THE NEW GENERATION IN THE GREEK CRISIS

*Facing issues of present day*

The Hague University of Applied Sciences

Faculty of Management&Organisation

European Studies

Supervisor: Mrs. N.H.H.M. Schwan

Second Reader: Mr. P.G. Nixon

Shalini Bhairosingh 12030407 Klas-ES-16-ES4-5

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Preface

I would like to express my gratitude to everyone who provided me the opportunity to conduct and finish my research report. The successful outcome of this report is due to the cooperation of the supervisors of The Hague University and the external parties in Athens.

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Executive summary

It is impossible to grasp the full magnitude of the Greek crisis and discuss it, because it also contains factors for example such as history, ethics, demography, well-being and the refugee crisis. Therefore, the focus will be on the history of the Greek crisis, youth unemployment in Greece, political perceptions of Greek young adults and social issues due to the Greek crisis.

Before the crisis in Greece started in 2008, it already has had been through several crises such as the military coup from 1967 until 1974 and Papandreou who failed to restore the economy after the coup with major public spending in order to stimulate the economy. According to Kalyvas (2015) this was the core of the crisis in Greece at present time. In addition, during the present crisis Syriza failed to keep either its people and Troika pleased by promising its people not to listen to Troika’ measures which made negotiating with Troika difficult. However, Syriza’s hands were tight to Troika otherwise Greece would go bankrupt without the help of Troika. According to Trading Economics (2016) youth long term unemployment in Greece rose to a historical 60% in 2013 The stress that the crisis caused to the Greek people led to an increased attempts of suicides and flee the country Kentikelenis (2011) states.

This crisis is an economic, social and political crisis in Greece which its rotes came from the problems they were trying to hide but were revealed when real problems struck Greece. Greek young adults for example became the most unemployed group in Greece, thus, measures needed to be taken in order to prevent further downwards spiralling of the economy. Furthermore, they did not trust their government anymore because of the political turmoil. This economic crisis caused a social crisis containing a much high level of stress and social pressure. Therefore, an increasing number of Greek youngsters strive a prosper future abroad.

Thus, this already historically memorable crisis, containing economic decline and social distress heightened by political disabilities caused Greek youngster to prefer to build their futures in countries with higher welfare, education level and especially with more job opportunities.

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Introduction

After the economic crisis broke out in 2008 almost over the whole globe, the Greek Crisis became one of the most remarkable ones in the EU. The Greek Crisis as it is at present day has grown to be affecting more than its own people. According to Trading Economics (2016) youth unemployment in Greece rose to a historical 60% since the crisis, whereas 27,9% was the number of unemployment of inhabitants including youth in 2013. Moreover, this refers to long-term unemployment, which means people do not occupy a function in an organisation for over a year. In addition, those who are employed are in insecurity to lose their jobs and are afraid not to find another job anymore in the near future, due to the budget cuts of the government placed upon Greece by the EU. Therefore, many Greek inhabitants protest against it, because the reforms affect them negatively. Moreover, more young adults consider to build their future elsewhere (The Guardian, 2015). These reactions are just one of many that people tend to have when something such as a crisis occurs because it is a social conflict, according to Giddens and Sutton (2013, p. 91).

The aim and objective of this research is to examine how the Greek Crisis affected the Greek young adults. It is impossible to grasp the full magnitude of the Greek crisis and discuss it, because it contains various factors such as economy, politics, cultural aspects, social aspects, history, ethics, demography, well-being, the refugee crisis and different definitions about the Greek crisis. Therefore, the focus in this research will be on youth unemployment in Greece, the social issues they confront due to the youth unemployment in the Greek Crisis and political perceptions of Greek young adults. Thus, the labour market of Greece will be examined over time with regard to changes in unemployment in general and youth unemployment in order compare it. Therefore, the main research question will be: “What role does the Greek crisis play in the lives of Greek young adults residing in Greece?”. In order to research this question, the following three sub-questions will help providing the answers:

* What is the Greek crisis and how did it develop as it is today?

*This sub-question will provide a concise but relevant information about the context of the current Greek crisis. The information will be mainly from Stathis Kalyvas (2015) who wrote about the history behind the Greek crisis in “Modern Greece: What everyone need to know”. Additionally, there will be information from articles from BBC, The Guardian, Independent, Trading Economics and the websites of the current political parties in Greece in order to back up Kalyvas’s story about the Greek history.*

* How did the chances on the Greek labour market change the economic situation for Greek young adults residing in Greece since the beginning of the Greek crisis?

*This question will shape the main problem Greek young adults face. In addition, the most important measures of the Memorandum will be discussed. The information about the Greek labour market will be from Trading Economics, OECD and Eurostat, Achilleas and the measures from the BBC.*

* Which social conflicts do Greek young adults in Greece face due to the changes in the Greek labour market as result of the Greek crisis?

*The third sub-question aims to research the experiences of Greek young adults with the obstacles they have to face due to the Greek crisis. This information will be obtained by interviews with three of them. In this part the information about the social struggles will be from Scarpetta et al., Lionis, Economou et al., Faresjö et al., Anastasia, Smaragda and Ioannis. The political part will be informed by Pagoulatos et al.,* *Mungiu-Pippidi et al., with the report “Public Trust and Integrity in Europe” (2015). and also the three interviewed Greek young adults.*

The analysis will be based on factual information and perceptual information. The context of the crisis will be explained in the beginning of the analysis in order to understand how and why the chances in the labour market changed for the Greek young adults. Moreover, the relation between the economic, the social and the political crisis will be discussed.

Methodology

This chapter will give an overview about the process of the conducting the research about the Greek crisis and the role of the Greek young adults in it. What will be explained is what the mission of this research is, what the goal is and how it will be answered with what method and sources.

**2.1. Mission**

The mission of this research is to identify the problems Greek young adults in Greece encounter due to the Greek crisis. In addition, after identifying their obstacles due to the crisis.

**2.2. Goal**

The main goal of this research is to answer the central question supported by the sub-questions. The central question is:

“What role does the Greek crisis play in the lives of Greek young adults residing in Greece?”

And the sub-questions are:

* What is the Greek crisis and how did it develop as it is today?
* How did the chances on the Greek labour market change the economic situation for Greek young adults residing in Greece since the beginning of the Greek crisis?
* Which social conflicts do Greek young adults in Greece face due to the changes in the Greek labour market as result of the Greek crisis?

These sub-questions will be answered in the analysis and conclusion.

**2.3. Resources and research methods**

In order to answer the sub-questions, a large amount of data will be researched, selected, sorted, compiled and put in. Furthermore, either qualitative and quantitative methods will be used in order to obtain various information which makes the report credible. Moreover, primary and secondary data will be obtained for this research. However, first the research will begin with obtaining information from desk research. The information that will be searched for is factual information about the economy of Greece from 2001 until present. In addition, the current

political parties in Greece will shortly be elaborated with their political colour and role in the Greek crisis. Information about these political parties will be obtained mainly on their own websites and additionally on websites such as BBC, Volkskrant, Europa.nu, Socialisme.nu. In order to understand the Greek crisis better the essential highlights of the history of Greece will be presented. Furthermore, also perceptual information will be obtained with the help of interviews with three young adults from Athens. The official websites which will be consulted for this research are from reports from the Greek government, EU, EC, EP, UN. For example, in the report of the European Parliament about Youth unemployment in Greece: Situation before the government change is states that “The youth employment rate in Greece decreased to 11.8 % in 2013 which is by far the lowest rate in the EU28 including countries particularly affected by the crisis (EU28 average 33.2 %, Ireland 29.0 %, Cyprus 23.5 %, Portugal 21.7 %, Spain 16.8 %). In Greece, the number of employed youth declined three times more than that of adults: by 55.2% compared to 18.5 %2.” (2015) In addition, the United Nation discusses human rights in Greece during the Greek crisis in their report “Austerity measures in Greece undermining human rights, says UN independent expert” claiming that “More than 10 per cent of the population in Greece now lives in extreme poverty, …” (2013).

Nonetheless, there are also other websites that will be used in order to add up to the information obtained from the already mentioned websites above. This literature will be obtained from Google Scholar, the public library of The Hague and newspaper articles. Furthermore, the online and offline report included in this research will be from experts on their field of science. Examples of those experts’ work are firstly Kalyvas who wrote about the history behind the Greek crisis in “Modern Greece: What everyone need to know” (2015). This sources will be used for the part were the economy of Greece and the history of Greece will be presented. Secondly, Scarpetta et al. who wrote about youth unemployment in Greece (2010) will make the context complete which will be used for the part were the Greece economy and the Greece politics will be elaborated. Lastly, there is Mungiu-Pippidi et al. who discusses how trust works from citizens towards politicians and governments in “Public Trust and Integrity in Europe” (2015). This report will be used in order to explain the political situation in Greece during the crisis. Moreover, in order to support the perceptual information gained from secondary data, interviews will be conducted. The three Greek young adults from Athens who will be interviewed will be; Anastasia Iakovidi, Smaragda Andrikaki and Ioannis Papadis.

In-depth interviews with young adults: I will create questions for in-depth interviews with Greek young adults about their perspective and findings about the Greek crisis. These interviews will address topics such as what changed in their lives, if they are concerned about

finding or losing one’s job, how they perceive the role of the EU in this crisis, what they think about the referendum and what they advise their government in order to handle the crisis. I will interview Anastasia Iakovidi, Smaragda Andrikaki and Ioannis Papadis via Skype. I choose them because in the first place they belong to the group of Greek young adults between the age of 16 until 30 living in Athens. Moreover, I choose Anastasia because she is currently studying and working part time, and living with her parents. She can give me detailed information about her perception about her struggles finding and keeping her jobs. I choose Smaragda because she is a Greek young adult in Greece and studying full time. She has an open mind, thus, her perspective will be broad about the crisis and politics. Lastly, I choose Ioannis because he is working as a lawyer and studying law school full time, and has his own place to stay. He knows a lot about how laws are implemented and violated in Greece and Greek politics and could provide me with information about the Greek politics and how he finds that thing should change in Greece. The transcript of the interviews will be included in the appendix.

The methods I will use for my research, as mentioned above, will give me the tools to systematically describe the effects of the Greek crisis on the lives of Greek young adults from 2008 till 2015.

**2.4. Key concepts**

This part is meant to explain important concepts in this report which will be used often or needs explanation before the research starts in order to understand the context of the report and its story.

The Greek Crisis – Since there is no precise definition of the Greek Crisis the definition when spoken about it in this research report it will refer not only to the debt crisis started in 2008. In addition, it will refer to the political crisis Greece is confronted with, the start of protests of Greek young adults against social inequality and the changed government’s economic policies also in 2008.

Greek young adults – When spoken about them in this research report it refers to men and women between the age of 16 till 30 residing in Greece, whether studying, employed or unemployed.

Troika – EC, ECB and IMF

ECB – European Central Bank

IMF – International Monetary Fund

EC – European Commission

Eurozone – All countries in the EU that has the euro as its currency.

Short-term unemployment - Occurs when seeking actively for jobs, but being jobless for less than a year (Business Dictionary, 2015).

Long-term unemployment - The duration of long term unemployment starts after the 12th month of not being able to participate in the labour market (Business Dictionary, 2015).

OECD - “The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. It promotes policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world.” (OECD,2016)

Memorandum – “Memorandum of Economic and Financial Policies. A program provided for financial assistance to Greece.” (Kalyvas, 2015)

Results

The aim of this chapter is to share the results that were found in order to answer the sub-questions and eventually to be able to answer the main question.

**3.1. The Context of the Greek crisis**

**History at the rote of the problem**

In this part the history of the Greek crisis will be shown with how the crisis developed as it became at present day. In addition, the key players from the current political party will be elaborated in order to understand the political situation.

The rich past of Greece will broaden the understanding on how the Greek crisis developed to what it is nowadays, starting with the events at the beginning of the last century. According to Kalyvas (2015) in 1919 the Greco-Turkish War broke out where the Greek invaded Asia Minor, the nowadays south-western part of Turkey (p. 113). However, the invasion of the Greek in Asia Minor was induced by the fall of the Ottoman Empire by the Turkish themselves. In addition, the years after the Greco-Turkish War ended in 1922, Greece endured difficult obstacles regarding their path to democratic freedom. From the moment after the Greco-Turkish War on, Greece was ruled by kings and dictators from inside and outside Greece until 1952 (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 73). In that year Greece joined the NATO and became a parliamentary democracy, however, within the kingdom of Greece (NATO, 2012).

Furthermore, Greece suffered from a military coup from 1967 until 1974. The fight to total freedom continued as it abolished monarchy in 1973 and became a parliamentary republic in 1975 (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 116). Moreover, in 1980 Greece joined the EEC (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 126). Onwards after that moment the Greece’s government shifted continuously from conservative party to the socialist party. They also suffered from a crisis in the manufacturing sector and the oil sector after the military coup was ended towards a democratic shift. In this year also the public sector grew to 15% of the labour market, which was slightly lower than the OECD average (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 129).

Andreas Papandreou wanted to change things in his own way. His ideas were communistic with handing out jobs, favours and increased the minimum wages and

salary in order to stimulate consumption. This caused a major deficit in the government’s budget, because of these massive public spending (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 143/145).

**United destroyed by the euro**

According to Angelos (2015), Greece wanted to support the euro, because they had a weak economy and saw changes in joining and economic and monetary union (p. 18). They had to follow a government’s “convergence programme 1994-1999” in order to join the Eurozone with the euro as currency. In 2002 Greece replaced Drachma by euro and in 2004 after more than a decade ruled by a centre-right government it was replaced by Kostas Karamanlis, the leader of the Conservative New Democracy party, according to the BBC (2008). That same year Greece hosted the Olympic Games which costed a lot (BBC, 2015). Furthermore, the period after this towards the beginning of the Greek Debt Crisis there were controversial reforms the government implemented. These reforms were controversial because they left the public sector in insecurity of or losing or keeping their job, and “is to eliminate most early retirement schemes, merge pension funds and cap auxiliary pensions.” (BBC, 2008). The government also encouraged privatisation.

The economic recovery lasted for a while and the GDP growth rate was almost 4% and a GDP of $32,100 per capita in 2008. However, the public trust did not grow along with this economic augmentation, neither did the employment of youth (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 154). Furthermore, in December 2008 a 15-year-old boy was shot by the police in Athens which caused heavy protests and riots in whole Greece. This turmoil against the economic reforms of the government and unjust against the boy by the police was the end of the presidency of Karamanlis, according to Kalyvas (2015, p. 123).

**Democracy abused by inventors**

He continues with that the Greek Crisis unquestionably started with “Greece’s inability to borrow in order to service its very high public debt, at the same time as its economic engine was slowing down.” and “Greece’s cost of borrowing began to rise in 2009.”

(Kalyvas, 2015, p. 155). This began alongside with the global economic crisis and when the newly elected prime minister Georgios Andreas Papandreou, son of Andreas Papandreou and grandson of Georgios Papandreou, announced a few austerity measures after Greece was downgraded by three credit rating agencies (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 156/157). This was answered by the people by more protest, strikes and riots.

Meanwhile the leaders of the EU and Eurozone provides Greece a package including a bailout of 109 billion euro’s and a 50% of debt abstraction. However, the EU urged that Greece ensured further austerity in their reforms. A dilemma was then placed upon the Papandreou, because there were already painful austerity reforms with heavy protest against them and he could not provoke more protest by implementing more serious reforms. However, these were necessary in order obtain help from the EU to pay Greece’s debts. According to The Guardian (2011), after the canceling of his referendum about this dilemma the prime minister decided to resign as there were internal conflict in his political party.

However, although there was fierce resistance from the inhabitants of Greece, the interim government with Samaras as leader continues the conversation with the EU by implementing those austerity measures and receiving a 110 billion euro for a bailout as reward as described in the “Memorandum” (Kalyvas, 2015, p. 171). Moreover, the political war in Greece continued as new elections were announced again. According to The Independent (2015), the firstly elected government in 2012 failed to cooperate, thus, new elections were announced that same year which forced the political parties to cooperate and continue the austerity programme. This ensured Greece a continuous aid proving relation with the Troika, but also tax rises and pension cuts. Moreover, the period after these measures the unemployment rate in general rose to a record level of approximately 27,9% and youth unemployment to 60,5% (Trading Economics, 2016).

On political level there are commotions around criminal activities, money laundering, of a political leader who is in the government’s coalition, according to the BBC (2015). Moreover, the EU promises Greece a further bailout if they open its market of retail sector for foreign European competitors. Furthermore, in 2014 SYRIZA won the elections, but failed to select their prime minister. Therefore, a political crisis started with the result of having another election in January 2015. SYRIZA won again and succeeded to select Alexis Tsipras as their prime minister. Furthermore, he negotiated with the EU in order to soften the austerity program as the was the political leader of an anti-austerity party. The ECB answered with discontinuing the emergency fund, which caused a shutdown of the Greek banks. The BBC continues with that the government announced another referendum in 2015 which the people could choose whether they support the new bailout requirements of the EU towards Greece or oppose to it. The Greek people rejected the EU’s bailout plan. However, Greece and the EU agreed on the new bailout plans in order to avoid Greece’s bankruptcy and a forced exit from the Eurozone (BBC, 2015). Furthermore, SYRIZA encountered unsatisfactory feelings from the Greek people which was the reason why Tsipras decided to resign.

On 20 September 2015 new elections were held, which he won again and proceeded the EU’s programme he agreed on.

**The most important political actors in Greece in the crisis**

For more detailed information about the political crisis in Greece, the actors of the Greek national politics nowadays should be defined. This refers to the political leaders of the Greek government, but also the Greek political parties in the Greek parliament. Moreover, most of their ideas will be summed up briefly. In addition, previous important Greek ministers and minister-president will be mentioned with their linking political parties. The following information will start from the period after the introduction of the euro in Greece in 2002.

When spoken about the Greek crisis, started in 2008, the following political leaders with their parties plays or played a role in it:

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-syr.gif Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras (SYRIZA) (Coalition of the Radical Left)

According to SYRIZA, it was a coalition of radical left political parties in the Greek parliament. However, they declared themselves a more democratic and left single party (SYRIZA, 2015). Moreover, their ideologies are rooted from the (current) social struggles, for example labour instability, indepedance, anti-facisme, democracy, ecology, feminisme and other new social movements. In addition, these ideologies are applied on European level in which they are influential in the con-federal group European Unitarian Left/Nordic Green Left

(GUE/NGL) in the European Parliament, they claim. Their current elected leader is Alexis Tsipras who has been active in socialist’s organisations for years (Europa Nu, n.d.). Before becoming the governing party in Greece on 25th January in 2015, their main goal was to bring down the government in and force new elections in order to end the Greek humanitairian tragedy, according to Stevens (2015). In order to achieve that, they offered free electricity, taxing the rich, massive job creation funded by the EU and writing off debts of people who cannot afford it, according to Bird (2014).

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-nd.gif Nea Dimokratia (ND) (New Democracy)

According to New Democracy this conservative political party was founded in 1974. Its leader was Konstantinos Karamanlis. His party helped Greece trough the transistion of a military dictatorship to democracy. However, his nephew Konstantinos (Kostas) Karamanlis

is their leader currently. Moreover, their program supports more economical liberasation, including privatisation and lower taxes. In addition, they are pro-European integration and till the first elections in 2015 one of the leading political parties (New Democracy, 2015).

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-cha.gif Chrysi Avyi (ChA) (Golden Dawn)

The Golden Dawn, or Chrysi Avyi (ChA) in Greek, is a popular nationalistic political party, according to Golden Dawn (2014). Their leader and

representative in the Greek parliament is Nikolaos Michaloliakos (Chrepa, 2015). The main points in their party program are opposing those of the general politics which Golden Dawn perceives as mendacious. Moreover, they fight against the distortion of population due to illegal immigrants and refugees and the dissolution of the Greek society, which is promoted by the political parties of the left, they claim.

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-pasok.gif Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima (PASOK) (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)

PASOK claims that it is founded in 1974, is a radical Marxist-inspired social democratic political party (PASOK, 2015). Their current leader is Georgios A.

Papandreou. PASOK wanted to dissolute the ruling military farces. Moreover, their program peals that the government should regulate the economy. In addition, before the first elections in 2015 it was one of the leading political parties in Greece.

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-dimar.gif Dimokratiki Aristera (DIMAR) (Democratic Left)

DIMAR is a democratic left political party in Greece with Thanasis Theocharopoulos as their representative in the Greek parliament, claimed by DIMAR (2016). This political party is a ramification of SYRIZA because it feared SYRIZA’s radicalisation towards left. Moreover, they strongly oppose the reform measures and European aid.

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-kke.gif Kommounistiko Komma Elladas (KKE) (Communist Party of Greece)

The oldest political party, founded in 1918, is the communist KKE. Its current political representative is Dimitris Koutsoubas. According to BBC, their political agenda includes Greece’s exit of all international institutions including the Eurozone and the EU (Massale stakingen in Griekenland, 2007). Furthermore, it refuses to cooperate in coalition if the opportunity presents itself that KKE could be a governing party.

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-potami.gif To Potami (POTAMI) (The River)

To Potami is a centre-left political party with Stavros Theodorakis as its political leader. Although, the BBC (2015) claims that To Potami is a moderate pro-European version of the left wing of the Greek parliament. One of the goals it wants to achieve is to combat corruption in Greece, maintaining in the Eurozone by meeting its bailout commitments, creating more jobs “while reforming the public sector and the public system…” (BBC, 2015). In addition,

in order to achieve this, they want to cooperate with other political parties and guide them in their direction.

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-anel.gif Anexartitoi Ellines (ANEL) (Independent Greeks)

According to BBC (2015) Independent Greek, or ANEL in Greek, is a right-wing democratic political party in the Greek parliament which has parted from New Democracy Furthermore, Panos Kammenos leads this Greek polirtical party currently. ANEL’s ideology is to restore Greece’s sovereignty which is in destruction by the EU and the IMF.

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-ek.gif Enosi Kentroon (EK) (Union of Centrists)

Antidiaploki (2014) claims that Enosi Kentroon is a Greek political party in the centre of the Greek parliament. Their founder and leader is Vasilis Leventis with whom they want to strengthen Greece with unifying ideologies referring to pluralism, toleration of diversification, justice and equality.

* http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/gr-lae.gif Laiki Enotita (LAE) (Popular Unity)

Laika Enotita is a socialist political party which first was shared same values as SYRIZA, according to Socialism.nu (2015). Furthermore, with their leader Panagiotis Lafazanis they do not want be labelled as a left political party, but as a combater of the reforms and the grip of the Troika.

**3.2. The Development of the Greek Labour Market**

This part of the research report attempts to create a basis for discussion about the profitability of the membership of Greece in the Euro Area with regard to the labour market in Greece. In order to avoid an endless digressing analysis, the focus will be on youth unemployment, long-term unemployment,

gender differences, regional unemployment differences, GDP growth, the minimum wage rate and lastly in the flexibility of the labour market. The evolution of a few factors will be compared to

overall trends in the European Union, enabling us to isolate phenomena that are country-specific in Greece. The description of economic trends has been divided into three sections which present data of years before and after the introduction of the Euro in 2001 and after the start of the Greek Crisis in 2008. In addition, the main reforms implemented by the Greek government out in order to try and improve the course of the Greek economy will be pointed out.

**Search hard, work harder**

Youth unemployment

Unemployment is total number of able men and women of working age seeking paid work (Business Dictionary, 2016).

Before the introduction of the euro in Greece on 1 January 2002 the youth unemployment rate was slightly above 30% as shown in figure 1. However, in the EU area the youth unemployment rate, age 18 till 25, was approximately 22% as shown in figure 2 (Appendix) (Trading Economics, 2016).

After January 2002, the introduction of the euro in Greece, the rate of youth unemployment declined to under 30%, also shown in figure 1 (Appendix). On the other hand, the average youth unemployment rate in the EU was increasing after the introduction of the euro in the Eurozone from approximately 15% in 2001 to more than 18% in 2004 (Trading Economics, 2016).

In 2008 the youth unemployment was closely to 25%, though this percentage grew to a historical 60% in 2013 in Greece. However, the EU average of youth unemployment was lower than the Greek average of youth unemployment, namely from 15,5% in 2008 to 24,5% in 2013 (Trading Economics, 2016).

Long-term unemployment

Long-term unemployment is the duration of long term unemployment starts after the 12th month of not being able to participate in the labour market (Business Dictionary, 2015).

The rate of long term unemployment before 2002, thus, before the euro existed in Greece as means of payment, was approximately 5% or 6%. The rate of long term unemployment in Greece after the year 1996 is increasing up to the year 2000 (Trading Economics, 2015).

In 2002, however, long-term unemployment was around 5% in both Greece and in the European Union. With a record low of 3.60% and an all-time high of 19.90% in Greece, long-term

unemployment became increasingly higher than the European rate. After all, the rate attended a base line of 2.50% in the EU and merely reached a record of 5.30% in 2014 (Trading Economics, 2015).

Moreover, the long-term unemployment rate in Greece in 2008 was 4% and increased to, as mentioned above, to the maximum of almost 20% in 2014 (Trading Economics, 2015).

Part time jobs

Part time jobs has in general the duration of 24 hours per week. In addition, mostly part time occupation is complementing the full timers. Moreover, part time jobs are dived in shift. These shifts are irregular in hours per shift and are not guaranteed, the Business Dictionary states (Business Dictionary, 2015).

In addition, this means that you do not know for how long you will be participating in the organisation for example. This also means that you are not sure of working a specific day during a week and that you do not always know for how long you have to do you shift if you have a shift. Furthermore, part time jobs are generally less paid than full time jobs in the same occupation for the same amount of hours, sometimes even 20% lower than full time jobs, the OECD claims (2015).

Even before the introduction of the euro, Greeks preferred a full time job rather than a part time job, according to the OECD (2015). The report reasons further on with that part time jobs were mostly short term projects. This means that after this period of time it could easily lead to unemployment after finishing the job. In addition, most part time jobs are payed less and there is not much of job security. This caused a major incidence of part time jobs in Greece, as it is shown in 1999, and increase the unemployment rate, and EU average is 26% of women work part time and 7% of men (OECD, 2015).

Part time employment declined slightly after the euro was introduced in Greece close to 160 thousand in 2002 (Trading Economics, 2015). According to the Labour Force Survey of Eurostat, part-time employment also increased steadily on the European level in the last decade. Starting around 16.2% in 2002, the increase of the part-time employment rate accelerated (Eurostat, 2015).

When the Greek Crisis started the rate of part time employment in Greece was approximately 250 thousand and increased to slightly over 350 thousand in 2015 (Trading Economics, 2015). In 2009 18.8% in the EU27 worked part-time. In 2014, part-time employment stood at 20.6% (Eurostat, 2015).

In the interview with Anastasia (2016) she addresses that in order to react on the problem of joblessness firms created jobs, however, for a brief period so people at least could make some living of their own.

Full time jobs

Full time employment is in general a paying job that involves 35 or more (usually 40) hours of work during a week (Business Dictionary, 2016).

Before the introduction of the Euro in Greece there are little fluctuations in the increase of the amount of full time occupations in Greece. However, the number of full time jobs are growing over time before the time of introducing the Euro in Greece from 3800 thousand in 1999 to 4000 thousand in 2001 (Trading Economics, 2015).

Furthermore, this number increased from 4000 thousand in 2001 to more or less 4400 thousand in 2008 in Greece. However, the EU’s average rate of full time employment is 17000 thousand before the Greek Crisis and rose to 18000 thousand in 2008 (Trading Economics, 2016).

However, after 2008 Greece had a downwards sloop of 4400 thousand to 3100 thousand in 2015. In addition, the EU’s average of full time employment also rose up to its max of 18500 thousand in 2009, but fluctuated downwards to 16700 thousand in 2013 (Trading Economics, 2016).

In the interview with Ioannis (2016) he spoke about that the public sector occupied over 40% of the labour market which had to cut down as one of the measures, and which mostly were full time jobs.

**A demographic approach**

Gender differences

According to OECD (2015). the concept of gender differences in labour occupations is significant. There are some movements towards more equality in the labour market in the European Union. However, in Greece the growth of more part time jobs did not close the gender gap in time in 2000. This is why Greece had the biggest gender gap in the labour market in 2000. The gender gap in 2000 in Greece was still almost as high as in Germany in 1980. However, the high unemployment of women in Greece is not only an effect of gender related differences on the Greek labour market, but also with the fact that the rate of employment overall in Greece is not high compared with the rate of unemployment in Greece, according to OECD (2015). Moreover, the rate of women occupying part time jobs in the Netherlands was 57%, whereas in Greece the rate of women holding a part time

job was just 10%. By the end of 2002, unemployment of women in the EU-28 was 1.5% higher than male unemployment (Eurostat, August 2015). This gap remained more or less constant between 2002 and 2007, but decreased even further in 2008. When the Euro was introduced, the female part-time employment rate of employed women was at 34% while the male rate was at 6.2% in the EU (Eurostat, 2010).

In 2009, 79% of Greek men were participating in the Greek labour force, whereas 57% of Greek women searched for employment of where employed. At that time, the female unemployment rate of 13% was 6% higher than male unemployment. Five years later in 2014, Greece had the lowest female employment rate of the EU member states with 39.9%. In addition, 10% of women in Greece were employed part time in 2009 (Eurostat, 2010).

Regional level unemployment

According Bank of Greece (2015), Greece has several different regions where unemployment is different from each other The regions shown in the table are: Attica, Thessaly, Peloponnese, Sterea Ellada, South Aegean, North Aegean, Ionias Islands, Epirus and Crete. However, the average of Greece as a whole is also shown at the top of the table.

In 1998 the regions overall had almost the same unemployment rate, with Crete the lowest rate of unemployment with 8,6% and Epirus the highest unemployment rate with 14%. However, the unemployment rate in 2000 in the Greek regions changed. The unemployment rate in Crete, Peloponnese and Ionian Islands still have the lowest unemployment rate in Greece then with Crete even dropping its unemployment rate to even 7,5%. However, North Aegean joins them with dropping almost 3% in unemployment rate from 11,2% to 7,4%. Moreover, Sterea Ellada has the highest rate of unemployment in 2000 with 14,7% topping the list of Greek regions’ unemployment rate, according to the Bank of Greece (2015).

With the beginnings of the euro in Greece, the lowest unemployment rates could be observed in the Peloponnese (8.2%), Crete (8.7%) and the North Aegean (9.8%). The highest were to be found in the South Aegean (15.1%), Thessaly (11.5%) and the Epirus (11.4%) (Bank of Greece, 2015).

After six years, in 2008, the Epirus was with 9.9% even at the top of unemployment, followed closely by West Greece (9.6%). In the meantime, the North Aegean region attended by far the lowest unemployment rate of the year in Greece. Furthermore, in 2012 all regional unemployment levels increased significantly. Thessaly depicted a high unemployment level of 28.7% and Attiki reached up to 25.3% of unemployment,

whereas the rate remained low in the region of Zakynthos (10.8%) (Bank of Greece, 2015). (Figure 3, Appendix)

**The flexibility and openness of the economy of the republic of Hellena**

GDP growth

According to Business Dictionary, GDP is the value of a country's overall output of goods and services (typically during one fiscal year) at market prices, excluding net income from abroad. (Business Dictionary, 2015).

Furthermore, GDP is based on expenditure, output and income of a country. This means when they calculate the GDP they look at how much money was spent, how many goods and services were sold and how much income or profit was earned (Business Dictionary, 2015).

In 1996 the GDP growth rate was approximately 0,5%. Moreover, in 2001 the GDP growth rate was almost 2%. In the period between 1996 and 2001, thus, before the introduction of the euro in Greece, the GDP growth rate fluctuated from approximately 0,3% to 2% (Trading Economics, 2016).

High fluctuations have been the main characteristic of the Greek GDP growth rate since the euro has been introduced. At that time, GDP growth was around 1% high. The first remarkable break-down of the curve took place in 2009, where the rate dropped to almost -5%. In the same year GDP growth increased sharply to 3%, just to drop down again. Finally, observation shows a GDP growth of zero in the beginning of 2014 (Trading Economics, 2016).

Minimum wage rate

Minimum wage is the amount of money an employer is able to pay its employees hourly (Business Dictionary, 2015).

Since the European Union does not fix a minimum wage, it is not easy to compare the Greek minimum wage with a European level. This differs per country in what it depends on. In the United States for example it is set by a statute, whereas in the United Kingdom it is set by the wage council per industry (Business Dictionary, 2015). Before the introduction of euro in Greece the minimum wage rate was in Greece in 2000 per month $522,- whereas in Hungary it was €90,- approximately per month as one of the lowest minimum wage rate in that same year, and in the Netherlands it was roughly €1100,- per month as one of the highest minimum wage rate in Europe, according to

Trading Economics (Trading Economics, 2016). Furthermore, in 2004, the minimum monthly wage in Greece was approximately €600,-. Step by step, the rate had been increased, attending a value of %700,- per month in 2006. In Hungary it was €200,- per month in 2004 and in 2006 it was €250,- per month approximately. In the Netherlands it was nearly €1280,- per month and in 2007 almost € 1300,- per month.

Moreover, in 2012 the minimum wage rate in Greece per month was at its highest level with €876,62 per month. However, from 2013 until present it came just under the line of €700,- per month. In Hungary it was €300,- per month in 2009 and augmented to more than €350,- per month in 2016. In the Netherlands it was €1400,- per month in 2010 and in 2016 it is €1500,-.

Flexibility of labour market

Flexibility in the labour market can be defined into three aspects: numerical flexibility, functional flexibility and wage flexibility.

* Numerical flexibility “is the process which the employer - based on the changes in the demand for their products/services - react respectively by adjusting the number of employees. It may be achieved using working arrangements such as part-time, short-time, temporary time (fixed-term contracts, seasonal, etc.), outsourcing, homework, telework etc.” (as cited by Achilleas 2001).
* Furthermore, functional flexibility is “the ability of companies to improve their operating efficiency by reorganising the methods of production and labour content (multiskilling, decreases in job demarcations, increased employee involvement) in order to keep pace with changing [demand conditions or] technological needs” (as cited by Achilleas 2001).
* Wage flexibility is achieved where wage levels are not decided collectively and there are more differences between the wages of workers (as cited by Achilleas 2001).

The most common sort of work in Greece is a temporary one which does not guarantee job security at all. This can be divided by three categories: Fixed-term contracts, seasonal work and temporary agency work. Achilleas (2015) explains that most common is the fixed term work where there is some sort of security of the longest duration of two years of occupation. Furthermore, seasonal work is defined by a short period of time during a season of high demand for something. Lastly there are jobs via a third party, a recruiter.

This means the employer is an agency which sends the employee to an organisation who needs the employee’s workforce mostly only for a fixed period of time or after the task is done (Achilleas, 2015). Furthermore, he states that over 96% of the Greece enterprises before 2000 were family owned. This means that there are parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, etc. in the business who are not always registered as employees and, thus, do not get a pension but also do not pay taxes for their labour. This is why these family owned enterprises are part of underground activities in the illegal economy (Achilleas, 2015).

This all means that the labour market in Greece was not as open and flexible as it should be in the EU, according to Achilleas (2015). In addition, 27% of the respondents of the questionnaire declare that they study and work at the same time.

The main characteristic of the Greek labour market has been the high proportion of State employment. The State is considered the largest employer and represented the biggest public sector, defined in percentage employment terms, among members of the OECD (Ioannis, 2016). However, during the period from 1999 to 2008, core public employment contributed 14.4% to the rise in total employment, while the share of the private sector accounted for 71.1% of the total increase (International Labour Office, 2014)

**Change is on its way**

The reforms that followed after a bailout program from the EU for Greece were build up as follows: taxation, public sector cuts, spending cuts, cutting benefits, privatisation and labour market reform. The measures with the most impact on Greece and especially on Greek young adults will be presented. These measures are translated from the Greek Ministry of Finance Economic Policy Programme Newsletter by the BBC (2011):

Taxation:

* VAT rates are to rise: the 19% rate will increase to 23%, 11% becomes 13%, and 5.5% will increase to 6.5%, including the VAT rate for restaurants and bars will rise to 23% from 13%.
* Excise taxes on fuel, cigarettes and alcohol will rise by one third.

Public sector cuts:

* The public sector wage bill will be cut steadily to shrink it by more than 2bn euros by 2015.
* Nominal public sector wages will be cut by 20%.
* All temporary contracts for public sector workers will be terminated.

Spending cuts:

* Health spending will be cut by 310 million euros this year and a further 1.81billion euros in 2012-2015, mainly by lowering regulated prices for drugs.
* Education spending will be cut by closing or merging 1,976 schools.

Cutting benefits:

* The government hopes to collect more social security contributions by cracking down on evasion and undeclared work.
* The statutory retirement age will be raised to 65, 40 years of work will be needed for a full pension and benefits will be linked more closely to lifetime contributions.

Privatisation:

* Selling stakes this year in the betting monopoly OPAP, the lender Hellenic Postbank, port operators Piraeus Port and Thessaloniki Port as well as Thessaloniki Water.
* It plans further sales to raise 7bn euros in 2013, 13bn euros in 2014 and 15bn euros in 2015.

Labour market reform:

* The law will make it easier for companies to cut their payroll costs. It will do this by suspending industry-wide wage bargaining. (BBC, 2011)

**3.3. The Social Conflicts Due to the Greek Crisis**

In this part information about the issues Greek young adults face in their lives considering feelings of high social pressure is provided, and how this affects their mental and physical health. In addition, the three interviewed Greek young adults will give their reaction towards the current political turmoil and how they prefer to see their future.

“The current crisis is exacerbating a number of structural problems that affect the transition from school to work and the initial labour market experiences of youth with different levels of education.” (Scarpetta et al, 2010) Furthermore, they talk about securing the transition from school-to-work with lowering the cost of employment for youth in their first job. For this research besides desk research aslo interviews were conducted. The three young adults, Smaragda Adrikaki, Anastasia Iakovidi and Ioannis Papadis, who were interviewed also belong to this group. Moreover, the crisis also had

an impact on the health of Greek people which will be mentioned in the form of the experiences of the young adults in Greece with their friends and family.

Scarpetta et al. explain that the government must execute structural reforms for the short term, but also have to keep in mind that those reforms will not affect their youth severely. In addition, for the long term those reforms should promote more and better jobs for their youth. Moreover, the over-representation of youth with a temporary work contract is remarkable, because mostly this means that it is a chance to obtain a permanent work contract. However, more often it tends to be a dead end for more and more youth, not only in Greece but in all OECD countries (Scarpetta et al, 2010).

**Health implications and social pressure due to the crisis**

The ILO (2014) warns in a research about a prolonged social crisis when no actions are taken against poverty in Greece. “More than 70% of the 1.3 million unemployed Greeks are out of jobs over more than a year since the beginning of the crisis in 2008. Meanwhile, the number of Greeks at risk of poverty more than doubled in five years, rising from just above 20 per cent in 2008 to over 44 per cent in 2013.” (ILO, 2014) Although the report recommends strategic measures, it also underlines the fact that other, not wage related, issues are at the origin of the competitiveness problem.

The report “Higher Perceived Stress but Lower Cortisol Levels Found among Young Greek Adults Living in a Stressful Social Environment in Comparison with Swedish Young Adults” of Faresjö et al. (2013) states that “The Greek young adults reported significantly higher perceived stress, had experienced more serious life events, had lower hope for the future, and had significantly more widespread symptoms of depression and anxiety than the Swedes.” In addition, this study points out a possible hypothesis that the cortisol levels of the Greek young adults might have been suppressed after living in a stressful environment with economic and social pressure (Faresjö et al. 2013)

Acording to Lionis (2013) the financial crisis has an impact on health. Furthermore, their research question, with which Cretan General Practitioners cooperated, was: “To what extent does the financial crisis impact on health, quality of care and health equity?”. The most important statements they made regarding this question were “The economic instability has had an impact on mental-health disorders and may increase depression, somatization and anxiety, as well as further escalating potential healthcare costs due to making such diagnoses with safety on a large scale. (Impact on morbidity traits)”, “In a field that has received limited financial and institutional research support for decades, the current austerity has further reduced research capacity in family practice and primary

care. (Impact on research capacity)” and “Alcohol overuse and domestic violence are common problems in primary care and are associated with an individual’s significant loss of income. (Impact on ‘micro-social’ cohesion)”. (Lionis, 2013) In addition, “The Minister of Health reported a 40% rise in the first half of 2011 compared with the same period in 2010. The national suicide helpline reported that 25% of callers faced financial difficulties in 2010 and reports in the media indicate that the inability to repay high levels of personal debt might be a key factor in the increase in suicides.” (Kentikelenis, 2011).

The report “Suicidal ideation and reported suicide attempts in Greece during the economic crisis” of Economou et al. (2013), which aims to explore changes in suicidal ideation and reported suicide attempts between 2009 and 2011, detected that reported suicide attempts among Greek young adults rose from none detected in 2009 to 1.3% in the group of Greek young adults below the age of 24 and 1.7% in the age group of 24-34. The conclusion that has been drawn in this report is “the influence of the recession on mental health in the Greek population is being pervasive and that systematic efforts should be undertaken to mitigate these effects.”

**No hope in current live standards**

The UNDP (2013) shows in their research that the years of expected schooling went from 16.6 years in 2005 to 16.3 years in 2012. In addition, the Gross National Income went down from $23,990 in 2005 to $20,511. However, the most important value to measure a country according to the UNDP is the Human Development Index (HDI). It represents “a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living.” (UNDP, 2013) Nevertheless, also this value decreased slightly from 0.862 in 2005 to 0.860 n 2012. (Figure 4 Appendix)

The EU, however, takes responsibility for the social issues due to the financial crisis in Greece by supporting parents to work and reward them with “quality childcare services for families, improving reconciliation of professional and family life”. (European Union, 2016) In addition, they conducted a “single child allowance support” which helps families with an income below a certain standard and also in order to support those families to access high-level education. Furthermore, all Greek children have access to free health care services, regardless if their parents are inhabitants, immigrants, refugees or uninsured.

Smith (2015) addresses a social problem among, as they call them, “young, talented, Greek – and part of the biggest brain drain in an advanced western economy in modern times.” This generation tend to seek their economic and professionally brighter future elsewhere such as in Germany, United

Kingdom or the United States. However, they never planned to leave Greece. They even plan to go back to Greece in order to restore it or after is has been restored.

**Real stories of young adults from Athenians**

In addition, the answers of the three Greek young adults from Athens who were interviewed will provide more in depth reasons towards the perceptions and beliefs of these Greek young adults in Greece about the social obstacles they are facing. Anastasia is a student at the Athens University of Economics and Business (AUEB), is 22 years old, worked part time and lives with her parents. Anastasia explains that personally does not feel anything remarkable changed for her and her family regarding obstacles caused by less spending. However, she is concerned about the lesser chances there are in the current labour market, but she feels it does not exactly apply to her. Anastasia (2016) thinks that there are job opportunities in Greece, although, she understands why other have the urge to search for better opportunities abroad. She continues with that the competition is high in the Greek labour market and mostly less payed for starters, because it is more beneficial to the organisations they work for. Nevertheless, she thinks she has a better chance on the labour market, because of her background.

Moreover, Ioannis (2016) confirms that also he is concerned about losing his job. Ioannis is 24 years old, works at a lawyer department and is studying Law and lives on his own. He explains that although he is in a privileged place, he feels pressure from his employer and his competition in the labour market. The reason for his is that the employers do not care if you lose your job or not, and if losing his job, he is concerned about not finding a job on the same level. He continues that his friends are in a less fortunate place than he is at the moment.

Smaragda (2016), who is a 22-year-old student also in AUEB, starts with that nothing stayed the same in Greece. The lives Greek people live might not have changed, but it became a lot tenser since the beginning of the crisis. In addition, also she is concerned for her chances in the labour market for example when looking for an internship. These internships offer experience without any form of reward or payment. In addition, when a job is found, it mostly is low levelled. Moreover, when a job has been found with a high level, the payment is not enough.

**The changing political situation in Greece**

The changing political situation in Greece from before the Greek debt crisis till present will be presented in this section. Moreover, in specific from the Greek Presidency of the European Union in

2003 till 20th September 2015, thus, until the second time Alexis Tsipras won the presidential elections.

Before the worldwide economic crisis started, Greece obtained the Presidency of the European Union in 2003. Pagoulatos (2002) declares in his research about Greece, the European Union and the 2003 Presidency that this presidency is an “extraordinary realization” historically seen. Moreover, he points out that the enlargement of the EU and the introduction of the euro negatively affected the economic prospect of the EU. The reason for this negative prospect lays within the fact that politics and the economy are interlinked on a global scale he explains Pagoulatos (2002). continues with claiming that they are no longer the “problem case” in the EU. In addition, after its entry in the European community,

Greece evolved into a “success story” in this community resulting with this presidency. However, he also remarks that this was not possible without the help of the EU. The Greek people at that time had one of the most positive views in the EU about the prospects, the beneficence and the importance of the EU. This could be explained by the fact that they were a new democracy and, thus, were almost obliged to fasten the integration process and needed help from the EU for it. Pagoulatos (2002) explains that the high level of trust of the Greek people in the EU that time links with the fact that they had a low level of trust in their own national democracy. In addition, they want to become more like the “West”.

Moreover, this presidency was under the government of PASOK, a social democratic political party. However, in 2007 Kostas Karamanlis from New Democracy became the prime minister of Greece. New Democracy is explicitly pro-EU. They had a prosper first governing period due to the presidency of the EU. However, according to the article Massale stakingen in Griekenland (2007) in De Volkskrant after this period, Kostas was criticised by the Greek people after he won the elections in 2007 The Greek people claimed that New Democracy promised that the pension would be left untouched. However, their pension system went bankrupt, therefore, he needed to reform some plans in order to save the pension system. This included for example the encouragement of working after the age of 65. Even the parliament did not trust him because of his ambiguous reform plans in order to prevent the crisis. However, Kostas declared that the global economic crisis had arrived in Greece too (Oudshoorn, 2008). Riots followed soon after and the people lost their trust in politics. Because of this, Kostas fears a revival of the left and, thus, changed his government (Oudshoorn, 2008). In addition, under pressure he announced early elections which he lost from PASOK.

From that moment on the governments colour changed into various direction from the right wing to the left wing. Moreover, according to the BBC, the government before the current one was led by Antonis Samaras from New Democracy from 2012 until 2015 (BBC, 2015). ND was pro-Europe and pro- austerity measures. In addition, between this period this government of Nea Dimokratia or ND was facing obstacles with satisfying its voters and leading coalitions. The Greek people were anything but pleased by the measures. Moreover, the coalition parties could not seem to agree with each other on the austerity measures, which led to coalitions with ND and PASOK, ND and DIMAR and ND and SNE (Agreement for the New Greece, social-democratic political party). However, in January 2015 SYRIZA won the elections, which was anti- austerity measures and anti-Europe. Alexis Tsipras did try to fight new reforms from Troika. Nevertheless, he did not succeed and lost trust of the Greeks, which led to his resignation. In addition, new elections were set on 20 September 2015, which he also won.

**Revolution smothered in despair**

Furthermore, “Young people began to identify with Syriza after the riots in Greece in 2008. But it has since succeeded in attracting voters from a broad base, including public sector workers and small business owners.” (BBC, 2015) Moreover, “From the very beginning, the government’s task was to end the extreme austerity policy in Greece and to this end, to negotiate with our EU partners as well as with the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. As expected, negotiations were proven very tough and difficult for the government, given the present balance of social and political forces in Europe and internationally.” (SYRIZA, 2015).

Greece has been hit as one of the hardest by the crisis and its loss of trust in their government, according to Alina Mungiu-Pippidi who writes about corruption in the EU in the report Public Integrity and Trust in Europe (Mungiu-Pippidi et al., 2015)Furthermore, she says that the whole political establishment and population of Greece are the ones to to blame for the corruption and economic performance. She continues with that “Social trust is an outcome shaped by previous experience with other individuals, and public (political) trust is an outcome of experience of treatment received from authorities.” (Mungiu-Pippidi et al., 2015) The report continues with that in 2013 Greece had 99% of widespread corruption, 61% affected daily lives, 71% of political connections was the only way to succeed in business, 49% of the civil servants were corrupts and 67% of the politicians were corrupt. Moreover the trust in the EU in

2013 from Greek people was 18%, whereas the average was 36% and the highest trust level in the EU was 54% from Bulgaria.

In this report it explains how the perception of public trust operates. There are four steps towards this perception. The first one is that public trust is open to influences from specific policies. The second step is “Government performances affecting economic growth or control of corruption are both significant determinants of political trust, if controlled for development.” (Mungiu-Pippidi et al., 2015)Moreover, the third one says that the behaviour of politial elites explains trust in political parties, and the fourth one explains the vicious circle stagnation caused by lack of trust.

**Despair in Greece explained by three young Athenians**

In the interview with Anastasia (2016) she says that the EU and Greece do not understand each other. The EU does not understand the needs of Greece and Greece does not know how to act after agreeing on the reforms. Moreover, she continues to explain that it is a political game of the EU by insisting reforms and asking Greece to behave certain way in return. Her opinion on how the EU handles the situation in Greece is, therefore, negative. However, her opinion about the current government and how they are handling the situation in Greece is also negative. She explains that no one knew what then ministers had in mind with the crisis. However, the EU and the political parties took advantage of it. The Greek political parties did everything in order to get votes and the EU abused its power by bullying Greece.

Ioannis (2016) speaks in his interview about how Troika genuinely wants to help Greece, but Greece does not know how to handle the situation. Greece was not stable before they entered the EU and handed in false papers in order to enter the EU. He explains that the large public sector should have been cut it and not the private sector, in which the cuts were made first after the reforms were implemented. Furthermore, he says that SYRIZA promised to change things in Greece and go against the EU memorandum, but at the end he sold lies after lies in order to stay in charge of the Greek government and solved nothing.

Smaragda’s (2016) opinion about how the EU and Greece are handling the current situation in Greece, she answers with that it is noticeable that none of those two have had experienced such crisis before. The EU should not have given Greece only money, but also some guidance how to spend it other than paying the salary of the government. Moreover, she continues with that the austerity measures are for the best for Greece. She thinks she can say that, because she has better knowledge about it than others because of her education. The referendum about these austerity measures were political propaganda from the site of SYRIZA, because they wanted to make statement to the right

wing parties that SYRIZA was now in charge. Therefore, most people voted against the austerity measures while they were needed. Thus, she does not trust this government.

**The solutions according to the three Athenians**

The three Greek young adults continue with their solutions for the Greek crisis. Anastasia (2016) advices to change the political system in order to combat corruption and fire uneducated and ignorant people in the government. Moreover, she implies that the political parties should be more open about what is going on in the world and more honest about their goals in order to avoid social distress. In addition, also Ioannis (2016) would suggest to solve corruption by cutting in the public sector and boosting the private sector. Furthermore, he would have first structured and then implemented the measures the first time they received it from Troika in order to solve the problem instead of augment it by delaying it. However, Smaragda says the following “To begin with, I would change the education system in order to change the way people think. The mentality of the students should be changed. They would have known more about the crisis and to think critically about it if they knew more about it.” (Andrikaki, 2016) In addition, according to her people need to get a chance to travel in order to broaden their minds and perspectives about the crisis.

Analyses

In this chapter answers will be given on each individual sub-question based on the results found related to the question.

**4.1. What is the Greek crisis and how did it develop as it is today?**

This part of the report will answer the question about the commencement of the crisis as it occurs nowadays. This will be done by linking the historical events in Greece will with the current events in the Greece. Moreover, the role of the measures will be discussed.

**The fundamentals of the problem**

The current Greek crisis that has begun in 2008, has a lot of components from which it is build and has its roots from. There are three components which this report focusses on: economic changes and chances in Greece, social distress due to the economic changes and political distrust from the Greek people towards national and international politics. However, this current situation in Greece did not appear out of nothing. The history of this event goes back to before anyone currently living could possibly prevent such crisis.

The Greek crisis is firstly known as an economic crisis. This means that Greece has not have its finance in order: major government debt and deficit. In addition, its private sector has been hit hard by the global economic crisis. This all caused a free fall of unemployment, especially among Greek young adults, as stated by The Guardian (2015). Moreover, in order to help Greece managing the crisis, Troika provided a “Memorandum” which would guide Greece how to spend the aid money from Troika. However, according to the BBC, this meant that numerous measures were insisted by Troika which included the termination of all temporary works in the public sector, a cut down in the minimum wage of the public sector, VAT rates rose: the 19% rate will increase to 23%, 11% becomes 13%, and 5.5% will increase to 6.5% and even education spending will be cut by closing or merging 1,976 schools (BBC, 2011). These economic measures affected a large group in Greece.

The measures caused criticism from the Greeks. To start with the level of augmented taxation which hit everyone in Greece, because they had less to spend after this measure. Moreover, cutting in education narrows the choice of students for schools. However, the measures focus on the public sector which has to slim down, because according to Kalyvas (2015) the public sector in Greece is

much larger than in other members of the OECD. This means that a major group in the Greek society who works for the public sector has to cope with less salary and those who previously worked for the public sector have to cope with unemployment. This can lead to not able to pay bills to stress and eventually even to death or suicide, according to Economou (2013). That last fact rose during the Greek crisis. However, it is not always the path most people chose to take. They express their feeling by protesting and, even worse, rioting against the government or against a decision of the government. Thus, those measures caused social malaise.

In addition, the Greek crisis has also the political component for which it makes this crisis a remarkable one. Just before Alexis Tsipras from SYRIZA became prime minister of Greece, Greece had major complications with obeying to Troika and its own people. In addition, the government’s coalition shifted five times from 2012 until 2015. Furthermore, according to Anastasia (2016) the referendum was a political game which he used to mark his signature on the new government and rule out the opposition. Therefore, the crisis also contains a political war.

**Examination of the fundamentals**

However, in order to understand the Greek crisis better, there has to be a history behind it that should be examined first. Greece has already experienced several different sorts of crisis. However, with some they never actually dealt with. After the Greco-Turkish War in 1922 until 1952 Greece had difficulties with their way to democracy which they did obtain in 1952. However, they still had a king who stood above the government. Therefore, Greece was still on its way to true liberation. However, the fight was temporary interrupted as Greece was under a military coup from 1967 until 1974. Greece tried to seek for help by joining NATO, EEC and the Eurozone (Kalyvas, 2015).

Nonetheless, the actions of Andreas Papandreou should be highlighted after the military coup. He lived in an era where there just had been a dictatorship and the Greek economy was not performing well. The poorest people were struck as hardest of the population in Greece by the situation of the Greek economy. In addition, his ideologies were based on communism which means he sought for more privileges for the lower level of the Greek society (Kalyvas, 2015). He did this by augmenting the minimum wage and salaries in order to stimulate consumption which he hoped would have led to more production, more jobs and welfare, thus, at the end to a better performing Greek economy. However, by spending this amount of money while it was not even present, caused an enormous deficit in the government’s budget and in its debt. This was one of the events that eventually led to

the exacerbation of the economic crisis currently in Greece. It never actually solved the problem, but try to manage the situation (Kalyvas, 2015).

However, in 2009 the cost of Greece’s loans rose rapidly. Moreover, Greece was provided financial aid in return for measure which the Greeks opposed to it. The measures had a to damaging impact on the Greek people. In addition, they protested against the measures and their government, which in their opinion failed to solve the problem. The social distress grew alongside the political distrust (Mungiu-Pippidi et al., 2015).

**4.2. How did the chances on the Greek labour market change the economic situation for Greek young adults residing in Greece since the beginning of the Greek crisis?**

The economic changes and chances in the Greek labour market will be examined. Moreover, the periods that will be compared are the period before the introduction of euro in Greece, the period after the introduction of the euro in Greece and the period from the beginning of the Greek crisis until present day, 2016.

**When the economic issues become tangible**

The youth unemployment rate in Greece diminished steadily from before the introduction of the euro in Greece towards the beginning of the crisis. After the beginning of the crisis in 2008 the youth unemployment rate rose rapidly from 20% in 2008 to a magnificent 60% in 2012. This rate is decreased to 50% currently in 2016. However, the EU average in youth unemployment rate at the beginning of the crisis was nearly 16% and its peak in 2013 was approximately 25%. Therefore, the youth unemployment in Greece even before the global economic crisis began was already at a high level (Trading Economics, 2016).

In addition, long-term unemployment and part time jobs increased during the period from 2001 until after 2008 and full time jobs decreased. The long-term unemployment rate was at the beginning of 2001 the same as the EU average, but suddenly rose to far above the EU average after 2008 (Trading Economics, 2015). In addition, according to Anastasia (2016), businesses created part time jobs in order to help the Greek people with having an income in order to pay their bills and make a living out of it, however, temporary. Moreover, the decrease in the amount of full time jobs could be explained by the amount of terminations within the public sector. The public sector was larger than the EU’s average, according to Ioannis (2016) even almost 40%. He confirms that the statistics of

Trading economics has to do with the fact that Troika demanded cuts within the public sector which meant that along with the temporary employers also a lot of full timers had to leave their position in the public sector.

**The value of gender and living place in this crisis**

Moreover, women in Greece are less employed than in most European countries and always have been less employed. In 2000 the gender gap in Greece was a high as in Germany in 1980, which means that in the perspective of the gender gap in Germany, Greece is living in the past. Germany worked towards closing the gap while Greece stayed behind. In addition, after 2008 the gap stayed immense, because 79% of Greek men joined the labour force whereas 57% of women participated. Moreover, with less than 40% the participation of women in the labour force in Greece became the lowest in the EU with 10% of them working part time (Eurostat, 2010).

When looking at the trend in unemployment in the regions, there can be said that wherever the level was in 1998 it went down steadily from the introduction of the euro in Greece up until the crisis started. After that the level of unemployment in 2011 rose to even a higher level than in 1998. At the end of 2011 compared with 1998 Epirus and Thessaly were struck as hardest by the crisis and Peloponnese and North Aegean as the less hard (Bank of Greece, 2015).

Furthermore, Greece’s minimum wage reacts to its economy growth. The minimum wage increased from €522,- in 2000 until €700,- in 2006. After the begin of the crisis this decreased to less than €700,-. The minimum wage in Hungary and Netherlands did not seem to be affected by the crisis, with Hungary as the country with one of the lowest minimum wage and the Netherlands as one of the highest minimum wage. Both minimum wage rose during the period from 2000 until 2016 (Trading Economics, 2016).

**Bending the crisis**

The statement of Achilleas, in which he claims that Greece’s labour market in not as open and flexible as it should bed in the EU, is remarkable. “Numerical flexibility is the process which the employer - based on the changes in the demand for their products/services - react respectively by adjusting the number of employees.” (Achilleas, 2015). Often they even offer part time function within their organisation. This is exactly what most organisations in Greece do in order to prevent unemployment to rise in this crisis. Therefore, the Greek labour market does reply to the change of

demand in their product/services and is flexible. However, according to Achilleas (2015), the fact that almost 96% of the companies in Greece are family owned makes it different. Relatives are involved which means that illegal activities could take place and taxes could be avoided which is corrupt and corruption limits the openness of a company, thus, in the labour market in Greece.

The measures implemented in Greece explicitly led to less spending by all levels in the Greek society, because the VAT rate increased from 19% to 23%. Moreover, the chance to find a job or an internship in the public sector decreased for young adults in Greece, because most starter jobs and internships are part time which had to be deleted according to the measures (BBC, 2011).

**4.3. Which social conflicts do Greek young adults in Greece face due to the changes in the Greek labour market as result of the Greek crisis?**

The economic and political crisis will be linked with the perception of Greek young adult about their political culture and the health issues which comes along with the social pressure they feel due to the economic crisis and measures taken in order to fight the crisis.

**Fear overrules the crisis**

According to the ILO (2014) the long-term unemployment has not only to do with the economic crisis, but also underlying social reasons which limits the chances of the Greeks in its labour market. The Greek economic crisis caused a lot of side effect which social distress was one of them. According to Scarpetta et al. (2010), the over-representation of youth employed with a temporary work contract would create a sense of fear of losing their job, because it gives them no guarantee of obtaining a permanent work contract. In addition, according to The Guardian (2015) because of this concern of not finding a proper job Greek young adults admit that they consider moving abroad in order to find better job and study opportunities. Although, those who consider to stay in Greece seen the circumstances claim that there are opportunities in Greece. However, they have to work harder in order to find it and those opportunities are less than they are abroad. Moreover, some even say that they would study or work abroad only to come back to Greece and restore it.

In addition, the three Greek young adults who have been interviewed for this research outed their concerns about whether finding a job or losing one’s job. All of them confirm that it is difficult to find a well-paid job or internship. Although, they know they have better chances in the labour market because of their education. This is fortunately also what the EU stimulates. They offer financial aid

to those families of a lower income in order to have better access to high-level education (European Union, 2016). This will not only lead to better chances in the Greek labour market, but also more knowledge about the Greek crisis, as Smaragda (2016) claims. Therefore, they would understand what the crisis is about and what is important in order to manage the situation.

**Unhealthy situation**

The UNDP (2013) claims that the crisis had its effect on the health and standards in living life and education limitations. More specifically, due to the crisis their health quality decreased. Lionis (2013). claims that due to higher taxes, less spending and not able to pay bills could lead to alcohol abuse, domestic violence, anxiety, insomnia, depression and even suicide. In addition, according to Faresjo et al. (2013) Athenian young adults experience more stress and have lower hope in their future than Swedish young adults from Linkoping. This could lead to a growth in suicidal ideation and attempts Economou et al. (2013) states.

Conclusion

The main object of this report was to answer the main research question “What role does the Greek crisis play in the lives of Greek young adults residing in Greece?”, which will be derived from the analysed results.

The economic crisis started in 2008 could be noticed in almost every country around the globe. However, Greece was hit as one the hardest in the European Union. The crisis in economic crisis in Greece caused an immense indent in 2012 in the Greek

labour market. Greek young adults had less chance in the labour market in that year, because the unemployment rate was 60% for them, whereas the general unemployment rate that same year was 27,9%. Moreover, governments came and went away leaving the Greek people with growing desperation. The current Greek crisis already is historically seen one of the most memorable crisis Greece dealt with.

From the moment they fought the Turkish empire, Greece battled with reconstructing their own country and leading to democracy. Greece even was taken over by the military force for almost a decade. When the military coup was driven away, Greece

faced an economic, social and political crisis. In addition, Andreas Papandreou caused an even major problem. He tried to stimulate the economy by increasing its spending to the Greeks on the lower level. However, it did not result in the way he hoped it would have. The following governments were because of him left with an increasing government debt and deficit in its budget. Greece reached out for help to NATO and the EU. However, they had to apply for it, which they did with unrectified papers. Nonetheless, with the advent of the global economic crisis the internal crisis in Greece was exposed, which included economic decline and social distress heightened by political disabilities.

Furthermore, not only did the youth unemployment rate increase in Greece. The gender gap remained immense, the minimum wage rate decreased, taxes increased which caused mental and physical issues such as stress and even worse: suicide attempts. In addition, almost all of these mentioned aspects are a sign of diminishing chances in the Greek labour market. Moreover, because of the increasing long-term unemployment rate, employers were held responsible to create part time jobs. Numerous of these part time jobs for starters or young adults in Greece does not come with proper reward or professionality skills that were required for these jobs.

Therefore, some Greek youngsters end up dealing with mental obstacles. However, most Greek young adults in Greece tend to seek a prosper future elsewhere. Nonetheless, those Greek youngsters who do want to stay in Greece think that there are opportunities in Greece, although, they also think that in order to get better opportunities in Greece, substantial changes are necessary in Greece. To begin with the political system. They feel that they have been betrayed by their governments systematically and, thus, do not trust them anymore. In the view of these Greek youngsters the political parties are playing games while they should be handling a serious crisis and making crucial decisions about it.

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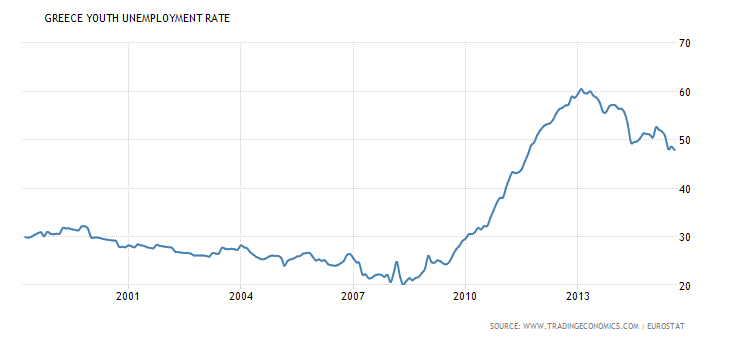
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Appendix I

**Statistics**

Figure 1.



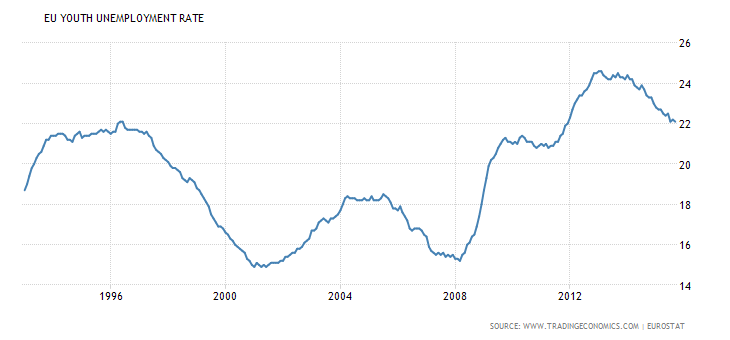
Figure 2.

Figure 3.

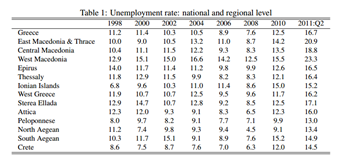
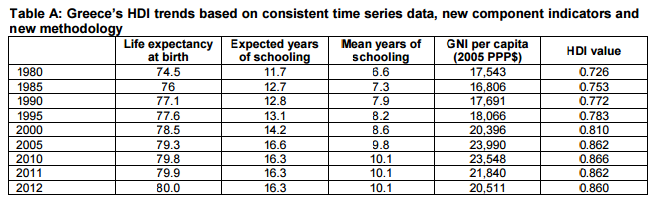
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Figure 4.



Appendix II

**Transcript of interview**

**Interview with Smaragda Andrikaki**

*22 April 2016*

1. What is your name, age, occupation, living place?

*My name is Smaragda Andrikaki, I am 22 years old, student and living in Athens.*

1. What are the specific aspects in your life (for example less income/spending, mental struggles or in politics, etc.) that you feel have changed or stayed the same due to the Greek crisis?

*Nothing stayed the same way. The way people are living might not have been changed. I still go to school, people still go to the supermarkets and go to work. However, everyone is stressed knowing about the situation. They seem to lose reality, panic and for example transfer their money elsewhere in order to keep it safe. Moreover, more people are thinking about migrating and finding better jobs elsewhere. Therefore, life got much more stressed than it was before the crisis.*

1. “There is no doubt that the most characteristic feature of the Greek social landscape in the current crisis is the steep rise in joblessness.” (Matsaganis, 2013) Thus, are you concerned of losing or not finding a job due to this crisis? Explain why?

*Off course! Even when looking for an internship it is hard to agree on a salary. They now offer you the experience without the reward. Moreover, even when finding a job, the salary is not high and not always on your level of education. However, there are opportunities with some jobs that offer you the proper level but still a low salary. In addition, there are more and more jobs that requires higher standards.*

1. The EU, IMF and ECB have provided financial aid to Greece in order to help it out of the crisis. However, Greece needed reforms in order to earn the aid. Given this information, what is your opinion about the role of the EU in the Greek crisis? Is it positive or rather negative? Explain why?

*You can see that they both do not have experience with this kind of crisis. With giving the money to Greece, the problem was not solved. The Troika did not look at the actual problem. The crisis is more than a financial crisis. Therefore, just giving money to Greece is not enough. They need guidance from the EU in order to spend it the right way and not just paying the salary of the government.*

1. Before accepting more austerity measures from the EU, the Greek government held a referendum about it. The outcome of this referendum was OXI/NO. Although this was the outcome, the government accepted it. Therefore, my question to you is whether you trust the government with what they decided or not. Explain why?

*First of all, I voted YES! This is because my generation and I have better knowledge about it than most people do because of my education. Most people do not know that the help of the EU is needed. They do not know the real situation and how it should be handled. Moreover, this referendum was actually more political propaganda than it was a chance for the people to have a voice in this political decision making. Before this government the governmental party was from the right, and now it is left after three elections soon after each other. Therefore, this government wanted to make a statement to the right wing and have reassurance from the Greek people. Therefore, I did not vote for SYRIZA, voted NAI, thus, I do not trust this government.*

1. If you had the chance to govern Greece and help it out of the crisis what would you do or have done differently than the current government? In other words, what advice do you have for this current government?

*To begin with, I would change the education system in order to change the way people think. The mentality of the students should be changed. They would have known more about the crisis and to think critically about it if they knew more about it. Furthermore, there should be more control over people’s spending. People are not used to give or ask the receipt from their purchases. This way they can hide their money and avoid paying taxes. However, if they would be taught about how the economy works, they would understand why those receipts are important and make it a habit to give or ask it. In addition, I would encourage people to travel in order to broaden their perspectives and knowledge about the crisis so they would understand it better. Lastly, the media should change the way they present politics, because for example SYRIZA is anti-EU. Therefore, if people only see this in the media, they will believe what they are seeing, although it is not always true.*

**Interview with Anastasia Iakovidi**

*24 April 2016*

1. What is your name, age, occupation, living place?

*Anastasia Iakovidi, 22 years old student from Athens.*

1. What are the specific aspects in your life (for example less income/spending, mental struggles or in politics, etc.) that you feel have changed or stayed the same due to the Greek crisis?

*I think less spending would be something that changed. However, my social live stayed the same with me and my friends. We still do the same things we did before. The crisis did not really affect the way we do grocery shopping. But I do see and understand that others off course feel the effects of it. Therefore, personally nothing big really changed. In addition, we were always careful in our mind with spending money. We are aware of the value of money.*

1. “There is no doubt that the most characteristic feature of the Greek social landscape in the current crisis is the steep rise in joblessness.” (Matsaganis, 2013) Thus, are you concerned of losing or not finding a job due to this crisis? Explain why?

*Yes, off course I am concerned. There is a lot of competition in the labour market, and I understand the urge to find job possibilities abroad. In addition, there are jobs possibilities here in Greece. However, these jobs are not always your dream job, because mostly young adults who just start working have to accept to compromise with the opportunity to have a job for less money. However, personally I have an easier situation than others, because I live home with my parents which is financially beneficial. Moreover, I know I can find a job more easily because of my background study. I can weight jobs against one another. However, some small businesses are not capable to employ students, so they call it an unpaid internship in order to avoid taxes and still be beneficial for themselves.*

1. The EU, IMF and ECB have provided financial aid to Greece in order to help it out of the crisis. However, Greece needed reforms in order to earn the aid. Given this information, what is your opinion about the role of the EU in the Greek crisis? Is it positive or rather negative? Explain why?

*The views of the EU and Greece towards each other are different from one another. The EU does not know the needs of the Greeks. Off course reforms were needed in order to overcome the crisis, but more in general. Therefore, in general it is negative how the EU managed the Greek crisis. Greece had to agree on the reforms. In addition, both Greece and the EU does not understand each other. However, it is also something political from the EU to insist the reforms in order to let Greece behave certain way the EU wants them to behave. Moreover, Greece is in the middle of interest in Europe for many reasons.*

1. Before accepting more austerity measures from the EU, the Greek government held a referendum about it. The outcome of this referendum was OXI/NO. Although this was the outcome, the government accepted it. Therefore, my question to you is whether you trust the government with what they decided or not. Explain why?

*No. I do not trust them. I voted YES. Nobody really knew what the ministers had in mind with the crisis. In addition, the EU pushed Greece to accept the measures while the government announced that they now really wanted to change things in Greece. However, they were not capable to do so because the EU is actually a bully and abuses its power. Greece really needed change and hoped for it, and also the politicians were desperate in order to get votes.*

1. If you had the chance to govern Greece and help it out of the crisis what would you do or have done differently than the current government? In other words, what advice do you have for this current government?

*Well, the first thing should change in politics is that they have to stop lying in order to win votes but work to the opposite direction. The should stop betray the Greek people. This all cause social stress with the referendum was unnecessary, because for months they already were busy with solutions for the crisis. Thus, I would not have done a referendum on a Grexit. In addition, the political support from ANEL to SYRIZA was fake, because they have different political philosophies. Therefore, I would change the public sector, because it does not work as the way it should. They should fire unkowlegded or unskilled employees. There should be more control over this. In addition, the public transportation should have more control moments, because a lot of people do not buy a ticket. If they catch these people, they would have been able to have more income and less frauds. Moreover, public transportation should be more organized and punctual and university buildings should be renovated. Furthermore, as government I would inform people on the changing situations in the world and in Greece regarding the refugee crisis, because not*

*everyone understands what is going on and are not willing to help. A lot of people do not know their histories with Greeks people flying Turkey. With traveling you obtain more knowledge and that is something they do not have. In addition, the organisation on those refugee island should be better that it is now.*

**Interview with Ioannis Papadis**

*25 April 2016*

1. What is your name, age, occupation, living place?

*My name is Ioannis Papadis, Iam 24 years old and full time working and studying, from Athens.*

1. What are the specific aspects in your life (for example less income/spending, mental struggles or in politics, etc.) that you feel have changed or stayed the same due to the Greek crisis?

*Less income will be one thing that changed. As a lawyer intern you earn around €800,- per month. Nevertheless, some friends are not payed much, around €300,-, or not at all. In addition, because there is so much competition on the labour market you have the feeling that you will not find anything else. You are afraid to lose your job, and bosses take advantage of it, because they do not care if you lose your job or not being payed less or not at all.*

1. “There is no doubt that the most characteristic feature of the Greek social landscape in the current crisis is the steep rise in joblessness.” (Matsaganis, 2013) Thus, are you concerned of losing or not finding a job due to this crisis? Explain why?

*Everyday. I am well paid in comparison with others. However, I am still afraid to lose my job to others and not find something else, at least not on the same level.*

1. The EU, IMF and ECB have provided financial aid to Greece in order to help it out of the crisis. However, Greece needed reforms in order to earn the aid. Given this information, what is your opinion about the role of the EU in the Greek crisis? Is it positive or rather negative? Explain why?

*In the beginning Troika was an opportunity Greece needed. They needed reforms in order to better Greece’s economy. These reforms needed to come from someone else than*

*Greece self, because it was not capable to impose those reforms on their own. The reforms from Troika were an opportunity to cut in the public sector which has 30%/40% of the labour market which is not right. A public sector this big is not sustainable. The effects of the crisis were first felt in the private sector. They had to catch this burden. Moreover, Troika stimulates the private sector. Therefore, Troika really wants to help Greece out of the crisis. However, this government makes it almost impossible for them to help Greece.*

1. Before accepting more austerity measures from the EU, the Greek government held a referendum about it. The outcome of this referendum was OXI/NO. Although this was the outcome, the government accepted it. Therefore, my question to you is whether you trust the government with what they decided or not. Explain why?

*In order to answer this question, you have to go back to before 2015 when Tsipras won the elections in January after Samaras resigned. Tsipras promised to tear apart the memorandum and not to cooperate with the EU about this. This is why he won the elections in January. He lied about it to the Greek people and after a while people understood what he did: Greece has a problem that has to be solved. The referendum was not about whether Greece should go back to Drachma or exit the EU or the Eurozone. This referendum was unclear to the Greek people about what is was. Furthermore, Tsipras sold the lie that he would not accept any measures from the EU, and the Greek people believed him. He provoked an election with this. He promised changes in Greece, but this never came.*

1. If you had the chance to govern Greece and help it out of the crisis what would you do or have done differently than the current government? In other words, what advice do you have for this current government?

*To begin with, I would structure the reforms, cut the income of the public sector and boost the private sector. The previous government avoided to structure the measures Troika promoted to Greece. They did not have any political advisors, because those specialists were immigrated elsewhere. Thus what I would have done is willingly apply the Troika measures immediately and for once and all. I see a problem and that should be solved and not delayed with barriers. Furthermore, I would fight corruption. SYRIZA had a political advantage, because they were deemed pure. Nevertheless, after they were elected as government, corruption stayed. In addition, it even increased. There is for example a rapper who came into the government and via connections there provided his, unqualified, girlfriend a job in a ministry. Therefore, I would solve corruption.*