ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ

Ελληνο-τουρκικές Προσεγγίσεις:
Αποκαλύπτοντας τον κοινωνικο-οικονομικό ρόλο της γυναίκας

Greek - Turkish Approaches:
Revealing women's socio-economic role

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ ΣΕΙΡΑΣ:
ΚΑΪΛΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ - BERGER GUY - ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ ΕΛΕΝΑ

Ατραπός

"... IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO RESPOND BETTER TO THE DEMANDS OF THE FAMILY..." ADOLESCENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF GENDER RELATIONS IN THE FAMILY

Vassiliki Deliyanni-Kouimtzi
Associate Professor, Aristotelion University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Despina Sakka
Assistant Professor, Democrition University of Thrace, Greece

Introduction

The feminist research over the last twenty years has focused mainly on the ways in which young people form their attitudes, and construct images of their future families, their plans, and the choices they foresee themselves making as adults. Such an interest focuses primarily on two strands of theory and research in which the feminist viewpoint has had a substantial influence.

The one concerns itself with the investigation of the processes of transition from adolescence into adulthood and from school to the job marketplace. From early on, the relevant bibliography connects this transition into the work force with the family and the household and supports the position that there is a strong relationship between the professional/career choices the young people make and their conceptualizations of family life (Gaskel, 1983). Within this context, the members of each of the sexes view the workplace in different ways as a result of the differing orientations that the social system sets for men and women (Holland, 1993). It is repeatedly stressed in the literature that the link between women and work is determined by their connection to the family, and this (mutual) influence is a strong factor in shaping the transition to working life (Chisholm, 1990; Chisholm & Holland, 1987; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 1993).

The focus of interest in the other area of research is related to the ascertainment that the ways in which the young people foresee the shape of their future families play a significant role for the understanding of the formation of gender identities during adolescence. Feminist research has shown that the historical distinction between the private

and the public sphere is an issue of special importance for the development of male and female identities. Its combination along with the gendered division of labour results in the formation of different social roles and parental identities for men and women. It is known that the degree and kind of involvement in the family and the responses to its demands involves values and behaviours which are different for men and women (Connel, 1995). The embodiment, for example, of the man as the bread-winner as an essential element of male identity, and the connecting of the values of care provider and bringer up of children with female identity result in the diachronic verification of this perspective. (Ehrensaft, 1984; Kenway, 1995; Connel, 1995). All the related thinking leads strongly to the conclusion that women's increasing participation in paid work had as a result not so much the change of their social position in the public life, but the change of values and views as to their position and role in the family. It also seems that it disrupted the traditional relation of men with the sphere of production and created a rethinking as far as their position and their role in the sphere of reproduction is concerned (Ehrensaft, 1984; Pleck, 1987; Lamb, 1987). Today, it has become clear that the above transformations have put pressure on men for change since women had been charged with the double burden of being both employed and housewives/mothers.

According to research data over the last decade, there has been a strong demand for men to participate more actively in the structure and activities of the family and in their relationship with their children (LaRossa, 1988; Segel, 1994; Palm, 1993; LeeBlair & Hardesty, 1994; Katz, 1995). However, while it is becoming apparent that the female identity has been broadened in the context of the changing roles of women and been enriched by new values which until now had been considered male (i.e. competition in the public area, having career success, being economically independent etc.), research shows a reduced correlation with the required widening of male identity (Ehrensaft, 1984; Lee-Blair & Hardesty, 1994; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, 1998; Sakka et al., 1999; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi et al., 2000; Sakka & Dikaiou, 2001).

Which values and views, then, do adolescents form about the family and their roles in it when thinking about their becoming adults and while their gender identity is being developed? Research both in Greece and abroad reveals interesting findings on the subject. In one of the early pieces of research Gaskell (1983) studies the reproduction of the family as the result of (a) the reproduction of patriarchal and capitalist

structures through the maintenance of unequal gender relation within the family, and (b) the reproduction of views, attitudes and behaviours through the socialization process. Her research aimed to show the ways in which structures of capitalism and patriarchy and dominant ideologies of gender impinged in young people's choices and on the ways they think about organizing their own professional and family life, through the processes of submission and resistance. Her findings revealed that those adolescents who took part in the research constructed an image of their future adult lives in the family influenced by the dominant ideologies to which they had been exposed during adolescence. In such a way they outlined their future families based on the sex typed division of labour, showing, thus, that the women's participation in the public sphere and in paid work does not lead to the transformation of gender relations in the private sphere and in the family.

Even given the above, more recent research data provides us with interesting information on the different ways young girls in the 90s form their gender identities and weave the idea of family into their adult lives. It seems that even if they view career as taking second place to the responsibility of having a family, modern teenage girls accept as understood that they will not start a family until they have achieved financial independence (Sharp, 1994). They view it as even less likely that they will stop work to bring up their children (Sharpe, 1994; McClaren, 1996; McLaren & Vanterbijl, 1998). They further bring into question the requirement of a double role for women and are not prepared to bear all the care for the family (Weis, 1990), while they are tempted more frequently by alternative forms of family organisation and ask for greater participation of men in child care and household chores (McLaren, 1996). However, it is noted that the changes observed in the value system of these young women, mainly in whatever relates to the way in which they view adult life in the work place and in the family as well as in relation to their personal autonomy, should not lead us to make sweeping generalisations. As it is evident in most research data, the pressure on young girls to resolve the family-work conflict by opting for security rather than by resisting family conventions remains powerful (Arnot, David & Weiner, 1999).

From another viewpoint, it has been repeatedly shown that the most important difference that is observed today between men and women concerns their views about women's right to work. The men's persistence that the model of the family, where men are the bread-winners and

women look after the children and house is the correct one, is very intense (Arnot, David & Weiner, 1999). Related research with young adults and adolescents stresses the gap between the two sexes on all issues concerning family life. The boys, thus, continue to support the position that women's place is in the family (Roberts & Sachdev, 1996). Moreover, they refuse to accept the consequences that the double role of women and the subsequent broadening of their identities could have on the roles of both genders in the family (Oakley, 1996). They, finally, find it difficult to relate positively to the so-called "female values" (i.e. care for the others and the positive evaluation of family life) (Wilkinson & Mulgan, 1995). As Oakley notes, *"It seems,... that the social processes embedded in the cultural assignation to feminine or masculine gender still have a great deal of power to influence experience, values, perceptions and ambitions"* (Oakley, 1996, p. 39).

Research data in Greece correspond to the above. They further pinpoint an important difference in the way girls and boys of adolescent age form views and expectations about the family and their roles in it. A series of studies confirm the tendency of girls to hold a romantic view of family life (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 1993), the holding of different expectations between boys and girls about marriage and family life (Deliyanni-Koumtzi, 1998), a difference of opinion between boys and girls about the role of the father, with the boys constructing images of 'distant fatherhood' to a greater extent than the girls (Sakka & Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 2000), more traditional views held by boys about the structure of the family and gender roles in it (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi et al., in press). It is becoming clear that young women in Greece are making greater demands for gender equality in the family, for a redistribution of the responsibilities and the roles between sexes caused by their involvement in the workplace, for a reconstruction of the role of the father and masculine identity, while men of the same age do not seem to share these views (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 1998; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi et al., 2000; Sakka & Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, in press). However, the conception of the form and structure of the family (continues to maintain) many of its traditional elements, as women themselves continue to adopt dominant repertories that support the idea of exclusive motherhood and the priority of the family over work. These repertories further make transparent the fear that career success could distance women from their original roles as housewives and mothers (Athanassiades, 2002).

Two central elements pervade in the studies presented above: (a)

girls' tendency to combine modern ideas about the structure of the family and the task division in the household, on one hand, with the existing traditional conceptions and the reproduction of the dominant ideology about women's private lives, on the other, and (b) the important gender differences about how young males and females cope with family life and gender relations in the family setting. The Greek studies touch on the problem of the future family's design from the viewpoint of teenagers more generally in the context of their occupational choices. It also focuses on their conceptions of the ideological framework that governs gender roles. What is missing are studies interested in adolescents' view of the family as a factor in their adult life choices and in their representations and images of the family structures and of gender relations. The present study attempts to show more thoroughly how adolescents' perception of their future family is connected with the construction of gender identities as they are developing through the influence of modern changes that govern women's lives, and the conflicting demands of the social environment.

The present study

The study presented in this paper is part of a larger research programme funded by The Education Research Centre of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs and the 1st EPEAEK (Operational Programmes for Education and Initial Vocational Training) in the period 1998-2000. It explores gender identities in adolescence and the life choices of young people. It is based on the assumption that the representations of family life are structural elements for understanding the development of masculinity and femininity, as they influence the way in which adolescents construct their gender identity in a social setting that favours gender divisions in the private and public spheres.

The aims, then, of this present study are:
- To examine the way in which Greek adolescents, as they pass from adolescence to adulthood, construct images of themselves as men and women and simultaneously as future parents and partners by examining their views and expectations on gender relations.
- To identify possible differences between the two sexes with respect to how they construct the structure of the family as well as gender relations in the family context.

- To use the findings in order to suggest how to introduce ways to promote gender equality in the private and public spheres through the educational system.

Sample and method

Those who participated in the study are:

(a) One thousand and a hundred and ten pupils (488 boys and 622 girls) aged 14 to 16 years for the quantitative research. Pupils attended the 3rd grade of High School and the 1st and 2nd grades of Lyceum and came from all parts of Greece. The majority (N=774) (live) in urban areas (70%), whereas a percentage of 24 % (N=178) (lives) in semi-rural areas. Finally, a small percentage of 3% (N=37) (lives) in semi-urban areas whereas another percentage of 3% (N=37) (lives) in rural areas.

(b) Two hundred and twenty pupils (101 boys and 119 girls), aged 14 to 16 years for the qualitative research. Pupils also attended the 3rd grade of High School and the 1st and 2nd grades of Lyceum and came from five High Schools or Lyceums of the city of Thessaloniki, Greece and the broader area.

In order to investigate the ways adolescents construct images of family life and gender relations in the family , a combination of qualitative and quantitative data were selected through two instruments which were constructed for the purposes of the present study. More specifically:

(1) A Structured Questionnaire was used in order to investigate, among other issues, the adolescents' expectations and choices with respect to family life. Pupils were asked to indicate their degree of agreement on a five point scale to a series of items concerning the self in his/her own future family.

(2) The essay *"A day in the life of my family"* was also used in order to select qualitative data from a small number of pupils (N=220). Pupils were asked to write a one-page essay titled "A day in the life of my family". They were further directed to focus on their own future family and to describe scenes, dialogues and peoples' actions during a normal day within the family context.

Data from both measurements were selected during a school hour.

Results and discussion

*The adolescents' future expectations
and choices concerning family life*

Data of the Structured Questionnaire were subjected to an Orthogonal Factor Analysis (Principal Factoring with Rotation) for exploratory reasons as well as for the construction of composite variables. Composite variables were subjected to further statistical analysis.

Nine factors (58.4% of the variance) were extracted which were then used to construct equal number of composite variables (Table 1). The χ^2 *test* was used in order to determine differences between boys and girls.

How do adolescents view their future family today? The majority of the young people of our sample, seem to hold very specific views for family life and marriage. A large percentage (82%) of pupils agrees with the view that the proper age to marry is after the 30s and that one should get to know life before he/she decides to marry. Moreover, some of the pupils (25%) indicate that they will have at least three children after they get married whereas only a few (7.7%) reject the idea of getting married and having children.

Table 1. Adolescents' views of themselves in their future families

Factor name	Description	
Traditional organisation of the family: gender specific role division	– If I marry, I would like my husband/wife to be willing to quit working and take care of the house	.52
	– The model of family life I like is the one where the man is the one who is working whereas the woman takes care of the house	.77
	– In my own house, the mother will take care of the children whereas the father will be working.	.79
	– In my family, the leader will be the father.	.74
Rejection of marriage and having children	– I don't want to marry	.82
	– I don't intend to have children	.78
	– I want to stay unmarried	.76
	– I want to live alone	.66

Alterative organisation of the family: reversal of traditional roles	– In my house, the father will take care of the children whereas the mother will be working.	.52
	– In my family, the leader will be the mother.	.52
	– In the house the one who will do the cooking will be father.	.73
	– In the house, the father will do the shopping	.64
	– In the house, the mother will be driving the car	.62
Equal sharing of roles and responsibilities	– The model of family life I like is the one where both spouses are working part time.	.51
	– In my house, both parents will be taking care of the children.	.65
	– In my house, all responsibilities will be shared.	.64
Emphasis given in the bread winnig role of husband/wife	– If I marry, I would like my husband/wife to be professionally settled	.52
	– If I marry, I would like my husband/wife to be a hard worker.	.61
	– If I marry, I would like my husband/wife to be willing to help me with my work	.66
Marriage	– I 'd like to marry before the age of 31 years	.70
	– I 'd like to know life before I get married	.53
	I want to have at least three children	.84
Child rearing Combination of the parental and the work role	– After my children are born, I will continue working	.66
	– After my children are born, I will look for a better job and a good retirement pension	.63
Gender specific task division during free time	– In the house, the mother will do the decoration	.77
	– In the house, the father will do the gardening	.57

These general tendencies identified from the analysis of the quantitative data are clearly highlighted and defined in the framework of the qualitative research, the results of which are presented below.

Constructing the picture of the family: Family structure and gender relations

As was stated earlier, one part of our sample was asked to write an essay entitled, "A Day in the Life of my Family". The 220 scripts were subjected to detailed scrutiny from which descriptions and references about the ways in which young people build pictures of the family and family life were extracted.

Before proceeding to present and discuss these findings, it is essential to give an account of the type of the families the adolescents described in their essays. It was mainly the reproduction of the dominant model of the modern nuclear family, made up of two parents and two, at the most three, children of both sexes, and in which the husband is older that the wife.

"My family consists of two parents and two children. My daughter is 8 years ols, and my son 10. My husband is 35 and I am 30" (Girl)

"I am 35 years old and my wife, Eleni, 31. We have two children, a boy and a girl, who are four year old twins..." (Boy)

Only two examples of single parent families were found, both written by girls. Indeed in one of the examples the pupil consciously seems to adopt a life without marriage, a fact that made this description exceptional.

"...I decided to bring up my daughter alone...to leave her natural father after a failed relationship, and after finishing my studies return to Greece...now I'm with 'E', but we live separately, we aren't married. He loves me, but what is important is that he adores my daughter." (Girl)

What are the family structures adopted by the male and female pupils of our sample? The careful reading of their essays revealed two different repertories, by which the adolescents constructed the private sphere and gender relations in it.

(1) The repertory of women's submission and dependence: The family of patriarchal gender relations

This is a repertory almost exclusively adopted by boys, the main characteristics of which are:

(a) The construction of the man as leader who controls and checks all decisions in the family, with the result of (unequal) power gender relations. In this way, adolescents clearly state their preferences for this patriarchal structure, setting, indeed, the limits of the rights of both their future wives and children:

"...without question my family will be patriarchal with the father having the upper hand. Of course, the wife will also have an important role to play in the family, that is, she will be able to express her views ..." (Boy)

"...I will have a beautiful patriarchal family, in which I will make the important decisions ..." (Boy)

"...all my children will respect and hold me in esteem...I am the leader... I will love them, but if they step beyond the limits I lay down I will take the wind out of their sails. We will be a loving Greek family..." (Boy)

(b) The reproduction of traditional gender division, so that the man and wife are orientated towards different roles and obligations in their common life:

"...my wife wakes at 7 and does the household...I wake at 8, drink my cup of coffee and go to work. After my wife has finished what she has to do for the house, she then goes to work..." (Boy)

"...the activities of the husband and father will concern his work (and possibly his career) and being occupied with his children by having discussions with them However, those of the wife and mother will be her work (her profession), cooking and the household chores...to be occupied with her children and to care for them..." (Girl)

(c) The idea that within the context of this traditional structure it is the man who determines, not only the place he takes in the family, but also that of his wife, so controlling her use of time, her space and her body:

"...because I believe the place of the wife is at home...I will bring the money into the house...." (Boy)

"...my wife won't go out to work and someone has to stay at home and look after the house..." (Boy)

"...When I have some free time I phone my wife from my work to see how she is and what she is doing, given that I don't allow her to work. She is usually out of the house, but as soon as I return, everything is in order: the food is ready on the table, the children are in bed and my wife is waiting for me impatiently..." (Boy)

In practice, this 'discourse of patriarchy' constructs a social reality in which the man is the family leader, while the wife is in a submissive position. As a consequence the man has the right to control his wife and also any other females in his social circle:

"...I'll be a gynecologist...I'll have a grand office and a blonde secretary. My clients will all be beautiful and I will have a wonderful time with them, as I will with my secretary...in the evening I will return home and spend a nice time with my wife..." (Boy)

The picture of the woman connected with this description gives emphasis to the characteristics of caring and of exclusive motherhood, which are the dominant elements of femininity as a social construct. Such traditional characteristics convey to the family as the exclusive destiny of women, connecting them with gender-typed roles. The picture of the exclusively maternal role is one mainly constructed by the boys in an attempt to define the female presence in the family context:

"...my wife's main concern will be to do with the house..." (Boy)

"...my wife preferred to stop her studies and be occupied with the family..." (Boy)

"...so my wife won't work to bring up and educate the children...."
(Boy)

"...my wife stays at home as every day to put the house in order to cook, to do the shopping...and my wife stays at home to help the children with their homework...my wife doesn't work as someone must look after the house..." (Boy)

"...while my wife looks after the children..." (Boy)

The father, on the other hand, is depicted in the context of this repertory as the family leader. This representation is not so clearly apparent, as the references to his activities and behaviour are noticeably fewer than those of the others. He emerges in the essays with an image that emphasizes his role as family chief, an image which is adopted mainly by boys, without being refuted clearly in the writings of the girls.

"...My husband will be a very good and correct family leader..." (Girl)

"...My father will have the upper hand in the family..." (Boy)

"...I am the big boss..." (Boy)

"....I will be a strict father with my family..." (Boy)

"...I love them (i.e. the children), but if they stretch the limits, I'll put them in their place..." (Boy)

It is noted yet again that the girls do not question the image of the father as the head of the family. Even in the repertory of democratic family, when talking about a non-authoritarian relationship between the parents and the children, the female pupils will not try (other than) peripherally, to construct an alternative model of the father.

(2) The repertory of mutuality between the partners: The family of democracy and equality.

This repertory is almost exclusively adopted by the female pupils, and constructs a picture of the private sphere that functions as a cradle

of the democratic relationships of equality and protection of privacy. Its main characteristics are:

(a) The combination of professional and family life for both sexes, and their financial independence.

"...I believe we will both work..." (Girl)

"...we will both go each day to work..." (Girl)

"...both my husband and myself will have stable jobs and financial independence..." (Girl)

(b) An equal distribution of the household work, a need which appears as an unquestioned consequence of the woman working, and challenges the existing traditional role division and the dominant gender relations. In this way, child caring is no longer the exclusive responsibility of the mother, but is shared by both parents.

"...we will share the household responsibilities...their father will be involved with his children as much as I am and we will both have them close to us..." (Girl)

"...both myself and my husband will work in and out of the house...we will develop our own system of dividing up work and responsibility...and both of us will be involved in the upbringing of the children...and we will discuss our various problems..." (Girl)

"...as we will both work and get tired, doing everything together we will both care for the house, be responsible for the education of the children and manage the finances of our lives together..." (Girl)

(c) The repeated reference to the principle of equality that should govern the relationships between the partners, an idea that connects the democratic values with the private sphere. By adopting this egalitarian discourse, when talking about the family context, the young girls of our study mark the broadening of the notion of citizenship for both genders, promoting, thus, gender equality, an idea that has been repeatedly referred to in the literature (Arnot, 1994; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi,

1998). The mutual understanding and love between the couple is a necessary element of this particular representation of family life, which now gains a romantic dimension and an idealised perspective of gender relations.

"...my husband will be a good pater familas...between us there will exist a sense of equality, politeness, mutual appreciation and respect..." (Girl)

"...We live in warmth where each one takes into consideration the other. Mutual understanding and respect will exist...We will spend our days pleasantly, happy to be together..." (Girl)

"...Our days will pass calmly without the existence of great differences of opinion. I will have common interests with my husband, as he will with me. We will have long discussions together..." (Girl)

"...I am 27 and my husband 30, but we are equals..." (Girl)

"...with my husband there will be feelings of mutual understanding and respect. We will decide on issues that concern us together. We will both solve our problems together and decide in such a way what is the best for our children..." (Girl)

"...both 'S' and myself have a lot of discussions as parents and partners. We speak about our jobs. We often have differences of opinion, but we solve them in a calm fashion through reasoned argument. Equality exists in my family..." (Girl)

"...in my family there will be a sense of understanding, trust, mutual love, and exist equality and union which will strengthen our relationship..." (Girl)

"...with my wife I want there to be solidarity and love...when one of us has a problem we will discuss it..." (Boy)

(d) The idea that the principles of democracy and equality should govern, not only for the relationships between the sexes, but also for the relationships between the generations, between the parents and the

children, which leads to an non-authoritarian model of upbringing, stressing, at the same time, the desire to avoid conflicts in the family life.

"...we will hold discussions with them (the children) about whatever problems crop up, and we will advise them..."

"...we don't want our children to fear us...we want the feeling of love, mutual respect and for us to be bonded where warmth and calmness reign..."

This particular repertory indicates a tendency to embellish the family as life context. In reality, this is a discourse mainly linked with the female identity, which gives emphasis to the value of family life as primary destiny and as a context of personal integration.

Within this repertory emerges *the career and caring woman*, an image which is adopted mainly by the girls, and less some boys of the sample. This image does not veer away from the previously presented elements of femininity. It expresses rather a reaction and resistance to the idea of the traditional division of the public and private spheres, while stressing in parallel the presence of women in both the family and the workplace. Even in this case, however, women are defined within a discourse that describes their activities in the family and not at the job place. This verifies the viewpoint that the women's paid work has contributed to a broadening of women's identities, without changing, however, gender relations in the family. So emphasis is placed on the priority of care provider and not on work, on the need for a flexible work schedule that helps with the fulfillment of maternal duties, and on the non-realistic concept that an overload of duties will not allow the a double role to be possible. In reality, by constructing this picture, the female pupils of our study show their desire to (reconcile) family and work life, giving emphasis, however on women's action, choices and behaviours as being those which will help achieve this aim:

"...while the roles of the wife and mother will be her work (or rather her profession), the cooking, and the household ...she will be involved with the children, i.e. she will care for and talk to her daughter and, some times, to her son too..." (Girl)

"...I wake up a little later and prepare the children's breakfasts, after which I wake them and get them ready for school. Half an hour later they have all left for work, play school and school. In the afternoon I am occupied with the house and other errands..." (Girl)

"...I am 28 years old and married to an exceptional man and have 3 children....My profession is easy and convenient...before I leave for work I gather the children and leave them at the play school. I return early from my doctor's surgery. (I am a pediatrician)" (Girl)

"...I am a clerk in an office of a company...I work a six hour shift...I went at 2.00 and when I return from work, we eat , I help the children with their homework and I play with them..." (Girl)

"...my work schedule will be flexible or shift work so that I can respona to the needs of my family..." (Girl)

"...every day my wife wakes me at seven...and she does the housework...After the errands and chores she takes the children to her mother's...and then she goes to work..." (Boy)

Finally, we should underline the clearest and strongest picture, that emerged from the analysis, that of *the man as breadwinner*. It is a representation which links primarily with the dominant, hegemonic characteristic of male identity and is adopted by the boys as well as by the girls of the sample, a fact which marks this particular description as the unquestionable male model. In reality, through the construction of the man as breadwinner, the adolescents structured a clear and central male figure, dominant in all repertoires of the family context. This representation portrays the man through his professional identity:

"...at work I wish to be the director of a large company..." (Boy)

"...I am a high-ranking officer in the land army..." (Boy)

"...My husband works as a mechanic and electrician..." (Girl)

"...My husband is a mechanic and electrician..." (Girl)

It also sees him as the uncontestable breadwinner. This last characteristic lends to men status and power, elements that are seen as essential, mainly by the boy adolescents, when they constructed the male model.

"...I want to have a stable job and satisfy the needs of my family...I will do whatever work is necessary for my family to be comfortable and not go without basic essentials..." (Boy)

"...It is a working day...I went to work...I will bring the money into the house..." (Boy)

"...I wake at 8.00, drink my cup of coffee, and go to work..." (Boy)

"...the activities of the husband and father is his work (or rather his career)..." (Girl)

"...my husband has woken first and left for work earlier..." (Girl)

Conclusions and recommendations

The results from both the quantitative and qualitative allow us to draw the following conclusions:

(a) It is clear that the young people of our study formed their conceptions and expectations of the structure of the family influenced by the dominant ideologies of the private sphere, the job market and of gender relations.

(b) Thus, they reproduce dominant repertoires and construct traditional images of the family, indicating as a typical model the classic nuclear family, in which male work is of particular importance and gender roles are distinctly different. In this framework, the roles of the man as breadwinner and of the woman as child carer are maintained.

(c) The analysis of the qualitative data also showed the construction of a hegemonic representation of the man as breadwinner. This is the clearest picture of a family member that has emerged from the essays, and came from both boys and girls.

(d) Important gender differences in the analysis of both the quanti-
tative and qualitative data have been noted, with the boys of the sample
sticking to the traditional views, beliefs and expectations of the family
and the girls striving for more alternative solutions. We believe this to
be the most noteworthy finding of this study. As far as the dominant
repertories the adolescents adopt, even when considered more tradi-
tional than one might expect given the present social conditions, they
reveal in reality yet again the strength of the current gender ideology in
a society, where patriarchal gender relations continue to exert a force.
There are, however, two reasons why the large gender differences give a
different dimension to the subject.

First, they reveal the existence of two different discourses of the fam-
ily, girl discourse, which is a discourse of resistance, and boy discourse,
which is a discourse of conformity. More specifically, the girls, without
consciously rejecting motherhood and caring, which are the main char-
acteristics of femininity, claim for themselves and their families:

- the right to work and to financial independence
- democracy in the family, with the right to have control over deci-
  sion making in family (life) and the right to personal freedom
- a re-distribution of the household work, with the father being
  more involved with child care and household duties

When (we look at) the quantitative data, *boys seem to adopt* more
progressive positions, supporting equal decision making and participa-
tion in the household duties. When the same young males, however,
were asked to provide a realistic portrayal of family life and to give a de-
scription of their own future families, they returned to a traditional set
up. In such a way, they didn't only not share the views of the girls, but
supported the patriarchal family structure and gender relations and a
traditional division of gender roles, promoting, thus, the most tradition-
al representation of masculinity and male identity.

Second, they distinctly show the extent to which the distance between
the two sexes exists, a distance often apparent in the bibliography
(Sakka & Deliyianni-Kouimtzi, forthcoming; Irakleidou & Deliyianni-
Kouimtzi, 2001; Deligianni-Kouimtzi et al., 2000; Mac an Ghail, 1996). It
is clear that, even if they grow together in co-ed schools, in their neigh-
bouhoods and the wider social milieus, boys and girls appear not to really
get to know each other, and the research findings are the silent testi-
monies to this estrangement.

To what could one attribute this distance? The answer is not easy to

find and it is clear that a whole series of social factors play their role in
the creation of this gender separation. Some researchers, such as Mac
an Ghail (1991: 296) clearly place the blame on the education system,
while others speak of the power of the Media, which at a time, when
gender equality is considered to a great extent to be a reality, use a dis-
course of gender roles conflict and of 'war' between men and women.

At this point we should turn to the role of education in the develop-
ment of gendered concepts and expectations. It is well known that the
school provides information to both genders about what it means to be a
man or a woman, and so it forms gendered identities, by indicating what
is the correct behaviour and what is non-acceptable. It is a place that re-
inforces hegemonic forms of masculinity and femininity and that prima-
rily develops, promotes and protects the dominant male identities. It
seems, then, that, in its attempt to preserve and protect these dominant
male identities, school refuses to provide clear messages about the
changes that have taken place in female identities. This has as a conse-
quence the noticed difference of views: the boy adolescents appear to ig-
nore the expectations and plans of girls of the same age and are not in-
terested in the content of the broadened female identities, which, thus,
are developed by default. On the other hand, girls don't seem aware of
the boys' traditional positions and the dominant approach they adopt
when planning their future common life together as adults.

The broadening of male and female identities and the development
of less hegemonic forms of masculinity and femininity can be the re-
sponsibility of the school, which is a controlled institution that admits
the application of such organized activities, without, of course, over-
looking the power of other factors such as adolescents' family the wider
social environment.

An education that respects both genders, along with the perspective
of gender equality as being the only possible way for the future demo-
cratic society to survive must aim:

- To bring both genders closer, by using intervention strategies
  that will give the ability to understand the needs, expectations
  and viewpoints of the other side.
- To broaden gender identities through an educational programme
  which will allow the embodiment of a diversity of values in gender
  identities and lead to the reconciliation of a family and profession-
  al life for both sexes. In this way, both boys and girls will be able
  to internalize the family as a destination and adopt the notions of

care and affection as structural elements of both their identities; they both will accept their involvement in household duties, learning at school the conditions and functioning of the family and household and being both trained to effectively combine professional and family life.

• To broaden the notions of democracy and equality in order to connect them not only in the public, but also in the private sphere, through a citizenship education which will bring women's issues from the periphery to the centre of the educational process. In this way young people will understand that the observance of the rights, legislation and principles of equality is an issue concerning not only the sphere of politics, but that of the family life as well, and the keeping of them is of vital importance for the personal satisfaction of both genders.

We believe that the above three aims should be a central part of any educational policy which is interested in a future generation of men and women who can live together in a climate of equality, mutual understanding and cooperation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Athanassiades, Chr., (2002), *Young women with University degrees and the reconciliation of the private and public spheres in their adult life plans.* Doctoral Thesis, Department of Psychology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (in Greek).

Arnot, M., (1994), Feminism and Democratic Education, in J. Santome Tores (ed), *Rethinking Education,* Madrid: Murata Press

Arnot, M., David, M., & Weiner, G., (1999), *Closing the Gender Gap,* London: Polity Press.

Chisholm. L., (1990), *Beyond Occupational Choices. A study of gendered transitions,* University of London, Institute of Education.

Chisholm, L., & Holland, J., (1987), Anti-sexist action research in schools: Girls and Occupational Choice. In G. Weiner & M. Arnot (eds), *Gender under Scrutiny: new enquiries in education,* London: Hutchinson.

Connel, R.W., (1995), *Masculinities,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V., (1993), 'A successful career and a nice husband': Dreams and expectations of adolescent girls. In V. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & S. Ziogou (Eds), *Ekpaidefsi kai Fylo,* Thessaloniki: Vanias (in Greek).

Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V., (1998), *Women and Citizenship: gender and democracy in teachers' education.* Thessaloniki, Vanias (in Greek).

Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V., Sakka, D., Psalti, A., Frosi, L., Stogianidou, A., & Syngollitou, E., (2000), *Gender Identities and Life Perspectives.* Final Report. K.E.E. and Aristotle University of Thessloniki (in Greek).

Deliyanni- Kouimtzi, V., & Sakka, D., (1998), *Arianne Project: Broadening male identities in adolescence.* Final Report, DG XXII, Brussels & Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (in Greek).

Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V., Ziogou-Karastergiou, S., Dalakoura, A., & Hassekidou, Th., (in press), Adolescents' views on gender and citizenship: developing images of the private and the public sphere. *Abstracts of the 9th Conference of the Pedagogical Society* (in Greek).

Ehrensaft, D., (1984), When women and men mother. In J. Trebilcot (Ed.) *Mothering,* Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld.

Gaskel, J., (1983), The reproduction of family life: perspectives of male and female adolescents, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 4(1).

Holland, J., (1993), Studying youth: Research on gender and youth in Great Britain. In V. Deliyanni & S. Ziogou (eds), *Ekpaidefsi kai Fylo,* Thessaloniki: Vanias (in Greek).

Katz, J., (1995), Reconstructing masculinity in the locker room: the mentors in violence prevention project, *Harvard Educational Review,* 65(2), 163-174.

Kenway, J., (1995), Masculinities in schools: under siege, on the defensive and under reconstruction?, *Discourse,* 16, 59-79.

Lamb, M., (1987), The emergent American father. In: M. Lamb (Ed.), *The father's role: cross cultural perspectives,* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

LaRossa, R., (1988), Fatherhood and social change, *Family Relations,* 37, 451-457.

LeeBlair, S., & Hardesty, C., (1994), Paternal involvement and the well-being of fathers and mothers of young children, *The Journal of Men's Studies,* 3(1), 49-68.

Mac an Ghail, M., (1991), Schooling, sexuality and male power: towards an emancipatory curriculum, *Gender and Education,* 3,3, 291-309.

Mac an Ghail, M., (1996), *Understanding Masculinities,* Buckingham: Open University Press.

McLaren, A.T., (1996), Coercive invitations: how young women in school make sense of mothering and waged labour, *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 17(3), 279-98.

McLaren, A. T., & Vanterbijl, A., (1998), Teenage girls making sense of mothering: what has (relational) equality got to do with it? In S. Abbey & A. O' Reilly (eds), *Redefining Motherhood: changing identities and patterns,* Toronto: Second Story Press.

Oakley, A., (1996), Gender matters: man the hunter. In H. Roberts & D. Sachdev (eds) *Young People's Social Attitudes: having their say,* Basildon: Barnardo's.

Palm, G., (1993), Involved fatherhood: a second chance, *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 2(2), 139-153.

Pleck, J., (1987), American fathering in historical perspective, in M.S. Kimmel (Ed.), *Changing men: new directions in research on men and masculinity* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Roberts, H., & Sachdev, D., (1996), *Young People's Social Attitudes: having their say*, Basildon: Barnardo's.

Sakka, D., & Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V., (in press), Adolescent boys' and girls' views of fatherhood in the context of the changing women's position, *Gender and Education*.

Sakka, D., & Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, K., (2000), 'We have to find a solution...': Male identities, family gender divisions and the notion of fatherhood among Greek adolescents. Paper presented in the International Round Table of IAC *"Counseling in th New Millenium"*. Thessaloniki, 2-5 May.

Sakka, D., & Dikaiou, M., (2001). Task sharing and sex-role attitudes in Greek returnees: a combination of cross-sectional and longitudinal data. In Myers-Walls, P. Somlai & R. N. Rapoport (Eds), *Families as educators for global citizenship*, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Sakka, D., Dikaiou, M., & Kiosseoglou, G., (1999), Return Migration: Changing roles of men and women, *International Migration*, 37, (4), 741-765.

Segel, L., (1994), *Slow motion: changing masculinities, changing men*. London: Virago.

Sharpe, S., (1994), *Just Like a Girl: how girls learn to be women*. Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Weis, L., (1990), *Working class without work: high school students in a de-industrialising economy*, New York: Routledge.

Wilkinson, H., & Mulgan, G., (1995), *Freedom's children: work, relationships and politics for 18-34 year olds in Britain today*, London: Demos.

DIVORCE: ARE THE "GUILTY PARTIES"
OF THE FEMALE SEX?

Evi Koufaki-Prepi
Lecturer, Democrition University of Thrace, Greece

In spite of the changes which have taken place both in the family and in the ideology lying behind it, many of its structural elements (gender roles, relationships etc) are maintained and reproduced in the context of a moralization of them drawn from earlier social forms[1].

Divorce and the increasing frequency with which it is seen, both internationally and –recently– in our own country[2], mark changes in the way that family relationships are organized and handled.

The degree of modernization of family structures is related, among other things, to the extent to which the individuals involved interpret, act out, accept or reject attitudes which have to do with traditional roles, forms and social contexts.

Divorce as the extreme result of crisis situations within the family group is often seen as incriminating the changes and the very modernizations imposed by the social requirements of our epoch. The labels "merry widow" and "child of divorced parents" may no longer carry the

---

1. For an interesting analysis of attitudes to the Athenian Greek family and gender roles, see L. Maratou-Alibrandi, *The family in Athens: Family models and spousal practices*, EKKE (National Centre for Social Research), Athens 1995 (in Greek).
2. According to data from Eurostat (*Demographic Statistics*, 1993, Luxembourg), the index of divorce (per 1000 marriages) rose from 6.1 to 9.0 between the years 1977 and 1989 in 8 E.U. countries (not including Greece). The highest indices of divorce were seen in Denmark, Great Britain and Luxemburg. The greatest increase during the same period was shown by Luxemburg. According to the data of L. Maratou-Alibran-di (in Maratou-Alibrandi L., *Single-Parent Families: Current trends and policy dilemmas. A comparative overview*. EKKE, vol. 95, Athens 1998, p. 190 - in Greek-), the mean divorce index (per 1000 inhabitants) for the 15-member European Union between the years 1960-1995 increased from 0.5 to 1.8. The corresponding figures for our country are 0.3 and 1.1. Of course, the favorable provisions of the New Family Law Code as regards divorce are the main reason for the sharp increase in the number of divorces in Greece during 1984. The number of divorces per 1000 marriages) rose from 89.2 in 1981 to 158.3 in 1984, while in 1989 the index had steadied at 102.8 (Makrinioti D., *Childhood as a social phenomenon*, National Report , Greece, European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research, Vienna, Report 36/12, 1992).