GREEK WOMEN, MOTHERHOOD, EMPLOYMENT AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR: A STUDY OF THE DYNAMICS OF POWER IN MARRIAGE

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how women’s participation in the labour force affects the dynamics of power in gender relationships in contemporary Greece. Employment status has been considered as a crucial factor in determining women’s power. Particular emphasis has been placed on relationships within the family setting and sexuality. The literature indicates firstly that family and sexuality are characterised by an imbalance of power in gender relationships. Secondly, it indicates that the family constitutes a major obstacle to women’s participation in the labour force.

The study applies a feminist approach within the context of theories of gender hierarchy and patriarchy. Thus, by taking into account the existing theorization about gender relationships and their constantly changing nature within all aspects of social life, this study aims to do the following: firstly, to investigate the compatibility of theoretical frameworks of patriarchy originating mainly from the UK and USA with empirical evidence of gender relationships in Greece; secondly, to provide an insight into the cultural variations of the notions of power in gender relationships by comparing two different social settings within Greece: Athens, a cosmopolitan city, and Kastro, a small seaside village; and thirdly, to highlight how power defines the gender roles within family, employment and sexuality and in a reciprocal way how gender roles define the dynamics of power within heterosexual relationships.

A total of fifty nine male and female participants – forty living in Athens and nineteen in Kastro - gave unstructured, face-to-face interviews. Participants were chosen to allow for differences in social class and employment status. All of the participants were married; this was because, firstly, pre-marital sexual relationships are not common in rural Greece, and secondly it was assumed that sexuality within marriage acquires a kind of legitimacy; it would therefore be easier and more justifiable for people to talk about it. Ethnographic studies carried out in Greece have served as a useful source of information about gender relationships, especially in rural areas.
The research findings indicate that women's full time employment has an impact upon their sexual behaviour as well as upon men's sexual behaviour towards women. The findings also illustrate a wide range of variations other than polarization in gender power relationships firstly between men and women and secondly between those who live in Athens and in Kastro.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Women in contemporary Greece have equal civil rights to that of men and both their participation in the labour force as well as the years they spend in education is constantly increasing. The percentage of young women, for example, who held a University degree in the academic period 1997-1998 was almost three times higher than the number of men. A total percentage of 71.5% of women aged 22 held a University degree whereas the corresponding percentage of men was 28.5% (KETHI, 2002). Female participation in the labour force, even though it is still much lower than men’s (men’s labour force participation rate in 1998 was 78.2% and women’s was 48.8%) has increased from 1977 to 1988 from 34.2% to 48.8% (UNECE, 2000).

Nevertheless, despite the legislation which provides women and men with equal opportunities in achieving managerial and decision-making positions - as well as in being represented in the political sectors - management, top administrative jobs and political representation are still overwhelmingly male (Gerogiannis, 1998).

In 1999 the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (United Nations Report, 2000) gave a report on the position of women in all sectors of social life in Greece over the last decade. This report, among others, stressed the following:

- Until the early 1980s women were not entitled to a bank account without their husband’s or their father’s signature;
- In 1983 the law abolished the legal institution of dowry;
- There remains no constitutional law characterising rape within marriage as a crime;
- The attitude of the police towards abused women ranges from indifference to negative, outright hostility;
Despite legislative and institutional measures, the majority of the mass media continue to present women in exclusively traditional roles, namely using either the image of the devoted mother or housewife or the image of a woman as a sex object;

Even though Greece has one of the most progressive legislative frameworks in the world concerning gender equality, working relations, social security and family issues, and despite the major improvements in the social position of women over the last eight years, men dominate all sectors of power, production and circulation of symbolic goods, i.e. media, education and politics.

The reasons which challenged me to do this research were, firstly, the various sorts of gender discriminations which I had experienced as a woman living in Greek society in many phases and incidences during my life. Secondly, since my early teens I had realized that my sexual behaviour started to be defined by a number of "don'ts", whereas that of my brother, a year younger than me, was defined by numerous of "dos". Thirdly, as I got older, cultural beliefs and expectations had a series of effects upon my life e.g. my 'decision' (?) to leave my job after the birth of my first child and to dedicate myself to the needs of my husband and children.

My new roles as a wife and mother made me more aware of the problems faced by many other women who are housewives and mothers and who are financially dependent on their husbands. Dependence, for example, produces unequal power relationships and thus women's economic dependence on men leads to male supremacy and female subordination. In addition, one of the most unequal relationships between men and women which has been widely agreed on by those women I have known over my adolescence and adulthood is that of the sexual relationship.

Thus I began to wonder what might be the impact of women's economic independence upon women's lives and upon traditional gender roles.
In light of this, the aim of the thesis is to explore how women’s participation in the labour market affects the dynamics of power in gender relationships in Greece. A further investigation will examine and compare these effects upon gender relationships within two different social settings in the same country: in an urban and in a rural setting.

This thesis will explore the interrelationship between family, paid work and sexuality. The relationship between women’s paid employment, family and sexuality has already been extensively explored, analysed and theorized, mainly by feminist literature (Firestone, 1970; Oakley, 1974; Hamilton, 1978; Hartmann, 1981; Rowbotham, 1981; Walby, 1990).

However, Radical Feminist literature has theorised and conceptualised sexuality in an in-depth way, but paid work takes up only a small amount of this literature. Marxist feminists have placed an emphasis on capitalism and women’s work rather than on sexual relationships per se. Literature on dual-systems theories - a combination of Marxist’s and Radical Feminist accounts - and on Walby’s “theorization of patriarchy” covers the relationship between sexuality and employment to a great extent.

Nevertheless, both of these theoretical frameworks focus almost exclusively on male sexuality, especially on those aspects which segregate women within the labour market. Indeed, in most feminist accounts, sexuality has been seen as a form of men’s domination over women rather than as a source of mutual pleasure (Jackson, 1993). Women have been considered as passive victims; issues of sexual pleasure or female power which is exerted over men through sexual behaviour are not adequately covered.

This thesis takes into consideration the existing literature on the relevant topics and goes an important step further. Given the assumption that participation within the labour market empowers women, the thesis will also investigate the effects of such participation upon women’s beliefs, expectations and attitudes towards heterosexual behaviours. For this reason, notions of power and control in gender relationships will be
explored. Data from this research and information derived from ethnographic studies will ‘set the scene’ of how power is perceived in gender relationships as they stand, separately, for men and women, in both Kastro and Athens.

Having formulated a body of knowledge about how power and control are perceived in gender relationships by both Kastronians and Athenians, the next step is to explore how the gender roles in each of these areas are defined by the dynamics of power between men and women within the three aforementioned areas and how these gender roles define the dynamics of power between men and women. For a better evaluation of the findings, particular emphasis will be placed on the special characteristics of each society, as these might operate as crucial factors in the perception and the exertion of power. For example:

Firstly, Greece, as a member of European Union is burdened with economic and social policy targets aiming to “catch up” with the rest of Europe. In doing so, tradition and modernity is mixed up making the study of Greek society “awkward” yet worthwhile. Secondly, household and family have been theorised by all feminist perspectives as being crucial factors involved in women’s oppression in Western societies. However, the family unit, which adopts a central role in Greek society, gives to Kastrorian women social respect, prestige and power and dominance (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Dubisch, 1986a; Caraveli, 1986; Katakis, 1998). Thirdly, due to internal migration, the vast majority of Athenians have either been born in rural Greece or have parents who were born there (Lazos, 1997). This may reflect a flow of values from rural areas to Athens. And fourthly, Crete and Mani are the only Greek regions where vendettas still exist. Of these two places Crete is the one where a vendetta, apart from being a symbol of masculinity, still constitutes an inseparable element of the society’s structure (Black-Michaud, 1975); vendettas are still the most common way of resolving interpersonal conflicts (Allen, 1993).

I started collecting data for this research by assuming that employment constitutes a source of power for women which might or might not have an impact upon the dynamics
of power in gender relationships within family settings and sexuality. Thus, the central focus of the research was initially on the differentiation between and unemployed women in Athens and in Kastro. As the research progressed, emphasis was placed on the dynamics of power relating to issues of marriage, family and motherhood, rather than on differentiations in women’s employment status. This happened because, according to the principles of qualitative, grounded theory (Glaser and Straus, 1967), attention and focus on certain issues and topics are the result of observation and data analysis rather than of a hypothesis having been set *a priori*.

In particular, in the process of the study it emerged that women in Kastro were in the majority unemployed yet within the family they were dominant and powerful. Moreover, perceptions of what constitutes power for women differed considerably between the Athenian and Kastrorian participants. Thus, taking into consideration firstly that the Athenian population has strong influences from rural Greece, and secondly that both Kastrorian and Athenian participants put more emphasis on family rather than on employment, the focus of attention shifted towards the dynamics of power within marriage and family rather than an after-effect of women’s differentiation of employment status. Finally, the thesis ended up by comparing the sexual behaviour of full-time employed married and divorced Athenian women.

Loizos (1992) states that, usually, the initial focus of a piece of research is not similar to what emerges by the end of it. This is more likely to happen when the researcher is doing ethnography. Silverman (1975), in her study of the impact of the urban societies upon rural areas in central Italy, reveals that she changed her central focus of the study five times: from emphasising the life crisis of women to social processes related to fertility, later to demographic changes, then to peasant emigration, and finally to the agricultural system.
Outline of the thesis

Chapter one: Introduction

Chapter two: An Ethnographic Approach
This chapter sets the background and social framework of the two social settings where the research has been conducted. It starts by pointing out the significant role which the Orthodox Church plays in the political and social life of Greece, and continues by stressing the use of the old tradition of vendettas by Kastrorians in solving interpersonal conflicts and defending their honour. The chapter also gives an account of people’s beliefs, expectations, behaviour and attitudes towards romantic relationships for men and women, as well as people’s leisure time and employment.

Chapter three: Demographics and other Social Trends
This chapter provides information on the socio-demographic characteristics of contemporary Greece. It explores general trends and developments in family structures, marriage and divorce. It also illustrates changes in trends between men and women in education and highlights trends in women’s participation in the labour force and decision-making centres. Particular emphasis is given to women’s economic activity in relation to their marriages, motherhood, number of children and educational status. In addition, similarities and differences in socio-demographic characteristics between Greece and European Union countries will be highlighted wherever these comparisons are required.

Literature Review
The literature review consists of two chapters which deal with the theoretical framework and conceptual issues of the thesis. These constitute the framework by which the data of this study will be interpreted and discussed.
Chapter four: Literature Review: Patriarchy, Family, Motherhood and Human Sexuality
This chapter discusses sociological perspectives about household, marriage and family responsibilities with reference to feminist approaches. It continues by drawing special attention to conceptual issues of power and patriarchy, and highlights the impact of patriarchy upon gender relationships within the family and sexuality. The chapter continues by examining sociological approaches to the study of human sexuality. In particular, it provides a detailed account of the studies carried out on human sexuality, the surveys which have taken place in America, United Kingdom and Greece, and of the existing theoretical explanations of gender and sexuality.

Chapter five: Literature Review: Labour Force and Gender Inequality
This chapter examines the relevant literature and explanations of gender inequality in the labour market and discusses the implications these gender discriminations have for gender roles within the family, for women's economic activity, and for their financial independence.

Chapter six: Methodology
This chapter provides a detailed description of the study design and the methodology used. It describes and gives explanations about the chosen methods for sample design and the use of face-to-face interviews. The chapter refers to the difficulties encountered during the fieldwork, especially in rural Greece, the transcription and translation of the interviews and the coping strategies employed.

Chapter seven: Marriage, Family and Motherhood Responsibilities
This chapter uses qualitative data and examines and discusses people's attitudes and behaviours towards marriage, motherhood and family responsibilities. In particular, the topics which are discussed and analysed relate to beliefs, expectations and attitudes towards marriage, motherhood and family responsibilities. The chapter examines the
roles spouses hold within the family and takes into account their complaints and/or their satisfaction, and tries to state the balance of power between the couple.

Chapter eight: Mothers in the Labour Market
This chapter looks closely at women’s accounts of their participation in the labour market. It also examines the beliefs that participants’ have about mothers’ involvement in the labour force.

Chapter nine: Sexual Behaviour in Romantic Relationships and within Marriage
This chapter explores and discusses participants’ views, complaints and issues of sexuality. It explores beliefs, behaviours and stereotypes about “sex for the first time” and discusses issues of the double standard, romantic relationships, sex within marriage and extramarital affairs.

Chapter ten: Discussion and Concluding Remarks
This final chapter draws the strings of the research together, tying up the research and providing a general discussion of the aforementioned research study. This includes shortcomings of this particular study as well as possibilities for further research in this area.
CHAPTER 2: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

This chapter aims to develop an understanding of Athens and Kastro by providing a brief ethnographic approach to studying two cultures. The chapter will examine the ordinary ways in which people in Kastro and Athens live, as well as the special characteristics of the societial framework within which these people operate. References to the already known ethnographic work will allow for an evaluation of the differences and similarities between now and in the past.

Over the last forty years, ethnographic studies in Greek rural areas have highlighted, amongst other things, gender roles within and outside home and dynamics of power in gender relationships. According to early ethnographers, the “honour and shame” principle governs many Mediterranean societies, including Greece, and classifies gender relationships within and outside the family in a hierarchical way (Campbell, 1964; Peristiani, 1966). Greeks in rural areas believe that men are, by nature, physically and emotionally strong and closer to God than women. Women, on the other hand, have evil thoughts and are considered as being closer to the devil. Their sexuality is sinful, dirty and seductive to men (du Boulay, 1974:101).

Thus, both women and men should control a woman’s morality. Uncontrollable female behaviour proves dangerous to the whole family (Cowan, 1992). However, when women get married and acquire children, they overcome their sinful nature (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Katakis, 1998). Marriage transforms women from a sinful Eva to a Holy Madonna through the roles and relationships that have been defined by the “honour and shame” principle. A recent study by Cowan (1992) reveals that women in rural Greece, and especially young women, are not happy with the way they live their lives. However they conform for fear of being rejected, isolated or punished.
Many ethnographers, such as Friedl (1986), du Boulay (1974) and Herzfeld (1980) argue that because women are excluded from the public sphere they exert control within their households. The private sphere constitutes the bigger source of power for women in rural Greece. Friedl (1986) referred to women’s roles within and outside home as being as a result of the division of labour, rather than because of biological differences. Women’s power is illustrated through their cunning, by nagging their husbands or by not meeting their responsibilities such as cooking. They may even withhold sex (du Boulay, 1974). Women are more powerful when they come to marriage with a dowry (Friedl, 1986). Later on, Rosaldo (1974) clarifies the nature of the power women in rural Greece have by distinguishing between power, prestige and authority.

2.1. Profile of Greece
Up until the 1970s, Greece was characterized by a lack of political and economic stability. The Second World War put an end to the six-year dictatorship of I. Metaxa and led to a civil war (1944-1949). The 1950s found the economy of Greece suffering major problems and the functions of the state enormously eroded (Kariotis, 1992). The European Recovery Program, commonly called the Marshall Plan, assisted the Greek government economically. In the 1960s Greece was in a developing stage, trying to restore its economy, to stabilize the political situation and to eliminate the huge flood of emigrants to Australia, Canada and Germany. In 1967 a military dictatorship abolished the Parliamentary democratic monarchy regime, expelled the king and governed the country until 1974. In 1974, the monarchy was rejected by referendum and since then the political situation in Greece has stabilized.

2.2. Background and Setting
Crete is situated in the Southern part of Greece and is the largest Greek island. Its vital position and physical wealth were the reasons for many invasions. During those invasions the people of Crete have shown great resistance; this has been helped by the big mountains and the roughness of the land. The Cretan mountain-dwellers are famous for their sustained resistance to Turkish rule and to German occupation. Crete annexed to
Greece in 1912, after 229 years under the Ottoman Empire which followed the 564-year Venetian occupation.

According to census of population in 2001, Crete had 578,251 inhabitants which is 5.43% of the whole Greek population (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2003). Cretans are employed in trade, handicrafts, stock-breeding and tourism, which is one of the main economic sources of the island. Those who live in villages are principally occupied by farming.

The culture of the island remains distinct and idiosyncratic compared to the rest of Greece. Cretans - more than other Greeks - keep the local customs and traditions alive. Many elderly people, mostly in the countryside, still wear traditional dress consisting of high black boots, baggy trousers, headscarf and a knife tied around their waist. The youngest are still committed to traditions and, in spite of the existence of Western music, are mostly interested in traditional music and dances (Herzfeld, 1991).

Crete’s socio-cultural physiognomy, as Kariotis (1992) argues, is a product of their long political history and resistance to occupations. These people, as compared to those in other areas of rural Greece, are cheerful, open minded, hospitable revelers, and vindictive with strong local and traditional bonds. “People of Crete have their own mind” is a common phrase used by Greeks when referring to Cretans. By using this expression Greeks refer as much to Cretan’s generosity as to their stubbornness. Cretans are proud of themselves, of their traditions and of the vivid spirit and heroic attitudes by which their community is characterized. Crete is considered the source of all civilization and its inhabitants don’t seem to forget it. It is therefore quite common and understandable to find Cretans considering themselves as Cretans and the rest of Greeks as Greeks (Herzfeld, 1991).

The small village with the pseudonym Kastro lies in a coastal area of Crete and is almost cut off from the rest of the island by its high rising mountains. All of its (approximately) 1,500 inhabitants are mainly occupied by tourism or by running family businesses,
especially during the summer. During the winter they fish or cultivate olive trees and tomatoes in greenhouses. In spite of the mass invasion of tourists over the last 20 years, the village has managed to keep its local natural character and has avoided expensive investments in tourist business. One cannot find big union hotels with luxury facilities and expensive activities in Kastro. Instead there are many small, newly built houses with furnished studios.

Athens is a large cosmopolitan, air polluted capital city. With a population reaching 3,002,980 (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2001) it attracts almost one third of the Greek population (10,259,900 in 2001) (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2001). Athens as a big metropolis has most of the characteristics other European big cities have, such as anonymity, loneliness, interpersonal relationships, intense nightlife, liberation, variation in entertainment, and easy access to and use of information technology.

In the post-war era the social, cultural and economic gap between Athens and the rest of Greece widened largely due to its rapid industrialisation. The massive urbanisation, during the 1970s and 1980s, the focus of state’s provision on a few big urban cities (Pollis, 1992), the mountainous structure of the country, the many islands and the poor transportation and communication systems made people move from rural areas to big cities and especially to Athens (Katakis, 1998).

The internal migration which took place mostly during the decades of 1950s-1980s resulted in the majority of people in Athens having been born or having parents who have been born in rural Greece (Lazos, 1997; Katakis, 1998).

The small size of the country helped people who have migrated to Athens to retain their connections with their birthplaces. Most Athenians have houses in rural Greece, which serve as country houses and they can visit them during weekends and holidays (Katakis, 1998). Quite a large number of Athenian families are farmers who live in Athens and they visit their birthplaces once or twice a year in order to supervise the cultivation of their produce. In these cases they cultivate products such as olives or grapes, which need
seasonable, rather than daily, care. During the summer, Athenians prefer to send their children to grandparents’ or relatives’ houses in rural Greece rather than to holiday camps (Dubisch, 1986).

In Kastro, there is a respectable number of families who live in Athens during the winter and spend the summer in Kastro where they run family business such as restaurants or flat renting. Many participants during the interviews and discussions said that they have not transferred their citizenship rights from their birthplaces to Athens. This fact allows them to be informed about, aware of, and to have a say in the political and social issues which take place in their birthplaces.

It could therefore be said that there is a dynamic relationship between rural and Athenian societies (Pollis, 1992). Athenian society is affected by values, customs, attitudes, traditions and behaviours, which people from rural areas have brought with them when they settled in Athens. Extended families, for example, tend to be found not only in rural Greece but in Athens as well. In a reciprocal way Athenians transmit modern values to rural areas through the migrants who have retained their connections with their birthplaces (Dubisch, 1977).

Thus, since the Athenian population constitutes one third of the Greek population, the majority of which has come from rural areas, it seems reasonable to start with an ethnographic description from Kastro. When knowledge of the socio-cultural characteristics of Kastro has been established, it will be easier to understand what constitutes Athenian culture in modern times.

2.3. Orthodox Christianity and Hellenism

Almost all of the participants said that they were not religious and not influenced by religious doctrines about their sexuality. However, religion constitutes one of the most important institutions of Greek society and the vast majority of Greeks are orthodox
Christians (Pollis, 1987). The Church is financially dependent on the state. Bishops are celibate but the pastoral clergy are allowed to marry before ordainment (Pollis, 1987). In elementary and high school, the attendance of religious classes twice a week is compulsory.

The cross on the upper left quadrant of the Greek flag shows firstly the respect and the devotion of Greek people to the Orthodox Church. Secondly, it signifies the important role Christianity has played in the formation of the modern Hellenic nation. Throughout Greek history the Church has played an important role in empowering people to revolt against occupations and to fight for liberty. In particular, during the years of Ottoman rule, the Greek Orthodox Church contributed enormously in retaining the native language, religion and ethnic identity through the operation of “secret schools”. Secret schools operated within caves and were made up of one priest, who took the role of the teacher.

Thus, the Church is invested with great authority and prestige and is a powerful political actor (Kariotis, 1992). The presence of Church representation is a necessity in political events such as oaths of ministers, in various ceremonies, in the opening day of schools and in many other social activities. The church is often actively involved in the State’s affairs, such as decisions about the act of civil marriage in 1982 and the new edition of the National Identity Cards or the European Monetary Currency Policy.

Until 1982, when civil marriage was introduced in Greece for the first time, religious marriages and ecclesiastical divorces were the only options Greeks had. Until then, the ecclesiastical authority, in the preliminary stage of a divorce, would try to persuade the couple to have reconciliation. The Court rejected any divorce action, deeming it unacceptable if a three month-reconciliation attempt, suggested by the bishop and under his supervision, had not taken place. A reconciliation attempt was obligatory in those cases in which both spouses were orthodox (Constandinidou, 2000).
In 2000 it was decided that Greece, in order to conform to the European Union Standards on privacy protection and civil rights, should replace the old Identity Cards with new ones; among the other changes these new cards should not include information about an individuals’ religion. The Orthodox Church interpreted this as the government’s effort to undermine religion’s role in the civil life of the country. In addition, the Church was deeply suspicious of the government’s motives in making Greece a modern European country. The Church started a petition drive to demonstrate the degree of people’s opposition to the government’s acts and raised endless debates between people’s representatives, religious authorities and members of government.

Apart from the State’s affairs, the Church plays an important role in the everyday life of people in rural areas. In rural areas priests have usually been described as people who undertake the role of judge or family counsellor (du Boulay, 1974:74; Dubisch, 1991). Women in Kastro confessed that in periods of trouble within the family or within marriage they would find a wise piece of advice from the priest of the village. Indeed the Church still holds an authoritarian and sacred position within small communities in rural Greece. Mrs Athena, a 70 year old lady who had lived in a rural area until the age of 30 years and subsequently in Athens, said in her interview that she had repeatedly visited the bishop and the priest of her village whenever she was battered by her ex-husband. The priest of the village gave her strength, confidence and encouragement to go on with her life. More recently, women’s attitudes towards the Church do not seem to have changed. The priest of Kastro said that he is happy with “his people” because, despite the modern spirit of contemporary times, people ask for his advice for many and various things.

It should be stressed that, despite the austere doctrines of the Christian Orthodox Church about sexuality in contemporary times, the Church seems to start following modern trends regarding sexuality. This began in 1999 when the bishop of a Greek island said that sexual relationships not only are permissible but also are they helpful and contribute to a successful marriage. Then, despite the claims and indications of other bishops, priests
and monks for condemning him, the Church did not show the usual sensitivity and it did not go to any sanctions.

In 2000, the archbishop of Greece, Christodoulos, in one of his sermons, said that sex within marriage should be allowed, irrespective of reproduction. He said that it is blessed by God and when it takes place between spouses should be accompanied by pleasure, satisfaction, and sensuality. God has given it to human beings and people should neither dislike nor consider it as sin (Macedonian Press Agency, news in English, 31-01-00). This statement on the one hand was a shock to many religious people who until then had been taught that sexual relationships are satanic and they should be related only to reproduction. On the other hand, it demonstrates an attempt by the Orthodox Christian Church to attract more people to the Church by being closer to modern thinking.

2.4. Sex Education

In Greece, sex education as an issue in school has been discussed between government and parental committees since 1985 without any final decision (Report of the First International Parents in Education Conference, 2000). Parents, schools and the government have not come to any agreement on a number of issues e.g. who is going to instruct sex education in schools, in which curriculum it is going to be introduced, whether or not it will be a separate course or part of a health education and health behaviour course, whether it will be initiated in elementary schools or in high schools, and what topics are going to be introduced.

A survey done in Athens by Kakavoulis (1997) about parental attitudes towards sex education showed that most parents did not consider teachers as the most appropriate people to inform their children about sexual issues. Instead, they believed that they were the most suitable people to discuss such issues with their children. They also considered that such initiatives may force their children to start their sexual activity earlier. The person who used to undertake this kind of discussion was usually the mother and the issues under discussion were usually topics related to HIV.
On the other hand, children and adolescents said that they would like to have official information about sex issues. They revealed that whatever they had learnt about sex had come from TV and peers and not from their parents.

It should be noted that, among the parents who participated in this survey, 80% had either been born in rural Greece or had had at least one parent having been born in rural Greece. This means that the survey reflected not only the attitude of Athenians but also the attitude of people who have strong influences from the traditions and conservativism of rural Greece.

2.5. Honour and vendettas

As mentioned already, Crete has a long tradition of independence due to the roughness of its natural environment – rocky and abrupt mountains - that made many of the cities and villages completely inaccessible. Throughout the island’s history, from the classical period when Spartans settled in the island to the ruthless domination by the Ottoman Empire and the role that played in World War II, the locals have been constantly armed and ready to fight for their freedom.

The island was an important centre for liberation movements throughout the years of Turkish occupation and World War II. Over the years this gave Cretans a sense of autonomy, a legitimisation of violence, and an exaltation of masculine characteristics such as toughness, competitiveness, revenge and armed celebration during festivities. These seem to have led to cultural and ethical values deeply rooted within their ethical identity and to a generalized distrust of state authority and the law.

During the fieldwork, throughout the many discussions with the people in Kastro, it was obvious that the small community was very familiar with violent behaviour. The use of excessive violence in social relationships and crimes of “honour” have long been
accepted as a way of life. People explained that violence has been used as an instrument for clearing up a man’s honour because nothing else can succeed in doing so, except a vendetta.

When a man feels that part of his moral values have been ashamed or insulted, he sees that the only acceptable way to recover from such an attack without losing any more dignity in the process is to assault or to kill one member of the offending family. The offending family, having just lost a member, will want to return the pain and the new insult by the only satisfactory way, which is to kill a beloved person of the other family. These feelings of revenge are passed from generation to generation on both sides. Families continue killing each other for decades, for reasons which have long been forgotten.

Allen (1993) and Black-Michaud (1975) both argue that vendettas, independently of the region they take place, share more or less the same characteristics in terms of the reasons for which, and the ways in which, they are carried out. They only differentiate according to the structure of the society in which they take place and according to the role they hold in each society (Black-Michaud, 1975). Allen (1993) advocates that vendettas emerged out of small societies with big populations, poor resources and a natural environment which makes the escape from vendettas difficult.

In contemporary times, however, when the standard of living is quite high, the role of vendettas is related to traditions and deep cultural ethics rather than to survival. Akman (2002) states that Kurdish people practice vendettas because they believe that men have a duty towards the society they are living in to behave in this way. This is their way to meet the expected rules, values and norms. In the same way, Cretans perceive vendettas as an action of duty towards their family and the society in which they are living. All people in Kastro are proud of their ability to act in this way and they speak about themselves with great admiration. “What kind of Cretans would we be if we didn’t resolve the insult by the guns?” is a common answer someone could get when asking Cretans to justify vendettas.
Honour is not necessarily related to women’s reputation but also to the “good name” of the family. A family with a good name should be headed by a man (Friedl, 1962; Melhuus, 2002) and thus the good name of the family is related to the amount of respect the small community pays to the head of the family. Respect to the head of a family is not necessarily shown only to one particular individual but also to all family members who are under his protection. Any insult or damage to these family members is taken as a personal direct insult to the honour of the family head. A man without honour is not a “real man” in Crete and, as reputations are very fragile, he has to sort things out to “clear up” his honour.

According to Aase (2002), when a family insult indicates that the male family members of the insulted family have proved useless in maintaining and defending their family honour, they need to restore their honour and an action of violence is required. Such a restoration requires a man who has the ability and courage to stand up and defend his interests (Black-Michaud, 1975; Aase, 2002). These interests, as these authors explain, are either related to women’s morality or to something else upon which men have authority. Blood feud does not come merely after the damage of family’s honour, but it tends to come more when familial and public power has been damaged and a man has to defend them and to prove that he is able to do so.

In Mediterranean countries, people’s social identity and respect is directly related to the degree to which the principle of “honour and shame” determines sexual and family relationships (Campbell, 1964; Peristiani, 1966). Honour is someone’s morality as it is perceived by them and by the society in which s/he is living.

Cretans believe that they are the strongest and the most heroic people in Greece; they have an intense character and a strong sense of family loyalty and honour. Any insult to a man’s dignity, honesty, social status or to his “clear name” could lead to a vendetta. Family and friendship contain the highest moral values for Cretans and even a trivial insult or injustice to them could lead to extreme actions without boundaries. In addition,
love affairs, land territories, chieftains, disagreements and arguments might constitute reasons that justify the use of violence.

Vendettas, as they occur in contemporary Crete, should be distinguished from the “honour and shame” crimes. Honour and shame crimes are usually described as murders committed by male family members against female family members who supposedly dishonoured their family with their actions. A woman could dishonour her family by having sexual relationships before her marriage, or by exposing her morality to risk by living or by behaving in a manner different than the social norm (Campbell, 1964).

In modern times, murders in Kastro are associated with power rather than with “shame”. This seems to be in accordance with Black-Michaud’s (1975) arguments about the relation between power and vendettas. Black-Michaud (1975) argues that behind a vendetta there is an eagerness for cleaning up the environment from any person who would potentially be an enemy. The author also explains that the choice of killing men instead of women is made because women are considered powerless, in the same way that they do not fight in wars and are protected along with the elderly and children. It is, therefore, considered shameful for a man to kill a daughter or a woman in the context of a vendetta. In addition, a missing female member does not affect the power of a family whereas a son is a person who will inherit the power from his father and continue to head the family. Thus, by killing a member who is considered pivotal to the future of the rival family and who adds to its social and biological existence, the greater is the damage which can be caused.

Honour and shame crimes in Greece, although common in the past, have diminished over the last decades (Allen, 1993) and in contemporary Greece, where gender roles are changing constantly, honour crimes relating to women’s virginity are unheard of. However, female extramarital affairs and claims for divorce could be still viewed as reasons to commit these crimes, especially in some areas in Crete and other parts of rural Greece.
2.6. Leisure time for young people

In Kastro there are few places where young people can spend their leisure time: an open-air cinema, which is open only during the summer, three coffee houses (kafenion) and one cafeteria. Cafeterias are modern cafés where young people can spend some time having a fresh juice or a coffee. Compared to traditional coffee houses, which are exclusively for men, modern cafeterias are for both men and women. It has to be said that cafeterias have existed in Athens since the late 1960s. In Kastro, due to tourism, traditional coffee houses (kafenion) are transformed to cafeterias over the summer period so that both male and female tourists - but not local girls - can spend some time there. Over the last four to six years the cafeteria operates over the winter as well and it attracts married families rather than young boys and girls.

Young girls and boys spend their leisure time in a different way and in different places. Girls are restricted within the home whereas boys are free to move around. Thus, girls spend a lot of time within the home helping their mothers in housekeeping, or spending time on their own by reading or listening to music. From time to time they may exchange visits to other female friends. Cooking and housekeeping are still considered as virtuous for a woman and it is the mother's duty to teach her daughters these skills. Cowan (1992) describes the way young people spend their leisure time in a mainland village as being similar to the way young people spend it in Kastro.

As it emerges from the data in this study, parents in modern families give their intellectually-capable daughters the opportunity to acquire a university degree along with the knowledge of how to cook the most difficult and elaborate meals. In this way the mother completes her duty by giving to her daughter both a traditional education and a modern one. It is then up to the daughter and to her husband as to which of those two kinds of education she will use. Dubisch (1992) states that the time mothers spend with their daughters is the result of the strong bond which exists between mothers and daughters. She justifies this by referring to the common custom in many areas of rural Greece where the first daughter of the family takes the name of the grandmother from the
mother’s side whereas the second daughter takes the name of the grandmother from the father’s side.

During the fieldwork stage of the research, several parents admitted that they could realize that young girls occasionally need to spend time with their friends. Parents may permit them to do so only on days of big public celebrations. In such cases they need to know in advance where their daughter will go, the people she will be with, no need to mention that all should be female, and the time she will come back home. In most cases the girl will be under close, discrete supervision by a male relative who will spy on her to make sure that she behaves in a trustworthy manner.

Cowan (1992) postulates that people give two different explanations in order to justify men’s control over women and especially over younger girls. Women, mostly married, explain that girls need supervision because they are like “Eve”: they will take the first chance to have sexual relationships. On the other hand, the explanation which was given exclusively by men was that girls are innocent and can therefore easily fall victim to any man.

In Kastro there were a few families who had daughters who were studying abroad at the time the fieldwork took place. Those girls, when they came back for holidays, used to spend their time with other boys and girls in cafeterias. Without any doubt, the majority of people considered these girls as immoral. Their mixed sex company they kept and the fact that they live alone in a different country, away from their father’s discipline, was enough to make them seem like prostitutes in the eyes of Kastrorians.

Following on from this, Cowan (1992) explains that unmarried girls hold a position of great morality in many rural areas. For many girls the period between the last years of their adolescence and their marriage is marked by huge anxiety. This is obvious in the girls’ complaints about the strict boundaries between male and female space and between male and female acceptable social behaviour. According to Cowan, girls desperately want
to pass the exams and be accepted by the University in order to leave their village. In
Kastro the few discussions with young girls revealed that they were unhappy living in a
rural area. In all cases they have to conform to the community’s rules. Young boys may
love spending time with girls in and around cafeteria but no one would consider marrying
one of “those girls”.

Boys are free to spend time with friends, to go around to other villages and to the nearest
big cities to watch a movie or just have fun. Parents do not want their sons to spend a lot
of time with women within the home. They encourage them to spend time outside the
home because they believe that the more time a boy spends with women the more chance
he has of becoming a homosexual. Thus, someone can see young boys in large groups
playing football, swimming or riding motorbikes illegally (due to their age).

What happens in Kastro seems to be in contrast with the findings of Herzfeld (1991) who
argues that men nowadays can spend long hours at home. A husband can be seen sitting
with his wife and her friends in the street during summer evenings. Herzfeld (1991)
compares the current changes concerning the division of space between men and women
with what happened some decades ago. Then it seemed unnatural to both men and
women for a man to spend time within the home. From what someone can easily observe
in the public area of Kastro, and from people’s sarcastic comments about imagining a
situation in which men could sit among women in the street, it could safely be said that in
Kastro such a possibility does not seem to meet people’s views about what is male and
what is female. If during their free time girls are asked to stay with their mothers and
helping them, the boys are asked to spend most of their free time with their fathers. They
could help him in his business, in the cultivation of land or just accompany him in
hunting or fishing.

Even though boys enjoy much more freedom than girls, they are not completely
uncontrolled by their fathers. Boys have to return home at a certain, reasonable time,
which has been set by the father. Being drunk is not acceptable. Most of these restrictions
wear off after the son’s completion of the military service. Serving the army, which is
compulsory for all healthy men aged 20 years old, is a milestone in a man's life. The
military discipline and the period away from parents' protection make people say, "In the
army a boy turns to a man". Parents expect their sons to start building up their
professional career and family life when they return from the military service.

In Athens boys and girls usually spend their leisure time together. A variety of
entertainment attracts many young people who seem to have adopted elements of life
style from other European countries. However, many middle-aged people interpret
smoking and drinking in front of parents as disrespectful. Young adolescents have pocket
money, which in most cases is enough to cover their expenses. Parents will ask to be
informed about their children's companies and their friends. Their main worries are not
related to fears of homosexuality but to fears about drugs.

Indeed the rate of young drug users has been rising steadily during the last decade
(Plagianakou et al., 2000). According to the 1998 European study "Nightlife in Europe
and Recreational Drug Use", conducted among young people (18-24 years old) in Greece
by the University Mental Health Research Institute (cited in (Plagianakou et al., 2000),
the percentage of students who perceived cannabis experimentation as harmless has
increased from 23.3% in 1993 to 38.8% in 1998. Similarly, the percentage of people aged
18-24 who had the same beliefs towards cannabis increased from 39% in 1984 to 53% in
1998.

It should be noted that, despite the many alternatives in entertainment adolescents have in
Athens, their leisure time is quite limited. The time students spend in school, the extra
tutorials they take in order to support and complement their school lessons, and the
participation in sports and other activities do not leave them enough free time. For the
majority of students, the period of 16-18 years old is a stressful one because as they are
preparing to participate in the National Greek exams in order to enter University.
Parents believe that a degree is the only way which can lead their children to a successful professional career (Katakis, 1998; Bagavos, 2000). For this reason, they try through private tutorials to equip their children with anything which could contribute to that success. Preparation for the National Greek Exams is a harsh period in an adolescent’s life, whether they live in Athens or in rural areas.

2.7. Leisure time for adults

Whereas in Athens, in general terms, the way adults use their leisure time does not differ considerably from the way people in large Western cities use it, a number of ethnographers have described the rural society as one which is strictly divided in terms of the place each gender is supposed to spend most of the time. Thus women use to spend their time within the house and close to their neighborhoods, whereas the centre of the community, the shops and kafenion (coffee shops) are places for men (Friedl, 1962; Peristiani, 1966; du Boulay, 1974; Papataxiarchis, 1992).

Kastrorian men spend their free time almost exclusively in coffee shops (kafenion) having a coffee or a glass of raki (a kind of strong, local distillated spirit) and playing cards or backgammon. Kafenion is a place only for men - women are not allowed in kafenion promi (Friedl, 1962; Herzfeld, 1991; Papataxiarchis, 1992) - and it is always located in nent places such as the central square of the village, close to the station or to the market (Papataxiarchis, 1992). There, as many ethnographers have referred (Herzfeld, 1991; Papataxiarchis, 1992), men will prove or disapprove actions of the government on issues such as wages, state provision, new laws, pensions, etc. They will criticize and judge the life of people in their village, and they will develop strong friendships or strong rivalries. Herzfeld (1991) and Papataxiarchis (1992) are of the opinion that kafenion represents the friendship and the assumption that men are equal.

For Kastrorians, in order for a man to be “entitled” to spend time in kafenion, he should have a “moustache”. A moustache for all Cretans is a symbol of masculinity reflecting
characteristics such as braveness, honour and maturity. In addition, men should prove that they have a “clear” honorable face and ability to respect and transfer to the next generation the traditions and values of their village. A man is expected to reach that state after the completion of his military service.

People in kafenion, with their behaviour will make a man without a moustache understand that he is not welcomed there, if his behaviour is not socially approved. The case of Manolis will illustrate the rules of kafenion. Manolis is a healthy man, in his mid forties, father of two children and unemployed for the last ten years. His wife runs the small cantina in the elementary school of the village and she has undertaken the financial responsibilities of the household. Manolis, in a reverse way, does the housekeeping and takes care of the children. His case is unique in the village. The fact that not only he is not able to support his family financially but also his survival depends on his wife makes people in kafenion unwilling to share the notion of egalitarian manhood with him. Thus, with bitter jokes and sarcastic comments about his awkward gender role, they have made him feel unwelcome in kafenion. “He doesn’t honor his moustache” they used to say. Thus, it could be said that kafenion is a place where patriarchal authority gains legitimization to exert control over men and women.

Kafenion, with its own rules, holds the functions of a sub-culture (Papataxiarchis, 1992). Kastrorians know that kafenion is a place where everything, good or bad, will be discussed and scrutinized according to the traditional customs, principles and beliefs of the village. Women revealed that they avoid passing in front of the kafenion because they do not like the idea that they will be criticized as to what they are wearing, the way they are walking or the way they look generally.

The leisure time of women in Kastro does not seem to be different than that of women in other rural areas of Greece, as many researchers have found. Du Boulay (1974) argues that women in their majority are occupied by being responsible for the housekeeping, the child care, the cultivation of vegetables for everyday consumption, and the milking and taking care of the animals. In addition to these duties, women have to look after relatives with health problems and to keep the connections between their family and the relatives.
The amount of work women do throughout the year in order to help their family economically should not go unrecognised. They will make sheep or goat’s cheese, butter, various kinds of pastry, semolina, dried vegetables and fruits, jams, pickles and olives. They will knit and sew many of the children’s and husband’s clothes and they will help on a long-term daily basis in the family business or in the fields. Dubisch (1992) describes a number of duties and responsibilities women have towards their kinships in relation to religion. Thus women are responsible for all kind of religious rituality. Women light the grave candles of dead relatives, pray for their children and take care of the place around the church and the cemeteries.

However, no matter how busy a woman is she will find time to have a coffee with other female neighbours or relatives, either at her place or at their house. During summer afternoons you can see women sitting outside of their front door talking and making handcrafts. This results in fine works of art, which are either sold in shops with traditional Greek handcraft or can be kept for their daughter’s dowry. When women are sitting in the street outside their doorstep they should have their backs turned away from passers-by (Herzfeld, 1991). This should be interpreted as an indication of morality; women are sitting outside of their doors to get some fresh air rather than to see passers-by and to be seen by them.

Those times where men and women can be seen together in public are very rare. It might happen on national or religious holidays, in festivities or on Sunday afternoons at the central square of the village where all the family can have a fresh juice or a sweet in the only cafeteria of the village.

2.8. Young people and employment
The rate of unemployed young people (i.e. under the age of 25 years) in Greece is considered very high. Koniotaki and Karayiannis (2000) reveal that the percentage of unemployment in young people was 35.15% in 1998. Of this percentage 38.6% were male and 61.4% were female. Symeonidou (1999) points out that the long time young people spend in education on the one hand and the few opportunities for part-time
employment in Greece on the other hand are the main factors which affect the employment rate of young people.

Makrinioti (1993) points out another reason which is responsible for the low rate of employment in young Greeks: their dependency on their parents. Young people are perceived as totally dependent on their parents until they are able to be employed full-time. Parents believe that it is their duty, among other things, to support their children economically until the time they will be able “to stand on their own feet”. This duty is even stronger if the children are studying for a degree.

In particular, Greeks believe that education leads to a good professional career, to a good salary, and to high status (Katakis, 1998; Papadopoulos, 1998; Bagavos, 2000). Thus, parents put a lot of pressure upon their children to continue studying until the acquisition of a degree. Usually, the decision of pursuing a degree is not a personal choice. Instead, it involves the parents, the grandparents and a number of the students’ close relatives. These people should approve and discuss the time of the students’ studies, the field to be studied and the region where the education will be carried out. They all put pressure upon the students, expecting them to be accepted by the University and then to continue their studies successfully until the acquisition of their degrees. In many cases parents are working in two jobs in order to afford the expenses of their children’s education. During the period of their studies, students should not be distracted; employment is considered as a distraction.

There are no available official data which show differences in rate of unemployment between young people in rural areas and in Athens. However, from observations during the fieldwork and through discussions with parents and young people it is apparent that Athenian and Kastrorian parents have different attitudes towards their children’s employment.

Most of Athenian parents, as Katakis (1998) cites, overprotect their children. They put a lot of the family budget aside for their children’s future, especially for their studies. The attitudes of Kastrorians towards their children’s employment are frequently shaped according to gender role stereotypes and expectations. In Kastro, parents are living with
the fear of homosexuality for their sons (Herzfeld, 1991; Papataxiarchis, 1992) and thus work is considered as a necessity for young men because "work makes young boys men". Apart from that, sons are expected to be the heir to their father's jobs. Therefore, the family expects and demands from sons, at least, to help their fathers in their work.

The sons are not supposed to work if they are students though, but they are expected to help their father in his business in a moderate way. It is, however, quite unlikely for farming families to allow their sons to work in the field. After the cheap labour migrated from the former communist bloc to Greece, most of the jobs relevant to farming activities are considered too lowly for Greeks and thus they are carried out by foreigners.

Attitudes about employed girls range from negative to positive. Changes in traditional, female gender roles on the one hand and the money parents have invested in their daughter's education make them view their daughter's employment before her marriage as a possibility. However, on the whole, they hold beliefs similar, to some extent, to those which Cowan (1992) refers to. In a study she did in a village of central Greece in 1974, Cowan argued that people viewed female activities such as employment and mobility to a different region due to their employment are immoral. Since a woman's aim is to get married and acquire children (du Boulay, 1974; Dubisch, 1992) any divergence from this "Divine" role raises questions about women's intentions and thus negative connotations to her morality are ascribed.

Thus, in Kastro, employed young girls are uncommon, especially before their marriage, unless the family lives in poverty or runs its own business. A daughter's employment before her marriage is interpreted by Kastorians as shame for the father. The father is considered a failure in his role because, firstly, he has proved himself unable to support his family financially, and secondly he jeopardizes his daughter's reputation and morality.
In those cases in which the family is running a business, the young daughter could help in that. However, the extent to which the young girl will be involved in her family’s business is related to many factors such as the type of business, the place it is located, its opening hours, and the kind of clients it deals with. In no case, for example, would it be considered for a young girl to work in the fields if the family business is farming. Nevertheless it will be quite prestigious for a girl to keep the reception of a “Rooms for rent” business. The work a young person does in the family business is considered as duty and help to the family and as such it goes unpaid.

Girls who hold a diploma for jobs such as secretaries, typists, accounts assistants or hairdressers are allowed to find a job in the nearest city only if a trustworthy relative lives there. This is in order for the relative to keep a watchful eye on her. In those cases where the family can afford it, the father will assist his daughter(s) to become self-employed by setting up her business, such as a hairdresser.

However, the majority of girls are unemployed until their marriage. After that, their husbands will decide about what their employment status should be. Such a decision should depend on many things, such as the kind of job the husband has, the region of his job, the couple’s financial status or the time they will decide to have children.

2.9. Relationships and marriage

Romantic premarital relationships in Kastro are few and short-lived. In particular, girls are expected to have only one relationship that will lead to marriage. People explained that relationships should not usually last for more than two or three months. After that period, the young man has to go to the girl’s family to discuss matters with her father. He will ask permission to marry her, he will discuss issues about his employment status, and he will arrange the wedding date.
The couple has no time to get to know each other before their marriage. Thus, a successful marriage in Kastro seems to be a matter of chance rather than the result of a careful consideration of factors such as commitment, responsibility, personality features and feelings. "Marriage is like a lottery; if you are lucky you will have a good one" is a common saying not only in Crete, but also in other areas of Greece. And, as du Boulay (1974:91) argues, love is a consequence of marriage rather than the cause of it.

A girl should be a virgin at the time of marriage. Virginity is still considered the ultimate honour of one's family in Kastro (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Cowan, 1992; Dubisch, 1992). All married, interviewed women - with the exception of two - and those who kindly accepted to have long discussions with me about personal issues said that their husband was the first man they had had sex with. The two exceptions, both in their early forties, had been living in Athens for several years before they returned to Kastro. One lived in Athens from 12 until 25 years of age, and the other from 18 until 28 years of age. The fact that during their late adolescence they were living in Athens seems to have had an effect on their sexual relationships.

In Athens, the majority of teenagers start having romantic relationships in their early adolescence. Athenian parents, when compared to Kastrorians, do not expect their daughters to remain virgins until their marriage but they believe that girls should not be in a relationship before their adulthood; before that a girl is too young to be in a relationship. However, when she gets her adulthood she is expected to be in a few relationships which should be characterized as romantic and not sexual in nature (Katakis, 1998).

Nevertheless, when they refer to boys their beliefs are remarkably different. Boys should be in heterosexual relationships from their early adolescence; yet their relationships should not be romantic but mainly sexual. Many sexual relationships before marriage provide maturity and experience to boys (Katakis, 1998).
In Kastro, there are some foreign women who have been married to local men and they live in harmony, at least for a period, within the local community. Usually they help their husbands with the family business. A foreign woman proves to be of great value in businesses related to tourism. Due to the foreign language they speak and to the different culture they come from, they are able to cope with tourists in a better way than Greek wives do. Zinovieff (1992) states that in rural Greece, people believe that foreign women are superior to Greek ones because they come from modern societies.

Zinovieff (1992) has studied the marriages between Greek men and foreign women in a rural tourist area in Greece and advocates that these marriages are the result of "kamakiata". "Kamakiata", which means harpoons, is a category of young men who tend to spend their summer time by approaching female tourists who are unaccompanied by men. Their adopted strategy is to give information about several sight-seeing or local events and to offer to join or accompany them. Their ultimate purpose is to have sexual relationships. This adds to their masculinity, as foreign women are considered as liberated and cleverer than Greek ones. According to (1992), only a few of these sexual relationships end up in marriage. Greek men may enjoy the company of female tourists but they do not consider them moral enough in order to marry them (Dubisch, 1992).

In Kastro, the number of these marriages is quite big and not necessarily the result of kamaki; meaning that the initial reason for contact was not merely a sexual, temporary relationship. However, it does not seem that these marriages last for a long time. Foreign women will never adopt the mentality of traditional Greek housewives (Zinovieff, 1992). The attitudes they will have towards their husband, children and relatives would not be characterized by the absolute devotion and by the sense of duty which Greek women have. Moreover, they would find it difficult to adopt the customs and behaviours of Greek women. In Kastro, for example, foreign women have not been seen sitting outside of their front door having one of those evenings chatting with other women. Thus, slowly, foreign women will be marginalised. As Zinovieff (1992) puts it, foreign women, after having
lived for some years in rural Greece, feel isolated and alienated and they often decide to return to their countries.

On the other hand, marriages between local girls and foreign men have not been heard of in Kastro. The main reasons which prohibit these marriages seem to be: differences in the way boys and girls spend their leisure time, heritage norms and the macho role Cretan men have. Girls are not allowed to spend time on their own or with friends who are disapproved of by their parents. The time they could spend outside the home is limited and strictly monitored by their parents or other male relatives. Thus, the chances for a relationship to be established between a local girl and a foreign male tourist are very slim.

However, as has been mentioned earlier, there are Kastrorian girls who study abroad. To date people remember only one case in which a girl married to a foreign man whom she met in the country she was studying. However, the couple does not live in Kastro but in the country where the foreign man comes from.

Divorces have not been reported in Kastro. Independently of the quality of a couple’s married life, men and women do not consider divorce as a solution. For Cowan (1992), a divorce in rural area is an insult for the husband and a complete devastation to a woman’s reputation. A divorced woman, as Cowan (1992) puts it, has lost all of those virtues a girl should have in order to get married, such as virginity and innocence. On the other side, people believe that if a husband is unable to manage and control the problems which arise within his family then he cannot be considered a “real man”. In addition to that, because marriage is an agreement between the potential husband and the male relatives of the girl, a divorce is perceived as breaking the agreement. The break of this agreement, according to Kastrorian principles, has to be resolved by a murder. A young participant, who knew that his sister was repeatedly domestically abused by her husband, said that his duty as a man and as a brother was to kill his sister’s husband rather than to resolve this marriage. However, a divorce is never an issue of a personal, private matter which takes place strictly between the two spouses. Rather relatives, friends and even the village authorities will help the troubled couple to avoid a divorce.
On the other hand, divorces are quite common in Athens and do not have the same impact upon the spouses and their relatives as they do upon Kastrorian spouses and relatives. However, divorces and decisions about divorces are not personal matters; instead they involve a whole network of relatives and friends who try to persuade spouses to save their marriages. It should be mentioned though, as the findings of this research indicate that Athenians are characterized by a diversity regarding their views towards divorced women. Thus, there are some Athenians who respect them and others who perceived them as immoral.

Summary

The information presented in this chapter has shown that there is a remarkable difference between Athens and Kastro regarding people’s customs, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours towards many aspects of social life. However, this difference does not indicate polarization. Most Athenian habitants have been born in different geographical regions of Greece, or have parents who have been born in rural areas. Thus, the old comes across with the new and the traditional with the modern.
CHAPTER 3: DEMOGRAPHICS AND OTHER SOCIAL TRENDS

This chapter provides information about socio-demographic characteristics of contemporary Greece in three areas: (1) family, (2) education and (3) employment. Regarding family, this chapter explores trends in household composition, fertility, marriages, divorces and abortions. Information about education focuses on the differences between men and women regarding the years they have spent in education, and it allows for an evaluation of the factors which might be responsible for such differences. The section on employment gives an account of current trends in the employment status of both men and women and provides information about the impact that marriage, education and motherhood have upon women’s employment status. Whenever data are available, comparisons will be made between current and past years, as well as between Greece and other European Union countries. It should be mentioned that although there is a large amount of statistical data available referring to Greece as a country and to Athens, there is often a lack of statistical data referring to rural areas of Greece.

3.1. Family structures

It is often argued that family - for Greeks, as well as for other Mediterraneans - possesses a central role in people’s lives. Greek family has been described as one with many children and strong bonds. Especially when referring to rural Greece, the family unit takes on an extended character rather than nuclear one (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Dubisch, 1986a; Katakis, 1998; Symeonidou, 1999).

Over the past thirty years, significant economic and socio-cultural changes have taken place in Greek society. Both family structures as well as gender relationships are changing rapidly as new family lifestyles emerge (Katakis, 1998; Papadopoulos, 1998; Bagavos, 2001; Agallopoulou, 2002). Data from the National Statistical Service of Greece show that for the last four decades Greeks prefer to live in households with fewer members (Table 3.1) and to have fewer children than in past decades. Thus, as the
number of households increases the average household size decreases. This is expected to occur where households break up into smaller units.

Table 3.1: Households in Greece and Average Household Size (1920-1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of census</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Average number of members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,113,340</td>
<td>4.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1,676,937</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,778,470</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,142,968</td>
<td>3.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,491,916</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2,974,450</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3,203,834</td>
<td>2.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece, 2000

The fertility rates in Greece began to fall from the mid 1970s, reaching 1.32 children per woman in 1997 (Table 3.2). This fertility rate was one of the lowest of all the EU countries (Symeonidou, 1999). Symeonidou (1999), in following up the findings of a Fertility Survey in Greece in 1997, argues that most couples have two children. Thus, from a total sample of 507 women aged 29-58 who had a stable first marriage and were permanent residents of the greater Athens area, 64% had two children and 13% had one child.
Table 3.2: Fertility rate per woman in Greece: 1965-1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fertility rate (per woman)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eurostat (1997)

Compared with other EU countries, Greece has the highest percentage of couples with children (89.1 per cent). Denmark and Belgium have the lowest percentage of couples with children, with 78.0% and 78.8% respectively (Eurostat, 1994a).

The number of children per family varies according to the place of residence (Table 3.3). In Athens the average number of births is lower than that in rural areas, whereas the average number of children per family in other areas lies between the two.
### Table 3.3: Mean Number of Children by Type of Area of Residence (1983)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Athens area</th>
<th>Urban areas</th>
<th>Rural areas</th>
<th>Greece (total numbers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean number of children</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of children</td>
<td>1,881</td>
<td>2,164</td>
<td>2,259</td>
<td>6,315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Symeonidou et al., 1997

Magdalinos and Symeonidou (1989) argue that the factors which seem to have some impact on different fertility rates in different residential areas of Greece are the family’s income, parent’s education, the mother’s age at marriage and the division of household labour. In particular, families with a big income tend to have more children whereas education is negatively related to the number of children; the more educated the parents are, the fewer the children they tend to have. In addition, mothers who have their first child at an old age are more likely to have fewer children. However, according to the same authors, the factors which are most strongly related to fertility rates are women’s employment status on the one hand and people’s attitudes towards gender roles on the other. The authors argue that women’s employment affects fertility, whereas fertility rates do not affect women’s employment. It is rather the difficulties which women face when re-entering the labour market after a break, and not the number of children, which tends to determine women’s employment status.

The above argument is in contrast to the (Eurostat, 1992) argument that the activity rate of women in all European Union countries declines with the number of children at a given age. “Activity rate” has been defined as the rate of employed women and those unemployed who are actively seeking work.
In most cases Greek children live with their parents or with other relatives until they get married (Table 3.4). Symeonidou (1999) argues that 18% of women and 25% of men leave the parental home after the age of 30 years old. It is worth noting that in almost all age groups the percentage of men who are living with their parents or relatives is much higher than that of women. This is in accordance with the findings of the thesis, which indicate that, until their marriage, Greek men rely upon female relatives for their everyday needs. Table 3.4 also shows that, in all age groups, more men than women live alone. Up until the age of 49 the percentage of women living alone declines with age, whereas the percentage of men does not. The Family and Fertility Survey carried out nationally in 1997 showed that 10% of participants were living together with at least two other generations in the same household (Symeonidou, 1999).

During the last forty years, the age of Greek mothers when they have their first child has increased. Thus, the mean age of mothers at first live birth has increased from 25.6 years in 1960 to 28.6 in 1998 (Council of Europe, 1998). The percentage of first live births of women aged 30+ has increased from 18.6% in 1951 to 33.2% in 1998 (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2000). These changes could be due to a number of reasons, such as more time spent by women for educational purposes, or a shift in women’s interest from family to employment. Thus, most women decide to become mothers after the completion of their education and the establishment of a professional career.

Although it has increased progressively, the rate of births outside marriage is very low at a national level and remains the lowest among the European Union countries (UNECE, 2000) (Tables 3.5 and 3.6).
Table 3.4: Percentage of respondents according to living arrangements (female and male sample, 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living arrangements</th>
<th>18-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40-44</th>
<th>45-49</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With parents (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With other relatives (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With other, no relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With at least two other generations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average household size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Symeonidou, 1999

(1) Parents or step parents
(2) Grandparents, partner's parents, siblings, son/daughter's partner's, grand children and other relatives
Table 3.5: Non-marital live births (%) (1956-1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elaboration of data by UNECE, 2000

Table 3.6: Live births outside marriage in EU countries
(% of total live births)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>21.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.0*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>40.7p</td>
<td>40.7p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.7p</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>22.8p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>20.1p</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>38.8p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p: provisional data national *:estimate (including forecast)

Source: Eurostat, 1998
However, Greece has the highest abortion rate in the European Union in contrast to the lowest birth rate. A survey commissioned by the Institute of Social and Preventive Medicine in 2001, revealed that 200,000 abortions per year - double that of the number of births - take place in Greece. The majority of abortions are carried out by teenagers. According to the survey, only 2% of Greek women use contraceptive pills whereas in Western Europe the percentage is 40% (Macedonian Press Agency, 2001).

In research on the influence of parents on adolescents’ attitudes towards contraception conducted in Athens, Gousgounis (1990) concluded that parental influence does not seem to be important for the formulation of such attitudes. Parental influence is not strong enough to sway their decision-making because of their conservative behavior. This behaviour is combined with their children’s progressive attitudes and the information which they receive from mass media, environment, school and peers.

It should be stressed that, as Halkias (1998) argues, due to the social stigma, many abortions take place secretly, in private clinics which do not keep records - for issues of anonymity - and thus the actual rate of abortions should be higher than that reported. The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (2002) commented that the high rate of abortions in Greece is a consequence of the absence of mandatory health and sex education at school, which makes Greek women use abortion as a contraceptive technique. After having studied abortion policy in Greek island of Rhodes, Georges (1996) found that the reasons for the high rate of abortions are women’s resistance to medical contraception, a lack of medical counseling on birth control, and patriarchal gender relationships. The most common ways of contraception among women who had abortions were the so-called “coitus interruptus” and “being careful”.

3.2 Marital status

Despite the fact that during recent decades the rate of marriage has decreased (Table 3.7), marriage is still the dominant form of partnership in Greece (Symeonidou, 1999).
The 1999 Family and Fertility Survey which Symeonidou carried out among 3,049 women and 1,026 men aged 18-50 years showed that 97% of women and 93% of men were married.

Table 3.7: Marriages per 1,000 inhabitants: 1955-1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate of marriages per 1,000 inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>8.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>6.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>9.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>7.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>8.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>6.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>5.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>5.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>5.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The divorce rate in Greece, although much lower than in other European Union countries, has risen during the last forty years (Table 3.8). In particular, Greece has the second lowest divorce rate after Italy within the European Union (with 0.7 and 0.4 respectively), whereas the United Kingdom has the highest with 3.0 per 1,000 population (Eurostat, 1994a).

According to the report of the United Nations Consideration of Reports submitted by the Greek State in 1996, the number of divorces varies according to geographical region. In
rural areas the divorce rate is relatively low whereas in Athens one in three couples ends up with a divorce (United Nations, 1996).

Table 3.8: Rate of divorces in Greece and Crude in EU per 1,000 population (1960-1993)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Greece</th>
<th>EU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eurostat, Demographic Statistics 1995

Alongside rising divorce rates, the number of single-parent families - usually headed by females - is rising too (Symeonidou, 1999). In the European Union, Greece has the lowest proportion (10.9%) of lone parent families whereas Denmark and the United Kingdom have the highest proportion (at 22.0% and 22.95% respectively) (Eurostat, 1994a). In 1999, cohabitation was found to be very low; 5% of women and 3% of men in the 20-24 age group were cohabiting (Symeonidou, 1999).

3.3 Education

As illustrated in Table 3.9, the illiteracy rate of Greek men and women has been very low over the last thirty five years, with no differences between the sexes. The table also illustrates changes in women’s trends towards education. In Table 3.9 we can see firstly, that the percentage of illiterate men and women is higher among older people. Secondly, the percentage of illiterate women in those ages is considerably higher than that of men.
Table 3.9: Illiteracy index of Greek population by age group and sex, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>3.35%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75+</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the National Statistical Service of Greece, 40% of the Greek population in 1991 had received only a primary school education. As shown in Table 3.10 here is no difference in the number of men and women regarding their primary level of education. However, moving towards higher levels of education the number of women who hold a diploma or a degree is considerably lower than that of men.
Table 3.10: Greek population aged 10+ by sex and level of education (absolute numbers, 1991)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate degree Holders</td>
<td>36,865</td>
<td>26,533</td>
<td>10,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First University degree Holders</td>
<td>564,011</td>
<td>325,730</td>
<td>238,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holders of Degree (Technical Schools)</td>
<td>122,913</td>
<td>65,546</td>
<td>57,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holders of Diploma (other higher schools)</td>
<td>62,165</td>
<td>42,294</td>
<td>19,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students of higher education</td>
<td>251,750</td>
<td>128,197</td>
<td>123,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates of Lyceum</td>
<td>1,866,494</td>
<td>957,633</td>
<td>908,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates of Secondary Education (compulsory)</td>
<td>973,618</td>
<td>523,105</td>
<td>450,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates of Elementary School</td>
<td>3,583,297</td>
<td>1,774,230</td>
<td>1,809,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Uncompleted Elementary School</td>
<td>960,720</td>
<td>421,418</td>
<td>539,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterates</td>
<td>617,646</td>
<td>163,501</td>
<td>454,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9,039,479</td>
<td>4,428,187</td>
<td>4,611,292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A possible interpretation of the above table may be that women are still preoccupied by gender stereotypes about women and men’s primary roles i.e. those of mother and household breadwinner. Thus women put more emphasis on getting married and having children at an earlier age than do men, rather than on postgraduate degrees. Postgraduate
degrees are avoided as they take a long time to be completed, they may postpone marriage and motherhood, and they make employment take a central role in women’s lives rather than marriage and motherhood.

As we can see in Table 3.11, the early coming of children in women’s lives can have a negative effect upon their education. The table shows that the percentage of women aged 20-24 years who do not have children but who study is 42.5%. When women are mothers this percentage decreases by the number of children they have. The percentage drops down to 0.2% when women have one or two children.

In recent years there has been a remarkable change in the attitudes of young women towards postgraduate degrees. The report of Greece to the European Network of Women in Helsinki (Roubani et al., 2000) states that women who belong to the 45+ age group hold very few University degrees (1.5%) compared to the younger ones (21 to 26 age group) (Table 3.12) who hold more university degrees (7.8%). Similar changes can be found in higher, secondary and technical education.

The data show that the percentage of women in their early 20s who were holding a University degree in 1997-1998 (KETHI, 2002) (Table 2.12) was almost three times higher than that of men. Men tend to acquire their degree at older ages in comparison to women. This could be explained by the fact that many men prefer to start their studies after the completion of their military service. Military service is compulsory for men in Greece; in 2003 the time of military service is one year whereas until 1997 it lasted for two years.
Table 3.11: Studying and having children, female sample, 18-34 years of age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage who are studying by number of Children (1)</th>
<th>18-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 children</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+ children</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total per cent</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base 202 513 485 533

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of women with a youngest child of nursery school age (2) who are currently studying</th>
<th>0.0%</th>
<th>1.7%</th>
<th>1.5%</th>
<th>1.5%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of women with a youngest child of kindergarten age (3) who are currently studying</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of women with a youngest child of primary school age (4) who are currently studying</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Greek Fertility Surveys 1999
Elaboration of Data by UNECE, 2000

(1) Biological children, adopted/foster children and partner’s children
(2) Refers to the youngest child currently living with the women. Nursery school age usually runs from 0-2 years
(3) Kindergarten age from 3 to 6 years
(4) Primary school age from 7 to 12 years
Table 3.12: Percentage of Holders of University Degrees by age and sex (1997-98)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 years old</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 years old</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>71.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 years old</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 years old</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>61.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 years old</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 years old</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 years old</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 years old</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 years old</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 years old</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;=31 years old</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Even though the entrance to all fields of education is offered equally to both boys and girls, the data of the following table show that there are disciplines of study which absorb more people from one sex or the other. Girls, for example, tend to follow theoretical disciplines rather than technical ones whereas boys tend to prefer the opposite (see Table 3.13).

According to Roubani et al. (2000), differences in the percentage of boys and girls who study in different educational disciplines can explain the differences in the percentage of employment between men and women. The authors argue that men are better absorbed by the labour market because they have completed studies in technological disciplines. The labour market needs people with technical rather than theoretical knowledge. Nevertheless, the authors do not explain why, out of men and women who do not have knowledge about technological issues, men are more likely than women to find a job (see Table 3.16).
Table 3.13: School Education and percentage of adolescents by gender (1993-1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary level (1)</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyceum (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Lyceum</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Lyceum (3)</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece 1997

(1) The secondary level consists of three years courses, which cover topics of general knowledge and its attendance is compulsory.

(2) Lyceum has two 3-year directions: theoretical and technical Lyceum. The theoretical Lyceum may lead to University studies.

(3) Technical Lyceum prepares students for the labour market.

This section should not omit an overall evaluation of the educational system of Greece. The magazine “The Economist”, which carried out a recent survey in Greece in 2002, characterises the educational system of the country as an “over-protected (and), over-regulated public sector” (pp.19) which results in services of poor quality (Clark, 2002). The survey showed that, because parents are dissatisfied with the educational system, if they can afford it they will educate their children either in private schools or in schools which are abroad. Thus, the findings of a study done by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development show that Greece has one of the highest percentages in the world of university-level students who study abroad (KATHIMERINI, 2002). In sending 57,285 students per year to other countries for education, Greece stands fourth in the world after China (99,000), Korea (69,840), and Japan (63,340). Approximately 30,000 young Greeks are studying in Britain (The Economist, 2002).
A study on secondary level-education students in Athens showed that 97% of the students attended private after-school classes or took private tuition. Out of these, 88% learned foreign languages, 25% had private tutorials, 18% learned music and 11% learned dancing (Kothali-Kilokouri, 1996). Katsikas and Kavadias (1995) report that the total amount which Greek families spend on their children’s education approaches £2.5 million per day.

3.4 Labour force

In 2001, Greece’s employment rate was 55.6%; this ranked Greece last among all the European Union countries. In 2001 the rate of female part-time employment was 7.2% in Greece whereas in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands it was 44.4% and 71.3% respectively (Eurostat, 2002). Female participation in the labour force, even though it has increased in the last decades, is still very much lower than that of men (Table 3.14).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>85.2%</td>
<td>82.5%</td>
<td>78.4%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>78.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: labour force survey in Greece on a national basis started in 1977 (UNECE, 2000)
(1) Number of employed and unemployed individuals aged 15-64 years divided by the total number of individuals aged 15-64 years (x100).

The rate of unemployment is especially high among young people. In 1998, 61.36% of young women and 38.64% of young men were unemployed (Table 3.15) (Koniotaki and Karayiannis, 2000). Only 8% of young people are working part-time. Ioakeimoglou and Kritikidis (1998) argue that the low rate of unemployment of young people in Greece is due to the increase in time spent in education on the one hand, and to the small number of part-time jobs (working less than 30 hours per week) on the other.
Table 3.15: Unemployed under 25 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>37.39%</td>
<td>62.61%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>37.82%</td>
<td>62.18%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>36.14%</td>
<td>63.86%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>34.62%</td>
<td>65.38%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>36.73%</td>
<td>63.20%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>38.64%</td>
<td>61.36%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The reasons for women’s low employment rates have been the concern of many analysts, statisticians and scientists. As previously mentioned, Roubani et al. (2000) argue that one of the reasons which is responsible for the low rate of employment of Greek women is the differences in educational level and in the field of study between men and women. Nevertheless, as can be seen in Table 3.16, from those men and women who had equal level of education, and especially from those who had received technical education, the rate of women’s unemployment is much higher than that of men. The rate of unemployment decreases as the level of education increases; yet the rate of women’s unemployment is two times bigger than that of men.

Thus, the employment rate of women depends mainly upon factors other than their educational level. According to Symeonidou (1999) and Bagavos (2001), these factors are: gender discrimination, the number of children a woman has, a woman’s marital status, the unequal percentage of men and women in decision making centres, and the state’s provisions and services for the family such as school time tables and kindergarten availability. Roubani et al. (2000) adds to the above new technologies and the lack of access to them. The section will continue by examining the aforementioned factors in relation to the employment rate of women.
Table 3.16: Percentage of unemployed people by their educational level (2002)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>99.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary (compulsory)</td>
<td>8.46%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Secondary (Lyceum)</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical education</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Graduates</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate Degrees</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "Eleftherotypia" newspaper, 10/03/2000

The following table (Table 3.17) shows the relationship between the number of children and a mother’s employment status. In particular, it shows that the more children a woman has, the less likely she is to work. The percentage of employed women decreases considerably, especially after the birth of the third child.

Table 3.17: Employed mothers with children up to 14 years old by number of children (1993-2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elaboration of data by KETHI 2002

Regarding the relationship between a woman’s marital status and her participation in the labour force, the Eurostat, 2000 data (Elaboration of data by KETHI, 2002) reveal that in
2002 the largest percentage of women who participated in the labour market belonged to the category of widowed, divorced and single mothers with one child (Table 3.18). However, when the number of children increases from one to two children then the percentage of women’s employment in all marital statuses decreases considerably. The percentage of employed married women with two children does decrease as well, but not significantly.

Table 3.18: Employed mothers by their marital status and number of children (1993-2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elaboration of data by KETHI 2002

According to Roubani, et al. (2000), a possible explanation for the higher rates of employment of lone mothers is the low standard of provision which the state provides to single parent families with children up to the age of 16 years old (divorced or widowed). The state is considered as insufficient in providing effective income and support for such families, and single mothers are not financially assisted. Thus, a job is of vital
importance to lone mothers and they may accept any kind of job whereas married women may rely on their husband’s income.

As noted earlier, the state’s insufficiency to provide a reconciliation of family and working life is one of the factors which affects women’s employment status (Papadopoulos, 1998; Symeonidou, 1999; Roubani et al., 2000). The lack of extended paid maternity, few schemes of part-time employment, difficulties in finding a job when women re-enter the labour market and a gap in wages between men and women are some of the reasons why women either continue working after marriage or the birth of their first child, or why they rarely re-enter the labour market in those cases where they have taken a break.

Table 3.19 shows the percentage of currently married women who have left or resumed their job due to getting married or due to the birth of their first child, in three different geographical areas of Greece: Athens, other urban areas, and rural areas. It can be seen that a large percentage of women who are living in rural area do not quit their jobs after the birth of their first child. It can also be seen that, in rural areas, the majority of those women who quit their jobs eventually return back to their work.

It is worth noting the high percentage of Athenian women who leave their jobs after the birth of their first child compared to women who live in other urban and rural areas. A possible interpretation of these findings could be the difference in family structures between Athens and rural areas. As Symeonidou (1999) advocates, often in rural areas, more than two different generations are living in the same household. Thus an older woman, mother, mother-in-law or a female relative is always available to take care of the new born and small children. In Athens, where family structures are different, women do not have this kind of help available. According to Symeonidou (1999), another explanation as to why most of women in rural areas return back to their work after a short break is the nature of the agricultural work they do. Resuming agricultural work has not the same difficulties as resuming work in other sectors.
Table 3.19: Currently married women who have worked at any time, by stage of leaving and resuming work in relation to marriage and first birth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Athens</th>
<th>Urban Areas</th>
<th>Rural Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Always worked</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left work at marriage</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of whom resuming work at least once</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left work at first birth</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of whom resuming work at least once</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>67.3%</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample size</td>
<td>1,881</td>
<td>2,182</td>
<td>2,275</td>
<td>6,338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Symeonidou 1999)

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2002, cited in Karamesini and Ioakimoglou (2002), the wage gap between men and women in Greece in 2002 was approaching 13 units, the sixth smallest among all of the European Union countries. The fact that in 1998 the wage gap was 21 units shows the rapid changes which take place in Greece concerning wage issues.

Karamesini and Ioakimoglou (2002) argue that reasons for the wage gap between men and women in Greece are: firstly, the different fields men and women have studied; secondly, gender stereotypes about women's inability to achieve the same things as men; and thirdly, the total time of experience women have which is less than men's due to maternity leave or due to breaks off work women tend to take because of their children.

Symeonidou et al. (2002) conducted research on the division of paid and unpaid work amongst Greeks as part of the European network on Policies and the Division of Unpaid and Paid Work. From the analysis, a general conclusion emerges: men continue to be the main breadwinners while women have an economically supportive role within the household. In the sample 88% of men were in employment at the time of the survey, while the corresponding percentage of women was 45%. Men spend on average 9 hours
per week on household chores and 8 hours on children, while women’s time on these duties is 34 hours and 15 hours respectively.

It should be noted that women play a major role in Greek agriculture, making up 47% of the permanent labour force in 1997. Of this a percentage of only 4% was working full time whereas the corresponding percentage for men was 11% (Eurostat, 1997).

Studies have shown that women usually enter farming through their marriage and not through the labour market (O’Hara, 1998; Stratigaki, 1988). According to the authors, this means that, firstly, women do not have any claim on the farming business; secondly, it is the husbands who are perceived as farmers; the women are instead perceived as assistants to their husbands and their work goes unpaid. There are thus big differences between women and men in terms of the status and the nature of the work done by each of them.

In the past agricultural activities have been gradually replaced by technology. Women’s lack of knowledge in operating new machinery or in using new fertilizing products results in the progressive decrease of their economic activity in Greece (Stratigaki, 1988). On the contrary, in other European Union countries, farmwomen may lack knowledge as to how to operate new technological machinery but they overtake their husbands in managerial and administrative roles because they have a more formal education (O’Hara, 1998). In Greece, however, women farm managers for example are not only fewer in number than men but they also manage smaller economic blocks. In Greece, in 1997, 20% of the total farm managers were women (Eurostat, 1997).

Finally, it has also been argued by Symeonidou (1999) and Bagavos (2001) that the low percentage of women’s participation in the decision-making centres is one of the factors which affects their employment rate. In Greece, women may have as many opportunities as men to educate themselves and achieve high-level qualification, but they are denied access to top administrative positions, especially in the state sector and public offices.
Gerogiannis (1998) states that only 12% of employed women hold managerial positions, and 9.94% of university lecturers and 20.9% of assistant lecturers are women (Alipranti-Maratou, 2001)

3.5 Higher Education, Politics and Judiciary

In the Greek parliament women are still underrepresented despite their constantly increasing awareness about political issues. Until recently, women were not sufficiently included in the ballots of the political parties which resulted in a very small number of female members of parliament.

According to the data available from the Greek Helsinki Monitor (Greece Helsinki Monitor, 2002), in 1985 the percentage of women in parliament was 4.3%. In the next election this percentage increased to 6.7%. The percentage decreased to 5.3% in 1990 whereas in 1993 it increased, again, to 6%. The percentage of women in 2000 in the National Parliament was 10.3% and in National Government was 12.0%. In the Single or Lower House the number of women was 6 out of 300 seats whereas in the Upper House or senate no women were present. In 2002 the participation of Greek women in political and public life was about 10%. Data available from The Ministry of the General Secretarial for Equality (cited in the above report) reveals the number and the percentage of women in the political life of Greece in 2002 (Table 3.20).

Women’s participation in the political life of Greece is still very low, reaching 10%. In 2002, under the European Union 4th Action program on Equal Opportunities, a quota system was established for the elections of local government making it obligatory that 30% of candidates are women. However, there have been no positive actions such as seminars regarding the empowerment of women for participating in the ballots in order to stand as candidates, nor has there any relevant program preparing Greek society for adaptations to the quota system. As a result, not enough women can be found to be included in their ballots (European database: women in decision-making, 1999).

58
### Table 3.20: Number and Percentage of Greek Women in Political Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLITICAL POSITION</th>
<th>NUMBER OF WOMEN</th>
<th>% OF WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>4 women ministers and deputy ministers</td>
<td>9% of all ministers and deputy ministers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Secretaries</td>
<td>6 women</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heads of Prefectures</td>
<td>2 women</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Prefectural Secretaries</td>
<td>2 women</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayors</td>
<td>13 women</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Councils</td>
<td>822 women</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural Councils</td>
<td>236 women</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>27 women MEPs</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Parliament</td>
<td>4 women MEPs</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Greece Helsinki Monitor 2002

### Table 3.21: Percentage of Women in Civil Courts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CIVIL COURTS</th>
<th>WOMEN (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supreme Court</td>
<td>No woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairpersons of the Judges of Appeal</td>
<td>No woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges of Appeal</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairpersons of District Judges</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Judges</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Court Associate Judges</td>
<td>75.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justices of Peace</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the available data provided by the Greece Helsinki Monitor (2002) about women’s participation in the civil courts, it can be seen that women’s participation is high in the low ranking positions whereas women do not hold the highest positions.

Summary

This chapter has shown the major changes which have taken place in Greek society over the last four decades regarding issues relating to family, education and employment. The fertility rate has dropped dramatically, the age at first birth and at marriage has increased for both men and women, and the households comprise just a few members. The number of marriages has decreased whereas that of divorces has increased. Cohabitation and births out of wedlock are still low in number; however, the abortion rate is highest among all European Union countries. Greek women’s position in education has improved steadily over the last years, reaching a level that is equal to that of men in 1998. However, in higher ranks of educational levels such as attaining postgraduate degrees, women lag far behind men. Regarding the labour market, women’s participation in managerial and decision-making positions is very low. Women are also poorly represented in the political sector. Nevertheless, there is a shift of women’s roles from that of housewife and mother to that of an economically active member in the labour market.
CHAPTER 4: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will examine the literature related to subjects relevant to the research aims. This is done in two sections. The first section will give an account of the relevant theories and explanations of women’s roles within the household, of power-gender relationships and of human sexuality. The second section investigates the differences between, and the reasons for, male and female earning potentials.

PATRIARCHY, FAMILY, MOTHERHOOD AND HUMAN SEXUALITY

Introduction

Half a century ago, the anthropologist Murdock (1949) studied more than 250 different societies and postulated that the family is a universal institution comprising various relationships and functions. There are eight such relationships:

(1) the relationship between father and wife; (2) the relationship between father and son; (3) the relationship between father and daughter; (4) the relationship between mother and son; (5) the relationship between mother and daughter; (6) the relationship between two brothers; (6) the relationship between brother and sister; and (8) the relationship between two sisters.

Murdock (1949) stated that the functions of the family are fourfold: (a) sexual, (b) economic, (c) reproductive, and (d) educational. The sexual function regulates sex. The economic function helps the family members to survive. The reproductive function serves to supply society with new members and the educational function transmits values from one generation to the next.
At the end of the 20th Century, van Every (1996) postulated that the family consists of a married, cohabiting couple either with or without children (who either live with them or elsewhere), or it consists of a lone parent with children. van Every (1996) does not describe the family as a social unit with functions and roles; instead she states that it is the togetherness of the members which makes up the family unit.

The view of the family as a universal institution with well-articulated functions was put forward by the Functionalists. Common residence, economic co-operation, emotional security, reproduction and regulation of sexual drives are considered to be the functions of the family. However, its main functions should be that of socialisation and of the maintenance of social order. 'Socialisation', especially 'primary socialisation', refers to the training of children so that they conform to societal mechanisms. This task is undertaken by parents, mainly by mothers. 'Social order' refers to the stabilisation of adults' personalities through marriage. Any change to the functions of the family is regarded as harmful to the stability of society. Gender roles within the family are seen as complementary and functional, or as unequal and exploitative.

4.1 Gender roles as complementary and functional

Due to their biological differences, men and women are said to have different and incompatible roles within the family (Fletcher, 1988). These roles are defined by Parsons and Bales (1955) are instrumental and expressive. Fathers have the instrumental role because they work outside home and they provide their family with what is necessary for survival. Mothers have the expressive role because they stay home, they give birth to children and they prepare them to adjust to society. Mothers should reduce the tension within the family by providing all family members with comfort and emotional support. Society has a duty to keep these gender roles as they are. Punishments and rewards encourage conformity and punish violations of norms.

The functional role of the family, which was dominant in the mid 20th century, has begun to be questioned more recently. Social changes, such as cohabitation, lone parents
and the increase in women's participation in paid employment, have all changed the structure of the family, the roles of the family members and the functions which the family serves. Marriage, for example, has gradually been replaced by cohabitation; school and other social institutions socialize children, and sex does not need marriage to regulate it since people have sexual relationships without necessarily being married (Oakley, 1974; Walby, 1990; van Every, 1996).

4.2 Gender roles as unequal and conflicting

Marxist and feminist theorists have seen the roles of men and women within the family as being characterised by tension, competition and exploitation. Marxist theorists focus on gender inequalities within the family which have a materialistic character. Feminist theorists have seen gender inequalities as having either a material or a sexual basis within the context of a “male dominated” society.

4.2.1 Marxist explanations

Both Marx (1970) and Engels (1973) argued that it is the capitalist system which traps men in the labour wage and keeps women in low paid work (or in unpaid domestic labour). Domestic activities such as childcare, cleaning, shopping, cooking, laundry, care of the elderly and housekeeping are all examples of work which is unpaid. Much of this work goes towards the benefit of society. Men, on the other hand, are not only paid for the work they do outside the home, but they also benefit from the domestic work that women do. Thus, the family unit reflects inequalities resulting from unequal economic and political relationships and provides the model upon which several forms of oppression are based, especially that of capitalists and workers (Marx, 1970). This view of Marx concerning gender roles within the family setting has been largely neglected, especially so after the end of the so-called “Cold War”.

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4.2.2 Feminist explanations

4.2.2a Women as Housewives

Motherhood, marriage and the amount of housework women do are the main issues around which feminists have explained women's oppression within the family (Firestone, 1970; Hamilton, 1978; Rowbotham, 1981; Oakley, 1984; Delphy and Leonard, 1999). However, as Jackson (1993) puts it, motherhood and marriage paradoxically constitute, on the one hand, important goals in women's lives by making them feel satisfied and worthy, but on the other hand they are two of the major factors which contribute to women's oppression.

Some Feminists, when discussing household responsibilities, are greatly influenced by Marx's theories. Thus, a significantly large number of feminists have made a parallel between Marx's analysis of market labour and that of domestic labour. They begin with the assumption that men and women belong to different social classes: the class of men and the class of women. Whereas in Marx's theory there is the class of workers who is exploited by the class of employers, in feminist theories there is the groups of women - housewives - who are exploited by men - the husbands (Mitchell, 1971; Firestone, 1970; Oakley, 1974; Bograd, 1988; Walby, 1990).

The general framework of Marxist feminism in regards to gender roles within the family is given by Walby (1990). She argues that the relationship between the wives, husbands, and/or the children in households comprises the patriarchal mode of production: the housewives are the producing class and the husbands are the exploiting class. Women serve the existing labour force and rear children who will be the future workers. The instruments of labour are the women's bodies, not so much in the sense of sexuality, but in the sense of their reproductive capacity, the house and its contents.

Exploitation by the husband takes place because the worker - the woman - is separated from the product of her labour as she has no claim to their husband's labour power.
Husbands use the labour power their wives have produced for them as if it was their own. Thus, they sell their labour force to employers and receive a wage for it. In return they give a part of this wage to their wives and keep the bigger part for themselves. A husband has rights over his wife, not only in economic matters and in the expropriation of her work, but also over her body. This happens because the relationship between a man and a woman, which has an economic basis, implies that the man has a right to a woman’s body alongside his other rights.

However, a widespread belief is that, firstly, technology has decreased women’s housework and, secondly, the division of domestic labour is more symmetrical between husbands and wives nowadays due to the greater participation of women in paid employment (Young and Wilmott, 1975). Walby (1990) argues that the claim that women do less housework nowadays is true for full-time housewives, but not for women who are employed and who are usually overloaded by doing a “second shift” when they return home. Caring for the children now demands more hours than before (Cowan, 1983).

4.2.2b Women as mothers

Widespread cultural images display women as being the only people suitable for motherhood; because of this the whole responsibility of the care of young children is almost entirely up to the mothers (Oakley, 1974; Wollett and Phoenix, 1993).

Thus, as Delphy (1992) argues, motherhood is the key factor in women’s unemployment. In particular, Delphy (1992) advocates that when a woman becomes a mother, three changes take place. Firstly, if she is employed, she gives up her job. Secondly, she takes up a new occupation: that of mother. Thirdly, she becomes a housewife. Even though the situation is not exactly the same for all women, one or more of these changes are true for the majority of women.
Becoming a mother requires a great deal of someone's time, emotional labour and effort. On the one hand there are the needs of the child, and on the other hand there are the needs of the mother. The mother should bridge both of these needs with the least cost incurred to others. Various authors such as Brannen and Moss (1991), Woolett and Phoenix (1993) state that most employed mothers have feelings of guilt and anxiety due to the prominent existing ideology about motherhood.

Most research on marriage and motherhood has been related to the experience of western women. It has ignored the commonalities and the differences in the family lives of women from different ethnic groups and from within different family settings (Walby, 1990). Thus, even though in western society housework affects the balance of power between the spouses in favour of the husbands, housework in rural Greece and in semi-urban cities does not have the same effects upon spouses (Katakis, 1998).

In rural Greece, cultural beliefs dictate that a woman's ultimate achievement in life should be that of motherhood. Thus, a woman has no feelings of stress, guilt or anxiety because she has to make choices between employment and motherhood responsibilities. On the other hand, women may constantly give to other members of the family but, at the same time, they receive positive feedback from these other members and from society as a whole; as mothers, they are respectable and powerful (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Doumani, 1983; Katakis, 1998; Just, 1998) (see also Chapter 2 for further details).

As Katakis (1998) explains, in big urban cities the child is the central person within the family. Thus, a woman's role is mainly centred on the care for the children and for the husband. Women who are educated and employed are more confused than those who are not; this is because they want to work and build up a career, but at the same time people's expectations about the role of a mother cause them confusion.
Delphy and Leonard (1999) argue that wives are not only totally economically dependent on their husbands, but they are economically exploited by them due to the work done within household and through the raising of children.

Johnson (1988) and Delphy and Leonard (1999) argue that, in order to understand the oppression of women within the household, we need to separate a woman’s role as a mother from that of a wife. These two roles are not the same. Women are oppressed as wives but not as mothers. Motherhood is subsumed by the role of wife. This role is common to all women, married or unmarried. Unmarried women have replaced the husband by another male, who is their brother, father or boyfriend. In this sense, any woman who is living with a man could be defined as a wife.

A woman is defined as a “wife” not only in terms of her behaviour within the household but also in terms of her behaviour within the work place. Women are expected to carry out certain kinds of work in serving males, such as making the coffee or being responsible for the office being clean and tidy, and so on.

Van Every (1996) states that the role of wife, with all of its characteristics, is a product of heterosexuality. She points out that it is not the naturalness, the gender characteristics, or - especially - the role mother which defines the roles of women within the household, but rather the institution of heterosexuality. Van Every (1996) supports her argument with a number of empirical pieces of research about the amount of housework between heterosexual couples with and without children and between couples where the wives were either employed or unemployed. These findings indicate that, even though employed women tended to devote less hours to domestic work than those who were
unemployed, their husbands were not willing to help with the housework. This was independent of the existence of children.

Such empirical research led some feminists (van Every, 1996) to postulate that gender is culturally produced by the domestic division of labour rather than by cultural influences. Van Every (1996) explains that gender does not predate the division of labour as it is perceived in functionalist and Marxist theoretical frameworks; instead it comes out of the division of labour. She suggests that theories of heterosexuality need to emphasise marriage and family more, and theories of domestic life need to consider heterosexuality more.

Other feminists have emphasised the structural inequalities within marriage and the family which result in an economic asymmetry of family life. Jackson (1998) argues that, despite the fact that in modern times most women are employed, they are still earning less than their husbands. Given the fact that husbands are earning more money than their wives, and that many wives are totally economically dependent on their husbands, wives are immediately placed in an inferior position when compared to men.

4.2.2d Emotional labour

A number of feminists argue that the existence of women is determined by their role within the family setting (i.e. they are defined in terms of the labour of caring). Gerstel and Gross (1989) argue that caring is related to gender, morality, ethics and responsibilities, and caring produces social, personal and economic relations. The meaning of economic relations is explained as follows: Women contribute economically to their family by loving, supporting and caring for the family members, and by responding to the emotional needs each member of the family has. Through caring, women enable all the family members to feel well emotionally, to feel secure, and to cope more effectively with their everyday demands.
Graham (1993) argues that when referring to family matters, some feminists do not use the concept of caring in a general way. Instead, they distinguish between caring about and caring for. ‘Caring about’ refers to the physical effort of looking after someone and it is perceived as labour. ‘Caring for’ means “loving them” and it is perceived as a result of feelings and love. The latter is usually invisible or subsumed by the former.

Mason’s (1996) argument about women’s emotional labour within the family setting moves beyond the dichotomy of caring for and caring about. According to Mason (1996), caring is related to commitments, and commitments are related to sentient activities and active sensibilities. ‘Sentient activities’ are responsibilities towards the members of the family and involve the ability to notice the others’ needs (including emotional needs) and to react to them. ‘Active sensibilities’ refer to the activities involved in feeling responsibility for someone else, or of feeling commitment towards someone else.

Sentient activities and active sensibilities are strictly related to personal relationships, particularly among family members or among specific relatives. They cannot apply to interpreting other actions of caring, or to commitments. Sentient activities require some kind of skill and training in being attentive to people’s needs, likes, preferences and so on. The role of a woman within the family is directly related to such sentient activities, and she provides them with the required skill and training.

Sentient activities could therefore be seen as emotional activities - rather than only as feelings or attitudes - which take place in a social environment. It should be noted that, because those involved in sentient activities are usually not aware of this commitment, they are undervalued and unappreciated by others and also by themselves.

Even though Mason’s (1996) study refers to commitment and sentient activities between kin- and family members, she relates her findings to women’s roles inside the family.
Section Summary

The relevant literature has shown that, in the majority of Western European countries, a woman’s role within the family has been seen as secondary and inferior to that of a man. A woman has fewer rights and more responsibilities. Marriage, family and motherhood responsibilities burden women in domestic activities and are justified by ideological or even scientific accounts. By being responsible for childcare and housekeeping, women do not have easy access to the labour market. A family and a career have often been seen as incompatible goals in a woman’s life. In those cases in which women are employed, they work more hours than their husbands do because they must try to manage their jobs plus their housekeeping and childcare responsibilities. Yet they are paid less than men. Despite the changes in gender roles both inside and outside the family setting, women are still considered more responsible for housekeeping and childrearing than are men. Marriage and the family seem to meet the needs of men rather than of women and that shifts the balance of power towards men.

4.3 Gender and Power

Introduction

This section will discuss how power is defined from different sociological perspectives. It will also explore the concept of patriarchy and its roots and origins as feminist thought sees them. The section will also examine women’s power in rural Greece. Concepts of power in rural Greece - and the way this power is deployed - will be discussed through the various anthropological studies which have taken place in Greece over the last forty years.

Peplau and Campbell (1989) observed that a person exerts power over others when physical violence, threats, punishments or ideology forces them to act independently of their will. However, power does not always imply force or violence. Mass media or advertising, for example, is able to influence our behaviour without any use of violence. Consequently, power is not always directly observed; it must be inferred. This is
especially true when we refer to close personal relationships. Also, inferences about who exerts power over who might be difficult to assess, as in many cases people can exert influence in subtle and indirect ways.

4.3.1 Sociological approaches to the concept of power: Definitions

Power has so far been defined in various ways in terms of the types of power, the way it is exercised and the sources from which it comes.

Marx (1970) relates power exclusively to the economic interest. Through his economic model he explains that society is divided into two classes: the *bourgeoisie* and the *proletariat*. The bourgeoisie possess the means of production and exert power over the proletariat who do not own the means of production, and because of this they must sell their labour to those who own them. There is thus a conflict between these two social groups for the possession of material resources. This unequal distribution of power leads to historical changes through a dialectic process. That is, in any given conflict, a *thesis* and *antithesis* will develop. In the case of capitalism, the *thesis* is the exertion of power over the workers by the capitalist system. The rebellion given by the exploited workers forms the *antithesis*. The contradictions and conflicts between the *thesis* and *antithesis* will eventually result in the emergence of a new situation, the *synthesis*. The *synthesis* may be a new type of joint *thesis* and *antithesis* and does not necessarily bring a solution to the conflict.

Weber (1946) developed a different approach to Marx to the study of social groups and classes. With his pluralistic approach, Weber (1946) argued that people attempt to achieve social rewards - not necessarily the means of production - by using different methods and by exerting various kinds of power. This leads to social stratification in "class" and "status". Social stratification refers to entire categories of people who have different access to social rewards as a result of their status in the social hierarchy.
“Class” refers to the different economic strata people belong to and “status” to the position and prestige someone has independently of his or her economic status. Even though Weber (1946) does not consider economic interests the only source of power, he states that economic access acts as a means to the acquisition of class and status. In this sense there is overlap between class, status and power.

Authority can be one of three types: ‘traditional’, ‘charismatic’ and ‘legal-rational’. Traditional authority is established and supported by long-established customs and ideology. Priests, teachers, parents are examples of people who have traditional authority. The exertion and maintenance of authority is usually legitimated by ideology. ‘Ideology’ in this context refers to cultural beliefs, which directly or indirectly justify social relationships. Weber (1946) states that “patriarchy” is the most common form of traditional authority. He defines “patriarchy” as the male’s superiority on three levels: biological, intellectual and experimental. “Charismatic authority” refers to those people who demonstrate specific and remarkable patterns of behaviour, e.g. high energy and strong commitment to goals. Charismatic authority is often displayed by leaders. “Legal-rational authority” refers to the legitimate power some people have through legitimate procedures such as elections. People with legal-rational authority have explicit rights and obligations. They usually occupy positions in government or in other civil sectors.

Mann (1986), a British historical sociologist, argues that there are four sources of power: economic, ideological, political and military. Economic power is related to the ownership of the means of production; ideological power refers to ideas and beliefs that can influence attitudes and behaviour, and political power refers to the activities of the state. Military power refers to the use of physical coercion. Mann (1986) argues that these four sources of power are independent and none of them plays a primary role. However, there may be times in which two or more of them co-exist in one group or organization, but there is never an occasion when all co-exist.
Both Parsons (1954) and Davis and Moore (1967) advocate that the effective functions of society rely, amongst other things, on two elements: firstly, on a whole net of various kinds of tasks and, secondly, on people’s different innate abilities. Different kinds of work require people with different physical or intellectual abilities.

There are therefore people who, due to their abilities, occupy highly demanding positions and there are others who follow directions. The former exert power over the latter who, in turn, must follow directions. Women, due to their biological characteristics, are not considered capable of occupying high demanding jobs. Thus, they undertake positions involving low responsibility and most of them remain in the home. These occupational differences lead inevitably to social stratification, as described by Parsons (1954). However, this unequal distribution of power is legitimate and is based on shared values; people acknowledge that the exertion of power leads to common goals.

An alternative view of power is taken by Foucault. He was not greatly interested in giving a definition of power as many other authors have done. Instead he focused on the means of exercising power and the effects of this exertion. Foucault relates power to knowledge and knowledge to experience. He explains that our identity as social human beings is socially constructed building up by the knowledge/experiences we have (1988b). Our behaviour, aspirations, goals, ambitions, expectations and moral system are built up on our knowledge about “reality”. How broad or limited this knowledge is depends on strategic manipulation of the sources of information. Thus, those who control the sources of information control “us” as well since it is they who decide what kind of knowledge we will be provided with. The implication of this is that an imbalance of power could be perpetuated if the oppressed people are restricted from having adequate knowledge. Another reason stated by Foucault which contributes to the perpetuation of the exertion of power is the resistance of the oppressors i.e. where there is power there is a resistance which, in turn, increases the need for power and control (Smart, 2002).
4.3.2 Feminist approaches to the concept of power: The emergence of patriarchy

At the beginning of 20th Century, Weber (1946) used the term “patriarchy” to describe a legitimate type of traditional authority. This traditional authority is based on a widespread ideology about differences in both the biological and sexual roles between men and women. Half a century later, feminists used the term “patriarchy” to describe almost all kinds of male domination over women (Kandiyoti, 1991). During the 1960s, feminists began to use the concept of patriarchy to describe male domination over women (Kandiyoti, 1991). Initially, patriarchy - which comes from the Greek “rule by the fathers” - was a term which allowed feminists to distinguish between class oppression and sexual oppression (Rowbotham, 1981). Through the years the meaning of the term expanded so that it encapsulated many kinds of oppression.

Patriarchy is an almost universal system in which men have a greater authority over women; this is based on societal constructions of gender inequality (Fuchs, 1988). This greater authority is not only limited to family matters but is relevant to all social spheres, including the labour market, prostitution, pornography, sexual abuse, advertising and entertainment, and culture (Walby 1990; Cairns, 1997).

In her book, “The Creation of Patriarchy”, Lerner (1986) explains the emergence of patriarchy by giving the term a historical dimension. Lerner (1986) states that the formation of gender and the establishment of gender roles emerged many centuries ago. Women, due to their reproductive capacities in periods of war, were exchanged through tribes or brought into marriage as a resource of economic welfare for their families. Societies with more women could produce more children. And the more children a society had, the more productive hands that society had available in helping to increase its productivity. Over time this led to women’s enslavement by men in order that they
produce children as part of their ‘labour’. The more women a man owned as workers, the stronger he was.

In this sense it was the enslavement of women, not the enslavement of men, that brought about the beginnings of the formation of class oppression. Women made up the oppressed class, which was ruled by patriarchal relations. Later on, during the second millennium B.C., women did not bring a dowry to their marriage but rather the groom paid for the possession of the bride. Thus, poor daughters were either sold by their families into marriages or were forced into prostitution for the benefit of their families. By selling their daughters, families accumulated money in order for their sons to use it for the acquisition of a bride.

At this point it should be stressed again that it was not women per se who were of interest but rather their sexuality, especially their capacity for reproduction. Lemer (1986) explains that the exploitation of women’s sexuality can be seen in many historical periods. It started in tribal times and in times of feuds and then continued with their male family members and husbands in present times. Thus there was a difference between the fights of women and men against their respective oppressors; men were fighting for their survival whereas women were fighting for the control of their own bodies.

Lemer (1986) adopts a Marxist approach and states that women constituted a different social class than men. Men belonged to a class that owned the means of production and therefore dominated the class that did not own these means. Women as members of the dominated class were able to acquire access to the means of production through their fathers or husbands. The necessary prerequisite for such access was women’s moral sexual behaviour.

Like many other feminists (Millett, 1970; Firestone, 1970; Walby, 1990; Delphy and Leonard, 1999), Lemer (1986) sees the state and the family’s role as important in maintaining and perpetuating gender-class domination. Throughout different times and
in different societies, men have been able to dominate women’s sexuality because the state regulates female sexuality and patriarchal behaviour by laws. Women, regardless of their social class, exchange their subordination in sexuality, housekeeping, childrearing, their employment status, and in their decision-making to the “protection” of a man. Both culture and the state have accepted this paternalism of patriarchy so that a man is obliged by law to offer a woman such a “protection” (i.e. to provide her with economic support, social status, and/or even her identity).

Finally, the family is the place where the manifestation of female domination takes place. Patriarchal relationships within families have not yet been extinguished. They may exhibit themselves in a different form but they are still relevant. Recent changes in gender roles within the family, however, have not altered male dominance in public, in institutions, or in government. Both polygamy, which is the norm in oriental countries, and double standards in sexual behaviour, which is the norm in more equalitarian countries, are both patriarchal relationships, despite being of different types.

4.3.2a Patriarchy and Sexuality

The concept of patriarchy is central to the ideology of radical feminists. Radical feminists use the concept of patriarchy to describe any form of male dominance over women, especially through sexual behaviour, and they make it clear that patriarchy is not a product of capitalism or any other system (Millett, 1970). Women are oppressed as women per se, not as members of any other social group; their oppression is therefore sexual in nature.

Radical feminists argue that the oppression of women forms the framework for understanding all other forms of oppression. This is because women were the first oppressed group and their oppression is therefore fundamental and universal. Wood (1991) argues that patriarchy is an overall system of values, institutions and practices for the interests of men as a group, which dismisses and/or devalues the interests of women as a group.
Sexuality has been seen by some feminists as a form of male power over women as a separate domain (Richardson, 1996; Jackson, 1999) whereas for others sexuality is the outcome of inequalities of a capitalist society (Segal, 1994; Dworkin, 1997).

4.3.2b Sexuality as a form of male power over women as a separate domain.

Radical Feminists begin from the premise that social construction is patriarchal, and sexuality, as a concept which is socially constructed, is defined and deployed according to a masculine point of view. Radical feminists argue that the way sexuality is exerted by men leads to gender inequalities. Thus, the reasons of gender inequality can be found both in the nature of traditional heterosexual relationships and in the structure of social institutions.

Richardson (1996) advocates that sexuality has been constructed in the interest of men. It constitutes the primary means by which men control women and maintain power over them. Women have less control in sexual encounters due to the existence of double standards, to social expectations and to an imbalance in economic resources (Firestone, 1970; Delphy and Leonard, 1999). Within the marriage, for example, women are expected to be sexually available to men regardless of their own desires. Dworkin (1997) argues that the context in which intercourse takes place is one in which men have social, economic, political and physical power over women. According to Dworkin (1997), it is this male power that constructs both the meaning and the current practices of intercourse.

According to radical feminists, men’s exploitation over women usually takes the form of commercial exploitation. Despite the changes in women’s sexual behaviour, their exploitation by men is greater nowadays than in previous times (Richardson 1996). Richardson (1996) explains that until recently, women were expected to be passive and restrained in their sexual behaviour. In the current climate, women are no longer expected to behave in this way; however, such changes regarding women’s sexual behaviour have occurred for the benefit of men, not for the benefit of women. It is now
much easier for men to benefit by exploiting women commercially by using their bodies (i.e. pornography, prostitution, etc).

Sexual relations both reflect and serve to maintain women’s subordination through violence, pornography, prostitution, sexual harassment in the work place, sexual harassment on the street, rape in marriage, date rape and incest. (Firestone, 1970; Dworkin, 1997).

**Pornography and prostitution**

Radical feminists have considered the market of prostitution and pornography as being institutions where women not only are sex objects controlled by men but they are also restricted from having any control over their own labour. According to Dworkin (1997) and Segal (1987), pornography implies a biological superiority of men over women; this makes people believe, firstly, that inequality, violence, powerlessness, pain and force all equal sex while, secondly, that women take pleasure from this superiority and domination. In this sense pornography, especially hard-core, exaggerates the power relations between men and women which are involved in sexual activity and celebrates violence against women.

**Rape**

Pornography is not the only sexual behaviour where men exert violence, power and control over women. According to radical feminists, rape is a violent action primarily motivated by needs for power and control. Radical feminists do not accept that a rapist could be motivated by reasons of psychological pathology (Berlin, 1983) neither do they accept that rape varies in the different social context where it takes place. Rape therefore should not be seen in isolation from contemporary views about sexual behaviour (Blackburn, 1993). Instead, the dominant view amongst radical feminists is that men rape, firstly, because the victims are not able to defend themselves, and secondly because societal values tolerate violence of this kind. This position is supported by findings which show that rape is more common in cultures where women hold little
political or economic power and the sexes are highly segregated (Allison and Wrightsman, 1993).

Sexual harassment
As women began to move into the public sphere, sexual harassment became another potentially threatening tool in maintaining a male’s dominant position (Goodman 1992; Wilson 1992). Radical feminists make use of findings which show that harassment takes place in societies which are characterized by asymmetrical gender power relationships (Cairns, 1997; Epstein, 1992).

Thus, the harasser not only has personal power over the person who is harassed but also has institutional power since the state tolerates his actions. Sexual harassment is directly related to notions of powerlessness; this, it is argued, can be proved by the fact that women who are in the company of another man are less likely to be harassed because she is not considered powerless anymore (Thomas and Kitzinger, 1997).

According to Goodman (1992), mild sexual harassment is made up of sexual teasing and joking. In moderate sexual harassment, men can exert some kind of pressure for a date, while in severe sexual harassment there maybe an attempt to force the woman to have sex.

It could thus be said that the harassment of women can be understood as one of the ways in which men are socialized into gender-appropriate sexual behaviour. As such, it is related to the larger context in which it takes place. Cairns (1997) argues that in societies characterized by large differences in sex-role behaviour, harassment is more visible than in societies where there is less of a difference.
4.3.2c Patriarchy and Capitalism

Marxist feminists use the concept of ‘patriarchy’ to describe women’s oppression by men within a capitalist system. This oppression is related to notions of “work exploitation” rather than to sexuality as radical feminists assert.

Marxist feminists advocate that the subordination of women has an economic basis with two parts; the first relates to the free labour women perform for men within the family setting, while the second relates to the low paid work which women do for their male bosses (Mitchell, 1971).

Women’s oppression is the result of the way capitalism works. Production needs numerous and cheap hands; in the labour market, therefore, women are used as “cheap hands”. Even though, in many cases, they are doing the same amount of work as men, as well as the same kind of jobs, women are paid less than men. Marxist feminists remark that the exploitation of women becomes greater when they are working inside the home. Marxist feminists explain that domestic activities are not perceived by society as women’s duties; they are instead the kinds of activities which deserve to be paid. Marxist feminists conclude that gender inequalities are deeply connected to the emergence of private property and to social class inequality.

Hartmann (1981), in “The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: towards a more progressive union”, describes the nature of patriarchy and explains how the interaction between capitalism and patriarchy works. Hartmann (1981) states that, before feminist movements, Marxists and social scientists used the concept of “patriarchy” to describe a hierarchical system of relations between men. It was this system that formed the political and economic outline of societies. But patriarchy was never perceived as a system which dominates women. Thus, Hartmann gives her own definition about patriarchy as being:
“a set of social relationships between men, which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women.” (Hartmann, 1981:14)

Hartmann’s theorization of patriarchy has major differences to the theorizations offered by radical feminists in its historical character. Their theorization is characterized by essentialism. Hartman’s (1981) position, which is similar to Walby’s (1990) view, states that patriarchy is not a universal and unchanging phenomenon; this is despite the fact that it exists in most societies. Patriarchy varies in from society to society and over the years has changed in its intensity and form.

In addition, Hartmann (1981) does not accept the radical feminist statement that all men have the same access to patriarchal benefit. Dworkin (1997a), for example, argues that all men, regardless of hierarchy, are able to dominate at least some women. Hartmann (1981) advocates that there is a hierarchy among men and differential access to patriarchal benefits which depends upon class, race, national, material status and sexual orientation.

4.3.2d Walby and Patriarchy

Walby (1990) postulates that most feminist theorists, in their effort to explain women’s oppression, focus on certain social systems and concepts while ignoring others. By focusing only on patriarchy (as radical feminists tend to do) or solely on capitalism (as Marxist feminists tend to do), or even on a combination of both (eg. Harmann, 1981), feminists leave out of their theorization many issues related to women’s everyday life. Since women are living in a social world there are social phenomena and forces other than patriarchy or capitalism which might affect their lives.

Walby (1990) covers these limitations by theorizing patriarchy as a system of social structures which acts on many aspects of both public and private spheres. Walby clarifies this by saying that her analysis of patriarchy is applicable within most Western
societies, especially in Britain. She postulates that patriarchy consists of six structures and two forms. The structures of patriarchy are: (1) paid work, (2) household, (3) sexuality, (4) violence, (5) the state, and (6) culture.

These structures are relatively autonomous and distinct from each other, yet they are interrelated having causal effects upon each other. All the structures operate to the same end, which is the exclusion of women from both the public and private spheres.

Walby (1990) explains the operation of each structure of patriarchy by the following: in paid work, for example, women are excluded from the best jobs by being segregated into doing the less skilful ones. In particular, job segregation by sex is central to men’s control over women. The household tends to exclude women from the public domain by preventing them from pursuing careers of high status and wage. Sexuality affects relationships in paid work; sexual harassment, for example, is used to threaten women and discourage them from pursuing better jobs. Violence is used a means of control over women in both the public and private sphere, affecting women’s behaviour. Walby (1990) cites rape, wife battering and sexual harassment as some examples of violence against women. The state legitimates male violence over women by not intervening in many cases of women’s abuse. Finally, culture creates beliefs and ideologies of sexuality and of women’s morality through religion, socialization, education and media.

As mentioned earlier, patriarchy is distinguished into “public” and “private” forms. Private patriarchy consists of the household, violence and sexuality and refers to males’ domination over females within the family and its strategy. Private patriarchy is considered to be exclusionary by preventing women from entering the public sphere. Public patriarchy, on the other hand, consists of paid work, state and culture. It refers to male’s domination over women through the state and the labour market. It operates in a segregating way by causing women difficulties and disadvantages in the labour market. These difficulties make women reluctant to work outside the home. Walby (1990) argues that it is the bad conditions within the labour market - and not necessarily family responsibilities - which make women reluctant to work outside the home.
Like Hartmann (1981), Walby (1990) does not ascribe one essential character to patriarchy. Over the last 20 to 30 years, she says, there have been changes in both the ‘degrees’ and the forms of patriarchy. Changes in the degrees of patriarchy have been evident in the reduction in the wage gap, in educational qualifications, and in the increase of men’s participation in housekeeping and childcare. Changes in the forms of patriarchy have been seen after the women’s entry into the labour market. Women’s entry into the labour market has caused a shift of patriarchal control from the private to public sphere.

Walby’s theory of patriarchy shows that patriarchy operates in both spheres, public and private. It is not focused on only certain aspects of social life but encapsulates a wide perspective, including structures, degrees and forms. In this sense Walby (1990) has overcome many of the problems other feminists have had when theorising patriarchy e.g. essentialism, by giving patriarchy a spherical conceptualisation. Walby has been criticized by Stacey (1993) for not being clear about the term “structures” in her analysis of patriarchy. Indeed, in some structures such as culture, Walby does not give a clear, fixed pattern of gender relationships.

4.3.3 Rural Greece: women and power

Anthropological studies of the Greek rural environment have indicated that societal settings are organised into public and private domains. In these domains, individuals have well-established and clear-cut gender roles. It has been argued that public life is related to men and private life is related to women (Friedl, 1962; Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Dubisch, 1986a; Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991). Friedl (1962) relates this distinction of gender power (i.e. between “public” and “private” power) to the domain in which this power is exerted. “Public power” is related to men and “private power” to women.
The issue of women’s power in rural Greece has generated much debate regarding its definitions, origins, constituent parts and the way it is expressed. Lamphere (1974) advocates that the concept of influence (or the ability to affect the power of others) is more related to women, whereas the concept of power (i.e. the socially approved control of resources) is more related to men. Rosaldo (1974) states that women have power but not authority (i.e. the recognition of someone’s power as being right). Friedl (1986) makes a distinction between power and prestige (public respect) and states that women in rural Greece have real power, which is unseen because it is exercised in the domestic sphere.

Dubisch (1986a) states that a definition of women’s power in rural Greece is quite problematic because power usually tends to be seen and interpreted according to men’s standards. That is, power is expected to be related to male activities and to be exhibited in public. However, it has been observed that women in rural Greece exhibit a kind of power within the private sphere. This happens because women are denied power in public; they therefore seek to exercise it in an illegitimate way anytime they need to (Friedl, 1967; Dubisch, 1974; du Boulay 1976). This means, as Dubisch (1986a) puts it, that women’s power should be defined in a different way than that of men. Dubisch (1986a) also argues that even though the many definitions of women’s power given by anthropologists seem to contradict each other, they are all useful when analysing women’s roles.

Dubisch (1986) argues that notions of power vary from society to society according to principles and values of the culture. What constitutes power in one society might not possibly in another. Thus, as Dubisch postulates in rural Greece power is interpreted according to a value system which is not necessarily similar to that of the urban areas of the same country and much more to western societies.

For Friedl (1986: 42-52) and du Boulay (1986:139-168) appearance of public prestige and realities of power are not the same. Men’s prestige lies on their public appearance and on functions such as negotiations with political issues, job, celebrations, events and
Women on the other hand, are invisible in public, restricted to the domestic sphere and have limited access to the power available from the economic and political world. However, in practice women have a great deal of power and influence which is of different kind, source and nature than that of men.

Nevertheless, according to du Boulay (1986:139-168) and Friedl (1986:42-52) in order to understand the nature of rural women’s power we need to understand how the domestic realm operates and its social significance. Since family is the most significant structural and cultural element in Greek rural society, then the power someone has within the family is more important than the power someone has in the public sphere. Women hold a position of power in the life of the family and therefore their role within their village is a powerful one.

According to Dubisch (1992) even though, in rural Greece, public and private spheres are separate from each other they somehow are interrelated and complementary. Dubisch explains that the prestige each partner has gained in his or her own domain can be translated into power in the other domain. Power within the family has important consequences for power in society as a whole. That is even though women are restricted in their houses they have important roles in the public sphere such as the relationships between relatives, religious rituals, the public and personal success of their family members, economic power derived from their dowries and their family’s reputation. On the other hand, men have important roles within households as they represent the household.

Keneddy (1986:121-138) states that men may experience greater freedom than women but at the same time they are cut off from the household activities, interrelationships between the family members, problems in the family and emotional attachments. Although their lives are public they live in “relative solidarity” (Kennedy, 1986:122). Indeed, according to a Greek saying: the husband is a guest in the house.
In regards to women's submissive behaviour, du Boulay (1991:47-78) posits that researchers in order to understand men's exploitative behaviour towards women have to understand firstly the context within which this exploitative behaviour occurs and secondly try to avoid giving it the same significance that it would have in western culture.

Wives, for example, understand that they have to accept public humiliation by their husbands. In this way a man shows that he is a capable head of the household and he is able to impose his will. A man has to show in public that his family is governed by him, a man and not by his wife, a woman. Thus within the couple each is loyal to norms (Chapter 7). Despite the fact women do not mind if they are publicly humiliated about their limited knowledge of international politics, of new technology or of social events, no woman would accept public questioning of her ability to be a proper housekeeper, a good mother and a wife. Women by being obedient and accepting other constraints, fulfil their social roles and benefit from social rewards which are prestige and status (Kennedy, 1986:121-138). According to Kennedy women have the ability to control men's behaviour in public but they rarely do it because in this way they will be disempowered. They have coping mechanisms such as neglecting household duties or withholding sex but these coping mechanisms are the reason of perpetuating their disempowerment.

According to du Boulay (1986:139-168) women are isolated from the outside world but they master the private world. House posits a sacred role in rural Greece around which all life depends. The woman is the central figure within it and as a wife "is a spiritual guardian of husband, house and family" (du Boulay, 1986:139).

4.3.3a Women's power: Ideological or material?

The power women acquire in rural Greece has been found to originate mainly from three areas: marriage, dowry and motherhood. There have been attempts by anthropologists to prove whether the origins of women's power are material or
ideological in nature. Dowry, for example, can be classified as being material in origin, whereas motherhood is more ideological.

Sanday (1981) stresses that it is unclear whether material control or ideology causes power or whether the material control comes after ideology. Indeed, especially in societies where the family adopts such an important role, women’s power is something akin to spiritual authority (du Boulay, 1974). That is to say that women’s ability to symbolise an important figure of the society gives them the ability to shape society as well as maintain central values (du Boulay, 1974; Sanday, 1981).

Dowry holds a prominent position among the material origins of women’s power (Friedl, 1962; du Boulay, 1974; Dubisch, 1974). Dowry existed as an institution in Greece until 1983 when it was abolished by law. Before this, fathers were expected to provide their daughters with material goods when they got married. These goods included land, a house or other assets. Women who brought a considerable dowry to their marriage had a greater say concerning family affairs (Friedl, 1962; du Boulay 1974). The dowry made women become more respected by the community and they also had a different status to those women who did not bring a dowry (Friedl, 1962; Dubisch 1974). In modern times, twenty years after the abolition of dowry, the custom is still active. This is especially so in rural Greece, though it takes place in an informal way.

Despite the fact that the dowry, as a material resource, is considered by a number of anthropologists to be one of the factors which contributes to women’s power in rural Greece, women, in their majority, have had no control over their assets. Instead, husbands have had complete access to these assets; in the absence of a husband it has been a male relative who will make decisions or who will have the final say about the way assets are to be invested. Pollis (1992) argues that the dowry has been of little relevance to women’s power since the bride’s property and any income derived from it has been managed by her husband. Moreover, since divorce is rare in rural Greece, the
legal nicety of the dowry being reverted to the bride after the marriage dissolved has become meaningless.

However, women seem to benefit from a dowry. During the fieldwork in Kastro it was noticed that any time people described a woman, information about her dowry was among the things they spoke about. The small community knew about the economical situation of the bride and respected her for that. A woman with a big dowry seemed to be more respected and had a different status to those whose dowry was either not of great importance or did not exist.

Katakis (1998) states that a woman is respected and accepted by the society in which she lives only when she becomes a mother. The role of being a mother is idealised in Greece, especially so in rural areas. The attitude of a woman’s family and of the whole community changes when she becomes a mother. Katakis (1998) explains that the influence that a woman has increases with the birth of a boy. Boys will replace the father in cases where he dies or is absent for any reason and they will defend the family’s honour. Moreover, boys will remain close to their mothers in cases where there is an inheritance of land, whereas daughters will become married and will leave the family. The mother’s authority and power increases as time goes by, and the family increases with more children, wives and grandchildren.

Pollis (1992) in particular states that, since the mother has fulfilled her main function, which is the acquisition of sons, the power relations within the family change. Without having shed her previous submissive nature towards her husband, she is now transformed from a “sinful Eve” to a domineering woman (du Boulay, 1974; Sanday, 1981). She becomes progressively capable of successfully manipulating the man’s weaknesses and begins to exercise control over the family members.

Even though motherhood is a highly respected element of women’s natural abilities all over Greece, in Athens and in the other big cities women seem to have lost the sacred
power which motherhood gives to rural women. Katakis (1998) emphasizes the factors, which have affected women’s power in Athens and in the other big cities. In these city areas, because of the new structure of the family, the new roles men and women have - plus the fact that children do not stay with their parents for long periods of time - have come to mean that women no longer have a clear "divine" role within the family. While in rural areas the role of women within the family is very important and dominant, in urban centres the role of women is not important.

Katakis (1998) explains the reasons of women’s powerlessness within the family by describing the role most Athenian women have within the family. Katakis (1998) reports that rural women are constantly giving to their family and their feedback for this giving is the knowledge that they are respected by society. The more they give, the more they are respected. In Athens, though, a woman’s role is quite different. The man, in many cases will satisfy all of the economic needs of the family while the woman will have a role that is merely supportive. Normally she will focus on her children with the possible result that they will be overprotected so that, by the end, everybody is opposed to her; sometimes even her child feels the same. The woman knows that her value within the family is not of great importance. Those women who are educated, qualified and employed feel guilty: when they are working they feel that they are not giving to their families, and when they do give they feel that they do not giving anything to themselves.

As well as the fact that motherhood gives women a sacred power (du Boulay, 1974), women’s emotional labour within families is another factor that contributes to their control over the family (Friedl, 1967; du Boulay, 1974; Katakis, 1998).

Beopoulou (1998) stresses another factor which contributes to women’s power in rural Greece. She points out that, usually, the survival of the rural family is not easy, and because of this husbands must go away to work either at sea or in big cities. During these long periods of absence the wife will look after the cultivation of the land or the maintaining of their small business.
Sanday (1981) points towards another way in which rural Greek women acquire power through exercising religious rituals. Sanday (1981) justifies women’s acquisition of power in this way by taking into consideration the importance of the Orthodox Church in Greek society, as well as the contradictory dual identity women have; that of an cunning Eve before their marriage, and that of the Holy Mother which is identified through the Virgin Mary (du Boulay, 1974; Sanday, 1981; Pollis, 1992; Katakis, 1998).

4.3.3b How power is exerted

Independently of whether the origins of women’s power are material or ideological, women in rural Greece have many ways to get their own way, such as withholding sex, public nagging of their husbands, or not fulfilling their household duties. This “socially unacceptable” exertion of power, the so-called *canniness* (Friedl, 1986), can be defined as influence over certain areas rather than as being described as power (Dubisch, 1991).

*Withholding sex*

_Lyssistrata_, the theatrical comedy by Aristophanes (c. 448-380 BC), shows that withholding sex is not only a very old female technique but is also a very successful one. _Lyssistrata_ calls women from all over Greece to a meeting where they decide to withhold sex unless their husbands stop the fifty-year Peloponnesian war. By the time men’s desires have increased, the women have tried their best to provoke them by dragging them to bed but then leaving them just before sexual intercourse. Their thinking behind this was that this unusual strike would eventually be successful in stopping the war; in this aim they were said eventually to be successful.

During the fieldwork in Kastro, women suggested that withholding sex was the most successful way in which they would get their own way. In Athens, however, most women did not approve of this technique. They said that they were aware of this but they never allowed themselves to use such “cheap kinds of techniques”. At this point it should be noted that this kind of attitude comes from Athenian women who are mostly
employed and actively evolved in the public domain. Differences in women’s attitudes should be explained by anthropologists’ claims that women who are denied power in the public sphere will try to find illegitimate ways of exerting it (Friedl, 1962; Lamphere, 1974; Rosaldo, 1974; Friedl, 1986)

Nagging in public
In small patriarchal societies like Kastro, particular emphasis is given to the public image held by both sexes. Thus Herzfeld (1980), who studied a big town in Crete, argues that women are able to influence their husbands by nagging them in public. According to Herzfeld (1980), such behaviour affects the husband’s reputation in a negative way. He is not able to claim any respect from the society he is living in if he is not able to convince other people that his wife respects, or at least tries to respect him.

Even though it cannot be dismissed, Herzfeld’s (1980) argument does not seem to account for the most common way in which Kastronian women exert influence over their husbands. From those things someone could easily observe, as well as from what people said in discussions and in their interviews, men treat women badly in public (especially their wives). Husbands’ common behaviour - especially so in the presence of other people - contains sarcasm and bitter comments about their wives’ ability to use their brains. No matter how much men appreciate their wives’ help within the home and their contribution to their prosperity, they treat them in a humiliating way in public.

Interestingly enough, women do not seem to be offended by their husbands’ behaviour. On the contrary, they participate fully in this ‘social performance’. In public women show to other people that they respect their husbands’ opinion unquestionably. Their unconditional acceptance of their husband’s opinion and authority will bolster the husband’s masculine image on the one hand and it will, on the other hand, add to the women’s respect. Women know that treating wives in a positive way in public is an insult to a husband’s masculinity. In most cases women know that their husbands will respect them in private. It is true that a publicly misbehaving wife may cause problems.
to her husband’s reputation; however this will, at the same, harm her own reputation. How can a wife be respected by the society in which she lives if she treats her husband in an inappropriate way in public?

Especially if she is a mother of sons, a woman’s public behaviour towards her husband should be one of great respect. If a woman does not respect the father of her sons this can be seen as if she does not “honour” her sons. Women may want to have their own way over certain issues by manipulating some of men’s weak points but they don’t want to harm their own - and especially their sons’ - honour and public image. This attitude, common among the women of Kastro, seems to be more in accordance with du Boulay’s (1974) and Katakis (1998) position than with Herzfeld’s (1991). Du Boulay (1974) remarks that women compensate for their behaviour towards men within the home with a submissive attitude in public. Katakis (1998) states that no matter how much respect a woman has within her own family, the person who always represents the family in public is her husband. Within the context of the family she is a domineering figure; outside it, however, she behaves as if she is an unimportant person; her power is hidden.

Neglecting duties
Friedl (1962) and Herzfeld (1980) both argue that since the household and the family as a unit is the central point around which a man’s reputation revolves, women deliberately neglect their household duties in order to cause damage to their husband’s reputation. Many women in this study - regardless of whether they lived in Athens or in Kastro - admitted that they have used this technique at least a couple of times. However, women have realized that by neglecting certain household responsibilities they tend to damage their own reputation, not that of their husbands. Household and family responsibilities reflect a woman’s reputation more than a man’s. Thus, the methods selected to exert a kind of influence over their husbands are usually invisible to the public, such as stopping cooking for him, ignoring him, or turning the children against him. Things such as washing clothes, ironing or cleaning the house are visible to other people and therefore are not used as a method of punishment of their husbands.

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In summary, the power that women have in rural Greece seems to be closer to a traditional authority rather than to a type of power with political and social dimensions. Women have power within the home, and this is acknowledged in public. As Dubisch (1974) puts it, women’s private power in rural areas has a public dimension. The well-being of a family is publicly recognized and this gives social prestige to both husbands and wives (Dubisch, 1974; Dubisch, 1983; Hirschon, 1984). However, this prestige is defined in a different way for men and women. As du Boulay (1974) puts it, prestige for a man can be seen as the public acceptance of masculinity that obscures women’s power. Prestige and/or power for women is only acquired through submission to men.
4.4 Human sexuality

Introduction

Sexuality has a central point in social institutions such as the family, the Church and in education. Its social and cultural basis is apparent in a number of ways such as the way we dress, the way we speak, and the way we entertain ourselves. It has an obvious, covert meaning in games, jokes, body shape, language, power, intimate relationships and in morality.

Human sexuality has been defined in a variety of ways. Scientific disciplines have given different definitions of sexuality according to their own perspectives. Thus, biology has defined human sexuality as the physical activity necessary for reproduction, while psychology advocates that sexuality is a powerful instinct which expresses psychic energy and serves as a motivation for many of human actions (Freud, 1943). Sociology, on the other hand, gives to sexuality a cultural and social dimension. Sociologists argue that sexuality is a socially learned behaviour which reflects the norms and values of a society at any given time. Since it occurs in social contexts it is therefore determined by language, media, beliefs, norms, values and religious rules. Human experience and feelings are influenced by environmental factors. Ideas about what is sexually appropriate or inappropriate, moral or immoral, or erotic or offensive, are purely social in origin (Malinowski, 1927; Oakley, 1972; Weeks, 1991).

According to Masters and Johnson (1995), sexuality has a broad meaning encompassing all of those characteristics someone needs to have in order to be sexual. It is a dimension of personality rather than a capacity for having sexual intercourse. Jackson (1996) stresses that sexuality, among other things, encompasses all of those values, attitudes and beliefs a society has about sexual behaviour or about anything else which has a sexual meaning. Masters and Johnson (1995) distinguish sexuality in sexual acts from sexual behaviour per se. Sexual acts refer to kissing, sexual intercourse, masturbation and sexual behaviour. Sexual behaviour refers to being flirtatious, dressing in a certain way, reading magazines with erotic content, etc.
Masters and Johnson (1995) distinguish between three types of sex and five dimensions of sexuality, yet they claim that sexuality is not only what is defined by each category but instead is much more. The three types of sex are: procreational sex, for having children, recreational sex for having pleasure, and relational sex for sharing within a relationship. The five dimensions of sexuality are: biological, psychological, behavioural, clinical and cultural.

4.4.1 The study of human sexuality

German neuropsychiatrist Richard Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902) was a pioneer researcher of sexual pathology. He worked for the police and due to the nature of his job had to observe many people with different sexual deviances eg. sadism, masochism, fetishism, homosexuality, and exhibitionism. His book, “Psychopathia Sexualis”, published in 1886, was a detailed presentation of countless taxonomies of mental and sexual disorders and included 237 court reports. He advocated that men were allowed to have premarital relationships but not women, and also that most homosexuals have a mental illness (Oosterhuis, 2000).

Krafft-Ebing’s work was criticized, firstly, for the Victorian ideas by which it was influenced. His research took place over a period in which sexual behaviour was repressed by a Victorian mentality (Oosterhuis, 2000). Secondly, Storr (1998) argues that his work suffers from lack of a general theory because he borrowed theories from others theorists in order to unify his findings. Much of the times these theories ran contradictory to each other. Nevertheless, the echo of Krafft-Ebing’s book influenced doctors and other scientists for more than 50 years (Brecher, 1975; Storr 1998; Oosterhuis, 2000).

4.4.1a Henry Havelock Ellis (1859-1939)

Henry Havelock Ellis, an English physician, published the six-volume “Studies in the Psychology of Sex” between 1897 and 1910. This set of books was full of detailed
observations, events and personal stories of readers which he had received by post. The books were controversial and banned for several years because he advocated tolerance in sexual behaviour (Nottingham, 1999).

According to Ellis, sexuality is a normal, healthy and pleasurable human activity. Ellis pointed out that societies around the world and at various times have had different and often conflicting beliefs about sexuality. In Europe and America, for example, it is customary for people to cover their genitals. Ellis discovered that there were some tribes in Africa who considered that their genitals should be uncovered. He developed ideas including the relativity of sexual values, the normality of masturbation, beliefs about the sexual equality of men and women, the re-definition of normality, and tolerance of sexual differences.

Ellis suggested that, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of sexual behaviour, scientists have to observe and study the sexual behaviour of those people who live in societies with different norms, values and beliefs. According to Masters et al. (1995) and Pervin (1993), Ellis stressed the multi-disciplinary character of sexuality with historical, anthropological, biological, psychological and sociological aspects. Contrary to the current Victorian beliefs, he stressed that sexual desires are normal and healthy and that a woman’s sexual desires does not affect her morality.

4.4.1b Sigmund Freud (1856-1939).

One of the most important figures in the history of psychology, Freud’s analysis of men and women’s psyches has influenced the thought of scientists belonging to a variety of disciplines, e.g. doctors, authors, philosophers, historians and social scientists. Freud defined sexuality as libido, a fundamental sexual energy (Freud, 1943). After the examination of hundreds of patients he argued that the conflict between sexual needs and societal mores is the source of mankind’s tendency for dissatisfaction, aggression, hostility and violence (Freud, 1961).
Freud believed that an adult's sexual behaviour is the result of certain developmental stages through which he goes during childhood (Pervin, 1993). These stages are the oral, anal and phallic stages. In each of these stages a different erotic area of the body is prominent. Thus, during the first year the child goes through the oral stage, where the mouth is the main erogenous zone. Between one and three years of age the child goes through the anal stage, which is characterised by the child's central area of bodily concern being the rectum. During the phallic stage, lasting from three to six years of age, the genital region becomes the primary source of pleasure. A child will have a healthy sexual behaviour as an adult only then when s/he passes from one stage to the other without any problem.

Boys, through the resolution of the Oedipus conflict (feeling sexual attraction for their mothers and hate towards their fathers), will identify themselves with their fathers. Later they will develop those personality characteristics which society requires from them as boys and as future men. Girls, on the other hand, go through the Electra complex. During this complex, girls, due to the fact that they lack a penis, feel betrayed by nature and envy the penis of their father and brother/s. Women will not resolve this complex; they will instead, for the rest of their lives, have feelings of jealousy and inferiority towards men. This results in their sexuality being passive and masochistic.

Freud also distinguished between clitoral and vaginal orgasms. A clitoral orgasm is an immature one and is pursued by girls during their childhood when they masturbate. A vaginal orgasm is more mature and is achieved through the penetration of the vagina.

Freud's work generated much controversy during his lifetime and continues to do so even now. The validity of his generalizations has been questioned, as most of his conclusions about repressed sexuality are based on the study of patients suffering from hysteria (Feldman, 1987; Stanford-Friedman, 2002). Many of his theories have received criticism, particularly from feminists who see much of his work as "phallocentric" and reflecting the mentality of 19th Century (Firestone, 1970; Olivie, 1984; Friedan 1993). Nevertheless Freud managed to go against the Victorian beliefs of that period and to
prove that the repression of sexual activity may lead to stress, depression and other dysfunctions of the personality.

4.4.2 Sex Surveys

By the mid 20th Century the study of human sexuality passed from impersonal observations to more personal interviews and questionnaires. Thus, a number of surveys have highlighted the variety of preferences inherent in sexual behaviour: these include complaints, satisfactions, as well as anatomical and biological functions and dysfunctions.

4.4.2a Alfred Kinsey (1904-1956)

Kinsey was not a sexologist; he was an entomologist. Kinsey began studying sexuality as part of a sex education course which was offered to him at the University of Indiana. It was then that Kinsey undertook one of the greatest and detailed surveys of our times. With a team of qualified interviewers and scientists he developed a very precise questionnaire which was answered by 11,000 respondents. In 1948 he published the book, “Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male” (Kinsey et al., 1948), and in 1953 he and his team published “Sexual behaviour in the Human Female” (Kinsey, 1953). These studies showed that there was remarkable variation in sexual practices among Americans according to their age, educational status and religious beliefs. Concerning female sexuality Kinsey argued that, in order for women to be able to reach orgasms easily, they should overcome social inhibitions (Kinsey, 1953).

Kinsey’s study has been criticized for its lack of sampling representativeness. Most of the respondents were middle or upper class Protestants; thus his sample did not represent the elderly, people who lived in rural areas, or those belonging to a different religion, social class or ethnicity (Kinsey et al., 1948).
4.4.2b William Masters and Virginia Johnson,

William Masters and Virginia Johnson, a physician and a behaviourist psychologist respectively, both stressed that in order for complex sexual behaviour to be understood it was vital that the physiology and anatomy of the body be known (Masters et al. 1995). In 1954 they began a study about physiological sexual responses which took place entirely within laboratories. The first participants recruited for this study were prostitutes; later on, however, the majority of participants were white, middle-class married couples. By 1965 more than 10,000 cases had been studied, which gave valuable information about human anatomy and human physical responses to sexual activity.

Masters and Johnson’s findings about female frigidity put an end to various myths about sexuality. Many female participants described themselves as frigid as they had rarely or never experienced orgasms. However, when they were asked to masturbate, they achieved an orgasm easily and fast.

Despite Masters and Johnson’s valuable contribution to the study of human sexuality, their study received some negative criticisms. The fact that people’s sexual behaviour was observed within a laboratory and in an experimental way made scientists suspicious as to the validity of the findings.

4.4.2c Shere Hite

Shere Hite (Hite, 1987) believed that a large amount of the sexual and emotional lives of men and women had not been satisfactorily investigated by Kinsey. Hite conducted three surveys, the first of which took place in 1976 and surveyed female sexuality. The second took place in 1987 and investigated male sexuality. In both surveys Hite used the same questionnaire. In the third study, which took place in 1987 and surveyed 4,500 women, Hite investigated the emotional life of women. In Hite’s surveys, more than 100,000 participants were asked to answer anonymous, open-ended questionnaires. The
questionnaires had been distributed to large organizations, factories, popular magazines and various other work places.

“The Hite Report on Female Sexuality” and “The Hite Report on Love, Passion and Emotional Violence” revealed that 98% of women would like to have exclusivity and more communication with their partners. 70% of those who had been married for more than five years had had extramarital affairs and 87% revealed that the most meaningful and deep relationship they had had was with another woman. Even though Hite studied a huge sample of participants, she managed to keep a qualitative thread running through the research. Women were allowed to define their own sexuality in their own words, as well as the problems they had encountered. Hite’s survey raised issues of gender inequality and showed that gender and sexuality are socially shaped.

Hite has criticized the surveys of Masters and Johnson (1995) and Kinsey (1953) as male-centric and culturally biased. In those surveys, Hite explains, sex was mainly viewed as an action which ends with the ejaculation of the male. This view is not biological but cultural; Kinsey and Masters and Johnson presented this view because they wanted their data to fit into a prevalent ideology. Hite admits that, within a patriarchal society, the primary aim in sex is the male’s satisfaction. Her findings show that 70% of female participants had an orgasm when masturbating, not during intercourse. Hite claimed that if the majority of women attain an orgasm by stimulating their clitoris then this could not be wrongful or problematic, as postulated by Freud.

Hite’s methodology and conclusions were criticized as being biased because her conclusions were based on the 4.5% of the respondents who filled in the questionnaires and mailed them back. The remaining 95.5% of the sample might have been quite different in their beliefs.
4.4.2d Surveys in Britain

The "Little Kinsey" Report (1937-1949) was a sex survey carried out in Britain by the original Social Research Organisation called "Mass-Observation". The study, influenced by Alfred Kinsey's research, investigated many aspects of women's lives using random sampling techniques. Women expressed their attitudes towards sexuality and talked about their sexual behaviour. The results of the survey revealed that, in general, married women were not satisfied within the context of their marriage.

At the time "Little Kinsey" took place - a post-war era - many values and morals of British society were being questioned. Women had started to question what was moral or immoral, proper or wrong, and what pleasure was and what duty was in relation to their sexual behaviour both within and outside their marriage. The method used to collect and analyze the data in the "Little Kinsey" study was an innovation at that time: it combined both qualitative and quantitative methods. The collection of data was done qualitatively and then analyzed quantitatively (Stanley, 1995).

Other small scale surveys in Britain were: "Patterns of Marriage", "The Sexual, Marital and Family Relationships of the English Woman", and "Sex and Marriage in England Today".

Slater and Woodside's (1951) "Patterns of Marriage" survey took place between 1943 and 1946. Its findings showed that sexual intercourse bored most of British wives and they experienced it as a duty. On the other side of the coin, young couples considered sexual intercourse as an expectation rather than as a shame or duty. At the time the research was carried out there was considerable doubt as to whether many women, especially young wives, had ever experienced an orgasm.

In Chesser's (1965), "The Sexual, Marital and Family Relationships of the English Woman" study, 10,948 married and unmarried women were surveyed. He investigated the sexual behaviour of adults both within and outside marriage. The results showed that,
outside marriage, the women were involved in a variety of sexual behaviours apart from penetration. The survey also showed that a remarkable change in women’s attitudes about sexual satisfaction and behaviour was taking place. Years ago, women had felt ashamed whenever they had experienced satisfaction; at the time of the study they were beginning to feel ashamed when they did not. However, many women said that they had a lack of sexual desire. The study explained women’s lack of sexual desire in terms of a decline in their biological capacity; it ignored among other things women’s complaints about problems with quick ejaculation, absence of foreplay, high frequency of intercourse and the absence of tenderness.

In Gorer’s (1971), study of 5,000 men and women it was found that most of the women were virgins at the time they got married. Secondly, men and women who belonged to the working class became sexually active at a younger age than those who were middle class. Thirdly, a quarter of women had never had an orgasm, one in ten men was unfaithful in his marriage (and this was accepted by many women), and one of the most important factors which influenced sexual behaviour was religion rather than class or education.

4.4.2e Surveys in Greece

There are no records to show that any national Greek sex surveys have ever taken place. However, four studies have been carried out by the Greek Sexological Institute on Athenians’ sexual behaviour and attitudes towards sexuality.

The first of these took place in 1997 by Ελληνικό Σεξολογικό Ινστιτούτο (1997), (Greek Sexological Institute), and surveyed women aged between 20 and 35 years who had a moderate to high educational status. 300 women were asked to fill in structured questionnaires about their perceptions of sexuality. The findings showed that:

(1) The average age of a woman was 18.4 years when she first had intercourse;
(2) A percentage of 41% of women considered their appearance as the most important characteristic of female sexuality while 30.7% said that appearance is the most important characteristic of male sexuality;

(3) Only 3% of female respondents considered a woman’s professional career as an important characteristic of a ‘sexy’ woman, compared with 5.3% of women who believed a professional career was an important element of an attractive man;

(4) A large percentage of women, 80.3%, expected to find love, affection and communication in a romantic relationship and they believed that men expect the same things. 3% of women expected sexual satisfaction, and only 0.3%, economic security, from a romantic relationship. A further 6% of women believed that men expect to find sexual satisfaction in a relationship while no-one believed that men expected economic security from a relationship;

(5) A total percentage of 20.3% of women who were not in a stable relationship hadn’t had any sexual intercourse with their partner in the six months prior to the study. The majority of women believed that they did not communicate enough with their partners about issues concerning sexuality. 11.7% of women take the imitative in sexual intercourse.

At the same time, the Institute conducted similar research among 300 men having the same socio-demographic characteristics as in the previous study. The main findings were as follows:

(1) The average age of first intercourse for men was 17.9 years;

(2) Forty-six per cent of men considered appearance as the most important characteristic of male sexuality whereas 61% considered appearance as the most important characteristic of a sexy woman;

(3) A total of 4.7% of men believed that a professional career is an important characteristic of a sexy man, while 0.3% believed that professional career makes women attractive to men.

(4) Regarding their expectations from a romantic relationship, 71.3% of men said they expect love, affection and communication and 68.7% believed that women expect the
same. 1.7% of men said that they expected sexual satisfaction from a romantic relationship, while 3% of men believed that women's expect sexual satisfaction. According to the research, 1% of men seek economic security in a relationship and 11% of men believed that women are seeking economic security in a relationship. A percentage of 14.3% of men who were not in a stable relationship said that they had not had any sexual intercourse with their partner during the six months prior to the study. (5) The majority of men said that there is not enough communication between themselves and their partners about issues related to sexuality. 57% of men said that it was they themselves who initiated intercourse.

After a detailed evaluation of the data, the Institute concluded that Athenians believe that there is a lack of communication between partners about their sexual preferences, expectations and frustrations. The conclusions of the research focus on the low percentage of men (14.3%) and of women (20.3%) who said that they had not had any sexual intercourse with their partner over the six months before the study was carried out. The explanations put forward for this were, firstly, that men and women are in the pursuit of a professional career and are therefore overworked. Their tiredness causes their sexual desires to fade. Secondly, the new stereotypes about men and the demands and expectations women have from them make men reluctant to get involved in sex.

Further research carried out by Ελληνικό Σεξολογικό Ινστιτούτο in 2000 (Greek Sexological Institute) provide some clues as to what Athenians believe about marriage. 124 men and 184 women between the ages of 18 and 64 years, with moderate to high educational status, filled in structured questionnaires during the year 2000. The respondents included married, single, divorced, windowed and engaged people. The findings showed that 82.1% of respondents considered that marriage as an institution has gone through a crisis in recent years. Of the respondents who had an optimistic view about marriage, 62.2% were aged between 18 and 35 years. Of the respondents who believed that marriage is in crisis, most were men with high educational status. It is worth mentioning that 16% of women, most of them married, and 25.8% of men, also mostly married, prefer marriage to come about through matchmaking. The fact that the
percentage is higher for men is explained by the fear which men have towards the more recent liberal roles women have. Men feel confused because of these liberal roles and find it difficult to make acquaintances. Both men (69.4%) and women (70.7%) considered an extramarital affair as the main reason for divorce.

The researchers concluded with the generalization that the majority of Greeks are deeply traditional (i.e. they would prefer the husband to be five to six years older than the wife and to have the same educational level and social class).

In 2002, a further piece of research took place which investigated communication between men and women in relation to their sexual relationships. 239 men and 247 women between the ages of 18 and 45 years once again completed structured questionnaires, but this time the sample consisted of married, single and divorced people. More than half of the participants had either medium- or high educational status.

In this new study, 47.7% of men and 44.9% of women, most of them married, stated that their partner does not fit their ideal stereotype. The researchers explained that, over the last few years, some confusion about gender roles has emerged in Greece. Women are not behaving in the same way as they did some years ago and this, in the main, confuses men. Thus, there is a mismatch between what men know about women’s roles and what women are in actuality.

Concerning their sexual life, Greeks - independent of their age, sex, employment or educational status - believe that this is quite satisfactory and without taboos or major problems. However, in cases where they did feel they had problems, 61.4% of the respondents said that they would not go to a specialist to resolve the problem. They would instead try to find solutions with their partner through discussions.

Finally, it seems that Greeks do not have any major problems concerning their sexual relationships. The researchers at the Institute believe that this is due to the elimination of the differences in gender roles. In sexual relationships there is, roughly speaking, an
equality between men and women. However, 16.7% of women, who were mostly single and 9.6% of men said that their partner asks to do things of a sexual nature which they do not like to participate in. According to the researchers these different percentages show that, despite the progress towards gender equality, men still have control in sexual relationships.

Up to this point, a brief account of the last century's studies and surveys about sexuality has been presented. The chapter continues to examine the various theoretical explanations of human sexual behaviour.

4.4.3 Theories of sexuality

Sociologists tend to see sexual behaviour as a kind of social behaviour. Thus when sociologists study sexuality, they emphasize social interaction, stereotypes, norms and values and analyze the interaction of historical, societal, and cultural influences upon people's sexual behaviour. Socio-cultural research suggests that there is no sexual value system and moral code that is right for everyone.

4.4.3a Socialisation learning theory

'Socialisation' refers to the way society conveys its norms and expectations to the individual. It takes place mostly in childhood, and usually involves reward and punishment (Bandura and Walters, 1963). Socialisation also involves sex imitation of adults (Belsky et al., 1984) and conveys parental (Oakley, 1985) and societal expectations. Toy choices, peer groups, social settings and various media are some of the factors which impose upon, perpetuate and regulate gender stereotypical roles. Gender roles dictate what is proper behaviour for men and what is proper for women e.g. men initiate sex and women are passive (Best, 1983; Davis and Kandel, 1981). The process of socialization is continuous throughout an individual's life.

From early childhood, people are told that certain kinds of sexual behaviour are acceptable while other kinds are not. Social norms and sanctions restrict the open
expression of sexual behaviour and attitudes. In this way society defines the way people meet their sexual needs. People’s attitudes and preferences towards sexual behaviour are defined, influenced and modified by entertainment industries, mass media and the marketplace.

4.4.3b Script theory

Sexual script theory states that sexual behavior is behavior which is the result of a previous, complex learning process and is written like a script (Gagnon and Simon, 1973). According to this theory, overall human sexual behavior cannot be spontaneous. People have learnt a complicated script which tells them what to do, how to do it, with whom to do it, and when to do it. For example, for “with whom”, people have learned to have sex with someone of the opposite sex. After they have been learned, these scripts remain in people’s minds and determine what they will do and in what order. For example, people do not feel that it is right to have passionate sex on the first date. Sexual scripts have changed through history and vary from culture to culture.

4.4.4 Feminism and sexuality

Before the examination of the relevant feminist literature it is necessary to refer to the concept of “gender” and to the meanings this concept conveys to feminists.

The study of gender as a social category emerged in the second wave of feminism in early 1970s (Jackson, 1999). Feminists used the concept of “gender” in order to define the difference between the biological and the social origins of masculinity and femininity (Delphy, 1984; Frable, 1997; Mitchell, 1975). Up until then, traditional sociology had not given special attention to the analysis and theorization of the concept of gender. Instead, sociologists in the main argued that sex and gender constituted two different separate entities. ‘Sex’ refers to the biological and genetic characteristics that divide humans into two categories, male and female. ‘Gender’ is socially constructed and refers to the characteristics which people acquire after their birth, through
socialization. Gender differences are due to a combination of biological differences and socialization (Archer and Lloyd, 1985; Mead, 1963). However, sociologists did not analyse these differences between men and women and the implications they have had on social life.

Thus, based on these biological differences, Functionalist models, for example, ascribed the quality of rationality, ambition and action to men (instrumental), and the quality of emotion, patience and lovingness to women (expressive). Quite often these ascribed qualities have been interpreted in terms of female inferiority and male superiority (Stone, 1996). For example, the widespread stereotype that men’s sexual behaviour is characterised by being active and aggressive by nature, and women’s is characterised by being receptive, has led to assumptions that the one i.e. the aggressive is superior to the other i.e. the receptive (Ortner, 1974; Bordo, 1990).

Oakley (1985), explains that "gender" - as well as its characteristics - is built up through the process of socialisation. Through the socialisation process, parents transmit social preferences and expectations to their children. They treat boys and girls in a different way and expect them to have behaviour which is gender-appropriate (Oakley, 1985). Later on, as Bandura and Walters (1963) argue when referring to children’s socialisation, society identifies people’s appropriate gender behaviour by punishments and rewards.

Gender, as a socially constructed entity, has a historical dimension. As such, it is a dynamic concept with different characteristics and different ways of being expressed from culture to culture and in different times (Segal, 1994).

According to much feminist thought, women belong to a different category which is oppressed on a social, as well as in individual, level due to their gender (Delphy and Leonard, 1999; Mitchell, 1975). Feminists explain that gender is a fundamental form of social stratification and represents a social division directly related to differences in power, opportunities and access to resources. Women do not have access to power
resources such as professions or political authority due to their gender; yet this inequality is not due to their biological potential (Firestone, 1970; Seidman, 1994). Gender stratification is caused by the ways in which culture defines, interprets and evaluates female biology, such as pregnancy; it is not biology per se which is the cause (Ortner, 1974; Bordo, 1990). Thus, it is gender which determines the power of men and the subordination of women.

The study of gender is a key concept in feminist research and it holds a central role in the analysis of gender inequalities. Women’s studies are not able to give a complete explanation of women’s oppression if gender has not been considered as a significant factor - this gives a different dimension to the research (Delamont, 1980; Firestone 1970; Gross 1986). Since, as the above feminists argue, gender has been established by a societal system, it is also affected by this system. Thus, in order for someone to understand gender relationships they need to understand the other social relationships and social structures that exist.

4.4.4a Stevi Jackson: The social construction of female sexuality

Jackson (1996) stresses that the formation of female sexuality is related to the ways sexuality is socially created by current ideology, institutions and morality. Men and women have learnt to be sexually different and to have different expectations, approaches, interpretations and roles. Sexual relationships are male-dominated and ideals about sexuality are masculine ones.

Jackson, in her theorisation of the construction of female sexuality, adopts a similar position to that of script theory. She argues that human sexual behaviour is a product of interactions, which take place between individuals and the social environment they are living in. Thus, when examining sexual behaviour, many social factors should be taken into consideration. In this sense, it can be said that female sexual behaviour seems to differ from that of male’s for reasons unrelated to biology. These reasons are instead related to cultural notions of femininity, to people’s attitudes towards sexuality and to
interrelationships between social structures and people’s private lives. Thus, female sexual behaviour is the result of a particular learning experience which is determined by socio-cultural forces.

Stevi Jackson (Jackson, 1996) considers childhood and adolescence as the most crucial periods of someone’s life for the construction of his/her future sexual behaviour. Jackson’s emphasis on childhood and adolescence does not imply any similarity to the Freudian link between childhood and adolescence. It is rather the experiences someone has during his or her childhood which will format his or her adult sexual behaviour.

Children’s behaviour, even though it is not of a sexual nature, can be interpreted as potentially sexual or as potentially evoking sexuality due to the following reasons: people tend to correlate the child’s current behaviour to the expected sexual experiences the child will have. These early perceptions, experiences, expectations and influences will contribute to the adolescent’s formation of sexual behaviour.

Adolescence, on the other hand, is a crucial period in a human’s life. This is not because of the physiological changes, which take place over that period (these changes cannot determine the future individual’s sexual behaviour) but rather because of the meaning which people ascribe to these changes and the expectations they have from the adolescent. When other people, for example, are aware of these physiological changes they expect the adolescent to start behaving in a certain way as determined by his or her gender.

When they are in adolescence, boys and girls have already accumulated some knowledge about their gender roles; this has been acquired through their childhood. This previous knowledge will affect the way they will learn modes of sexual behaviour. Adolescents will learn how to recognize and interpret sexual situations and how to act in them. During this period, girls and boys not only have different material to learn but also they have to learn it in different periods. Girls, for example, learn about emotions,
romance and socio-sexual commitment in their early adolescence. During the same
period, boys learn how to prove their masculinity through masturbation.

In late adolescence, boys acquire a socio-sexual commitment whereas girls are called to
acquire a sexual commitment. However, due to them holding stereotypes about having a
good feminine reputation, most girls place an emphasis on romantic relationships rather
than on sexual ones. They are fairly unsure about their sexual identity and many of them
remain passive, romantic, dependent and consider romantic relationships as a
precondition for sexual relationships.

4.4.4b Rubin Gayle: the sex-gendered system

For Gayle (1978), the system around which human sexuality is shaped is known as the
“sex-gendered system”. In “The Traffic in Women”, Gayle introduces the “sex-gendered
system” as being a set of arrangements by which society and human beings turn
biological sexuality and procreation to a conventional behaviour. That is, people satisfy
their naturally-occurring sexual needs by transforming them into products of human
consumption (e.g. pornography).

However, despite the fact that Gayle relates the satisfaction of sexual needs to economic
activity, she advocates that the sex-gender system is independent of any economic
system and economic forces cannot always define it.

4.4.4c Ann Ferguson: Sex/affective Systems

Ann Ferguson (1989) applies Marxist ideas about economic systems to human
relationships. Her work has both a functionalist and a psychoanalytic flavour. According
to Ferguson, male domination is formatted and perpetuated through the systems of
sex/affective energy. These systems are: (a) sexuality and love parenting, and (b) social
bonding. The concept of sexuality is used in a different sense to the way Freud used it.
Sexuality evokes feelings of social and emotional - rather than of bodily - interest. To
Ferguson (1989) there are neither psychological nor biological stages of sexual development. Sexual behaviour is clearly socially produced through the systems of sex/affective energy.

Sex/affective systems are vital parts of society in the same way economic modes of production are of certain social systems. Sex/affective systems are human products, historical and modes of an organisation, that of the society. Society, as a system, creates people’s needs and organises human labour to achieve these needs. In doing so, sex/affective system establish relationships of hierarchy and equality, with the main function being to produce human beings.

Sex/affective systems, with their related bonds, are vital parts of society and their satisfaction is necessary for society to function. In this sense, every society must have at least one historical mode of sex/affective production.

Sex/affective systems create sets of hierarchical roles. These roles are supported by the structures of other social practices, which legitimate or sanction certain forms of interaction between people. The dominance of males has a material and sexual form. Within the family setting, men benefit from women’s unpaid work whereas in the workplace they benefit by segregating women in certain professions and subjecting them to low wages. On the level of sexuality men dominate women through double standards and heterosexuality.

However, these systems do not rely on rational structures of human interest but rather on irrational sexual symbolic codes related to personal identities. Every society must have at least one model of sex/affective production and satisfying this model is necessary for society to function.
4.4.4d Catharine A. Mackinnon: Sexuality and Feminism, Labour and Marxism

Even though Catharine Mackinnon (Mackinnon, 1982) is not classified as a Marxist feminist, her theorization of the structure of sexuality is based on the Marxist economic model (1982). Both systems share common characteristics concerning their structure, consequence, forms and issues.

Mackinnon’s (1982) parallel between Marxism and sexuality is as follows: Marxism states that the work people do in order to survive shapes social structures in classes and this affects people’s social relationships. In the same way, sexuality organizes people into men and women and this division affects their social relationships.

In particular, the exploitation of some people’s work for the benefit of others creates classes; the exploitation of women’s sex by some people for the benefit of others creates the division of gender. The structure of society in terms of class leads to production; capital is the congealed form and control is the issue. In the same way, according to Mackinnon, the structure of sexuality in genders (heterosexuality) leads to reproduction; gender and family is the congealed form and control is the issue.

Mackinnon (1982) argues that it is not gender which determines sexuality but rather sexuality which determines gender. Women become sexual through gender socialisation. Sexuality is ruled and shaped by men; whatever defines a woman as sexual is what turns men on. Thus, women learn how to become feminine by acquiring all of those characteristics which should attract a man.

Men, as a gender group, exert control over women through double standards, abortion issues, rape, sexual harassment, pornography and prostitution. These means of control are abuse of a sexual nature, even though they are not any kind of overt physical force. The state institutionalises male sexual dominance and female sexual submission by being tolerant to men’s abuse. As an example, Mackinnon mentions the ambiguity
evident in the state's position concerning the boundaries between coercive and consensual sex.

Women frequently have sex for men's pleasure and not for themselves. In addition, sex sometimes occurs at a price, which women have to pay in order to take back affection and love or to prevent their partner treating them badly. This sex is that which is done due to feelings of guilt from saying no to the man who asks for it.

Mackinnon (1982) postulates that the reasons behind such women's attitudes towards men's sexual needs are twofold. Firstly women, through gender socialisation, have learnt to put men's needs above their own. Secondly, women hesitate to deny sex to men due to the general conceptualisation of male sexuality as a pure biological need, which needs an emergent relief.

Thus, women acquire all of those characteristics which constitute femininity not through any physical maturity but through a combination of emotionality, physicality, identity and status affirmation.

4.4.4e Sex as a pleasure

A number of feminists have questioned the premises of radical feminists concerning heterosexual sexual relationships (Vance, 1984; Hollibaugh, 1984, Jackson, 1999). They argue that, when they examine sexuality, radical feminists focus on the dangers and the negative aspects of heterosexual relationships. They emphasize the imbalance of power between men and women within heterosexual sexual relationships and view women mainly as victims. Issues of pleasure, craving and passion are ignored. Heterosexual sex, they advocate, should not only be a submissive and exploitative action; it is also a source of pleasure (Jackson, 1993; Hollway, 1993; Rowland, 1996; Segal, 1994).

Jackson (1999) argues that when sociologists or feminists talk about sexuality, they do not take love into account. Jackson advocates that love is central to familial ideology and
contributes to the maintenance of monogamy. Thus, according to Jackson, when sexuality is analysed it should not be examined as if it has an existence independently of desires, pleasure and love.

With this view, Jackson does not want to imply that heterosexual sexual relationships - or “heterosexual eroticism” as she puts it - are not characterized by male power. Power still exists and operates in a variety of ways and at a number of levels. Since the division of gender persists, a completely equalitarian, heterosexual sexual relationship is difficult to achieve. Rather, what Jackson wants to say is that male dominance should not be seen as inevitable in heterosexual sexual relationships.

**Section discussion**

An examination of the sociological and feminist literature shows that sexuality is socially constructed. As such, it is linked to ideas related to the state, economy, ideology, authority and to issues of gender and power. Sexuality, also, varies from culture to culture and in different times. From the literature it also seems that relationships are characterized by an imbalance of power: the power shifts towards men. In particular, the feminist literature stresses the hierarchical nature of heterosexuality and the imbalance of power that this hierarchy brings about. In doing so, this feminist research focuses on gender issues and assumes that power is a critical element in male-female relationships. Radical feminists view heterosexual sexual relationships as relationships which reflect male domination upon women. Marxist feminists, on the other hand, view gender inequality as a by-product of capitalism and the family as the origin of women’s subordination. The family exploits women in terms of capital profit through the unpaid work women offer to their families. Dual-systems theorists focus on those aspects of heterosexuality which segregate women within the labour market.
CHAPTER 5: LABOUR FORCE AND GENDER INEQUALITIES

Introduction

Even though men and women are becoming increasingly similar in the likelihood that they will be employed (Rubbery et al., 1996; Aase, 2002), there still exists an asymmetry in the workplace in regards to the types of occupation each gender holds (Blau and Ferber, 1986) and their earnings potential (Blau and Kahn, 1992). Men and women tend to do different kinds of jobs. Women are most likely to be found in jobs such as secretarial work, teachers, nurses and social workers, whereas the majority of men will be found in managerial, decision-making posts or in jobs of high status (Anker, 1997). Anker states that occupational segregation by sex has an essential characteristic; it exists in every society independently of its level of economic development, inherent political system or cultural environment.

Both Bielby and Baron (1986) and Jacobs (1995) state that it is unusual in the workplace for men and women to do the same kind of job even though the task needs people with the same skills. Jacobs (1995) explains that jobs are gender segregated, both horizontally (women are allocated to different jobs than men) and vertically (women hold the lower status). The expression the glass ceiling describes the invisible but powerful barriers to advancement for women executives (Davidson and Cooper, 1992).

According to Reskin and Padavic (1994), sex discrimination in the workplace takes four forms. These are: (1) sex segregation, (2) differences in pay, (3) promotion, and (4) authority. These forms are interrelated and one had an effect on the other. Devaluation of certain jobs, labelled as “women jobs”, for example, leads to differences in authority of those people who are doing this kind of job. Differences in authority, in turn, result in inequalities in promotion and pay.

Issues of inequality in promotion and pay have raised strong debates between researchers. The earnings gap has been explained in various ways. For some researchers it arises from the different job qualifications men and women have (Treiman and
Hartmann, 1981). For others, such as Walby (1988), the earnings gap between men and women originates in gender discriminations. Walby (1988) argues that although the representation of women in managerial positions has increased, most women do not achieve salaries similar to that of men despite the fact that the number of years they have spent in education is the same.

5.1 Theories and explanations

Researchers have offered a variety of explanations as to what creates and sustains sex differences in job segregation, in job promotion, and in the earnings gap between men and women. Even though some of the theories and analyses may overlap at some points eg. Structural Functional and Human Capital theories (Walby, 1990), they can be classified into four broad categories; (1) Structural and Functional analysis, (2) Human Capital and Labour Market Segmentation theories, (3) Marxist analysis, and (4) Feminist analysis.

5.1.1 Structural and Functional Analysis

Biological differences between men and women have been viewed by structural-functional analysts as the underlying mechanism which justifies gender inequalities in the labour market.

Parsons’ (1954) role allocation theory suggests that women and men by nature have different characteristics and thus they must have different social roles. Due to their physical superiority, men are expected to adopt the “instrumental” roles i.e. to work outside the home in order to provide their family with what is necessary for survival. Women are expected to adopt the “expressive” role and to stay at home, giving birth to the new members of society, taking care of them and transmitting life values and social norms to them.
Davis and Moore (1967) also attribute inequality in the workplace to biological differences. However, these differences are not exclusively related to the biology of gender. According to Davis and Moore some people are, by nature, more capable than others in doing certain kinds of work. All types of work are not the same but some require a higher level of performance than others. Thus, people with innate abilities should undertake highly demanding jobs and be rewarded for this, whereas others should undertake jobs which require a lower level of performance.

Although it was dominant until the 1960s, the structural-functionalist analysis of gender inequalities in the workplace was later replaced by new theories and analyses which were more relevant to the ongoing social change at the time. Structural functionalists have been criticized as perpetuating discrimination, firstly against women, and, secondly, against people with limited access to social rewards. Examples of social rewards include salary, respect, status, power and authority.

5.1.1a. Human Capital theories and Labour Market Segmentation Theories

According to this theoretical approach, both employees and employers seek to find out the best ways to maximise their benefits through the labour force. Employees seek out the best-paid jobs in order to equate their personal investment in years of education and experience with their earnings. On the other hand, employers try to maximize productivity and minimise payment in order to maximise their profit.

Human capital theories vary on whether their explanations focus on labour supply or on labour demand. Labour supply theories are based on the assumption that the jobs occupied by individuals are related to the investments they have made in education, training and job experience. Labour demand theories explain the reasons as to why employers prefer to hire a certain type of employee for particular occupations.
5.1.1b. Labour Supply Arguments

Labour Supply theories argue that because of their family roles, women invest less in the human capital market than men (Becker, 1981). This results in them choosing traditionally female occupations (Polachek, 1979) and, consequently, they earn less than men.

Labour supply theorists (Mincer and Polachek, 1974) explain that women make fewer investments in education and job training because their first priority is to care for the children and for the home. Women, it is argued, avoid highly demanding jobs because they have less time, energy and commitment to invest in their professional careers. They also work fewer years than men and, for most, the time they are employed is interrupted by leave. Sometimes this leave can be years to allow them to take care of their children. Thus women may earn less than men because of the smaller investments they have made in terms of qualifications, experience and professional training (Kilbourne et al., 1994).

As well as the above theoretical positions, Structuration Theory focused on individual’s choices for jobs (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). According to Structuration Theory, the labour market in the main needs workers to fill two sectors: occupational and organizational. The candidates for these posts are people, men and women, with different levels of expertise and ability. Those with high qualifications, flexible time and who are ambitiously motivated will pursue the organisational positions whereas the others will fill the occupational posts.

Thus, the preferences of individuals determine the demands of the labour market for workers as well as the level of value some occupational posts have. A greater supply of women for certain jobs, for example, will automatically devalue those jobs for which there is a demand. The opposite will happen for those jobs for which there is a shortage of supply. This is due to the high level of qualifications required to fill the occupational post; such jobs automatically become highly valued.
However, labour supply theorists do not dismiss the effects that culture and gender stereotypes have on both employees and employers. Women choose certain jobs and employers hire men or women for particular jobs because both groups are socialised into doing so (Marini, 1980). Labour supply theories have been criticised for attempting to present gender discriminations as if they are individual's choices (Adkins and Luru, 1994).

5.1.1c. Labour Demand Theories

Labour demand theories argue that some of the factors which affect men and women in choosing a particular kind of job also influence employers as to whether they prefer male or female workers (Anker, 1997). For example, if the majority of women choose to study nursing when employers need qualified nursing staff, employers will prefer to hire women instead of men. On the other hand, when there is a demand for highly educated or highly trained people, employers are more likely to hire men than women.

Employers consider women as a risk and more expensive than men (Anker, 1997) due to a number of reasons. Women, for example, are more likely than men to quit their jobs because of marriage, to follow their husbands into his work place, or to stay at home and take care of the family and the children. This is a cost for employers who then have to find and train other employees. Other reasons which make employers reluctant to hire women instead of men include the difficulties women have in fitting in with flexi-time. Women, for example, want flexibility in working hours in order to use some of their time for family responsibilities (Stewart and Swaffield, 1997). However, they are inclined to stay late at work or to travel away for some days. Moreover, employers notice that women often arrive late into work probably because of family responsibilities.

Employers' prejudice against women in regards to their family (Anker, 1995) has been shown in a study conducted by Kahn-Hut and Colvard (1982). In this research, when women displayed pictures of their families on their desks it was found that they did not
receive advancement in their positions as quickly as those who did not. Women were perceived as being more professional and more committed to their jobs if they did not display any pictures or did not refer to activities related to their families. In this study, employers perceived men in the same way independently of whether they displayed family pictures on their desks or talking about family activities.

Even though the effects of the family upon women’s work cannot be ignored, a number of researchers argue that the main reasons women are given less valuable jobs than men is due to the gender-role stereotypes people hold (Becker, 1981). Companies prefer men because they are considered to be more dedicated to their jobs than women, and more ambitious and more suited to decision-making occupations (Mooney et al., 1997).

There are long-standing theoretical arguments and critiques, as well as empirical evidence, suggesting that Human Capital Theory seems to be insufficient in its explanation of both sex segregation in the workplace and pay differences between men and women. Walby (1990) argues that Human Capital Theory presupposes that there are employers who are perfectly fair with employees so that each employee is paid what his or her investment is worth. Where recruitment is based on educational achievements, for example, it has been proven that women are more than capable of competing with men; however, they do not occupy more jobs than men (Walby, 1990). Over the last few decades, women are less of a burden to the household and they allocate more time to their jobs than they used to. The birth rate has decreased, the average age of a woman’s first marriage has increased, and the amount of housework carried out has decreased due to the use of technological equipments (i.e. washing machines, cookers, and vacuum cleaners). Thus, women’s commitment to the labour force has increased.

In addition, Buvini (1995) argues that in recent years the number of divorces and single mothers has increased, implying that women need to work continuously in order to survive and to support their family economically. It is reasonable, then, to assume that women are gaining greater labour market experience than before, thus contradicting the Human Capital Theories.
Ridgeway (1997) states that there are factors other than human capital investment which determine men and women’s occupations in the labour market. Women may have less experience than men, due not to their personal choice and limited investment in the labour market, but rather to the limited opportunities the labour market offers them. Thus, women’s occupation by family responsibilities may be the result of less job opportunities offered to them and the earnings gap and not the reason. Since there are no challenging opportunities offered to women many of them prefer to stay home. As Walby (1990) stresses, it is the labour market which determines the gender division of labour within the family, not the other way round.

5.1.1d. Labour Market Segmentation Theories

Labour Market Segmentation Theories posit that the labour market is segmented into sectors. Each sector has different characteristics regarding wages, promotion and the quality of services. Men and women are likely to occupy different sectors according to their qualifications, needs, aspirations and abilities.

The best known of the Labour Market Segmentation Theories is the “Dual Labour Market Theory”. According to this theory, the labour market consists of two sectors: the “primary” and the “secondary” (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). The “primary sector” includes well-paid jobs, good working conditions and opportunities for promotion. The “secondary sector” includes jobs which are unstable, low paid and with few opportunities for promotional prospects.

Employers need workers to fill both labour sectors. Women are more likely to fill the “secondary” sector because they are more flexible than men, they are not interested in getting trained, and they have less experience than men.
5.1.1e. Post-Fordist theories

Post-Fordist theories refer to an economic system which is based on the mass production of flexible and specialized - rather than standardized - goods. Because of this, the labour market needs the following combination of employees: skilled and flexible employees, only skilled employees and only flexible employees.

These theories are so named after Henry Ford, who founded the Ford Motor Company. Henry Ford devised a new way of production based on the division of labour rather than on a continuous - or linear - basis. The overall production of a car was broken down into numerous small and highly-specialised parts. This new way of production was designed to lower costs and increase profits. This method of production no longer required each worker to be highly skilled in a certain area of the production process.

The Fordist system had introduced changes to the labour market away from mass production and standardized products towards more flexible and specialized ones. These changes resulted in industries hiring both highly skilled and non-skilled workers. Women were excluded from taking up positions which required highly skilled workers (McDowell, 1992). This resulted in some skilled male workers enjoying opportunities for promotion within the factories whereas female workers were ignored and stagnated in the lower positions (McDowell, 1992; Appelbaum and Batt, 1994).

5.1.2 Marxist Explanations

Beechey (1978), a Marxist, developed the Reserve Army of Labour theories in order to explain gender inequality in the labour market. According to labour market needs, workers are irregularly employed. During times of expansion, the labour market can hire workers without offering high wages. During times of depression, on the other hand, the labour market can fire people.
According to the Reserve Army theory, women are seen as a "reserve army" available to go in and out of the labour market. Women who are married are especially preferable to employers over men to make up numbers in the reserve army. They are paid low wages due to their limited qualifications and they can be easily hired because they are not the main economic supporters of their family. In addition, married women seek to find jobs with flexi-time, few responsibilities, and without major tasks to undertake; all of this makes it easier for women to quit at a time when their family needs them at home.

Braverman (1974), a Marxist researcher, argues that managers take full control over the work force and increase its benefits by the deskilling and the degrading of jobs. Deskilling refers to the breaking down of jobs into smaller units in order to make them simpler to carry out. This occurs especially in offices and factories. Each of the units has to be carried out separately by different workers. The downside to deskilling is that the completion of each kind of task requires workers with low levels of skill. Workers can be easily replaced and they are paid low wages.

Women are more likely than men to fill these occupations; this is due, firstly, to employers attributing certain characteristics to them e.g. more flexibility in the hours they work, less training required, less experience, and less ambition. A second reason is that, over recent years, women have spent less time on housekeeping duties due to the advancement of technological facilities. This has resulted in more free time for women.

Walby (1990) has criticized Braverman’s (1974) theory and remarks that the managerial control that is derived from deskilling workers is not the only inevitable tendency towards which all employers will move. Deskilling workers is only one method among many e.g. Corporate Social Performance, Corporate Social Responsibility and Responsiveness Models suggested by Wood (1991). In regards to the decreased amount of time spent by women on housekeeping, Walby (1990) argues that the available evidence contradicts Braverman’s argument. Full-time paid women may be spend less time than full-time housewives in doing housekeeping duties, but the amount of time
which full-time housewives spend on housekeeping duties has not declined over the last numbers of years (Cowan, 1983).

5.1.3 Feminist Explanations

Feminist explanations of gender inequality in the labour market are based on gender explanations rather than on economic analyses. It is the gender relationships and not the economy, which dictate the following: firstly, women occupy low status jobs, secondly, women receive fewer than men's promotion and thirdly, employers hold negative stereotypes directed towards women. However, Marxist feminists use the concept of ‘patriarchy’ to describe women's oppression by men within a capitalist economic system. This oppression is related to notions of “work exploitation” rather than to sexuality as radical feminists advocate.

Even though Marx has written little about women’s role in the family, his theories about domestic activities have had considerable impact on feminist thought. Women’s oppression according to Marxist Feminists is the result of the way capitalism works. The production needs numerous and cheap hands; in the labour market, therefore, women are used as “cheap hands”. Marxist feminists advocate that the exploitation of women becomes greater when they are working inside the home. They argue that domestic activities should not perceived by society as women’s duties; they are instead the kinds of activities which deserve to be paid. Marxist feminists conclude that gender inequalities are deeply connected to the emergence of private property and to social class inequality.

Marxist feminists advocate that the subordination of women has an economic basis with two parts; the first relates to the free labour women perform for men within the family setting, while the second relates to the low paid work which women do for their male bosses (Mitchell, 1971).
5.1.3a Women as a Class

Early Marxist feminists, when explaining women’s oppression, considered women to be a separate class. Firestone (1970), in “The Dialectic of Sex: the Case of Feminist Revolution”, postulates that the most basic division of society is by sex rather than by economic status. This occurs because biological differences mean that men and women are not equal. Pregnancies, breastfeeding, menstruation and the menopause are some of the biological characteristics specific to females, which put them in a weaker position than men. However, women constitute a different class not because they are biologically different to men but because they are dominated by men due to these biological differences. Men and women can be seen as two distinct groups and one dominates the other. When this domination takes on an economic character then the concept of class acquires a social dimension.

Dallacosta and James (1975) explain that before men and women had economic relations, there was a patriarchal relationship between them. When capital took over women carried out unpaid work such as housekeeping and contributing economically to the capitalist system of production. The labour of women in the home is productive of surplus-value through the commodity of labour-power. In this sense women constituted a separate class, fighting for wages for the home.

However, all feminists have not accepted the concept of a ‘sex class’. Delphy (1984) argues that “class” may give a social explanation of the differentiations between men and women, yet this explanation is not totally satisfactory.

Reed (1970) criticises some Marxist feminists who argue that women constitute a special caste or class. She explains that Marx did not imply that women’s exploitation was the result of their biological deficiency as a sex, but rather as the result of social changes which in turn lead to a patriarchal class society. Thus, Marxists feminists, by arguing that women constitute a special class, not only have changed Marx’s statements but also imply that the main enemy of women is men and not capitalism.
Reed (1970) also states that women are a multi-class sex since we can find women in all three classes - high, middle and proletariat. Women who belong to the upper classes exploit other women who belong to a lower class. At the same time there are men who are oppressed and exploited by the same enemy of women (i.e. Capitalism). These men can be women’s allies.

5.1.3b Dual-Systems Theories

Dual-systems theorists differentiate in their position from both Marxist and radical feminists by criticising them for inadequacies in their theorisations. In particular, radical feminists have been criticised for focusing too much on gender inequalities in sexual behaviour while completely ignoring the influences that capitalism has on women’s oppression. On the other hand, capitalism in itself cannot explain gender inequalities in the work place. Women were oppressed in a pro-capitalism period and they remain so in non-capitalist societies (Walby, 1990).

Dual-Systems theorists suggest that, in order to understand the position of women within capitalist western societies, it is necessary to take into account: (1) the Marxist analysis of capitalism, and (2) the concept of patriarchy as a social and historical structure (Hartmann, 1981). Thus dual-systems theorists state that women’s oppression is the result of a complex articulation of both patriarchy and capitalism (Hartmann, 1981; Eisenstein, 1984; Walby, 1990).

The most prominent of the Dual-Systems theory is that of Hartmann (1981). Hartmann argues that between patriarchy and capitalism there is an interdependent and healthy partnership. This partnership determines women’s oppression in various areas and in various ways. She uses “the material base” of patriarchy to refer to men’s control over women’s labour power. Not only are women’s jobs are of a lower status and pay than men’s, but also bosses define women as inferior to men and they claim that their position should be domestic.
Patriarchy does not only rely on men’s control over the female labour force. It also relies on all social structures that enable men to dominate women. Women’s sexuality is one of those social structures. Men restrain women’s sexuality by forcing them into heterosexual monogamous marriages. They exercise this control in order to receive personal services and work from women such as housework, childrearing, and access to women’s bodies for sex.

Capitalism and patriarchy, Hartmann (1981) posits, can both benefit from the “family wage”. The “family wage” refers to the high wage of men which enables them to support their entire family. Capitalists realised that women are better workers when they work as housewives than when they are employed in paid work. Therefore capitalists offered men the best jobs and paid them “family wages” in order to eliminate the financial needs of the family and keep women as housewives. At the same time, capitalists gave low wages to those women who were employed and they kept them segregated in the labour market through unions and institutions.

Because of the family wage and their inferior position in labour market, women were encouraged to stay at home. Capitalists benefit from housewives in three ways. Firstly, women offer free labour. Secondly, they are consumers of the capitalists' products. Thirdly, they bring up their children in the way capitalists want. Because of patriarchal actions within the family, women make sure that their children will be obedient to the norms of society. If someone takes into consideration that society is mainly governed by patriarchal norms then it is becomes easy to understand that all housewives do is train their children to be obedient workers for capitalists later on.

Hartmann (1981) supports her argument about the independence which exists between capitalism and patriarchy by using two illustrations. The first shows how capitalism adjusts to patriarchy while the second shows how patriarchy adjusts to capitalism.
Capitalists realised that it would be mainly for the man’s benefit if women were kept as housewives within the home. Thus, capitalism adjusted to patriarchy by giving the “family wage” to men.

In the second illustration, Hartmann (1981) refers to the changing status of the children within the family setting. She explains that in previous years, in cases where custody was contested, it was the fathers who had custody of their children. This was because children were working and earned money; because of this they were of great practical use to their fathers. When children declined to work it was the mothers who had custody of them. In these cases patriarchy adapted to the changing of economic role of children.

With those two examples, Hartmann (1981) does not want to show that changes in one system necessarily lead to changes in the other. She states that such an inevitable change is not feasible; societies throughout the years undergo changes from one economic system to the other and still remain patriarchal. In most cases changes in one system create tension, movements or contradictions within the other system, rather than creating smooth changes.

Hartmann (1981) concludes that there are not two separate systems, one of pure capitalism and the other of pure patriarchy. There is instead a patriarchal capitalism which seems to dictate some of the functions of capitalism. This explains why, despite some of the recent changes in women’s roles (e.g. the increase of women’s employment status or the decline of the sexual division of labour within the family), the following still hold true: (a) women do more work by “second shift”, (b) women’s jobs are secondary to men’s, (c) the “family wage” exists, (d) women are segregated in their jobs and are economically dependent on men, and (e) the main responsibilities of women are housekeeping and child rearing.

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By describing her analytical system of women's oppression as patriarchal capitalist in nature, Hartmann (1981) has overcome some of the criticisms over which she and other dual-systems theorists have been attacked. Young (1981), for example, argues that dual-systems theorists, by allocating capitalism and patriarchy to different areas, they should not be able to argue for capital aspects in the sphere in which patriarchy is allocated and for patriarchal aspects in the sphere in which capital is allocated.

5.1.3c Walby and employment

Walby (1990) does not accept that the relationship between capital and patriarchy is as harmonious as Hartmann (1981) describes it. For Walby, capitalism and patriarchy are two separate and rival systems, both of which utilise women's labour. However, when women work for capital, they have no time to work for their husbands; and when women work for their husbands, they have no time to work for capital. For these reasons there is tension between the two systems. Walby does not imply that the tension between capitalism and patriarchy is continuous over time; instead she argues that the relationship between the two systems is characterised by "sequential conflicts" and compromises. The compromises follow the conflicts and they always lead the two systems to a different balance.

When Walby (1990) explains gender inequalities in the labour market she advocates that, in order to have a complete understanding of these inequalities, the following concepts need to be taken into consideration: racism, ethnicity, space, time, violence and sexuality. For example, Walby argues that women who are in paid employment should not be treated as one unitary category. The white women's experience in the labour market is not necessarily the same as the black or Asian woman's experience.

In the labour market, Walby argues, there is well-documented discrimination between ethnic groups of employed women. If unemployment or employment is examined in terms of ethnic variations it can be shown that there is a greater diversity in women's employment rate than when unemployment rates are examined in terms of sex. Patterns
of employment in examples such as part-time or full-time status, wage rate, or working conditions show considerable variation among different ethnic groups.

On the other hand, someone can explain gender relationships in the workplace by taking into consideration the structures of racism. Walby supports her argument by referring to Trade Unions and the way they operate. She explains that Trade Unions defend the benefits of white male members rather than those of women and other ethnic group and minorities.

Walby continues by arguing that some forms of inequality in the workplace cannot be explained only in terms of gender and class. Instead, satisfactory explanations can be given when ethnicity and racism intersect with sex, as well as with capitalist and patriarchal structures. She illustrates this by giving the following example: during the decade of 1970s the British textile industries were undergoing a decline due to strong competition with the increased textile industries of the Third World. It was then decided that the wages would be cut back.

At this point Walby stresses that if someone had taken into consideration Human Capital Theories or any other theories which advocates that women are considered as cheap hands and had ignored the effects of racism and ethnicity on the labour market, then s/he would have expected the number of female workers to have increased. However, the number of female workers decreased during that period and instead the number of men (who belonged to various ethnic minorities) increased. Those kinds of workers were flexible in terms of night shifts and were considered as cheaper hands than those of white women.

In “Time, Space and New Forms of Capitalism” Walby (1990) states that capitalism and patriarchy are not interchangeable and homogenous entities. Rather they take different forms and have different structures in different regions and different times. Factors such as religion, the country’s economic and development level, temporary capital needs (more female workers during World War I and II) and cultural elements affect
patriarchal structures as well as capitalist ones. This in turn affects gender relationships in paid employment.

According to Walby (1990), the form which capitalism has recently taken in Western societies is that of flexibility. She explains that flexibility was the result of the big competition between firms. Flexibility of capitalism has two forms: functional and numerical.

Functional flexibility refers to multi-skilled workers being easily transferable from one task to another according to the needs of the firm. Numerical flexibility refers to unskilled workers’ flexibility in terms of hours of labour. These workers can be used in various types of employment; either part-time, on temporary contracts, or doing overtime. According to Walby, numerical flexibility might be one explanation for the increase of part-time female workers.

On the other hand, patriarchy affects women’s employment by adopting two strategies: exclusion and segregation. Through exclusion, which is the stronger of the two, patriarchy totally prevents women from accessing employment in certain occupational areas or in some cases all areas. By segregation, patriarchy differentiates women’s work from men’s work and degrades women’s jobs.

In her explanations about gender relationships and inequalities in paid employment, Walby (1990) takes into consideration the crucial role which the state has in determining women’s employment. In periods of conflict between patriarchy and capitalism, the state mostly resolved these conflicts in favour of the male point of view. However, this role of the state changed when women gained political rights.

Finally, the role of violence and sexuality is considered by Walby as another key factor in women’s employment and in gender relationships within the work place. The effect which violence has upon women’s employment can be seen in the reluctance of women to do night shifts because of the fear of being attacked. Sexuality - especially in the form
of sexual harassment - when it is related to women's employment takes two forms: control and exclusion. Through sexuality, men control and exclude women from work, especially from those kinds of work which have previously been exclusively occupied by men. Here women have fewer rights to make complaints. Walby gives as an example the physical and sexual attacks English women suffered when they entered the London Fire Brigade for the first time in the mid 1980s.

Mousourou (1985), in her book "Women, Employment and Family", relates women's employment in Greece to the life-stages of a family and to the roles women have within these stages. Marriage, the birth of children, the different stages in those children's lives i.e. infancy, adolescence, adulthood, their marriage, the birth of grandchildren, and divorces or widowhood within the family all make up the different stages of a family. Each of these stages affects a woman's roles and responsibilities within the family and each, in turn, affects her employment status.

In a more recent research study of the labour market, Karamesisni and Ioakimoglou (2002) show that, in Greece, the most important factor for gender inequalities in the labour market is the unequal access men and women have to certain types of jobs. This happens due to gender stereotypes, which are held by both people in general and employers in particular. Men and women hold certain stereotypes about what kind of jobs suit which gender. Parents' preferences, for example, tends to result in daughters receiving less education than sons, or resulting in them working in fields, which are less relevant to the demands of the modern labour market needs. On the other hand, employers hold stereotypes about male and female employees, which then causes them to classify the workers into "good", "bad", "suitable" or "unsuitable".

Summary

Various theorists have attempted to give explanations of differentiation in pay and occupational between men and women. Some of them, such as Functionalist theorists, argue that women, due to their biological predisposition, are more suitable for the family
and households affairs whereas men are more suitable for the public and productive world. For others, like Human Capital theories, job occupation is a matter of individual choices. Feminists on the other hand argue that prejudice and discrimination against women in the labour market are related to patriarchal structures. Walby (1990) broadens the range of the factors which affects gender inequalities in the labour market by relating patriarchal structures to capitalism, racism, ethnicity, region, time, sexuality and violence.

From the review of the relevant literature it seems that while many changes in gender roles have occurred in the labour market in recent years, there is a well established relationship between the sex differential in earnings and women's concentration in a small number of occupations. Men seem to have power, influence and to dominate the labour market.
CHAPTER SIX: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the data collection phase of the thesis. It will discuss the methods used for recruiting participants, the difficulties encountered during recruitment and interviewing, coping strategies, and the method of data analysis. The chapter consists of four sections: (1) sampling, (2) the pilot study (3) data collection, and (4) the main study. Sampling refers to the target population, to the techniques used in selecting the participants, and to a demographic description of the participants. The pilot study gives an account of the preliminary observations made in Athens, of the problems encountered, and of the effects these problems had on the main study. The data collection section discusses the two methods used in collecting data, namely face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions. The section on the main study refers to the fieldwork carried out in both Athens and Kastro and examines the method by which the obtained data have been analysed. The study was carried out in two locations to allow for comparisons to be made between urban and rural settings within Greek society. Finally, the research adopts a qualitative approach using face-to-face, in depth, unstructured interviews.

6.1 Research design

It was assumed that, in order to have an in-depth understanding of gender relationships, the research should be positioned in a qualitative frame of reference. Thus the research utilises unstructured, in depth, face-to face interviews and focus group discussions.

It can be argued that, usually, quantitative research fails to interpret social phenomena; rather, it is the in-depth examination of these which offers a better understanding and a variation of the same phenomenon (May, 1997). Moreover, when studying sensitive topics or issues where people are reluctant to talk for various reasons, a qualitative approach is often preferable to a quantitative one (Ragin, 1994).
May (1997:112) argues that a qualitative research approach gives in-depth knowledge because it deals with experience and meanings which are best described by the participants’ own words, and not by numbers. Moreover, in-depth interviews can help to build up a rapport between interviewer and interviewee (Fielding, 1993), something which is very important, especially when examining sensitive topics and private issues.

Quantitative and qualitative methods of research are used to describe different aspects of social phenomena. Quantification of research highlights dimensions which can be expressed in a numerical way whereas qualitative research highlights meanings, feelings or attitudes (Glesne, 1999; Silverman, 2000:8). Silverman (2000) argues that quantitative research, despite the fact that it allows for generalisations, excludes the observation of behaviour whereas qualitative research focuses on individuals rather than on a more generalised population of participants. Qualitative research can tell us what people’s behaviour, attitudes or motives are, and what people think and why. It can also help in obtaining a variety of responses for the same issue and to raise new issues about which the researcher was not initially aware (Gaskell, 2000:39).

A common problem researchers usually face when undertaking a qualitative approach relates to the size and representativeness of the sample (Oppenheim, 1992). On one hand the size of the sample can be considered as critical in the minimising the effects of chance error, but on the other hand the degree to which the selected sample of participants could be taken as representative of the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of whole categories of people is significant when discussing generalisations and conclusions (Silverman, 2000).

When using qualitative methods, emphasis is given to a small number of respondents. The data which are obtained are used for providing insight to social phenomena rather than for making overgeneralisations which might be the case when using a larger scale of representative sample (Fielding, 1993; May, 1997)
According to Fielding (1993), in unstructured face-to-face interviews people talk freely instead of answering specific questions. Researchers obtain more detailed information, descriptive data, and knowledge of respondents’ attitudes, ideas and thoughts as they are expressed in their own words. Unstructured interviews are very useful when the topic is sensitive, and when we do not know what exactly the participants are going to reveal (Edwards, 1993).

On the other side of the coin, unstructured interviews are time-consuming and difficult to analyse; the cost is high per individual, the interviewer may need to be specially trained, and the feedback from individual interviews is not expected to be typical of the views of all users (Bell, 1993; Gaskell, 2000).

Two focus groups, one with men and one with women, were used to explore people’s reactions and levels of acceptability in discussing private issues. In addition, as Sieber (1993) states, group discussions indicated what topics needed to be avoided or were more appropriately pursued in face-to-face interviews.

In focus group discussions, researchers can obtain different results from those taken from interviews because people reveal different kind of information when they talk in face-to-face interviews and in group discussions (Krueger 1994; Mies, 1983). In addition, focus groups are relatively inexpensive and easy to conduct. They offer insight into group dynamics as well as providing a different approach to the same topic. They also enable us: (1) to collect opinions, beliefs and attitudes about issues of interest to the researcher; (2) to provide an opportunity for both facilitator and participants to learn more about a topic or issue; (3) to show how the opinions of individuals are modified according to social relations, and (4) to expand the network of the nominated potential participants (Fielding, 1993; Coggan et al., 1997; May, 1997).
6.1.1 Sampling

The universe population of my study consisted of employed and unemployed Greek married women and men who were parents, who ranged in age from 25 to 55 years old. Since the nature of this study is qualitative it was decided that the selection of participants would be based on following a target population with the following characteristics:

6.1.1a. Target population

Gender: Heterosexual men and women were asked to talk about their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours surrounding employment and relationships, such as marriage, parenthood, romantic relationships and extramarital affairs. Even though the thesis focuses on women's beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, it was thought that men should also be interviewed. This was because men's point of view on the same issues would better enable women's beliefs, attitudes and behaviours to be understood. Thus women's behaviour should not be evaluated without any knowledge of the context in which it takes place and of the factors which have contributed to this or another kind of behaviour. Men's views will almost definitely contribute to a better perception of society's rules, beliefs and expectations.

Age: Participants' ages ranged from 25 to 55 years. The reasons for this selection of ages were as follows:

Firstly, it was estimated that it would be uncommon, and therefore difficult, to find married people under the age of 25 years old in Athens (especially men). This is confirmed by the data provided by Eurostat, which indicate that in Greece the average age at first marriage in 1999 was 30.3 years for men and 26.5 years for women (Eurostat, 2002). It should be noted that this average reflects the whole of Greece,
differentiating between urban cities, Athens and rural Greece. In Kastro, for example, people - especially women - tend to get married at an earlier age than that reported for the whole of Greece. Secondly, it was assumed that people over the age of 55 years have beliefs, attitudes and behaviours which reflect a generation whose own beliefs, attitudes and behaviours were dominant twenty to thirty years ago. Since Greek society is characterised by rapid social change when referring to beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, whatever was dominant twenty to thirty years ago is now considered as anachronistic (Katakis, 1998; Papadopoulos, 1998; Bagavos, 2000; Agallopoulou, 2002).

Marital status: It was felt that the majority of participants should be married for three reasons. Firstly, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, the family unit possesses a central role in Greek people’s lives (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Katakis, 1998). According to (Symeonidou, 1999), the creation of a family presupposes that the couple is married and that marriage is still the predominant form of partnership in Greece. Secondly, according to the same author, responsibilities to do with marriage, family and motherhood are directly related to the employment status and earnings differences of women. Marriage and childbirth affect women’s development in the labour force considerably, due mainly to the traditional mentality concerning childrearing and the role of the mother (Polachek, 1981; Katakis, 1998; Kritikidis, 2000). The third reason for selecting married participants was that it was assumed that it would be better to examine the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of people who were in a relatively stable relationship. In stable relationships, people have the chance not only to air complaints and frustrations about roles and responsibilities but also to develop strategies for coping with them. Marriage can be considered as a stable relationship which demands from the couple a range of responsibilities and compromises towards each other and their children (Katakis, 1998). And, finally, married participants were selected because, in rural Greece in the main, sexual life tends to be related to marriage on the one hand, while on the other romantic relationships and pre-marital sexual relationships do not exist in Kastro. However, two of the male participants in Athens were not married: one was single and the other was cohabiting. Of the female respondents in Athens, eight were divorced, one was a single
mother and one was single. Two of the male respondents in Kastro were single and one of the female respondents was widowed.

*Class:* Every effort was made to include participants belonging to different social classes. This was because, as Walby (1990) states, there are substantial differences between women of different social classes in regard to the amount of housework and child caring they are doing.

Finally, it was decided that only one spouse from each couple would be interviewed. This would prevent any conflicts between the spouses as to what each had said in the interviews. This measure would also prevent any attempt from either spouse to find out what their partner had said by asking the interviewer.

### 6.1.1b. Sampling techniques

It was initially planned that participants be recruited using a random sample technique. Thus, during the pilot study, two Heads of High Schools - one from a private school, the other from a State school - were approached and asked for permission for the researcher to access the parental committees of the schools. It was explained that parents would be informed about the aims of the research and asked to participate voluntarily. However, contact with the heads of the two schools (one male and one female) as well as with a female representative of the State school parental committee was not encouraging. Their concern to help with the research later turned to negative feelings and anger when they were fully informed about the subject of the research - this was especially the case for the school heads. They characterized the research as improper, due mainly to the fact that it placed an emphasis on sexual relationships. They decided not to allow such research to take place in their schools because they did not want to destroy the schools’ reputation or to raise negative reactions from the parental committees.
Apart from the reluctance of gatekeepers, another problem the researcher had to cope with concerned Greek’s attitudes towards both research in general and questionnaires in particular. From the very beginning of the pilot study it was clear that the majority of participants were not familiar with research or questionnaires. They would ask many questions as to what was meant by “research” and about the reasons they were being interviewed. For many people, questionnaires seemed to be related to advertising issues or to organisations with dubious, unclear motives, such as proselytism.

People became even more reluctant to participate in the research when they were informed about the issues they would be interviewed about. Many of them considered matters to do with family and personal life as strictly confidential and any attempt to break through was an insult to them. In addition, the researcher’s gender and family status had a negative effect on people’s participation.

Thus, it seemed reasonable for the study to adopt a non-random rather than a probability sampling technique in recruiting participants. The method used is that of snowball. For using this method, a small number of known people with characteristics fitting the research sampling design are interviewed and then they are asked to introduce others known to them with the same characteristics, and the new ones are asked to introduce others. As the process unfolds the network expands with more recommended cases. From the recommended people, all or some of them may be included in the sample according to the common criteria for the purposes of this research, such as age, occupation, and marital status. The sampling stops when it reaches saturation, that is, to a point where no new information is forthcoming (Bauer and Aarts, 2000; Gaskell, 2000).

Snowball sampling is suitable for a number of research purposes and especially for research which studies sensitive or private or topics where participants are difficult to find or reluctant to respond (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981; Fife-Schaw, 1995; Massey, 1995; Faugier and Sargeant, 1997).
It has been argued that samples built up by snowballing cannot be representative because, firstly, they are not random and, secondly, they are limited to members of a specific network (van Meter, 1990). Random samples are representative of the population they are derived from whereas non-random samples may or may not be representative of the population. A random sample gives to every member of the target population an equal chance of being selected and avoids bias in selection (Oppenheimer, 1992). Snowball sampling is a non-random sampling technique since it relies on personal recommendation (Bell, 1993).

By generating data from respondents who belong to the same network - and therefore having the same social characteristics - the research may be biased (Arber, 2001). However, this problem is diminished when the network of nominated people expands as the research progresses, and when different chain referral sampling has been used from the beginning (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). And as Gaskell (2000) states, the purpose of qualitative research is to explore the variety inherent in people’s views, attitudes, beliefs and experiences about the subject investigated, not merely to count numbers of instances.

Friends and neighbours were therefore asked to nominate other friends, neighbours or colleagues. Through personal contacts I seized any opportunity to expand the network of participants to include taxi drivers, people I met in social gatherings, or airplane passengers who happened to be sitting beside me in my many flights to and from Greece.

6.1.1c. Demographic characteristics of the participants

Age: Female participants in Athens were between thirty-two and fifty-two years old, with a mean of 39.4 years. (The only exception to this was the case of Mrs. Athena who was 75 years of age. Mrs. Athena had lived as a married mother in a village of central Greece until the age of 32. Since then she had been living in Athens as a divorced
mother. Her case was considered of great interest as her life history provides a great deal of ethnographic information about both Athens and the village in which she had formerly lived.) The ages of male participants in Athens ranged from 31 to 52 years with a mean of 42.5. The age of female participants in Kastro was between 28 and 50 years old with a mean of 41.2 years, whereas for males the ages ranged from 31 to 52 years old with a mean of 42.5 years. A detailed description of participants’ age, employment status, marital status, years of being married/cohabiting, and the number of children they have had can be found in Appendix I.

Participants’ employment status can be seen in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1: Employment status of participants by their gender in Athens (in numbers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Employment status of participants by their gender in Kastro (in numbers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marital status: Most participants were married with two children: in Kastro, nine women were married and one was single whereas two men were single and one was on
his second marriage; in Athens, out of the female participants, seven were divorced, one
was single and one was a single unmarried mother. Out of the male participants in
Athens, one was cohabitating, one was single and one was on his third marriage. In
Kastro, eight women were married, one was single and one widowed. Out of the male
participants, seven were married (including one on his second marriage) and two were
single.

Economic status: The majority of Athenian participants were middle- and upper class,
whereas the participants in Kastro belonged to the middle class.

6.2 Pilot study

The pilot study was carried out in Athens between April and July 1999. It consisted of
two group discussions (one with men and one with women) and ten interviews (five with
men and five with women). The first participants were recruited through friends and
neighbours who were asked to recommend other friends, colleagues or neighbours.

6.2.1 Where did the interviews and group discussions take place?

The participants were free to choose the place where they wanted to be interviewed. Some interviews, mostly with women, took place in their homes. Women who were not
working preferred to be interviewed in the morning when the children were at school
and the husband at work. Interviews with men took place either in a café, in a restaurant
or at their office at their place of work. The focus group with women took place at the
home of one of the participants while the focus group with men took place in my home.

One female participant did not want to be interviewed either at the researcher’s house -
because she didn’t trust unknown places - or at her house - for the fear that her mother-
in-law, husband or children would overhear the interview. Instead she suggested meeting
me at a park close to her house.
6.2.2 Procedure

The group discussions and interviews were recorded using a mini disc recorder; this helped enormously in transcription, especially transcribing the focus groups. However, no matter how valuable a mini disc recorder might be to a researcher, both men and women did not seem to be particularly excited by knowing that a mini disc recorder recorded their interview. Women claimed that they didn’t feel comfortable talking while being recorded and men had doubts about their anonymity since their recorded voice was a document:

“I don’t know in what way you’re going to use the tape; you claim anonymity but there is no absolute anonymity; all I know is that my voice is recorded and it can be recognized”

said a male Athenian who was aged 45, a teacher and a married father of two.

Therefore, two interviews were documented by keeping written notes. It was assumed that, by keeping notes of instead of recording the interview, the interview process would be better facilitated. Participants would have more time to respond, they would not have too much eye contact, and they would feel easy and comfortable knowing that they were not being observed. However, the written notes and comments did not prove sufficient to give an accurate account of the interviews. Moreover, since the interview was unstructured, a recall of many elements - such as expressions, tone of the voice, hesitations, or even complete sentences – was not always possible.

Thus the reluctance of many participants to be recorded led to the modification of the interview structure from unstructured to a relatively structured one. In cases in where participants did not want to be recorded, the researcher needed a clear guideline of the interview in order to recall it and keep notes of it. Thus, the agenda of the topics to be
discussed in interviews was divided into seven sections (see Appendix II for further details):

1) socio-demographic characteristics;
2) employment issues;
3) romantic relationships;
4) body image and self-confidence;
5) religious beliefs;
6) marriage; and
7) sexual life.

The number and the order of the questions in each topic were flexible. It was each participant individually who indicated how many questions would be asked, on which topic, in which order and for how long.

However, the data include a number of interviews which were not recorded – this was following requests by the participants. Those who were not recorded comprised five respondents in Kastro – three women and two men - and ten respondents in Athens – four women and six men. In these cases I kept notes during the interviews and as soon as the interviews had finished (i.e. when everything could be recalled easily) I recorded what I could remember from the interview.

6.2.3 Length of interviews

The length of the first interviews was determined by the participants’ attitudes, needs and willingness to talk. Thus, each interview - which was in effect a small personal story - lasted for three to five hours. This was with the exception of one, which lasted for 10 hours. In this case, two female friends insisted on giving an interview together at their house. The interview started at 2.30pm with lunch and finished at 12.10am with ice cream.
It was assumed that both the unstructured nature of the interviews and the researcher’s eagerness for eliciting as much information as possible in the initial interviews resulted in them lasting too long. Participants were free to choose the relevant topics about which they wanted to talk and were able to introduce new ones over the process of the interview. This set-up led, firstly, to long and exhausting interviews (mainly for the researcher) and, secondly, to sections of data which were largely irrelevant to the investigated subject. Thus structuring the interviews into sections helped both with keeping topics distinct and managing timescales.

Eventually, when the interviews became structured, the length of each was two to three hours.

6.2.4 Repeated interviews

It can be argued that one interview alone is not enough to establish a relationship of the necessary depth between participant and interviewer. Rather a second or even a third interview allows participants to bust the interviewer to a greater extent. It also enables participants to retrieve additional memories and allows the researcher to ask additional questions and to get corrective feedback (Lee, 1993).

Lee (1993) argues that different kinds of data are collected in the second interview. Usually, in the first interview, respondents do not reveal too much of themselves and thus impart only socially-accepted data. Moreover, some interviewees may not have properly understood the precise goal of the interview during the first interview. This may be especially so when sensitive topics are studied, and/or personal and intimate questions are to be addressed in the first meeting.

It was therefore decided that the interview process take place over two to three meetings. In the first meeting respondents were informed about the aims of the research and the nature of the interview. They were reassured about anonymity and confidentiality and were asked for permission for the interview to be tape recorded. It was made clear to
them that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time they felt so. Finally, they were given answers to any queries they might have as well as being advised to take their time in deciding whether or not they would like to be interviewed.

The majority of participants' questions were related not so much to the nature of the research topic but more to the personal life of the researcher. These questions included whether the researcher was married, or why she was studying instead of being with her children, and were quite commonly asked.

Some researchers (Oppenheim, 1992; Rubin and Rubin, 1995) argue that participants should be informed from the beginning of the interview about the aims of the research and any possible difficulties or risks they may encounter from participating. The other side of this argument is presented by Edwards (1993) and Edwards and Ribbens (1999) who state that researchers should avoid giving participants their theoretical hypothesis and the exact aims of the research. This is because it becomes probable that participants will give different meanings to their interview or will pick up on and talk about only those events which they think fit in with the investigated subject.

The initial meetings were also of great importance for the researcher. Participants gave me an idea about how much I could ask in interviews, what my limits were, what kind of people they were, and how sensitive, conservative, liberal, shy, defensive or determined to talk they might be. Gaining a rough idea about the participants would help to eliminate as much unintentional emotional or psychological harm as possible. As Lee (1993) states, repeated interviews help the researcher to understand the insight of the participant in order that the researcher is able to empathise and avoid things which could be embarrassing to the participant.

Nevertheless, in most cases, the first contact with the participants proved to be the best source of information. People tended to be talkative and would talk in an "uncensored" way about a variety of issues. Interview participants were, in the main, restrained. It was
possible that the thought that they would be recorded, and that other people apart from the researcher might judge them, made them nervous and shy. Out of a total of 18 respondents, 4 did not turn up in the second meeting. They instead suggested me to feel free to use the information they had given me in the first meeting in any way I needed.

6.2.5 Rate of participation

Almost all of those who were approached by the researcher and asked to participate in the research accepted the offer with enthusiasm. However, only a few of them managed to make it to the interviews or focus groups. For most, regardless of their gender, “something important and unexpected came up” and they were not able to make it. A few arranged a meeting but did not turn up and gave no notice to the researcher. During the pilot study, out of the thirty two participants who were contacted, only ten responded to the request for face-to-face interviews. Indeed, the recruitment of participants and the rate of respondents’ participation was one big problem during the course of this research.

6.2.6 Clarification of the meanings and “proper” language

The need for clarification of the meanings of specific words was evident from the first interviews. Some participants were accustomed to using slang while others tended to replace certain words with other more innocent ones. The word ‘satisfaction’, for example, did not have the same meaning for all participants. For some this referred to their partner’s pleasure, while for others it meant the end of sexual intercourse, the achievement of a climax or the presence of emotions. Other participants used to replace embarrassing words with innocent ones. For example, ‘penis’ was replaced by ‘bird’, and ‘intercourse’ by ‘being together’, ‘sleeping together’ or ‘doing God’s will’.
It was the participants who determined the kind of language each interview would use. All I had to do was to follow their way of talking. Thus I tended to use different kinds of language with men and women, with younger and older participants, and with educated and less well educated people.

6.2.7 Focus groups

Two focus groups were arranged, one with five men who were unknown to each other, and one with ten women who did know each other. It was decided that the focus groups would consist of participants of the same sex. This was because it has been argued by various researchers that when group discussions consist of mixed sex participants, the power evident by men over women which is evident in everyday interactions affects the group discussions (Scott, 1984; Fishman, 1990). Men tend to dominate the conversation.

In the focus groups, the selection of respondents was based on gender differentiations, on their marital status and on their age group (ages varied between 40 and 54 years) – see Appendix III. Other socio-demographic characteristics of the participants were not taken into consideration since the aim of the first two group discussions was to explore, not to generalize data. Friends and neighbours nominated other friends and colleagues who agreed to participate in the focus group. The male respondents - five in total (see Appendix IV) were contacted through a phone call where the research was explained and answers were given to their questions. No potential respondents asked for an individual meeting before the focus group. The focus group took place in my flat; some participants arrived an hour before the arranged time in order to have a chat before the discussion began.

The female focus group consisted of ten women aged between 47 and 52 years who were friends. The meeting took place at the house of one of the respondents.
The two group discussions highlighted a number of issues which were taken into consideration during the research process. They generated ideas and questions which were pursued in greater depth in the face-to-face interviews. Observational notes during the meeting showed, for example, that people did not reveal anything important about their life because confidentiality could not be obtained and the presence of others might be inhibiting to some respondents.

In particular, one of the married male respondents had revealed in one of the short meetings that took place before the group discussion that he had close relationships with prostitutes. However, when the discussion turned to prostitutes in focus group he took a negative approach towards prostitutes and bitterly criticised anyone who was married and who visited one.

On the other hand, at the end of the women’s focus group discussion it was agreed by all women that what they said was only the good side of their life; they did not address any of the problems they had. One lady said characteristically: today we discussed the nice part of our lives; but I know that some of us every night go to bed in tears.

In conclusion, the female focus group was trying to investigate the topic at a certain depth by attempting to identify reasons for the women’s actions, the solutions to some of their problems, and ways of managing to make their partners more approachable. The male group did not show any interest in the “hows” and “whys” of their relationships with their spouses. Instead they made a lot of jokes and teased each other. This was an important and noticeable distinction between the groups.

6.3 Data collection

6.3.1 Issues related to the sensitivity of the subject and ethical considerations
It was assumed that the research topic was sensitive in nature since it investigated the private and intimate aspects of respondents’ lives (Goyder, 1986). In particular, Sieber
and Stanley (1988) argue that a topic is considered sensitive when participants find telling their story to be a stressful experience or event, or when they are confused between "right" and "wrong". Brannen (1988) relates the sensitivity of an investigated topic with the ease by which the respondents can be identified through their personal and unique stories; sometimes this identification may lead to sanctions or stigma.

However, according to Goyder (1987) at least, how sensitive a topic is depends, firstly, on the social context in which the research is taking place and, secondly, on the characteristics of the particular groups which are being researched. (e.g. age or sex). Whatever is perceived as sensitive by the researcher, for example, does not necessarily mean that it is perceived as such by the participant, and vice versa.

In this research, the sensitivity of the topic had implications for both the design and the carrying out of the research. In particular, a less representative sample (which was derived from the snowballing technique) was used – this was due to the difficulties in finding respondents. The research needed more time to complete than had been estimated due to the low participation rate. Respondents were apprehensive in talking about intimate matters in interviews. The use of a suitable vocabulary proved to be a necessary tool when carrying out the interviews. Many of the interviews were characterised by emotional distress for both interviewer and interviewees. Some of the interviewees found it painful to recall or refer to some stories; on the other hand, the interviewer sometimes found herself in an uncomfortable position when trying to console them.

6.3.2 Generalisability of the findings

As discussed earlier, the research uses an exploratory qualitative approach and as such it aims to generate a holistic understanding of the relationships between people and groups rather than in generating generalisations. In particular, the research provides detailed information about how people think regarding the topic studied, as well as a number of relevant issues. Thus, based on this information, the aim of the study is to make
inferences about the reasons which make people to behave in this or the other way rather than to generalise the findings of the sixty participants to the whole Greek population. As Schwandt (1994) puts it, by offering interpretations and inferences of how people are thinking and why, a qualitative research makes “generalisation about the possibilities and processes within a culture” (Schwandt, 1994:226).

6.3.3 Ethical considerations

Especially at times when the participant burst into tears I questioned the right I had to use their revelations for my research purposes. On the one hand it was valuable data; on the other hand it sometimes caused distress to the participants. For example, Anna, an unemployed woman from Crete, said: “Last night I couldn’t sleep... I was crying silently... I was thinking of those things we were discussing in the interview and then I realised that all the members of my family treat me without respect... treat me as if I am a piece of furniture... nothing more...”.

Nevertheless, there were other participants who, after the interview had finished, evaluated their behaviour and then decided to get closer to their spouses and discuss their problems and complaints with them openly. Napos, for example, a father of two from Athens, said: “I had never thought about all of those things I have just told you. Telling you things about my life and my family has helped me to see some bad aspects of my personality... I will try to change them...”

6.3.4 The problem with feminism

Over the initial discussions and meetings, some of the participants raised the issue of feminism. In particular, both men and women wanted to know whether “bloody feminists” were behind the study in one way or the other. Some participants made it clear that they would not like to participate if I was “working for the feminists”. Below are some of their comments:
"Oh, I hadn’t realized that the sponsor of this work were feminists! I am sorry, but I haven’t any respect for lesbians!" (Male Athenian, aged 38, civil constructor, married, father of two).

"Listen, if you want to succeed in your research, don’t mention anything about feminism or anything else which could give the impression that you’re working for these ridiculous, non-orgasmic spinsters!" (Male Athenian, aged 43, married, father of one child).

"First of all I have to declare that I am not a communist. Feminists make me sick and I don’t want to help them by giving you an interview..." (Female Athenian, aged 39, married, mother of two).

One possible explanation about these negative - or even hostile - attitudes might be explained by the following. During the emergence of the second wave of the feminist movement, in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Greece was governed by a military dictatorship. During this period the communist party was declared illegal by the dictatorship. Female communists, among others, used to go on demonstrations about their feminist beliefs. In this way many Greeks have related feminism to communism.

In addition, it was shock to conservative Greek society the way in which feminists showed their disagreement to gender inequality; by burning their bras and remaining half naked on the streets.

Finally, the lack of information about social movements, of which feminism is one, inevitably contributed to the wrong assumptions and negative feelings which Greeks have about feminists.

6.4 Doing interviews

In Athens, face-to-face interviews were carried out over a period of ten months which started in September 1999 and ended in July 2000. Interviews and contacts with people were carried out during the six times I visited Athens over that period. Before describing
the way in which the interviews have been carried out it is worth referring to some cultural elements of the Greeks’ way of interacting with each other.

6.4.1 Interaction

Greeks talk loud, vividly and fast; someone unfamiliar to this conversation style may get the mistaken impression that they are arguing. Greeks’ conversation is full of interruptions, agreements, disagreements, exclamations and affirmations and these behavioural signs serve as a feedback to the other part/s of the conversation.

When I explained to the participants that the interview was more of a friendly discussion rather than an interrogation, they expected me to express my opinion, my objections and my approval. There were often times when participants expected me to finish an unfinished sentence in order to show that I had completely understood the point they were making.

I started interviewing respondents all the while being determined to follow conventional directions and “tips” about conducting face-to-face interviews i.e. being a good listener, and being capable of showing empathy yet at the same time having a strict neutral attitude for the sake of unbiased data. I also kept in mind that, because my topic was a sensitive one, I had to begin with the more general questions to facilitate the development of trust between myself and the interviewee. This enabled the interview to continue smoothly and to move naturally on to personal, even intimate, topics (Brannen, 1988).

Over the next few months the interviews did not seem very successful. There was noticeable confusion and a tension in the atmosphere and respondents were not relaxed, comfortable or talkative. Some of them asked for more guidance and for more ‘yes’ or ‘no’ questions rather than open-ended ones. In particular, they said that they were
confused as to what they should say since I did not ask them definite ‘yes’ or ‘no’ questions.

After some months of unsuccessful interviews I realized that people would not talk about matters personal to them unless I changed my behaviour during interviews. I was asking people to talk about their personal lives to a person who was unknown to them. For this to happen the participants needed to be assured that I was a trustworthy person, and able to empathize with them. I therefore decided to adopt a different interview approach than the one I had used at the beginning of the research: I started behaving as a Greek.

In spite of the risk of conducting potentially biased research, I decided to stop being completely neutral. Instead I asked questions, raised topics or listened to participants with smiles, laughs or the emotions that were brought about by the “discussion”. I allowed myself to enjoy the conversation, to share in their sadness, plus I allowed them to share parts of my personal life in those cases where I was asked.

Indeed, Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue that a face-to-face interview is a social encounter which takes place in a certain social context. As such, it should not be carried out by a neutral interviewer but by an interviewer who should have the ability to interact with respondents and carry out normal conversations. Rubin and Rubin (1995) add that, in order for the interviews to be unbiased, the interviewer should take into consideration the implications of the interviewer-respondent interaction during the analysis of the data, and, secondly, that only highly-skilled researchers should carry out these kinds of interviews.

6.4.2 Politeness

Another Greek cultural behavioural element is that Greeks are less polite and more direct compared to Britons. Greeks consider someone with a direct approach and who avoids excessive politeness as honest and trustworthy. Greeks interpret being polite and
'smooth' as an effort to cover up or to disguise dubious motives. A polite and discrete approach during the interviews made respondents suspicious, defensive, worried and reluctant to give answers. They were confused about my being polite during this process and asked questions about hidden motives of the research. They claimed that, since there was nothing dubious to be concealed, why ask questions that are not direct? This problem was overcome when "difficult" or personal questions were asked in a direct, confident way. For example, I replaced "Would you like to tell me?" with "I want you to tell me", and "Did you ever have or would you ever have an extramarital affair?" became "What's your opinion about extramarital affairs?".

In an effort to figure out what might be the reasons contributing to respondents' reluctance or apprehensiveness to talk, I put myself into their position: I tried to give answers to and accounts of all the interview topics which were in my agenda. This process helped me, firstly, to better understand those points and issues which might cause embarrassment, discomfort or confusion. Secondly, through this process, I became more understanding and tolerant when respondents did not give clear answers or they needed more time to think. Thirdly, despite the fact that I was familiar with the topics, I found it emotionally difficult to answer all of them. Some points were too painful to talk about.

6.4.3 Emotional distress

After having settled the problems with interviewer-respondent interaction, the next step was to cope with any emotional distress that the interviews may have caused, to either the interviewer or to the interviewees. Brannen (1988) argues that in-depth interviews may be a stressful experience for both interviewer and interviewee. The participant may find telling his/her story a stressful event or may use interview as a 'catharsis' by linking it to psychotherapeutic interview. In order that emotional distress is managed or contained, Brannen (1988) suggests that the interviewer should approach the topic
gradually and in some cases turn for support to professionals who must be available to
give their help to either participant or researcher should this be needed.

Over the course of the interviews, apart from issues related to personal life, respondents
would talk about any problem they had: their health, their mothers-in-law, or their bad
neighbours. In addition, they quite often admitted, tearfully, that it was the first time that
they had the opportunity to talk about their personal or family problems. I therefore
found it quite difficult to ask them to stop talking about “irrelevant” topics and focus
instead on the investigated subject. After having experienced some tearful interviews, I
knew that when participants started to cry the situation was irreversible. No matter the
reason behind them getting upset, I had to comfort and console them with words from
my experience as a woman, not as a specialist. However, despite the fact that I
maintained that I was not a psychologist, three people - two women and one man - said
at the end of their interviews: “Thank you for the psychotherapy!”.

Usually, after a breakdown of sorts, and independently of the reason which brought it
about, participants opened their hearts and talked about whatever they were asked to. In
some cases they even offered to help in the research by interviewing other people or by
giving me information about the personal life of friends and relatives.

6.4.4 Gender consideration in doing interviews

It has been argued that the sex of the interviewer has implications for both the interview
process and for the collection of data (Scott, 1984). It has also been argued that the ease
with which a female interviewer can make female respondents talk in the interview
situation depends not so much upon her research skills but more upon her identity as a
woman; interviews conducted with empathy towards women lead to greater revelations
(Oakley, 1981; Finch, 1984). On the other hand, other researchers argue that being a
woman does not exclusively enable an understanding of the interviewee; it is rather the
common class, ethnicity and cultural patterns between interviewer and interviewee
which does this (Reid, 1983; Brannen, 1988).
In this study, even though the majority of women adopted a negative position towards the fact I was living in a different country away from my children, they revealed a great deal about themselves over the course of the interviews and discussions. Initially they talked in an apprehensive and defensive way, but soon after they were relaxed, friendly and willing to help in the research. Indeed, three women called me some days after the interview to add new information to the interview.

On the other side of the coin, Scott (1984) argues that when a woman is interviewing a man, gender and power status are of prime importance during the whole length of the interview. Men’s style of talking reflects tensions between the dominant and the dominated.

Finch (1984) and Lee (1993) both argue that cross-gender talks are somehow threatening for women. According to cultural stereotypes, when a man is alone with a woman and just talking about intimate matters, this is in itself potentially sexually arousing for some men. In two cases, Finch (1984) felt worried about a possible attack and in another two cases was pestered some days after the interview for further contact.

During both the pilot and the main study, the actual contacting and interviewing male respondents was characterized by tension, status and gender power issues. Men showed considerable interest about the research and before anything else they asked many detailed questions about the way I was planning to collect the data, what kind of difficulties I estimated to face, and how long the research was supposed to last for. They then made suggestions as to the way the interviews should be done, the questions I should ask and the future publications of the research. Men started talking with difficulty, but as soon as they became comfortable they started making jokes about gender relationships. They talked in a formal way, describing events of their lives in a neutral, almost official, way. By the end of interviews they admitted that they had not talked to anybody about “those matters” before. I felt no sense of threat from any of the
respondents by either the way he talked or by his manner, possibly due to the fact that
they had been nominated by a friend.

6.5 Fieldwork in Kastro

Kastro is the village where I have spent the last fourteen summers with my family. Because of this it was assumed, firstly, that I was familiar with the societal setting (i.e. there would be no need to spend extra time getting to know people and building up social connections). Secondly, people knew me as a person who loves their village and were therefore keen to help me with the research in every possible way.

I visited Kastro in the middle of August 2000 to start the fieldwork; two days after my arrival I realized that my fieldwork was not going to be an easy task. The first problem was related to the fact that I was alone. It is quite common for someone to see female tourists spending their holidays in Greece alone. Local people are very understanding about this as they believe that female tourists come to Greece in this way because they are desperately looking to find a “real” man. Local people also believe that the majority of the men in the countries these women come from are homosexuals.

However, if a Greek woman spends a holiday on her own then she automatically becomes either a threat to local women - “She came here to steal our men” - or “easy prey” for “men-harpoons”. “Men-harpoons”, kamakia as they are known in Greek, is a category of men who are usually young who tend to spend their summer time trying to keep female tourists company (also see Chapter 2).

Therefore, when I spent a few days on my own wandering around and observing people, I attracted many suspicious looks from both men and women. Those men who knew that I used to visit their place with my family every year were now confused. The others who did not know me approached me with their “kamakia-like” technique. Women, on the
other hand, gave me dirty looks or did not reply to me when I said “hello”, probably because they were thinking that they had to keep an eye on their husbands and myself.

At this point I asked friends and family to come and join me in Kastro. Thus, I was spending time with my friends and family. This ensured that people knew I was not alone but was spending short periods of time on my own in order to approach potential interviewees, explain about the research, and ask them to participate.

### 6.5.1 Personal contact versus the snowballing technique

Even though the snowball sampling method worked quite satisfactorily in Athens, this did not seem to be at all the case in Kastro. After the first set of respondent recommendations, a set of problems emerged. Two wives asked their relatives to recommend their husbands and after the interview they approached me and insisted in knowing what their husbands had said during their interviews. Their main concerns were issues about their mothers-in-law and any kind of extramarital affair. In another case, someone was recommended by a friend only because the friend wanted to check after the interview whether the friend was honest enough to talk about an affair he had had with a tourist. As well as this, interviewees who had been recommended sometimes seemed to be annoyed or even offended by the fact that they had been recommended. The following are some of the comments made:

“Why has she nominated me? Does it mean that she considers me as immoral?”

“He shouldn’t have nominated me; I am a family man, I’m afraid I am not suitable for your interviews.”

“I am still wondering why he nominated me; what can I say? I have no experiences; I am faithful to my wife”.

In Kastro, I started interviewing people without having carried out a pilot study. Indeed, since a pilot study had taken place in Athens it was assumed that there was no need for a further one in Kastro. However, interviewing people in Kastro proved to be a completely
novel experience and brought about an entirely separate set of problems which had not been encountered before.

6.5.2 An interview for research or for TV?

One of the first tasks I had to deal with was people’s confusion about research and interviews in general. It took a lot of time to explain to them what exactly research is and why I was carrying it out - even though I am a woman without white hair and not locked in a laboratory, I am still a researcher. What was my research was about? Who was doing the research: the “bloody” feminists, academics or myself? Why did I need to record the interviews? What did I mean by the word ‘interview’? Some other questions were: Why do you need people’s experiences? You, at the university, are educated people, and you know what is right and what is wrong; why do you ask us about our beliefs? How come a university is related to interviews? And when can I watch it on TV?

At this point it should be mentioned that Greeks use the word ‘interview’ (suntefexi) for issues related to broadcasts and celebrities. A suntefexi is usually given to a journalist. Jobs interviews, for example, are described as meetings with discussions. Thus, when participants were asked to give interviews, some of them felt flattered. Later on, when the differences between a research and a TV interview became clear they changed their minds about the interview. In Kastro, when people changed their minds about coming up to an arranged meeting, they did not disappear as the Athenians tended to do. Athenians, in most cases, disappeared without any warning; they would instead come to our meetings one or two hours late armed with excuses like: “I am terribly sorry...my grandmother, or one of my relatives is not well and I have no free time at all...I’ll let you know when I am free”. Over the next days any time I happened to meet them on the street they would avoid me and pretend that they hadn’t seen me. They would pass by without saying “hello”.

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6.5.3 Inconsistency between observed and recorded data

Because the society in Kastro was a small one, I was in a position to observe that there was an inconsistency between those things respondents had said during the interviews and their actual behaviour. I chose the following two examples in order to illustrate some observed inconsistencies.

(1) I met Kyriakos while I was waiting in a tavern for a respondent to turn up for an interview. He was drinking a glass of beer on his own and asked me for whom I was waiting. When I explained to him about my study he showed great interest. As my participant had not turned up I invited him to my table and we had a nice conversation about gender relationships. His beliefs about women’s position in Greek society (especially in rural areas), gender relationships, domestic violence, marriage, housekeeping and the responsibilities of childrearing all showed a man who was against any kind of gender discrimination. He talked about equality within the family independently of whether a wife is employed or not. He believed that democracy should firstly be applied within the family setting, and only later to the country setting. He asked me to meet him the next day in order to be interviewed about these issues. We arranged to meet at the beach because he didn’t want to ruin his family’s leisure time.

I went to the meeting still having in my ears his last phrase: “a woman is a sacred being; men should respect her and not take advantage of the fact that they have one dozen muscles more than her”. When I arrived he was in the sea with his two sons, 8 and 12 years old. His behaviour was a shock not only to me but also to the other people who were at the beach. He was shouting at his children and his wife, calling them “morons”, “useless animals, who deserved to be locked in a dark room”. His words were accompanied by many slaps. The reason of his anger was that the boys failed to demonstrate what they had learnt from his swimming performance some minutes before. He was also angry with his wife because he blamed her for having brought up such “idiot children”.
His wife was sitting silently under the shadow of a parasol and she gave the impression that her husband’s behaviour was not unknown to her. She had a look of a scared person, rather than that of the powerful and independent woman he had described the night before.

(2) The second example is Mrs. Marika, a lady who had recently been widowed. In the interview we had about family and “honour matters”, she seemed to be very tough with her two children: a son of 22 years old and a daughter of 19 years. She wanted to know all of their friends; they were not allowed to stay out late with friends and those times her children were with friends she demanded to know exactly where they were. She said that this was the way she had learned about life from her parents and so this was the way she wanted to pass things on to her children. She was mad at her children anytime they questioned the society of their village.

When I met her by chance, some days later, in public she was aggressively advertising her beliefs about life, especially those about matters to do with honour. She was almost shouting, though this time she did not seem to care about society or its rules. She wanted to live her life the way she wanted even though her advice to her children had been to ignore society and its rules.

In both cases I found it difficult to make any kind of comments to them about the inconsistencies. My comments could be interpreted as offensive or critical. Moreover, for the sake of confidentiality, I was not allowed to show my surprise or even more to remind them their previous words, especially in the presence of others.

The life of Mrs. Marika, for example, had changed after her husband’s death. They were rumours that she had” replaced her husband with a new partner” and the small society of the village was against her. Therefore, the issue seemed to be very sensitive and any attempt on my part to remind what she had told me one year before could have been interpreted by her as bitter criticism. At the end of the day I was there to observe and not to criticise.
6.5.4 The partners of male participants

Interviews with husbands in Kastro were always carried out under the supervision of their wives. Male respondents tended to come to the interviews accompanied by their wives. Thoughts about interviewing them in private were abandoned after the following incident. Christos had a small cantina at the beach and asked me to interview him at his work setting. His wife, who worked with him at the cantina, made it clear that she was not happy with him talking to the researcher in private. Angrily she asked to have some words with her husband and left the cantina, giving the researcher a dirty look. The atmosphere was full of tension and both interviewer and interviewee agreed on holding the interview the next afternoon at the respondent’s home.

The next day the participant’s mother-in-law opened the door and said angrily: “No, he is not here! And you, lady, better stay away from my son-in-law”.

However, the restrictions that the wives’ presence put on their husbands’ interviews were counteracted as follows. Firstly, the questions asked and the nature of the discussion itself were not related to the husbands personally but to what they thought other people believed and did. Secondly, husbands chose to come and talk to me any time they had the chance to without their wives. This could take place at the central square of the village over a relaxing iced drink.

6.5.5 Layperson’s advice

Kastrorians found it very difficult to be reassured about issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Despite repeated and long discussions about these issues with the researcher they were still very suspicious, they hesitated and were full of doubts about the confidentiality with which their recorded interviews would be treated. An informal conversation about participants’ apprehensiveness with the landlord of the flat in which the researcher was staying resulted to some useful tips.
She said: “It’s easy! You will say: whatever you will say here is going to be treated exactly in the same way a priest treats your confession. Once you have spoken, it is buried. Or if you don’t like that comparison you may say: this discussion is exactly like the one you have when you’re visiting your doctor and talk about your health problems”.

In difficult cases it was found that the example with the priest and the confession worked better than the doctor and the health problem analogy.

6.6 Transcription and translation

All interviews were given in the Greek language and thirty five interviews were fully transcribed by the researcher. The transcription took place in two phases: (1) In the first phase interviews were simultaneously translated and transcribed. That is to say the researcher listened to the interview transcripts in the Greek language and then transcribed them into a rough English translation. (2) In the second phase, when the transcription was complete, the researcher returned to the transcribed interview and refined the English translation. Temple (1997) argues that the difficulties which arise from research relying on translation are related to the accuracy of the translated meanings. This problem, though as yet unresolved, is partially solved when the researcher and the translator is the same person (Frey, 1970). Here particular emphasis was paid to those parts of the interviews where colloquialisms were used, as well as when participants spoke about matters to do with sex, romantic relationships or extramarital affairs and their gender affected the language they used.

For example, some men wanted to exhibit machismo behaviour whereas a number of women were shy. In both cases their talk was characterised by the use of colloquialisms. In the latter cases English acquaintances would be asked to assist in providing suitable expressions to help with such issues of translation.
6.7 Analysis of data

The data was analysed in an inductive manner. This was because the study aims to promote understanding of individual perceptions and not to prove a preconceived theory. Massey (1995) and Ramazanoglu (1990) state that the sources of qualitative data are interviews, the interviewer's observations, and field notes. Thus, the material to be analysed consisted of interviews and field notes. The field notes consisted of observations, informal discussions and unrecorded interviews. The analysis was carried out by using the so-called "pen and paper" method.

Stage 1

Once the interviews had been transcribed, the content of the transcripts and field notes was divided into two main piles. The first pile contained the data collected in Kastro and the second pile comprised the data collected in Athens. Each of these piles was further subdivided: one pile for the interviews given by women and another pile for those given by men. The interviews given in Kastro were marked with a boat symbol and those given in Athens by a car. Beside the boat or the car there was a ♂ or ♀ symbol indicating "man" or "woman" as appropriate.

Stage 2

Each pile of paper was scrutinised in order to find the categories relevant to the research question (Jasper 1994). Some of these categories were initially dictated by the aims of the research. A diagram of interrelated concepts, set up for analytical purposes from the beginning of the analysis of data chapters, indicates the initial categories (see Appendix V). Those were:

1. Beliefs (about marriage, family, employment, sexual behaviour);
2. Expectations (from marriage, family, employment, sexual relationships);
3. Behaviours in romantic relationships and marriage;
4. Roles and responsibilities (in marriage, family, employment, sexual behaviour);
5. Satisfaction (from marriage, family, employment, sexual behaviour);
6. Dissatisfaction (about marriage, family, employment, sexual behaviour); and
7. Balance of power between the spouses within marriage, family and in sexual behaviour.

The other categories emerged firstly during the research process and secondly during the analysis process; as the material was scrutinised for new observations and insights, this produced new and relevant themes which were then added to the old ones. For example, it emerged from the interviews that an influence upon beliefs, attitudes and behaviours towards sexual activity came either from respondents’ families or from the social settings in which they were living. It should be noted that the categorisation of the themes was not carried out in order to fit theories that were already known and which could explain the research questions. Instead, this categorisation emerged from the data during the research process. At the end of this stage, the categories were labelled and highlighted using a different coloured pen for easy retrieval and reference later on.

Stage 3
In this stage the material of the data was scrutinised once more in order to identify themes and concepts within each category. Each theme and concept was, again, highlighted by the same colour as the main category it belonged to, but this time using a lighter tone. This would help to identify more easily the category each of the themes and concepts belonged to. In many cases the same themes belonged to more than one category. At the end of this stage, the sub-themes were scrutinised and the themes relevant to the research question were kept for further analysis. All others were discarded.
Stage 4

This stage included comparisons between the themes, measurement of the frequency of particular themes, noticing responses that were not frequent, and taking into consideration the context in which some of these responses were given. After these tasks had been carried out, participants and responses were grouped and a frequency evaluation of the responses according to the social setting in which they were given, as well as the gender of the respondents, was carried out.

Stage 5

During this stage, where the appropriate data were available, returning to the transcripts and to the field notes helped to identify the reasons behind respondents’ accounts, as well as the consequences and implications of some of the “theme categories”. Next, the data were merged with the relevant literature and conceptual schemes were developed in order to begin to give answers to the research question.

The issues of reliability were satisfied by the supervisors of this research who read the majority of the interviews and agreed between themselves as to the themes to be used for analysis.

Conclusion

To sum up the outcome of this fieldwork I would like to mention the following:

First, it was usually the case that the most interesting and informative discussions with respondents were in the first meetings, after I had introduced myself and I was explaining to them issues about research, interviews and the aims of the study. In Kastro, there is a great amount of information about life, public opinions, principles, values, complaints, problems and frustrations in relationships, family and marriage. But sometimes I had to wait for one or two hours for respondents to turn up. People around me who offered to keep me company until the respondent arrived were accustomed to
talking about the most intimate aspects of their life without any effort from my part. However, what they were talking about was related to relationships they had in the past rather than to their marriage. When we met again with my recorder on, they became restrained, shy, nervous, confused and they tried to show a different person than that they actually were. Women tried to show a person who was in compliance with the social environment they were living in and men, on the other hand, were trying to show either a liberal and progressive person, or a rebel.

Secondly, it was noticed that during the first meeting there was a flood of information, and people seemed very keen on talking. However, repeated meetings did not prove to be helpful for the majority of male participants. On the second meeting they were more interested in getting to know what other people had said, rather than to continue talking about themselves. On the other hand, repeated meetings and discussions helped some women to think about - and evaluate - issues where they had not had the chance to do so before. Such women came up with new kinds of information, trying to find answers as to why things had gone this or the other way. It is worth mentioning that tearful interviews happened during some of the initial meetings.

Thirdly, some respondents thought that they had to say things which were the “correct answers”, or give answers that the researcher believed were “correct”. Some of their questions were: “Please, tell me, am I right?”, “What are your books telling about that? Which is the right behaviour?”, “I beg your pardon if I say something which is not “right”, but I am not an educated person…”

Fourthly, how private and intimate, daring, deep, boring or emotional an interview became depended totally on the participants’ behaviour. It was they, with their attitudes, who dictated the depth and the type of the questions asked. In addition, it was they who determined, to a great extent, the nature of the interviews and the atmosphere during the sessions. The interviews were, in the main, determined by the respondents.
Finally, someone knowing the topic of his or her research and being committed to this does not necessarily bring skill to the face-to-face in depth interviews. It can be asked: what are the special qualifications of a researcher interviewer which can guarantee the safe emotional situation of the participant during and after an interview? Thus, I did not treat in the same way, for example, men and women, or older people and younger people, religious people or non-religious people, shy people or extrovert people, or educated or uneducated people. Instead I constantly had to adjust not only my behaviour but also my language to the individual characteristics of each participant as much as I possibly could.
DATA CHAPTERS

The aim of this study is to examine the effects of women’s employment status upon the dynamics of power within their heterosexual sexual behaviour. The literature review has shown that, in Western societies, gender relationships within the family setting, in the labour market and within sexual relationships, are characterised by an imbalance of power. It has also been shown that family gender stereotypes and sexuality constitute obstacles to women’s employment status.

The first stage of the research examines the extent to which the relevant literature can explain and justify the dynamics of power in gender relationships within the family, the labour market and in sexuality in Greek society. Participants gave their accounts of how they perceive notions and meanings of power in their gender relationships within the family setting, employment and in their sexual relationships. The research further examines the roles that both female and male participants hold in each of the three aforementioned areas. It continues by highlighting how the gender roles in each of these areas define the dynamics of power between men and women and/or how these roles are defined by the dynamics of power between men and women.

The research takes into consideration the cultural characteristics of each social setting (i.e. that of Athens and that of Kastro), and proceeds by comparing the findings of the participants from each of these areas. The results of this initial comparison will be further compared with the findings of the group of employed and unemployed women.

The analysis section consists of three chapters: 1) Marriage, Household and Family Responsibilities, 2) Mothers in the Labour Market, and 3) Sexual Behaviour in Romantic Relationships and Marriage. Each chapter analyses data drawn from 60 face-to-face interviews given by employed and unemployed men and women. People talked about their expectations, beliefs and attitudes on a number of issues related to family, employment and sexuality. They also talked about their roles within the family setting, the labour market and within heterosexual relationships, as well as discussing their complaints and satisfaction with the above.
CHAPTER 7: MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES

During the process of coding it became evident that, even though the husbands' roles and responsibilities within marriage were distinct and clearly separated from those within the household, the wives' roles within the marriage and the household were either overlapping or were subsumed in their role as wives. As Leonard (1992) and van Every (1996) argue, the wife's role includes a variety of other roles and responsibilities usually related to household responsibilities. Indeed, cooking, cleaning, washing, taking care of the husband and the elderly relatives, doing unpaid work for helping her husband, and providing emotional labour for her family members were all considered part of a wife's role.

Thus this chapter will take into consideration the participants’ perceptions of spouses' roles within marriage and will examine roles and responsibilities within the family setting as roles and responsibilities within marriage.

7.1 Women’s beliefs, attitudes and behaviours towards marriage

The majority of participants did not question the institution of marriage. This was independent of the place in which they were living and of their age, sex and marital status. They all considered it as an important event in people's life, a “human mission” or “a life dream”, which has to be done sooner or later.

In Kastro, the teacher of the school - Fotis, 34 years old and a father of two adolescents - gave his account about the age of marriage for women:

“Well, if women are not studying, definitely, they get married around their early 20s. When they are studying they get married immediately after they have finished their studies. In those families in which there are no men due to a death, for example, girls are forced to get married earlier in order that the family will gain the protection of a man”.

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Indeed, five of the ten female respondents in Kastro had married before they were 20 years old. Four of them married in their early 20s, and one, the General Practitioner of the village, married in her late 20s because of her studies. Discussions with young girls and interviews with the respondents revealed that many young women in Kastro want to get married sooner rather than later because they consider marriage to be an escape from the restrictive rules of the family. As discussed in Chapter 2, girls are very rarely allowed to spend their leisure time outside of the home. Thus, many of them explained that marriage would give them happiness by providing an opportunity to get out of their home. It would allow them to meet other people, to have friends, to invite people into their house, to set out their own rules, or to go to the cinema or to a tavern with their husbands.

Women and young girls made it clear that the above reasons for getting married do not exclude romance and love. All ten participants said that their marriage was the result of love. Issues of romantic relationships and love in Kastrorians’ marriage will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8: Heterosexual Sexual Relationships.

However, not all girls saw marriage as an opportunity for a better life. There were other girls who place more emphasis on feelings and the compatibility of personalities. This can be seen in the following two quotes. In the first, Heleni was a 35 year old married mother of two adolescents who ran a family business renting rooms and a coffee bar. She complained about her daughter’s resistance to marrying someone suggested by her family. Heleni’s daughter is 18 years old and the person who is interested in getting married to her is 52 years of age.

She says:

“...he occupies a very good position in the Navy, he is a person of the upper class, but my daughter cannot decide yet; she says that she needs time - why? Marriage is a lottery you know, and this is a chance for her to get to the upper class automatically, to get to know famous people...she says she wants to find her husband by herself...”
In the second quote, Efi, a single 28 year old (quite old according to Kastrorians) helped her brother in his travel agency. She thought that it was time for her to compromise and marry someone who might not meet all of her expectations because she is already quite old and people in the village laugh behind her back. She says:

“there are some available (i.e. single men) but they are so ugly... I don’t know...they don’t say anything to me...I have a field and a two-floor house, I am healthy, I have two legs and two arms, I’m not retarded...I don’t understand what went wrong...I think it’s time “to put water in my wine” (i.e. being less demanding); I know that people in kafenion call me names and laugh at me...”.

In Athens, since there is no social pressure upon women to get married at a young age, women postpone the time of marriage. Of the twenty female participants, ten were married, eight were divorced, one was single and one was a single mother. Only three of female Athenian participants were married in their teens and one of them was living in a Greek village until the age of her marriage. However, all of the Athenian female participants - with the exception of one - said that marriage had never taken first priority among their concerns. Their first priorities, instead, were to study, find a job and to enjoy their lives before marrying.

Nadia, a 36-year-old secretary and mother of two explained that she had excluded marriage from her life due to the bad experiences she had had from her parents’ divorce. She married at the age of 33 when a pleasant man convinced her that theirs would be better than their parents’ marriage.

Tassia, 38, a married chemist said that she was planning to marry after 30 years of age. She wanted to travel around the world and to enjoy her life. However, her unexpected pregnancy forced her to marry when she was 19 years old. She said:
"I didn’t want to get married but it was the relatives and the idea of abortion which made me to take this decision. Now, any time we have an argument he reminds me that he married me just because of the child”.

Fofi, 35, is a social worker by profession and a single mother. This was not her intention. She was in a stable relationship; after an agreement with her partner she decided to keep the baby and get married before the birth. It was then that she discovered that her partner for four years had already been married. She now wants to find a father for her son more than anything else. She explains:

"I don’t need a husband! I need a father for my child! It hurts me any time he asks me why it is him the only child among his class mates and friends who doesn’t know his father....”

At this point, two things should be noted. Firstly, all the female participants who gave a face-to-face interview - with the exception of one, the single mother- said that they were never interested in marriage. Secondly, the ten women who participated in the focus group discussion had a completely different attitude towards marriage. They all said that they wanted to get married, and some of them said that they were looking forward to that. Out of the total of ten women, seven were married, one of them was on her second marriage, two were divorced and one was widowed. The rest of the participants’ socio-demographic characteristics were similar to those women who gave face-to-face interviews.

It should also be noted that the mass media in Greece provide an image of a modern woman as being liberated, against marriage and independent. Thus, it is assumed that the different technique inherent in collecting this kind of data affected the kind of information participants gave. Women, for example, who gave face-to-face interviews may have given false information in an effort to present themselves as progressive and “modern-thinking”.

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7.2 Men’s beliefs, attitudes and behaviours towards marriage

7.2.1. Responsibilities to unmarried sisters

In Kastro it is mainly believed that men should not get involved with a woman in a stable relationship – i.e. one that will lead to marriage - if they have not fulfilled certain responsibilities. These include, firstly, the completion of their military service. It is believed that the hard training which a boy has in the army, transforms him from a boy to a man. As a man, he will be able to judge and to know better what to look for and what to avoid when he decides to get married. Secondly, the completion of the establishment of their professional career and thirdly the arrangement of their single sisters’ marriages are both crucial responsibilities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, among the brothers’ responsibilities towards their sisters is to make sure that they have found a good husband by making their own minor investigations and to give her some assets. This might be a house, land or simply money. In those cases where the family is not prosperous enough to do this, the brothers have a duty to work hard and save money for their sister’s marriage. This is difficult for a married brother to do since his first priority would be to support his family - and not his sister - economically.

Manos, aged 34, single and a waiter by profession, had been engaged for three years. This period of engagement might be considered as being very long, but he explained:

“I have married two of them (sisters). Now I’m waiting for the last one to finish her studies in Athens.... She is engaged with a good guy from a village next to ours. They both finish their studies this year and they will get married. After that I will be married to that poor girl (his fiancée) who was waiting patiently all of these years.”

This tradition seems to be both an old and strong one. Mrs Athena, in referring to a period in the early 1950s, expressed her complaints about her brothers’ irresponsibility towards her.
She said:

“My brothers got married; they were interested in themselves, ignoring me. At that time a good brother didn’t get married before he had found a good man for his sister, in those cases where he had a sister. That was the situation. I had six brothers and they got married before me, they didn’t pay any attention to me. So, I had to choose either to be a spinster or to get married to someone.”

This tradition in Athens, even though it has faded away, has not disappeared altogether. Four Athenian participants (three of them were married, unemployed women and one of them a married man) believed that brothers should not get married before they arrange their sisters’ marriage. The remaining participants included two single males, both with unmarried sisters, and they did not refer to or raise any issue implying that brothers have to satisfy their responsibilities to their unmarried sisters before they get married. However, all respondents - both women and men - were aware that in rural areas people expect brothers to marry their sisters before they get married themselves.

An explanation behind this tradition might be related to the institution of dowry and to the responsibilities of the family male members in providing their sisters with this dowry. In current times - as already mentioned - even though the institution of dowry has been abolished by an act of constitution, people still tend to save money or to count on some assets which will be given to their daughters or sisters when they are married.

7.2.2. Fears about Evil women

Ethnographic studies in rural Greece have shown that people believe that women have a double character: that of the cunning Eve before marriage and that of the Holy Madonna after the marriage (Du Boulay, 1974; Sanday, 1981; Katakis, 1998) (also see Chapter 4). Indeed, eleven male participants in Athens and all of the male participants in Kastro talked about the fears of the dangerous and evil characteristics which women have before their marriage. Women, they explained, want to get married as soon as possible. Because of this they will try to “trap” the first suitable man they will go out with into a
marriage. In order to achieve this they show a different "person" to their "true" self, and the naïve man believes that he has found the perfect woman to be his wife. Men said that when they were in a relationship they were cautious and suspicious towards women’s motives.

Manos’ fear about the “double face” of women has kept him single until the age of 32. He does not intend to remain single though; if he finds a good woman then he will marry her. Manos, who is a waiter says:

“I have seen enough with my friends. Women, in the beginning are like angels. This is until they get married. As soon as they are married and they know that they have knotted up their donkey they reveal their real face.”

In Athens, Nickos, 51, a married civil engineer and a father of two children, said about the day of his marriage:

“...it wasn’t me who took the decision (for marriage), it just happened. That is, my wife was convinced that we were very much matched and she pushed me a bit...and until the day of our marriage I was under very big pressure; I thought as if my weight was 500kg! I knew that this woman was - at least compared to all other women I had gone out with till then - it was her who had the “qualifications” to be my wife. Not all the qualifications though, but in a high percentage, say 99%. But I couldn’t take any decision for marriage; imagine I felt relief only then, when I was on my way to the church.”

However, two male participants in Athens - Giannis, 43, a married teacher and father of two, and Panos, 43, a married father of two who held a managerial post - did not accept that the majority of women think and act in this “old fashion” way. They said that a number of women, most likely to be found in rural Greece, might behave in this way. But as far as they knew from discussions with friends and colleagues in Athens, women have changed and they are no longer interested in marriage.

It is important to mention that those male participants who said that they were scared and cautious of women before their marriage explained that such attitudes towards women were the result of influences coming from friends, family and, especially, from their mother. The following quotations illustrate such influences. They come from two
married men, one living in Kastro and the other in Athens. Nickos, living in Athens, said:

"From my environment, I had some influences regarding to my attitude towards women...from my mother, who gave me this, you know...this advice: 'be aware! Be careful of women! All they want is to trap you!' I had this message as a guideline for anything I wanted to do."

and later on he explained:

'Since my aim was not to get married before I established a professional career, say at an age between 30-35 years, I thought that if I let myself free to feel a woman in a whole, complete way, then, I might lose any control and to marry her. These thoughts were the implication of my early influences, from my mother: "Avoid women! Don’t be committed to them!"

Dimitrios, 48, an architect and father of two adolescents living in Kastro, said:

"I had a negative attitude towards women because of those things my parents and my friends used to tell me, and of course the whole environment in which I have been brought up."

Dimitrios, who studied architecture in Italy, said about that period:

"Any time I had a post from my parents the whole letter, say 2 or 3 pages, was full of advice: be aware of women...Don’t let them trap you. It’s better to keep away from them."

Women living in both urban and rural areas, even though they understood men’s fears and attitudes towards them, made me aware that there are some women who have these motives and there are others who do not. None of the female participants said that such motives were among their intentions before their marriage. Instead, they bitterly criticised those women who behave in this way and all admitted that they had advised their sons to be careful of such women.

One explanation about men’s attitudes towards marriage and towards women’s motives before marriage can be found in the social pressure placed upon women, especially in rural areas, to get married as soon as they can. This follows from the belief that a family
is respected only when it is headed by a man. This could make some women pursue marriage and make some men cautious and sceptical about being married.

7.3 Ideal wives and actual women’s roles within marriage in Kastro

As has been mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, participants did not distinguish between the roles and responsibilities someone should have as a spouse and someone should have as a housekeeper. This was more obvious when participants, both male and female, were referring to wives’ responsibilities rather than to husbands’ responsibilities. Wives, in their majority, had undertaken all the responsibilities related to housekeeping and childcare, whereas husbands had undertaken only one responsibility, that of financially supporting the family.

During the analysis of the data it was observed that the description which male Kastrorian participants had given for “the ideal wife” had many similarities with the description which women gave about their roles as wives. On the other side of the coin, Kastrorian husbands not only did not meet women’s descriptions of their “ideal husband” but also they were, quite often, completely different to what women had described.

It was also observed that the descriptions of the “ideal wives” consisted, exclusively, of duties whereas the descriptions of the “ideal husbands” were consisted of personality characteristics. Women, for example, tended to describe the ideal husband as a calm and affectionate person. Men, on the other hand, tended to describe the “ideal wife” as a person who should obey to her husband or as someone who should be good at housekeeping and cooking. This was more likely to happen in the Kastrorian participants’ descriptions rather than in the Athenian ones.

In the following quotation, one of the two single male Kastrorian participants describes the “ideal wife” for him. His long description covers a wide range of characteristics,
duties and responsibilities which a Kastrorian wife should have. The majority of Kastrorian men used to describe the “ideal wife” in a similar way.

Labis, who is 32 years old, runs a motor hire business and is the owner of a café restaurant said:

“I love my mother very much and I expect my wife to love my mother the same. This is not because it is my mother but because, objectively speaking, my mother is unique. I cannot imagine my life without her! She helps me in the office and the restaurant I have. My wife should be able to emulate my mother as much as possible. I don’t expect her to be able to compete with my mother; as I told you my mother has all of those virtues a perfect woman has. I want my wife to know how to cook even the most special pie, which only some shepherds in the mountains know how to cook it. I want her to be good and beautiful, to have blue eyes and to be obedient. I want her to be a good mother for our children, like my mother...I want her to love me and to understand me without complaints and arguments. I don’t want her to be jealous of my friends! Friendship is above all! Some times she can join us (friends) but not always; this is not proper! I want her to honour me and to make me proud in front of my friends. I don’t want relatives and friends to laugh at me”

Labis later adds:

“I would prefer her to be an orphan because women who are coming from big families cause many problems to their husbands. This is because they are very attached to their (parental) family and they are not obedient to their new families. They are influenced by their sisters and her mother and make their husband’s life a hell. She spends all the day with them (her family). They (the wife’s family) come home (his and his wife’s home) for coffees and they don’t allow the wife to devote enough time to the needs of her husband. The husband, in this case, has no voice. He comes second or third to her. And when a child comes then the husband is totally forgotten”.

All the male participants, as well as the men who shared the opinions about family issues, independently of their age used expressions similar to Labis’ to show their admiration for their mothers. Women, on the other hand, despite the strong and sentimental relationships with their mothers (Dubisch, 1992) did not express themselves in the way men did.
Labis starts his description by praising his mother and continues by saying that he would like his wife to resemble her. His mother, according to him, has unique abilities and virtues and he does not expect to find any woman who could be exactly like her. This shows, firstly, the special relationship which exists between mothers and sons in Kastro. Katakis (1998) argues that this special relationship between mothers and sons can be found in most rural areas in Greece. Secondly, Labis’ admiration for his mother highlights the dominant, important and sacred figure which mothers have within their family (Campbell, 1964; du Boulay, 1974; Just, 1998) (see also chapter 4: Literature-Women’s power in rural Greece).

Women, when they described their roles as wives, gave a long list of various duties and responsibilities. Heleni, a married lady and mother of two children who is running a family business with rented rooms and a coffee bar described the roles she has as a wife. His description has many similarities with the descriptions of other Kastrorian wives who are helping in family businesses.

Heleni said:

“Women take care of everything! It is they who are wearing the trousers! It’s women who have taken in their hands the family. They take decisions about the family budget, about how much money will be spent for supermarket, for clothing and for entertainment. Women are doing everything in the family! Look at me! I am cleaning and taking care of the apartments I rent; I am doing the housework; I run the bar, which is open 18 hours per day. In my free time I take care of some olive trees I have so that I can have free olive oil for a whole year. I give some to my relatives, too and I sell the rest. And you know something? It is not only me who is doing everything; it is every woman in this village! Ok, there are a few who are lazy but these women are without any power. You know, if you don’t offer to your family then you don’t deserve anything and you don’t have any power! It is women who decide about what their children are going to do in their life, what their education is going to be, which school they will attend, what their friends are. Women will decide about whether their children will go out, where they go and for how long they will stay. When my kids are going out with friends it is me who goes, secretly, after them to spy on them. Where there is a girl in the family then women have double work to carry out. It’s a girl, you know”.

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Later on Heleni reveals that a wife has not only to undertake certain roles and responsibilities but also to change a big part of her personal life. A wife is expected to give up on her friends because, as she said, female friendships are catastrophic to the marriage.

When Kastrorian men were questioned about their participation in housekeeping they replied with laughs and sarcastic comments. Men said that those women who allow their husbands to help them in the housekeeping do not deserve to be called “Ladies”. They do so because they want to humiliate their husbands.

Tonis, 52, a married father of two adult children and a farmer of greenhouses by profession, is helped in his work by his wife on a daily basis. Tonis believed that women’s responsibilities and duties are proved to be of less value compared to his own. He also considers that a man who helps in the housekeeping is a castrated man.

Tonis said:

“What is she doing all the day? Nothing! She is helping me a bit and then she is staying inside and do cooking and the dusting. Who cares about the dust? All she knows is to complain. Come on lady, get out of your house and see how life is. Work as many hours as I am working and then you tell me who is more tired: you or me?

I am the man and she is the woman. Each of us has different responsibilities by nature. If a man is doing the housekeeping then he is a castrated man. A man is a man, and his wife should respect it in the same way her husband respects her and he does not allow her to go out and work; he protects her. I cannot compare my responsibilities with hers. She is doing nothing. She is privileged by have been born a woman. She has not to worry about anything in her life. Somebody else, a moron slave, her husband, will provide her with everything. It is ridiculous to compare her work...ahem; I’m calling it work... with my work!”

Another male participant gives his own perspective of what happens within his family. Haris believes that it is he who is exploited by his wife, and not his wife by him. He said that his freedom has been replaced by responsibilities and duties. Haris was the only
male Kastrorian participant who gave such description of his position within his family with any serious risk of damaging his masculinity.

Harris is 49 years old and on his second marriage. He is an accountant, works in a big town close to Kastro and is a father of two children.

Harris said:

“If I knew what I had to go through I would never have got married. I would prefer people to laugh at me as a divorced and a lone person rather than living this torture. I am working like a slave in order to provide my family with everything. They have whatever they ask: computers, stereo set, clothes, private lessons, and sport activities. They have a nice house which I have built with hard work, working overtime every day. I don’t know what weekend means. They (his family members) have rights to do whatever they want. She (his wife) speaks on the phone with her sisters three times per day. I have to go to the bathroom in order to talk secretly to my daughter from the previous marriage. She (his wife) invites and visits her family every weekend; I am not allowed to talk to my ill mother on the phone. And if I do so then I will be told for how long I am allowed to talk. Can you believe that she (his wife) takes all the money? And she demands me to give her even the smallest receipt from my expenses? I am not allowed to buy an ice-cream without her permission”.

The teacher of the school, Fotis, highlighted some of the reasons which make husbands to demand these roles from their wives as well as the ways by which these roles are maintained.

Fotis said:

“A man wants his wife to be “on hand” any time his friends are visiting him. His wife should prepare a nice meal with many appetisers, sweets, drinks and anything else, which could make them happy. She has no choice! Otherwise, she will be beaten, threatened and in some cases she will be killed. The most interesting thing is that nobody will empathise with her. They all will be against her!”
And later:

"Husbands want to show off that their wives are good housewives! They are not interested in any other qualities and characteristics of their wives except that of cooking. You know, women, for them, are something like a decoration to their house, or you can put it in a different way: women are something like a useful tool in their effort to be socially approved. This is the role of a woman: to help her husband to be socially approved! If she is not able to do so then the village will accuse him for not being able to train her properly and make her obedient. He will be accused for not being able to give her a lesson. Men like to show other people that they control their wives and they are the bosses. So, they give their wives orders in the presence of other people in a nasty way because they want to make obvious that they treat their wives in a humiliating way. They, for example, say: Hey, you move your legs and go straight inside (to the kitchen) and fetch us something to eat and drink! Do it today, and not tomorrow!"

From the participants' quotations it is shown that Kastrorians put emphasis on women's efficiency in cooking. This could be partly explained firstly, by a lack of entertainment in Kastro and secondly, by the gender restrictions, which characterise any kind of public entertainment and leisure time in Kastro. Thus, social life mainly consists of meals which are exchanged between relatives, friends and colleagues.

Women did not deny that they are usually badly treated by their husbands. In Chapter 2, it has been mentioned that women in Kastro are all aware of the humiliating way their husbands treat them, especially in the presence of other people. Women explained that they do not take such behaviour as an offence. Instead, they understand that men need to act publicly in this way in order to boost their masculinity. They also revealed that their adolescent sons treat them in the same way. However, they were confident that they would be treated in a nice way privately.

Maria, a 49 year old unemployed mother of two adult children explains in her own way the reasons why wives should accept such behaviour of their husbands.

Maria said:

"Men in our days are powerless! Women have all the power in their hands. But we (women) let them (men) to believe that it is they who have "the
power”. Men like to believe they are masters and powerful. It doesn’t cost us anything to fool them. Actually it is better for us (women). Let them to believe that it is they who are strong and there would not be any arguments within the family. After that, you (included myself as a woman) will walk on the street and you will be respected by everyone! By your children, too! But if a woman makes the mistake to show off her power then her husband feels offended; he is moaning...and there are many arguments in the family because he wants to prove that it is him who is strong. Men need to be fed with stories and lies. Listen, if I know that he will be good to my children and happy only then when he believes that he is coming from Mars then I will allow him to believe that he is a Martian!”

These wives’ attitudes towards their husbands are widely known and well accepted by the majority of women in Kastro. However, two married, female participants - Anna, aged 40, unemployed and Nikoletta, aged 35, a General Practitioner - said that they can understand the reasons why their husbands and sons treat them in a bad way. Yet they cannot help feeling hurt, worthless and losing their self-confidence.

It should be noted that these two participants had lived in Athens for several years. Anna for 12 years, from the age of 13 until the age of 25 years old and Nikoletta, for 8 years, when she was studying in a University in Athens.

Thus, it could be argued that the period those two women spent away from Kastro had an effect on their attitudes towards the way they are treated by their Kastrorian husbands. This explanation should not imply that those women, who have never been away from their village, are all happy with they way they are treated by their husbands. Many women might not have been away from their village but they are in contact with tourists, they have daughters who study in Athens or in European countries and they have influences from mass media.

The previous examples have shown, firstly, how Kastrorian men would like their wives to be like regarding their duties; secondly, what Kastrorian wives’ duties actually are; and thirdly, how these duties and roles have been imposed and maintained to women. From a first glance it could be inferred that men, when they get married, force their
wives to behave according to the image they have for the “ideal wife”. Women, in this case, have no choice. Such an assumption would also explain the similarities which exist between the descriptions of the “ideal wife” given by men and the descriptions of the actual wives’ roles given by the wives.

However, women, when talking about their duties and roles, did not seem to act in a certain way due to fear or to some kind of pressure. Instead, they were calm, confident and proud enough to talk about the many tasks they successfully carry out. They also used bitter language to criticize those women who had not had undertaken as many roles as they had.

It has also been discussed (see chapter 4: Literature - Women’s power in rural Greece) that wives, by carrying out all of these roles and responsibilities, are respected and admired by the social environment in which they are living. Thus, it can be seen that wives are socially expected to have these roles and responsibilities. They know that they are respected and admired for what they offer to their families and this, on the one hand, makes them proud, and on the other hand it helps them to be socially accepted. Fotis said that husbands use their wives as a tool in order to be socially approved. In this sense it could said that wives take advantage of their husbands’ social needs and make use of them in order for themselves to be socially approved too.

7.4 The ideal husband

It has already been discussed that women in both Kastro and Athens tended to focus more on personality characteristics rather than on duties in their descriptions of the ideal husband. They wanted the ideal husband to be calm and affectionate towards themselves and their children, to be clever, to have humour and not to be a lazy or a cruel person. Women started talking about the ideal husband’s duties and responsibilities by naming the three behaviours to be avoided at all costs: not to be an alcoholic, a gambler or a womaniser. They all placed emphasis on their husbands’ ability to meet their economic
responsibilities towards the family. Four female Kastrorian participants said that an ideal husband should be an orphan.

These participants explained that men are usually emotionally attached to their families and they allow their mothers and sisters to interfere in their new families. Women referred to some cases in their village where women had miserable marriages because of the interventions of their husband’s female relatives. Female Athenian participants also referred to the husband’s family, saying that it would be ideal if his family were living in a different town.

A considerable number of female participants, both in Athens and in Kastro, put emphasis on the masculine nature of the ideal husband. In particular, they said that a man should be tough and macho. Below are the quotations of two women in relation to the masculine nature of the ideal husband; one of them, Elefteria, lives in Kastro and the other, Nora, lives in Athens.

Elefteria, a 48 year old married mother of four, and living in Kastro helping her husband in the family leather business, said:

“A husband should be a good person but not very good so that his wife to be able to take advantage of that and exploit him. When husbands are good, women, especially those who are not working hard, take advantage of that. Women always, take advantage of a good and “soft” husband”.

Nora, a 40 year old divorced mother of two and a painter by profession, said:

“I don’t like men who are behaving like women. I need to know that a man is a man, and every cell of him is full of adrenaline and testosterone. I want him to know about life, to be aware of everything around him and to be the toughest.”
Most of the women participants, in both in Kastro and in Athens, were not quite happy with the way their husbands were. They described them as indifferent to their family’s problems, as demanding from their wives in regards of the housekeeping, and as people who do not make any effort to spend quality time with their wives.

Eleftheria, a 48 year old mother of four adult children, and living in Kastro, called herself unemployed but in actual fact she helped her husband on a daily basis with his leather handicrafts. Elefteria said:

“All I wanted was to get married to a nice, calm man, to have a nice atmosphere in my family, to be happy, to understand each other. I could never imagine that I would marry to someone like this monster. He wants the best portion of the meal, he demands the best present for his birthday, we cannot watch the TV program we like; if he doesn’t like it then he turns off the TV. The children do not dare to speak loudly because he gets annoyed, he says he needs relaxation, and I am tired and sick of him”.

Despite her complaints, Elefteria said that she is easily able to manipulate this “monster” at any time she wants.

In Athens, the majority of female Athenian participants complained about their husbands’ reluctance to help them in both housekeeping and childrearing duties. It should be noted that when female Athenian participants were asked to describe the “ideal husband” none of them said that she would like her husband to share the housekeeping or the childrearing. From this, the following could therefore be assumed: firstly, Athenian women, though more modern than their Kastrorian counterparts, do not feel confident enough in stating that sharing the housework is an important element of an ideal husband. Secondly, women in both Kastro and Athens said that “a man who wears a kitchen apron is not a man”, which shows how embedded gender stereotypes are in both societies.

Other complaints Athenian women had about their husbands were related to the limited amount of time they spent together as a couple, either entertaining themselves or just playing with their children, as well as the absence of discussions in sharing women’s
problems. It is always the opposite, they said: endless discussions in sharing their husbands’ problems, usually related to their jobs.

7.5 Women’s roles in Athens

Athenian participants did not give any detailed description about their ideal husband or wife. The characteristics of the ideal spouse which were frequently mentioned by the majority of both men and women were honesty, understanding and love. Athenian women, in the same way as Kastrorian women did, focused on a husband’s personality characteristics rather than on duties. On the other hand, Athenian men focused on personality characteristics as well as on some duties related to motherhood and housekeeping.

Athenian female participants, in the majority, had unquestionably accepted that as wives they should be responsible for the functioning of the family, the housekeeping and the childcare. All the female participants, with the exception of one, said that it was they who were responsible for carrying out all the household responsibilities including the childcaring. Mimi was the only female married and unemployed participant who said that household responsibilities were her husband’s responsibilities and not hers. Mimi is 41 years old, with two children.

Mimi explains:

“I was working in the public sector; nothing important but it was a good job. I resigned because I wanted to bring up my children by myself. I think it was not fair for me to have both the responsibilities of the children as well as the responsibilities of the housekeeping. My husband was very understanding in that...so...it was him who used to do the housekeeping. After having come back from his job he was cooking, cleaning, washing up, everything. After one year or something he decided to hire a full time lady to do the housekeeping for him; he was exhausted and unable to concentrate on his job”.
Mimi’s case should be considered as an exception rather than as a common situation in Athenian marriages. As she said, their neighbours, their friends and her husband’s colleagues were laughing at her husband.

At this point the following should be noted: in Kastro most of the female participants were working in family businesses. Their work was characterised as a duty to their family and therefore it was unpaid. In Athens, on the other hand, fourteen of the female participants were in paid employment. This difference seems to have some implications regarding the distribution of marriage, family, household and motherhood roles and responsibilities in Athenian couples.

Nine of the female participants, five of them unemployed and four employed, believed that women should carry out any kind of responsibility within marriage except financial matters. They supported their beliefs by referring to the nature of females and males. Other women, despite the fact that they were in a position to realise that household responsibilities should be fairly distributed between the two spouses, reported that it was they who had undertaken these responsibilities.

Konstantina, 37 years old, a beautician by profession and mother of one child explained that she has given up asking her husband to help her with the housekeeping. Any time she was raising such issues the discussion ended up in a big row.

There were also a number of employed women whose attitudes towards marriage, family, household and child caring responsibilities were tougher than other employed women’s attitudes. A further observation showed that the majority of these women (six out of seven) were divorced and it was assumed that their current marital status had an effect on their views regarding roles and responsibilities within marriage. An example is given by Popi, who is 42 years old, divorced, a secretary and mother of two children.
Popi said:

“When I married I felt as if I signed a contract to serve unconditionally my husband. After nine years I decided to break this contract”.

Six of the participants, one unemployed – Mimi - and the rest of them employed, had hired a lady to do some of the housework. Nadia, aged 36 and married, is a mother of two children and works as a secretary in a big private company.

Nadia said:

“I have managed to hire a lady to do the housework. This is not because we have lots of money, no, we haven’t any surplus of money because we are building up our own house this period. But, I have asked him (her husband) to sit down and talk and I have presented him the situation. “I’m working 8 hours, you’re working 12 hours. In order us to be able to have a balance, a harmony, like human beings, like autonomous identities, and at the same time as a couple, some things should be done by others and not by us. Could we spend some amount of money in order for someone else to do these things for us? Only then we will be able to play with our children, to talk about our job problems, to talk about our family problems, and at the end of the day about society’s problems.”

Nadia starts to explain about the hired woman who helps in housekeeping by saying: “I have managed to have a lady”. This indicates that Nadia, as almost all the female Athenian participants, considers the housekeeping as her own responsibility and not as a couple’s responsibility. All the female participants, except Mimi, when describing the solutions they had managed to find in order to cope with work and family, housekeeping and child caring responsibilities, used the same expressions as Nadia. They, for example, used to say: “I am lucky to have a woman”, or “there is my mother who helps me in the household” instead of “We are lucky to have a woman”, or “there is my mother who helps us in the household”.

This can be seen more clearly in Tassia’s quotation. Tassia is 38 years old, a mother of two children and works in a pharmaceutical company.
Tassia said:

“Even though he has never demanded the home to be tidied up I was always nervous. One or two hours before he comes back from his job I was checking whether the toilet was clean, I was putting the children’s clothes and shoes back to their bedrooms and I was making sure that there was a nicely cooked food and a sweet or a refreshment in the fridge. I remember that once he made some comments about my mood, and since then I have tried to be in a cheerful mood no matter how I am actually feeling.”

But it was not only women who considered the housekeeping responsibilities exclusively women’s responsibilities. Men, as well, referred to those responsibilities by firstly devaluing them and secondly by making it clear that they are a wife’s responsibilities. A number of men said that if they do the housekeeping then their sons are at a big risk of becoming homosexuals due to the wrong model their fathers would have been for them.

Andreas’ quote represents the beliefs of 16 other Athenian male participants. The remaining four participants believed that a husband should help in the housekeeping only if a woman is ill. Andreas, aged 43, a bookshop owner, married and a father of two children was one of the five men who participated in the focus group discussion.

Andreas said:

“A woman may have to wash the children, to cook or to clean the house, but psychologically she is not under pressure in the same way a man is. I am working in my office from 9am till 10pm and because I’m sitting in a chair I may not be physically tired but psychologically I am dead! A woman feels the opposite: psychologically she is fine and physiologically she is dead. The physiological tiredness may be cured immediately by a one-hour sleep but the mental tiredness cannot be cured by any tablet.”

And Panos aged 43, holding a managerial position, married and a father of two children tries to justify men’s reluctance to contribute in the housekeeping and children caring responsibilities by saying that it is women who have made men reluctant to help. In the beginning, it was the mothers and later the wives who offered everything to men and in this way they prevented them from trying to do things on their own. He concluded,
therefore, that women intentionally have made men to be dependent on them; this weakens men and makes them easily exploited by women.

7.6 Women as mothers of their husbands

Women in both Kastro and Athens revealed that the roles they have as wives include that of their husband’s mother. Men, they said, are like boys and they need to be treated as such. They also said that some husbands demand to be treated like children.

Anna, whose husband leaves his office every day to meet clients, said that her husband needs her to remind him to change his dirty clothes, have a bath, or cut his hair. She also said that before she goes to bed she will leave the clothes which her husband will wear for the next day on a chair - these include his socks, which are clean and ironed:

Anna said:

“[In the beginning of our marriage I was bathing him... I was washing his hair... when my children came and I stopped doing it because it was too much work for me, he felt very offended....].”

Ioanna, a 50 year old unemployed mother of four children, believed that men want to be treated as children not because they feel like children. It is rather because they are lazy and it is convenient for them to say: “we are like big children”.

Ioanna said:

“He wanted me to treat him in the same way I treated my children! And he always had a strange kind of jealousy of the children. My father has this kind of jealousy against us, he was jealous of his own children...”

And later:

“Two years ago, I had an operation, which kept me in the hospital for one week. At the end of this week my husband needed a special medical treatment in the hospital due to a serious dehydration he was suffering from. He was not able to get a glass of water for himself; I had been, always, there for him. Why? Because I thought, like all women think, that he is “a big child”. “Nonsense, my dear! They are lazy! Nothing else!”

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In Athens, all women with the exception of one - Mimi (aged 41, unemployed) - said that they treat or had treated their husbands as if they were children at one time or another. Some of them said that it is this childish aspect of men's personality which is the reason that makes them easily manipulated by any woman. Women who participated in the focus group discussion in Athens supported what they said by giving some examples. They said that they praise and pay compliments to their husbands quite often in order to boost their ego and to make them to feel worthy and unique. They had noticed that if their husbands were praised, independently of whether they deserved it or not, there were no arguments in the family, and moreover their husbands were getting closer to them. They also said that if they wanted to ask for something important to be done, and they knew that their husband was likely to refuse to do it before they ask, they then tried to do something nice for him. This could be a nice discussion about his job, scratching his back, offering to watch a football match on TV together, or even having sex. They added that if their husbands are not treated as children then they would find another woman who would be willing to treat them in this way.

Men, interestingly enough, admitted that they are like children and they would like to be treated as such. However, they made clear that they refer to a child's innocent character and not to his or her immature way of thinking. They also said that they are aware that women take advantage of their innocence and manipulate men easily.

Discussion

The data presented in this chapter have shown that women as wives tend to undertake many and various responsibilities whereas men as husbands have, usually, one responsibility: to support their family financially. In Kastro, the many roles and responsibilities which wives undertake with marriage can empower them. The nature of this power has already been examined in Chapter 4 and will be discussed further in Chapter 10.
In Athens, marriage means a series of roles and responsibilities for both spouses. Some of these roles and responsibilities are considered to be mainly undertaken by husbands, such as financial support of the family, and others are considered to be exclusively carried out by wives, such as housekeeping and childcare.

Nevertheless, some of the employed mothers have undertaken fewer responsibilities concerning the childcare. This is helped by some options available to Athenian women. One of the most widely used options is that of hiring a lady to help in housekeeping and in childcare. Data have also shown an interesting difference between Kastrorian and Athenian couples. In Kastro, the couples’ responsibilities within marriage are strictly characterised by gender roles stereotypes. This is partly helped by the Kastrorian women’s idiosyncratic employment status. In Athens, the couples’ responsibilities within marriage are not strictly characterised by gender role stereotypes. Many men participate to some extent in the housekeeping and in the childcare. They justify their behaviour by referring to women’s employment status.

The following chapter, Chapter 8, will examine firstly what the effects of women’s employment status are upon gender roles. Secondly, it will highlight how these new gender roles affect the dynamics of power relations between men and women in the labour market.
CHAPTER 8: MOTHERS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Introduction

People’s beliefs, expectations and attitudes towards motherhood and the significance which motherhood has upon rural women’s lives and social status have been already discussed in Chapter 4.

Also from Chapter 3, the following can be noted:

- The mean number of children per woman in Athens tends to be less than that of other rural areas of Greece. (Symeonidou et al., 1997).
- The number of children a woman has affects her employment status. The more children a woman has the less likely she is to work. This is even more likely to happen after the birth of the third child. (Eurostat, Labour Force Survey, 1993-2000; Elaboration of data by KETHI, 2002)
- Women in Athens are more likely to quit their jobs after the birth of the first child than women who live in rural areas (Symeonidou, 1999).

This chapter firstly highlights the roles which each of the parents have undertaken towards their children. Secondly, taking into consideration the effects which motherhood has on women’s employment status (see Chapter 3), the section presents mothers’ accounts about the compatibility of motherhood and their employment status. It also explores what the impact of employment is upon women’s lives regarding their social status, self-confidence and balance of power in gender relationships.

At this point it is worth noting that in the Greek language there are two words which describe the two possible kinds of employment: “εργάζομαι” and “απασχολούμαι”. The word “εργάζομαι” is used to describe a paid full time job whereas the word “απασχολούμαι” means that someone is occupied by doing something which is not his or her main job. According to Ioannidis (1975), the passive voice verb “απασχολούμαι”
implies distraction from the main job. In Kastro, those women who were helping family members in their business said that they εργάζονται, that is that they "were employed", whereas Kastrorian men when they referred to this kind of women’s work said that the women βοηθούσαν, i.e. they were helping. Even though the word “βοηθός” suggests meanings of contribution and assistance, Kastrorian men never called any of their female family members who were helping them βοηθός (i.e. assistant). Instead they used to call "βοηθός" the man who was their business co-operator in those cases where they had one. Calling someone “βοηθός” means the acknowledgement of this person’s abilities and knowledge in contributing to the work effectively; because of this the word also implies notions of equality. According to Kastrorian men, women βοηθούσαν (were helping) but they were not “βοηθοί” (assistants).

In Athens, both men and women used the word “απασχολούμαι” when referring to part-time employment. By using this word firstly they devalued the kind of the work women were doing by not considering it as proper employment, since it is a part-time and not a full-time job. Secondly, they implied that women were distracted from their main job, that of domestic activities, by their part-time employment.

In Kastro, three of the ten female participants were employed in paid work. These were: the General Practitioner, the owner of a cantina, and one lady who was running a business with rooms for rent. One lady, Anna, did not work and six women helped their sons or their husbands in their family business and they considered themselves as unemployed.

It is widely believed in Kastro, without excluding Athens, that children should stay with their mothers rather than with babysitters, or at nursery schools. For some people the period should last for some months after the birth; for others until the beginning of adolescence and for some others this period should not have an end, it should continue with the grandchildren. Thus women’s participation in labour market was perceived by most of Kastrorian respondents - both men and women - as the reason for the fact that the family as an institution has undergone a crisis.
Labis, a single man aged 32, and running a family business with rented rooms and a café restaurant would like his future wife to help him in their business. Labis, said:

"a woman does not need to have a job! She is not a man! A woman is for the family and the man for the work. Nature has arranged everything. In our days people want to change the way nature is. Women want to become men and on the top of that they want to genetically modify men into women".

Kastrorian participants were strongly against women’s participation in paid employment. They would prefer, as they said, to keep their wives close to them in order to take care of their “fragile” nature. Fotis, the teacher of the school, gave a different picture of what Kastrorian men said about their wives. Foris said:

"Most of them (men) are working in greenhouses...they own them and they have workers who are Albanians and their wives. In the morning they give orders to the workers about what should be done by the evening and they go to coffee shops. In the evening, they will go back to check whether everything is OK and then back to coffee shops for beers and fun; that’s their life. Since there is their wife there keeping an eye on the Albanian workers they have piece of mind. The most important is that wives demand neither money nor insurance”.

Though the situation for most women in Kastro might be as Fotis described it, there were some women who were doing paid work. Nikoletta, aged 35 and a mother of two children is the General Practitioner of the village. She said how she manages motherhood and career responsibilities:

"I can’t say anything about motherhood responsibilities. You better ask my poor mum. We are living with my parents. They live on the first floor and we are living on the ground floor. Many times my work keeps me even 10 hours in the surgery. My mother has undertaken everything. She cooks, cleans the house, and takes care of everything. Without her I don’t think I would be able to work. My husband doesn’t move his dirty socks from the bedroom’s floor to the bin with the dirty clothes”

Heleni, aged 35, the active and overloaded lady who is running a business with rented rooms and a coffee bar – and a mother of two - said that even though she was not helped by her mother because she lost her many years ago, her children were never a problem for her to carry out her duties.
Heleni said:

“The village is not like Athens! Here, we are all like a big family. When I was working in the olive field and my children were small I used to take them with me. Under the shadow of a tree if the weather was not good I stayed home with them, or I could have left them at a neighbour’s. There is always a neighbour to keep an eye on you children here. I will do the same for the neighbours’ children. Say, for example, that my child is playing on the road...I don’t worry because I know that if something happens there are other people to protect and take care of him. Children were never a problem to me”.

Fani, a 43 year old mother of two kept a canteen within the school. This position was meant to be run by a woman. Despite the fact that her husband happened to be unemployed during that period, she accepted the offer. Her parents, who were old and in bad health, were not able to help her with housekeeping and childcare. In addition, their house was far away from other people’s houses so that she could not rely on any help from neighbours. In addition, the couple decided to reverse their traditional roles as a husband and as a wife. Thus, the husband undertook the wife’s responsibilities and Fani undertook the role of the breadwinner. These reversed roles, even though they do not constitute a problem for the couple, are a big problem for the people in the village and especially for men. Men have excluded Fani’s husband from their group in kafeneion (the coffee-shop) and anytime they accidentally meet him they make sarcastic comments.

Anna, a 40 year old married mother of two is neither an owner of any land nor does her husband run a family business. Her husband is a civil worker. Before her marriage, Anna was living in Athens and was in full-time employment. After her marriage she and her husband moved to Kastro where her husband found a job. When the children came she preferred to stay with them for a few years until they went to elementary school. However, despite her intentions, she has been at home for 14 years so far. Anna considered her husband’s reluctance to help with the children as the main reason she remained unemployed.
Anna said:

"the reason I decided to lock myself up at home and quit any thought about a job was the bad relationships he (her husband) had with the children".

And later:

"I mean that he wasn’t interested in our children at all; he didn’t pay any attention to their needs, to their emotional needs I mean, you know, these needs a child has. He has never played with them, he has never spent time with them, he has never taken the children out for a walk".

And later:

"I had no choice...I undertook all the responsibilities of the children...I couldn’t leave them with him...I couldn’t abandon them to him...I couldn’t say to my children “I don’t care how much you cry; you have a father, as well, to take care of you”. I couldn’t do that...and so I stayed inside...”

Anna said that apart from the indifferent behaviour her husband had towards his children, another reason which prevented her from finding a job was the lack of free time her husband had. She could not ask him for any help, Anna said, because he was always busy. Anna said:

"...he had arranged his work in such a way, so then he hadn’t enough time to spend it with me and our children. Therefore, I had undertaken all of the children’s responsibilities. I hadn’t free time to go out and find a job. I had no free time at all. I was doing everything inside home not only for my children but for him as well...I had no free time...I was with the children all the day, from morning till night. Job is a matter of time; this is the issue: the time. He didn’t do anything to help me! He didn’t help me at all, neither with the housework nor with the children! In order for me to be able go out and work I needed to know that I’m leaving my children with someone I could trust.”

Anna would like to re-enter the labour market now that her children are old enough. However, the many years she had been cut off from the “social world” on the one hand, and the few qualifications she has and the limited options of finding paid work in Kastro on the other, mean that she will remain a housewife. Athens, on the other hand, offers a variety of positions in the labour market; there are therefore many opportunities and flexibility in the working hours for those mothers who want to continue working or who
want to come back after a long period of leave. Anna said that she wanted to resume doing paid work in order to acquire a personality, rather than to earn money. She said:

"It's not only the money, it's many things, it's the contact with other people...to speak with others...to exchange ideas, to get to know what happens in the world...to feel that you are something...you know that my daughter (who is studying abroad) is ashamed to say to her friends that her mother is a housewife. It is because a housewife has no personality...she is without her own opinion. That's why I want to start working again; to gain back all of those things I've lost".

So far there have been three different cases in which women explained how they managed to combine work and motherhood responsibilities. There is also one case in which a mother explained how motherhood responsibilities affected her employment status.

In the case of Nickoletta, her mother helped her to combine both employment and motherhood responsibilities. In the second case, it was Heleni’s kind of work (not paid employment) which helped her to be able to work and at the same time to have her children with her. In Heleni’s case, it was also revealed that there is another option available to many working women in the village: this comes from neighbours and other village people who can keep an eye on their children (Katakis, 1998). In the fourth case, Anna explains that her husband’s bad relationship with the children on the one hand and the lack of the free time on the other had prevented her from finding a job. In the fifth case, because Fani’s employment was a matter of survival for the family, the couple did not hesitate to reverse their traditional roles as a husband and as a wife.

8.1 Employed women in Athens

In Athens, fourteen of the participants were mothers and were employed while five were unemployed. Five of the employed mothers had hired a lady to help them with the housekeeping and the children. The rest of the employed mothers were trying to manage both a job and the children either on their own or with the help of their mothers. Their husbands’ contribution, they said, were minimal. The fathers, they said, were mainly
responsible for driving children to their various activities such as sports, private lessons for foreign languages and music classes. They might also go with them to watch a football match or a film at the cinema.

These mothers said that, despite the help they might have with their motherhood responsibilities, they were still carrying out the biggest amount of work when compared to their husbands. In addition, their responsibilities towards their children were different in nature when compared to the responsibilities a hired lady, a husband or even a grandmother could undertake. Konstantina, 37 years old, a beautician and a mother of a child with special needs is helped by a hired lady and by her mother who is living on the upper floor of the same building.

Konstantina said:

"I am the only person responsible for everything. I have a lady who helps me with the housekeeping and sometimes with the child. She takes him out, they are doing together his homework, and things like that. My husband helps me a bit with the child and very rarely with the housekeeping. OK this is something. Better than nothing. But...how can I say it...his help is as if it is paid...it is the way he does these things. I ask, for example, to take the child to the dentist, he does so and then from the dentist he gives me a call to ask what the problem is with the child’s teeth. You got what I mean? Most of this help is useless to me”.

Ageliki, 47 years old, working in the public sector and a mother of two children said that, despite the small amount of help she has had from her husband, the pressure of work and childcare made her apply for early retirement. Ageliki said:

“Everyday on my way back home I was in such a rush so that those times I had to stop due to a red traffic light I was putting my head on the steering-wheel and I was bursting into tears. Because those few minutes were precious to me. I wanted to have finished cooking before my children come back from school. I didn’t have enough time to manage everything. I was working full-time and it was a real agony. Now it’s time for my son to get prepared for the National Examinations (in order to enter the University) and my daughter is going to Lykeium (secondary level of education) next year. She is dyslexic. I have to be there for them. I can’t cope with work and my children’s needs any more. My children’s future comes first.”
Even though some women participants had views similar to Angeliki about the importance of children in their lives, they said that they needed to compromise with these beliefs and feelings and to take care of themselves as individuals. Those women were trying to cope with children, family and a professional career. Sometimes, they said, they were able to manage everything in a satisfactory way; other times, such as when their children were babies or when there were periods with family problems such as health issues or difficulties at school, their career and/or their personal development suffered.

Fifteen out of twenty of the female participants in this study had either a college or a university degree or diploma. All of these women said that their intention was to pursue a career. However, their marriage and, later on, the coming of the children resulted in them either lowering their aspirations or compromising with a job which did not match their qualifications. Two of those participants, Xenia and Vera, have never been employed. Xenia, a 43 year old married mother of three had a University degree in Chemistry. Xenia explained that she found it difficult to work with three children. Since she was living away from her family there was not any available help from her mother. Her husband not only did not help her but was he against of any kind of paid help.

Xenia said:

“I can’t imagine myself working, coming back, taking care of the house, taking care of my children and a demanding husband. No way! Sometimes I am going for shopping and I can’t stop my mind thinking whether everything is all right with my children. There are women who have only one child and they say they are overloaded; they develop psychological problems...from the pressure they have. Others decide not to have children. I wasn’t one of them. I wanted children. But three children is a lot of work.”

Vera, a 39 year old unemployed married mother of two has a diploma in furniture designing and a degree in management. After her marriage she followed her husband to his birth place due to his career. The coming of children made her forget everything about herself.
Vera said about the employed mothers:

"That's very selfish! If you have children you should be there just for them! They need you! Otherwise you shouldn't have children... it's very simple... Children are not a toy!"

Vera’s point of view about motherhood responsibilities and employment is quite common to many people, especially to those who belong to older generations. Their views have an effect upon young women. Thus, some of them choose to stay with their children and others who try to combine employment and motherhood responsibilities cannot avoid feelings of guilt and inadequacy as mothers. Five of the employed mothers were divorced. None of them was in a position to hire a lady in order to get some help with the housekeeping and the childcare. Thus, they had to leave their children alone for prolonged periods every day. Popi, a 42 year old divorced mother of two and a secretary by profession, said:

"I do not consider myself a good mother because I was working and I was not home when my children were coming back from school. Even worse, I had to work over the weekends in order to cover our expenses. My mother is against me... she said I should have stayed with my husband for the children’s sake. My son is on drugs and relatives and friends blame me for that... I wasn’t there to take care of my children... but I had to survive... that’s why I was working. Work was not an amusement to me, it was a necessity."

It is worth noting that none of male participants said or implied that children or responsibilities towards them had ever been an obstacle to their employment status or professional career. Also, with the exception of one, they did not consider that responsibilities related to child care are an actual problem for women’s employment status. Panos’ quotation has many similarities with what other men said about the issue. Panos is a 43 year old father of two, holds a managerial position and is married to an employed woman. Panos said:

"Children are not a burden for women’s employment. I remember that after the birth of our daughter my wife took three year’s leave from her job. You know something? Over that period she was exhausted and stressed. I was never able to understand that. She used to blame the child for everything. But I think that the real reason of her tiredness was the fact that she was..."
spending her time in a lazy way, without working. If someone is not working and spends her time inside home just taking care of a child then not only she will develop psychological problems but also she will cause psychological problems to the poor child, too."

The women were asked to explain what paid employment means to them. The Athenians’ responses varied depending on a number of factors such as employment status, marital and educational status, the number of children they had had and the place they were living in. Some women tended to see their jobs as a way of having pocket money so that they would be able to buy their clothes and cosmetics. Others, especially those who were divorced and thus the only ones responsible for their family’s financial support, tended to see a job as a symbol of their liberation and their economic independence.

Xenia, a 43 year old married unemployed mother of three said that employment does not mean anything special to her. Xenia, who has a University degree in Chemistry, said:

“employment means nothing special to me! If a woman needs to work for her family then it is OK; but I don’t find any reason for a woman to work when her family’s economic situation is fine. And especially when a woman has children and they don’t face financial problems then it’s better for the children her not to work.... This is all I can do with four children. I had to choose between children and work. I liked, we both liked children, and since we didn’t have any financial problems we decided that it would be better for our children if I stayed home”.

Konstantina, a 37 year old married mother of one child and a beautician by profession said:

“work means that I have my own money and as such if I want to buy four lipsticks, for example, I know that I am able to buy them, because it’s me who has earned this money...otherwise I couldn’t buy those things I liked. I would be dependent on my husband or on my father to buy them for me. This happens to many women who are not employed...I know many women who hide money from their husbands...”

Elen, a 43 year-old divorced mother of two and a chemist by profession had a different view regarding how employment affects women.
She said:

"...you know...it makes you feeling... how can I say? It makes you feeling that you are doing something...that you are independent and don't need anybody...yes, you're not dependent on anybody... I mean economically dependent...you are independent ... basically, this is the way I see things...I think that employment is a vital need for me because I don't want to be obliged to anyone; I want to do everything on my own! This is a need."

Below is Popi's view about employment. Popi, a 42 year old divorced mother of two is a secretary by profession and explains why employment makes her feel not only equal to a man but even superior to him. It should be stressed that divorced women in the interviews, in the main, had similar views to Popi.

Popi said:

"....I'm feeling superior to a man and I'll explain to you why. I perceive men very much lower than me and I am thinking: "Who are they? No matter how much money they may earn, what have they done in their life? I have done many things...I have given many battles in my life in order to be here, in this position I am now!" When a man earns much more money than me I wonder what has he done in his life in order to reach to that point? To have a high job position? Nothing! Simply, he was a man! I, as a woman, have worked very hard in order to be here and I am very confident and proud of myself. I feel that I am superior to him".

Discussion

Regarding the effects which motherhood responsibilities have upon women's employment status, the majority of Kastrorian women did not consider that childcare was - or could be - an obstacle to their employment status. One explanation for this is that only a few Kastrorian women are in paid employment; the majority are doing work which is unpaid. An implication of this fact is that women do not consider themselves as employees and therefore their duties as workers are quite flexible. In addition, female relatives - as well as people of the village - are always happy to offer their help in taking care of working mothers' children.

In Athens, some of the employed mothers have undertaken fewer responsibilities towards their childcare. For some women, independent of their educational status,
employment does not mean anything to them. Other women said that employment gives them independence which is interpreted in terms of freedom; their employment can be 'used' for their personal - and not their family's - needs. There were also some women who said that employment makes them feel equal to men in terms of power, rather than in terms of their economic status.
Chapter 9: SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR IN ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND WITHIN MARRIAGE

Introduction

This chapter examines respondents' accounts concerning issues of sexuality in romantic relationships as well as within marriage. Both male and female participants, in both Athens and Kastro, talked about their beliefs, stereotypes, attitudes, expectations, roles and behaviours within the context of sexuality. They also talked about their satisfaction within the above domains.

Greeks tend to talk about sexual issues quite easily. This is because they are not shy and they like flirting. Greek people, in general, find it amusing to use sexual hints for jokes or for teasing their friends and colleagues. Regardless of how intimate they are with another, they do not hesitate to describe parts of their sexual life; this is sometimes done in great detail! However, when the respondents, especially men, were asked to talk about their marital sexual lives, they were reluctant to provide detailed information (see also Chapter 6). Marital life, they explained, should be respected and kept private instead of being revealed publicly. Thus a lot of material was not audio recorded but was instead documented by keeping written notes, as most of the participants preferred not to be audio recorded.

While talking about sexual issues, confusion over meanings and the need for their clarification is illustrated by the following quotation which comes from a lady who participated in the focus group discussion. When she was asked whether her husband had been the only man in her life, she replied:

"No, I had other men in my life, as well. That is men who I wanted, or men who made me feel complete. But, always, all of these men existed in my fantasy. By this I mean that I was in love with them but I have never done anything with them. But I had sexual experiences with them. Someone can have sexual experiences by keeping friendly contacts you know..."
The respondents revealed that men and women have been brought up receiving different information about relationships and sexual issues. In Kastro, women, for example, are expected to be virgins at the time of their marriage, whereas men are encouraged to have had many sexual experiences, especially before their marriage. Eight (out of a total of ten) female Kastrorian respondents said that their husband was the first man they had had sex with. The two ladies who had not been virgins at the time of their marriage were Nikoletta, a 35 year old married mother of two, and a General Practitioner by profession, and Anna, a 40 year old married mother of two and unemployed. These ladies, as already discussed in Chapter 7, had lived in Athens for several years and that might have had an effect upon their sexual behaviour.

According to the findings of this study, women in contemporary Athens are not expected to be virgins at the time of their marriage as was the case twenty or twenty five years ago. Indeed, nine out of ten women respondents who were over 40 years of age and who gave face-to-face interviews, as well as the ten ladies who participated in the focus group discussion (their ages ranged from 47 to 52 years), said that their husband was their first man they had had sex with. They explained that over the period of their engagement, they either had been virgins or, as a few revealed, they had had sex with their future husband before marriage. One anonymous married lady from the focus group revealed that, because she wanted to be a virgin when she married, over the three year period of her engagement her fiancé had satisfied her with ways other than sex. This lady said:

“I met him when I was fifteen years old and his behaviour to me was very decent. He didn’t want to force me to have sex. He was very good. We had been engaged for three years and over that period he was satisfying me with other ways, by his hand for example, so that I could remain a virgin”.

Men in Athens, as well as in Kastro, said that, since their early adolescence, they had learned to focus on their biological needs rather than on issues of morality relating to
Sex. Sex, they had been told, is a matter of health and as such it should take place on a regular basis. Thus, the majority of Athenian and Kastrorian men said that as soon as they entered their adolescence they visited a prostitute under the close supervision of an older relative. The following quotation of Alekos, a 48 year old Athenian married father of two and an owner of shop selling electrical appliance illustrates how “the first time” was for the majority of the male respondents. It also provides some information about how things were for his sister and his father.

Alekos said:

“...It is madness! My sister and I have heard the same person, our mother, say different things to each of us. Now, as adults, we both have problems and we both have different perceptions of what we have to do, in what way and at what time. I had many experiences with prostitutes; my wife had none. I knew that I had to go to prostitutes, and believe me, it was absolutely reasonable to ask my father for money in order to visit prostitutes. It was a matter of health. My father used to tell me that it was better to visit prostitutes rather than to masturbate...and he recommended me a good one! Now, how he knew that she was a good one was not my concern that time, but many years later...poor mother...I remember that when I visited a prostitute for the first time I was fourteen years old. My father thought that I was at an appropriate age to start having sex. So he took me to a prostitute and that was one of my worst experiences I had ever had in my life: that woman almost raped me! She forced me to finish in five minutes! Yes, I believe that that was a rape! Many other boys had experiences similar to mine. I know about this through our discussions.”

It should be pointed out that one of the main reasons which makes parents advise their sons to have sex with women as soon as they reach adolescence is the fear of homosexuality. Most Athenian parents, and a few Kastrorian ones, may have realised that the rules of morality have been changed and therefore their daughters’ premarital relationships do not make them feel ashamed. However, all parents, whether they live in Athens or in Kastro, would be devastated if their son was homosexual.

Giorgos, a married 46 year-old father of three and an economist by profession, complained that his twenty year-old son had not yet shown any signs of sexual attraction towards women. He remembered that when he was at his son’s age he was going out with many women and because of this he had become worried that his son would
become a homosexual. He considering asking a relative to introduce his son to some married women, as married women had been considered by those men who did not wish to visit prostitutes as a ‘safe’ solution for relieving sexual urges. Married women, they explained, will not demand marriage from them. At the end of the interview, Giorgos said to me:

“You may have many friends...please, ask him [his son] for a coffee and have some of your [female] friends there...you will be doing me a great favour and, more importantly, you will help a young man to find his way and not to end up as a homosexual”.

These beliefs and attitudes towards boys’ and girls’ first sexual experiences can still be found in Kastro, but are not widespread in Athens. Participants who had adolescent children said that they would not advise their sons to visit a prostitute for the first time as their fathers did; instead they would be pleased to know that their sons will have sex with their girlfriends. In the same way they would be pleased to know that their daughters will have premarital sexual relationships if they are in good, stable relationships characterised by feelings rather than by sexual needs.

Mothers in Athens, in the main, said that they have advised their daughters to be aware of boys who will try to be in a relationship, not because of romantic feelings, but because they seek sex. Sex in premarital relationships, for many Athenians, is justifiable when a relationship is characterised by romantic feelings.

Nickos, a 51 year old married father of two and a civil constructor by trade, when referring to his wife’s premarital relationships, justified them by explaining that these relationships were characterised by feelings.

Nickos said:

“...when I’m saying pre-marital sexual relationships I mean that she had only a few relationships in which she had given herself totally. Please don’t think that she was in a relationship today and in another relationship
tomorrow. She had two or three romantic relationships and she was in love. Do you understand me? These kind of relationships . . .

The diversity of Athenians in opinion and attitudes towards sexuality can be seen in an Athenian mother’s worries about her daughter’s delay in having sexual relationships. One Athenian mother of two, Pavlina, a 49 year-old married and a lawyer by profession expressed her worries about her daughter who was twenty years old and had still not been in any romantic or sexual relationship.

Pavlina said:

"I am really worrying. Something is not right. All of her friends are in relationships...she does not seem to want to be in one. I am thinking about asking her to visit a specialist".

Pavlina’s worries show how quickly modern attitudes have replaced older ones in Athens. Some years ago, for example, when Pavlina was her daughter’s age, no one would have been worrying about her still being a virgin. Moreover, no one would have thought to ask for professional help for a daughter’s delay in having sex.

Despite the changes in beliefs and attitudes towards sexuality in Athens, there are still considerable differences between young men and women regarding their respective sexual behaviour. Research carried out by Gousgounis (1990) in Athens found the following:

(1) men start their sexual activity at an earlier age than women. That is, 72.6% of men start their sexual activity between 15 and 17 years whereas only 29.9% of females start their sexual activity between the same ages;

(2) More women then men are virgins at the time of their marriage (26.6%) whereas the percentage for boys is 4.8%;

(3) At the age of 18 years, 50% of girls are virgins;
A percentage of 94.2% of men give up their first relationship whereas the respective percentage of women is 72.6%; and

Finally, 68.1% of women tend to be in stable relationships whereas the corresponding percentage for men is 49.6%.

### 9.2 Ideal men and women for romantic relationships

Both male and female Kastrorians, as well as the unemployed Athenian women, described their ideal partner for a romantic relationship in much the same way they had described their ideal husband or wife.

What is of great interest in the respondents’ descriptions is that some Athenian men revealed that they were not only interested in women’s physical characteristics. Instead they were attracted to those women who combined beauty, intelligence and confident behaviour. They explained that women who have established a successful professional career have a confident behaviour. If women were employed, they said, they were more likely to behave in a different way to those who were not, in terms of their sexual behaviour. Nickos, a 51 year old married father of two and a civil constructor by profession gave further explanations why a woman who is employed in a high-status job is more likely to be attractive to men.

Nickos, said:

"Employment status and education go together. This what I mean is that when a woman is able to stand on her own two feet, when her voice can be heard, then she is a “lady” and a lady is always attractive to men. She is a challenge to us”.

And later he added:

"I believe that the actions of such a woman, whatever these actions are, are careful and well-planned. She is, for example, able to have control over her actions; this is what I mean. She is a “complete woman” and not a victim to any man. She has taken the power into her hands and she has control over her life and in the same way she has control over her sexual behaviour".
Other Athenian men had a more complicated image of the ideal woman for a relationship. Andreas, who participated in the focus group discussion, said:

“I divide women into two main categories: the absolutely indifferent and the interesting ones. I then divide the ‘interesting ones’ into two subcategories: the sexually interesting and the sexual-intellectually interesting ones. At this point I can say that a man behaves towards women according to the category that they belong to. There also remains another category which consists of women who are very ugly but at the same time are very intelligent, having an IQ higher than mine. Well, I’m not interested in this category of women. No! I’m only excited when a beautiful, smart and dynamic woman flirts with me and as the process goes one...oh, it’s fantastic...you can’t have a flirtateous action of such a high level with women on a one-night stand...”

All of the men who participated in the focus group, as well as the majority of Athenian men, explained that women who are just housewives could not be free “in bed”; they do not know how to give, they are reserved, and they do not have any personality. On the other hand, a successful woman who is economically independent and knows how to speak and stand on her own also knows how to “sleep”.

Kostas, a surgeon, who participated in the focus group, said:

“I would like the woman who is by my side to have freedom of thought, freedom of choice, economic independence...I am referring to economic independence as a means which gives her the freedom of thought and of choice and not because I would like to take advantage of her economic position. And that’s why I prefer an employed woman. Because I consider that she can have the freedom to make the right choice of being with me. Therefore if such a woman has chosen me then this kind of woman would be the best partner for me”.

On the other hand, Nora, a 40 year-old divorcee and painter, and a dynamic and financially independent employed mother of two, said that if she likes a man then she has no inhibitions in initiating a date or sex immediately. However, Nora believes that the cost of such behaviour is loneliness.
Nora said:

"Men like it [her behavior] but at the same time they are scared of a woman who is very daring. Especially when women initiate things, they [the men] run away. They may come with us for one or two times just for the excitement, but they will avoid having a relationship. Many men in my life have run away! And I knew very well that they liked me, but they disappeared because they have not been used to dynamic women".

From the explanations and quotations of fourteen men - nine of whom gave face-to-face interviews and five who participated in the focus group – it becomes evident that women who have a successful career are considered by men as more attractive than those who do not work. Men, especially those who participated in the focus group, agreed between them that they approach women and treat them in a different way when they know that they are successfully employed. It could be inferred that men’s different sexual behaviour towards successfully employed women might in turn have an impact upon those women’s sexual behaviour. The implication of this evidence might be of great importance for the dynamics of power in gender relationships. This will be discussed extensively in Chapter 10.

Employed women did not make any comments to imply that their sexual behaviour might have been affected by men’s attitudes towards them. It was, however, remarkable that the divorced women displayed a different sexual behaviour than the married employed women. Divorced women’s sexual behaviour seemed to be more liberated than the behaviour of married employed women. Divorced women explained that they did not want to make any compromises in their romantic relationships. In their descriptions of the ideal partner in a romantic relationship they placed the same emphasis on physical as well as attitudinal characteristics. They said that they would be attracted to a handsome man who had a high financial status and was liberated from any gender stereotypes. In the following quotations, two employed women - one married and one divorced - described their ideal man for having a romantic relationship.
Nadia, a 36 year-old married mother of two, and a secretary by profession, said:

"I could not resist someone who looked like Richard Gere, and someone who has a sense of humour. But above all I could not stand a narrow-minded man, a hillbilly."

Fotini, a divorced 37 year-old divorced social worker without children said:

"Three things appeal to me: a respectable "size", a big wallet and an intellectual brain".

It should be pointed out that half of the married employed women agreed with Nadia’s quotation; the rest gave similar descriptions to those of the unemployed women. On the other hand, what Fotini said was along the same lines as five out of the six employed divorced women. Thus there is clearly a different attitude towards sexuality between divorced employed women, employed married and unemployed married women. There is also a different attitude towards the perception of women’s sexuality between men in Kastro and the majority of men in Athens.

9.3 Sex: not always the expression of romantic feelings

Interviews and group discussions showed that most of the Athenian men had classified sex in many categories. In particular, when men were asked to talk about their sexual life they seemed to be confused as to what kind of sexual life I was interested in. They explained that sex is different when it is done for relaxation, for escaping from problems related to job and family, for fun, in serious relationships, in a one night stand, with someone from their work place, with their wives and with their lovers. They further explained that there is a variety of sexual relationships someone could get involved in depending on the phase of his life he is in.

On the other hand, for the majority of women in both Kastro and Athens, there was one type of sex: with their partners and most of the times with feelings. Sex, most women
said, was the expression of their feelings towards the man they loved. Indeed, all women - ten in total - who participated in the focus group, and most of the female participants in Athens and Kastro who gave face-to-face interviews, said that they were not able to have sex without feelings.

One anonymous lady from the group said:

"...I think that without feelings someone can’t do anything; because simply he or she has no senses. What can someone offer without feelings? What can someone feel? The point is not the flesh! We [people] need to have feelings in order to feel attracted to someone. We need to have feelings in order to reach to a climax and to feel nice".

Of the opposite opinion were some of the female participants who were divorced. These women made it clear that sex was a source of physical pleasure to them. They did not find it necessary to have feelings in order to enjoy sex. Interestingly enough, they pointed out that sometimes sex is much better when there are no feelings; it is more aggressive. They also explained that they might have sex for various reasons. Some of these include: just for fun, to escape from stress, to fulfill their needs, to make their partner jealous, or for curiosity. Their views had many similarities to those of men although they were not exactly the same.

9.4 Premarital relationships and double standards

9.4.1 Kastro

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are limited opportunities in Kastro for premarital relationships, especially for women. This does not mean that premarital relationships are unknown to Kastrorians. Participants said that before their marriage they had been in a relationship with their future spouse. They explained, though, that this relationship was special.
Men, on the other hand, did not have any restrictions concerning their premarital relationships. They expected to have more rights than a woman in their sexual expression and behaviour, in order to prove that they are ‘real men’. Many relationships before marriage are a positive sign of a man’s masculinity. It is believed, mostly by Kastrorians - without totally excluding Athenians - that premarital relationships, give men maturity on the one hand, and make them more stable during their marriage on the other. Participants said that it is better for a man to have a rich sexual life before marriage rather than after it.

In Kastro, a man has many chances to have temporary and short premarital relationships with tourists. This is because the village is visited by a large number of tourists every year. Going out with female tourists is not considered as bad by the majority of Kastrorian men. On the contrary, such behaviour is believed to add to a man’s machismo status. As discussed in Chapter 2, there was a category of young men found in Kastro called *kamakia*, meaning ‘harpoons’, who have short sexual relationships mainly with female tourists. According to Zinofieff (1998: 256), *kamakia* want to be in these relationships in order to boost their masculinity, amongst other things. The aim of these relationships, as one Kastrorian *kamaki* said, is to “offer their services to deprived foreign women”.

Most Greek men, no matter whether they are from Athens or from Kastro, believe that foreign women are liberated and know how to enjoy themselves without modesty or moral restrictions.
Dimos, a 30 year-old married computing assistant said:

“Swedish women come here, they like us and immediately we have sex with them. Greek women don’t have the guts to do this.”

The type of reply which some Athenian women might give to such a comment is illustrated in Popi’s quotation below. Popi is a 42 year-old divorced mother of two and a secretary by profession. Popi said:

“Greek men do not allow us to express ourselves the way we want to and would like to. We are restrained and scared. If we pull our skirts up or if we go with a man easily then we are accused of being immoral. But when a foreign woman does exactly the same things, her behaviour is praised and appreciated. Men do not allow us to develop the personality we want”.

In summary it can be said that women should not behave in the same way as foreign women because later on they will become mothers and they will then set a bad example for their children, especially for their daughters.

9.4.2 Athens

In Athens, most of the participants considered premarital relationships before marriage to be natural for both men and women. However, no matter how liberated a woman might be, there is still a distinction between what men and women are allowed to do.

The majority of Athenian participants believed that a woman will not become a proper wife if she has had many premarital relationships. If this is the case then, it is believed, she will have extramarital affairs quite easily. In addition, many premarital relationships make women sexually demanding and thus unable to be satisfied by their husbands. The participants went on to explain that women are different to men by nature: they know how to restrain themselves and they do not need sex in the same way as men do.
Alekos, a 48 year-old married father of two and the owner of an electrical appliances shop said:

"I have to say that women are completely different to men! This is what I have to say! And keep it deep in your mind! The woman who will sleep with us, even for one night, is not the kind of woman we would like to get married to, to make a family with and to have children with. This is what I believe! Because in the way she slept easily with me for one night, in the same easy way she will go with someone else, even when she is married".

Contrary to the above beliefs, the more relationships a man has had before his marriage, the better a husband he becomes. In the study, most of the women in Athens and Kastro believed that a man with many sexual experiences knows exactly what a woman wants and in what way he can offer it. Premarital experiences make men mature and able to know exactly what they want from a marriage. A man who has had many premarital relationships is less likely to get involved in extramarital affairs. Participants explained that men want to have many relationships in their life. If someone has not had the chance to be involved in many relationships before his marriage then he is more likely to have them after it.

Some Athenian men said they preferred to have premarital relationships with married women. Married women, they explained, cannot trap a man into a marriage since they are already married. In addition, a married woman cannot cause any problems because whatever she is doing outside her marriage is not permissible and therefore it would remain a secret.

Petros, a 45 year-old married father of one, and a surgeon by profession, explained the ways he preferred to be involved with married women before he got married.

He said:

"I had twelve relationships with married women which were clearly sexual. They only lasted a short time so they couldn't develop into any other kind of relationship other than a sexual one".

Later on Petros explained further by saying:
“This (behaviour) was the result of my early influences...my mother’s... I was getting involved in these situations because I had to follow my mother’s advice of not being committed to women before my career was established. By going out with married women I felt secure enough, because one cannot be in love with a married woman. This situation with married women was tailored to my expectations and mainly to my mother’s expectations”.

An interesting point, which is related to gender role expectations in romantic relationships - rather than to the “double standard” - is the following: Women expect a man who asks for a date to insist and not to give up after the first rejection. In order for him to prove the honesty of his feelings he has to insist. Otherwise, when a man gives up easily, this proves that his feelings are not true. It is worth noting that such expectations can be found in Athens as well as in rural areas. The following quotation of Ms Athena, a 75 year-old divorced and retired mother of two who is of the same opinion shows that such expectations have not changed since the past. When Ms Athena was asked why she did not re-marry, she explained:

“These times when I had said “No” to them, they didn’t try harder and that meant that they didn’t have true feelings for me. They just wanted to pass the time...nothing serious...

Dimitra: - What makes you say that? How do you know that they only wanted to pass the time?

Ms Athena: - If they really were interested in me they should have tried harder.

Dimitra: - But you had already said “No” to them.

Ms Athena: - It doesn’t matter! They should have tried harder despite my resistance.

Dimitra: - For how long?

Ms Athena: - I don’t know...

On the other hand, men expect a woman initially to reject them. Such behaviour signifies a woman’s morality. Manolis, a 40 year-old orthopaedic surgeon on his second marriage and a father of two children said:

“I cannot trust a woman who will come with me immediately. All I know is that if she has feelings for me then she will not come with me at once”.

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All of the men who participated in the group discussion explained the reasons which might be behind such beliefs, by saying that a man wants to feel as if he is a hunter; he want to force “the situation” slightly, and to become tired. This makes him feel excited. It becomes a game where the two players (the man and the woman) know the rules very well and both enjoy it.

From the above discussion and participants’ accounts, it could be assumed that romantic relationships in contemporary Greece are strongly characterised by the “double standard”.

9.5 Sex within marriage

As has been discussed in the beginning of this chapter, participants - especially those in Kastro - were reluctant to talking about sexual issues within their marriage. Out of all of the participants, women were more willing than men to give information about their sexual lives. However, they did so with great difficulty. Their speech was full of implied meanings, they replaced some words with other ones which appealed to be innocent, and they expected me to understand and complete their sentences to avoid them having to be in the difficult position to have to further explain.

All Kastrorian women said that sex did not mean anything to them and they believed that a deep relationship, such as marriage, does not need sex in order for it to be considered good. They also said that, not only they did not derive any pleasure from sex, but it was also a source of stress to them. Nikoletta, a 35 year-old married mother of two children and a General Practitioner by profession, said the following about her feelings any time her husband initiated sex:

“...any time he is asking for sex I get stressed…”
Anna, aged 40 and a married unemployed mother of two children said that sex was enjoyable in the beginning of her marriage but had become a quick process for him and a duty for her:

“...many times I am wondering whether every woman feels the same as me. Most of the times I am disappointed and bored...”

Kastrorian men said that their marital sexual lives were without problems, and avoided giving further details. Instead they suggested that matters of sexuality within marriage should be avoided being discussed in public. As they explained, this is a matter of respect towards their wives. In Athens, male participants had the same attitude as Kastrorians towards their marital sexual behaviour. Many of the respondents explained that sexual behaviour towards wives should be different to that shown towards a lover or to a prostitute. Thanassis, a 42-year-old father of two and an architect by trade has forbidden his wife to wear sexy underwear; this is because, according to him, she is a Madonna and not a prostitute.

Thanassis said:

“I respect my wife. She is the mother of my children and thus she cannot be seen as a sex symbol! A husband cannot ask his wife to open her legs like this and like the other way. No way! We have to respect our wives! If we want to do these things we can go and pay a prostitute...but not our wives...this is the difference between a prostitute and a wife.”

Nickos, aged 51, a civil constructor and married father of two children said that he respects his wife more than he loves her and he has never given her a passionate kiss.

To some extent, many women had the same attitude as men towards sex within marriage. In some cases, for example, women said they had had a liberated sexual behaviour before marriage which changed to a conservative one as soon as they had got married.
Tasia, a 38 year-old married mother of two children and a chemist by profession said:

"when I compare my sexual life before and after marriage I can see that it is not the same ... now it is less liberated ... but because I had been in an intensive and strong sexual relationships before my marriage I am not a deprived person. So I don't consider it as a problem".

However, there were other women in Athens who complained about the restrained sexual behaviour which they were required to have by their husbands. These women would like to have a different sexual life but, as they themselves stated, they were scared to express their desires to their husbands. If they ever did express their desires, they said, their husbands would accuse them as being immoral. An anonymous lady from the focus group said:

"I remember that when I asked my husband to do something for me he said: you are my wife, if I'm doing that for you, tomorrow I will be ashamed to look in your eyes..."

Another lady from the same group added:

"If a woman dares to initiate something in sex, he [the husband] will ask: where have you learnt that from? And maybe she has not learnt that from anywhere, maybe what she asked for was the result of her fantasy and nothing more... but if a woman dares to ask for her fantasy to come true then he [her husband] will kill her".

This constant restraining of their sexual desires has eventually resulted in women losing their ability to have sexual desires, at least in the way they used to. The gradual loss of their sexual desires, along with the overload they feel by housekeeping, childcare and/or their jobs, have caused them to deny having sex or to try to avoid it. However, denying or avoiding sex is not an easy task for Athenian or for Kastrorian women.

Almost all Athenian men admitted that they put pressure on their wives to have sex. Some said that women need it; others said that their (the husbands’) desires are so strong
that they could not resist. It should be stressed that even though most of the male Athenian participants admitted that they would push or force their wives to have sex, it should not be inferred that this is the rule for all Athenian men. In this study, however, none of the male participants said that he would respect his wife’s wishes without applying any kind of pressure.

Below are two quotations from Athenian men who participated in the focus group: Andreas and Stathis. It should be noted that Andreas says that he will rape his wife if she refuses to have sex with him, and that this is said as a joke rather than as a fact.

Andreas said:

“There are moments in which I am crazy. I want sex and I want it now! If that moment she says “not now, let it be tomorrow”, then I am going to rape her!”

Stathis, like many other participants, revealed that some women like being forced into having sex. Stathis said:

“We should not forget that women want a certain kind of pressure. They need to know that it is the man who has the control, who demands sex and who leads the whole process”.

The pressure which husbands apply on their wives to have sex varies from slight psychological blackmail to violent behaviour.

An anonymous lady in the focus group said:

“I dare to say that I have been raped many times by him [her husband]...I had never had any feelings or desires in order to participate in that [sex]...I was forced to get married to him...he was not able to understand why I wasn’t satisfied by him. How could I dare not to be satisfied? He was considering himself as a very “hot” man who was able to do the “action” at any time...”
As already discussed, men in Kastro were reluctant to talk about sex within their marriage. There is therefore no any information available as to what their behaviour would be in cases in which their wives would deny or would try to avoid sex. However, Kastrorian women, who were more willing than men to give information about issues of their sexuality, revealed that they were forced to have sex in various ways and on many occasions. All women said that they silently accept their husband’s desire for sex; this is for two reasons: either because they wanted to avoid tension within the family, or because wives have to understand their husband’s needs.

Rodoula, a 42 year-old unemployed married mother of two, explained that any time she said “No” to her husband he became angry and aggressive towards her and towards their children.

Rodoula said:

“He becomes very bad. I can see the hatred towards me. He cannot accept it. He is pushing me a lot but I insist on my initial position. I have forced myself many times to have sex when I don’t want it and I consider it as the biggest violation to my will”.

Ioanna, an unemployed 50 year-old mother of four has accepted that men have stronger desires than women and she tries patiently and silently to persuade herself to participate.

Ioanna said:

“When it’s been a long time without sex I can understand his position. Then I’m trying to persuade myself to want sex... I have forced myself many times to do so... most of the times I feel awful... now I’m older and I have more control over my emotions I can make it easier... but some years ago I couldn’t make it easily... it was difficult”.

It should also be pointed out that it is not only the husbands who initiate sex and the wives who deny it. Female Athenian respondents said that there were many times where it was they who initiated sex. In Kastro, on the other hand, women said that they had never initiated sex.
Heleni, a 35 year old married mother of two and running her family business renting rooms, said:

“the point is how to avoid it and now you’re asking if I have ever suggested it?”

Athenian women explained that there were a few occasions where it was they who initiated sex. This did not happen often because they wanted sex to come after some special conditions. They further explained that their decision to have sex depends on the way they have spent their day, on the problems their family has been facing recently, on how stressed they are at that particular period of time, and on how their husband has been behaving towards them recently. The “special conditions” required by women in order to have sex were expressed as a necessary prerequisite from some Kastrorian women as well. Some couples in Athens have resolved this problem by agreeing on a specific relaxing day for sex.

Ageliki, a 47 year-old married mother of two who works in the public sector said:

“...but most of the time it could have come at an inappropriate time...then in this case we wouldn’t let it go further...we will do something like foreplay and we will stop it...but usually we have arranged for it to happen on Fridays or on Saturdays because the children are sleeping after 9.30 pm and we are not working the next day...”

Apart from the above problems, women in both Athens and Kastro expressed their disappointment about their husband’s lack of emotions and tenderness during sex. Anna, a 40 year-old married unemployed mother of two said that when she has sex she feels as if she is used as a tool.

Anna said:

“I have forgotten how it is to kiss; we have sex without any kissing. Sex is only for him. It lasts for only a few minutes, just him reach to climax. I think he wants me to be there in order to stop himself from masturbating. I am facilitating the process, nothing else, my own satisfaction has disappeared. He doesn’t care...this is the situation”.

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And Vana, a 47 year old unemployed mother of two and living in Athens said:

“ I am reluctant to have sex because he is very aggressive. I have told him many times that I would like him to be tender but he cannot understand”.

However, most women - living either in Athens or in Kastro - believed that if they do not offer sex to their husband any time they want it then they will try to find it in other women who will be more willing to offer it. All ten women who participated in the focus group said that they have been living with the constant fear that if they do not offer to their husbands the things they want then they will try to find them outside of the marriage. They therefore have to be excellent cooks and perfect at housekeeping as well as in faking orgasms.

In summing up, apart from the Kastrorian husbands who refused to talk about their sexual behaviour within marriage, the majority of male and female Athenian participants and Kastrorian women find sex within marriage rather unsatisfactory. Women find it difficult to participate, at least in the way they would like to, and on the other hand men find it difficult to understand women’s behaviour.

9.6. Extramarital affairs

It was assumed that due to the apprehension of most of the participants about talking about their sexual behaviour within marriage, eliciting information about extramarital affairs would prove unlikely to be successful. In an effort to make the topic easier to discuss, participants were asked to give their opinions about extramarital affairs. It was not my intention to ask them about any personal experiences.

It was, however, a very welcome surprise when some of the Athenian participants - both male and female - talked about their personal experiences without many hesitations. This said, women did seem to be more apprehensive than men. Thus, respondents explained
the reasons which led them to be in extramarital affairs in the first place, what they gained from such affairs, whether they would accept their spouses doing the same, and whether they would forgive them in those cases where they knew that they had been cheated on.

The easy way that respondents talked about personal experiences in regard to extramarital affairs is explained by what has been already discussed at the beginning of this chapter. As previously discussed, Greeks tend to talk easily about personal experiences in their sexual lives as long as these experiences do not relate to their marriage or to a romantic relationship where the potential is to end up to in marriage.

Amongst the forty Athenian participants (both male and female), nineteen revealed that they were in marriages where at least one of the spouses was having an affair. In particular, four women and nine men said that it was they who had had an affair and six women knew that it was their husband who had had an affair. In Kastro, eight women out of a total of ten said that they knew that their husbands had had at least one affair. NB By ‘affair’ they meant an occasional visit to prostitutes. It should be pointed out that the fact that there were more women who were aware of their husbands’ extramarital affairs - rather than vice versa - should not necessarily be interpreted as there being more husbands than wives who have extramarital affairs. This could merely reflect the fact that men feel more secure than women in letting their spouses know about their affairs.

9.7 Kastro

Due to the moral culture in Kastro and the small size of the social setting of the village, it is not likely that extramarital affairs between people who both are living in the same village will take place. Instead, during the summer, married men either go out with tourists in the same way they used to do before their marriage, or they visit prostitutes in the big cities around their village.
Below, Tonis, a 52 year-old married father of two and the owner of “Green Houses” gives his account about husbands’ extramarital affairs. He explains that it is in men’s nature not to be able to resist temptation, and he adds that if husbands are continuing with their responsibilities to their families then no harm should occur to anybody within the family. It is worth noting that Tonis felt the need to accuse women as being dishonest even though the topic discussed was men who were having the affairs.

Tonis said:

“A man is a man! He can’t close his eyes to temptation! If there is an offer he has to take it, otherwise he will be taken as an idiot. If a man is “ok” with his duties towards his family then what is the problem? The problems start when a man is losing his mind and he neglects his responsibilities towards his family. You know...if he is letting his children go without food, shoes...but if he is ok with his children and his wife, I mean if he takes her out on Saturdays, if he doesn’t let her dress in shabby clothes then there is no problem; it’s fine. A man is like a bird; no one can keep a bird in a cage...after a while the bird will be miserable. In the same way a man needs to go with other women, this is...how to say...his nature. A woman is different; she is such a dishonest thing! You may be sure that she is innocent but behind your back she is living a second life...”

Though the husbands have never revealed their affairs to their wives, women said that they were all aware of their husband’s activities; however, they did not seem to worry about them.

Heleni, a 35 year old married mother of two who runs a family business with rented rooms explained why women have accepted their husbands’ affairs in a stoical way.

Heleni said:

“...OK I can accept it [his affair]. That’s not the point! When men are doing “stupid things”, women should be strong enough to keep the family together...Because it is the women who have the brains. Women are wise and don’t say: OK, let’s get a divorce because he had an affair! Women don’t pay any attention to that! They know that after a while, men will either understand their fault or they will get tired by having affairs and eventually they will return to their wives. But if it is the woman who has an affair then it is the end of the family. You know, a family is unified only because of the presence of a woman. A man is not able to show understanding and patience to the problem in order to keep the family unified. When I am meeting with
other women, we all talk a lot about our husbands. We all know that our husbands are not faithful to us. This is not a secret. We are not angry, though, because we know that men around their forties start having extramarital affairs. It is because they want to feel that they are still young, you know, they are in their second adolescence as people say. But as I told you there is no problem for the wives...we accept it! They (men) will hang around for some years and then they will get tired and return to their families...because family is a refuge to them”.

Kastrorian women’s attitudes towards their husbands’ affairs could be explained by the fact that they are limited in asking for a divorce. However, in Athens, some of the female participants knew that their husbands had had extramarital affairs yet they did not want to ask them for a divorce. In Athens, divorces are not culturally prohibited, yet many unemployed female participants said that they could not ask for a divorce. They explained that without their husbands’ financial support they would not be able to survive. They found it very difficult, they said, to take their life into their own hands. This was especially so after having been cut off for several years from social activities and from the labour market.

It could thus be inferred that the employment status of women and the amount of money they earn is an important factor in their attitudes towards their husbands’ extramarital affairs.

Xenia, an unemployed 43 year-old married mother of three knew that her husband had been in numerous extramarital affairs. She said that she was suffering from feelings of humiliation and her self esteem was very low. However, she explained that she would not ask for a divorce because she was not in a position to survive on her own.

Xenia said:

“No, I don’t want a divorce, although perhaps I need one. Listen, I have wasted all of my life...it’s gone now....if I get a divorce, now, at this age, what am I going to do? Am I going to find a job? No way! After so many years inside my home I’m feeling lost. I have no qualifications! But it’s not the same for him; he will find another woman the day after, young, beautiful, and...no problem for him. And the only reason which makes me to not want a divorce is that he destroyed my life; I’m not going to facilitate...
his life anymore by giving him a divorce. No, I'll be here making his life difficult...”

Konstantina, a 37 year-old married mother of one and a beautician by profession was aware that for the last five years her husband had been having extramarital affairs. He had never openly admitted this but he had failed to give reasonable explanations for where he had been going every evening for four to five hours. Konstantina revealed that, because she had had an extramarital affair in the past, she now felt that she could not complain about her husband’s behaviour; instead she had to wait patiently until his passion for the other woman faded away.

It is also noticeable that there is a considerable difference between the Kastrorian married women and most of the Athenian ones regarding the way they feel about their husbands’ extramarital affairs. In Kastro, the attitude of women was stoical whereas in Athens most women revealed that they were suffering from feelings of humiliation and jealousy. The variety of women’s attitudes towards their husbands’ extramarital affairs could be due to differences in terms of culture and gender role stereotypes.

Amongst the female Athenian participants, there was one lady, Popi, a 42 year old divorced mother of two and secretary by profession, who said that the reason for her divorce was her husband’s extramarital affair. Popi’s reaction is quite different to that of the Kastrorians, and is also different to that of the unemployed Athenian wives. Taking into consideration the accounts of most Athenian female married participants (who said that they did not ask for a divorce due to their inability to survive without their husbands’ financial support), one could infer that Popi’s employment had an impact upon her compromises within marriage.

She said:

“In that marriage I was his slave; I was spending hours in the kitchen to cook just for him. My children preferred junk food, I was checking that his clothes were ok, I was tidying up his desk, I was “Yes, Sir” any time he wanted sex...and then I discovered that he was having an affair! Next day I packed up his belongings and “posted” him back to his mum. He needed me but I didn’t need him”.
In Athens, those male participants who revealed that they had had extramarital affairs talked about them with pride. All of the male respondents who had had extramarital affairs assured that they did not intend to get a divorce. They explained that they loved their wives and their children and they wouldn’t like to destroy their families. An affair, they said, gives them something different than a marriage does; yet it is not strong enough to destroy their marriage. Marriage and affairs, they claimed, are two separate things in their mind. They also said that they enjoyed sex with their wives because it is deep and characterised by feelings, whereas sex within affairs is just for fun.

Panos, a 43 year old married father of one and head of a large company revealed that he likes having affairs with women younger than his wife. He said that he takes different things from and gives different things to these two situations.
Panos said:
I love my wife! I really love her! We have a unique relationship! We have children...we love each other...we have great sex together...she is something irreplaceable to me. ...

Dimitra: - Then, why do you go out with other women?

Panos: - Because it feels good. As I told you earlier I don’t love them. I just spend some good time with them and that’s all. I don’t want to have a long relationship with them because later on it turns to a conventional relationship and I don’t want it...I don’t need it! My needs are all fully covered by my marriage. All I want is to feel good. It is very interesting to go out with a new person, to show her your personality, what you are, what you like in arts, in cinema and in music. It is challenging! You cannot show these things to your wife; she knows you and there is nothing interesting in that.

Four of the Athenian men who participated in one of the focus groups revealed that at that time they were having an extramarital affair. They explained that the reason behind this was that having only one partner, they argued, cannot give you the whole range of potential things someone can learn and discover in sex. Therefore, they could not be restricted only to just one sexual partner. They considered that being with only one sexual partner is a mistake and unfair. “It is as if you have been told to read only one
book in your life” they said. For this reason they criticised the monogamous system of our society as not being fair because it restricts their lives. They also believed that “the illegal love” characterises contemporary Greek society. They supported their opinion by referring to the large number of successful TV series which are about extramarital affairs.

When the person in the focus group who had never had an extramarital affair suggested that that it would be fairer if their wives had extramarital affairs also, he was verbally attacked by the rest of the group. They all said that they, as men, knew how to distinguish between personal and impersonal sex. Their wives, as women, do not. If men thought that the nature of women was different and women were able to have sex without emotions then they would not mind it. They also added that if they ever found out that their wife had had an affair, they would not be able to forgive her. It would also mean the end of their marriage.

The four Athenian women who had had extramarital affairs talked about them with great difficulty. They were embarrassed and upset and three of them burst into tears while explaining the reasons they made them the affair in the first place. Contrary to the male participants, they said that they had only had one affair throughout their marriage. They explained that an extramarital relationship gives them a good time, passion and excitement in sex. An affair, they said, makes them feel feminine and still wanted. Their lover pays attention to their emotional needs as well as their physical ones whereas their husband does not. However, they added that they had still feelings for their husbands, just not sexual desires.

Nadia, a 36 year old secretary and married mother of two said:

“I think both marriage and affairs can co-exist without affairs disturbing the balance of the family. You can have a marital and an extramarital relationship side by side in perfect harmony, without harming the family. You may not have sexual desires for your husband but you love him and this feeling cannot be changed by any extramarital affair”
In addition, Mimi, aged 41 and a married, unemployed mother of two, said:

"Family offers me security, emotional and financial security...we have children...an extramarital affair offers me more sex and a good time. Of course there are some feelings there but they are not strong enough. Someone has an extramarital affair, possibly, because she wants something different... to feel again that she is a woman, she is wanted, she still exists. All of these things are missing in a marriage. Marriage offers family and love to me but no passion. And I need passion in my life from time to time”.

Thus, there are quotations above which have similarities with what was said by other women who were having extramarital affairs. These quotations, however, do not confirm men’s claims about women’s inability to have sex without feelings. Women might have said that they had some feelings for their extramarital affairs but these feelings were not strong enough to overcome the feelings they had for their husbands.

Discussion

In summing up, this chapter illustrates that gender and marital status have an impact upon sexual behaviour. This is the case for both men and women. Women’s sexuality is expected to be restrained whereas that of men is encouraged to be frequently and openly expressed. Sex within marriage should be characterised by a respect towards wives and as such it should be restrained by both spouses. A considerably large number of Athenian participants - both male and female - revealed that they were in a marriage where one of the spouses had had an extramarital affair. In Kastro, female respondents were aware that their husbands had had extramarital affairs. Married women who, in the majority, were unemployed remained in unhappy marriages because they were not able to survive without their husbands’ financial support. Most of the employed women who were divorced had displayed sexual behaviour relatively similar to that of men.
CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Overview

The aim of this study has been to explore the impact of women’s economic independence upon the dynamics of power in gender relationships both within the family and in relation to sexuality. These two areas in question were chosen because they have both been considered as being as loci of control of male dominance over women. Within the family, women are oppressed and economically exploited by their husbands through offering unpaid work in the form of housekeeping and caring for the children (Firestone, 1970; Hamilton, 1978; Rowbotham, 1981:454; Oakley, 1984; Walby, 1990:81; Delphy and Leonard, 1992). On the other hand, heterosexual relations are characterised by male control over women, through violence, the markets of pornography and prostitution, sexual harassment and the double standard (Wilson, 1992; Dworkin, 1997; Richardson, 1996).

In an earlier part of this study two further research questions were posed. The first was to investigate the compatibility of theoretical frameworks of patriarchy originating mainly from the UK and USA with empirical evidence of gender relationships in Greece. The second was to provide an insight into the cultural variations of the notions of power in gender relationships by comparing two different social settings within Greece: Athens, a cosmopolitan city, and Kastro, a small seaside village.

As has been argued in the Introduction, as well as highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5, much of the literature examined the relationship between women’s employment, family and/or sexuality and has mainly focused on factors which prevent women from fully participating in the labour market as well as from reaching positions of high status which are equal to men’s promotions and wages. The literature also focused on the impact capitalism has had upon the creation and maintenance of patriarchy. Patriarchy has been taken to mean male control over women in all social contexts.
Since the participation of Greek women in the labour force has steadily increased (UNECE, 2000), this study attempts to reveal the other side of the coin by examining what the effects are of capitalism upon women’s empowerment in the same domains which have been considered as the main loci of men’s control over women: family and sexuality.

This thesis also makes a worthwhile and original contribution to the existing Greek literature on women’s studies and gender issues. Georgoudaki (1982), Nicolaou (1993), Katakis (1988) and Sakelliou (2000) state that research on gender issues and women’s studies is limited in Greece, and there is therefore a lack of publications on women’s studies and feminist pedagogy, either in the original Greek or as a translation of other authors. Georgoudaki (1982) explains that, due to the lack of funding, universities focus on technological rather than gender issues. Georgoudaki (1982), Nicolaou (1993) and Cacoulos (1994) state that the lack of interest in women’s studies is because the higher hierarchical positions in academic areas are male dominated. In a study by Cacoulos (1994) it was found that out of 180 scientists with a Ph.D. degree, only 35 were women and 5% constituted the female faculty in universities. For Katakis (1998:26) the reasons behind such facts are that, up until 1998 - the time of Katakis’ claims - there was no independent department of Sociology or Psychology in any university in Greece. In the last decade, though, three departments have been established in three universities in Greece: one Psychology and two of Sociology.

10.1 Methodological considerations

The study adopted a qualitative approach whereby a small number of key informants, (59 in total) gave face-to-face semi-structured interviews and talked in detail about a variety of issues related to marriage, motherhood, employment and sexuality. Given the sensitive nature of the study, the selected sampling technique used was that of snowballing. Qualitative research has been criticised for a lack of generalisability. Generalisability, as Polit and Hungler (1991:645) put it, refers to the degree to which the findings of the study can be generalised to the whole population. However, it provides evidence for the relationship among variables and stimulates additional research.
questions in the particular area of study (Maxwell, 1992:292-295). Thus, the findings of this study are an indication of what the participants said at a certain time and under certain circumstances and they throw light on issues relevant to the topic in a Greek context.

Being a woman myself was a significant factor that might have had an effect upon what respondents said in interviews and upon the information which many other people gave politely about the topics in question. Men, for example, may have exaggerated their responses in order to show a macho behaviour, whereas women, in an effort to show social compliance, may have not revealed the whole truth.

As has been mentioned already in Chapter 6, due to the small number of people who were living in the village in Kastro, there was a noticeable inconsistency on a number of occasions between those things respondents said in interviews and their actual behaviour. It is assumed that in Athens as well there were participants who did not always reveal the whole truth in their interviews. Time and financial limitations did not allow this study to carry out repeated interviews in an effort to explore this inconsistency. Nevertheless, this should be taken into consideration by other researchers for future studies.

However, the effects of these limitations upon the findings of this study were diminished by the achievement of careful validation of the data. This was achieved by interviewing an equal number of male and female respondents. In this way the findings of the group of female respondents could be compared with those of the group of male participants.

10.2 Family, employment and sexuality: which comes first?
The findings of the study show that family, employment and sexuality are not of equal importance. People attach different social and cultural significance to them. The family tended to be the most important domain for both male and female Kastrorians and for the majority of married Athenian women. Taking into consideration that the participants
of this study did not distinguish between marriage and family, these findings are in accordance to the argument of Loizos and Papataxiarchis (1991) that:

“In Greece, marriage is of supreme value because it is regarded as a necessary condition of procreation and therefore of the continuation of life and, in a more metaphysical sense, of the self through the perpetuation of family names and the persons of the parents” (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991:5).

It also should be stressed that this evaluation of the family might be the result of the marital status of the respondents, who were in the majority married. On the other hand almost all divorced women tended to value family less than employment. The family, they explained, is a domain which serves the needs of husbands i.e. cooking, cleaning, etc.

Employment was the first priority in Athenian men’s lives as well in divorced Athenian women’s lives. A job, men explained, on the one hand helps a man to keep his family in prosperity and on the other hand it fulfils a man’s sexual needs. They strongly argued that a man without a job cannot have a successful sexual life. For divorced women employment apart from fulfilling their survival needs enables them to acquire an identity and gives them independence. Athenian married women, as well as all Kastrorian participants, put employment after family.

Regarding the position of sexuality in participants’ lives all participants- both Athenian and Kastrorian and male and female - classified sexuality after family and employment. The only exception was the divorced Athenian women who classified sexuality after employment and before family. The relative priorities that respondents attached to family, employment and sexuality, derived from the interview data, are summarized in Table 10.1.
Table 10.1: Participants’ prioritisation of family, employment and sexuality in Athens and Kastro

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It should be stressed that even though in many cases the participants’ prioritisation of the three domains were the same in Athens and in Kastro as well as for men and women, the significance which each group put on each domain was different. Men’s accounts, for example, in both Kastro and in Athens, placed a larger priority on sexuality than on employment and family. However they did not share the same attitudes towards it. Athenian men considered sexuality as a major part of their life. Respondents said that they enjoyed flirting and many of them revealed that they had had at least one extramarital affair in their life (see Chapter 9). On the other hand, sexuality for Kastrorian men was related to occasional visits to prostitutes at the nearest large town, rather than as an ongoing everyday activity (see Chapter 9).

It has also been shown that married Athenian and Kastrorian women (both employed and unemployed) as well as Kastrorian men appear to place similar priority on family, employment and sexuality in the same order. However, as has already been examined in
Chapters 7, 8 and 9, these three domains are of different importance and have different impacts upon the lives of those women who live in Athens and those people who live in Kastro. Kastrorian women, as discussed in Chapter 9, had no premarital relationships, said that sex was of no special meaning to them and they, in the majority, had accepted their husbands’ extramarital affairs as a part of men’s ordinary sexual expression. This confirms Loizos and Papataxiarchis’ (1991:228) argument in regards to the different ways sexuality is expressed by men and women. Loizos and Papataxiarchis explain that women’s sexual behaviour has been meant to be expressed within the context of marriage and the household as opposed to men who are expected to have sexual experiences outside of marriage as well as inside (i.e. premarital and extramarital sex).

As seen in Chapter 9, Athenian women may have said that sex was not satisfactory within marriage but many of them revealed that they had premarital sexual relationships and, on some occasions, extramarital affairs.

‘Family’ constitutes the ultimate goal in Kastrorian women’s lives and gives them pride, power and social respect. Unemployed Athenian women, on the other hand, felt ashamed to say that they were housewives; if they did, they tended to justify this by referring to their motherhood responsibilities. From those comments which employed married women made about unemployed women it was also inferred that Athenians do not value housewives highly. The findings from Chapters 7 and 8 have also shown that Kastrorian women did many hours of unpaid work outside the home on a daily basis. This was perceived by them as a duty rather than as “proper” work. On the other side of the coin, many Athenian women realised that employment gives them a kind of financial independence. For this reason, most of them try to combine domestic, motherhood and employment responsibilities.

Regarding sexuality, the majority of Kastrorian female respondents did not place any value on it. They considered it as an exclusive male characteristic which caused their lives more trouble than pleasure. Married employed and unemployed women in Athens might value sexuality less than ‘family’ and ‘employment’, but the findings showed that
in the majority they considered sexuality as an important pleasurable need in their lives (Chapter 9).

It is worth noting that men classified the significance of these three domains in their lives as follows: (1) family possesses an ideological significance; (2) employment is for survival and of practical significance; and (3) the significance of sexuality was that of a healthy psychological and biological functioning.

What has become clear from the above discussion is that the Athenian female participants who were divorced had different attitudes from the rest of the participants towards the prioritisation of family, employment and sexuality in their lives. Divorced employed women, in a similar way to Athenian men, put employment as the first priority in their lives. However, they significantly differed from Athenian men by prioritising sexuality over ‘family’. This difference might be explained by the different socio-demographic characteristics divorced women had: they all were all lone parents.

This characteristic might have various implications upon women’s attitudes towards family, employment and sexuality. Firstly, it could be argued that divorced women’s attitudes reflect their experience of the family. Since the sample of participants did not consist of any group of single women or divorced men in order for comparisons to be made, this study cannot make any definite comments on the above assumptions. It remains for other researchers to investigate the above matter. However, it is of great interest to mention that among the male participants in Athens, there were two who had remarried: one of them was on his second marriage and the other was on his third. On the other hand, among the female participants in Athens, there were eight divorced women who all - with the exception of two - said that they would not like to remarry (see Chapter 9). This did not mean that they were living in celibacy as they all were in satisfactory sexual or romantic relationships.

Secondly, divorced women said that, once they had got their divorce, their household responsibilities were reduced compared to when they were living with their husbands.
This gave them more free time to invest in their job and to spend on themselves and on their children. They also said that the emphasis they put on their job resulted in better salaries and opportunities for promotion. Most of them explained that, while being married, they had been employed part-time due to the household responsibilities. They would spend many hours not only on the housekeeping but also in supporting their husbands in their jobs. This support took the form of participating in social meetings, inviting friends and colleagues for dinner, and by assisting their work by photocopying, posting their correspondence, receiving telephone messages and arranging tax payments. Divorced women also added that being divorced gave them a sense of personal and financial independence. It is important to point out that the complaints of married women about their responsibilities towards their husbands confirm the opinions of the divorced women interviewed (Chapter 7).

Thus, since all of the divorced women had children, we can postulate that marriage - and not motherhood - is the main factor which puts up barriers to Greek women’s participation in the labour force. This is in accordance with the statistical data of Eurostat (2000) which indicate that in Greece in the year 2000, the largest percentage of women’s participation in the labour force belonged to the category of widowed, divorced and single mothers (at 75%, 71% and 100% respectively). The findings of the study also confirm Johnson’s (1988) and Delphy and Leonard’s (1992) statements that it is marriage, and not motherhood, that is the reason for women’s oppression within the household (See Chapter 4).

10.3 Marriage in Kastro: Roles as determinants of power?
This research has shown that Kastrorian women are considered to possess a less important position than men in social spheres. Within the household they are under the rule of their husbands. As examined in Chapter 7, the roles which the respondents had within marriage were characterised by an imbalance of power in favour of the husbands.

In Kastro, the roles and responsibilities of the spouse within the family are not expected to be exhibited only within the home. They are also expected to be exhibited publicly.
One of these roles which demonstrates the imbalance of power between husband and wife is the ability of the husband to humiliate his wife in public (Herzfeld, 1980). As already mentioned in Chapter 7 and 4, women not only accept this behaviour but do not feel offended by it.

Nevertheless, despite the obvious imbalance of power between husbands and wives in Kastro, women claimed that it is they – and not their husbands - who are powerful. They explained that their submission is a part of their roles as wives. They have to show to other people that they respect and obey their husbands (see also Chapter 4). The findings of the study in regards to women’s power in Kastro, and the ways this power is exerted, support the relevant ethnographic observations about the nature of rural women’s power in Greece (Lamphere, 1974; Rosaldo, 1974; Friedl, 1986; Dubisch, 1986:28) (see also Chapter 4). As discussed in Chapter 4, women’s power in rural Greece has generated much debate regarding its definitions as well as the ways it is expressed. It is explained by the above authors that because women are denied power in public they therefore seek to exercise it in an illegitimate way (e.g. withholding sex, not fulfilling their household duties and nagging their husbands). Also, as du Boulay (1974), posits women in rural Greece acquire power through their submission to men.

Thus, taking into consideration the findings of the study as well as the relevant literature on the nature of women’s power, I will attempt to identify the reasons which make rural women have power within marriage. I will also look at the implications this power has upon gender relationships. Given that they live in a strong patriarchal society compared to that of Athens, why do Kastrorian women have this sort of power whereas Athenian women apparently do not? Why is there a need for men in rural areas to control women whereas in Athens there is not?

As discussed in Chapter 2, the concepts of honour and shame are linked not only to social status and importance of the individual but also to family and to female sexuality (Black-Michaud, 1975; Aase, 2002). In this sense, honour can be used within the private domain of the family to provide a clear guideline on issues of female morality.
In Kastro, where one’s social life is shaped according to the principle of “honour and shame”, a woman’s position within the family is of great importance for a man’s reputation. A mother is responsible for the morality of her daughters and for the honour and “good face” of her sons and her husband. Whether a man will be characterised as honoured or shamed depends upon his mother, his sister, his wife or his daughter’s social behaviour. Men’s identity and public face seem to rely heavily on women.

Since honour constitutes a significant part of a man’s identity, and since women play a determinant role in improving or destroying this part of his identity, it could be inferred that this role gives women major power. It is this kind of women’s power which men need to control. By controlling and oppressing women, men protect their honour and public acceptance. Men, in return, show gratitude to those women who honour them by respecting and attributing to them a kind of sacred authority.

At this point it is worth noting that a sister, even though she owes it to her brother or father to honour them, she does not have this kind of power. According to the participants’ claims, a daughter does not belong to her family; she will soon get married and will become her husband’s possession and be under his control. Thus, it is the wife rather than a daughter who is considered as a permanent possession of a man. This man is meant to be the husband since divorce cases in Kastro are not heard of.

Apart from protecting men’s honour, women in Kastro derive power from other sources. All Kastrorian men in the study admitted that a woman’s role within the family is both unique and of great importance (see also Chapter 2). Some of the explanations they gave in order to support this were in agreement with many anthropological studies (e.g. Friedl, 1962; du Boulay, 1974; Katakis, 1988:130). In particular, men justified the unique role women possess within the family by saying that it is they who know how to cope with each family member’s needs and it is they who take care of their husband’s elderly or disabled parents and relatives by being responsible for their nutrition, hygiene, health-related treatments and for the company they keep. Furthermore it is they
who organise the meetings of the family members with other relatives and who are responsible for keeping this going (Dubisch 1998), and also it is the woman who is the mediator between both her children and her husband, and between the female and male members of the family (Katakis, 1998:122).

From the fieldwork it has also been shown that, despite the fact that the husband is the person who is related to the public sphere, it is his wife who knows how to create, maintain and improve social relationships and friendships. Wives will try to restore damaged professional relationships or to build up new ones by inviting people to their home, either for a chat or for lunch.

Many Kastrorians revealed that a husband’s good public good face depends, amongst other things, on the appearance he and his children have. This means that the clothes they are wearing should be carefully chosen, well ironed and clean. On the one hand, this is a way by which people can judge how skillful a wife is and on the other hand how capable a man was in choosing a good wife.

Hence, the absence of a wife, through being widowed for example, will signal the loss of a great part of a husband’s identity. Firstly, a man without a woman has lost his identity as a family man and as the head of the family; this is supported by the widespread belief that “a family cannot exist without the presence of a woman” (Campbell, 1964:165; Katakis, 1998:130). Secondly, a man in this position will have also lost part of his social life since it is the woman who is responsible for maintaining the connection of the family to the social world (as has been previously discussed). Thirdly, he will have lost a person to provide him with the necessary everyday things for his survival, such as cooking, cleaning, and ironing. All of these, to varying degrees, constitute parts of a man’s identity in rural Greece. Men who are in this situation either return to their parental families or they are helped by one of their female relatives.

Women in interviews said that they were aware of their importance in their husband’s life. Characteristically, two of them said that if they had the courage to ask for a divorce
this would have meant the end of their husbands’ social and professional life. It would have caused pain and shame to their (the husbands’) relatives and happiness to their enemies.

In summing up, Kastrorian women are not totally subordinate to men. They have elaborated their own way of exerting power over them through neglecting duties or withholding sex (Friedl, 1962; Rosaldo, 1974). According to Herzfeld (1980), nagging in public is one of the ways in which women could exert a kind of influence over their husbands. This has not been confirmed by the findings of this study (see Chapter 4). As discussed in Chapter 4, the findings of this study seem to confirm Danforth, (1983:209) and Katakis’ (1988:162) arguments that a woman avoids nagging her husband in public, especially when she is mother of his sons. By showing no respect to her husband in public it is as if she does not honour the father of her sons. An event like this could destroy both her own and her sons’ reputation. Instead, women said that they prefer to know the weak points of their husbands, and to take advantage of these by effectively manipulating them; this confirms Dubisch’s (1986:28) arguments on the topic.

Within their marriage, Kastrorian men exert power over women and women exert power over men. Through their roles in the household, women acquire an identity through marriage and motherhood as well as by being responsible for their husband’s honour. Men, on the other hand, acquire status and honour through their roles as breadwinner and as the person who heads and represents the family. This confirms the argument of Loizos and Papataxiarchis (1991) concerning the complementary nature of gender roles within the household: “men need women and women need men in order to become persons” (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991:233).

10.4 Athens: dynamics of power in employment and sexuality within the context of marriage

In Kastro, one can see women who are strictly controlled by men (husbands, brothers, fathers) and who are extensively working unpaid hours in the family business. They
have undertaken a number of roles and responsibilities within the context of the household and kinship, yet they appear proud and happy, claiming that they feel free and powerful. On the other hand, in Athens, the majority of women are not controlled by men, at least not to the same extent to which Kastrorian women are; they are doing fewer hours of paid work inside and outside the home than the women of Kastro, yet they complain about not being free and having feelings of inadequacy.

In Athens, as participants revealed, virginity and morality are no longer considered precious virtues for women and a man is no longer honoured by the behaviour of the female members of his family. There is thus no need for controlling women. In addition, married women do not acquire an identity by being wives and mothers, as happens with women in Kastro. The absence of a wife in a man’s life does not have the same impact on his life as it does in rural areas. A wife is no longer the only person responsible for social interactions; cooking, ironing, and cleaning are not necessarily a wife’s responsibility. Many Athenian households now hire a foreign woman to help with household needs. How well a husband or children’s clothes are ironed does not necessarily reflect the wife’s ability but rather a housekeeper’s ability.

It has already been discussed in Chapter 7 that within marriage the majority of Athenian women undertake a number of roles and responsibilities related to the household and to their husbands. These roles, although less than those of Kastrorian women, are much more than the relevant roles their husbands undertake. Most Athenian husbands have one main role, which is the same as Kastrorian husbands: to support their family economically. It has also been discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 that gender roles of Athenian spouses are not as rigid as those of Kastrorian spouses. To some extent, Athenian husbands help in housekeeping and child caring, especially when their wives are employed. However, the employed wives have not considered this help satisfactory and tend to complain about being exploited by both their husbands and their children.

Thus it becomes clear that marriage in Athens is also characterised by an imbalance of power regarding the spouses’ roles and responsibilities within the household. However,
it is very important to clarify that this imbalance of power is neither of the same nature nor of the same degree as the imbalance of power between the spouses in Kastro. This study so far sits well with existing literature which states that motherhood, marriage and housekeeping all oppress women within the family (Firestone, 1970; Hamilton, 1978; Rowbotham, 1981:454; Oakley, 1984; Walby, 1990:12; Delphy and Leonard, 1992).

The findings of this research indicate that, in Athens, there is a dynamic of power between the spouses related to their employment status and sexual behaviour, rather than to family issues. Chapter 8 highlighted that all of the husbands, with the exception of one, had better jobs than their wives, with higher wages and better opportunities for promotion. This is another point which sits well with the existing literature originating in Western societies some years previously. Indeed, Hartmann (1981) in her argument about how capitalism and patriarchy work together argues that capitalism gives men the best jobs and pays them the so called “family wage” which is high enough so that there is no need for the woman to work. This, as the wives said, caused them to neglect or to make compromises with their own jobs in order to help their husbands. If the couple had to choose between the wife’s or the husband’s job, the latter was valued more than the former. After their marriage the wives who had been employed quit their jobs and followed their husbands to their birth places in order to help their careers. It should be stressed that, although Hartmann’s argument about the “family wage” is quite dated, it is still compatible with the empirical evidences of this study as well as with statistical data from UNECE which show that in 1998 the percentage of full-time employed Greek men was 78.2% whereas for women it was 48.8% (UNECE, 2000).

In Chapter 8 it was also seen that men considered employment as being directly related, firstly, to their gender role and secondly to the social expectations and stereotypes about husbands’ appropriate behaviour. All participants considered themselves as being the only person responsible for the wellbeing of their family and said that they would be successful as husbands and fathers only if they had been able to provide their family with the things necessary for its prosperity. They also explained that their familial and friendly environment expected them to pursue a stable and well-paid job in order to meet
these expectations. This confirms Katakis' (1988:159) argument that the parents put more emphasis upon their sons' education than on their daughters' as they want ensure that their sons will be able to find a good job. It should also be stressed how successful Kastrorians are as fathers and husbands is more related to “a clear and honourable face” rather than to the amount of money they might earn.

It has already been shown that, in Athens, both employed and unemployed married women attach more significance to the family rather than to employment. In their list of priorities, ‘employment’ came second after ‘family’. The paradox with this is that most of the Athenian female participants did not feel that they could be identified either by their roles within the family or by the roles they have in the labour market. Most of these participants were employed either in part-time jobs or those of low significance. Thus confirming Anker’s (1997) arguments that women are most likely to be found in low-valued jobs. Most Athenian women said that their jobs are considered to be either a way by which they are able to have their “pocket money” or as a supplement to their family budget (see Chapter 8). This was one of the reasons that caused women to say that if their husbands could earn more money they would prefer to stay at home.

At this point it is worth noting the special attitude parents and their young children have towards paid employment. As examined in Chapter 2, young people are not likely to work during their studies. Makrinioti (1993) explains that, during their studies, young people are financially dependent on their parents. Parents consider themselves as responsible for their children’s finances not only until the end of their studies but also until the establishment of their career. Their total financial support is legitimate and justifiable by the special emotional bonds that exist between parents and their children. This parental attitude towards the financial support of their children is more evident when talking about their daughters. Daughters receive special treatment from their parents as they are not obliged to work if there is no financial need in the family. Thus, when trying to explain married women’s attitudes towards employment, one should take into consideration the special attitude both parents and children have towards employment and the financial support which is offered by the beloved ones.
In this study there were many unemployed married women who did not see any harm in being financially supported by their husbands. Instead they found this justifiable due to the special and close relationship they had with them.

The findings of this research suggest that marriage is an obstacle to women’s employment status. In this study there were few married women who were working before and after their marriage because they considered employment a part of their identity (see Chapter 8). These women – four in Athens and one in Kastro (the General Practitioner) - had already established a successful career before their marriage. The findings in this study are consistent with those of Symeonidou (1999) who argues that those women who were employed in good jobs before their marriage are less likely to quit their jobs after it. On the other hand, those divorced women who became employed after their divorce claimed that employment provided them with independence, identity, power and a sense of equality to men. They did not have these whenever they were married. This indicates the strong impact which marriage has upon women’s employment status and identity (see Chapter 10).

The outcome of the study strongly confirms Walby’s (1990:24) theorisation of patriarchy which advocates that patriarchy has two forms: private and public. The private form, which consists of the household, violence and sexuality, has an exclusionary character upon women: it excludes them from the public domain and especially from participating in the labour market. Walby’s theorisation is also confirmed by the findings of the relation between paid employment and women in Kastro. Indeed, in Chapter 8, it was found that the majority of Kastrorian women who were undertaking paid work before their marriage left their jobs after their marriage. However, they continued doing unpaid work by assisting their husbands in the family business.

In addition to the above argument, it should be noted that some married Athenian women who were in full-time employment with a reasonably good salary were not
entirely aware of their financial independence given to them by their job. They instead continued to have a subordinate attitude towards their husbands (see Chapter 8). This attitude could be explained by Walby’s (1990:16) argument that patriarchy has dynamic and historical dimensions. In particular, culture - which, according to Walby, is one of the six patriarchal structures - creates representations, beliefs and ideologies about women’s “proper” behaviour through socialisation, education and the media.

It was also observed in Chapter 8 that there were some women whose attitudes towards “a proper” wife’s behaviour (regarding marriage, motherhood and employment) did not seem to fit the social expectations of the environment in which they were living. These women comprised the majority of the young Kastrorian girls who were studying or had studied abroad on the one hand, and the divorced Athenian women on the other. Amongst the female respondents in Kastro there was not a single woman who had either studied abroad or had finished their studies. There were however two female respondents who had daughters studying abroad. These mothers, as well as other Kastrorians (Chapter 7), said that the girls who are studying abroad do not usually return to Kastro. The educated girls, they explained, have been in contact with other societies and have realised how narrow-minded people in Kastro are. They do not want to come back as they find it difficult to live according to the village people’s expectations. Thus, in many cases, after the completion of their studies they prefer to live in Athens, where people have different views about gender roles.

The majority of divorced women in Athens, despite having jobs of a lower status than those of men, perceived themselves as being equal to men (see Chapter 8). Some divorced women said that, even though their jobs might be considered as less remunerative than men’s, they had clear feelings of superiority towards men. They explained that, in order to reach the level at which they are able to compete with men in the labour market, they must face numerous battles. Men, they said, did not have to face such battles. It was also inferred from the data that they were working for reasons which were similar to many husbands, rather than similar to the reasons of many married women. These women explained that the aim of their job was to support their family
economically, not just to earn some “pocket money” or to contribute to the family budget. This differentiation from other employed women enabled them to have ambitions and aspirations similar to men in regards to their careers.

What appears to be of great interest is that divorced women expressed antagonism towards men (in regards to their careers) in their accounts about issues of employment (see Chapter 8). Men expressed their antagonism towards employed divorced or single women in their accounts about issues of sexuality (see Chapter 9). Before a further discussion of the above observations it might prove useful to examine the dynamics of power between men and women in sexual relationships in Kastro and in Athens.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 9, there are no long premarital relationships in Kastro. Women are expected to be virgins when they get married and men are expected to have had many sexual relationships. As previously discussed, Kastrorian men tend to go out with tourists over the summer period and to visit prostitutes. It has also been found (discussed in Chapter 9) that all of the female married Kastrorian respondents said that sex was not a source of pleasure for them. They revealed that they were trying to avoid it, and those times they had sex it was because their husbands demanded it.

From the Kastrorians’ accounts it is evident that men have control over women’s sexuality before and within marriage. However, women in Kastro have managed to use their restrained sexuality for their own benefit to some extent. Before marriage, they use their virginity as a valuable and powerful factor which could have an impact upon their marriage negotiations. Greeks in rural areas, even nowadays, still say that “a poor girl’s dowry is her virginity”. Later on, within marriage (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4), women use their sexuality as a tool to get their own way by withholding sex.

Athenian women, on the whole, said that sex within marriage is not as satisfactory as it was in their premarital relationships. They explained that sex with their husbands had an essence of duty rather than of mutual pleasure. They also added that, by the time they had lost their sexual desires, sex became of no importance to them.
It should be also pointed that the vast majority of both the male and female respondents in Kastro and in Athens said that sexuality within marriage should be characterised by respect (see Chapter 9). By that they meant that sexual behaviour towards wives, in terms of desire and practices, should not be the same as towards prostitutes or in affairs. Most Athenian women said that they would wish their husbands’ sexual behaviour to be more liberated. However, they added that they would never ask for this because they were afraid of being criticised.

Hence, taking into consideration that most of the participants in Athens and Kastro revealed that they did not have satisfactory sex within their marriage, it could be said that one of the factors which has an impact upon their sexual life is the spouses’ interpretation of “respect” towards their wives. This kind of “respect” was initially observed over the period of the pilot study. As discussed in Chapter 9, people used to make sexual jokes and talk about issues of sexuality easily. However, they were, in the majority, apprehensive and even reluctant to talk about their marital sexual issues. It was also observed that men were more likely to behave in this way than women. This could be interpreted as an implication of the impact which my gender might have had upon whatever the male respondents spoke about. However, men were willing to talk and give detailed information about their premarital relationships or their extramarital affairs (see Chapter 9).

Regarding Athenians’ sexual behaviour in relationships other than that of marriage, the findings of this study indicate that women are expected to have less premarital and extramarital relationships than men. In addition, women - in order that they might be respected - should express their sexuality in a restrained way in any relationship they are in. On the other hand, male Athenian respondents were encouraged to be in many premarital relationships in order for them to become mature lovers.

Men, if they wish, are permitted to express their sexuality to their partners or lovers with or without “respect”, whereas a woman’s sexual behaviour should be always restrained.
In regards to extramarital affairs, according to the findings of Chapter 9, the majority of wives forgive their husbands whereas husbands do not. Thus, in Athens, the domain of sexuality, though it is much more permissive and liberated than it is in Kastro, is characterised by an imbalance of power in favour of men. Women, for example, are supposed to have fewer premarital relationships and it is preferred if these relationships are characterised as being romantic rather than sexual in nature.

As discussed earlier and already mentioned in Chapter 9, the majority of divorced Athenian employed women had different attitudes towards sexuality. They seemed to question men’s double standards and to ignore rules of appropriate gender behaviour. It was also discussed in Chapter 9 that the majority of Athenian men said that they were very attracted to women who were employed and thus dynamic, liberated and financially independent. These women, they explained, know what they want and how to get it. Their choices and decisions are characterised by freedom because they are not financially reliant on anyone. They know how to make a relationship or just an occasional sexual contact interesting and challenging; most importantly, they know where their limits are, especially when they go out with married men. It should be noted that those male Athenian participants who said that they feel attracted to successfully-employed women were in the main well-educated and had jobs of high status and of high income. On the other hand, there were men who found these women more scary than attractive. These women, they said, are opinionated, career-oriented and have a sense of superiority towards men. They did not even consider any sexual contact with this type of woman.

However, all participants (i.e. those who were both attracted and not attracted to employed women) made negative comments about employed women’s morality and inhibited sexual behaviour. They said that they would never consider marrying one of those types of women. They also accused them of gaining their good jobs by using their sexuality.
The above findings indicate that male respondents related women’s employment to both negative and positive issues of sexuality. On the one hand they said that they find employed women attractive, and on the other hand they disputed their ability to hold high hierarchical positions in the labour market due to their qualifications. Athenian and Kastrorian respondents’ comments about women’s ability and suitable qualifications for good jobs confirm the arguments of Mooney et al. (1997) that gender-role stereotypes are strongly related to women’s employment status. Men, they explain, are considered to be more suited than women to high status positions. Moreover, male participants imply that successfully employed women have accepted sexual harassment, accusing them of having gained good jobs through using their sexuality. This is in accordance with Walby (1990) who argues that sexuality affects relationships in paid work. Walby (1990:52), however, refers to sexual harassment as a means of preventing women from accessing good jobs whereas Athenian men implied that sexual harassment is a means of accessing good jobs.

Nevertheless, for many Athenian men the higher the position in paid employment a woman has, the more attractive she is. This attitude of most of the Athenian participants could be partly explained by the fact that most male Athenian respondents said that they relate their employment status and the amount of money they earn, apart from their roles as husbands and fathers, to their sexual activity as well. Men explained that without money they are not able to have a successful sexual life (see Chapter 9).

The following discussion will highlight the reasons as to why Athenian respondents relate high wages to sexuality. It will also explore the impact which the amount of money earned from paid employment has upon women’s sexuality.

In Greece, when a man goes out with a woman - either as friends, as a couple or as lovers - he is obliged to pay all the bills and any other expenses; otherwise he is not considered a gentleman. As the findings of this study indicated (Chapter 9), more than half of the male Athenian respondents - twelve out of nineteen - revealed that they had had extramarital affairs. These affairs were either romantic relationships or affairs with
escort girls. Thus in order for a man to be able to have a sexual life he needs to have money. The more money he earns the more successful a sexual life he can have.

Kastrorian married participants did not relate sexual life and money in the same way as Athenians. One explanation might be found in the nature of Kastrorians' sexual activities. In Kastro (as discussed in Chapters 2, 7 and 9), firstly, the premarital romantic relationships do not last longer than four or five months. Secondly, the opportunities for entertainment are very limited and the restrictions upon the couples, even though they are engaged, are too harsh. Thirdly, men's extramarital affairs, if they have any, are related to occasional visits to prostitutes in big cities. Therefore, even though money is related to their sexual life to some extent, it does not have a big impact on their sexual behaviour.

Female respondents who were employed did not say anything to imply that they relate high wages to a successful sexual life. This could be explained by the different customs and social behaviour men and women have. As has been mentioned, when she is accompanied by a man, a Greek woman is never expected to pay any of the expenses. In addition, she does not need to spend any money on prostitutes or on escort boys. Thus, high wages have a strong impact only upon Athenian male participants' sexual lives as well as upon their perceptions of women's sexuality.

Feminist thought has adequately theorised the relationship between sexuality and employment to a great extent (Hartmann, 1981; Walby, 1990; Goodman, 1992). Nevertheless, their theoretical frameworks focus almost exclusively on male sexuality, especially on those aspects which segregate women within the labour market. The observations of this study so far contribute to the feminist research by suggesting that women's employment has a positive impact upon men's perception of women's sexuality. Women who are employed in good jobs with high wages are not considered by men to be passive victims. Instead, they are admired and considered as equal to them. In addition, men feel flattered by being with a dynamic, successful and a financially independent woman. Sexuality, in this case, is characterised by a relatively symmetrical
balance of power between the two genders rather than as a male domination over women. The above observations are open to further exploration from future research.

However, the main aim of this thesis has been to put emphasis on women’s sexuality rather than on men’s. It builds on Jackson’s (1999:17) arguments that feminist literature needs to focus more on issues of women’s pleasure, craving and passion regarding their sexuality. Thus, so far, the findings of this research have indicated that there are two factors which have an impact upon women’s sexuality: marriage and employment. A further discussion will try to highlight the significance of both of these factors, that of marriage and that of employment, upon women’s sexuality.

Married full-time employed Athenian women did exhibit a slightly liberated sexual behaviour within their marriage in regards to sexual contacts, extramarital affairs and attitudes towards divorce. However, despite their claims that full-time employment gives them freedom, autonomy and identity, the findings of this study indicate that there was not a symmetrical balance of power between them and their husbands.

On the other hand, divorced women emphasised that employment gives them power and a strong sense of equality to men. They explained that they had undertaken the primary role of men: that of the breadwinner. Since this role has been considered to be of great importance to the masculine identity of men (see Chapters 5 and 8), they were feeling equal to them in terms of power as well as in terms of rights. They tended to ignore double standards and rules of morality and, since their survival was not reliant upon their husband’s financial support, they did not see any reason for compromise.

To summarise, firstly, marriage on the one hand places obstacles in front of women’s participation in the labour market, and on the other hand it restricts their sexuality. Secondly, women’s employment status affects men’s sexual attraction towards them. In particular, men perceived women who were in good jobs with high wages as being equal to them and thus more attractive than unemployed women. And thirdly, the sexual
behaviour of divorced full-time employed women was remarkably similar to that of men.

Even though the number of respondents is not large enough to support or disprove an argument, in the context of the qualitative nature of this research it provides evidence which might weaken the impact of marriage as the only determinant factor upon women’s sexual behaviour. Further research investigations which would compare the sexual life of single full-time employed women to that of divorcees should enable further explorations of this issue.
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## APPENDIX I

### CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

#### Characteristics of Male Participants Living in Athens

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<th>Name</th>
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# Characteristics of Female Participants Living in Athens

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Characteristics of Male Participants Living in Kastro.

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Characteristics of Female Participants Living in Kastro

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APPENDIX II

Focus Group of Women

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<td>6 Anonymous</td>
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<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Anonymous</td>
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</tr>
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Ages from 47 to 52 years
APPENDIX III

Focus Group of Men

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kostas</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Antonis</td>
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</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Andreas</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Giorgos</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ages from 40 to 54 years
APPENDIX IV

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Information about their socio-demographic characteristics such as: age, family status - years of having been married, number of children - educational level, employment status, religious status - how often do they go to church? Do they keep Lent?

What does employment mean to them? What are the reasons they are working? What are the reasons they are not working? Are they economically dependent on their husbands? Do they feel economically dependent on them? Do they think that employment is an advantage or a disadvantage to them? Why? Which of the spouses earns more money? Who is considered as the bread winner? Who makes decisions about the economic budget? Are there any things in their marriage which would be different if they were economically independent? What are they? Which is their dominant concern, family or employment? Why is this? How do they share the housekeeping, especially in those cases in which the wife is working?

What does a relationship mean to them? How would they characterise their relationships? Short, long, stable, romantic, sexual, antagonistic? Is it usually they who initiate dating? What are their expectations from a relationship? Were/are their relationships according to their expectations? If “No”, why not? What would be their ideal partner? What do they like most about him/her? What do they hate? Is there anything they have done in their lives which they have regrets about? What? Why? Have they made any compromises in their relationships? When they are in a relationship do they have sex from the very beginning or do they wait for some time? If so, why? Do they believe that as soon as they have sex in a relationship, men take advantage of that?

What are their views about the “double standard”? What are their stereotypes for men and women? Do they believe they are the same? Are they different? If so, in what way? What are their views about extramarital affairs? Would they forgive/accept their partner’s affair? Why? Who is it who usually initiates a date? Views of female/male pornography.

Have their parents or religious beliefs inhibited them sexually? Do their parents influence them in their decision to end up a relationship or marriage? What do relatives say? What about the environment they live in? How does environment affect things? Do they believe there are things in sex that are immoral, permissible or condemned?

- What does marriage mean to them? Is it a central goal in their life? What is the proper age for men/women to get married? Has marriage and/or motherhood/number of children
affected their emotional and sexual relationships? What about their identity? What about their employment status? What about their confidence? What about their self-perception? Have all of the above affected their partners as well? In what way? Is motherhood/children/marriage central to their lives? What about the housework? Is it shared? What kind of work is he doing and what kind of work she is doing? What kind of responsibilities do they have? Whose responsibility is it to look after the children? What are their expectations for their daughters/sons concerning their future relationships? What about marriage? What is their opinion about cohabitation? What is their opinion about single mothers? What does divorce mean to them? Is it harmless? Is it useful? If their marriage was not happy would they separate? If so, why?

- How much experience concerning their sexual life had they had before their marriage? What does sex and satisfaction mean to them? Do they believe that anytime they have sex their partner must be capable of making them reach a climax? Do they demand satisfaction or is it a matter of chances? Do they believe that men have more rights than women to reach to a climax anytime they have sex? Who is dictating the rules of the sex game? What are their attitudes about impersonal sex? What are their views about “one-night stands”? Does it take them much to get excited sexually? What do they expect when they have sex? Is sex the same at the beginning of their relationship as it is at the end? Is it different? If so, in what way? Are there times he or she did not want to have sex and he or she put up with it or “forced” himself or herself because he or she wanted it? Do they think they are demanding or passive in sex? Whose responsibility is birth control? Is it the responsibility of both? Do they think that their partners can understand or realise what they want and what they don’t want? Are they satisfied from with their sexual lives?
APPENDIX V

Initial categories of analysis

Beliefs

Expectations

Attitudes

Roles and Responsibilities

Balance of Power