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DIVISIONS OF LABOUR IN THE HOME:
A CASE STUDY OF TWO-JOB FAMILIES IN URBAN GREECE

presented by

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DIVISIONS OF LABOUR IN THE HOME:
A CASE STUDY OF TWO-JOB FAMILIES IN URBAN GREECE

By
Sofia Mitropoulou

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

DIVISIONS OF LABOUR IN THE HOME: A CASE STUDY OF TWO-JOB FAMILIES IN URBAN GREECE

By

Sofia Mitropoulou

This study explores household divisions of labour in Greece, of ten urban, middle-class, well-educated, two-job married couples having at least one child living at home. Separate, in-depth, semi-structured interviews revealed that couples in this study are joint-providers in terms of outside work, but their outside work is perceived differentially, in ways affected by gender ideologies. Moreover, they have not taken the step to equal sharing of housework and childcare because gender beliefs and ideologies intervene and mediate divisions of labour at home. Women have a double burden, they work full-time in the labour market and full-time at home. This is justified by seeing women's paid-employment as somewhat secondary, even though the income is essential. The division of labour is also it is justified by various gender ideologies deeply rooted in Greek culture, such as ideologies of "motherhood", of women's "natural" domesticity and weakness, of an "outside/inside" division and of women's "expertise" and "efficiency" in domestic matters.

To Ioanna
and to all those silent, strong Greek women

who taught us independence,
who used their considerable
strength and determination
to ensure our freedom to study,
who conferred strength and love,
and made us who we are,

this thesis belongs to them.

And
to the memory of
Simone de Beauvoir
(1908-1986)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Divisions of labour based on gender have existed throughout the history of "anthropos" and have taken various forms. Sexual divisions of labour in the Western world were shaped by the development of capitalism which elaborated a dichotomy of private and public spheres, i.e., of family and paid work where women are defined in terms of "private" or domestic and men in terms of the "public." Ideologies of "domesticity", "mothering" and "the family" placed women in the domain of the private sphere. These ideologies were used later, during industrial-capitalism, to justify sex segregation in paid work, when women entered into the labour market. Moreover, because of such ideologies, women's work in the marketplace has been viewed as secondary and unimportant and has been restricted to a few sectors with limited opportunities for advancement and low-pay. In addition, their responsibility for housework and childcare, i.e., maintenance of the household, perpetuates women's financial dependence on men and thus their subordinate position.

The number of women participating in the labour market has constantly increased in the Western industrial-capitalist countries. For example, in the United States the percentage of women in the labour force surged from 29% in

1950 to 43% in 1983 (Population Reference Bureau, 1984). Moreover, during the 1970s there was a rapid increase (more than 50%) of married mothers entering into the labour market, and an especially rapid rise in the labour force participation of mothers with preschool children (Population Reference Bureau, 1984).

Women's increased participation in the labour force affected the division of labour in the domestic sphere, and women's responsibilities in the domestic sphere (i.e., housework and childcare) affected their position in the labour market. Women's entrance into paid work led to questions about the legitimacy of beliefs which defined men as breadwinners (providing income for the household) and women as homemakers (responsible for maintenance of the household) within families. The family, then, is an arena affected by changes in paid labour, and with ongoing tensions and conflicts. Claudia Mancina (1983:10), an Italian feminist, has argued,

the family is not a rigorous structure; rather it is a very flexible one able for deep transformations, just because it is especially complex. The family consists not only of a single relation, but of a sum of relations which are interrelated.

The study of divisions of labour by sex in both paid work and families is important in order to understand the social structure and its possibilities for change. However, I also think that it is important to take into consideration variations across different societies, because sexual

divisions of labour take different forms within varied cultural, political and economic contexts. Sexual divisions of labour in paid work and in the family --and their interrelations-- have been the focus of extensive feminist research in Western countries, especially during the last decade.

This study focuses on Greece and seeks to explore how changing sexual divisions of labour in paid work interrelate and might affect sexual divisions of labour in the domestic sphere (including housework and childcare). I grounded my research in the extensive research on relations of changing sexual divisions of labour (in paid labour and housework) in various western countries (mainly in the United States and some in Europe) as well on a limited number of studies conducted in Greece.

CHAPTER II POLITICS OF HOUSEWORK

A. DIVISIONS OF LABOUR BY SEX

The way in which the sexual division of labour is defined and decided will depend on both the real relations of sexuality, reproduction and work, and the attitudes and beliefs about them. The sexual division of labour is not given in nature but constant in history. (C. Hall, 1980:44).

In the 14th century feudal societies in Europe, the family was a self-sufficient, commodity producing unit where domestic labour included a wide variety of activities. Women were engaged in a range of household-based productive activities aimed at productive consumption as well as for the market. Thus, there was minimal separation between work and family (i.e., no separation between commodity production and domestic labour).

With the emergence of capitalism in the late 17th century, however, the family started losing its importance as a central unit of production and gradually became important more as a center of consumption and as a central unit responsible for the maintenance and reproduction of labour power. "With the development of capitalism comes the separation of the home from the place of work and the separation of domestic labour and commodity production" (Hall, 1980). This results in a changed sexual division of labour with women's position defined as secondary in both ideological and economic terms.

During industrial capitalism which began to emerge in the early 19th century we observe a more rigid sexual division of labour with sharp ideological separation of "work" from "home", and the "public" from the "private". An ideology of "domesticity" consolidated, which defined women's position as at "home" (the private) and men's position is at "work" (the growing realm of paid wage labour).

The organization of production in capitalist society is predicated upon the existence of a certain form of family life. The wage labour system (socialized production under capitalism) is sustained by the socially necessary but private labour of housewives and mothers. (Zaretsky, 1976).

Household labour is often called "labour of love" (for example, by Luxton, 1980) because it is rooted in family relationships which are important and intense. Thus, in capitalist societies we have two spheres associated with the work performed by the two sexes: the public world of "work" based on economic relations and the private world of the family household based on love relations.

This brief promenade through the history of the sexual divisions of labour in the West leads to the current period, that of late industrial capitalism. According to Eli Zaretsky (1976) "the organization of production around alienated labour encouraged the creation of a separate sphere of life in which personal relations were pursued as an end in themselves." The ideological separation between "work" and "family," rooted in the 19th century, provides

the basis for beliefs such as that the only legitimate family form is "the monolithic family" (with a breadwinner father and a full-time wife and mother) and that the existence of the contemporary nuclear family is functional and inevitable.

Parsons (1959) developed a theory of the functional inevitability of a division of labour by sex based on specific roles performed by the husband and the wife in the nuclear family. He emphasized the husband's "instrumental" or goal oriented role, mediating in affairs between the family and outside world. Men fulfill their role as breadwinners and thus their sphere is the outside world, the economic and political arenas, the public life. The wife's role, on the other hand, is "expressive", one that is responsible for the family's well-being. Women fulfill their role as housewives and thus, their sphere is the inside world, intimacy, reproduction and maintenance of the family circle, the private life.

Such beliefs conceptualize the family in a consensus-equilibrium framework where harmony is viewed as the normal state of family affairs and behaviours such as adjustment, accomodation and consensus are seen as necessary for the achievement of that harmony. In addition, this framework tends to justify the definition of women's work outside the home as secondary, gender-specific, unimportant, usually unskilled and therefore, low-paid.

Other theorists, however, conceptualize the family as a system in conflict and question harmony as a "normal" state of affairs. For example, Jetse Sprey (1969:702) perceives the family process

as an ongoing confrontation between its members, a confrontation between individuals with conflicting interests in their common situation, as an ongoing peace-making effort which may result in a negotiated order, a state of affairs which remains, however, open to continuous re-negotiation.

He introduces the concepts of cooperation and management of conflict to explain family behaviour.

Feminists, as Barrie Thorne (1982) discusses in her overview of feminist rethinking of the family, have analyzed the daily experiences of family members, based on gender and age structures. In addition, they have questioned the ideology of the family as a refuge, a haven and a place of love, emphasizing sources of of tension, conflict and change within family life.

More specifically, Heidi Hartmann (1981) examines the family as "a locus of gender, class and political struggle." Her analysis is based on the marxist-feminist framework arguing that capitalism and patriarchy shape the organization of production within and outside the family. She argues that "our present social structure rests upon an unequal division of labour by class and by gender which generates tension, conflict and change" (Hartmann, 1981:368). Hartmann illustrates her argument with the

example of housework indicating power relations and patterns of sexual inequality within households.

The basic argument is that what women do in the home is not merely "housework" but it is the production of family subsistence and the production of labour power. That is, what women do in the house is "domestic labour" (Luxton, 1980). Meg Luxton (1980), cites a proverb (Canadian, I assume):

a man's work is "sun to sun"
a woman's work is never done

This simple and quite eloquent proverb describes the basic nature of domestic labour. It also reflects the "traditional" beliefs of industrial capitalist societies locating men's work outside at the labour market and women's work inside at home.

B. HOUSEWORK: WHO DOES WHAT AND HOW MUCH

(1). In the United States.

The women's movement, along with the increasing number of women participating in the labour market, have led to questions about the legitimacy and desirability of "traditional roles" (male/breadwinner and female/homemaker) and about issues of equality and the distribution of work, both paid (labour market) and unpaid (housework). Scholars coming from various fields in the social sciences have been concerned with the specific topic of housework and of who is actually responsible for and performs various household tasks, especially when both husband and wife are employed.

Housework involves all the activities which aim to maintain the household and service the members of the family (Luxton, 1980). Nearly all of the research on housework has been done on husband-wife households, asking about allocation to the husband, the wife, the children and/or outside help (either hired or other relatives).

Focusing specifically on the division of labour at home between husbands and wives, researchers have come to various conclusions, depending (to a great extent) on the methodology each researcher used (mail questionnaires, person or telephone interviews, time-budget).

The topic of housework was quite unexplored by social scientists until the 1970's. There are a few studies prior to that time which suggest that contemporary divisions of labour coincide with "traditional" divisions of labour, with sharp divisions based on gender. Probably the most important study prior to the 1970's was the one by Blood and Wolfe (1960). They found that there was a sharp division of labour along traditional lines, arguing that the "same bio-social reasons which shaped the traditional family still supply differential resources which men and women bring to marriage." Thus, the division of labour is based on gender-specific resources, that is, the husband specializes in "heavy and technical tasks and the wife specializes in functions correlated with her role in life as childrearer and childbearer."

Mirra Komarovsky (1962) studied working class families. Her subjects consisted of a homogeneous group sharing some characteristics: they were all white, native born of native parents, protestant, not over 40 years of age, parents of at least one child, blue-collar workers (both the husband and the wife) with the highest level of education four years of high school. Komarovsky, too, found traditional segregation of masculine and feminine tasks: "cooking, laundry and cleaning emerge as exclusively feminine activities in about 4/5 of the families... almost 2/3 of the husbands hardly ever help with the dishes." Moreover, she found that husbands were more active in childcare and childrearing, especially as children grew older, "with only 10% of the fathers quite uninvolved." Fifteen years ago, Komarovsky concluded that the division of labour in the home presented "few problems" because both women and men accept such a division.

Margaret Poloma and Neal Garland (1970) studied families where women were actively participating in the fields of medicine, law and academia. They wanted to explore the so called "egalitarian family" and the possibility of its existence. They found that only one of the 53 families included in their sample fell into the "egalitarian family" category, with wives and husbands dividing the housework equally. Twenty were "traditional families" (with a male provider and a female homemaker) and 27 were categorized as "neo-traditional families" (where the

husband and wife were of equal professional status but the wife did more housework). Their analysis leads to the conclusion that "the assumption of a professional role by the wife does not mean a dramatic change in family roles." It is a myth that egalitarian families necessarily result from both spouses being paid professionals.

A study which has become a landmark on the research on housework, is Joan Vanek's (1974) analysis of 20 time-budget studies made under the aegis of the U.S. Bureau of Home Economics from 1920 to 1960, and of the United States Time-Use Survey, conducted in 1965 and 1966 by J. Robinson and P. Converse of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan. Her analysis revealed that employed women devoted about half as much time as non-employed women in housework (26 and 55 hours a week, respectively). Furthermore, she found that employed women made no greater use of paid help than non-employed women, and the husbands of employed women gave no more help than husbands of non-employed women.

Berk (1976) conducted a research study in Evanston, Illinois, using observations and interviews, questionnaires and telephone interviews. She found that employed and non-employed women contributed more housework than either their husbands or their children, including work in areas often regarded as "husbands'" work.

An interesting questionnaire study with younger subjects (22 year old college men and women) attempted to explore division of labour among cohabitating and married

couples (Stafford et al., 1977). This study illustrates that although there are variations between the two groups (married couples were significantly more traditional in the performance of household tasks than cohabitating couples), women in both groups still performed and were responsible for most of the housework.

Personal and telephone interviews of husbands of a sample over a thousand working-class families were analyzed by S. Nickols and E. Metzen (1978). Data were obtained from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics conducted by the Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, the University of Michigan. Their analysis indicated that women contributed 32.4 hours a week to housework and men only 2.4 hours a week. In addition, 65% of the husbands said that they spent virtually no time in housework. However, the researchers report that there were a few changes over the 6-year period covered by the study (1968-1973). There was a slight increase both in the number of husbands who contributed to housework and in the hours they spent doing housework; also, there was a four hour decline in wives' time spent in housework over the years.

Lovingood and Firebaugh (1978) conducted an exploratory study of 100 families who had just had their first child. They interviewed the couples separately using 25 identical items about who makes and who implements household task decisions. Their study indicates that husbands and wives share in making and implementing task decisions, but they

tend to specialize. Wives decide and implement decisions on the family dinner, shopping, laundry, dishes, childcare, home decoration etc., and husbands make decisions about buying the car and life insurance, as well as making household repairs and housing arrangements. The only shared decision implementation task was keeping track of the family income. In this study, the wives were employed only part time.

Kathy Weingarten (1978) studied 32 two-profession couples. In half, the wives were employed full-time and in the other half they were employed part-time. She found that couples where the wife was employed full-time (i.e., couples shared a similar employment history) tended to distribute family work more equitably than couples where the wife was employed part-time (i.e., they shared dissimilar employment histories). Wives of both groups did more childcare than did their husbands.

An important contribution to the research on household division of labour was provided by Berk and Berk (1979) who analyzed data gathered from time-diaries kept by wives, two interviews with wives (before and after completion of the diaries), and an interview with the husbands. Their findings suggest that husbands of employed wives "pick up some of the burden" but "... it is still probably fair to say that the employed wives hold down two full-time jobs, one in the market and one in the household." Women remained basically responsible for housework and childcare. Husbands

were viewed as a "reserve source of labour in times of particular need."

In addition, the work of Berk (1979) and Berk and Berk (1979), along with the one of Walker and Wood (1976), demonstrate that it is possible to obtain detailed quantitative data on housework. (Miller and Garrison, 1982). They show, for example, that time of the day can influence activities of husbands related to housework and childcare: "By considering when activities occur, we have been able to specify a bit more clearly the mechanisms by which household work and childcare are allocated to household members" (Berk and Berk, 1979: 232).

Sara Yogev (1981) explored the question of egalitarian marital relationships in two-profession couples, finding two contradictory patterns; on the one hand, women in her sample assumed most of the responsibilities for housework and childcare and believed that their husbands were contributing enough. On the other hand, they perceived themselves to be basically equal to their husbands.

Among other results of a study on work for the household, Carmi Schooler et al. (1984) found that women do a wider range of household tasks and spend much more time than their husbands do, whether they are employed or not. Furthermore, both husbands and wives agree about which spouse has primary responsibility for what specific task, and they both perceive the husband's responsibility for housework as "delimited."

Jane Lott McCullough (1981) in a study on "contributions to household tasks by Utah husbands and wives" analyzed data collected from 212 two-parent, two-child families. Wives contributed most of the time required for household tasks; the minimal contributions of husbands was limited to performance of "traditional" male tasks; age, education, church affiliation and sex role ideology did not vary significantly with the time contributed to household tasks.

Jane Hood (1983) in her book Becoming a Two-Job Family, focused on how wives and husbands renegotiate family roles when the wife returns to paid employment. She conducted in-depth interviews of 16 lower and upper middle-class couples and analyzed "the terms of the marketwork/housework bargain changed after the wives went back to work" (1983:1). She found that none of the couples shared equally housekeeping and childcare responsibilities; rather, there were various degrees of husbands' participation in such responsibilities. Hood argued that husbands are very likely to assume household responsibilities when their wives enter into the labour force under some conditions: when the wife earns 30% or more of the household income and is defined as coprovider, when she is work-committed, when she has acquired bargaining power, increased self-esteem and decreased emotional dependence upon her husband, when the husband is family-oriented and not involved in his career and when both

partners relinquish their traditional roles (i.e., the wife/housekeeper and the husband/provider).

(2). In Other Western Industrial-Capitalist Countries.

Studies done in other countries of the industrial-capitalist world also have found that women have longer working days than do men workers. In England, Ann Oakley (1974) found that women worked an average of 77 hours a week. As for husbands' level of participation in housework and childcare, "only a minority of husbands give the kind of help assertions of equality in modern marriage imply." Fifteen percent had a high level of participation in housework and 25% in childcare. She also found that patterns of husband's participation are class differentiated; middle class husbands have higher participation than working class husbands. Moreover, men in her sample tended to participate more in childcare than in housework.

In a study of 1960 British graduates, Fogarty et al. (1971) found that "clearly, the population, even the most educated part of it, still regards domestic activities as overwhelmingly a female sphere." Wives did most of household and childcare activities; husbands did the minor repairs, and both did gardening and shopping.

In France, Agnes Pitrou (1980), who studied specifically employed women, came to the conclusion that male participation in housework is "sporadic and minor,"

with the exception, again, of the "traditional" male sphere of minor household repairs. Regarding childcare, however, she found considerable participation of husbands of the managerial class; younger fathers had higher rates of participation than working class and older fathers.

We also hear from Norway by Torild Skard and Elina Haavio-Mannila (1980) that although a great number of women are employed there, and men have assumed some responsibility for housework and childcare, the fact is that women "still bear the main burden of housekeeping and childcare."

More specifically, in Sweden, Linda Haas (1981) conducted a mail survey of couples where 72% of women were employed. She found that 17% of the couples shared the daily home care evenly, 23% claimed that it was done a little more by the women, 58% said that it was mostly women's responsibility, and 2% said that men were a little more or mostly responsible for home care. Haas notes that a close look at specific household tasks reveals a general lack of equality between men and women in Sweden, since men tend to share more tasks which require little skill such as shopping, and to share less the ones which involve more skill such as cooking. She concludes that realization of equality in the home is still far off, despite the radical sex-role ideology of Sweden.

Martin Meissner et al. (1975) conducted a time-budget study of several hundred married couples in Vancouver, Canada. They analyzed data from one full workday and one

day-off, of couples where both the husband and wife were employed outside the home. They found that 39% of the husbands and 97% of the wives contributed to any regular housework on a weekday and 51% of the husbands and 95% of the wives contributed on the weekend. One very interesting finding in this study, when women are employed, is that in families without children husbands increase their contribution to housework time by six minutes a week; in families with children they increase their housework time by one hour a week. Thus, husbands' contribution to housework remains "small and virtually unchanged." Their conclusion, based on extensive analysis of their data support that "most married women do the regular, necessary and most time-consuming work in the household every day" (Meissner et al., 1975:431).

Armstrong and Armstrong (1978), who reviewed major Canadian studies on women's work in the home, reveal that "although research indicates that men help more in the home when their wives enter the labour force, it also shows that, in general, the division of labour remains unchanged."

Finally, Szalai (1972) conducted a comparative study of the use of time in twelve countries including not only Western capitalist countries but some Eastern European countries as well. Part of his project was to study the use of time performing household and childcare activities. He found that with some minor variations, women in all countries, whether they are employed or not "shoulder almost

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all of the housework burden" while men's contribution remains with the "peripheral household care activities." One of his general conclusions regarding childcare is that the amount of time parents spend with children is greatly reduced when women are employed. Moreover, men in Eastern countries and men of higher social classes in both East and West, tend to spend more time with their children than men in Western countries and men of lower social classes in both East and West.

SUMMARY

The studies reviewed above illustrate that the ideological separation between "family" and "work" rooted into the 19th century is still alive today. Thus, despite women's increased participation in the "male sphere" of paid work, men have not shared a parallel transformation, i.e., they have not increased their work contributions to the "female sphere" of the household. Studies throughout the Western world conclude repeatedly that work in the house is still essentially women's work and that this is true for both employed and non-employed women. The most widely observed finding is that the division of labour follows the traditional line of sex segregated roles where women assume responsibility for housework and childcare and men are responsible for minor repairs and household tasks outside the home.

These studies suggest that the bottom line of the domestic division of labour by sex is that women continue to

carry the double burden, but they also show that there are variations and changes over time. Thus, according to the studies reviewed, women who experience the double burden have changed the quality and quantity of housework and childcare, compared to non-employed women. Employed women spend less time and give less attention to the maintenance of the household (especially housework). Non-employed women used to spend and continue to spend a great amount of time performing housework and childcare, and they are engaged in a continuous struggle to achieve a perfect household. According to Vanek (1974) housewives feel pressured to spend more time in housework and childcare because their value is not clear under capitalism, when compared to the marketing value of wage labour. Some variables which contribute to some (but not greatly significant) domestic participation by husbands are class, education, age of the couple and number/age of children, wife's work commitment, and the definition of her provider role, as well as her bargaining power.

In conclusion, studies in the West illustrate that the two spheres, the public (paid work) and the private (household) are interrelated. There is a cyclical process where the one affects the other in the present capitalist system: women's responsibility for housework and childcare undermines their position in the labour market and perpetuates their dependency (i.e., women's work is viewed as secondary and thus subordinate to men's position) which

in turn reinforces an unequal division of labour at home (Thorne, 1982).

So far I have only dealt with the Western industrial division of labour at home. In the following chapters I will focus specifically on Greece, and I will attempt to explore the relations of paid work and the family among two-job families. Also, I will explore relations of gender and decisions of labour both in the public and the private spheres; in addition, I will also examine the ideologies which shape women's position in the two spheres.

CHAPTER III EMPLOYED WOMEN IN GREECE

This chapter is devoted to a review of literature on employed women in Greece and relations of paid work and family. The review of major studies in the West showed that there have been changes in paid labour, where the number of employed women constantly increases, and there have been changes in the family structure as a result of women's participation in the labour market. The two areas are closely interrelated. Factors such as class, education, age, income, and number of children bring variations in domestic divisions of labour. But what is the situation in Greece?

The fact that there is a limited number of theoretical and empirical studies on women in general and on relations of paid work and domestic work more specifically, illustrates that issues about women have not been considered important by Greek scholars and researchers. As we will see most of the studies were done after the late 1970s, when women's participation in the labour force started to increase.

First, I will deal with a general overview of facts about employed women's position in Greece and ideologies involved in perpetuating women's subordinate position and sex segregation in the marketplace. Then, I will present the existing limited number of empirical studies dealing with employed women's position in the household. The

changes observed in the situation of women in the labour market affect women's participation in households and may affect domestic divisions of labour.

A. A GENERAL PICTURE OF THE POSITION OF WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN THE LABOUR MARKET IN GREECE

When they decide to enter into the labour market, women in Greece experience difficulties including problems in discrimination and of inequalities in the labour market and problems of adjusting their responsibilities in the home and in paid employment.

The situation of Greek women in the labour force is quite different from the one of women in developed industrial capitalist countries. Greece has a different level of development and different social, political, economic and cultural structure compared to both developed and developing countries. Women's position in the labour market is marginal and becomes an extension of their triple image as a mother-wife-housewife. This image remains the same not only for non-employed women but for employed ones, too. Thus, women's employment becomes supplementary to men's employment (K. Pantazi-Tzifa, 1984).

Greek women's participation in the labour force shows a different development from the one of women in industrial-capitalist countries of the West, and especially from the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC). According to Ntina Takari (1984), whereas in the western countries there has been an increase of women's

participation in the labour market during the last 25 years, in Greece there has been a decrease in participation. In addition, in contrast with countries like the U.S, women in Greece have not made big steps in participating in occupations which traditionally have been considered male and "biologically" unacceptable for women. Takari notes that there is a decrease in participation of women in the labour force, but if one takes a closer look at the following figures, it is clear that there have been fluctuations during the last three or four decades: In 1951, 15.8% of women were in the labour force, in 1961 there were 32%, in 1971 there were 25.8% and in 1981 there were 31.8%.

The big increase in women's participation in the production process occurred in Greece during the decade of 1951-1961. According to Loukia Mousourou (1976), there were 510,580 (15.8%) women participating in the labour force in 1951 and by 1961 the number was elevated to 1,193,863 (32.0%). Iris Avdi-Kaklani (1978) argues that during this period more and more women became absorbed into industry and more and more rural women (who were involved in agriculture) became unskilled labourers in factories. The main reason for the large increase in women's participation in the labour market was their cheap labour. Thus, it was not the result of any structural social changes in ideologies and beliefs of Greeks about women's position or the recognition of their importance in the production process.

A small decrease in women's labour force participation occurred during the 1961-1971 decade. The main reason for that decrease is because a large number of women farmers migrated to larger urban centers during that decade (there were 65.51% women farmers in 1961 and 53% in 1971, a decrease of 13%). Women over 40 years old did not become active in the labour market after they moved to the cities (Kaklani, 1978:86). After that period the degree of women's participation in the labour force went back to the old pattern of 32%. According to K. Pantazi-Tzifa (1984:30), "the increase of the 1971-1981 decade is indebted mainly to the improvement of women's education which is a positive factor for women's participation and to the growth of the service sector which absorbs mainly the female labour force."

It is important to examine both facts related to Greek women's position in the labour market and ideologies used to justify their subordinate position.

Women's Participation in the Labour Force By Age:

When we compare the ages of women and men who are involved in the labour market, as Table 1 shows, we see that of all employed women, more work for wages during 14-29 years of age compared to men.

Table 1: Employment by Gender and by Age (in thousands) and Percent of All Employed Men and Employed Women in Greece *

<u>Age (years)</u>	<u>Employed</u>		<u>Employed</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>%</u>
14	8.1	0.3	4.5	0.4
15-19	98.1	4.0	60.4	5.5
20-24	122.3	5.0	109.4	9.9
25-29	249.5	10.3	120.8	10.9
30-44	863.0	35.6	379.0	34.3
45-64	939.3	38.8	383.3	34.7
64 and above	142.6	5.9	48.4	4.3
Total	2422.9	100.0	1105.8	100.0

* Source: Statistical Year Book of Greece (1981)

This is the age period when men are at school (they attend school in higher proportions than women) and/or they perform their service to the army (which is obligatory for all Greek men). During that period most women are not yet married. After the age of 29, though, we observe a decrease in women's participation in paid employment compared again to men of the same age. The basic reason is that women at that time begin to have children and thus, they have to perform their duties as "mothers-wives-housewives" by dropping out of the labour force (K. Pantazi-Tzifa, 1984).

Women's Participation in the Labour Force by Sector:

Table 2 illustrates women's and men's participation by sectors based on the 1971 and 1981 census data. The agricultural sector, despite its decrease from 55% in 1971

to 41.6% in 1981, still includes the largest percentage of employed women (42%).

Table 2: Employment by Gender and by Sector of the Economy in Greece (percent of all employed men and employed women) *

<u>Sector</u>	<u>1971</u>		<u>1981</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
<u>-Primary:</u>	37.0	55.2	26.0	41.6
Agriculture/Dairy	36.2	55.2	25.6	41.6
Mining	-	-	0.4	-
<u>-Secondary:</u>	28.5	17.3	36.1	18.1
Industry/Manufacturing	17.5	17.3	20.0	18.1
Electricity	-	-	4.1	0.3
Construction	11.0	-	12.0	0.2
<u>-Tertiary:</u>	33.1	26.7	37.4	39.9
Commerce&Trade	12.3	8.9	14.8	15.2
Transportation	8.6	1.5	10.2	2.3
Banks	2.4	2.4	0.3	3.4
Services	9.8	13.9	12.1	19.0

*Source: Statistical Year Book of Greece (1971, 1981)

Second comes the tertiary sector which includes commerce, transportation, banks and services, and includes 40% of employed women; the highest increase of participation of women occurred in this sector. The industrial sector includes 18% of employed women, almost entirely in industry and manufacture, specifically in weaving and textile (29%) and food (25%) industries. (K. Pantazi-Tzifa, 1984).

Women's Participation in the Labour Force by their Position
in the Occupation:

As we see in Table 3 a large percentage of women (36%) is classified in the category of "assisting and non-paid family members".

Table 3: Employment by Gender and by Occupation (in thousands) and Percent of All Employed Men and Employed Women*

	<u>Men</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>%</u>
Employers	214.7	8.8	18.7	1.7
Self-employed	903.1	37.3	200.8	18.1
Assisting and non-paid family members	92.2	3.8	402.1	36.1
Salaried employees and waged workers	1213.3	50.0	486.0	43.7
Others	8.2	0.1	4.0	0.4
TOTAL	2431.5	100.0	1111.6	100.0

*Source: Statistical Yearbook of Greece (1981)

These figures articulate the dominant ideology of the importance of women's work in the production process: it is secondary, supplementary and servicing (Ntina Takari, 1984).

This category suggests the exploitation of women's labour power and perpetuation of their economic dependence. According to K. Pantazi-Tzifa (1984), 75% of women who belong to this category are ages 30 to 65, whereas 73% of men in this category are of age 15 to 29. These figures mean that women get involved in the family business after they create their own family and have older children; men participate in the family business before they create their own career and their own family. Magda Nikolaidou (1981)

adds to the argument that the women who are involved in the family business have no personal income, no social security, no insurance and the case of divorce they have absolutely no rights on the business --they get nothing but alimony. The specific sectors which concentrate individuals in this category are: agriculture (80)%, trade/commerce and restaurants/hotels (14%) and finally, industry/manufacturing (4%).

It is very interesting to note that the higher the woman's education, the higher the possibility that she will participate in the labour market. According to Pantazi-Tzifa (1984), 69% of women having degree from the university are employed, 29% of women with high-school education and 23% of women with elementary school education are employed.

Part-Time Employment:

Yet another form of exploitation of women's labour power is found in part-time employment, which attracts women, especially married women with children, because it provides them with some personal income but also "free" time to devote to their family responsibilities. Of all part-time labourers in Greece, 90% are women, according to Ntina Takari (1984).

A survey of the 10 countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1984, found that percentages of women's participation in part-time employment varied from country to country (Table 4). Leading countries with the highest percentages were Great Britain (46%), the Netherlands (44%)

and Denmark (42%). In Greece the percentage was less than half of the leading countries (18%), but still large enough not to be ignored.

Table 4: Percentage of Employed Women in Part Time
Employment in Countries of the European Economic
Community

<u>Country</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>%</u>
Great Britain	46	Ireland	24
Netherlands	44	France	20
Denmark	42	Greece	18
Belgium	29	Italy	17
Germany	24	Luxenburg	17

Source: Commission of the European Economic Communities
(European Women in the Paid Employment in 1984)

Most women in Greece who are employed part-time work at home for manufacturing industries or various "small" businesses. They do "facon" i.e., work by the piece, which has various forms, such as ready-made clothing, embroidery and needlework, knitting, and making folk art items. The Panhellenic Meeting of the Federation of Women in Greece in 1984, presented a number of lectures, testimonies, facts and suggestions on "work by piece at home" which traced the poor working conditions of women involved in this type of employment and who actually benefits from it. It is obvious that "facon" has expanded not only in the large urban areas, but also in towns and islands and has various forms according to local market (for example, in the islands they make items such as folk art, linen, embroidery).

Obstacles Faced by Employed Women in Greece:

There are many obstacles which prevent women from entering into the labour market, developing a career, remaining employed and expanding in diverse areas of employment. These obstacles many make women view their jobs as temporary, secondary and not of major other than financial importance.

Iris Avdi-Kaklani (1978) has made an excellent analysis of these obstacles and their negative effects for women. Often these obstacles are supported by the laws (and customs) of Greece which have only recently started to be abolished. However, despite the fact that some laws have been changed or are in the process of being changed, the way to structural change in people's lives is long and difficult because of deeply rooted ideologies and belief systems. Kaklani (1978) reviews some obstacles.

According to the law, "The woman resides in the home of the man [father or husband]" (Kaklani, 1978:59). The law then dictates that a married or unmarried woman should remain in the place where her husband or her father lives. Thus, women in Greece have to choose their employment within the limited opportunities which might appear in their specific geographic area. They have to choose jobs which are not likely to make them move to another area; this keeps them at lower levels of work hierarchies with limited career opportunities. It is unthinkable for Greek couples to move to another place of the country just because the

wife found an excellent job or has been asked to transfer, in contrast to the husband who in most cases would move and take his family, including his wife, who might have had a good job which she would have to give up.

A second obstacle lies in the division of jobs into "male" and "female" ones which has developed along the lines of the dominant ideology that women's position is at home servicing and caring for the family members. Thus, women are seen as capable of being only nurses, teachers (but not principals), salespersons, airhostess, etc. As Kaklani (1978:64) says, "in the competition in the labour market, every job that has no future, that requires no specific qualifications, that as a matter of fact is not claimed by men anymore, automatically becomes suitable to the 'female nature'." Men monopolize jobs which are high in status and prestige and provide upward mobility and high income. If they attempt to enter any of the "female" jobs such as secretaries, people might question their masculinity (a very serious threat for Greek men).

According to Greek law, the husband is the breadwinner and the wife is not expected to contribute to the family income. The implications of the auxiliary importance of women's employment are many; employers use it to justify paying women lower wages, assigning them posts not wanted by men and hiring women as temporary workers. This last implication leads women to have minimal consciousness as workers, to abstain from unions, not to claim responsible

positions, to remain unskilled and to drop-out with the first opportunity that appears to them.

Tied to the above factors are men's job aspirations, coming from the Greek culture and supported by the law. Women's social status is derivative of that of their fathers and husbands. Men, then, are pressured to become successful; success is often measured by education, income and job achievements. Many men are totally devoted to their jobs and spend all their energy and time on the job, in contrast to women who are "known" for their low job aspiration, and inability to produce equally well (as a result of the "female nature").

Women are obliged to have a perfect appearance, especially women who are employed in the tertiary sector (commerce, services). This often becomes one of the most important obstacles for women over 35 years of age to find a job. It becomes a big problem for married women as well, because a well-groomed appearance requires time and money.

Lack of time for education, specialization, recreation and rest for employed women is another obstacle to their gaining equality with men in paid work. Kaklani describes the employed woman who has family as being "constantly broken psychologically and physically and she does not have the time to engage systematically in her development in her job and to become informed on her employment problems and on important issues of social and political life."

Bad conditions at the workplace are another obstacle mainly for women who work in industry and manufacturing. Ninety-seven percent of women in industry/manufacturing are classified as unskilled labourers and work under bad conditions: constant noise, bad lighting and ventilation, standing, inhalation of harmful gases and chemicals, and stress produced by the fact that their wage is by the piece in combination with a specific number required by minute or hour. To my knowledge, effects of bad working conditions on the human organism have not been studied in Greece.

Responsibility for the household lies totally on women, however, although not the decision making, especially on important matters. Employed women, according to Kaklani, spend about 25-30 hours per week doing housework. She argues that despite the technological revolution in the home, housework is still not "light work." The ideology of the perfect housewife is deeply rooted in the belief system not only of others (family members, friends, social network, Greek society) but also of the women themselves, who desperately try to keep a perfect home, clean and in order, despite the fact that they already have worked 8 hours at their paid employment.

An ideology of "motherhood" with which Greek women strongly identify also affects the division of labour. Mothers are totally responsible for both rearing and bearing their children. Today, the situation is even worse, according to Kaklani, because men who "publically accept"

women's intellectual equality with them leave their children to the total care and control of their wives. Tied to this is the lack of enough and adequate day care centers. Loukia Mousourou (1985) in her study on Family and Child in Athens found that children of employed mothers go to day care twice as much as children of non-employed mothers (30.26% and 6.33% respectively). The differentiation is more dramatic among infants where the ratio is ten times more for infants of employed mothers. However, Pantazi-Tzifa (1984) presented data on day care centres from the "programme on peripheral development" developed by the Department of Social Welfare in 1984. These data are quite eloquent. As Pantazi-Tzifa argues, the data illustrate an immediate need for day care centers, especially for two-job families with preschool children. There is a need of an estimated 150,000 positions and what is available is only 45,226 positions (including public and private centres), i.e., they do not cover even the 1/3 of immediate needs. These estimates did not include mothers of preschool children who are not employed because they do not have the opportunity to leave their child at a day care centre. As we will see later, couples in my sample also emphasized the need for more and better quality day care centres.

SUMMARY

The work of these scholars demonstrates that women in Greece have always been subject to exploitation. They have performed unpaid work in the fields, they have performed

unpaid housework and parenting, they have received lower wages than men, they have been considered "auxiliary and non-paid family members" or have been involved in part-time work in order to be able to manage everything. The obstacles women in Greece have to face when they try to enter into the labour market, the obstacles that give them limited job opportunities and only in specific fields that match their "female nature", the obstacles that make it hard for women to remain employed, along with the double burden of work at paid employment and work at home have a strong effect on women's employment: their market value is extremely vulnerable. Women are the first ones to be fired in economic crises, they receive lower wages and they are denied promotions or jobs with responsibility and interest. Furthermore, as Papadopoulou (1975/1981:57) argues, "the more interesting the job women do in the labour market, and the more satisfactory are the conditions of employment in combination to the wage they receive, the more women prefer to remain employed." Thus, women who are white-collar workers in the various ministries and banks and the public sector in general, rarely stop working in the labour market. Whereas women who are working at industries/manufacturing and at various services quit their employment with the first chance appearing to them (i.e., when they get married and have children).

B. SEXUAL DIVISIONS OF LABOUR AT HOME

Thirty-two percent of women in Greece are actively involved in the labour force, most of them married and most with children. I earlier emphasized the interrelation of the spheres of the public and the private: the one affects the other and both affect women's lives and experiences at home and at paid work. In the previous section I explored the effects of the traditional division of labour on women's position in the labour market. Greek women's position in the marketplace is subordinate to that of men and becomes an extension of their identity as mothers-wives-housewives. The obstacles and problems women in Greece face when they enter paid work are very similar to the ones women also face in western industrial-capitalist countries, as we already saw in the review of the literature of some of these countries. However, I discovered that there are gaps in research on household divisions of labour in Greece.

The field of divisions of labour in households is almost non-existent in Greek literature. In the few empirical studies which have focused on women, there is occasionally some reference to the household division of labour, but it is usually abstract and superficial, with the implication that "all is done by the mother-wife-housewife." Early studies (before the mid-19670s) focused on rural Greek families and often included women's work, both in the fields and in the household (Mendras, 1961; Friedl, 1962;

Sanders, 1962; and Campbell, 1964). Later studies have focused on urban and mainly working class women (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Nikolaidou, 1981; Voutyras, 1980; Papadopoulou, 1975/1981; and Loukia Mousourou, 1985). Since my interest lies specifically on two-job urban families, I will review only the later studies.

In 1974, Magda Nikolaidou (1981) interviewed 100 women workers in a large linen factory located in the suburbs of a town very close to Athens. Her purpose was to explore to what extent women's participation in the production process contributes to their emancipation. All the women came from working class and mainly rural families, 58 were unmarried, 18 were engaged and 24 were married.

One question in her interview focused on household divisions of labour: "Does your husband help you with housework?" Of the 24 married women 10 answered "yes," 11 answered "no" and 3 answered "yes, when it is necessary" -- i.e., in case of illness, pregnancy, etc. The non-married women (total of 76) imagined what the situation would be in their household if or when they would be married, and their answers were: 26 said "yes", 45 said "no", and 5 said yes, if it will be necessary". The women who answered positively emphasized the distinction between "male" and "female" tasks and that their husbands only helped/would help with shopping and minor repairs at home and never with "women's work" such as cooking and doing laundry. Nikolaidou found that women

in her study carried a double burden and perceived themselves as being inferior and dependent, accepting their position passively and fatalistically. Her study was based on and extended an earlier (1960) study conducted by the sociologist Ioanna Lambiri (1963) at the same factory. The only difference Nikolaidou found in the 14-year period was that women who worked at the factory were not considered morally unethical or loose as they were in earlier times. The women's families were not happy about their wives' or daughters' participation in the labour market, but they accepted the fact that those women had to work for financial reasons.

Data from a larger study on "Family and Fertility in Urban Greece" were analyzed by Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (1970). The data were collected in the Greater Athens Metropolitan Area from July 1966 to March 1967. The sample consisted of 549 non-employed women and 347 employed women. Women's work commitment was measured as either high or low. Safilios-Rothschild explored the division of labour at home with the following questions: "Does your husband ever help you with the house? How often?"; "In what things does he help you?"; "Who shops for what is needed for the home everyday?"; "Do you have anybody to help you with housework? Whom? How many days a week? In what tasks?"

She found that husbands of employed women helped their wives more often than husbands of non-employed women. She also found that husbands of wives with high work commitment do not help often and help in fewer tasks than husbands of wives with low work commitment. She argues, though, that the basic reason for such "surprising" results is that 100% of women with high work commitment have a "resident maid" or daily help, whereas wives with low work commitment received only 50% of "outside" help, usually from female family members (i.e., mother, mother-in-law, sister or daughter).

In 1983 Loukia Mousourou (1985) studied 952 lower-middle class households of the Athens Metropolitan area. Her subjects were women, mothers of at least one child under 6 years old. Over 98% of them were married and 31.72% were employed (75% were working on a monthly salary basis). Seventy percent of the mothers who had higher education were actively involved in the labour force. She found that "mother's employment differentiates significantly her role in the private sphere of the household" (Mousourou, 1985:33). This occurs in two spheres; first, the husband-father participates more in housekeeping and childcare (20% for husbands of employed women in contrast to 12.5% for non-employed women) and second, there is a greater dependency on parents/parent-in-laws in managing housekeeping and childcare (31% for employed women in contrast to 18.5 for non-employed). In addition they end up using hired help to

assist with housework and childcare (13% for employed women compared to 2.5% for non-employed). Also, the percentage of children of up to 3 years old who go to nursery schools is much higher for the families who have employed mothers (23.7% for employed in contrast to 2.45% for non-employed). The percentage was more than double for children over 3 years old (48.2% for families with employed mothers and 29% or the ones with non-employed mothers).

In her book Struggles and Victories of the Greek Woman, Koula Papadopoulou (1975/1981) refers to a study she conducted on attitudes of people about women's participation in the labour market. Her findings suggest general perceptions about employed women in Greece. However, there is no specific information on characteristics of her sample other than "the youngest people surveyed were 19 years old." She found that 80% of young men would prefer to have an employed wife and they are willing to undertake part of the responsibilities at home. Men over 30 years old do not favour women's employment; 30% are "ideologically persuaded" against employed women. The most often expressed argument was that "the woman is for the home." Some believed that employed women face many risks and also it is "easy for them to go astray."

Of the women, 40%, mainly younger women and university students, supported the idea of women being employed. They saw it mainly as a financial necessity (which brings

independence) and they argued that at the beginning they would react against a husband who insisted they quit their job. A large percentage of these women, though, said they would comply if their husbands kept insisting. These are the women who support part-time employment, especially taking work at home. In addition, 20% of the women in her study put themselves in the category of "consciously" being non-employed. The remaining 40% believes that women should participate in the labour market because it helps women "to develop their personality"; these women were determined to struggle to find a job and remain employed no matter what the obstacles will be.

SUMMARY

These rather scanty empirical studies suggest that employed women in Greece are responsible for housework and childcare as their sisters across the Western world are also responsible for the household. The studies in the West however, have shown that there are variations among families based on class, status, age, education, number and age of children, wife's work commitment and her bargaining power. Unfortunately, the research studies conducted in Greece never focused on the issue of household division of labour by sex per se, in relation to other variables such as class, race or age. Thus, the empirical studies I reviewed provide few grounds for knowing whether there are any variations among two job families or changes over the years and how these variations and changes occurred.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this project was to explore --in a selected sample of middle-class married couples in Greece-- divisions of labour in the home when both partners participate in the labour market. The area of women's work in general, and at home in particular is quite unexplored in Greece, with the exception of some good studies (both empirical and theoretical) of the social, political and economic position of Greek, mainly employed women (Mousourou, 1976 & 1985; Avdi-Kaklani, 1978; Nikolaidou, 1978; Pantazi-Tsifa, 1984; Takari, 1984; Kaklamanaki, 1985; Papadopoulou, 1976 & 1985). Also, there are a few studies of the Greek family (Mousourou, 1984 and 1985; Kataki, 1985; Doumanis, 1983). I found no research on women's experiences at home in relation to paid work. And I found virtually no research on household divisions of labour per se. A few studies touched on domestic divisions of labour, but usually in an abstract and unfocused way. This study focused on divisions of labour in the home in relation to women's paid work.

SAMPLE SELECTION AND CHARACTERISTICS

During late summer of 1985, I conducted in depth interviews with 10 married couples, active in the labour

force, living in the two largest cities in Greece: five in Athens and five in Thessaloniki. Greece has a total population of 9,740,419. Athens, the capital of Greece, is located in central Greece and has a population of 3,027,331. Athens has become the largest urban area in Greece after WWII, and the development of industrialization has attracted people from rural areas and smaller towns from all over the country. Thessaloniki is the second largest city in Greece, located at the northern part of the country, and has a population of 871,580. I chose those two cities because they concentrate population with the specific characteristics I was interested in.

Before I started looking for respondents, I made a list of some characteristics I wanted my sample to include: I was looking for couples who were married, had at least one child (under age of 12) living at home, had some higher education, were middle-class, and were living in two large urban centers.

The first problem I faced was that I went to Greece to conduct my study at the wrong time of year. August is the month when most people go on vacation and I had a hard time finding both partners in the city.

Since the purpose of the study was exploratory, I limited the interviews to 20 individuals, i.e., 10 couples, with separate interviews with wife and husband. I recruited people through friends and acquaintances who gave me information about couples who had the characteristics I was

seeking. I already knew two of the couples I interviewed. After I had the first interviews, I was able to recruit more couples through the suggestions of respondents. Once I contacted people, I had favourable responses; all individuals were willing to discuss their thoughts and experiences.

As Table 5A shows, the average age of women I interviewed was 35 years; and of men it was 38 years. The sample represents the conventional model in Greece of the husband being a little older than the wife (an average of 3 years difference in age). The couples had been married for an average of 9.8 years: the youngest couple had been married for 3 years and the oldest for 17 years. All couples had at least one child living with them and actually all of their children were relatively young and still living at home. All families represented the typical nuclear family model in contemporary Greece, that is mother, father and minor children living in a dwelling apart from other relatives. Only three of the families had "other" persons living with them: in two cases it was the wife's widowed parent and in one case the domestic helper was living with the family. Many couples, though, reported that their parents visited them frequently (usually they came from other provinces). The sample was homogeneous by race, religion, and nationality. All 20 individuals interviewed were white, 19 were Greeks and one was a Greek-Cypriot who had been living in Greece for the last 17 years, and all

were Greek Orthodox Christians. The Greek population, in general, is quite homogeneous with very few racial, ethnic and religious minorities.

Table 5A: Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

<u>Pseudonym</u> (couples)		<u>Age</u>		<u>Years</u> <u>married</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Education</u>	
w	m	w	m		# ages (yrs)	w	m
1. Anna	Nikos	35	37	10	3 9,6,1mo.	B.S	Ph.D
2. Lyto	Manolis	39	39	11	2 10,4	M.A	Ph.D
3. Athena	Petros	39	44	12	2 10,9	B.S	B.A
4. Fotini	Pavlos	38	41	12	2 10,7	M.S	Ph.D
5. Marina	Stamatis	36	44	17	2 16,10	Ass*	Ass.
6. Myrto	Stefanos	36	40	7	3 6,2,2	B.S	B.S
7. Afroditi	Kostas	29	33	6	2 5,1	B.S	B.S
8. Anastasia	Vaggelis	32	34	6	1 5	B.S	B.S
9. Katerina	Alekos	29	28	3	1 1	Ass.	Ass.
10. Olga	Markos	35	40	15	3 10,5,2	Ass.	Ass.

*Ass.=Associate's (2-year) Degree

Table 5B: Respondents' Occupation and Income per Month***

<u>Occupation</u>		<u>Income</u>		%Contr. by w	<u>Family</u> <u>Income</u>
w	m	w Drh** x1000	m Drh x1000		Drh x1000
-Dept. of Forestry	Academia	48(330)*	82(570)	36.9	166(1150)
-Academia	Academia	50(345)	120(830)	29.4	240(1660)
-Head Nurse	Dept. Commerce	65(450)	125(860)	34.2	200(1380)
-Teacher	Academia	60(420)	90(620)	40.0	160(1100)
-Teacher	Public Organ. Electricity	65(450)	75(520)	46.4	140(970)
-Dept. Urban Planning	Dept. of Transportation	70(485)	70(485)	50.0	200(1380)
-Nat. Bank	Dept. Economics	60(420)	70(420)	46.0	130(895)
-Dept. Urban Planning	Dept. Labor	60(420)	60(420)	50.0	225(1550)
-Dept. of Interior	Dept. of Transportation	43(300)	60(420)	41.7	106(730)
-Own store	Own store			50.0	200(1380)

*Numbers in parentheses represent the income in American dollars; **Drh=Drachmas; ***Couples as in Table 5A.

I deliberately chose a well-educated sample. It has often been argued that well-educated people are more open to accept changes and have more liberal ideas. Most individuals had received a degree from a Greek university, five hold a master's or doctoral degree (from British and American universities), and the rest hold a two-year Associate's or a four-year Bachelor's diploma from a college. Most couples had almost the same level of education (Table 5A).

The occupations of men and women ranged from academia to technical work in the public sector --with the exception of one couple who had their own retail store. Eighteen were employed full-time (40 hours a week); two women worked for approximately 30 hours a week. Women in this sample had been actively involved in the labour force for an average of 9 years and men an average of 12 years. Almost all individuals were employed before they got married and had never left the labour force, except for the legal pregnancy and post-partum leave of 6 weeks which all the women had taken before and after each birth (Table 5B).

Since 9 of the 10 couples were employed in the public sector, they all had a monthly fixed salary; the one couple who had their own store gave me a monthly estimation of their income. The average salary for women was 58.000 drachmas (\$400) and for men it was 76.000 drachmas (\$520). There is a gender skew of 16.000 drachmas (\$110) but as Table 5B shows, this skew is mainly created by the men who

are in academia and who have wives employed at some public department. An important note is the two wives, each holding a master's degree, finished their degree while their husbands finished doctorates; In another case the wife stayed in Greece while her husband went to England to finish his graduate studies. These three wives had held other better paid jobs which they left to follow their husbands' career. These cases illustrate that women's education and career are affected by family responsibilities and are considered secondary. Half of the women provided 40% of the family income and the rest provided over 30%. The "total" household income shown in Table 5B includes salaries of both partners in addition to other income coming from second jobs or property. Furthermore, many persons added that they received products (such as olive oil, olives, meat, cheese, and fruit) offered by their families who live in the countryside and produce agricultural and/or dairy products; these people regarded this as extra income for their family.

NATURE OF INTERVIEWS

I initially contacted each couple by telephone. During the conversation we arranged the place, day and time of our meeting. I had no rejections from any people once I contacted them. Most interviews took place in the houses of the couples I interviewed, except two cases, where I went to the husbands' offices. Usually we were sitting in the living-room or the kitchen drinking coffee or tea. The

presence of the tape-recorder seemed to cause no problem at all. In each visit, I had to eat some homemade or freshly bought pastry or sweets --a traditional custom associated with "Greek Hospitality": the guest has to taste what the "woman of the house" will offer to her/him. Thus, the ambiance was comfortable and relaxing. Each individual was interviewed separately although there were frequent interruptions by children, especially when I was interviewing the women.

Before I started the interviews I "tested" the interview guide by doing an informal interview with a couple (whose responses are not included in the analysis). I tried to limit the interviews to about an hour, but in most cases it took much longer because people discussed further thoughts and experiences, which proved to be extremely valuable.

All interviews were conducted in the Greek language. Each interview started with an introduction of myself, and the study, and with an explanation of the aim of the study: to explore everyday experiences of families where both the husband and the wife are employed and especially the ways in which they divide household labour. Before I started the specific questions, I gave the individuals a consent form (in Greek) approved by the Michigan State University Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (see Appendix A). I also asked for permission to use a tape recorder, and I assured them that their identities would be kept confidential. In addition, I occasionally took some

notes, mainly to describe my observations of body language and environment.

To avoid biasing their responses, I did not directly express my ideological and theoretical framework. For example, the last question in the interview concerning the women's movement evoked some hostile remarks. Those remarks showed clearly that if I had asked this question in the beginning or during the interview, the validity of the answers would have been shaken.

After obtaining background information such as age, level of education, income, occupation, I proceeded with the main interview which was divided into three major parts: perceptions about their paid work and familial roles; general perceptions of responsibilities of housekeeping and parenting; and perceptions about actual performance of 23 specific household tasks and 9 specific childcare and parenting tasks (see Appendix B). Although I had a semi-structured interview guide with sets of specific questions, most questions were quite open-ended and often generated long discussions (and occasionally monologues).

Although my focus was on the division of labour at home (specifically women's work at home), I could not ignore the sphere of paid employment. Paid work and family are interconnected and one cannot explore the one without touching on the other. Thus, I included some questions about respondents' perceptions and opinions of their own and their partners' employment and I compared responses among

couples and among individuals themselves. I wanted to discover the ways women and men perceive their work (and their partners' work), both paid and unpaid, at home and at the labour market. My data were based only on respondents' perceptions. As I discussed earlier, there is no research done specifically on Greek employed women's experiences at home, and there is only a little research on their experiences at the labour market. Therefore, this study, despite its exploratory nature, makes a contribution to the literature on women and two-job families in Greece.

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

During the time I was in Greece, I did not have the opportunity to go back to my tapes and analyze the information in detail. I only highlighted things that impressed me the most and I took some notes. As soon as returned to the United States, I first transcribed each interview and then I translated it from Greek to English.

While transcribing the interviews and after the transcription, I looked for patterns of divisions of labour at home via self-reports, and patterns in their perceptions of familial roles and responsibilities for housework and childcare. I used the method of analytic induction, introduced by Florian Znaniecki (1934). According to Robert Emerson (1983:97&99),

proponents of analytic induction begin with a rough formulation of the phenomenon to be explained and an initial hypothesis explaining the phenomenon, they go to a small number of cases (even a single case) to see if the hypothesis fits the case...[it] asserts that qualitative analysis

has a distinctive rigorous systematic quality in its own right.

I started with the rough idea that two-job families may -- because of sharing work outside the home-- have somewhat egalitarian divisions of decision-making, financial management and responsibility for housekeeping and childcare). The ten couples in my study were middle-class, better educated and provided almost equally the family income; I was mainly interested in exploring how these characteristics may affect divisions of household labour and to a lesser extent the financial management and decision-making. Analytic induction "abstracts from a given concrete case the features that are essential, and generalizes them" (Bulmer, 1979:661). My findings therefore at best, may suggest patterns among urban, middle-class, better educated, two-job couples employed in the public sector and married with young children.

CHAPTER V

A CASE STUDY OF TWO-JOB FAMILIES IN URBAN GREECE

Research in various industrial-capitalist countries as well as in Greece indicate that gender ideologies create and perpetuate women's subordinate position in the labour market. Despite this however, women's presence in the marketplace has been constantly increasing (rapidly in the west and a little slower in Greece). According to various studies conducted in the United States and in Europe these changes in paid work affect women's presence in the family and often result in changes in the domestic divisions of labour and the level of their participation in housework and childcare. The studies, however, conclude that women are still to a large extent responsible for the maintenance of the household. The very few studies conducted in Greece also come to the same conclusion.

What is actually the situation in two-job families in Greece? How do partners perceive women's financial contributions? Does their employment have any effect on women's activities at home?

This study focuses mainly on divisions of labour at home, with some consideration of women's presence in the labour market as well as within the family. Thus, I explored respondents' perceptions on issues such as who is the provider, who arranges the financial matters of the family, how are decisions made, how do they perceive their position within marriage and how is women's paid work

perceived. As we will see, the responses I received on these questions were directly related to respondents' degree of participation and willingness to share housework and childcare. Also, their responses brought in focus gender ideologies which justify divisions of labour within their family.

I- PERCEPTIONS ABOUT PAID-WORK AND FAMILIAL ROLES

Both partners made almost equal financial contributions to the family income. Since most couples were employed in the public sector and were almost the same age, with similar education and work experience, they did not have large differences in their salaries.

In Greek culture, however, the term "provider" also means "head of the household." Respondents often identified "provider" with "head of the family" in their responses. Nine women claimed that "both of us are providers" and many of them added that in Greece "the man" is considered the provider, especially among older couples and in couples where the wife is not employed. One woman, Olga, said: "I expect my husband to be the provider." Of the men, nine said that both are providers, and one (whose wife is the one I just quoted) said directly that the man is the provider. Half of the men in my study either stated directly or implied indirectly that the men should be and is the provider in terms of "head of the family." One man's thoughts illustrate the conflict of roles men experience as a result of old beliefs and today's reality.

Today both have to work in order to make a living. Both contribute, each in his/her own way. The strength of the family is always the man; he is a little more energetic than the woman is; the woman is by her nature weaker and she needs some support. (Nikos)

Some women were ambivalent, too, as Anastasia, for example, confessed; "both are providers; the woman's opinion prevails, but the man is a support for the woman." Thus, the couples in my sample shared the provider role in terms of financial contribution but it seems that when they (and especially the men) associated the definition of provider role with "head of the household," they became ambivalent. Such feelings become stronger, as we will see later, when they discussed whether their relationships were equal.

Despite the fact that they were factually joint-providers, their outside work is perceived differentially, in ways affected by undermined gender ideologies. All respondents said that the wife should be employed simply because they needed the second salary.

Women in my sample reported that the basic reason they were employed was a two-fold financial one: paid work provided them with economic independence from their husbands as well as future security, and a second salary was absolutely necessary because, as Afroditi put it, "today, one salary is not enough." All women reported that they would not like to quit their job and they believed that their partners had the same opinion --if not for any other reason, at least because of the necessity of a second

salary. When women discussed satisfaction derived from their employment, they did not seem to be extremely interested in their job, and none saw it as a career (except for two women who were interested in work advancement). For example, Anastasia said "Eh, I do not want to have more in my head because I have more than enough with the family."

Women's husbands, on the contrary, were satisfied with their jobs and most of them were involved in their careers. As we saw in chapter III, gender ideologies, deeply rooted in Greek culture and often justified by laws, place women in the home and men in the marketplace. Also, ideologies justify women's position in the labour market as only necessary for financial reasons and not for "personal gratification" and "self-actualization" (reasons often reported by some of the men in my study). Gender ideologies make employed women feel ambivalent, as Anastasia described:

Now that I am working, I say that the reasons are financial. I do not know. Perhaps, if I stayed at home for a week or a couple of years, I might say that I am bored. You get tired. The work outside, the work here at home, makes you wonder why you are employed. Again... it is better to be employed. When I graduated from the university and I was looking for a job, I had an aim, I had some interest to do something else. When I got married and I had a child, I realized that the family needs the mother; I do not pay much attention to my employment, not as much as I pay to my family.

Most women and men expressed positive views about the status, nature and "contribution to society" of their partner's employment. But when they further discussed its effects, some interesting and differential feelings and ideologies were expressed. Almost all women said that their

husband's employment has positive effects on them and on their family life. In contrast, men's thoughts about the effects of their wife's employment were much different from their general opinion of the employment. Men privately wished their wives could or would quit their jobs and they thought these were negative effects of having an employed wife. Some of the men's comments articulate this dissatisfaction: "she comes home very tired, she cannot do things and thus you have to do them by yourself" (Nikos); "she has many outbreaks because of the stress generated by her job, the routine of daily life" (Kostas); "she is not able/willing to do her duties as a wife" (Petros); "she is not the person I used to know; the city makes her tired, the job...I do not know" (Pavlos). Another man, Vaggelis, said: "if she were at home she would spend only three hours a day, the home would be in a great condition and she would not be very tired either." (He thinks it takes only three hours a day to keep a home in perfect order.) It is very interesting that none of these men, who complained about their wife's behaviour and about the nature of their employment, ever wondered "could it be because she carries a double burden?"

Most men in this study, therefore, wanted to have an employed wife mainly because of the financial contribution and the self-esteem derived from having an educated and employed wife. But privately they wished to have wives who would always be ready to fulfill their duties as mothers-

wives-housewives -- the subtle three-fold gender ideology which often appeared during the interviews. It gradually became obvious that if men --and institutions-- in Greece would overcome such gender ideologies, they would also have to give up some of the privileges they enjoy as a result of these ideologies.

However, if we compare the wives' and husbands' responses regarding the financial importance of the wives' job, and minimal possibilities of leaving employment, we see that all couples fall in the category of joint-providers, or what Jane Hood calls "co-providers." According to Hood's (1981) description for a U.S sample:

In contrast to the secondary providers, coproviders pooled their incomes and/or failed to distinguish between types of expenses payable by each spouse. They had become dependent on the wife's income and agreed that she should probably continue to work indefinitely. Husbands defined as coproviders appreciated the wives' contributions and felt sorry for men who had to provide for their families unaided... Coproviding wives on average earned a larger proportion of the family income than did secondary-provider wives.

The basic difference between Hood's sample and my sample is that wives in her study became employed later in their married life, which led to a redefinition of their roles in the family, since important structural changes occurred between the first years of their marriage (when the wife was only "homemaker") and the subsequent years of their marriage, where the wife became employed either part-time or full-time.

People in my sample did not face any such changes, because all wives were employed before their marriage and continued to be employed throughout the years of their marriage. Women and men then, did not have to rethink their role in the family since it had always been the same--most couples kept the same attitudes as the ones they had when they started their marriage. And although they were financially joint-providers, they perceived the man as "head of the household." The fact that the couples were joint-providers seems to bring equal sharing of decision-making and management of the family income. Thus, nine couples said that their income is put together "in a common pocket" and that they managed all finances together. There were a few differential perceptions among couples regarding who is the manager, but they were not dramatic. The "deviating" couple had separate accounts and managed their finances separately, but both contributed equally to the family expenses.

Related to financial management is decision making regarding family matters, which revealed that despite the fact that most couples shared financial management, according to their self-reports, they did not always experience equal sharing in decision-making. Six couples stated that the opinion of each spouse counts the same, although a few wives and husbands mentioned that they have lots of discussions and arguments before they decide or

before one of the opinions prevails. Specifically one of the women told me:

In general, I feel that I am much more oppressed than my husband is, despite the fact that many times my opinion prevails; I have always to fight with him for my opinion and thus I feel oppressed.
(Olga)

One couple believed that the wife decides more often than the husband does, and according to the husband, it is a 65%-45% deal. Another couple believed that the husband was mostly responsible for decision-making. And finally, one couple had totally different perceptions about whose opinion prevails, each spouse believing that "my own opinion weighs more." In general though, it seems that both spouses participate in decision-making and most of the major disputes are solved because of the compliance of one of the spouses. Since most of the disputes have to do with household/family matters, the wife's opinion might weigh a little more, basically because it is "her sphere"; as a few of the husbands confessed, "I am not particularly interested in such matters."

To further explore how individuals perceive themselves and their partners within their marriage, I asked the question "Do you consider your marriage an egalitarian one?" This question surfaced further subtle gender ideologies and illustrates that husbands and wives in this study had conflicting views.

I found that almost all the women responded that they see themselves equal to their husbands. Two women though,

expressed doubts about the burden of responsibilities: one, Athena, said she and her husband are trying hard to "achieve a balance." The other, Myrto, elevated her thoughts to the issue of sharing and discussed the extreme difference between sharing -- which they do not experience -- and the "helping" her husband offers. Actually the husbands of these two women do more housework than the other husbands do. Yet another woman, Marina, said "Stamatis is a powerful personality and I am not. And I believe that I am stressed and oppressed; I feel like that...as inferior to him."

Of special interest are the responses of five women who consider themselves equal to their partners. They recognize that they carry the burden of responsibilities for housekeeping and parenting, but they defend the situation with the argument that "I might get tired but I do not consider myself to be anybody's victim." According to both partners' self-reports, three of the husbands of these women show minimal participation, and the other two show a little more, but still minimal. These women "have surrendered the weapons" according to a folk Greek saying. They show signs of resignation where one would expect anger and demand for more participation. The rest of the women do receive more help from their partners, but only with continual requests as we will see later when we discuss the division of labour at home.

Seven men believe that they are equal to their wives -- or rather, according to their articulation, their wives are

equal to them. A man's thoughts on this issue illustrate the attitudes of many men in my sample who directly or indirectly showed conflicting attitudes about familial roles which traditionally have been male and which increasingly tend to disappear mainly because of structural changes within the family and other institutions:

I think that in the home, I am not the leader according to the old meaning of patriarchy. I think that there is a dialogue and I can say that in many occasions I accept Lyto's suggestions on various matters. Of course, certain times, I do not hide it, there is this private feeling --as it prevails in Greece-- that the woman produces a bit less. I think that this thought passes through my mind, not often, but I cannot say that I have overcome it. But I consider equal this participation in the home. (Manolis)

Only five men were consistent throughout the interview in their perceptions of familial roles. The rest kept contradicting themselves.

Two men stated directly that "the man is something more in the home" or that they are "equal up to a point, up to about 90%". It is not surprising then that these two men, who according to the perception of their partners and their own statements, participated the least in housework. The third man, Markos, who participates the least of all men in the sample, gave me an unclear response to the question about equality in their marriage. He said that "now I believe that we are equal; I used to believe though that the woman is inferior." But towards the very end of the interview (as well as at some points during the interview)

he expressed clearly that "the woman has to be a step lower than the man" and he added many negative comments.

There is a relation between people's perceptions of their role in the family and household divisions of labour. We saw that couples are joint-providers in terms of outside work, but their paid work is perceived differentially, in ways affected by gender ideologies. In the next section I will explore patterns of division of labour at home in relation to people's perceptions of their position in the family and the effects of various ideologies coming from the Greek culture and expressed by respondents during the interviews.

II-DIVISIONS OF LABOUR AT HOME

This section discusses two types of perception about domestic divisions of labour. First, I will analyze respondents' general perceptions of who has or should have responsibility for housework and parenting, and second, their perceptions of who actually performs housework and parenting in their households.

As already suggested, women and men perceive their marriages differently. When divisions of labour were discussed, these differences became even more rigorous. I found that whereas all women and men believed that women in general are the only ones responsible for the maintenance of the households when they discussed specific tasks of

housework and childcare, they had different perceptions of who exactly does what and how much. Research in the United States has found that when wives and husbands discuss their marriage, they often present different realities. According to Jessie Bernard "the realities of the husband's marriage are different from those of the wife's" (1982:8) and therefore there are "his" and "her" marriages. We can interpret partners' different responses "in terms of selective perception, projection of needs, values, attitudes, and beliefs, or different definitions of the situation" (Bernard, 1982:8).

A. GENERAL PERCEPTIONS ABOUT RESPONSIBILITY
OF HOUSEKEEPING AND PARENTING

When women and men in my sample were asked to express their perceptions as to who is responsible for housework and parenting in general (implying Greek culture and/or society), and in their family specifically, they provided some very interesting insights. Women's general responses are more at odds with their specific responses, than is the case with men.

All women said that "both should be responsible," but they said that in their own family they are the only ones responsible for housekeeping. Some women stressed that they might "receive help" but they still carry the burden of being responsible for housekeeping. Additional reflections include "he is only doing housework when I am ill," or "he

is willing to do it but he does not have time; he is not used to it." One woman, Myrto, "drew" the picture of Greek reality as to how individuals grow up:

I was raised differently than my husband was, because I was a girl and he was a boy... We did not start this way [to cooperate in all housekeeping and parenting], I considered myself responsible for all housework; I was the one who was running to take care of it. And Stefanos was doing other things, minor repairs, outside chores and similar things. On the other hand I was observing an objective difficulty: he did not know [how to do it]. It would not be difficult for him to learn, but it was difficult to realize the necessities of the home. I did know about household necessities because I was raised in such a way [to "know" these things]. There are things, that even today, he can not realize.

Women's perceptions of responsibilities for parenting i.e., childcare and discipline/education, are very similar to their perceptions of housekeeping. Even though they believe that both partners should participate in parenting, they find themselves the main figures responsible for childcare, with minimal contributions from their husbands in raising the children. However, despite the fact that they complain about doing everything by themselves, they also emphasize that "he is not responsible enough" or "he is not able to." I was impressed by the degree to which they do not trust their husbands to deal with the children, wanting the exclusivity of "mothering." As Anna articulated, "she [the mother] feels them [the children] better, she understands them more and so she is closer to them.... she spends more time with them, more than the father does." As Pantazi-Tzifa (1984:70) has commented

about Greek culture, the mother's attachment to her child(ren) is "a result of social alienation when she is not employed and of guilt for not devoting enough time when she is employed." Marriella Doumanis (1983) discusses the "mother-child pair" in urban Greece, comparing it with the one of rural Greece. Regarding urban Greece, she found that

Contrary to the trends of the time, the Athenian women I observed continued to invest a lot in love and interdependence. Instead of living their lives by the maxim 'I have only one life to live', they acted as if they were going to live their offsprings' lives as well; they thought of future happiness in terms of their children's welfare (Doumanis, 1983:101)

Other researchers in Greece have found similar behaviour based on the ideology of mothering which appears to be a product of urbanization, which in its early stages placed women in the home. Thus, according to the findings of research conducted by Doumanis (1983), Kataki (1984), and Mousourou (1985), urban women's first commitment is to their child(ren), with the husband occupying second position.

In men's responses, on the other hand, there are few distinctions between "in general" perceptions and "specific" ones concerning housekeeping. Their opinions about what should happen in general and what is actually happening in their family tend to coincide. For example, two men replied "both of us do"; another said "since both are able to help in the household, both should contribute. My wife is working two hours less than I do and there are some specific, immediate chores which have to be done, such as preparing the meals." Thus, two hours less for the wife

(which she takes because she has a child less than two years old) are a "blessing." Most men use this as a justification for not participating in housework and childcare, and they seriously believe that a woman can do all the necessary chores during that two-hour period (one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon).

Most men distinguished between "inside" and "outside" work, emphasizing that their wife is responsible for things inside the house and that they themselves are responsible for outside matters, such as shopping and paying bills. All men thought that women should do the housework and they either articulated this perception directly -- "the woman is responsible in the home"-- or they implied it indirectly -- "I offer as much as I can... and in cooking and I can do vacuum cleaning. I might not do the details, but I offer as much as I can." Interestingly, men call "details" things such as cleaning the house, or doing the laundry and ironing, i.e. all the "dirty work." Another man, as I mentioned previously, thinks that it takes only three hours to have a "perfect" home.

Regarding parenting, i.e., childcare and discipline/education, men in my sample did not distinguish between what "should be done", as their wives did, and what is really done. Most men said that their wife is doing most of the parenting. Only one man said that both should participate in childcare, but in his family his wife is the one who actually takes care of the children, according to

both partners' self-reports. This particular man also said that the mother should be, and she really is, responsible for the way the children will be raised.

At the very beginning of the interview (before I mentioned the division of specific household and childcare tasks) I asked respondents how they would like their house to look and how much it would bother them if it were not clean or in order. Having a neat and clean home is a strong value in urban Greek culture and represents the "perfect housewife". People are hypochondriacs about order and cleanliness: women because they are socialised with the ideology that "a dirty house is a disintegrated person" (Williams, 1969:115) and men because they grew up in a neat and clean home. I was interested in finding how women and men --who are busy with paid employment and also have young children-- react to and handle this "traditional habit."

All women said that they would like their flat to be clean and in order ("perfect") but only three women try very hard to achieve order and cleanliness. The rest said that they compromise with reality, since they only have evenings and weekends for housework, childcare, shopping, personal care, family care, entertainment and social activities. Most women said that they do not "feel guilty" anymore when their home is messy, simply because there is not enough time to try to keep it "in order." One woman said quite eloquently "I want it [the flat] to be perfect, but this is my third priority; first I put my children, then

us --my husband and myself, my personal care, our entertainment, and third comes the household." Of the three women who want their house to look "perfect," only one receives help from her husband. The other two struggle alone to manage things, as Katerina confessed:

It bothers me when the apartment does not look perfect. I like order. An employed woman can not always keep the home in a perfect condition. This makes me nervous. This is bad, I know...

All men (except one, who, by the way, is the husband of the woman I have just quoted) want their home to look perfect. Yet only three husbands, by their own reports, contribute by putting things back where they belong (e.g. childrens' toys in toybox) or by putting their personal belongings in their place (e.g. shoes, socks, clothes). The rest of the men like order and cleanliness, but they do nothing to achieve it; rather, they expect their wives to do everything because it is their "job." Pavlo's statement reveals this ideology:

It bothers me a great deal when the home is messy. I am thinking that it should be difficult for a working woman, but I want the apartment to be clean.. Fotini tries to...

Some men consider themselves lucky for having wives who agree with them on this issue, "fortunately for me, my wife has also the same "style" with me." A few others compromise: "Now that she is 'working' (paid employment) I do not say anything; if she did not 'work' then I could even make a fuss about it". A few others complain:

I want everything to be in order, but this a care that a woman is responsible for. My wife does not

care. Her mother comes and fixes things around. The woman herself should take care of it.

It is obvious from men's responses that this is an issue that has brought about conflicts and arguments, with men demanding order because "I have been used to it because of my mother." Men, then, like a neat and clean home but they expect their wives to accomplish that.

As I have already mentioned in the methodology chapter, I visited all the households at least once, since the interviews took place in their homes. When I visited my respondents, the flats were all in order and clean. The women may have cleaned the flats before I visited, which suggests that the "traditional habit" is still alive despite the changes in the family life which resulted from women's entrance in the labour force.

It seems, then, that it is mainly the responsibility of the women in this study to try to manage the appearance of the home, take care of immediate needs (such as cooking, laundry and childcare) and at the same time they participate in the labour market. Charis Katakis (1984) calls the contemporary Greek women in the nuclear family "queen in her prison." Part of her analysis includes the educated, employed, middle-class woman whom she describes as follows:

...she has nobody's support. Her husband does not seem enthusiastic because her involvement in affairs outside the family keeps her off [the family] and creates competition. Her children want her at home. Moreover, the perspectives for advancement in her job and recognition are not 'rosy'. They do not accept her easily, they block her way. Her mother tells her often that she neglects her children, that she is not a good

mother --like herself who was devoted to her. Everybody around her would be much happier if she quitted her job, if she were devoted to her 'real destination', that of her role as wife and mother. The feelings that flood her are sometimes anger, other times guilt and always bitterness and disappointment" (Kataki, 1984:138)

B. PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ACTUAL PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEWORK AND CHILDCARE

In the previous sections I have explored respondents' perceptions of paid work, their position in the family and responsibility for housework and childcare. A general finding is that although women in this study are, by definition, coproviders, this fact affects positively only their position in household financial management and decision-making. The general perceptions of respondents concerning responsibility for housekeeping and parenting showed that women have a double burden. But I wanted to explore the situation in detail and find out who does housework and childcare, according to reports of both wives and husbands. Thus, I asked about who performs 22 tasks related to housekeeping and 9 tasks related to childcare.

As Table 6 shows, according to their self-reports, women are responsible for, take care and perform 15 of the 23 tasks I asked about. They do all cooking (both everyday and for special occasions), they set and clean the dinner table, and they do all the dishwashing. Women do most of the regular housecleaning everyday (fixing the beds, putting things in order), weekly (bathroom cleaning, dusting) as well as seasonal ones (cleaning carpets, walls, lights, floors). They also do the laundry (both by hand and using a

washing machine) and ironing. They take care of the plants and clothing, they decorate the flat and they do shopping for their own clothes and the clothes of their children.

Table 6: Respondents' Reports on Performance of Housekeeping

<u>Household Tasks</u>	<u>Person performing housekeeping</u>					
	<u>wife</u>		<u>both</u>		<u>husband</u>	
	<u>always</u>	<u>more</u>	<u>+other help</u>	<u>equally</u>	<u>more</u>	<u>always</u>
Preparing meals						
Everyday	8(8)*	1	1(1)	(1)		
Special	7(7)	1(1)	1(1)	1(1)		
Setting table	5(4)	3(4)		2(2)		
Cleaning table	4(4)	2(4)		2(2)	1	1
Washing dishes	3(2)	3(4)	3(3)	(1)	1	
Housecleaning						
Everyday	8(8)	(1)	2(1)			
Once a week	5(6)	2	2(2)	1(2)		
Seasonal	5(6)	1	3(3)	1(1)		
Laundry						
Hand	10(10)					
Machine	10(10)					
Ironing	6(4)	1(2)	3(3)	(1)		
Maintenance of						
Clothing	8(8)	1(1)	1(1)			
Plants	6(5)	(1)		1(2)	2(1)	1(1)
House			2(2)	1(1)		7(7)
Car				1	(1)	8(8)
Social planning	1	2(4)		5(4)	2(2)	
Bill paying	1(2)	1	1(1)	1	1(2)	5(5)
Interior decor.	6(3)	2(4)		2(3)		
Grocery shopping						
Supermarket	2(2)	1		4(2)	2(3)	1(3)
Neighbourhood	2(3)	1(1)	1(2)	2(1)	4(1)	(2)
General shopping						
Clothes						
wife's&child's	8(8)	1(1)		1(1)		
husband's	2(2)	1(1)		5(5)	1(2)	1
Furniture&Appliances	1(1)	1(2)		8(6)	(1)	

* number in parenthesis represents husbands responses

Men are always responsible for only 3 of these tasks; they take care of the car (all but one family owned cars) and minor repairs at home (although often it is the wife who notices that something needs to be repaired; she tells the husband, who fixes it or calls a technician). Husbands also take care of the bills most of the time (but not always and not all husbands).

Wives and husbands say they share equally social planning (which includes visits, arranging gatherings with friends, making various phone calls, planning and writing letters and cards). They also share general shopping, such as for furniture or electric appliances, as well as shopping for men's clothing (women by their own clothes). Grocery shopping is a task which is performed either by the wife or by the husband. Spouses tend to share more shopping at the supermarket, which they usually do once a month, (in four couples husband and wife go together) than shopping around the neighbourhood which is usually done everyday (bakery, vegetable market) by whoever is available at the time. Some families rely on "other help" provided by a family member (in most cases mother or mother-in-law) or by hired domestic labour (four families usually hire a domestic labourer to help the wife with housecleaning) I will discuss this issue later, in connection with beliefs and ideologies.

As Table 7 shows, women are responsible for and perform all tasks of child care, such as wake the children up, feed

them, bath them, dress them). There is no single task the men are responsible for. Some fathers mentioned that they used to help bathe the child when it was a baby. They occasionally gave the child a ride to English or dance school or took the child for a walk or a visit to the park (usually Saturdays or Sundays) while the

Table 7: Respondents' Reports About Childcare

<u>Task</u>	<u>Person Responsible</u>					Child	Other help
	<u>Mother</u> <u>always</u>	<u>more</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Father</u> <u>more</u>	<u>always</u>		
Wake-up	5(6)	1(2)		1	(1)		3(1)*
Bathe	7(7)	3(2)	(1)				
Dress	6(7)	2(2)				2(1)	
Feed	6(7)	2(2)	(1)	1			2
Talk with		5(4)	4(6)	1			
Play with		2(4)	5(1)	2(2)		1(2)	(1)
Outside activ.	(2)	1	5(3)	2(2)	2(3)		
Help w. homework	1(1)	1(1)	1(1)	(1)	1	3(3)	
Parental meetings	1(1)	1(1)	3(1)	(3)	1		

* Number in parenthesis represents fathers' responses

mother was at home performing the weekly cleaning. Fathers also reported talking and playing with the child. Both parents help almost equally with the child's homework and parental-meeting obligations at school.

Szlai (1972) distinguished two types of activities regarding childcare: "basic" and "peripheral" childcare activities. Basic activities consist of "fulfilling these essential requirements such as feeding, clothing, comforting and caring for the health of children, which while sometimes

gratifying as activities, represent minimal and fixed demands on time" (Szalai, 1972:127). Peripheral activities include "babysitting, conversation, helping with homework and playing with the child and tend to have a somewhat greater admixture of the discretionary or leisurely about them" (Szalai, 1972:127). Szalai found that fathers in his study (which included twelve countries) preferred to participate in the "peripheral" activities. Fathers in my study clearly preferred such activities, too. Mothers were left to perform the "basic" activities which are essential for the child's well-being and ultimately have to be performed.

These are the general findings coming out of women's and men's reports. As the Tables 6 and 7 show, there are differences in reports. Not all spouses agree with each other about who does what and how much. As Berk and Shih (1978) found, spouses overreport their own contribution and they tend to underreport the contribution of the other spouse to tasks that fall outside of traditional jobs allocated to their gender. Especially regarding childcare, men reported that they participate in some "peripheral" childcare activities more than their wives said the husbands did. All women believe that they carry the responsibility for their child(ren)'s well-being and most of childcare, both "basic" and peripheral."

Women, therefore, carry a double burden: they work full-time in paid work and full-time at home. This is

partly justified --by both partners-- by seeing women's paid work as somewhat secondary and by giving priority to their family. In addition, it is justified by other beliefs and ideologies deeply rooted in Greek culture such as household division of labour based on "inside" and "outside" tasks, women's "natural" domesticity and physical/psychological weakness, women's expertise and efficiency for domestic matters, the ideology of "mothering," men's domestic participation only to the degree of "helping" and not of "sharing" --all of which will be discussed in the following section.

C. IDEOLOGIES AND BELIEFS

"Inside" versus "Outside"

Men made clear distinctions between "inside" and "outside" tasks, based on the traditional sexual division of labour which allocates men all "outside" tasks --including providing the living for the family and outside jobs such as heavy shopping (oil or meat and cheese in quantity), and bill paying. Women were said to be responsible for "inside" tasks, including housekeeping and parenting. Thus, despite women's entrance into "men's world" --the public domain-- by participating in the labour market and becoming coproviders, they remain the only ones responsible for tasks associated with the private domain, the home. Most men emphasized that they do participate in housekeeping (but not in childcare) by performing "outside chores" such as bill paying,

shopping, maintenance of the car and similar tasks. Women on the other hand, did not make any distinction between inside and outside work, but occasionally, a few of them complained that

my husband does not do anything around here, not even the 'masculine' tasks, the ones that other men do. We fight about it; at some point it starts bothering me.

It is very interesting, however, that men are willing to do the "outside" chores which, if compared with the "inside" ones, are fewer, and require much less time and energy to be performed. Since all couples interviewed live in flats, they do not have to take care of the yard, gardens or any other outside work associated with houses. Thus, what really remains of the "traditional masculine tasks" are minor repairs at home which in most cases in my sample were detected by the wives and were fixed by either the husband or a technician who, quite often, was called by the wife.

Despite men's emphasis on the distinction between inside and outside tasks and claims that they do carry out the "outside chores," and despite women's suggestions that they expect their husbands to do the masculine tasks, the fact is that these tasks are no longer the sole responsibility of the men for couples where both are involved in the public domain and both provide part of the family income. Bills are paid by whichever of the partners happens to pass by the bank or store and milk or bread are purchased by whoever happens to have the time to stop by the bakery on the way back home.

Sharing versus Helping

My original aim was to explore the degree of sharing of housekeeping and childcare among the couples I interviewed. My definition of role sharing is based on Jane Hood's (1983) definition

The sharing of responsibilities for a major household area such as cooking, shopping dishwashing, housecleaning, parenting and childcare, providing and financial management; and maintenance of the marital relationship.

I have already explained that couples in my study shared providing, financial management and decision-making. My main focus is on the division of labour at home, i.e., the degree of sharing of responsibilities for housework and childcare. I have discovered, however, that the road to actual "sharing" is a long one.

Only two individuals in this study seem to conceptualize the distinction between helping versus sharing of responsibilities of housekeeping and parenting. One man sincerely expressed his opinion about the situation of women who decided to enter into the labour market:

I say that the mistake women made, was that they came out of their home with the idea that by getting a job equal to the ones men have, they would also share the housework. They did get a job outside, but housework is not shared equally. Although women work the same hours as men do --my wife as well as the others, too-- and naturally housework should be shared, this does not happen; not only in my family but in others as well. Sharing of housework does not occur. Thus, the burden falls on the woman. (Manolis)

This person is one of the very few who do participate in some housework (according to his own and his wife's report),

but he recognizes that he does not fully share any responsibilities and it is obvious that he is not willing to ever do so. The other person who distinguished sharing from helping was Myrto, who from the very beginning of our discussion clarified that there is a difference between "sharing" and "helping." She emphasized that she receives a great deal of help from her husband, but they do not "share" any responsibilities for housekeeping and childcare. She explained that her husband does not want her to be the "slave of the family" and he insisted on hiring help.

He could not offer this help, of course, but he also did not want me doing everything. Systematically, I get 'hired help'.

The rest of the people I interviewed take for granted the traditional sexual division of labour at home. Furthermore, women assume any degree of men's participation as "help." For example, the husband might take the children "out" during the weekend in order to leave the wife alone at home to do the housecleaning. It is very important however, to be cautious about the issue of "help" or "help with," which according to Helena Lopata (1971) may have many meanings, covering various degrees of participation.

Most respondents, both women and men, have stated that men "help" more with housework than they do in childcare. One woman, Athena, told me:

You will not hear many women being satisfied with men's behavior concerning childcare and parenting. The problem in Greece is this: They [men] have started participating in everything, but not in childcare. They can not participate in a right way.

Low degree of participation in childcare is the most surprising finding of this study. Research in Western industrial capitalist countries has repeatedly found that childcare is the area in which husbands make the greatest contributions (Pitrou, 1980; Haas, 1981; Oakley, 1974; Hood, 1983; Lopata, 1971). Hood (1983) concludes that husbands "chose childcare, cooking and shopping over housecleaning" as a result of bargaining with their wives. Hood argues that husbands avoid doing things which "do not have to be done" and can be postponed (such as housecleaning) and which eventually will be completed by the wives. Many of Hood's respondents, however, were blue-collar workers who worked in shifts; thus, they were at home when their wives were out working and so they were forced to take care of children or cook. The people in my study were employed in the public sector (except the one couple who owned their own store) and they were all at the workplace at the same time and returned home the same time (except the 4 wives who had children under 4 years of age and worked two hours less, as earlier explained). Thus, husbands were not forced to take care of the children while their wives were away, as was the case with men in Hood's study.

Women in my study said that they do not feel guilty for spending all morning away from their children; they believed that "it is a need for me to work outside." However, the fact that they carry the responsibility of taking care of the children does not seem to bother them. Both partners

believed that the mother should be responsible for the children. Men expressed more directly the attitude that "the mother is responsible for taking care of the children" and they often added "probably both are responsible, but the mother has the primary role." This finding supports the theory I discussed previously about the meaning of mothering in the Greek culture: The mother ("Manna") is considered a sacred figure. All mothers at some point during the interview confessed that their child(ren) are the most important person in their lives (the child(ren) come(s) first). Women are more angry and more upset about their husband's low degree of participation in housework. They want and demand help from their husbands. According to their reports, demanding help was the only way of making their husbands participate.

Outside Help

I found that women receive help with domestic chores mainly from outside their own family. Since the husband is not willing to share housework and childcare, women seem to turn towards outside help, which comes either from some other family member such as a mother or a mother-in-law, or from a hired domestic worker. It is a common pattern in Greek middle-class families to hire domestic help (Safilios-Rothschild, 1964).

Parents' help: This kind of help is very important for the contemporary Greek couples; traditionally, assistance from

parents has always been vital, rooted in traditional extended families, which were prevalent in Greece until early in the 20th century. Almost all couples reported that at some point or another they had left their child with a grandparent -- some systematically during the child's early years and others periodically. Parents also help with other household chores with an interesting dichotomy appearing again: Grandfathers usually do the shopping around the neighbourhood or go to pay the bills or take the child to the park, i.e., the "outside"/public chores; grandmothers help with housecleaning, cooking, ironing and childcare, i.e., the "inside"/private chores.

Hired Help: Seven couples in my sample hired a baby-sitter to take care of their children when they were very young. Six couples still leave their youngest child with a baby-sitter during the time they are away from home. The pattern is that they hire a woman until the child is about 2 1/2 - 3 1/2 years of age; then they send the child to a nursery school. Although this pattern is the dominant one, is not necessarily considered to be the best solution; indeed, all couples were very concerned about where to leave their children, especially when they are under three years old. Most couples have tried many solutions: grandparents, nursery school, baby-sitter; they eventually ended up with the one which was the most convenient for them. However, concern still remains. Couples said that the only reason they chose to leave the children with a baby-sitter was

because "we do not have good nursery schools in Greece." They expressed an urgent need for more and better nursery schools, with trained personnel and better facilities. Most respondents believed that the best thing for the children is to be with a "woman" (i.e., baby-sitter) until they become around three years old; then they should go to a nursery school.

Hired help is, then, basic to the life style of middle class couples in Greece, especially when the wife is employed. In most cases, they hire a woman (it is always a woman, usually around 30-40 years old) who comes to the couple's home everyday during the time they are away. In most cases she takes care of the children and also helps with some household chores such as dishwashing and ironing. Either the same woman or another one will be hired for housecleaning, sometimes once a month, and twice a year for the seasonal housecleaning.

One case deserves special notice, because the hired domestic help was not a Greek woman, but a Filipino. This woman lived with the family and was the "second hand" of the wife in housework and childcare. "The basic reason for choosing a Filipino was financial; Greek women ask too much because I need them for both the children and for chores around the house" said Myrto, the wife. During the recent years there has been an increase in the number of women who come from the Phillipines and work as domestic workers, an

event which I think deserves special attention and exploration.

Women's "natural" domesticity and weakness

One of the most predominant ideologies which came to the surface during the interviews was that according to "nature" women are responsible for housekeeping and childcare. Emphasis on women as mothers-wives-housewives is still prevalent even among educated couples whose wives do participate in the labour force, in jobs equivalent to the jobs of men.

All of the men referred to "nature" at some point during the interview. Some evoked nature to justify their attitudes and behavior and others to prove women's "weaknesses." One man went even further to say that:

The woman is 'naturally' weak, she needs some support. She is occupied by some fear which she carries from the moment of her birth and which can not expel..., that is what I believe. Both are providers but the man is more energetic. He faces some situations more effectively... [Concerning childcare] The mother [is responsible] first, and then the father. Because the child --this is due of 'nature', too-- is always attached to the mother. No matter how much I offer to him/her, he/she will love the mother much more. So, I believe, the mother can be closer to the child. [Concerning housekeeping] At home is the woman. This is also due to 'nature'. It is in her nature to perform and take care of work at home. (Nikos)

In spite of his beliefs, this man does more housework and childcare than do the other respondents. He does participate however, because his wife constantly demands it,

since they need both salaries and therefore there is no alternative. Another man, Stamatis, said "the heavy housework should be done by the man," implying that women are not strong enough to wash the walls or the lights.

Men claimed to "know" about "nature" and the feelings and responsibilities of mothering, and performance of housework, but most women did not express similar "knowledge" in connection to "nature." Women did express having more "knowledge" of how to perform childcare and parenting, but they did not associate it with "nature" and "innate abilities and skills." I should note that "nature" was always mentioned in relation to women and almost exclusively by men.

Women's Expertise/Efficiency on Domestic Work

Women in my sample expressed feelings of superiority and expertise over men in tasks related to "women's work" -- parenting and housekeeping. Many women said they had developed this expertise over the years. Everyday incidents demonstrate such traits; women write down shopping lists for products needed at home or they remind their husbands that it is time to vacuum the carpets or dispose the garbage. They complain about men's irresponsibility concerning childcare, as Athena said:

It is difficult for a man to practice parenting duties. He is not as responsible as a woman is... He might feed the children, but he will not care whether they eat well... He can not help in a positive way. He plays with the children but I am the one who urges him, I say 'it is time for you to play with them'.

During our discussion, women made comments about men's inefficiency, inability or ignorance: "Many times, when he helps me, he messes things up and I have to do them all over again" (Marina). "I do the dishes. I wash them because I get upset. It takes him an hour to do them" (Katerina). "He does not know how to do the laundry... how to saw a button" (Anastasia). "If I show him how to do something, he will do it" (Katerina).

These feelings demonstrate that women are proud of being "good mothers, wives, housewives," but they also show that they are angry at their husbands and that they are tired of the burden of responsibility. I believe that these feelings are the result of their growing up as females, a process which makes them look --and feel-- the sole experts at performing housekeeping and parenting. In addition, the fact that they are aware that they should not be the only responsible persons for housekeeping and parenting can be seen by their constant attempts to justify or "cover-up" their husbands' limited or nonexistent participation. For example, one woman, Fotini, told me:

He is willing to help once in a while, but he does not have the time... Only in cases I can not manage, only then I will accept his help. He is not used to do any housework..., but he is willing to... I might get tired but I do not consider myself anybody's victim.

And another, Katerina, said: "Because I can manage much better at home, I do not do any of the outside chores."

Men also attribute to women traits of superiority and expertise in tasks associated with housekeeping and

parenting, which justifies their limited or sometimes non-existing participation in such tasks. One man said:

I know (how to do) many (household) tasks, but do not do them the way a woman does. It is kind of clumsy... I will pay attention to the outside/superficial. Why does the woman pay attention to it and I do not? we said to clean this flat; I do it because I want to do it. (She tells me) 'You did not dust underneath the vase', I did it a little bit around, and that's it. It was not because I did not want to do it, but never thought to.... Thus, the woman can not be replaced for housework. (Nikos)

Beliefs such as Niko's were expressed often and the bottom line was "she manages better, she knows better, so let her do it herself," an ideology which is wonderfully analyzed by Pat Mainardi (1968) in her discussion of the politics of housework. These beliefs, along with the behaviour of some women who become anxious to accomplish the things that "have to be done" add to men's unwillingness to do housework. One man expressed anger, saying his wife was hypochondriac:

What bothers me the most is that she does not like the work I do. I do not do it 'as good as' she wants. Many times she goes back and she does it all over again; and this bother me. (Manolis)

Later he added that he does help her but not to the extent his wife wants him to.

Finally, men's responses about their involvement in housework and childcare demonstrate that they do everything consciously; they know how much they "offer" and they are aware that they are the exceptions to the general rule:

Here, in Greece, we have patriarchy. I do offer as much as I can; I might not do the details, but I offer as much as I can. (Stamatis)

Although they are proud of helping their wives, they do not, however, directly articulate that they should help or share because their wives are employed. Rather, they are faced with the reality that things have to be done, and they respond (some more and others less) to their wives' constant demands for "help."

Women, on the other hand, do all housekeeping and parenting almost unconsciously in the sense that they are constantly aware of their domestic responsibilities. When at home, they are working constantly, and when at work they make plans as to what they will do in the evening (or what they will ask their husband to do). What emerges from women's responses is that the only thing they know for sure is that they are responsible for "things to work smoothly" and that they have to make sacrifices in order to manage everything.

D. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

VARIATIONS

It can be seen in Table 8 that only three men are almost totally non-involved in housekeeping and parenting. These men are greatly involved with their career and have wives who are oriented more toward the family than their employment (or a balance between the two). Two of these couples appear to be satisfied with their roles and they seem to have a relationship without major conflicts. Both husbands in these two couples realize that they do not

participate a great deal in the home. One of them, Pavlos, felt quite perplexed at some points, when he kept responding that his wife is responsible for housework and parenting, but he wondered "what and how" he could do anymore; the implication was that "it is too late now." The other man, Vaggelis, said "all housework is done by her. That's what we are waiting for now: when we will finish building the house I will decrease my working hours and we will share the housework." The third couple experienced a relationship with conflicts and disputes. The husband, Markos, aware that his wife is responsible for everything in their household, believes "it is her job." He does not show any concern for his wife's physical and psychological fatigue and promises no changes in the future, as did the other two men (despite the fact that those promises were highly questionable when one takes into consideration their general ideologies). These three men justified their responses using all the previously discussed gender ideologies.

Table 8: Husbands' Levels of Participation in the Home

	<u>The Most</u>	<u>A Little</u>	<u>The Least</u>
<u>Housekeeping</u>	Nikos Manolis Petros	Alekos Kostas Stamatis	Pavlos Markos Vaggelis Stefanos
<u>Parenting</u>	Kostas Alekos	Manolis Stefanos Stamatis Nikos	Pavlos Markos Vaggelis Petros

In the column of Table 8, appear two men with "the least participation": Stefanos, who participates the least in housework but he participates more in childcare, and Petros who participates the least in childcare but participates the most in housework. These two men are of special interest, I believe, because Stefanos showed a great deal of consideration about his wife's double burden; his wife, Myrto, said, "he does not want me to be the slave of the household." For this reason they have always had a hired domestic labourer to assist the wife with housework and childcare. Nevertheless, Stefanos is more involved in childcare than he is in housework. The other man, Petros, is highly involved in housework but he hardly ever deals with the children. Both these men evoked gender ideologies, but not with a high degree of consistency and frequency. Interestingly enough, these two couples report having a satisfactory relationship and the wives are greatly involved with their paid-jobs and hold important positions.

There are three men who participate "the most" in housework: Nikos, Manolis and Petros, the person just discussed. The men who said that they help with housework mainly meant that they help with regular housecleaning (vacuum cleaning, mopping, dusting etc) more than any other task. Two men participate "the most" in childcare (Kostas and Alekos), especially babysitting, i.e., keeping the child quiet or away from the mother while she does housework. Nikos and Kostas use gender ideologies a great deal, in

contrast to Manolis, Petros and Alekos who use them occasionally. An interesting distinction is that the men who participated the most in housework showed little participation in childcare and vice-versa.

Finally, there is no man who participates "the most" in both housework and childcare (it is either one or the other) and there is no man who shares equally with his wife the responsibility and performance of housework and childcare. Contrary to previous studies in Greece (Mousourou, 1985) and in other western countries such as the United States (Hood, 1983), England (Oakley, 1974), France (Pitrou, 1980), this study reveals that childcare is a neglected area in Greek men's work. Most men in my sample did not like to spend time doing housework but even more, they do not like to spend time in childcare, except for a few interesting tasks such as playing with the children or talk with them.

LANGUAGE USED BY THE RESPONDENTS

The language used by the respondents is a good indicator of their ideologies and perceptions of their selves and their partners. For example, men's reference to women as mothers reflects their identification of "womanhood" with "motherhood."

Often women were called "Mother" by their husbands, whereas women called men either by their first name or "my husband." Women referred to their husbands as "father" only when they were discussing parenting, whereas men referred to

their wives as "mothers" not only when they were discussing parenting but also tasks associated with housework: "the mother does the dishes" Vaggelis said for example. Motherhood identifies women more strongly than any other characteristic, i.e., wife, partner, housewife or employed woman. Georgiou-Nilsen (1980) studied grade school textbooks and she found that

the Greek woman is always presented as mother, never as wife...She is always justified and often glorified for her maternal role...The mother of grade school textbooks rejects her role as wife.

During the interviews, I observed differences in the body language, tone of voice and vocabulary women and men used. Men used words such as "always", "certainly", "absolutely", "definitely" and "I believe". They stressed the "I", "me", and "myself" (which in the Greek language are used only for emphasis, otherwise they are redundant). All men I interviewed projected a sense of superiority, of objectivity, of having "knowledge" of things, of having control over situations and of having trust to themselves. The words of Vaggelis articulate my observation:

she does most of the shopping for clothes -- hers, the child's and mine-- not because I do not have good taste, but because I do not want her someday to tell me that I made an unsuccessful purchase.

Women, on the other hand, did not demonstrate any feelings of superiority, and control over things. Most expressed confusion, conflict and physical and psychological fatigue. They experience heavily the burden of responsibility to run the home and take care of the children as well as the burden.

of their full-time paid employment. Olga, a woman who works in a store her and her husband own, said to me in despair:

My role is a confusing one. I make plans for the kids, for our job, for the home. Generally I feel a burden...I try to bring everything to a point above average.

An expression used by both women and men when they were referring to the notion, "to stay at home," was "to sit at home." Very often the implication was that when someone stays at home they waste their time; they are not productive inside the home. Most times this notion was associated with women "sitting at home." Athena said that once in a while she and her husband discuss the possibility of her quitting her job; she added immediately, "of course, not to sit in the home but to do something else, for example, to open a store." Another woman, Afroditi, connected her husband's involvement in childcare with the following statement: "usually their father sits with them [the children] so that I can do the housework. He is the one who sits; rarely you do see the mother sitting." Thus, fathers do the babysitting, a task that women see as waste of time when there are so many other things at home which have to be done. Moreover, Stefano's thoughts demonstrated what many people imply when they refer to the issue of "women sitting at home":

The woman who has some vitality, who is an active person and sits in the home, is locked inside it, will become neurotic. This energy has to externalize.

OPINIONS ABOUT WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

I was interested in finding how people view contemporary women's movements. This was obviously a feminist interest on my part; I wanted to explore how the more educated people perceive and react towards women's movements. Almost all the respondents showed general ignorance concerning women's movements in Greece and in other countries, as well. The most common answer was "I do not know much about it."

Most men showed an obvious indifference to the topic and hurried to finish their response, as for example did Alekos: "there are many women's associations; I think that they do not serve many things, as they are." Almost all the men showed that they have minimal knowledge of the movement. This however, did not prevent them from expressing some strong negative comments about "feminists" and about "those intellectuals who appear on T.V. and show their hatred against men." Only three men were favourable towards the movement, but it was not clear that they had some knowledge about it since they responded with theoretical and abstract comments. For example, Manolis said: "it has achieved a lot. The struggle must continue." A few others commented that "it should occur because the woman was oppressed," but they immediately added strong negative comments without providing any justification. Moreover, two men used the question to demonstrate their prejudices and feelings of superiority and domination.

Women also were quite ignorant on the issue, except three women who discussed some of the achievements of the movement and its future. In general, almost all the women were favourable towards the movement. Two or three seemed ambivalent; as Fotini said:

I believe that the woman certainly is capable of many things. I believe that a man could not manage with a job, a household and with two children as a woman does. He would be lost...We are talking about equality: I believe that we have many, many capabilities but because we are a bit overloaded with the family, perhaps we do not produce as much; except certain women who plan to have a career. Now, concerning the movement, at some points they overdo it. Perhaps because of the oppression that existed and still exists. Of course, it was good that the state finally intervened.

In a study conducted in 1983 by the Commission of the European Economic Communities, on the situation of women, women and employment, and their role in society, there was a section on "attitudes about feminism." Greece showed the most liberal attitudes and was the most favourable to the movements than any of the ten member countries. The findings of this survey are much different from my findings, especially in terms of knowledge of what the movements actually are all about. It would be very interesting to know more about the nature of the interview and about specific characteristics of the sample (especially class, sex, age and level of education).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study sought to explore division of labour at home in two-job, educated, middle-class, urban families. The couples in my sample were joint-providers, in the sense of contributing almost equally to the family income. But despite their sharing of the income, they did not share domestic responsibilities, except for decision-making and financial management, a finding which supports earlier studies on the issue. For example, Safilios-Rothschild (1967) found that in Greece, the higher the husband's employment status and the higher his education, the less he exercises power in the family, the more the couple cooperates, and the higher becomes the wife's participation in decision-making. Furthermore, she found that women's power in decision-making when they earn an independent income "is restricted to the more 'feminine' decisions and does not directly threaten the husband's position in the family."

Most couples seem aware that the women carry a double burden --women either try to justify men's "absence" from domestic labour or they constantly demand help from their husbands and men sometimes show feelings of guilt and defend their actions using various gender ideologies. But they

have not moved towards an equal division of labour at home. Loukia Mousourou (1984), in her study of Greek families, argued that

the family preserves more or vigorously 'traditional' elements than the society does. More specifically -and despite the advances- the family maintains in higher degree than society the rigid divisions of roles according to characteristics which are given and objective -such as sex and age. (Mousourou, 1984:101)

This argument might explain why sexual divisions of labour appear to be so resistant to changes. The family transmits "traditional" values based on stratification and inequalities among classes, genders, races, religions and nationalities. Sexual divisions of labour at paid work and at home are part of this transmitted belief system and are justified by gender ideologies. Changes have occurred in the overall sexual divisions of labour with the increase in women's participation in the labour market. Thus, 32% of women in Greece have entered the paid-work and a few now shared the 'male' role of breadwinner. However, women's employment is viewed as somewhat secondary. All women in my study perceive themselves and are perceived by their partners as mothers-wives-housewives. The family remains their primary responsibility with their work occupying a second position. Gender ideologies and beliefs intervene and mediate divisions of labour at home. The "inside/outside" dichotomy where women are responsible for tasks inside the home and men for tasks outside the home, is an extension of the dichotomy of the "inside/outside".

division of "female-homemaker/male-breadwinner." The ideology of women's "nature" as psychologically and physically weak relates to traditional emphasis on male protection and support.

The double burden employed women experience negatively affects both spheres of their involvement, and their attempts to manage both, under the pressure of the limited time available to them. Women in my study often complained that it is not easy to work full-time in paid work and full-time at home. They accomodate their burden by lowering their standards of housework and by not becoming fully involved in their paid work (which often has a negative outcomes in their position in the labour market). Sometimes they accept their position and do nothing to change it because they feel heavily the responsibility of maintaining family stability and happiness (often at their expense). Most women in my sample, receive some help from their husbands. Such help is limited but obvioulsly more than the help husbands of non-employed wives offer. People in my sample often compared themselves with previous generations and with families where the wife is non-employed, saying that things are "different" in their families. Women argued that "women have learned to demand help" (Athena). Jane Hood (1983) found that the means to role sharing is bargaining. According to Hood,

a woman's entry into the labor force will most likely result in her husband's assuming more housekeeping and parental responsibility when some combination of the following are true:

1. she is work committed
2. she chooses (by preference or necessity) to relinquish some of her housekeeping and parenting responsibility
3. she earns 30% or more of the household income and is defined as a coprovider
4. he is family-oriented and sees his work as a job rather than as a career
5. he is willing to relinquish part of his provider role
6. she has acquired more bargaining power due to her provider role rights, increased self-esteem and decreased emotional dependence upon her husband. (Hood, 1983:197)

In short, women's entry into paid labour may lead to changes within the realm of the family. Most studies of two-job families, including this one, showed clearly that couples do not start their marriage with common consent that they will share roles. In Greece, there are fewer employed women than in the United States and in most of the European countries, and their paid work --although essential for the family income-- is viewed as secondary. Women in Greece carry a double burden as their sisters across the western world do. However, as Avdi-Kaklani said of women in Greece:

it's never discussed that perhaps some of her many responsibilities could be shared with her husband or with the State (Avdi-Kaklani, 1978:87-88).

Divisions of labour at home can be changed if gender ideologies, such as those discussed in this study, are undermined. Several theorists in the West (Sprey, 1969; Hartmann, 1981; Lutrell, 1979; Hood, 1983) who conceptualize the family as a locus of tension and conflict, have argued that changes can occur within the family. For example, Lutrell (1979:19) describes the dynamics of the family:

People can be seen as historical agents acting both independently as individuals and dependently as family members. This dual process, fuels tensions and conflicts within the family arena and creates one potential for social change.

However, it is not only a family issue. Changes also have to occur at a macro level. State policies can help relieve women's double burden. The need for day care is a major problem for two-job families in Greece. There is a large number of women (especially working class women) who do not get involved in the labour force because they do not have access to day care and can not afford to hire a baby-sitter. During recent years some changes have been implemented concerning the position of Greek women, mainly under the pressure of women's organizations towards the State, but many more changes have to take place. It is important to be sceptical for any changes that "favour" women may perpetuate ideologies, such as the ideology of "motherhood," which in the end work against women.

There is an immediate need for more empirical research on employed women and the dynamics of the family in Greece. We need further understanding of the family in general, and women's position at home in relation to their experiences in the labour market, according to variations in class and urban/rural situations. The sexual division of labour at home is an area that, according to this study and many studies in the west, appears to be resistant to change; and this is why its study is important.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Michigan State University
Department of Sociology

1. I freely consent to take part in a research project being conducted by Sofia Mitropoulou, a sociology graduate student, under the supervision of her faculty advisor, Dr. Barrie Thorne.

I understand that:

a) This research is designed to study household division of labour and childcare in two-job families, and involves interviews with married couples who have at least one child living with them,

b) the interview will take 1-2 hours, depending on my preferences, and will focus on such activities as housekeeping, childrearing, household financial management and paid work,

c) I am not required to answer any questions against my will and that I am free to discontinue the interview at any time without penalty,

d) the interview will be recorded on tape but the tapes will be heard only by the interviewer and her advisor,

e) portions of the interview may be included in the written results of the research project, but my name will be kept in confidence and will remain anonymous,

f) further explanation of the research and/or the final results of the study will be made available to me at my request.

I have read and understood this form:

Signature

Date

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX BDRAFT INTERVIEW GUIDEI-INTRODUCTION

Rapport building.

Introduce myself and the research project.

Explain the focus of interview: Husbands' and wives' everyday experiences at work and home; main focus on divisions of labour at home (housework and childcare).

Explain use of tape recorder and notes.

Explain: Confidentiality of interviews; consent form; future use of information and anonymity.

Explain limits of the questions, invite additional topics, comments on questions.

II-BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age.
2. Years of marriage.
3. Level of education; years, degrees, certificates.
4. Household; number and ages of children and adults in household.
5. Income: -Personal income and source
 -other income earners in household
 -estimate of total household income
6. Employment status.
7. Occupation: -Current job
 -years in current job

- job before marriage
- intervals without a job

III-GENERAL PERCEPTIONS ABOUT PAID-WORK/FAMILY ROLES

Providing:

1. Whom do you consider as provider in your family?
2. How is your money used?
3. Why do you work?
4. Do you enjoy your job?
[If she/he does not like her/his job] What kind of job
would like to have?
5. Would you like to quit your job? Under what
circumstances would you quit?

Children

1. How do you feel about parenting?
2. What do you like most/least?
3. Ages of children you enjoy them more. Why?
4. Who do you think is responsible for childcare and
parenting, in general? In your family?

Housekeeping

1. Who do you think is responsible for housework, in
general? In your family?
2. What do you like the house to look like?
3. How much does it bother you if it is not clean and
things are not in order?

IV-PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ACTUAL RESPONSIBILITY OF HOUSEWORK

Who in your household is responsible for:

preparing the meal -everyday
 -on special occasions

 setting the table

 cleaning the table

 washing the dishes

 regular housecleaning -everyday
 -weekly

 seasonal housecleaning (cleaning carpets, lights,
 walls, cabinets, etc.,)

 grocery shopping -supermarket
 -around the neighbourhood

 general shopping (clothing, appliances, furniture,etc.)

 laundry -washing by hand
 -washing machine

 ironing

 maintenance of clothing

 maintenance of yard, car, home

 social planning -thinking
 -actually doing (phone calls, letters,
 invitations, etc.,)

 bill paying

 interior decorating

 other

Can you briefly describe when and how this work gets done?

Have things changed during the past few years? If yes, why?

V-PERCEPTIONS ABOUT ACTUAL RESPONSIBILITY OF CHILDCARE

Can you describe how your children are cared for? By whom?

Include responsibilities such as:

wake up children

bathe them

dress them

feed them

spend time helping them with their homework

talk with them

play with them

attend parental meetings at school/ ask for progress

do other things with them outside home (i.e., give a
ride to English, dance, music lessons, go to the
movies, to the park, to birthday parties or other
events)

other?

With whom do your children stay during the time you are at
paid work? When you go out?

VI-MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

Would you consider your marriage an egalitarian one?

How do you define egalitarianism?

Do you consider your partner's job an important one?

What do you think of your partner's opinion about his/her
job? About your job?

Does your partner's job affect your life? How?

How should decisions regarding your household be made? How are they actually made?

Could you give me some examples of major disagreements and the way were settled?

Do you discuss with your partner your everyday experiences at your workplace? The problems? The pleasures?

What do you think about women's movements?

VII-CLOSING

That is the end of the questions I have for you.

Are there any important issues that we have not covered?

Would you like to discuss them?

Do you have any suggestions for improving the interview?

Anything that is not clear? Any additional topics?

Do you have any questions for me?

Would you mind giving me the names of other two-job couples?

Would you mind if I contacted them for an interview and I mentioned that I got their names from you?

Would you like to receive a summary of the research results when the project is complited? I will be glad to share my findings with you.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

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