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Gender and Education

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713422725>

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To cite this Article Sakka, Despina and Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, Vassiliki(2006) 'Adolescent boys' and girls' views of fatherhood in the context of the changing women's position', Gender and Education, 18: 1, 51 – 74

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/09540250500195127

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09540250500195127>

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Adolescent boys' and girls' views of fatherhood in the context of the changing women's position

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The present study aims at exploring how Greek adolescents understand the notion of fatherhood. One hundred and ten pupils (64 boys and 46 girls), who attended four high schools of the area of Thessaloniki, Greece, participated in the study; they were aged from 14- to 16-years. A combination of quantitative and qualitative data were selected through two instruments: (a) a semi-structured questionnaire; and (b) 'Helen's and George's dilemma', in which pupils were asked to end a story offering a solution. According to the findings from both parts of the study, adolescents seem to maintain traditional views of fatherhood in the sense that fatherhood and motherhood are associated with different characteristics, behaviours and values. In some cases, however, a different view of fatherhood emerged through the pupils' descriptions: this involved the idea of shared rather than gender specific roles for both spouses. Results are further discussed in relation to their implications in the school context.

Introduction

The study focuses on Greek adolescent boys and girls and explores their views on fatherhood. It is well evidenced that adolescence is a very critical period, since development is in its peak in terms of gender and occupational identity, emotions, cognition, sexual relations and moral reasoning (Berk, 1991). Moreover, the gender identity issue is of special importance in adolescence since it involves the clarification, the elaboration and the integration by the individual of those behaviours and roles which constitute femininity and masculinity. As for the development of gender identity in general and masculinity in particular, several theoretical explanations (psychoanalytic theories, socialization theories, including the role theory, cognitive developmental and gender schema theories) in psychology have been offered.

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Researchers have suggested that because of the different experiences and expectations of both sexes, as well as because of the different socialization practices, men learn to be tough, independent, competitive and 'under control' whereas women learn to be caring and expressive both in the private and the public spheres. In this context, with respect to the parental role, through socialization, women, on the one hand, learn that motherhood is associated with caring and relating closely, whereas men learn that fatherhood is associated with providing (Ehrensaft, 1984; Kenway, 1995; Connell, 1995). As Ehrensaft (1984) suggests, fathers experience fatherhood as something you 'do' whereas women experience motherhood as something you 'are'.

These explanations, as useful as they are, focus mainly on the process by which gender identities can be acquired. An issue which has been neglected by the above approaches concerns the origins of the sexual division in society as well as the historical and cultural context which perpetuates this division. As Heward (1996) notes, the above theories fail 'to link different levels of personality with their social and cultural context' (1996, p. 36).

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. This distinction, followed by the gendered division of labour, leads to the different integration of parental identity by men and women (Ehrensaft, 1984; Kenway, 1995; Connell, 1995). Women's 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 confusion as far as their position and their role is concerned in the sphere of reproduction (Ehrensaft, 1984; Pleck, 1987; Lamb, 1987).

Moreover, the above transformations have put pressure on men for change since women have been charged with the double burden of being both employed and housewives/mothers. According to research data of the last two decades, there is a strong demand for men to participate more actively in the structure of family and parental relations (Larossa, 1988; Segel, 1990; Palm, 1993; Leeblair & Hardesty, 1994; Katz, 1995). It seems, however, that although expectations concerning fatherhood have changed, contemporary fathers do not seem to embrace a more participative model of fatherhood. Moreover, even if fathers participate in childrearing, they are not involved psychologically as much as mothers are (Ehrensaft, 1984; Horna & Lupri, 1987; Leeblair & Hardesty, 1994). It is well known by now that different societies experience these changes in different ways. The existing realities which have been shaped historically and culturally in Greek society are presented below.

The changing face of Greek society at the turn of the century: gender roles in the family and working life

The last two decades of the twentieth century have been marked by important changes concerning the social position of women. Social pressures, European directives and changes of behaviours and attitudes, which have happened little-by-little in

post-war Greek society, resulted in legislation reforms aiming at gender equality in the middle of the 1980s. Statistical data show that, during the same period, extensive changes in the lives of the female population have also occurred. Greek women gained a massive increase in access to all levels of education (for example the percentage of female students in higher education reached 54% of the total student population at the end of the 1990s) and participated in increasing numbers in the labour market (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 1992).

However, this successful participation of women in education does not challenge dominant ideologies, since the educational and occupational choices of these academically successful girls are still dictated by gendered attitudes (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Ziogou, 1995; Maragoudaki, 2004). Similarly, despite the fact that women officially constitute the 40% of the work force, the majority of them, are, as elsewhere, in the lowest positions in the professional hierarchy. Moreover, they, in all occupations and independently of their level of education, receive lower income than men (Gerogianni, 1998; Raphia, 1999).

One major development towards gender equality was the establishment in 1983 of the new 'Family Law', which abolished the notion of the father as the 'head' of the family and introduced the principle of 'parental care' (Athanassiadou, 2002). At the same time, however, researchers report that the enforcement of the legislation for gender equality meets great resistance. On the one hand, the application of the laws within the family context can not be guaranteed and, on the other, the Greek Labour Law seems to ignore women's roles in the family and their historical connection with the sphere of reproduction (Kravaritou, 1991).

These contemporary ideological, social and economic changes in the Greek society had as a result major changes in the family structure (although in a later time than in other countries), as for example, the adoption of the nuclear family as the preferred type of family life, as well as the increase of the number of single-parent families and non-married couples living together (Lampsa, 1994). At the same time these changes have shaped new attitudes for young women, who now seem to be divided between the traditional model of female devotion and care and the satisfaction of their personal needs (Kataki, 1985). These young women face conflicts as they try to find their way between conformity and resistance and to reconcile family and working life. More specifically, they claim their right to work, equal gender relations and the abolishment of gender role divisions in the family without denying, at the same time, the priority of the family and motherhood in their lives (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Ziogou, 1995; Athanassiadou 2002).

In general, recent research on the existing values and attitudes of different groups of the Greek population—and especially adolescents—on men's and women's social position reveals conflicting views concerning gender relations in the family. On the one hand, women are considered to hold, as mothers and wives, a dominant position in the family, whereas on the other, there is a general impression that men control in a great extend decision-making concerning financial issues in the family, reproduction and the discipline of children (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 1998; Arnot *et al.*, 2000; Sakka & Dikaiou, 2001; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, in press). Similarly, studies on

adolescent gender identities indicate that boys try to broaden their male identity by claiming for greater participation in childrearing whereas, at the same time, they wish to maintain the traditional role of the breadwinner, opting for distant fatherhood (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, 1998; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi *et al.*, 2000). In the same context research shows that for a significant number of Greek men, the idea that a woman may neglect her maternal duties in favour of her work creates, even today, feelings of uneasiness and worry (Arnot *et al.*, 2000). Moreover, young women, even when they put priority on motherhood while planning their adult life, construct images of their future family in which there is equality and mutual understanding between husbands and wives, sharing of household duties and an alternative conception of the paternal role (Athanassiadou, 2002; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, *in press*).

In summary, the above presented data show that there is an important change in the social position of Greek women during the last decades. These changes, however, do not seem to affect gender relations in the family. As recent research indicates, major conflicts are observed in the views of men and women of all ages, when issues concerning the role division in the family are discussed. At the same time, the paternal role keeps its importance in the context of the existing traditional family structures, with the father remaining a strong and dominant figure of the family life, a figure that does not seem to be influenced by the changes that occur in the lives of women.

Male identities and the role of the father in changing societies

During the last two decades, major changes in a societal level such as globalization, changes in communication systems, the changing nature of labour processes and the new work technologies together with changes in family structure and contradictory research data, have stimulated the growth of research on male identity in general and on fatherhood in particular. Thus, a great range of issues concerning male experience has been investigated during the last years for both adults and children (see West, 1994; Mac an Ghaill, 1996; Skelton, 1996).

Despite this increasing research, however, writers tend to agree that fatherhood at the beginning of the new century is rather an amorphous phenomenon and focus their interest on its tensions and strains (Hearn, 1996; Lupton & Barclay, 1997). Furthermore, they have pointed out to a more complex conceptualization of masculinity, suggesting that the concept of the singular male 'role' is very limited and that gender relations are much more complex. Instead, there is a range of masculinities which are influenced or shaped by social, ethnic, class or sexual specifics and in relation to femininities. Thus, masculinity is multidimensional, in the sense that different groups of men experience themselves differently and have a different access to power or practice power differently (Connell, 1991, 1995; Hearn, 1992; Collinson & Hearn, 1996; Mac an Ghaill, 1996).

At this point, it should be noted that feminist research on adolescent gender identities has also emphasized the role of schooling in the development of masculinity and femininity. Within this context, feminist work has shown that schools offer

interpretations about what it means to be male or female, and form gendered identities marking correct or inappropriate styles of behaviour (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 1996; Connell, 1991; Arnot *et al.*, 1999).

With the growth of men's studies as a distinct area of research, the relation of schooling and masculinity has become an issue of great interest. The focus has no longer been only on girls but on boys as well and on the development of male identities in the frame of the educational process. It has been shown that schools are places where male identities are formed, projected and protected and where certain versions of masculinity are promoted and challenged from within and beyond male ranks (Kenway, 1996). As Connell (1991) further suggests, school constructs masculinity indirectly through the effects of streaming, the academic curriculum and definitions of knowledge and through authority patterns.

It is obvious from the above that although more and more research focuses on how masculinities are shaped through families or school contexts, data on how adolescents themselves define fatherhood or how this definition relates to their own sense of masculine identity or to the changing role of women is rather limited (Larossa, 1988; Coltrane & Allan, 1994; Lupton & Barclay, 1997; Kibret, 1999). Consequently, questions like 'How do adolescents themselves construct images of fatherhood in the context of the women's changing position' remain unanswered.

As it was mentioned above, research in Greece and abroad shows that male adolescents wish to broaden their male identities by participating more in family life—without, however, challenging either the traditional gender relations or the gendered division of labour in the household. For this reason, the answer to the question stated above will contribute to the understanding of the ways adolescent males negotiate the different aspects of masculinity and male roles and position themselves in relation to the girls' claim for more equality and change in the family context.

The aim of the present study, therefore, is to explore the ways Greek male and female adolescents understand the notion of fatherhood. More specifically, the study aims at exploring adolescents' views on what fatherhood should entail and the responsibilities associated with it, as well as their images of fatherhood both in the family context and in the context of the changing women's position.

The study

The participants

Four groups of pupils ($N=110$, 64 boys and 46 girls), attending four different high schools in the area of Thessaloniki, Greece, participated in the present study. Pupils, aged 14- to 16-years, attended the Public High School of Kali ($N=27$), the Public School of Meteora ($N=27$), the Experimental School of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki ($N=28$) and the Private School of Kalamari ($N=28$).

At this point it should be noted that the choice of the participating schools was based in the fact that they are quite different with respect to parents' socio-economic

level. The School of Kali is rural whereas the rest are located in the city of Thessaloniki. Among the three, the School of Meteora is considered to be a lower class school whereas the School of Kalamari is private and considered to be an upper middle class school. The Experimental School of Aristotle University is considered to be a middle class school with pupils of highly educated but not necessarily affluent families, and has the greatest number of high achieving pupils.

Data on parents' education reveal that the majority of pupils' fathers from the Experimental School and the Kalamari School hold university degrees, whereas those whose children attend the schools of Meteora or Kali are of a lower educational level; the majority of them finished either high school or elementary school respectively (Table 1).

The above differences hold true for pupils' mothers as well. Most specifically, a great percentage of pupils' mothers from the Experimental School and the School of Kalamari hold a university degree. On the contrary, most of pupils' mothers from the Schools of Kali and Meteora only finished either elementary school or high school (Table 2).

Data on parents' occupation reveal that parents of pupils from the Experimental School and the School of Kalamari show a quite different employment pattern from the rest. More specifically, as Tables 3 and 4 show, a rather high percentage of pupils' fathers and mothers from the Experimental School are university professors or freelancers (doctors, lawyers and engineers). The rest are either teachers or work in clerical jobs, whereas only a comparatively small percentage of mothers are housewives. Moreover, with respect to the Kalamari School, the majority of pupils' fathers and mothers own their own business, or they are either freelancers or work in clerical jobs. Only 34.6% of the mothers are housewives.

Contrary to the above, the majority of fathers of the pupils from the School of Kali work as farmers, whereas the mothers are either farmers or housewives. With respect to the urban School of Meteora, pupils' fathers either own their own business or work in clerical jobs in the private and public sector, or are skilled workers or technicians. The majority of pupils' mothers are housewives (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 1. Fathers' education: frequencies and percentages by school

Categories	Schools									
	Kali		Meteora		Experimental		Kalamari		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Elementary school	12	(48)	6	(27)	2	(8)	1	(4)	21	(22)
High school	11	(44)	11	(50)	7	(28)	8	(31)	37	(38)
Higher education	1	(4)	4	(18)	15	(60)	17	(65)	37	(38)

Note: Percentages do not add up because of missing information.

Table 2. Mothers' education: frequencies and percentages by school

Categories	Schools									
	Kali		Meteara		Experimental		Kalamari		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Elementary school	8	(32)	8	(36)	2	(8)	2	(8)	20	(20)
High school	16	(64)	12	(55)	8	(32)	12	(46)	48	(49)
Higher education	1	(4)	1	(4)	15	(60)	11	(42)	28	(29)

Note: Percentages do not add up because of missing information.

The instruments

In order to investigate adolescents' views on fatherhood, a combination of qualitative and quantitative data were selected through two instruments that were constructed for the purposes of the present study. More specifically:

- *A semi-structured questionnaire* was used in order to investigate the adolescents' views on the characteristics and the behaviours associated with fatherhood in general. The instrument is aimed at investigating pupils' stereotypes as far as the concept of fatherhood is concerned. More specifically: (a) pupils were asked to describe in their own words the behaviours associated with both motherhood and fatherhood in general; and (b) they were further asked to choose from a list three adjectives which are associated with fatherhood and three which are associated with motherhood.

Table 3. Fathers' occupation: frequencies and percentages by school

Categories	Schools									
	Kali		Meteara		Experimental		Kalamari		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
University professors/ Freelancers (1–2)	1	(4)	1	(4)	7	(28)	6	(23)	15	(15)
Own business (3)			5	(23)	2	(8)	11	(42)	18	(18)
Teachers/Clerical (4, 5, 6)	2	(8)	7	(32)	14	(56)	6	(23)	29	(30)
Skilled workers/Technicians (7–8)	1	(4)	6	(27)			1	(4)	8	(8)
Small business/Farmers (9, 10)	19	(76)	2	(9)	1	(4)	1	(4)	23	(23)
Housewives (11)										
Misc (12)	2	(8)			1	(4)	1	(4)	4	(4)

Note: Percentages do not add up because of missing information.

Table 4. Mothers' occupation: frequencies and percentages by school

Categories	Schools									
	Kali		Meteyora		Experimental		Kalamari		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
University professors/ Freelancers (1–2)					5	(20)	3	(12)	8	(8)
Own business (3)	1	(4)			2	(8)	4	(15)	7	(7)
Teachers/Clerical (4, 5, 6)	1	(4)	1	(4)	11	(44)	3	(12)	16	(16)
Skilled workers/Technicians (7–8)			4	(18)	1	(4)			5	(5)
Small business/Farmers (9, 10)	6	(24)	2	(9)			4	(15)	12	(12)
Housewives (11)	17	(68)	13	(59)	6	(24)	9	(35)	45	(46)
Misc (12)							2	(8)	2	(2)

Note: Percentages do not add up because of missing information.

- (2) '*Helen's and George's dilemma*' was used in order to explore the adolescents' images of fatherhood as an element of male identity, both in the family context and in the context of the changing women's position. The story was designed in order to describe a situation that would reflect contradictions and conflicts existing in Greek society and in people's views as far as roles of men and women in the family are concerned. According to the research data about the situation in Greece, there are two major conflicts concerning family life: (a) a conflict between women's work and the maternal role; and (b) a conflict between the traditional paternal role and the need of this role to be changed in accordance to the changing female roles in the private and the public spheres (Athanasiadou, 2002; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, in press; Arnot *et al.*, 1999).

Pupils were given a story describing the dilemma faced by a young couple whose 3.5-year-old son is ill the day they both have to attend to important meetings in their work. The story stops at the point where the young mother calls her husband at his work in order to ask him to come home and take care of the child, so that she can attend a meeting with her superiors in the office. Pupils were further asked to end the story offering a solution to this problem (Appendix 1).

Results and discussion

With respect to the semi-structured questionnaire:

- Data concerning the description of the behaviours associated with fatherhood and motherhood in pupils' own words were coded into newly developed coding frames, by two 'blind' raters (i.e raters who did not know the aims of the study,

Oppenheim, 1986). The inter-rater reliability coefficient ranged from 80% to 88% (Holsti, 1969, p. 137). Furthermore, data were analysed descriptively and a χ^2 test was used to compare pupils by sex and school across the coding frames.

- Data concerning the characteristics of fatherhood and motherhood were initially analysed descriptively in order to identify the most frequent adjectives (Table 6). Subsequently, a *Kruskal Wallis one-way analysis of variance test* was used to compare pupils by school and sex across these variables.

With respect to *Helen's and George's dilemma*, a thematic analysis of the pupils' stories was carried out in order to identify the adolescents' images of fatherhood as well as to take a closer look at their understanding of the position of the father in relation to the changing role of the mothers.

The semi-structured questionnaire

Differences between schools. As has already been mentioned, children's views on the behaviours associated with both motherhood and fatherhood seem to be quite stereotypical. On one hand, fatherhood is mainly associated with behaviours related to 'employment and financial support of the family', 'caring' as well as 'advising and controlling children's behavior'. On the other hand, motherhood is mainly associated with behaviours that have to do with 'house care' and 'childcare' (Table 5).

Moreover, according to the *Kruskal Wallis one-way analysis of variance test*, significant differences were found mostly between groups rather than between boys and girls. According to the results, it seems that pupils from the four different schools differ from each other in the ways they associate several behaviours to fatherhood and motherhood.

More specifically, significant differences *between groups* (i.e., schools) were found in six out of the 12 cases (Table 5). It seems that pupils from the rural School of Kali associate fatherhood with the 'employment and the financial support of the family' and the 'advising and control of children's behaviour' to a greater extent than the pupils from the Experimental School ($\chi^2(3)=34.472$; $p<0.000$) and those of the School of Meteora respectively ($\chi^2(3)=8.534$; $p=0.03$). Pupils of the same school associate motherhood with 'house care' as well as 'family orientation' more than those from the Experimental School ($\chi^2(3)=20.323$; $p<0.000$) and the Kalamari School ($\chi^2(3)=10.039$; $p=0.01$), respectively.

Pupils from the School of Meteora associate fatherhood with 'employment and financial support' to a greater extent than pupils of the Experimental School ($\chi^2(3)=34.472$; $p<0.000$) as well as 'free time and hobbies' more than all the other schools ($\chi^2(3)=60.925$; $p<0.000$). At the same time, pupils of the same school associate motherhood with 'house care' and 'family orientation' more than the Experimental School ($\chi^2(3)=20.323$; $p<0.000$) and the Kalamari School ($\chi^2(3)=10.039$; $p=0.01$).

Finally, pupils from the Experimental School associate fatherhood with 'advising and control of children's behaviour' more than those of the School of Meteora

Table 5. Behaviours associated with fatherhood and motherhood: frequencies and percentages by school

Categories	Schools									
	Kali		Meteora		Exper/ntal		Kalamari		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<i>Behaviours associated with fatherhood</i>										
Employment/Financial support of the family	22	(35)	17	(27)	4	(7)	19	(31)	62	(65)
Free time/Hobbies			14	(100)					14	(15)
Free time/Entertainment with family	3	(16)	2	(10)	8	(42)	6	(32)	19	(20)
Care for the family	8	(21)	11	(29)	12	(32)	7	(18)	38	(40)
House repairs/Help with housework	3	(43)	2	(29)	1	(14)	1	(14)	7	(7)
Advising and control of children's behaviour	13	(33)	3	(8)	13	(33)	10	(26)	39	(41)
<i>Behaviours associated with motherhood</i>										
House care	16	(35)	15	(33)	3	(6)	12	(26)	46	(48)
Childcare	15	(24)	13	(20)	16	(25)	20	(31)	64	(67)
Charismatic personality	5	(20)	7	(28)	10	(40)	3	(12)	25	(26)
Family oriented	8	(42)	7	(37)	3	(16)	1	(5)	19	(20)
Psychological support of family members	1	(10)			5	(50)	4	(40)	10	(11)
Employment/Financial support of the family	5	(46)			1	(8)	5	(46)	11	(12)

($\chi^2(3)=8.534; p=0.03$) whereas pupils from the School of Kalamari associate fatherhood with 'employment and financial support of the family' to a greater extend than those pupils from the Experimental School ($\chi^2(3)=34.472; p<0.000$). Pupils of the latter school associate motherhood as well with 'house care' more than those of the Experimental School ($\chi^2(3)=20.323; p<0.000$).

It is worth noting that, on one hand, pupils from all schools associate fatherhood with 'employment and financial support' and motherhood with 'house care' to a greater extend than those of the Experimental School. It seems, therefore, that pupils from all schools except those of the Experimental School hold more stereotypical views about the division of household responsibilities. That's probably because the pupils of the Experimental School have different experiences in their households since their mothers are employed in equal numbers as their fathers. Could we say that women's employment contributes to changes in ideologies concerning gender relations within the family? Our data do not permit us to answer this question with

certainty. Taking, however, into consideration the fact that most of the mothers of the pupils from the Experimental School are employed in high status or career jobs, it seems that women's employment together with the parents' higher socio-economic status and in the context of a school which is quite unique may contribute to the broadening of pupils' attitudes and/or values concerning gender relations within the family.

With respect to the characteristics of fatherhood and motherhood, according to the highest frequencies observed, fathers were described as being 'able', 'successful', 'paternal' and 'strict' whereas mothers were described as being 'emotional', 'sensitive', 'calm' and 'maternal' (Table 6). It seems, therefore, that pupils associate 'fatherhood' with characteristics which imply ability on the one hand, and behavior control on the other. On the contrary, they associate 'motherhood' with characteristics concerning caring and the expression of feelings.

Consequently, we could say that the views pupils hold on fatherhood are being influenced by traditional norms and attitudes. These results are in agreement with already existing research findings, according to which different characteristics are attributed to males and females. Because of the different way of life and because of differences in the socialization experience, men are considered to be 'tough', 'independent', 'competitive' and 'under control', whereas women are considered as being mainly 'caring' (Spence & Helmreich, 1979; Kenway, 1995; Connell, 1995; Sakka *et al.*, 1999).

Once more, according to the results (Table 6), it seems that pupils from the four different schools describe *fathers and mothers* in a different way.

More specifically, significant differences between groups (i.e., schools) were found in seven out of the 14 cases. It seems that there is a tendency for differentiation between groups mainly when pupils put emphasis on some of the characteristics of fathers which imply communication and expression of feelings or care (i.e., 'open', 'paternal') as it is the case with the rural (School of Kali), the lower class schools (School of Meteora) or the private school of Kalamari. There is also a tendency for differentiation when pupils describe not only fathers but mothers as well, with adjectives which imply ability (i.e., 'successful', 'able') as it is the case with the Schools of Kali and Meteora.

More specifically, pupils from the rural School of Kali describe fathers as being 'open' more often than those from the Experimental School and the School of Kalamari ($\chi^2(3)=8.850$; $p=0.03$) whereas they describe mothers as being 'oppressive' more often than those from both the Experimental School and the School of Meteora ($\chi^2(3)=21.072$; $p<0.000$). Moreover, pupils from the same school describe both fathers and mothers as being 'successful' whereas the pupils from all the other schools describe only fathers as being as such ($\chi^2(3)=12.922$; $p=0.004$).

Pupils of the lower class school (School of Meteora) describe fathers as being 'open' more often than those of the Experimental School and the School of Kalamari ($\chi^2(3)=8.850$; $p=0.03$) as well as being 'active' more often than those of the Schools of Kali and Kalamari ($\chi^2(3)=18.486$; $p<0.000$). Moreover, they describe both mothers and fathers as being 'able' in contrast to the pupils from all other schools who describe only fathers as such ($\chi^2(3)=28.343$; $p=0.000$).

Table 6. Adjectives associated with fatherhood and motherhood: frequencies and percentages by school

		Kali		Metedora		Exper/ntal		Kalamari		Total	
		f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
1. Emotional	fa	5	(56)	3	(33)	1	(11)			9	(9)
	mo	6	(27)	1	(4)	5	(23)	10	(46)	22	(22)
2. Sensitive	fa	4	(33)	3	(25)	3	(25)	2	(17)	12	(12)
	mo	1	(5)	5	(28)	10	(56)	2	(11)	18	(18)
3. Able	fa	1	(5)	7	(39)	7	(39)	3	(17)	18	(18)
	mo			6	(76)	1	(12)	1	(12)	8	(8)
4. Cool	fa	1	(11)	1	(11)	4	(45)	3	(33)	9	(9)
	mo	12	(48)	3	(12)	4	(16)	6	(24)	25	(25)
5. Maternal	fa										
	mo	12	(31)	9	(23)	8	(20)	10	(26)	39	(39)
6. Successful	fa	9	(38)	2	(8)	6	(25)	7	(29)	24	(24)
	mo	8	(58)	2	(14)	1	(7)	3	(21)	14	(14)
7. Independent	fa			1	(50)	1	(50)			2	(2)
	mo	9	(47)			3	(16)	7	(37)	19	(19)
8. Active	fa	1	(9)	6	(55)	3	(27)	1	(9)	11	(11)
	mo			3	(60)	2	(40)			5	(5)
9. Paternal	fa	5	(20)	5	(20)	3	(12)	12	(48)	25	(25)
	mo	1	(17)					5	(83)	6	(6)
10. Trustful	fa	3	(34)	2	(22)	2	(22)	2	(22)	9	(9)
	mo	2	(22)	5	(56)			2	(22)	9	(9)
11. Oppressive	fa	3	(38)	1	(12)	2	(25)	2	(25)	8	(8)
	mo	10	(56)			2	(11)	6	(33)	18	(18)
12. Open	fa	4	(31)	5	(38)	4	(31)			13	(13)
	mo	2	(40)	2	(40)			1	(20)	5	(5)
13. Strict	fa	4	(20)	2	(10)	4	(20)	10	(50)	20	(20)
	mo			3	(43)	3	(43)	1	(14)	7	(7)
14. Conscientious	fa	3	(23)			4	(31)	6	(46)	13	(13)
	mo	3	(60)			1	(20)	1	(20)	5	(5)

Pupils of the Experimental School describe mothers as being 'sensitive' in a greater degree than pupils of the Schools of Kali and Kalamari ($\chi^2(3)=14.668$; $p=0.002$). Finally, pupils of the middle class school (School of Kalamari), describe fathers as being 'paternal' in a greater degree than pupils from the School of Meteora and the Experimental School ($\chi^2(3)=21.856$; $p=0.000$) whereas they describe mothers as being 'oppressive' in a greater degree than pupils from the School of Meteora ($\chi^2(3)=21.072$; $p<0.000$).

It seems, therefore, that pupils from all schools share views of fatherhood which are quite stereotypical. There is a tendency, however, for differentiation between groups when pupils ascribe to each parent characteristics which show a broadened image of fatherhood that includes characteristics such as caring and emotional involvement. Within this context, it could be further claimed that there is a disagreement between groups as to the new images of fatherhood and motherhood.

These results, therefore, are in agreement with already existing findings in Greece or elsewhere suggesting that attitudes towards fatherhood have been changed over the last 20 to 25 years (Markoulis & Dikaiou, 1993; Kenway, 1995; Connell, 1995; Sakka *et al.*, 1999; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi *et al.*, 2000).

Gender differences. According to the *Kruskal Wallis one-way analysis of variance test*, there were very few significant differences between boys and girls. It seems, therefore, that boys and girls overall share similar views on the roles of the father and mother which are quite stereotypical although there is a tendency for differentiation between sexes as far as the role of the father, and not that of the mother, is concerned.

More specifically, with respect to the behaviours assigned to each parent, significant differences between boys and girls were observed only in one case. More specifically, results show that boys more than girls believe that fatherhood is associated with behaviours which are related to 'house repairs and helping with the housework' ($\chi^2(1)=4.395$; $p<0.05$).

With respect to the characteristics assigned to fatherhood and motherhood, significant differences were found between boys and girls only in two cases. According to the results, it seems that boys describe fathers as being 'active' more often than girls whereas girls describe fathers as being 'paternal' more often than boys ($\chi^2(1)=5.958$; $p<0.01$; $\chi^2(1)=21.384$; $p=0.000$ respectively).

It could be said from the above that not only boys and girls differ from each other in items concerning exclusively the role of the father, but that boys hold more stereotypical views than girls since they attribute to fathers behaviours or characteristics which have been traditionally considered masculine either in Greece or abroad (Spence & Helmreich, 1979; Kenway, 1995; Connell, 1995; Sakka *et al.*, 1999).

Helen's and George's dilemma: notions of fatherhood and the process of change

As it has been mentioned above, pupils were given a story describing the dilemma faced by a young couple whose 3.5-year-old son is ill the day they both have to attend

to important meetings. Pupils were asked to end the story offering a solution to this problem. The story stops at the point where the young mother calls her husband at his work in order to ask him to come home and take care of the child, so that she can attend a meeting with her superiors at her office.

The qualitative analysis of young peoples' scenarios, below, aims at showing how the adolescents of our sample:

- Constructed in their stories images of fatherhood, as an element of male identities in the context of the existing gendered work divisions in the family and the labour market and in the context of traditional gender relations.
- Expressed their views of the paternal role in relation to the changing role of women in the private and the public spheres.

The analysis of the pupils' stories revealed two different images of fatherhood. It seems that on one hand, fatherhood is viewed as a group of activities which can be carried out from a distance; on the other, fatherhood is portrayed as personal involvement and care.

Fatherhood as caring from a distance. In most of the stories written by boys and girls, the paternal role seems to be viewed as a group of activities which can be carried out from a distance. Within this line of thought, the father does not consider childcare as his own responsibility. He cannot understand the issue and openly expresses his uneasiness at being bothered with family matters while at work. In the scenarios created by the pupils, it is clearly illustrated that the problem does not concern the father:

- H: George, listen, the child is ill. The doctor said that he has flu and that he must stay at home today.
- G: That's fine ... and what does this have to do with me, Helen? (Girl, School of Kali)
- G: Come on, wife, what's the matter again? Will you interrupt me all the time? (Boy, School of Meteora)
- H: ... Peter has fever and he should not go to the day care centre.
- G: Oh, well ... and so what? It doesn't matter. Is that why you called? (Girl, Kalamari School)
- G: Have you called the baby sitter?
- H: Yes, I have, but she is not free for today.
- G: And what am I supposed to do? (Girl, School of Kali)

Within this context, two dimensions related to fatherhood have been identified: fatherhood is constructed either as an element of male dominated gender relations or in the frame of gendered work division in the family.

- *Fatherhood as an element of male dominated gender relations.* According to the data, for some of the participants, fatherhood is associated with male dominance and power in the family. The father, thus, seems to be represented as the head of the family, an image that still seems to be very strong in the representations of the Greek population—

as has already been mentioned above (Arnot *et al.*, 2000; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, in press). According to pupils' texts, then, the father has the right to make decisions, and not only about himself but about the other members of the family as well: he will decide when he will return home in order to take care of his ill child; whether he will let himself be persuaded by his wife; or whether he will simply refuse. In this context, gender relations are structured as power relations with the mother being in the subordinate position. Thus it seems normal for the father to advise the mother on how to act:

G: I am telling you this for the last time, I cannot come home, but you can cancel your meeting and stay home. (Girl, School of Kali)

G: I understand Helen, you are right, but you should understand me as well. OK, I will postpone my meeting and return home. Try to succeed, though, today, and try not to disappoint me! (Girl, School of Meteora)

It even seems normal for the father to give her a lecture because she has interrupted him:

G: Please, this should not happen again! (Boy, Experimental School)

Similarly, the father has the right to remind the mother of her traditional role, asking her not to fell out of line:

G: So what you want me to do?

H: Today is a very crucial day for me.

G: Helen, you can't leave the child alone.

H: What about my job?

G: What is more important? Is it the child or your job?

H: The child of course. (Girl, Kalamari School)

G: Don't you think that you neglect your maternal duties? (Girl, Kalamari School)

The predominant characteristic of the above description of fatherhood seems to be the portrayal of the father as being superior to the mother within the spouse relationship. It is precisely through this superiority that a reality is constructed according to which male authority becomes 'natural'. The following dialogues further underline this suggestion. In the first case, the mother says after her husband's decision to return home:

H: Thank you dear ... you've saved me!

G: This is what men are for! (Boy, Experimental School)

In the second case, the father does not agree to go home and he manages to find a third person. Mother says:

You are wonderful! I truly adore you! (Boy, School of Kali)

In the frame of these unequal gender relations, mother is often presented as being apologetic and asking for forgiveness, thus underlining her subordinate position. Thus the mother says, after the father has offered a compromising solution:

H: You 're right, I didn't think of that. Thank you George and I apologize again for interrupting.

G: Never mind, talk to you at noon ... (Boy, Kalamari School)

Or she says right after her husband picks up the phone:

H: I apologize for interrupting you George. ... I know that this is not the right thing to do, but ... (Girl, School of Meteora)

The above extracts support the view that that the adolescents, by associating fatherhood with power and authority, reproduce a traditional image of the father's role in the context of a hegemonic notion of masculinity and of male identity. What remains unclear, however, is whether the stories pupils wrote reflect their own experiences and the everyday reality of their families or their views and attitudes as far as gender relations and family roles are concerned.

● *Fatherhood in the frame of gendered work division in the family.* For some of the participants, the father is viewed as the only breadwinner whose job is more important than his wife's. On the contrary, the mother's main responsibility is childcaring and this fact automatically makes her relationship with paid work problematic. As has already been noted above, recent research on adolescent gender identities in Greece shows that breadwinning seems to be the strongest characteristic of male identity, recognized as such not only by male but by female adolescents as well (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi *et al.*, 2000; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, in press). In the present research, the different way men and women are perceived to be connected with paid work creates the following contradiction: whereas the father's strongest argument in order to explain why he cannot look after his ill child is that his job is important, he feels free to ask the mother to be absent from her own work in order for the problem to be solved. The father says, for example, when he is asked to come home:

G: I am sorry Helen, but I can't come home because we are at a meeting right now, and as you know it is necessary that I stay here because we are having to make some important decisions.

H: George, please, you know how much I was waiting for this day to come. ... Postpone your meeting please ...

G: Absolutely not, my colleagues will comment on that, (Girl, Experimental School)

G: Couldn't you take the day off from your work? Because it's very difficult for me to leave the meeting. (Boy, Experimental School)

As a result, in pupils' stories, the father's acceptance to return home in order to take care of his son seems to be viewed not as a responsibility but as a favour offered to his wife:

H: Would you come home please to take my place?

G: OK, I am coming since I know that today is a very important day for you! (Boy, Experimental School)

Even more, mother is often portrayed as accepting this traditional work and role division in the family. She is also viewed as being aware that the father's contribution in childcaring constitutes 'help' rather than obligation, a finding which is in accordance with other research results (see Kataki, 1985; Arnot *et al.*, 2000;

Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, in press). In this context, mother is viewed as feeling the need to express her gratitude independently of whether her husband agrees to return home or not. In pupils' texts, the mother often reacts as follows:

After the husband suggests that his own mother could do the babysitting:

Thank you my love, you've helped me as much as you could ... if I get a promotion, it will be because of you! Bye for now and thanks again! (Girl, School of Meteora)

After the husband suggests that Helen could take the child to the neighbors:

Oh, you saved me! Thank you very much. (Girl, Kalamari School)

After the husbands accepts to return home:

Oh, George, what a relief! Thank you! (Boy, School of Kali)

Thank you so much, you are so nice. (Girl, School of Meteora)

G: You want me to come for a couple of hours I suppose ...

H: Oh, yes! Yes, thank you, you made me so happy. (Boy, Experimental School)

The discourse of fatherhood as distance caring creates a social reality of gender divisions in the family that denies the new conditions created by women's increasing participation in the job market and the changing, broadened female roles. It becomes evident that this notion of fatherhood seems to be adopted by both male and female adolescents of the study, a fact that allows a hegemonic construction of paternal figure to emerge from the stories analyzed. This notion of hegemonic fatherhood seems to influence pupils' decisions as to the solutions of the dilemma, in different ways.

At this point it is interesting to give attention to a group of girls of the Experimental School, who resist the traditional female position in the family by constructing representations of the contemporary 'super woman' in their discourses. These girls, coming in their majority from a middle class milieu and performing highly at school, seem to be aware of the inflexibility of male identity, when changes of gender relations in the family are discussed. They adopt, thus, repertoires of the working mother as one who defends her right of having a career by confronting by herself all the problems emerging from her double role. Their repertoires also reflect the realities the majority of Greek women are faced with (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 1993; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Ziogou, 1995) in the context of which, as it is shown in the quotes below, they try to change their social position by combining family and work, usually in the absence of their male partners:

Helen explains the problems to her husband and asks him to leave the meeting in order to stay with the child. But George refuses flat, making as if he would not understand the importance of the situation. He whispers that, maybe, the neighbour could keep the boy for a while and hangs up. Helen, being desperate and already late, grabs the child and runs hastily for work. She leaves little Peter in the surgery of the company, asking the nurse to take care of him and bursts into the meeting room. (Girl, Experimental School)

- G: What is it Helen? What happens? Speak fast, because I am waited in the meeting.
 H: You mean that you cannot come home? The child is ill and you know that it is impossible for me not to go to the office today.
 G: Ill? Helen it's impossible! I can't! Come on, you will find a solution! I am hanging up now, because I am late.

Helen hangs up being truly disappointed. But she has already made up her decision. She prepares her son and gives him some syrup against fever. She is going to take him with her and ask her secretary to keep him. It will not take long! She is not going to lose this meeting under any condition!!! (Girl, Experimental School)

Fatherhood as personal involvement and care. Despite the above-presented traditional portrayals of family relations, a different image of fatherhood emerged in an interestingly high number of the pupils' texts. These young people viewed fatherhood as a personal as well as an emotional involvement and they described the father as an active participant of family life, structuring thus, a representation of equal gender relations. In these stories, the father worries about his son's health, has no problem in expressing his love and care openly and is ready to give priority to the care of his child rather than his job. He is acting in this way, because on one hand, he seems to feel co-responsible, and on the other, because he seems to consider his wife's job as important as his own.

- G: What is it? You're making me worry. Is it something serious?
 H: No, Peter has just a slight fever. (Boy, School of Meteora)
 G: What is it? Why are you panicked?
 H: George, Peter is ill.
 G: Is he all right? What happened to him? Is there anything serious? (Boy, School of Meteora)
 G: Tell me please! What did it happen?
 H: Nothing serious... but Peter is a little ill and ...
 G: Tell me quickly. Is it something urgent? Should I come home? (Boy, Kalamari School)

Such an attitude is subsequently connected with a different notion of gender relations in which the main characteristics are partnership, mutual love and collaboration. The extract below clearly illustrates this attitude:

- H: Peter is ill. ... We have to find a solution ... you know how things are for me today, but on the other hand, it is absolutely impossible to leave the child alone!
 G: First of all calm down, we'll think of a solution. What time must you be at the office?
 H: Very soon. What about you? Can you leave your job or is your meeting very important?
 G: Don't worry. ... I'll try to come home as soon as possible, in order for you not to lose your meeting. (Boy, School of Meteora)
 H: Hallo George! Sorry that I interrupted, but there is something urgent.
 G: Yes... what? Is there something wrong with Peter?
 H: George, Peter is suddenly ill.

- G: Do you like me to come home and look after him so you can go to that important meeting you have ...
- H: Yes, if it is possible ... please George.
- G: I'll be there in five minutes!
- H: What about your work? Is it OK?
- G: Since Peter is ill, I can quit everything! (Boy, School of Meteora).

At this point, it should be noted that the image of fatherhood as personal involvement and care has been found mostly in boys' scenarios. This finding is not in conflict with our quantitative results according to which boys hold more traditional views towards gender roles and work division in the family. Recent research in Greece (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi *et al.*, 2000, Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, *in press*) has shown that male adolescents, when asked to talk about their future families, do construct images of traditional role divisions in the family without denying patriarchal gender relations. At the same time, however, they claim a different role of father, constructing fatherhood as a more participative process of a (more or less) traditional family life (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi *et al.*, 2000).

It is interesting to note, in addition, that the majority of the scenarios of participative fatherhood belong to boys of the working class school, whereas the boys of the Experimental School have written those with the most conflicting situations. How this finding could be interpreted? If we go back to our quantitative results, we see a greater openness of the Experimental School boys as far as roles of men and women in the family are concerned. On the other hand, according to the demographic data of the sample, the majority of these boys' mothers are career women, whereas the majority of the working class pupils' mothers are housewives. We might say, therefore, that the different way the boys of these two groups negotiate with the problem posed by George's and Helen's story has to do with the different experiences they have in their families.

At this point we should say that, as is well known, women's participation in the job market has offered women more financial and personal independence but has not changed gender divisions in the family. Moreover, in many cases, women's double role as working persons and mothers/housewives has created tensions within the family, which seem to influence the way young people face this new—for the Greek context—family situation. It seems, therefore, that George's and Helen's story reflects for most of the Experimental School pupils the everyday reality they are faced with in their families.

Given also the fact that, according to the literature, mothers' work influences more positively their daughters than their sons (Jacklin & McBride-Chang, 1991), one might say that the boys of the Experimental School in our sample describe in their scenarios the conflicts and tensions they often experience in their families, reproducing, probably, the reaction of their fathers to the problems arising from their mother's work. On the contrary, the working class boys—as not having, in their majority, similar experiences—describe an idealistic representation of gender relations in the family—trying, maybe, to conform to the politically correct image of the 'double career' family.

These suggestions however, have to be supported by more thorough research on the ways the mother's position in the family and gender divisions influence young people's and especially boys' constructions of parental roles and notions of gender relations in the private sphere.

Summary and conclusions

As has already been stated above, the aim of the study was to explore the ways adolescents view fatherhood in terms of traits and behaviours associated with fatherhood as well as within the context of the changing women's position.

A major finding of this study concerning the pupils' descriptions, is that they maintain traditional views of fatherhood in the sense that on one hand, they attribute different characteristics to males and females. More specifically, they seem to perceive the father as being the main provider of the family and they attribute characteristics which imply ability and power. On the other, they ascribe traditional roles to each gender, associating motherhood and fatherhood with behaviours in the context of gendered work division in the family and the labour market. Within this context, we might conclude that the adolescents who participated in the study hold a rather traditional view of fatherhood which is related with what Connell (1991) calls a 'hegemonic' notion of masculinity, i.e., a form of masculinity which gains cultural ascendancy.

The above conclusion seems to hold true even in the case where pupils were asked to construct images of fatherhood in the context of the changing role of the mother. According to the findings, when the male and female adolescents tried to solve the problem posed by the dilemma, they structured a context where the father, while facing the dilemma of where to place his priorities, to his job or to the family, was usually given the role of the breadwinner rather than that of the care-giver.

Pupils seem to maintain traditional views for the structure of the family and the work and family role division as well. According to the scenarios they wrote, pupils mostly articulated a male-dominated discourse of gender relations when trying to present men and women as partners, working people and parents. Once again it seems that women's participation in paid work does not change women's position and their role in the family.

It should be noted, however, that pupils also describe, though to a lesser degree, a broadened image of fatherhood that includes characteristics or behaviours which traditionally have been associated with motherhood, such as caring and emotional involvement. We could, thus, suggest that a different view of fatherhood emerges through the pupils' descriptions which is within the context of shared rather than gender specific roles for both spouses.

Finally, results from the description of fatherhood and motherhood in pupils' own words also show that there is a tendency for boys' views to be more stereotypical than those of girls. More specifically, boys, more than girls, seem to associate fatherhood with traits such as 'active', whereas they associate motherhood with house care. It is

interesting, however, to note that they also, more than girls, wish to present a more broadened image of the father role by reporting that fatherhood is also associated with behaviours that are related to house care.

At this point, it should be noted, however, that the data of the present study are rather limited because of the specific instruments used. On the one hand, adolescents were asked in very abstract terms to indicate their generalized views on motherhood and fatherhood. It was thus expected that they would respond in a stereotypical way. On the other hand, it is evident that the specific notions of fatherhood evoked in the data may have been encouraged by the methodology used and by the social class, age and sexual orientation assumptions included in Helen and Georges' dilemma.

The dilemma focuses on a heterosexual couple, where both spouses hold high status jobs and are building a career. Consequently, it focuses on what it would be considered in Greece as a middle class family (Kravaritou, 1991; Markoulis & Dikaiou, 1993; Athanassiadou, 2002). Therefore, we may suggest that different repertoires and scenarios might have emerged if the young people of our sample had been asked to respond to a different dilemma—for instance, one focusing on a working class or a single parent family, or on a family with alternative gender role division, or on people from different family and gender cultures. More thorough research is needed, therefore, in order to understand better adolescents' notions of fatherhood (and motherhood) as they are formulated in the context of the changing women's position.

What do the above findings tell us about pupils' images of fatherhood? Our results show the ways male and female adolescents understand social realities that have to do with gender identities, roles and relations. They also show that fatherhood and motherhood—and, consequently, masculinity and femininity—are associated with different characteristics, behaviours and values. It seems therefore, that boys and girls face the world and their adult lives under quite different perspectives and interpret their everyday realities in a quite traditional way.

Moreover, this division creates a gap between genders, avoiding gender awareness, maintaining restricted gender identities and perpetuating dominant gender relations. Recent feminist approaches and action research in schools turn their attention to intervention strategies which not only aim at strengthening and reinforcing girls' identities, but at broadening male identities as well. In the frame of these approaches, attempts for the development of an educational system that challenges restricted or traditional versions of masculinity and femininity and tries to reconstruct gender relations are still on the agenda.

Acknowledgements

The present study is based on data which have been collected in the context of the 'Ariane' project titled 'Broadening Male and Female Horizons on Masculinity', which was financed by the EEC and involved eight European member states including Greece.

Notes

1. Athanassiadou (2002); Deliyanni-Kouimtzi (1993, 1998); Deliyanni-Kouimtzi *et al.* (2000); Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka (in press); Gerogianni (1998); Kataki (1985); Kravaritou (1991); Lampsas (1994); Maragoudaki (2004); and Raphia (1999) are all written in Greek.

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Appendix. Helen's and George's dilemma

The actors

1. Helen: 30-years-old, with a university degree, works in a large agency, married, mother of Peter, aged 3.5, who attends the kindergarten every morning.
2. George: 32-years-old, Helen's husband and Peter's father, with a university degree, business manager in a large company.

The story

It is 8.30 in the morning, in Helen and Peter's house. George has already left for his office. Helen is ready to wake up Peter and prepare him for the school bus that is about to arrive. She is ready to leave for work. Today it is a very important day for her: she has a very important meeting with the heads of the agency where she works, a meeting that will count towards her promotion. Helen has been waiting for this meeting for a long time. She has worked hard and she knows that time has arrived for her to be praised for all this work. She is very well prepared to meet her bosses. Her file is perfect, she collected all the important papers during last week, she has rehearsed her presentation and she is dressed very carefully. She cannot deny that she is anxious: today her future is being judged.

Entering Peter's room she feels that something is wrong. His face is red and he is breathing fast. There is no doubt, the child is ill. Helen is taking his temperature: 38 degrees Celsius. Being very anxious she is wondering what to do. First of all she wants to make sure that there is not something serious. She is lucky that her neighbour is a pediatrician. She is not the doctor who sees Peter ordinarily, but she will not say no if Helen asks her to examine the child. In fact the doctor is still at home when Helen calls her. She examines Peter and her diagnosis is that he has nothing serious. He has just got a cold with fever that will be healed very fast if he is kept warm and takes his medicines. However, she is positive about one thing. Peter cannot go to kindergarten today.

Helen calls her mother to ask her to come and stay two or three hours with Peter. She cannot be absent from her work, especially today. But her mother is not at home and Helen remembers that she would be away for the day. Trying not to panic she calls the babysitter who usually stays with Peter when she and George go out. She has definitely no luck today; the babysitter is not free. Helen is now feeling really anxious. She has to be at work in half an hour. What can she do? She cannot stay at home, and at the same time she cannot leave an ill child alone, or with a stranger.

Finally she decides to ask her husband to help her. She calls him at his office. His secretary tells her that he is in a meeting, but Helen insists that he has to be interrupted. Indeed, after some seconds she can speak with George.

Helen: Hello George, sorry for interrupting you, but ...