



Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences

Master`s program: Social Policy and Social Interventions

Master Thesis

**“Familialism and the case of Greece: young adults’
perceptions for the welfare and the economic crisis”**

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Introduction

Europeanization appears to be an uneven process among European nation-states, especially in southern Europe. This becomes quite obvious when comparing social provisions¹ all over the European Union. The difficulty to implement economic measures vital to the integration of the Europeanization process causes political problems that also affect the social policy domain (Tsarouhas, 2008: 2).

Literature indicates that in southern European countries policy makers took for granted that family would perform certain tasks for itself, such as childcare. As a result, they kept on rejecting “family friendly” social provisions because they assumed that families would not need them (Flaquer, 2000: 4, Esping- Andersen: 1990). A theoretical model of more familiarized countries (Ferrera: 1996) has been proposed as an explanation to this situation. What has been argued is that in south Europe strong family networks have truly worked protectively for the (extended) family thus far (Matsaganis et al.: 642).

Already on December 2000 at the Nice Summit, common objectives on fighting and reducing poverty were agreed among the member states at an EU level (Ferrera et al., 2002: 8-9). Thereafter, the Greek National Action Plan, submitted on September 2001, clearly stated that the “family” forms the nucleus of Greek society and such informal social networks still play an important role in preventing poverty and social exclusion (Ministry of Labor and Social Security et al., 2001: 4).

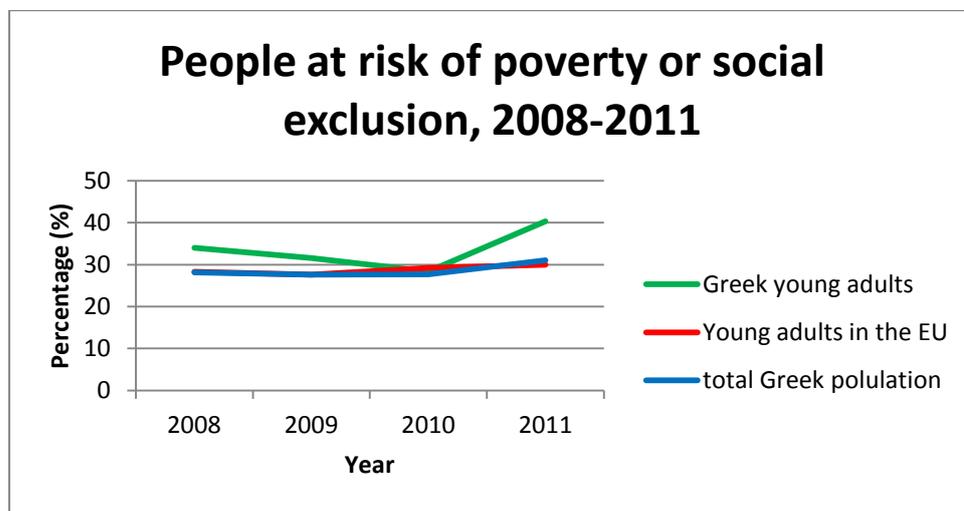
But, with the onset of the 2008 financial crisis what was once considered by international bond analysts, academics, and the economic press as the “South European Welfare Model” had then been renamed and degraded to the title PIGS.² With measures taken from the state about the crisis effects limitation, the whole family network was put under attack. Family that had once been institutionalized as a safety net that the state considered as a self-preserved system and fostered it by means such as allowances, has now been targeted as one of the main causes of discrepancies concerning state financial management resulting in the 2008 crisis. Public discussion on this matter even included the view that this irrationality had been the cause of certain problems that would lead to social insecurity irrespective of the crisis. From

¹ See <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1044&langId=en>.

² The term was denounced as a pejorative by the Portuguese Finance Minister in 2008 and by some members of the Portuguese and Spanish speaking press. Also, the Financial Times and Barclays Capital have restricted or banned the term, in line with these, we are not going to use this term in our analysis either.

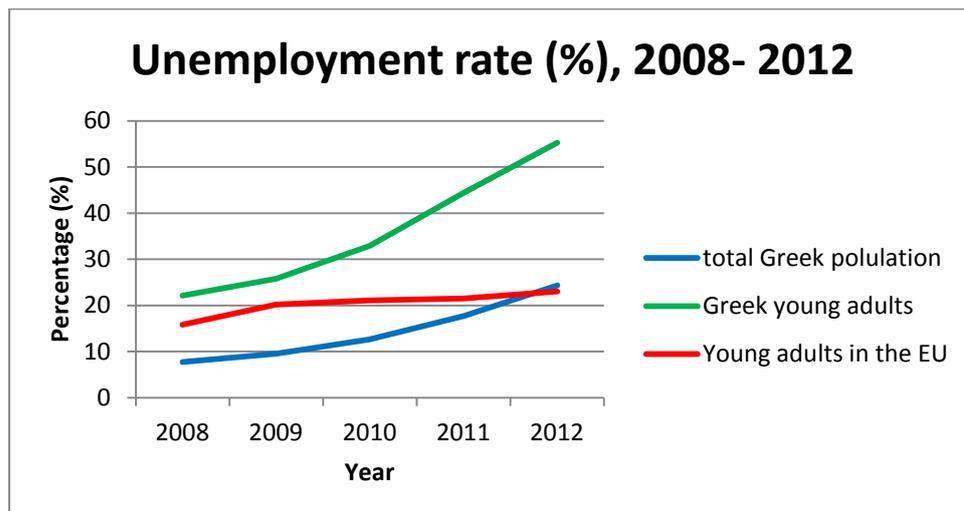
this perspective, the crisis emerged as an opportunity to rationalize fundamental problems of the Greek system.

After investigating the social implications of the current situation in Greece, poverty and unemployment figures indicate that one of the groups that was most affected by this attack towards the family was and still is young adults. Young adults form a group that progressively undergoes more academic discussion and research worldwide for some years now. In Greece, the importance of the views of this group has just recently started to be acknowledged and researched. Greek young adults seem to be in the worst position compared to both the other European youth and also to the rates of the total of the Greek population:



Data source: Eurostat³

Graph 1.⁴



Data source: Eurostat⁵

Graph 2.

³ See http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_peps01&lang=en.

⁴ The tables and graphs presented on this paper were created and edited by the author based exclusively on data either taken from Eurostat or by own research findings.

In this thesis I am going to discuss exactly about the problematization of the family network as well as the targeting of this model – an issue that really concerns the contemporary Greek society. In doing so, I will begin with a summary of the theorization of the Greek case in relation to the European welfare states. This contributes to the understanding of the term of irrationality in Greek social provisions in order to arrive to the main undertaking of researching young adults' perceptions on welfare in Greece today. This combination of theory and research will allow me to ascertain whether the selected population sample, produces answers with a dynamic choice pattern bringing possible solutions that could represent a future change in the Greek system. In order to run an assessment on young Greek adults' perspectives my research method consists of a quantitative - run of a survey- method research design.

Summing up, this research links the theoretical model to serious emerging issues and points to possible dynamics. Firstly, it works as an opportunity to study young people's views on social provisions in Greece. Young people are said to be the most vulnerable group, as they cannot reproduce the already existing system or engrave new personal life strategies while their importance as social group worth being researched as they form the new population of voters and potential employees. In parallel, this paper works as an opportunity to approach more specific implications of the economic crisis.

⁵ See <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdec460>.

1. Theoretical exploration

1.1 Welfare in Europe

The development of welfare states in Europe from the 50s through to the 70s was highly significant. Mainly due to the following facts: economic growth connected to industry, nuclear family structures, neo-Keynesian policies, and political system effectiveness balancing the governing body's ability between creating social policies and tax legitimation (Gooby, 2004:1). That time span has been denominated 'Trentes Glorieuses' (Ferrera, 2007: 1), because a large segment of the population was included under the wing of social protection schemes and, social rights derived from citizenship were implemented (Ferrera, 2007: 2).

This development was mainly based on industrialization consequently setting the traditional 'breadwinner' model. This model was based on the obligation of the male to economically support the family. During the Trentes Glorieuses, in case of incapability or need, the breadwinner was in his right to apply for government aid in order to support his family, a right that could only be transferred to his wife in case of death (Bonoli, 2005: 432). The protection of the breadwinner was used to prevent poverty and this model was based on the traditional nuclear family model (Bonoli, 2005: 409, 432; Leitner, 2003: 354).

The oil crises towards the end of the 70s revealed exogenous as well as endogenous threats in the welfare states of the European region affecting both the way of function of the manufacturing industry and the family structure (Ferrera, 2007: 3). With the external reasons we refer to the free capital movement as well as to spatial challenges of regionalism in the countries (Viebrock, 2007: 96). Globalization and the EU integration are included in these issues (Ferrera, 2007: 4-5). By endogenous threats, we refer to the development of the social services sector, the massive introduction of the female population into the labor pool and the consequential increase of unemployment and changing roles inside the family (Ferrera, 2007: 9). Therefore, two concepts should be taken into regard in order to understand these changes: the concept of 'permanent austerity' which was used to present the problem of resource-shortage in the contemporary economical context; and 'post-industrialization' with its implications on societal needs (Gooby, 2004: 7).

1.2 The welfare model in south Europe: the role of family policies

Southern Europe is characterized by an undeveloped family policy as a result of the incapability of the state as well as by a reproductive, value-related, ideological assumption that the family role should be preserved (Flaquer, 2000: 8). As the male breadwinner model still defines family and employment policies, (Minguez Moreno, 2007) the contrast between the new social risks and the state's incapacity to implement new social policies (Bonoli, 2005: 433) takes prominence.

The southern European countries are not excluded or marginalized from scientific research (Rhodes, 1996: 2). Specifically Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece are perceived as a cluster, as these countries share similar political patterns, policies, challenges, (Ferrera, 2005: 16) and operations (Matsaganis, Ferrera, Capucha & Moreno, 2003: 651). Subsequently, a general context of more familialized countries (Ferrera, 1996) has been proposed as an explanation to these similarities. It's been argued that strong family networks have truly worked protectively for the (extended) family so far. These resemblances are based on the late modernization process (Ferrera, 2005: 17) as well as the 'silent social transformations' (Naldini & Jurado, 2006) of these countries. Decline of fertility and late family formation are coexisting with strong intergenerational solidarity (Naldini & Jurado, 2006). Additionally, the consideration of Europeanization as 'pressure' (Tsarouhas, 2008: 2) to achieve integration within the member States without taking into account the above context and the consequent delay to meet Maastricht criteria has created more instability in the context of necessary reforms.

Southern Europe represents a special case when speaking of social policies. The institutionalization of the family role in social policy explains in a way the misunderstanding when speaking of 'family policies'. According to Flaquer (2000) "the specificity of southern European countries in the field of family policy is not so much to be found in the structure of welfare schemes for families, but in the assumption that families are crucial in providing support and services for dependent people (Flaquer, 2000: 8). For this reason, he suggests that we should study the role of housing policies and labor market of the Welfare State in order to fully understand the family policies model.

According to Ferrera, this concept is related to the existence of a "system of income which links to work position" (Arts & Gelissen, 2002: 145). Hence, policy makers

kept rejecting “family friendly” social provisions (Flaquer, 2000: 4) because they assumed that families would not need them (Esping- Andersen, 1990). Despite the fact that Esping-Andersen would not include Greece, Spain and Portugal in his study but only Italy and referring to it as a ‘conservative’ regime (Esping- Andersen, 1990: 28) without recognizing the Southern European welfare model, his work on clustering countries based on their social policy had been original and has introduced the sharing importance of three variables: social rights, market, and family. Furthermore, updating his work he stated that familialism represents exactly the belief and action that “households must carry the principal responsibility for their members’ welfare” (Leitner, 2003, 356).

In this study we are researching patterns of family policies regarding State and not family strategies themselves. Despite this, the concept of familialism indicates the general socioeconomic role of families. Families replace State policies in any aspect related to family life from housing and health to economic management and labor and in addition, a strong sense of family obligation to actually perform these tasks is observed (Naldini & Jurado, 2009). Moreover, the value system that supports the family concept emerges as a non-traditional value while still paradoxically attached to the breadwinner model. Consequently, as Claude Martin suggests, welfare society cannot be separated from welfare state (Rhodes, 1996: 5). These factors reinforce the focus of this study: the conceptualization of family policies reveals the need to study ways and means, (Leitner, 2003: 357) encouraging families to retain their support strategies.

In this context, a short presentation of Ferrera’s analytical factors of understanding the south European welfare model is useful. The factors that he acknowledges and highlights are on the one hand: “a highly fragmented and ‘corporatist’ income maintenance system, the establishment of national health services, a low degree of state penetration on the welfare sphere, a distinctive welfare mix (state/family/church/charity), extensive clientelism and ‘patronage machines’ ” and “politico-institutional”, and on the other hand: “the weakness of state institutions, the prominence of parties as the main aggregators of social interests, ideological polarization on party systems” (Rhodes, 1996: 5-6). Additionally, the lack of a coherent ‘minimum social protection scheme’ is also pointed out as an important factor (Arts & Gelissen, 2002: 145). Lastly, according to Naldini, these factors have a

strong presence and influence making the south European welfare model persistent up until recently (Rhodes, 1996: 10).

The critique of the family policies in these countries as rudimentary simplifies the reality (Guillen & Matsaganis, 2000: 121) and, the goal of these policies to support the caring function of families has been used in an effort to explain more objectively the concept of familialism (Leitner, 2003: 354). In these countries, a family safety net exists, though full of gaps, despite state's generosity towards it (Bonoli, 2005: 413) and, at the same time, while the state indeed invests on family policies it also faces serious imbalances itself (Guillen & Matsaganis, 2000: 120). Additionally, the moral responsibility (Moreno, 2006) behind these family strategies needs to be taken into account. The late modernization reveals that the woman's informal assistance in the house still prevails (Leibfried & Mau, 2008: xxi) and even alternative private solutions have been loyal to traditional considerations such as gender-oriented e.g. choice of female immigrants to provide assistance services in order to have an income. Furthermore, external help is welcomed mostly by traditional institutional instances such as the Church (Moreno, 2006).

1.3 Theoretical model

The countries that are categorized under the south European welfare model might share patterns although have different characteristics. Due to this, we need to study the role of the implementation of specific policies while working on the Greek case and present the most important policies and political-historical facts in order to differentiate it from the general cluster that was previously described.

For my analysis, I am going to follow Hall's 'policy paradigm' concept. This inquiry is based on comparative analysis as social learning, a view that completes the on state-based comparative research project when speaking of social policy (Hall, 1993:275). This can be supportive of the analysis of family policies as stated above. According to Hall, who is using Kuhn's epistemological framework, changes regarding social policy in Britain during the period of 1970-1989 can be explained by comparative analysis of the policy paradigms. The method implemented in his analysis is by dividing this period to three parts where the first and the second are related to a continuous policy model which can be characterized as "normal", while the third stands for a radical change which affects social policies. The criteria are whether and how different kinds of policies are related to one another. The first two parts are named Order Changes and the third, the Radical Change paradigm shift (Hall, 1993: 279).

Hall's Model on Paradigm Shift is appropriate for my research questions not only because it is representative of the shift in terms of policy-making but because it also includes a sociological approach (Hall, 1993: 280). More specifically it allows us to study the role of social transformations that lead policymakers to seek different policy patterns. This is a core key to my research questions (see section 1.4, p. 10) in regards to the role of social safety nets – existing or not - in social policy and the importance of family patterns in the Greek case.

Finally, in order to analyze family policies one more concept is useful to understand, that of 'social safety nets' which especially in south European countries guarantee support in case of poverty, necessity, etc. We use this term as Ferrera defines it: "a set of compensatory measures meant to mitigate the short-term negative effects of structural adjustment policies or severe conjunctural crises" (Ferrera, 2005: 1).

1.4 Research question(s) based upon the theoretical approach

Based on Hall's theoretical scheme and by looking at the pre-existing literature, our preliminary research question can be formulated as: To which extent can Greek family policy be defined as 1st, 2nd or 3rd order changes when looking at Greek social policy development from 1974⁶ and onwards? Specifically, how are policy continuities and discontinuities placed on the Greek Welfare system as well as how these policies affect the existing safety nets. By doing this, we are demonstrating that during the period between 1975 and 2008 no major changes and/or reforms have taken place in the Greek welfare system. This first research question serves the understanding of the reproduction, up until 2008, of the familialistic view in and through the analysis when the objective and content of these policies comes forward.

Despite the fact that on account of the crisis, allowances have been cut and at the same time family networks' effectivity has been stalled, the Greek people and specifically the most affected social group regarding age, young adults, seem to keep on reproducing the familialistic view about the welfare provision. Based on this, our second research question can be formed as: who do Greek, young adults' consider to be and who they think it should be the main provider of welfare? And additionally, do Greek, young adults seem to form a solid group in regard to their responses about the welfare provisions, or can differentiations based on demographic variables such as the gender, age, educational level and working status be identified?

Furthermore, do Greek, young adults consider crisis as a chance to reevaluate the role of the family in the provided welfare? This, will help us identify whether they have changed the orientation of their values due to the crisis in regards to the until recently predominant familialistic societal views concerning the social provisions.

Finally, as a result and fifth research question: Do their responses indicate a change in the preexisting and at least until recently predominant familialistic model view? In Hall's words, have we come to a paradigm shift?

⁶ After 7 years of dictatorship, Greece went back to democracy in 1974. This is the reason this date serves as our starting point.

1.5 The Greek case

To analyze the Greek case we need to focus on five terms: historical context, socio-economic context, social context (family), political paths, and institutional contexts.

The modern Greek State introduced social policies rather late. Up until 1920 only public employees were candidates to relevant benefits (Matsaganis, 2005: 25). Subsequent to the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922 social assistance programs were created so the State could adjust to the emergent situation. In continuance, the first insurance legislation was passed in 1922-23. Other important facts of the development of the Greek Welfare state were the creation of The Social Insurance Foundation (IKA) in 1930, the creation of the Organization of Employment and Unemployment Insurance in 1954, and the creation of the Agricultural Insurance Organization (OGA) in 1961. Subsequent to these changes a number of beneficiaries, though limited, were introduced to assist high-risk workers, farmers as well as government aid for the blind people, and orphaned children. Additionally, during 1967-1974, the dictator regime was active in terms of provision related to children, victims of natural disasters and the handicapped (Matsaganis, 2005: 24-5). Despite these policies and the intent of the dictatorship to act in a paternal manner, many social groups in need were excluded (Ferrera, 2005b: 8).

In fact, the first expansion of the welfare in Greece came with the restoration of democracy in 1974 due to the expansion of citizenship to all. As a shared characteristic with the other southern countries, the restoration defined a new social policy context: the expansion of social insurance system and the widening of access in social provisions in an effort to eliminate inequalities (Yfantopoulos: 329.)

In the 80s, with the socialist party governing, social benefits and specially pensions grew inevitably and included women as well. These policies had as objective the social groups excluded before as there was a great demand on their behalf (Ferrera, 2005b: 24). Considering this, many clientistic practices such as invalidity pensions were introduced (Ferrera, 2005b: 25). Furthermore, the entrance in the EEU was encouraging expectations of social stability and growth (Matsaganis, 2005: 26). Despite this, not the bureaucracy and administration nor the economic figures could support such 'large scale' policies (Yfantopoulos: 329). The main policies introduced during this period were: a means tested pension system in 1982, the foundation of the

National care service in 1983, various improvements on pension benefits (Ferrera, 2005b: 11), and social assistance to the disabled (Matsaganis, 2005: 26).

A new conservative government in 1990 introduced policies with the main goal of reforming the welfare system, lower public deficit and privatization of public companies (Tsarouhas, 2008: 5), the increase of effectiveness and economic growth (Yfantopoulos: 329). Specific policies were: a new pension scheme (lower beneficiaries) through certain contributory eligibility and insurance measures, the change and homogenization of retirement age between funds and genders, lower age requirement for social pension, a new scheme for new comers in the labor market and benefits for families with three or more children.

In 1993 the socialist government revamped the pension scheme until 1996 when a new effort of policy reform was attempted. Though coming from the same party, this government had a ‘modernizing’ policy agenda (Matsaganis, 2005: 27).

It’s worth mentioning at this point, that during 80s and 90s EEU membership was quite present as the Greek State had to catch up with European economic and social figures (Ferrera, 2005b: 4).

The main goal of this ‘modernizing’ government was selectivity. Focusing on the rationalization of the welfare system and meeting the EU and EMU economic criteria its main policies were: the raise of the minimum pension, the introduction of an income tested pension supplement, the introduction of a single replacement rate (70% of reference earnings) for public and private employees, incentives for postponement of retirement, second pillar pension schemes, mixed pension systems as well as the development of social services such as home help programs and a new social insurance scheme (Matsaganis, 2005: 27; Ferrera, 2005b: 34; Yfantopoulos: 342). The above policy concept had been expressed on the National Action Plan 2001-2003 as well as on the National Action Plan 2003-5 and officially implemented with the Law act 3029 of 2002. What was left out, was the introduction of a minimum income scheme (Matsaganis, 2005: 28).

More specifically, the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2001-2003 had as main purpose the repair of the safety net, the creation of a ‘minimum income scheme’ to fight poverty without targeting one specific social group (Matsaganis, 2005: 42). Moreover, the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion, 2003–05 stated that the objective had been to “guarantee minimum resources through selective provisions”. Despite this, what followed was just an improvement on the existing pension system

(Matsaganis, 2005: 43-4). Up and until today no minimum income scheme has been introduced.

The new conservative government of 2004 proposed policies only in 2007 which aimed to lower the high expenditure on pensions and supplementary benefits, and make the eligibility criteria stricter (Tsarouhas, 2008: 10) and the 2008 Greek welfare system attempted to face the implications of the economic crisis.

The Greek welfare system represents a 'mosaic' of social provisions (Flaquer, 2000: 4). Summarizing, the most important features of the Greek case are: contributory benefits, clientism, fragmented income maintenance system, and the fact that national care has failed in practice (Guillen and Matsaganis, 2000: 122).

The perception of new social risks in the Greek case is both family and work related. Greece had advanced a special system of self- insurance practices based on family strategies and proximity to the State by positions in the public sector. The general objective of this system was the redemption and social mobility of its members with the main purpose of redemption and social mobility of the whole family. These practices not only replaced the Social State's shortages but also undermined it (Tsoukalas, 1986: 283).

In Greece family has functioned as an effective - though informal - safety net: a "social shock absorber" active across a whole range of policy areas such as childcare, unemployment assistance, care for the elderly and housing and/or social assistance (Matsaganis et al, 2003: 642). According to Ferrera, the Greek family is "still largely operating as a social clearing house, mediating the difficult relationships between a variegated labor market and equally variegated income maintenance systems" (Ferrera: 1996, 21).

Family solidarity is obvious in Greece, including ties between members of the extended family. On account of this, absence of family solidarity might put persons at risk in case of necessity (Matsaganis, 2005: 29). This family solidarity is based on the past rural economical organization. This makes it obvious that the most affected groups are: people living in cities, younger people, women and immigrants (Matsaganis, 2005: 30). Likewise, the permanence of nuclear families (as traditionally defined), low divorce rates and stereotypes against single motherhood, indicate a strong attachment on family ties as well (Papadopoulos, 1998: 48).

Study of social spending is not thorough enough as social effectiveness cannot be measured explicitly. Greek policies are based on Fordist norms while social

transformations create an uneven structure due to poor social assistance (Matsaganis, 2005: 31).

The Greek system is based on contributory benefits, while many poor households lack eligibility for social provisions (Matsaganis, 2005: 32). Conjointly, investment GDP rate on social policies is low (Matsaganis, 2000: 72). Studies have not focused on social assistance. The most attention is being put towards pensions since they represent 90% of the total social transfer income in Greece (Matsaganis, 2000: 76). Furthermore, informal sector and tax evasion have had a great impact. Greece has been characterized as a 'path dependent' case due to clientism as well as inadequate administration (Tsarouhas, 2008: 11). At the same time, social policy reform has been limited, partial, ineffective and mostly inconclusive (Tsarouhas, 2008: 12).

Indicative of the contingency of family networks is that children and especially girls live with their parents for a long time after reaching adulthood. This contingency though, explicates another dependence, the one of the elderly to their children (Flaquer, 2000: 7). Furthermore, home-ownership in south European countries in general and specifically in Greece can be interpreted as a form of 'family self-protection', readjusting the absence of universal child benefits (Flaquer, 2000: 10).

The main policies all these years were mainly about cash-benefits: unemployment benefits (ordinary unemployment benefit – students, first time job seekers and long term unemployed not eligible) (Matsaganis, 2005: 37), retirement benefits (minimum pension and income tested supplement - high spending on pensions and poverty) (Matsaganis, 2005: 38), disability benefits (noncontributory taxation type of disability) (Matsaganis, 2005: 39), family benefits (families with more than three children benefit and more allowances for public servants) (Matsaganis, 2005: 40), housing assistance benefits (Matsaganis, 2005: 41) encouraging dwelling purchasing (Flaquer, 2000: 9), low maternal leaves (Papadopoulos, 1998: 49) and emergency benefits (for immigrants, victims of natural hazards, cases of necessity) (Matsaganis, 2005: 42). What's more, the lack of family policies is apparent in cases such as public services for small children (Papadopoulos, 1998: 49), family oriented cash-benefits, balancing work and family policies (Flaquer, 2000: 7) and parental leave allowances (Papadopoulos, 1998: 50).

Overall, what is valuable according to Sotiropoulos, is that until the crisis occurred "Greek authorities and social partners have been socialized to work in a context of

programming, coordination and rationalization of social policies, the standards for which have been set in the EU and diffused in the country” (Sotiropoulos, 2004: 282).

Summing up, from 1974 and up until 2008 the Greek system despite political changes was oriented to support family solidarity, reinforce the pension system to solve disparities and unwillingness to implement a radical reform. The objective and content of the policies implemented until 2008 confirm the reproduction of the familialistic view and based on Hall’s analytical scheme no radical- third order- but only first and second order changes can be identified during this period.

1.6 Economic crisis and the family policies

The above described model seems to have come to an end nowadays. With the measures taken from the State about the crisis effects limitation, the whole family network was put under attack. The family that had been institutionalized as a safety net considered by the State as self-preserving and encouraged by other means such as allowances targeted as one of the main causes of irrationality on the State's financial management and patrony. The crisis has raised the demand for the State's social protection (Bonoli, 2005: 408).

The crisis in Greece became a reality in 2009, following the world environment, with the new socialist government announcing the 'real' figures on fiscal trends and public debt (Matsaganis, 2012b: 407). What followed was an 'unprecedented' loan given to the government by the EU, ECB and the IMF and in return financial measures needed to be taken by the Greek government (Matsaganis, 2012b: 407). The need of political agreement on these measures concluded in three elections until today, with a cooperative government of the conservative and socialist party now in charge.

In this context, relative poverty rates remain high in Greece, -nearly 20% (CIA World Factbook)- and the unemployment rates increased affecting both men and women but most of all young adults (Matsaganis, 2012b: 409). Young adults seem to be the most affected group in a negative way by the reorganization of strategies, as they cannot count on these to plan their lives with certainty anymore (Pew Research Center, 2012: 1).

The Greek welfare seemed unprepared to deal with the crisis exposing high spending (Matsaganis, 2011: 503), social administration weakness, clientism and economic weakness (Featherstone, 2011: 195-6,8). Pensions were cut down, support schemes were inadequate, insurance fund income of contribution were lowered as well as public services (Matsaganis, 2012b: 414-5), thirteenth and fourteenth month bonuses were abolished (replacing them with flat-rate vacation allowances totaling €800 a year for pensions below €2500 per month), the Pensioners' Solidarity Contribution was introduced (Matsaganis, 2011: 504), taxes raised (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis, 2012: 209) and, privatizations were put in place (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis, 2012: 215). A new law (Law 3863/10) introduced a quasi-universal Basic Pension and a contribution-related Proportional Pension (Matsaganis, 2012b: 415).

What seems to be the case is that the welfare state itself is one of the reasons of the crisis while at the same time the crisis has affected the state's welfare system functionality (Matsaganis, 2011: 502). The welfare system seemed to fail to protect vulnerable groups. Families that were functioning as safety nets were targeted by austerity measures like cutting down pensions and started facing the increase of social insecurity (Petmetzidou, 2011). More social groups- young adults among them, nowadays are succumbed to poverty, many of them face extreme poverty or are at a high risk of poverty.

Dissimilarity applies here to the fact that the crisis is considered as both internal and external to the Greek State situation, which forced a change on the familialistic view as well as on the role of the State. Before the crisis, family networks were considered as functional for its own members and as a result they were not problematized. Families were supported only by State allowances and after the financial crisis, families needed to readjust their strategies and seemed unable to succeed at it without State support. Furthermore, it was understood that the benefits towards the families were not homogeneous for all the possible beneficiaries and also had a negative impact by "overloading" the already weak Greek welfare system .

Due to the economic crisis, the Greek State was and still is on the one hand forced to take austerity measures and to limit provisions for its citizens. And on the other hand, socially, it is expected to be able to balance those measures and protect the citizens from poverty. Despite this, it is not clear whether the state is asked to fund new institutions of social policy that provide services to cover citizens' needs or to create a new reliable allowance policy for those in need. The work-related function of the family plays a key role here. Because of this, it is on the one side highly likely that young adults' perceptions on social provisions might indicate the dysfunction of the Greek welfare state is a result of this familialized model and, resulting in the limitations of its networks when it comes down to social policy issues. On the other side, family values are still very strong and family acts protectively where it is able to. This factor makes it attractive or necessary for a young adult to benefit from, with also non-material provisions, since s/he has no other alternative.

As a result, our hypothesis is that economic crisis represents a third-order change because the family is forced -not willingly but due to its incapacity- to radically change its provision role and to manage it. Young adults consider the state as the responsible entity obliged to create new policies to manage the crisis' implications.

Additionally, this change represents a dynamic process that affects the whole family network.

As mentioned above, the familialistic model is strongly work related. As a result young people are forced to reconsider their way and values of entering into the labor market and organizing their future family life. For this reason they want a more meritocratic welfare system as a solution to future stability. Lastly, the family seems unable to gain its role on social policy as it was before the crisis.

2. Methodology

2.1 Character of the research study

The methodology of this study derives from the three aforementioned research questions: Continuities and discontinuities on the Greek welfare system; perceptions of the young adults on the welfare provision; and the financial crisis impact on young adults' perceptions.

Considering these, I came to the conclusion that a 'mixed methods research' (Bryman, 2012: 628) is necessary in order to assemble these questions. As a result the scope of this study is both deductive and inductive (Bryman, 2012: 26); starting with the analysis of the theoretical models written to explain these concepts and continuing with the definition of these and its operationalization observing particular elements. Parallely, using the findings in order to give orientations of theoretical approach.

As examined in the literature above, there are two main concepts in this study: first the concept of 'welfare'; and second the concept of 'familialism'. We have already analyzed how these concepts allow us to understand the meaning of family policies in south European countries and comprehend continuities and changes.

Also, the scope of this study is cross-sectional (Bryman, 2012: 60, 62) by combining different techniques such as the use of a questionnaire with both open questions that requiring content analysis and more quantitative information by closed questions, in a small-scale sample, it attempts to produce quantitative and quantifiable data on this topic.

In the next chapters (2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7 pp. 20- 30) I will further discuss the specific methodology and elements of my chosen research design.

2.2 Measurement and interviews

In order to measure these concepts, and specify the main characteristics making the subsequent correlations I needed to construct my variables and indicators (Bryman, 2012: 164). In order to achieve this I conducted three semi-structured interviews (see section 2.3, p. 23).

Specifically, I conducted three qualitative, semi-structured (Grawitz, 2004: 241) and goal-focused interviews, following a guide in a flexible manner (Bryman, 2012: 471), to specify the indicators in order to construct my variables. Looking for interviewees of different gender, education and social status and of ages between 18 and 24. This served the purpose of representativeness and validity (Babbie, 2011: 241). At the Athens Student Residence I randomly found a 22 year old female student. She introduced me to the other two interviewees who were visiting that day at the residence and had the required characteristics. The interviews took place consecutively and in private. The interviewees had no previous contact with each other to ensure they would not know the interview subject in order to avoid contamination of their answers. As a result, the sample of these interviews was purposive as we seek persons in a strategic way (Bryman, 2012: 418) and particularly by using the snowball sampling technique (Babbie, 2011: 292). Overall, the sample consisted of a female student of 21 years of age, a working female of 23 years of age and one unemployed male of 24 years of age.

During the interviews I followed the funnel method. This method is defined by the fact that the interviewer constructs the questionnaire by “beginning with general questions to put the participant at ease, and then ‘funneling down’ to more specific questions” (Bailey, 1994: 513). During the ‘narrowing’, filter questions can be asked (Bailey, 1994: 135). More specifically, the interviewees were unaware of my main goal to find indicators for my topic. They knew they were being interviewed for a thesis but they were unaware of the main objective, as I wanted to ensure that their answers were spontaneous. In doing so, I asked indirect, progressively relating towards the on-topic questions.

My target was both to acquire information from their responses for my research topic: the perception of young adults in regard to the social welfare system, and also to identify their reactions, as it was important to note whether they were feeling uneasy to answer a question or they simply did not want to (feelings of anger or

timidity) without clearly stating this. Additionally, I wanted to see how the interviewees correlated to each topic areas (Bryman, 2012: 473). Resulting in the choice of this type of interview relating to two important characteristics: the fact that I had previously constructed my hypotheses and the fact that I needed to specify the types of possible answers/reactions towards the specific subject, foreseeing any difficulties a person would deal with while completing the questionnaire, and the possible ratio of the number of attitudes in order to construct my variables (Grawitz, 2004: 241).

Subsequent to the type of interview I used, I chose open questions for the interviews (Babbie, 2011: 388). I did not have complete freedom as I was restricted by my research target which was to construct my variables in order to research young people's perceptions on welfare. Taking this into consideration, the participants were free to answer as long as their answers were related to the topic. Every time they went off-topic I brought them back to it, stirring their answers to my target. This way I managed to find my indicators and construct my variables by verifying my hypotheses and by interpreting seemingly unrelated answers based on their personal experience (Grawitz, 2004: 242).

While setting up the interview and during it, I focused on some key elements in order to smooth the process. Good flow of the questions, on-topic and clear questions so the interviewee is able to answer, short questions, no use of leading or negative questions, a familiar attitude towards the interviewee so that s/he is willing to answer, leveling the questions to the interviewees language, a quiet place to conduct the interview in order to make the interviewee feel comfortable (Bryman, 2012: 473; Babbie, 2011: 387-397).

In general, the interviews proceeded as following⁷:

First, I asked how they understand the term of Social Provisions and if they related it to Social Welfare. The fact that they did not understand the terms resulted to the construction of my first variables. By asking indirect questions they came to a an understanding of Social Provisions and Social Welfare.

Afterwards, questions on who is and who should be the provider of welfare came up. Specifically, the questions were: "Who is the provider?" and, "Who should be the

⁷ For a more analytical view of the procedure I followed and the answers of my interviewees see annex 1, pp. 52-54.

provider?” Then, based on their answers I asked more specific questions on the role of the State and the Family.

My second step was to gather information about the profile of my interviewees by asking their personal experience as well as information about their social environment. Particularly, I asked questions related to their current occupation, family and educational status, level of education, insurance status, and how they found, or are planning to find work. Also, I asked if they are receiving any provisions.

After this, -and based on their answers- I related their personal experience to their status so I asked to evaluate the State and Family Provisions. Principally, I asked them to evaluate the Man Power Employment Organization (OAED) which is the main Greek organ providing assistance on entering the labor market. All evaluation-related answers were based on a Likert scale (0-5 where 0 the least satisfied and 5 the most satisfied).

The second part of the interview had to do with the crisis. By asking “how the crisis has influenced their personal and family everyday life” I came to assumptions on how they perceive the term crisis.

After this, the need to find how they deal with the crisis implications came up. In order to achieve this, my question was “what should the State and Family provide under these circumstances?”. Based on their answers on alternative functionalities dealing with crisis, I asked their view on social networks today and the relation between the public and private sectors.

Finally, the last question was related to what they think that should be done (possible solutions), in order to gather information in regards to the dynamic of their perceptions.

2.3 Operationalization of the Concepts

These interviews allowed me to understand the dimensions of the concepts related to my study. More specifically, referring to dimensions of the concept and in regard to the definition of ‘familialism’ my dimensions were three: policies coming from the State, provisions coming from the family, the nature and consequences of the economic crisis. As a result, the indicators found were: type of provision residences, housing expenses, nutrition expenses, education expenses, medical care expenses, labor market accessibility, and care of vulnerable groups. Also a multiple indicator was used, based on Likert scale, in order to measure the participant’s attitudes and collect the intensity (Bryman, 2012: 166) in relation to the level of the State’s and the family responsibilities, and satisfaction. In order to see whether they understand the term Welfare and what types they identify and who they consider as the main responsible for their welfare. And on the other hand, if the crisis has affected this welfare.

As literature indicates, young adults is one of the main social groups in need of social provisions especially after the financial crisis has endured (Pew Research Center, 2012: 1). For this reason and since I wanted to get the demographic change and have a dynamic view of family values (Saraceno, 2006), I chose my target population to be young adults between the ages of 18-24.

I used the Hellenic Statistical Authority facts to number my population calculating the number of young adults 18-24 by adding the number of births in the years 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995. The total sum is 717,644.

1989	101657
1990	102229
1991	102620
1992	104081
1993	101799
1994	103763
1995	101495

Table: number of births in the years 1989-1995.

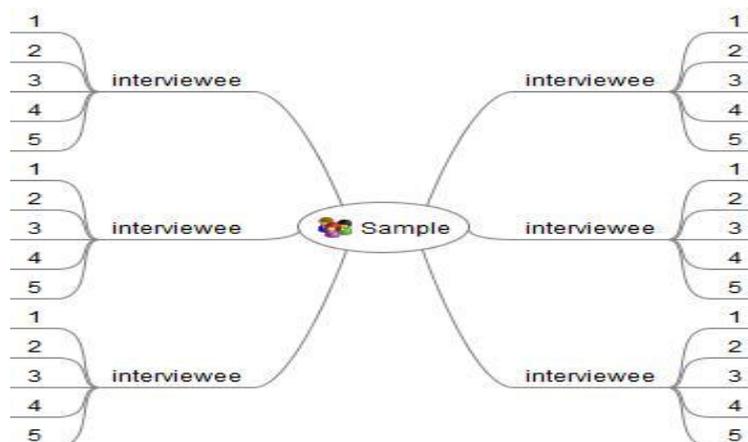
Table 1.

Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority as found on <http://users.teiath.gr/angtsal/Birth.htm> [date of access 01/05/2013].

2.4 Main research: Self completion questionnaires

In order to construct my sample, I used the snowball technique (Bryman, 2012: 202, 424) and particularly a specific type with certain characteristics and two stages.

At the University of Athens, and in particular in classrooms, lecture halls, student residences, clubs, libraries etc., I approached students that met the prerequisite age to participate. Then, I asked the participants to introduce me to 4 of their acquaintances with a variety of characteristics regarding age, gender, and social status. I met each group of 5 (the participant plus his/her four acquaintances) separately in an office lent by the University of Athens. I proceeded this way in order to ensure reliability and to avoid contamination of the sample and sampling bias; e.g. cases where the participants might find themselves in a situation where they discussed the topic previously decreasing spontaneity. This way I was trying to avoid the negative characteristics of snowball technique concerning external validity. These sampled participants and their acquaintances created a probability in the first place and a non-probability sample (Bryman, 2012: 187) in the second. The main reasons for doing this are that on the one hand, it would be hard to use a catalogue with all the young adults and their corresponding details (fully randomized sample) and on the other, the effort to avoid equating young adults to a specific age, educational and working status. In short, the methodological steps I followed can be described by the following scheme:



picture 1.

While calculating an appropriate sample size and due to the above combination, I faced the problem of how many persons I needed in order to create a significant sample (Bryman, 2012: 429). Reviewing the population number and the first random selection of the participants I decided that the main criterion should be estimated an

error of +- 10%, that slightly covers the European Union limit in the surveys which is +-8%, and a 95% confidence level⁸.

To compile the opinions of the participants, I selected a structured interview method. While examining the results of the three interviews mentioned above and since I had constructed the variables and had a perception of the main problems, I decided that self-completion questionnaires⁹ were more appropriate. More specifically the questionnaire included fewer questions (32 in total- with only four open questions) and an easy to follow structure in comparison to the interviews (Bryman, 2012: 233).

Before running the survey, I ran 5 pilot questionnaires (Babbie, 2012: 406) to testify that indicators were properly in place as well as making sure the questionnaire was clear, properly interpreted and easy to follow. The number of pilot questionnaires was related to the sample size and the participants were selected randomly at the University of Athens.

The participants completed the questionnaires under my supervision to ensure that it would be properly done. For this reason I chose to not send the form electronically to potential participants (biased by looking for answers for my open questions on the internet due to “wrong answer” anxiety). In addition my sample was small enough to conduct the interviews personally.

Furthermore, I needed to ensure that the interviews were taken at the participant’s convenience without interruptions and in a casual and controlled environment (Bryman, 2012: 234). Particularly, my presence resulted in avoiding prompting and probing (Bryman, 2012: 234-5). More importantly, my interest was that the questionnaire would be read as it was answered to avoid predisposition on the participant’s account.

I didn’t face any problems with the appearance of the questionnaire by using a simple form and a clear layout in a vertical format (Bryman, 2012: 237) which made the questionnaire more comprehensible. While writing the questions and based on the results of the conducted interviews, I followed the type of no double-barreled, short, clear, relative, non-discriminatory and simple questions (Bryman, 2012: 255; Babbie, 2012: 386-97), so the participant would have the capacity and willingness to answer

⁸ In order to count the sample size I used the online form <http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html>. For understanding the concepts of estimated error and confidence level I used the online sources: <http://blog.surveymonkey.com/blog/2011/09/15/how-many-people-do-i-need-to-take-my-survey/> and <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/sampstat.php>. [date of access: 01/05/2013].

⁹ To see the full English translation of the questionnaire that I created and used, see annex 2, pp. 58-66.

(Babbie, 2012: 390-391). Despite the fact that the participants completed the questionnaires themselves, I maintained the appropriate characteristics of my role as interviewer (Babbie, 2012: 419).

Since I had found my indicators I did not need much more additional information. As a result, most questions were closed and representative of our indicators, including the multiple ones (the level of responsibility of the State and of the family, as well as the level of satisfaction) in order to gather quantitative data. In order to display each question's dimension, I placed the open questions at the beginning. Non predisposability was the main criterion in this case too.

I chose to add four open questions to examine the level of knowledge and understanding of the participants in relation to the four indicators stated below. This choice is related to the importance that the interviewees gave to these indicators as well as the multiplicity of their answers on the term welfare, the number of welfare provisions and the reasoning for the main provider and for the ineffectiveness of the welfare provided by the State. The answers to these questions were subsequently put to content analysis and coded making categories followed to quantify the content (Bryman, 2012: 290). Consequently, I followed a thematic analysis (Bryman, 2012: 578) since I had many different responses to the open questions.

Coded categories

1. Understanding of the term welfare¹⁰ (question no. 05)

s/he doesn't answer	s/he doesn't know	s/he knows a bit	s/he knows sufficiently	s/he knows more than sufficiently	s/he absolutely knows	s/he confuses/the terms
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2. Knowledge of number of social provisions in comparison to the number of the existing provisions¹¹ (question no. 06)

s/he doesn't	s/he doesn't	s/he knows a	s/he knows a	s/he is fully
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¹⁰ The coded categories of their rate of knowledge of the term welfare (s/he doesn't know/ knows a bit/ knows sufficiently/ absolutely knows/ confuses the terms) were made by using the content analysis of their answers compared to Marshall's broader definition of the term welfare (1998).

¹¹ The coded categories were made by the number of provisions the participants indicated in comparison to the actual number of the existing provisions they had eligibility for applying in regard to their age possible limitation. These were found in the sites of the Hellenic Ministry of Education, Hellenic Ministry of Health, General secretary of the Youth and Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED).

answer	know	few provisions (1-3)	lot of provisions (3 and more)	aware of the provisions
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3. a) Reasons for the responsibility of the State regarding welfare (question no. 08)

Due to the pay of taxes/contributory State	Because it is the one responsible for the improvement of the quality of life of its citizens	To relieve family from spending or contributing	Has more financial resources	Culture of Paternalism	No reasoning
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b) Reasons for the responsibility of the family regarding welfare

Constitutes the basis of social life	Is co responsible with the State	No reasoning
--------------------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------

c) Reasons for the responsibility of the Church regarding welfare (1 response)

4. Reasons for the ineffectiveness of the welfare provided by the State (question no. 24)

Insufficient funds/financial crisis	Corruption	Clientelism	nepotism	bureaucracy	Poor organization of the administration	Insufficient or indifferent public worker	Insufficient political will	Non targeted social policy plan
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2.5 Data input

After the required amount of questionnaires (100) was gathered, I transferred the data to a form in SPSS. Each question was assigned a different column on an SPSS sheet, using a code name as title, and every answer assigned under its corresponding column. The Likert scale (0-5) answers were used as-is, as they are numeric, while at the same time translating the open questions from Greek (original language used for the questionnaire) to English. Afterwards, I proceeded to the content analysis making categories for each question (see section 2.4, pp. 26-27) replacing the full answers with the new categories, to be able to proceed with the statistical analysis. Starting by exporting frequency tables, enabling me to create a descriptive “image” of the total of the answers the sample provided and, to continue in a more advanced statistical analysis, a chi square test (see section 2.6, p. 29).

2.6. Choice of method for the data analysis- the Pearson's Chi Square method

The variables are both numeric and nominal (categorical). That was hindering the process of running a simple correlation (bivariate, etc.) statistical analysis, since these kinds of statistical tests require the variables to be numeric. Instead, for the analysis I chose Pearson's Chi Square (χ^2 -distribution) Test, which is indicated as the most appropriate to assess the existence of a statistical significant relationship while working with nominal variables.

In short, a Chi Square Test is used and based on the existence of a null hypothesis, including the theoretical/statistical statement that there are no significant statistical differences between the expected and the observed results. “Wherever the observed data doesn’t fit the model, the likelihood that the variables are dependent becomes stronger, thus proving the null hypothesis incorrect”¹². And, if this null hypothesis is rejected, it automatically means that there is a statistical significant relationship between our variables.

Using SPSS for the analysis, I didn’t have to face many statistical problems. The only choices I had to make were about independent and dependent variables, choices I made based on the original hypotheses (see section 2.7, p. 30). Afterwards, I exported the results in tables where the significant difference was automatically calculated. Then comparing the results with the statistical standardized “critical” or else “p – value”. What is important to know is that if my statistical significant values were less than the standardized p-value (<0,05) then the null hypothesis was rejected and a significant relationship between my two variables was identified.

¹² Tutorial: Pearson's Chi-square Test for Independence, Retrieved from: <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~c-light/chisquared.htm>. [date of access: 30/07/2013].

2.7 Choice of variables

The choice of independent/dependent variables was based on my hypotheses and the results of my pre- research interviews. At first, I wanted to test the statistical significance of the always important demographic variables: gender, age, education, employment status. Then I tested the significance of two more variables as independent: the level of understanding of the participants regarding “what does the term welfare refer to” and “what do they understand with the term ‘crisis’”. I tested all of the initially regarded independent variables using the remaining answers as dependent to get a general picture. And the last independent variable (term crisis) only with the variables identified in the questions thereafter (see annex 2, questions no. 26-32, pp. 62-63).

Results

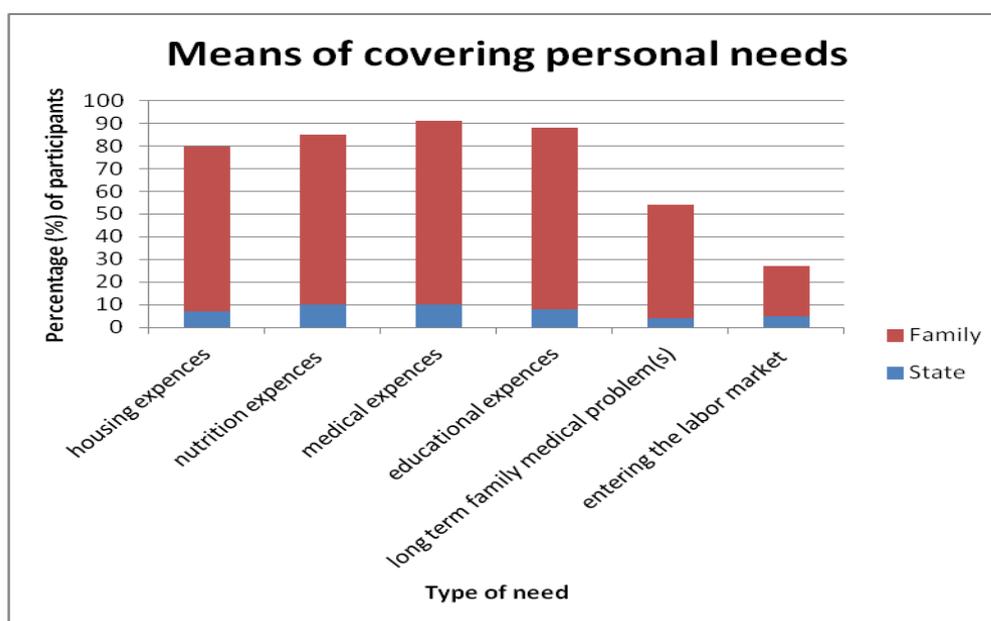
3.1 Analyzing the frequencies¹³ - the profile and the “general picture” of the sample’s perceptions

In the statistical findings, the N value (number of processing cases) was always (except from the questions no. 10, 24, 27, 28, 30 and 31, which they could skip based on their answers to the questions that were right before them) one hundred (100)-equal to the full number of my completed questionnaires.

Looking to the profile of the participants, we can identify the following characteristics: 1. On the basis of gender, age and educational status (completed diploma) the sample was almost egally distributed in the respective subcategories.

2. The majority of them (86%) is still currently studying.

Furthermore, taking a closer look to their profile characteristics (questions no. 9- 15 and 17) on how they cover their personal needs (with their family’s support or with state’s assistance) the picture that emerges can be demonstrated in the following graph:



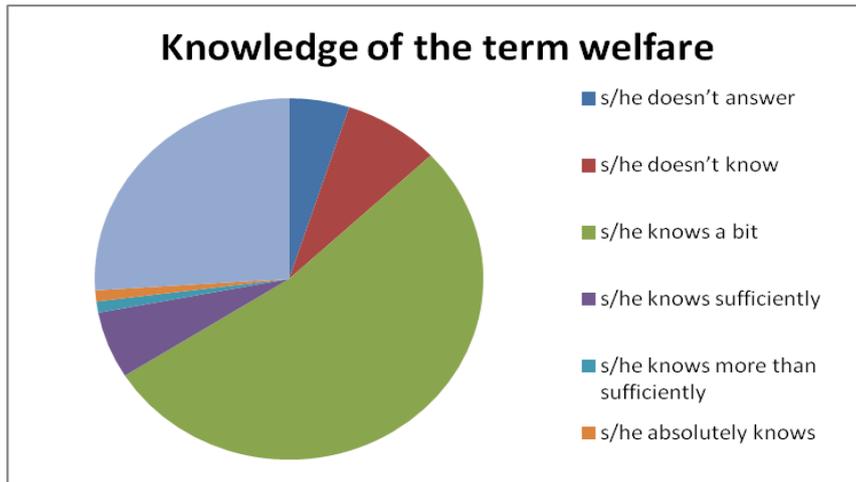
Source: own statistical findings

Graph 3.

What is interesting here is that while they were filling in the questionnaires the common verbal comment of all of them was “since the State is incapable, someone has to help me”.

¹³ For a full access to the research finding’s data, please contact helenageo7@gmail.com.

Moving on to the frequency distributions of the next variables, our findings indicate the following: 53 out of the total 100 participants understand just a bit what the term “welfare” refers to, five (5) of them didn’t answer at all, 8 stated that they “don’t know”, six (6) of them understand the meaning of the term sufficiently while twenty six (26) in their effort to explain, confuse the terms. In short, the distribution rates of their answers can be understood in the following graph:



Source: own research findings

Graph 4.

Respectively, the distribution, based on the number of provisions they know and indicate, is as following:

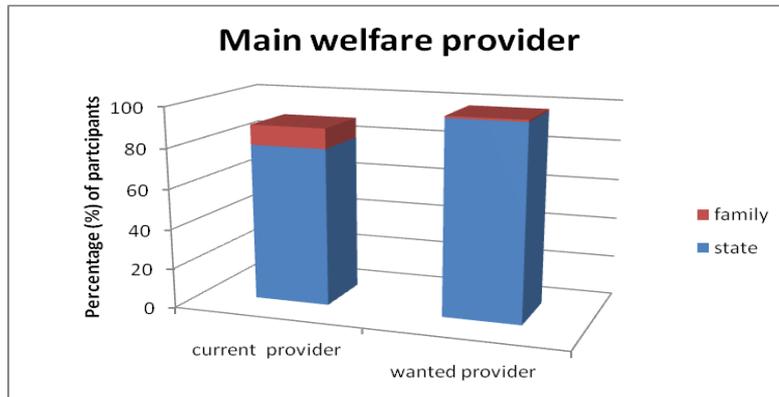
Knowledge of number of social provisions in comparison to the number of the existing provisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
s/he doesn't answer	7	7,0	7,0	7,0
s/he doesn't know	16	16,0	16,0	23,0
s/he knows a few provisions	67	67,0	67,0	90,0
s/he knows a lot of provisions	3	3,0	3,0	93,0
s/he confuses the terms	7	7,0	7,0	100,0
Total	100	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research findings

Table 2.

In two of the most important questions regarding who they consider that actually is and who should be the main provider of welfare provisions today (questions no.7 and 18 respectively) the answer “the State” clearly surpasses “the family”:

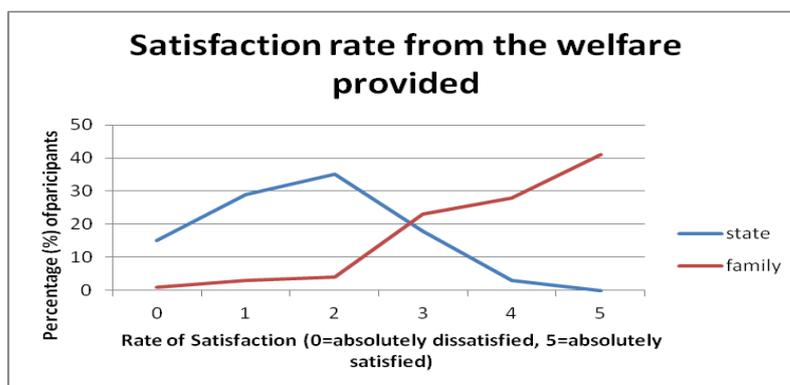


Source: own research findings

Graph 5.

In the supplementary question no. 8 about “why” the ones who had previously chose the State as their answer mainly referred to: 1. Because the State is the responsible for the improvement of the quality of life of its citizens (29/79), 2. Due to the payment of taxes/contributory State (13/79), 3. Due to its capability/capacity due to more financial resources (10/79). For the participants that chose the family their main justification was: 1. Because it constitutes the basis of the social life (6/10) and 2. Due to the incapacity of the State (3/10).

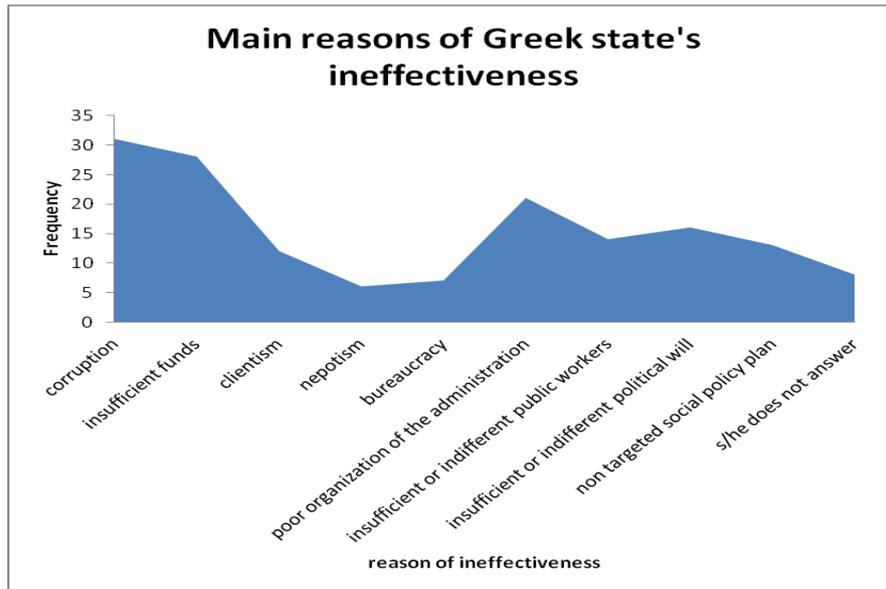
The distribution of their satisfaction rates (Likert 0-5 rate scale) from the welfare they receive from the State and their families is as follows:



Source: own statistical findings

Graph 6.

On the question in regards to the effectiveness of the Greek State to provide welfare, an overwhelming majority of 94% says “No” and when asked “which are the main reasons for this ineffectiveness” (open question no. 24) answers vary, but “corruption” seems to be the main issue:



Source: own research findings

Graph 7.

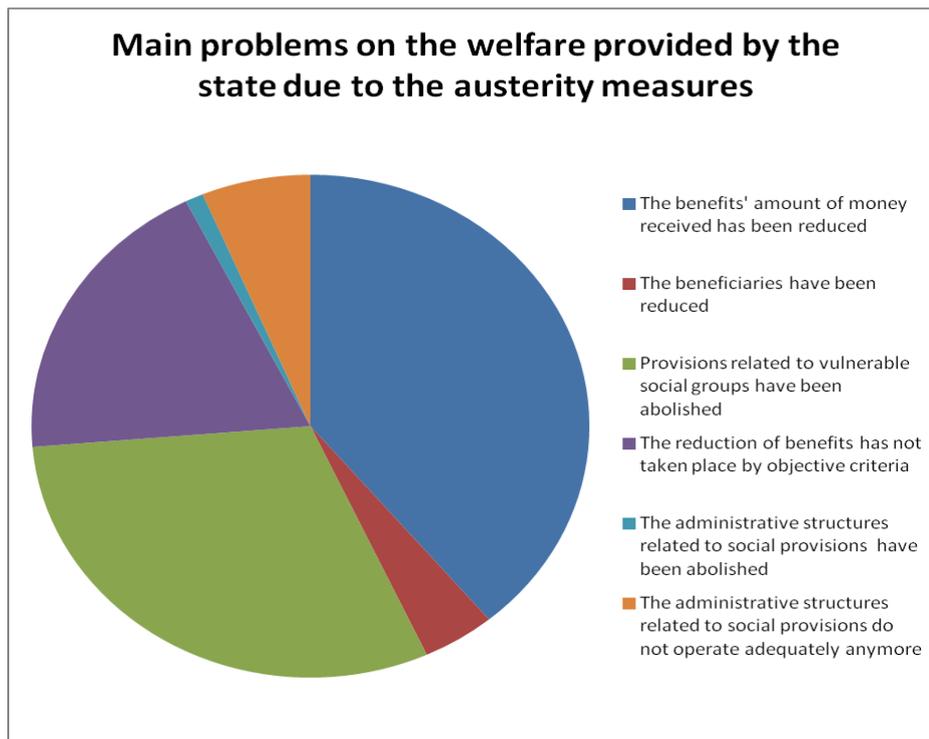
In the “second part” of the questionnaire, where the questions regarding the financial crisis have been formulated, a first “introductory” question about how they perceive the term crisis has been placed. The partakers distribution of answers were the following:

term_crisis				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Economic crisis	42	42,0	42,0	42,0
Political crisis	11	11,0	11,0	53,0
Institutional crisis	7	7,0	7,0	60,0
Crisis on values	25	25,0	25,0	85,0
Crisis on social cohesion	15	15,0	15,0	100,0
Total	100	100,0	100,0	

Source: own research findings

Table 3.

In question no. 26 regarding austerity measures implemented due to the crisis have affected the welfare provided by the State 95% state “Yes”, with more than half (77) giving a 4 or 5 (absolute) rating to which degree these measures have affected the welfare provided by the State (question no. 27). The main problems indicated (question no. 28) are:

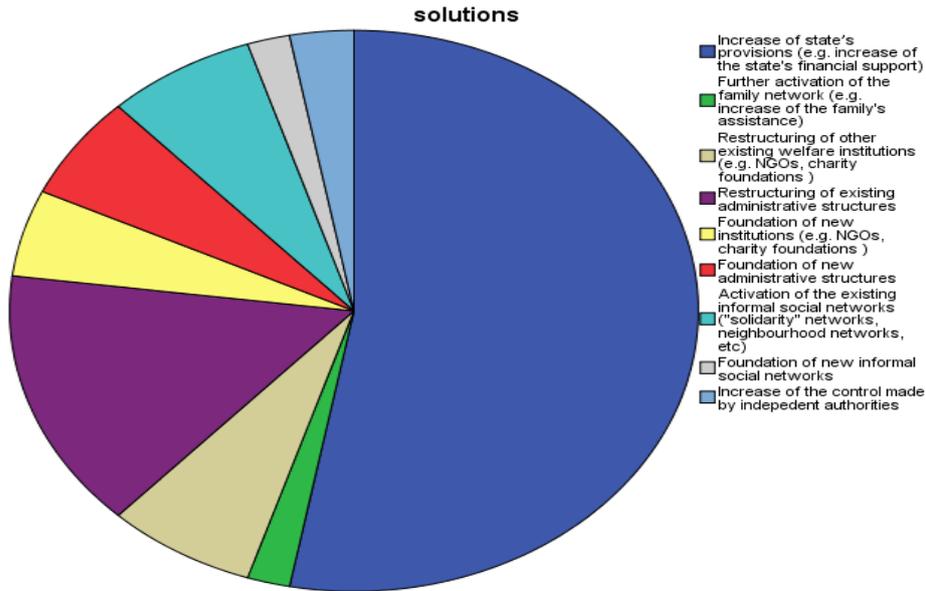


Source: own findings

Graph 8.

In the exact same questions about the welfare provided by the family, we see a similar trend: 93 of them state that the austerity measures have affected the welfare provided by the family and more than half (59) are giving a 4 or 5 (absolute) rating to which degree these measures have affected the welfare provided. In this case, the main problems indicated are: the “reduction of financial support” (38) and the “discontinuance of financial support” provided by the family.

In the question regarding which do they consider as the solutions for the improvement of the welfare provided, more than half answered the “increase of the State’s provisions (e.g. increase of the State's financial support)” and only two choose to answer as a solution the “further activation of the family network (e.g. increase of the family's assistance)”. The distribution of the rating of these, and also other possible solutions are indicated in the following graph:



Source: own research findings

Graph 9.

3.2 Findings of Chi Square statistical analysis

The Case Processing Summary of the Chi Square statistical analysis performed has been almost everywhere 100% valid cases (N=100).

Taking “gender” as the independent variable to make crosstabs with all of the next answers, (dependent variables) the first thing that can be observed in the exported data sheet is that the gender variable almost doesn't have statistical significance. Some cases were above the critical p- value ($> 0,05$). Only in three (3) cases we are able to reject our null hypothesis: 1. In the knowledge about the term welfare ($\chi^2(4, N = 100)$, $p= 0,038$) , 2. In the way of covering their housing expenses ($\chi^2(3, N = 100)$, $p= 0,027$) and 3. In their opinion about the State's responsibility concerning the nutrition needs of the people ($\chi^2(4, N = 100)$, $p= 0,019$).

Next, using “age” as the independent variable again the values do not reject our null hypotheses, except for two cases: the parents' residence ($\chi^2(6, N = 100)$, $p= 0,03$) and the type of residence ($\chi^2(24, N = 100)$, $p= 0,033$). In these two cases the values are less than the p-value, which rejects our null hypothesis and confirms that there is a significant statistical relation between the age of our participants and their type of residence. Taking a closer look to the data, the older someone is, the more likely is to live away from his/her parents' house and to pay his/her own housing expenses with his/her own money.

Furthermore, in the crosstabs of the educational status as the independent variable, the picture remains the same. Only in one case, a statistical significant relation is observed and that is on question no. 19e, regarding the State's responsibility on medical care expenses ($\chi^2(6, N = 100)$, $p= 0,000$).

Concluding with our demographic variables, we see that the current (working) status of our participants is actually the strongest identifiable statistical significant independent variable. Ten (10) statistical significant relations have been located with: 1. the number of welfare provisions the participants were aware of- question no.6- ($\chi^2(26, N = 100)$, $p= 0,004$). 2. type of residence- question no.10- ($\chi^2(12, N = 100)$, $p= 0,048$), the way they cover their 3. housing- question no.11- ($\chi^2(9, N = 100)$, $p= 0,000$), 4. nutrition- question no.12- ($\chi^2(6, N = 100)$, $p= 0,000$), 5. educational- question no.13- ($\chi^2(6, N = 100)$, $p= 0,000$) and 6. medical- question no.14- ($\chi^2(6, N = 100)$, $p= 0,000$), expenses, 7. the means they had/will employ to get into the working environment- question no.15- ($\chi^2(30, N = 100)$, $p= 0,047$), 8. the rating

given to the State's obligation to help people to enter the labour market- question no. 19d- ($\chi^2(15, N = 100)$, $p = 0,023$) and finally with their 9. rating of satisfaction from the welfare provided by the family- question no. 22- ($\chi^2(15, N = 100)$, $p = 0,018$) and 10. perception in regards to how the austerity measures have affected the welfare provided by the family- question no. 31- ($\chi^2(21, N = 100)$, $p = 0,019$).

Furthermore, taking a look to the next two independent variables we used to crossreference the data, the Case processing summary remains at a valid $N = 100$. Their understanding about the term welfare- question no.5- shows a statistical significant relationship with 1. the number of provisions they are aware of- question no.6- ($\chi^2(16, N = 100)$, $p = 0,000$), 2. their opinion regarding who should be the main provider of welfare- question no. 7- ($\chi^2(36, N = 100)$, $p = 0,001$) and its justification – question no. 8- ($\chi^2(56, N = 100)$, $p = 0,000$) and finally their opinion about the rate of family responsibility on providing medical care- question no. 20e- ($\chi^2(21, N = 100)$, $p = 0,019$) and the main reasons for the ineffectiveness of the State in the provision of welfare- question no. 24- ($\chi^2(212, N = 100)$, $p = 0,023$). The more understanding they seem to have about what “welfare” and social provisions” mean, the more provisions they are aware of, the more they target the state as the one responsible to provide these provisions and especially medical provisions as opposed to the family and they seem to give more reasons for the ineffectiveness of the State in the provision of welfare.

Their opinion about what does the term crisis mean to them- question no. 25- doesn't show a statistical significant relationship with any of their following (questions no.26- 32) answers. And this is actually a very interesting finding considering that even though many of them perceive the term “crisis” mainly as a crisis of the social cohesion (15/100) and a crisis of values (25/100) and not as an economic or political crisis, (see part 3.1, p. 39), although with no differentiation based on this view their total answers for the solution of the problems that the Welfare System has is the “increase of the State's provisions” instead of an example for “the further activation of the family network” or the “activation of the existing informal social networks (“solidarity” networks, neighborhood networks, etc.) and “foundation of new informal social networks” (question no. 32).

In conclusion, the fact that almost no differentiation can be identified in our sample's answers while using demographic variables as the independent variables is a

quite significant one: Greek, young adults seem to form a rather “solid” group regardless of gender, age and education level. Even their working status, identified as the strongest statistical significant variable does not seem to strongly affect (low statistical significance rates even where a relation has been identified) this homogeneity on their perceptions about the Greek welfare system.

4. Conclusion and discussion

4.1 Final answers to the empirical research questions and relevance of the research results

Before the crisis started continuance elements on social policies were apparent despite the different ideological approach of each Greek government. The factors supporting this, as the review of the bibliography indicates, were finance figures as well as the nature of benefits (mainly cash, few services). From the restoration of democracy up until the crisis (1974- 2008) the Greek State failed to introduce a low income scheme believing that the family would preserve its provision role and would not be subjected to social transformation. The Public Welfare was based on a pension system where any changes can be considered as improvements to temporal dysfunctions and needs but not total system reforms. In Hall's view, from 1974 and up until 2008 First and Second Order Changes can be identified in the Greek social policy domain but not any radical- Third Order- Change.

Researching young adults has been an interesting option not only due to their special importance as a group nowadays but also because I came across several and various findings. For an example, while Greek young adults seem to cover their personal needs on welfare based on their families (Graph 3, p. 31) at the same time they do state that "the State" and not "the family" is the main provider of welfare (question no. 7 and 18 respectively). A contrast between their beliefs and their personal experiences on welfare provisions is being identified at this point.

Furthermore, no statistically significant correlation was found when testing the demographic, age, (except with the type of residence) gender and education, as the independent variables. As a result emerges the fact that Greek young adults share a lot of similar characteristics forming a rather "solid" group. The most important factor that differentiates some of them is their working status (ten (10) statistically significant relations were found). For an example, most young adults that are employed seem to be more aware about social provisions. But even these relations indicated a very small statistical significance rate.

The familialistic view, when is not accounting all necessary indicators, can lead to simplification. Young adults do not seem to repeat this view despite the fact that they are satisfied with their families (question no. 22, more than the 3/4 of them (92) are more than the average (3-5) satisfied, with 41 of them stating to be absolutely

satisfied (5) by the welfare provided by the family). When they are asked “who should be the main provider of welfare an overwhelming majority of them point “the state” (see Graph 3, p. 31). Additionally, they recognize the sentimental factors that can lead to family support but they request a solid public sector in all fields of social policy (question no. 32, more than 50% consider the “increase of the State’s provisions (e.g. increase of the state's financial support)” and only two chose to answer the “further activation of the family network (e.g. increase of the family's assistance)” as the solution for the improvement of the provided welfare).

As the literature indicates, up until now phenomena of patrony that affect eligibility have not been eliminated in the Greek Welfare System due to political objectives as well as administrative ineffectiveness. This lack of dynamic policies and ineffectiveness is recognizable by young adults who state that one of the main problems for the deficiency of the State’s social policy in Greece is corruption, clientilism or/and nepotism (Graph 7, p. 34).

The crisis represents a radical change. The Greek State is being reinforced due to internal and external reasons to completely reform its welfare and also reform its administrative system. Additionally, social assistance and establishment of services instead of financial benefits is observed. This process is still ongoing as Greece is traversing the fourth year of recession.

Furthermore, the crisis is also the turning point for young adults to reconsider social provisions. They recognize the endogenous as well as the exogenous factors that lead to austerity. Additionally, they identify dimensions other than economic in the concept of crisis (Table 3, p. 34). They believe that the state should be responsible to make sure the welfare of its citizens but it cannot be accomplished without the change in values and practices in public policy and administration in general. My hypothesis is confirmed: we have come to a paradigm shift as we observe a sociological demand to change value orientation in social policy.

Despite this shift I am not sure about its dynamics. Young adults do believe in changing values but the means of social policy do not seem to change in their mind. For example they keep on insisting on promoting financial provisions over services while a general mistrust towards already established social networks and informal institutions is observed. Finally, there is no strong dynamic for the foundation of new social safety nets (Graph 9, p. 36).

4.2 Quality of the research

The method I chose to run my survey eliminated reliability risks. The pre- research interviews allowed me to gather dimensions of familialism in order to avoid stereotypes. Moreover, the open questions allowed me to collect qualitative facts in order to have a critical view on young adults' answers such as the awareness of social provisions.

Whatsoever, an important percentage of young adults stated that they did not know what to answer in the open questions. An important fact here is that I can not ascertain whether all of them really could not answer due to lack of knowledge or if other factors such as indifference (lack of interest) about the topic played a determinant role.

Also, the limitation performing a Chi Square Analysis has to be duly noted. "Chi-Square Test is only meant to test the probability of independence of a distribution of data"¹⁴. It doesn't provide any more details regarding the relationship (positive or negative) between them.

Finally, the limitations that the previously applied methodology caused in the harvested results also have to be mentioned: the sample was not that big and it wasn't fully randomized due to the two stages of reaching participants (see section 2.4, p.24). Keeping the representativeness and the capability to generalize my results for the whole Greek young adults' population rate low. This didn't limit the deductive part of the original goal to identify some of the main trends in the Greek young adults' perceptions about the functionality of the welfare provision system.

¹⁴ Tutorial: Pearson's Chi-square Test for Independence, Retrieved from: <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~clight/chisquared.htm>. [date of access: 30/07/2013].

4.3 Recommendations for future research

The importance of the views of Greek, young adults has just recently started to be acknowledged and researched. A more representative research of the whole Greek young adults' population, constructing a larger sample than the one used for this paper, could give us even more detailed information about the perspectives of this important group in regards to the social policy domain.

Furthermore, a current comparative research and analysis with the perceptions of an older age cohort Greek sample can indicate the boundary line that young adults seem to set with the former pre dominant more familialistic way of thinking. Moreover, a comparative analysis to the young adults' perceptions in the rest of the south European countries would probably identify similar patterns and/or important differentiations that people of the same age group living under the homogeneous title of "south European welfare model".

Additionally, a future research in this group's views on a later age level can possibly reveal the dynamics of the changing value orientation has been identified in this research.

4.4 Recommendations for future policies and interventions

The economic crisis is not something belonging to Greece's past. Both the statistical figures and the hard reality that daily the Greek population face indicate and confirm it. The effort to reform the system based on the EU and IMF guidelines is still ongoing. The short, but most likely, the long term future will prove if these reforms are not "empty promises" but also a way of reconstruction of a more effective Greek Welfare State. For the time being, the Greek State's main "answers" are more cuts and tax increases.

Recommendations such as the minimum income scheme are repeatedly being suggested¹⁵ in order to improve the Greek "social image" that the last years immerse more and more into increased poverty and unemployment rates. Wherever they have been put into effect, minimum income schemes include both passive measures, (like the minimum wage cash benefit) and active measures (such as programs of continuous vocational training, subsidy programmes for private enterprises to recruit the unemployed). The successful experience of other countries that have implemented minimum income schemes can be set as the example for the Greek Welfare System.

In order to successfully introduce multifactor schemes such as the minimum income policy: meritocracy in the choice for beneficiaries, fair distribution of benefits and new Active Labour Market Policies (ALMP) have to be put in action. The rationalization of the Greek Welfare System from the past dependencies, such as patrony and corruption, and the empowerment of the Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED), which is the official responsible for both the passive and active employment programs in Greece, are two important factors that can lead to the success of the minimum income scheme implementation.

Finally, especially young adults can be benefit from the functionality of this policy: their unemployment and poverty rates are currently the worse in Greece and their eligibility in minimum income sheme policies can improve their status by helping place these new entrants into the labor market with active employment measures or by at least uplifting them out of poverty by a mimimum wage cash benefit.

¹⁵ See EU Recommendation 92/441/EEC of 24 June 1992 concerning the implementation of a Minimum Income Scheme (MIS) for all people in need.

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Annex 1

Answers of the interviewees¹⁶

- Panagiota: (female, 21 years old, student)

She states that the social provisions are the ones coming from society. She indicates that she is referring to welfare. The content of the above is mainly services related to health and human rights. In addition, she adds that there is the case of social provisions related to free advice from the private sector. In this case she combines her student status (student in a medical related scientific field) with the definition of social provisions.

She separates the social provisions from the ones coming from her parents. She feels unable to specify more. She is dissatisfied with the state as in her view it does not cover a person's needs. She combines her student status and her practical experience saying that public hospitals do not secure the safety of the staff and visitors (public health in danger).

She evaluates the state with 2-3 and the family with 4-5.

Crisis does not seem to affect her income (the one coming from her parents) very much as her sister has finished her studies and they have cut their provisions to her. In her opinion though, crisis has implications to her family as a family allowance has been cut. In her view, the state should provide provisions to students, scholarships and paid internship.

Generally, she felt shy and in some level unable to justify more her views.

- Tonia: (female, 23 years old, employee)

Social provisions to her are a wide range of services and incomes from health to society. The main role is played by the family, friends and in some level the state. Gradually, she revised her opinion on the role of state and her result was that state's and family's role integrate. She believes that health is the main sector of the state and security the main sector of the family. Her medical related personal experience influences her views a lot. In her view, the main content of the provisions is related to medical treatment and books for students which should be free.

Her views are value oriented. She states the family provisions as personal. She compares her view with the experiences of her personal, social contacts where the situation is in a high level the same. She says that there are a few cases (exceptions) where the parents do not support their children.

She defines family provisions as: money that covers nutrition and entertainment, psychological support, security. She adds to these her income from her job by which she covers her housing expenses.

Based on her personal experience she believes that Educational Training Institutes (private IEK) help students to step into the labor market more effectively. She is aware of the Man Power Employment Organization (MPEO) programmes but is critical to them. She is referring to a student scholarship coming from EU she gained.

Based on her personal experience she is satisfied from state provision as it is a matter of life for her that she has free access to her medical treatment (there had been times where this was not a fact). She

¹⁶ For anonymity reasons the names of the interviewees have been changed.

is subject to an allowance of 200 euros every month but the state does not cover her medical tests as they are special and public hospitals do not run them. She evaluates the state with 3 and the family with 5.

Economic crisis has affected her life enough. She is satisfied with her salary (600 euros). Her employer does not pay for her insurance and he takes advantage of the fact that her parents pay for her insurance as because of her age she is, as a child, considered to be protected by her family. As a result, she works uncovered and her employer says that he will begin covering her insurance once her parents are not able to. In her view crisis has resulted to insecurity that her family has to deal with (“What are we going to do now?” they ask). She had never had problem with housing (she lived in students residence and now she shares a house with one other person. She does not consider it a problem that she stays does not live close to or with her family.

In her view the state should cover fully health, education, opportunities for the young, meritocracy. She is critical to some principles as the Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection (ASEP), which she thinks is nominal. She is critical to the state as she think that it does not provide opportunities for young people to enter the labor market but she is referring that young people should have motives, be energetic, and want to work in order to have chances during crisis.

Her answers on the state were in many cases contradictory. Despite this, she was very confident about them and truly willing to speak more by giving details from her personal experience.

- Marios: (male, 24 years old, unemployed)

Social provisions to him represent a wide range of provisions as well: medical treatment, education, sports education, musical education, entertainment, cultural events or cheap ticket on private cultural events.

He has studied at a nursing school (at university), he is unemployed and he is looking for a job by using Man Power Employment Organization (MPEO) services. He has a brother who learns by his own will a technical occupation empirically close to his father. He is critical to MPEO referring that as far as he knows from his social network it is rare for someone to find a job through MPEO. He is assessing his internship of his school (public sector, hourly wage) saying that it is a first experience with the practical part of this occupation. He evaluated negatively his salary and the time of payment of his internship (70 euro from the state and 220 from NSRF – significant delay on payment).

When it comes to family provisions his view is that it is in the free will of the parents and he evaluates them positively since his parents wanted him to study with motivation his professional reinstatement. In his view, the state should cover nutrition, housing, entertainment (in relation to his student status). He evaluates the state with 2 because he thinks it is not meritocratic. He evaluates his family with 5 because of all the above.

In general terms he thinks that the insurance should be provided by the state.

The economic crisis has affected him a lot the last two years. One of the crisis consequences for him is that people are interested only in their surveillance and basic needs and nothing more. He is referring to the suppression of salaries in his occupation (12 hours, from 800 to 400 euro) that is related to his situation and time of working or finding a job.

In reference to his social network he states that economic crisis is responsible for the psychological problems of many people and a value crisis. In particular he says that “we are not concerned about tomorrow but today”; with ‘we’ he is referring to young people. He is very worried that his money will end some day as he cannot find a job.

He believes that solution to crisis is the empowerment of solidarity networks. This will result the problem of social cohesion that crisis created. In his opinion, the state should find a way to cover health, education, opportunities in entering into the labor market (even though he is looking for a job on the private sector because of meritocracy issues). Finally, he evaluates negatively the permanence of public servants.

He was willing to answer the questions even though he was feeling uncomfortable when he wanted to give examples from his family life in order to specify his answers. He expressed feelings of insecurity as well.

Annex 2

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is addressed to Greek young adults of age 18-24. It constitutes the empirical part of a graduate study related to the perceptions on social welfare of the aforementioned group. Please fill it in with honesty and respect to the two conditions to participate in research; the age restriction and the character of citizenship. This questionnaire respects the nature of anonymity and the results will be accessible exclusively for the purposes of this research. Thank you very much for your participation.

* Required

1) Please indicate your gender. *

- Male
 Female

2) Please indicate your age (years). *

3) Please indicate your highest level of education. *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- I do not own any official documentation of educational title
 Primary (or Elementary) education diploma
 Secondary education- Junior high diploma
 Secondary education- High school diploma
 Higher education diploma- Bachelor's degree
 Higher education - Master's degree
 OAED Institutes of Vocational Training diploma (public IEK)
 Private Vocational Training diploma (private IEK)
 Other:

4) Please indicate your current status. *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- I am a student
 I am working
 I am a working student
 I am unemployed

5) How do you understand the term 'welfare'? *

6) Do you know any specific welfare provision(s)? If yes indicate it/them. *

7) Who do you consider as the main provider of welfare ? *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- The State
- The family
- Other:

8) Briefly explain your answer to question no. 7. *

9) Do you live in your parents' house? *

If your answer is "yes" please move to question no. 12. If your answer is "no" continue to question no. 10.

- Yes
- No

10) Please indicate your type of residence.

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- Different house in my parents' permanent residence area
- Different house away from my parents' permanent residence area
- In a students' house in my parents' permanent residence area
- In a students' house away from my parents' permanent residence area
- Other:

11) How do you cover your own housing expenses?

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- I am paying my house with my family's financial assistance
- I am paying my house with my personal income
- I am paying my house with assistance from the State
- Other:

12) How do you cover your nutrition expenses? *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- With my family's financial support
- With my personal income
- With the State's financial assistance
- Other:

13) How did/do you cover your own education expenses? (fees, books, photocopies, etc) *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- With my family's financial support
- With my personal income
- With the State's assistance (scholarship(s), allowance(s), etc)
- Other:

14) In a case of need how do you cover your own medical care expenses? *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- With my parents' public health insurance
- With the public health insurance I get through my job
- With the private health insurance I am paying with my personal income

- With the private health insurance which is being paid by my parents
- Other:

15) In entering the labor market you have used or/and thinking to use *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- The Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED)
- Classified advertisements
- My family's social networks (relatives, contacts, etc.)
- My personal contacts (friends, etc.)
- Other:

16) Who do you consider to be the main provider of care and support of social vulnerable groups? *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- The State
- The family
- Other:

17) In a case of a long term health problem who takes responsibility for the care of persons in need (e.g. sick people) in your family? *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- An other family member
- A person found by personal contacts and paid by the family budget
- A person found by an agency and paid by the family budget
- An expert person (e.g. nurse) sent and financed by the State
- A public institute (e.g. public Center of Care and Rehabilitation) financed by the State
- A private institute (e.g. private Center of Care and Rehabilitation) financed by the family
- I have not experienced a relevant problem
- I don't know

18) In your opinion, who should be the main provider of welfare? *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- The State

- The family
- Other:

19) On a scale from 0-5 with 0 being 'not at all' and 5 'absolutely' the State should have the responsibility.. *

a. to provide housing for every student studying away from his/her parents' permanent residence?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	
not at all							absolutely
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.	<input type="radio"/>						

*

b. to cover the nutrition expenses for every student studying away from his/her parents' permanent residence?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	
not at all							absolutely
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.	<input type="radio"/>						

*

c. to cover the educational expenses (fees, books, photocopies, etc)?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	
not at all							absolutely
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.	<input type="radio"/>						

*

d. to provide assistance in entering the labor market?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	
not at all							absolutely
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.	<input type="radio"/>						

*

e. to provide medical treatment to people in need?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	
not at all							absolutely
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.	<input type="radio"/>						

*

f. to provide care and support to social vulnerable groups?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	
not at all							absolutely
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.	<input type="radio"/>						

*

g. to provide care and support to people with long- term health problem?

0 1 2 3 4 5

not at all
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.
absolutely

20) On a scale from 0-5 with 0 being 'not at all' and 5 'absolutely' the family should have the responsibility.. *

a. to provide housing for every student studying away from his/her parents' permanent residence?

0 1 2 3 4 5

not at all
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.
absolutely

*

b. to cover the nutrition expenses for every student studying away from his/her parents' permanent residence?

0 1 2 3 4 5

not at all
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.
absolutely

*

c. to cover the educational expenses (fees, books, photocopies, etc)?

0 1 2 3 4 5

not at all
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.
absolutely

*

d. to provide assistance in entering the labor market?

0 1 2 3 4 5

not at all
Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.
absolutely

*

e. to provide medical treatment to people in need?

0 1 2 3 4 5

not at all
absolutely

Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.

*

f. to provide care and support to social vulnerable groups?

0 1 2 3 4 5

Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.
not at all absolutely

g. to provide care and support to people with long- term health problem? *

0 1 2 3 4 5

Select a value from a range of 0,not at all, to 5,absolutely,.
not at all absolutely

21) On a scale from 0-5 with 0 being absolutely dissatisfied and 5 absolutely satisfied what is your rate of satisfaction from the welfare provided by the State? *

0 1 2 3 4 5

Select a value from a range of 0,absolutely dissatisfied , to 5,absolutely satisfied,.
absolutely dissatisfied absolutely satisfied

22) On a scale from 0-5 with 0 being absolutely dissatisfied and 5 absolutely satisfied what is your rate of satisfaction from the welfare provided by the family? *

0 1 2 3 4 5

Select a value from a range of 0,absolutely dissatisfied, to 5,absolutely satisfied,.
absolutely dissatisfied absolutely satisfied

23) In general terms do you think that the welfare provided by the State is effective? *

If your answer is "yes" please move to question 25. If your answer is "no" continue to question 24.

- Yes
 No

24) In your opinion, which are the main reasons for the ineffectiveness of the welfare provisions of the State?

25) How do you understand the term ‘crisis’? *

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- Economic crisis
- Political crisis
- Institutional crisis
- Crisis on values
- Crisis on social cohesion

26) In your opinion, is the welfare provided by the State influenced by the austerity measures that have been implemented?

If your answer is “yes” please continue to question 27. If your answer is “no” move to question 29.

- Yes
- No

27) In your opinion, in which rate have the austerity measures affected the welfare provided by the State?

1 2 3 4 5

not so much

Select a value from a range of 1,not so much, to 5,absolutely,.

absolutely

28) In your opinion, in which way have the austerity measures affected the welfare provided by the State?

Choose only one (1) of the following answers.

- The benefits' amount of money received has been reduced
- The beneficiaries have been reduced
- Provisions related to vulnerable social groups have been abolished
- The reduction of benefits has not taken place by objective criteria
- The administrative structures related to social provisions have been abolished
- The administrative structures related to social provisions do not operate adequately anymore

