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Women's Labor Force Participation in Interwar Greece: The case of Athens and Piraeus (1917-1930)

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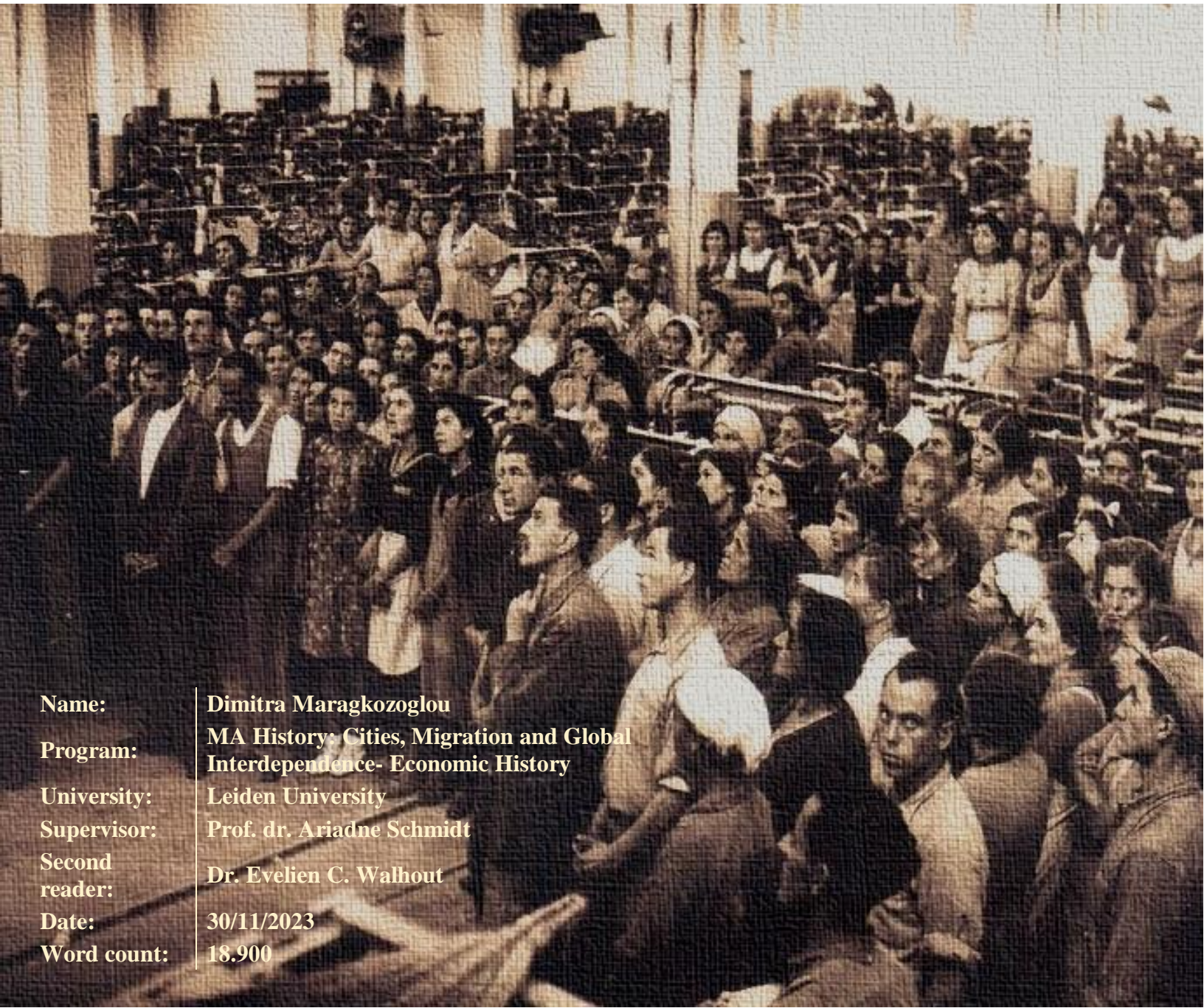
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WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN INTERWAR GREECE

The case of Athens and Piraeus (1917-1930)



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Table of Contents

List of Tables, and Figures	3
Introduction	4
II. Historiography	5
III. Greek Historiography	9
IV. Research Question and Relevance	11
V. Sources and Methodology	13
VI. Structure	18
Chapter 1: The Greek Industry during the Interwar Period	20
I. The Development of the two cities in their early years	21
II. Debating the Industrialization levels of the interwar period	23
III. Piraeus	25
IV. Athens	26
V. The Refugees	28
Chapter 2: Measuring women's labor. The case of Athens and Piraeus	31
I. Measurements	32
II. FLFP Determinants	36
<i>Demand of Labor</i>	36
<i>Demographic factors- Refugees influx</i>	37
<i>Marital Status and Age</i>	43
Chapter 3: Economic sectors with high participation of female workers	48
I. Female workers and economic sectors	48
II. Refugees and the economic sectors	59
Conclusion	67
Appendix 1	71
Appendix 2	76
Bibliography	77

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

<i>Table 1</i>	Number of industrial workers in Athens and Piraeus, 1876-1930.	22
<i>Table 2</i>	Population- Number of workers- crude LFP rates- Gender gap: by gender in Athens and Piraeus, 1917, 1930.	32
<i>Table 3</i>	Population, Number of workers, crude LFP rates, Gender gap: by gender in Athens and Piraeus, 1920, 1928.	34
<i>Table 4a</i>	Share of refugees in the population, 1928	38
<i>Table 4b</i>	Share of refugees who have an occupation within the working population (over 10 years old).	39
<i>Table 5a</i>	1930 Marital status	43
<i>Table 5b</i>	1930 Marital Status %	44
<i>Table 6</i>	Census 1917, Occupations	71 (App. 1)
<i>Table 7</i>	1920, Real population by occupation and gender.	52
<i>Table 8</i>	1928, Real population by occupation and gender.	53
<i>Table 9</i>	1928, Female participation in Industry.	54
<i>Table 10</i>	Refugees (after the Asia Minor catastrophe) over 10 by gender and occupation 1928.	62
<i>Table 11</i>	1928, Refugees in the industrial sectors of Athens and Piraeus.	63
<i>Table 12</i>	Number of workers by size of industrial unit.	76 (App. 2)

Figures

<i>Figure 1</i>	Share of men and women among refugees without a registered occupation in Athens and Piraeus, 1928.	40
<i>Figure 2</i>	Age of the working women in Athens and Piraeus, 1928.	44
<i>Figure 3</i>	Age categories of the total women who worked in Athens and Piraeus, 1930.	45
<i>Figure 4</i>	Female labor by employment status, Athens- Piraeus, 1930.	56
<i>Figure 5</i>	Size of industrial units by number of employed people, 1930.	64

INTRODUCTION

“Women have always worked, but their position in society has not been static, it has evolved alongside the development of economies and societies.”¹

Although women have always worked, in accordance with the social and economic setting they belonged to, their presence in the historiography of labor is only recently integrated. However, women’s labor constituted one of the important themes in women's history from the onset, meaning since the 1970s/1980s.² Nowadays, it is increasingly gaining interest, and several studies relating to women’s participation and position in the labor market have been published. Research on the rates of their participation, the conditions of their work, and the implications of their labor on their lives and their social status have multiplied. Social historians, historians of gender, feminist historians, but also several other disciplines attempt to bring women into the spotlight shedding light on chapters of history that have previously been understudied. However, this was not always the case. Women’s labor had long been undervalued or even completely neglected by researchers, especially in the case of Greece. Gender as an analytical category for examining the past was introduced in Greek historiography over the last four decades by feminist historians and historians of women.³ Those historians attempt to ‘liberate’ women from their invisibility and make them part of the historiographical discussion. Nonetheless, still further research is needed to recreate a more complete picture of the woman worker, both in Greece and worldwide.

This thesis focuses on women’s labor force participation in Greece during the interwar period. Particularly, it focuses on the cities of Athens and Piraeus and it covers the period of 1917-1930. The primary question to be answered by this study is: How did the industrialization process of that period affect the participation of women in the labor force? Examining quantitative data about the populations and workforce of these two big Greek cities, both in terms of population and economic development, Athens

¹ Merouani, Youssouf, and Faustine Perrin. “Gender and the Long-Run Development Process. A Survey of the Literature.” *European Review of Economic History* 26, no. 4 (2022): 612–41. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ereh/heac008>, 612.

² Macleod, Catriona, Alexandra Shepard, and Maria Alšgren, eds. *The Whole Economy : Work and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. 1st ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2023, 2-10.

³ Leda Papastefanaki, “Labour in Economic and Social History: The Viewpoint of Gender in Greek Historiography,” *Genesis : Rivista Della Società Italiana Delle Storiche : XV, 2, 2016*, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.23744/1009>, 59.

and Piraeus, I will answer this question to fully understand the functioning of the labor market itself and the position of women in the economy and society.

Historiography

In European historiography, women's labor has gained prominence and is increasingly researched by historians. In particular, in the last decade, a remarkable augmentation in the literature relating to the role of women and gender in the long-run economic development has occurred. Research on women's contribution to economic growth has provided researchers with a new and more precise picture of the process and its mechanisms. Evidence has proved that women held a prominent role in the economic prosperity of societies.⁴

The repercussions the Industrial Revolution had on women's work and their position in society is a topic that occupied economic historians dealing with women's labor and gender from very early on.⁵ Over the years, conflicting opinions have been expressed on this topic. Some scholars adopt an "optimistic" approach and contend that industrialization and the period before it were beneficial for women proliferating their economic opportunities, their earnings, and their social position. On the other hand, there are scholars with a more "pessimistic"⁶ viewpoint underlying the negative impact of industrialization, due to harder working conditions, the stricter separation of the home and the work sphere, and the influence of machinery and technological unemployment.⁷ More precisely, according to this perspective, capitalism and industrialization led women to lose their important economic position. This occurred due to the separation of production from consumption, with the former being placed outside the home and the latter inside. Consequently, this restricted women's role as

⁴ Merouani and Perrin. "Gender and the Long-Run", 612-613.

⁵ See A. Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London 1919);

Tilly, Louise A., and Joan Wallach Scott. *Women, Work and Family*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978.

⁶ Several scholars have used the terms optimistic and pessimistic in the historiography. Nevertheless, what is actually positive and negative is relevant. The loss of employment opportunities can be interpreted as negative, but simultaneously the opportunity to withdraw from hard working conditions as positive. This can vary according to many different factors, such as for different groups of women, ages, societies etc.

⁷ Merouani and Perrin. "Gender and the Long-Run", 620-621; Horrell, Sara, and Jane Humphries. "Women's Labour Force Participation and the Transition to the Male-Breadwinner Family, 1790-1865." *The Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (1995): 89-117, 92-93.

producers hindering them from actively participating in the labor market. Women, and especially married women were pushed into the private sphere, the domestic unit, and were excluded from wage labor, an economically rewarding work.⁸ Additionally, the introduction of new technologies is also believed to have minimized women's employment opportunities replacing them in some jobs or incorporating machinery traditionally operated by the male workforce.⁹

This retreat of women in the workforce sparked different opinions and was connected with another disputed topic, the male breadwinner economy. Families were supposed to be supported by the male breadwinners, who had the responsibility to provide economically for the dependent members of the household, the women and children. Therefore, the male breadwinner theory constitutes a direct explanation for the withdrawal of women from the public sphere and is closely interrelated with the pessimist view.¹⁰

Furthermore, the pessimistic view in feminist historiography of women's labor and the breadwinner theory aligns with another important debate of economic historians about whether female labor force participation followed a U-shaped pattern as the economy of countries developed and industrialized. Claudia Goldin (1995) first argued that as household incomes augmented, women would first retreat from the labor force to participate in household production and only later, after their educational levels were similar to men's, do they return to the labor market.¹¹ Several economic historians have since then attempted to examine this relationship between women's labor force participation (hereafter, LFP) rates and economic development rates in different economies with some validating this statistical trend¹² and others questioning or disproving it.¹³

⁸ Schmidt, Ariadne, and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk. "Reconsidering the "First Male-Breadwinner Economy": Women's Labor Force Participation in the Netherlands, 1600-1900." *Feminist Economics* 18, no. 4 (2012): 69–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2012.734630>, 70.

⁹ Humphries, Jane, and Carmen Sarasúa. "Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past." *Feminist Economics* 18, no. 4 (2012): 39–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2012.746465>, 42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 41; Merouani and Perrin. "Gender and the Long-Run", 618.

¹² Sarasua, Carmen. "Women's Work and Structural Change: Occupational Structure in Eighteenth-century Spain." *The Economic History Review* 72, no. 2 (2019): 481–509. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ehr.12733>.

¹³ Humphries and Sarasúa. "Off the Record"; Schmidt and van Nederveen Meerkerk. "Reconsidering".

Reconstructing the LFP rates can be quite challenging since women's work has often been seriously under-registered within historical statistical sources, let alone state censuses.¹⁴ Research of women's LFP in different countries is conducted through various methods and repeatedly reconsidered using different kinds of source material to draw the most accurate picture possible. Quantitative research is prevailing in the global debate, and national censuses constitute the basis of such ventures, although they also propose several limitations, which will be discussed thoroughly later.

The research in Britain, Spain, and the Netherlands on women's LFP are good examples of the research on women's labor in different socioeconomic settings. Britain experienced an early industrialization, while the two other societies industrialized later. In the British case, Horrell and Humphries using empirical evidence from a dataset of British household budgets for the period 1787 to 1865 attempted to examine whether all the household members contributed to the family incomes and to detect patterns across time, regions, and occupations in the dependence on men wages. The results of their study indicate that the dependency of households on male earnings existed before industrialization. However, in many instances, women and especially children continued to contribute economically in some family types and in many families during certain stages of the family life cycle. Additionally, they find that the male breadwinner family did not derive from a particular set of circumstances. They suggest two explanations for the emergence of the male breadwinner family. One is the rising of male wages and the increase of women and children's leisure and the other is the disappearance of locally available work for women which rendered them dependent and impoverished.¹⁵ Moreover, in a different study based on autobiographical accounts of working women alongside men's life stories, Humphries paints a picture of the harsh lives of working-class families in pre-industrial and industrial Britain. She reveals that even though men were expected to provide for their families their low earnings often did not permit it making it necessary for women and children to work.¹⁶ A later study added to Humphries' findings by evaluating the real household incomes of rural working families in England. It is suggested that according to the family structure, the

¹⁴ Merouani and Perrin. "Gender and the Long-Run, 622.

¹⁵ Horrell, Sara, and Jane Humphries. "The Origins and Expansion of the Male Breadwinner Family: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Britain." *International Review of Social History* 42, no. S5 (1997): 25–64. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859000114786>, 25-26.

¹⁶ Humphries, Jane. "Girls and Their Families in an Era of Economic Change." *Continuity and Change* 35, no. 3 (2020): 311–43. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0268416020000247>.

living standards varied with small families of two parents reaching high living standards while larger families required the children to work.¹⁷

Regarding the Spanish case, studies on working-class family budgets showcase that men's earnings were insufficient to support the family's needs.¹⁸ It is argued that supply-side factors such as marital status and the number and age of children are less prominent in historical contexts and instead, the demand side plays a more decisive role in shaping women's LFP. For instance, Borderias in her study about women's activity rates in fourteen leading textile areas of Catalonia comes up with new explanations about the determinants of women's LFP.¹⁹ She uses different techniques to correct the activity rates of women, which she argues are significantly underreported. She concludes that the breadwinner model had little relevance among the working classes in Catalonia mostly due to the high demand conditions of the labor market to which women responded positively.²⁰ In addition, Munoz Abeledo in her study about Galicia, northwest coastal Spain, in the second half of the nineteenth century compares three municipalities with different economic structures. Her findings depict the regional distinctions between the urban and rural women's LFP rates and confirm the idea that women's activities were primarily influenced by the demand factors and local economic structures rather than marital status and the number of children. She argues that women appear to have been as economically rational as men when it comes to employment opportunities, overcoming and accommodating domestic and childcare responsibilities.²¹ The Spanish case of women's labor, along with the case of the Netherlands that will be discussed below, differ from the British one in terms of their industrialization, as Britain industrialized early in contrast to the other two. In the Netherlands, the studies underlined the comparably low figures for women's LFP during industrialization.²² The early spread of the ideal of domesticity during the 17th

¹⁷ Horrell, Sara, Jane Humphries, and Jacob Weisdorf. "Beyond the Male Breadwinner: Life-cycle Living Standards of Intact and Disrupted English Working Families, 1260–1850." *The Economic History Review* 75, no. 2 (2022): 530–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ehr.13105>.

¹⁸ Borderías Mondéjar, Cristina, and Luisa Muñoz Abeledo. "Quien llevaba el pan a casa en la España de 1924? Trabajo y economías familiares de jornaleros y pescadores en Cataluña y Galicia" 27, no. 74 (2018).

¹⁹ Abeledo, Luisa Muñoz. "Women in the Rural and Industrial Labor Force in Nineteenth-Century Spain." *Feminist Economics* 18, no. 4 (2012): 121–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2012.738302>; Humphries and Sarasúa. "Off the Record".

²⁰ Borderias, Cristina. "Revisiting Women's Labor Force Participation in Catalonia (1920-36)." *Feminist Economics* 19, no. 4 (2013): 224–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2013.831181>.

²¹ Muñoz Abeledo. "Women in the Rural".

²² Merouani and Perrin. "Gender and the Long-Run", 623.

century was used to explain why married women, increasingly stayed at home and households relied on men's earnings. The supply-side factor is supported by several studies to explain the low participation of Dutch women.²³ However, Schmidt and van Nederveen Meerkerk challenge this view of the traditionally low rates of women's participation in the labor market and disprove the idea that the Netherlands constituted the first male breadwinner economy. They find that the Dutch women's LFP was not lower than in other preindustrial regions and that it only started to decline sharply at the beginning of the nineteenth century due to demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural changes.²⁴

Greek Historiography

Gender studies and social history in Greek historiography were from the very beginning closely interrelated and they developed in a dialogue with each other. The correlation between the social, cultural, and political dimensions was underlined. In addition, labor history and feminist history coincided. In the mid-1980s labor history shifted from its previous economic trajectory which focused on economic structures and fluctuations towards encompassing women's studies and gender history.²⁵ Women's labor constituted one of the main fields that were developed in the history of women in Greece, with the other being the issue of rights, either civil, social, or political.²⁶

The studies from Efi Avdela were innovative on this subject. In particular, her study about women civil servants during the first half of the 20th century presented for the first time a systematic approach to the history of labor and its connection with the history of women in Greece. Examining the civil sector, she attempted to highlight the social inequalities and conflicts in its interior connecting women's labor with their social, legal, and familial inferiority. She used a variety of sources from quantitative data such as censuses, and statistics, to legal texts, the press (from the civil servant's

²³ Ibid; (See for example the studies of van Zanden and van Riel 2004 and Van Poppel et al. 2009).

²⁴ Schmidt and van Nederveen Meerkerk. "Reconsidering".

²⁵ Dimitra Lambropoulou, Antonis Liakos, and Yannis Yiannitsiotis. "Work and gender in Greek historiography during the last three decades" in *Professions and Social Identity. New European Historical Research on Work, Gender and Society*, edited by Berteke Waaldijk, Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2006, pp. 1-14.

²⁶ Papastefanaki. "Labour in Economic and Social History", 75.

trade unions and the feminist one), the archive of the Civil Servant's Pensions Fund, and oral sources.²⁷ Avdela argues that the positions occupied by women in the public sector depended on the social division of labour at the time. Women usually occupied hierarchically inferior positions, which did not require special skills and had much lower wages. For this reason, she describes the public sector as a field of social and gendered conflict. She argues that this stems from the socially inferior position of women in Greek society: "*Until 1952 women had no political rights and were treated by the law as minors*"²⁸. Finally, Avdela argues that the socially inferior position of women comes from their position within the family.

In a more recent study, Zizi Salimba attempted to paint a closer image of the women worker, from her appearance in the world of wage labor until the time of the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the arrival of refugees in Greece in 1922, the time when the social scene in Greek cities changed. The last quarter of the 19th century was when Greece entered the industrialization process. The 1870s was the period when the first factories began to appear in Piraeus and Athens when they started to industrialize and progressively acquired the characteristics of a European metropolis. That is when these women made their appearance in the wage labor. Based on that she argued that the "woman worker" constituted the symbol of the social and political change in the recently formed Greek state, since the manufacturing sector, in which the woman worker was involved, was one of the necessary conditions for entering a development process equivalent to Western standards.²⁹ Salimba also emphasized the characteristics of the women workers describing them as contributors to the family income, usually young and participating either in bigger factories or in smaller workshops. She argued that their wages depended on the type of their work. For instance, the lowest wages existed in the more mechanized positions and in factories with more division of labor.

Leda Papastefanaki in her book "Labor, technology and gender in the Greek Industry. The Textile Industry of Piraeus (1870-1940)" examines the processes through which the labor market and the textile industry of Piraeus were shaped and developed

²⁷ Avdela E., *Dimosioi ypallili genous thilykou. Katamerismos tis ergasias kata fyla ston dimosio tomea 1908-1955* [Female civil servants. The sexual division of labour in the public sector, 1908-1955], Athens 1990, 9-15.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁹ Salimba, Zizi. "Ginaikes ergatries stin elliniki viomihania kai sti viotehnia (1870-1922)." [Women workers in the Greek industry and crafts (1870-1922)], Athina: Istoriko Arhio Ellinikis Neollaias (2002).

with an emphasis on the workers of the textile factories during the period of the late 19th century until the interwar period. The textile industry that she examined was one of the largest textile industries in Greece and employed a significant number of female staff. For the inhabitants of Piraeus, wage labor constituted a decisive experience in the new social relations of industrial capitalism, and this labor experience was also defined by the factor of gender, which played an important role in the division of labor, the constitution of specializations, in the structure of wages, in the manifestation of collective action. The focus on the gender dimension of wage labor allowed the emergence of power relations between social classes and within classes.³⁰

Many of the studies in Greek historiography attempted to contribute to the international historiographical debate both through their theoretical analysis and the material they focused on. The goal was to integrate or connect the Greek example to the international one.³¹ They were either connecting the Greek image to the international debates or they were using the theories and material from the international debate within the Greek one. For example, many economic and social historians in the 1980s and 90s were influenced by the British Marxist historians and the French ‘Annales’ paradigm.³² Gender history also developed during that period following what Joan W. Scott proposed about the importance of gender as an analytical tool.³³

Research Question and Relevance

This study will examine women’s LFP in Greece. The period covered will be from 1917 to 1930, the interwar period when industrialization in Greece started to augment at more rapid rates and the economy to develop. Athens and Piraeus will be at the center of the examination, with the former being the country’s capital city and the latter the biggest port city of the country. As mentioned above, the central research question of this study will be: “How did industrialization and economic development affect women’s labor activities in the two biggest municipalities of the country during the

³⁰ Papastefanaki, Leda. “Ergasia, technologia kai fylo stin elliniki viomixania: I klostoyfantourgia tou Peiraia (1870-1940) [Labor, technology and gender in the Greek industry: the textile industry of Piraeus (1870-1940)], Heraklion, Crete University Press, (2009).

³¹ Papastefanaki. “Labour in Economic and Social History”, 79.

³² Lambropoulou, Liakos, and Yiannitsiotis, “Work and gender”, 2.

³³ Papastefanaki. “Labour in Economic and Social History”, 79; Scott, Joan W. “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis.” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053.

interwar period?”. Also, it will be discussed the following topic: “Was the male breadwinner model dominant in the Greek case?”. For the main research question to be investigated and answered the following sub-research questions will be examined: “How did the LFP rates of women in Athens and Piraeus develop during the 1917-1930 period and which factors influenced them?”, and “Which were the economic sectors with more female labor and why?”. The first sub-question will measure how many women were part of the labor market in general and how the rates changed over the examined years, in order to understand the effects of industrialization on women’s labor throughout the period. Following, the second sub-question will draw the general picture of the labor market and the distribution of women among the different sectors, delving even more into the analysis of women’s LFP in Athens and Piraeus. After women’s LFP in Greece will have been reconstructed during the 1917-1930 period, it will be possible to detect the effects of the industrialization process that was taking place at the same time in these two important Greek cities.

Although studies relating to women’s labor in Greece have been made, systematic quantitative research about women’s LFP and LFP rates is still missing from the historiographical discussion. Their construction would offer a more detailed picture of women’s activities, their social position, and their contribution to the economy. The methodology followed in this study being solely based on census data, which will be further analyzed right after, is not that popular within the Greek historical research on women’s labor. The main reason is the census restrictions and that the censuses were considered a biased, imprecise, and deficient source for women’s labor.³⁴ Research on the industrial levels of Greece has extensively analyzed these sources.³⁵ Nevertheless, a more thorough understanding of the economy cannot be achieved without incorporating women in the dialogue. Many historians have argued that an examination of industry based solely on adult male labor force figures distorts its image, and therefore women along with children should be included in the equation.³⁶ Therefore,

³⁴ Papastefanaki, “Labour in Economic and Social History”, 65- 66.

³⁵ See, for example, Michalis Riginos, *Paragogikes domes kai ergatika imeromisthia stin Ellada 1909-1936* [Productive structures and workers’ wages in Greece, 1909- 1936], Athens, Foundation of Research and Culture of the Commercial Bank of Greece, 1987; Liakos Antonis, *Ergasia kai politiki stin Ellada tou Mesopolemou. To Diethnes Grafeio Ergasias kai i anadisi ton kinonikon thesmon [Labour and politics in Interwar Greece. International Labour Office and the emergence of social policy institutions]*, Athens 1993.

³⁶ Horrell and Humphries, “Women’s Labor Force Participation”, 90.

with the quantitative approach, this study aims to provide new impute to the Greek gender historiography.

Additionally, this research will attempt to introduce the Greek case to the general historiography of Female Labor Force Participation (hereafter FLFP). The cities of Athens and Piraeus were chosen as case studies, as they constituted the most rapidly and intensely developing cities of the country, both in terms of industrialization, and population growth. The particularities of the Greek case can distinguish it from other studies on the FLFP and hence provide new information on women's labor in a different socioeconomic context. Some of the most prominent particularities of the Greek case were its late establishment as a nation-state, the late urbanization, and industrialization. In addition, its extensive reliance on traditional production structures with low mechanization, and the high fragmentation of the production units in the economy (i.e. prevalence of small-scale businesses over large-scale production units), which will be further discussed later.

Another factor that makes this case interesting is that during the examined timeframe of this research (1917-1930), Greece received a highly significant number of refugees following the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1923. This high influx of refugees, radically augmenting the population of the cities and altering the dynamics of the Greek economy and society can also provide a different picture of the effects of different economic structures on women's position in the labor market and women's position in industrializing economies. The refugee issue will be a nodal point in this research and will be examined as a variable of FLFP changes over the period, along with the state of the Greek industry and economy. Therefore, both the aforementioned sub-questions will also be examined in the light of the refugee arrival. The additional refugee factor led the questions to be reformulated as follows: "How did this large-scale population rise in the 1920s affect female labor and LFP?" and "In which sectors did the most refugees concentrate, and what were the differences between the male and female refugees?".

Sources and Methodology

An examination of the Greek censuses may offer a closer look at the entrance of women into the workforce. The 1917 labor census and the 1930 census of the industrial and commercial enterprises provide information about women's labor, particularly in

the industrial and commercial sectors of the economy. The population censuses of 1920 and 1929 enable the construction of women's crude participation rates in the Greek labor market. A brief introduction to the sources will follow.

1917 Labor census

The 1917 labor census was carried out in 1917, while Greece was still a Kingdom, by the Statistical Department of the Ministry of National Economy, "Central Division of Statistics". The aim was to draw an adequate picture of the size of the working classes and their occupational, economic, and family conditions in order for the state to take appropriate welfare measures.

The concern for the working classes in Greece began very late, only after the establishment of a Department of Labor and Social Welfare in the Ministry of National Economy. However, the inexistence of data on the working conditions of the workers and the ignorance of their situation made any state assistance impossible. The initiative to carry out this labor census was taken by the Central Division of Statistics soon after its establishment, in 1913. Nevertheless, the Balkan Wars and the consecutive political irregularities in the country as well as the international troubles did not allow the census to take place before 1917.³⁷

The census recorded only the workers of Athens and Piraeus, of both sexes, employed and non-employed. In this survey, a "worker" was defined as all workers who offer their services and receive a salary in return, with the exception of civil servants and servants. To a large extent, the census was accurate, but there was a small margin of error. In particular, a small number of workers belonged to a different occupational category from the one recorded, since they were unable to reach the place they belonged to and were thus registered in another.

Even though this census was claimed to be imperfect, its value for historical research is not to be undermined since it constitutes the first systematic survey of the working classes of Athens and Piraeus.³⁸

³⁷ ELSTAT, homepage.

³⁸ ELSTAT, 1917 census, introduction.

1930 Store census of industrial and commercial enterprises

The 1930 census registered both the industrial and commercial enterprises and the people working in them and was conducted in the whole of Greece. It was created by the National Statistical Service of Greece along with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, with the cooperation of the Chamber of Crafts and the supreme supervision of the National Economy.

They included all companies of an industrial and commercial nature that had a fixed working place, such as all kinds of factories, all trade workshops, commercial establishments and offices, banking institutions, mines, and transport companies. Also, the workers in the buildings and the road construction works and other constructions were considered as having a permanent construction establishment and were registered. The categories of people not included were civil servants, workers in the countryside, people employed in companies lacking a fixed installation, people working in their homes on the account of a handyman as well as those working in the homes of their clients, such as seamstresses.³⁹

In this census, a distinction is made between “worker” and “employee”, with the former referring to the jobs that require physical labor and the latter referring to the ones with mental labor. However, since this distinction was not made in the census of 1917, when comparing the data of the two censuses I consider both workers and employees as the same group. In addition, the 1930 census registers in a separate category the apprentices of each business, which I also count in the same group as the workers and the employees. The purpose is to compare the working population of the private sector (industrial and commercial enterprises) with the one of 1917, and hence make the two censuses more comparable.

1920 population census

The 1920 census is the 21st national census and is the first to provide a more complete picture of the demographic characteristics of the population. In particular, the census measured the de facto population of the country, that is to say, the number of people present for whatever reason, at the time of the census, along with the legal population,

³⁹ ELSTAT, 1930 census, introduction.

meaning the number of Greek subjects, duly registered, present in Greece at the time of the census or found abroad. The population was also classified by gender, age, place of birth, nationality, municipality or commune of registration, marital status, education, profession, language maternal, certain physical infirmities, and religion.⁴⁰

1928 population census

The 1928 population census followed the 1920 one. The aim was to record the refugee populations that arrived in Greece after the war of 1922 and the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, which enforced the compulsory exchange of Greek Christians from Turkey and Muslim inhabitants of Greece. It was also a quite complete registration of the demographic characteristics of the population as the 1920 one since it followed the same patterns. It is divided into four books, with the first addressing the real and legal population and the refugees, the second providing information on age, family, and education, the third on occupations, and the fourth on the place of birth, religion, and language.

It is important to highlight that this census even though it was conducted only two years earlier than the 1930 store census of industrial and commercial enterprises, presents different figures regarding the people recorded by profession. This is due to the fact that the 1930 store census registered employees and workers employed in companies on the day of the census, while the 1928 population census included each profession even of the people who were unemployed on the day of the census. In addition, as mentioned above, the 1930 store census did not count the people working at someone's house (such as servants) or at a business with no fixed installation, as well as the civil servants.⁴¹

After a thorough examination of the census data, estimations were made about the crude rates of FLFP and about the gender gap in the labor force. None of the censuses could provide the exact FLFP rates, due to registration particularities. However, based upon these sources it is possible to give rough estimates of FLFP, which can be considered as minimums. Additionally, the refugee rates in the labor force were estimated by the 1928 data and the refugee crude rates of the FLFP, especially in

⁴⁰ ELSTAT, 1920 population census introduction.

⁴¹ ELSTAT, 1928 census, introduction.

comparison to the rates of the local women. Finally, the censuses included data about the age, and marital status of the labor force, and the economic sectors, which will be further analyzed in this thesis.

The Greek state censuses and the national statistics have been used in historical research, but are generally viewed as a biased source for studying women's work. Since the 1990s, studies of the labor markets and the unequal participation between men and women have developed important criticism of these sources. It is argued that they tend to conceal and obfuscate the reality of waged labor for both men and women in Greece in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴² One of the principal problems is that women's activities are highly under-recorded. Additionally, another difficulty that these censuses present is that they do not follow the same method of classification rendering it challenging, and in some cases impossible to make comparisons and see the progress of men's and women's labor trends and rates throughout time. Actually, until 1907 Greek population censuses made no distinction at all between men and women in the economically active⁴³ population, while often women were classified in the "non-active" population. In the later censuses, they continued to be under-recorded because the working women of a family were not declared during the registration. The reason behind this was that women's work was often unpaid, but taking into account that in this type of monetarized economy only the paid work was recognized as actual labor, a significant part of the female working population was left out of the censuses. Women being occupied with the household or even in the family businesses were automatically categorized in the censuses as a "non-active population".⁴⁴

However, not only the Greek censuses are found to be problematic regarding the representation of women's work. Many other European censuses are thought to demonstrate similar weaknesses. Jane Humphries and Carmen Sarasua argue that the under-registration of women's occupation aligns with the purposes and prejudices of the bureaucrats, enumerators, and householders. The censuses are not merely technical instruments to count workers, but they have social and political implications. They were used to estimate military reserves or fiscal competence. Moreover, ideas, cultural norms, and stereotypes about caste, class, and gender were shaping both the official

⁴² Papastefanaki. "Labour in Economic and Social History", 65.

⁴³ The term economically active population refers to the people who have the appropriate age and the ability to work, either they have a job or not at the moment of the census registration.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

questions and the answers of the people, rendering the data of the censuses biased and influenced by their times.⁴⁵ Several historians have noted the problems of the women in the censuses, and a large bibliography now exists.⁴⁶

Even though the state censuses and national statistics pose restrictions when it comes to the representation of women's labor, their use for the examination of women's participation in the labor markets is not without any value. As Higgs has argued in her study about Victorian censuses "In the absence of alternative sources, the census enumerators' books are still our best source of understanding the economic activities of women in the Victorian period".⁴⁷ Consequently, in this study, the use of state censuses will be used as a starting point to reconstruct women's LFP. All the limitations in reliability will be taken into account in order to shape a first impression about the involvement of women in the Greek labor market of the period 1917-1930.

Structure

This thesis will include three main chapters. The first chapter will showcase the industrialization process of Greece during the interwar period. A reference will be made to the early years of industrialization in the late 19th century, while the interwar years in Athens and Piraeus will be discussed more thoroughly. The objective of this chapter is to set the background in which the data of the following chapters took place. In addition, answering the research question about the interrelation of industrialization with women's labor entails a thorough understanding of the state of the industries in the two cities. Subsequently, the second chapter will first present the rough estimates of the FLFP in Athens and Piraeus and some participation rates in the industries. Following, I will discuss the determinants of the FLFP in the Greek case in connection to the European debate on FLFP. Special reference is made to the demographic determinants, particularly in the participation of the refugee populations and their share of the general population and the workforce of the two cities, with a focus on the female

⁴⁵ Humphries and Sarasúa. "Off the Record", 44-45.

⁴⁶ Papastefanaki, "Labour in Economic and Social History", 67; Hill, Bridget. "Women, Work and the Census: a Problem for Historians of Women." *History Workshop Journal* 35, no. 1 (1993): 78-94. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/35.1.78>.

⁴⁷ Higgs, Edward, and Amanda Wilkinson. "Women, Occupations and Work in the Victorian Censuses Revisited." *History Workshop Journal* 81, no. 81 (2016): 17-38. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbw001>, 103.

factor. In the last chapter, women's participation in the different economic sectors of the labor market is examined, in comparison to the male participation. Focus is given to the industrial sector of both cities and the female representation in its different branches. Finally, refugee attendance is again explored to discover how it affected FLFP during the industrialization in Athens and Piraeus.

CHAPTER 1

THE GREEK INDUSTRY DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The Greek case of women's LFP can be distinguished from other European countries. The primary reasons are the late industrialization in Greece and the major refugee inflow after 1923. These two historical factors will be central to this research on women's labor in the capital of Greece.

Regarding the industrialization factor, in many countries, it has been considered decisive for the relationship of women with the labor market. In particular, it is said that with industrialization the household is no longer the central unit of economic productivity as it is replaced by the factory. In other words, the domestic mode of production is replaced by the industrial mode of production.⁴⁸ Consequently, the family as an economic unit became central in the organization of the wage economy and was seen by early historians of women's work as the breakthrough of women equitably participating in the labor market.⁴⁹ Although, as we saw in the introduction, there is no general agreement on the level and nature of the impact of industrialization on women's work, especially when looking at different economies, their correlation is widely accepted in historical research.

In the case of Greece, the industrialization process followed neither the paradigm of Western European countries nor the other Mediterranean countries.⁵⁰ The different historical course of Greece, forming a nation-state only in the late 19th century, contributed to the late entry into the industrialization struggle and the process of capitalist development. While other European countries, such as Britain, France, and the Netherlands in the north or Spain, Italy, and Portugal in the south had reached a highly or moderately developed level of capitalist and industrial development during the late 19th century, the former Ottoman province and newly founded Greek state was just entering the phase of proto-industrialization.⁵¹ However, even though the Greek

⁴⁸Tilly Louise and Scott Joan, *Women, work and family*, Routledge, 1989, 63.

⁴⁹ Vries, Jan de. "The Origins of the Industrious Revolution." In *The Industrious Revolution*, 40–72. United States: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 99 (see footnote 58).

⁵⁰ Leodidou Lila, *Polis tis Siopis, ergatikos epoikismos tis Athinas kai tou Peiraia, 1909-1940, [Cities of silence, workers' settling of Athens and Piraeus, 1909-1940]*, Cultural Technological Foundation ETVA, 1989, 50, 63.

⁵¹ Leodidou, *Cities of silence*, 50.

case was still incompatible with its Mediterranean counterparts in the early period of its creation, the late 19th and early 20th century, this will change in the following years of the interwar period. A boost of industrialization occurs and changes the picture of the previously most entirely agrarian country.

The impact that this event had on the entrance of women into the labor market will be examined in the following chapters. Here, an overview of the development of the economy of Athens and Piraeus is necessary especially in the industrial sector to gain a more in-depth understanding of the context in which women's LFP was shaped. What was the state of industrialization during the first half of the twentieth century and what were its characteristics? In addition, how the refugees from Asia Minor radically altered the situation in both cities will be addressed. Particularly, it will be discussed how this sudden influx of a huge population affected first of all the economic conditions of the two cities, with a significant labor supply emerging, while in the following chapters, it will be linked to their impact on the female labor force.

I. The Development of the two cities in their early years

A constant characteristic of the Greek state was the great scattering of the population in small villages and not in urban areas, with Athens being the only constantly developing city from 1870 to 1920. Piraeus even though did not follow a linear pattern of growth, was the fastest growing city during the periods 1861-72 and then again in 1870-80.⁵² In comparison to the rest of Europe, the late Greek urbanization is evident with European cities multiplying as early as the early modern era, between 1500 and 1800.⁵³ Nevertheless, as Greece developed economically and expanded its national borders during the late 19th century, Athens and Piraeus' development rate accelerated.⁵⁴

Despite the proximity of the two cities to each other, they followed a somewhat different path of industrialization during their early stages. Specifically, the industrialization of Greece started in Piraeus in the late 19th century with the first industrial workers being centered around the port of Piraeus and gradually expanding

⁵² Leodidou, *Cities of silence*, 58-59; Belavilas Nikos, *I istoria tis polis tou Peiraia [The history of the city of Piraeus]*, (Athens: Alexandria, 2021), 220.

⁵³ Vries, "The Origins", 94.

⁵⁴ Leodidou, *Cities of silence*, 62-64.

towards the Athens side, along the railway line linking the two cities.⁵⁵ Athens still remained an administrative and commercial center without industrial character. The industry of Piraeus was not temporary but from early on had a heavier character with the machine workshops soon evolving into shipbuilding and repair stations. However, shortly afterward Athens would also follow the example of Piraeus, attracting industries, but of a lighter and more consumption-oriented nature.⁵⁶

Despite this initially hesitant entrance of Athens into the industrial economy, at the beginning of the next century, Athens became a significant industrial center for the Greek standards. The aforementioned situation is depicted in Table 1,⁵⁷ where Piraeus workers seem to highly outnumber the Athenian ones. By the 20th century, this pattern completely changed and many workers employed in the industrial sector lived and worked in the capital. However, the numbers of the Piraeus workers should not be underestimated since the percentages compared to the general population remain higher than those of Athens during this period. In particular, in 1917, 15% worked in the industry of Athens and 30% in the industry of Piraeus, while in 1930, 18% and 20% respectively.⁵⁸

	Athens	Piraeus
1876	214	1.284
1909	26.074	10.500
1917	33.456	30.746
1930	40.775	21.776

Sources: Leodidou, *Cities of Silence*, 311; The Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT), census 1917 and 1930

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁵⁶ Leodidou, *Cities of silence*, 104-105.

⁵⁷ The data of the table cannot be considered directly comparable as they are derived from different censuses in which the same criteria were not always used as to which enterprises were classified as industrial or in the definition of a worker. However, they do, provide a general picture of the course of the industrial development of the two cities during the ages.

⁵⁸ The population of Athens in 1917 was 33.456 and of Piraeus 30.746. The 1930 percentage was calculated from the 1928 population census. The population of Athens in 1928 was 40.775 and of Piraeus 21.776.

II. Debating the industrialization levels of the interwar period

Despite this growth that the censuses present regarding the level of industrialization of both cities in the historical research contradictory positions have been expressed on the importance of industrial development in the decades between the wars. In the traditional literature, the Greek industry during the interwar period was portrayed to have noted a rapid development. Many older economists like Zolotas⁵⁹ and Haritakis⁶⁰ and some later researchers underline the huge significance of the interwar years for the industry and they even believe that this period was responsible for the general industrial growth of Greece.

Mazower in his research about the interwar economy of Greece showcases that during the 1920s the chemical and textile industries augmented, while new industries were also introduced for the first time, such as the carpet industry which started with the refugees from Asia Minor. The most important sectors were food/drink and textiles, while soap and olive kernel refining, chemicals, furniture, and leather working were also considerable. However, the heavy industry did not exist. Consequently, the industrial sector of the period can be seen- as Mazower described it- as a ‘largely traditional manufacturing sector’ with some isolated paradigms of more modern industrial practices.⁶¹ Greek industry consisted mostly of small-scale, underdeveloped firms usually of a family nature and self-dependent. The larger firms with abundant workforce, access to bank credit and relative technological advancement were fewer and existed in particular branches. Nevertheless, even though significant modernization did not occur in the Greek industrial branches, the general importance of Greek manufacturing within the domestic economy is considered to be of ‘unprecedented prominence’ during the 1920s.⁶² Industrial production continued growing after the end of the 1920s with only a minor downturn in 1932 which overcame entirely by the next year.⁶³

⁵⁹ Zolotas E, *I Hellas is to stadion tis ekviomichaniseos [Greece at the stage of industrialization]*, Athens, 1964.

⁶⁰ Haritakis, *I elliniki viomichania (viomichania- metalleia- ergasia) [The Greek industry (industry- metallurgy- labor)]*, 1927.

⁶¹ Mazower Mark, *Greece and the Inter-War Economic Crisis*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 92-93.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 93.

⁶³ Christodoulaki Olga, “Industrial Growth in Greece between the Wars: A New Perspective.” *European Review of Economic History* 5, no. 1 (2001): 61–89. doi:10.1017/S136149160100003X, 61.

The view of the steady growth of industrial production has been challenged by some later studies. For instance, Kostas argues that exaggeration exists in the literature regarding the Greek industrial development. The reason for all those overstatements is that the country's industrial production presented high figures of increase. However, if we focus on different aspects of the Greek industry, this radical industrial growth is not evident.⁶⁴ He explains that the high figures for industrial production along with the stability in the industrial growth can be explained by the wide availability of the workforce, which was well utilized for augmentation of the rates of industrial production.⁶⁵ However, despite this increase in the industrial output during the interwar years, the Greek industry was still characterized by a lack of investments, a lack of structural changes leading to the prevalence of traditional productive structures, and a lack of modernization and mechanization development. He argues that even the increase in the industrial output is often exaggerated in the literature since in 1932 the industry reached a good level covering the country's needs, but this self-sufficiency model was limited and could not even meet the goals of the country's economic policies of that time.⁶⁶

In a study by Olga Christodoulaki, she disagrees with the idea that the industrial growth of Greece continuously progressed and remained uninfluenced by the Great Depression in contrast with the rest of the European world. She creates new indices of manufacturing output and secondary production to recreate a more accurate image of the secondary sector of Greece. While in the earlier studies, the data for their indices come primarily from the index of industrial production of the period 1921 to 1938 produced by the Supreme Economic Council, in this study she constructs a new index with data from the statistical yearbooks of 1921-1938 to challenge the established opinion about Greece's industrial development during the interwar period. What she found out is that the industrial growth rates were indeed significant in both the examined decades, the 1920s and 1930s, but they did not remain unaffected by the Great Depression, with the industrial output decreasing after 1929, contrary to the traditional view.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Kostas Kostis, *O Ploutos tis Elladas: I elliniki ikonomia apo tous Valkanikous Polemous mehri simera [The wealth of Greece: The Greek Economy since the Balkan Wars until today]*. Athens, 2019, 148.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 157-160.

⁶⁷ Christodoulaki, "Industrial Growth", 61-83.

A deeper look at the industry of Athens and Piraeus and its characteristics would be beneficial to better comprehend the state of the economy and the labor market. It will be easier to outline the particularities of the two cities and comprehend how their labor market was formed by looking at the course of their industrial development. In addition, further analysis of the refugee issue and its impact on the industrial sector of the Greek economy will follow.

III. Piraeus

Piraeus is a representative case of the course of industrialization in Greece. As mentioned earlier, Piraeus was one of the first Greek cities to be industrialized in the nineteenth century. In general, the most important industrial centers in Greece were established by the sea. This phenomenon of the industry establishing along the coast seems to be particular to the Greek case. It is related to geographical characteristics, the lack of river roads, and land transport infrastructure, while it survived until after the interwar period, when the Athens-Thessaloniki international highway was built and parts of the industry moved to the outskirts of the two cities, next to the main roads.⁶⁸

Piraeus as a port city possessed particular characteristics that exerted a notable influence on the development of its industrial landscape rendering it the most important port in Greece. To begin with, the proximity to Athens, the rapidly expanding capital of the country, was a decisive factor in its industrial growth. In addition, internal migration also played a remarkable role, with people arriving in Piraeus from all over Greece to seek employment, even if it was part-time and precarious. Apart from this demographic advantage, the position and the networking possibilities that could be found in this port city also profited the industry and the local economy. In particular, industrial products could find an outlet in the growing local market that was profited by the constant influx of passengers and ship crews as well as in the global and domestic market. Consequently, by the dawn of the 20th century, Piraeus had solidified its position as the country's prominent industrial city.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Belavilas, *The History*, 219.

⁶⁹ Papastefanaki Leda, *Ergasia, technologia kai fylo stin elliniki viomixania: I klostoyfantourgia tou Peiraia (1870-1940) [Labor, technology and gender in the Greek industry: the textile industry of Piraeus (1870-1940)]*, (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2009). 46-47.

Only there could the large-scale industrial enterprises operating permanently within the city achieve the desired diversification of production and economies of scale. Moreover, it catalyzed the development of the necessary industrial chains, creating a unique environment for industrial growth. As a result of all the aforementioned reasons, Piraeus emerged as the prime choice for several industries during the first decade of the twentieth century. It became the most preferred destination for enterprises belonging to the second phase of industrialization, including sectors such as energy production, chemicals, tobacco, and construction materials. The city's characteristics and strategic attributes enabled these new industries to flourish.⁷⁰

During the interwar period, the circumstances favored the creation of new plants in industries such as chemicals and food production, numerous already existing facilities expanded, while many of them were converted into joint-stock companies.⁷¹ In 1930 Piraeus came second after Athens with the most workers employed in industry (29% and 42% respectively) and had the most industrial enterprises employing more than 100 workers. These enterprises belonged to the textile industry, chemical industry, and transport.⁷² However, despite all these significant developments it should also be noted that the secondary sector still widely consisted of small manual workshops and crafts with few workers often failing to absorb all of the population. This resulted in the creation of a multitude of poor people who could not be classified as an industrial-type proletariat. To sustain their lives these individuals of both genders resorted to self-employment. They engaged in occupations such as itinerant traders, occasional subcontractors, home workers, or owners of very small workshops. These economic circumstances were precarious as they often navigated between self-employment, unemployment, or underemployment.⁷³ This situation will have had affected FLFP.

IV. Athens

As mentioned earlier Athens started industrializing almost two decades later than Piraeus and the development started being more important in the 20th century. The

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 47.

⁷² Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 48.

⁷³ Potamianos Nikos, *Oi noikokirai: Magazatores kai viotehnes stin Athina 1880-1925 [The householders: Shopkeepers and artisans in Athens 1880-1925]*, (Heraclion: Crete University Press, 2015), 10.

major characteristic of the Athenian industry, that applies also to the Greek industry as a whole, is the prevalence of small-scale enterprises, usually family-based.

Potamianos has researched the small shopkeepers and artisans of Athens providing in-depth information on their operating characteristics.⁷⁴ In particular, he states that these shop owners frequently faced the inability to proceed to a reproduction of their capital, which was interrelated to the technological backwardness of these artisans.⁷⁵ Moreover, one principal feature of small firms is their family nature. In the case of Greece, the fact that family was prevalent as an economic unit in the industrial economy could also be attributed to the following reasons. The Athenian economy had a strong influence from the countryside, where the nuclear family was commonly the unit of farming. With the rural emigration toward the capital, the agrarian families contributed to the transfer of the model of the small-scale family-based enterprise.⁷⁶ When they arrived in the city, they would not always seek employment in the factories and even if they did, their work would not be permanent. They would take advantage of the existing opportunities for social advancement, and in most cases, they would manage to set up their own business, either industrial or commercial, or seek a position in the public sector.⁷⁷ The fact that the family economy was prevalent as an economic unit will have effects on women's employment too as we will see in the following chapters.

Another characteristic that is both a cause and an outcome of the aforementioned problems of the difficulties of production centralization and the allocation of capital in production is the issue of 'hyper-professionalism'. This term was widely discussed during the interwar period and it involves the assumption that the number of small businesses greatly exceeded the needs of the economy and that this in turn created problems mainly for the established large units of each sector.⁷⁸ Finally, what also defined this economy of small businesses and industries was their durability. Despite the difficulties they faced during those years, they showcased significant durability. This was contradictory to the high percentages of small enterprises closing, but it was recompensated by the high rates of creation of new ones.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Potamianos, *The householders*.

⁷⁵ Potamianos, *The householders*, 97.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁷⁷ Riginos, *Productive structures*, 249.

⁷⁸ Potamianos, *The Householders*, 124-125.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 135.

The issue of the high fragmentation of the industrial units has often been attributed to the fact that the state, despite the shortage of labor force before 1922, did not take advantage of the arrival of the refugees to implement a policy of proletarianization. Instead, due to ideological and political fear of social controversy that the existence of a strong proletariat could provoke, attempted to minimize it by promoting small independent production and small-scale urbanization.⁸⁰

Overall, the industry of Athens as well as the industry in Greece in general was characterized by small units of production and the production of consumer goods of local importance, especially after 1920 with the arrival of the refugees and the monetary instability that prevailed during those years. Only after 1929, were there indications of a trend towards consolidation and centralization in the industry, but until then low investments, rapid rates of product growth, and stagnation of structural changes were the main features.⁸¹

V. The Refugees

An important chapter of the economic, social, and political background of Greece during the interwar period is the arrival of the refugees from Asia Minor. The large number of people to have arrived in Athens and Piraeus and the efforts from the society to absorb them were significant. In the literature, it has been frequently argued that these refugees helped the economy grow.⁸² One reason that is frequently used to explain the aforementioned economic development of Greece, particularly in the industrial sector is the high entrepreneurial skills of the refugees that are brought from Asia Minor. In addition, the argument of cheap labor is also commonly presented. The proliferation of the population and the rise of demographic levels resulted in the expansion of the availability of labor. The large supply of workers would be sufficient for the Greek industry to grow.⁸³ Theoretically, the abundance of the labor force would lead to a reduction of wages and therefore of labor costs especially in Industry. This situation is argued to have contributed to the industrial development of the 'backward'

⁸⁰ Liakos, *Labour and politics*, 53.

⁸¹ Kostas, *The Wealth of Greece*, 158-9.

⁸² Leodidou, *Cities of silence*, 165, 174-179; Also see for example Aigidis, 1934: 121-2.

Pentzopoulos, 1962: 144-50. Gkevetsis, 1979: 171-6. Pepelasis, 1961: 511.

⁸³ Haritakis, *The Greek Industry*, 88-90.

Greece and the expansion of the market, which with the increase in demand would lead to the creation of new manufacturing units.⁸⁴

However, these views are challenged by some later historians. For instance, Liakos argues that even though the large supply of laborers resulted in lower wages for the workers, this lower recompensation did not entail equally lower expenses for the industries. Labor costs can be high because of various factors, such as primitive technology, lack of labor discipline, and poor training, high illiteracy rates which all lead to lower efficiency. Poor physical conditions of the workers also constituted a significant reason for inefficiency and higher costs, due to poor nutrition and the spread of endemic diseases, while also the use of foreign skilled workers who usually negotiated their wages to be higher than in their home country.⁸⁵

Therefore, the high supply of cheap labor force thanks to the refugee inflows did not provide the industries with lower labor costs. This factor along with the continued reluctance to take serious investment initiatives in industry resulted in the refugee workers not being easily integrated into the production units and the industry led them to seek alternative ways to make a living.⁸⁶ Smaller firms proliferated, leading to a reduction in the average number of employees per firm. As a consequence, crafts absorbed male labor, depriving the industry of skilled personnel and pushing up wages.⁸⁷ Furthermore, another alternative for the refugees who could not find employment was the participation in itinerant trade, causing it to reach an agitated activity.⁸⁸

The refugees not having stimulated the industry as extensively as it was portrayed traditionally in the literature is also argued by Kostis. He argues that the abundance of cheap labor was never by itself the factor of the industrial development of a city. The country's balance of payments, and in particular the balance of trade was more responsible for this rise, while also for the internal market's ability to respond to the dramatically increasing market demand was a factor of importance. Additionally, he states that the Greek industry during the period 1923-1932 did not note any historically

⁸⁴ Liakos, *Labour and politics*, 57-58; Kostas Kostis, "I Ideologia tis oikonomikis anaptiksis: I prosfiges sto mesopolemo [The ideology of economic development: Refugees in the interwar period]", 37.

⁸⁵ Liakos, *Labour and politics*, 60-61.

⁸⁶ Riginos, *Productive structures and workers' wages*, 251.

⁸⁷ Liakos, *Labour and politics*, 63; Riginos, *Productive structures and worker's wages*, 251.

⁸⁸ Potamianos, *The householders*, 78.

major turning- point, which could be explained by the refugee wave. On the contrary, he claims that the rhythm of development was slow and unstable. This was not unexpected in a period of currency instability, which hinders investments in the industry. Finally, the assumption that the refugee entrepreneurs are considered to have radically aided the industrial and the business sector as a whole by bringing new capital to the economy cannot be proven. Apart from the fact that there is no extravagant change in the industrial production indicators, the economy from 1923 until the time of the Great Depression notes no significant change in the bank deposits. The national savings did not increase since as we said Greece in the interwar period, after the Balkan wars and the Asia Minor campaign, was poorer than before.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, even though there is no mutual agreement on the extent to which the refugees contributed to the industrial expansion of the cities, one thing is undeniable and acknowledged by many scholars. The arrival of the refugees rendered it necessary for Greece to get industrialized for multiple reasons. Not only for economic but most importantly for social and political reasons industrialization was needed, since the problems of unemployment rendered the country's bourgeoisie scared of the social radicalism that characterized the urban centers. Industrialization was considered the solution to these problems as it would help the Greek economy to grow by combating unemployment and consequently social radicalism.⁹⁰ Therefore, it is comprehensible that the industrial policy changed with the state being more than ever before interested in developing the Greek industry.⁹¹

Finally, when it comes to the gendered side of the refugee issue and their contribution to the economic development of the country, there is no significant emphasis in the literature. It is accepted that women constituted the majority of the refugee population since a lot of men had either been killed, captured, or disappeared, and that they needed to work in order to provide for their families and the dependent minor family members.⁹² Therefore, they would seek employment where they could easily be absorbed and gain revenues quickly, as an unskilled factory worker. However, a more thorough analysis of this topic will appear later in this essay.

⁸⁹ Kostas. "The ideology", 37- 38.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 39.

⁹¹ Kostis, *The Wealth of Greece*, 130-131.

⁹² Papadopoulou Arhodia V., *I Attiki Nikaia, I Istoría tis prosfigikis megaloupolis [The Nice of Attika, The history of the refugee metropolis]*, (Athens: Lexitipon, 2009), 53.

CHAPTER 2

“How many women worked?”: MEASURING WOMEN’S LABOR.

THE CASE OF ATHENS AND PIRAEUS

The research aim of this chapter is to shed light on the gendered side of labor. More specifically, women’s labor force participation rates in Athens and Piraeus will be addressed during the period of 1917 and 1930. This will be accomplished by answering the research question: “How did the FLFP rates in Athens and Piraeus develop during the course of the decade and what influenced them?”.

Firstly, the focus will be on women’s activity rates in the industrial and commercial sectors, since the 1917 and 1930 labor censuses register only factories, businesses, craft workshops, and other jobs belonging to the private sector. The data from these two censuses will be used to examine how these economic sectors' development affected women's participation in paid labor. Following, examining the information from the 1920 and 1928 population censuses, there will be an attempt to reconstruct the LFP crude rates of female laborers in the two biggest cities of Greece. An important factor that will be taken into consideration in both accounts is the arrival of refugee populations from Asia Minor after 1922. A sub-research question is how this sudden and large-scale population increase in the 1920s affected female LFP.

It must be noted that the figures may vary from reality, regarding the labor rates for instance, due to the limitations of the sources in use. For this research, after thoroughly reviewing all the state censuses conducted during the specified period,⁹³ only the four aforementioned ones were eventually used. Even though all the censuses provide valuable insights into the working conditions of Athens and Piraeus’ intensely growing population in the interwar period, they also present certain limitations rendering it impossible to include their data in this study. More specifically, they do not always follow the same method of classification. Registration differences exist among all the state censuses. Thus, comparisons among them are impossible to forge a distinct picture of the FLFP throughout the years. Some examples of categorization discrepancies from one state census to another are the types of jobs in the different economic sectors, the

⁹³ The state census that was not used was the census of industrial and crafts enterprises conducted on the 18th of December of 1920.

minimum age limit of the registered workforce, the regional breakdown, and gender division. Furthermore, there is one crucial limitation that directly affects the current study, the under-recording of women’s labor. Women were frequently included in the non-active population or during the time of the census the working women of the family were not stated and thus not registered.

I. Measurements

However, the censuses chosen for this study showcased fewer differences among themselves than the rest, and hence their data was considered more comparable. More specifically, the 1917 labor census, as mentioned in the introduction, recorded all the people who offered services to a third party in exchange for remuneration, excluding the public civil servants and servants. The 1930 store census of industrial and commercial enterprises recorded the staff of these enterprises and its registration criterion was the permanent establishment of these businesses. It too, excluded the civil servants and the servants. Even though the 1930 census provides a wider variety of occupational categories, since it records more businesses and jobs than the 1917 one, both censuses propose a similar basis in their registration methods and categories. Thus, they can provide some crude rates of women’s employment in some industrial, commercial, and private service sectors, over the course of the decade.

Table 2 Population- Number of workers- crude LFP rates- Gender gap: by gender in Athens and Piraeus, 1917, 1930.

	TOTAL		MALES				FEMALES			
	Real Population	Total of workers	Male population	Number of male workers	male workers/ male population	male workers/ total of workers	Female population	Number of workers	female workers/ female population	female workers/ total of workers
1917										
ATHENS	221.747	33.456	118.912	28.589	24,0%	85,5%	102.835	4.867	4,7%	14,5%
PIRAEUS	104.164	30.746	55.183	26.866	48,7%	87,4%	48.981	3.888	7,9%	12,6%
1930										
ATHENS	392.781	70.058	198.871	56.278	28,3%	80,3%	193.910	13.780	7,1%	19,7%
PIRAEUS	198.771	39.558	100.602	31.628	31,4%	80,0%	98.169	7.930	8,1%	20,0%

Source: The Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT), Estimations from 1917 and 1930 censuses.

To begin with, Table 2 compares the male and female workers in Athens and Piraeus in the years 1917 and 1930. It shows that there were 4,867 working women registered

in the 1917 labor census. They constituted only 4.7% of the female population. The equivalent male figures are almost six times higher with 28.589 male individuals being recorded as workers in Athens, which is 24% of the male population. The situation did not substantially differ in the case of Piraeus. According to the census data the registered working women amounted to 3.888, which means 7.9% of the women's population of Piraeus against the 26.866 male workers, constituting 48.7% of the male population.

It is evident that the participation rate of women in paid labor is higher in Piraeus than in Athens in 1917. In Athens, the total of women working exceeds Piraeus', but considering its higher figures for the female population in general, almost double that of Piraeus, the share of working women becomes less significant. This difference between the two cities can be explained by the fact that the textile industry, the industry that traditionally attracted female employment, was highly developed in Piraeus.⁹⁴ Therefore, a large share of the female population of Piraeus- 2.287 workers in particular- was employed in the textile factories of the city.⁹⁵ Considering that the total of female workers in Piraeus is only 3.888 women, it means that more than half of the city's female population was employed in textiles. The textile industry of Piraeus created the right opportunities for women to participate in its labor force.

In 1930 the number of workers had increased in both Athens and Piraeus. There were 13.780 female workers in Athens and 7.930 in Piraeus, which is 7,1% and 8,1% of the total female population respectively. It is evident that Athens's female labor force increased significantly but Piraeus not so much. Some interpretations to explain this phenomenon are either registration differences between the two censuses or the industrialization level of the two cities. As we saw in the previous chapter, Athens industrialized later than Piraeus, but once the process started, it industrialized rapidly. With the proliferation of factories and industrial workshops in the capital city, the demand for labor also increased during the same period.⁹⁶ In addition, Piraeus constituted the most important port city of the country and the most prominent industrial one by the beginning of the 20th century.⁹⁷ As we saw in the previous chapter, Piraeus met all the conditions of attracting industries of a heavier character, while Athens'

⁹⁴ Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 119- 126.

⁹⁵ See Table 6 in Appendix 1.

⁹⁶ Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 75-77.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

industry was in general lighter and more consumption-oriented.⁹⁸ Taking into account that heavy industry usually attracts a male workforce- due to its physically demanding nature and due to the social norms that connect the physically demanding occupations with male workers- the lower development of the female workforce in Piraeus can be explained.

Regarding the gender gap in the working population, there was a slight decrease during the decade. More specifically, the percentage of workers that were women in 1917, in Athens was 14.5% and 12.6% in Piraeus. In 1930, the share of working women out of the total of the working population increased to 19.7% in Athens and 20% in Piraeus. The working women seem to have slightly proliferated over the years and hence, the gender gap slightly decreased.

Table 3 Population, Number of workers, crude LFP rates, Gender gap: by gender in Athens and Piraeus, 1920, 1928.

	TOTAL		MALES				FEMALES			
	ACTUAL POPULATION (over 10 years old)	Total of workers	Total male population (over 10 years old)	Number of male workers	Male workers/ total male population	Male workers/ total of workers	Total female population (over 10 years old)	Number of women workers	female workers/ total female population	Female workers/ total workers
1920										
Athens	272.199	158.395	154.328	126.937	82,3%	80,1%	117.871	31.458	26,7%	19,9%
Piraeus	110.968	62.288	58.908	49.595	84,2%	79,6%	52.060	12.693	24,4%	20,4%
1928										
Athens	387.528	198.672	193.445	155.072	80,2%	78,1%	194.083	43.600	22,5%	21,9%
Piraeus	202.283	108.511	100.135	84.924	84,8%	78,3%	102.148	23.587	23,1%	21,7%

Source: ELSTAT, 1920 1928 population censuses

Table 3 provides an alternative measurement of the rates of women and men workers based on different sources. For this table, the data was extracted from the 1920 and 1928 population censuses. The original aim was to measure women's LFP in Athens and Piraeus in 1920 and 1928 and then compare the data to spot differences. However, the 1920 population census did not include information about the economically active population of Athens and Piraeus in particular, but of a broader spectrum of districts. Instead, both the 1920 and 1928 population censuses included the data about the actual

⁹⁸ Leodidou, *Cities of silence*, 104-105.

population of Athens and Piraeus and their occupations as is visible in Tables 7 and 8⁹⁹ (see Chapter 3). The distinction by gender and occupation was very convenient for this research. However, the fact that the tables measure the actual population and not just the economically active creates a problem. The problem being that in the category “without profession”, unfortunately, the non-economically active population is also included, such as children or the elderly. Therefore, the exact FLFP rates for 1920 Athens and Piraeus could not be measured, considering that they should include the share of only the active female population among the total female population. To overcome this census deficiency, I measured the crude rates instead by adding all the occupational categories and leaving out the “without profession” category, which leaves out the non-active populations.

When measuring the gender gap between the male and female workers of Athens, it seems that there was a very slight decrease from 1920 to 1928. This seems quite asymmetrical to the previous table, where the difference in the gender gap between 1917 and 1930 was more visible. However, these censuses include all the economic sectors of the labor market, contrary to the previous ones that only included some occupations from the secondary and tertiary sectors. In this case, the number of female workers was 4 times smaller than the male ones and until 1928 it became 3,5 times smaller. The same applies in the case of Piraeus. The equivalent percentages of female workers in comparison to the total of workers show this slight increase in women in the workforce. Women made up 20% of the total working population of both cities in 1920, rising to approximately 22% in both cities in 1928. In addition, regarding the FLFP crude rates from this table, it seems like they decreased from 1920 to 1928, which also contradicts the data from the previous table.

Even though the gender gap did not seem to have considerably decreased over these eight years and the FLFP rates appear to have slightly decreased, the total number of women with an occupation has surely augmented. In particular, in 1920 31.458 women worked in Athens, while in Piraeus they were significantly lower, with 12.693 women working. This difference is explained when looking at the total over 10-year-old female population of the two cities since Piraeus in 1920 had less than half of the female population of Athens (117.871 and 52,060 respectively). Eight years later the female

⁹⁹ Tables 7 and 8 show the different occupational categories of the real population recorded with a job in Athens and Piraeus, 1920 and 1928.

population of the two cities augmented along with the number of women with an occupation. The population of Piraeus noted the most significant increase between the two cities, almost doubling in size and reaching 102.148 women of which 43.600 were registered with an occupation. Athens also increased from 117.871 women in 1920 to 194.083 in 1928 and from 31.458 working women to 43.600 accordingly. To analyze and explain the aforementioned data and gain a clear understanding of why the FLFP rates followed this course during the examined period, I will refer to the factors that may have affected them. By examining the different variables influencing women's participation in the labor market, we can ascertain the extent to which industrialization and economic development affected FLFP, as well as whether other factors also played a role.

II. FLFP Determinants

Demand of Labor

One factor that could have determined the aforementioned levels of participation of women in the labor market is the development of the demand for labor. As urbanization and the rates of industrialization developed, the demand for wage labor followed a similar pattern.¹⁰⁰ Greece as a whole remained in its vast majority rural during that period and the industrializing cities attracted many immigrants looking for better job opportunities resulting in the proliferation of its population.¹⁰¹ Table 2, which listed mainly the industrial and commercial sectors, also showcased this upsurge in women's employment, albeit faint.

This is not a Greek phenomenon of course but it has been observed to constitute a pattern in different economies as well. To be precise, as Louise Tilly and Joan Scott have noted, the experiences among women from different countries going through industrialization and demographic changes, vary. Nevertheless, the level, and pace of industrial development determine the demand for women, either as workers or as producers and child-rearers.¹⁰² Furthermore, Humphries and Sarasúa have also highlighted the demand for labor as a principal determinant of women's LFP. After

¹⁰⁰ Avdela, *Female civil servants*, 25-36.

¹⁰¹ Kosta Kostis, *The Wealth of Greece*.

¹⁰² Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work and Family*, 2-3.

they compared the participation rates of women in different European countries, they found out that differences in the participation rates existed even in the same year and country. Consequently, they came to the conclusion that the diversity in the FLFP rates indicates that local demand was crucial in determining the place of women in the labor market.¹⁰³ In other words, women responded to the opportunities that were offered to them, and when there was availability of jobs, they took advantage of it. This viewpoint contradicts the neoclassical idea that it was the decision of women to abstain from the waged labor market and stay at home.¹⁰⁴ Thus, this phenomenon also applies in the Greek case and women congregated in urban centers across Greece in response to the rising demand for low-cost and unskilled labor. The fact that Piraeus, with its strong textile industry, presented higher FLFP rates than Athens, only verifies the demand argument. Local economies and their demand for labor determine the visibility of women in the workforce. Similarly, the higher increase in Athen's rates in comparison to Piraeus' between 1917 and 1930, corresponding to the development of their industries, further supports this perspective.

Demographic factors- Refugees influx

Another factor that could have possibly influenced the FLFP in the Greek case is the changes in demography that the refugee wave from Asia Minor caused. In particular, after the refugees from Asia Minor arrived, the population of the cities grew radically.¹⁰⁵ The number of refugees that arrived in each of the two cities is showcased in Table 4a as they were registered in 1928. It is evident that the female refugees outnumbered the male ones in both cities. Athens received more refugees in total than Piraeus, 129.380 versus 101.185. However, the share of refugees within the total population was larger in Piraeus (40%) than in Athens (28%). In addition, the female refugees amounted to 43% in Piraeus, while in Athens 31% of the total population. Not only did the total population of the cities increase, but so did the economically active population, i.e. the people who have the appropriate age and the ability to work.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Humphries and Sarasúa. "Off the Record", 53.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 55.

¹⁰⁵ Leodidou, *Cities of Silence*, 202.

¹⁰⁶ Avdela, *Female civil servants*, 35.

Therefore, a question that logically arises, is how this sudden influx of people affected the numbers of the working population of the two cities.

<i>Table 4a</i> Share of refugees in the population, 1928				
	Real population	Refugees	refugees/ total population	
Athens				
All sexes	459.211	129.380	All sexes	28.2%
Male	229.338	56.886	Male	24.8%
Female	229.873	72.494	Female	31.5%
Piraeus				
All sexes	251.659	101.185	All sexes	40.2%
Male	125.183	46.583	Male	37.2%
Female	126.476	54.602	Female	43.2%
<i>Sources:</i> ELSTAT, 1928 population census				

To answer this question, it is important to take a closer look at the number of refugees in the total workforce (see Table 4b). I calculated the crude rates of the labor force, since the census measures the actual population and not just the economically active population of Athens and Piraeus. Hence, the total workforce does not include the “without profession” category. This category is supposed to refer to all the unemployed people, but it also incorporates the non-active population,¹⁰⁷ such as the elderly and children. By not including the unemployed, we cannot refer to the labor force, and this is why the term “working population” is used instead of “labor force”. Table 4b shows that 32.6% of the women who worked in Athens were refugees, while in Piraeus the share is even more remarkable reaching 50%. Half of the women workers according to this census seem to have been refugees. Additionally, it is outstanding that proportionally there are more women than men with a recorded occupation in both cities.

Overall, it seems that a considerable proportion of the workers in the labor market were refugees. In fact, according to the 1928 population census, the refugee population

¹⁰⁷ Non-active population = people of not a working age. These people are not part of the labor force. This is why I excluded the whole “without profession” category, to get the closer data possible to the real numbers of people who work.

of Greece, as a whole, exceeded that of the native Greeks with 47% of refugees belonging to the economically productive population versus 42% of natives. Additionally, 28% of the economically productive women in Greece, as a whole, were refugees, while the natives were only 22%. It should be borne in mind that children up to 14 years of age and those over 60 were proportionately fewer among the refugee population than among native Greeks.¹⁰⁸

Table 4b Share of refugees who have an occupation within the working population (over 10 years old).

	Total population	Refugees	refugee workers/ total of workers ¹⁰⁹	
Athens				
All sexes	198.672	50.188	All sexes	25,3%
Male	155.072	35.978	Male	23,2%
Female	43.600	14.210	Female	32,6%
Piraeus				
All sexes	108.511	42.336	All sexes	39,0%
Male	84.924	30.361	Male	35,8%
Female	23.587	11.975	Female	50,8%

Sources: ELSTAT, 1928 population census

The conclusion that can be drawn from Tables 4a and 4b is that apart from the high population increase that occurred in both cities, the female refugees outnumbered the male ones. Also, there was a high share of refugee women within the female workforce, but within the male workforce, the share of the men refugees was less significant. This showcases that this demographic change that the refugees caused, reverting men's and women's shares within the total population, had implications on the shares of female and male LFP. Therefore, the fact that there were proportionally more women refugees within the female workforce than men refugees in the male workforce can be attributed to the change in the structure of the population that the refugees caused. The large number of female refugee populations, that came to Athens and Piraeus and needed to work to survive, explains the high share of women refugees in the FLFP.

¹⁰⁸ ELSTAT, 1928 Population Census, p. 55.

¹⁰⁹ The "total of workers" is the sum of all the different occupational categories from the census (for these occupational categories see Table 10 Chapter 3).

However, as mentioned above, in 1928 the share of total women who worked within the total female population did not rise significantly after the refugee arrival. Table 3 shows that in 1920, 26.7% of the total women had an occupation in Athens, and in Piraeus 24.4%. This percentage decreased to 22.5% for Athens and 23% for Piraeus in 1928. In the census, high unemployment appears to exist among the refugee populations in general (see Table 10, Chapter 3 the “without profession category”). In particular, a high percentage of female refugees registered as jobless, especially compared to their male counterparts. 76% of the female refugees in Athens and 73% in Piraeus were registered in the category “without an occupation”. In contrast, these high percentages of unemployment do not appear among male refugee workers. Only 18% of the male refugees appear unemployed in Athens and 14% in Piraeus (Table 10, Chapter 3). The high share of refugee women without an occupation in comparison to the lower men’s percentage is also displayed in Figure 1.

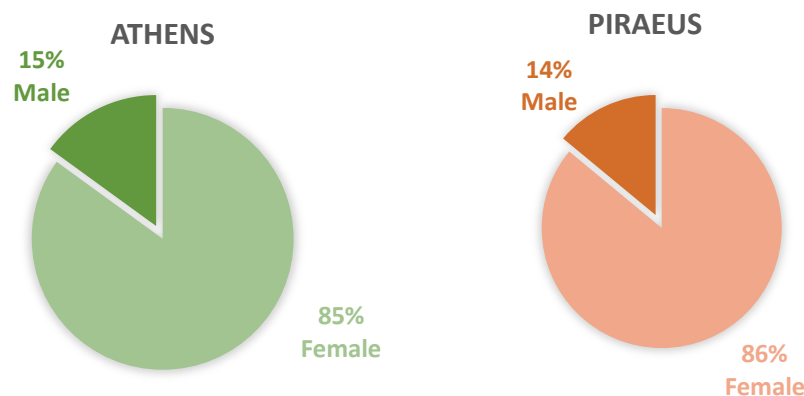


Figure 1, Share of men and women among refugees without a registered occupation in Athens and Piraeus, 1928.

Source: ELSTAT, 1928 population census

The prevalence of women in the “without profession” category does not only concern refugee women but extends to the entire female population of the two cities (see Table 8, Chapter 3). In the Greek bibliography, it has been frequently argued that these high figures of women’s unemployment that the censuses indicate, are misleading and they are attributed to under-registration of women’s work.¹¹⁰ It was a common occurrence, during the census-taking process, that the employment of women in the

¹¹⁰ Papastefanaki, “Labour in Economic and Social History”, 66.

family was not stated, registering only the head of the family as the working person.¹¹¹ In particular, many women employed in family enterprises, either having a significant role or merely assisting, were often not counted.¹¹² Taking into account the large number of small-scale family businesses operating during that period, it is understandable that many women who were actually working, remain invisible in the statistics on labor force participants.

Furthermore, apart from their central or assisting role in the family businesses, another activity that could have provoked this under-registration is the engagement in the cottage industry. However, the census does not provide information on this type of industry, where the number of women is traditionally high.¹¹³ This type of labor took place at home, primarily by “piece work”, which made it easier for many industries not to declare it. Piecework was very common in Greece after the dawn of the 20th century, because it was more profitable for the industries. Women would use their own equipment and the industries did not need large facilities nor did they need to invest in technical equipment. Piecework was especially prominent in the textile industry, because the sewing machine became popular and relatively easy to acquire.¹¹⁴ Consequently, for many women who performed paid labor, their job was actually undeclared and therefore informal and maybe even illegal. Hence, it was impossible for the census to measure it.¹¹⁵

Another explanation for the under-registration of women in paid labor is the strong gender norms that existed in Greek society. These gender norms are closely connected to the spread of the ideal that women’s labor should be in the household. It is important to note that this type of labor in Western Europe was popular during the protoindustrial period.¹¹⁶ Many historians agree that the strong gender norms started to weaken during the early modern period.¹¹⁷ However, the gender norms proclaiming that women ought to work in the domestic sphere were still strong, even after the 20th century. Within the

¹¹¹ Papastefanaki, “Labour in Economic and Social History”, 66; Makris, Evaggelos. “O ikonomikos energos plithismos kai I apasholisis autou” [The economically active population and its employment] in *I statistiki kata ta 150 eti apo tis Paligenesias tis Ellados* [Statistical studies 1921-1971. Statistics during the first 150 years from the Rebirth of Greece], Athens 1972, 113- 212.

¹¹² Ibid., 67; Avdela, *Female civil servants*, 34.;

¹¹³ Riginos, *Productive Structures*, 139-144.

¹¹⁴ Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 88.

¹¹⁵ Leodidou, *Cities of Silence*, 201.

¹¹⁶ Perrot, *Women’s Labor*, 35-37.

¹¹⁷ Schmidt, Ariadne. “Labour Ideologies and Women in the Northern Netherlands, c.1500–1800.” *International review of social history* 56, no. S19 (2011): 45–67, p. 46.

Greek society working from home was considered as more ethical than labor in the factory. Women's extra-domestic industrial work is perceived as a deviation from the reproductive process and from the duties of motherhood, whereas it was considered to destroy femininity.¹¹⁸ There were even several allegations of moral corruption of women in the factories.¹¹⁹ Consequently, often the option of household labor was found as more ethically suitable for women and thus, was widespread in Greek society.

Generally, this underrepresentation of women in the statistics of wage labor is connected with the character of women's work. Historians of women's labor agree that the censuses do not proportionally depict women's labor. Additionally, the nature of their work, which often was part-time and seasonal, also provoked this under-recording.¹²⁰ This is prevalent in the Greek case, along with the fact that female labor often belonged to the "informal" sphere of paid labor.¹²¹ Riginos, measuring the levels and duration of unemployment, supported that unemployment was casual and temporary. He found that the majority of people registered as unemployed had been out of work for up to 3 months or from 3 to 6 months, and only a very small proportion of the workforce had been unemployed for more than a year.¹²² Taking this into account, we can assume that the high number of women without an occupation does not necessarily indicate that women did not participate in the labor market. It could rather be a temporary state of unemployment. Liakos has given another explanation for the high unemployment rate among women, which he ascribes to the surplus of the workforce that the refugee arrival provoked.¹²³

In this sense, it is evident the FLFP in Athens and Piraeus was affected by the demographic changes of the refugee influx. The female labor force started to be made up of many refugees. However, in the end, the most determining factor of the FLFP appears to have been the demand for women's labor and in this case the lack of it.

¹¹⁸ Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 87

¹¹⁹ Oikonomou, "I gyni os ergatis..." [The woman as a worker...], 437, cited in Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 87.

¹²⁰ Schmidt and Meerkerk, "Reconsidering", 72-73.

¹²¹ Leodidou, *Cities of Silence*, 198-201.

¹²² Riginos, *Productive Structures*, 157.

¹²³ Liakos, *Labour and Politics*, 63.

Marital Status and Age

As mentioned above marital status appeared to affect the registration of women in the census, since often only the husbands were registered. This occurred especially in the sphere of family enterprises, which were widespread within the Greek economy, especially after the refugee arrival. Moreover, marital status along with age have been traditionally considered factors that influence the participation of women in the labor market.¹²⁴ Marriage is thought to reduce the probability of women participating in the labor market, since after the spread of industrialization the separation between the domestic sphere and the market-oriented activities intensified, complicating the combination of women's domestic role and their participation in wage labor.¹²⁵

When examining the data about the marital statuses of women workers, as registered in the 1930 census on industrial and commercial enterprises, the hypothesis that women after marriage left the labor market seems to be confirmed. More specifically, in both cities, unmarried women were the most in numbers in the workforce, in the industrial and commercial sectors, 71% in Athens and 72.5% in Piraeus (Table 5b). In contrast, the share of married women seems to be significantly smaller in both cities (see Tables 5a and 5b), with their share in the working female population not surpassing 10%.

Table 5a 1930 Marital status

Both Genders						
	Total	Unmarried	Married	Widows	Divorcees	Non-declared
ATHENS	70.058	42.378	22.525	2.184	219	2.752
PIRAEUS	39.558	21.389	15.437	1.722	111	899
Males						
	Total	Unmarried	Married	Widowers	Divorcees	Non-declared
ATHENS	56.278	32.611	21.346	617	134	1.570
PIRAEUS	31.628	15.638	14.721	455	67	747
Females						
	Total	Unmarried	Married	Widows	Divorcees	Non-declared
ATHENS	13.780	9.767	1.179	1.567	85	1.182
PIRAEUS	7.930	5.751	716	1.267	44	152
<i>Sources:</i>	ELSTAT, 1930 census of industrial and commercial enterprises					

¹²⁴ Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, 124.

¹²⁵ Ibid. And more recently: Ogilvie, Sheilagh. *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

	Athens		Piraeus	
	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married
Male	57.9%	37.9%	49.4%	46.5%
Female	70.9%	8.6%	72.5%	9.0%

Sources: ELSTAT, 1930 census

A similar pattern is not observed in the case of the male unmarried and married workers, as differences between unmarried and married men are minimal. The number of female widows participating in the labor market is also remarkable, especially in comparison to widowers. Moreover, by analyzing the data about the number of workers in Athens by age from the 1928 population census, (see Figure 2) it is also evident that the age groups with the highest figures are the “10-19” and the “20-29” ones. A major decrease can be observed in the age categories from 30-39 to 50-59, while after 60 there is a slight growth. The exact same pattern is presented in the case of Piraeus.

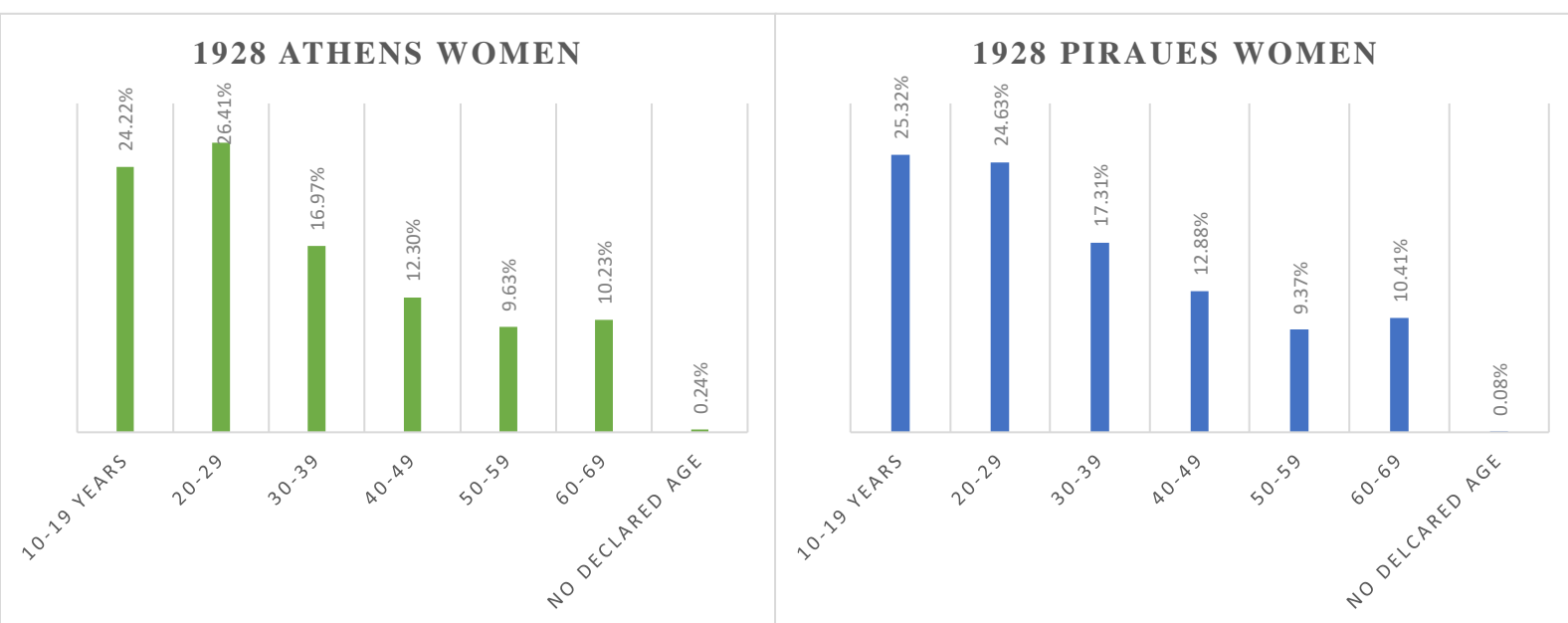


Figure 2 Age of the working women in Athens and Piraeus, 1928.

Source: ELSTAT, 1928 population census

A similar picture emerges from the workers’ census from 1930 (see Figure 3). In 1930 Athens and Piraeus, the age group among the total of the registered female workers with the highest participation in the labor market was 10-19 years old. In the subsequent age groups, women’s participation decreased. Athens’ numbers

increasingly fell and Piraeus presented similar participation rates from the age of 20 and onwards. In the case of men in both censuses a different pattern is followed, with the 1928 census indicating that the numbers of men were generally progressively reducing and the 1930 census that they were progressively increasing over the different age groups. The reason for these trends may not be visible from the sources themselves, but it is surely evident that marriage in the case of the male workers was not a determinant factor of their participation in the labor market.

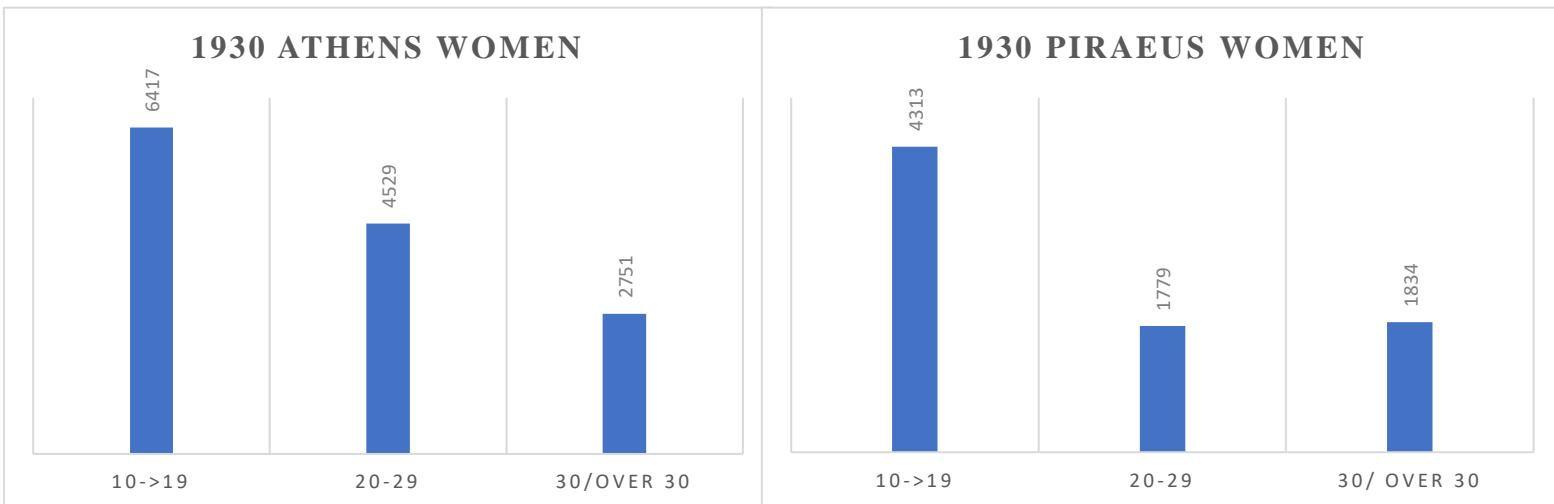


Figure 3 Age categories of the total women who worked in Athens and Piraeus, 1930.

Sources: ESLTAT, 1930 census of industrial and commercial enterprises

From the censuses, it seems that age and marital status were crucially determining whether or not women would participate in the labor market. Economists categorize age and marital status as the supply-side determinants of LFP. Humphries and Sarasúa argued that the supply-side factors, which traditionally are considered the principal factors influencing women's decision to enter the workforce, have less impact in the historical contexts in contrast to the labor demand of the local economies. Does the case of Greece differ in this area? Were the supply-side factors also determining women's position in the labor market? Did women choose not to enter in the labor force?

As argued above, gender norms were still strong in 20th-century Greece, while in other Western European countries, they had started weakening earlier. However, the ideal of the middle-class domesticity of the women staying at home and being supported by the male breadwinner of the family has little relevance in the case of Greece. This idea was that households that were headed by male workers, by a father

or a husband, enjoyed elevated income levels and a higher standard of living. Thus, women in these households had the opportunity to choose to withdraw themselves from the wage labor market and focus on the domestic world instead. This neoclassical view promotes the idea that women decided to withdraw from the public sphere and be dependent on the male figure of the household because of the higher income elasticity of domestic goods.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, this idea of the male-breadwinner household does not really apply in the case of Greece. As was discussed earlier, even though Athens and Piraeus experienced some levels of industrialization increase during the interwar period, this industrialization was still hesitant and was still organized in a family unit,¹²⁷ making the view of the high level of incomes impossible. The possibility that a whole household would be supported by one breadwinner's income was not probable and a lot of women had to work to support the family. Especially in the case of the many multiple refugee populations, who were in poor economic conditions and needed to work to survive, the prototype of the male-headed family and the woman being supported by the husband is not relevant. On the contrary, considering the predominance of widows and orphans among the refugee population, many refugee women were recorded as heads of the family and not as supported members.¹²⁸

But why, then do the censuses propose that women after marriage abstain from the labor market? It has to do with the factors that were mentioned above concerning the reasons why the censuses include so many women in the category "without profession". After marriage, there was often a change in the labor activities of women. Before they participated in the factory but after marriage they often participated in the family business. But their role there was often considered supportive and hence, was not recorded. Also, they chose to work inside the house many times, by piece work, which despite being a wage economic activity and part of the labor market, was not included in the census registrations.

This argument also aligns with some of Papastefanaki's findings. She found out that the majority of women employed in the textile industry in Piraeus were working for 5

¹²⁶ Vries, Jan De. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*, 2008.; Humphries and Sarasúa. "Off the Record", 55.

¹²⁷ Potamianos. *The householders*. Potamianos. *The householders*. 197.

years, a high percentage for 6-7 years, but there were also workers employed for 20 years and others for 40-45 years. The last group might not have been numerous, but given the working conditions of the time- i.e. temporary casual work, self-employment, and constant mobilization, the fact that some workers worked there for their whole lives is remarkable.¹²⁹ Therefore, the picture from the censuses about the interrelationship of marital status and economic activities of women should be reconsidered using different source material.

Overall, it seems that the local economies of Athens and Piraeus and their demand for labor were important in determining the involvement of women in the workforce during the interwar years. Additionally, the demographic change that the refugee influx provoked was another significant variable of women's LFP in the Greek case. Finally, the censuses show that supply-side factors, such as marital status and age, also considerably influenced the Greek FLFP. Nevertheless, more emphasis should be placed on the stronger gender norms of Greek society along with the under-registration of women's economic activities in the censuses, thus pointing out that it was not the choice of women to abstain from the labor market.

¹²⁹ Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 232.

CHAPTER 3

ECONOMIC SECTORS WITH HIGH PARTICIPATION OF FEMALE WORKERS

In the previous chapter, it was extensively argued that women were underrepresented in the censuses and their visibility depended on factors such as marital status and the organization of the economy. Often women worked from home, or only seasonally, or assisted in the family enterprise- especially the married ones- rendering their work invisible in the census. Moreover, women were not spread evenly among the economic sectors. In the censuses, their presence is more extensive in some categories of job occupations than others. Therefore, in order to explore women's labor in more detail, this chapter will delve into the different economic branches of the census with female attendance. The main question to be answered is which economic sectors attracted more female workforce and explore the reasons behind it. The objective is to create a more well-rounded picture of women's labor in Athens and Piraeus in order to answer the main research question of this essay, i.e. how the industrialization process of the two cities affected women's LFP. The connection between women's labor and industrialization can be showcased, depending on the representation of women in Industry in comparison to the rest of the economic sectors. The particular branches in the Industry that attracted more women will also shed light on how the structure of each industry, such as the size or the organization of labor, affected women's work.

The data for this chapter again derive from the 1920 and 1928 population censuses, the 1917 worker's census, and the 1930 census of industrial and commercial enterprises. Detailed tables of the workforce distribution in the different economic sectors by gender were included in all of these censuses. The most relevant ones were chosen for the analysis in the chapter.

I. Female workers and economic sectors

In particular, in the 1917 census, there is a breakdown of some major occupations from the private sector as presented in Table 6 (see Appendix). In both cities, the majority of the female workforce was concentrated in one sector, the textile industry. In Athens, 50% of the female workers in the census were tailors and around 10% for

weavers, shoemakers, and artisans, respectively. In Piraeus, the female tailors reached 60% of the total registered female workers. The other popular occupations among the registered women in Piraeus were weavers, spinners, and artisans. The inexistence of female workers in occupations that belong to the heavier industry was to be expected, but in some jobs in commerce (for instance, florists, bakers, pastry cooks) it is assumed that female workers existed even though they were not visible in the registration.

Chapter 2 argued that Piraeus presents a slightly higher female participation in the registered occupations than Athens (5% vs 9% see Table 2). However, when we look at the distribution of women workers across the different economic sectors (See Table 6, appendix 1) we see that women were represented in a wider variety of economic sectors in Athens than in Piraeus. One reason that women appear less well distributed in the occupational categories of Piraeus is due to the nature of the jobs offered at its industry. Piraeus, as a port city includes in the census many jobs that are related to the port and the shipping industry, which do not exist in the case of Athens. Such jobs were fishermen, divers, spongers, longshoremen, dockers, sailors, shipbuilders, and captains of merchant ships. These occupations traditionally attract a male workforce and hence, more jobs are registered with zero female attendance in the case of Piraeus. Nevertheless, Piraeus also had big textile industries and this is why so many women were registered as tailors.

Table 7 depicts the data from the 1920 population census and Table 8 of the 1928 population census. These censuses apply a more systematic and detailed method of categorization of the different economic sectors than the 1917 census. The latter just registered a certain number of important occupations, mainly the industrial and commercial sectors, while the 1920 and 1928 categorized all the different economic sectors of the economy and measured the number of workers in them. The fact that the censuses use the same classification method enables the comparison between them (see Tables 7 and 8). The economic sectors with the highest participation of the female workforce will be presented in the following paragraphs. In each of the economic sectors, the differences between Athens and Piraeus will be showcased, and the changes that occurred over time.

First and foremost, the industrial sector has the highest concentration of women during the whole period from 1920 to 1928. Particularly, in 1920 32% of female workers were occupied in the Athenian industry and 46% in Piraeus's. After the refugee

arrival, industry remained the most popular economic sector among women, since it occupied 34% of the working women in Athens and 40% in Piraeus (Table 8). It is evident that Piraeus' industrial sector employed relatively more women than Athens.

Among the different industrial branches, women appear to note higher participation rates in the textile, tobacco, and paper industries. Specifically, in both cities the vast majority of the female industrial workforce participated in the textiles reaching 86% in Athens and 79% in Piraeus (see Table 8). The tobacco industry, in Piraeus also attracted a considerable percentage of female workers (12%), albeit with a wide difference from textiles. The paper industries in both cities also attracted women workers, even though with drastically less attendance than textiles (Athens 4%- Piraeus 2%). Finally, the food, leather, and wood industries present some moderate attendance of women workers.

This picture drawn by the tables can be explained by the fact that all these industries that attracted more female labor force presented some similar characteristics. To begin with, they were light industries, which traditionally attracted more female labor than the heavy ones. In addition, in the 1920s most of the capital was directed toward the "light" consumer goods industry with no labor-intensive manufacturing units, as Riginos has found out in his study about the Greek industry and the business investment activity in the 1920s. More specifically, in the period 1921-1930, most investment was directed towards the food industry and the textile industry. In the food industry, he found that more was invested in medium-sized units, while in the textile industry capital was invested in large-sized units.¹³⁰

The investments in the "light" industry that Riginos argues align with the concentration of the female labor force in those sectors. These investments can trigger an increase in labor demand within the sector. Furthermore, as the "lighter" industry has traditionally attracted a higher proportion of female labor, it is expected that more women would seek employment in these sectors. In addition, textile units exceed the food industry in scale¹³¹, and this can explain why more industrial workforce can be found in textiles. In essence, the development of the industrial sector, fueled with modest, yet not

¹³⁰ Riginos, *Productive Structures*, 106.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

insignificant investments, increased the demand for cheap labor, thereby increasing women's involvement in the sector.

Another similarity of these industries was the low level of mechanization.¹³² This led to the need for an abundant and cheap labor force, and women constituted the perfect fit for this demand. Finally, the participation of women in these sectors depends on the size of the industrial units, but this will be explored in detail later.

¹³² Riginos, *Productive Structures*, 77-78.

Table 7 1920, Real population by occupation and gender.

TYPE OF LABOR	ATHENS			PIRAEUS			Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus
	All sexes	Male	Female	All sexes	Male	Female	female workers/ total female workers		female workers/ total of female population	
Agriculture	17095	16857	238	1414	1349	65	1%	1%	0%	0%
Livestock farming- hunting	1825	1749	76	121	116	5	0%	0%	0%	0%
Fishery	218	216	2	333	326	7	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mining	275	246	29	314	306	8	0%	0%	0%	0%
Industry	45053	35034	10019	24300	18447	5853	32%	46%	8%	11%
Transports and communications	9520	9317	203	10255	10107	148	1%	1%	0%	0%
Credit, change and mediation	3360	2970	390	951	905	46	1%	0%	0%	0%
Commerce	24067	23146	921	8283	8050	233	3%	2%	1%	0%
Personal Services	12987	3327	9660	3432	1059	2373	31%	19%	8%	5%
Liberal Profesions	11200	8832	2368	2222	1731	491	8%	4%	2%	1%
Public Services	12318	11187	1131	3087	2996	91	4%	1%	1%	0%
Without profesion	113804	27391	86413	48680	9313	39367			73%	76%
No declared profession or unprecisely declared	20477	14056	6421	7576	4203	3373	20%	27%	5%	6%
GENERAL TOTAL	272199	154328	117871	110968	58908	52060				

Sources: ELSTAT, 1920 population census

Table 8 1928, Real population by occupation and gender.

TYPE OF LABOR	ATHENS			PIRAEUS			Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus
	ALL SEXES	MALE	FEMALE	ALL SEXES	MALE	FEMALE	female workers/ total female workers	female workers/ total of female population	female workers/ total of female population	female workers/ total of female population
Agriculture	4988	4791	197	1648	1531	117	0%	0%	0%	0%
Livestock farming- hunting	591	573	18	214	200	14	0%	0%	0%	0%
Fishery	88	88	0	555	555	0	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mining	241	235	6	376	370	6	0%	0%	0%	0%
Industry	64133	49195	14938	36381	26854	9527	34%	40%	8%	9%
Transports and communications	14536	14325	211	17152	17016	136	0%	1%	0%	0%
Credit, change and mediation	8446	7551	895	2103	1968	135	2%	1%	0%	0%
Commerce	33546	32359	1187	15492	14985	507	3%	2%	1%	0%
Personal Services	15856	3589	12267	4047	1828	2219	28%	9%	6%	2%
Liberal Professions	17323	13045	4278	4053	3034	1019	10%	4%	2%	1%
Public Services	11948	10613	1335	3124	2992	132	3%	1%	1%	0%
Without profesion	188856	38373	150483	93772	15211	78561			78%	77%
No declared profession or unprecisly declared	26976	18708	8268	23366	13591	9775	19%	41%	4%	10%
GENERAL TOTAL	387528	193445	194083	202283	100135	102148			100%	100%

Source: ELSTAT, 1928 population census

Table 9 1928, Female participation in Industry.

Industrial Sectors	Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus
	Women	Women	women/ total industry	women/ total industry
Food industry	206	191	1%	2%
Chemical industry	68	109	0%	1%
Construction industries	83	74	1%	1%
Production and distribution of moving power, light, water, heating, and cold.	30	5	0%	0%
Metalurgy	72	28	0%	0%
Wood industry	281	99	2%	1%
Leather industries	284	158	2%	2%
Textile industries	12830	7484	86%	79%
Paper industries	605	218	4%	2%
Tobacco industry	351	1128	2%	12%
No name industry	128	33	1%	0%
Total	14938	9527		

Source: ELSTAT, 1928 population census

Continuing with the participation of women in different economic sectors it is evident that the second most popular branch of economic activity, among female workers was ‘Personal services’¹³³ (Tables 7-8). In Athens, this sector appears to attract an almost equal female workforce, as the industrial sector. Additionally, it was more developed in Athens than in Piraeus, as in 1920, it attracted 31% of the registered female workers in Athens and only 19% in Piraeus. In 1928, after the refugee influx, more female workers seemed to have joined the Athenian industry, compared to the “Personal Services” field, since the share of women in Industry slightly decreased to 28%. The same applies in the case of Piraeus.

The third most popular sector among the female workers was the Liberal Professions. This category includes various occupations, such as education, religion, medical professions, legal professions, and artistic ones.¹³⁴ Athens exceeded Piraeus’ numbers. The share of the women workers, who were occupied in this field, did not change during the 1920-1928 period. It remained 4% for Piraeus and from 8% increased to 10% for Athens.

These were the top three most popular economic sectors among the female workforce, during the 1920s. They also proposed the highest rates of participation among the female population (see Tables 7, 8 female workers/female population). Another sector that was popular among female workers, and that closely followed the first three, is ‘Public Services’.¹³⁵ Even though this sector did not show the same prominence as Industry, it still employed a considerable number of women.

Avdela has argued that there is a difference in status between the jobs in ‘Industry’ and ‘Personal Services’ on the one hand and in ‘Public Services’ on the other. More specifically, the types of jobs in the ‘Public Services’ required specific skills and knowledge, a certain level of education, and vocational training. As a consequence, only women from the middle class could be potential candidates for these job positions.¹³⁶ In contrast, the industrial sector drew individuals from the lower socioeconomic strata, due to low wages, minimal educational prerequisites, and harsh

¹³³ This category referred mainly to household servants, hairdressers, and cosmetologists. Source: Population census 1928.

¹³⁴ Population census 1928.

¹³⁵ This category consists of the following sectors: Military Personnel, naval Personnel, Police Officers and gendarmes, Airmen, Civil Servants- Public Officials, Legal Officials and Servants. (Population Census 1928).

¹³⁶ Avdela, *Female civil servants*, 44.

working conditions.¹³⁷ The fact that even in this sector, the number of women slightly increased during this period, could indicate that both the educational background of the female population progressively improved and that female laborers did not enter the workforce just because of survival purposes, but also probably because of a slow change in the patriarchal social norms that wanted women to stay in the private home sphere.

What Avdela argued about the differences in social status of the female laborers is also visible in the censuses. The 1930 census divided the workforce into workers and employees, i.e. white-collar and blue-collar workers. The criterion for this distinction was the nature of each job. The more physically demanding occupations were registered to occupy “workers” and the more intellectual ones “employees” (see Figure 4).

Athens had more female employees than Piraeus (18% versus 5%). The percentage of Piraeus’ employees is particularly small. This can be explained by the developed textile industry that existed in Piraeus, as we saw earlier, and gathered the majority of the female labor force. In addition, the civil sector of Athens, the country’s capital city, was more developed than in Piraeus. Additionally, the aforementioned higher participation of women in the “Public Services” and the “Liberal Professions” in Athens than in Piraeus (Table 8), can explain why the number of female employees in Athens was larger than in Piraeus.

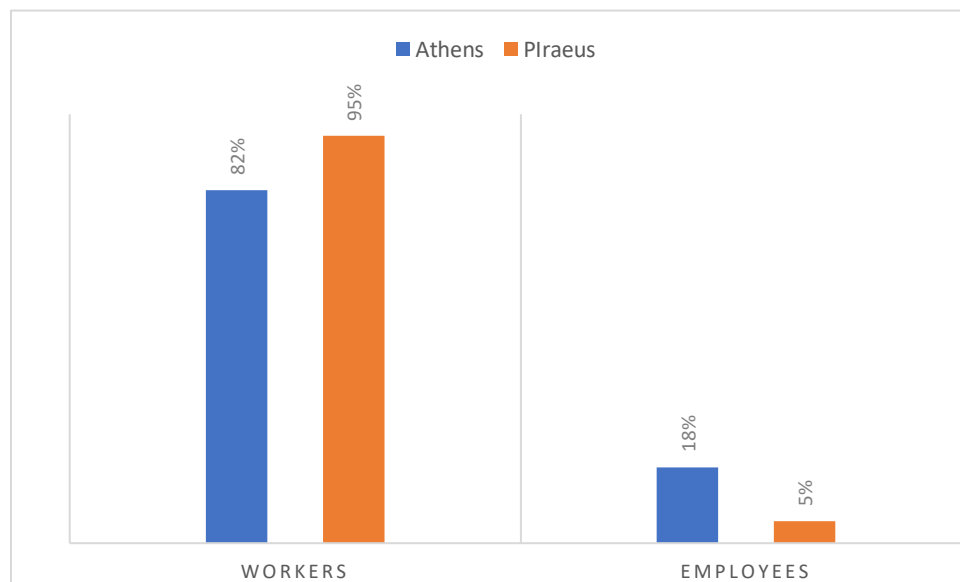


Figure 4: Female labor by employment status, Athens- Piraeus, 1930.

Source: ELSTAT, 1930 census of commercial and industrial enterprises

¹³⁷ Liakos, *Labor and Politics*, 60-61.

Until now, we have seen that the majority of women participated in the industrial sector. According to the census data, most women in the workforce were of lower status, the status of the 'worker', and a minimal percentage belonged to the 'employee'. The textile industry, the paper industry, and the tobacco industry were the most popular industrial branches among the female workforce. Another reason why female workers were the most appropriate target within the labor market in these sectors, especially the young unmarried ones as we saw in the previous chapter, is the apprenticeship opportunities that women had. These industries with higher FLFP were in need of cheap unskilled labor, without providing extensive apprenticeship.¹³⁸ From the side of the workers, the factor of internal migration that led many people to move from the countryside to the cities, especially Athens and Piraeus, as well as the refugee arrival, created a large group of people seeking employment.¹³⁹ Several women were in need of employment and took the job opportunities in the factories and the crafts enterprises, where the technological advancement of that period augmented the demand for laborers. However, there they often remained in the unskilled labor force or were used in some particular phases of the production process or in auxiliary positions.¹⁴⁰

The skills of the labor force are another determining factor in their employment opportunities. The most common way for unskilled workers to acquire skills was apprenticeship. In this way, they could acquire specialized skills which gave them access to positions within the work-sharing system in enterprises.¹⁴¹ The exclusion of women from the method of skill acquisition explains their exclusion from many jobs and therewith the fact that women were concentrated in particular sectors of the economy, while men were more evenly distributed. Also, it showcases that it was not the choice of women to abstain from some particular sectors, jobs, or the total labor market as a whole. Women had to follow the social reality and therefore, the sectors they participated in the labor market were not according to their personal choices, but their response to the opportunities that existed.

Even within the industrial sector, which was the prevalent sector of women's employment, having skill and apprenticeship played a role in women's participation. In particular, Papastefanaki argues that the organization of work in the textile industry was

¹³⁸ Avdela, *Female civil servants*, 35.

¹³⁹ Salimba, *Women workers*, 17.

¹⁴⁰ Avdela, *Female civil servants*, 39; Salimba, *Women workers*, 62.

¹⁴¹ Riginos, *Productive Units*, 250.

largely based on the division of labor by gender. There were branches staffed entirely by men, such as the machine shop, the dying shop, and the warehouse. In other branches, such as in the weaving or spinning process, both men and women were occupied, but they were separated into different positions. Women in all circumstances seem to acquire lower-status jobs, even in the same factory as men.¹⁴² The reason behind this is that they were considered unskilled workers, in contrast to the skilled male workforce. Papastefanaki in her research points out the contradiction in the Greek historiography in relation to female skilled and unskilled labor within the factory. It is often argued that textile industries were in need of skilled female workers, in contrast to the majority of female occupations, which were classified as unskilled labor. Nevertheless, when reference is made in the literature to the division of labor within the factory, male labor is always referred to as skilled and female labor as unskilled.¹⁴³

However, women's skilled work was often not socially recognized, since their apprenticeship usually took place at home, such as sewing or knitting. This is why, it was not considered vocational training for the labor market, as it was usually socially perceived as consistent with women's nature.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, women did not always belong to the unskilled labor force despite being most often categorized in it.

Moreover, it has been argued that this gendered division developed historically by the combination of production with the social hierarchy of gender.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, men occupy hierarchically superior positions of employment, which are supposed to be skilled and therefore higher paid in contrast to women who are restricted to the theoretically unskilled and lower paid positions, not only in an enterprise but in the labor market in general.¹⁴⁶ However, Papastefanaki found out that this gender division of labor was not always followed within the factory. This indicates that it was not based solely on the dominant social representations of gender roles, but it was also linked to several other factors, such as the labor market, technological choices, the organization

¹⁴² Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 245-246.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 287; Riginos, *Productive Structures*, 30.

¹⁴⁴ Avdela, *Female civil servants*, 39.

¹⁴⁵ Beechey, Veronica. "Some Notes on Female Wage Labor in Capitalist Production." *Capital & class* 3 (1977): 45–66; Michelle Perrot, *I ergasia ton ginaikon stin Europi, 19os- 20os aionas* [Women's labor in Europe, 19th- 20th century], translation D. Samiou, Ermoupoli, 1988, 31.

¹⁴⁶ Papastefanaki, *Labor*, 245-246.

and the supervision of work, and the degree of unionization connecting the factory and the industrial labor to the social living reality.¹⁴⁷

II. Refugees and the economic sectors

As we saw in Chapter 2 refugees were an important part of the workforce in Athens and Piraeus. The decade after the Asia Minor Catastrophe a little less than half a million refugees arrived in Athens and Piraeus. This huge influx of people trying to survive and seeking employment took part in the workforce of the two cities.

We already discussed that refugees found employment in the developing industrial sector which was in need of a cheap labor force. Whether or not this industrial force was indeed cheap and advantageous is a debatable topic. Some argue that the refugees caused an oversupply of labor leading to a fall in wages, which in turn is a beneficial factor for the development of the industry.¹⁴⁸ However, another opinion prevails, in which the refugees not only did not help the industry advance but hindered it. This was explained in the way that the refugees were mainly occupied in craft enterprises and not in the industrial sector, leading to a decentralization of the economy, with many small enterprises with fewer employees causing a relative rise of wages in the industries.¹⁴⁹ Examining the data of the censuses can contribute to this debate mainly by portraying the female refugees' distribution in the workforce. What are the differences between the male and the female refugee's job allocation? Were more refugees concentrated in the industry? What was the state of the industry after the refugee influx? Answering these questions can shed more light on the FLFP of Athens and Piraeus, bearing in mind how large a part of the population the refugees were and their close relationship with the craft-industry sector, as described in the literature.

Firstly, Table 10 can help answer the first two questions. The picture that stands out is that the male compared to the female refugees had somewhat different job circumstances and the refugees in comparison to the native people accordingly. The male refugees were spread among the different economic sectors that existed in the two

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 248.

¹⁴⁸ Mark Mazower, "L' economia greca durante la "grande depression" dei primi anni '30", *Rivista di storia economica* n. s. 2 (1985), 371-392 cited in Liakos, *Labour and Politics*, 62.

¹⁴⁹ Liakos, *Labour and Politics*, 63; Riginos, *Productive structures, and wages in Greece*, 144; M. Dritsa, *Viomichania kai trapezes stin Ellada tou Mesopolemou* [Industry and banks in Interwar Greece], Athens 1990, 62- 63.

cities more evenly than the female ones. In Athens 31% of the male refugees were involved in Industry, and many of them in Public Services (19%) and in Commerce (16%). In Piraeus, the picture is somewhat different. The industry does not concentrate such a considerable share of the total refugee workers as in Athens and in general, the refugee workers seem to be more evenly distributed among the sectors. Commerce is the sector that was slightly more important, employing 16% of the male refugees, then Industry and Transports (13%) and Communications (11%).

When comparing this to the female percentages the difference is considerable. The vast majority of the female refugees were registered as unemployed, as was extensively discussed in Chapter 2, but this does not apply in the case of the male refugees. We saw that the high figures of female unemployment could indicate either the invisibility of female labor due to its more informal character and being based often at home, or a bias of the sources, or the high influx of the refugee populations. However, the last argument cannot really explain the low unemployment percentages among male refugees. In Athens, 19% of the male refugees were registered as unemployed versus 76% of women refugees, and in Piraeus 14% of men against the 73% women. It was argued before that the fact that they often belonged to the unskilled labor force restricted their possibilities for recruitment and thus, they were all concentrated in particular branches.

Following, most of the women refugees with a job were concentrated in Industry, in Piraeus more than in Athens (13% versus 11%). In Athens, 4.5% of the total female refugees were occupied in the sector of Personal Services, while in Piraeus only 1.4% of them. The third sector, most popular among the female refugees with occupation, was Liberal Professions, but with a major difference from the industrial ones.

Moreover, after a comparison between the refugees and the native female workers in each occupation, the refugee women in the Industry of Athens constitute a significant 42% of the total female workers employed in this economic sector. The share of refugee women is smaller than that of the local women, but still significant within the overall industrial workforce. In Piraeus, the women refugees seem to remarkably surpass the local women (61%). In addition, their presence is considerable in the sector of “commerce”, as in Piraeus they are almost as many as the local women and in Athens slightly less.

Thus, it is evident that the majority of the refugees, both male and female were involved in “Industry”, with the only exception being the male refugees of Piraeus, who were slightly more in Commerce.

Table 10 Refugees (after the Asia Minor catastrophe) over 10 by gender and occupation 1928.

TYPE OF LABOR	Athens			Piraeus			Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	female refugee	male refugee	female refugee	male refugee	female refugee	male refugee	female refugee	male refugee
							workers/ total	workers/ total	workers/ total	workers/ total	workers/total	workers/total		
Agriculture	828	786	42	568	516	52	21%	44%	16%	34%	0,1%	0,1%	1,8%	1,5%
Livestock farming- hunting	58	58	0	82	74	8	0%	57%	10%	37%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,2%
Fishery	26	26	0	159	159	0	0%	0%	30%	29%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,4%
Mining	55	53	2	100	100	0	33%	0%	23%	27%	0,0%	0,0%	0,1%	0,3%
Industry	19771	13498	6273	16865	11013	5852	42%	61%	27%	41%	10,6%	13,3%	30,6%	13,3%
Transports and communications	2571	2542	29	3813	3796	17	14%	13%	18%	22%	0,0%	0,0%	5,8%	10,7%
Credit, change and mediation	1837	1665	172	469	441	28	19%	21%	22%	22%	0,3%	0,5%	3,8%	1,2%
Commerce	7418	7036	382	5960	5731	229	32%	45%	22%	38%	0,6%	0,5%	15,9%	16,2%
Personal Services	3917	1240	2677	1540	933	607	22%	27%	35%	51%	4,5%	1,4%	2,8%	2,6%
Liberal Professions	3039	2012	1027	1213	895	318	24%	31%	15%	29%	1,7%	0,7%	4,6%	2,5%
Public Services	1362	1034	328	417	383	34	25%	26%	13%	13%	0,6%	0,1%	18,5%	1,1%
Without profesion	53411	8164	45247	37003	5046	31957	30%	41%	21%	33%	76,1%	72,7%	18,5%	14,3%
No declared profession or unprecisly declared	9306	6028	3278	11150	6320	4830	40%	49%	32%	47%	5,5%	11,0%	13,7%	17,8%
General Total	103599	44142	59457	79339	35407	43932	31%	43%	23%	35%				

Source: ELSTAT, 1928 population census

Table 11 1928, Refugees in the industrial sectors of Athens and Piraeus.

	Athens			Piraeus			Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus	Athens	Piraeus
	total	male	female	total	male	female	% total female refugees in industry	% total male refugees in industry	female refugee workers/ total female workers	male refugee workers/ total male workers				
Food industry	1350	1255	95	1441	1328	113	1,5%	1,9%	9,3%	12%	46%	59%	27%	39%
Chemical industry	94	69	25	242	173	69	0,4%	1,2%	0,5%	1,6%	37%	63%	17%	41%
Construction industries	2811	2761	50	1848	1802	46	0,8%	0,8%	20%	16%	60%	62%	29%	45%
Production and distribution of moving power, light, water, Heating, and cold.	361	359	2	164	161	3	0,0%	0,1%	2,7%	1,5%	7%	60%	15%	19%
Metalurgy	1929	1909	20	1765	1746	19	0,3%	0,3%	14%	16%	28%	68%	27%	30%
Wood industry	2249	2209	40	1873	1842	31	0,6%	0,5%	16%	17%	14%	31%	26%	40%
Leather industries	2241	2143	98	2093	2047	46	1,6%	0,8%	16%	19%	35%	29%	28%	50%
Textile industries	7242	1809	5433	5720	1294	4426	87%	76%	13%	12%	42%	59%	36%	52%
Paper industries	948	737	211	341	260	81	3,4%	1,4%	5,5%	2,4%	35%	37%	24%	43%
Tobacco industry	384	172	212	1320	314	1006	3,4%	17%	1,3%	2,9%	60%	89%	30%	68%
No name industry	162	75	87	58	46	12	1,4%	0,2%	0,6%	0,4%	68%	36%	20%	20%
Total de industries	19771	13498	6273	16865	11013	5852	100,0%	100,0%	100%	100%	42%	61%	27%	41%

Source: ELSTAT, 1928 population census

Most refugee women were employed in the textiles, since 87% of the female refugee population in Athens and 76% in Piraeus was concentrated there (see Table 11). Compared to the total workers of each industry, the biggest share of refugees exists in the Tobacco workforce, as almost 90% of the total workers were refugees in Piraeus and 68% in Athens. The share of refugee women in the workforce was notably substantial in the textile sector, comprising 42% in Athens and nearly 60% in Piraeus. Finally, in the Paper and Leather industries, there was also a remarkable representation of refugees of around 30-35%.

Regarding the male representation in the industry of Athens, the refugees are almost one-third of the total workers, in nearly all of the industrial sectors, as is evident in Table 11. In contrast in Piraeus, they seem more abundant in the industrial workforce. In particular, they reach 70% of the total male workers in the tobacco industries, and they constitute almost half of the total male workforce in the construction, leather, textile, paper, and tobacco industries.

This high concentration of refugees in the industrial sector would logically lead to the assumption that with their arrival, the industry developed. However, examining the sizes of these industrial units in 1930 will provide a different picture. Figure 5 shows that the vast majority of industrial units in both Athens and Piraeus were of modest size, employing 1-5 people. According to the 1930 census, 2.637 out of the 9.060 were industrial businesses of one person and 4.764 of 2-5 people. Therefore, it is clear that the big-scale enterprises in both cities were minimal, even after the refugee's arrival, while most of the registered industrial units were small craft shops.

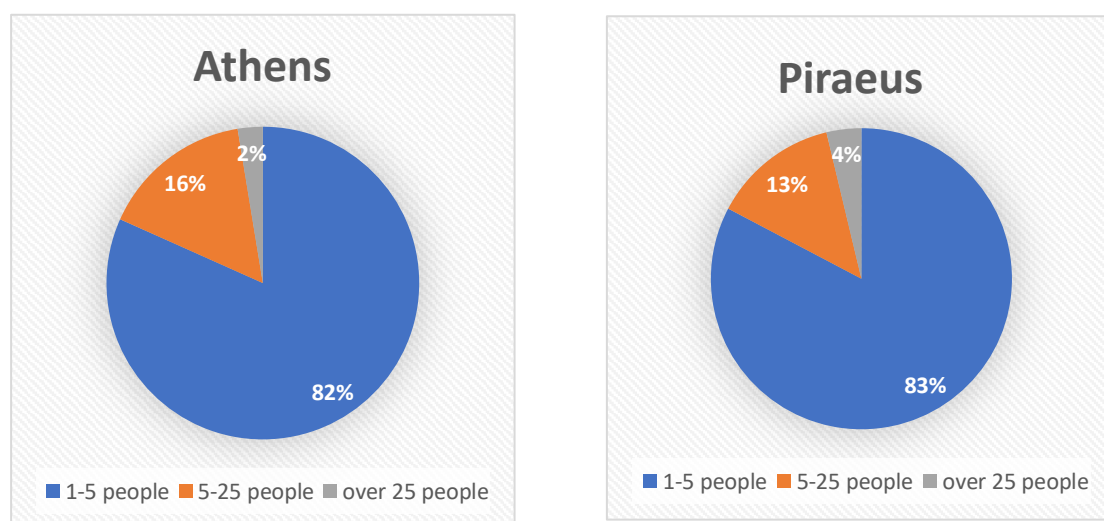


Figure 5. Size of industrial units by number of employed people, 1930.

Source: ELSTAT, 1930 census

The few large-scale units were found in Textiles, with 43 factories employing over 25 people, from which 11 employed more than 100 people and another 11 employed over 50 (see Table 12, Appendix 2). There were also several paper, tobacco, leather, wood, and energy industries with a staff of over 100 people. Additionally, the food and construction industries had some units of around 50 and 100 people. Riginos referred to the state of the industry ascribing to the large-scale industrial units the fault that they were labor-intensive, and thus, operating at a high cost. Consequently, they were unable to impose themselves on the workforce, leaving a margin for small businesses and family workshops to spread.¹⁵⁰

The prevalence of small workshops in 1930, when compared to the state of the industry in 1920, reveals that the situation did not undergo radical changes, even after the arrival of refugees. More specifically, Saliba showcased the prevalence of small-scale businesses in 1920 in Greece as a whole by 92% versus 7% of the medium and 1.3% of the big-scale ones.¹⁵¹ If we compare Saliba's data to the data I presented above, it is apparent that the situation did not change drastically in 1930.

Moreover, Saliba argued that most women were employed in large-scale industrial units in 1920.¹⁵² My data show that neither this trend changed after the refugee arrival, since we saw that the industrial sectors with the most abundant female workforce and female refugee workforce, belonged to the larger industrial sectors.

The secondary sector had evolved in a manner that upheld traditional production organization methods, on the basis of the occupation and it persisted through the interwar period. The male refugees might stay for a short period in Industry, but then, they would try to become self-employed and open their own businesses. Therefore, they further enlarged the strata of small-scale craftsmen, exacerbating professional inflation.¹⁵³ This state of the industrial sector affected women's registered employment in it. Even though most women refugees were found employed in the larger industrial sectors, the fragmentation of the industrial units, into small family workshops, leads to higher under-registration of women in the workforce.

¹⁵⁰ Riginos, *Productive Structures*, 250.

¹⁵¹ Saliba, *Women Workers*, 31.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 251.

Overall, it seems that the refugees followed the trends that already existed in the economy and did not radically change the picture of the industry. The existing structure of the labor market and the demand for labor determined the allocation of this high surplus of workforce into the economic sectors and units.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this study was to examine the connection between the industrial development of Athens and Piraeus during the interwar period, specifically from 1917 to 1930, and women's participation in the labor market, using quantitative data from the official state censuses of Greece. The main research question was: "How did industrialization affect women's LFP?". To discover the answer to this query we first explored some sub-research points, i.e. "How did the FLFP rates in Athens and Piraeus develop during the 1917- 1930 period and what were the factors that influenced them?" and "Which economic sectors attracted more female labor and what were the reasons behind this?". In the period following the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1923, Athens and Piraeus received significant influxes of refugees and therefore experienced a profound population growth, almost doubling in size. The refugee issue was pivotal in this study, and the data about the refugees were examined separately to figure out how these populations affected women's LFP, as well as the general state of the labor market and most importantly of the industrial sector. The sub-questions concerning the refugee issue were formulated as follows: "How did this large-scale population rise in the 1920s affect female labor and LFP?". Also, "In which sectors did most refugees concentrate, and what were the differences between the male and female refugees?".

The significance of this research is that the Greek case is a case study of a society with a different socioeconomic course. Consequently, it can contribute a great deal to the existing debate on women's LFP of different economic environments and periods a case study of a society with a different socioeconomic course. The particularities of the Greek case can be found in the Greek economy and industrialization process in the 20th century, with the late and slow industrialization, which was based on traditional structures and was scattered in small economic units. Furthermore, the issue of the refugee arrival and its repercussions in Greek society and thereby the position of women in society and the labor market, characterize the Greek case in the studies of women's LFP and can offer new input into this debate. Regarding the Greek historiography, a quantitative analysis specifically on women's LFP was missing. In many studies within Greek literature, there was often just a brief reference to women's labor or even no reference at all, so the studies particularly attributed to this topic were limited. When it comes to state censuses, even though they have been used by many historians in the past, they have not been thoroughly analyzed to draw conclusions about women's labor.

Notwithstanding the limitations of these sources that often under-recorded women's work, censuses still can provide estimates of women's labor in the past and the minimum rates of their participation. This picture can be taken as a starting point for further research on women's involvement in wage labor in Greek cities throughout the years, using alternative sources and methods.

Overall, during the interwar period, the LFP rates of women in Athens and Piraeus increased and the gender gap slightly diminished. Regarding the variables that determined their course during the examined period, it was argued that the demand crucially determined women's participation in the workforce in both cities. As the bigger-scale industrial units were in need of a cheap unskilled labor force, women in both Athens and Piraeus quickly responded to this availability of jobs. Supply-side factors, such as marital status and age, seem to also have affected women's LFP in Athens and Piraeus when looking at the data of the population censuses. However, this assumption should be further ascertained by taking into consideration factors such as the census restrictions, the inability to accurately register women's employment, and the seasonal and informal nature of many women's employment, which often took place in the private home sphere, and thus was invisible to the public eye. This can also apply to the issue of the generally high rates among the women registered without a profession. Despite the moderate increase of women working that was noted throughout the decade, the percentages of the women declared without an occupation are skeptically high. This can be the strong gender norms of the Greek society and the male breadwinner ideology that made solely men's work worth recording, as the head of the household, while women's work was often not recognized.

Another essential determinant of women's employment in the Greek context includes the demographic changes triggered by the influx of refugees from Asia Minor. The arrival of these refugees, following the Asia Minor Catastrophe, served as a pivotal point for this research. The study focused on examining the rates both before and after the period of their arrival to discern the transformations in women's employment. The female refugee workers were approximately one-third of the total workforce in Athens, while in Piraeus, they remarkably constituted half of the total female workforce.

This substantial influx of refugees in the 1920s did not appear to radically alter the labor market dynamics. Prior to their arrival, industry was predominantly characterized by small family-based crafts, with limited presence of large-scale industrial enterprises.

The refugees seem to have followed the trends of society. Thus, male refugees resorted to self-employment, while those who entered the factory workforce usually remained there briefly. Conversely, women were notably integrated into the industry, in large numbers and in the larger-scale industrial units. The continuation of the fragmentation of the industry into small craft workshops, usually self-dependent, even after the refugee arrival and the existence of limited big-scale industries that failed to absorb the surplus of the active population, also affected the FLFP. This is one of the reasons why high levels of unemployment were accounted for among the female workers, since women's labor in the family business was often left out of the census.

Regarding the economic sectors that attracted more female workers, women had the highest rates of participation in the industrial sector, especially in the textile industry. The tobacco industries and paper industries also employed a considerable female workforce. This can show a positive relationship between industrial development and the FLFP of the two cities. Athens and Piraeus did not follow the same industrialization process, with Piraeus peaking in industrialization in the late 19th century, while Athens developed more after the dawn of the 20th century. Nonetheless, the two cities did not present radical differences in women's employment rates, despite some moderate population differences.

When compared to the men workers, women were less evenly distributed among the job categories, due to the fact that they were often regarded as unskilled workers, while they were also often excluded from the skill-acquiring procedure of apprenticeship. Additionally, with respect to the refugee women, most of the ones who were registered with an occupation were employed in the industrial sectors, with the textile industry being the prevalent sector of female refugee attendance.

Overall, the conclusion drawn from this study is that industrialization did indeed influence women's LFP in the case of Athens and Piraeus, in a positive way. Demand for labor increased and so did the FLFP. Nevertheless, all the different variables examined in this essay, also significantly influence women's position in the workforce.

According to this study, the theories about the U-shaped pattern and the retreat of women in the labor market are not relevant in the Greek case. The Greek economy did not reach the standards of economic development that would allow such a retreat. Also, the sociopolitical circumstances in combination with the refugee issue, created a totally

different situation than the rest of the European cases. Women could not retreat from the labor market because they simply could not afford that. However, to fully grasp the interrelation of industrialization and economic development of the two cities and their demographic and social changes with women's LFP it is crucial to consider a broader time frame, so as to better detect the differences through time. Additionally, it is essential to explore alternative sources, that can be less ideologically biased than a state census, such as business registers, tax records, and wage registers.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Table 6 Census 1917, Occupations							
Athens				Piraeus			
Economic Sectors	Total workers	Males	Females	Economic Sectors	Total Workers	Males	Females
Pottery Makers	73	73	-	Pottery maker	14	14	-
Gas Lamp Workers	367	367	-	Gas lamp worker	216	216	-
Delicatessen Makers	26	26	-	Fishermen	268	268	-
Coachmen - Carriage Attendants	672	672	-	Delicatessen makers	17	17	-
Sand Casters	403	403	-	Cartwright	792	792	-
Florists	52	47	5	Scythe maker	227	227	-
Charcoal Sellers	51	51	-	Florist	24	22	2
Bakers	744	744	-	Charcoal maker	108	108	-
Car Drivers	86	86	-	Charcoal seller	42	42	-
Coopers	75	75	-	Baker	465	465	-
Painters	57	57	-	Car driver	15	15	-
Bookbinders	220	220	-	Cooper	130	130	-
Tanners	207	207	-	Painter	92	87	5
Dairy Sellers	98	98	-	Bookbinder	19	19	-
Plasterers	78	78	-	Tanner	65	65	-
Leatherworkers	72	57	15	Charcoal worker	1157	1157	-
Oil Painters	670	670	-	Dairy seller	72	72	-
Salesclerks	2345	2166	179	Plasterer	13	13	-
Cabinetmakers	469	454	15	Leatherworker	25	25	-
Bedding Makers	53	53	-	Divers and sponge harvesters	64	64	-
Newsagents	113	113	-	Oil painter	371	371	-
Newspaper Employees	75	75	-	Olive presser	56	56	-
Pastry Chefs	307	277	30	Trade mayor	287	287	-

Brewers	32	32	-	Merchant assistant in general	991	972	19
Electricians	321	321	-	Furniture maker	32	32	-
Heaters	163	163	-	Repair cleaner	142	142	-
Private Employees	1256	1230	26	Bedding maker	35	35	-
Fishmongers	101	101	-	Newspaper seller	38	38	-
Chair Makers	62	46	16	Newspaper employee	14	14	-
Basket Makers	65	31	34	Pastry chef	154	147	7
Shoemakers	23	23	-	Electrician	358	358	-
Tobacco Workers	858	854	4	Steamship cabin crew	369	369	-
Tobacco Sellers	72	72	-	Heater/boiler operator	178	178	-
Carters	318	318	-	Private employee	923	901	22
Wagon Makers - Cartwrights	84	84	-	Fishmonger	69	69	-
Tinmen	42	42	-	Chair maker	60	43	17
Coffee Grinders - Coffee Sellers	43	43	-	Basket maker	19	14	5
Potters - Ceramicists	109	109	-	Shoemaker	18	18	-
Gardeners	278	274	4	Tobacco worker	232	209	23
Chest Makers	50	50	-	Tobacconist	41	41	-
Frame Makers	57	56	1	Cartage workers	234	234	-
Jewelers	37	37	-	Wagon maker-cartwright	44	44	-
Barbers	361	361	-	Tinman	15	15	-
Butchers	130	130	-	Coffee grinder-coffee seller	69	69	-
Builders	776	776	-	Potter/ceramicist	45	42	3
Crate Makers	33	10	23	Gardener	88	84	4
Quarrymen	126	126	-	Chest maker	24	24	-
Greengrocers	274	274	-	Frame maker	27	27	-
Cooks	566	566	-	Jeweler	20	20	-
Pasta Makers	59	59	-	Barber	250	250	-

Marble Sculptors	299	299	-	Coffin maker	21	21	-
Ironworkers	876	876	-	Butcher	206	206	-
Musicians	117	117	-	Builder	548	548	-
Millers	74	74	-	Crate maker	31	23	8
Nurses	111	46	65	Quarrymen	265	265	-
Hotel Employees	390	390	-	Greengrocer	91	91	-
Carpenters	1121	1121	-	Boiler maker	466	466	-
Wine Sellers	69	69	-	Boatmen	925	925	-
Fruit Sellers	185	185	-	Dock worker	1186	1186	-
Brassworkers	79	79	-	Cook	177	145	32
Ice Makers	35	35	-	Pasta maker	99	99	-
Grocers	551	551	-	Marble sculptor	149	149	-
Peddlers	27	27	-	Marine engineers	372	372	-
Hat Makers	728	221	577	Ironworker	1406	1406	-
Bricklayers - Pavers	89	89	-	Musician	60	60	-
Itinerant Traders	373	373	-	Miller	356	356	-
Launderers	191	4	187	Shipbuilders	187	187	-
Distillers	74	74	-	Sailors	1201	1201	-
Fireworks Makers	101	93	8	Marine heater/boiler operator	926	926	-
Tailors	3223	788	2435	Marine cook	214	214	-
Saddlers	52	52	-	Nurses	70	53	17
Railway and Tramway Employees	1357	1357	-	Hotel staff	126	126	-
Ironsmiths	116	40	76	Wood turner	967	967	-
Waiters	1866	1861	5	Wine seller	94	94	-
Shipwrights	1336	1336	-	Fruit seller	247	246	1
Printers and Lithographers	700	700	-	Brassworker	43	43	-
Plumbers	234	234	-	Grocer	272	272	-
Servants	444	224	220	Peddler	53	53	-
Shoeshiners	459	452	7	Hat maker	141	47	94

Shoemakers	1901	1867	34	Bricklayer-paver	99	99	-
Weavers	502	83	419	Itinerant small traders	248	244	4
Vest Makers	30	18	12	Laundry worker	275	13	262
Lantern Makers	131	131	-	Distiller	250	247	3
Pharmacy Assistants	183	183	-	Tailor	2526	239	2287
Photographers	61	61	-	Saddle maker	43	43	-
Engravers	23	23	-	Soap maker	178	178	-
Papermakers	72	38	34	Street sweeper	70	70	-
Artisans	419	51	368	Waiters	803	803	-
Sculptors	404	399	5	Railway and postal employees	984	983	1
Chemical Product Workers	48	36	12	Ironworker	123	43	80
Goldsmiths	122	122	-	Miller	527	527	-
Glassblowers	60	34	26	Shipwright	748	748	-
Watchmakers	57	57	-	Ropemaker	48	48	-
Miscellaneous Occupations	487	462	25	Steamship feeders	51	51	-
Total	33386	28589	4867	Printers and lithographers	100	98	2
				Plumber	69	69	-
				Glassblower	187	187	-
				Servants	299	122	177
				Shoeshine	200	197	3
				Shoemakers	916	874	42
				Weaver	352	75	277
				Vest maker	36	11	25
				Lantern maker	129	129	-
				Pharmacy assistants	78	78	-
				Photographer	26	23	3
				Engravers	14	14	-
				Paper makers	83	47	36

Artisans	329	7	322
Manual workers	219	214	5
Chemical workers	343	328	15
Goldsmiths	42	42	-
Tinkerers	77	47	30
Watchmakers	27	27	-
Other occupations	320	273	47
Total	30746	26866	3880

Source: ELSTAT, census 1927.

Appendix 2: Table 12 Number of workers by size of industrial unit

Number of employed people	1	2-5	1-5 people	6- 10	11- 25	6-25 people	26- 50	51- 100	over 101	26- over 101
ATHENS										
Mining Quarries	8	5	13	11	7	18	2	1	0	3
Food Industry	131	521	652	118	44	162	15	3	1	19
Chemical Industry	15	50	65	19	12	31	6	0	2	8
Mineral Processing	37	137	174	41	36	77	12	6	0	18
Construction Industry	18	211	229	136	83	219	22	9	1	32
Power, Light, Water And Heat Distribution	2	4	6	8	9	17	2	0	5	7
Metallurgical Industries	7	9	16	2	3	5	2	0	0	2
Engineering Industries	416	820	1236	97	40	137	9	2	2	13
Wood Industry	279	650	929	92	33	125	4	4	3	11
Leather	722	594	1316	95	51	146	15	2	1	18
Textile Industries	27	27	54	15	14	29	8	8	9	25
Yarn, Fabric And Textile Products Industry	572	971	1543	145	85	230	24	2	2	28
Paper Industry	87	186	273	67	38	105	17	5	2	24
Tobacco Industry	5	13	18	6	3	9	6	3	4	13
Hygiene And Cleaning Services	283	525	808	64	24	88	0	0	0	0
Transport And Communications	14	26	40	9	6	15	3	1	4	8
Not Elsewhere Specified Or Combined Industry	14	15	29	10	5	15	1	2	2	5
Total	2637	4764	7401	935	493	1428	148	48	38	234
PIRAEUS										
Mining Quarries	2	15	17	11	6	17	3	0	0	3
Food Industry	68	288	356	66	38	104	16	6	2	24
Chemical Industry	14	33	47	15	8	23	2	0	3	5
Mineral Processing	5	42	47	12	11	23	6	0	2	8
Construction Industry	13	164	177	43	17	60	1	1	1	3
Power, Light, Water And Heat Distribution	0	2	2	6	3	9	1	2	2	5
Metallurgical Industries	2	18	20	3	10	13	0	1	1	2
Engineering Industries	248	272	520	50	27	77	12	4	3	19
Wood Industry	182	256	438	31	18	49	3	0	0	3
Leather	424	284	708	44	24	68	9	1	1	11
Textile Industries	12	21	33	16	12	28	15	8	14	37
Yarn, Fabric And Textile Products Industry	230	297	527	30	11	41	5	2	0	7
Paper Industry	27	37	64	12	6	18	3	2	1	6
Tobacco Industry	6	7	13	5	5	10	1	0	1	2
Hygiene And Cleaning Services	274	385	659	12	1	13	0	0	0	0
Transport And Communications	33	257	290	55	17	72	16	7	10	33
Not Elsewhere Specified Or Combined Industry	1	8	9	2	1	3	1	3	1	5
Total	1541	2386	3927	413	215	628	94	37	42	173

Source: ELSTAT, census 1928.

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