in part-time contracts and did not set an upper limit of actual hours in excess of contractual hours. At the same time it gave priority to part-timers in hires on full-time contracts in the same firm and equality of access in-house training. The same Act regulated teleworking, home working and contracts for provision of services, allowed for more flexibility in working-time arrangements and ratified the precedence over nationally
bargained minima of collective or individual agreements signed under the Territorial Pacts for Employment. Finally it introduced a new Supervising Body for the enforcement of Labour Law.

The Act is presented in the NAP 2000 as a joint effort to promote competitiveness and productivity through flexibility and to control and reduce the exploitation of workers through regulation of the informal forms of work. However, there is no reference in the NAP 2000 to what happened with the new Supervising Body for the enforcement of Labour Law, while it is proudly stated that the new legislation has resulted in the conclusion of 190,311 new contracts of atypical employment from September 1998 to the end of 1999.

The gender implications of the promotion of atypical employment and working-time flexibility are well discussed in literature. Reserves have also been expressed for their net contribution to job creation. Gender mainstreaming should at least ensure that gender inequalities in participation rates are not reinforced, while at the same time promoting employee-friendly and voluntary forms of flexibility, attacking the problem of the quality of jobs and discussing the employment potential of these dimensions of labour market flexibility.

Unfortunately, the only explicit reference of Greek decision-makers to the gender dimension of flexible employment contracts is made in the case of part-time work. Promoting part-time work is considered a way of boosting employment opportunities for women and a means for increasing the female employment rate. The quality dimension of part-time jobs as well as gender inequalities in participation rates are simply evacuated. So the implementation of Act 2639 may exacerbate some gender inequalities while reducing others. What is needed is a gender impact evaluation of the Act, which takes into account and weighs all dimensions of gender inequalities.

**Guideline 17** contains all measures related to continuous training for the employed. The data on beneficiaries presented in the relevant table of the NAP illustrate that women represented in 1999 40% of the participants to training courses either in-house or taking place at vocational training agencies. The respective share for 1998 is 28% and the forecast for 2000 is 33%. Given that the female share in
employment rises to 37%, we can deduce that gender mainstreaming is necessary in this policy area, if gender imbalances in the lifelong acquisition of human capital are to be avoided.

Fourth pillar

**Guideline 18** focuses on the improvement of data collection systems and procedures as prerequisites for the evaluation of progress in the adoption of the mainstreaming approach. The measures of the NAP 2000 listed under this guideline are described in section 2.4 of the report.

**Guideline 19** refers to the tackling of gender gaps in employment. Among the **positive action measures** of this guideline, the only relevant in our view for gender mainstreaming are those regarding the promotion of female entrepreneurship and self-employment. They include the programme for the ‘Strengthening of Female Entrepreneurship’ in manufacturing, as well as two other initiatives that are yet at an early stage of development. The first concerns the design of a special programme for women entrepreneurs involved in big investment projects and the second the enhancement of women’s cooperatives and businesses in rural, mountainous and insular areas through networking and other support measures.

Finally, the **reconciliation measures** included in the NAP 2000 under the **guidelines 20 and 21** can be conceived as examples of mainstreaming i.e. of integrating the dimension of gender equality in employment to education and social care policy. These measures include the extension of the number of crèches and nurseries, of daylong kindergartens and primary schools and of the after-school **Centres of Creative Activities for Children**. The social care and educational infrastructure for young children has been considerably improved since 1998 and the effort will continue in the coming years. In addition, an important effort is being undertaken in the area of care for the elderly with the creation of a large number of **Social Welfare Centres for the Care of the Elderly** providing assistance/care at home to non self-sufficient old people. The educational and social care infrastructure that has been created during the last three years is public and services are provided for free or at symbolic prices.

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12 See the section of the NAP 2000 devoted to ‘Action being taken or planned in response to
The measures for the reconciliation of work and family life are divided between guidelines 20 and 21 to cover, in our view, the lack of measures specially targeted to the reintegration of women and men into the labour market after an absence.

2.3 Coherence and consistency in the gender mainstreaming approach

The gender mainstreaming approach, as manifested by the few initiatives in the Greek NAP 2000 inspired by this strategy of policy-making, is mainly defensive. The establishment of quotas for the participation by gender in active labour market programmes is the best example of this approach. A more proactive approach of mainstreaming is adopted in relation to the entrepreneurship pillar, where positive action measures are used to remove the obstacles women face when they want to start their own business or become self-employed. However, the scope of these measures is rather small compared to that of employability measures.

It is also important to note the lack of any gender mainstreaming initiative under the adaptability pillar and the absence of any measure to promote men’s involvement in care responsibilities and unpaid work in general. The disregard of such priorities are indicative of a narrow understanding of mainstreaming and of a particular concept for equality adopted by the policy and decision-makers. Gender mainstreaming is not seen as a strategy that can challenge the gendered structures and roles together with the established male norms and values of society, but as a more efficient way to help women as a disadvantaged group to achieve the male norm.

We have not identified any inconsistencies in the gender mainstreaming approach in the NAP. Even the traditional contradiction that appears when promoting employment through flexible employment forms between the goal of closing the gender gap in employment rates and that of closing the gender gap in the quality of jobs (pay, employment terms, working conditions, career opportunities) has not emerged in the NAP. This is because equality policy is at present almost exclusively concentrated to tackling gender gaps in employment and unemployment rates, putting aside income/pay gaps and segregation issues.

2.4 Mechanisms for implementing gender mainstreaming

the recommendations adopted by the Council’, pp. 46-47 of the English version.
The main innovation of the NAP 2000 is the emphasis put on the mechanisms for the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The measure proposed under guideline 18 is the creation of an ‘Inter-ministerial Committee for the Promotion of Gender Equality through all Policies’. It had already appeared among the programmatic declarations of the new government formed after the elections of April 9, 2000.

According to the authors of the NAP 2000, the committee will have a coordinating role for integrating gender equality in all policy areas and will report to the Prime Minister himself. It will be aided in its mission by the establishment of an inter-service task force, which will monitor and evaluate the relevant policies applied by each ministry. A guide for ‘the design, implementation and assessment of equality policies’ will be produced in order to facilitate the work of the task force. Special emphasis will be laid on the development of tools (criteria, methodology, indicators etc.). The General Secretariat for Equality proposes that each Ministry, starting from 2001, should create a special budget line devoted to equal opportunity policies-measures.

The budget of 50 million drs. mentioned in the NAP refers only to the expenses of the inter-ministerial committee with respect to the development of a monitoring and evaluation mechanism of policies for equal opportunities in employment (see table of Guideline 18).

The Minister of the Interior and Public Administration announced last week that she had officially asked the President of the Parliament to follow the appropriate procedures for the establishment of a Permanent Parliamentary Committee for Equality Issues. She also declared her intention to prepare a bill setting quotas for the participation of women to the lists for the municipal and regional elections and all councils in the civil service and asked for the support of all women MPs.

Among the initiatives putting in place mechanisms for the implementation of gender mainstreaming in employment policy, we should also mention the adoption of a quota of 30% for the participation of women civil servants to the councils deciding for career advancements. The quota is included to a bill which will be soon passed in parliament and is expected, if combined with a change in promotion criteria, to facilitate women’s advancement and to reduce vertical desegregation in civil service.

3. Assessing the priority accorded to gender equality
The Greek NAP 2000 puts its main emphasis on the employability and entrepreneurship pillars. Small priority is given to the adaptability pillar and even smaller to the equal opportunities pillar. This is reflected to the respective budgets of the pillars. The equal opportunities pillar represented 4.1% of the total budget of the NAP 1999 and corresponds to only 2.3% of the total budget of the NAP 2000.

Yet, the total amounts on which the calculation of the percentages is based must be considered with laxity, since the budgets of many measures are impossible to determine at the moment of the drawing-up of the NAP, while the budgets of others are amended later on. For instance, the budgets of the three measures under guideline 20 are missing in the NAP 2000. If the budgets of two of them were included in the NAP, then the total amount of the equal opportunities pillar would double. Moreover, we should bear in mind that the total budget for equal opportunities policy also includes expenditure for positive action measures under the first two pillars, which is difficult to estimate in some cases (e.g. increased subsidies for women in job creation schemes). Last but not least, budgets are important but effective expenditure is more important.

According to our own estimations, **effective expenditure** for equal opportunities policy rose to 4.4 billion drs. in 1998 and to 29.1 in 1999, while the **budget** for 2000 amounts to 39.6 billion drs. This proves a growing interest in equal opportunities and the increase in the number of measures and initiatives included in the NAPs since 1998. In what follows we shall first assess the priority attached to gender mainstreaming over the three National Action Plans – 1998, 1999 and 2000 – and then we shall discuss the number and nature of policies and measures included under the fourth pillar.

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13 The two measures refer to the daylong kindergarten and the daylong school with a budget of 7.7 and 8.5 billion drs. respectively, according to official data that we collected by ourselves from the Ministry of Education. The officers told us that they had given the budgets to the authors of the NAP and they could not explain their omission from the tables. The total budget of the equal opportunities pillar rises to 18.3 billion drs..

14 We have not been able to include in this sum the budget for the creation of more crèches, nurseries and Centres of Creative Activities for Children, whose financing mainly comes from the Community Structural Funds. The money to spend on this measure will be determined after the negotiations for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Community Support Framework have concluded later this year.
We have small evidence of initiatives to promote gender equality through gender mainstreaming in the Greek NAP of 1998. The measures promoting gender equality under the first three pillars were (a) the greater amounts of subsidies for women in job creation schemes (b) the support structures for the promotion of female entrepreneurship financed by the NOW initiative. These measures cannot be considered as initiatives, since there implementation had started many years before the drawing up of the NAP and the Multi-Annual Plan of 1997 that had preceded it.

The most innovative part of the NAP 1998 concerned the ‘reconciliation measures’, which mainly included three pilot programmes with positive anticipated effect on female activity rates: the ‘day-long kindergarten’, the extension of operating hours in state nurseries during the afternoon and the ‘assistance at home’ programme.

The initiatives to promote gender equality through gender mainstreaming increased in the Greek NAP of 1999. Three of them are worth mentioning:
(a) the priority of women to all employability programmes until their participation rate equals their share in unemployment,
(b) the innovative programme ‘Strengthening Female Entrepreneurship’ that offers integrated support to women entrepreneurs willing to start a new or modernise an existing business in manufacturing,
(c) the enhancement of existing and the development of new specialised structures for counseling and support to unemployed women, to women facing social exclusion and to women entrepreneurs. What is more important is the connection of these structures with the new ‘Employment Promotion Centers’ of the Public Employment Service.

Regarding ‘reconciliation measures’, three new initiatives should be stated:
(a) the inauguration of a wide-scale programme aiming at increasing the number of crèches and nurseries and broadening the pre-existing small network of ‘Centres of Creative Activities for Children’. The centres receive children aged from 5 to 12 years after school hours.
(b) the extension of the ‘Assistance at home’ pilot programme to the creation of specialised structures called ‘Social Welfare Centres for the Care of the Elderly’, with the scope to cover all the municipalities of the country
(c) the launch of the ‘day-long school’ as a pilot programme with the intention of covering the whole national territory in some years.

As we have already underlined earlier, the main initiative in the Greek NAP of 2000 regarding gender mainstreaming is related to the creation of the ‘Inter-ministerial Committee for the Promotion of Gender Equality through all Policies’. As for the new policy measures inspired by the mainstreaming strategy, these are the preparation of a new programme for women entrepreneurs involved in big investment projects, the enhancement of self-employment and entrepreneurship among women living in rural, mountainous or insular areas by networking and other support measures and the enforcement of quotas in employability programmes, since the participation of women to the latter in proportion to their share of unemployment is not ensured, in spite of existing guidelines and provisions.

From this brief presentation we can perceive that the priority attached to gender mainstreaming has been increasing since 1998. The same is true for the specific equality measures under the fourth pillar that are not related to mainstreaming. If we exclude the reconciliation measures and the measures for the promotion of women’s entrepreneurship, there was only one measure under the fourth pillar in the NAP 1998, four in the NAP 1999 and five in the NAP 2000.

From the preceding analysis it has become obvious that a twin track approach to gender equality has been followed the last three years in Greece, which involves both

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15 The programme for the “Strengthening of female entrepreneurship” that we mentioned as an initiative of the NAP 1999 gives support to rather medium size investment projects and is adapted to the needs of women entrepreneurs of small and medium enterprises.

16 The measures in the NAP 2000 are the following:
(a) the expansion of the network of the Unit for the Information and Counseling of Women with the opening of new agencies in two more cities and the provision of new services to women facing social exclusion.
(b) the introduction of quotas for the participation of each gender in the new jobs created by major private investment projects and public works.
(c) a pilot project of vocational experience for 5000 women aged 35-50, regardless of their level of education, aiming at strengthening their skills and employability;
(d) a similar project for 5000 women aged 35-50 from rural, mountainous and insular regions, aiming at the strengthening of skills required in the primary sector, the processing of agricultural products and rural tourism;
(e) a three-year project for the social integration of Muslim women living in Metaxourgio - a neighbourhood of Athens – to be completed in 2000.
mainstreaming initiatives and specific equality measures. The effort has intensified on both tracks, since the number and scope of initiatives and measures have increased.

However, it would be a serious mistake to over-estimate the progress that has been made. The mainstreaming initiatives are still few, mainly defensive, while the proactive ones remain piecemeal and not subversive of male norms and values in the organisation of society and work and of male roles in the reproduction sphere. Significant progress has been made in social care and educational infrastructure, but leaves are still unpaid and the take-up rates are negligible. There are no policy measures for the reduction of wage or income gaps, against segregation, for the reintegration of women and men returners into the labour market. Quotas by gender in active labour market programmes are not respected in practice. Integrating the dimension of gender equality in employment in education policy is only at its beginnings.

Progress is real but slow, especially in relation to the existing gender inequalities and the need for action.

4. Priority areas for future action and identification of best practice

In this final section of the report we identify the priority areas for future action and we present two good examples of gender mainstreaming.

4.1 Recommendations for future action

The first priority is to ensure that the ‘Inter-ministerial Committee for the Promotion of Gender Equality through all Policies’ becomes reality and that women have a strong presence among the officers of the inter-service task force whose role is to assist the Committee and monitor and evaluate the relevant policies implemented by each Ministry. It is also an absolute priority to ensure that the members of this task-force are trained in equality policy and offered external technical expertise on mainstreaming.

The gender impact assessment and evaluation technique should be promoted. All general policy measures crucial for gender equality should be evaluated from a gender perspective e.g. the flexible employment forms regulated by the Law 2639, the Territorial Pacts for Employment, the daylong kindergarten and school, the apprenticeship system. Monitoring equal opportunities measures should be improved
and data disaggregated by sex should become available, especially for the measures under the entrepreneurship and adaptability pillar. A great effort should be made for the improvement of official statistics with respect to vulnerable groups.

The quotas by gender for the participation to active labour market programmes should be enforced and the equal access of young boys and girls to initial vocational training should be ensured. The specialties catered by the apprenticeship system should be thoroughly examined from a gender perspective and positive action measures to combat vertical segregation should be devised and implemented. Parental leave for child rearing and parental leave for illness of child should become paid and a campaign should be undertaken to stimulate male employees to make use of them. An Observatory should be created for violations of Labour and Social Law. The social partners should become more sensitive to gender equality issues and apply quotas by sex to the active labour market programmes they finance from their common fund.

Finally, the development of the social-care and educational infrastructure that helps reconciliation should continue in the coming years, since it is by far the most important precondition for the achievement of the objective of the Lisbon Summit regarding the female employment rate.

4.2 Best practice in gender mainstreaming

We present hereafter two examples of best practice in gender mainstreaming. The first refers to gender equality in entrepreneurship and the second to reconciliation of work and family obligations.

*Strengthening female entrepreneurship – positive action under the second pillar*

The programme called ‘Strengthening Female Entrepreneurship’ aims at enhancing female entrepreneurship as a means to combat the under-representation of women among the self-employed. The programme, which is implemented by the Ministry of Development, had considerable success in 1999 and is continuing this year.

Women entrepreneurs willing to create new or to modernise existing firms in manufacturing are supported by grants in order to buy machinery and consultance, to develop new or promote existing products. The grants are supplied for investment expenditures up to 50 million drs. to firms run by women, provided that women own at least 51% of their capital. Apart from grants, the programme offers to women
entrepreneurs technical assistance for the design and implementation of business plans, information on financing possibilities and consultance for two years by a special advisor monitoring the operation of the firm.

The programme involves 150 projects covering a wide range of industries. Those that are more heavily represented are food and beverage, printing and publishing, apparel, non-metallic products, furniture and computers. Forty-three percent of the projects concern new firms, fourteen existing firms less than three years old and the remaining forty-three percent of the projects existing firms more than three years old.

The success of the programme and the great number of viable projects submitted for financial support resulted in increasing the budget of the programme from 900 million to 4.95 billion drs.. The programme is eligible as best practice in gender mainstreaming because it adopts an integrated approach, which combines financial with technical support and consultance.

Daylong school – Reconciliation of work and family obligations

The daylong school was introduced by Law 2525/1997 as a new institution of primary education. It is implemented through a pilot project - initiated in June 1999 - of 28 daylong schools operating with extended schedules. The normal schedule for the primary schools is from 8.15 to 12.45 or 13.30. The schedule of daylong schools is from 8.15 to 17.00, with the possibility for working parents to drop their child at 7.30 in the morning before going to work. Because of the need to cover quickly the needs of the whole national territory, the day-long school is also promoted by the Ministry of Education since the school year 1998-1999 through the creation of special classes with extended schedules for children of working parents only within ‘normal’ primary schools. At present, the pupils of the 28 pilot daylong schools rise to 5.571, whereas those attending the special classes in normal schools to about 45.000. The total represents approximately 8% of the children going to the primary school.

It is worth mentioning that the programme is planned to expand during the coming years. The budget of 2000 amounts to 8.5 billion drs. and marks a significant increase vis-à-vis the budget of 1999 which rose to 5.6 billion drs.. However, only the full

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17 Classes with extended schedules have been created in 1163 out of the 6.705 primary schools operating in the whole country i.e.. in 17.3% of the schools.
application of this institution in form of the daylong school and not of daylong classes will have the greatest impact on the female activity and employment rates.

Although the daylong school helps reconciliation of work and family life, we should not forget that its primary aim is the improvement of educational methods and is based on a new philosophy of the role of the school in contemporary societies. The development of creative activities, the application of innovative learning methods, the use of new technologies and of multiple teaching sources go hand in hand with the extension of the timetable and the enrichment of the curriculum. The government has expressed its intention to create about 200 daylong schools across the country over a six-year period.
APPENDIX

Table 1. Ratio of average female to average male earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manual workers (hourly earnings)</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>78.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual workers (monthly earnings)</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>76.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Including mining, manufacturing, energy and water supply and excluding construction.

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece.

Table 2. Over/under-representation of women in occupations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index**</th>
<th>1993</th>
<th>1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legislators and managers</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled agricultural</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft and related</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant and machine operators</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary occupations</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One-digit occupational categories.

**Female share in the occupation*100/female share in total employment.


Table 3. Participants to initial vocational education and training programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Female share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutes for Vocational Training (OAED)</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>2700</td>
<td>4500</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutes for Vocational Training (Ministry of Education)</td>
<td>14104</td>
<td>17237</td>
<td>31341</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticeship</td>
<td>14619</td>
<td>4894</td>
<td>19513</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated training and employment programmes</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>1133</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training for self-empl. in the primary sector</td>
<td>3142</td>
<td>4038</td>
<td>7180</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34118</td>
<td>29549</td>
<td>63667</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Greek NAP 1999.
Table 4. Participants to continuous vocational education and training programmes 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuous training for the unemployed</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Female share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In-house training</td>
<td>5950</td>
<td>2550</td>
<td>8500</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of self-employed and employees of SME</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of self-employed of the primary sector</td>
<td>8466</td>
<td>8320</td>
<td>16786</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life-long learning</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>3393</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33604</td>
<td>45463</td>
<td>79067</td>
<td>57.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Greek NAP 1999.

Table 5. Employment rates of 20 to 40 years old 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With children aged 0-5</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Gender gap*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland (97)</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The measure used is (Male rate-female rate)*100/Male rate.

Source: "Indicators to monitor the implementation…", see p.4.