

Macro-level Data for CNEP II-Greece

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1. Structure of national government

Greece has a unicameral, parliamentary system, with a highly centralized state structure that is only now (late 1990s) beginning to experience some degree of significant decentralization, whose eventual impact is difficult to gauge at present.

The CNEP survey focused on the latest (1996) national election.

The Greek political system is strongly majoritarian. The single party majorities it almost invariably produces dominate parliament. Thus, parliament's real ability to **initiate** legislation that is **not** endorsed by the government is virtually nonexistent. The capacity of parliament to modify the government's legislative proposals is similarly circumscribed.

2. Electoral law

Greece has an electoral system formally known as "reinforced PR." Except for a brief period of less than a year in 1989-90, this has been the electoral system used since 1958. Its main intent is (a) to ensure the emergence of single-party majorities in parliament, (b) produce a second major party, which acts as the major opposition, and (c) allow for the survival of a handful of smaller parties.

Representation in parliament requires a minimum 3% share of the votes cast in a national election.

Electoral districts are small by European standards. There are 300 seats in parliament, of which 288 are elected on the basis of reinforced PR and 12, known as "state deputies" because the entire country serves as a single electoral district, are elected on the basis of the d'Hondt system. The 288 deputies are elected in 56 electoral districts. In other words, there are 5.1 seats per electoral district.

Built into the Greek electoral system after 1990 is an important representational bias designed to ensure that each party will **minimally** receive a percentage of seats in parliament that is equal to 2/3 of the overall number of votes cast in its favor. It is this feature of the electoral system, which allows for the coexistence, in the Greek party system, of two large parties and a small number (2-3) of small ones.

3. Politicized social cleavages

Greece is exceptional in that her political system is based on no identifiable politicized social cleavages. Rather, the salient cleavage driving Greek politics is primarily, if not entirely, political, dates back to the civil war of 1946-49, and involves a powerful Left-Right dimension.

The cleavage was extremely divisive in the 1950s and 1960s and underpinned the colonels' authoritarian regime of 1967-74. It was very strong throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but has become increasingly attenuated in the 1990s.

There are no significant ethnic/cultural/linguistic minorities in Greece, as far as its electoral politics is concerned. The most important minority is the Muslim one, which is overwhelmingly located in the region of Thrace in northeastern Greece, in the electoral districts of Xanthi and Rodopi. It is made up of ethnic Turks, Bulgarian-speaking Muslims known as Pomaks, and Muslim Roma. Its size is roughly 120,000 or 1.2% of the population. These two districts elected 3 of 300 deputies, 2 from Rodopi and 1 from Xanthi, in the parliament issuing from the 1996 elections.

In the course of the 1990s, large numbers of illegal aliens have entered Greece, mostly from former communist countries in Southeastern Europe. By far the largest such group are the Albanians, whose numbers are variously estimated at between 350,000 and 500,000. The rest of the alien population probably amounts to roughly 250,000. **None of these have the right to vote and, hence, directly to affect Greek electoral politics.**

4. Structure of the media

The Greek media system is mostly centralized and strongly reflects the dominance of Athens over the entire country. For the most, each medium has a single national market. Compared to the national networks, the fairly large number of local stations attracts a very small audience. The same is true of local newspapers.

Major national newspapers: Ta Nea (center-left) 21,80%, To Vima (center) 5,5%, Eleftherotypia, (center-left) 14,8%, Eleftheros Typos (center-right to right) 9,1%, Kathimerini (center-right to center) 7,5%.

Major television networks:

(a) Private networks: Mega Channel, Sky, Star, Antenna TV

(b) Public networks: NET, ERT1

MARKET SHARE OF TELEVISION CHANNELS

	1996	1997	1998	1999 (until 31/5)
ET1	4.8%	4.5%	6.4%	5.7%
ET2/NET	3.5%	3.7%	3.6%	4.3%
MEGA	23.4%	21.0%	20.9%	20.9%
ANTENNA	22.9%	22.9%	23.8%	23.9%
STAR	14.4%	14.3%	13.7%	13.4%
SKY	13.7%	15.9%	14.5%	16.0%
Daily time of viewing	202 min	212 min	219 min	(252 min) *

* This time is comparable to the relevant 5 months period of 1998, that is 238 min.

MONTHLY VIEWING DATA FOR 1999

Average daily viewing time per person

	JAN-99	FEB-99	MAR-99	APR-99	MAY-99
TOTAL	262	271	264	235	229

Market Share of Channels

CHANNEL	JAN-99	FEB-99	MAR-99	APR-99	MAY-99
ET1	5.8	5.8	5.4	5.9	5.6
NET	4.2	4.1	4.6	4.3	4.1
MEGA	22.6	21.2	21.0	19.7	19.6
ANTENNA	24.7	24.1	24.1	23.2	23.4
NEW	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.8
STAR	13.4	13.6	13.6	13.2	13.2
SKY	14.5	16.2	15.7	16.5	17.3
ALTER5	1.3	1.8	2.6	3.2	3.1

Major radio chains

(a) Private networks: Sky, Antenna Radio, Mega, Flash.

(b) Public networks: ERA (National Public Radio)

Greece has created an independent regulatory authority, called ESR or National Radio and Television Council, which has been assigned oversight and licensing responsibility for the entire industry (public and private).

It has eight members that are appointed by the Minister of Press and Mass Media on the recommendation of the parties, while the President is appointed by the President of Parliament. They intervene, whenever, in their judgement, the statutes and the rules of the Council, especially the codes of ethics for journalism, programmes, and advertisements, are violated. The sanctions are: (a) Warning and advice (b) fines ranging from five to five hundred million drachmas (i.e., roughly \$16,000-\$1,600,000) (c) temporary interruption of a specific broadcasting programme (d) suspension of operating license for up to three months and (e) The definite interruption of the station" broadcasting. For radio companies the fines range from one to ten million drachmas (i.e., roughly \$3,000-\$30,000).

ESR members represent the political parties represented in parliament. It is in the early stages of its operations and still faces significant organizational, infrastructural, and staffing problems. The intent of the second chairman is to transform it into an effective watchdog body. To date, its most difficult decisions concern the granting of licenses.

Except for Antenna TV and radio, which caters more to voters of the center-right Nea Dimokratia party, the rest of the major radio and TV networks do not have a visible political bias. Put somewhat differently, on the whole they try not to show a political bias.

An important distinction between electronic and print media has to be made with respect to the information content of the news media. On the whole, radio and TV networks present viewers/listeners with personalized and highly trivialized journalism. The only exceptions are the publicly owned NET and, to a certain extent only, the privately owned Mega, which often succumbs to the imperatives of competition with other private stations. In the print media, the situation is better, in that high-quality, policy-relevant information can be found in a larger sample of national newspapers.

3. Basic nature of campaign

Paid commercial advertising is legal for both publicly- and privately owned media.

Paid commercial advertising is very important to the political parties, which spend very significant sums in it. On the other hand, and given the fact that the dominance of TV in campaign politics is a phenomenon of the 1990s, its effectiveness has yet to be conclusively demonstrated.

Political parties (but not candidates) are provided with free airtime. The format of these presentations varies from election to election. In the forthcoming election for the European Parliament, the governing party has chosen to focus on the party and its achievements in a number of policy areas and to project statistics showing the significant improvement that has occurred under its term in office. The major opposition party, on the other hand, is centering its campaign on its leader, is underplaying the party label in an effort to attract the large floating vote, and looks to the future rather than the past. Negative advertising entered campaign politics in the 1996 elections, but, so far, has been confined to tolerable levels.

Time-slots for advertising are allocated on a formula, which roughly reflects the parties' parliamentary representation.

The conduct of the electoral campaign is overseen by a consultative regulatory body known as the "interparty commission," which is constituted on the eve of each election. In the 1999 election for the European Parliament, its members came from parties represented in the Greek National as well as the European Parliaments. Its task is (a) to ensure that elections are conducted fairly, in a mild climate that minimizes divisiveness and conflict, (b) check the level of expenditure for each party contesting the election, and (c) to allocate funds from the state budget to all participating parties. About a month before the elections it produces a statement, formally communicated to the public through the Ministries of the Interior and Press, which contains, in codified form, the rules of the games agreed upon by the parties participating in the elections.

4. Basic election data

Please see attached table (it will be distributed in the conference). Voting is mandatory in Greece. Though its penalty clauses have very rarely been invoked and applied in recent decades, this means that participation rates are high in Greece, ranging between 70 and 80 per cent of the registered voters.

On the other hand, it is difficult to form an accurate picture of the extent of abstention. This is because the electoral lists show an electorate body of roughly

9 million, while the population over 18 years of age is about 8 million. The electoral lists have not been sufficiently cleared to eliminate voters no longer alive.

5. Female participation in the labor force

a) Economic activity of females aged 15-64: 46,2%

b) Economic activity of females by age cohort

AGE GROUP	ECONOMIC ACTIVITY
15-25	32.6%
25-49	60.8%
49-64	29.6%

c) Proportion of females employed by age cohort

Age Group	Employed/ population	Implied employment rate	Implied unemployment rate
15-24	19.4%	59.5%	40.6%
25-49	53.3%	87.7%	12.5%
49-64	28.2%	95.2%	4.9%

d) Highest level of education completed by females by age cohort

Age Group	Tertiary education completed	Upper secondary education completed	Lower secondary education completed	Primary education completed	Primary education not completed
15-24	5.7	47.0	31.3	14.5	1.5
25-34	18.2	37.4	9.8	32.4	2.2
25-44	12.3	26.3	6.8	50.2	4.4
25-54	5.6	16.5	4.2	53.6	20.1
55-64	2.4	10.8	3.1	43.5	40.2
65+	1.7	6.4	2.8	35.6	53.5
All	8.1	24.2	9.9	37.4	20.4

5. Salient features of secondary associations

(a) The structure of trade unions-relations with political parties

Membership in Greek trade unions is mostly open shop.

The Greek trade union movement is highly fragmented and has historically been penetrated and dominated by political parties. On the other hand, there are no separate trade unions affiliated with specific political parties.

Greece has two peak trade union organizations at the national level, one for the public sector (ADEDY) and one for the private sector (General Confederation of Greek Workers-GSEE). A decision to merge the two has been made but its implementation is being delayed because of disagreement among political parties, which are concerned about their influence in the new peak organization to emerge from the merger.

Trade union membership is declining.

(b) The structure of business associations

The Greek Federation of Industries (SEV) is the national peak organization for big business. The Greek General Confederation of Professionals and Artisans (GSEVE) is the peak organization representing small and medium-size firms, which, in numerical terms, constitute the overwhelming mass of business associations in the country. On the whole, these organizations do not have particularly close relationships with political parties.

(c) The Greek Orthodox faith is the dominant religion in the country. Its nominal membership covers roughly 97% of the population. No other religion claims the adherence of more than 1.5% of the population (Muslims are approximately 1.2%.)

There are no ancillary secondary organizations of any significance linked to the various religions found in Greece.

4. Basic socioeconomic structure

(a) Percentage of active labor force in: agriculture-; industry-; service sector-.

Distribution of Employment By Sector, 1991, 1996

NACE Section	Sectors	1991	%	1996	%
A	Agriculture, Hunting and forestry	656.800	16.90	771.516	19.85
B	Manufacturing	534.734	13.76	576.105	14.82
F	Construction	289.468	7.45	251.809	6.48
G-Q	Services	187.114	48.28	2.199.946	56.61
A-Q	TOTAL	3.886.157	100.00	3.886.158	100.00

Data source: National Statistical Service of Greece, Population Census 1991, Labour Force Survey, 1996

Note: 1996 figures do not include persons younger than 14 years old in employment, whereas 1991 figures include all persons in employment

(b) At the time of the CNEP survey the rate of unemployment was roughly 10%. It is now estimated to be about 11.5%.

Unemployment statistics in Greece count as unemployed anyone over 18 years of age who has entered the labor market and has been laid off. This leaves out of the statistics all those over 18 years of age but have **not** entered the market.

Percentage of Active Population Unemployed, 1991, 1996

	1991	1996
Unemployed	8.09%	10.34%

Data source: National Statistical Service of Greece, Population Census 1991, Labour Force Survey, 1996

Note: The above figures refer to persons more than 14 years old.

(c) Percent of population residing in urban areas

Distribution of real population by Settlement size, 1991

Settlement size	Real population	%
>500.000	3.821.970	37.25
100.000-499.999	526.480	5.13
50.000-99.999	425.664	4.15
20.000-49.999	957.260	9.33
5.000-19.999	1.159.892	11.31
<5.000	3.368.634	32.83
Greece Total	10.259.900	100.00

Data source: National Statistical Service of Greece, Population Census 1991

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