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INFLATION AND COUNTER-INFLATIONARY POLICY MEASURES:

THE CASE OF GREECE

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ABSTRACT

This report examines the recent evolution of inflation and its drivers in Greece, as well as the policies undertaken to limit its increase and mitigate its impact on households and firms. As elsewhere in the Euro Area, energy inflation has been the main driver of Greek inflation and we illustrate why: most notably the high natural gas distribution costs (a consequence of high market concentration) with its impact on electricity costs and the elevated indirect taxes on energy. Inflation has had a detrimental effect on wage earners in Greece with real wages falling, while the wage share has also been in steady decline. The Greek government has gone to great lengths to mitigate the impact of energy inflation on households and companies and to limit its rise, spending €9.8bn or 5.4% of GDP between September 2021 and October 2022, the fourth highest percentage of GDP in the EU, mostly on horizontal subsidies, without income criteria, or, until October 2022, even any incentives to reduce energy demand. A preliminary assessment of these measures suggests that inadequate targeting of vulnerable households means that, despite the high levels of expenditure, policy has not substantially alleviated the regressive impact of inflation, especially on households with lingering financial fragility from the previous two economic shocks experienced since 2010.

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Abstract

This chapter examines the recent evolution of inflation and its drivers in Greece, as well as the policies undertaken to limit its increase and mitigate its impact on households and firms. Greece is an interesting case as the current inflationary episode and the challenges it creates for real incomes is the third major economic shock that the country and its population have undergone since 2010, following the public debt crisis and the Covid-19 pandemic, from which the economy had just recovered. As elsewhere in the Euro Area, energy inflation has been the main driver of the Greek headline inflation and we illustrate the various reasons why this has been so, most notably the high natural gas distribution costs (a consequence of high market concentration) with its impact on electricity costs, and the elevated indirect taxes on energy. Inflation has had a detrimental effect on wage earners in Greece with real wages falling, while the wage share has also been in steady decline. Profit shares have been holding up or even increasing, suggesting a regressive effect from inflation. The Greek government has been going to great lengths to mitigate the impact of energy inflation on households and companies and to limit its rise, spending €9.8bn or 5.4% of GDP between September 2021 and October 2022, the fourth highest percentage of GDP in the EU, mostly on horizontal subsidies, without income criteria, or, until October 2022, even any incentives to reduce energy demand. A preliminary assessment of these measures suggests that inadequate targeting of vulnerable households means that, despite the high levels of expenditure, policy has not substantially alleviated the regressive impact of inflation, especially on households with lingering financial fragility from the previous two economic shocks experienced since 2010.



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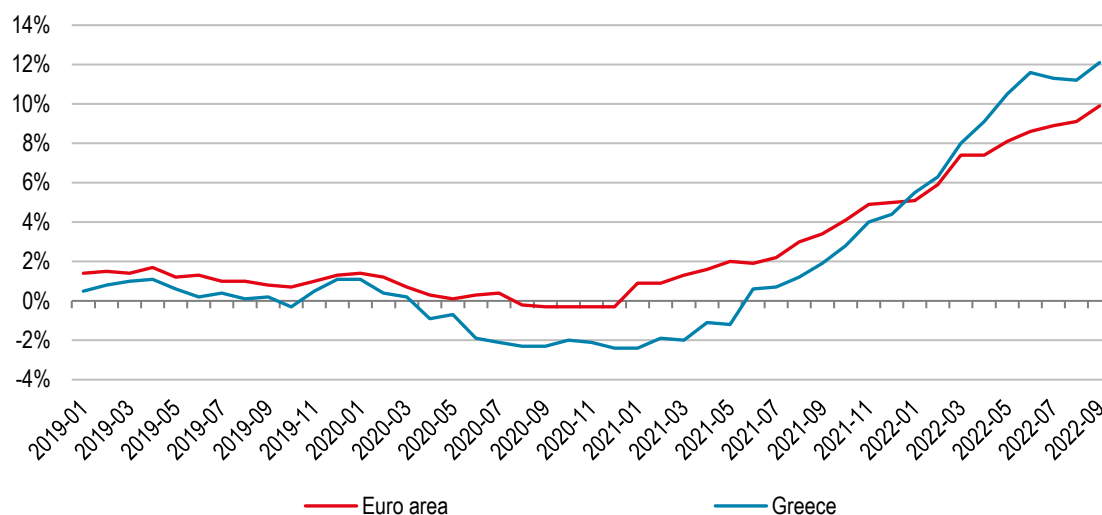
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Economic and price developments in Greece since 2020

Following the sharp drop of real GDP by 9% in Greece in 2020, real output rebounded by 8.3% in 2021 and is expected to grow further by 6.2% in 2022 (Bank of Greece 2022). The Greek economy, whose economic growth had been stagnant before the outbreak of the pandemic, not only recovered from the 2020 recession in the first half of 2022, but also saw GDP rise to 2011 levels for the first time since then.³ Growth in the first half of 2022 is mostly attributed to consumption, which increased by 11.4% in real terms, despite the rising inflation, and the exceptionally high tourism revenues during summer.⁴ Given that these two factors are the main drivers of economic activity, it does not come as a surprise that during the lockdowns the inflation rate (harmonized consumer price index - HICP) had been negative (see Figure 1). Nonetheless, when global inflation rates took off in September 2021, inflation in Greece grew remarkably fast. By mid-September 2022, it stood at 12.1% (on a year-on-year basis), well above the Euro area average of 9.9%.

Figure 1: Harmonized Index of Consumer Prices in Greece and in the Euro area (Jan. 2019 – Sep. 2022)



Source: Eurostat.

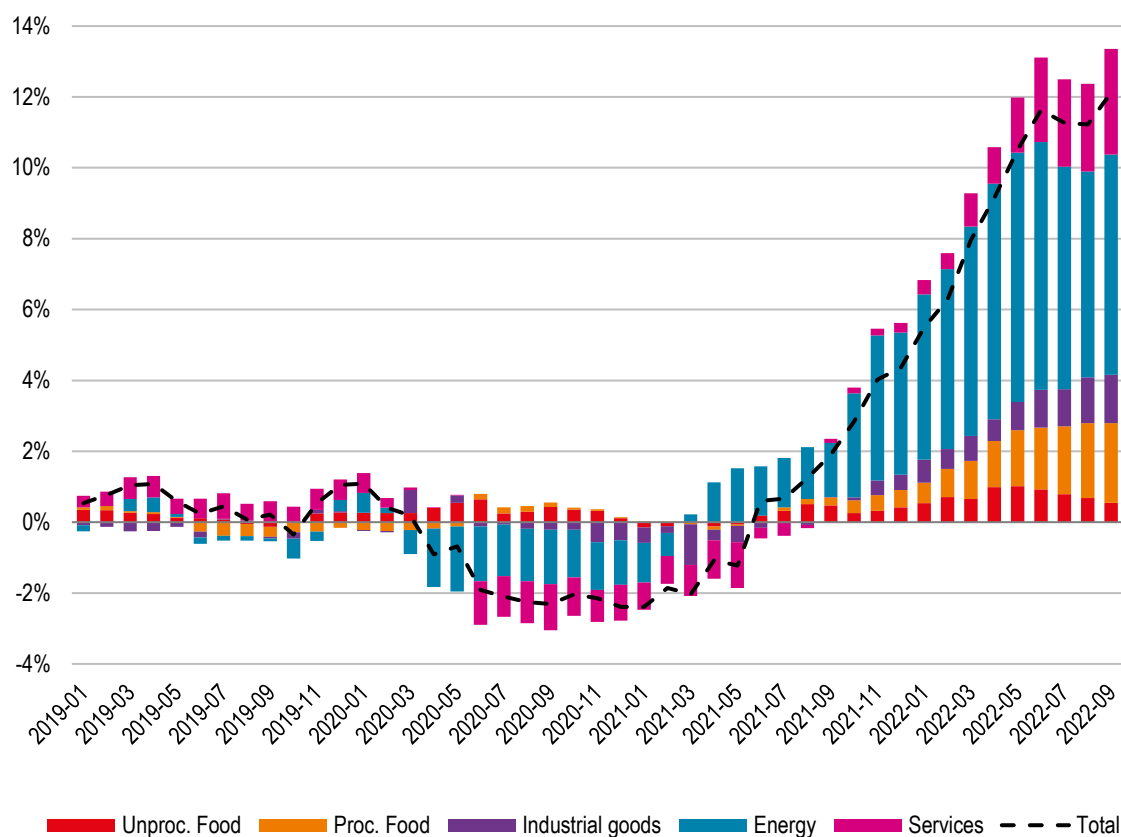
As elsewhere in the Euro area, developments in the Greek inflation rate were primarily driven by energy inflation: in September 2022, the monthly (year-on-year) energy inflation rate stood at 53.8%, compared to 40.7% in the Euro Area. Other components of the HICP such as industrial goods and services also rose faster than average, except inflation of food and non-alcoholic beverages (12.8% vis-à-vis 13.8% in the Euro Area). However, the HICP component which registered the largest divergence from the Euro area average was 'housing, water, electricity, gas and other fuels' which stood at 38.1%, much higher than the respective Euro Area average (21.1%).

³ Nonetheless, it still remains 11.75% below the 2008 level.

⁴ According to data provided by the Bank of Greece, tourism revenue in August amounted to 4.04 bn. Euro. This is the second-best performance since 2000, being slightly below the level of 2019.

Figure 2 presents in more detail the contribution of each component in headline inflation. In September 2022 more than half of headline inflation was due to inflation in energy products (6.2pp). The contribution of 'services' rose significantly during summer, following the combined effect of rising energy prices and excessive tourism flows. It remains to be seen whether during the off-peak tourism season service prices will fall or stabilise at this higher level. Most disconcerting have been the contributions of 'processed foods' and 'industrial goods', which are gradually having a stronger impact on inflation. Findings suggest that the pass-through of high energy costs to manufacturing is slowly gaining importance, driving the overall inflation rate up further and reducing the cost competitiveness of the economy.

Figure 2: Contributions to the annual rate of change of the HICP (Greece, Jan. '19-Sep. 22)



Source: Bank of Greece (own calculations).

The large divergence of energy costs from the Euro Area average has been attributed to several factors, such as the high dependence of the Greek economy on imported commodities and energy, the relatively high share of energy in Greek firms' costs, the small average size of Greek firms, and oligopolistic phenomena in various sectors. While these factors might indeed describe significant structural deficiencies of the Greek economy, in order to examine the causes of the excessively high energy prices in Greece, it is important to focus primarily on the energy sector.

A pivotal factor in explaining the latter is the high gas distribution costs. According to the EC Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators (ACER-CEER 2022), already in

2021, the share of distribution costs in the retail price of gas was the 3rd highest among the EU member states, while the energy component was the 4th highest, respectively. A possible explanation of this high ranking is the extent of energy market concentration. Efforts to increase competition in the energy sector in previous years have had a limited impact on reducing market concentration. Specifically, the privatisation of the energy sector during the past decade resulted in a substitution of the public sector monopoly by a private sector oligopoly. However, market concentration indicators improved only marginally.⁵ As a result, in the first half of 2022 Greek gas providers maintained the second highest mark-up in the EU, while the mark-up of the electricity producers practically vanished.⁶ It, thus, appears that there is a considerable pass through of mark-ups of gas distributors to the price of electricity and consequently to the production costs for the rest of the economy.

Energy prices are further buoyed by comparatively high indirect taxes. During the implementation of the Economic Adjustment Programs, taxation policy was oriented towards high indirect and low income taxes and has remained as such to date.⁷ In this respect, some energy consumers, most notably of heating oil, have been facing much higher average implicit tax rates in Greece than in the Euro Area since late 2019, with the difference ranging between 14 and 17 percentage points. In 2021, these implicit tax rates were around 50% in Greece, whereas in 2022 they fell to 37%, compared to around 22% in the Euro Area. Nonetheless, the need to ease-off the inflationary pressure on the economy has been requiring a different policy mix. As described in detail below, the government has so far chosen to focus primarily on subsidies and to a lesser extent on reducing indirect taxes.

In the first half of 2022 Greece registered exceptionally high electricity prices for both residential and non-residential consumers, before taxes and levies. As reported in Figure 3 the pre-tax electricity prices for residential consumers were the fifth highest for monthly consumption below 1000kWh and the highest among the member-states for monthly consumption exceeding 1000 kWh.⁸

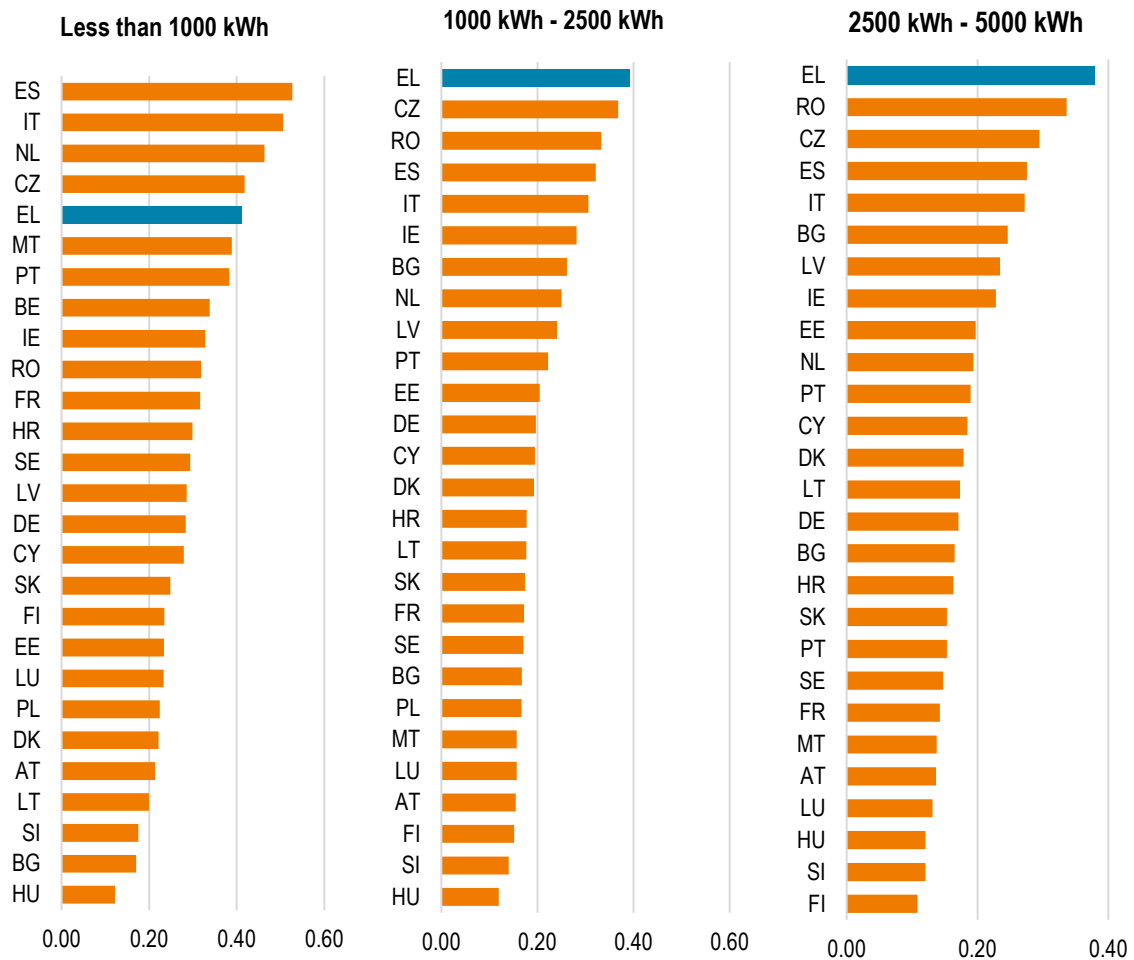
⁵ According to ACER-CEER (2022) the HHI and CR3 market concentration indicators somewhat improved between 2017 and 2019, but have remained at a high level since. According to Lypitka et al. (2019), the process of enhancing competition in the energy market took place under conditions of reduced firm liquidity, which favoured extensive mergers and acquisitions.

⁶ The estimation of mark-ups in the ACER-CEER report is based on the difference between consumer and producer prices on a sectoral level. This estimating approach is rather narrow as it does not take into account actual price-cost differentials (Basu 2019). Thus, it should be treated with caution.

⁷ The SYRIZA government attempted to change the mix of direct and indirect taxes, by increasing the direct taxes. Indirect taxation remained highly burdensome though.

⁸ Data are presented in purchasing power standards in order to ensure comparability. The picture is practically the same when prices are expressed in euros.

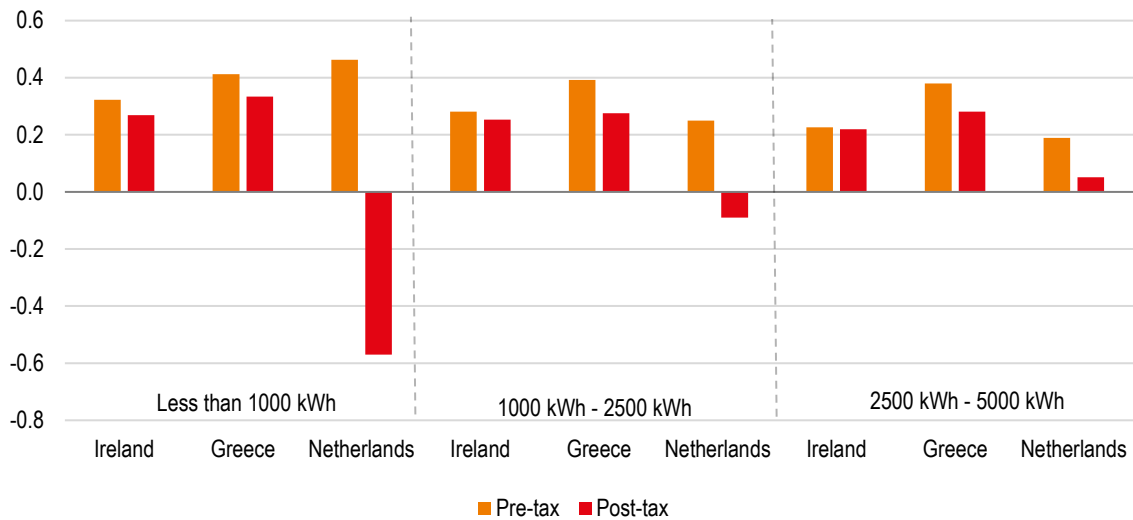
Figure 3: Pre-tax electricity price for residential consumers by level of electricity consumption, in PPS (EU, 2022 S1)



Source: Eurostat.

The picture is considerably improved when taxes, levies and allowances are taken into account. As it can be seen in Figure 4, Greece is one of the three member states in which the net indirect taxes are negative, implying that the subsidies and allowances exceed the indirect taxes and, thus, the consumers' post-tax electricity price is lower than the price before taxes and allowances. In particular, during the first semester of 2022, for consumption of less than 1000 kWh, the price is reduced by 19%, while for electricity consumption up to 2500 kWh and 5000 kWh the price is reduced by 30% and 23%, respectively. Thus, in Greece, unlike in the Netherlands and Ireland, for example, the structure of indirect taxes on residential electricity consumption provides relatively greater relief to consumers with medium-levels of consumption than those with lower levels of consumption

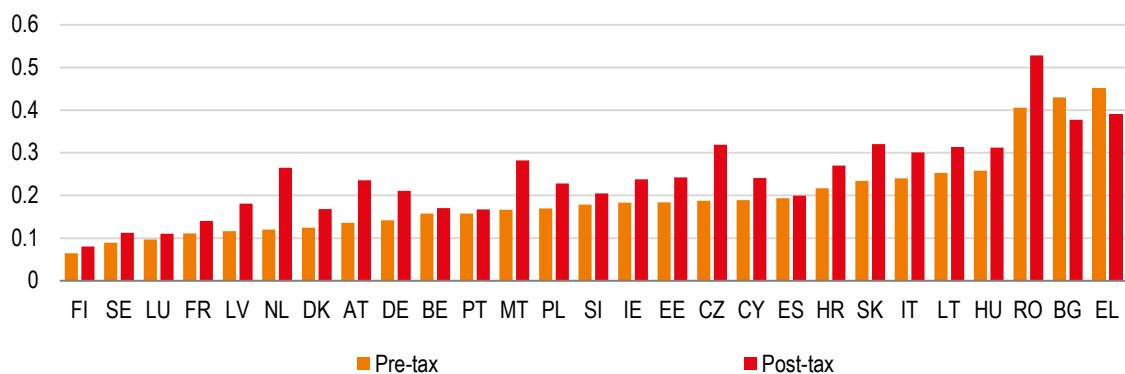
Figure 4: Electricity price for residential consumers in member-states with negative net taxes, in PPS (2022 S1)



Source: Eurostat.

Regarding the non-residential consumers, the situation is worse. As depicted in Figure 5 in the first half of 2022 Greece registered the highest pre-tax electricity price among member-states. Subsidies might have exceeded indirect taxes and so the post-tax price was lower, but it still remained the second highest in the EU. The energy cost in production is significant and so is its pass through to producer and consumer prices.

Figure 5: Electricity price for non-household consumers, in PPS (EU, 2022 S1)



Source: Eurostat.

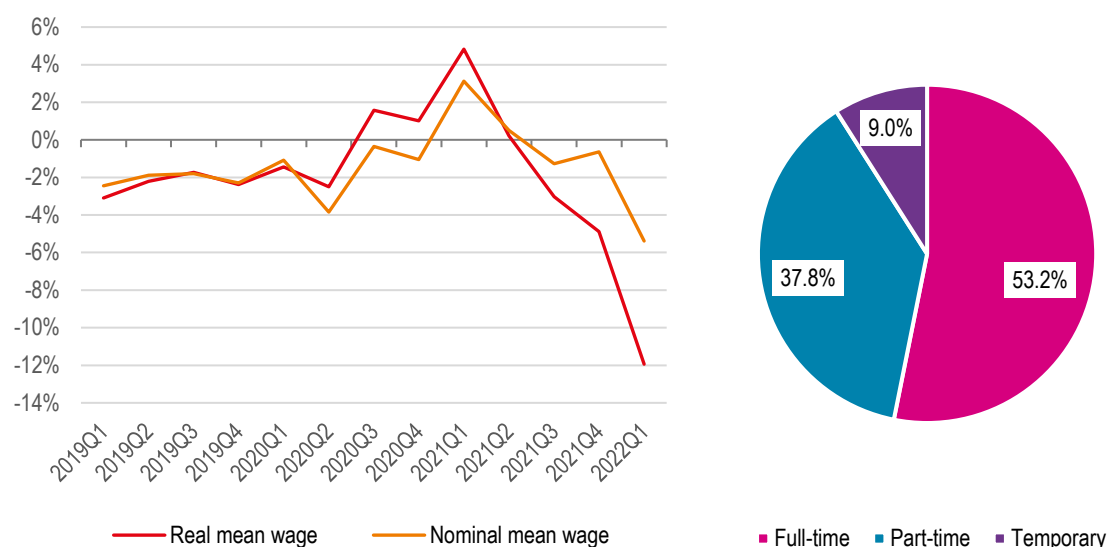
The Greek economy has had a large exposure to natural gas. According to Eurostat, in 2021 the share of gas in energy production was the 6th highest across in the EU, while in 2020 Greece had the highest dependence on imported natural gas. These adverse conditions have been exacerbated by oligopolistic conditions in the energy sector which have yielded high distribution costs, mark-ups and ultimately prices in the energy sector, compared to other member states, and thus constituting the key driver of the energy inflation.

The government has managed to reduce significantly the price of electricity for households. Despite the already burdensome level of indirect taxation, a considerable increase of subsidies yielded a lower post-tax price. Nonetheless, the price of electricity for non-residential consumers remained exceptionally high, gradually affecting the prices in other sectors of the economy. This could be considered as a first indication of the effectiveness of anti-inflationary measures in Greece: subsidisation is effective in the case of the residential consumers and ineffective for non-residential electricity consumers.

The evolution of wages and profits

Figure 6 presents the growth rates of average nominal and real wages. Both declined steeply in the first half of 2022, though it is important to note that these calculations are based on the evolution of the wage bill and the number of employees. In this respect, compositional effects are not taken into account. In fact, during August 2022 almost half of new hirings took place for temporary or part-time jobs, which implies a shift in the composition of employment towards the lower end of the distribution of wages: the average wage is reduced, despite the fact that the actual wage of existing employees might be constant. For instance, both the real and nominal wages were seemingly reduced in 2019 by 2%, though this development occurred due to the higher increase of temporary and part-time employment vis-à-vis full-time employees (INE GSEE 2020). Be that as it may, what is key is the large divergence that occurs between the nominal and the real mean wage – both of which would be affected by any compositional effect – at the onset of the energy crisis (2021Q3) and the ongoing widening of the associated gap. For instance, in the second quarter of 2022 the difference between the growth rate of the nominal and the real wage was 7%.

Figure 6: Annual growth rates of nominal and real mean wages (2019Q1-2022Q1, constant prices 2015) and new hiring by type of employment (Aug. 2022)



Source: I/S Ergani, Eurostat and ELSTAT (own calculations). Calendar and seasonal unadjusted data.

Table 1 provides a rather more informative view of labour market developments, as it registers the collective bargaining agreements that have been signed between January and August of 2022. Following the deregulation of the labour market during the past decade in order to engineer an internal devaluation, the vast majority of collective agreements has been concluded at the firm level, with limited wage increases (Theodoropoulou 2016, Livanos and Pouliakas 2019 and Pierros 2021). More than half of the agreements are non-wage related or maintain wages at their prior levels. On average, the agreed wage increase was about 3.8%, though this outcome is heavily influenced by the sectoral agreements in the public and the banking sectors. In the other sectors, the wage increase in nominal terms has been much more modest. Furthermore, the coverage rate of collective bargaining is relatively low, hindering any spill over effects of a minimum wage increase to other wages. This is particularly important for the low-wage workers, receiving wages lower than the minimum wage: according to data provided by the Unified Social Security Fund, in 2021, 20.4% of private sector workers received less than 500 euro per month (that is 150 euro less than the minimum wage of 2021). This might have been due to the high level of part-time and temporary employment, but even in this case the daily wage of part-timers was 20% lower than the daily minimum wage. On top of that, the two-step increase of the minimum wage, first in January (2%) and then in May (7.5%), had a limited impact in preventing the loss of its purchasing power due to inflation. For instance, in April, the year-on-year purchasing power of the minimum wage was reduced by 19.7% and in May by 19.5% (INE GSEE 2022a). In this respect, the current wage increases are very unlikely to prevent the loss of the purchasing power of wage earners. Indicative of this viewpoint are the OECD projections, according to which the real mean wage is expected to fall by 6.9% in 2022 (OECD 2022a).

Table 1: Collective bargaining agreements (Jan. 2022 – Aug. 2022)

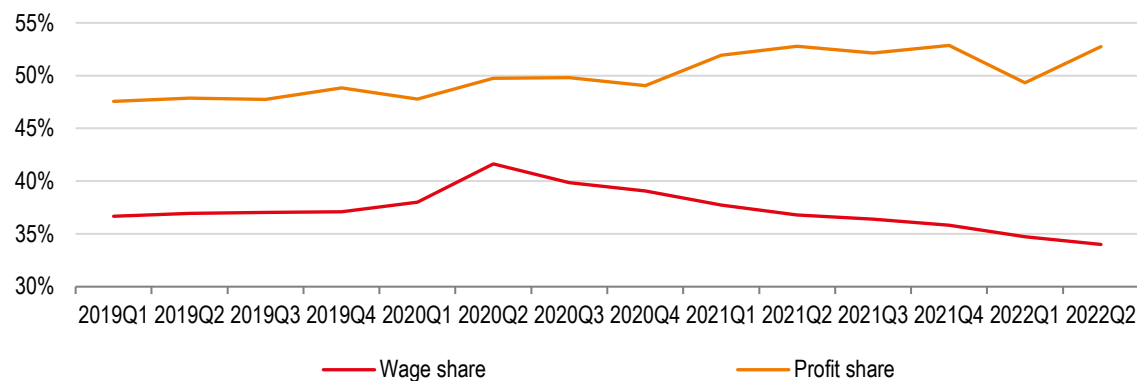
Level of agreement	Firm	Sectoral	National	Local	Occupational	Total	Average change of wage
Wage reduction	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Wage freeze/Non-wage related	79	5	1	2	-	87	-
Wage increase	60	4	-	1	1	66	3.8%
Total	139	9	1	4	1	154	
					2021	2022 (Jan.-Aug.)	
Number of non-firm level agreements					26	15	
Share of non-firm level agreements in total					12,5%	9.7%	

Source: I/S Ergani and Greek Ministry of Labour (own calculations)

Figure 7 shows the quarterly evolution of wage (compensation of employees over gross value added) and profit shares (gross operating surplus over gross value added) in Greece since the beginning of 2019. With the exception of the second quarter of 2020, when indirect taxes plummeted due to the public health measures, the wage share has been on a downward trend, while the opposite holds for the profit share. Mounting inflation has been more detrimental for wage earners pointing to the presence of strong functional-distribution effects. The actual outcome should be viewed in conjunction with the redistribution policies undertaken by the current government in 2019, which reduced

direct tax rates, especially at the upper end of the income scale.⁹ However, the energy crisis brought about a change in the policy mix, as several measures aimed at easing the social costs of inflation were implemented. It is to these that we turn in the following section.

Figure 7: Wage and profit shares %GDP (Greece, 2019Q1-2022Q2)



Source: ELSTAT (own calculations). Seasonally adjusted data.

Policy responses against inflation and their impact

Fiscal and regulatory policy responses

The Greek government, seconded by (partly) state-owned providers of electricity and natural gas, went to great lengths, mostly but not solely by means of price subsidies for consumers, to mitigate the impact of high and rising energy prices on residential and business users. In July 2022, the Greek government also attempted to increase competition in the retail electricity market and to decouple the retail price of electricity from the volatile international gas wholesale price by establishing a mechanism that recoups revenues above the real operating cost of electricity producers.

By October 2022, it had allocated, according to some estimations, a total of €10.5bn or 5.7% of GDP (€9.8bn or 5.4% of GDP according to our own calculations) to support measures, the fourth highest percentage among EU member states, only two places below Germany and one place above the Netherlands (Sgaravatti et al. 2022), both countries with much more fiscal space. The public fiscal measures taken have been financed by the special Support Fund for the Energy Transition. In addition to the general government budget, the revenues of this Fund came from the expected increased revenues for Greece from auctions of the carbon trading allowances, the surpluses of the Special Account for Renewable Energy Sources (thanks to higher electricity prices) which have been redirected to the Fund and from windfall revenues from the price capping mechanism in the wholesale market (on which see more below). In what follows,

⁹ This change in taxation policy has likely boosted inequality. According to the latest data provided by the Greek Statistical Agency (ELSTAT), both the Gini coefficient and the S80/S20 income indicator increased in 2019 and 2020.

we go through the different types of measures which have been deployed since September 2021 to mitigate the impact of inflation on households and firms.¹⁰

In September 2021, the price subsidy scheme for residential users of electricity was first launched, with a subsidy of €30/MWh or €9/month for the first 300KWh of household consumption for the main residence. This scheme has undergone expansion, extension and recalibration on a regular, usually monthly basis to adapt to the significant increases in the cost of electricity production (see Table 2 for details). Increased rates have been provided for the beneficiaries of social housing tariffs. From March 2022, the scheme was expanded to include private university accommodation of dependent family members¹¹, whereas from May 2022, price subsidies became available for secondary residences, initially with a lower subsidy and from July at the same rate. Up until May 2022, only the first 300KWh of consumption were subsidised, in the course of 2022 at declining rates, whereas over the summer period, the scheme started covering the entire electricity consumption of households with residential connections. Until July 2022, the only incentive to reduce electricity consumption could be found in the somewhat lower subsidy for higher levels of consumption. This differentiation (and the incentives) were eliminated from July till September 2022 when all consumption was subsidised at the same rate (for all residences). In October 2022, the government re-introduced scaled subsidies for different brackets of consumption levels, with increases of €50 in each subsidy if average daily consumption was reduced by 15% compared to October 2021. Up until October 2022, the estimated cost of this scheme has been almost €3bn¹².

Table 2: Announced electricity price subsidies

Date of announcement	Subsidy per MWh (in Euros)	Average subsidy per month (in Euros)	Range of Consumption onto which subsidy is applicable (in KWh)	Type of residence	Period of announced applicability	Cost (if available) ¹ in million Euros
13.09.2021	30	9	0-300KWh	Primary	Sep-21-Dec-21	
08.10.2021	60	18	0-300KWh	Primary	Oct-21-Dec-21	
	80	24	0-300Kwh (social housing tariff)	Primary	Oct-21-Dec-21	
10.11.2021		39	0-300Kwh	Primary	Nov-21-Dec-21	
		45	0-300Kwh (social housing tariff)	Primary	Nov-21-Dec-21	
07.01.2022	160	42	0-150Kwh	Primary (and retrospectively university student residential connections of dependent family members) ²	Jan 22	157

¹⁰ Information about the different measures announced in Greece to mitigate the impact of higher energy prices since September 2021 has been mostly drawn from press releases published in Greek by the Ministry of Energy and complemented in some cases by information found in Greek newspapers and news sites.

¹¹ In Greece, families usually cover at least partly, if not entirely the private university housing costs of their financially dependent children, as the supply of publicly subsidised university accommodation is extremely limited.

¹² The estimated costs of the price subsidies schemes are calculated here from the figures for the entire 2022 provided in the Draft Budgetary Plan that the Greek government submitted in October 2022 to the European Commission for assessment.

Date of announcement	Subsidy per MWh (in Euros)	Average subsidy per month (in Euros)	Range of Consumption onto which subsidy is applicable (in KWh)	Type of residence	Period of announced applicability	Cost (if available) ¹ in million Euros
	120		151-300Kwh	Primary (and retrospectively university student residential connections of dependent family members) ²	Jan 22	
	180	54	0-300 Kwh (social housing tariff)	Primary	Jan 22	
09.02.2022	150	39	0-150Kwh	Primary (and retrospectively university student residential connections of dependent family members) ²	Feb 22	150
	110		151-300Kwh		Feb 22	
	170	51	0-300 Kwh (social housing tariff)	Primary	Feb 22	
17.03.2022	150	40	0-150Kwh	Primary and university student residential connections of dependent family members	Mar 22	148
	110		151-300Kwh		Mar 22	
17.03.2022		53	0-300 KWh (social housing tariff)	Primary	Mar 22	
	270	72	0-150Kwh	Primary and university student residential connections of family members	Apr 22	218
	210		151-300Kwh		Apr 22	
	290	87	0-300Kwh (social housing tariff)	Primary	Apr 22	
06.05.2022	205	56,6	0-150Kwh	Primary and university student residential connections of family members	May-June 22	200 (for May)
	160		151-300Kwh			
	100		>300Kwh	Primary	May-June 22	
	100		All	Secondary		
	215		All (social housing tariff)	Primary	May-June 22	
05.07.2022	200		All	All	Jul 22	
	240		All (social housing tariff)	Primary	Jul 22	
25.07.2022	337		All	All	Aug 22	
	377		All (social housing tariff)	Primary	Aug 22	
23.08.2022	639		All	All	Sep 22	748
	677		All (social housing tariff)	Primary	Sep 22	

Date of announcement	Subsidy per MWh (in Euros)	Average subsidy per month (in Euros)	Range of Consumption onto which subsidy is applicable (in KWh)	Type of residence	Period of announced applicability	Cost (if available) ¹ in million Euros
21.09.2022	436 (+50 if reduced consumption by 15% compared to October 2021)		0-500 KWh	All	Oct 22	
	380 (+50 if reduced consumption by 15% compared to October 2021)		501-1000 KWh		Oct 22	
	336 (+50 if reduced consumption by 15% compared to October 2021)		>1001 KWh		Oct 22	
	485		All (social housing tariff)	Primary	Oct 22	

¹ Cost figures may not be announced for the specific measures alone.

² In March 2022, the subsidy was retrospectively expanded to private university residential connections of dependent family members.

Source: compiled by authors from government announcements.

A price subsidy scheme for electricity prices applied to non-residential, i.e. business, users was launched in January 2022 (see Table 3 for details). Initially subsidies were horizontal only. However, from March 2022, additional subsidies were provided to small and small-medium enterprises with connections of up to 25kVA, as well as bakeries. The scheme was expanded to include top-up price subsidies for small and small-medium enterprises with connections of up to 35kVA from May 2022, whereas from July 2022 onwards these top-up subsidies were differentiated across different groups, such as farmers, enterprises with connections over 35kVA, and professional and industrial connections, with firms with lower voltage connections and farmers receiving the highest top-ups. Up until October 2022, these price subsidies (horizontal and top-up) concerned the entire consumption of the beneficiary firms. From October 2022, however, the subsidies were offered at a declining rate depending on the level of consumption (with the differentiation point being set at 2000KWh). Farmers continued receiving price subsidies for their entire consumption even after that date. The estimated cost of these price subsidies for business users until October 2022 has been €4.5bn.

A third tool deployed by the Greek government have been price subsidies for natural gas for both residential and business users. State subsidies for residential users have been topped-up by price 'discounts' (effectively subsidies) offered by the commercial arm of the Public Natural Gas Company (ΔΕΦΑ), which is partly state-owned. Subsidies have been applicable to the entire consumption and regardless of type of residence or business size, turnover and number of employees. Given the fluctuation of natural gas prices in the wholesale markets, the level of these subsidies was announced monthly. Table 3 shows the details on the evolution of this scheme, whose cost until October 2022 has been estimated at €367m.

Table 3: Announced electricity price subsidies-non-residential users

Date of announcement	Subsidy per MWh (in Euros)	Range of consumption	Type of business	Period of announced applicability	Cost (if available) in million euros ¹
07.01.2022	65	All	All	Jan 22	133
09.02.2022	65	All	All	Feb 22	133
17.03.2022	65	All	All	Mar 22	132
	75	All	Very small and small-medium enterprises with power supply of up to 25KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of power supply (c.1160m professional connections)	Jan-Mar-22	
	100	All	Very small and medium enterprises with power supply of up to 25KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of power supply (c.1160m professional connections)	Apr 22	313
	130	All	All	Apr 22	
06.05.2022	120	All	All	May-June-22	260 (for May)
	50	All	Small and small-medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of voltage	May-June-22	
05.07.2022	192	All	Small and small-medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of voltage	Jul 22	
	213	All	Farmers	Jul 22	
	148	All	All other professional and industrial connections	Jul 22	
25.07.2022	300	All	Small and small-medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of voltage	Aug 22	
	337	All	Farmers	Aug 22	
	250	All	All other professional and industrial connections	Aug 22	
23.08.2022	604	All	Small and small-medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of voltage	Sep 22	401
	639	All	Farmers	Sep 22	
	342	All	All other professional and industrial connections	Sep 22	
21.09.2022	398	0-2000 KWh/month	Small and small-medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of voltage	Oct 22	
	436	All	Farmers	Oct 22	
	230	>2000 KWh/month	Small and small-medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35KV _a and for all bakeries regardless of voltage and all other non-residential users	Oct 22	

¹ Cost figures may not be announced for the specific measures alone.

Source: Compiled by authors based on government announcements.

Table 4: Announced natural gas price subsidies or cost controls

Date of announcement	Subsidy per MWh (in Euros) or cost reduction	Range of Consumption to which subsidy is applicable	Beneficiaries	Subsidiser	Period of applicability	Cost (if available) in million euros ¹
08.10.2021	15%/MWh	All			Okt 21	
10.11.2021	Deferral of payment of network charges	All			Nov-Dec-21	
07.01.2022	20	All		State	Jan 22	54
	20	All		State-owned natural gas provider	Jan 22	
	30	All		State	Jan 22	51
09.02.2022	20	All	Residential users	State	Feb 22	47
	20	All	Residential users	State-owned natural gas provider	Feb 22	
	20	All	Non-residential users	State	Feb 22	20
17.03.2022	20	All	Residential users	State	Mrz 22	43
17.03.2022	20	All	Residential users	State-owned natural gas provider	Mrz 22	
17.03.2022	20	All	Non-residential users	State	Mrz 22	20
05.04.2022	40	All	Residential users	State	Apr 22	88,74
05.04.2022	30	All	Residential users	State-owned natural gas provider	Apr 22	
06.05.2022	20	All	Residential users	State	May-Jun-22	20
06.05.2022	20	All	Non-residential users	State	May-Jun-22	
06.05.2022	20	All	Residential users	State-owned natural gas provider	May-Jun-22	
05.07.2022	30	All	Non-residential users	State	Jul 22	
25.07.2022	30	All	All	State	Aug-Sep-22	
21.09.2022	90	All	Residential users	State-owned natural gas provider	Okt 22	
21.09.2022	40	All	Commercial and industrial users	State	Okt 22	

¹ Cost figures may not be announced for the specific measures alone.

Source: Authors' compilation from government announcements.

As mentioned, partly state-owned electricity and natural gas providers seconded the government policies with support measures. The Public Power Corporation (ΔΕΗ), began already in August 2021 to offer discounts of 30% over the increased prices it would have otherwise charged to its customers due to the higher costs of electricity production. From September 2021, it offered an additional 4% discount for consumption levels of 300-600KWh per month, complementing the state price subsidies for the first 300KWh of consumption. Given monthly electricity consumption figures, the aforementioned price subsidy and the PPC discount were expected to cover up to 72 and 80% of low-voltage consumers (households, professionals and farmer electricity account holders) respectively, regardless of their income. The Public Natural Gas Company steadily offered price discounts to its residential customers on a par with the government, while in October 2021, it also provided gas to other (private) gas providers at a discounted price with the aim that they pass on the lower price to their customers. Between September 2021 and April 2022, the government estimated that the value of the subsidies to consumers offered by the two companies reached €1.261bn.

Electricity and natural gas bills were also reduced for households and companies by means of ad hoc measures. The payment of natural gas user charges for all users was deferred for November-December 2021. The payment of charges for public utility services¹³ was also postponed for the period November 2021 to March 2022 for customers on electricity connections for industrial use of low and medium voltage for all other uses, including agricultural of medium voltage for connections of medium voltage for triphasic supply of less than 85kVA, for industrial use of medium voltage of up to 13GVh, and general use of medium voltage.

Beyond price subsidies, the Greek government has been offering a range of income supports to various, mostly vulnerable groups of citizens, some of them new and some of them already established but reinforced under the circumstances.

In December 2021, income subsidies were provided to households in arrears with their electricity bills, having had the power supply in their main residence connection suspended and fulfilling the criteria for subscribing to the social housing tariff, to help them pay off these bills. The subsidies were covering wholly (for amounts of up to €6000) or partly (30% for amounts of over €12000) the owed amounts. The measure applied from the end of December 2021 to the end of March 2021 and the estimated cost was €40m.

An established income support has been the annual allowance for heating fuel costs (επίδομα θέρμανσης), an income subsidy granted to households on income criteria for the winter. This allowance is calculated for different beneficiaries by multiplying a base allowance level by an index (ranging from 0.12 to 1.62), depending on the beneficiary's location of residence and then in the case of couples or families, topped up by a percentage for each dependent member. While this subsidy existed even before the current energy crisis, it got reinforced for the winter 2021-2022: its base level was increased (to €300 from €220), the minimum and maximum level of the allowance increased (from €80 to €100 and from €650 to €750), as did the percentage by which the allowance is topped

¹³The charges for services of public utility are raised from the majority of electricity connection suppliers to support vulnerable or special societal groups (e.g. long-term unemployed, people with handicaps, people with low income and three or more dependent children, all subscribers of social housing tariff, residents of islands, as well as some organisations offering social services) to have access to electric power at affordable cost.

up for each dependent member (to 20% from 10%). Moreover, for those households using natural gas for heating, the allowance was topped up from 36% for households with one dependent child to 68% for households with three dependent children. Last but not least, the income and wealth (housing property value) criteria for defining beneficiaries were expanded. The reinforcement of this allowance doubled the originally budgeted cost for the winter 2021-2022 from €84m to €168m.

The government also provided another range of income and price subsidies and reductions in excise taxes for the use of vehicle fuels. In March 2022, it announced the launch of what became known as the 'Fuel Pass', a subsidy for the fuel costs of vehicles and motorcycles, owned by persons fiscally residing in Greece (one vehicle/motorcycle per person) with income of up to €30,000 to cover the increased costs of mobility fuel for the months of April to June. Its estimated costs were €60m. An extension of the measure ('Fuel Pass 2') was announced in July, with higher but still flat subsidies to cover increased costs of consumption for the period of July to September 2022 with an estimated cost of €200m. In parallel, the government announced subsidies in the price of diesel twice in 2022 (for April-June and for July-September) to mitigate the costs of mobility to consumers. Providers of taxi-services received a €200 subsidy in March and April 2022 (for an estimated cost of €5.7m) and farmers have been getting a return on the special consumption tax on vehicle fuel for agricultural users, a measure expected to cost €60m when announced.

In March 2022, the government announced one-off income subsidies for groups of financially vulnerable citizens, such as families with dependent children, low-income pensioners, the uninsured elderly, the beneficiaries of disability allowances and the beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum income. The payment was made in April and at the time the estimated cost was €324m (€97.5m for child allowance, €135 for support to low-income pensioners, €7m for uninsured elderly citizens, €33.4m for support to citizens with special needs, and €50.9m for beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum income). At the time of writing, the plan was that these subsidies would be provided again in December 2022.

In June, the Greek government announced an additional subsidy (the so-called 'Power Pass') for residential electricity consumers with net household income of up to €45000 for the electricity connection of their main residence and the university private accommodation (situated in Greece) of any dependent members of the family (for up to 3 student residences per family). The subsidy would be applied to electricity bills issued between 1st December 2021 and 31st May 2022 and would cover up to 60% of the increased electricity costs due to the application of the so-called adjustment clause, after having deducted the provided price subsidies. The adjustment clause was a formula used by electricity providers in variable price contracts to periodically adjust their retail prices to the energy wholesale market price variations and the subsequent variations in the production cost of electricity. In the recent circumstances, it has been a driver of ever-increasing energy bills for consumers on variable price contracts. This additional subsidy spanned between 18 and 600 euros.

The measures taken by the Greek government were not limited to subsidies but also included some regulatory interventions and some taxation. In June, legislation was introduced (which came into force from 1st August 2022) which eliminated the adjustment clause in variable price electricity contracts, forces electricity supply companies to publicise their prices a month in advance and allows consumers to switch to a different provider at short notice without penalties, all in an attempt to improve transparency and increase competition in the retail electricity market, to increase the pressure on electricity

providers to contain their price increases. The government also legislated a mechanism for recouping the windfall revenues of electricity producers by setting a ceiling on the maximum compensation they could receive, based on their real operational cost. The difference between that cost and the market price of electricity would be taxed and used to finance the Fund of Energy Transition. In this way, the fluctuations in the wholesale price of gas were decoupled from the electricity retail prices. This measure has been in application since July 2022 and is due to last until 1st June 2023. By early October, the total revenues from the mechanism for recouping windfall revenues from electricity producers had surpassed €2.5bn during the two months of its operation.

Overall, the accent of Greek public support policies to households and firms has been on price subsidies on electricity and natural gas, the expenditure on which, at least for 2022, accounts for around 80% of the expected total discretionary expenditure¹⁴ on measures to mitigate the impact of the energy crisis. Ad hoc income and smaller income subsidies especially on mobility and heating fuel have also been provided. What has been remarkable, apart from their cost, is the bluntness of the price subsidies, as for the most part they have been granted to the different categories of beneficiaries without any explicit income criteria, while until October 2022, they also provided no explicit incentives for energy saving. A more detailed assessment, particularly of the distributional effects is provided below.

The (limited) role of social partners

Tripartite concerted action in Greece so far has been relatively absent. The reasons for this absence are related to the institutional norms underlying the collective bargaining procedures rather than to a mere disagreement between the stakeholders. In order to understand properly the present condition, it is important to consider how social dialogue has evolved and been transformed in the last few decades

The absence of effective tripartite concerted action had been a characteristic of Greek industrial relations, even before the introduction of the euro in 2001. The run-up to the EMU, with the shift in the macroeconomic policy regime it brought and the need to meet the Maastricht inflation and budget deficit criteria, prompted social partners and governments in several countries in the EU to conclude social pacts to meet these objectives at lower or more fairly distributed economic and social costs. In contrast, no far-reaching pact was adopted in the case of Greece despite the high inflation rate and budget deficit it faced (Hancké and Rhodes 2005). Most authors point to the presence of institutional rigidities as the main cause of the limited dialogue (Natali and Pochet 2009 and Ioannou 2010), the lack of institutional micro-foundations (Hancke and Rhodes, op.cit.) or to an inadequate mix of old and new institutions (Crouch 2007). Still, tripartite social dialogue in Greece existed during the early EMU years, with the issues under consideration being the determination of the minimum wage and other non-wage related issues, such as paid leave, while topics such as unemployment benefits were excluded.

In 2012 the implementation of the Economic Adjustment Programs brought tripartite dialogue to a halt, as the Greek government, under the directions of the so-called Troika, was solely responsible for the determination of the minimum wage. In this context, the nominal minimum wage in 2012 was reduced by 22% by statutory decree. In advance,

¹⁴Estimation based on the figures provided by the Greek government in the Draft Budgetary Plan it submitted to the European Commission in October 2022.

the introduction of the sub-minimum wage (standing 35% lower than the minimum wage of the previous year) aimed at the promotion of youth employment.¹⁵ At that point, national tripartite agreements were concerned only with non-wage issues. After the termination of the Economic Adjustment Programs in 2018, social dialogue has been seemingly restored, as once again stakeholders participated in the discussions on minimum wage. However, in this case the term “social dialogue” is rather a misnomer. Social partners do not engage in actual discussions, rather they submit their respective proposals to the government. The latter, then, decides about the adjustment of the minimum wage according to its preferences and goals, admittedly not exceeding either upwards or downwards, the stakeholders’ proposals. Under this configuration, the government decided the abolishment of the sub-minimum wage in 2019 and the increase of the minimum wage by 10.9% in February 2019. The ensuing increases in 2022, already mentioned above, fell under the same procedure.

The above indicate that peak-level discussions between social partners in Greece traditionally have had a very limited scope. For instance, the General Confederation of the Greek Employees currently demands an increase of the gross nominal minimum wage to 750 euro per month (from 713 euro where it currently stands) as a means of preventing the continued loss of wages’ purchasing power (INE GSEE 2022b). The Federation of the Greek Industries suggests that minimum wage increases should be kept at bay, in fear of inflationary second-round effects and loss of cost competitiveness (SEV 2022).¹⁶ Despite the overt disagreement, what both social partners share is the limited intention to discuss, let alone coordinate on, issues going beyond the minimum wage, such as wage agreements, not to mention price determination, on sectoral and national level.

Summary of measures

The table below provides a summary of the types of support measures undertaken in Greece between September 2021 and October 2022 to mitigate the impact of high energy prices on households and firms and to limit price increases.

Table 5: Summary of support measures in Greece, September 2021-October 2022

Energy tax cut	VAT tax cut	Retail price control	Wholesale price control	State-owned company mandate	Windfall profits tax	Transfers to (vulnerable) households	Transfers to (vulnerable) firms	Unilateral wage policy/ guideline	Bi- or tri-partite agreement/ social pact	Other
√	√			√	(√)	√	√			

Note: √: implemented; (√) proposed.

A few remarks are in order. For the largest part, the amounts spent on transfers, whether to households or firms, took the form of price subsidies rather than income transfers, while the targeting of vulnerable households and firms was rather weak, given that, especially in the case of households, there were no income criteria (with the exception of the social housing tariff consumers), and that from May and July 2022, the ceiling on consumption was removed and all residential accounts (whether primary or secondary

¹⁵For more details on the design of the labour market intervention see EC (2012).

¹⁶It is noteworthy that the confederation of small and medium-small enterprises favours an increase of the minimum wage but of a lesser extent as compared to the one proposed by the trade unions (see IME GSEVEE 2022).

residence) were subsidised. Energy and VAT taxes were not cut but their payment deferred between November 2021 and March 2022.

Table 6: Cost of fiscal support to households and business in Greece, September 2021-October 2022

Measures	Cost (in million euros)	Dates of application
September-December 2021 packages: electricity and natural gas price subsidies, income subsidies.	1300	Sep-Dec-21
January 2022: price subsidies for electricity and natural gas users (households and business)	395	Jan 22
February 2022: price subsidies for electricity and natural gas users (households and business)	350	Feb 22
March-April 2022: price subsidies, income support measures for the vulnerable, fuel price subsidies, income subsidies for fuel consumption	1100	Mar-Apr-22
April 2022 additional natural gas subsidies and cost discounts	88,74	Apr 22
April-June 2022: Fuel Pass	130	Apr-Jun-22
May-June 2022: Price subsidies for electricity and natural gas (households and businesses)	1100	May-Jun-22
June 2022: Power Pass	295,6	Dec-21-May-22
July 2022: Price subsidies for electricity and natural gas (households and businesses)	722	Jul 22
July-September 2022: Fuel Pass 2	200	July-Sep-22
August 2022: Price subsidies for electricity and natural gas (households and businesses)	1136	Aug 22
September 2022: Price subsidies for electricity and natural gas (households and businesses)	1900	Sep 22
October 2022: Price subsidies for electricity and natural gas (households and businesses)	1100	Oct 22
Total	9817,34	5.4% of GDP

Source: authors' elaboration based on government announcements

Table 6 shows the costs of measures bundled in different packages between September 2021 and October 2022. As stated earlier and despite somewhat differing estimations of the costs (cf. Sgaravatti et al. 2022), the Greek government has been one of the most activist in the EU in mitigating the consequences of energy inflation to the citizens and business. This has been remarkable given the high public debt/GDP ratio with which Greece is still burdened, the savage fiscal austerity it had to persevere with in the first part of the 2010s despite the deep recession that the economy suffered, and the fact that until the summer of 2022 the country was under 'enhanced surveillance' as it faced imbalances which could create financial risks for itself and spill over onto the rest of the Eurozone. The exit from this surveillance process does not mean that Greece has been freed from all constraints on conducting its fiscal and other economic policies, as it is still bound by a 2018 agreement with its Eurozone lenders, who currently hold most of its public debt, to

maintain its public finances on a sustainable path by maintaining budget surpluses as a precondition for current debt reprofiling measures to be materialised and further granted in the future (Theodoropoulou 2022). Moreover, and the lengthening of the average maturity of Greek public debt bonds notwithstanding, it seems that the days of favourable financing conditions in the markets are over, therefore, roll-overs are bound to be more expensive and riskier in the future.

Following several years of slowing down and a year of decline in 2019, the Greek public debt started increasing again in 2020 due to the support measures that had to be deployed to cushion the economic impact of the pandemic. In the same year, due also to the recession, the ratio of public debt to GDP rose to over 200%. For 2022, it is projected to decline to 171% thanks to stronger-than-expected output growth, which the latest forecasts of the European Commission put at 6% (in real terms) and which has been primarily driven by stronger than previously forecasted private and public consumption demand, and the exceptionally high demand for tourism services. In addition, rising prices favour a reduction of the debt to GDP ratio as they deflate debt.

Despite the relatively large, by current EU standards, discretionary public spending, the primary deficit of the government as a percentage of GDP, at -1.6%, is forecasted to be slightly smaller than what had been forecasted by the European Commission last Spring for 2022 (-1.9% of GDP) and below both the Euro Area and the EU average for 2022 (European Commission 2022). Apart from the robust output growth, the fiscal position has not deteriorated thanks to the fact that the financing of the counter-inflation measures has relied on revenues generated by leveraging the energy crisis, namely from increased revenues in the special account for renewable energy resources sources (prompted by the increase in electricity prices), from the newly established -in July- price cap mechanism on wholesale energy market, and from the emissions trading system allowances that totally amount to €7.5 billion for 2022, while the estimated cost of electricity and natural gas price subsidies for 2022 is expected to reach €9.5bn (Hellenic Republic-Ministry of Finance 2022, p.23).

Thus, while Greece still faces important fiscal constraints, it seems that under the current circumstances it has so far managed to deploy large amounts of public spending without significantly departing from the fiscal path it was supposed to follow prior to the energy crises. It is an open question whether, given the aforementioned bluntness of the most important measures, the large public expenditure could have gone further in supporting the economy and society to face the challenges that lie ahead.

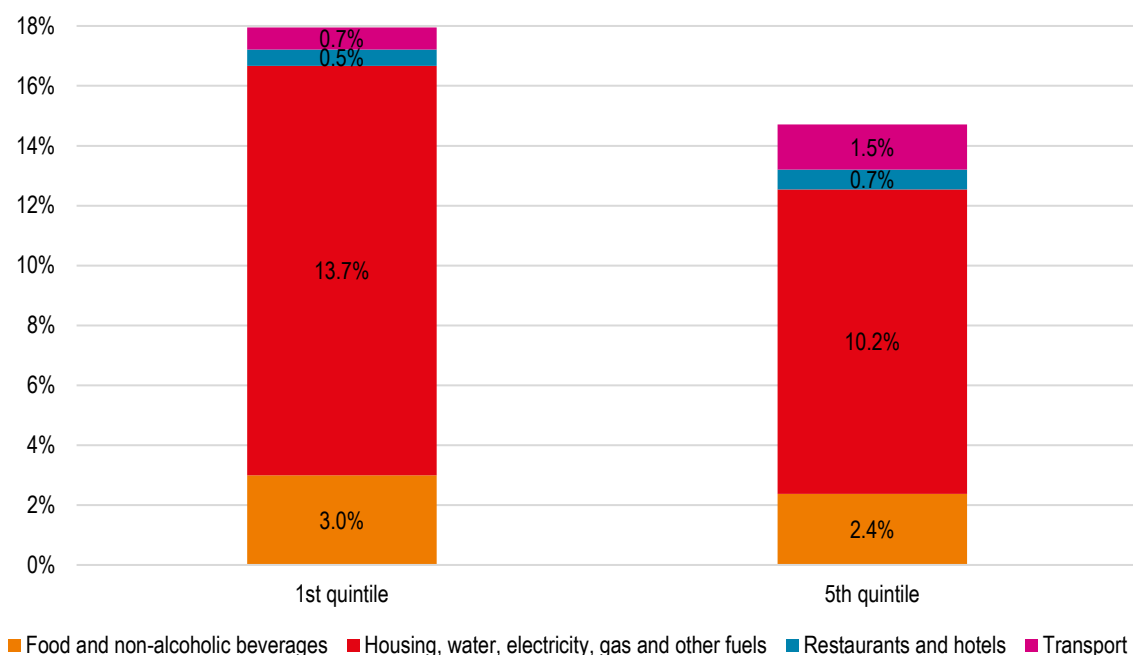
A preliminary assessment

The energy crisis is ongoing, with inflation in the Euro Area forecasted to remain more or less unabated (OECD 2022b). Concomitantly, national and European-wide counter-inflationary policies are constantly changing. On top of that, hard data required for a proper assessment of the effectiveness of the policies implemented so far are becoming available only with a considerable delay. At this point any assessment can, therefore, only be preliminary. In what follows, we focus primarily on inequality stemming from the distributional effects of inflation and assess whether the implemented policies were effective in offsetting inequality dynamics.

In doing so, we first examine what is the level of inflation that the bottom and top income quintiles experience and which inflation components contribute to it the most. We apply the method of Vidal and Villani (2022) which measures how much the shares of each

component in total consumption of each quintile are affected by the respective inflation rates. The higher the share of a component in total consumption, the stronger the impact of the component's inflation rate. Figure 8 presents the respective findings. As expected, the current type of inflation has uneven effects across income quintiles, since it boosts the prices of essential products, which have a larger share in total consumption of the poorer households. Greater differences are observed primarily in housing costs (Energy), excluding rent, and to a lesser but important extent in 'Food and Non-Alcoholic Beverages'. The opposite holds for transport costs of households, given that the poorer ones rely more on public transport, which is cheaper and whose price is far less volatile. Inflation in other types of goods does not seem to have a big effect and affects mostly the richer households.

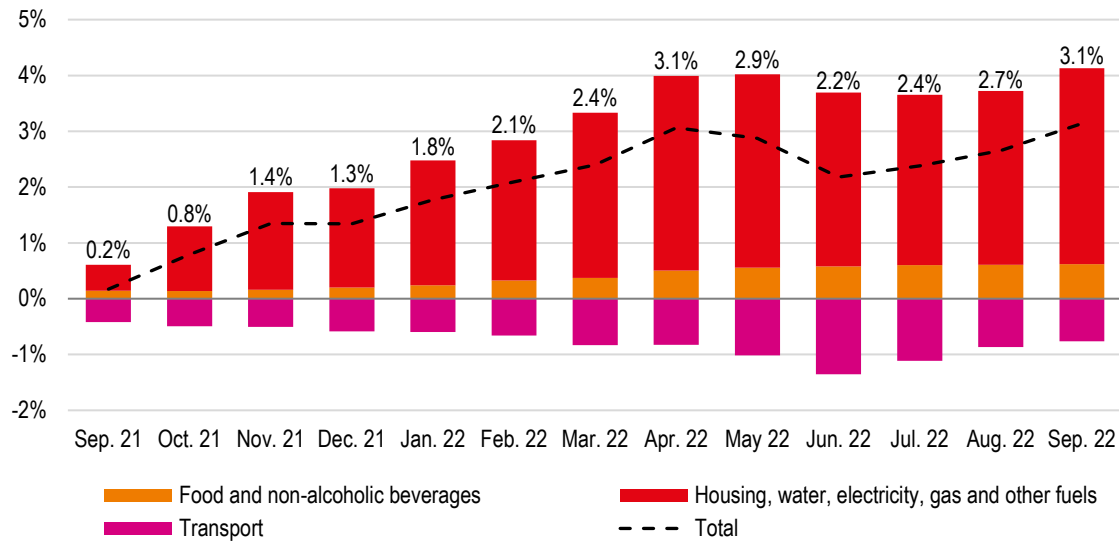
Figure 8: Inflation rate by income quintiles and contribution of selected items (Greece, Sep. 2022)



Source: Eurostat (own calculations). Each item's share of consumption is multiplied by the respective inflation rate. Inflation in non-reported items was practically zero for both quintiles.

In order to provide a more comprehensive overview of how inequality evolved during 2022 we follow the approach of Claeys and Guetta-Jeanrenaud (2022), according to which, the share of consumption differentials between bottom (S20) and top (S80) income quintiles are inflated by the respective rates of each item. Figure 9 reports overall inflation inequality, which practically shows how much higher inflation is for poorer households than for richer ones. In September it stood at 3.1 percentage points, following a slight decline during summer when economic activity is typically higher due to tourism. Inequality breaks down to 3.5pp driven by 'housing (incl. energy)' costs and 0.6pp due to inflation in 'food and non-alcoholic beverages'. Transport costs reduce inequality by 0.8pp for reasons explained above. Assuming that households do not change the level of their consumption and that their incomes are constant, it appears that rising energy costs are the most important source of inequality, with costs for food following closely.

Figure 9: Inflation-driven inequality (S80/S20) and selected contributing items (Greece, Sep. 2022)



The difference between the share of consumption of S20 and the share of consumption of S80 for each item is multiplied by the respective inflation rate. Inflation-driven inequality from non-reported items was practically zero.

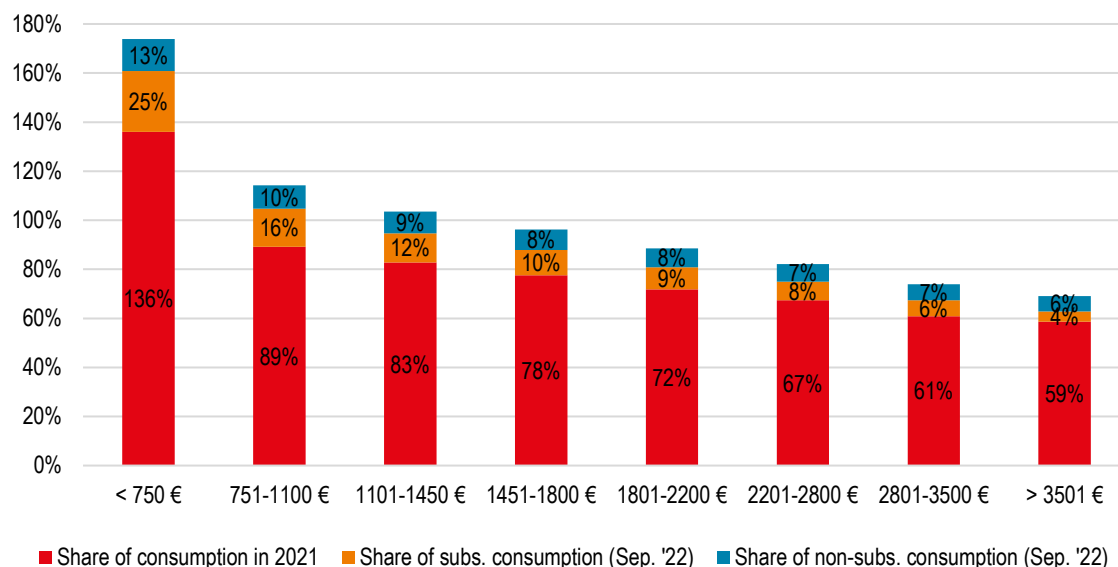
Source: Eurostat (own calculations).

The analysis so far based on the consumption pattern of each income quintile is pointing to a non-negligible effect of rising inflation on inequality. Yet, it has not provided any indication on whether the measures undertaken by the Greek government have been successful in reducing the social costs of inflation. In order to assess this, we use the Household Budget Survey of 2021 so as to estimate: a) what level of consumption as a share of income would correspond to the respective level of 2021, given the inflation rate of September 2022 and b) what part of this inflated part of consumption is subsidised by the government. In doing so, we use the consumer's energy price index, provided by ELSTAT, in the estimation of which energy subsidies are excluded. Energy consumption is inflated by this index, while the subsidised component is estimated according to the inflated value of energy consumption. The rest of consumption is inflated by the standard CPI after the deduction of its energy price component. We apply this approach to different income groups.

As reported in Figure 10, for monthly incomes lower than 750 euro, including the minimum wage earners, consumption in 2021 exceeded the disposable income by 36%. Greece is not an unusual case in this respect. According to estimates provided by Eurostat, in 2015 (latest available data) the saving rate of the bottom income quintile was negative in most of the member states. This implies that the income of this quintile did not suffice to ensure a decent standard of living, so households had to turn to other monetary sources for financing their consumption, i.e. borrowing or dissaving. The first income group in Figure 10, reflects precisely this condition. As income increases, saving rates are higher, despite the consumption per income group being also higher. Thereby, for the income group 751-1.100 euro per month, the average share of consumption in disposable income was 89% in 2021 and thus the saving rate was 11%. For the richer income group, the saving rate was 41%.

Given the nature of inflation currently affecting the essential commodities, and the poorer households' already high consumption relative to their disposable income, the burden of inflation is higher for the lowest income group. Indeed, in September 2022 poorer households would have had to increase their consumption to 171% of their disposable income, in order to maintain their 2021 standard of living. A quarter of this excessive consumption was subsidised by the government,¹⁷ implying that this income group was actually burdened, once the counter-measures are taken into account, by 13% from steeply rising prices. In the absence of subsidized consumption, the second income group would have also experienced negative savings. Government subsidies accounted to 16% of disposable income and so the saving rate was zero. As expected, the impact is improved, the higher the income group. Findings suggest that government support of households has been important, but inadequate for lower incomes and unnecessary for higher incomes. Poorer households are indebted substantially, while the flat rate on electricity bills allowance, regardless of income, indicates a wasteful use of public finances.

Figure 10: How much more do households have to spend to maintain consumption at the 2021 level, by income group (% of adjusted disposable income, Greece, Sep. 2022)



The level of consumption (excl. energy) in 2021 has been inflated by the Sep. 2022 headline inflation rate (excl. energy inflation). Likewise, the energy consumption has been inflated by the Sep. 2022 relevant inflation rate. Subsidies are calculated according to the inflated energy consumption. Mid-range incomes have been used to calculate consumption shares. For incomes lower than 750 euro, the lower cut-off point has been set equal to the long-run unemployment benefit (200 euro per month). For incomes higher than 3.500 euro the higher cut-off point has been arbitrarily set equal to 7.000 euro. Subsidies do not include lump-sum allowances for automotive fuel, which, as already discussed, are of less significance to the poorer households.

Source: ELSTAT (own calculations).

This limited effectiveness of the anti-inflationary measures is not only the outcome of the specific policies undertaken by the Greek government, but is also related to two critical factors, namely the longstanding deficiency of the social safety net in Greece and the deteriorated income conditions of households before 2020. With regards to the former, the safety net in Greece has not been able to respond to extreme economic events such

¹⁷Subsidies are estimated according to the allowance on electricity bills.

as the Greek debt or the current energy crisis. For example, according to data provided by the Hellenic Manpower Employment Organisation, in 2013 when the unemployment rate was higher than 25%, the unemployment benefit coverage ratio stood at a mere 11% of the unemployed. Despite the improvements that have taken place during the past decade,¹⁸ social policies in particular, and public spending in general, in Greece are such that higher amounts of spending do not necessarily imply better performance. According to Ioannidis et al. (2021), the quality of governance in Greece is a critical factor in explaining why the fiscal expansion of 2020, as a response to the outbreak of the pandemic, had a very limited impact on output growth.¹⁹ Current conditions seem very similar.

Concerning the second factor, the aggregate household income had not yet recovered from the Greek debt crisis, even before the outbreak of the strong inflationary pressure.²⁰ The purchasing power of Greek households had been reduced from about the same as the EU average level in 2008 to the penultimate place across member states in 2021. In fact, Greece was the only member state in which household income in 2021 stood well below the respective level of 2008 (INE GSEE 2022c). According to ACER-CEER (2022) Greek households in 2021 had:

- the highest share in total population with arrears on utility bills (50%) across member states and
- the highest share in total population of disconnections due to non-payments of electricity bills (2.77%) and natural gas bills (2.16%) across member states.

These figures suggest that prior conditions were already unfavourable for Greek households to respond to the steeply rising inflation. Despite the government measures aiming to reduce the energy costs, in the first half of 2022 the electricity bills in Greece stood at about 6.5% of monthly adjusted disposable income (second highest across member states) and the natural gas bills at about 13.4% of monthly adjusted disposable income (third highest across member states) (ibid.). In this respect, the adequacy of national policies to reduce the social costs of inflation is constrained by the already fragile condition of households.

¹⁸See Matsaganis (2020) for an overview of these developments.

¹⁹In fact, Greece ranked first among the member states in terms of fiscal expansion, but faced the third deepest recession in the Euro Area.

²⁰According to data provided by the European Commission (AMECO database), in 2021 households' gross disposable income stood at about 25% lower than the 2008 level.

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Annex

Table A1: Cost of fiscal support to households and business in Greece, September 2021-October 2022

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
13.09.21	State price subsidy on electricity prices	All low voltage households (c.72% of total), firms and farmers with consumption <300 KWh/month	30€/MWh for first 300KWh (9€/month)		Sep 21	https://ypen.gov.gr/synentefxi-ypourgou-perival-lontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-ton-katanaloton-apo-tis-afxiseis-sta-timologia-ilektrikis-energeias/ https://eco-press.gr/epidotisi-reumatos/
13.09.21	State-owned electricity provider discounts over price increases due to higher costs	Residential connections with consumption of 300- 600 KWh/month	Public Power Corporation (DEH) offered additional discounts of 4% to all its customers (had already announced horizontal discounts of 30% in August 2021)		Sep 2021- Dec 2021	https://ypen.gov.gr/synentefxi-ypourgou-perival-lontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-ton-katanaloton-apo-tis-afxiseis-sta-timologia-ilektrikis-energeias/ https://eco-press.gr/epidotisi-reumatos/
13.09.21	Government income subsidy on heating fuel costs	Single taxpayers, widowers or separated taxpayers with income of up to €14K in the previous year (2020) and who on the 1/1/2021 owned buildings within the urban plan of value of up to €180K; for those married or having concluded a co-habitation pact, who had total family income of up to €20K and owned a building or terrain within the urban plan of up to €300K on 1/1/2021; for families with children, the means-testing income ceiling increases by €3K per child; the allowance is meant for the purchase of oil, gas or other fuels and for purchases of wood by permanent residents of mountainous areas with population of up to 2500 inhabitants; those owning cars more powerful than 1928cc, boats longer than 5m and aircrafts, those who were 'hosted' during 2021 and those who in 2020 owned more than 2 private use cars are exempted from this allowance.	Increase of heating fuel allowance: - base allowance level increased from to €300 (from €220) (to be multiplied by an index of 0.12 to 1.62 depending on place of residence and topped up by 20% (up from 10% for each dependent child); minimum level to €100 (from €80) and maximum allowance to €750 (from €650); for those using natural gas as heating fuel the allowance is increased by 36% for households without children; by 49% for households with one child; by 59% for households with 2 children; by 68% for households with three children.	168m	Winter 2021- 2022	https://www.ethnos.gr/Economy/article/179783/epidomathermanshs2021posadi-kaioyxoikaixrh-simesplhrofories https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-prostatevoume-ola-ta-noikokyria-apo-ti-diethni-energeiaki-krisi/ https://www.taxheaven.gr/news/56394/energeia-ta-nea-metra-gia-hlektriko-reyma-fysiko-aerio-kai-epidoma-oermanshs-antimetwpsih-anatimhsewn
08.10.21	Government Subsidy to households on electricity prices	Primary residence connections with consumption <300 KWh/month	60€/MWh (18€/month) and 80€/MWh (24€/month) for those under social housing tariff for first 300KWh		Oct 2021- Dec 2021 (announced)	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-stekomaste-ebra-akta-dipla-stous-polites-se-aftin-tin-protognori-diethni-energeiaki-krisi/
08.10.21	State-owned natural gas provider cost discount	Residential connections	Public natural gas company (DEPA) to provide at least 15% discount to the cost of natural gas supply to households and to supply natural gas to other retail providers who are			https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-stekomaste-ebra-akta-dipla-stous-polites-se-aftin-tin-protognori-diethni-energeiaki-krisi/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
			supposed to pass on the discount into their retail prices			
04.11.21	Government reduction of excise tax on petrol	Farmers in cooperatives, young farmers and those participating in contractual farming	Reimbursement of Special Consumption Tax of mobility fuel for agricultural uses	€60m	2022	https://www.tanea.gr/2022/03/17/economy/ta-ektakta-metra-stiriksis-pou-anakoinose-o-staikouras-ti-tha-isxysei-gia-venzini-kai-epidomata/ https://www.tanea.gr/2022/03/17/economy/ta-ektakta-metra-stiriksis-pou-anakoinose-o-staikouras-ti-tha-isxysei-gia-venzini-kai-epidomata/
10.11.21	State Subsidy to households on electricity prices	Primary residence connections with consumption <300 KWh/month	39€/month and 45€/month for those under social housing tariff for first 300 KWh		November 2021-December 2021	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-yperdiplasia-zetai-i-epidotisi-stous-logariasmous-ilektrikis-energeias-se-ola-ta-noikokyria/
10.11.21	State-owned company discount over user charges	All natural gas users	Postponement of the payment of natural gas user charges for November-December 2021		November-December 2021	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-yperdiplasia-zetai-i-epidotisi-stous-logariasmous-ilektrikis-energeias-se-ola-ta-noikokyria/
10.11.21	Temporarily reduced indirect taxes	Electricity connections for industrial use of low and medium voltage and for all other uses of medium voltage	Deferred payments of payment of charges for services of public utility	€63m (deferred payments)	November 2021-March 2022	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-yperdiplasia-zetai-i-epidotisi-stous-logariasmous-ilektrikis-energeias-se-ola-ta-noikokyria/
				Cost of measures >€620m for electricity price and income subsidies, cost discounts, tax reductions, and deferred payments between September and November 2021		
09.12.21	Deferral of indirect tax payment for some business users	Electricity connections for agricultural or industrial use of medium voltage, of medium voltage for triphasic supply of <85KV, for industrial use of medium voltage of up to 13GVh, general use of medium voltage.	Deferral of payments of payment of charges public utility services		Nov-21-Mar-22	https://ypen.gov.gr/epektasi-ton-metron-stirixis-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-stis-agrotikes-epicheiriseis-pou-einai-synde-demenes-sti-mesi-tasi/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
24.12.22	Income subsidy to vulnerable households	Households in arrears with their electricity bills, having had the in their main residence connection suspended i and fulfilling the criteria of social housing tariff.	Up to €6000 for bills of up to €6000; 75% of the owed amount for bills in arrears of €6000-9000; 50% of the owed amount for bills in arrears of €9000-12000; 30% of the owed amount for bills in arrears of >€12000.	€40m	Until end of Mar-22	
				Total cost of measures Sep-Dec-21: €1.3bn		
07.01.22	State Subsidy to households on electricity prices	Primary residence connections with consumption <300 KWh/month	Consumption of 0-150kWh/month: : subsidy of €160/MWh (80% of price increase); consumption of 151-300kwh/month:: €120/Mwh; average subsidy €42/month for the first 300KWH. For the beneficiaries of social housing tariff: €180/mwh or €54/month for the first 300Kwh.	€157m	Jan 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-395-ekat-evro-ton-ianouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-epangelmaton/
07.01.22	State subsidies to all non-residential electricity prices	Horizontal subsidy to non-residential users (agricultural, commercial, industrial, professional, etc.) regardless of size and voltage level	€65/MWh	€133m	Jan 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-395-ekat-evro-ton-ianouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-epangelmaton/
07.01.22	State subsidy to residential natural gas prices	all natural gas consuming households (c.540000)	€20/MWh	€54m (together with the mandated discount below)	Jan 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-395-ekat-evro-ton-ianouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-epangelmaton/
07.01.22	State-owned natural gas provider price discount	all natural gas consuming households provided by DEPA	discount of €20/MWh	€54m (together with price subsidy above)	Jan 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-395-ekat-evro-ton-ianouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-epangelmaton/
07.01.22	State subsidies to non-residential natural gas price	Horizontal subsidy to non-residential users (agricultural, commercial, industrial, professional, etc.) regardless of size and voltage level	€30/MWh	€51m	Jan 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-395-ekat-evro-ton-ianouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-epangelmaton/
				Total cost of measures for january 2022: €395m		
09.02.22	State Subsidy to households on electricity prices	Primary residence connections with consumption <300 KWh/month	consumption of 0-150kWh/month: subsidy of €150/MWh; consumption of 151-300kwh/month: €110/mwh; average subsidy : €39/month for first	€150m	Feb 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-350-ekat-evro-ton-fevrouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-e-picheiriseon/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
			300Kwh/month. For the beneficiaries of social housing tariff: €170/mwh or average €51/month for first 300Kwh.			
09.02.22	State subsidies to all non-residential electricity prices	Horizontal subsidy to non-residential users (agricultural, commercial, industrial, professional, etc.) regardless of size and voltage level	€65/MWh	€133m	Feb 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-350-ekat-evro-ton-fevrouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-e-picheiriseon/
09.02.22	State subsidy to residential natural gas prices	all natural gas consuming households	€20/MWh	€47m (together with the mandated discount below)	Feb 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-350-ekat-evro-ton-fevrouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-e-picheiriseon/
09.02.22	State-owned natural gas provider residential price discount (requested to other providers too)	all natural gas consuming households provided by DEPA	discount of €20/MWh for consumption of subscribers	€47m (together with price subsidy above)	Feb 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-350-ekat-evro-ton-fevrouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-e-picheiriseon/
09.02.22	State subsidies to non-residential natural gas prices	Horizontal subsidy to non-residential users (agricultural, commercial, industrial, professional, etc.)	€20/MWh	€20m	Feb 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-350-ekat-evro-ton-fevrouario-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyron-kai-e-picheiriseon/
				Total cost of measures for February 2022: €350m		
17.03.22	State subsidies to households on electricity prices	Primary residence connections with consumption <300 KWh/month	consumption of 0-150kWh/month: subsidy of €150/MWh; consumption of 151-300kwh/month: €110/mwh; average subsidy per month: €40/month for first 300Kwh. For the beneficiaries of social price list: average €53/month for first 300KWh.	€148m	Mar 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State subsidies to all non-residential electricity prices	Horizontal subsidy to non-residential users (agricultural, commercial, industrial, professional, etc.) regardless of size and voltage level	€65/MWh	€132m for all professional electricity bills	Mar 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State subsidies to non-residential electricity prices	Very small and medium enterprises with power supply of up to 25KVa and for all bakeries regardless of power supply (c.1160m professional connections)	€75 retrospective subsidy for their entire consumption of electricity for Jan, Feb, Mar 2022		Jan-Mar 2022	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State subsidy to residential natural gas prices	all natural gas consuming households	€20/MWh	€43m (together with the manda-	Mar 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
				ted discount below)		
17.03.22	State-owned natural gas provided price discount (and requested by other providers too)	all natural gas consuming households provided by DEPA	discount of €20/MWh	€43m (together with price subsidy above)	Mar 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State subsidies to non-residential natural gas price	Horizontal subsidy	€20/MWh for entire monthly consumption	€20m	Mar 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State subsidies to residential electricity price	Primary residence connections with consumption <300 KWh/month;	consumption of 0-150kWh/month: subsidy of €270/MWh; consumption of 151-300kwh/month: €210/mwh; average subsidy per month: €72/month for first 300Kwh. For the beneficiaries of social price list: average €87/month for first 300Kwh.	€218m	Apr 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State subsidies to all non-residential electricity prices	Horizontal subsidy to non-residential users (agricultural, commercial, industrial, professional, etc.) regardless of size and voltage level	€130/MWh	Total (incl. below) cost for non-residential electricity bills €313m	Apr 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State subsidies to non-residential electricity prices	Very small and medium enterprises with power supply of up to 25KV and for all bakeries regardless of power supply (c.1160m professional connections)	Additional €100/MWh for entire consumption	€35m for April	Apr 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-gia-ton-martio-kai-ton-aprilio/
17.03.22	State income subsidy	Vulnerable groups of citizens: families with dependent children, low-income pensioners, elderly citizens without social insurance, beneficiaries of allowances for persons with special needs, beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum income	Additional income subsidies by category of beneficiaries: 1.5 monthly child allowance, depending on income and number of dependent children; €200 for low-income pensioners, for uninsured elderly citizens, for citizens with special needs; double monthly instalment of guaranteed minimum income to beneficiaries.	€324m (€97.5m for child allowance, €135 for support to low-income pensioners, €7m for uninsured elderly citizens, €33.4m for support to citizens with special needs, and €50.9m for beneficiaries of guaranteed minimum income)	Apr 22	https://www.tanea.gr/2022/03/17/economy/ta-ek-takta-metra-stirixis-pou-anakoinose-o-staikouras-ti-tha-isxysei-gia-venzini-kai-epidomata/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
17.03.22	State subsidy for vehicle and motorcycles fuel	Vehicle and motorcycle owners with declared household income of <€30000 in 2020; fiscal residents of Greece	Fuel pass: €40-€50 for vehicles; €30-€35 for motorcycles	€130m	Apr-22-Jun-22	https://www.kathimerini.gr/economy/561835360/fuel-pass-epidotisi-kaysimon-anoixe-i-platforma-gia-ola-ta-afm-sto-vouchers-gov-gr-ti-prepei-na-prosexoyn-oi-dikaioychoi/
17.03.22	State subsidy on mobility fuel price	All sales of mobility oil (diesel)	€0.12/litre	€23m	Apr-22-Jun-22	https://www.tanea.gr/2022/03/17/economy/ta-ek-takta-metra-stirixsis-pou-anakoinose-o-staikouras-ti-tha-isxysei-gia-venzini-kai-epidomata/
17.03.22	State subsidy to taxi service providers	All taxi permit owners and taxi drivers	€ 200	€5.7m	Mar-Apr-22	https://www.tanea.gr/2022/03/17/economy/ta-ek-takta-metra-stirixsis-pou-anakoinose-o-staikouras-ti-tha-isxysei-gia-venzini-kai-epidomata/
				Total cost of measures for electricity and natural gas in March-April 2022: €900m		
				Total cost of fiscal measures between September 2021 and April 2022: €2.3bn		
				Total cost of measures by DEH and DEPA (state owned electricity and natural gas providers): €1.261bn		
				Total costs between September and April €3,3bn		
05.04.22	State subsidy to residential natural gas price	All Households using natural gas	40€/MWh	€88.74m for April	Apr 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/diplasiazetai-i-epidotisi-fy-sikou-aeriou-se-noikokyria-kai-epicheiriseis-ton-aprilio/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
05.04.22	State-owned natural gas provider price discount	All consumption	DEPA (natural gas provider) to provide discount of 30€/MWh for households and of 15€/MWh for industry and hospital users		Apr 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/diplasiazetai-i-epidotisi-fy-sikou-aeriou-se-noikokyria-kai-epicheiriseis-ton-aprilio/
06.05.22	State subsidies to residential electricity prices	All connections of primary and secondary residences; all levels of consumption	consumption of 0-150kWh/month: subsidy of €205/MWh; consumption of 151-300kwh/month: €160/mwh; consumption of >300kwh/month: €100/Mwh; average subsidy per month: €56.6 for first 300Kwh/month. For the beneficiaries of social housing tariff: average €215/month. €100/MWh for entire consumption in secondary residences.	€200 m for May 2022	May-June 2022	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis/
06.05.22	State subsidies to all non-residential electricity prices	Horizontal subsidy to non-residential users (agricultural, commercial, industrial, professional, etc.) regardless of size and voltage level	€120/MWh	€260m	May-June 2022	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis/
06.05.22	State subsidies to non-residential electricity prices	Very small and medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35kVa and for all bakeries regardless of power supply (c.1250m professional connections)	Additional €50/MWh for entire consumption		May-June 2022	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis/
06.05.22	State subsidy to residential natural gas prices	all natural gas consuming households	€20/MWh		Mai 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis/
06.05.22	State-owned natural gas provider price discount	All households connected to provider	€20/MWh		Mai 22	
06.05.22	State subsidies to non-residential natural gas prices	All non-residential users for entire consumption	€20/MWh	€20m (state subsidies for both household and professional gas users)	Mai 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis/
17.06.22	State subsidy to residential electricity prices	Net income<€45000 in 2020; increase in electricity bills issued between 1/12/2021 and 31/5/2022 >€30 (after subsidies)	Power Pass: 60% of cost increases for main residence bills after subsidies; capped at €600 per beneficiary.	€295m	Dec-21-May-22	https://ypen.gov.gr/se-leitourgia-to-power-pass-meso-tou-vouchers-gov-gr/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
25.06.22	Price control and strengthening retail market competition	All users	Elimination of the adjustment clause in electricity bills, allowing electricity providers to adapt their prices to increases in the wholesale market price; combined with an obligation to post prices in the previous months so that consumers can compare and decide whether to switch provider without cost.	€295.6m		https://ypen.gov.gr/katargeitai-i-ritra-anapros-armogis-stous-logariasmous-ilektrikis-energeias-tithetai-se-leitourgia-o-neos-michanismos-pou-vazei-plafon-stis-amoives-ton-monadon-ilektropa-ragosis/ https://ypen.gov.gr/koino-deltio-typou-ton-ypourgeion-oikonomikon-psifiakis-diakyvernisis-kai-perivallontos-energeias-pistosi-posou-synolikou-ypsous-316-ekat-evro-se-866-181-dikai-ouchous-tou-power-pass/
				Total Cost of measures for May-June 2022: €1.1bn		
05.07.22	State subsidy to residential electricity prices	Residential connections for entire consumption	€200/Mwh; €240/MWh for social housing tariff connections	€722m	Jul 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-ioulio/
05.07.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	Non-residential connections of power supply of up to 35Kva	€192/Mwh		Jul 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-ioulio/
05.07.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	Farmers and farming connections	€213/Mwh		Jul 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-ioulio/
05.07.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	Other professional and Industrial connections with power supply of over 35KVa	€148/MWh		Jul 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-ioulio/
05.07.22	State subsidy to non-residential natural gas price	Professional and industrial connections	€30/Mwh		Jul 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-ioulio/
25.07.22	State subsidy to residential electricity price	All residential connections for all levels of consumption	337/MWh for normal connections; €377/MWh for social housing tariff connections	€1136m	Aug 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-avgousto/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
25.07.22	State subsidies to non-residential electricity price	Very small and medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35kVa all commercial stores, restaurants, kiosks, convenience stores,	€300/MWh for entire consumption		Aug 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-avgousto/
25.07.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	Farmers and farming connections	€337/MWh		Aug 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-avgousto/
25.07.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	Industrial users	€250/MWh		Aug 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-avgousto/
25.07.22	State natural gas price subsidy	Commercial users	€30/MWh		Aug 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/dilosi-tou-ypourgou-perivallontos-kai-energeias-kosta-skreka-gia-ta-metra-stirixis-tis-koinonias-apo-tis-epiptoseis-tis-diethnous-energeiakis-krisis-ton-avgousto/
25.07.22	State income subsidy on mobility fuel	Any natural person (incl. independent professionals), tax residents of Greece, with family income of up to €30000 in 2021, increased by €3000 for spouse or civil partner and for every dependent child, up to €45000 to cover mobility fuel costs	€65-100 for one vehicle, depending on place of residence and use of e-card or bank account; €45-70 for one motorcycle depending on place of residence and the use of e-card or bank account for the payment.	€200m	Jul-Sep-22	https://www.ethnos.gr/Economy/article/218492/fuelpass2anoixehplatformapoiaafmmporoynnakanoyraithshtaposapoythalaboy-noidikaioyxi
25.07.22	State subsidy on mobility fuel price	All sales of mobility oil (diesel)	€0.12/litre		Jul-Sep-22	
23.08.22	State subsidy to residential electricity price	All residential connections for all levels of consumption	€639/MWh; €677/MWh for social housing tariff	€748m	Sep 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-diathetoume-19-disekatommyria-evro-gia-tis-epidotiseis-tou-revmatos-ton-septemvrio/
23.08.22	State subsidies to non-residential electricity price	Small and medium enterprises with power supply of up to 35kVa and for all bakeries regardless of voltage	€604/MWH	€401m	Sep 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-diathetoume-19-disekatommyria-evro-gia-tis-epidotiseis-tou-revmatos-ton-septemvrio/
23.08.22	State subsidies to non-residential electricity price	Commercial and industrial connections of >35kVa	€342/MWh	c.€750m	Sep 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-diathetoume-19-disekatommyria-evro-gia-tis-epidotiseis-tou-revmatos-ton-septemvrio/
23.08.22	State subsidies to non-residential electricity price	Farmers and farming connections	€639/mwh		Sep 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-diathetoume-19-disekatommyria-evro-gia-tis-epidotiseis-tou-revmatos-ton-septemvrio/

Date announced	Type of measure	Target group/eligibility criteria	Measure	Announced cost of measure	Duration	Links
21.09.22	State subsidy to residential electricity price	All residential connections for all levels of consumption	0-500KWh: €436/MWh; 501-1000KWh: €386/MWh (+€50 if average daily consumption is lower by 15% compared to Oct-21); >1001KWh: €336/MWh (+€50 if average daily consumption is lower by 15% compared to Oct-21); €485/MWh for social housing tariff	€1.1bn	Okt 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-11-dis-evro-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyriion-epangelmation-kai-agro-ton-ton-oktovrio/
21.09.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	All non-residential users with connections of up to 35Kva for first 2000KWh of consumption	€398/MWh		Okt 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-11-dis-evro-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyriion-epangelmation-kai-agro-ton-ton-oktovrio/
21.09.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	Non-residential users with connections of >35Kva for consumption >2000KWh and all other non-residential users with low and middle voltage connections	€230/MWh		Okt 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-11-dis-evro-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyriion-epangelmation-kai-agro-ton-ton-oktovrio/
21.09.22	State subsidy to non-residential electricity price	Farmers for their entire consumption	€436/MWh		Okt 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-11-dis-evro-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyriion-epangelmation-kai-agro-ton-ton-oktovrio/
21.09.22	State-owned natural gas provider price subsidy	All residential connections for all levels of consumption	€90/MWh		Okt 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-11-dis-evro-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyriion-epangelmation-kai-agro-ton-ton-oktovrio/
21.09.22	State subsidy to natural gas prices	All commercial and industry users regardless of size, turnover or number of employees	€40/MWh		Okt 22	https://ypen.gov.gr/kostas-skrekas-11-dis-evro-gia-ti-stirixi-noikokyriion-epangelmation-kai-agro-ton-ton-oktovrio/

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