



**Partecipazione e CONflitto**  
**\* The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies**  
**<http://siba-ese.unisalento.it/index.php/paco>**  
**ISSN: 1972-7623 (print version)**  
**ISSN: 2035-6609 (electronic version)**  
**PACO, Issue 11(1) 2018: 145-174**  
DOI: 10.1285/i20356609v11i1p145

Published in March 15, 2018

Work licensed under a Creative Commons  
Attribution-Non commercial-Share alike 3.0  
Italian License

---

## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# GENDER RESILIENCE IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS

## Findings from Greece

**Yota Papageorgiou**  
*University of Crete*

**Vasiliki Petousi**  
*University of Crete*

---

**ABSTRACT:** The aim of this article is to examine and compare the perceptions and effects of the economic crisis on Greek women and men, as well as their resilience actions. Specifically, in this paper, we compare men's and women's perceptions of the economic crisis; secondly, in order to determine the extent of its effect on gender, we consider employment as a key variable, and investigate if and how employment differentiation leads to inequalities between men and women and among women themselves. Finally, we investigate gender resilience to adversity (actions) at both the personal (e.g., everyday behaviour), and the organisational level (e.g. membership in organisations and political participation). Based on data derived from the LIVEWHAT project, the results demonstrate that both men and women have been affected by the economic crisis and have sustained significant losses. Nevertheless, our data show that, among women, it is those in the lower occupational categories who have withstood more severe losses in employment and working conditions. Resilient to adversities, both men and women, albeit in different ways, adjust, accommodate and resist hardships through personal actions, networking and political actions. Our study finally points to the need for the inclusion of gender in any analysis of the impact of crises, as well as in the methods, ways and resources mobilised for resilience.

**KEYWORDS:** economic crisis, gender effects, gender perceptions, political actions, resilience

**CORRESPONDING AUTHORS:** Yota Papageorgiou, Email: [papageo@uoc.gr](mailto:papageo@uoc.gr) ; Vasiliki Petousi, Email: [petousiv@uoc.gr](mailto:petousiv@uoc.gr)

## 1. Introduction

Greece is going through the eighth year (2010-2017) of its economic crisis. During this extended period, the austerity measures imposed by the lending institutions (IMF/EU /ECB)<sup>1</sup>, and adopted by the Greek State, have had a detrimental impact on multiple aspects of the socioeconomic and the personal lives of a large number of individuals and groups. Unprecedented in severity, volume and extent, these measures imposed limitations on socioeconomic rights and opportunities, caused significant problems on people's everyday lives and compromised long-term prospects. Additionally, public expenditure cuts (e.g., in health and family care services, social benefits, housing, education, etc.) disproportionately impacted low-income and unemployment-stricken households, single-parent families, as well as other vulnerable social groups (Zambarloukou 2015).

Employment statistics are indicative of the situation. The unemployment rate for all working/occupational groups skyrocketed, from 9.6% in 2009, to 27.5% by 2013 and slightly declined to 23.6% in 2016 (EUROSTAT 2017)<sup>2</sup>. Part time jobs, of 6-7 or even 8 hours, usually without overtime compensation, became the dominant mode of employment; more so for women, who constitute 60.51% of part-time workers (GSGE, Gender Equality Observatory 2016)<sup>3</sup>. Despite unemployment being widespread, it varies, depending on demographic characteristics such as age and gender. One example is high unemployment rates among young people (reaching 74% in October 2016) (ELSTAT 2017)<sup>4</sup>, which resulted in many young professionals seeking employment outside the country (Bank of Greece 2016)<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, in 1995, women constituted 38.1% of the workforce, compared to 47.4% in 2006. In 2013, at the peak of the economic crisis, women's workforce participation plummeted to 28.45% (ELSTAT 2017)<sup>6</sup>. In 2016, Greek women's unemployment rate rose to 31.4%,

<sup>1</sup> International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the European Commission (EC)

<sup>2</sup>EUROSTAT Unemployment by sex and age-annual average

[http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=une\\_rt\\_a&lang=en](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=une_rt_a&lang=en)

<sup>3</sup>(GSGE) General Secretariat of Gender Equality, Gender Equality Observatory

[http://paratiritirio.isotita.gr/genqua\\_portal/](http://paratiritirio.isotita.gr/genqua_portal/)

<sup>4</sup>(ELSTAT) Hellenic Statistical Authority <http://www.statistics.gr/el/statistics/-/publication/SJO02/2017-M10>

<sup>5</sup>According to the Bank of Greece's Report (2017) from 2008 to 2015 the total number of Greeks who sought employment abroad in the 15 to 64-year age range surpassed 427,000; while 223,000 young people between the ages of 25-39 were college graduates.

<sup>6</sup> (ELSTAT) Hellenic Statistical Authority <http://www.statistics.gr/el/statistics/-/publication/SJO02/2017-M106>

much higher than the EU average of 10.2%, whereas the unemployment rate among women, ages 15 to 29, climbed to 57.5% (ELSTAT 2017)<sup>7</sup>. These rates might have been even higher if it wasn't for the high percentage (47%) of women employed directly by the State or some of its auxiliary agencies (Hellenic Ministry of the Interior and Administrative Reconstruction 2017)<sup>8</sup>.

However, additional burdens are also experienced by women because of the economic crisis. Significant cuts have been imposed on social and health-care benefits and gender equality policies, such as maternity leave and assistance, benefits for families with multiple and/or disabled children, childcare services, etc., which hitherto alleviated (primarily) women's economic burdens and facilitated their workforce participation (Zambarloukou 2015). These cuts and reductions have further negative implications, as evident from the poverty rate: men's poverty rate increased from 29.6% in 2011 to 34.6% in 2013, while among women, it rose from 32.3% to 36.8% respectively (Lyberaki and Tinios 2016, 61).

The protracted economic crisis has affected the personal and the socioeconomic lives of people in many ways, including reversing women's workforce participation gains and enhancing the vulnerability of specific social groups (Papageorgiou 2015; forthcoming). Nevertheless, both individually and collectively, people accommodate and resist hardship through actions of resilience based on personal, social and other characteristics; chief among them being gender differences. Before presenting our findings, we briefly touch upon the effects of the economic crisis, as identified in the literature, and succinctly discuss the concept of resilience as these relate with gender.

## 2. Gender and economic crisis

The present economic crisis has no geographical borders; it is a worldwide condition; or at least a condition that has caused numerous problems worldwide. Investigating the causes of this condition, some researchers concentrate on the global downturn, based solely on the capitalist nature of the economic organisation and businesses; that is, the accumulation of profits and wealth, purportedly promoting investment and creating more jobs. However, while the opportunity for investment is present, it has not resulted in job creation (Krugman 2009; Beder 2009). Harvey (2010) compares

---

<sup>7</sup> (ELSTAT) Hellenic Statistical Authority <http://www.statistics.gr/el/statistics/-/publication/SJO02/2017-M107>

<sup>8</sup> Hellenic Ministry of the Interior and Administrative Reconstruction, 2017 first author's personal communication

production versus salaries, and claims that while salaries increased, productivity decreased. Finally, Seguino (2010) argues that the economic inequalities between and within states are the cause of the crisis.

Contested as the causes of the economic crisis may be, researchers concur over the effects of the crisis: directly or indirectly, in times of recession, wages and working conditions decrease, while poverty increases for both men and women. However, the burden on women is disproportionately higher than on men. Rubery (2014, 18-19) for example, argues that women are inflicted harder by recessions, since they are segregated in vulnerable, less skilled jobs and are the first to go when lay-offs occur. Walby (2009) conversely maintains that women working in the 'informal sector' of the economy (e.g., seamstresses and house cleaners) are often subject to gender exploitation, which is intensified during periods of economic crisis, ultimately leading to increased poverty. Furthermore, the pay gap between men and women – women usually receive less pay than men for similar and even same jobs – remains a reality (Rubery 1988; 2014).

A somewhat different trend is noted by Karamessini and Rubery (2014), who found a decrease in the employment gender gap during the crisis years, not because of increased gender equality but rather a slump in male-dominated posts caused by the recession. Comparably, research in Germany, the UK and Denmark (Leschke and Jespsen 2011) showed that, although the economic crisis affects both men and women, the measures taken by the respective governments (e.g., employment benefits, taxation, etc.) favour men, through the support of male-dominated sectors (with the exception of Denmark) and this trend is expected to persist. Moreover, Bettio, Corsi, D'Ippoliti, Lyberaki, Samek Lodovici, and Verashchagina (2013) show that the severe and negative impact of economic crises on women, results in setbacks extending beyond economic losses, to losses in social services, benefits and support, which have traditionally alleviated women's economic burdens, as well as social policies that actively promote gender equality.

Men and women in the European South, however, have sustained more losses than their counterparts in the European North, including job losses, diminished social rights and social benefits, increased working hours with less pay, etc. (Karamessini and Rubery 2014). Conversely, research has consistently shown that in Southern European countries, more so than in Northern European ones, there is a drastic reduction in the implementation of gender equality policies by the State, indicating thus, a stronger negative impact on women (Ferreira 2014; Verashchagina and Capparucci 2014; Gonzalez Cago and Segales Kirzner 2014). In Greece, studies also converge on the fact that, although the crisis severely affects both men and women, these effects are more

detrimental for women and have engendered drastic setbacks for them (Karakioulafi 2017; Karamessini 2014a). Nevertheless, and despite – or rather in view of – hardship and adversity, people do survive, adapt, resist and persevere. In the following section, we briefly address issues related to resilience; the ability of people to thrive, despite adversity, and the way it relates to gender differences.

### **3. Resilience and gender**

Resilience, albeit a contested concept, tends to be used as a reference to the “ability to withstand and rebound from serious life challenges” (Walsh 2015, 4; Kousis and Paschou 2017). As Béné, Newsham, Davies, Ulrichs, and Godfrey (2014, 606) argue, resilience is a ‘mobilizing metaphor’ that allows social scientists to examine and adopt the subject according to their point of interest and investigation: challenges from physical disasters (e.g., earthquakes or floods), social adversities (e.g., gender inequalities, economic crises), psychological tensions (e.g., family strains, divorces), etc. (Raco and Street 2012; Lowndes and McCaughie 2013; Martin and Sunley 2012). Resilience, thus, relates to strength, action and, consequently, empowerment to overcome adversity. Although, admittedly, there are instances in which adversities cannot be overcome (Harrison 2012), most researches and theorists tend to perceive resilience as a positive, dynamic process, which motivates action to overcome social and economic exclusion, passivity and dependency (Dagdeviren, Donogue, and Promberger 2016), either at the collective or the individual level. Kousis and Paschou (2017), for instance, proposing an all-encompassing conceptual framework, introduce the concept of alternative forms of resilience in the face of adversity. These focus not only on securing basic needs but also on improving the way of life through collective action – struggles for human rights, gender rights, resources, etc. (Jenkins and Rondón 2015).

Other approaches to resilience, focus on the individual skills, characteristics, abilities and attitudes that people develop in order to overcome adversities; e.g., the ‘positive attitudes’ of people seeking employment (Batty and Cole 2010, 23); the ‘optimistic attitudes’ of people living under difficult economic circumstances and the abilities people develop in order to overcome economic marginalisation (Harrison 2012) or to meet every day, basic needs (Snel and Staring 2001). Yet, other approaches explore the practices of individuals and families, such as the reduction of consumption, the increase of working hours or working within the informal sector, the reduction of basic needs (e.g., food, health and heat), the reduction of expenses, etc. (Harrison 2012).

A growing body of literature focuses on the mobilisation of external resources as resilience strategies; resources such as state and social agencies, social networks and voluntary organisations (Kousis 2017; Dagdeviren et al. 2016; MacKinnon and Derickson 2013; MacLeavy 2011; Davidson 2010; Mingione 1987). Among such studies, the significance of power differentials, hierarchies, privilege and the overall “social conditions” (Dagdeviren et al. 2016) of resilience are critically incorporated into understanding and explaining resilience in the context in which it is manifested. The inverse, argues Anderson (2015) – that is, approaching resilience in general and decontextualized ways – risks reifying a purportedly autonomous, individualised, abstracted “resilient subject” and “actively obscuring the uneven spatialities and temporalities of different resiliencies” (Anderson 2015, 62), as well as their engendering and embodiment.

As is the case with all elements of social structure, social phenomena and social conditions, in this study, we consider resilience as engendered, and we view the ‘resilient subject’ as both gendered and embodied. Thus, we place particular emphasis on gender, as decisive among the social conditions of resilience; not only because resilience for men may have a totally different form, meaning and expression than for women (MacLeavy 2011), but mainly because gender positions and relations are inextricably linked and mutually and continuously (re)defined, reinforced and/or reinterpreted within the gendered economic, political, legal and social structures in which individuals – men and women – live their lives (see, for example, Petoussi 2007; Petoussi-Douli, 2013). Several studies have demonstrated the importance of gender in understanding resilience at the individual and collective level in various parts of the world and in relation to multiple sources of adversity. At the least, these studies have shown that to fully comprehend resilience, we need to take gender into consideration when studying the impact that adversities have on people, the types of resources they can and do mobilise and the way these interact with agency and structure (Smyth and Sweetman 2015; Dagdeviren et al. 2016; MacLeavy 2011).

Based on the above, and in order to better understand the relation between gender, the economic crisis and resilience in Greece, we comparatively examine the perceptions, effects, and actions caused by the economic crisis on Greek women and men, as well as the resilience at the personal and collective levels. Specifically, first, we comparatively assess men’s and women’s perceptions of the crisis. Second, taking type of employment as the key variable, we assess the gender effects of the economic crisis by investigating differences between genders and among women, such as the extent of participation in the labour market, employment/unemployment status, conditions of employment along with other corollaries which determine access to the labour market.

Finally, we investigate gender differences in resilience to adversity (actions) at the personal level (e.g., aspects of everyday behaviour) and the collective level (e.g., organisational membership and political participation).

#### **4. Data, methods and statistics**

The data used in this study derive from an original online cross-national survey<sup>9</sup> conducted in 2015 within the context of the LIVEWHAT (Living with Hard Times)<sup>10</sup> project across nine European countries and specifically the Greek sample (n=2,048). The sample is quota balanced to match national population statistics in terms of sex, age, and educational level.

To explore the relationship between gender, economic crisis and resilience, specific items from the survey's questionnaire are used<sup>11</sup> which we present in the following sections. We applied descriptive and explorative analysis. With respect to the latter, we used *Chi-Square test of Independence* ( $\chi^2$ ) to explore potential associations between gender, occupational categories and specific variables of interest (such as perceptions about the crisis, resilience actions associated with reduction in consumption, etc.). Moreover, we used the *Independent Samples t-test* to compare the mean differences in specific items under study (such as approval of political actions, etc.) between men and women.

##### **4.1 Perceptions of the economic crisis**

To assess Greek men's and women's perceptions of the economic crisis, we analysed their responses to the question "*How serious do you think the economic crisis is?*". As shown in Table 1, 92.3% of the total sample believe that "We are suffering a serious

---

<sup>9</sup> More information on the survey and the methods applied are available at: LIVEWHAT: Integrated report on individual responses to crises (Deliverable: 4.2)-WP4: Individual responses to crises (<http://www.unige.ch/livewhat/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Integrated-Report.pdf>)

<sup>10</sup> Results presented in this paper have been obtained within the project "Living with Hard Times: How Citizens React to Economic Crises and Their Social and Political Consequences" (LIVEWHAT). This project was funded by the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme (Grant Agreement No. 613237). More information on the project is available at: <http://www.livewhat.unige.ch/>

<sup>11</sup> More information on the questionnaire is available at: LIVEWHAT: Deliverable 4.1, 'Questionnaire for the analysis of individual responses to crises' (part of Work package 4 – Individual Responses to Crises) (<http://www.unige.ch/livewhat/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Deliverable-4.11.pdf>)

economic crisis”, while more women (51.4%) than men (48.6%) think this is the case. A small percentage of the total sample (5.9%) – among them more women (55.6%) than men (44.4%) – perceive the crisis as not very serious. A mere 1.7% of the total sample – among them more men (58.8%) than women (41.2%) – report that there is no economic crisis. No statistical differences are noted between men’s and women’s perceptions regarding the severity of the crisis.

**Table 1- Perceived severity of crisis by gender (%)**

	Total	Men	Women	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
We are suffering a serious economic crisis	92.3	48.6	51.4	2.257	0.329
We are suffering a crisis but is not very serious	5.9	44.4	55.6		
We do not have an economic crisis	1.7	58.8	41.2		
Total	100.0	48.5	51.5		

*Source: LiveWhat*

*Notes: % based on respondents’ selecting specific answer options*

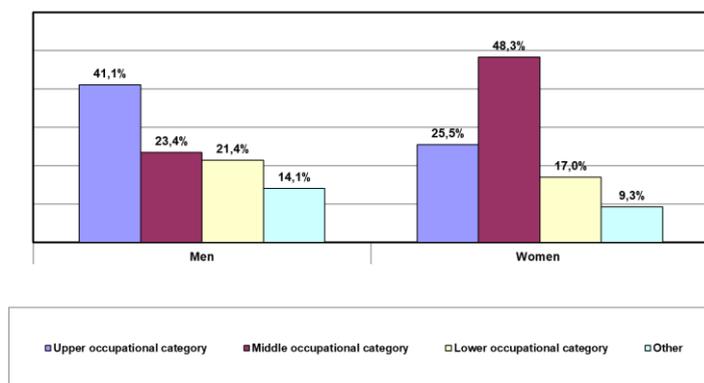
In further investigating potential differences, while simultaneously considering gender and occupational categories<sup>12</sup>, we see (Figure 1) that among the respondents in our sample who consider that “we are suffering a serious economic crisis” (approximately 93% of the total sample) men in the upper and the lower occupational categories (41.1% and 21.4% respectively) are more likely than women in the same occupational categories (25.5% and 17% respectively) to perceive the economic crisis as serious. On the contrary, in the middle occupational category, it is women (48.3%) rather than men (23.4%) who perceive the crisis as serious. Gender comparisons (Figure 1) show that men in the upper occupational category are more likely to perceive the crisis as serious (41.1%), followed by men in the middle occupational

<sup>12</sup> Respondents’ occupational categories are measured with a recoded variable with four responses; a) higher occupational category including professional or higher technical work - work that requires at least degree-level qualifications (e.g., doctor, accountant, etc.), manager or senior administrator (e.g., company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, etc.), b) middle occupational category including clerical (e.g., clerk, secretary), sales or services (e.g., commercial travelled, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic), foreman or supervisor of other workers (e.g., building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers), c) lower occupational category including skilled manual work (e.g., plumber, electrician, fitter) and semi-skilled or unskilled manual work (e.g., machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, etc.) and d) other (e.g., farming, military).

category (23.4%) and men in the lower occupational category (21.4%). With regards to women, those in the middle occupational category are more likely to perceive the crisis as serious (48.3%), followed by women in the upper occupational category (25.5%), while only 17% of women in the lower occupational category perceive the crisis as serious.

It should be noted that the majority of women in the middle occupational category tend to be employed in the private sector, where most of the layoffs have occurred. On the other hand, women in the lower occupational category – although working under difficult conditions – can find work in the informal sector (e.g., house cleaning, care services, etc.) (Papageorgiou forthcoming).

Figure 1- Responses (%) ‘We are suffering a serious economic crisis’ per gender and occupational categories (Source: *LiveWhat*)



Participants’ perception of their current condition was then assessed. As Table 2 shows, the *Independent Samples T-test* analysis indicates that, for the most part, men and women assess their current condition and future prospects in different ways, albeit in non-statistically significant ways. Nevertheless, men are more likely than women to assess their current condition as better than 12 months ago and better than their neighbours’ and friends’. Women, on the other hand, are more likely than men to see their current condition as better, compared to 5 years ago. Statistically significant differences are noted in the mean scores reported by men and women when assessing their current condition compared to their parents’ situation at same age, with men reporting higher mean scores. Statistically significant differences are further noted in the mean scores reported by men and women with regards to their future prospects.

Women report higher mean scores than men, potentially indicating a more optimistic view.

**Table 2- Assessment of current situation and future prospects by gender**

	Mean		t-test	p value
	Men	Women		
Current situation (living conditions) compared to parents' at same age as respondents	5.72	5.00	5.266	<b>0.000***</b>
Current situation (economic) compared to own 5 years ago	2.99	3.06	-0.679	0.497
Current situation (economic) compared to own 12 months ago	4.08	4.03	0.514	0.607
Current situation (living conditions) compared to others in respondents' neighborhood	4.88	4.87	0.145	0.884
Current situation (living conditions) compared to respondents' friends	5.00	4.98	0.145	0.885
Prospects (economic situation) in near future	4.19	4.66	-4.038	<b>0.000***</b>

Source: LiveWhat

Notes: Responses are measured on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'Much worse' and 10 means 'Much better'

\* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*< .001

Overall, our findings show that men and women assess their current situation differently, albeit not always in statistically significant ways. Their assessments of their future prospects, however, differ in statistically significant ways.

#### **4.2 The effects of the crisis on employment/unemployment**

The effects of the economic crisis in the employment status of men and women are addressed in this section. Employment is considered as a key indicator, since it significantly affects the behaviour and actions of individuals (Jahoda 1982; Davou 2015), while it simultaneously carries strong gender characteristics. In Greece, for example, despite noticeable changes in women's participation in paid labour and employment, their work continues to be perceived as 'auxiliary' to the work of men who are entrusted with the role of breadwinner and primary income provider (Papageorgiou 2006; Stratigaki 2013; Karamessini 2014b). Regarding our data<sup>13</sup>, as

<sup>13</sup> In the present study, respondents' employment status is measured with a recoded variable with seven responses; a) full time, b) part-time, c) unemployed (actively or not actively looking for a job), d) disability,

shown in Table 3, 38.5% of fully employed persons are men and 22% are women. Conversely, of those employed part-time, 10.7% are men and 13.4% are women, while almost 31% of those unemployed are women, compared to 27% who are men.

**Table 3- Occupational status by gender**

	Full time	Part time	Unemployed	Disability	Retired	Housework	Other	Total	$\chi^2$	p-value
Men	38.5	10.7	27.1	0.7	19.4	0.5	3.1	49.0	194.034	<b>0.000**</b> *
Women	22.3	13.4	30.9	0.9	12.8	13.0	6.6	51.0		
Total	30.3	12.1	29.1	0.8	16.1	6.9	4.9	100.0		

Source: LiveWhat

Notes: \* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*< .001

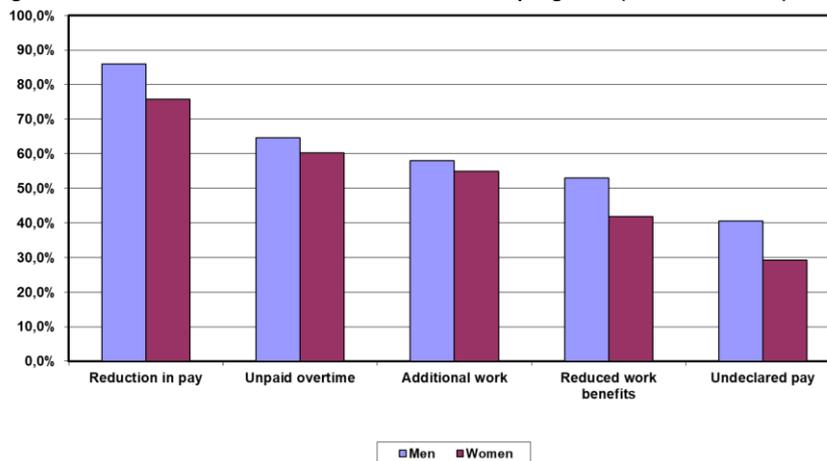
Because of the economic crisis however, employment status and mainly working conditions<sup>14</sup> for both men and women have been negatively impacted. As shown in Figure 2, 85% of men and 75% of women report a reduction in pay, 65% of men and 60% of women report unpaid overtime, followed by 58% of men and 55% of women seeking additional work or accepting reduced work benefits (53% and 41.8% respectively). A notable percentage (40.6%) of men and women (29.2%) are among those who sought and accepted work in the informal sector, with undeclared pay and income. It is more than likely that, faced with the prospect of job loss, individuals – at a variable extent – accept losses in security and benefits, or consent to worsening working conditions. In our sample, however, higher percentages of men rather than women tend to report losses in all of the measured categories; the predominant loss being reduction of pay, followed by overtime work without pay. Given that men continue to be considered as the breadwinners of the family and that male gender identity is closely linked to providing for the family, keeping their jobs at any cost can be logically expected. The significance of this social condition on the gendered impact of the economic crisis, as well as gendered resilience, has also been shown in recent

e) retired, f) housework (doing housework, looking after children or other persons), and g)'other' including individuals in education and/or in community or military service.

<sup>14</sup> Respondents' working conditions are measured with dichotomous items capturing, among others, changes in the last five years associated with reduced payments, acceptance of an additional job, working unpaid extra hours, undeclared payments.

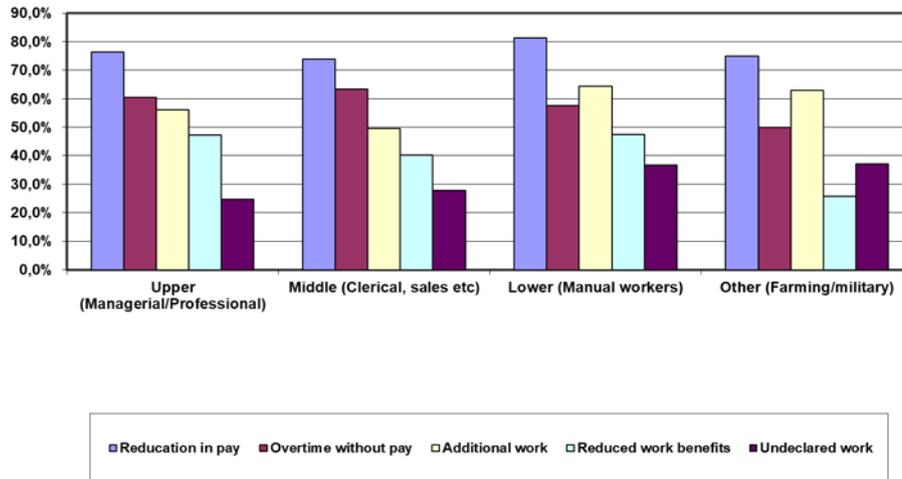
research in Greece (Bakas 2017). On the other hand, it could be the case that men's privileged position in the labour market (compared to women's), has allowed for larger margins of losses, while their gender role and their overall reduced social reproduction responsibilities allowed for increased working hours or additional working hours.

Figure 2- Effects of the economic crisis on work conditions per gender (Source: LiveWhat)



As mentioned above, international literature and research has consistently shown that the effects of the economic crisis (and other crises) differentiate, not only between genders, but within gender as well, with women of lower socio-economic status and higher vulnerability suffering harsher consequences. To assess this situation in Greece, we looked at the effects of the economic crisis on women, for each of the occupational categories. As shown in Figure 3, accepting reduction in pay tends to be the dominant effect of the economic crisis for women in all occupational categories. Nevertheless, women in the lower occupational category are more likely than women in any other occupational category to report losses (81.4% compared to 76.4% in the upper occupational category, 75% in the 'other' occupational category and 73.8% in the middle occupational category). Similarly, women in the lower occupational category are more likely (64.4%) to seek additional employment and accept reduced work benefits (47.5%), while higher percentages of women in the middle occupational category report working overtime without pay.

Figure 3- Effects of the economic crisis on work conditions per occupational category for women (Source: LiveWhat)



Based on the above, we can argue that women are differently impacted, depending on their occupational category. For example, women in the upper occupational category – even though they tend to accept reduction in pay and work overtime without pay – are not as likely to seek additional employment. Somewhat differently, women in the middle occupational category are more likely to work overtime and accept pay reductions; seeking additional employment and work is their third reported option. We can venture to say that for these categories of women, the economic crisis has mandated adjustments in order to keep a job rather than to seek additional work. On the other hand, women in the lower occupational category face, cumulatively, higher adversities than women in any of the other occupational categories.

### 4.3 Resilience strategies - personal level

In the face of adversity – in this case, economic adversity – individuals and groups mobilise internal and external resources, in order to overcome and resist hardship and destitution and cope with their everyday problems (Harrison 2012; Seccombe 2002; Orthner, Jones-Sanpei, and Williamson 2004). Taking gender differences as our focal interest and concern, we concentrate on resilience actions by men and women in their everyday lives. Firstly, we look at the individual level and then at the more collective responses and actions; as a proxy, we look at the respondents' approval of political

actions, active participation in various organisations and their involvement in political behaviours.

To assess citizens' resilience during the period of the economic crisis, participants were asked to rate a number of items on a scale ranging from 0 ('completely unlike me') to 10 ('Just like me'). As shown in Table 4, men and women report similar mean scores in looking for creative ways to alter difficult situations (mean scores of 8.24 and 8.23 respectively). However, men report significantly higher mean scores than women (mean values of 8.10 and 7.84 respectively) in actively looking for ways to replace losses they encounter in life. However, negative statements tend to have higher mean scores, especially for women. Women, for example, report higher mean scores in having a harder time than men 'making it through stressful events' (mean scores of 6.13 and 5.56 respectively). On the other hand, women appear more connected with the communities in which they live in, than men. In the relevant statement ('I feel that no one in the community where I live seems to care much about me') the mean score for men (6.68) is higher than the equivalent for women (6.12), while they differ in statistically significant ways.

**Table 4- Resilience in time of economic crisis by gender**

	Mean		t-test	p value
	Men	Women		
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations	8.24	8.23	0.017	0.986
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life	8.10	7.84	2.314	<b>0.021*</b>
I feel that no one in the community where I live seems to care much about me	6.68	6.12	3.933	<b>0.000***</b>
I keep myself active in the community where I live	5.91	5.64	1.874	0.061
I feel that I do not have much in common with the larger community in which I live	5.74	5.93	-1.369	0.171
I have a hard time making it through stressful events	5.56	6.13	-4.007	<b>0.000**</b>

Source: LiveWhat

Notes: Responses are measured in a scale ranging from 0='Completely unlike me' to 10='Just like me'

\* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*<.001

On a more practical level, and centred around the reduction of consumption, the responses of the study's participants to the question of whether in the past 5 years they, or someone else in their household, had to take any number of measures for

financial or economic reasons, are shown in Table 5. As expected, there are notable differences between men’s and women’s responses. These differences however, for the most part, are not statistically significant. For example, a higher percentage of women, compared to men, tend to report a reduction in recreational activities, delayed payments of utilities, cutting TV/phone/internet services and moving home. On the other hand, higher percentages of men tend to report reduced use of own car, consumption of staple foods and delays or default of loan payments. Statistically significant differences are noted in the percentages of men (77.4%) and women (81.0%) who report not going on vacation and postponing or reducing buying medicine or visiting a doctor (63.1% and 70.6%, respectively). In both cases, it is women who appear to be more concerned about having to take such measures.

**Table 5- Resilience actions-Reduction in consumption by gender \***

	%		$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
	Men	Women		
Reduced recreational activities (going out, movies, theatre, etc.)	90.3	92.7	3.75	0.053
Did not go on holiday	77.4	81.0	3.95	<b>0.047*</b>
Reduced use of own car	78.2	77.8	0.04	0.841
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	75.1	77.6	1.78	0.181
Reduced consumption of staple foods	72.8	70.4	1.42	0.233
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	63.1	70.6	12.93	<b>0.000***</b>
Delayed or defaulted on a loan instalment	65.3	62.1	2.31	0.128
Cut TV / phone / internet service	39.8	40.4	0.08	0.767
Moved home	27.8	30.4	1.60	0.205
Sell an asset (e.g. land, apt, house)	23.1	23.0	0.01	0.930

*Source: LiveWhat*

*Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.*

*\* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*<.001*

*\*We have chosen items which we consider as the most important.*

In other words, in all but two categories, there is no statistical difference in the actions reported by men and women as far as their practices of facing adversities during the crisis period are concerned. On the other hand – although not directly deduced from the data – it can be argued that the differences noted between men and women in the reporting of measures taken in order to face adversities during the economic crisis may be attributed to the gender division of labour and the gendered allocation of home and family responsibilities. It is likely, for example, that the

emphasis women place on recreational activities<sup>15</sup>, vacation time, utilities, health care, etc., relate to their role as homemakers and care providers.

As shown above, however, the impact of the economic crisis as well as the available resources to be mobilised in the face of adversities differ between social groups, including occupational groups between genders and within gender. In Table 6, we present our findings for a few selected items of the ‘reduced consumption’ category, in which women’s responses either significantly differ statistically from men’s or are close to such a difference, along with the item of ‘consumption of staple foods’, because of its significance to people’s well-being. We look at these differences per occupational category.

**Table 6- Resilience actions-Reduction in consumption per occupational group of women**

	Occupational categories of women				$\chi^2$	P value
	Upper (Managerial/ Professional)	Middle (Clerical, sales) etc	Lower (Manual workers)	Other (Farming /military)		
Reduced recreational activities	93.4%	93.5%	96.4%	82.4%	18.523	<b>0.000***</b>
Delayed payments on utilities (gas, water, electric)	68.9%	79.7%	87.3%	74.7%	21.458	<b>0.000***</b>
Reduced consumption of staple foods	68.5%	70.7%	73.1%	71.1%	1.026	0.795
Reduced or postponed buying medicines/visiting the doctor	70.7%	73.4%	69.9%	65.9%	2.530	0.470

Source: LiveWhat

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

\* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*< .001

Examining the differences in reducing consumption across women’s occupational groups, we find that the reduction of recreational activities is the measure most frequently reported, regardless of occupational group (Table 6). The upper and middle occupational categories of women report similar percentages of reduction in recreational activities (93.4% and 93.5% respectively) while the higher percentage is reported by women in the lower occupational category (96.4%). The differences are statistically significant. Similarly, delayed payment of utilities differs in statistically significant ways between occupational categories of women. Women in the lower

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted here that with regards to ‘reduced recreational activities’ the difference between men and women is almost statistically significant (p-value=0.053).

occupational category report the highest percentage of such measures (87.3%), followed by women in the middle occupational category (79.7%) and women in the upper occupational category (68.9%). A reduction in staple food consumption is reported by 73.1% of women in the lower economic category, 71.1% of women in the 'other' occupational category and 70.7% of women in the middle occupational category. Finally, a reduction or postponement of purchasing of medicines or visiting a doctor, albeit reported more often (73.4%) by women in the middle occupational category compared to their counterparts in the upper (70.7%) and lower (65.9%) occupational categories. It follows, therefore, that in order to fully comprehend the effect and impact of the crisis and the resources available and mobilised, we must focus on the multiple differences and hierarchies, including gender.

#### **4.4 Resilience strategies - networks and resources**

To deal with adversities during economic and other crises, individuals mobilise networks and available resources. In Table 7, we present the relevant findings of our study. Our study participants (total sample) often face significant difficulties in 'getting by' (64.2%), but they can tend to turn to family members (79.7%), other people who can 'take them in' (68.8%) or can lend them money (57.9%). Furthermore, homeownership (58.1%) rather than private insurance (15.1%) or social welfare and care (8.4%) appear to provide a 'safety net' for our study participants.

With regards to the majority of resources and activities mobilised, our study does not indicate statistically significant differences between men and women, except for homeownership and the types of recreational activities to which men and women participate. Specifically, men more so than women (63.2% and 53.2% respectively), place emphasis on homeownership as a resilience resource. Women, on the other hand, differ from men, in a statistically significant way, in their participation in activities such as going to shows and other similar recreational activities (43.1% and 36.6% respectively), while men are more likely than women to turn to athletic and sports activities (29.3% and 17.5% respectively).

**Table 7- Resilience actions-networks, resources, activities by gender**

	%			$\chi^2$	P value
	Total	Men	Women		
I have seen a family member over the last 6 months (other than my parents or children)	79.7	81.0	78.4	1.988	0.158
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could take me in for a few days.	68.8	68.7	68.9	0.007	0.932
There are periods in the month when I have real financial difficulties (e.g. cannot afford food, rent, electricity)	64.2	64.8	63.6	0.342	0.559
I am a homeowner or will be in the near future	58.1	63.2	53.2	21.388	<b>0.000***</b>
If I have difficulties (e.g. financial, family or health) there is someone around me who could help me financially (e.g. money lending)	57.9	56.9	58.9	0.905	0.342
I have gone to see shows (e.g. cinema, theater) over the last 12 months	39.9	36.6	43.1	9.150	<b>0.002**</b>
I have gone on holiday over the last 12 months	32.0	31.5	32.5	0.234	0.629
I have participated in sport activities in the last 12 months	23.3	29.3	17.5	39.578	<b>0.000***</b>
I have private health insurance	15.1	15.2	15.0	0.005	0.941
I sometimes meet with a social worker (welfare worker, educator)	8.4	8.0	8.8	0.474	0.491

Source: LiveWhat

Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options.

\* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*<.001

#### **4.5 Resilience strategies - approval of political actions, organisational membership and political involvement**

Imposed austerity measures brought about discontent among Greek people and resulted, at least during the initial phase of the economic crisis, in a wave of public protests expressed in conventional (e.g., marches, demonstrations) as well as unconventional forms (e.g., occupation of public places) (see Kousis 2014). Political activity, including participation in organisations supporting and promoting political and/or social causes and goals has been included among resilience activities in the context of economic crises (Kousis 2017). Nevertheless, political activity and

organisational membership is experienced and expressed differently by the gendered polity; men and women. To address this aspect of citizen resilience in Greece, we focus on the differences between men’s and women’s reported approval of political actions<sup>16</sup>, their membership in organisations and their active political involvement.

As shown in Table 8, men and women in our sample tend to report higher mean scores, thus, higher approval of legal and peaceful forms of political protest (e.g., strikes and marches). Unlike other findings in this study, there is a clear, statistically significant differentiation in the forms of approved political actions between men and women. Women show higher mean scores of approval than men for marches and demonstrations (mean scores 7.34 and 6.92, respectively), and for participation in strikes (mean scores 6.68 and 6.24 respectively). On the other hand, men are more likely than women to approve of more violent forms of protest such as the blocking of roads and damaging public property (mean scores 2.48 and 2.18, respectively).

**Table 8- Approval of political actions by gender**

	Mean		t-test	p value
	Men	Women		
March through town or stage mass protest demonstrations	6.92	7.34	-2.804	<b>0.005**</b>
Take part in strikes	6.24	6.68	-2.845	<b>0.004**</b>
Occupy public squares indefinitely	3.86	4.01	-0.963	0.335
Take actions such as blocking roads or damaging public property	2.48	2.18	2.841	<b>0.005**</b>

*Source: LiveWhat*

*Notes: Responses are measured in a scale ranging from 0= “Strongly disapprove” to 10= ‘Strongly approve’*

*\* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*<.001*

Resilience, however, is more likely to be linked to active and engaging participation in organisations and overall political action, rather than to simple positive attitudes and the approval of such actions. Thus, in our study we measured the actual, active participation of men and women in various organisations<sup>17</sup> and their engagement in conventional and non-conventional forms of political action.

<sup>16</sup> According to the study’s questionnaire, it measures on a scale ranging from 0 (‘Strongly disapprove’) to 10 (‘Strongly approve’) respondents’ approval of four political actions including marching through town, taking part in strikes, occupying public squares indefinitely, taking actions such as blocking roads or damaging public property.

<sup>17</sup> The specific items measure whether respondents: a) belong and do volunteer/unpaid work (active membership), b) just belong (passive membership) or c) do not belong (non-membership) in different

As shown in Table 9, only a small percentage of our respondents reports active membership in various organisations. Nevertheless, social solidarity networks or, in other words, networks which can function as external resources and support for resilience attract higher rates of active membership (9.8%), followed by development/human rights organisations (5.6%), environmental, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisations (4.3%). Political party active membership is reported by 4.1% of our sample, while participation in other organisations such as peace and anti-war, civil rights/civil liberties, women's/feminist organisations, etc., follow with considerably lower percentages. In that respect, our study partially deviates from Kapekaki's (2013) findings that both men and women, at the early part of the economic crisis have reconsidered their public practices and participate more in non-institutional organisations.

**Table 9- Active membership to organisations by gender**

	%			$\chi^2$	<i>p value</i>
	Total	Men	Women		
Social solidarity networks (such as food banks, social medical centers, exchange networks, time banks)	9.8	8.8	10.7	2.392	0.302
Developmental / human rights organisation	5.6	5.1	6.0	4.939	0.085
Environmental, anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation	4.3	4.0	4.6	3.903	0.142
Political party	4.1	4.3	3.8	10.863	<b>0.004**</b>
Peace / anti-war organisation	3.4	3.8	3.0	1.996	0.369
Civil rights / civil liberties organisation	2.9	3.3	2.5	1.250	0.535
Labour / trade union	2.7	3.5	2.0	21.754	<b>0.000***</b>
Anti-racist or migrant rights organisation	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.904	0.234
Occupy / anti-austerity or anti-cuts organisation	2.4	2.8	2.0	1.556	0.459
Women's / feminist organisations	1.8	1.5	2.1	65.476	<b>0.000***</b>
Anti-capitalist, Global Justice, or anti-globalisation organisation	1.4	2.5	0.4	16.699	<b>0.000***</b>
Lesbian, gay and/or transgender (LGBT) rights organisation	1.0	1.3	0.8	1.883	0.390

*Source: LiveWhat*

*Notes: % based on respondents selecting specific answer options*

*<.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*< .001*

groups/organisations. For the rationale of the present study, the analysis focuses only on responses associated with active membership in different groups/organisations.

Gender differences exist with respect to the types of organisations in which men and women participate. For the most part, men report higher (although not statistically significant) participation rates than women, in almost all types of organisations with the exception of social solidarity networks, development and human rights organisations. As expected, women's rate of participation in women's/feminist organisations is higher and statistically significant from the equivalent of men (2.1% and 1.5% respectively). Statistically significant differences also exist between men's and women's participation in political parties (4.3% and 3.8), labour and trade union organisations (3.5% and 2.0%) and anti-capitalist, global justice, or anti-globalisation organisations (2.5% and 0.4%), in which men's active participation is higher than women's.

Political behaviour, viewed in this study as a proxy for resilience at the collective level, was further measured through composite indexes capturing political involvement in conventional, unconventional (soft and violent) and online political actions<sup>18</sup>. Statistically significant differences are found in the political involvement of men and women in our sample. As shown in Table 10, men's mean scores indicate a higher level of involvement in conventional (mean scores 1.77 and 1.61 respectively) and unconventional violent behaviour (mean scores 1.41 and 1.34 respectively), and online participation (mean scores 2.54 and 2.41 respectively) than women. On the other hand, women tend to participate more in unconventional soft political behaviours than

<sup>18</sup> Based on Marsh and Kaase's (1979) classification of different types of conventional and unconventional political involvement the following composite indexes are constructed. Respondents' involvement in conventional political actions is measured with an additive score including contacting/visiting a politician/government/local government official, donating money to a political organisation/party/action group, displaying a political or campaign logo/badge/sticker, and attending a meeting of a political organisation/party/action group. Respondents' higher scores in the composite index indicate greater involvement in conventional political actions.

Respondents' involvement in unconventional soft political actions is measured with an additive score including signing a petition/public letter/campaign appeal, boycotting certain products for political/ethical/environment reasons, deliberately buying products for political/ethical/environment reasons and attending a demonstration/march/rally. Respondents' higher scores in the composite index indicate greater involvement in unconventional soft political actions.

Respondents' involvement in unconventional violent political actions is measured with an additive score including joining a strike, an occupation/sit-in/blockade, damaging things like breaking windows, removing roads signs, etc., and using personal violence like fighting with the police. Respondents' higher scores in the composite index indicate greater involvement in unconventional violent political actions.

Respondents' involvement in online political actions is measured with an additive score including discussing/sharing opinion on politics on social network sites, joining/starting a political group on Facebook/following a politician/political group on Twitter, visiting the website of a political party/politician and searching for information about politics online.

men (mean scores 2.37 and 2.22 respectively). The above further corroborate the findings of this study that men's and women's actions of resilience in the form of political participation differ frequently in statistically significant ways and point to the importance of gender in understanding resilience.

**Table 10- Political involvement by gender**

	Mean		t-test	p-value
	Men	Women		
Conventional political actions	1.77	1.61	2.377	<b>0.018*</b>
Unconventional soft political actions	2.22	2.37	-2.747	<b>0.006**</b>
Unconventional violent political actions	1.41	1.34	1.401	0.162
Online political actions	2.54	2.41	2.565	<b>0.010*</b>

*Source: LiveWhat*

*Notes: Measurements are based on composite indexes*

*\* <.05, \*\* <.01, \*\*\*<.001*

## 5. Concluding remarks

In this article, we examined the impact of Greece's economic crisis on men and women, primarily on employment and working conditions. We further investigated gender differences in perceptions of the crisis, as well as actions of resilience at the personal and political level, expressed as reduction in consumption, approval of political actions and active political involvement, such as participation in various organisations and engagement in conventional, unconventional and online political behaviour.

The thesis underlying our research is that gender is a decisive factor defining one's socio-political and economic status. We further postulate that gender, consistently and powerfully interacts with other sources of hierarchies and power, and thus delineates one's perceptions, attitudes, resources, constraints, and everyday life. Our third contention is that, faced with adversities caused by crises such as the economic crisis afflicting Greece for over 7 years, people, both men and women, through diverse actions of accommodation, adjustment, etc. – in other words, through actions of resilience – withstand hardships and bounce back.

Findings in this research are based on Greek data derived from an original online survey conducted in 2015 within the context of the LIVEWHAT project. Our findings concur with other studies, which show that the economic crisis in Greece has resulted in multiple ill effects for individuals and the country. These, however, differentiate on

the basis of various structural and demographic variables (Giannakis and Bruggeman 2017; Artelaris 2017; Kakdesi and Tasopoulou 2017).

Focusing on gender as one of the differentiating factors of the impact of the economic crisis, our study shows that losses in employment and working conditions are more frequently reported by both men and women in all occupational categories. Nevertheless, men in our sample, as a group, appear to report higher losses than women as a group; these losses include reductions in salaries, an increase in unpaid overtime, seeking additional employment, etc. The same types of losses are also reported by women while, within gender differences, women in the lower occupational category tend to sustain more significant losses.

To fully comprehend the significance and the implications of these findings, however, we need to consider that the gendered positioning of men and women in Greek society assigns the responsibility of providing for the family through work force participation to men, while women are entrusted primarily with social reproduction responsibilities (e.g., family care) and their labour force participation is often seen as secondary and auxiliary to men's. Linked to their gender identity and structurally supported (see for example the discussion in Leschke and Jespsen 2011 on the state support to men's jobs during economic crises), men's labour force participation is privileged; they tend to receive higher salaries, occupy higher positions in work hierarchies, receive more benefits and furthermore have higher work flexibility, as they tend to be relieved of family and care obligations. On the one hand, they have 'more to lose', so to speak, and, on the other, they are socially obligated to maintain and affirm their gender role at all costs (see, for example, Bakas 2017).

However, women's losses need to be understood in the context of plummeted workforce participation and a related reversal of women's workforce participation gains. This bleak situation is intensified by the reality of the reduced social welfare benefits enhancing the social vulnerability of various social groups and, within them, women in particular (see, similarly, Bettio et al. 2013) as well as de-prioritized gender social policies (Papageorgiou forthcoming; Stratigaki 2013). Indicative of the above, is our finding that women in the lower occupational category have sustained more losses than women in any other occupational category. Not surprisingly, thus, both men and women perceive the economic crisis as being a serious one.

Nevertheless, people do resist the effects of the economic crisis. Men show a more self-reliant and resource-based approach (i.e., they are more likely to seek creative ways to alter difficult situations or consider homeownership as a significant asset), while women are more likely to report having difficulties making it through stressful

events, and are also less likely to feel that no one in their community seems to care about them, than men do.

Reduction in consumption appears to be a common action undertaken by both men and women in our study. However, women appear to place much more emphasis on reduction in recreation activities and health care issues. It is likely that women's social role as family care providers is reflected in their reporting. It may be the case, that being socially responsible for the well-being of their families, women are concerned that loss of vacation time negatively impacts the time that families and/or couples can spend together. On the other hand, their concern over reducing or postponing the purchase of medicines and visiting a doctor may be linked to their role and responsibility as care providers, which includes caring for the health of family members. It is also likely, that the emphasis women place on vacation and recreation is a reflection of their need for free time, given the double burden of family and work they carry.

Resilience, on the other hand, is also assessed in people's active engagement in political action. In the context of Greece and other countries, this element of resilience has been addressed and has provided insights on the changes that crises produce for the polity (Kousis 2014; Kapekaki 2013). Our findings show that political engagement differs between genders. Women, more often than men, tend to be active members of social solidarity networks and organisations, including women's and feminist ones, broadly oriented towards social justice issues. On the other hand, political action, characteristic of the public domain, remains men's territory; the only exception being participation in unconventional soft political actions (e.g. signing of petitions boycotting or consuming products as a form of protest or support and attending demonstrations, marches or rallies). Women, thus, tend to engage in political actions which arguably, tend to characterize social solidarity movements and networking. It should also be noted at this point, that the research findings point to the importance of social solidarity networks in building community resilience (see, for example, Papadaki and Kalogeraki 2017 for a discussion of the significance of social solidarity actions in building and sustaining community resilience). Although not directly addressed in this study, we could venture to say that community building, and therefore community resilience building, to some degree involves building and maintaining links and relationships with individuals and groups and, as such, falls within women's social reproduction responsibilities. To that extent, women's political action is linked to their gender role and position. Similarly, men's political engagement, frequently entailing confrontational actions, is aligned with their stereotypical and conventional understanding of their gender role and position.

Overall, our study shows that to fully comprehend the impact of the economic crisis and people's resilience, gender considerations need to be an integral part of any study. In addition to the observable and expected financial, economic and work-related impact, attention should be given to the latent functions of gender positions and their interaction with other forms of social hierarchies and power, in order to assess the full personal and social impact of adversities but mainly the resources – personal and social – which are and can be further mobilised in order to resist and overcome hardships and bounce back.

As Anderson (2015, 64) puts it, “resilience never happens on its own in pure form. It co-exists in complex fields alongside other ways of governing life and, as such, is part of a series of intensifications, redeployments and (dis)continuities”. Gender is pivotal in these complex fields.

## References

- Anderson B. (2015), “What Kind of Thing is Resilience?”, *Politics*, 35(1): 60-66.
- Artelaris P. (2017), “Geographies of Crisis in Greece: A Social Well-being Approach”, *Geoforum*, 84:59-69.
- Bakas F. E. (2017), “Community Resilience through Entrepreneurship: The Role of Gender”, *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, 11(1):61-77.
- Bank of Greece (2017), *Report of the Bank of Greece Governor for Year 2016*, Retrieved January 7, 2018 (<http://www.bankofgreece.gr/BogEkdoseis/ekthdkth2016.pdf>).
- Batty E. I. Cole (2010), “Resilience and the Recession in Six Deprived Communities. Preparing for Worse to Come?” JRF Programme Paper: Poverty and Place Programme, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Retrieved January 7, 2018 (<https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/resilience-and-recession-six-deprived-communities-preparing-worse-come>).
- Beder S. (2009), “Neoliberalism and the Global Financial Crisis”, *Social Alternatives*, 28(1): 17-21.
- Béné Chr., A. Newsham, M. Davies, M. Ulrichs, and R. Godfrey-Wood (2014), “Review Article: Resilience, Poverty and Development”, *Journal of International Development*, 26(5): 598–623.
- Bettio F., M. Corsi, C. D'Ippoliti, A. Lyberaki, M. Samek Lodovici, and A. Verashchagina (2013), “The Impact of the Economic Crisis on the Situation of Women and Men and on Gender Equality Policies (Synthesis report)”. European Commission – Directorate-General for Justice, Luxembourg. Retrieved January 7, 2018

- ([http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/130410\\_crisis\\_report\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/130410_crisis_report_en.pdf)).
- Dagdeviren, H., M. Donogue, and M. Promberger (2016), "Resilience, Hardship and Social Conditions", *International Social Policy*, 45(1): 1–20.
- Davidson D. J. (2010), "The Applicability of the Concept of Resilience to Social Systems", *Society and Natural Resources: An International Journal*, 23(12): 1135–1149.
- Davou B. (2015), "Investigating the Psychological Effects of the Greek Financial Crisis", Retrieved January 7, 2018 (<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/greeceatlse/2015/10/22/psychological-effects-of-the-greek-financial-crisis/>).
- Ferreira V. (2014), "Employment and Austerity: Changing Welfare and Gender Regimes in Portugal", in M. Karamessini and J. Rubery (eds.), *Women and Austerity; the Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*, London: Routledge, pp. 207-227.
- Giannakis E. and Bruggeman, A. (2017), "Determinants of Regional Resilience to Economic Crisis: a European Perspective", *European Planning Studies*, 25(8): 1394-1415.
- Gonzalez Gago, E. M. Segales Kirzner (2014), "Women, Gender Equality and the Economic Crisis in Spain" in M. Karamessini and J. Rubery (eds.), *Women and Austerity: The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*, London: Routledge, pp. 228-247.
- Harrison E. (2012), "Bouncing Back? Recession, Resilience and Everyday Lives", *Critical Social Policy*, 33(1): 97–113.
- Harvey D. (2010), *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*, London: Profile Books.
- Jahoda M. (1982), *Employment and Unemployment: A Social-Psychological Analysis*, Cambridge University Press.
- Jenkins K., G. Rondón (2015), "Eventually the Mine Will Come': Women Anti-mining Activists' Everyday Resilience in Opposing Resource Extraction in the Andes", *Gender and Development*, 23(3): 415-431.
- Kakdesi C.,A. Tasopoulou, (2017) "Regional Economic Resilience: The Role of National and Regional Policies", *European Planning Studies* 25(8):1435-1453.
- Karakioulafi Chr. (2017), "Unemployment Experiences in Greece in Times of Crisis", *Greek Sociological Review*, 4 (February): 13-39 [in Greek].
- Kapekaki M. (2013), "It's a Way for my Voice to be Heard: Gendered Dimensions of Collective and Individual Actions in Athens of the Crisis", *Greek Political Sciences Review*, 41(December): 35-59.

- Karamessini M. (2014a), "Introduction – Women's Vulnerability to Recession and Austerity: A Different Crisis, a Different Context", in M. Karamessini and J. Rubery (eds.), *Women and Austerity: the Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*, London: Routledge, pp. 3-16.
- Karamessini M. (2014b), "Structural Crisis and Adjustment in Greece: Social Regression and the Challenge to Gender Equality", in M. Karamessini and J. Rubery (eds.), *Women and Austerity: The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*, London: Routledge, pp. 165-185.
- Karamessini M., J. Rubery (eds.), (2014), *Women and Austerity: The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*, London: Routledge.
- Kousis M. (2017), "Alternative Forms of Resilience Confronting Hard Economic Times: A South European Perspective", *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 10 (1): 119-135.
- Kousis M. (2014), "The Transnational Dimension of the Greek Protest Campaign Against Troika Memoranda and Austerity Policies, 2010-2012", in D. della Porta and A. Mattoni (eds.), *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis*, Colchester: ECPR Press, pp. 139-170.
- Kousis M., M. Paschou (2017), "Alternative Forms of Resilience: A Typology of Approaches for the Study of Citizen Collective Responses in Hard Economic Times", *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 10 (1): 136-168.
- Krugman P. R. (2009), *The Return of Depression Economics and the Crisis of 2008*, New York: WW Norton & Co.
- Leschke J., M. Jepsen (2011), "The Economic Crisis – Challenge or Opportunity for Gender Equality in Social Policy Outcomes? A Comparison of Denmark, Germany and the UK", European Trade Union Institute. Working Paper 2011.04. Retrieved January 8, 2018 (<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.468.8639&rep=rep1&type=pdf>)
- Lowndes V., K. McCaughie (2013), "Weathering the Perfect Storm? Austerity and Institutional Resilience in Local Government", *Policy and Politics*, 41(4): 533–49.
- Lyberaki, A., P. Tinios (2016) "Can the Crisis Lead to Backtracking on Gender Progress in Greece? A need to Rethink Gender Balance Policies," Report submitted to the Hellenic Observatory in fulfilment of the requirements for the National Bank of Greece/Hellenic Observatory Research Grant 'HO 2014' on the theme "Gender and Crisis," Research Tender 1-NBG1-2014. Retrieved January 7, 2018. (<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Hellenic-Observatory/Assets/Documents/Research/External-Research-Projects/Lyberaki-Tinios-Gender-and-Crisis-LSE-HO-report-Jan2016.pdf>).

- MacKinnon D., K. Derickson (2013), "From Resilience to Resourcefulness", *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(2): 253–70.
- MacLeavy J. (2011), "A 'New Politics' of Austerity, Workfare and Gender? The UK Coalition Government's Welfare Reform Proposals", *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 4: 355-367.
- Marsh, A., M. Kaase (1979), "Measuring Political Action", in S. H. Barnes and M. Kaase (eds.), *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 57-97.
- Martin R., P. Sunley (2012), "The Place of Path Dependence in an Evolutionary Perspective on the Economic Landscape", in R. Boschma and R. Martin (eds.), *Handbook of Evolutionary Economic Geography*, Chichester, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 62-92.
- Mingione E. (1987), "Urban Survival Strategies, Family Structure and Informal Practices", in M. P. Smith and J. R. Foggin (eds.), *The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics*, Oxford: Basil Blackwood, pp. 297-322.
- Orthner D., H. Jones-Sanpei, and S. Williamson (2004), "The Resilience and Strengths of Low Income Families", *Family Relations* 53(2): 159–167.
- Papadaki M., S. Kalogeraki (2017), "Social Support Actions as Forms of Building Community Resilience at the Onset of the Crisis in Urban Greece: The Case of Chania", *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 10(1): 193-220.
- Papageorgiou Y. (forthcoming), "Facing Austerity Measures: Gender and Resilience in Greece", *Greek Sociological Review*, [in Greek].
- Papageorgiou Y. (2015), "Gender Expectations and State Inertia: The Case of Greece", in Y. Galligan (ed.), *States of Democracy: Gender and Politics in the European Union*, London: Routledge, pp. 67-80
- Papageorgiou Y. (2006), *Hegemony and Feminism*, Athens: Typothito [in Greek].
- Petoussi-Douli V. (2012), "Gendered Perspectives in Social Inequality and Crime." *Criminology* 1/2012. [in Greek]
- Petoussi V. (2007), "Feminist Voices in the Law: Debating Equality, Neutrality and Objectivity", in Y. Papageorgiou (ed.) *Gendering Transformations*. University of Crete: e-media, pp. 351-365.
- Raco M., E. Street. (2012), "Resilience Planning, Economic Change and the Politics of Post-recession Development in London and Hong Kong", *Urban Studies*, 49(5):1065-1087.
- Rubery J. (2014), "From 'Women and Recession' to 'Women and Austerity': A Framework for Analysis", in M. Karamessini and J. Rubery (eds.), *Women and*

- Austerity: the Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*, London: Routledge, pp. 17-36.
- Rubery J. (1988), *Women and Recession*, London: Routledge.
- Secombe K. (2002), "'Beating the Odds' versus 'Changing the Odds': Poverty, Resilience and Family Policy", *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64(2): 384–394.
- Seguino St. (2010), "The Global Economic Crisis, its Gender and Ethnic Implications, and Policy Responses", *Gender and Development*, 18(2):179-199.
- Smyth I., C. Sweetman (2015) "Introduction: Gender and Resilience", *Gender and Development*, 23(2): 405-414.
- Snel E., R. Staring (2001), "Poverty, Migration, and Coping Strategies: Introduction", *European Journal of Anthropology*, 38: 7-22.
- Stratigaki, M. (2013), "Gender Equality Politics in the Spin of the Economic Crisis", *Greek Political Sciences Review*, 41(December): 60-83. [in Greek].
- Verashchagina A., M. Capparucci (2014), "Living through the Crisis in Italy; The Labour Market Experiences of Men and Women" in M. Karamessini and J. Rubery (eds.), *Women and Austerity: The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*, London: Routledge, pp. 248 - 270.
- Walby S. (2009), "Gender and the Financial Crisis", paper for UNESCO Project Gender and the Financial Crisis. Retrieved January 7, 2018  
([http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/doc\\_library/sociology/Gender\\_and\\_financial\\_crisis\\_Sylvia\\_Walby.pdf](http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/doc_library/sociology/Gender_and_financial_crisis_Sylvia_Walby.pdf)).
- Walsh F. (2015), *Strengthening Family Resilience*, New York, NY: Guilford Publications.
- Zambarloukou S. (2015), "Greece after the Crisis: Still a South European Welfare Model?", *European Societies*, 17:653-673.

## **AUTHORS' INFORMATION**

**Yota Papageorgiou** is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Gender Research at the University of Crete (Rethymno campus). From 2011 - 2013 she served as Head of the department of Sociology. Her area of specialization is: Gender Studies (Feminist Movement, Feminist Theory, Feminist Methodology, Feminism and Politics, Feminism and the State, EU and Gender Policies) and Social Science Research Methods (qualitative/ quantitative). She has written and edited six books and has published in Greek, English and Italian journals in the area of gender and on social science research methods.

Correspondence address: Department of Sociology, University of Crete, Gallos Campus, Rethymnon 74100 Crete, Greece  
Email: [papageo@uoc.gr](mailto:papageo@uoc.gr)

**Vasiliki Petousi** is an Assistant Professor and member of the Scientific Committee of the Center for Gender Studies and Research of the Department of Sociology, University of Crete. Her research interests focus on sociology of law and deviance, gender studies, research ethics and bioethics with an emphasis on assisted reproduction, genetically modified organisms and bioenergy crops. She participated in the WATBIO project ([www.watbio.eu](http://www.watbio.eu)) as leader of the task investigating the socio-economic viability of biomass (content analysis and focus group research). Currently, she is partner in project DEFORM "Define the global and financial impact of research misconduct" (Horizon 2020).

Correspondence address: Department of Sociology, University of Crete, Gallos Campus, Rethymnon 74100 Crete, Greece  
Email: [petousiv@uoc.gr](mailto:petousiv@uoc.gr)