Fashionable Fascism:

The Female Image in Greek women's magazines during the Junta (1967-1974)

Master thesis

Giannis Mavrogenis 8/31/2019

Supervised By Prof. Eric Storm

Leiden University

Abstract

The present thesis looks through popular women's magazines published during the period of the Greek Junta (1967-1974) in order to answer the following question: "To what extent did popular women's magazines during the Greek Junta reflect the regime's ideology on gender roles?". The analysis is divided into three chapters regarding representations of the female body and sexuality, work and marriage, and politics respectively. The thesis also highlights the underlying tension between modernity and tradition in far-right ideologies and the way it is mirrored through women's representations in the magazines.Through the analysis, the thesis concludes that these magazines promoted a considerably more liberal view of womanhood than that expected and desired by the Junta for Greek women. It also points out that this liberal image of women was not necessarily opposed by the regime since it too promoted itself as liberal. Finally, the thesis demonstrates that this particular inconsistency between presentation and expectation reveals a gendered facet of the tension between traditionalism and modernization documented in the magazine pages of the Greek Junta.

Contents

Introduction

In 1967, a dictatorship, or junta, seized power in Greece through a military coup. The Junta, also known as "the Colonels' dictatorship" in Greek literature, was justified under the pretense that the government, along with the academic world, show business and most aspects of the public sphere, had been infiltrated by communists. As such, the coup was deemed necessary to prevent the country's collapse and a subsequent communist takeover.[1] The coup was dubbed by the colonels "a revolution for the nation", thus implying that the Greek nation was in peril and, therefore, that the coup would save the nation from its imminent end. The Junta's ideology can be summarised in its three-word motto: "Fatherland, Religion, Family".

These three words carried a heavy meaning: the fatherland was perceived as the "ancient land", the nation's home; religion was the guiding spirit, dictating the nation's ethic; and family was the nation's "nucleus", its fundamental cell so to speak. Women were traditionally allocated the tasks of reproducing and caring for the third fundamental element of the nation, the family, and they did so with the blessing and support of the nation's two other pillars, the "fatherland" (the state) and "religion" (the church). In order to understand this perception of womanhood, it would be useful to revisit the words pronounced by Konstantinos Papadopoulos, one of the coup's three leaders, from a declaration in which he claimed that "the revolution views the Greek woman as carrying the biological mission of motherhood and, as such, it honors her by deeply understanding her value".[2] This stance towards women was further solidified by the prohibition of all abortion, the legal constraints for unfaithful wives, and the deliberate inaccessibility of contraception.[3]

This "national revolution" consisted partly in the state's involvement in popular culture.[4] Seizing power at a time when television and film were increasingly present in Greek culture, the Junta immediately put radio and television broadcasting, as well as certain aspects of cinema under direct state control.[5] Magazines, on the other hand, remained private; however, some shut due to ideological discords or were forcibly closed down.[6] Because of the magazines' private status and the relative freedom that this entailed, this thesis will focus primarily on magazine publications. These publications occupied a grey area: they were not under direct state control, but they did have to follow certain state directives both for financial and political reasons. As such, they can be viewed as channels of popular culture distinct from the propaganda produced by the authorities.

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[1] Fotos Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει (Its just a junta, it will pass)*, (Athens 2013), p. 20.
[2] Kostis Kornetis, *Τα παιδια της δικτατοριας* (*Children of the Dictatorship)*, (Athens 2015), p. 411.
[3] Kornetis, *Τα παιδια της δικτατοριας* (*Children of the Dictatorship)*, (Athens 2015), p. 418.
[4] Maria Komninou, *Από την αγορά στο θέαμα :Μελέτη για τη συγκρότηση της δημόσιας σφαίρας και του κινηματογράφου στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα, 1950-2000(From the Agora to Spectacle: Study on the Creation of the Public Sphere and Cinema in Modern Greece 1950-2000)*,(Athens 2001), p. 115.
[5] Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει(Its just a junta, it will pass)*, (Athens 2013), p. 28; and Komninou, *Από την αγορά στο θέαμα(From the Agora to Spectacle)* (Athens 2001), p. 117.
[6] An example of a magazine which shut down is *ELLINIS*, the longest running women's magazine in Greece. Eleni Argiriadou and Eleni Valassi, *100 Χρόνια Εθνικό Συμβούλιο Ελληνίδων(100 years of the national council of Greek women)*,(Athens 2006), p. 29.

Historically popular culture has been appropriated by revolutionary regimes, to promote their ideology to the masses. Television, cinema, and magazines have functioned as a means to spread ideology and propaganda to the wider population. Nationalist regimes have used popular culture to propagate ideas such as the existence of a proud and age-old nation that must defend itself from internal or external enemies. This particular idea keeps re-emerging in most nationalist propaganda around the world, adapted each time to a different nation. Thus, similar forms of propaganda can be detected in most expressions of popular culture under nationalist regimes –at least in regards to the issues they put forward. Yet, this message was mainly targeted towards men, since they were perceived as having both an increased political awareness and aptitude to defend the fatherland. In this context, women were virtually left out of the picture. Hence, the way that popular culture was manipulated by nationalist regimes in order to reach women is not only instrumental to the understanding of these regimes but also an insufficiently studied field, especially when considering post-World War II regimes.

This thesis aims to analyze how popular culture, and more specifically magazines, was used in Greece to propagate state ideology on gender roles towards women during the military dictatorship, commonly referred to as "the junta". It also aims to survey the contents of this propagandistic supplement. The principal question that this study aspires to answer is: "To what extent did popular women's magazines during the Greek Junta (1967-1974) reflect the regime's ideology on gender roles?".

Understanding women and their role in right-wing dictatorial regimes has been an evolving issue within the historiographical field. Initial attempts to create a history of "women" painted a picture of passive, non-political actors facing constant repression. At the same time, they also highlighted the feminist struggles for economic and political equality and against the authoritarian regimes, which were seeking to enforce "traditional" expressions of gender or to assert control over the female body and its reproductive independence.[7]

This representation of women, albeit narrow, is by no means inaccurate. Indeed, it has been established that right-wing dictatorial regimes promoted a very specific image of women, along with the expectation for women to fulfil very specific roles in society. Motherhood and the preservation of tradition have been prescribed to women by most right-wing dictatorships, from Fascist Italy to Nazi Germany, and Pinochet's Chile.[8] For example, in Chile "the government re-enacted the "potestad marital", which, due to women's supposed inherent inferiority, gave men legal control over their wives and their wives' property. Additionally, divorce was not legal in Chile".[9]It is also commonly acknowledged that, in all the

[7]Elizabeth Vlossak, "Gender approaches to the history of nationalism",in: Stefan Berger and Eric Storm (eds.), *Writing the History of Nationalism*, (London 2019), p. 4.

[8]Jenifer Linda Monti, "The Contrasting Image of Italian Women Under Fascism in the 1930's", *Syracuse University Honours program, Capstone Project 714*,(2011), p. 28: "The image of a prolific mother was fundamental for the Fascist regime because it implied that the country was growing in numbers and strength." Also, Claoudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland:Womean,The Family and Nazi Politics*, (London 1984), p. 15: "Mothers, as mythical angels in the house, have preserved idealism, love, and faith while men made war, killed, and exploited". And, finally, Heidi Tinsman, "Politics of gender and consumption in authoritarian Chile, 1975-1990 : Women Agricultural workers in the fruit export industry", *Latin American Research Review41.3*, (2006), p. 19: "The Pinochet regime prescribed a traditionalist view of the woman as a mother that took care of the family".

[9]Megan Kareithi, *Women of Santiago: Gender Conceptions and Realities under Pinochet*, (New Orleans LU 2010), p. 9.

aforementioned cases, women were exploited by the state both as mothers and workers, since they received lower wages and were deprived of the same political rights as men, such as joining the Party in Nazi Germany. In this regard, Chile was an exception as women's political rights were trampled upon, but they did enjoy the same de jure economic rights as men – however, not de facto.

The issue with these women's histories is twofold. Firstly, they assume at the outset that the gender of "woman" is static and consistent, and is either oppressed by a regime or liberated through activism.[10] The problem with this notion is that it ignores the idea that gender develops alongside the political reality. Viewing gender as fixed, without taking into account that it is consciously constructed in relation to the political and historical reality, creates a very binary understanding of the positions of different genders in society. As such, women are only considered as actors within the political realm, if the political system allows for the expression of "womanhood" or if they are actively fighting against it. Otherwise, women are portrayed as oppressed by the system, victimized, and unable to change their fate. This is a particularly rigid position, as femininity –and masculinity for that matter– are very much related to historically constructed time and space. The construction of the nationalist man and woman is a 19th and 20th century phenomenon. As nationalism incorporates all aspects of a person into the collective subject of the nation, gender is uniformized as national gender by extension. There is now a German man and a German woman, who have specific characteristics. All men of the nation are expected to perform the same type of masculinity: power, leadership, innovation, inventiveness, and willingness to fight. On the other hand, all women are expected to perform uniformly a femininity of passivity, motherhood, obedience, and preservation of culture and tradition.[11]

Before the age of nationalism, uniformity in gender characteristics was not so clearly evident. For instance, in medieval times (from the 8th to the 15th century) the way that a lord was expected to perform masculinity differed from that of a serf. In feudal states, social position superseded gender and thus, landowning ladies could express "masculine" traits such as ambition, leadership, and control. It can then be argued that considering a constant inter-historical masculinity and femininity is an unreliable tool for understanding the role of women in any political regime. This remark however does not intend to conceal the long history of a perception associating the masculine with supremacy: a pattern exemplified by the British Empire's custom of feminizing its enemies, the French of course, but its colonial subjects as well –the Bengalis for example who were considered effeminate and thus incapable to rule themselves.[12]Nevertheless, conceiving women solely as acted upon by the state reinforces a problematic view of gender, which assumes that women have specific, universal traits, with passivity occupying a central role.

This leads us to the second problem of these women's histories specifically pertaining to right-wing authoritarian states and their portrayals of women as passive beings, unfit for political participation. As mentioned above, the attitude of right-wing dictatorships towards women was very similar throughout the world. Of course, the political program of each regime is a product of its time. As such, the Greek and Chilean dictatorships differ from Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. Yet we can discern similar attitudes towards women in all four cases. But the question that we need to ask is, to what extent these attitudes were imposed by a patriarchal state and, therefore, whether they can be analyzed as original expressions of

[10]Vlossak, *Gender approaches to the history*, (2019),p. 5.
[11]Ibid., p. 9.
[12]Ibid., p. 1.

womanhood. Starting with a basic contradiction of the aforementioned regimes, we observe that all of them aspired to modernize society, while at the same time clinging to old traditions. In Italy, Mussolini introduced the concept of the "new Italian woman"; a woman who was supposed to be both a forward-looking fascist while embodying at the same time the traditional values of motherhood and passivity.[13]Similarly, in Nazi Germany women were expected to be mothers who create soldiers for the nation, caregivers within the domestic sphere, and at the same time to be politically minded and transmit the values of Hitler and Nazism to their offspring.[14] Women were simultaneously oppressed by the state and introduced as integral parts of its mechanism. However, the duality of this issue is not only revealed by the state's contrasting views on women, both as a lesser citizens and exulted mothers. It is also showcased by the willing participation of women in state activity, and their ability to gain political and economic rights by using the modernizing narratives of the right-wing authoritarian regimes.

In her, now classic, book, "*Mothers of the Fatherland*", Claudia Koonz brakes away from the passive portrayal of women in history and voices her disappointment regarding historiographical representations of German women during the Third Reich. She argues that women were not only complicit in the regime, but a large number of them actively took part in the murderous Nazi agenda as nurses in eugenic clinics and death camps, teachers that taught Nazi ideology, and by being members of the NSF (National Socialist Women's League).[15] According to her, these women fully accepted National Socialism and constructed their femininity around it, while at the same time claiming a position outside the house, in society and politics. Be that as it may, the author does point out that even the leader of the NSF was not as powerful as any male official that had some manner of status, like a local governor, but at the same time she and all the members of the organization had a voice in politics and, for the first time, an active participation in the reality of the state as they now had a very important role to fulfill as mothers and educators for the Nazi regime. By 1934, one third of German women were part of the NSF and, as Koonz explains, the organization offered a counterbalance to the hitherto male-dominated political sphere.[16]

Following Koonz's approach regarding women's participation in the Nazi regime, other contemporary scholars have focused on the specific ways in which women in Nazi Germany were not only complicit with the regime, but also instrumental to its success. In his study, Matthew Stibbe points out how women participated in the Nazi murders as nurses and midwives, reporting "deformed" births and committing "mercy killings".[17]Other authors, like Ute Frevert for example, even claimed that women under the Nazi regime were better off than during the Weimar republic.[18] The main shift that occured in the field of Nazi women's history after Koonz's observations is the fact that women are progressively dissociated from the position of passive spectators and are viewed as integral or at least complicit participants in the Nazi agenda and movement. This is an attitude which is becoming all the more prevalent in the field of Italian fascist women's history as well.

[13]Monti, "The Contrasting Image of Italian Women", p. 24.
[14]Fiona Sharman, "How has the Historical Representation of Women in Nazi Germany Changed since 1933?", *History Initiates2,2,* (2014), p. 50.
[15]Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, (1984), p. 10.
[16]Sharman , "How has the Historical Representation", p. 54.
[17] Matthew Stibbe, *Women in the Third Reich*, (London 2003), p. 75.
[18] Ute Frevert , *Women in German History*,(Oxford 1989), p. 208.

In the case of Italy, Paul Cornel explains that while Mussolini's regime was overtly hostile to women, the effects that the rise of fascism had on womanhood were not as univocal as one would expect. He argues that while the government had no interest in women's emancipation, the changing political reality of that time allowed women to further participate in politics.[19]J.L.Monti, following the premise that fascism opened the door of emancipation for many Italian women, also argues that the fascist organizations themselves were responsible for that change. "All women's organizations were presented as modern and liberating while at the same time asserting traditional values for women".[20] While, indeed, women often fell in line with state ideology, they also found a space where they could project an image of independence through their participation in public politics as members of these groups and therefore as political actors.

Robin Pickering Liazzi's very interesting study on women's autobiographies during the interwar period in Italy showcases the phenomenon from the perspective of these women who actively participated in the fascist regime.[21] In this study, she explains how politically involved women did not accept the party line as passive individuals who were acted upon; rather, they took an activestance within a process of renegotiation of what they were expected to be as women. Explaining the writings of a woman named Negri, she states:

> "Negri's strategic employment of traditional and nonconformist female images forces us to reassess the conventional critical position that she, and women writers in general, reproduced patriarchal models of femininity in the interwar years. The autobiographer does portray dominant feminine models, but she recontextualizes them as undesirable. This technique is best illustrated by the suggestive dream sequence where Dinin (the protagonist in Negri's book) loses her way and encounters characters representing traditional life paths: Daria the way of passion, Augusta the way of love, and Drusilla the way of wifely affection. Valorizing her own talents, hopes, and aspirations, the heroine refuses to conform to such roles and embarks on a path of her own".[22]

It cannot be sustained that these women were fully emancipated or free from the influence of fascist society, which sparked an already existing desire for a "traditional" womanhood. After all, none of the previously mentioned women's histories paint this image. On the other hand, it should be clearly stated that women in fascist regimes were not simply the victims of these regimes, but also active participants in the shaping of society and gender. As such, their femininity can (at least partly) be considered as a genuine expression within the narrow confines of an authoritarian society, rather than an imposed idea by a phallocratic state. Furthermore, we should note that, regardless of the originality of gender, in fact many women acted with agency and purpose pursuing their own political beliefs in accordance with the fascist regime. This thesis wishes to delve into the dichotomy between what was expectated and what was experienced by women; a dichotomy which appeared in the fascist regimes of the '30s but was also prevalent in the neo-fascist Greek Junta of the late '60s and early '70s.

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[19]Paul Cornel, *"Women in Fascist Italy. Changing Family Roles in the Transition from an Agricultural to an Industrial Society", European history Quarterly 23,1*, (1993), pp. 51-53.
[20]Monti, "The Contrasting Image of ItalianWomen", p. 44.
[21]Robin Pikering Liazzi, "The Politics of Gender and Genre in Italian Women's Autobiographies of the Interwar Years",*Italica71,2*, (1994).
[22]Liazzi, "The Politics of Gender and Genre",p. 184.

Since the subject of the present thesis is the depiction of women and femininity in the popular culture of the Greek Junta (1967-1974), it would be short-sighted to merely juxtapose it with early 20th century case-studies. While a lot of early fascist ideas regarding womanhood were retained by the Greek Junta, the politics of the early 20th century differed considerably from those of the late 20th century. Let us then examine the case of Pinochet's Chile (1973-1990), which more closely resembles the Greek case since its prime motivators were anti-communism and "westernization".[23]

Much like Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the Chilean dictatorship had a modernizing message. Pinochet aspired to introduce the free market in Chile and to oust socialism which he saw as regressive. The first and probably most important role that women played in Pinochet's coup was that of being some of its primary instigators. In her work, Heidi Tinsman, points out that "it was women that went marching on the streets asking for the military to take over and it was women that pushed their soldier husbands to go follow through".[24] Furthermore, Tinsman argues that with the introduction of the free market women found employment en masse in fruit farms as they were cheaper labor. Even though the new regime officially constructed a more "traditionalist" view of women, the political and –mainly– economic reality it created empowered them to become bread earners and to participate more actively in the job market and society.[25]The socialist government of Chile that ruled until the coup was for all intents and purposes a male-oriented institution. That is not to say that the dictatorship was not patriarchal, but the Socialist government of Salvador Allende offered fewer economic possibilities and political capital to women through its policy: 95% of trade union members were men and the land reforms that the government overtook only redistributed land to men.[26] Departing from a macho-socialist system allowed for women's economic empowerment, and as such for less political disparity.

In her PhD dissertation, "Women of Santiago: Gender Conceptions and Realities under Pinochet", Megan Kareithi explains the repressive attitude of the Pinochet regime towards women, but she also points out, much like Heidi, that women mobilized both in support and against the government, thus tackling the idea that women are either revolutionary or passive subjects.[27]Once more, it should be noted that Pinochet's regime did not necessarily anticipate this course of events, as it is made evident by its stance on women and by the state action undartaken against them.[28]Nevertheless, willingly or not, the dictatorship allowed Chilean women to further emancipate themselves.

The case of Chile is presented here because it mirrors the situation in Greece. As will be shown in the later analysis, the image of women presented by the Greek Junta was paradoxically both "traditional" and "liberating". Yet, unlike in Chile, this liberating aspect only existed in the collective imaginary since Greek women did not increase their market

[23]Tinsman, "Politics of Gender and Consumption",p. 6.
[24]Ibid., p. 9.
[25]Ibid., p. 22: "Women no longer relied on men and political affiliations to get things".
[26]Ibid., p. 11.
[27]Kareithi,*Women of Santiago: Gender Conceptions and Realities under Pinochet*, (2010),p. 6.
[28]Tinsman, "Politics of Gender and Consumption",p. 22: "Mother organisations where created to politically steer and control women", and Kareithi,*Women of Santiago*, (2010),p. 2: "The Pinochet regime believed that women were defined by their roles as mothers and their lives should revolve around the fulfilment of this role, remaining in the home and raising patriotic youth for the betterment of the nation. The regime exhorted these views through propaganda but they also enforced their ideology upon women through legal reform and public policy, affecting both the public and private lives of women in the capital city of Santiago".

share like their Chilean counterparts during Pinochet's regime. In 1961, 35,5% of working Greeks were women, while in 1971, they had decreased to 33%.[29]

What these women's histories show is that women were able to further involve themselves and take action in the political sphere of their respective states, through the implementation of a fascist and right-wing authoritarian government that aspired to control them and obstruct their claim to rights. This effect, which in the present thesis is designated as the "Janus face of the fascist woman", is in fact what needs to be stressed. It is the underlying tension between modernity and tradition in fascism and right-wing authoritarianism: how, through a simultaneously forward-looking and traditional-values perspective, women were enabled to reimagine the position of their gender within these new societies and further emancipate themselves. This effect stems from a phenomenon that was mentioned previously; precisely, from the idea that gender is created in relation to space and time, and that therefore it is not a constant. Women within the fascist regimes should not be portrayed as having simply succumbed to fascist ideas forced upon them by masculine patriarchy. Rather, they should be seen, partially, as active participants renegotiating gender definitions and relations through the fascist regimes. As such, their femininity should not be seen as merely oppressed and imposed, but also as a genuine expression of how they understood and constructed their gender. At the very least, it should be made clear, through the previously presented historiography, that the position of women in right-wing authoritarian regimes is not a black and white picture. While these regimes had "traditional" views regarding gender and womanhood, they were also shaped by women to a certain extent and generated environments where women could engage with the public sphere, politics and the economy to a higher level than before. Yet there is a hisoriographical gap on this subject, this tension of tradition and modernity is only shown through the changes in political and economic participation of women in fascist regimes. What this thesis is attempting to do is to cover how, and if, this well studied tension appears in the culture of a fascist regime , specifically popular culture that is aimed at women.

The expected gender role of women during the Greek Junta was very similar to that of the aforementioned right-wing regimes. As discussed above, according to Kostis Kornetis Greek women during the dictatorship were primarily expected to fulfil the role of motherhood.[30] The state prompted women to become mothers by making contraception difficult to access and abortion illegal.[31] At the same time, the state gave women an incentive to marry by providing a staple if they did so.[32]Furthermore, women were discouraged from following a higher education, which would essentially lead them to ostracization from the university by right-wing student groups and right-wing professors, given that all progressive professors had been expelled.[33]Indeed, it is hard to find any significant increase in political or economic power for women during the Greek Junta. This can be attributed to the fact that the Junta was not sprung from a political movement like in the cases previously discussed. As Maria Komninou explains, "the Junta was greeted with passive acceptance rather than enthusiastic participation".[34] This sentiment regarding the way the Junta was received is also shared by both Labrinos and Kornetis. Thus, women did not seem to be able to participate actively in

[29]Haris Simeonidou, "Η εξελιξη του οικονομικα ενεργου πληθυσμου τον γυναικων (1961-1981)" (The evolution of Economically Active Population of Women(1961-1981)), *Greek review of social research 63*, (1986),p. 1.
[30] Kornetis, *Τα παιδια της δικτατοριας* (*Children of the dictatorship)*, (2015),p. 411.
[31]Ibid., p. 428.
[32]Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει (It's just a Junta)*, (2013),p. 31.
[33] Kornetis, *Τα παιδια της δικτατοριας* (*Children of the dictatorship)*, (2015), p. 116.
[34]Komninou, *Από την αγορά στο θέαμα (From the agora to spectacle)*, (2001),p. 123.

the new politics. In terms of economics, unlike Chile, there was no substantial liberalization of the market and most of the government's projects were aimed towards rural infrastructure, since the regime drew most of its support from rural populations.[35] As a result, women did not enjoy further economic opportunities either and this, coupled with the fact that they were pressured to become mothers, did not allow them to gain any real economic emancipation. Indeed, it would seem that the lack of an organized movement also prevented the appearance of the dichotomy between modern and traditional views which can be found in the previous case-studies of right-wing dictatorships. That is, at least on the wider socio-political level.

When it comes to the image of the woman in Greek popular media, there are only scarce sources we can draw upon regarding the time immediately prior to our period of reference. In her doctoral thesis, Gianna Athansiadou examines the portrayal of women in Greek film. While she detects the image of the emancipated woman in the film "Stella" (1955), she claims that this portrayal is "an exception rather than the rule".[36]According to her, the later movies and the starlets featured in them represent women as playful and immature, provocative and yet in need of domestication. This portrayal is epitomized in her view by Aliki Vougiouklakli, a national star during the '60s and '70s.[37]Even though Vougiouklaki's films were released shortly before the Junta's installation, they still represent the prevalent image of women in popular culture, which wasn't one of an emancipated woman. Athanasiadou finally claims that in Greek cinema after 1955, there is a trend according to which women represent modernity while men represent tradition. This assertion can then be interpreted as a depiction of women being modern but also willing to submit to tradition, the same tendency we find in previous cases of right-wing dictatorships. Fotos Labrinos' analysis, on the other hand, is more targeted, focusing only on the time frame of the Junta. He analyses the ten-minute newsreels that were featured before every movie screening. The newsreels were produced by the government and presented women as foolish and dependant on men. "The fashion news would play and showcase a range of cosmetic products and clothes, and then a voice would comment on how the poor husbands would have to go broke again to satisfy the demands of their wives".[38]Nevertheless, he too agrees with Claudia Koonz's assertion, that the right-wing government presented images of a "liberated" woman even though it wished for a more traditional one. In the reels, one can see women wearing short skirts, smoking cigarettes and, in some cases, even driving. Labrinos identifies a gap between the economic reality of the women in the audience and those depicted as economically independent upper-class women.[39]Unfortunately, there is not much more research on women in popular culture during the period of the Junta. Athanasiadou provides us an image of women in popular culture only until the Junta's installation in Greece, while Labrinos only works on very specific and government-run sources, therefore providing us, at best, an understanding of how governmental media portrayed women, leaving out independent media like magazines.

As it has been shown, the Junta had a very "traditional" image of womanhood in mind and acted to promote it both in policy and media. Further on we shall see that in cinema, immediately before the Junta's installation, the image of women corresponded with that produced by the government, that is, women destined to become wives and in need of male

[35] Kornetis, *Τα παιδια της δικτατοριας* (*Children of the Dictatorship)*, (2015), p. 119.
[36] Gianna Athanasiadou, *Το Ελληνκο σινεμα: Δυμοσια μνυμη και ιδεολογια* (The Greek Movies:Public Memory and Ideology), (2001),p. 202.
[37]Ibid., p. 252: "Aliki sets a code for women that is characterized by provocation, care,cunning, simplness, absent mindedness, social maneuvering and a childlike nature that is in need of guardianship".
[38]Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει (It's Just a Junta)*, (2013),p. 30.
[39] Ibid.,p. 31.

guidance. What remains to be seen –and what this thesis aims to contribute within the wider academic discussion– is whether the image of women in independent Greek popular culture (magazines) during the Junta reveals the tension between modernity and tradition, or if it strictly follows the government's line on gender roles.

The objective of the present thesis is to study the socio-political and cultural components of the Greek Junta which have escaped academic attention to a large extent. It also aims to explore the relationship between an authoritarian and nationalist state on the one hand and women on the other. There is a tendency to look at nationalism and its propaganda from a very masculine perspective, as we mostly focus on propaganda that asserts our assumptions about nationalism and its aggressive nature. This conception of nationalism stems from a different age, when politics belonged exclusively to men and as such were mainly marketed to them, with the use of traditionally "masculine themes" such as foreign invasion, national defense, or military pride. Yet, the Greek Junta is a much more recent historical phenomenon (1967-1974), which took place in Europe at a time when women's equality had made more strides than in other places of the world. This social and historical context allows us to take an interesting perspective on how a neo-fascist, nationalist regime interacted with its female citizens. Finally this thesis highlights the interaction of popular culture, that is not state funded, and women during a rightwing dictatorship. It is interesting to see to what extend the market oriented magazines follow and proliferate the ideas of the regime about women something that is not explored in other studies about the image of women under right wing authoritarian regimes.

This thesis by no means intends to imply that the Greek Junta was a less phallocratic state than previous authoritarian regimes. Rather, it asserts that the Collonels seized power at a point in time where, from the outset, they would have to negotiate women's position differently: women would have to appear as having more power and agency, even if in fact they were still considered as appertained to the realm of the household. This tension between reality and ideology is very intriguing, and as such it constitutes another motive for this thesis' existence. Furthermore, most –if not all– studies of Greek women during this period of reference focus on forms of resistance against the Junta. It would therefore be interesting regarding the history of feminism to examine whether women's magazines represented the circumstance accordingly –i.e. if women were portrayed as anything other than mothers and wives.

The main sources used for this dissertation are three popular magazines that were published during the Junta, that is, during the period between 1967-1974. These magazines are namely *Romanjo*, *Fantazio,* and *Epikera*. Unfortunately, since there a coordinated effort was made by the Greek state to erase the Junta's cultural memory, there are no archives containing the magazines. This difficulty forced the researcher to acquire the magazines through vintage bookstores, while it also made it impossible to use search tools allowing for quantitative methods of analysis. The three magazines reviewed here are not the only publications that were purchased and assessed; they are however those that had the most available material and fitted the profile of a popular magazine addressing a female audience. This thesis can thus only comment on the general image and perceptions of women that can be found in the magazines of reference. Sinceall three of these magazines were popular –especially *Romanjo*– they can be seen as representations of general patterns. Nevertheless, it is important to stress the necessity for a more holistic research on the subjecy matter of popular culture during the Greek Junta.[40]

[40] Sales of *Romanjo* during the '60s are estimated around 400.000 issues per week according to Kostis

The first magazine which is analyzed is *Romanjo* (*Ρομάντζο*). The researcher only obtained issues from 1967 to 1968, and few post-1970. This was not a deliberate choice; rather, it reflects the considerable difficulty of gathering primary source material. *Romanjo* ran from 1947 until 1990 and has been one of the most prolific Greek magazines. It came into existence as a periodical publishing short stories and classic Greek literature, but in the '50s it evolved into a magazine targeted towards teenagers and young women. During the Junta, *Romanjo* was owned by its original founder, Nikolaos Theofanides, who –according to the interview granted to this thesis by his daughter, Poly Miliori– was a liberal man, unsympathetic to the Junta. *Romanjo* has been an important Greek magazine and it serves as a good indication of the feminine role models that were presented to young girls.

The second magazine reviewed is *Fantazio* (*Φαντάζιο*), a women's magazine which, unlike *Romanjo,* was first published during the Junta. In this case, issues from 1969 to 1973 were acquired for the purpose of this research, allowing for a better understanding of potential changes that may have occured in the magazine's publications during our period of reference. *Fantazio* was targeted towards adult women, and dealt with a wide range of topics, such as the role of women in society, sexuality, and the female body, as well as a variety of other topics. It ran from 1969 to 1982, and was owned and published by Evangelos Terzopoulos who also published the magazine *Woman* (*Γυναίκα*), of which we were unfortunately unable to find issues published during the Junta. Terzopoulos' politics are not clearly stated. In an interview he gave in 1980 for the newspaper *Kathimerini*, he described his magazine, *Woman*, as a success resulting from the fact that it spoke of women's "subordination and oppression by society".[41] As such, we can assume that he was also of a more liberal persuasion, which appears to be somewhat of a trend when it came to major magazine publishers of the time. *Fantazio* claimed to be a variety magazine, but its target audience and readership was primarily women. This can be seen by both, the majority of articles and ads which were targeted towards women, as well as the fact that most of the letters sent from readers were written by women.

The third magazine analyzed in this research is "*Epikera*" (Επίκερα), a magazine which started publishing in 1968, during the Junta, and is still in circulation today. *Epikera* is addressed to a general audience. It was published by Pappiros Press and aspired to become the first "newsmagazine" in Greece, according to the publisher's website.[42]The owner of Pappiros Press, Pournaris, was a prolific Greek publisher since 1936. Pournars' politics were never openly stated, and therefore cannot be determined with certainty. *Epikera* can be reviewed both as a measure of comparison with articles addressed to a non-female readership, while also providing an insight of how women were perceived, as it contains columns dealing specificly with women's issues.

Another primary source used in this thesis is the interview given by Ms. Poly Milory, Theofanides' daughter. She was an editor for *Romanjo* from 1967 to 1969 and the editor of another popular women's magazine that started publishing during the Junta, "*Pantheon*" (1970), also owned by her father. The interview allows the researcher to gain more insight

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Christodoulou, "Romanjo, the magazine of records", *News 24/7,* (2018): https://www.news247.gr/weekend-edition/romantso-to-thryliko-periodiko-ton-rekor.6340860.html

[41] Olga Bakomarou, "Evangelos Terzopoylos, the founder of 'Woman'", *Kathimerini*,(1980), p. 44: http://www.imvrosisland.org/UserFiles/File/arthra/Terzopoulos_Imvros.PDF 5

[42]https://papyros-books.gr/about/

into the internal aspects of the publishing business during the Junta. Ms. Milory provides information both about herself as an editor and about her father as a major publisher, discussing how he maneuvered his business during the Junta. She helps us understand what the mindset behind printing was during our period of reference; how censorship functioned, and the particular relationship that emerged between the state and magazine publishing companies. Of course, we must take into consideration that Ms. Milory could potentially obscure certain facts, so as to present her magazines as ideologically opposed to the regime, since most people do not wish to be associated with it. Nevertheless, this interview is invaluable to the research since it provides deep insight into the production of popular culture at the time. The interview was conducted in person at Ms. Milory's residence in a casual form. Specific questions were asked to her on the topics of censorship, governmental control over the content of the magazine –i.e: whether or not the government forced the magazine to publish specific materials– the role and treatment of women in the industry, and the capacity or freedom to write and publish materials which went against the state ideology. After these questions, Ms.Milory recounted her personal story and her experience as a woman in the publishing business, while she also shared some personal anecdotes about the office during the Junta. The interview was not recorded; however, notes were taken on the spot in an attempt to create friendlier atmosphere and to allow Ms. Milory to speak freely.

This thesis takes a qualitative approach and conducts a discourse analysis. It is broken up into three chapters and an endnote. The magazines are analyzed jointly in a thematic order; the three themes around which the analysis is organized are the female body, the woman as a worker, and the woman as a political actor. These themes have been chosen because of their concordance with the particular facets of life that the Junta –much alike other right-wing regimes– aspired to control. Women’s bodies were appropriated as they were reserved for reproductive and marital purposes; working was discouraged since it collided with household obligations; and exclusion from political life was justified based on the assumption that women are incapable of valid political reasoning. Since these themes seem to have been the most prevalent when negotiating women's role in fascist and right-wing authoritarian societies, it seems to be the suitable approach for organizing a research focused on women's portrayals in the popular culture of an authoritarian regime.

To this end, this thesis proceeds as follows. The first chapter deals with the image of the female body in the magazines; its representations, perceptions of female sexuality and general discussions regarding the female body. Given that women were commonly viewed as the agents of society's reproduction, it would br interesting to see how the magazines during the Junta conversed on this subject. The second chapter explores the perceptions of working women as opposed to housewives. Whether these lifestyles are compatible, or how relations of women and men should ideally be, along with other questions arise while assessing the primary sources. This chapter aims to delve deeply into the subject matter: essentially, which is the place that a woman could occupy in the Junta’s society, where is she welcome, where is she not, and how compatible is "femininity" with work. Finally, the third chapter deals with the representation of politics. It looks at questions regarding the role of women in the Greek political sphere; i.e. if women are expected to be involved with politics, and if so, what kind of politics, and how direct the state propaganda is projected on women through popular women's magazines.

Chapter 1 : Negotiating the body

The female body and its perception in society are among the major topics that magazines of the time dealt with. From revealing fashion trends and discussions about actresses doing naked scenes in films to sexual liberation and contraception, the body is the focal point of many articles in women's magazines, as well as magazines of general interest such as *Epikera*. Yet the focus on the body does not appear immediately in the magazines of the Junta. Indeed, apart from fashion, makeup and body care advertising, the naked body and female sexuality are not addressed until 1969. There are two possible explanations, which are also intertwined with one another.

First of all, the government changed its censorship policy in 1969 from proleptic to punitive.[43]As Lambrinos explains, the Junta adopted a laxer censorship policy after 1969, in an attempt to appear more reasonable and liberal to its Westernallies, thus avoid isolation. Poly Milory also describes this shift in her interview: "After '69 they would threaten us with fines, firings, and the retraction of issues, but always after the fact", on the other hand "from '67 to '68 we had to send our work to be checked and changed before we were allowed to publish anything".

Reduced censorship was not the only reason women's magazines turned to talking about the female body and started to emphasize themes like nudity and sexuality. The second reason for this shift can be attributed to market forces. By 1970, foreign press circulation became more prevalent in the Greek markets. As Ms. Milory explains, "Cosmopolitan [the Greek version of the famous American magazine] was the trendsetter": after its arrival, international fashion came further to the forefront and, therefore, "revealing trends" became a topic of conversation in Greek magazines. Additionally, many Greek publishers gained more access to articles from foreign publications that they would then either commission or outright steal and translate.[44]

The most pertinent example, illustrating this shift within the contents of Greek magazines, would be a comparison between issues of the women's magazine *Romanjo* before and after 1969. Pre-1969 issues did not deal with matters pertaining to the female body extensively. The fashion presented was quite conservative and always focused on the clothes themselves rather than exhibiting the woman's body, like her legs or breasts. In an issue dated April 23, 1968, for example, we can read in the fashion pages that "the fashion of the '30s is back" coupled with comments on the colors of the attire presented.[45]On the other hand, looking through issues of *Romanjo* from 1969 onwards, we find that the fashion narrative has completely changed. Take the issue of September 8, 1970, for example: in its fashion pages, summer dresses are shown accompanied by comments explaining how miniskirts show off one's legs and how certain dresses have a more pronounced cleavage.[46]Apart from some general comments on fashion, *Romanjo* does not deal with the female body. This could be due to it beingtargeted towards teen girls, as well as the fact that this study only managed to

[43] Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει* (*It's Just a Junta)* (2013), p. 70.
[44] Poly Miliori's interview.
[45] Anonymous, "Η μοδα του 30 επανελχεται"(The fashion of the '30s is coming back), *Romanjo* 1312 (1968), pp. 82-83.
[46] Anonymous, "Για την παραλια"(For the beach), *Romanjo* 1536 (1970), p. 83.

procure two issues following the post-1969 censorship changes. As a result, this chapter will focus mainly on two other magazines, the general interest magazine *Epikera* and the women's magazine *Fantazio.*

As can be seen, the female body became a focused topic of conversation in women's magazines post-1969. As such, this chapter will mainly focus on the dialogue around the body, sexuality, nudity, and fashion post-1969, following the content of most magazines, or at least those that this research project managed to gather.

Did you hear…. She is going to appear naked

"Did you hear that she is going to be naked?" This title greats the reader in the first 5 pages of most issues of *Fantazio*. In every issue, the "Looks at the stars" column, coupled with suggestive pictures of the celebrities interviewed, spans from 3 to 4 pages in the 80-page magazine, and is almost always accompanied by at least one article on some Hollywood star who either filmed a naked scene, was considering filming one, or was explaining how she didn't feel comfortable with the idea. Thus, there is a constant conversation pursued through the magazine issues on how the female body is used in cinema.

A stand-out article dealing with the subject of nudity in cinema can be found in the July 6, 1971 issue of *Fantazio*, written by the English reporter Ellen Hughes. She goes undercover in female casting agencies in Rome and describes how the only way to find work is by "undressing for the camera or a producer".[47]The article delves deep into the way women respond, gathered up and forced to undress for scenes to secure an income and a part. It portrays Ellen (the reporter) and her friend Marion as reluctant to comply and recounts their escape from the set with their clothes on, while all the other women there (described as "of lighter morality") stay and do the nude scene "for only 1800 drachma", the equivalent of about 5 Euros today. There are even cases of attempted rape described in the article, but they are brushed off as a natural response of men who are not able to control themselves at the sight of naked women. This article is defiantly critical towards the sexualization of the female body in films, or at least the procedure within which it occurs. Yet, on the other hand, it shows that it is a common practice and it allows the readers to experience the process first hand. But not all articles are as critical of female nudity in movies.

For example, in *Fantazio*'s issue of February 16, 1971, we can find an article about the up and coming star Sidney, entitled "Ann Sidney had luck come to her... naked".[48]The article describes how Ann became a movie star acting alongside Mick Jagger, due to her willingness to reveal her naked body. The article's closing lines state that "she was a hairdresser, but girls like her do not stay hairdressers", making it clear that her fortune changed because of her beauty and her willingness to undress. Although it is difficult to be sure what the phrase "girls like her" refers too, we could interpretit as beautiful girls or girls "of light morals", as Ellen puts it. Nevertheless, this article takes a less judgmental stance towards nudity in cinema,

[47] Ellen Hughes, "Σταρς της αυταπατης και Κομπαρσοι της ντροπης"(Starlets of delusion and Extras of shame), *Fantazio*123 (1971), pp. 20-21.
[48] Natassa Bakogiannopoulou, "Ανν Συντνεϊ, Η τυχη της ηρθε...γυμνη"(Ann Sidney had luck come to her... naked), *Fantazio* 103 (1971), p. 9.

showing how it can bring real success to an actress.

Another similar article can be found in the *Fantazio* issue of March 24, 1970.[49]Similarly to the previous article, this too is found under the "Looks at the stars" section of the magazine. It opens with the line "Should I undress or should I not"; this is the question that Nikola is pondering. The article explains how Nikola refused to undress for a Hollywood film production, and how this choice cost her part. She is shown sitting on a chair melancholically with the caption "the very saddened girl that said 'no'"(See Appendix 1). Once more the question is that of nudity in cinema, but this time the article focuses on what happens when one refuses to go nude. It is difficult to say what the stance of the magazine is towards the matter, but it seems that it agrees with the opinion that, if a woman wishes to be a film star, she should be willing to undress since that is the reality of the industry.

In *Fantazio*'sMarch 31, 1970, issue, one comes across an article, in which Imogen Hassall describes rape attempts against her by cinema producers. "I will undress for the part but not for the producer" she states, and the magazine makes sure to support that decision.[50]"She is not proud, but from now on she avoids those producer parties" according to the article. Still, the magazine seems unwilling to condemn the attempted rapes as crimes and brushes them off as "rudeness" on the part of the producers.

In a July 26, 1973, issue of *Epikera* there is an exposé on the Miss World pageant.[51]In the article, a male reporter goes to the 1973 pageant to report on the conditions for the women participating. He paints a grim picture of women that are treated like machines, without any consideration for their well-being, as they are only there to perform and to be looked at; in fact, he even calls the pageant a "modern slave market". While he sounds sympathetic at the beginning, he then goes on to compare the women with one another concluding that "only nine to ten are actually gorgeous", and closes his article with advice towards men on where to find the 59 women that will lose and will need a man to "keep them company". As a result, this article presents women in a very voyeuristic way, comparing them and their beauty and advising men how to sleep with them, while, at the same time, sustaining that the pageants exploit the female body.

A March 20, 1970, issue of *Epikera*, has a very provocative cover, portraying a woman wearing a see-through shirt without a bra (See Appendix 2). The article this cover is associated with is entitled "Revolution under the shirt: after legal and social bonds were broken women are now breaking the bonds that bound their body".[52]There are pictures of women openly displaying their breasts in the article, something that can only be found in the magazine *Epikera* since magazines targeting women exclusively did not show full nudity. The pictures are colored, a technique used only for few articles per issue, presumably because the article is about fashion. The article is anonymous; possibly because it might have been stolen and translated since it appears to be quite international.[53]The highlight is on women demanding

[49] Natassa Bakogiannopoulou "Η Νικολα ειπε οχι στο γυμνο" (Nikola said 'no' to Nudity), *Fantazio* 53 (1970), p. 56.
[50] Anonymous, "Θα γδυθω για τον ρολο οχι τον παραγογο"(I will undress for the part not the producer), *Fantazio* 57 (1970), p. 19.
[51] Nikos Mastorakis, "Κρυσταλινη φυλακη για καλονες" (Crystalline Prison for Beauties), *Epikera* 259 (1973), p. 21.
[52] Anonymous, "Επανασταση κατο απο την μπλουζα" (Revolution Under the Shirt), *Epikera* 85 (1970), pp. 36-37.
[53]According to Poly Milori's interview, stealing foreign articles was a prevalent practice in Greek magazines at the time.

their bodily autonomy, placed within the context of the feminist movement in Europe and the United States, calling for women's freedom to show their body as they please. The article, while focusing attention on both the fashion trend of see-through shirts without bras and the political moment behind it, concludes in compromise; a disposition that will be encountered whenever the topic of feminism occurs. "Bras should be worn when needed, for example when dancing, and not when they are not," that is the closing statement showing acceptance for bodily liberation while, at the same time, retaining some skepticism.

While it can clearly be established that there is an ongoing dialogue on the exploitation of female sexuality by the film and beauty industry in the pages of *Fantazio* and *Epikera*, no real stance is taken on whether this practice should change or not. Moreover, it appears that there is an implicit acceptance of the phenomenon. Women's right to autonomy over their bodies is clearly supported, a fact made evident at least by the absence of judgment towards the starlets doing naked scenes in movies, as well as the lively praise of their beauty and sex appeal. A sex appeal that had been introduced in Greek popular culture before the Junta.[54] Yet, at the same time, it brushes off evident rape attempts as "part of the business", with men implicitly shifting some of the blame on the women in the industry, implying that "they should expect it".

Chastity belts are back in fashion

In the September 23, 1969, issue of *Fantazio*, the almost comical title "Chastity belts are back in fashion" appears (See Appendix 3). This outlandish title describes exactly what one would assume. It is indeed an article advertising the apparent return of chastity belts as a trend for women. The article explains what a chastity belt is and how it is making a comeback in fashion due to women in "rural France that still wear this amazing contraption that protects their husbands' rights when they are absent". Taken at face value, the article is quite opposed to the sexual liberation of women by explicitly saying that the husband has rights over his wife's body which must be "protected" in his absence. Yet there is another side to the article. It states that "today it [the chastity belt] is just another accessory ofwomanly beauty that excites the imagination of men", adding that "if they [the chastity belts] are to become a thing, it is sure that there will be a booming industry for… spear keys". Those statements are coupled with pictures of a scandalously dressed model, posing provocatively while wearing a chastity belt. It is particularly interesting to examine how this article works in both directions. On the one hand, as mentioned above, it implies that the husband has a right of possession over his wife's body, which he can protect with such a devise. On the other hand, it implies that women not only have sex appeal but also put it to use as they wish to excite men, while in the meantime openly stating that they can actively cheat on their husbands since "spear key" factories will flourish. The article does not seem to imply that the women that would use those keys are of lesser or no moral worth. On the contrary, by placing this sentence at the end of the article, female cheating is understood as morally neutral, if not permissible. This article is strategically placed in the fashion pages of the magazine, although it does not seem to be addressed to women.

Though never explicitly, *Epikera* and *Fantazio* seem to agree that women do crave sex or at least companionship and that if their partner is not willing to provide it to them they will go out and find it on their own. A prime example of this outlook is "Ermina" (Pelli Kefala) .

[54]Athansiadou, *Το Ελληνκο σινεμα* (The Greek Movies) (2001), p. 202.

Ermina is the author of a "Help" column in *Fantazio* from 1970 onwards. In her column, she publishes letters sent to her by girls and women discussing their issues and expecting a helpful answer. Ermina is mostly supportive, and in cases where wives cheat on their husbands because they mistreat them or ignore their needs, she is not judgmental; quite to the contrary, she supports them. For example, in the March 31, 1970, issue, a young girl asks her for advice as her father is cruel towards her mother who is having an affair with another married man as a result.[55]Ermina advises her to ask her parents to divorce because they are harming her. She goes on to blame the father for the ordeal, saying that it is his fault that his wife is looking elsewhere for love since he is unable to provide it for her. She does not even comment on the fact that the mother is having an affair with a married man. On another occasion, in the *Fantazio* issue of October 5, 1971, a young woman asks Ermina what to do given that she is in a relationship with two men and that they just discovered about one another.[56]Ermina tells the girl to make up her mind, not because it is inappropriate to date two men, but because her partners are probably hurt fighting over her. Ermina's message ends with the suggestion "do what makes you happy". Again, we see that there is no judgment for women choosing to have two partners. Ermina doesn't appear in the pages of *Fantazio* before 1970, but after that, she becomes a staple part of the magazine, occupying a prominent position with her 4 to 5 pages closer column at the end of the magazine.

An interesting article by Andreas Deligiannis in *Fantazio'*s issue of February 2, 1971, deals with sex and women in an interview with three "average" girls about the matters of "love, marriage, faithfulness, and divorce" as described in the title.[57]The article is written by a man. In it, the girls are asked if "they feel that they are sexually free now that the pill exists?" The girls' answers vary. Sofia sais that the pill has helped women achieve sexual equality and freedom since they do not have to worry about the "baggage" that a relationship might bring along. Anna believes that sexual freedom has already existed for about twenty years, only hidden, and she is now slightly scared of the current freedom that she enjoys. Mary argues that sexual freedom has not yet been achieved, neither for men nor for women, and that a lot of barriers still need to be broken. Further along, they are asked whether they would hide their previous partners from the man that they plan on marrying and, again, their opinions differ, with Sofia and Marysaying that they wouldn't, and Anna explaining that she would, in order to "preserve the illusion of a grand romance".[58]Interestingly enough, the article asks similar questions to three men. The most interesting question for this segment is whether these young men would want the woman that they marry to have had past "sexual experience or not", with all three of them answering positively that, indeed, they would. As can be seen, the conversation on women's sexuality and pleasure is opened in the absence of judgment. Even the men interviewed expect the women they end up with to have sexual experience.

In the *Epikera* issue of June 5, 1970, we find an anonymous article about how eroticism is corrupting society. The article covers two pages like most other articles in the magazine. It states that "eroticism and pornography are horrid things; society should help those addicted to them recover and return to normality".[59]Yet, the article is explicitly pro-sex; it states that "sex

[55] Ermina (Pelly Kefala), "Καρδιοσκοπιο"(Heart Patrol), *Fantazio* 57 (1970), p. 75.
[56] Ermina (Pelly Kefala), "Καρδιοσκοπιο"(Heart Patrol), *Fantazio* 136 (1971), p. 79.
[57] Andreas Deligiannis, "Ερωτας,Γαμος,Πιστη και Διαζιγιο"(Love, Mariage, Faithfulness and Divorce), *Fantazio* 101 (1971), 12-16.
[58] Ibid.,p.12-16.
[59] Anonymous, "Φιλελευθερη κοινονοια: Ερωτησμος και Πορνογραφια"(Liberal society: Eroticism and Pornography), *Epikera* 96 (1970), p. 30.

has nothing bad in itself and, at the point where a progressive society is attempting to emancipate people from the fears and shame that a patriarchal society created by separated physical and mental love, sex should be destigmatized". Sex is thus celebrated only in its real form, while the sex represented on television, cinema, and art is disregarded as imitating and pornographic. Moreover, what becomes evident, especially by the phrase "patriarchal society of the past", is that women should be understood as sexual beings expressing love through both the physical and the mental, instead of the traditional idea according to which they can only enjoy the mental aspects of love while men enjoy the physical, namely sex.

Concluding on the matter of sexual liberation, the magazines published during the Junta and after 1968 seem to support the idea that the woman is her own sexual person and that she is not meant to keep herself for her husband. Even regarding the chastity belt article, we can see that the message was one of sexual liberation as the belt would supposedly excite men and "spear keys" would become readily available. The topic of sexual liberation is still under negotiation in the pages of the magazines illustrated, for example, by the answers provided by the three girls interviewed; however, what is observable is that there is no overt judgment against women that profess their sexual freedom in the pages of those magazines. This seems to go against the Junta's ideology, whose intention was that women be married housewives. Also, let us remind the previously mentioned observation of Kornetis, that contraception was purposefully made difficult to access during the Junta (1967-1974), which renders the discussion on the pill all the more strange.

Arriving at a conclusion on how the female body is treated in magazines during the Junta, we observe that there is indeed a lively conversation regarding the female body and sexuality. Contrary to what could be expected, the ideas discussed have a liberating content (at least when the writer is a woman, but in some cases also when the writer is a man, like with the interview of the three girls). Women are understood as sexual beings for their own benefit and are not merely portrayed as obligated to accommodate the carnal desires of men, and the question of liberating the body is not avoided in a puritanic manner. Of course, there are differences between the publications. *Fantazio*, a magazine solely addressed to women, is more accommodating, less judgmental and dehumanizing. In comparison, *Epikera*,which occasionally promotes progressive views on the female body and sexuality –as seen in the article about sex versus romanticism and the article about the abolition of bras– is more conflicting, since it also publishes articles about pageants, explaining how men could profit by waiting outside the hotel after the event to court the losing candidates.

On a final note, it is interesting to examine the approach adopted by both magazines regarding attempted rape. In the lives of starlets and aspiring actresses presented, many accounts of sexual assault and attempted rape occur. The articles do not go as far as blaming the victims for being "provocative"; they do however minimize the fact by avoiding any substantial critique of these phenomena in the industry, or by simply shaming the men who attempted those acts in the first place. It seems as though the idea that "boys will be boys" is still very much alive, and that in the presence of attractive or even "provocative" women, as *Fantazio* puts it, men are unable to control themselves.[60] As such, when we say that the magazines seem to be advocating sexual liberation, that doesn't mean that they (either willingly or not) do not still engage with patriarchal ideas; that men's sexual urges are not their own responsibility, but rather an unfortunate by-product of women's liberated bodies,

[60] Ellen Hughes, "Σταρς της αυταπατης και Κομπαρσοι της ντροπης" (Starlets of delusion and Extras of shame), *Fantazio* 123 (1971), pp. 20-21.

for example. This stance goes against the views presented in the article of *Epikera*, according to which we have supposedly advanced from societal patriarchy and the sexual dichotomy it presented.[61] There are still ideas proliferating in those magazines that hamstring the prospect of real sexual equity and liberation, which these same magazines seem to aspire to and promote. The female body appears to be a by-product of its time. In that regard, even though the Junta was opposed to female sexual liberation, the historical period during which it was installed superseded this particular aspiration, while popular culture seems to turn towards a more liberal view of the female body spread by the western media, namely movies and magazines. As we study the content of these magazines, what is made all the more apparent is the tension between modernity and tradition, which Vlossak and Monti identify in the fascist regimes of the past (Germany and Italy).[62]While times are changing, and women are progressively understood as sexual beings, they are expected to accept the long-established idea that if they are "provocative", men will accordingly be "aggressive" while pursuing them.

[61] Anonymous, "Φιλελευθερη κοινονοια: Ερωτησμος και Πορνογραφια"(Liberal society: Eroticism and Pornography), *Epikera* 96 (1970), p. 30.
[62]Vlossak, *Gender Approaches to the history* (2019), p. 14, and Monti, "The Contrasting Image of Italian Women",p. 44.

Chapter 2: Does a modern woman work?

During the years of the Junta, the government did not create new jobs. In fact, the working population was reduced: in 1961, 55% of the population was economically active, while in 1971 that percentage was reduced to 47,5%.[63]Although one could make an argument that this decrease was the effect of women being prompted to become mothers and housewives during the Junta, that would probably be a wrong assumption. Of course, we do not mean to say that women were not expected to be wives, quite the contrary, but the reasons for the unorthodox employment patterns of the Greek economic growth are rooted in other factors as well.[64]This can be established by the fact that, even after the dictatorship's fall and until 1981, the percentage of working women (including agricultural workers) kept decreasing. Simeonidou points out that this is probably due to urbanisation, which meant that women entering city life had to choose between work and motherhood; something that was not necessary in the country because of the proximity of work (the fields) to the home and the fact that extended family could support childcare when women went to work.

Nevertheless, the place of women in the workplace and the household is a topic widely discussed within women's and general interest magazines of the time. The viability of certain professions, the role of the woman as a mother, the pursuit of higher education, and the viability of an independent bread-earning woman are all topics that appear very frequently. In this instance, it seems that the change in censorship policy after 1969 did not affect the magazines' content significantly regarding those subjects. Indeed these topics can be found in articles throughout the seven years of the dictatorship. As it will be shown, while the idea of the working woman is negotiated within the magazines' pages, there is a tendency to present the woman as a mother and a housewife both through articles and advertising. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this rule that will be highlighted in this chapter. For this chapter, all three publications of *Romanjo*, *Fantazio* and *Epikera*, will be used as they all deal with the issues of motherhood, working women and life for housewifes.

In the treatment of these issues, particular focus will be drawn to the duality of the woman in nationalism and fascism, following Vlossak's approach.[65] Namely, the tension between the modernizing ideas and the traditionalist tendencies at the core of far right "revolutionary" movements. In the specific case of women's magazines, we shall see that even when articles and columns promote a more "modern" interpretation of womanhood, advertisements, literature, and in some cases articles, actively reinforce the idea of a woman not only dependant on her husband but also deriving meaning solely through her identity as a mother and a housewife. Unlike perceptions of the female body and sexuality, regarding work and family life the image of the woman, as it transpires through the magazines, is conflicted between that of a "modern" independent woman and a "traditional" housewife.[66]

[63]Simeonidou, "Η εξελιξη του οικονομικα ενεργου πληθυσμου τον γυναικων" (Tendancises of working women),p. 293.
[64]Simeonidou, Η εξελιξη του οικονομικα ενεργου πληθυσμου τον γυναικων" (Tendancises of working women),p. 295.
[65]Vlossak, *Gender approaches to the history* (2019),p. 1.
[66] The words modern and traditional are in quotation marks because they only operate as general descriptors instead of solid definitions. As it has been explained in the methodology of this thesis, gender is negotiated within space and time and as such any version of womanhood is modern during its time.

Successful Women

As Ms. Miliory explained in her interview, one of the primary means she used to promote feminist ideas when she was an editor for *Romanjo* magazine, and later a director for *Pantheon*,another woman's magazine was to create exposés on "important women". This type of articles will constitute the primary focus of the present sub-chapter.

Staring with an issue of *Epikera*, published on February 11, 1972, we come across an article on the first female head of a military tribunal.[67]The article is anonymous and relatively short, occupying only one-fourth of the "news" page. The person in question is Eia Inbar, an Israeli soldier and lawyer. The article summarizes general information on how she acquired the position and discusses her looks, describing her as small and with a pleasant face. The article then informs the reader that Eia is married, and that apart from a good lawyer and soldier she is also a very good cook. "Her husband vows for her cooking, 'the best I ever had'".[68]In a total of three small paragraphs devoted to her, one is on her husband who praises her cooking skills; in fact, her coking is her only feature that gets a commendation. Indeed, no comments are made about her soldiering or lawyering, apart from the fact that she is as good at them as she is at cooking. The article ends with Eia mentioning that "the tribunal takes up a lot of my time" and that she would wish to have more free time at her disposal. This article showcases how women, even when professionally accomplished, are still expected to perform their functions as housewives. As we see, the article's actual focal point is Eia's cooking skills and the fact that her work is so demanding that it interferes with her domestic duties. The length and tone of the article show that Eia's story is not viewed as noteworthy or as an important subject of discussion; rather, it is presented as a "peculiarity" one reads before getting to the important articles.

Another, similar example of how accomplished women are treated in print media can be found in the January 25, 1974, issue of *Epikera*. A full-length two-page article coupled with pictures, written by an anonymous (presumably) male author, judging by the article's attitude towards women. The article informs us that NASA is training its first female astronauts. The title reads: "Girls in Space: why not, NASA shows that their biology can handle it. After all… they will help themale astronauts relax in their long space journeys". Already from the title, we are told that women have a very specific duty to carry out.[69]While the article claims that "there are no differences between men and women", it still supports the idea that men should have gone first to space to spare women the horror and danger of space travel. Nevertheless, women are going to be invaluable according to the article, since "female companionship is sure to alleviate the loneliness that astronauts face". It is evident that women are treated like recreational equipment. This particular article pinpoints the attitude generally displayed by *Epikera* towards working and distinguished women: their specific role is to help and support men, either as housewives in spite of their demanding work life or as recreation for men that do not have the "luxury" of female companionship due to their occupation.

[67] Anonymous, "Η Προτη Γυνεκα στρατοδικης στον κοσμο"(The first female military judge in the world), *Epikera* 184 (1972), p. 6.
[68] Anonymous, "Η Προτη Γυνεκα στρατοδικης στον κοσμο"(The first female military judge in the world, *Epikera* 184 (1972), p. 6.
[69] Anonymous, "Κοριτσια στο Διαστιμα"(Girls in Space), *Epikera* 286 (1974), pp. 58-59.

However, this attitude towards working women, and especially towards those distinguished in the workplace, is not conveyed in the same manner in *Romanjo* and *Fantazio*. In the case of women-oriented magazines, we can observe a more supportive stance towards working women as well as an admiration towards those that have managed to distinguish themselves. Although they do not entirely avoid preconceptions of the woman's role as a mother and a housewife, women's magazines do not present the distinguished woman as subservient to male authority.

Two different issues of *Fantazio* contain exposés on women that have made it into car racing. On August 28, 1971, we come across an extremely enthusiastic piece on Liane Engeman, a Dutch female car racer. The article explains that she was born to be a racer and that she has won a position in the racing world "with her sword".[70]When the interviewer asks Liane about her love life, she explains that she divorced because of her racing profession. "Men are petty and selfish. My fiancé asked me to stop racing and marry him, and that is something I would never do. I know that I will only marry when I am done racing, and this will be a very dark day" she says. The writer does not make any comments on her statement, instead, the article focuses on her future ambitions. What can be seen here, is that she is recognized as an equal to men and that, furthermore, she is not defined by her relationship with them. She is presented as a strong character, as a person who earned what they worked for. Also, interestingly enough, this article is written by a man.

A very similar article, in the same magazine, was published on July 6, 1971, only this time the writer goes deeper into what it means to be a woman in aracing, male-dominated territory. The article focuseson Marie Claude Beaumont, a French car racer. In her interview, she expresses how she has to separate womanhood from driving: "When I am behind the wheel I am no longer a woman, only a driver" she says.[71]She also explains that even though emancipation and equality have been achieved, racing remains a categorically male sport where women are merely "tolerated". "To be taken seriously, I had to prove that I belong to their world". While Marie wants her co-drivers to be women because she feels "uncomfortable giving orders to men", she believes that women are unreliable since they have family issues or even romantic problems that prevent them from working. She closes her interview by stating: "What separates me from them [her women co-drivers] is that I am a professional".[72] Once more, we are presented with the incompatibility between a successful work-life and marriage for women. While the article's stance is in no case smearing or judgmental, it retains the idea that women are simply not capable of both working a "manly" job and managing a stable relationship. Apart from the case of Eia presented previously

A March 24, 1970, piece in *Romanjo*, presents the case of Shirley Mak, a Hollywood actress described as "weird". The article is anonymous, so we can't establish the writer's gender. Why is she presented as wired? It is because she is famously rich, yet does not spend money on clothes, makeup or expensive furniture, while also maintaining a long-distance marriage.[73]The article is not overtly criticizing of Shirley, quite to the contrary, it praisesher charity donations and her commitment to doing as she pleases; yet, it fails to comprehend her.

[70] Dimitirs Tsalapatis, "Γενυμενη για κηνδινο: Η Ιπταμενη Ολανδεζα"(Born for Danger: The flying Dutchwoman), *Fantazio* 135 (1971), p. 13. "With her sword" is a Greek expression which translates into English as "with her own worth".
[71] Anonymous, "Στη Βολαν δεν εισαι πλεον γυνεκα" (In Volan you are no longer a Woman), *Fantazio* 123 (1971), p. 26.
[72] Ibid,. p. 92.
[73] Anonymous, "Μια αλοκοτη Γυνεκα" (A weird woman), *Romanjo* 1412 (1970), p. 31.

It calls her "weird" because she does not fit any of the expected stereotypes: she is not needlessly materialistic, while she can be both successful and have a family on her terms.

Through these articles, we can observe three patterns of understanding the "professionally distinguished woman" as they surfaced in the magazines of the period. In *Epikera*, distinguished women gain their worth through integration and by assisting men, as is shown in the case of the female astronauts which will "help the men relax", and the military judge who is also appreciated by her husband for being a great cook. On the other hand, in women's magazines, we see that distinguished women are presented in two ways: either as devoted professionals who forsake their personal lives, love relationships, and marriage to pursue their careers or as "weird" distinguished women professionals who do not fall into line with expected patterns for women of their position. While the women's magazines are for the most part supportive, showing admiration for their successful counterparts, they still perpetuate the underpinning assumption that female professionalism corresponds to loneliness and loss of femininity, as if they are opposed by essence. Case in point, Marie is only a driver and no longer a woman when she races.

Becoming an educated woman

While the magazines under analysis here contain articles portraying women as distinguished professionals who are independent of men, there are also abundant articles, advertisements, short stories, and photo-comics that present women first and foremost as mothers and housewives.

The most striking example of this practice is advertising. In all three magazines, most of the advertisements are targeted towards women. That is to be expected from women's magazines such as *Fantazio* and *Romanjo*, but it is equally prevalent in *Epikera* magazine. These advertisements seem to be systematically focused on house appliances, children's food, medicine, clothes, beauty products, and fashion. Advertising remained unchanged throughout the Junta, with a single exception: after 1969, the number of advertisements displaying women in revealing clothes, miniskirts, or lingerie increased. The only inconsistency in this unmistakable pattern are the unisex cigarette adds (portraying both males and females) and the private education ads in *Romanjo.* From the entirety of the education ads assessed, only two do not suggest a career as a secretary, a teacher, a translator or a beauty expert.[74]The first is found in an August 8, 1967, issue of *Romanjo* and it advertises a private university for civil engineers and architects. It is explicitly addressed to women, requesting "young ladies that have just graduated from high school".[75]The second advertises the position of aircraft engineer in an engineering school and is highlighted by the image of a jet fighter plane.[76]This ad stands in stark contrast with the rest of the advertisements in themagazines. Both the imagery and the job advertised are very atypical considering the aesthetics and themes carried by the magazine. It is difficult to know why this particular advertisement figures in this magazine since we can not possibly know the advertiser's objectives. Yet its inclusion is especially interesting: if not as a manifestation of a shifting perception on women's

[74] This is the most prevalent form of education advertisements appearing in *Romanjo* magazine.
[75] Aristotle School, Γεινεται Σχεδιαστης (Become a designer), *Romanjo* 1275 (1967), p. 67.
[76] Cronos, "Μια θεση για εσας στν σχολη Κρονος"(A spot for you in Cronos schools), *Romanjo* 1536 (1972), p. 65.

capabilities, then at least as proof of the absence of other analogous material.[77] Therefore, in general, the advertising industry portrays the woman first and foremost as a mother and a wife. She takes care of herself, her children and the house. As a consumer, she is manufactured to be a caretaker and as such, she is targeted with myriads of advertisements, yet, at the same time, she is not expected to be the one purchasing all those products. Indeed, as both Labrinos and Athansiadou explain, in cinema and television, the popular media under the most government control, the image of women is that of financial dependency regarding men.[78]

Considering popular culture, it is interesting to also examine the literature published in these magazines. Less in the case of *Epikera*, more in *Fantazio* and especially in *Romanjo*, one can find short stories, "classic" Greek literature, anecdotes, and photo-comics. Here, there is no nuanced case to be made. The literature featured is usually of patriotic nature.[79]If it's not a patriotic story, then it's "classic" stories and poems by famous Greek writers of the past. Regardless, the main bulk of literature is contemporary and is usually centered on motherhood, a woman in danger, a woman in love or a woman in dangerous love.[80]From "Yolanda's phone call", which tells the story of a seductive woman who gets enamored by a young ambitious man and settles down;[81]to "Fate is no longer knocking", a story about a child that was never loved by her mother and is, therefore, unable to integrate into society after her mother's death;[82]and, finally, the outrageous drama "The last tears", where a couple loses their baby to a scheme by the husband's evil cousin, because they had their child while unmarried; all these stories circle around similar love story themes, where the protagonist is a woman, portrayed as a wife or a mother. There are scarcely any stories where women are depicted in roles outside this spectrum, and if they are, they are presented as cold and unloving.[83]

As we have seen, neither art nor advertising presented women as preoccupied with their education and their financial independence, in compliance with the Junta's ideology. Yet, there existed other forums where ideas on working women were exposed and exchanged. These were the magazines' advice columns, and more specifically Ermina's column in *Fantazio*. There are a lot of cases were Ermina receives letters inquiring about early marriage. Girls who had just graduated from high school asked Ermina whether they should continue

[77]It must be noted that R 1536 was published in 1972, while the rest of the *Romanjo* collection surveyed here, up to number 1412, was primarily published between 1967 to 1968. As such, the aircraft engineer ad could indeed be part of a larger trend of atypical ads that appeared in *Romanjo* specifically, but due to the lack of primary sources, the present research cannot determine whether this is actually the case. It should also be stated that since *Romanjo* was addressed to teenage girls, ads about private universities were more likely to be featured as there was an established target audience that could potentially be interested in them.

[78] Athanasatou, *Το Ελληνκο σινεμα (*The Greek Movies) (2001), p. 199, and Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει* (*Its just a Junta)*, (2013), p. 30.

[79] For example R 1412, which contains songs and legends form the Revolution of 1821, and appeared on March 24th, on the eve of the Greek Revolution's celebration of March 25th.

[80] The exceptions concern mainly crime and mystery stories, as we see for instance in R 1300 with the story "A delusional lady". However, they too have a romantic subplot for the most part, in which a woman appears to be dependent on a man's love or protection.

[81] Ernanis (Pseudonym), "Το τηλεφονιμα της Γιολαντας" (Yolanda's Phone call), *Romanjo* 1300 (1968), pp. 28-29.

[82] Mariz Soyazi, "Η μυρα δεν χτηπαει πια" (Fate is no longer knocking), *Romanjo* 1293 (1968), pp. 59-60.

[83] Lidia Kapetse, "Ενας αντρας για την Σαντρα"(A man for Sandra), *Romanjo* 1300 (1968), pp. 54-55. We can find "A man for Sandra", a story about a cold woman who is incapable of being loved and pities her little sister who is engaged.

their studies in a university or marry their sweetheart who was usually older.[84]There are also cases where the parents are pressuring their daughter to marry or alternatively try to prevent her from marrying before finishing her studies.[85] Whenever the question of education arises, Ermina always favours the pro-education position, stating that "women need to be educated and mature before they commit to any serious relationship like marriage".[86]This falls in line with the aforementioned observation that Ermina's advice column was a particularly "progressive" voice, with the ideas and messages it put forth. Much like with the relationship advice she provided, which was examined earlier, Ermina tended to be empowering and non-judgmental in her advice.

How to be a good housewife

The housewife's image is constructed through articles written specifically to inform their readers on appropriate marital behavior, relations between husbands and wives, as well as motherhood. In these pieces, we find small didactic tales explaining to women what behavior they should avoid with their spouses. For example, an article entitled "Ladies don't gossip" describes how a judge ruled in favor of the husband in a divorce case, stating that "one of the main reasons men want to get rid of women is their insufferable gossiping."[87]

There are also long-form articles providing advice on married life. A standout article of this kind bears the frightening title "If you want to be a widow at 45".[88]Written by a woman with the pseudonym Keti, this article claims that if a woman lets her husband do the housework he will die early. It states that men are already excessively tired from the work they have to do to provide for their family, and as such, it is the woman's job to ensure that they have a relaxing time when they return home. It goes as far as to say that, if a wife does not accommodate her husband accordingly, he may die early due to the accumulation of stress and fatigue. While the article is short (one page only), it portrays a particularly subservient image of the woman.

Romanjo approaches the matter from the opposite perspective. In the November 14, 1967, issue of the magazine, an article entitled "Too much care is tiring", explains how a wife should not expect too much care from her husband since excessive care will lead to boredom and a sense of futility. If he is both the provider and the caretaker there is nothing left for the wife to do, according to the writer who alerts the reader to an additional pitfall; a husband working overly hard to make money for his wife will not have the time to pay real attention to her.[89]In this case, the article's aim is not to shape the conduct of wives, but rather to mold their expectations, namely to lower them in regards to the care they should expect from their hardworking partners. Again, the narrative is that the woman should take care of the house and the man should work. This page-long article is coupled with an advertisement for steam irons. The writer is anonymous, but we can establish that she is a woman since she states that "I, as a wife, think that…".

[84] Ermina (Pelly Kefala), "Καρδιοσκοπιο"(Heart Patrol), *Fantazio* 123 (1971), pp. 84.
[85] Ermina (Pelly Kefala), "Καρδιοσκοπιο"(Heart Patrol), *Fantazio* 136 (1971), pp. 79.
[86] Ermina (Pelly Kefala), "Καρδιοσκοπιο"(Heart Patrol), *Fantazio* 103 (1971), pp. 82.
[87] Anonymous, "Οι κηριες δεν κουτσομπολευουν" (Ladies don't gossip), *Epikera* 195 (1972), p. 7.
[88] Keti (Pseudonym), "Αμα θελεται να ειστε χηρα στα 45" (If you want to be a widow at 45), *Fantazio* 57 (1970), p. 62.
[89] Anonymous, "Η πολυ προσοχη κουραζει" (Too much care is tiring), *Romanjo* 1289 (1967), p. 83.

Finally, some articles do not necessarily depict the woman as dependant on her husband. For instance, the article "What is a woman" from the *Fantazio* issue of November 4, 1969, delves into the subject of marriage and work.[90]In this piece, it is acknowledged that society has long been patriarchal and that this is now starting to change. The writer is disappointed that women can only "have power through beauty" and requests that future women work and be financially independent, however "without sacrificing their femininity". The article closes with the phrase "be dependent on a man romantically not economically".[91]In the case of this article, we observe a shift in the perception of women: independent in economic terms, yet not completely self-sufficient regarding men, the woman suggested by this article is different from the one usually portrayed by the vast majority of articles published in the magazines of the time. This article also reinforces the belief that work and femininity are somewhat incompatible and have to be balanced out, as it calls for independent yet feminine women. Thus the idea is not that a woman can't work, but that she has to balance work with her womanly duties, implying that work and womanhood do not occupy the same sphere.

As we can see, when it comes to work, education and marriage the magazines of the time project, for the most part, an image of a woman whose identity is primarily that of the housewife and the mother, very much in line with the ideas set forth by the Junta. Even in opposite cases, we observe that working women are somewhat denied their womanhood. With the sole exception of Ermina's advice column, the magazines of the time seem to perpetuate the image of a non-emancipated woman, regardless of the number of articles repeating that emancipation and equality have been achieved. Vlossak discerns this very pattern in other nationalist dictatorships as well.[92]The idea that, in a modernizing regime clashing with its traditionalist views –let's not forget that the Greek Junta presented itself as a revolutionary government aiming to change the old ways of politics– women are expected to occupy their traditional roles as mothers and wives, whereas if they wish to work, they will have to concede their femininity and enter the realm of men. This is how the paradoxical image of a woman that is at the same time emancipated and dependant is created.

Chapter 3:A revolution without politics

Unlike other cases of right-wing nationalism and fascism, women in Greece did not find political representation through the Junta's politics. The Junta was, for all intents and purposes, a closed project involving mainly the conspirators in the army; namely, Kostandions Papadopoulos, Stylianos Pattakos and Nikolaos Makarezos. Both Koonz and Monti argue that the reason women attained partial political emancipation in Nazi Germany and FascistItaly was their involvement in the mass political movements that arose in these two cases.[93]In Greece, on the other hand, the military coup did not involve popular clamor or the rise of a mass political movement. Finally, Greek women had already entered the political realm dynamically, first during the Metaxa dictatorship (1936-1940) and subsequently during the Civil War (1946-1949), as communist combatants and members of the "government of the mountain" (formed by EAM's Markos Vafeiadis).

[90] Anonymous, "Τι ειναι η Γυνεκα" (What is a woman), *Fantazio* 36 (1969), p. 79.
[91] Ibid,.p. 79.
[92]Vlossak, *Gender Approaches History* (2019), p. 14.

[93]*Koonz, Mothers in the Fatherland* (1984),17, and Monti, *The Contrasting Image of Italian Women* (2011),p. 58.

In the case of the Greek Junta's politics as represented in the magazines of the time, what is of particular interest is not their presence in lengthy articles but, to the contrary, their distinct absence. As Kominou has pointed out, the Junta was not a political movement and as such, it was met with passive acceptance.[94] Labrinos shares the same view, and explains that the Junta was "tolerated after the initial political shock".[95] In the media especially, this tolerance was also the result of pre-existing state censorship, which had been enforced by the King in fear of another left-wing revolt after the Civil War of 1946-1949.[96]

This situation generated an atmosphere of despondency among the public, which mainly followed the government line out of convenience rather than political conviction. A situation further amplified due to the Junta's increasingly vague political goals, namely the prevention of a communist takeover and the eventual restoration of democracy. Yet no actual threat was made by the Left, and without it no real political mobilization in support of the Junta could spring. This combination of elements created a non-political context in which the general population was immersed.[97] There did exist groups and individuals who confronted the Junta, from the Left, the Center, and some components of the Right; but very few actually campaigned in favor of it.[98] The Junta had built its power on the army. So, without any political purpose to advance, the government had effectively separated itself politically from the public sphere. That does not mean that itdid not attempt to control the public view or that it did not present a certain narrative. Indeed, the media (television, radio, and in some cases newspapers) were summoned and ran exclusively by the government for that very reason.[99]Nevertheless, by putting forward the vague notions of anti-communism and patriotism as its sole political program, the Junta did not allow for people's participation through its politics. And thus, instead of enjoying enthusiastic support, it prospered on silent approval.

This political situation is mirrored in the magazines of the time. Since they were not state-run and as such, they were not directly coerced by the government to include propaganda in their pages, they mostly opted for avoiding the political debate all together.[100] Coupled with the secondary role accorded to women by the regime, and its refusal to include them in any form of political organization, the result was a near absence of any kind of politics in women's magazines. This observation is significant since, prior to the Junta's installation, women's magazines carried political articles, discussed matters of women's representation, and broadcasted national and international news.[101]

The most politically charged topic one can find in magazines during the studied period is feminism. Indeed, feminism appears in all three magazines surveyed in this thesis. Apart

[94] Komninou, *Από την αγορά στο θέαμα* (From the Agora to Spectacle) (2001), p. 123.
[95] Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει* (It's Just a Junta) (2013), p. 14.
[96] Komninou, *Από την αγορά στο θέαμα* (From the Agora to Spectacle) (2001), p. 119.
[97] Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει* (It's Just a Junta) (2013), p. 15: "The social contract of the Junta was one of comfort and obedience".
[98] Labrinos, *Χουντα ειναι θα περασει* (It's Just a Junta) (2013), p. 15: "Very limited citizens resistance until 1973". Also, see Komninou, *Από την αγορά στο θέαμα (*From the agora to spectacle) (2001), p. 120: "There was no real centralised resistance, rather there were individuals and small organisations".
[99] Ibid., p. 117.
[100] In her interview, Ms.Milori said that while the magazines that she worked for were censored, she was never involved in any case where the government had requested that the magazines include specific articles or advertisements.
[101]Argiriadou and Valassi, *100 Χρόνια Εθνικό Συμβούλιο Ελληνίδων* (Hundred years of the national council of Greek women) (Athens 2006), p. 55. See the correspondence of the Greek representative for the International Socialist Women's Convention, published in the magazine *ELLINIS*.

from feminism, one can come across international news exposing some rudimentary politics, as well as certain historical pieces which highlight personalities connected in one way or another to some political cause.

Apolitical History

Something that is at once made apparent when reading articles about important political figures is that there is overt praise for progressive individuals. People universally representing freedom and progress are generally those highlighted. Take for example the following article from the October 10, 1971, issue of *Fantazio*, entitled"People that changed the world, heroes of our time: the people who fought and are fighting for truth, justice and, progress".[102] The people mentioned in this piece are J.F.Kenedy, MartinLuther King, Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi, and Christiaan Barnard, the first surgeon to successfully transplant a human heart. The article praises Kenedy for his "commitment to finding solutions" and "willingness to bring peace", as well as his stance on racial issues. Martin Luther King is of course honored for his resolute and non-violent struggle against racism, and for bringing emancipation to African Americans. Gandhi is praised for his struggle against the colonial British Empire and is hailed as a liberator. Indira Gandhi is acknowledged for her hard work as Prime minister of India, "a country ravaged by corruption, poverty, and hunger that she is determined to repair" explains the article. Finally, Christiaan Barnard is included because of his major contribution to the medical field and humanity, while the reader is also assured that, even though he lives in apartheid South Africa, he is not a racist. The article's strategy is to promote these individuals' values superficially, without discussing in depth the politics they were involved in. For instance, the article does not mention Kennedy's war on communism, something very much aligned with the Junta's ideology. Furthermore, it does not comment on the policies implemented or the general stances of Indira Gandhi, simply that she is trying her best.

This passive approach towards any form of political positioning, juxtaposed to the emphasis on virtue, progressivism, and proclivity for peace underpins the extent of the political dialogue that took place in the aforementioned articles on significant figures. Even in cases where the politics in question would fall in line with the Junta's ideology, silence was preferred. Another example of this routine can be seen in an exposé on George Orwell.[103] This piece discusses the early works of Orwell and praises him for his writing against totalitarianism. His biography, presented along with the article, mysteriously stops immediately before the Spanish Civil War, and his best-known work, *1984*, is not mentioned in the article. Here, paradoxically, a figure of the radical Left is chosen and depicted positively, but no allusion to his politics is made.

However, this trend is not only found in articles about important personalities. Even in pieces on particularly charged political events, such as the then unfolding Vietnam War, there is a total lack of any political discussion. In the *Epikera* issue of November 8, 1968, we find an article explaining that the Vietnam War, spanning over 25 years, could change with Nixon's election. Not a single line in the article mentions the Cold War, the Soviet Union or the

[102] Anonymous, "Ανθρποι που αλαξαν τον κοσμο" (People that changed the world), *Fantazio* 136 (1971), p. 68.
[103] Antonina Valaden, "Χεμπερτ Τζορτζ Οργελ: Ο μεγαος προφιτης του μελοντς" (Herbert George Orwell: The great predictor of the future), *Fantazio* 57 (1970), p. 25.

notion of communism. The article introduces the reader to the conflict, without explaining why the conflict occurred.[104]

With these examples in mind, we can establish that indeed the magazines of the time, both women's and of general interest, meticulously avoided opening political discussions. Beyond matters of racism and war, presented vaguely and superficially, the magazines manifest a distinct lack of political content. While advocating progress and democratic freedoms, they never –directly or indirectly– attacked the government for the absence of these values in Greece. In fact, one could argue that the Junta wished to be perceived as progressive and democratic. The Junta stepped in to "defend" democracy after all, and it always presented itself as modernizing and forward-looking.

As mentioned above, even in situations where the magazines could potentially adopt positions concurring with the state ideology, they opted for non-engagement. Thus, no ideological movement in support of the Junta's politics would spring from popular culture while, at the same time, dissident political voices were nowhere to be found. One ramification of this situation was the formation of a particularly apolitical medium, magazines. When saying that magazines where apolitical, we do not mean to imply that they did not show overt interest in political matters. It should be specified that the magazines' presence in the public sphere, as well as the topics chosen and addressed, are indeed political. This thesis does not claim that magazines were not political agents at the time, rather that they did not openly discuss politics in their pages, therefore echoing the apolitical and dominating silence. That is, of course, with one exception: the issue of feminism.

The place of feminism in society

Feminism is probably the only widely discussed political subject in the magazines of the time. Both women's and general interest magazines seem to have similar stances on the issue of feminism and female emancipation. Unfortunately, regarding feminism specifically, the issues of *Romanjo* analyzed in the present thesis do not contain relative articles. One possible explanation could be that most of these *Romanjo* issuesare dated from 1967 to 1968, a period during which proactive censorship was still in place. As such, there is a possibility that articles on feminism were censored. Another possible explanation is that, because *Romanjo* was addressed to teenage girls and young women, it avoided articles on politics altogether. Nevertheless, both *Fantazio* and *Epikera* have an extensive collection of articles dealing with women's emancipation, some of which were presented in the first chapter, categorized under feminism directly.

One pervasive critique of feminism, present in most articles on the phenomenon, is that radical feminists are unattractive, mannish, and unlikable; that they disembody femininity and are never satisfied notwithstanding the rights granted to them. One can notice this sentiment in the article "How far will women pull the rope".[105]In the article, the feminist cause is divided into two camps. On the one side, there are the extreme "feminist commandos" as it is said. They are "unmarried, intellectuals or free agents; they are also usually ugly and unkempt". But, they are also those who will push for legal change, continues

[104] P. K. (Pseudonym), "Ενα βιμα προς την ηρινη" (A Step Towards Peace), *Epikera* 83 (1970), pp. 36-39.
[105] Anonymous, "Ποσο θα τραυιξουν οι γυνεκες το σχινι" (How far will women pull the rope), *Fantazio* 101 (1971), p. 24.

the article, stating that they will be the ones fighting in the streets and the courthouses, "disrupting public peace". On the other side, we find the sensitive ladies who want rights but are unwilling to fight for them; they expect everything from men. But –the article proceeds– they should be aware that men are "the wounded goats" in this situation. If women desire emancipation, they have to earn it on their own, declares the author. The dichotomy created here is of great interest. There is the obvious mockery of active feminists who are usually undesirable, which explains why they become so vocal. Yet, they are the ones taking matters into their own hands, as suggested by the author to the "sensitive ladies". The article requests moderation in the struggle for emancipation without proposing any actual course of action; rather, it asks women to "know better" since taking to the streets would transform them into "commandos". Essentially, the article is not about a supposed two-sided feminism, even if its narrative is presented that way. It is about the author's perception of a feminism gone too far, to which the only alternative is the individual responsibility of each and every woman.

The main perception of feminism in magazines is shaped around this idea. In an article entitled "What does it mean to be a woman", an anonymous female writer explains what people of her gender are experiencing in modern times.[106]She claims that "the weak sex, which isn't weak anymore, has intruded into the land of men and disrupted equality". As she explains, the fact that women seek equality and femininity together is an oxymoron. She asserts that women cannot expect the same benefits they enjoyed in the past while being equal to men. By equating femininity with the "benefits" of a male-dominated society, she distances herself from the idea that women can be equal to men while remaining feminine at the same time. She goes on to acknowledge that absolute gender roles should not exist any longer, but that the irrational feminists wishing to completely distort femininity need to cease. "Traditions must be kept up to a point", she states as she closes the article.

Interestingly enough, one of the more positive portrayals of feminism is found in another article of the same issue. This time the subject is Jane Fonda's political activism. This is also one of the scarce articles found during this research that discusses political ideas other than feminism, namely anarchism.[107]Here, Fonda is interviewed on her conversion from a Hollywood star to a political activist. Among the activist terrains that she navigated, she also lists the women's cause.[108]She complains that the Association of Women Writers had dubbed her the "most sour American woman" reinforcing the trope according to which female activists are cold and unloving. The article draws attention to the criticisms that have been levied against her, but in the end, it supports her decisions. "No matter the smears levied against her, you must admit that Jane is honest".[109]The author even adds before closing the article, that "if she was a man she would be a greatly followed leader", therefore acknowledging the inequalities women face in society.

On a wider point, this is how feminism is perceived overall. Often, in the magazine issues assessed, the inequality faced by women and the differential treatment of men and women by society is acknowledged. Indeed, some articles acknowledge the existence of patriarchy as something negative.[110] Yet the answers to these issues are sought outside the purview of

[106] Anonymous, "Τη συμενει το να εισαι γυνεκα" (What it means to be a woman), *Fantazio* 119 (1971), p. 79.
[107] Anonymous, "Μια σεξι επαναστατρια" (A sexy revolutionary), *Fantazio* 119 (1971), p. 78.
[108] An interesting element of this article is the statement: "Jane believes that in some cases property is theft". This phrase must have escaped the censors' attention. It is indeed quite odd to come across a socialist remark in an otherwise quite apolitical series of magazines, especially during the Junta.
[109] Anonymous, "Μια σεξι επαναστατρια" (A sexy revolutionary), *Fantazio* 119 (1971), p. 78.
[110] Anonymous, "Φιλελευθερη κοινονοια: Ερωτησμος και Πορνογραφια"(Liberal society: Eroticism and

politics. Feminism is viewed as too extreme and disruptive an approach even if it addresses issues that are demonstrably impacting women and society as a whole. Instead, women are urged to find a "middle ground", to change on an individual level and better themselves, rather than changing society or its perception of gender. In short, to avoid any political or collective approach and to take action as individuals.

Thus, the pattern observed is that of a general avoidance of political positioning, even when the matter addressed is feminism and even when the discussion occurs in exclusively female-oriented magazines. Instead, change is promoted on a personal level, while women are advised to be cautious. This apolitical attitude is so prominent that magazines even avoid going the other way and condemning feminism in alignment with the Junta's political agenda, as can be observed. One could argue then that they support women's emancipation, but disagree with the means chosen for its achievement. Instead, these magazines attempt to occupy the middle ground, perpetuating the bias towards feminism and promoting a passive and individualistic view of politics. This way women were by default excluded from politics, even from feminism itself. It can be said with confidence that this was the most beneficial stance for the Junta: it fell in absolute accordance with its ideology which wanted women to remain in the domestic realm, without damaging its modernizing identity by publicly voicing regressive opinions. After all, since the government lacked a mass political movement, it favored an apolitical population allowing for an unobstructed rule. This general attitude towards politics truly showcases the concept of "comfort and obedience" introduced by Labrinos.

Pornography), *Epikera* 96 (1970), p. 30.

Conclusion

This study of the women's magazines provides a perspective on the Greek Junta not yet presented by other works. It shows both how the privately produced popular culture of the time presented women, a perspective that has not been shown before, as well as how much this popular culture subscribed to the values of the Junta in regards to gender. It shows that unlike the state media ,that Labrinos presents, women's magazines had either consciously or by trends and market forces adopted a way more liberal view of women what the dictatorship advertised. Previous studies on the Greek Junta don't touch on the interaction that trends form the west had with the popular culture of the time. Finally this is the only study exclusively targeted to women during the Junta and can be used as a starting point for more in-depth studies on the place of women in Greek society during the Junta.

Going back to the initial question asked in this thesis "To what extent did popular women's magazines during the Greek Junta reflect the regime's ideology on gender roles?", the first conclusion we arrive at is that, the magazines studied here, appear to have a generally agreed-upon neutral stance on women and their gender roles. It must be reminded though that the magazines used were limited and the issues examined were the byproduct of chance since they were the only ones available. As we have seen, these magazines did not necessarily adhere to the Junta's ideology which saw women primarily as mothers and wives. At the same time, they did not encourage women on their path to independence and emancipation either. Rather, they maintained the position that in modern society women are the rightful owners of their bodies, as they are free to work and support feminist ideas.

Nevertheless, this position should not be misinterpreted: with their stance, the magazines did indeed accommodate the Junta's political goals. Despite reduced censorship, lessened restraints, and the effect of the free market, the image of the Greek woman constructed by popular magazines was one that fitted the regime to a certain degree. In fact, it appears that the government did not pay particular attention to women since it did not consider them significant political actors. This is made evident by the fact that the Junta did not attempt to organize women in support of the regime, unlike most other fascist and right-wing authoritarian states of the 20th century. As a result, we see the predominance of a dual image: a woman both liberated and discouraged in the pursuit of her liberty. On the one hand, the female-oriented magazines attest that, especially in regards to sexual liberation and the choice of career, women were told that they are free to decide for themselves while being reminded of the pitfalls of their freedom. An exposed body could attract predatory men, and a career could result in the forfeiture of their femininity. In the case of feminism, on the other hand, the magazines seemed sympathetic towards the movement's cause but opposed its means. As explained above women who participated in the feminist struggle were portrayed as mannish, irritating and insolent, a portrayal from which arose the paradoxical belief that women actively supporting feminism were stripped of their femininity.

Concerning the female body and sexuality, the magazines tended to promote a progressive and liberating view. Women were encouraged to show their bodies and feel comfortable with them. Female sexuality was openly discussed and women were not shamed for their "romantic adventures". Yet the female body was still subject to male domination, not as a reproductive object but as a sexual one. Sexual assault is still brushed off in the articles as a by-product of women's sexual liberation or as a natural attitude to be expected from men. Articles presenting cases of sexual assault and attempted rape do not condemn the facts nor

do they request formally for these practices to cease. Rather, they express a mild disappointment and downplay them as a "natural" (however unpleasant) aspect of society.

When it comes to the woman's image in the workplace versus the household, the main idea promoted by the magazines is that there is a trade-off between femininity and professionalism. The examples of the female car racers, conceding their womanhood when at work because femininity "does not belong there" and the concept that one's femininity is intrinsically linked to the avoidance of male-dominated environments, permeated the pages of the magazines. What is implied is that a "real woman", a "feminine woman" is one that stays at home, helps her husband, and raises her children. It is never explicitly stated that women should not work; rather, that working may result in the deprivation of femininity and therefore love. Another interesting element observed, is how much more subservient the successful career women are depicted by the general interest magazine *Epikera*. Let us remind the cases of the female astronauts, who would help the men "relax" on their space expeditions: it is obvious that *Epikera* had a considerably more univocal perspective on the role of women in the workforce. In contrast, while in a somewhat similar mindset, women's magazines had a more nuanced stance, presenting successful career women as trailblazers who are independent of men, even if their independence comes at the cost of their femininity (partially, at least). Overall, regarding the image of the career woman as opposed to that of the housewife, the publications overwhelmingly presented the following binary pattern: women were either financially dependent on men and fulfilled in their womanhood or lonesome while satisfying their ambitions through careers. It should be noted that the columnist Ermina posed a significant exception to this pattern, as she urged girls to opt for education and independency before seeking a partner. So even if the majority of articles presented women as deriving meaning firstly from motherhood and marriage, there did exist recurring exceptions to this norm.

As to politics, the general public and women most of all were completely excluded from the magazines. The almost total lack of political discussions, with the sole exception of feminism, highlights the utter disinterest or careful avoidance of politics that the magazine readers and most probably the general Greek population experienced at that time. Women's earlier political mobilizations, during the Metaxa Dictatorship (1936-1940) and the Civil War (1946-949), as well as the fact that the Junta itself had not generated any form of political movement, resulted in the absolute political silence that we come across in the pages of women's magazines when it. Coupled with the Junta's general disregard for women as political actors, it seems inevitable that women'smagazines would exclude politics from their contents, only expressing occasional sympathy for progressive causes. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned, this absence of politics could be seen as a victory for the Junta. Due to the lack of a mass political movement in support of the Junta, the government preferred an overall apolitical population. And, regarding feminism, that is the only politics that made their way into the pages of popular women's magazines, the consensus was that it disserves the women's cause by being loud and disruptive. What women actually needed according to the magazines, was to better themselves and demand rights individually. In other words, it was the feminist course of action which was condemned, not its goals. This theory of moderation worked against feminism and urged women to avoid political action, insisting that they should seek in themselves both the blame for their failure to emancipate and the means of their emancipation, even if at times the articles would acknowledge the discrepancies in the treatment of men and women.

Even though the magazine articles tend to have a mostly liberal take on a majority of topics, it can be argued that they assisted the Junta, whether willingly or not. At first, the liberal views on women's bodies and sexuality might seem antithetical to the Junta's ideology, which conceived women as subservient mothers and wives. Yet we must not forget that the Junta also presented itself as liberal, both domestically and internationally in order to avoid ostracization from its Western allies. Having that in mind, we can see how the liberated female body fitted the Juntas narrative, according to which it was a freedom-promoting and liberal regime. Especially, when considering the woman in society, and away from the private sphere, she was again fitted exactly where the Junta wanted her, deriving her sense of identity from motherhood and marriage. She is financially dependent on her husband and knows her priorities are towards him and their children. At this point, we must specify that there are some "dissident" voices. Occasionally, we come across pieces published in these magazines going against this dominant idea of womanhood, along with Ermina's regular column suggesting (among other things) education over men. But the overwhelmingmajority of adds, articles, and literature published in the magazines paint the image of a household woman, a dependent and subservient caregiver. Finally, regarding politics, in particular, the magazines truly accommodated the government's aims. By keeping politics completely out of sight, they helped enforce the consensus of "relaxed obedience". As mentioned before, this was a favored scenario by the Junta, which, in lack of an ideological movement to back it up, preferred an apolitical population that wouldn't disturb its governance. Furthermore, the government's manifest indifference for women as political subjects is highlighted by its total disinterest in the active construction of the female image, a task left to those in charge of a henceforth lighter censorship.

Finally, this thesis wishes to showcase the paradigm of tradition versus modernity discussed above, which is apparent in Greek women's magazines during the Junta. In terms of political and economic emancipation, Greek women did not experience any particular advancement, as opposed to their German, Italian and Chilean counterparts. Yet, in regards to their portrayal in popular magazines, they appear to be subject to the same dichotomous tendency. They are portrayed as sexually liberated and independent career women, much like men; at the same time, however, they are explicitly expected to fulfill their duties as housewives and mothers, while depending financially on their husbands. The supposedly forward-looking regime found itself in a position where it had to tolerate (at least) certain liberal and emancipatory opinions in magazines. This may be due to its intention to present itself as liberal to its Western allies, but also to the fact that it seized power at a time where women's emancipation and sexual liberation had acquired an international dimension, spreading throughout most parts of the world. In that regard, the Junta was forced to give way on some of these issues, even if that wasn't its initial plan, simply to uphold its supposed liberal appearance. And here, we can observe once more the tension between traditionalism and modernization that appears in far-right regimes. In themagazines, most of the views on motherhood and marriage are traditional, falling in line with the Junta's ideology. There is a trade-off, however, which consists in allowing for certain progressive elements (regarding sexuality especially) to infiltrate the predominant narrative. The "Janus face" phenomenon appears to be intrinsic to far-right authoritarianism and fascism. That is also true in the case of the Greek Junta, where no political or economic emancipation was made possible to women through the new form of government. Hence, Greek women of the late '60s and early '70s still found themselves confined between modernity and tradition, as reflected in the popular culture of that time. In the magazines they read, women were presented as free, to work, to explore their sexuality and to seek further equality and emancipation; but, there was always an underlying reminder that they would be better off without these freedoms. Through

the archival material analyzed in this thesis, we can thus affirm the existence of the dichotomy discerned by scholars in the studies of fascism and right-wing politics, and assert that this phenomenon also appears in the cases of regimes lacking a strong political movement or program, like the Greek Junta of 1967-1974.

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Appendix 1

Η ΝΙΚΟΛΑ ΕΙΠΕ «ΟΧΙ» ΣΤΗ ΓΥΜΝΙΑ

Ἀλλὰ ἔχασε τὸν ρόλο της στὴν ταινία «Γύρισε πίσω, Πέτερ!»

Natassa Bakogiannopoulou, "Nikola said 'no' to Nudity", *Fantazio* 53 (1970), p. 56.

Appendix 2

Anonymous, 'Revolution Under the Shirt'.*Epikera* 85 (1970) 36-37

Appendix 3

Anonymous, 'Chastity Belts are back in Fashion', *Fantazio* 30 (1969) 18