

The peaceful uprising of female sapiens

Greece 1821-2021

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Frm MEP (1997-2004)

SUMMARY

Intoduction

My book, *The peaceful uprising of female sapiens 1821-2021*, was inspired by the 200 years anniversary of 1821, the beginning of the liberation struggle against the Ottomans. It is an academic research, partly written during Covid-19 lockdown, on Syros island of Aegean Cyclades complex.

Drawing from a very rich bibliography, greek and foreign, my book offers a fascinating historical journey starting from the underground preparation of 1821 revolt against Ottoman Empire, ending with the pandemic, the greek MeToo movement and the digital transition. It provides basic and valid historical, political and gender knowledge about the 200 years life of the modern Greek nation-state. It examines the great historical milestones, the role of the political and military leadership, the triumphs and national calamities, the situation of women and the silenced feminist struggles for gender justice, as well as the ideas that shaped modern Greece.

The revolt of the Greeks against the Ottoman Empire is the leading historical event of the country. There is no national division in this. It is supposed to be the first of Europe's national revolutions, with volunteering female combatants. It was a victorious war for independence executed by an enslaved nation against imperial power. The contribution and actual solidarity of the great powers of the time, France, England and Russia, was decisive. The revolt was inspired by the European Enlightenment ideas and the French Revolution. With the Greek 1821 uprising, the redrawing of European borders actually started, a process that was completed a century later, with the Balkan Wars and First World War. It is the revolution that marked the end of Empires and the foundation of European nation-states.

Amidst the turmoil of politics and historical events, the reader follows the peaceful uprising of female sapiens who, under the banner of universal values, are claiming their fundamental human rights and gender justice. It records the influence of the European and Modern Greek Enlightenment, the role of the Greek Diaspora and the West, as well as the dynamic participation of women in the victorious liberation wars and in the subsequent nation building. Historians, unfortunately, have ignored the struggles for gender equality and the contribution of women in the formation and democratization of modern Greek state.

I deliberately use the term "sapiens" which means wise, prudent, intelligent, cognizant person, which are the basic characteristics of human species, of both male and female. The cause of women's rights and the theory that accompanies them, has been the cause and struggle of the female sapiens, who had the courage to rebel and peacefully challenge the dominance of the males, over the female sapiens, together with the irrational social stereotypes and patriarchal order.

The book reveals the contribution of women to the expansion and institutional foundation of the Greek state under the governance of Ioannis Kapodistrias (the first governor), King Otto, Charilaos Trikoupis and Eleftherios Venizelos, up to the modern European era consolidated by Konstantinos Karamanlis. The positive role of Europe and the gradual Europeanisation of Greece, especially after the EU accession in 1981, are highly emphasized.

The book is well documented and unique in its kind, because places women's struggles where they belong: in the modern 200 years history of Greece. It offers plenty of material, for pride and tears, for reflection and self-knowledge!

The book was published by Armos Books, October 2021, in 450 pages. IN including six chapters, as following:

1st chapter: THE ARMED CONFLICT-THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT. The ideological and political processes

The first chapter examines the preparation of the armed uprising of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire, the historical and political situation in Europe at the beginning of 19th century and the Congress of Vienna 1814-1815, where the conservative forces of Europe united, in a sacred alliance, against liberal ideas and any change in the status of empires. In this historical, social, political and ideological context the underground Greek ***Friendly Society*** was founded which incited the Revolution and the massive voluntary participation of women fighters, with Manto Mavrogenous(**1796-1840**) and Laskarina Bouboulina (**1771-1825**) leading the way.

In March 1821, the revolution began in the Peloponnese and soon after in Eastern Sterea, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace and Crete, on the Aegean islands, mainly Hydra, Spetses, Psara and Samos. Impressive was the attempt to institutionalize the new state, in the midst of war, at the ***First National Assembly of Epidaurus*** (20/12/21-16/1/22), i.e. the legislative body of the new Greek state! On March 29, 1823, the ***Second National Assembly in Astros*** of Kynouria, (30/3-11/4 1823).

A supportive international public opinion

A pro-greece international public opinion was shaped that recognized the liberation of Greece as a major geopolitical and political event. The effect of the European ideas and the role of the greek scholars Rigas Velestinlis and Adamantios Korais were strong motivating forces. The decade up to 1831 and the signing of the London protocol (22/1-3/2 1830), for the establishment of the Greek state was very difficult. Fierce battles on the battlefield, with heavy losses on both fronts. Disagreements on strategy among the Greek fighters as well.

The heroic struggles surprised and moved the peoples of Europe. A large current of philhellenism was created in the ranks of the most educated Europeans, who thought the Greek Revolution as an expression of the European spirit. The great

powers of the time England, France and Russia, had a catalytic effect in the diplomatic and military fields. Their intervention in the last Battle of Navarino, in 1927, was decisive for the final victory of the Greeks.

Exclusion of women from power structures

The presence of women was strong on all the battlefields, but not their participation in the national assemblies, neither in the administration of power. Female warriors were excluded from politics and decision-making bodies from the start. But they did not expect their exclusion would last for many more decades. Exclusion from paid work, education, control over themselves and their lives. The peaceful feminist revolution, as a continuation of the women's armed struggle against the Ottomans, actually began in 1829, under the first Governor Ioannis Kapodistrias, with the establishment of the first school for girls. Thus, feminist struggles started when women began to be educated. For this reason, feminism, over the course of 200 years of the new Greek State, has been the cause of the most educated women, who fought on behalf of all Greek women.

2d Chapter: LIBERATION, INSTITUTION BUILDING, EUROPEANISM

Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first Governor

In this chapter, the great historical events and the political milestones of the 19th century are examined: institutional foundation of the newly formed nation-state under Ioannis Kapodistrias, King Otto and Charilaos Trikoupis. Kapodistrias laid the foundation stone for the institutional construction of Greece. An ardent Europeanist, deeply educated, physician, diplomat, former minister of foreign affairs of the tsar of Russia, he was elected by the National Assembly of Troizina (1827) as the first governor of Greece, with a seven-year term, an office he assumed on January 1, 1828. He promoted the liberation of the country, its international recognition, the establishment of secure borders, the moral improvement of the population and the distribution of land to the landless.

Kapodistrias proceeded with bold and brave steps in the organization of the Public Administration and the economy, rebuilt the destroyed cities, filled the greek territory with schools, reorganized the army, organized the Church, justice, health, agriculture, minted Greek currency, founded the Bank of Greece, instilled a sense of security in the people, fought diplomatic battles for the expansion of Greek territory, fought and expelled the Turks. He tried to push the development of the economy and education. Education was declared as the main priority.

In international relations, he was well versed in the language of diplomacy. However, England and France were suspicious of him because of his previous stint as a minister of the tsar, so they refused or obstructed the financial support of the newly formed state. Russia filled the gap during that difficult period, as did the Geneva banker Gabriel Einardos, who supported Kapodistrias with loans in order to turn the plundered lands and devastated populations into a state.

Historical archives record testimonies of the time, and of Kapodistrias himself, that depict the horrific conditions that prevailed in Greece when the first governor took office. The situation was also heartbreaking for the state's non-existent finances. These testimonies certainly help to understand and appreciate the work that Kapodistrias produced in just three and a half years, before he was assassinated. This also helps to understand the environment from which women's first claims began. The Europeanization/modernization attempted by Kapodistrias and the intellectuals of the diaspora, immediately after the liberation, facilitated the genesis of the feminist movement.

The work of Ioannis Kapodistrias, the people he collaborated with, the decisions he made, the legacy he left, remain important keys to understanding the first most critical period in the history of the modern Greek state. With the assassination of Kapodistrias, whatever work had been done up until then collapsed and the country fell into complete anarchy. A little later, the protectorate forces chose the minor Otto, second son of the Philhellenic king of Bavaria, Louis I, as king of Greece.

The King Otto's rule and the Bavarians regents

On July 21, 1832, in the Bosphorus, in the palace of Kalender-Kiosk, the Treaty of Constantinople was signed, which defined the borders of the young nation state and regulated issues of relations between Greece and Turkey. The distance from the expectations of the Greeks was overwhelming. The boundaries of the Greek world were beyond any negotiation, without a clear territorial status, undefined. Otto was accompanied to Greece by a three-member regency, to exercise power until the young king came of age on June 1, 1835. The first actions of the regency are characterized by intense activity. The state of the country required very brave decisions.

They tried to organize the administration, justice and education system, strengthen the economy and secure the recent independence. The Greek state was divided into prefectures, provinces and municipalities, while the capital was moved, in December 1834, from Nafplion to Athens. Schools were established for all levels of education throughout the country, as well as a College and the University of Athens (1837). The Church of Greece was declared administratively independent from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

However, the way of government, as well as many royal decisions created discontent. The national estates were not given to the peasants and the landless, most of the fighters of 1821 were sidelined, while the plundering of the countryside increased insecurity and unrest. The regents Armansberg, Mauer and Eidek (troika) were ignorant of the language, the country and the character of the people and this, despite their good intentions, quickly brought them into conflict with the Greeks. One of the saddest episodes of Otto's reign was the prosecution and conviction of the 1821 leader Theodoros Kolokotronis and other fighters. Accumulated dissatisfaction with the absolutist regime of the Bavarians led to the military movement of September 3, 1843, for the granting of a Constitution.

The Constitutions of 1844 and 1864

The Constitution of 1844 laid the foundations of the parliamentary polity, i.e. the constitutional monarchy. The monarch was the body of sovereignty, the head of executive and legislative power. The electoral law of 18 March 1844 was the first electoral law in Europe to establish universal suffrage (for the male population only). Thus, the great opportunity for Greece to be a pioneer worldwide in granting the right to vote to women was lost. This was followed by the revolution of October 23, 1862, a popular uprising that led to the overthrow of the King. Otto and Queen Amalia left Greece on October 23, 1862 on an English warship. After Otto's forced abdication, the Powers chose Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolf George of the Danish Glücksburg dynasty. The prince took over as "George I, King of the Greeks" on October 18, 1863. His reign was long, until 1913 when he was assassinated.

The situation of women

Valuable material on Greece during this period and on the position of women is provided by the testimony of the Frenchman Edmond Abou. This French writer, journalist and academic, settled in Athens in 1852, toured for two years all over Greece and on his return published, in 1854, his book on *Modern Greece*. Abou's clear description is a valuable testimony to the organizational, economic, political and social situation of Greece in the first steps of its modern historical path.

The life of women in the countryside is described, as it really was during the 19th century: Harsh! Men liked, Abu says, to show off in the village square, rather than work in the fields. There they send their wives and daughters. Women generally lived away from the opposite sex. In the village dances the women danced with each other and men did the same. Marriage was a purely religious act. The frequent honour crimes are depicted in "Menoussis", the well-known song, where he slaughtered his wife, with the sole suspicion that she had cheated on him. Ottoman culture and the double standards between men and women were, supported by the Church, strongly present throughout Otto's reign and beyond.

Anthropological studies on Greece focus on the central role played by a system of values based on the so-called "philotimo", as the foundation of the organization of social relations and a supreme moral code, for Greek men synonymous with honor, and for Greek women synonymous with pride . This code highlighted the central role of the family and cultivated communitarian individualism and loyalty to the close group (family, local community, etc.), instead of strengthening the personal autonomy of the individual in the context of a modern open society.

The Europeanization and modernization effort, which was attempted in Greece during the 19th and 20th centuries, despite the difficulties of the undertaking, contributed to a certain extent to the development of rationalism, to the limitation of the power of the Church, the development of trade and industry, the creation of a bourgeoisie and other social groups, as well as the triumph of the bureaucratic nation-state.

Charilaos Trikoupis, the great modernizer

Charilaos Trikoupis (1832-1896), was the leading political personality of the 19th century and one of the most important politicians of modern Greece. A Europeanist, with a deep education, he spoke five languages and dominated Greek politics for 19 years, from 1875 to 1894, serving as prime minister for nearly 10 years. In his last government, he was unable to cope with the financial obligations he had created towards foreign lenders, resulting in the bankruptcy of Greece with the historical phrase "unfortunately we went bankrupt". He is often referred to as the "great modernizer" of Greece.

Education was also the big priority in this period. My island Syros played a pioneering role. In 1869 29% of men were literate and only 6% of women. Home lessons, of course, only concerned the daughters of wealthy and Europeanized families. The first women's magazines appeared at that time.

The Ladies' Journal

The very few educated women, leaded by the first and most prominent feminist Calliroi Parren- Siganou, published *the Ladies' Journal*, first circulated on March 8, 1887. Besides the rights to education and to decent paid work, also the issue of participation in public life, was raised. *Men alone cannot have the monopoly of reason and judgment*, wrote Calliroi Parren on the first issue. The dynamic circle of the *Ladies' Journal* fought hard for education and the opening of higher education to women. This group challenged the traditional educational model, which considered university studies the exclusive privilege of men. The fact that women had already begun to be admitted to several European Universities, finally forced the Greek University to open its doors.

The first women university students

In September 1890, the first student, the French-born Ioanna Stephanopoli, was admitted to the Faculty of Philosophy, followed by others, so that in 1900 a total of twenty female students were enrolled at the University. Sofia Laskaridou was the first student of the School of Fine Arts. When in 1903 she managed to enroll, she faced the open hostility of her fellow students and professors, who found it "indecent for girls to have such emancipation"! During the first period of her studies, she received insulting anonymous letters and terrible threats, even saying that they would throw vitriol at her beautiful face if she dared to enter the Polytechnic.

In 1908, Angeliki Panagiotatou, the first medical student, was elected curator of the University of Athens in the chair of Epidemiology. When she went up to the chair to give her first lesson she was met with boos. The entire auditorium was shaken by mangroves banging their sticks shouting, "Into the kitchen! In the kitchen!" Despite her scientific merit, she was deemed unsuitable for the position, and was forced to leave

Women were excluded from the first Olympic Games of 1896. This chapter also includes the controversies between intellectuals of the time and feminists, on rights and gender justice, as well as the big social theories of 19th century, which refused to include women's rights in their theories for social justice.

Post-Ottoman Greece was faced with a fierce conflict between Europeanization/modernization and Eastern morals. Remnants of the old world, in the case of women's rights and gender equality, proved very resistant to the European Enlightenment, verifying the theory of cultural dualism.

3d Chapter: 20th CENTURY: THE AGE OF EXTREMES

Greece on the road of reconstruction & transformation

The dawn of the 20th century found Greece economically and morally exhausted, after the total destruction of the “unfortunate” Greek-Turkish war of 1897. After the signing of the armistice, peace treaty negotiations began in Constantinople, with Greece absent, represented by the Great Powers. Finances were the most difficult. At that time the situation was very complicated. The Balkan states were small and weak, under the patronage of the great powers. Greece had a powerful navy and Bulgaria had the largest army in Europe in proportion to its population. This new situation opened up the prospect of alliances against the Ottoman Empire and the Young Turks revolution of 1908, which aimed to restore the abolished Ottoman constitution of 1876.

At that critical period the Greeks called Eleftherios Venizelos, a young politician who had distinguished himself in the political scene of his homeland, Crete. 1909 marked one of the most important years in recent Greek history, a pivotal event for Greece's transition into the 20th century.

The 20th century was also very important for women's struggles. The assertion of women's social and political rights in the century of extremes, as Eric Hobsbawm characterized it, was a grand historical and political process. Women began to aggressively claim equal access to education (beyond primary school),

participation in paid employment and politics, promoting, at the same time, modernization in practice and Europeanization of Greece. During the first half of the 20th century, the struggle for the right to vote reached its peak in Europe and Greece. In 1908, the National Council of Greek Women was founded, which included 80 Greek and Cypriot women's organizations. The Greek Women's Lyceum was founded on February 19, 1911, headed by Kallirroï Parren.

The new Constitution of 1911 and the legislation promoted by Venizelos formed the basis and the source of inspiration for the modernization of institutions and the solution of many problems that plagued the Greek society. Of course, the women's issue was among them. The Balkan wars stopped the activities of the women's organizations, as well as their publications. Women devoted all their energies to supporting the war operations. Feminist activism along with magazines re-emerged after the First World War.

Eleftherios Venizelos, the great leader of the time, combined the character of the revolutionary and the reformer. The Cretan leader, as Thanos Veremis writes, always tried not to sacrifice the possible for the achievement of the ideal. Aristotelian in his political philosophy, he sought mediocrity in all his pursuits. His goal was clear: Westernization/Europeanization. The restoration of lost national self-confidence was the work of Eleftherios Venizelos, the most charismatic politician of the 20th century. After years of Greece's downward spiral, Venizelos brought new dynamism and a spirit of optimism to public life, while forging a sense of national unity.

The victorious Balkan wars of 1912-13 doubled the territory and population of Greece. With the annexation of Macedonia, Epirus, Crete, Chios, Lesbos, Limnos, Samos, Ikaria, Thassos, Samothraki, etc. Greece's territory increased by 93% and its population by 77%.

During the period 1910-1920 Greece experienced some of the most shocking moments in its history. Two victorious Balkan wars, the First World War, national division and finally the Asia Minor disaster in 1922.

Women participated and took an active role in the Balkan wars of 1912-1913. Their contribution was valuable, mainly in the hospital treatment of the wounded and the organization of rations, a decisive contribution to the victory of Greece. Parren writes that initially men did not want women involved in war, apparently because they considered women to be weak and cowardly creatures. They were denied, much to their surprise!

After the victories in the Balkan Wars, the morale of the Greeks had been revived. Venizelos disagreed with King Constantine, as to whether Greece should join the A' World War immediately or remain neutral, as the king argued. Venizelos saw the interest of Greece and its expansion on the side of "Entente", i.e. the alliance of France, Great Britain and Russia. King Constantine, on the other hand, an honorary marshal of the German army and married to Sophia, sister of Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II, had greater respect for the military capabilities of the German-Austro-Hungarian Axis. Possible neutrality would certainly favor the German forces. Venizelos argued that Greece should participate in the struggle of Free Europe against barbaric and illiberal militarism. Explosive political situations and disagreements at home followed, while the war confrontations and rivalries in the Balkans peaked.

In 1919 the victorious Allied Powers gave their consent to the occupation of the Smyrna area by the Greeks. In August 1920 the Treaty of Sèvres formally ratified the occupation. The Treaty of Sèvres finalized the end of the Ottoman Empire, the division of its territories, the creation of the state of Turkey and the cession to Greece most of Eastern Thrace and the wider area of Smyrna (Izmir). Venizelos signed the Treaty. However, two days after the Treaty of Sèvres was signed an assassination attempt was made on him in Lyon France. Two months later, in the elections of November 1, 1920, Venizelos suffered his first major electoral defeat. The victory of the royalists was not only a slap in the face of the victorious allies of Greece, but also the folly of the Greek voters who were going to pay for many years to come. Even today the aggression of Turkey would have been avoided, if Greece had occupied a part of Asia Minor, where the ancient Greek civilization had flourished par excellence.

The Treaty of Versailles, after the experience of the Great War, concerned of avoiding a new war, formed the basis for the creation of a supranational organization the *League of Nations*, with the aim of maintaining peace.

With the end of the First World War the leading demands of women's political rights was put forward for the first time with such clarity and determination. Women's organizations challenged dominant patriarchal notions and existing versions of civil rights in order to include women. On January 16, 1920, the *Women's Rights Association* was founded as part of the *International Women's Suffrage Alliance* demanding political, civil and economic rights, equal and similar for women and men. The press of the time reacted harshly!

Venizelos returned to the political life of Greece, after the great victory of the liberals in the elections of August 19, 1928. The modernization effort gained new momentum. However, the great contribution of the four years was in foreign policy with the conclusion of peace and friendship agreements with Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey, on October 30, 1930. Venizelos also recognized voting rights to women. A decree was issued in February 1930 and some women, literate and over 30 years of age, obtained an electoral register and the right to vote in municipal elections. Very few women made it to the ballot box. In 1934 only 240 women voted in local elections. This small number is attributed to the fact that very few women over 30 could read and write. However, the reluctance of women themselves to exercise their right to vote also contributed.

It is noteworthy that during the interwar period, especially in the 1930s, when militarism, National Socialism and aggression had reached new heights in Europe, women, through their international action, focused on issues of disarmament, peaceful settlement of disputes and compromise solutions. The dictatorship of Metaxas (August 4, 1936), created a paternalistic system of control and mitigation of social problems by abolishing trade unions and social movements. Women's fighting efforts were stalled and women's interests shifted to ensuring their participation in the National Resistance, as they had done in 1821 and all subsequent wars.

During and after the Second World War, women's interest in asserting their rights intensified. The formation and operation of open organizations began, including included women from all walks of life. In 1946, the first Panhellenic Women's Conference was held, which resulted in the establishment of the Panhellenic Women's Union (P.E.G). This movement was dissolved with the start of the civil war (1946-49). The struggle for the right to vote was renewed in 1949, with the end of the civil war. Just then the messages of Simone De Beauvoir's monumental book, the feminist bible, came down from Hesperia, calling women and men to find the answer to a simple question: Why are women considered inferior to men? Why is it the second gender?

The answer to the obscurantist notions about the role of women was given by the UN in the most formal way, through the UN Charter (June 26, 1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (December 10, 1948). For the first time, international texts establish the principle of gender equality. The decisions and actions of the UN had formed the solid basis for European policy, from the Treaty of Rome, in 1957, to the Treaty of Lisbon and the Charter of Fundamental Rights, in force since 1 January 2009.

4th CHAPTER: THE POST-WAR EUROPEAN PROGRESS OF GREECE- Accession to the European political system

From the time of liberation from the Ottomans, the creation of the modern state was linked to the values of the West. The Greek intelligentsia, the feminists and the political elite understood the process of building a modern national state as a process of Europeanisation, through the adoption of European norms, values and lifestyle.

Greece ratified the UN conventions on equal civil rights and equal access of men and women to all public offices, in 1952. Law 2159/1952 recognized the right of Greek women to vote and be elected and law 3192/1955 the right to be employed in all public services, except the army and the church.

Eleni Skouras was the first woman Greek MP, a candidate of the conservative Synagermos political party, elected on Sunday, January 18, 1953, in Thessaloniki. The first Greek female parliamentarian had opposed women's equal rights, during the period 1947-1949, when women's suffrage was considered "dangerous for the nation".

In the parliamentary elections of 1956, Lina Tsaldari, became the first female minister (welfare) and in the same year, the first female mayor in Corfu, Maria Desyllas, was elected. In total, eight women MPs were elected to the Hellenic Parliament from 1953 until the imposition of the 1967 dictatorship.

In Greece of the 1950s, women's lives were deplorable, in all areas. Discrimination, inequality and different measures and evaluation criteria for men and women. After the civil war, "honor crimes" were at the center of public discourse, because interpersonal violence had increased greatly in the previous 10 years. War, occupation, Resistance and Civil War had produced a familiarity with violence, which was visible in many aspects of everyday life many years after the military conflicts.

The delay in the implementation of gender equality is largely due to the refusal of the Orthodox Church to recognize in the person of women the equality of sapiens without gender discrimination. A glaring example, with very strong symbolism, is the Avato, i.e., the ban on access of female people to the Athos peninsula in Halkidiki, with its 20 Orthodox monasteries. Women are also excluded from clergy, making the Greek Orthodox Church the toughest patriarchal institution.

Greece's pro-Western policy was validated by joining NATO in 1952 and by applying to join the newly formed EEC of six, on June 6, 1959. Greece was the first to apply, among the rest of Europe, just two years after the founding Treaty of Rome, 1957. The decision of the then government of Constantinos Karamanlis to officially include Greece in the West was aimed more at political than economic benefits. The Greece - EEC Association Agreement was signed in June 1961 and entered into force November 1, 1962. It was the first association agreement concluded by the EEC with a third country.

In this period, especially after the EC Treaty of Rome 1957 and the article 119 on equal pay, women's voices became more radical, expressing strong dissatisfaction with gender inequalities and discrimination in all areas and also highlighting sexuality, reproductive rights and gender power relations as key issues. Issues such as rape, domestic violence, the right to abortion, inequalities in employment and the division of responsibilities between the sexes, as well as the infrastructure of care for children and dependent people, entered the agenda of women's organizations. The slogans "the personal is political" and "I am not my father's, I am not my man's, I want to be myself" sum up the goals of the second wave of feminism.

The most important stage in education policy, which opened the way for the mass participation of women in higher education, was the reform of 1964, during the government of Georgios Papandreou, which established free education for all.

Fierce political rivalries, in the aftermath of the civil war and the role of the royal family, resulted in the imposition of the junta of the colonels, April 21, 1967. Greece, isolated during the seven years of the dictatorship, 1967-1974, did not participate in the great processes and changes taking place in Europe, in May 1968, at the level of ideas and society.

Under the weight of its crimes, the dictatorship of the colonels collapsed on July 24, 1974. The transition to democracy was launched under conditions of national unrest, due to the invasion of Turkey in Cyprus and the international economic crisis. From 1974 onwards, the processes of democratization and partly the economic and social modernization of the country progressed.

The first parliamentary elections, after the fall of dictatorship, were held on November 17, 1974, by a government of National Unity, under Konstantinos Karamanlis. Five women, out of 300 MPs were elected in these elections. On December 8, 1974, an issue that had caused a political divide between liberals and royalists was resolved by a referendum. The electorate's preference for parliamentary democracy was expressed with a percentage of 70%. Thus, after

1974, all the destabilizing factors disappeared. The institution of the monarchy was abolished, the Communist Party was legalized and the army, after the reckless politics in Cyprus, lost the power it exercised within the state.

The constitutional recognition of the equality of men and women was the second major milestone in post-war Greece, after the recognition of civil rights in 1952. The new Constitution of 1975, for the first time, refers to equal rights of Greek men and women. This together with the proclamation of 1975, by the UN, as International Women's Year, gave a great boost to women's claims. Law 309/1976 opened the way for the co-education of boys and girls in day high schools.

5th CHAPTER: GREECE MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Accession of Greece to the EU – January 1, 1981

The accession took place in a period of economic recession for the European Community and major structural problems for the Greek economy. The PASOK government of Andreas Papandreou, who opposed accession, gained the elections of October 18, 1981. PASOK, as a government, accepted the integration, adapted its policy accordingly and took advantage of all the new possibilities. The area of gender equality received special attention.

The most important change of this period concerned the modernization of family law, with the passing of the new law 1329/1983. The reform brought about major changes in the current legislation and was a decisive step in the Europeanization of Civil Law. This was considered the most progressive in Europe. It is worthy underlining its most important provisions that distanced Greece from the Ottoman customs of the East: 1/ Article 1387 of the Civil Code, which defined that the male is the head of the family was amended. The new law stipulates that the two spouses jointly decide on matters of family life. 2/ The institution of dowry was abolished. 3/ The age limit was reduced from 21 to 18 years for both sexes. 4/ Paternal authority was replaced by parental care, so

that both spouses contributed to the needs of the family 5/ Civil marriage was established, as equal to religious marriage 6/ The name of both spouses is preserved after marriage, for their legal relationships and for all kinds of public documents. 7/ Discrimination between children in and out of wedlock was abolished, with full equalization of rights and obligations 8/ Spouses still have a mutual obligation to live together, but married women are recognized with the possibility of acquiring an independent residence. 9/ The institution of divorce was modernized 10/ The claim of participation of both spouses in the property acquired during the marriage was recognized 11/ The surname of the children is determined by the parents with their joint irrevocable declaration, before the marriage, common to all children, either the surname of one of the two, or a combination of both surnames.

All these changes were carried out with strong reactions from conservative circles and from Church, especially provisions regarding divorce, civil marriage and children's names. These reactions were reflected in the relevant fierce debate in Parliament.

The changes confirmed the decisive role of women's organisations, particularly the Union of Women of Greece (EGE) headed by Margarita Papandreou, and the influence they exerted on government policy during the critical decade of the 1980s. It is to these concerted efforts and cooperation of feminists, inside and outside government or party walls, that a reformist estrus followed the accession of Greece to the EC. Greece, as a member of the European Community, had to get rid of the irrational characteristics arising from its Balkan/Mediterranean/patriarchal culture.

In the Criminal Law, the changes were intended to deal with crimes such as abandonment during pregnancy, violence, insulting the dignity of women, etc. At the same time (1984), rape was criminalized, with the exception of rape within marriage. This exception was later abolished, in 2008. The decriminalization of adultery, stopped degrading procedures that fueled extortion and soul-destroying trials that destroyed humans.

In 1982 also passed: the ratification of the UN International Convention (CEDAW) for the elimination of violence against women, the International Convention 103 for the protection of maternity (L. 1302/83), the law for the independent retirement of the female farmer (Law 1257/82), recognition of its right to participate in agricultural cooperatives and to borrow from the Agricultural Bank (Law 1329/83). In 1984 Law 1483/84 was passed for the protection and facilitation of workers with family obligations. On July 3, 1986, Law 1609 was voted on the decriminalization of artificial termination of pregnancy, meaning abortion, the protection of women and family planning.

Immediately after joining the Community, Greece was obliged to pass into its national law the Community legislation on equal pay, equal treatment and the elimination of any discrimination based on gender in the labour market. In 1981, women made up just 27% of all employed people in the country, while 30% of employed women worked without pay in family businesses or farms, alongside unpaid domestic work and family care. In the years that followed, there was a massive entry of women into the labor market, in the private and public sectors. In 2019, after the severe economic crisis and the spike in unemployment, women made up 42% of the employed, while only 2% of working women worked in family businesses without pay.

In 1984 international labor conventions that had been pending for decades were ratified. The Community programs and the positive actions that accompanied the legislation had as their main objective the reduction of the persistent gender segregation of the labor market and the facilitation of the combination of family and professional obligations. The financing of the European Social Fund for the First and Second Community Support Frameworks 1989-1993 and 1994-1999 respectively was allocated towards these goals. The division into female and male occupations has been for a very long time the most acute problem in the relations between women and the labor market.

Concentration in women's industries made it easier for employers to use double standards, to pay women less and to violate equal treatment and equal pay laws. It is noteworthy that the special programs in Greece started before Law 1414/1984 on equality in labor relations was even passed. Greece, at that time,

did not slack off in the implementation of European legislation and in some areas showed real zeal. At the end of the 1980s, there was a great movement of feminist organizations, but also of feminist trade unionists, claiming better representation in decision-making.

Beijing 1995: UN World Conference on Women

The UN Conference in Beijing has been an important stage in the development of women's rights and gender equality, on a global scale. Greece participated with an official national delegation and with many representatives of feminist organizations. The leading role was played by the European Union and Parliament's FEMM Committee.

Imia crisis, 1996. The Greek-Turkish WinPeace initiative

In January 1996, the Imia crisis brought Greece to the brink of a Greek-Turkish war. The occasion was given by the initiative of the mayor of Kalymnos island to raise the Greek flag on rock island Imia, on January 25, 1996. Two journalists from the office of the "Hurriet" newspaper in Izmir, flew by helicopter on January 27, lowered the Greek flag and raised the Turkish flag. This episode greatly complicated Greek-Turkish relations. On January 31, three Greek Navy officers died, when their helicopter crashed into the sea. Finally, with the intervention of NATO and the USA, the tension was eased and both countries withdrew their fleets.

WinPeace was founded immediately after the Greek-Turkish crisis in Imia, on the initiative of Margarita Papandreou, president of the Center for Research and Action for Peace (KEDE) and the Turkish feminist Zeynep Oral, journalist, writer and activist. Purpose: the promotion of Greek-Turkish dialogue and better understanding and cooperation between the two countries. The initiative started with an Open Letter sent by Margarita Papandreou to the women of Turkey, the day after the crisis. The positive response came immediately from Zeynep Oral: "The time has come, for Greek and Turkish women, to work together for our common interests...."

WinPeace is an exceptional case of an organization that deserves further study because it is based on feminist theory of international relations and promotes pacifist values in practice. The idea of preventive diplomacy is also promoted as well as the limits and theoretical barriers of the orthodoxy of "Realism", which is based on balance of power and the right of the strongest. Feminist political theory of international relations perceives power as the ability to negotiate, as energy and dynamism, secured more by consent and sobriety than by violence.

Action to promote women in politics and decision-making

In the early 1990s, the European Commission, took action to promote women in politics and decision-making centers. The start of the pan-European information campaign took place with the Athens Summit, on 2-3 November 1992, under the auspices of Commissioner Vassos Papandreou, the first Greek EU Commissioner. The Conference was attended by leading female politicians, such as Melina Merkouri, Marietta Giannakou, French Prime Minister Edith Cresson and many other prominent figures from across the EU.

The promotion of "Women in Decision Centers" campaign, on a pan-European level, was undertaken by a network of national experts (I personally represented Greece). An initiative was taken to set up an Inter-Party Committee, from all parliamentary political forces, to promote the campaign in Greece.

The first National Action Program 1997 -2000

The first *National Action Program 1997 -2000: Equality-Development-Peace*, was drawn by me, as General Secretary of Equality, for a short time before I move to European Parliament. The Action Program called on Greek women "to think about and contribute to addressing the new challenges of the time, such as: the globalization of the economy and trade, the growing gap between development and democracy, the rapid development of new technologies, the economic gap between the haves and the have-nots, the contradictions in promoting sustainable development, the ongoing violations of women's human rights." In 1998, the cross-party committee was institutionalized as to Political

Association of Women, with main task to work in closing the wide gender power gap.

Combat Violence against Women

The year 1999 was declared the European Year of Action to combat Violence against Women. The fight against violence does not belong to the hard core of European politics, but it has a long history as it is the hottest topic. It was first raised in 1986 by the FEMM Committee of the European Parliament. The slogan “Zero tolerance” to violence against women dominated the first European campaign launched in 1997. The pressure exerted by the European Parliament and also by women's organizations, led to *Dafni Program*, with the aim to eliminate violence against women, youth and children.

The most significant development in European gender equality policy, which concluded the 20th century, was marked by the signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam, which entered into force on 1 May 1999 and significantly strengthened the legal basis for women's rights. For the first time, gender equality is defined as a *key objective of the Community*, while all Union institutions and Member States are obliged to take into account the principle of equality in all their policies (gendermainstreaming).

6th CHAPTER: 21ST CENTURY - DIGITAL REVOLUTION

Greece member of Schengen and eurozone

On January 2000, Greece became member of the Schengen agreement. On January 1, 2001, exactly 20 years after full accession to the EU, Greece officially joined the Eurozone, thanks to the good preparation of the country and the fulfillment of all EU criteria by the government of Costas Simitis. The transition from national currencies to the euro was the largest monetary transition ever made in the world.

The Lisbon Strategy was the most important initiative of the EU in the first decade of the 21st century. It was a dynamic start, which also positively influenced the development of gender equality politics in the first decade of the 21st century. The European Social Agenda adopted in December 2000, by the Nice European Council, aspired to modernize the European Social Model and strengthen the links between economy, employment and social policy. Promoting gender equality was one of the four pillars of the Employment Guidelines.

The Barcelona European Council (March 15-16, 2002) was also an important stage for the cause of gender equality in employment, where for the first time decisions were taken that provide for the creation of care infrastructures by 2010, throughout the territory of the European Union, in order to cover at least 90% of the needs for children from 3 years old up to the age of compulsory education and at least 1/3 for children under 3 years old. In addition, there should be at least one internet-connected computer for every 15 children. These decisions were very important, especially for the European South, where the care infrastructure lags far behind compared to the North.

Crisis in church-state relations

In 2000, a major crisis broke out in church-state relations, when the Greek government decided, following the suggestion of the *Personal Data Protection Authority*, and based on European institutions and principles of democracy, to remove the mention of religion from the police identity cards of Greeks citizens. The Orthodox Church has always been opposed to the official pro-European policy of Greece and was hostile towards intellectuals and “heretical” Europe. Despite this, it always held a dominant position in Greek society.

The Church, under the then Archbishop Christodoulos, put forward strongly anti-Western positions, arguing that the West is the source of all Greece's woes. This distrust of Europe and the fear of losing the religious component of national identity was expressed in the most extreme way. The issue of identities touches on a broader problem, which is related to the way in which the conditions for the formation of the Greek State are perceived. The position that religion constitutes the cohesive fabric of the Greeks has been always emphasized, a

position that is, however, different from the one that prevails to the peoples of Western Europe.

The preachers of identity and cultural politics are usually those who do not support equality, impartiality, tolerance, social solidarity or justice. In its worst form, this policy opposes the politics of gender equality and democracy and breeds extreme forms of nationalism, racism and ethnocentrism.

2001, Revision of the Constitution

During the revision of the Constitution, 2001, the completion of article 116, with paragraph 2, clarifies: *It is not gender discrimination to take positive measures to promote equality between men and women. And most importantly: The state ensures the removal of inequalities that exist in practice, especially at the expense of women.* The constitutional change enshrines and institutionally shields positive actions in favor of women, as well as gender equality policies.

Under the pressure of feminist organizations for quotas, due to the indirect exclusion of women from power structures, the first governmental decisions were taken by the minister of interior and former EU Commissioner Vasso Papandreou. The measure started with the law 2839/2000 (article 6, par.1), for the first and second degree of Local Self-Government. The same applies to service and administrative boards or other collective management bodies, as well as to the staffing of research and technology committees. However, these provisions to close the power gap, were never actually implemented. Patriarchy always invented ways and means to exclude women from power structures.

Dealing with domestic violence - Law 3500/2006

In order to fill in the gaps in the criminal law on domestic violence, the Greek Parliament passed Law 3500/2006. This had a progressive character and includes everything that applies in other EU countries, such as the possibility of removing the offender from the family home. Based on criminal law, rape is punishable by imprisonment for up to two years, even in the context of marriage. The innovative features of the law include the possibility of criminal

conciliation (mediation) between the perpetrator and the victim, and only when this is not desired will criminal proceedings be initiated. However, many reservations were expressed about the mediation by feminists, as well as the UN CEDAW Committee.

On 13 of December 2007, the ***Treaty of Lisbon*** was signed by the Lisbon European Council. The Treaty is valid since 1st December 1929 together with the ***European Charter of Fundamental Rights***.

Global & Greek Economic Crisis

In September 2008 the collapse of Lehman Brothers caused the largest financial crisis in the developed world since the Great Depression of 1929. In 2010, Greece's first economic rescue and economic adjustment program was implemented by the "troika": the European Commission of the EU, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Central Bank (ECB). In 2012, the second program was implemented, but did not proceed. The third program was decided immediately after the eventful first half of 2015, with a SYRIZA left government and was smoothly completed three years later, in the summer of 2018. The economic crisis found the goals of equality in the pre-election programs of almost all parties.

National Program for the Prevention and Combating of Violence against Women 2010-2013

In November 2009, with a considerable delay since the passing of Law 3500/2006, the National Program for the Prevention and Combating of Violence against Women 2010-2013 was announced. It was the first integrated action program at the national level, to combat gender-based violence, fully funded by the NSRF. This program developed projects and policies aimed at preventing and combating all forms of violence against women (domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, trafficking of women for the purpose of sexual exploitation).

For the first time, an integrated network of 61 structures across the country was created to prevent and deal with violence against women. The Network includes

the SOS 15900 Telephone Line, the creation of 39 Counseling Centers (from General Secretariat and Municipalities) and 21 shelters for female victims of violence, offering support services to female victims of violence.

Cohabitation: Law 3719/2008 & Law 4356/2015

Greece was very late in adopting the institutional and cultural acquis of the rest of Europe, including the Coexistence Pact. Officially enacted in 2008, with Law 3719, it concerned an agreement between adult heterosexual persons and excluded same-sex couples. The issue of extending the cohabitation agreement to same-sex couples has been one of the most burning topics of public dialogue and debate in the Parliament. The reaction of the Church was intense.

The Istanbul Convention

The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention), was signed by Greece in 2011. It was ratified by the Greek Parliament on March 12, 2018, with Law 4531 /2018. It constitutes the first legally binding text, which clearly recognizes gender-based violence, defines the forms of violence against women and presents a comprehensive legal framework to prevent it, protect victims, and end impunity. The Convention obliges States parties to promote coherent and coordinated policies offering a holistic response to violence against women.

Promotion of Substantial Gender Equality - Law 4604/2019

For the first time, an independent institutional framework for gender equality and the elimination of discrimination against women was legislated. Law 4604 of 2019 is governed by a comprehensive consideration of gender relations. The female gender is not treated only "as a special category", as is the case with the current provisions and legislative regulations. The basic concepts, mechanisms and actors for realizing the principle of gender equality in public policies and in private life are identified. For the first time, the preparation of "Equality Plans", prepared by public and private sector enterprises, is envisaged.

The **Prespes Agreement** (L.4588/2019)

It is estimated that the **Prespes Agreement** (L.4588/2019) was the greatest achievement of the government of the Radical Left Coalition (SYRIZA/ANEL, 2015-2019) and one of the most important milestones of Greek Diplomacy. A 30-year period of confrontation, between Greece and North Macedonia, over the use of the name Macedonia, was arranged through dialogue, compromises and peaceful means. On 25.01.2019 the Prespes Agreement, between Greece and North Macedonia, was ratified by the Greek Parliament with 153 votes in favor, 146 against and 1 abstention.

According to the feminist theory of international relations, the Prespa Agreement is a model of peaceful resolution of crises. However, inside both countries it caused fierce confrontations and nationalistic outbursts.

Municipal, European, Parliamentary elections, 2019

The three electoral contests of 2019 proved to be another difficult historical moment for the representation of women in political institutions. The results were disappointing:

a) In the elections for the Local Self-Government, 1.455 men and only 180 women contested the office of mayor, i.e. 88% men and 11% women. In 199 municipalities, out of a total of 332, there was no female candidate for mayor, that is, in 60% of the municipalities. Finally, of the 332 elected mayors, only 19 are women and 313 men. The resulting numbers reveal the inconceivable gap that separates the two sexes and the hard struggle of women candidates: 5.7% of female mayors, against 94.3% of men.

b) Of the 21 seats held by Greece in the European Parliament, 5 seats were occupied by women (23.8%) and 16 by men (76.2%).

c) In the parliamentary elections of July 7, 2019, 62 women were elected, i.e. 20.7% of the total of 300 deputies. Of course, this allocation of power between men and women does not demonstrate a modern European state. However, the historic election of Katerina Sakellariopoulou to the Presidency of the Greek

Republic and assumption of her duties on February 13, 2020, has overturned many entrenched stereotypes of patriarchy.

COVID-19 pandemic: health, economic, social and humanitarian crisis

The pandemic shook the foundations of economic and social life in Greece, in Europe and throughout the world. It separated families and friends, disrupted daily routines, curtailed individual liberties and the very functioning of democracy. This is an unprecedented health, economic, social and humanitarian crisis across the planet that is impacting every aspect of our way of life. It has drastically changed the international environment and is acting as a catalyst for changes in the global political and economic order.

Gender has dominated the clinical aspects of the pandemic, but also other urgent and pressing issues, such as domestic violence, and structural and fundamental questions as well. However, the fact that more women are on the front lines as workers in health care, cleaning, supermarkets and as care providers means women are more exposed to the risk of contracting the virus.

At the same time, there is a worldwide increase in incidents of domestic violence at rates of 20-30% everywhere. These numbers reflect the huge problem that prevails throughout Europe. The negative effects, of course, do not only concern women, but also their families, their children primarily, the community and the country. On November 25, 2020, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, the President of the Republic Katerina Sakellaropoulou made an important statement: *The coronavirus pandemic, financial problems, the forced coexistence in the limited space of the house, due to quarantine, the change at hand in our daily life, create the explosive atmosphere that favors the phenomena of domestic violence and multiplies crimes against women that sometimes reach the point of murder. International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, a symbolic gesture of great importance, calls for vigilance and action.*

The management of health crisis in countries led by women

It is noteworthy that during the pandemic, the international public, the media and universities such as Harvard, were impressed by the evidence that in countries led by women, the management of the health crisis had much better results, with fewer deaths and lower rates of dispersion. Are there any characteristics that unite New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern with Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin, her Danish counterpart Mette Fredriksen, Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg and Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen?

The truth is that there are common characteristics. When their countries were faced with the challenge of the pandemic, women leaders immediately took action and addressed their citizens, not with war cries, blame shifting and wishful thinking, as many did, but with the language of honesty, empathy and compassion. For women the pandemic was a marathon race, for many men a war!

The data shows that we are in good hands when women are at the top of states and companies, (Fortune Magazine). In other words, women possess characteristics that you do not find in male-dominated decision-making centers and conference rooms:

- empathy
- negotiation and consensus building
- Active listening skills
- predictability
- fast and efficient adaptation
- sense of danger and threat response
- creativity, improvisation and intuition
- authentic engagement

According to Harvard Business School research, women have a unique advantage compared to men: They have a greater desire and willingness to help others, a greater ability to perceive risks and a greater resilience to difficulties and failures. They also often express raw emotion, unusual among male leaders. Successful women have dispelled the myth that compassion and a humanistic approach are disadvantages for a leader. Recognizing the

achievements of women as leaders in the fight against COVID-19 creates new positive standards, for men above all!

2021, Greek #MeToo Movement: "The personal is political!"

The #MeToo Movement invaded Greece late, but very dynamically, at the beginning of 2021, bringing to the fore and in the public debate, serious issues of human rights, moral values and violations of human dignity. Especially the entertainment sector, breaking the codes of silence, it is shaken by heaps of complaints of violent behavior and sexual abuse, against top actors, directors and musicians. Women reveal their own suppressed histories of sexual abuse and violence: in sports, universities, the arts, the workplace. Many silenced stories of rape and harassment are brought to justice.

These issues in Greece have never been the subject of a serious and sober public dialogue, nor part of the educational system, in order to find the new balances in gender relations. On the contrary, in our traditional and hypocritical society, the tactic of cowering and "don't touch the bad texts" is followed. Male violence, especially domestic violence, is kept as a closely guarded secret, since patriarchy and social orthodoxy dictate "in the house, not in the community" and "don't even tell the police!"

Leading social and religious institutions (Avaton) still refuse to recognize the equal value and dignity of women, in stark contrast to the values of political liberalism and democracy. Hostility to equality fuels ever-increasing violence against women. Certainly, many men condemn violence and sexual harassment. However, they avoid focusing on the causes that trigger the violence. The main cause, obviously, is patriarchy and structures of male dominance over the female. The inequality in the distribution of power between men and women is intentional and systemic. General goal: women to remain in the role that was historically imposed on them, in order not to endanger the archetypal hegemonic masculinity and its revealed primacy. In our time it constitutes an open war against women! The MeToo movement is responding to this war.

On February 25, 2021, a debate was held in Parliament, at the level of party leaders, on the subject of the quality of democracy and Public Dialogue. It was, essentially, a discussion after the strong shock caused to Greek society by the revelations of the #MeToo movement. The confrontation and controversy between the government and the opposition was intense. However, Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis announced measures they aim to further strengthen the legal arsenal for the just punishment of the guilty, but mainly to prevent the crimes of the future, creating a framework of security and trust for every citizen.

The European strategy 2020-2025 for gender equality

Based on calculations by the European Institute for Equality (EIGE), progress on gender equality is moving at a rate of half a point per year, well behind schedule to reach the perfect 100. With an average score of 67.9%, the EU is at least 60 years away from achieving full equality. Greece with a score of 52.2%, last of all other EU member countries, will be delayed much longer if effective measures and policies are not taken in time. The European Commission, in March 2020, presented the 2020-2025 strategy, for a broad set of actions, including combating all forms of gender stereotyping and violence, ensuring equal participation and equal opportunities at work and achieving gender balance in politics and decision-making centers. The program includes six sectoral priorities. The European Parliament has agreed to the 2020-2025 strategy, but criticizes the lack of specific targets and calls for additional actions and binding targets

The gender pay gap

In order to close the gender pay gap, the European Parliament urges the Commission to decide on binding measures on pay transparency and calls for equalization of wages in female-dominated sectors such as care & health. It is worth noting that 70% of the global workforce in health and social care are women, often paid the minimum wage. The levels of men's/women's wages are, of course, inconsistent with the principle of justice and gender equality.

The digital economy and information society

We have already entered a new era where widespread automation affect jobs in all sectors, replacing humans with machines, algorithms with artificial intelligence and requiring workers to constantly train in new skills and new qualifications. It is emphasized that the digital transition should leave no one behind. The Commission's commitments to strengthen the participation of women in the digital economy and information society, are included in the strategy for gender equality 2020-2025.

In Greece, women's unemployment remains at high levels. According to the data published by the General Secretariat for Family and Gender Equality in November 2020, women's unemployment was 20.2% against 14.1% for men (data 8/2020). As for the European Commission's Digital Economy Index (DESI), Greece ranks 26th. It lags in a total of 5 parameters: connectivity, human capital, internet use, digital integration and digital public services.

It is important to ensure gender mainstreaming in digital education at all levels, including out-of-school, informal and non-formal education, for students and teaching staff. Specific strategies for different age groups and inclusion of gender equality in all curricula, teaching materials and teaching practices for science and ICT are needed. Girls need to be encouraged, with specific programs and policies, to study mathematics, programming, ICT courses and science courses from a young age. Furthermore, for Greece it opens new horizons for the activities and quality of life in critical and island regions, thanks to applications such as telemedicine and smart agriculture.

Conclusions, in brief (the book includes 13 conclusions)

1.The research showed that women's feminist organizations, from the 19th century up to the present day, are the most important civil society organizations. Under the banner of universal values and human rights, they powerfully challenge entrenched patriarchal structures, gender power relations, cultural dualism, xenophobia, homophobia, social backwardness and the monolithic nature of tradition. After long and hard struggles, feminists forced the

patriarchally structured political system to proceed with reforms that strengthen democracy, the European profile of Greece, the rule of law and socio-economic development: Modern Civil, Criminal and Labor Law, changes in education, laws and structures to combat violence against women, the right to contraception and abortion, criminalization of rape outside and inside marriage, Cohabitation Pact, female entrepreneurship, numerous studies and publications in favor of gender equality, mandatory quotas for businesses, ballots and centers of decision and power.

The election of Katerina Sakellaropoulou, the first woman in the highest state office, the Presidency of the Hellenic Republic, is the culmination of 200 years persistent feminist struggles, which mark further progress and successes of female sapiens.

2. The marginalization of the heroines in post-revolutionary Greece, the ingratitude of their fellow fighters, the exclusion of women throughout the 19th and up to the second half of the 20th century, from political, social, economic and educational rights, demonstrates the deep roots of patriarchy, the legacy of the Ottoman Empire and the unequal struggle of women, for the last 200 years. *The Ladies Journal* (1887-1918) of the circle of the excellent Callirroï Parren, was the first big step in spreading the feminist, humanitarian values of gender equality and the peaceful coexistence of people, at a time when no rights were recognized for women .

The few educated women (mainly teachers) who dared to challenge the empire of male power and the "monopoly of reason and judgment" deserve the utmost respect and gratitude. The political activism of feminist organizations and the peace initiatives they have undertaken, from Callirroï Parren to Margarita Papandreou and the WinPeace organization, have demonstrated that feminist activism can change the nature of power in international relations and enrich political science with the idea of soft power, cooperation and the peaceful settlement of any disputes. A very useful lesson for Greece's relations with neighboring countries!

3. The stable European orientation, before and after the establishment of the Greek nation-state, the European dream of 1821, was a rational choice. Thanks

to solidarity of the alliances it ensured, Greece has acquired national and political independence, reconstruction, economic support, strengthening of national identity and the gradual recognition of women's human rights. Iconic personalities who worked, as governors, for the modernization and European perspective of Greece, in the early years, were: Ioannis Kapodistrias, Charilaos Trikoupis, Eleftherios Venizelos and Konstantinos Karamanlis. Their policy was not challenged by any of the subsequent governments, except the dictatorship of the colonels 1967-1974.

Historical events verify the working hypothesis that political liberalism and Europeanization contribute to democratization, rationalization and socio-economic development. Progress is also seen in social perceptions, as expressed by the passing of the Cohabitation Agreement and adoptions, for heterosexual and same-sex couples, as well as with the #MeToo movement. So, through the intersection of cultures, in the context of the open European society, the fertile ground for mature democracy and substantial gender equality has been created.