UMEÅ UNIVERSITY
Umeå Centre for Gender Studies

GENDERED DIVISION OF HOUSEWORK IN GREECE
A feminist analysis of a time use survey

Anastasia Vogiatzi

Magister Thesis in Gender Studies
Master program in Gender, Justice, and Society
Spring semester 2023
Supervisor: Liselotte Eriksson

Table of Contents

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the gendered housework division in Greece based on research questions about participation by gender, chore types, and factors like age, education, and employment's influence, as well as uncovering related dynamics and trends. A quantitative analysis is employed using Greece's single time use survey conducted in 2013, which reveals substantial gender inequalities in housework division. Women dedicate nearly three times more than men daily to housework, even when employed in paid jobs. Age-wise, the gender gap persists, increasing with age. Core household tasks such as cooking, house cleaning, and laundry are dominated by women, while men spend more time on activities like gardening and repairs. Comparisons with European data highlight similar trends. A need for new surveys and gender norms exploration for policy change is evident.

Keywords: Housework, Greece, time use survey, gendered division of labor, unpaid labor.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background/problem.

> "And in this new world, where money became a primary medium of power, its [reproductive labor's] being unpaid sealed the matter: those who do this work are structurally subordinate to those who earn cash wages, even as their work supplies a necessary precondition for wage labor—and even as it also becomes saturated with and mystified by new, domestic ideals of femininity" (Fraser, 2016, p. 102)

Nancy Fraser (2016) clearly describes the power relations that earnings produce within a household in a capitalistic world and how undervaluing unpaid reproduction work within the private sphere of a home creates a fundamental subordination status for those primarily undertaking it, i.e., women.

Feminist scholars support that women's ongoing responsibility for unpaid domestic work puts them at a disadvantage in the labor market and perpetuates the subordination of women. This disadvantage arises from both intermittent or long-term absences and the additional burden of domestic chores that working women still carry (Hochschild, 1989). As a result, women are often confined to lower-paying, lower-status jobs, reinforcing men's greater access to resources and power. Consequently, this inequality at the macro level sustains practical limitations and ideological norms that reinforce the gendered division of labor within the household (Duffy, 2007). Women's unpaid work in the home, had largely been overlooked in sociology and economics before the 1970s when socialist feminists started to shed light on this type of labor integrating all the activities performed by housewives, such as cleaning, food preparation and childcare into economics (Duffy, 2007). Therefore, the gendered division of housework proves to be a significant indicator when trying to identify the position of women in a society and manifests latent gender inequalities.

Greece is listed among the worst-performing countries concerning gender inequalities in the use of time, which also includes unpaid housework and family care, ranked at the bottom

just before the last position in EIGE's Gender Equality Index 2021 Report (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021).

As seen in Chart 1, a significant gap in the gendered division of household and family care in Greece is also manifested in the Eurostat statistics in their survey among the EU countries, Norway, Serbia and Turkey for the period 2008-2015 (Eurostat, 2019).

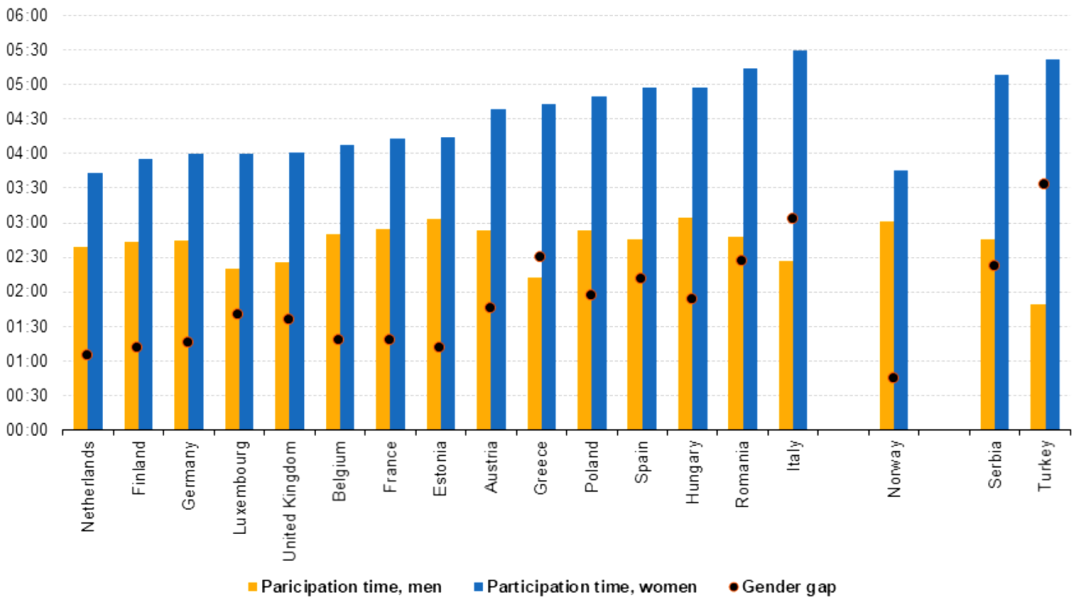

Chart 1. Participation time per day in unpaid work (main activity), by gender (hh:mm; 2008 to 2015) Source: Eurostat

In the period 2013-2014 the Hellenic Statistical Authority performed an extended survey on the average daily time use (in hours and minutes) of the Greek population aged 10-74 years old (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2013). The results for the age group 20-74, also reveal the great gap in the division of housework among general population as shown in the chart (Chart 2 below) published by the Hellenic Statistical Authority in their Press Release in 2016 (ELSTAT, 2016)

Chart 2. Average daily time by main activities, in hours and minutes, by gender. Population aged 20 - 74 years old.

However, the results of this time use survey have not been discussed and analyzed within a gender perspective by feminist scholarship, even though this time use study has been the only one ever conducted in Greece. Moreover, the literature on social reproduction topics and the gender roles in modern Greece is notably limited, rendering the research on these subjects particularly difficult without adequate sources for study and reference. Therefore, these facts and findings proved adequately intriguing to motivate the present thesis.

1.2 Purpose/Research questions

The purpose of this paper is to explore the gendered division of housework in Greece using data from the time use survey of Greek population conducted by the Hellenic Statistical Authority in 2013-2014. By analyzing how men and women allocate their time to household labor and the type of tasks they perform, this study aims to identify the patterns and possible trends of the gendered division of housework in the country from a feminist perspective. The novelty of the paper lies in the fact that the specific scientific area has been poorly investigated in Greek scholarship, therefore, this study aspires to contribute to the existing scarce literature on gender roles in Greece.

To achieve the aim of this study, the research questions are:

- How do Greek women and men participate in the household tasks? How much do they engage and what type of chores they perform?
- How do factors such as age, education and employment influence these patterns?
- What are the dynamics and trends in the gendered division of housework in Greece?

2. Previous Research/Literature review

2.1 Women and production labor in contemporary Greece

In order to examine the gendered division of social reproduction in Greece, it is important to study the gendered division of production in the country, since engagement in paid work has been reported by many researchers to influence the time spent on housework (Baxter, 2002). Therefore, we should also consider the data on employment to trace availability and economic power and correlate them with housework time.

The world financial crisis of 2008-2009 and the subsequent effects had a huge impact on the Greek economy and caused severe financial problems and a long lasting and deep recession that troubled the country for a decade, affecting severely the unemployment rates of the population and especially women. The following table (Table 1) shows the progression of unemployment rates in Greece from the outburst of the international crisis in 2008 up to 2021, illustrating the serious impact of the economy crisis on women's employment during the critical years of recession that kept a quarter - and in times almost a third - of the female labor force away from the market for a long period.

Unemployment rates per gender in Greece 2008-2021														
	2008	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**
Men	5,2%	7%	10,1%	15,1%	21,6%	24,5%	23,6%	21.7%	19.9%	17.8%	15.4 %	14.0 %	13,6%	11,4%
Women	11.6%	13,3%	16,4%	21.5%	28.2%	31,4%	30,2%	28,9%	28.1%	26.1%	24.2 %	21.5 %	19,8%	18,9%

Table 1: Unemployment rates per gender in Greece 2008-2021 Source: World bank https://data.worldbank.org/country/greece

Concerning employment rates by gender, meaning the percentage of the women and men that are employed or actively seeking for a paid job, during the last decade (2011-2021) the gap between them remained constantly consistent, maintaining a 20 percentage-point difference, as shown in the following table (Table 2), even though the employment rates have been slowly increasing both for women and men.

Employment rates of women/men aged 18 to 64, 2011-2021							
	2011 (census)	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**
Men	59,0%	61%	61%	65%	66%	68,9%	70,4%
Women	41,0%	43%	43,5%	45%	47%	50,2%	50,8%

Table 2: Employment rates of women and men aged 18 to 64, 2011-2021
Source: World bank & Eurostat https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/infocharts/womenmen/bloc-2b.html?lang=en

According to the European Gender Equality Index published by EIGE, Greece is ranked in the last position during the last decade (2011-2021) and the main categories (domains) that account for this ranking are mainly work, time and power (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021). Focusing on the period of the time use survey examined in this paper (2013), the "time" domain – where unpaid labor, such as housework and family care are also included- the country ranked in the last position with index 35,6. In the same year (2013) the index of the "work" domain was 63,6, while in the domain "power" that measures participation of women to decision making in the political, economic and social spheres, Greece had the worst performance with a low index of 22,3 (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021).

Even when examining gender equality rankings in a wider context globally, Greece still occupies very low positions. In the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report in 2012, once more around the time period the studied time use survey was conducted, the country is ranked 82nd in the Global Gender Gap Index, out of the total of 135 countries examined worldwide, with a score of 67,2% and 80th in the category "Economic Participation and Opportunity" with a score of 63,3%, which indicates the percentage of coverage of the gender gap between men and women. (World Economic Forum, 2012)

In January 2018, in their paper on the beneficial impact of gender equality on the economy and the society, the Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (SEV) claims that Greece's low position in gender equality rankings among EU countries and worldwide is mainly due to the low participation rate of women in the country's labor force and the concentration of employed women in lower waged sectors compared to the ones where employed men are more concentrated (SEV, 2018). Furthermore, SEV notes that in Greece, the overall gender equality index declined in the early years of the financial crisis, indicating that women were affected more than men. However, since then, it has followed an upward trend, mainly due to the increased participation of women in the labor market in an effort to compensate for the decrease in household income suffered during the crisis. (SEV, 2018)

Examining the factors that affect women's participation at the labor market in Greece, Livanos et al (2009) conducted a research and found out that the marital status played a significant role in the employment rates of Greek women, as unmarried women in Greece had 3.5 times higher odds of being unemployed compared to married women which can be explained by the fact that married women have increased financial needs for their family while single women are usually financially supported by their families. It is noteworthy that this phenomenon is contrary to the general trend in developed countries where marriage reduces the likelihood of employment for most women (Jaiswal, A., 2017 as cited by Livanos et al, 2009). As expected, they also found out that education level increases the likelihood of employment, with university degree holders having many more opportunities to participate in the labor market than high school graduates, and those with postgraduate studies have even higher opportunities to be employed. (Livanos et al, 2009). Age and years of experience are also presented to be significant factors for women's employment reflected in the high unemployment rates of younger females lacking experience. Regions also seem to play a role for women's employment status as the area

of the capital city of Athens offers more employment opportunities and the unemployment rates are, hence, lower for women, as well (Livanos et al, 2009).

However, there are unobservable factors that can also explain the gender gap in employment. One such factor is preferences and personal choices. Women tend to seek jobs with flexible hours, greater security, and closer to home, limiting their options. (Paul Redmond & Seamus McGuinness, 2019).

Moreover, in the study “People outside the labor force not seeking” published by Eurostat in May 2022, it is clearly evidenced that women in Greece still undertake the burden of unpaid domestic work and withdraw from the paid labor market due to care responsibilities (around 7% of the population aged 25-54) while no men are reported to do so (Eurostat, 2022).

2.2 Time use studies (TUS) contribution to gender equality

Time-use studies are a common research topic in many countries worldwide providing valuable information on various activities such as paid and unpaid work, social life, family life and leisure. The primary purpose of the derived data is to aid in policy making decisions and academic research, by assessing and analyzing the quality of life or overall well-being of people, measuring various forms of labor, including unpaid work, as well as supporting gender policies, especially in the context of work-life balance. (EUROSTAT, 2019)

The European Institute for Gender Equality (2023) reports that the "Time use" metrics aid in gauging gender disparities in the time allocated to paid and unpaid tasks and are crucial for identifying gender differences in aspects such as part-time employment, caregiving duties, and unpaid household care. Additionally, they offer insights into potential variations in leisure activities among genders. Specific indicators relate to several EU policy objectives, including the European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan's goal of achieving 78% adult employment by 2030 and addressing work-life balance. These indicators also contribute to fostering gender equality in work-life balance through strategies like family care, flexible work arrangements, and equal sharing of caregiving responsibilities outlined in the Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025. (EIGE, 2023)

The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) (2012) highlights the importance of the time use surveys in gender-related data analysis as a valuable resource for exploring the gendered division of paid employment, domestic work, educational pursuits, self-care, family responsibilities, and recreational pursuits among women and men. By revealing distinct time-allocation patterns influenced by gender, these surveys shed light on the roles and circumstances of individuals within family and societal contexts. (UNECE United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2012)

Robin Fleming (1999), in an extensive report in time use surveys commissioned by Statistics New Zealand and funded by the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Ministry of Education, presents the pivotal role of the time use surveys worldwide in policy making, especially gender equality strategies, and academic research. The importance of acknowledging unpaid work, especially women's contributions, is highlighted and examples of scholar studies in Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Japan, Australia and Russia are cited underscoring the changing dynamics of time allocation, revealing shifts in paid and domestic work, gender roles and economic transitions, while a research by Gershuny and Bittman challenges theories of leisure and symmetry in work distribution between genders. (Robin Fleming et al., 1999)

2.2.1. Trends and patterns in the gendered division of housework in TUS worldwide

The lack of multiple time use studies in Greece precludes the identification of trends in the housework division by gender over the years and hinders the observation of progress in the gender disparities on time allocation on unpaid work. Therefore, as a reference point and an auxiliary means of evaluation and understanding of the possible shifting trends in the gendered division of housework, literature research on the results of time use studies in other developed countries was considered necessary.

The consistent study of time use surveys over wide time spans and across multiple countries reveals significant shifts in gender dynamics through the housework division among men and women and identifies ongoing patterns and similar trends.

Liana Sayer (2005) analyzed time use surveys in the U.S. to investigate the evolution of patterns and disparities in time allocation on housework over the years 1965, 1975 and 1998.

Her analysis shows that the time spent by women and men in paid and unpaid work had become more similar between them in 1998 compared to 1965. In 1965, women did about 30 % as much paid work as men, but by 1998, women were doing about 80 % as much paid work as men.

Within the same period the ratio of women's to men's time in unpaid work had decreased dramatically in most housework and childcare activities, particularly in cooking, cleaning, and daily childcare over the years. Specifically, in 1965, women were engaged in cooking 9.3 times more than men while by 1998 the difference had steeply decreased, with women doing only 2.2 times more cooking than men. Likewise, women's time allocated to cleaning was 15.8 times more than men in 1965, plunging to a ratio of 2.2 (times) compared to men's time allocated to cleaning in 1998. Routine childcare activities also experienced a significant decline, dropping from 6.8 in 1965 to 2.6 in 1998.

It is plausible that men's increase in unpaid work time after the mid-1970s can be attributed to changes in socialization and the impact of the transformative changes happening in women's lives, such as their significant entry into paid labor (Gershuny 2000 as cited in Sayer, 2005). The reduction in women's unpaid work time in the United States manifested in the studied analysis, is partly attributed to the wider use of domestic appliances like dishwashers and microwaves, the availability of prepackaged food and the increasing prevalence of eating out (Cohen 1998; Robinson and Godbey 1999, as cited in Sayer, 2005). Moreover, some studies indicate a decline in standards of housekeeping since the mid-1970s (Robinson and Milkie 1998 as cited in Sayer 2005), therefore we may presume that the perception of the acceptable levels of unpaid work has also changed over time. Sayer (2005) also claims that the significant decrease in women's involvement in cooking and cleaning suggests that some women have been challenging the traditional conception of housework as exclusively "women's work" by reducing their participation in these activities. Furthermore, the finding that men had been dedicating significantly more time to all core unpaid work activities in 1998 compared to 1965 implies the weakening of certain barriers that prevented men from dealing with unpaid work (Sayer, 2005).

In a study by Gershuny (2015), data from a Multinational Time Use Study spanning 45 years (1960-2015) across 13 countries, including Australia, Canada, European countries and the United States, was analyzed to understand the evolution of time allocation for both paid and unpaid work among individuals aged 20-59, revealing several key trends.

Notably, core household tasks like cooking and cleaning consistently decreased over the examined period due to labor-saving advancements, although other unpaid work, such as childcare and shopping, increased. Overall, a substantial decline in unpaid work for women is recorded, accompanied by a smaller increase in unpaid work for men. (Gershuny, 2015)

Moreover, within the same study Gershuny (2015) observed that by adding both paid and unpaid work hours, the total amount of time remains quite constant in all countries (450-550 min per day per individual) and similar (as a total) between men and women, except for the countries of the European South included in the study, i.e., Spain and Italy, where total work time for women is noted substantially higher than men. Surprisingly, the approximate average of 500 min of total work (paid+unpaid) per day, for both men and women, remains relatively stable over the half a century period examined despite the conventional belief that worktime has significantly changed. The similarity in total aggregate work time between men and women, is described as "*isowork*" by Burda et al., and is surprising enough as it raises the question how the individuals eventually attain the same work time level, which is easier explained for couples, perhaps motivated by a sense of fairness or, more likely, intending to spend leisure time together, but not for random participants. (Gershuny, 2015).

Although the "*isowork*" phenomenon remains unexplained and unattributed, it affects women especially in societies where formal gender equality is not yet attained and childcare is mainly undertaken by women either due to tradition or public policy, diminishing women's earning power in couples and families, while earnings inequalities can impact decision-making dynamics within a partnership, placing the lower-earning individual at a disadvantage. (Gershuny, 2015)

When examining work times by family status, regardless of the examined period, it conveys a similar narrative. Although the study extracts data from diverse individuals at different life stages, the pattern remains the same; during the same phase of life when women are reducing their paid work times, men are increasing theirs. This trend is less occurring in the Nordic countries and more prominent in the European South with the extreme finding of women in Italy who seem to abandon their paid work after having children, except for those in highly paying jobs. As women in couples withdraw from the labor market, at the same time they reduce their "*earnings power*" (Gershuny, 2015, p. 268) compared to men. (Gershuny, 2015)

Consequently, the unequal division of labor between men and women during life stages can impact women's earning power and decision-making dynamics within relationships. These findings shed light on the complex dynamics of work allocation and gender roles in different countries over time.

2.2.2. Trends and patterns in gendered division of housework in TUS in Europe

Studying the results of time use studies on housework time allocation between men and women in Europe, can serve as a reference point and a base for comparison to identify trends, especially when narrowing down to countries with similar cultural and societal context (European South) and similar economies and living standards (for example, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Slovenia, etc.).

Christel Aliaga (2006) conducted a multinational time use study focusing on European countries providing comprehensive insights into the distribution of time between women and men in Europe around the beginning of the new millennium. The study is based on time use surveys with participants aged 20-74, in 14 countries (Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Poland, Slovenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Finland, Sweden, Norway and the United Kingdom) between 1999 and 2003. (Aliaga, 2006)

As expected, there are again noteworthy differences between men and women concerning paid and unpaid labor time that vary significantly among the surveyed countries. On average women aged 20 to 74 dedicate much more time to housework compared to men, with the widest gender gap found in Italy and Spain where women spend more than 200 % more time than men on household care (ratio women to men: 3:1) which diverges greatly from the narrower gender gap found in Sweden, where women allocate 50 % more time on housework than men (ratio women to men: 1.5:1) (Aliaga, 2006).

According to the study, Italy, Estonia, Slovenia, Hungary, and Spain have the highest amounts of time of women's domestic work, with approximately 5 hours spent per day, while, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Latvia exhibit the lowest figures, with less than 4 hours per day. The daily average time allocated by men on housework ranges from as low as 1h and 30 min in

Spain and Italy, to around 2 h and 30 min or more in Slovenia, Hungary, Sweden, Belgium, with the rest of the countries a bit less than 2 h and 30 min.

The opposite trend is observed when paid work is in focus. Men allocate more time on average to paid work or study than women. The lowest amount of time dedicated to paid employment for men is reported in Germany, Belgium and Hungary (around 3 h and 30-45 min) and the highest in Lithuania and Latvia (around 5 h), while the paid working hours of men in the rest studied countries range from 4 h to 4 h and 30 min). Women's average daily time spent on paid jobs ranges from as low as approximately 2 h in Italy, Germany and Belgium, and as high as 3 h and 40 min in Latvia and Lithuania (Aliaga, 2006).

If we calculate the total average time devoted to work, including paid work/study and unpaid work, as Gershuny (2015) did in the afore presented study, then the unequal distribution of workload and the burden imposed on women are clearly demonstrated. It generally sums up between 400 and 450 min per day for women, exceeding it only in Lithuania and Slovenia (457 and 490 min respectively), while men's total working time (including paid work/study and unpaid work) ranges from 350 to 400 min daily on average, except in Sweden, Latvia and Lithuania where the average exceeds slightly above (414, 419 and 424 min respectively). This calculation as well as the work times in European countries per gender and per work type (paid/unpaid) are illustrated in the following table (Table 3)

Women	**DE**	**BE**	**NO**	**FI**	**UK**	**SE**	**FR**	**PL**	**ES**	**IT**	**HU**	**LV**	**SI**	**LT**	**EU**
Paid work	2:05	2:07	2:53	2:49	2:33	3:12	2:31	2:29	2:26	2:06	2:32	3:41	2:59	3:41	2:33
Housework	4:11	4:32	3:47	3:56	4:15	3:42	4:30	4:45	4:55	5:20	4:58	3:56	4:58	4:29	5:02
in hours	**6:16**	**6:39**	**6:40**	**6:45**	**6:48**	**6:54**	**7:01**	**7:14**	**7:21**	**7:26**	**7:30**	**7:37**	**7:57**	**8:10**	**7:35**
in minutes	**376**	**399**	**400**	**405**	**408**	**414**	**421**	**434**	**441**	**446**	**450**	**457**	**477**	**490**	**455**
Men	**DE**	**BE**	**NO**	**FI**	**UK**	**SE**	**FR**	**PL**	**ES**	**IT**	**HU**	**LV**	**SI**	**LT**	**EU**
Paid work	3:35	3:30	4:16	4:01	4:18	4:25	4:03	4:15	4:39	4:26	3:46	5:09	4:07	4:55	3:40
Housework	2:21	2:38	2:22	2:16	2:18	2:29	2:22	2:22	1:37	1:35	2:40	1:50	2:40	2:09	2:48
in hours	**5:56**	**6:08**	**6:38**	**6:17**	**6:36**	**6:54**	**6:25**	**6:37**	**6:16**	**6:01**	**6:26**	**6:59**	**6:47**	**7:04**	**6:28**
in minutes	**356**	**368**	**398**	**377**	**396**	**414**	**385**	**397**	**376**	**361**	**386**	**419**	**407**	**424**	**388**

Table 3: Work time per gender, per country in Europe, general population, ages: 20-74 (1999- 2003). Based on data from the paper by Aliaga (2006)

We notice that when considering the total hours worked per day, including both paid work/study and unpaid domestic work, women in Lithuania, Slovenia, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, and Spain have the highest figures, amounting to around 7½ h (450 min) and more. The total hours worked are typically shorter for men compared to women, except in Sweden, Norway, and the United Kingdom, where the difference is nearly equal or slightly shorter (as indicated in table 3).

The study by Aliaga (2006) also reveals significant disparities in the allocation of household tasks between women and men. Women tend to spend more time on food preparation compared to men, with at least 80% of women in the surveyed countries engaging in this task daily, while the participation of men is usually less than a third. The average time dedicated to food preparation by women can be 6-7 times higher than that of men except in Sweden, Norway, and the United Kingdom, where food preparation appears to be shared more equally between genders. Moreover, tasks such as dishwashing, laundry, ironing, and handicrafts are predominantly carried out by women. On the contrary, tasks such as construction and home repairs are primarily performed by men, with women's involvement being rare in the examined countries. (Aliaga, 2006)

In 2019 an article published by Eurostat, based on time use surveys conducted between 2008 and 2015 in 18 European countries, 15 EU Member States and 3 non-EU countries (Norway, Serbia and Turkey) shows that while time use patterns across Europe generally show similarities, there are notable differences between women and men and among the surveyed countries. On average, women spend significantly more time to domestic work and family care compared to men. The highest gender gap in household care is in Turkey (3 h and 16 min more for woman than for man), followed by Italy (2 h and 47 min) and Greece (2 h and 21 min). (Eurostat, 2019). The chart below (Chart 3) shows the participation time per day by gender in all countries that participate in the survey.

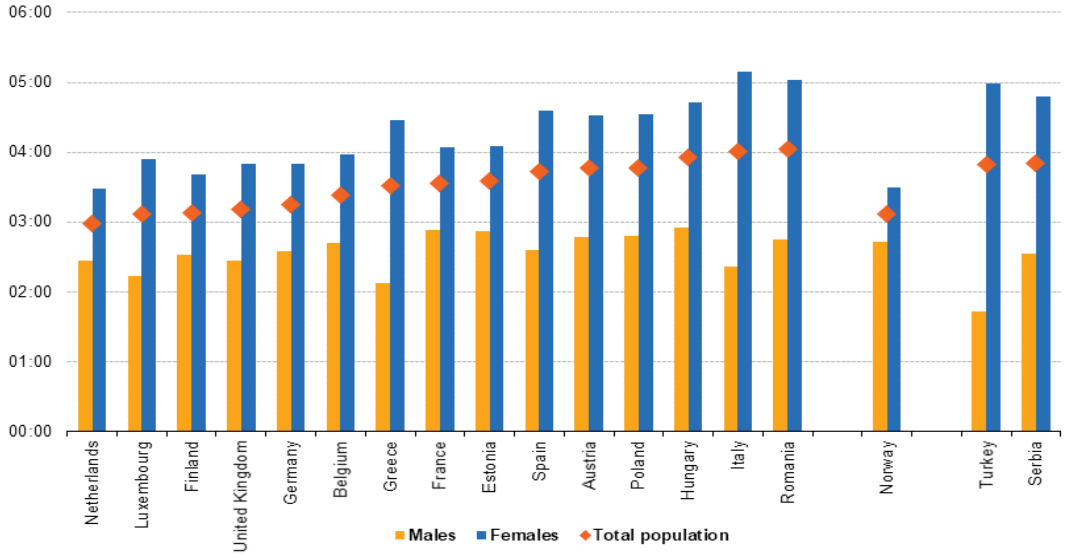

Chart 3: Participation time per day in household and family care by gender (2008-2015) (Source: Eurostat)

3. Theories and Concepts

3.1. Production and Reproduction

The concept of social reproduction was first used by the economist Francois Quesnay (1694–1774) to define the processes that a social system reproduces itself. Quesnay along with other theorists of the Enlightenment era also defined agricultural work as productive labor (Federici, 2019).

Furthermore, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels widened the concept of productive labor as the production of goods in the economy and distinguished it clearly from reproductive labor which sustains the reproduction of the labor power required for the productive economy (Duffy, 2007). As quoted by Anderson, Friedrich Engels specified: *"The determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life…. On the one side, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary*

for that production; on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species" (Anderson, 2001, p. 25)

In the 1970s the concept of reproductive labor was further discussed by socialist feminists to bring light to women's unpaid work in the home, *"the activities of a housewife from cleaning bathrooms and preparing food to caring for children"* that had been previously largely neglected by either sociology or economics. (Duffy, 2007, p. 315)

In the recent years, Fraser has elaborated extensively on the concepts of production and social reproduction giving specific examples of activities and capacities that form part of the reproductive labor, including giving birth and raising children, socializing the young, caring for the old, for friends and family, maintaining households, building and sustaining communities and the societal values supporting social connection and social cooperation. She indicates that although almost all these activities take place outside the economy market, in private spheres of homes, in schools and other public institutions, neighborhood and society associations, as primarily non waged social reproductive labor, they are essential to the existence of the economic production. (Fraser, 2016)

It is vividly experienced in women's everyday life globally and well noted in feminist scholarship that social reproduction has been traditionally identified as women's work even though men may occasionally also do a small part of it (Fraser, 2016), although in the modern ages, state managed and globalizing financialized capitalism, the second and third regimes of capitalism as identified by Fraser (2016), have institutionalized the «family wage» and the «two earner family» bringing women to the production economy and the paid labor market.

Parreñas emphasizes that reproductive work goes beyond the care work provided to adults and children, which also entails their emotional support and their socializing, to include an array of activities and even "menial" tasks such as purchasing household goods, cooking, preparing food, dusting furniture and sweeping floors. (Parreñas, 2012).

3.2 Perspectives on gendered division of housework

The existing literature has extensively addressed the gendered division of housework in different contexts, providing valuable insights into the factors influencing this division and its

implications. Sayer (2005) presents two theoretical explanations that dominate the literature on gender differences in time allocated on household care: the economic/bargaining perspective and the gender perspective. Empirical studies support both theoretical perspectives.

The economic/bargaining perspective interprets changes in women's and men's time allocations as a response to evolving economic, demographic, and normative factors. As women have achieved higher levels of education and income, their advantage in unpaid work compared to paid work has decreased. Simultaneously, shifts in marriage rates, delayed marriage, and reduced fertility have lessened the demands for unpaid work. Consequently, it is expected that women would increasingly allocate more time to paid work. As women's education, employment, and earnings have grown, enhancing their bargaining power, men's involvement in unpaid work should also increase. This perspective attributes the ongoing shifts in the distribution of work time between women and men to substantial advancements in women's education, workforce experience, wages, and occupational status, both among them and compared to men. (Sayer, 2005)

The gender perspective emphasizes the persistence of gender inequality and the factors impeding changes in the division of labor. It argues that unpaid work is not a gender-neutral set of tasks, but rather a mechanism sustaining power imbalances between women and men. Men not participating in unpaid work or avoiding certain tasks is a way to display masculinity and reinforce their societal dominance. This perspective suggests that despite the apparent changes in gendered time use due to evolving demographics, economics, and norms, the perpetuation of gender inequality remains a fundamental outcome. Furthermore, it notes that although the definition of acceptable feminine behavior has expanded to include wage earning, the devaluation of domestic labor is deeply rooted in societal norms of femininity and masculinity, making it more socially acceptable for women to take on "masculine" roles like paid work than for men to adopt "feminine" roles like unpaid work. Consequently, women are expected to continue with an "acceptable" level of domestic labor, while men are not anticipated to significantly increase their involvement in unpaid work. This perspective also implies that women should have less leisure time than men because they are responsible for ensuring that all unpaid work is completed, regardless of their participation in paid work. (Sayer, 2005)

In their scholarship study Bianchi et al (2000) present an extended categorization and analyze three main theoretical perspectives on the domestic labor allocation: the time availability perspective, the relative resources perspective, and the gender perspective.

According to the time availability perspective, domestic labor division is based on the availability of household members and their time constraints. The time spent on housework by women and men is expected to be influenced by their engagement in paid work and family responsibilities. Research suggests that women's time is more affected by these factors than men's (Bianchi et al., 2000).

The relative resources perspective examines power dynamics in relationships, suggesting that the division of housework is influenced by the relative resources each partner brings. Factors like education and income levels can create power imbalances, affecting how domestic chores are distributed. In some variations of this theory, women may be assigned the responsibility for housework due to economic dependence on their husbands, making it difficult for them to avoid such tasks (Bianchi et al., 2000).

The gender perspective offers a critical response to the time availability and relative resources perspectives, emphasizing the symbolic nature of gender relations expressed through housework. It contends that housework isn't solely determined by time or rational choices but is a reflection of ingrained gender roles and expectations in households. Women's roles as wives and mothers are intrinsically linked to housework expectations, and housework serves as a means to define and express gender relations. Gender ideology and the concept of "doing gender" are central in this perspective. Research within this framework has explored gender role ideologies, childhood socialization, and how gender is manifested through housework. Notably, studies reveal that the largest disparity in housework time between men and women is found in marital households, underscoring the influence of traditional gender roles. Women tend to increase their housework hours upon marriage, while men's contributions decrease, potentially driven by a desire to assert their masculinity rather than economic exchange principles. (Bianchi et al., 2000).

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Methodology

As already mentioned in the introduction, this paper was motivated by the intention to identify gender inequalities and the position of women in the Greek society, based on the gendered division of unpaid labor in the households. The initial motivation was further enhanced by the lack of relevant literature and the apparent unexploited use of the single time use study ever conducted in Greece according to the European HETUS guidelines with the inherent valuable information it provided.

Thus, this thesis uses a quantitative research method for the analysis of the data from the time use survey to identify patterns and trends in the amount and type of housework performed by men and women in Greek households. Descriptive statistics are used to analyze the data and identify significant differences between the participating groups of men and women. As the primary survey data was not available and could not be accessed at the time of writing this paper, secondary data was used for the analysis. Namely, referring to the time use survey of ELSTAT, the press releases published by the Authority were used as they include the main findings of the survey and tables with the results, as well the tables with data published in their website.

Data visualizations are mainly employed in this thesis using tables and charts to present the findings of the surveys to help the reader comprehend easily, and identify the patterns described and the associations made. Tables (with data arranged in columns and rows) are used to show in detail how independent and dependent variables interact to facilitate presentation of values, comparison between them or between groups of related measurements. Charts are chosen when the overall shape of results needs to be presented rather than details, to enable the concise visual display of information.

Literature review is also conducted to assist the interpretation of the data analysis and present the gendered division of housework across countries worldwide and in different time periods. The literature review is a crucial component of the methodology research in this thesis, as it provides a comprehensive overview of existing scholarly work and research studies that can act as a reference point to the topic under investigation and a contextual background that

shape the overall research design and methodology employed in this thesis. Moreover, systematic research among published articles, books, and other reliable sources on the role and position of women in the modern Greek society and gender equality issues in general, revealed significant gaps in knowledge in these fields. By reviewing and critically evaluating the existing literature, this study aims to ensure its contribution to the existing body of knowledge in a meaningful way.

4.2. Quantitative methods and feminist research

Quantitative methods have been undervalued by feminist researchers since the 1960s and were viewed as methods supporting the male dominance in social research while qualitative research methods have been associated with a feminist perspective. (Oakley, 1998). Oakley (1998) contradicts the "*paradigm argument"* (Oakley, 1998, p. 724) that presents these two research methods as opposing each other in social science and suggests that quantitative methods should be rehabilitated and integrated with other methods to create a more emancipatory social science. She draws on the history of both social and natural science to show that the issue is not one of gender and methodology, but rather the social construction of methodology as gendered. (Oakley, 1998)

In recent years, scholars have supported that quantitative techniques can significantly contribute to feminist and gender studies. (Harding, 1997; McCall, 2005; Maynard, 1994; Mazur and Goertz, 2008, as cited in (Spierings, 2012)). While quantitative methods are increasingly integrated into social sciences, they are still not widely used in the mainstream of feminist and gender studies and remain *"the ugly duckling, or at least the lonely duckling*" (Spierings, 2012, p. 332), appearing scarcely in feminist and gender scholarship. Spierings (2012) supports that although feminist researchers acknowledge the importance of quantitative methods, they are still rarely adopted in gender studies.

Jacqueline Scott has worked extensively with quantitative methodology in studies undertaken by the ESRC Research Priority Network on Gender Inequalities in Production and Reproduction (GeNet) that she used to coordinate and specifically discusses the importance of time use surveys to determine gender inequality (Scott, 2010). She claims that a benefit of

quantitative research is the ability to generate hypotheses from existing theories and test them against data to see if they are supported or refuted. Often, the empirical evidence suggests the need for changes in existing theory, leading to the creation of new hypotheses, enhancing, thus, our knowledge on the root causes of gender inequalities (Scott, 2010). However, Scott (2010) emphasizes the need for a nuanced understanding of gender inequalities and the value of combining quantitative and qualitative methods to capture the complex dynamics of gendered experiences and structures.

Sandra Harding (1987) contemplating on the existence of a distinct feminist method, supports that examining research methods alone does not reveal the unique features of exceptional feminist research and suggests that if the research is driven by queries related to challenges as experienced by women, then the research is designed *for* women and offers women's interpretations of social phenomena to meet their needs and requests.

4.3. Research Methodology of the 2013-2014 Time Use Survey

Although a Harmonized European Time Use Survey (HETUS) takes place in various countries in the European Union every ten years, it is not obligatory for the state members and data is collected on a voluntary basis by the national statistical offices. In Greece, a time use survey was only conducted once in 2013-2014, aligning with the HETUS classification and guidelines used in other EU member states. The harmonization of time use survey data was initiated in the early 1990s to ensure comparability across European countries, and guidelines for HETUS were developed in 2000, incorporating recommendations from pilot surveys and discussions among experts.

The HETUS is classified as gender statistics by Eurostat and the United Nations Statistics Division to gather data on how individuals within households allocate their time during both working days and national holidays or weekends. The survey collects information on different activities such as paid work, housekeeping, caregiving, transportation, and recreation. It is carried out on a representative sample of households and collects data on household structure, housing conditions, employment and employment status, education level, health of the household members etc. (Eurostat, 2020). Gender plays a significant role in sample

design, analysis, and drawing conclusions. The data collected from the survey aims to contribute to policy implementation related to gender equality, work-life balance, and the division of paid and unpaid work between genders. Additionally, it can contribute to satellite accounts on own-production goods and home-based working time.

The studied Time Use Survey was conducted from March 2013 to February 2014 and covered private households all over Greece regardless of their size and social or economic status. It utilized a two-stage area sampling approach based on the Population Census of 2001 to ensure representativeness of the sample. The sample size was 3.371 households (sampling fraction 0,08%) equally distributed within the year, to have 4 equally dependent samples, corresponding to the 4 quarters of a year. The total number of municipalities selected amounted to 337, while the number of settlements to 36 and the number of sampling areas to 619. The number of household members that responded in the survey amounted to 7.137 of which 379 belong to age category 10-14 years old while the rest 6.802 belong to age category 15+ years old. Individuals in age category 20-74 amounted to 5.361. The detailed quality report (ESQRS) published by ELSTAT can be found at the official website of the Authority ((Hellenic Statistical Authority (ESQRS), 2014)

Participants in the survey, aged 10 years and older, were required to keep track of their primary and secondary activities in two separate diaries. One diary covered weekdays (Monday to Friday), while the other covered a day on the weekend (Saturday or Sunday). The diaries were divided into 10-minute increments, starting from 4 am and ending at 4 pm the following day. The survey results were initially published on 11/12/2014. However, revised data were later released as ELSTAT had to recalculate the weighting factors to reflect both the daily and monthly distribution of the completed diaries during the reference period.

The survey results provide data in terms of hours and minutes per day, representing the average time individuals spend on various activities. This average time takes into account the entire group of respondents, regardless of whether they engage in a particular activity or not, and it is calculated across the entire year. For instance, when calculating the average daily time spent on employment, the working hours reported by each respondent are considered, incorporating all days of the year (both working and non-working), and representing the entire population of employed individuals.

According to Sayer (2005) time diaries provide more accurate assessments as respondents must remain within a 24-hour reporting period, so increases in time for certain activities must be balanced by decreases in time for other activities and because activities are classified consistently over time based on coding conventions. (Sayer, 2005)

4.2 Definitions/Coding

For the purposes of this study, housework is defined as unpaid work performed within a household by its members for its maintenance and proper running, catering to the routine needs of its members, including household management, childcare and pet care. It mainly includes the practicalities of a household, specific tasks which require a significant amount of time to be accomplished.

In the examined time use survey by ELSTAT, activities (tasks) were classified using ACL2008 (Activity Coding List for Harmonized European time use survey) classification in agreement with Guidelines on HETUS 2008 applied also in every member-state in EU. For the studied group of activities (Code 3, Household Care) the following tasks and coding were included:

3 Household Care	30 Unspecified household care
	31 Food management
	32 Household upkeep
	33 Making and care for textiles
	34 Gardening and pet care
	35 Constructions and repairs
	36 Shopping and services
	37 Household management
	38 Childcare
	39 Help to an adult household member

These activities were analyzed further to include a detailed list of housework tasks and care work as well as extensive examples of tasks as described below.

CODE 3	ACTIVITY HOUSEHOLD CARE	EXAMPLE
30	**UNSPECIFIED HOUSEHOLD CARE**	
300	*Unspecified household care* Housework, household work outdoors	• Doing housework • Working outdoors
31	**FOOD MANAGEMENT**	
311	*Food preparation, baking and preserving* All activities in connection with food preparation, baking, preserving, freezing and canning	• Set the table • Brewed coffee • Cleaning fish • Cooking • Heated up some food • Preparation of coffee, snacks, aperitifs, meals, etc. • Prepared a lunch box • Serving food to other people • Turned on the oven • Making a pie, pastry, tart, sweets, etc. • Churn milk to make cheese, etc. • Killing a pig/chicken • Prepared food to put in the freezer • Preparing/bottling of home-made wine, etc.
312	*Dish washing* Other activities before and after washing up, e.g. drying up, tidying away dishes, etc.	• Cleared the food back to the fridge • Cleared the table after breakfast/ lunch/snacks/dinner/supper/coffee • Loaded/unloaded the dishwasher
32	**HOUSEHOLD UPKEEP**	
321	*Cleaning dwelling* Vacuuming, washing/waxing floors, washing windows, making beds, tidying, arranging home, etc., separating papers, bottles, tins, etc.	• Airing of bedclothes • Beating rugs • Collected the children's toys • Putting away the cleaning kits • Tidied up wardrobes • Took out rubbish, waste

CODE	ACTIVITY	EXAMPLE
322	***Cleaning garden*** Cleaning garden or pavement, composting waste etc.	• Cleaned around garden pool area • Cleaned patio furniture • High-pressure hosed the roof or the walls of the house • Raking together dead leaves • Swept the entrance
323	***Heating and water*** Checking and heating the boiler, preparing/ carrying the heating material , warming water for bath *Repairs of appliances are included in* **353_Making, repairing and maintaining equipment**.	• Carrying water • Checked the boiler • Lit the boiler • Preparing the heating material • Warming water for bath
324	***Arranging household goods and materials*** Various kinds of arrangements of tasks at home, in a weekend home, in a hotel etc. Putting in order own goods or goods belonging to household members.	• Arranging clothes for the morning • Arranging purchases • Carrying out garden furniture • Collecting mail from the letter • Hanging up curtains • Loading and unloading the shopping to/from the car • Looking for lost items • Moving to a new place to live • Packing/ unpacking for a trip, a removal • Packing/unpacking hobby equipment • Preparation of clothes for the next day • Preparing the satchel • Put up a tent • Putting food products into refrigerator • Tending indoor flowers • Wrapped up gifts
329	***Other household upkeep*** Activities that do not fit into the previous categories	• Closed/opened doors or windows • Locked the door • Cleaning, with no distinction as to house, garage or garden

CODE	ACTIVITY	EXAMPLE
33	**MAKING AND CARE FOR TEXTILES**	
331	*Laundry, dry clean*	• Emptied the drying cupboard • Folding sheets and putting them into the cupboard • Hand-washing, soaking, rinsing • Sorting of laundry • Hanging out clothes
332	*Ironing and folding*	• Put laundry in drawer • Sorting/folding clothes
333	*Handicraft and producing textiles* Includes only making new products - not repairing clothes etc. Includes hand knitting, needlework, embroidery, etc. and handicraft done by machine or weaving.	• Making new clothes, curtains, etc. using a sewing-machine • Sewing • Weaving rags
339	*Other making and care for textiles* Repairing clothes, putting seasonal clothes into storage etc.	• Putting seasonal clothes into storage • Changed a zip • Sewed a button, something that was ripped • Cleaned the boots
34	**GARDENING AND PET CARE**	
341	*Gardening* Kitchen gardening, tending vegetables, potatoes, tomatoes, etc, harvesting, tending outdoor flowers, mowing the lawn, etc., tending flowers on a grave. *Tending indoor flowers is included in* **324_Arranging household goods and materials.** *Raking together dead leaves is included in* **322_Cleaning garden**.	• Collecting rose hips • Planting vegetables • Ploughing • Weeding • Trimming of trees, plants • Trimming of hedge • Watering the garden • Working in the garden
342	*Tending domestic animals* Only when products are intended only for own use. *Riding is included in* **619_Other sports or outdoor activities**.	• Bee-keeping • Feeding domestic animals • Tending hens, rabbits, sheep, etc.

CODE	ACTIVITY	EXAMPLE
354	*Vehicle maintenance* All maintenance of vehicles and appliances of a household: cars, cycles, boats, etc. done by oneself. *Car inspection is included in* **362_ Commercial and administrative services**.	• Changed tyres on the car • Docking of boat for the winter • Drove the car into the garage • Cleaned the car-glasses • Washing, cleaning and waxing car by oneself or in service station
359	*Other construction and repairs*	
36	**SHOPPING AND SERVICES**	
361	*Shopping for consumer goods (Market research is also included)* *Shopping for farming goods is included in* **111_Working time.**	• Bought a present • Bought plants for the garden • Bought snack food from a kiosk • Fuelling a motor vehicle • Inspecting a car at a car showroom • Looked at an apartment for sale • Looked at clothes • Purchasing medicines • Purchasing tickets (for the cinema, swimming pool, etc.) • Rented a video film • Tried on clothes in a shop • Was at a food store • Was at the market
362	*Commercial and administrative services* Visiting post office, bank, accountant, lawyer, insurance adviser, municipality authorities, police station, centre for car inspection, travel agency, etc. *Calling or visiting a labour office is in* **129_Other activities related to employment**. *Phone calls to institutions etc. are included in* **371_Household management**. *Own work on car done in a garage or at home is included in* **354_Vehicle maintenance**. *Fuelling a car is included in* **361_ Shopping.** *Activities (calling the vet, talking to vet, etc.) in connection with Veterinary services for cattle (if it is on a farm) are included in* **111_ Working time**, *and for pets in* **343_ Caring for pets.**	• Car inspection at car inspection centre • Check-in to hotel • Fetched a package from the post office • Fetched shoes from the shoemaker's • Had oil change and car greased in a garage, as paid service. • Hotel services • Paying bills at ATM • Withdrawing money from cash machine • Visited travel agency • Was at decoration service

CODE	ACTIVITY	EXAMPLE
363	*Personal services* Visiting a doctor, dentist, physiotherapist, etc. for own medical care, . Visit to a hairdresser, etc. for own personal services.	• Doctor visited me at home • Facial care • To the hairdresser's • Having one's navel pierced • Visited the maternity ward • Waiting in the doctor's waiting-room • Was at the hospital (as a patient)
369	*Other shopping and services*	• Waited in the car while my wife was shopping
37	**HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT**	
371	*Household management* Planning and arranging, budgeting, paperwork, making a shopping list, arranging and supervising outside services at home. *Visiting the bank, post office, etc. is included in* **362_Commercial and administrative services**. *Management in connection with farming is included in* **111_Working time**. *Visiting the shop etc. is included in* **361_Shopping**. *Shopping for farming goods is included in* **111_Working time**.	• Attendance during repairs (supervision) • Bank services by phone or Internet • Booking cinema tickets from home • Filling in bank giro forms • Ordered a pizza by phone • Ordered goods by Internet • Planned a journey • Planned a birthday party for my son • Planned food purchases, meals • Planned weekend programme for the family • Made reservation for air tickets by Internet
38	**CHILDCARE**	
381	*Physical care and supervision* *The upper age limit of a child is 17 years.* Feeding, dressing, washing and preparing children for bed, etc., supervision indoors or outdoors. *Childminding for another household only is included in informal help to other households,* **423_Care of own children living in another household** or **424_Other childcare as help to another household**.	• Babysitting my younger sister • Breast-fed my child • Changed nappies • Combed my child's hair • Holding my child in my arms • Putting my children to bed • Taking care of a sick child • Waking up my child • Was at the playground with the children (supervision outdoors) • Watching children (including my own) playing in the playground, in the garden • Watching my child's physical training
382	*Teaching the child* Help with homework, giving guidance, checking.	• Checked homework

CODE	ACTIVITY	EXAMPLE
383	*Narrating and reading, playing and talking with child* *Siblings talking with each other is included in* **511_Socialising with family**. *Siblings playing together is included in* **732_Parlour games and play**. *Looking TV with children is in* **821_ Watching TV, video or DVD**.	• Entertained the children • Playing games with the children • Read a story to the children/to my sister • Talked with the children
384	*Accompanying child* Accompanying child to a doctor, waiting at a sports centre, music lesson, etc., visiting school, nursery, parents' meetings at school. If any other activity than waiting is specified, the actual activity should be coded. *Time spent on travel is coded* **938_Travel related to childcare**.	• Attending end of term celebration at school • Parent's meeting • At school with my child • Attending children's party at school • Talking with a carer, teacher etc. • Visiting babysitter .
389	*Other childcare*	• Listened to my daughter playing the piano at home • Helped the children
39	**HELP TO AN ADULT HOUSEHOLD MEMBER**	
391	*Physical care of a dependent adult household member* Feeding, washing, dressing and preparing them for bed.	• Feeding my elderly mother • Changed nappies • Dressing my Alzheimer-sick wife • Tie shoelace for my elderly father • Combed my elderly mother's hair • Help to go upstairs • Putting my disabled husband to bed • Preparing the medicine for my sister (mentally disabled)
392	*Other care of a dependent adult household member* Supervision indoors and outdoors, accompanying an adult at home to visit a doctor, waiting at a day center	• Was at the playground with the elderly adult (supervision outdoors) • Talking with a carer, doctor etc. • Entertained my elderly father who lives with us • Playing games with my mentally disabled brother
399	*Help to a non dependent adult household member* Cutting hair, massaging, care of an adult temporary sick.	• Cut my husband's hair • Massaging my wife • Waking up adults (husband, wife, etc.) • Taking care of an adult temporarily sick

4.3 Research limitations

Even though, according to Sayer (2005), time diaries provide accurate accounts of time use because they reduce the possibility of the respondents providing socially desirable answers and restrict the participants to remain within a 24-hour reporting period (where increases in time for certain activities must be balanced by decreases in time on others), there are still limitations that also apply in this paper.

The most important limitation of this study is that the factors influencing the time use choices cannot be clearly identified in the survey. This type of quantitative research cannot determine causality, as the data collected may be influenced by factors that are not accounted for in the survey, such as historical, societal or environmental factors. Furthermore, as this paper is based on a survey that involves collecting data from a sample of individuals at a specific point in time, the data collected represents a snapshot of the sample at that particular moment, providing information about the current state of the sample. Finally, the survey did not collect information on the quality or intensity of household work, which may have important implications for gendered division of household labor.

The primary survey data was not available and could not be accessed at the time of writing this paper, therefore secondary data was only used for the analysis, limiting the amount of information that could be extracted and the further study of possibly useful correlations. For example, there were no data readily available on unpaid workload fluctuations depending on family status or parental workload.

As there has been only one single time use survey conducted in Greece several risks and limitations are entailed. A single survey can present findings that may not sufficiently capture the social, cultural and economic variations of a country, may not follow evolution of societal norms and cannot therefore help identifying trends over periods of time. Especially for this particular time use study that was conducted within a period of an unusual and severe economic crisis that distorted routines and affected behaviors long enough to leave an impact on society, a follow up or previous time use survey would have been essential. In order to overcome this limitation, it had been useful and helpful to refer to data from other countries in order to check the validity of trends and the ratification of findings.

5. Empirical Results/Analysis

5.1 Gendered division of housework by employment status

According to the time use survey data for the period 2013-2014, the most striking finding is that, among the general population aged 20-74 in Greece, on an average day, women spent almost three times as much time on housework as men. Specifically, women spent an average of 4 h and 22 min per day on housework, while men spent on average 1 h and 32 min per day on the same activities (Table 4).

Main activity	Hours and minutes per day			Participation %		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
Personal care	11:34	11:27	11:41	100,0	100,0	100,0
Sleep	08:23	08:20	08:25	100,0	100,0	100,0
Eating	02:13	02:06	02:21	99,5	99,6	99,5
Other personal care	00:57	00:59	00:54	99,4	99,3	99,5
Employment	02:34	01:53	03:19	35,0	27,9	42,7
Study	00:13	00:15	00:10	4,4	4,9	3,8
Household care	03:01	04:22	01:32	83,6	94,6	71,6
Voluntary Work and Meetings	00:13	00:16	00:10	10,2	12,7	7,4
Social Life and Entertainment	01:23	01:22	01:25	80,9	81,2	80,6
Sports and Outdoor Activities	00:25	00:19	00:31	24,2	20,3	28,5
Arts, Hobbies, Computing and Games	00:47	00:35	00:59	38,9	32,4	46,0
Mass Media	02:46	02:32	03:01	92,8	92,1	93,6
Travel	01:02	00:55	01:08	86,8	83,4	90,6
Unspecified leisure time	00:03	00:03	00:04	19,5	19,1	19,9

Table 4. Average daily time use by main activity, in hours and minutes, and participation of population aged 20-74

The pattern lingers also when results narrow down to employed population of the same age group 20-74. The survey data reveals that employed women dedicated 3 h and 15 min on household care whereas employed men spent 1 h and 4 min on these activities. (Table 5)

	Hours and minutes per day		
Main activity	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**
Personal care	10:49	10:39	10:57
Sleep	07:58	07:53	08:02
Eating	01:54	01:46	02:01
Other personal care	00:57	01:00	00:54
Employment	05:43	04:58	06:19
Study	00:01	00:03	00:00
Household care	02:02	03:15	01:04
Voluntary Work and Meetings	00:07	00:10	00:05
Social Life and Entertainment	01:02	01:02	01:01
Sports and Outdoor Activities	00:18	00:14	00:21
Arts, Hobbies, Computing and Games	00:39	00:35	00:43
Mass Media	02:05	01:51	02:15
Travel	00:40	00:38	00:40
Unspecified leisure time	00:03	00:03	00:03

Table 5. Average daily time use of employed persons aged 20-74 in main activities, in hours and minutes, by gender.

Although for employed women the amount of time spent on housework seems to be significantly decreased by almost one hour, men do not appear to increase the time spent on these tasks when employment is not in the focus of the findings. Thus, the ratio of time allocated to housework between employed women and men (3,03:1) seems to disadvantage employed women to a larger degree compared to the results of the general population where the ratio between men and women for these activities (2,91:1) is slightly improved in favor of women.

As seen in Table 5 above, the survey shows that employed men dedicated most of their time on their jobs (6 h and 19 min) while employed women spent 4 h and 58 min on paid work. Although men report to work ca. 25% more time than women on paid jobs, employed women report to spend about 225% more time than men on unpaid work in the house. If we compare the amount of time invested in paid and unpaid work by men and women in this survey, we also see that women spent on home tasks 65% of the time of their paid employment. Employed men spent around 16% of their paid work time on housework. These findings greatly justify the term "second shift" coined by Arlie Hochschild (Hochschild, 1989) to describe the labor performed at home in addition to the paid work in the formal sector.

5.2 Gendered division of housework by education

As the data on employed women and their "second shift" appear to be particularly interesting we may add another relevant in the analysis and explore the findings by level of education as well (Table 6). There are four education levels in this survey following the ISCED 2011 classification: first level is up to lower secondary education (ISCED 0-2), second level is upper secondary education and post-secondary education (ISCED 3-4), third level is tertiary education (ISCED 5-6) and the last one is postgraduate and doctorate studies (MSc/PhD) (ISCED 7-8).

We notice that among employed women in the survey, the highest amount of time spent on household activities is spent by women of the lowest educational level (3 h and 43 min), whereas the least amount of time is spent by women at the third educational level, that is University and College graduates (2 h and 58 min). Employed women of the other two levels (post-secondary education and postgraduate/doctorate studies) share similar amount of time on housework (3 h and 14 min and 3 h and 19 min respectively).

	Education level							
	ISCED 0-2		ISCED 3-4		ISCED 5-6		ISCED 7-8	
Main activity	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Sleep	08:09	08:18	07:52	07:52	07:46	08:07	07:43	07:49
Eating	01:46	02:14	01:39	01:58	01:56	01:54	01:28	01:50
Other personal care	00:55	00:54	00:60	00:54	01:03	00:56	01:02	00:53
Employment	04:58	06:04	05:14	06:40	04:38	06:01	05:06	05:24
Study			00:03	00:00	00:04	00:02	00:03	00:01
Household care	03:43	01:04	03:14	01:03	02:58	01:00	03:19	01:19
Free time	03:20	04:15	03:50	04:18	04:17	04:36	03:57	05:27
Voluntary Work and Meetings	00:17	00:04	00:09	00:05	00:06	00:04	00:05	00:16
Social Life and Entertainment	01:01	01:02	00:56	00:58	01:12	01:02	00:60	01:20
Sports and Outdoor Activities	00:04	00:18	00:17	00:20	00:17	00:22	00:17	00:35
Arts, Hobbies, Computing and Games	00:13	00:28	00:38	00:42	00:45	00:57	00:47	00:57
Mass Media	01:45	02:23	01:50	02:13	01:57	02:11	01:48	02:19
Travel	00:39	00:41	00:40	00:40	00:36	00:41	00:43	00:34
Unspecified leisure time	00:04	00:03	00:03	00:03	00:03	00:04	00:01	00:05

Table 6. Average daily time use of employed persons aged 20-74 years old in main activities, in hours and minutes, by education level and gender.

If we corelate the time spent in paid and unpaid work by education level in women, we notice that the variation in housework times do not correspond to similar variations in formal employment time. On the contrary, we notice that the data is inversely proportional in the case of university and college graduates (3rd level of education- ISCED 5-6) who also work the least hours outside home (4 h and 38 min) while they also spend the least time on housework (2 h and 58 min). When comparing women from the lowest and the highest levels of education, we notice that although they work similar amount of time outside home (4 h and 58 min and 5 h and 6 min respectively), the women of the lowest level spend significantly higher amount of time on housework (24 min more) than their counterparts from the highest education level (3 h and 43 min and 3 h and 19 min respectively).

Employed men in the same table (Table 4 above) report to spend similar amount of time on household work (around 1 hour) with the exception of men at the highest educational level (postgraduate and PhD studies) who report significantly higher amount of time than their counterparts (1 h and 19 min). In this last category (employed men at highest educational level) we notice the smallest gap between paid and unpaid work time in employed men, who work less hours than all the other male participants (5 h and 24 min) but spend more time on household care (1 h and 19 min).

However, the time allocated on housework by employed men overall still remains a fraction of the time invested by employed women irrespective of their educational levels. The same pattern persists, with women, even when employed and educated, spending significantly more time on unpaid labor than men, ranging from 2 h and 58 min to 3 h and 43 min, depending on the educational level, whereas men spend a mere 1 hour up to a maximum of 1 h and 19 min. (Table 6)

5.3 Gendered division of housework by age

Expanding the studied age range of the survey data to include the full age spectrum of the survey (10-74), we may examine how the division of housework evolves with age growth. Table 7 shows that female participants across all age groups spend consistently more time on household care compared to males. We also notice variations in time use across different age

groups where time spent on household care tends to increase with age for both males and females. These variations may presumably be attributed to life stages, such as moving away from parents, cohabiting with partners, marriage or transitioning into retirement, that affect the responsibilities individuals have on their own or shared household.

Main activity	Age											
	10-14		15-19		20-24		25-44		45-64		65+	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Personal Care	11:03	11:32	11:21	11:16	11:32	11:50	11:10	11:16	11:28	11:41	12:51	13:03
Employment			00:11	00:30	00:51	01:24	02:39	04:31	01:55	03:31	00:04	00:13
Study	05:43	05:25	05:18	05:15	02:32	01:37	00:09	00:04	00:01	00:00	00:00	00:00
Household care	00:25	00:18	00:45	00:17	01:43	00:52	04:05	01:19	04:54	01:42	04:25	01:56
Voluntary work and meetings	00:02	00:02	00:05	00:02	00:07	00:07	00:10	00:09	00:19	00:07	00:23	00:17
Social life and entertainMalet	00:55	00:37	01:19	01:09	01:23	01:17	01:20	01:16	01:18	01:29	01:48	02:00
Sports and outdoor activities	00:52	00:56	00:45	00:56	00:36	00:55	00:22	00:31	00:16	00:27	00:10	00:26
Arts, hobbies, computing and games	01:45	02:09	01:14	01:48	01:49	02:22	00:45	01:05	00:20	00:43	00:08	00:31
Mass media	02:21	02:01	01:55	01:42	02:12	02:11	02:14	02:35	02:38	03:10	03:36	04:36
Travel and use time	00:53	00:59	01:06	01:04	01:16	01:25	01:07	01:15	00:52	01:09	00:35	00:57
Total	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00	24:00

Table 7. Average daily time use, in hours and minutes, and participation rate by main activity by age groups and sex. Total population

The gender gap in the division of housework that we noted previously, when examining the general population aged 25-74 as a homogenous group, is consistent in all three age subgroups thereof. Women above 25 years of age dedicate a significant amount of time on household care, ranging from 4 h and 5 min to 4 h and 54 min, while men in the same age range spend significantly less time ranging from 52 min to maximum 1 hour and 56 min (Table 7)

This gap narrows significantly at the early ages of 10-14 when girls perform housework tasks for 25 min and boys for 18 min on an average day. This is actually the most egalitarian ratio (women's to men's time on housework) throughout the whole survey (1,39:1) but does not persist beyond the age of 14 when the ratio follows the patterns we have already noticed. Even in the following young age range of 15-19, although the time use is low for both genders compared to values of older ages (45 min for females and 17 min for males) the value of the ratio in question begins to raise dramatically (2,64:1) but falls to 1,98:1 in the next age range of

20-24 (1 h and 43 min for females and 52 min for males). Presumably, the relatively low ratio in this age range may be attributed to young people moving away from family home, establishing their own household individually. The gap also narrows at ages above 65 when women lower their time use on household from the peak 4 h and 54 min in the preceding age group (45-64) to the still high amount of 4 h and 25 min while men increase their participation to housework to 1 h and 56 min which is their peak performance in household care in the survey. The ratio of women's to men's allocation of time to housework at the oldest age group (above 65) is a moderate 2,28:1. The timing of this change coincides with the transitioning to retirement and can thus be attributed to this life stage change.

The low values in time spent on household care at the youngest ages (10-14), as illustrated in Table 7, could potentially account for the increased household care burden incurred by women aged above 25, as these ages typically relate to child rearing.

The most noteworthy snapshot of gender inequality in the division of housework in the above illustrated data (Table 7) lies in the age transitioning between the two median age groups, from 20-24 to 25-44. In between women's time use jumps from housework time of 1 hour and 45 min in their early 20s to the towering amount of 4 h and 5 min on an average day that remains at more or less the same level throughout the rest of their lives. At the same time and during the same age ranges, men's time allocated on household activities shifts smoothly and rises steadily from 52 min in the ages of 20-24 to reach eventually the maximum time of 1 hour and 56 min after 65 years of age. This phenomenon could be partially explained by the simultaneous steep rise in the hours spent on paid employment of men when shifting from the age group of 20-24 to the age group of 25-44 (from 1 h and 24 min to 4 h and 31 min). However, a rise, even though not so steep but equally notable, is also reported in the employment hours of women, 51 min at the ages 20-24 to 2 h and 39 min at the following age group of 25-44. With regard to the specific set of data, it should be well noted that the average values illustrated in the table refer to the overall average of all participants the whole days of the year, meaning that the reported employment hours per day refer to an average of employment time of people employed in paid labor added with the time of non-employed people to calculate an overall average.

5.4 Gendered division of housework by task

As the time use survey included an analytical list of household care activities for the recording of time allocated for each one of them, it is worth examining the gendered division of housework by task, exploring preferences and trends between men and women.

In Table 8 below we see how the total average of 4 h and 22 min spent by women and the 1 h and 32 min spent by men is distributed among specific chores.

Activity code	Main activity	Average time in hours and minutes		
		Total	Women	Men
3	**HOUSEHOLD CARE**	**03:01**	**04:22**	**01:32**
31	**Food management**	01:08	01:56	00:15
311	Food preparation, baking and preserving	00:48	01:21	00:12
312	Dish washing	00:20	00:34	00:03
32	**Household upkeep**	00:34	00:56	00:11
321	Cleaning dwelling	00:27	00:48	00:05
322	Cleaning garden	00:01	00:01	00:01
323	Heating and water	00:01	00:00	00:01
324	Arranging household goods and materials	00:05	00:06	00:03
329	Other household upkeep	00:00	00:01	00:00
33	**Making and care for textiles**	00:17	00:31	00:01
331	Laundry, dry clean	00:05	00:10	00:01
332	Ironing and folding	00:09	00:17	00:00
333	Handicraft and producing textiles	00:02	00:04	00:00
339	Other making and care for textiles	00:00	00:00	00:00
34	**Gardening and pet care**	00:17	00:12	00:23
341	Gardening	00:10	00:06	00:15
342	Tending domestic animals	00:02	00:01	00:03
343	Caring for pets	00:01	00:01	00:01
344	Walking the dog	00:03	00:03	00:03
349	Other gardening and pet care	00:00	00:00	00:00
35	**Construction and repairs**	00:05	00:01	00:09
351	House construction and renovation (works done by oneself)			
352	Repairs of dwelling (works done by oneself)	00:02	00:00	00:03
353	Making, repairing and maintaining equipment	00:02	00:00	00:04
354	Vehicle maintenance	00:01	00:00	00:02
359	Other construction and repairs	00:00	00:00	00:00
36	**Shopping and services**	00:19	00:19	00:18
361	Shopping for consumer goods (market research is also included)	00:13	00:15	00:11
362	Commercial and administrative services	00:03	00:01	00:06
363	Personal services	00:02	00:03	00:01
369	Other shopping and services	00:00	00:00	00:00
37	**Household management**	00:01	00:01	00:01
371	Household management (planning and arranging, budgeting, paperwork, making a shopping list, arranging and supervising outside services at home)	00:01	00:01	00:01
38	**Childcare**	00:18	00:23	00:13
381	Physical care and supervision	00:08	00:12	00:03
382	Teaching the child	00:03	00:03	00:02
383	Narrating and reading, playing and talking with child	00:07	00:07	00:07
384	Accompanying child	00:01	00:01	00:01
389	Other childcare	00:00	00:00	00:00
39	**Help to an adult household member**	00:02	00:03	00:01
391	**Physical care of a dependent adult household member** (feeding, washing, dressing and preparing them for bed)	00:01	00:02	00:01
392	**Other care of a dependent adult household member (**supervision indoors and outdoors, accompanying an adult at home to visit a doctor, waiting at a day center)	00:00	00:00	00:00
399	**Help to a non dependent adult household member (**cutting hair, massaging, care of an adult temporary sick)	00:01	00:01	00:01

Table 8. Average daily time use, in hours and minutes by main activity and sex. Population aged 20-74 years old

A major part of time allocated by the women in the survey on household tasks is dedicated to cooking (activity 311) which is reported to take 1 hour and 21 min on an average day. The next most time consuming task is house cleaning (activity 321) which requires 48 min followed by dishwashing (activity 312) with 34 min on an average day by women in the general population 20-74 years of age. When also adding the 17 min spent in ironing and folding clothes (activity 332), time spent by women on these four chores sums up to a total of 3 h.

For the same set of household care activities (cooking, cleaning, dishwashing and ironing), the men in the survey spent a total of 20 min. Especially for ironing and folding men do not perform any of these tasks as zero time is reported for them, or they may participate in such activities with less than 10 min a day and is therefore not calculated.

The next set of household tasks that women in the survey invested 1 hour in, are shopping consumer goods, physical childcare and supervision as well as nurturing children (narrating, reading, playing and talking with child), laundry, gardening, tidying up and sewing or knitting. Childcare, including both physical care and supervision, and nurturing activities playing and talking with children, are reported to take 19 min in the average day of women (aged 20-74). Once more comparing with the same set of tasks, men of the same age group (20-74) allocated 40 min on them on the average day journaled for the survey. On childcare in the same tasks as described above for women, men spend 10 min an average day, with the nurturing activities taking exactly the same amount of time with women (7 min) showing the perceived importance of quality time spent with children for both genders.

We see that there is a huge disparity in the use of time on core routine household chores between men and women, such as cooking, dishwashing, house cleaning, laundry and ironing that mainly accounts for the gap in the overall time use on housework between men and women. However, men spend a significant part of their limited housework time on cooking (12 min), making it the second most time consuming task for them in this category. The first activity in the amount of time spent on for men is gardening with 15 min. This first set of household chores combined with the amount of time men spent on them could also account for a more leisurely approach to the activity, and not a day-to-day responsibility for the smooth and effective running of a household. Shopping is the activity that ranked third in the amount of men's time spent on housework (11 min), followed by nurturing childcare that takes 7 min (equally divided with women as already noted above). These four tasks account for half of men's time on household

care (45 min). Concerning the rest of the activities, the commercial and administrative services where men spend 6 min and repairing equipment with 4 min spend on an average day by men, seem both to be their main domain as women spent either 1 minute or zero time on this activity, while there are no other housework tasks worth noted as there is no significant amount of time invested by men on them (1 to 3 min).

Overall, in the studied survey, the household care activities that men's time use prevails over women's are gardening (15 min), commercial and administrative services (6 min), making, repairing and maintaining equipment (4 min), tending domestic animals (3 min), home repairs (3 min), car repair (2 min) and heating and water (1 minute).

An equal division of housework is reported among men and women for the activities of narrating and reading, playing and talking with child (7 min for each gender), walking the dog (3 min for each), and other menial -in terms of time- tasks that take 1 minute each by each gender, such as cleaning the garden, caring for pets, household management (planning and arranging, budgeting, paperwork, making a shopping list, arranging and supervising outside services at home), accompanying children, help to a non-dependent adult household member (cutting hair, massaging, care of an adult temporary sick).

6. Conclusion/Discussion

The previous literature review and the results of this study undoubtedly confirm the validity of the theory of social reproduction that Fraser (2016) defined and identified as mainly a women's responsibility despite the occasional involvement of men in a minor portion of it. Women around the world, including Greece, are principally assigned the household care by societal norms and prescribed gender roles. The concepts of the "family wage" and the "two earner family" as presented by Fraser (2016), are indeed proven to be widely institutionalized and an expectation that both partners in a couple will be engaged in paid work is commonly accepted. However, although women are expected to be employed in production and studies and policies include this factor as a crucial part of gender equality, men do not yet seem to be

expected to be further employed in social reproduction, that is unpaid household and family care.

In the studied literature on time use surveys, we observe that as women's engagement in paid work increases, their unpaid work hours decrease. Both Sayer (2005) and Gershuny (2015) in their studies on time use surveys over several decades, report a decrease in time allocation on housework by women and a decline in core household tasks like cooking and cleaning not only due to technological advancements but also to changes in socialization and women's increased entry into paid labor. Concurrently, an increase is recorded in the unpaid work hours spent by men in the household, resulting to the phenomenon described as "*isowork*", a relatively constant total daily (paid and unpaid) work time for both women and men.

Therefore, we may assume that the revealed gendered gap in the division of reproduction labor in Greece may be closely linked to the country's employment trends around the period of the studied TUS, amidst a long and severe recession, with a very low participation of women to the labor market (low employment rate for women at 41% in 2011 and high unemployment levels around 30% during that period). The unequal distribution of household responsibilities combined with the limited involvement of women in the workforce may contribute to the persistence of traditional gender roles. This finding is also evinced in the EU gender equality index where the country consistently ranks last, specifically in the domains of work, time, and power, and in the Global Gender Gap Report, where Greece ranks very low, again with a substantial gender gap in power and economic participation.

Focusing on the gendered division of housework in Greece, the analysis of the time use survey data from 2013-2014 revealed a significant gender inequality. On an average day, women in Greece spend nearly three times more time on housework than men, dedicating approximately 4 h and 22 min daily, while men spend about 1 h and 32 min. This pattern persists even within the employed population of the same age group, with employed women spending around 3 h and 15 min on household care, while employed men allocate only 1 h and 4 min. Although employed men invest a significant portion of their time on their jobs (6 h and 19 min), they spend only 25% more time than women (4 h and 58 min) on paid employment. However, when comparing unpaid household work, the employed women spend immensely more time (225%) than men there.

Although this data validates the economic/bargaining perspective on gendered housework division which anticipates that the increase in women's paid work time would result in decrease of their unpaid work time accompanied by an increase in men's time allocated on unpaid housework (Sayer, 2005), the total workload eventually burdens women much more and works to their disadvantage. Moreover, this finding directly challenges the time availability perspective of the gendered division of housework, which supports that the time spent on housework by women and men is expected to be influenced by their engagement in paid work and family responsibilities as well as the relative resources perspective (Bianchi et.al., 2000).

Intriguing patterns were also revealed when work and housework time were correlated by education level among employed population in Greece. The least educated employed women dedicate the most time to household tasks (3 h and 43 min), while those with university degrees spend the least time (2 h and 58 min) and the ones with post-secondary and postgraduate education levels allocate similar time to housework (3 h and 14 min or 19 min, respectively). We notice a reverse proportionality for university and college graduates who work the least time outside home at paid jobs (4 h and 38 min) and also the least on unpaid housework (2 h and 58 min). Employed men report similar household work times (about 1 hour), except for those with postgraduate and PhD studies who spend significantly more time on housework (1 h and 19 min). However, women, even when employed and highly educated, consistently allocate more time on unpaid domestic labor than men, ranging from 2 h and 58 min to 3 h and 43 min, while men dedicate only 1 hour up to a maximum of 1 h and 19 min.

These observations are inconsistent with both the economic/bargaining and the relative resources theories which hold that factors like education and income levels can create power imbalances, affecting how domestic chores are distributed and increase men's involvement in unpaid work. Although the data of specific education levels and paid employment time (lowest education level and college graduates) seem to partly align with the theories, the other two categorized education levels (secondary education and postgraduate studies) do not seem to follow the rule. In all cases, the gender gap in housework time remains remarkably wide. Time availability perspective is still challenged when education levels are co-related as discussed above for the general employment status of women.

The evolution of the gendered distribution of housework with age is best manifested when examining the broadest age range (10-74) in the Greek survey data. Although the gender

differences remain consistent, with women spending more time on household tasks than men across all age groups, variations in time use are also apparent, increasing with age for both genders, possibly due to life stages like leaving home, cohabiting, marriage, or transitioning into retirement. This gender gap persists from the age of 25 and onwards, where women allocate a significant amount of time to household care (4 h and 5 min to 4 h and 54 min), while men spend considerably less (52 min, to 1 h and 56 min). Notably, the youngest age range of 10-14 presents the most egalitarian ratio between girls and boys/women to men's time allocation on housework (1.39:1), but this changes as children grow older. The transition from the age group 20-24 to the one of 25-44 marks a substantial increase in women's housework time (from 1 h and 45 min to 4 h and 5 min), while men's housework time in the same age groups rises gradually (from 52 min to 1 h and 56 min). This could be linked to men's increased paid employment hours although women also show a significant rise.

The association of the increase in women's unpaid workload across life stages linked with the indication of age, corroborates the gender perspective of housework division as presented by Bianchi et al. (2000), which supports the influence of traditional gender roles in marital (partnered) households reflected in the large disparities in housework time between men and women. According to the perspective, women tend to increase their housework hours upon marriage, while men's contributions decrease, potentially driven by a desire to assert their masculinity rather than economic exchange principles (Bianchi et al., 2000), which may also apply in the case of this paper's findings.

Examining specific household care activities in the Greek TUS reveals significant gender disparities in time allocation. Cooking constitutes a major portion of women's housework time (1 h and 21 min), followed by house cleaning (48 min) and dishwashing (34 min). In contrast, men spend only 20 minutes on all of these tasks combined. Additional tasks such as shopping, childcare, nurturing children, laundry, gardening, tidying up, and sewing/knitting consume about an hour of women's time, while men spend around 40 minutes on similar tasks. It is noteworthy that men allocate more time to specific activities like gardening, commercial and administrative services, equipment repair, and domestic animal care while women seem to avoid these tasks. However, an equal division is observed for tasks like spending quality time with children and walking the dog.

These findings underscore substantial disparities in routine housework, with clear implications for gender roles in the household, strongly supporting the gender perspective of housework division as presented by Sayer (2005) which upholds the assertion that unpaid work is not a gender-neutral set of tasks, but rather a mechanism sustaining power imbalances between women and men. The combination of the data presented throughout this study enhance the gender perspective showing that men do not participate in unpaid work or avoid certain tasks as a way to display masculinity and avoid adopting "feminine" roles like unpaid work. Through this perspective we may also interpret the underlying phenomenon that despite the apparent changes in gendered time use due to evolving demographics and economics, the perpetuation of gender inequality remains a fundamental outcome, merely expanding acceptable feminine behavior to include wage earning, It is also evidenced that women are considered responsible for ensuring that all unpaid work is completed, regardless of their participation in paid work, as also supported by this perspective.

However, when studying the time use statistics in Europe, we notice similar trends and disparities with Greece. As seen in the paper by Aliaga (2006), the multinational time use study across European countries revealed consistent patterns of unequal distribution of work, with women spending more time on housework than men. The European South, Italy and Spain, have the widest gender gaps in the household care, similar and even wider than Greece. Inequalities are also observed in paid work, where men spend significantly more time than women in all surveyed countries. We also notice the same patterns across countries with similar disparities in specific tasks such as food preparation, house cleaning and laundry. Even the most recent Eurostat article (2019) extended these findings across 18 European countries, demonstrating these similarities in time use patterns and the gender differences in household and family care. Markedly more women consistently spent more time on housework but the widest gender gap in Europe is observed in Italy and Greece.

Concluding, this magister thesis has answered the research questions presenting how Greek women and men participate in the household tasks, how much they engage and what type of chores they perform, as well as the factors such as age, education and employment influence these patterns. There has been an effort to identify the dynamics and trends in the gendered division of housework in Greece not solely based on the analysis of the studied time use survey but also by exploring data from similar European countries, like Southern Europe and countries

with resembling economies, as well as by studying housework division trends and dynamics worldwide across multi-decade timeframes.

Conducting a new time use survey in Greece emerges as a vital need in the realm of gender equality, in order to record the latest trends in the gendered division of housework, in the post-recession era, and especially in the aftermath of the coronavirus pandemic. Further research is hoped for, to explore the gender norms and expectations that determine the gendered division of housework labor in Greece and their impact on the well-being of Greek women and to suggest social policies that could promote work-life/family balance of working women and men and potentially influence an egalitarian gendered division of housework in Greece.

7. References

Aliaga, C., 2006. *How is the time of women and men distributed in Europe?,* Luxembourg: EUROSTAT.

Anderson, B., 2001. Just another job? Paying for domestic work. *Gender & Development,* 9(1), pp. 25-33.

Baxter, J., 2002. Patterns of change and stability in the gender division of household labour in Australia, 1986–1997. *Journal of Sociology,* Volume 38(4), p. 399–424.

Bianchi S.M., Milkie M.A., Sayer L.C., Robinson J.P. , 2000. Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor. *Social Forces ,* 79(1), p. 191–228.

Candace West, Don H. Zimmerman, 1987. Doing Gender. *Gender and Society ,* 1(2), pp. 125-151.

Duffy, M., 2007. Doing the Dirty Work: Gender, Race, and Reproductive Labor in Historical Perspective. *Gender & society,* 21(3), pp. 313-336.

EIGE, 2023. *Gender Statistics Database.* [Online]
Available at: https://eige.europa.eu/gender-statistics/dgs/browse/ta/ta_timeuse
[Accessed 29 May 2023].

ELSTAT, 2016. *ELSTAT-Hellenic Statistical Authority-Press Release.* [Online]
Available at:

https://www.statistics.gr/documents/20181/985209/Time+Use+Survey+%28+2013+%29.pdf/a1a9c287-9be8-40b8-8320-2df4a33e1423?t=1460536630866
[Accessed 13 04 2023].

European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021. *Gender Equality Index 2021 Report.* [Online]
Available at: https://eige.europa.eu/publications/gender-equality-index-2021-report/gender-inequalities-use-time-live
[Accessed 21 March 2023].

EUROSTAT, 2019. *Harmonised European Time Use Surveys (HETUS) - Information on Data.* [Online]
Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/time-use-surveys/information-data
[Accessed 29 May 2023].

Eurostat, 2019. *EuroStat Statistics Explained,.* [Online]
Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=How_do_women_and_men_use_their_time_-_statistics&oldid=463738
[Accessed 21 March 2023].

Eurostat, 2020. *Harmonised European Time Use Surveys (HETUS).* [Online]
Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/time-use-surveys/information-data
[Accessed 29 May 2023].

Eurostat, 2022. *Eurostat-Statistics Explained.* [Online]
Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=People_outside_the_labour_force&oldid=568154#Care_responsibilities:_main_reason_for_women_aged_25-54_to_be_outside_the_labour_force
[Accessed 29 May 2023].

Federici, S., 2019. Social reproduction theory History, issues and present challenges. *Radical Philosophy 2.04*, Spring 2019, pp. 55-57.

Fraser, N., 2016. Contradictions of Capital and Care. *New Left Review 100*, July August, pp. 99-117.

Gershuny, J., 2015. Time Use and Social Inequality Since the 1960s: The Gender Dimension. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Sonderheft,* 25(Obsession der Gegenwart: Zeit im 20. Jahrhundert (2015)), pp. 251-271.

Harding, S., 1987. Introduction: Is there a Feminist Method?. In: *Feminism and Methodology.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 1-13.

Hellenic Statistical Authority (ESQRS), 2014. *ELSTAT-TIME USE SURVEY 2013-2014 Quality Report (ESQRS).* [Online]
Available at:

https://www.statistics.gr/documents/20181/985204/Time+Use+Survey+-+Quality+Report+%28ESQRS%29+%28+2013+%29.pdf/2c8d867d-75a6-4770-b730-b8bd35d1fa7b?t=1474616537873
[Accessed 24 04 2023].

Hochschild, A. R., 1989. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home..* New York: Avon Books.

ICAP CRIF, 2022. *ICAP CRIF Πρωτογενή Έρευνα για τη Γυναικεία Επιχειρηματικότητα.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.icapcrif.com/icap-crif-study-women-2022/
[Accessed 29 May 2023].

Livanos, Ilias & Yalkin, Cagri & Núñez, Imanol, 2009. Gender employment discrimination: Greece and the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Manpower,* Volume 30, pp. 815-834.

Minh T. N. Nguyen, Roberta Zavoretti & Joan Tronto , 2017. Beyond the Global Care Chain: Boundaries, Institutions and Ethics of Care,. *Ethics and Social Welfare,* 11(3), pp. 199-212,.

Oakley, A., 1998. Gender, methodology and people's ways of knowing: Some problems with feminism and the paradigm debate in social science. *Sociology*, November, 32(4), pp. 707-731.

Parreñas, R. S., 2012. The reproductive labour of migrant workers. *Global Networks,* 12(2), pp. 269-275.

Paul Redmond & Seamus McGuinness, 2019. The gender wage gap in Europe: Job preferences, gender convergence and distributional effects. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics,* 81(3), pp. 564-587.

Robin Fleming et al., 1999. *Using Time Use Data A history of time use surveys and uses of time use data,* Wellington, New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand.

Sayer, L. C., 2005. Gender, time and inequality: Trends in women's and men's paid work, unpaid work and free time. *Social forces,* 84(1), pp. 285-303.

Scott, J., 2010. Quantitative methods and gender inequalities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 13(3), p. 223–236.

SEV, 2018. *SEV Hellenic Federation of Enterprises.* [Online]
Available at: https://www.sev.org.gr/Uploads/Documents/Weekly_18_01_2018.pdf
[Accessed 29 May 2023].

Spierings, N., 2012. The inclusion of quantitative techniques and diversity in the mainstream of feminist research. *The European journal of women's studies,* 19(3), pp. 331-347.

UNECE United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, 2012. *Time Use Surveys.* [Online]
Available at: https://unece.org/statistics/video/time-use-surveys
[Accessed 29 May 2023].

World Economic Forum, 2012. *Global Gender Gap Report.* [Online]
Available at: https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf
[Accessed 29 May 2023].