Between tradition and modernity
The occupational choices of young people in rural Crete

Nikoleta Ratsika
Between tradition and modernity
The occupational choices of young people in rural Crete

Nikoleta Ratsika

Akademisk avhandling

som med vederbörligt tillstånd av Rektor vid Umeå universitet för avläggande av filosofie doktorsexamen framläggs till offentligt försvar i Samvetet, Samhällsvetarhuset, fredagen den 3 februari 2012, kl 10.15.

Avhandlingen kommer att förvaras på engelska.

Fakultetsopponent: Professor Theano Kalinikaki,
Department of social administration, Democritos University of Thrace, Grekland.
Between tradition and modernity. The occupational choices of young people in rural Crete.

Mellan tradition och modernitet. Val av sysselsättning bland ungdomar från landsbygden på Kreta.

Abstract
The aim of this study is to investigate the occupational orientations and choices of young people in rural Crete, a society, which is in constant change as it finds itself caught between tradition and modernity. To achieve this, the study looks into two cases: the case of Anogia, a small mountainous cattle-raising village, and the case of Archanes, which is a farming village on a plain. Both communities are undergoing a process of change due to the influence exerted upon them through the frequent contacts with the ‘outside world’ and the diffusion of modernity in all areas of life.

The study expects to shed light on how the young people of these villages experience the transition from tradition to modernity and how this transition influences their choice of occupation.

More specifically, the aims of this study are to investigate:
A. The occupational orientations and choice of occupation of the young people within the communities of Anogia and Archanes.
B. The main contextual factors that contribute to the young people’s occupational orientations and choice of occupation in Anogia and Archanes.

The overall approach is a qualitative inquiry consisting of two case studies. The empirical research took place in the field of the communities of Anogia and Archanes, and addresses 29 young people of the villages, so as to gather primary data through semi-structured interviews. The age has been defined to be 16 to 25 years old.

In order to arrive at the findings, data analysis derived from the Grounded Theory methodological approach was employed (Strauss, 1987).

The main findings of the study show that the transitional process from school to work seems to be the most crucial issue for the young people under study, in the process of shaping their occupational orientations and choices. The attitude, either positive or negative, that each one has adopted towards school and education generally and the level of education constitutes the main tool that determines the limitations and the opportunities for job placement.

In these small societies, the traditional roles have been overturned as regards the youth and their professional orientations. The majority of young people follow new practices in seeking employment. These characterise the following three types of youth: the stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers.

Keywords
rural youth, occupational choice, tradition, modernity
Acknowledgements
This work has been conducted at the Department of Social Work, University of Umeå during the period 2004-2011. I would consequently like to thank the department for the opportunity it has given me to do studies at the PhD level. Most of all, I would like to thank Professor Lennart Nygren, for without his constant support, his concrete and accurate comments, his encouragement and patience, this work would not have been completed. I also owe many thanks to Lena Dahlgren and Lars Dahlgren for reading and commenting on the thesis. Their suggestions were valuable. I would also like to thank Torsten Åstrom since it was he who first encouraged me to enter into this adventure. Finally, I want to especially thank both my dear friend Joanne Plaitis for her invaluable help with the difficulties I encountered with the English language and my companion Alexis for his constant support and understanding.
Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 9

1.1. The background of the study ................................................................. 9

1.2. Aims of the study .................................................................................. 12
   1.2.1. The overall aim of the study ......................................................... 12
   1.2.2. Specific aims and research questions ........................................... 13

1.3. The value of the study .......................................................................... 14

1.4. Outline of the thesis ............................................................................ 15

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH 17

2.1. Introduction .......................................................................................... 17

2.2. Tradition and modernity: a general overview ..................................... 18

2.3. Occupational orientations and choices ................................................. 21

2.4. Youth occupational orientation in modernity ....................................... 24

2.5. The role of the welfare regime in transition ....................................... 28

2.6. The influence of the local and the rural ............................................. 30

2.7. Conclusion ........................................................................................... 34

CHAPTER 3: ANOGIA AND ARCHANES – TWO VILLAGES AND THEIR TRANSITIONS AS CONTEXTS FOR YOUTH’S OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS 37

3.1. Introduction .......................................................................................... 37

3.2. The community of Anogia – history and development ....................... 37
3.2.1. Historical elements regarding the community of Anogia .......... 38
3.2.3. The economy of Anogia – the economic structures as possibilities and constraints for youth employment........................................... 42
3.2.4. General conclusions and possibilities for job placement in Anogia 45

3.3. The community of Archanes – history and development ............47
3.3.1. Historical elements regarding the community of Archanes ........ 48
3.3.2. The natural and structured environment in Archanes............... 49
3.3.3. The economy of Archanes – possibilities and constraints for youth employment. ................................................................. 52
3.3.4. General conclusions and employment perspectives in Archanes .. 58

3.4. Anogia and Archanes – their transition from tradition to modernity ..................................................................................59
3.4.1. The study of the local-traditional community. ......................... 60
3.4.2. Anogia: a community in transition........................................ 61
3.4.3. Archanes: a community in transition ...................................... 64

CHAPTER 4: YOUNG PEOPLE IN ANOGIA AND ARCHANES – THE ROLE OF EDUCATION 66

4.1. Introduction .................................................................................66

4.2. The role of education in finding employment as well as in shaping career prospects and career choices ..................................................69

4.3. The young people of Anogia and education .............................. 71

4.4. The young people of Archanes and education ............................ 73

4.5. Young people in Anogia and Archanes caught between tradition and modernity. ..................................................................... 76

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODS 80

5.1. Research strategy .....................................................................80

5.2. The value of the study ..............................................................81

5.3. The procedure used in conducting the empirical study .......... 82
5.4. Material used ...............................................................................................................83

5.5. Data collection methods .................................................................................................84
  5.5.1. Interviewing method ...............................................................................................84
  5.5.2. The content of the interviews .................................................................................85
  5.5.3. Criteria for the selection of the participants .........................................................86
  5.5.4. Presentation of the sample .....................................................................................86

5.6. Process of the selection of the sample – ethical considerations ....87

5.7. Interview records ............................................................................................................88
  5.7.1. General remarks .....................................................................................................88
  5.7.2. Reaction – degree of ease during the interview .....................................................88

5.8. Data elaboration .............................................................................................................89
  5.8.1. Methodology in data analysis ..................................................................................89
  5.8.2. Keeping of code notes .............................................................................................90
  5.8.3. Open coding process ..............................................................................................91
  5.8.4. The axial coding process .......................................................................................93
  5.8.5. Selective coding .......................................................................................................94
  5.8.6. A pedagogic example of an additional dimension in the construct of the core category ..................................................................................................................95

CHAPTER 6: STAYERS, LEAVERS, OR AMBIVALENT: PATTERNS OF STRATEGIES 97

6.1. Conceptualizing the story: The transition from school to work.....97

6.2. Boys and girls, work prospects and geographical distances ........98

6.3. The meaning of traditional values ................................................................. 100

6.4. The process of transition from school to work ................................. 101

Consequences ........................................................................................................ 106
Action/ ...................................................................................................................... 106
Interaction strategies ............................................................................................. 106
Evaluation of the social setting ........................................................................... 106
Context...................................................................................................................... 106
6.5. The three different types: The stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers .......................................................................................................................... 103

6.6. The three different types: their main characteristics .................. 105
   6.6.1. The stayers .......................................................................................................................... 105
   6.6.2. The ambivalent ..................................................................................................................... 108
   6.6.3. The leavers ........................................................................................................................ 110

6.7. Summing up .......................................................................................................................... 115

CHAPTER 7: YOUTH’S GENERAL IDEAS ABOUT OCCUPATION – THE JOB MARKET 118

7.1. Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 118

7.2. The young peoples’ general ideas about occupational conditions in the villages .......................................................................................................................... 118

7.3. Occupation sectors .............................................................................................................. 119
   7.3.1. The boys .............................................................................................................................. 120
   7.3.2. The girls ............................................................................................................................ 121
   7.3.3. The parents ....................................................................................................................... 122

7.4. Outlets in traditional occupational sectors ................................................................. 123

7.5. Strategies for entering the job market ............................................................................... 128

CHAPTER 8: YOUTH OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS AND CHOICES 134

8.1. Job orientations or the professional status of young people participating in the study. ........................................................................................................................................ 134

8.2. Main arguments for occupational choices ................................................................. 137

8.3. Intervening conditions which affect the occupational choices .................................. 138
   8.3.1. The financial situation of their families .............................................................................. 138
   8.3.2. Expectations from their present or future job .................................................................. 140

8.4. Strategies followed for fulfilling their aims ............................................................... 141
8.4.1. The efforts made by the young people to fulfil their aims........ 142
8.4.2. The family’s strategy ................................................................. 143

8.5. Consequences ............................................................................... 143

CHAPTER 9: ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE AS INTERVENING FACTORS IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AS REGARDS OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE 146

9.1. Evaluation of the social setting..................................................... 146
9.2. Evaluation of leisure time ............................................................ 153

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION 157

10.1. Rural communities between tradition and modernity.............. 157
10.1.1. Occupational choices for rural youth ........................................ 159
10.1.2. Occupational choices made by boys ....................................... 159
10.1.3. Occupational choices made by girls ....................................... 160
10.1.4. The three different ideal types of young people as regards the choice of occupation. ................................................................. 161
10.1.5. Reflecting on Career Development Theories ......................... 163
10.1.6. Education as a means of finding employment ....................... 165
10.1.7. Consequences for the two settings due to the occupational choices made by the rural youth .................................................. 166

10.2. Traditional, modern or ambivalent: reflections on theory ...... 166
10.2.1. The transition from youth to adulthood and from school to the job market ................................................................. 166
10.2.2. Transition welfare policy ......................................................... 170
10.2.3. Gender differences as regards the transition phase ............. 172
10.2.4. The importance of locality ...................................................... 172

10.3. The main findings and how they reflect previous research ...... 174
10.4. Implications for policy, practice and further research .......... 176

REFERENCES 178
Appendix 1: Semi-structured interviews with young people of the community 191
Appendix 2: Presentation of interviewees 194
Appendix 3: A pedagogic example 202
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. The background of the study

After World War II, Modern Greek history is characterized by a focal effort to modernize all levels of social and economic life (politics, culture, institutions etc.). Although the process of social development in Greece started at the beginning of the 19th century (Tsoukalas, 1987), it has only been over the last sixty years that Greek society has witnessed significant structural changes in all sectors of society. Industrialization, development of the workforce, intensive urbanization, increase of wage labour, migration, improvement of the education level in the population, an increase in the number of females in the workplace, changes in the family structure and the development of institutions are some of the elements that contribute to or appear in this process of change.

The study of the dynamics of modern Greek society has formed, and still forms, a point of contradictions and recriminations for historians and sociologists, as regards its classification within the Worldwide Cultural Scale – concepts of society, economy, politics and people’s perceptions of them (Georgoulas, 1996). The forms of perception within modern Greek society contain both the idea of ‘dependency’ and ‘divergence’ from and towards the cultural dynamics of the West. The problem exists within the two poles of the pair: tradition-modernity. Tradition insists on ‘authenticity’ and continuity of the Greek-Byzantine civilization, whereas modernity promotes the idea of incorporation within the rational process, which is inherent in the enlightenment scheme.

The powerful West-European influences which Greek society experiences at all levels of social and economic life, do not influence traditional and modernistic forms of social organization in a uniform and homogeneous way. The two systems of social representation that co-exist within Greek society either form a normal continuity or create intense conflicts and oppositions.

Traditional models and modern practices seem to divide Greek society. Age, level of education and place of residence seem to constitute important factors as regards this division (Catrivesis, 1996). Regarding the place of residence, in particular, it is a common phenomenon that the urban way of life and its values contradict the way of life and the values of the countryside. It is evident that urban culture in Greece is rapidly expanding and that the model of consumerism is almost identical to the way of life. The rural population’s need to free itself from the bonds of distress and isolation and
their desire to gain equal opportunity in the work force, higher incomes and the commodities of urban social classes (financial, health wise, educational etc.) explains how easily the urban way of life has come to be accepted. Habits, behavioural patterns and traditional characteristics are bound to take a back seat to the prospects the urban way of life has to offer. This of course does not mean that ‘tradition’ does not often come in direct conflict with ‘modernity’.

The analysis of socio-dynamics in terms of the opposition between tradition and modernity may cover the areas of institutional differentiation (development of means of administration and communication), and social differentiation (modification in occupational structures and production mechanisms within a society) (Georgoulas, 1996). These two areas of differentiation make up two basic dimensions of social development, as perceived by the financially developed world. However, relations between ever-changing ideological systems are, in effect, relations among the people who adopt them. This third level is of particular significance, since the other two cannot exist unless groups of common perceptions are formed within society itself (Georgoulas, 1996).

It is a fact that situations and people change within the social world. The way people perceive both things and themselves or their groups of accession change as well. The answer to the question ‘How do people and their relationships change?’ lies also in the way people’s perceptions change. This has to do with the degree of diffusion of social representations, the views that are formed and the acceptance or rejection of these views by society.

The main ‘breeding grounds’ for the diffusion of perceptions and views can be found within the education system, the political system, the press and especially the last decades, within the mass media and cyber-space (Georgoulas, 1996). The ‘information boom’ diffuses views to the most regional, minoritized or isolated places. The diffusion of social representations is now achieved in a multi-focal way and at a fast pace.

Through this study, I will venture into and investigate the traditional and modernistic practices of the young people living in two rural communities on the island of Crete, as regards the choice of their occupation. The main idea, after all that has been pre-mentioned, comes down to the following: the rural Greek community and consequently its young people maintain, either to a greater or lesser degree, traditional principles regarding their perceptions/views and followed practices in general. Modernistic principles that appear within the social structure and function of small local communities have to do with the degree of urbanization and with the degree of intensity and frequency of contact with the outside world.
More than ever before, young generations are receivers of the two different social representations. Within this ever-changing society, young people form a social conscience, acquire values, develop an individual and communal identity, set aims and develop strategic plans for the fulfilment of these aims.

All the above-mentioned affect their occupational orientation with their final occupational choice reflecting different values and morals. Taking into consideration the non-versatile and inflexible nature of formal and informal education in Greece, it is inevitable that the choice of occupation will follow its youth throughout their lives and be a catalyst in their orientation and handling of the fluidity between tradition and modernity. Being at an age where they are advocates and receivers of change both within social structures and institutions as well as within the production process and the local economy, the young are called upon to decide on their occupational future. As regards the traditional social setting, kinship trust and stability in social ties play a more prominent role within the set framework of space and time, while the local community cultivates relations based on familiarity. Here, tradition is oriented to the past. This lends security and certain knowledge to its receivers, thus enabling the experience of past generations to perpetuate, while each new generation is called upon to reinvent the cultural heritage handed down to it. On the contrary, relations of trust within the contemporary and modern setting are built on dissociated abstract systems. Personal relations replace those of kinship, the role of family is not as dominant, community constitutes a more abstract notion while orientation looks to the future. The conditions of everyday life have no internal ties to the past and, despite the uncertainty of knowledge, tradition is borne out only through certification that has come from contemporary knowledge (Giddens, 1996). Although modernity looks to the future and conquers it, “the inertia that comes from customary habit… has allowed tradition to continue to play some role even in the most modernized contemporary societies” (Giddens, 1996:38), let alone in Greece which is a rather non-industrial country that lacks production of new technologies, is inundated with municipal service bureaus and has large agricultural property ownership. How do the young people in rural areas deal with their transition from education to the job market within this uncertain and fluid context? What mental and material tools do they maintain and develop in order to choose one of the two conventional life courses? What means do they use and what strategies do they develop?

As for Greece, life experience has predisposed us to the abandonment and desolation of the countryside, as well as to the persistence of the young to change their way of life and reap the rewards that come from living in modern societies. Such a study aims to increase our understanding of this phe-
nomenon as it is experienced by the very youth that come from agricultural-traditional societies.

1.2. Aims of the study

1.2.1. The overall aim of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate the occupational orientations and choices of young people in rural Crete, a society, which is in constant change as it finds itself caught between tradition and modernity. To achieve this, the study looks into two cases: the case of Anogia, a small mountainous village, and the case of Archanes, which is a village on a plain. Both communities are undergoing a process of change due to the influence exerted upon the local communities through frequent contacts with the outside world and the diffusion of modernity in all areas of life.

The young people of Anogia and Archanes have been raised in a society where the conditions for their socialization are very different from those of their parents and grandparents. Living conditions in both communities are rapidly changing within the economic, political etc. structure and the experiences of their parents are not the only fixed point for their planning and acting for the future. Television, tourists, school, the internet, contact with the ‘outside world’ feed the imagination and provide images of another life, a life with different possibilities. The two poles of tradition and modernity, appear to have made contradiction part of their lives. If this is so, how do they cope with that, how do they imagine their future and what are their hopes and dreams?

The young people are the future inhabitants of Anogia and Archanes. Within a process of development, it is crucial to acquire knowledge about the young people’s aims for their place of residence. Is it going to be their villages or not? This has much to do with the chances given and their preferences regarding professional occupation.

If we are to deeply understand the young people of these villages, we must study the social environment in which these youngsters grow up and socialize. Only then will we be better able to comprehend their experience, the moral codes, the expectations they have of themselves, the opportunities given regarding their future, as well as the expectations the communities has of them. This means that the youth need to be studied within the context of the social formation they live in.

Therefore, the communities of Anogia and Archanes, both generally characterized as being ‘traditional’ societies, will come under study. In actual fact, however, these communities are not unchangeable, steadfast social
formations. They co-exist and are associated more or less with the greater social formations and interact with them. Both communities are considered to be societies in ‘transition’. Thus, the study will focus on basic elements of the local communities that would enable us to distinguish characteristics that make up the concept of tradition and those which bring about change and modernity. Since Anogia and Archanes, just like every other community, are not completely isolated, they must be studied in the context of national society. Some few aspects of modern Greek society will enrich the study.

Finally, the discussion will deal in matters that have to do with the forming of young people’s social consciences, the formation of an individual and common identity, social values, as well as young people’s concepts of occupation and work. Other matters to come under study will be the influence of tradition and modernity on the villages’ youth, on their social activities and on their purposes and orientations as regards their choice of occupation. Values and morality that are incorporated within the occupation, as well as future expectations will also be discussed.

In conclusion, the study expects to shed light on how the young people of these villages experience the transition from tradition to modernity and how this transition influences their choice of occupation. It will be grounded on theoretical viewpoints pertaining to the concepts of Tradition and Modernity.

1.2.2. Specific aims and research questions

More specifically, the aims of this study are to investigate:

A. The occupational orientations and choice of occupation of the young people within the communities of Anogia and Archanes.
B. The main contextual factors that contribute to the young people’s occupational orientations and choice of occupation in Anogia and Archanes.

At this point, I must point out that the terms ‘occupational orientations’ and ‘choice of occupation’ are used not so much to denote a certain differentiation in meaning. What mainly concerns this study is understanding the occupational choices of the young in both communities. Nevertheless, the fact that many of these young people are still students and are at an age of pursuit causes us to look into their career orientation and their intentions concerning their future occupations regardless of whether these will ultimately be fulfilled. In the second aim (B), I regard contextual factors as factors related to the local economy and access to jobs, but also to the local tradition as reflected by expectations from the families and peers. That means that I will examine how these factors affect the occupational choice of the young peo-
ple. For those who are still lyceum students, I will look into their occupational orientations.

In order to investigate, describe and explain the above phenomenon, the study will focus on the following matters:

- The undergoing process of change in the communities of Anogia and Archanes and the diffusion of modernity in major areas of life.
- The social-economic structure of the villages will be described. Elements of the local, traditional, occupational structure and its influence upon the villages’ economy and morality will be presented. Are there chances for professional occupation in traditional work or in the fragile non-rural sector?
- How young people understand and experience the social conditions they live in and have to deal with when forming their future and their occupational status in particular. What are the limitations or the capabilities a young person has in order to shape his/her future job?
- How attractive the traditional occupations are, to young people? Which constitute young people’s preferences, as regards job placements and orientations? What are the strategies young people adopt or rely on to fulfil their occupational pursuits/objectives?

1.3. The value of the study

The study outlines the main factors that contribute to young people’s choice of occupation. The findings will derive from two “case studies” and therefore, generalizations have limitations and preconditions (Stake, 1994; Creswell 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Moreover, although it is often claimed that generalizability is inappropriate for qualitative studies (Denzin, 1983; Cuba & Lincoln, 1981), the question can not be by-passed. One aim of studying two cases is to increase the generalizability, as well as to develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The dilemmas faced by the young people of Anogia and Archanes are not unique for these communities only. Along with the internationalization of the economy and culture, this is an important topic for research where the focus is on how individuals experience these changes. These cases can increase our understanding of the consequences of modernity on youth in rural areas, since they are not much different from many other cases on Crete and in Greece, with strong roots in tradition and rapid changes in their society due to the diffusion of modernity. Thus, the findings of the present study are expected to shed light on this phenomenon in Greece
since very few studies have dealt with the agricultural youth and no other studies exist similar to this one.

Furthermore, regardless of the developmental differences of each country, changes regarding youth occupation within traditional farming societies do exist on a world-wide scale and are expressed depending on the degree and speed of social change within each country. Social subjects experience this depending on the way in which they incorporate these changes as well as on the possibilities and opportunities offered to them. One of the following chapters will selectively present and discuss such studies. The findings could either serve to corroborate international research findings, thus enhancing the generalizing qualities of the study or weaken them, thus enabling us only to see them as cases of intrinsic interest. Therefore, the present study may contribute to the existing knowledge and to strengthening or not the existing relative theory surrounding it.

Furthermore, the settings themselves form cases of intrinsic interest (Stake, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994) and learning opportunities are offered for better understanding of these rural communities and their future.

The constant comparison of the two communities throughout the study will enable us to identify possible differences due to the fact that one village constitutes a relatively isolated cattle-raising community in the mountains while the second is a mainland farming community in close proximity to a large urban centre. Possible differences regarding gender may surface, causing the findings to be of greater interest and ultimately encouraging new case studies to be done.

Finally, these case studies can be used as instrumental cases¹ (Stake, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Future relative case studies could be based on a similar study approach and methodology.

1.4. Outline of the thesis

The study will be developed in nine chapters closely related to each other. Chapter 1 constitutes an introduction to the case study where the aims and research questions are put forth. Chapter 2 offers a concise look at research

¹ According to Stake (1994), we may define an instrumental case study as being a particular study that enables the researcher to provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory. The case itself plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of the phenomenon under study.
studies that are related to the phenomenon we are studying as presented in international literature and theories regarding the phenomenon of youth and modernity. In Chapter 3 and 4 the two settings, Anogia and Archanes, are presented in relation to tradition and modernity. Aspects regarding their history, social structure and development, as well as their economies are included here. In Chapter 4 the focus is on the role of education as regards the young people living in the two villages, and an attempt is made to understand what leads them to creating their life plan and what circumstances orientate them in choosing their occupations. Chapter 5 presents the method of empirical research. That is the two case studies and the arguments for it, the material used, the data collection methods and data analysis, as well as the ethical considerations of the study. Chapter 6 presents the main patterns of the two villages. The central phenomenon of the study is illustrated, that is the procedure of transition from school to work which will provide us with the rationale for the further analysis of the data. The major findings of the empirical research are also presented here following an in-depth look at the strategies young people develop to fulfill their aims. The different patterns of young people in the two different cases as well as in the study as a whole are illustrated here. In chapters 7, 8 and 9, the contributing factors are presented. Chapter 7 describes the general ideas young people have as regards occupation and the work opportunities in their villages. In Chapter 8, their own occupational orientations and desires are discussed together with what these represent for them. Chapter 9 examines the social life as a condition, this being an important factor young people take into consideration as regards their choice of occupation. Finally, chapter 10 refers to the conclusions of the study. I will attempt to incorporate the findings into the theory, to relate them to previous research and to recommend their use for future research.
Chapter 2: Theoretical considerations and previous research

2.1. Introduction

Over the last few decades, great economic and social changes have taken place due to the globalization of the economy, the development of new technologies, the greater requirements in professional skills, the rise in non-fixed employment and many more. The consequences of these changes are greatly felt by young people in the employment sector, as well as by those wishing to enter the job market for the first time. In relation to other age groups, young people are experiencing greater unemployment, are far more exposed to the risk of poverty, deal with discrimination regarding their age and lack of professional experience, as well as with difficulties being integrated (Green Book, 2005).

Education seems to play a catalytic role in the course of this journey, since existing data (Eurostat, 2004) indicates that populations with a higher level of education are more easily integrated into the formal job market. At any rate, the process of their integration into the job market no longer takes place automatically, nor are there clearly defined boundaries for it. The road from education to employment is no longer a small bridge to be crossed but rather, part of a long journey which begins long before young people leave school and by no means ends with their entering the job market for the first time.

As a result, the academic world is inundated with studies regarding urban/rural youth, and employment on a world scale, this being an indication of growing social as well as political interest (Aliston, 2001, 2002; O’Connor, 2005; Merino & Garcia, 2006; Walther, 2006; Chtouris, 2006; Waara, 1996, 1998; Rye, 2006; Johnson et al., 2005; Helve, 2003; Jentsch & Shucksmith, 2004, Glendinning et al., 2003). Issues surrounding employment, poverty, social security and welfare benefits, education, adulthood, social and economic integration, and many more are either directly or indirectly linked to the young with the opportunities and prospects offered to them for employment, income and social integration.

Additionally, an important point of interest seems to be the issue of transition from school to the job market for those within rural areas who have different and rather fewer opportunities for acquiring the necessary qualifications as well as fewer occupation choices compared to their urban counter-
parts. As a result, the relocation of populations is an inevitable consequence. The global phenomenon of social relocation of populations from rural to urban areas presents important similarities in many of its dimensions. It has to do with the degree of rural development, the opportunities for steady and desirable employment, the chances for a good quality of life which includes education and health care services, free time and the possibility of self-fulfilment.

In order to set a theoretical framework for the present study, this chapter will explain and elaborate on the terms ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ as a general theoretical frame, as well as on the existing macro and micro theories pertaining to occupational choice. Following this, mention will be made of the youths’ occupational orientations in modernity, the role of the welfare regime for transition, as well as the influence of the ‘local’ and ‘rural’ as analytical frames that function as guides for the study. Additionally, these frames, together with the concrete investigations relevant to the research field that will be presented in the next chapter, will enable a theoretical pre-understanding which, under certain circumstances, is regarded as an advantage in qualitative research traditions (Dahlgren et al., 2004).

2.2. Tradition and modernity: a general overview

In common parlance, the terms tradition and modernity suggest a distinction between the old and the new, the fixed and the changing, the halloed way of the past and the progressive way of the future, or we may say that the terms suggest two differing attitudes towards the negotiation of change, with the traditional resisting it and the modern embracing it (Lakhani, 1973). In recent years, the concepts have come to replace a host of similar terms employed as polarities of a crucial historical process: Tönnies’s Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, Durkheim’s mechanic vs. organic solidarity, Marx and Engels’s feudal-agriculture vs. bourgeois-industrial society, and Redfield’s folk vs. urban-metropolitan cultures (Bendix, 1967), to cite some of them.

---

2 According to Dahlgren et al., (2004:21), a “dominant standpoint in Grounded theory was that the researcher should try to be naïve when facing his or her research problem to ensure that emerging concepts were grounded in data and not simply the result of preconceived ideas. Today this position has been softened, and at least theoretical pre-understanding (from scientific literature) is often mentioned as an advantage in Grounded Theory”. Dahlgren et al. (2004:21) claim that “a smorgasbord of theoretical knowledge can be good to have at hand, but the researcher must at the same time be prepared… to leave out some of her favourite ideas that come from her pre-understanding”.

18
To elaborate a bit further on Tönnies, Gemeinschaft refers to the basic social relations which are formed through kinship, friendship, among neighbours and are all characterized by companionship. The basic institutions are family ‘law’ which is characterized by paternal supremacy, and the greater family or next-of-kin. Here we see the development of lasting ties to the land and the home, both of which constitute the most characteristic form of wealth. The order with which institutions are followed are: family life, life within the farming village, the rural town. The type of social control practiced aims at creating and maintaining harmony, customs and traditions as well as religious rules. Correspondingly, that which prevails among social relations within Gesellschaft are exchange and logical evaluations, while basic institutions are political institutions and the capitalist economy. The most typical form of wealth is monetary while law of contract and an urban, cosmopolitan way of life based on logical reasoning prevail. Here, social control aims at upholding institutions, legislation and the expression of public opinion (Tönnies, 1961).

Modernity dates back to the 17th century in Europe and refers to the ways of social life and social organization that appeared during this period and eventually came to play an influential role on a global scale and which according to Giddens (1996), in our days, are becoming more radical and universal than ever before. These social changes have, among other things, to do with fixed nation-states, political governing, the industrialization of production, the creation of institutions, the different use of money, and the disassociation of time from space. They also refer to the de-rooting of social relations and functions from the local bounds of interaction and their reformation into indeterminate time-space periods, and to the production of systematic knowledge surrounding social life which in turn, becomes an integral part of the social reproduction system, thus causing it to move away from the fixed stability of tradition (Giddens, 1996). According to Marx, Durkheim and Weber, it has to do with the systematic capitalist production which they consider to be the driving force of modernity. In our days, the post-industrial consumer society and the society of information have come to be added or, as Lyotard (1985) terms it, the post-modern society or, as Giddens calls it, it is the period of mature modernity (Giddens, 1996).

Contradistinction with tradition is inherent in the very concept of modernity. In understanding how the two are related, the matter of the discontinuity or evolutionism of human history and social development constitute a fundamental issue and a field of diversely varying approaches among social scientists. Giddens (1996) supports the view that, contrary to traditional societies, modernity is characterized by the element of discontinuity due to the
rapid pace of change, the scope of change taking place (since this transformation has do with nearly the entire planet) and the very nature of modern institutions which, in some cases, cannot be found in earlier historical periods. The history of the evolutionism and linear movement of societies supports that the story is told based on a certain narrative sequence. It begins with small, isolated cultures of hunters and gatherers, progresses through the development of farming and pastoral societies, moves on to the transformation of agrarian states and culminates with the emergence of modern societies in the West (Giddens, 1996). The way in which one perceives these two general theories determines their attitude toward the way in which society changes and evolves, thus causing varied opinion and appreciation for the consequences of modernity.

Aside from these two attestations, there is no doubt that, at some level, tradition and modernity co-exist and interrelate. In some social environments, they co-exist either as discontinuities or as continuities. In addition, although tradition may not display the radical traits that characterize modernity, it is by no means completely static as it must re-invent itself with the advent of each new generation since it is handed down the cultural heritage of previous generations. At any rate, within conditions of modernity, the fact that a certain practice is traditional is not enough for it to be validated. Today, tradition can only be borne out through the enlightenment of knowledge whose validation is not derived from tradition. According to Giddens, “when combined with the inertia of habit, tradition continues to play some role even in the most modernized of modern societies”, and tradition plays a role of “far less significance than is supposed by those writers who have focused attention on the integration of tradition and modernity” (Giddens, 2001:57). This is because justified tradition is fictitious tradition and it draws its identity solely from the reflexivity of the modern.

We should also note that modernity is ambiguous by nature. The development of modern social institutions and their global dissemination gave people huge opportunities to enjoy a safe and satisfying life as opposed to any kind of pre-modern system. However, there is also a dismal side, especially evident from the twentieth century onward: upheaval, bureaucracy, the crushing of autonomy, the destruction of the natural environment, consoliated power, generalized military power, all of which have conduced to creating a dangerous and beleaguered world (Giddens, 2001).

Finally, no kind of knowledge within modernity carries with it the “old” meaning of knowledge where “I know” means “I am certain”. The terms safety and trust are re-examined and acquire new meanings in different environments. In pre-modern environments, localized trust within kinship rela-
tions, the local community, religion and tradition are of overriding importance while in the modern world, relations of trust are based on disembedded abstract systems which do not contain elements of reciprocity nor the intimacy found in personal trust relations. Therefore, there is a transformation of intimacy within modern society. The social character of traditional systems is juxtaposed with the impersonal character of modern social life, giving us Tönnies’ typical contradistinction of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.

2.3. Occupational orientations and choices

In common parlance, the term ‘vocational choice’ is used to intimate the expectations, perspectives, endeavors, opportunities, orientations, choices and decisions which will enable an individual to enter the job market. According to Herbert (1999:157), the basic process involved in choosing one’s occupation has to do with the development and conscious awareness of a professional self image that coincides with the other “images of self” that individuals create for themselves. It is considered a process that needs to have a realistic basis regarding personal prospects and abilities (Rothman, 1987), while it must also realistically coincide with the perspectives made available and the limitations imposed by the social, economic, academic and cultural environment (Roberts, 1975, Bourdieu, 1977). It is also considered a lengthy process. It begins very early on in the life of an individual and basically only ends when the individual retires from active participation (Super, 1994). In fact, nowadays, the occupational process is complex as it often involves changing occupation during one’s professional life (Tolbert, 1978), as well as adapting to changes in the make-up and very structure of one’s occupation. Within this ever-changing world of occupational and educational opportunities, young people are called upon to resolve a series of personal dilemmas, make their choices and reach their final decision. A series of theories have been developed regarding occupational choice (Ginzberg, 1951; Super, 1957; Roe, 1956; Blau, 1956; Holland, 1959, 1985; Tiedeman & O’Hara 1963; Roberts, 1975; Lent & Hackett, 1987), which could be classified into four categories: trait theories, life-span theories, social learning theories and socio-economic theories.

Trait theories, such as Holland’s, assume that there are unique traits that can be reliably measured and it is possible to match individual traits, skills and interest to occupational requirements.

Life span or development theories, like Ginzberg’s and Super’s are derived from theories of personality and focus on individual psychological or personality traits, downplaying the influence of the greater environmental
context in which people make career decisions. Of these, the evolutionist theories hold that the choice of occupation is a developmental process with separate stages, while the psycho-dynamic theories focus more on the motives-incentives that prompt individuals to make their occupational choice.

The social learning theory addresses the interaction of social and cultural factors on decision-making.

In socio-economic theories, as in Roberts’, occupational choice is attributed to a system outside the individual with social class and cultural environment (where socialization of the individual takes place) playing a decisive role. It orientates the individual so that the future is predetermined according to the value system shared by the other members of the family. These theories downgrade the role played by subjective values, personality, personal interests and other individual traits (Markoulis, 1981; Kantas & Chadzi, 1991).

More specifically, the most fundamental theories are the following:

In 1951, Ginzberg et al., supported the notion that vocational choice constitutes a long-drawn-out process which begins somewhere around the age of six and lasts until about the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. It is irreversible and comes as a result of compromise in as far as interests, abilities, values and occupational opportunities are concerned. This decision is influenced by four factors: the reality factor, the influence of the education process, the emotional factor and individual values (Savickas & Lent 1994). This developmental process takes place mainly over three stages: the fantasy stage, where children believe they can do just about anything, the tentative stage during which time adolescents wonder about their interests and values and discover their abilities while trying to adapt them to a realistic occupational choice and finally, the realistic stage which is made up of three sub-stages: exploration, crystallization and specification. The choice made is based on personal desires, abilities and prospects; the individual then crystallizes an occupational model and pursues the education experience required.

At about the same time (1954), Super presented his developmental theory according to which occupational choice is a life-long process whose central role is self-concept development and “career” is seen as the sum total of all the roles people play in their lives. In expressing an occupational preference, the individual translates the idea he has of himself in terms of occupation and in making this choice, seeks real expression of this self-image. Through occupational stability, the individual gains self-fulfillment. His theory consists of six life and development stages: the crystallization stage (age 14-18), the specification stage (ages 18-21), the implementation stage (ages 21-24), the stabilization stage (ages 24-35), the consolidation stage (age 35) and the
readiness for retirement stage (age 55). One’s career consists of a series of choices made initially within the transitional stages of the education cycle and later within the transitional stages of the occupational cycle. The only remaining constant from youth is self-image (Krumboltz, 1994; Stitt-Gohdes, 1997).

Holland’s theory on occupational choice (1960) is widely known and a generally accepted one. It is based on what Holland calls ‘modal personal orientation’. According to this theory, individuals choose occupational environments which will: correspond to their abilities and potential, give them the space to express their attitudes and values, enable them to take on satisfactory roles. The individual’s behavior is determined according to the interaction between the individual’s personality and the traits of the work environment. Holland assumed a workplace is consisted of six major work environments and a populace is comprised of six personality types: Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising and Conventional. According to his hexagonal model, often called RIASEC, a person’s three higher preferences provide adequate information for effective decision making. The closer a person comes to finding a compatible work environment, the more likely he/she will experience satisfaction (Savickas & Lent, 1994; Stitt-Gohdes, 1997).

Roberts (1975) presented a sociological understanding of what is meant by occupational choice. This view holds that the choice of occupation is not determined by personal motivation but rather by the education system, family and peer group influence, social origin and especially by structural factors such as the job market, the economy etc. It holds that individuals do not, in essence, choose their occupation but are rather orientated towards that which is made available to them within the prevailing social circumstances and undergo differentiation depending on the social group they belong to. As a result, they do not share the same access to various occupations (Kassimati, 1991).

Finally, in 1987, Lent et al. presented the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT). This theory identifies the interaction of personal abilities, external environmental factors, and behavior in career decision making. It focuses on the influence of self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations on goal and behavior (Stitt-Gohdes, 1997). This means that if the individual believes in his ability to try and to struggle and expects results from such a stance, then he will in fact behave in such a way that will help him achieve his goals. According to SCCT, one’s career choice comes as a result of the convictions gained by the individual (Lent & Hackett 1994).
A common point among most theories, with the exception of Roberts’ sociological analysis and the importance of ‘happenstance’ of Baumgarder and Miller (see Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1977), is that some decisions regarding the future are made by the individual himself and that decisions pertaining to education affect the scope of subsequent occupational opportunities (Chadzi, 1987).

2.4. Youth occupational orientation in modernity

This part will present the theoretical views as well as research studies regarding occupational orientations of the youth within modernity and within the context of their passage from adolescence to adulthood.

A good starting point from which this discussion could begin is understanding that the passage from school to work, as every other passage, may “entail movement into a different part of a social structure; or loss or gain of privilege, influence, or power, and a changed identity and a sense of self, as well as changed behavior” (Glaser & Strauss, 2010:2). According to the “status passage” theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1971/2010), status is regarded as a resting place for individuals while, the transitional phase is a period of constant movement over time and keeps a person in passage between two statuses for a period of time, depending on how scheduled or unscheduled this passage is for each individual.

Therefore, the term “transition” from education/initial training to employment refers to the period during which young people move from a state whose main activity is school attendance (general education or vocational training) to a state where work is dominant (OECD1998:8). In the past, the term “transition” meant the customary and direct route from school to the workplace (linear transition). Nowadays, transition is generally expressed in broader terms as it has now come to include a variety of routes taken by young people within the education system, as well as within vocational training programs and the job market (non-linear transition) for the purpose of acquiring an increased amount of professionally competitive means by which they will not only ensure a place in the job market, but will also be able to maintain and secure that position for years to come. In any case, the term is referred to as “transitions”, so as to express the number and variety of movements that exist from education and training to the job market.

According to Walther (2006), the transition from youth to adulthood and especially from school to the job market constitutes a critical period for young people. He claims that, de-standardization, individualization and fragmentation of transitions override linear transition throughout Europe.
Furthermore, this indicates a differentiation in the transition process among the youth from other countries who are called upon to face different social realities and cultures.

Walther (2006) argues that over the last few decades, youth transition has been significantly prolonged. This is due to prolonged studies, the passage from school to work, the complexity of lifestyle models, an increase in female employment, the flexibility of the labor market and a general tendency towards individualization. Moreover, entering the job market does not automatically mean the beginning of a new life (family, independent housing, partnership and so on), since young people follow different logics and rhythms. We may say that the young prefer to define themselves as being in an ‘in between’ category: ‘young adults’. Giddens (1997) considers this to be a specific stage in personal development in the modern world, and that the importance of this ‘moratorium’ is likely to grow due to the extended period of education which many young people now undergo. This assessment is corroborated in many similar European studies (Merino & Garcia, 2006; Chtouris, 2006; de Bois-Reymond, 1998; Plug, 2003; Walther et al., 2002; Westberg, 2004; Cavalli & Galland, 1993). Additionally, Walther et al. (2002) claim, that youth transition is also de-standardized. This long period between youth and adulthood is characterized as a ‘yo-yo’ transition. It is argued that this phenomenon is either a personal choice or derives from limitations or opportunities imposed by social background, education, gender, region or ethnicity (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997). All the above contribute to the non linear ‘yo-yo’ youth transition and young people have to deal with these inequalities and make their own decisions which are of the utmost importance.

Walther et al. (2002) argue that there are gender differences as regards young people’s perceptions and views of the transition phase. Young men seem to be less capable than young women of managing differences between their own aspirations and external demands and possibilities. Young women manage to retain motivation over a longer period and accept possible deviations during the ‘yo-yo’ transition.

Waara (1996) adds another point of view to the discussion. Social integration or disintegration of young people is closely related to social reproduction or social and cultural change in modern society respectively. Young people’s life-plans and future orientations are related to social reproduction as well as to the process of the ongoing societal transformation. Waara presents this view within the following context: Social reproduction deals with issues of young people’s integration into modern society. In following the process of socialization, young people learn how to behave in accordance
with the social rules, the ethics and moralities of the society in which they are raised, while social reproduction takes place in various social institutions, family, school, spare time activities etc. The life-plan is influenced by the specific social environment which implies limitations and possibilities. “School, the labour market and forthcoming family relations are important and serve the function of making it possible to adjust life-plans in relation to a normative social pattern of transition between life stages” (Waara, 1996:263). Many young people seem to comply with this orientation and seek a linear transition process. But this course is not without obstacles. Differentiation from compulsory education, difficulties in entering the labour market, youth unemployment etc. seem to impede young people from attaining adult social status uneventfully. Disintegration constitutes the beginning of change.

A second issue Waara (1996) brings to the discussion is the matter of youth-cultures, precursors of the changes to come. The differentiation of youth-cultures from the dominant culture implies a change in values and the growth of new life-views as well as young people’s interest in participating in the establishment of social formation and social institutions. Disintegration turns out to be a matter of how new identities are formed within a modern society. Research rarely investigates youth-cultures in settings other than global cities or perhaps rural areas. More regional areas are looked upon as providing their members with traditional moulds of behaviour. Despite all the above, Waara argues that if we are to understand young people’s daily life and day-to-day activities, then we are compelled to admit that societies develop, transform and undergo gradual change but, in essence, remain almost intact within a short term perspective. As he puts it: “most young people still express the importance of acting within a contemporary social structure, emphasizing the significance of key-transition in identifying oneself as an adult member of the society” (Waara 1996:265), Social reproduction or social change is not solely a matter of individual transition to adulthood. Nor is transition identical to a general transformation of society. A basic assumption made by Waara is that “individual integration and transition between life-stages takes part within a social structure” (Waara 1996:265). Additionally, young people come in contact with many different lifestyle models of a globalized world, while at the same time there are cases where a certain lifestyle is imposed on them by the social environment in which they live, this being one they are familiar with and know as the appropriate path to adulthood. Due to the diverse social representations young people have before them, they find themselves faced with dilemmas as to which life model they should choose and which course to follow so as to achieve it, regardless of
the uncertainty of future life. This is considered to be a clear element of modern life, while the place of residence, no matter the size, does not frustrate the dilemmas. The question Waara puts forth here is whether or not the process of modernization also causes emancipation “from the normative pressure of tradition and history as well as from existing social institutions” (Waara, 1996:257).

Apart from the role of the institutions in the transition process, individuals play their own personal role in shaping their own life course by combining choices and social constraints. A general concession is that young peoples’ self-direction is affected by social inequalities such as class, gender, ethnic divisions, access to training and work. According to the ‘choice biography’ approach (du Bois-Reymond, 1995) in post-industrial or post-modern societies, young people play an active role in shaping their own lives using strategies and choices that may bring them good or bad luck. These transitions are non-linear. The increasing complexity of society and the transition to adulthood within a context fraught with vulnerability, risk and uncertainty could imply ‘no choice’ for some young people (Furlong & Cartmel, 2003). But this approach has a counter-argument. Despite increasing social complexity, linear transition has not disappeared. On the contrary, empirical data show that most youth transitions still follow the traditional path to adulthood (Bendit & Hein, 2004) in almost every European country. According to Heaven (1995), the most significant developmental tasks for the young have to do with completing compulsory education, gaining training qualifications and finding a good job, all of which denote a linear transition. The way in which young people will accomplish these tasks largely determines their acquisition of a personal, vocational and social identity and their future prospects in general.

The complexity of transition from school to work as an important factor for young people’s emancipation is included in the study by Merino and Garcia (2006) who, as well, stress that the prolongation of youth is a common phenomenon in modern societies due to the high cost of living, insufficient social care provisions even in countries with a strong welfare state, as well as the fact that young Catalanian people follow traditional patterns of transition. This study classifies four ‘modalities of transition’; each one of them implying different basic ways young people could build their future. The first modality is named ‘early success’ and it includes the young people who were emancipated from the family before the age of 28. They have successfully followed a long education program (usually higher education) and have followed a course of professional ascension and mobility. Middle class young people are over-represented and working class young people are un-
der-represented. Both sexes are equally represented, although there is a slight difference in favor of young women. The ‘working trajectory’ modality also includes those young people who were emancipated from the family before the age of 28. These young people follow a professional course based on occupational options that do not require higher education, most of them having non-skilled jobs while the majority comes from a working-class background. Young women are over-represented. The ‘successive approach’ modality describes those young people who delay their emancipation, pursue university studies, successful vocational training programs and ascend professional mobility. It is an inter-class modality, although there is a significant over-representation of young people from the middle and upper classes. Young women are more represented than young men. Finally the ‘precarious trajectory’ modality describes non-emancipated young people, those who become emancipated later in life and those who have either undergone job status decline or remain in the unskilled labor market. These young people acquire a low level of education and school failure and have low social origins. These trajectories include more boys than girls.

In conclusion, transition to adult life is more complex than it was three or four decades ago, while the outcomes of these trajectories are not always found in the traditional reproduction of social structure.

2.5. The role of the welfare regime in transition

In an era of modernity, the government policies enforced by nation states in dealing with this transition have shown varying results regarding the smooth transition of youth and the prevention of social exclusion. Walther’s comparative study (2006) is enlightening in that he believes these changes which lead to a large variety of social status and positions would be better understood if the transition process from youth to adulthood were analyzed in relation to structure and agency.

Transitions “are structured by a complex system of socio-economic structures, institutional rules and cultural patterns” (Walther, 2006:124), they are constantly changing and have to do with how this complex social structure is perceived and interpreted by young individuals.

Based on a model by Gallie and Paugam (2000), Walther (2006) further develops the characteristics of youth transitions in Europe in relation to four welfare regimes: The ‘universalistic transition regime’ (the Nordic countries); the ‘liberal transition regime’ (typical of the UK); the ‘employment-centred transition regime’ (the continental countries, e.g. Germany), and finally; the ‘sub-protective’ transition regime (southern European countries).
The last model is here presented more in detail, since Greece would be typical of it, however not included in the particular research by Walther. In the sub-protective regime, although the school dropout rate is high, schooling is non-selective until the end of compulsory education. Vocational training is inadequately developed and is provided within schools for professional training. Tertiary education plays a significant role in providing young people with a social and personal status during the long waiting-period of transition. Economic weakness, labour market segmentation and lack of training contribute to high rates of youth unemployment, this being higher for young women. The social security system is based on reciprocity; therefore benefits for young unemployed people are meagre at best. As a result, family functions as a substitute for the state. Unsteady jobs, the informal labour market and short-term contracts prevail. Employer incentives and self-employment are encouraged. The overall aim of the policy is to provide regularity: education, training, employment. The ‘yo-yo’ transition system does not present flexibility, choices or security. That is why family is very important in supporting young people during this extended phase. This is, among others, one reason for which young unemployed people in Greece and Italy, both belonging to the sub-protective transition regime, face low risks of social exclusion (Kronauer 1998).

Although Greece is not one of the countries included in Walther’s (2006) comparative study, it appears that the assessments of Chtouris (2006) as regards the role played by the state, family and the personal responsibility of the youth in the transition process from school to the job market coincide with those pertaining to Mediterranean countries. According to Chtouris (2006), young people in Greece have to face major difficulties during the transition phase from school and education to the labor market. Long periods of studies, long military service duties, reduced female employment and absence of training opportunities are among the important factors explaining the difficulties in entering the labor market. Young people increasingly recognize education and training qualifications as the most important means for a well-paid and relatively regular job as well as the most important means for social and professional integration. That is why education is one of the highest priorities for young people in Greece. Concerning the level of education, post-graduate students are more likely to find a job on their own while secondary-school graduates are more likely to find a job through their own family and social networks.

In Greece, family constitutes a major source of support and protection for its young people. Both family and informal social networks provide emotional and practical support to the youth. Young people are financially de-
pendent on their parents long after their adolescent years. Additionally, young people develop their social capital and their socialization process within the framework of the nuclear family, showing a degree of alienation from community and public institutions. Public sector institutions seem to play a minor role and young Greeks have not yet discovered the ways and the strategies that would link their individual world to the society and the political reality they live in. Chtouris (2006) claims that the Greek state not only tolerates but also actively promotes social self-regulation practices in all sectors of the public realm, including education. Both family practices and employment strategies of the young are far more influenced by a series of cultural factors than they are by subjective rational choices. It seems that the community’s ‘cultural past’ continues to play a central role in the configuration of society’s present situation since no new dynamic conditions have been created for the social integration of the young. Despite the fact that certain findings emphasize both individualization of risk and reflexivity (Lash, 1994) as well as the pressure exerted on young people for more labor flexibility and more geographical and professional mobility, the Greek youth demonstrates a strong type of family solidarity. Buhmann (1989) observes that the passage from youth to adulthood is not a personal matter, especially in post-industrial societies. On the contrary, it is a collective and family affair even if, in the present case, it remains a complex and long-term process.

2.6. The influence of the local and the rural

In this part of the study, I will discuss young people’s relations to the local area, how important their place of residence and the community is to them, and how they relate to the global world. O’Connor (2005) supports that, although many aspects of young people’s lives are affected by global goods,

---

3 For many decades, there has been an on-going debate on how to define ‘rural’. On the one hand, there are those views that define ‘rural’ as being particular types of territories/societies with concrete, tangible and objective characteristics, such as landscape, settlement, demographic structure, occupational structures and so on. On the other hand, the proposal is to conceive ‘rural’ as a subjective and socially constructed phenomenon that is no more than a perception in peoples’ minds, rather than a material and objective reality. Other classical definitions define rural in contradistinction to urban. These views focus mainly on the most abstract characteristics of social life in these areas such as traditionalism, dense social structures, a feeling of community and so on (for an overview see Halfacree, 1993). However, many authors claim “that open landscape and a sparse settlement structure seem to be accepted by most actors as generic characteristics of rurality” (Rye, 2006:410).
young people remain deeply embedded within local contexts which are structured according to age and gender, while others (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Toney, 2002) have argued that the importance of local areas has increased. Giddens, (1991) on the other hand, argues that in late modernity, the local area has declined in importance.

In general, we may say that the local ‘system’ has an arranging effect on its youth that promotes compliance to dominant social habits for the purpose of reproducing society. On the other hand, due to the education system, media, travel experiences and globalization in general, all young people have life experiences which take them beyond the local culture and provide them with an idea of the modern world. Standing between these two different social situations, the young develop their own individual strategies for their integration or disintegration to local society (Waara, 1996). Waara argues that although the modern world seems open to those young people living in rural areas and provides a variety of possible future positions, their social transition into adulthood has not caused them to sever their ties to tradition and to locality related patterns of key-transitions. Completing school, gaining employment and establishing family exist parallel to an existing reflexivity and still have an impact upon their strategies concerning future life, while the past is present in everyday activities and in the attitudes regarding gender roles.

Despite the dominant effect of modernism and its global character, residual cultural formations have not disappeared. On the contrary, they withstand the passing of time because they constitute the conditions for socialization which ensure security within an otherwise insecure world. Going beyond Waara’s thoughts, one may examine the condition Tönnies (1961) defines as Gemeinschaft – the greater impact smaller groups such as the family and the local community have on the behavior/attitudes of the individual as opposed to the abstract, impersonal, de-localized social institution – Gesellschaft – with the individual consciously or subconsciously complying with the customs and traditions of his/her own group. Tradition ensures security through commitment to community. In other words, community constitutes the starting point of reference for the individuals. They become involved in the social status quo and adopt views or even the entire process of transition between the stages of life. The dominance of either tradition or modernity depends on the acceptance of these two opposing social representations by each individual. Additionally, in periods of accelerated social change, it is logical for people to follow the traditional and safe paths of transition leading to adulthood.
Therefore, research is called upon to further understand the individuals’ transition process to adulthood. Waara (1996, 1998) wanted to shed further light on how young people deal with traditional patterns of behavior in their local community, how they confront normative paths structuring the transition to adulthood and to what degree gender-identities reflect traditional or modern ones. His field study in the Tornedalica region of Sweden develops four different identity-types: the traditionalist, the entrepreneur, the conventionalist and finally the avant-guardist.

*Traditionalists* are characterized by the obvious commitment to the local community, and by the development of traditional gender-identity and gender roles. They are described as having no experience of life outside of the community and neither do their families of origin. Relations with social networks are close-knit and strong. Spending a time-period outside the local community only serves the purpose of achieving merits that will allow them to eventually return and gain employment. Their free-time activities take place outdoors and have to do with the natural environment. Their living conditions are generally considered satisfactory. Relations between the generations are homogeneous.

The characteristics of the *entrepreneur* are a strong commitment to the local community but the rejection of locally developed gender-roles. The ties they have to the local community on various levels do not prevent them from living elsewhere for the sake of furthering their studies or acquiring work experience. However, their strategy is formed in a way that enables them to return to the community. They maintain strong ties to local community networks, while family and kinship ties constitute the basis for their social status. They feel at ease within their community and have no problem dealing with social control. Their professional orientations are based on the perception that the local market is influenced by national and international events thus enabling the development of occupational perspectives.

*Conventionalists* are characterised by their weak relations to the local community, readiness for mobility, approval of traditional gender-roles and compliancy to other interests. Growing up, they had experiences that were rich in mobility and thus consider it a natural part of life. Their social network and relatives are scattered throughout various regions and, as a result, their ties to people are not confining. As regards occupation, they take the local economic activity into consideration, while education is not something that really interests or attracts them. Their plans are adjusted to new patterns of life. They feel like outsiders within the local community. The division of roles is considered natural.
Finally, the last type is the avant-guardist. This role characterizes individuals who reject any establishment of commitment to the local community. Their future plans are not orientated locally. They have living experiences outside the community and choose to live in urban centers. Similarly, they do not accept traditional gender-roles. They pursue highly qualified jobs which cannot be practiced in the immediate area. Their interests are completely different from the activities available in the local area. They do not have a sense of belonging to the area and remain unaffected by social control as it does not concern them since they are looked upon as outsiders. As regards gender roles, they choose to live according to their own interests and they view the urban city as a place where individuals are encouraged to develop an integrated gender-identity. In general, their life-style transgresses and deviates from the predominant one.

Regardless of these four ideal types, Waara underlines that they all have some kind of ties to the local community. Their life-plans are structured in reference to their degree of commitment to the local culture. Therefore, “it is of importance to acknowledge the role of the life context in better understanding people’s actions and arguments concerning their future and to what degree their traditions actually lead to a reproduction or transformation of local social institutions within a general social structure. It is also important to discuss the influence of the pre-existing gender-role patterns for the sake of gaining understanding of the way gender-identities are shaped in relation to the local context” (Waara, 1996:272).

Additionally, O’Connor’s (2005) research study, which explores issues related to young people’s local embeddedness in Ireland, verifies that community as a relationship as well as a place is a strong feature of Irish society (Toney & Share, 2000). However, it seems that as the young grow older, their local area is not the sole geographical point of reference. Furthermore, the boys appear to be marginally more embedded in their local area than the girls of the same age. As regards their occupational aspirations, few remain in or return to their local area to work on their fathers’ farms. For the most part, they would like to move away to university or hope to travel and work abroad.

Furthermore, Aliston and Kent (2001) state that the majority of rural youth in Australia have a strong sense of connectedness to community and that most enjoy the rural lifestyle while growing up. But, although many of the young people acknowledge the benefits of small town living, the lack of satisfying work and education opportunities causes them to leave in search of employment and further education in cities. It is important to note that more girls than boys intend to leave due to the lack of employment options.
for the girls and due to the greater motivation on the part of the girls to go on to university (Aliston & Kent, 2001, Aliston, 2002). This appears to reflect the gender opportunities in the rural employment sector and indicates that the future of rural communities is at risk not only as a result of the continuing loss of population but because of a growing gender imbalance, which is more a global problem, as this is also the case in Greece, the United States and Japan (Pfeffer, 1989; Sachs, 1996; Teather 1994; in Alston, 2002).

Finally, Rye’s (2006) study on rural youths’ images of the rural in Norway claims, among other things, that the majority of rural youth hold the view that the countryside can be described within two rather complementary images: the “rural idyll” and the “rural dull” with a huge diversity of images among these two. Most of the young people reproduce the idyllic version of the rural, as a place “characterized by nature, and dense social structure” (Rye, 2006:419), where everyone knows everyone, people stick together and care for each other in quiet and peaceful surroundings. This image however, co-exists with a more negative one. The rural youth is also associated with boredom, lack of opportunities, non-modern features, a low level of sophistication, a lot of gossip and a sense of social control that “precludes an innovative atmosphere” (Rye, 2006:417). Despite the fact that there has been little research in Norway comparing living conditions among rural and urban youth (Haggen, 2003), Jentsch and Shucksmith (2004b) conclude that, although there are many similarities between the rural and the urban youth, for the former, low pay is more prevalent, education levels are poorer and there is perhaps a narrow range of jobs (Jentsch & Shucksmith 2004). Nevertheless, according to Rye, (2006), the geographical, as well as the symbolic distance between the rural and the urban in Norway, seems to be less than in most European countries. Unemployment does not seem to be a particular problem for the rural youth who have good access to education, the country girls are far more likely to enrol in university compared with the city boys, while urban culture is not yet dominant (Rye, 2006).

2.7. Conclusion

In summarizing the important conceptual and theoretical implications, we may say the following: Youth transition is a crucial social issue and is a matter of great concern among the young, their families, politicians, policymakers and social scientists. It has been found that in the era of modernity, youth transition is neither easy nor quick. The initial occupational choice is an issue made up of a multitude of factors in which various theories implicate personality, ability, values, gender, family, social and cultural environ-
ment, job market opportunities and of course, education and training. Linear transition from school to the job market is gradually being replaced by a complex, non-linear course to be followed. Education and vocational training constitute important junctions for the successful integration of young people into the job market from two standpoints: their structure and flexibility, as well as the means by which young people can or are given the opportunity to make the most of them. The course needed to be taken by young women is longer, more persistent and less certain since unemployment is clearly higher among them.

EU nations vary in their traditions and policies regarding education and training and they legislate different social security measures for the prevention of social exclusion as well as for aiding young people toward social and economic integration. In Greece, as is the case in other Mediterranean countries, family constitutes the main vehicle of youth security because the country’s predominant residual model of social care does not leave much room for this tradition to change. Traditional models of youth transition are generally predominant in the southern countries of the EU and come to mean their extended stay with their families and a persistence for linear transition to adulthood. Whatever the social conditions may be, the important issue remains of how these are taken on and interpreted by young people who, in turn, will adopt life models which either lead to social integration or disintegration with differences between the two sides. In all cases, ties to their place of birth and upbringing remain strong and constitute points of reference and comparison as regards change and different life plans. All the above particularly apply to the agricultural youth since, unlike their urban counterparts, they have fewer opportunities in education, integration into the local job market and free-time activities. The relocation of young people from agricultural to urban areas is a global phenomenon. Traditional agricultural economies do not have room for all the young people, far less for the young women, while not all are interested in entering them since they feel that nowadays, they ‘can’ choose life models that are different from the traditional ones.

Furthermore, previous research lacks detailed information about the mechanisms of locally situated occupational choice, especially in cases where the setting is rural, in a process of rapid social change and finds itself in direct competition with ‘modern’ occupational options.

Young people living in regional areas are receivers of two different social formations: traditional patterns in social behavior and modern lifestyles. Although people subjectively feel that their lifestyles reflect their individual choices, in fact, structural realities affect the range of choices and ultimately,
the lifestyles available to them (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Paulgaard, 2002; Rygaards, 2003). This contradiction is rather severe. It leads to the uncertainty which has come to define the state of adulthood in the modern world. From this point of view, individuals in local areas gain access to traditional culture but at the same time are familiar with how to confront modern society as adult members. The effect this contradiction may have on occupational choice has not yet been adequately studied and is a question on which the present study wishes to shed further light.

The following chapter will provide information about the local context of this study. The two communities of Archanes and Anogia are presented in relation to their history, their development, their economy, their education, all within the context of their transition from tradition to modernity. Furthermore, I will examine how each social environment impacts the life plans of the youth and especially their occupational choices.
Chapter 3: Anogia and Archanes – two villages and their transitions as contexts for youth’s occupational orientations

3.1. Introduction

The young people Anogia and Archanes grow up in societies that have experienced great changes over the last decades. The conditions in which they undergo socialization vastly differ from those of their parents and grandparents and they are called upon to enter and be part of a far more complex, demanding and dependent society. Family, their own parents’ experiences, the community spirit and its values no longer make up the sole point of reference as regards their ‘life plan’ and corresponding course of action.

This section of the study attempts to determine some of the social conditions the young people of Anogia and Archanes live under and must therefore deal with, so that they may shape their future and make plans concerning their lives and their job in particular. I will now present the historical elements, the social and economic development, and the social environment the young live in and socialize with.

3.2. The community of Anogia – history and development

The village of Anogia (Highlands) is built on the northern slope of Mount Psiloritis, at an altitude of 790 m. The size of the municipality extends 101 sq km while it holds a population of 2,454 inhabitants (NSSG, census 2001). On an administrative level, the village is a municipality and lies within the prefecture of Rethymnon. Although the road distances in kilometres to both civic centres are short, 36 km from Heraklion, 52 km from Rethymnon, it takes more than an hour to get to the village. The roads are narrow with constant turns while the roadway itself is in bad condition. The difficulty in access, even today, helps to explain the isolation that for years existed in the area. Although this isolation was once looked upon by its inhabitants as an advantage, this is clearly not the case today since the previously evident signs of deliberate or wanted isolation have clearly ceased to exist.

This community is known as a typical example of staunchly upheld Cretan tradition and customs. Contemporary researchers consider the village to be at a pre-modern stage of development as concerns culture and work (Papioannou & Palios, 1995). No doubt, Anogia is a ‘cattle-raising community’. The majority of the families make their own living by raising sheep.
and goats. Paradoxically enough, nowadays, this activity is not based on economically rational and ecologically sustainable agriculture and has nothing to do with the real market (ibid., 1995). There has been a huge increase in the number of cattle owing to the funding strategy adopted by the EU for which eligibility is contingent on the actual number of sheep and goats owned. This policy has resulted in an increase of the total number of cattle on Mount Psiloritis from about 10,000 to 90,000 in the course of a decade. This has caused drastic changes. The community has begun to lose its economic autonomy. The over-exploitation of the natural resources, water and vegetation has dramatically increased. The herdsmen and the Dairy Cooperation are forced to spend a considerable amount of their revenue on supplementary fodder and as a result, bank debts have increased a great deal. This almost absurd economic structure denotes a discrepancy between tradition and modernity. Social and professional prospects for young people are diminishing and dramatic migration processes are threatening future regional development.

On the other hand, there has been an increasing effort to improve life in Anogia, such as the development of alternative forms of tourism, the development of the infrastructure or the protection of the environment. On closer observation, Anogia is at the centre of these changes, which means that, despite its loyalty towards traditions and customs, it has by no means remained unaffected by the beguiling charms and prospects of social modernity. Here, one may witness an environment inundated with modern equipment, cars, entertainment facilities, computers and a young generation dressed in the latest fashion. Public and social services, banks, active local authorities, academic features, primary and secondary schools can all be found in Anogia. Thousands of Euros flow into the Local Development Company (ACOM-M) from the European Community Fund via programs of regional development. At times, there have been members of Greek Parliament who originate from this village, even government ministers.

3.2.1. Historical elements regarding the community of Anogia

Anogia is an old pastoral settlement of nomads and it is claimed that it was inhabited before the 12th century. Dakanalis (in Spanakis, 1983) mentions the names of the first families to settle in Anogia, all of whom, even today, constitute the social backbone of the village. Since then, the village has been
inhabited uninterruptedly. Throughout the Turkish occupation (1645-1898), Anogia was one of the island’s breeding grounds of revolt and resistance against the Turks. The village was looted and burned twice, first in 1822 and then again in 1867, due to its revolutionary activity (Spanakis, 1983).

Anogia was also one of the most historic places during the Greek resistance against German invaders, as its location in the mountains enabled the partisans to quickly retreat to gorges and caves. Because of their active involvement against the Germans, the SS annihilated the village by burning it down on August 13th, 1944 and 122 men were executed. It was during this period that the emigration of its inhabitants started. A large number of Anogians moved to other parts of Crete, to Athens and abroad and the majority have remained there ever since.

Even during the junta period (1967-1974) Anogia never complied with its directives. After the fall of the junta, a new period of modernization was just starting, due to the active interest taken by the Anogians concerning their village. When referring to Anogia today, it is noteworthy to mention that there are Greek state laws that are not upheld in the village or in the greater region such as laws forbidding the use of firearms and taking the law into one’s own hands. This is perhaps due to the fact that for centuries they were isolated and therefore handled all internal and external cases or situations themselves. One could say that, even nowadays, the distrust towards any kind of power and authority are characteristics of the local society.

3.2.2. The space – the natural and structured environment in Anogia

The natural landscape surrounding human communities constitutes the foundation for their activities as well as an area for intervention, while its morphology varies depending on the latest developments of the society it hosts (Nitsiakos, 1991). We can say that any space reflects the social characteristics of the group residing within it and gives evidence of its social organization and the relations among its people. Various cultural activities are imbued within it and reveal temporary and permanent changes having taken

---

4 In 1583, a census made of the Venetian Sexterium of Castello showed that Anogia hosted a population of 711 inhabitants. In 1671, 212 poll-taxes were paid to the Turks. In 1853, a census of the number of houses existing in Anogia shows that there are 260 dwellings (Spanakis, 1983).

5 A recent example was the general resistance of the inhabitants towards both the “Kapodistria” and the “Kallikratis” laws, which dictated the organizational and administrative integration of small local government organizations. Their staunch resistance resulted in their maintaining their administrative autonomy.
place. It is the receiving ground of a civilization which forms it and in turn, this civilization modifies the very space as it develops and changes through time. This type of evolution or development has been noted and is clearly visible in Anogia. It indicates a transition from tradition to modernity.

For centuries, the inhabitants have coexisted with their natural environment and have tried to survive by organizing their social life. Psiloritis was a mountain known only to them. The grazing grounds were pure and vast. Any form of travel was done on mules and along paths, which led to the ‘mitata’ of every ‘patoulia’\(^6\). The road network started to be built in the 1980s but even today, it does not cross the mountain because this would make cattle stealing to and from the village much easier. This, however, does not retract the fact that living conditions have changed. The village roads are easily accessible via 4 by 4 pick-up trucks, which can be seen every morning going up and down the mountain road, a clear sign that shepherds no longer live on the mountain. The new cattle folds are built with modern materials and offer shelter during the winter season. The newly built water reservoirs clearly show progress in the development of the infrastructure. The silos at the centre of the mountain are indicative of the dense live-stock population in the area. The cheese dairy farm on the outskirts of the village shows visible signs of the many changes in the way cheese is made. These are all evidence of the changes in the natural environment and of the readjustment of its use, which all certainly reflect the cultural activity of the society. They indicate changes, at least in the infrastructure of production techniques and in the conditions under which the occupation of a shepherd is practised.

After the last leveling and annihilation of the village, it was rebuilt on the old ruins and up to this day has maintained its original characteristics as well as its structural form. It is quite evident that the village has never really been economically well off. The majority of dwellings are small; one-storey houses built one right next to the other along narrow walkways that intercross throughout the village. The yards are small and the narrow paths are the meeting place for afternoon gatherings in the neighborhoods. The village is densely populated and even today, the neighborhoods are defined by the name of the extended families which lived there and, in great part, still continue to do so. This organization of the inhabited areas within the village is based on principles of patrilateral relations which have not been undermined yet.

---

\(^6\)Mitata are the traditional folds. Patoulia is the traditional joint-action of herdsmen families, which was a production unit.
However, if we examine the area in its entirety, there is an obvious co-
existence between pre-modern construction and more modern constructed
elements. This is revealed even more so in the functions and uses of public
space. In a sense, the village is split into two parts: the upper village with its
square known as the Meidani and the lower village Perahori. Access to and
from these two main locations is gained via narrow walkways but also via
the main thoroughfare. The upper village is characterized by clear signs of
innovativeness. It hosts the town hall, the conference centre, the youth
centre, the high school and lyceum, the medical centre, the dairy corporation,
the open-air theatre, some modern structures, many guest houses, the cafes
which are frequented by the village youth, some taverns, two supermarkets,
and many retail shops along the main road. At Meidani, there are coffee
houses where, among others, you will meet important and well-known
members of the village such as politicians, administrative officers and artists.
It constitutes the welcoming ground for any foreign visitor and the local
regulars are quite accustomed to this. The lower village represents the more
traditional aspect of daily life in the village. Nevertheless, this does not mean
that there are no ‘innovative’ elements. There is a police station, many fe-
male-owned shops selling hand woven items, a small folklore museum and
some taverns which make the space and its surrounding area open to visits
by guests and foreigners.

Generally speaking, despite the modernization of the surrounding space,
the daily social functions remain steeped in tradition. The public places are
mainly male dominated and the activities that take place are, in great part,
traditional: men sitting in or outside the coffee houses discussing, playing
cards, reading the paper or simply observing the goings-on around them. The
presence of women of all age groups is limited to the background. They
work in the taverns, cafes, etc. but one will never see them sitting in the
square or taking walks in the village. We can say that the structured envi-
ronment is submissive towards the views of its inhabitants and in the activi-
ties of the people. The more flexible and open to change these activities are,
the more liable the space becomes to welcoming new or more modern activi-
ties. The more rigidly established and traditional the activities remain the
more liable and willing the space is to serve them.
3.2.3. The economy of Anogia – the economic structures as possibilities and constraints for youth employment.

a. The economy of Anogia in general

Almost all the production conditions and processes in Anogia are in direct relation to age-old traditions (Chtouris, 1998). The basic sector of economic activity is primary production and more specifically, cattle-raising. The vast majority of the population is occupied in family-sized rural enterprises concerning sheep and goat keeping. The overwhelming majority of the families make their own living either from this job, or from its money circulation among the cattle raisers. Farming production has always been small, due to the land’s poor fertility and as a result of small, multi-divided land ownership. The production of coal and bee keeping also constitute small sectors of production activity. Despite some recent developments concerning cattle feed production, this sector does not seem to be economically viable in terms of creating new job placements and ensuring job prospects for young people.

Within the context of the secondary sector, we find the industrial unit of the Dairy Co-operation and approximately ten private units that produce and trade in cheese, an uncertain number of small-scale enterprises that manufacture building materials, the biggest one employing approximately 10 persons, a small unit specialized in the processing of certain oil-based products and a few family businesses.

Efforts are clearly being made in the sector of weaving and aim at developing other production activities. In the past, weaving constituted a chief element in the household economy and in great part, succeeded in serving the needs of the family. In their search for a supplementary family income, the female population naturally turned to weaving in an effort to render this product commercially viable. Women, even those belonging to the 50’s generation, are knowledgeable in the craft’s techniques and know-how, which were empirically handed down from generation to generation. And so, from the mid 1980s on, as tourism made its appearance, so did the commercial sale of hand woven products. In fact, the enthusiasm felt by the women as a result of this, led to their establishing their own women’s partnership for wool products and handicraft in the early 1990’s. This association has not been active since 1995. The women’s business partnership eventually proved to be an economic failure. Of course, there are still approximately 400 handicraft looms in the village, almost one in every household. Weaving and textile, a very old technique and very important household handicraft practiced only by women, has now become a fragile problematic source of supplementary family income.
New economic incentives – mainly female oriented – have recently been developed in the tertiary sector such as tourist services, the sale of handicraft and wool products, all aiming at supplementing the family income. Nowadays, there are almost 200 beds available in various small tourist units, not to mention some shops where rugs and other wool products are sold. However, none of them have proved to be profitable and fruitful enough for a family to exclusively depend on them for a living. Furthermore, there are restaurants and taverns, dairy and butcher stores belonging to cattle-raising families who channel their products to these businesses. Two super-markets have made their appearance and have gradually replaced small grocery stores. The traditional Greek cafes ‘cafenio’, more than ten in the village, are not the only units that provide services. Two new modern cafes provide a different lifestyle for their patrons. To complete the setting, we must make note of the two gasoline stations, one garage for car repair and two pharmacies. Many of these business ventures took place in Anogia over the last thirty years, as a result of development programs on behalf of the Local Authorities and ACOM-M\(^7\), within the funding of the European Community Fund (ECF). These types of services appeal to both locals and visitors. Some of them bear witness to the community’s gradually decreasing ability for self-preservation (super-markets and grocery stores). Some others are proof of the community opening up to the outside world (tourist services, taverns). Both are indicative of an effort made by the locals for a different kind of development and occupational orientation. At the same time however, this is also evidence of a gradual dependence, not on the local economy but rather, on the de-localized one. Furthermore, one can observe the invasion of modernity and the gradual adoption of an urban way of life on behalf of the locals.

Finally, the public sector is highly visible in Anogia. There is a veterinary clinic that together with the dairy corporation and the agricultural bank of Greece, make up a basic network for providing support to cattle-raising. Branches of large organizations are also present those being the police station, the health center, the post office, the national telephone company, the national youth institute with student dormitories and the national athletic stadium. There is also a conference center, a community center for the eld-

\(^7\) ACOM-M, is the abbreviation in Greek, for Development Center of Mountainous Mylopotamos and Malevisi provinces of Heraklion prefecture. It is a limited liability company (Ltd.) which has the central office in Anogia. The company’s shareholders are Organization of Local Authorities of the two pre-mentioned provinces. The Anogia Municipality owns 25% of the initial capital and is the biggest shareholder. The main aim of ACOM-M is local and regional development.
erly, a nursery school, two kindergartens, three elementary schools, one high school and one lyceum, evidence of the high number of children in the village. Finally, there is the ACOM-M, which has already been mentioned. The work positions in the above-mentioned public services are saturated and are occupied either by locals or by outsiders, depending on the knowledge and skills available to the local people for gaining employment.

Cattle-raising, which constitutes a local expertise, is the most profitable when compared with other economic sectors.

b. Cattle-raising: the main occupation in Anogia

Since most of the families are occupied in the cattle-raising sector, we conclude that the structure of production in the village is relatively one-sided. Cattle-raising is the actual main job in the local economy and consequently, the course of the Anogian community is closely dependent on the course of this sector of production. The present and future of Anogia is determined to a great extent by the viability and the further development of cattle-raising.

One could assume that cattle-raising is a dynamic economic sector which ensures a satisfactory income for herdsmen. In reality, the situation is more complicated. The truth is that cattle-raising is going through a crucial period which directly reflects social life. It could be said that never before has the feeling of insecurity for the future been so strong. As mentioned before, the acquisition of an increased number of cattle in the area has come not as a result of their true market demand, but is a phenomenon that has to do only with EU subsidies based strictly on quantitative criteria. The subsidies are based on the number of animals each herdsman owns. This policy did not encourage the producers to improve the infrastructure and working conditions. Their only ‘incentive’ concerned achieving a significant increase in their number of cattle so as to secure subsidization.

It is quite likely that nobody could have foreseen the consequences of this policy at the time. For the first few years, the subsidies were a relief for the community. At the same time however, a series of problems arose. To name some of them, we can first start with the environmental problems. Due to the over-exploitation of the land, soil erosion in the mountains has dramatically increased. For sheep and goat-raising this means that the animals have to be given more and more additional fodder. Consequently, production costs increased. The dairy corporation was forced to spend some of its revenues on supplementary fodder and build silos for food storage. Furthermore, water reserves began to be limited. Before 1996, after which time the local authorities built new water reservoirs in the mountains, extra water also had to be brought in. Although meat production is now more preferable due to the
higher subsidy, milk for cheese production has increased too. The dairy corporation has had to improve its small-scale cheese production unit in order to make use of its entire milk production and, at the same time, offer the product at a good enough price to maintain competitiveness on the market. As a result, economic problems have increased and bank debts have risen. The relevant autonomy the community used to enjoy for centuries no longer exists. Economic dependence on the outside world is an irreversible. This situation makes the herdsman wonder: if EU funding is discontinued, what does the future hold for cattle-raising? Is it possible for cattle raisers to continue without subsidies? The whole situation is a vicious circle. The discrepancy between tradition and modernism is palpably present throughout this almost absurd economic structure. Such ill-advised production is the result of ‘counter-productive’ subsidy policies.

At any rate, this almost one-dimensional economic structure and activity of the locals reinforces the feeling that they, the inhabitants, share a common fate. The future of this profession is not only crucial for the cattle-raisers themselves but also for the social and economic activity that develops in the village. The entire economic structure as well as the social structure of the village is determined by this profession. Today, despite the many impasses that appear before it, the occupation of cattle-raising seems to guarantee a relatively good income and is considered an honest and highly respected profession within the local community.

3.2.4. General conclusions and possibilities for job placement in Anogia

Although the Anogians have experienced new economic activities and seem to be aware that it is never too late to take new risks, one can not help but note that they still maintain a strong bond to their traditional occupation, cattle-raising. Moreover, old ways of work and production seem to resist every attempt towards modernization. On the one hand, we may say that there is an increasing pessimism among the young for job-reorientation. Actually, most of them believe that no new workplaces can be created and that consequently, young men have been left with two choices: either to be occupied in cattle-raising or leave Anogia. Additionally, young women seem to have two main alternatives too: either to get married to an Anogian, usually a herdsman, or leave Anogia for studies and work.

This would then mean that for the boys, cattle-raising constitutes the main outlet when in search of job placement. Despite their uncertainty of what the future might bring, the cattle raising profession seems to guarantee them a relatively good income when compared to other professions and is
considered an honest profession which is highly respected in the local community. Farming incomes are especially low. Job posts in the public sector as well as in small businesses have reached saturation point. In effect, the ‘easy money’ from the annual subsidies, along with the community’s occupational background form the basis for occupation in cattle-raising. Some producers are occupied in more than one family job. Usually, the second one is dependent on the production output of the first one. When the income from the family business is not considered to be enough to support all the adult male members of the family, then some of them are forced to abandon the village and go in search of work elsewhere, sometimes against their own will. This affects inter-familial relations as well as the family structure.

There are a number of women who work outside the home in sectors such as the manufacturing and sale of woven goods, the management and maintenance of small inns, or as clerks in the public sector. However, the vast majority of women are not professionally active, aside from the assistance they offer in the family business. In general, despite the common desire for a rise in the family income, the existing traditional mentality strongly opposes the idea of a working woman, and this is also true for the young girls who would like to work. What we have here is a paradox between the economic needs of a family or member and the social morality that works as a type of habit. The local community seems to be defending itself against real or imagined dangers. These dangers seem to be found “in cultural transformations, motivational and attitudinal changes and shifts in patterns of values and identities, which are attributed to the entry of cultural innovations into more or less traditional forms of life” (Habermas, 1985:87). In short, there are no job placement sectors either for women or for young girls who wish to work in the village. For the young girls, work can only be sought in urban centers if of course they themselves are able to surmount the prevailing mentality which holds that women do not need to work.

The intervention of the state due to its role in apportioning EU capital has been strongly active and decisive over the last decades. It is moving toward limiting the inhabitants’ role to that of a simple client to the state and leading any investment activity toward specific sectors. Today, the possibility of reduced state intervention brings fear and uncertainty to the inhabitants and especially to cattle raisers.

It seems very unlikely that new job placements will be created in Anogia. Spending money, short-term arrangements and idleness will not solve the problem. Quite simply, if it were not for this ‘easy money’ and ‘outside’
help, disaster would be inevitable and the relocation of the young people would constitute a massive exodus (Chtouris, 1998).

3.3. The community of Archanes – history and development

Archanes is a large village inhabited by 3,860 residents (NSSG, census 2001) and covers an area of 31.5 sq km. It is situated at an altitude of 380 m., in a relatively small and protected fertile valley that is surrounded by low and tall hills. It is 14 km from Heraklion which is the largest urban center on the island. Administratively, the village is run by the Municipality of Archanes which is within the prefecture of Heraklion.

Archanes constitutes a rapidly developing community due to its dynamic town council, which has made the most of the development programs subsidized by the EU concerning the district and its residents. These programs mainly concern subsidies in the primary sector of production and the manufacturing of its products in agricultural tourism and in the settlement’s architectural reformation. Archanes is known for its substantial archaeological findings, for its contemporary history, its structural beauty but mainly, it is known for its primary production which, for hundreds of years, has constituted the basis of its economy. Here, there is an abundance of agriculturally cultivated produce. The most prevalent type of cultivation is that of the ‘rozaki’ grape, a variety which once presented great market demand, as well as that of olives and dittany8. The secondary sector of production consists mainly of small, private units as well as small co-operative industrial units for processing the products derived from the primary sector. In recent years, tourism has shown signs of development and consequently, so have the sectors dealing with tourist services.

The researcher or the simple visitor to the village will observe two basic elements. The first one is the endless vineyards that extend north, east and

---

8 Diktamos (Origanum dictamnus) is an indigenous herb found exclusively on the island of Crete and is used as a stimulating tea. As far back as ancient times, it has been credited with having therapeutic properties. It is thought to have an antiseptic and antispasmodic effect while it is also thought to alleviate indigestion and relieve pain. Today, it is cultivated in a great number of regions on the island.
west of the village and the huge expanses of olive groves. The second one is the structural layout of the village. The well-kept residences built side by side combine neo-classic and traditional architecture and create a densely populated whole with minimal dispersion. This enhances the particularity and physiognomy of the village. These two elements give the visitor the impression that it is a lively and active settlement.

3.3.1. Historical elements regarding the community of Archanes

Similar to Anogia, Archanes is a place with a long history. According to historical sources (Detorakis, 1990), the region has been inhabited since prehistoric times. It would be noteworthy to mention that a unique industrial facility comprising of a wine-press and an oil-press dating back to the Minoan era were discovered in the region and indicates that vine and olive cultivation took place in the region at least as far back as the 16th century B.C.

During the Roman era that followed, (69 B.C.-330 A.D.), it appears that Archanes enjoyed prosperity and fame, while in Venetian documents dating back to 1271, Archanes is reported as having dense vegetation and abundant water sources. The period of Ottoman Rule in Crete lasted 229 years (1645-1898). The liberation of Greece in 1821 strengthened the local population’s resistance, but in 1866 an armed battle that took place brought about the complete destruction of the village. Nevertheless, in 1894 Archanes is described (Generalis in Christinidis & Bouangis 1997:89) as “a brilliant town with beautiful buildings, two churches, a mosque, schools, exquisite gardens and plush vineyards, populated by 2000 residents and connected to Heraklion via a carriageway”. Archanes was to become one of the first liberated regions of Crete in 1896 and since then, peace and prosperity have only been disrupted once, this being during the Second World War. Between 1900 and 1930 the first construction projects were underway. Electrical power was installed as well as the first water-supply network together with 29 community water taps. The first school was built and the first cinema opened its doors to the public.

The general wave of emigration during that period did not leave the village unaffected as it caused many locals to seek a better future in America as well as in Egypt. The money they sent back to the village constituted an important source of financial assistance for their families and the village itself.

---

9 1821 marked the beginning of the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire and the creation of a free contemporary Greek State.
One indication of the economic prosperity taking place in the village at that time was the construction of the Virgin Mary Clock that still stands today.

The year 1925 marked the founding of the Credit Association, which eventually developed into what is known today as the Wine-Olive-Credit Cooperative of Archanes. A few years later, the first intellectual association was founded, a forerunner of the current association established in 1958. In the 1930’s, there was great demand for the ‘rozaki’ variety of grapes, both at home and abroad, while great quantities of wine as well as raki\(^{10}\) were produced and, as a result, the village thrived.

The entire postwar period was a period of peace and prosperity for the village. The municipal authorities and the residents were, and still are, steadfast in improving living conditions and in promoting further development as well as cultural growth. The International Union R.E.D.\(^{11}\) awarded the village the 1st European prize for the year 2000, for the qualitative upgrading and environment-friendly structural layout of the village. In addition, the University of Crete awarded the village the 2002 ‘Eleftherios Patakis’ prize for the protection of the environment.

3.3.2. The natural and structured environment in Archanes

Archanes is an example of a natural and structured whole where traditional and modern elements co-exist. When taking the route to Archanes, one will notice that the natural landscape is almost exclusively made up of vineyards and olive groves. There is no doubt that through the years, the residents have put a lot of hard work into cultivating this land. Besides, it is well-known that, through the centuries, the settlement survived due precisely to these cultivations. Human intervention and use of the environment created new circumstances. Present-day rural roads, small pick-up trucks, tractors and digging machines, automatic watering systems, merchandise sold in farming-hardware shops, use of fertilizers and insecticides are all clear indications that the working conditions are indeed different from those of the past. The fact that foreign laborers are now hired to work in the fields is also indicative of the changes taking place in the social thread of the region. This is either indicative of how cultivation has developed from being a family affair to being a more business oriented job or it could be due to the shortage of local workers. All the above changes reflect the social changes that have taken place through the course of time. We might say that a discursive inter-

\(^{10}\) Distilled local drink, a by-product of grapes.

\(^{11}\) Founded in 1980, Ruralité – Environnement – Développment is an international organisation whose purpose is to support agricultural development in EU peripheries.
active relationship exists between social needs, social changes and the use of the land as a wealth-producing source. They stimulate us to seek ways that promote the proper functioning of the community and its economy.

As regards the structured environment and its functions, we could say that Archanes constitutes a typical example of a structured whole that combines historical and traditional roots with the liveliness of a modern town. The various historical periods of the past are indelibly present in the structural make-up of the village\(^{12}\). The settlement has been declared by the state as being architecturally significant for its historical and traditional heritage\(^{13}\). This, in fact, means that the settlement is thereby obliged to preserve and maintain the age-old architectural elements that have been deemed as such.

The town layout is dense and has remained unchanged, though it has of course expanded. The more important structures were built along the main road axis which ends at the central square to the south of the village and constitute the hallmark of the town’s identity. Structures such as the elementary school, the old town hall, the town clock as well as the residences, are irrefutable testimony of the economic prosperity that existed in the village. Through the course of time however, Archanes could not help but turn to more contemporary building materials such as concrete and aluminum. With the expansion of the village in the 1970’s and 1980’s, such residences and buildings began to make their appearance on the outskirts of the village, thus distorting the uniqueness of its structural identity. However, this type of construction was suspended due to a remodeling program that began in 1992 under the initiative of the Archanes municipality. It aimed at the restoration and enhancement of the settlement\(^{14}\). The results of this program are visible to all visitors. The streets, residences, shops and public buildings in the cen-
ter of the village have all been restored. One might say that the defining elements that co-exist in the settlement are: the traditional layout (the way the village was originally built), the contemporary structures (new residences on the outskirts of the village) and a post-modern perception that brought about the restoration and reformation of the settlement.

The restoration of the town center has contributed to the economic growth of the village since, it has become a local attraction for the residents of Heraklion and neighboring villages who pay frequent visits. Consequently, there has been a rise in new economic activities with new shops and restaurants being a clear indication of this.

The activities that take place in the village are varied but relatively fixed. The greater part of the settlement is occupied by residential areas. The imposing old school lies at the entrance to the village and currently houses the municipal library and the Open University in Crete. The farming cooperative is also a short distance from the town centre. The marketplace and shops are located at central points of the village and in the streets surrounding the central square. Here, one will see cafes, the small traditional greengrocers’ shops, bakeries, two local super markets as well as commercial shops and shops selling traditional products aimed mainly at visitors.

The village also hosts a series of public and private-run services. Municipal service bureaus such as the town hall and its services, the community centre for the elderly, counseling and support services, the children’s recreational centre are all located in the town centre. The health centre, drugstore, a number of private medical practices, two banks, two foreign language schools, two-three construction and town planning offices, the archeological museum, as well as other services can also be found here. The school complexes, which are made up of three elementary schools, the gymnasium and the lyceum, as well as the sports center and, are on the outskirts of the village. They are big modern buildings, and their presence implies that the village has a noteworthy population of children; hence it is a village which has thus far, managed to retain its population growth.

The village square is an interesting place. One might say that it is the place, more than any other that reflects the co-existence of traditional and modern life in the village. To the one side, there is an array of traditional taverns which, at weekends, are always full of people who have come to visit the village. One can also see traditional cafes here, whose regular customers are usually either the middle-aged or elderly men of the village. From here, the local regulars and visitors can observe the goings-on around them, since the main road axis leading to the village crosses the square. On the western end of the square, which is more secluded, there are three cafes where the
younger population of the village gathers. During the summer months, this square is full of life and constitutes an open and welcoming place for locals and visitors alike. Further to the south of the square, there is an open-air cinema and a bar that also attract the young people of the village who seem to opt for alternative forms of entertainment other than traditional ones. Generally speaking, we could say that these social locales entertain both traditional and modern functions. A usual sight is that of the older townsmen sitting in the traditional cafes, while the younger men frequent the more modern ones. The townswomen can either be seen in the marketplace or workplace, while some young girls frequent the more modern cafes in the afternoons or at weekends. The activities of the women are centered mainly on the home and their internal courtyards. It is therefore in the village square and its main thoroughfare where most or all daily social activities take place, while life on the outskirts of the village is mainly limited to the home, far from the scrutiny of fellow-villagers and visitors to the settlement.

3.3.3. The economy of Archanes – possibilities and constraints for youth employment.

a. The economy of Archanes: General information
The most important sector of economic activity in Archanes is farming. The most prevalent type of production is that of grapes and olives, as well as their by-products. Farming constitutes the backbone of the village economy since 36 per cent of the working population has farming as their main occupation, while the overwhelming majority of local residents maintain and develop their farmland while having other occupations as well (NSSG, census 2001). This means that farming and the goods it produces constitute the main or supplementary source of income for almost all the families in Archanes.

In any case, although the working population has been increasing in number, the percentage of residents occupied with farming has been decreasing. Between 1971 and 2001 the percentage had dropped from 70.5 per cent to 36 per cent (NSSG, census 1991, 2001). Speaking in absolute numbers, this decline translates into about 200 residents. Perhaps this is because those now entering the job market opt for other occupations, or simply because farming no longer constitutes a main occupation. Therefore, primary production no longer constitutes the sole sector of economic activity. The sector for secondary production has made its appearance, while the sector for the rendering of services has seen significant growth.

In the secondary production sector, one can observe the appearance of small, mainly family-run, manufacturing businesses and industries. Among others, there are small units for the manufacturing of bread and sweets, herbs
and of course, wine. The largest production unit in the village is owned by the agricultural winemaking co-op, which employs approximately 30 persons. There are also a significant number of residents, who work in construction. In total, 8 per cent of them work in the secondary sector.

The main area of interest centers on the tertiary production sector and the rapid growth it has seen over the past two decades. In this sector 46 per cent of the economically active population is employed. Here, we can see the development of a series of moderate tourist activities that have gone hand in hand with the development of the local market and trade. This occupational differentiation and activity came as a result of three main factors. Since the 1980’s, central government policy, as well as that of the EU, has greatly focused on the further development of rural areas and on bridging the difference in the quality of life compared to urban centers. Another contributing factor came as a result of the complete destruction of the vineyards due to the phylloxera epidemic in the mid 1980’s, and the long-lasting economic recession that followed. It took many years for the newly planted vines to yield crop. In the meantime, the economic assistance offered through subsidization was not nearly enough to cover living expenses during this waiting period, thus leading many residents to turn to other occupational activities apart from their farming duties. Finally, a significant contributing factor has been the overall systematic development efforts and intervention on behalf of the municipality, which aimed at achieving a better quality of life and enhancing the different features of the settlement. The physiognomy and image of the village changed, thus becoming an attractive destination for visitors. It was only natural that new businesses mainly catering to out-of-town visitors would open up. These are mainly restaurants, taverns, cafes, shops and one guesthouse. They are all small, family-run businesses and constitute an important source of income for the village economy. At the same time, this transformation can also be seen in private-run services as well as in the small but significant marketplace of the village whose goods and services are aimed at the local clientele.

15 Here again reference is made to the Mediterranean Integrated Programs, the programs for the development of inland farming regions Leader I, II, and other less important ones.
16 Since 1990, a series of construction projects and programs have been carried out in the Archanes municipality. Some of these are: the structural restoration of the settlement, the installation of an underground electrical system and cable television, an underground water supply system and sewage network, the ecological-archaeological park created on Mount Giouhta, the improvement of the road network and finally, the constructions of both the community centre for the elderly and the new elementary school.
It seems that this general change has taken on a permanent character. Along with primary production, this new economic activity has also been accepted and is desired. Furthermore, it is a sector in which the women of the village seek and get employment. It is also a promising work sector for young people who do not wish to work exclusively in farming. This turn towards the rendering of services and tourism appears to have also come as a result of the conscious effort made by the residents to either supplement their farming incomes or acquire full incomes due to their unsteady and small farming earnings. The development of services in the sector of tourism is gradually causing the local economy to depend more and more on the greater economy. In other words, it depends on whether the consumer visits tourist agencies and on the good promotional advertising of the region.

According to available data (NSSG, census 1991, 2001), the most significant changes in employment and in job market trends have to do with an increase in jobs, which require a high level of education such as those in the academic fields (+3.1 per cent) and in business management (+5.6 per cent). The sectors pertaining to the rendering of services and trade seem to have remained stagnant, employment in the primary sector has clearly decreased (-11.4 per cent) while respectively, there has been an increase in the employment of technicians, workers, machine operators, drivers etc (+8.5 per cent). These are jobs requiring empirical knowledge, some job training, or none at all. As regards the female population, in absolute numbers, we have a respective increase in all occupational sectors. The most significant increase can be seen in occupations requiring academic knowledge or professional training as well as in farming. This last element could be interpreted in two ways. There is either greater female emancipation or, a more likely explanation is that, as a result of work being more freely delegated within the family unit, male farmers now turn to other occupations leaving their wives to declare themselves farmers.

Finally, as it has been mentioned before, there are quite a few state-run and municipal services in the village that, among other things, constitute a source of employment for its residents. The development of services must be considered to be quite satisfactory considering the size of the settlement, while it is thought to have succeeded in covering the residents’ needs. There are specific job vacancies which are almost always given to locals. Nevertheless, this sector could be considered rather saturated.

One could claim that, aside from their involvement in the primary sector, the people of Archanes are also engaging in new types of economic activity, which offer other forms of employment. However, despite this new turn toward the development of the village, farming still constitutes the basis of
economic activity, the only definite employment sector and the most familiar area of investment and development. Although it may be becoming less and less of a full-time or sole occupation, it still constitutes the main source of income, it is the most important property asset the residents have and it safeguards the residents, especially the men, from unemployment.

b. Farming: the main occupation in Archanes
There are 994 cultivated land properties on an expanse of land of approximately 26.7 sq. km. Considering the fact that there are 1,325 households in the village, this means that 75 per cent of these households are occupied in farming either on a full-time or part-time basis. Vine and olive cultivation takes up 96 per cent of the cultivated land. The land is privately owned while the land and properties have undergone multiple fragmentations. More than 80 per cent of the farming cultivations are owned by men while the rest of them are owned by women. Approximately 2/3 of them declare farming as their main occupation. In any case, the overwhelming majority of the cultivators, (906 out of the 994) cultivate their land for trade purposes. 98.5 per cent of the producers have only practical experience, while 1.5 per cent has received at least minimum training (NSSG, census 2001).

Furthermore, the individuals occupied in the primary sector are far more than the 704 officially stated in the 2001 census. Other data from the same census indicates that the 994 land plots are each cultivated by their owners and by the members of their families who total 1,717 persons (1,039 men and 678 women). Of course, the degree of their involvement varies. For 1,244 it is a full-time occupation, for 27 it is a part-time occupation and for 446, it is a secondary occupation. Apart from family members, many seasonal workers are employed. In fact, during harvest season, approximately 3,000 workers are employed, while many producers seem to offer each other their services in which it appears that about 800 individuals are involved. Finally, approximately 400 producers seem to employ workers for specific labor work such as for digging or pesticide spraying.

It is clear to see that there is a huge work cycle in farming with a dual character: the formal work cycle involving the work of farmers and workers who have officially declared themselves as such, and the informal work cycle involving the work done by family members and the exchanging of services and assistance among producers who are usually related to each other. Either way, it is clear that a significant number of people are involved in farming production, the great majority of them being men who are either producers or paid workers.
A conclusive comparison between male and female involvement in farming indicates that the employment of women, in any shape or form, does not exceed 40 per cent. Even within the framework of family related assistance, here too, their involvement does not exceed this precedence. Farming is regarded as a male-oriented occupation.

The insecurity a farmer feels due to the fact that his livelihood is directly dependent on imponderable factors such as weather conditions and plant diseases was strongly felt in Archanes when the phylloxera epidemic began to afflict the vineyards of the region in 1987, causing their replacement of the ‘rozaki’ grape, with a new variety, that being the ‘American’ grape. As far as the local farmers were concerned, the only edible grape was the ‘rozaki’ grape variety, which was resilient, did not require hormone fertilizers or regular watering and could even be harvested in November, thus enabling its sale on the market during seasons when other grape varieties were not available. Nevertheless, they have been forced to cultivate this new variety of grape which today, is commonly sold on the market, is of lower quality due to extreme pesticide treatment, involves greater production expenses, and requires different technical know-how. The quality of the grapes is no longer what it once was. All in all, the farmers feel that they are faced with problems that did not exist before.

Nowadays, there are three different types of vine cultivation. The first type is used for the production of edible grapes. The second, the ‘soultanina’ grape, for the production of raisins and the third, for the production of wine and raki. Of all the above, the ‘soultanina’ grape is the only product which is subsidized and as a result, all the producers cultivate the necessary amount of this variety so that, at the very least, they can ensure a steady income. The production of olive oil is also subsidized.

The main volume of production is handled by the Archanes co-op at which approximately 1,470 members are registered. However, it is thought that the co-op is going through a difficult period. It cannot seem to pull its farmers out of the economic crisis they claim to be experiencing, nor can it offer hopeful solutions or better prospects for good prices regarding foreign markets. Despite the problems, many tons of edible grapes, raisins and mainly wine-producing grapes are gathered by the co-op. Its winery produces 5 different kinds of wine and the volume of production is channeled to the local and international market.

Let us now see some of the problems in farming production. The most serious problems have to do with the price of the produce. The farmers believe that, compared to the past, their income today is less than satisfactory. In the face of this insecurity and disillusionment for many, and in the hope of im-
proving the predicament of farmers, a civil non-profit organization was set up in 2005. The aim of the organization is to intervene in the cultivation technique applied by producers for the sake of meeting product safety standards and protecting cultivators.

Other farming matters that are worth mentioning are the lack of homogeneity among the farming producers, and the constant apportionment of the land as it continues to be divided among its inheritors. In reference to the first matter, those employed in other professions usually sell farming land to those who wish to own and maintain profitable and sizeable farming properties. As for those farmers whose properties are small, farming is, or will soon become, a second occupation.

We should also note that quite a few foreign farm workers reside in the village, with over 100 of them doing wage labor in the vineyards. The local residents, even those who are unemployed, are not easily inclined to work on the land of their fellow-villagers with the exception of perhaps offering to do specialized mechanical work.

The entire economy of the village directly depends on farming production, whether this regards small private investments or consumer turnover in the village because, as we have previously mentioned, this is the only production sector in which almost all its residents are involved. There are a number of residents who aspire to the development and qualitative upgrading of primary production. They see farming production as a potentially profitable business, thus proving that the reason they are farmers is because it is an occupation worth doing even if they have other employment alternatives. They have been taking steps toward modernization, putting their knowledge and know-how to good use and they have been keeping informed, all in the hopes of turning the traditionally accepted image of a farmer into the image of a modern businessman. According to these residents, they are up against a more prevalent but less optimistic view of farming, shared by the majority of their fellow-residents. This view holds that farming is not an occupation one chooses to do but rather it is one you are forced to do for lack of other qualifications due either to inadequate schooling or failure to find other employment in the free market. In other words, this occupation and those employed in it are clearly looked upon with social disdain. Those holding such views are usually too passive deal with the whole matter and are quite wary of what the future holds.

The dynamic development of primary production is a crucial issue of the utmost importance to this community. Despite the crisis it is going through, farming still makes up the economic and social background of the community and so far, no other economic activity has been able to take its place. It
constitutes a steady point of reference for economic family planning. It is the basis for the social and economic ascent of its members and is also a sector of employment for those who choose it. Whether it is done on a full-time or part-time basis, it seems to ensure an income too good for any of them to pass up.

3.3.4. General conclusions and employment perspectives in Archanes

The immediate and greater socio-economic environment and the job vacancies that are available are indeed important factors the young people take into consideration when planning their professional future (Kassimati, 1991).

Despite a decline in employment in the primary sector, farming is not being abandoned. On the one hand, it appears to be considered an undesirable occupation, on the other however, the income it provides is quite desirable. So what does this mean?

For years, vine-cultivation constituted practically the only occupational alternative and was the primary means of survival. At the same time, the production of edible grapes, raisins and wine was beginning to see an increase in demand, thus bringing a steady rise in production and profits. Of course, one might say that this type of production monopolized the market mainly due to the production of the ‘rozaki’ grape variety since, at that time, other vine growing had not yet begun to be extensively practiced in Crete. As a result, family standards of living increased and farming families could now afford to offer their children a better education and financial support in the hopes that they would ascend the social ladder by practicing a profession of greater social caliber, is less strenuous than farming and provides a steady income. Parents could continue to cultivate the land, thus ensuring a significant income, and their children could now practice another occupation, thus expanding the occupational make-up and income of the family. After all, the overall improvement in their children’s standard of living has always been the pursuit of the Greek family, and occupational choices are usually the result of mutual decisions and common pursuits of both parents and children (Kassimati, 1991). And so, today, for the young people of the village, farming is no longer viewed as an occupational prospect but rather, as an occupational alternative for those who could not or did not want to take advantage of the available education prospects that would enable them to acquire either technical, professional or academic knowledge, or even a university degree.

There are no more than 40 young people in the village (35 males, 5 female) aged up to 29 who own their own farmland (NSSG, census 2001). There are far more young people who are occupied on the family farming property but it is unclear whether this is their sole occupation. Therefore,
primary production occupies approximately 150 persons between the ages of 14 and 29. The boys, more than the girls, either choose to become or end up becoming farmers, thus confirming that, by tradition, female employment in the primary sector is both non-fixed and supplementary (NSSG, census 2001). Therefore, farming constitutes a male dominated employment sector.

However, the primary production sector is an area full of development prospects and is able to provide employment. The production units in the village are small, family-run and can easily become places of work for family members themselves. The tertiary sector employs a large number of persons, both in private-run and public services. However, this sector has reached saturation point. Nevertheless, it constitutes the desired sector for young people.

The greater job market of Heraklion with its 150,000 inhabitants (NSSG, census 2001) and its economic activity in tourism, trade, agriculture, services and small industry provides an alternative solution to the limited prospects of the local economy and its inability to employ more young people in sectors other than in farming. In fact, employment in Heraklion does not require relocating, unless of course some young people wish to do so. And so, on the one hand, there is the farming land and, on the other, a ‘huge’ job market, both of which make it all the more urgent for more jobs to be made available in the village. Furthermore, this greater job market offers young people the opportunity of aiming at occupations and pursuing studies regardless of whether they practice them in the village or in Heraklion. The higher the aims, the less pressure there is on the local job market. The less training and knowledge acquired, the more pressure there is on the local market to create more jobs.

3.4. Anogia and Archanes – their transition from tradition to modernity

Anogia and Archanes are societies undergoing a transition from tradition to modernity. Over time, they have been experiencing a series of changes in their social structures due to the influence of the greater social surroundings. One of the main characteristics of modern Greek society is the polarity of the urban – rural world and regardless of whether it is considered a dichotomy (Catrivesis, 1996) or a continuity (Redfield & Singer, 1971), it is characterized by constant interaction.
3.4.1. The study of the local-traditional community

When we study social structures and discuss a small community, we often define it with characteristics opposite to those of an urban center: a society where people know each other and maintain close relations, a society which is based on kinship and family relations and has common identity awareness. As it has been mentioned before, this is not a new schema. It has been expressed in many ways: ‘familial vs. individuated society’ (Maine, 1864), ‘societas vs. civitas’ (Morgan, 1878) ‘mechanical vs. organic solidarity’ (Durkheim, 1947), ‘Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft’ (Tönnies, 1961). These are differences that lead to differences in social structure formation among rural-traditional communities and the ‘developed’ urban ‘western’ world. Additionally, in ‘traditional’ societies, the economy very obviously constitutes part of the whole social formation, which could be seen as a cultural element with the totalitarian concept of the term. Culture can be identified, not as one level of society which is connected externally with other levels such as the economy, but as a whole phenomenon which includes all these. That is, culture is inherent with social structures. From its formation and its structural position, the rural community composes part of a greater ‘whole’, thus it has been characterized as a ‘part-society’ (Redfield, 1960). Being part of the ‘whole’, it co-exists within other sub-systems and is associated with them, in interaction and complementary relations (Nitsiakos, 1991).

When looking for definitions of the concept of community, we must not limit our research to the residentially developed areas nor to the socio-economic and administrative aspects that they reflect. This also has to do with the sense and idea of a common belonging which is formed on the grounds of specific social structures and relations, which also coincides with a concrete ethos that rules community life. Collective ethos consists of a group of values, rules and patterns of behaviour and constitutes an important factor in the formation of society. It lies in the existing structures and simultaneously affects them, contributing this way to their reproduction and by extension to the reproduction of the whole formation as a cultural unit. In particular, specific patterns of social relations and behaviour which in time assume their ultimate character, are of great as they function as symbols of identity, social coherence and collective memory (i.e. mutual assistance and solidarity) and they include the characteristic dimension of resistance to the forces of change. The value system often appears to be more influential than the materialistic one and determines social life. Karavidas (1981/1936) points out that “...the community is the experience and conditions of being. It is formed and prescribed only through life, through conditions which are
created spontaneously and autonomously. Community is the cast of factual freedom”.

In acquiring a clear perspective of the community as a whole, one must first define the concept of social structure, the system of norms and expectations, ethos and the value system as they are equally important parts of reality (Redfield, 1955). Furthermore, ethos, values and social structures, when studied integrally, enable the further understanding of the development of community spirit, which can survive even if the material equivalent, the village, no longer exists. Historical testimony regarding the organization of the Anogia and Archanes communities is somewhat poor. However, it is adequate enough to enlighten us on the structure and the development of this society. According to the descriptions given of the two villages, we may say that self-sufficiency, solidarity and the community spirit were the dominant values of these communities.

When studying these local communities in their passage through time, one may ascertain that a series of changes have taken place as a result of the communication between the villages and the outside world, the changes that have taken place in Greek society and the diffusion of modernity to all levels of life. The picture Anogia and Archanes presents today may surprise many unsuspecting visitors who still regard these communities as ‘traditional’, but it also causes surprise to a large number of its own inhabitants, those mainly being the village seniors, who have witnessed highly accelerated changes within their own life-time.

3.4.2. Anogia: a community in transition

Our search through time indicates that the social organization of this small community had all the main characteristics of the traditional communities on which previous significant studies were conducted in the 1960’s and 1970’s. These characteristics are: the dominance of family and kinship ties in which economic activity was embedded, while emphasis is put on solidarity and
self-sufficiency\textsuperscript{20}, a strong sense of community spirit, commonly accepted moral codes which carry the same weight as any judicial law, devotion to old customs and traditions such as the inter-familial marriage system, fraternization or even the more rarely practiced custom of the vendetta.

Today, Anogia still maintains the strong elements of a traditional society in the daily practices of its inhabitants. This comes as a result of experiences from the recent past and the collective memories of those experiences which stand the test of time. However, the social structures have undergone a series of changes, the most important one being detaching the production process from the family-kinship unit and replacing it with the development of a capitalistic production system. Through time, this transition from an embedded economy to a disembedded one has changed all the characteristics of Anogia as a traditional society\textsuperscript{21}.

It is not easy to pinpoint when exactly these changes in the traditional community began to take place because the community itself was not stagnant. It is certain, however, that the greatest wave of changes occurred after the Second World War and intensified during the 1960’s and 1970’s. Each day, new elements cause the past to be questioned and encourage a pressing need for change, which can no longer be partial but total. It is only natural that the relative isolation the community lived in for approximately 6 centuries led to a life-style of self-sufficiency as regards social and production processes. Although family and community oriented self-sufficiency, as well

\begin{itemize}
\item An important finding in the studies of social structures was the ascertainment that kinship played a dominant role in regulating social, economic, and political relations in traditional societies. That, it led researchers to adopt the term “kinship societies”. The dominant role of kinship relations, in which the economic functions were embedded, evoked a long-lasting debate between Social Anthropologists and Marxists as regards the placement of the relations of production at the level of kinship relations. This debate was to be overturned after Godelier (1977) introduced the distinction between the hierarchy of functions and the hierarchy of structures.
\item The classic typology of Polanyi (1957) determines three economic systems, based on the mechanisms of the market: Those based on the mechanisms of reciprocity and are ruled by kinship relations. Economies based on mechanisms of re-distribution where one center of authority receives contributions from sub-production units and re-distributes them afterwards, and economies which are isolated from any social function of the free market. Dalton’s (1971) proportional scheme is marketless economies, peripheral or petty market, market dominated economies.
\end{itemize}
as solidarity, were determined by what life’s realities forced on them, it clearly constituted a dominating factor in all business or financially oriented relations.

Through time and due to the pressure placed on them by history as well as by the greater social changes, the village continually developed adaptability strategies which would ensure its survival. The last few decades have perhaps constituted one of the most crucial periods for the ongoing development of this community. The changes and transformations have taken place “in part, under great and constant pressure, they have created violent unrest and conflicts but also steadfast persistence and resistance” (Papaioannou, 1998:11). It is a clash between tradition and modernity already underway, or in Papaioannou’s words:

“This almost ‘violent’ change in objective conditions when opening up and exposing a relatively isolated community to an arena, thus causing it to become progressively drawn to the free market mentality, ultimately comes in direct conflict with the value systems and culture which remain steadfast and unchanged in its traditional place in time. This creates misinterpretations, retractions and an aggressive predisposition, which results in their ‘safeguarding’ and defending themselves against this ‘invasion of modernization’ (Papaioannou, 1998:12).

But what are those experiences and collective memories urging these people to strongly resist the changes of the last few decades? Contemporary researchers (Papaioannou & Alheit, 1995) claim that in the case of Anogia’s local community, one will face an extremely contradictory situation of collective memories. On the one hand, the local community represents a pre-modern culture based on cattle-raising, with strong ties to religious and local traditions. Established forms of traditional knowledge and practice like folk-songs, poems, village and family stories, or even the blood feud tradition, age-old skills and old wives’ tales maintain intuitive links to action schemes and time schedules of everyday life. On the other hand, this community has undergone rapid political and administrative transformation during the last three decades, in correspondence with the changes in the national formation. The organization of local government is highly professional and intensively modernized, while the economic framework remains the same. New institutionalized systems for the interpretation of the social world made their appearance like law, science, arts, and religion. Social and political theories constitute a theoretical context for interpreting the local community, every-
day patterns and propose future development. Furthermore, the mass media play an important role in controlling people’s opinion and memory. This contradiction reproduces different and, in many cases, completely opposite social representations. As I see it, the local community is trapped between tradition and modernity while collective memory is soaked in tradition.

3.4.3. Archanes: a community in transition

Even though Archanes presents itself as a traditional settlement, a researcher would find it difficult to characterize it as such in the literal sense of the term “traditional”. Like Anogia, it is a society undergoing transition from tradition to modernity. This is to be expected if we take into consideration the recent history of the village and the initiatives taken by its residents towards that aim from the beginning of the 1900’s, not to mention the more general, institutional, administrative, economic and social modernization of the country which began to gain ground after the war and up to the 1960’s and 1970’s, thus enabling the country in the 1980’s to unalteringly focus on, and eventually gain, complete integration in the EU. There is no doubt that central modernizing policies greatly influence and play a decisive role in the overall growth of a place. Archanes appears to be the type of community that is open to change, or at the very least, does not seem to strongly resist it. It seems that ‘progress’ has always constituted an objective, if not for all the residents, at least for a great number and certainly for their elected Municipal Authorities.

As in the case of Anogia, it is not easy to pinpoint the exact time at which these changes began to take place in Archanes since the very community in which these changes occurred, is not static. From what we know of its history, this community has never lived in complete isolation. In one way or another, it has always managed to maintain and encourage communication with the ‘outside’ world. This became more intense at the turn of the 20th century when its people began to enjoy freedom, independence and economic prosperity. Communication appears to have been an essential part of their very survival, growth and progress for the simple reason that they had to venture beyond the confines of their village in order to sell their produce of oil, grapes, raisins and wine. Therefore, trade, being a vital means of survival, constituted perhaps the basic reason for which the community of Archanes, or at least some of its male residents, maintained constant communication with the greater area and chiefly with the nearest urban centre, Heraklion, a city it has even ‘tried’ to emulate. This communication with the outside world was to expand even further with the migratory wave at the beginning of the 20th century, but here too, the basic changes took place after the
Second World War, and particularly during the 1970’s and 1980’s, with the gradual mechanization of production, which brought about the overall development and growth of Greek society. Moreover, it is during this postwar period that the young people of the village, mainly upper and middle class, began to further their studies by gaining a high school diploma and even pursuing academic studies.

However, despite the fact that Archanes was undergoing constant social change, it still managed to maintain all the characteristics of a small community whose residents know each other, have close relations, rely on family relations and define themselves by their place of origin and a mutual awareness of ‘belonging’. Despite the rapid steps taken toward modernization on a social, economic and administrative level, the overall idiosyncrasy of the people, as well as their ‘rules’ of communication dictated by an age-old system of values and ethics, has remained unchanged through the course of time. Even if the existing testimony does not suffice for a thorough look into the past of this community, we can say that community spirit, solidarity, and a desire for development and growth, were the elements that characterized this rural community and, to a large extent, still do.

So, what does all this mean to the young people’s lives and occupational choices?
Chapter 4: Young people in Anogia and Archanes – the role of education

4.1. Introduction

Let us now look at the role of education in choosing occupation and in finding employment as regards the youth within rural areas.

According to Tsoukalas (1992), the formation of the Greek urban setting can be attributed to the gradual shifting of rural populations and among others, to the relocation of the young people from rural-farming areas of both small and medium size property ownership. Tsoukalas (1992) develops the view that rural masses leaving the land and turning from physical work to a social category which requires at least a minimum of education, found the technical preparatory tools for such a new classification within the school system. His study looks into these phenomena from the beginning to the middle of the 20th century. Interestingly enough, it has been ascertained that those only completing elementary school, do not seem to make up any part of urban concentration (Tsoukalas, 1992). Given the fact that we are at the beginning of the 21st century, we could correspondingly say that even today, the completion of compulsory education, that is, three added school years of high school, does not encourage relocation.

Education in Greece is compulsory for all children 6-15 years old. It includes primary education that lasts 6 years (Dimotiko) and lower secondary education (Gymnasio), elsewhere known as high school that lasts 3 years. Children are admitted at the age of 6. Post-compulsory education, according to the reform of 1977, consists of two school types: general lyceum that lasts 3 years and technological lyceum (TEE or as it has been re-named recently, EPAL) that lasts 2 or 3 years. Post-compulsory education also includes vocational training institutes (IEK), which provide a two year formal but unclassified level of education because they accept both high school and lyceum/TEE graduates. Public higher education is divided into universities and technological education institutes (TEI). Students are admitted to these institutes according to their exam performance at a national level taking place in the third grade of lyceum. Formal education is characterized by a fixed length of study, the possibility of repetition and the award of a formal school-leaving certificate which carries official authorization.

The consolidation of the legal right to a compulsory nine-year education in Greece was enacted in 1964 (law 4379). It was then consolidated in the country’s new Constitution in 1975, article 16. Since 1985, failure to enroll and attend school is considered by law to be a criminal offence on the part of the child’s legal guardian. Ever since the nine-year education became a right as well as an obligation, the issue of school dropouts became a matter of concern.
Additionally, in most EU countries, the unemployment rates are inversely proportionate to the level of education (Hasan, 1994; Eurostat, 2000, 2004). That is, more education means less risk of unemployment and vice versa. This is so because basic education determines the level of learning or the studies to be pursued. Furthermore, career opportunities for placement in the job market are certainly limited when one possesses poor schooling. The direct association between the education level and unemployment is characteristic of the last decades. In an ongoing attempt to remain competitive in today’s constantly shifting global market, businesses and economies require a workforce with a wider range of qualifications that is able to constantly update and adapt its technical knowledge and know-how to successfully correspond with all versatile forms of occupation (Rifkin, 1995). Consequently, it is only logical that this trend would diminish the participation of non-specialized workers in the modern-day work force. While there is the alternative route of professional training or further studies for graduates who have completed their compulsory education, for those who have discontinued their compulsory education, almost all roads lead to a dead-end. These young people are neither given the opportunity to make up for the gap in their education, since all available job training programs require a gymnasium or lyceum diploma, nor are they able to certify their empirical knowledge. The inferior position they find themselves in is only further aggravated by the fact that the labor market for non-specialized workers or for jobs requiring only basic qualifications is very small.

Anyway, in Greece, nowadays many of the young people who did not complete their compulsory education are still able to find work in non-specialized sectors such as family businesses and the farming industry, which, to this day, remains vast. This is borne out in the statistical surveys which show that the percentage of these young people who are unemployed is much lower than that of those who have completed either their secondary or tertiary education (IRDAC, 1991; NSSG, census 1991, 2001).

In addition to these research findings, a study by Kassimati (1991) referring to the greater Greek area also concludes that the level of one’s education is directly related to career choices. Kassimati also states that the level of education one chooses to complete and, by extension, the career one chooses to pursue, involves two contributing factors. The first concerns what is termed as the micro-social environment, that is, one’s family, gender, values and social class, while the second pertains to structural factors such as socioeconomic development, the education system and its relation to future employment. Ambitions, expectations and preferences are shaped according to these two factors, which play an important role as well.
The micro-social environment effects, shapes and influences the choices every individual makes. In the face of these choices, the various structural factors define the prospects and limitations set by the social system itself. What a person would like to do if provided with the ‘ideal’ conditions for education and employment greatly differs from what that person will end up pursuing, and ultimately doing, when faced with the conditions that really exist. Career choices are not just shaped out of nowhere. On the contrary, they are shaped within a given social-economic-cultural setting with specific cultural stereotypes, given values concerning work and occupations, and within a specific family environment. The individual gains social experiences which lead to his making choices according to the way he takes in, interprets and communicates with his micro and macro environment. He acquires a practical sense of what must be done in a given situation, what Bourdieu terms as “habitus” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996).

Coming back to the matter of education, aside from being the means by which the farming population can change over from rural to urban communities (Tsoukalas, 1987), we can also see that it is a decisive factor which determines the career perspectives and choices of the young people. However, not all members of society have the same degree of access to education. Bourdieu mentions that the social classes less present in university education are those which are more present within the economically active population while, in relation to their father’s occupation, the lower the social class, the greater their exclusion from university studies (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996). The lower the prestige of the field of study, the higher the number of students of lower social class are. Despite the constant ‘democratizing’ of societies and the easier access to education for all social classes, the education system continues to be selective. In Greece, relative studies on the access to higher education show that the students in the more prestigious fields of study are mainly those belonging to the upper classes, while those in less prestigious fields of study come from lower socio-economic classes (Fragoudaki, 1985). According to Bourdieu, the education system discriminates

---

23 Bourdieu considers social subjects to be equipped with a practical sense, an acquired system of preferences, judgment and discrimination principles (what we call taste). They are also equipped with a system of permanent cognitive structures, which is mainly a product of incorporating the objective structures. These two factors shape the way one interprets a situation and adjusts to it (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996). Bourdieu himself, describes habitus as the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations…a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions that makes possible the achievement of diversified tasks.
in favor of those bestowed with an inherited ‘cultural asset’ which is handed down, increased, decreased, or lost, and it bears the stamp of those who appropriate it in a legal and natural manner (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996).

Studies on the cultural assets regarding parents’ education show that the parents’ academic accomplishments are directly related to those of their children (Egerton, 1997).

From all the above, we may conclude that a person’s education plays a decisive role in the career prospects provided to him, and in the choices he is allowed to make. Despite this knowledge, even today, there are still young people who either drop out of compulsory education or fail to complete secondary (lyceum) schooling. Let us have a look at the student dropout phenomenon in Greece and in Crete in particular.

4.2. The role of education in finding employment as well as in shaping career prospects and career choices

Student dropouts in compulsory education are found to have dropped from 12.65 in 1998 to 6.09 per cent in 2001 and to 6.04 in 2005. At the lyceum and technological lyceum (TEE), the dropout rates are at 3.32 and 20.28 per cent respectively and together are estimated to be at 9.74 per cent. In total, secondary school dropouts are estimated to be at 14-16 per cent. Boys drop out of school more frequently than girls, while school dropouts are higher in farming regions than they are in semi-urban and urban areas (Palaiokrasas, 1996a; Rouseas & Vretakou, 2006).

In Crete, the student dropout issue presents the bleakest picture in the country throughout the level of secondary education. For the student body of 2000-01, it is estimated to be 8.3 per cent at the level of compulsory education, 4.8 per cent at the lyceum level and 23.2 per cent at the technological lyceum, while school dropouts are higher for the boys than for the girls with a proportion of 3/2. As to the overall region of Crete, evidence shows that the highest dropout rates take place in semi-rural areas followed by farming areas and finally, urban areas. Respectively, school abandonment in farming areas is 9 per cent at the compulsory education level, 10.4 per cent at the lyceum level and 31.58 per cent at the technological lyceum level.

The Heraklion and Rethymnon prefectures are considered to be among the prefectures with the highest and most persistent dropout rates, despite the fact that these rates have noticeably decreased over the past twenty years. This reduction in student dropouts is especially impressive when examining the farming regions of both prefectures.
In searching for the reasons behind the decline in student dropouts in Greece, we could mention, among other things, the improved access to knowledge and information for those living in even the remotest areas, the general rise in the population’s level of education, the improvement in the financial status of the family as well as in the efforts made towards readjusting and updating courses of study and educational structures (Palaiokrasas, 1996b).

In searching for the causes of school dropouts, we can see that a multitude of factors have gone into creating this phenomenon: the low socio-economic level of the family, the student’s premature involvement in work and family employment, failure on the part of the parents to acknowledge the value of education and their low expectations, students living in poor, secluded farming areas, health problems or bad family relations and, finally, low academic performance and a negative attitude toward school, although these last two are considered to be secondary factors (Rouseas & Vretakou, 2006).

Generally speaking, school abandonment is a crucial issue. Whatever the reason may be, students who prematurely drop out of the education system face the risk of unemployment, underemployment, being forced to work in bad conditions, being subjected to social isolation and acquiring a negative self-image, all of which may have dire effects on their individual and social lives. Fortunately, Greece is one of those countries where, for the most part, these consequences do not come into play as they do in other European countries and young people are at a lesser risk of experiencing extreme forms of social isolation due to strong family ties and solidarity among its members (Karamesini, 2004; Papadopoulou, 2004).

We could say that the great deviations in dropout tendencies that appear among the geographical districts of the island usually have to do with the premature involvement of the young people in the tourist trade as well as in agriculture. The young from rural districts come from parents with a low level of education and are mostly farmers and cattle raisers. These young people were involved in their parents’ occupation from school age. Boys who abandon compulsory education do so in order to assist their parents in their occupations or to contribute to the deficient family income. On the other hand, the girls do so either to get married or to help around the house or even sometimes because the parents, mainly the father, expresses the traditional view that girls do not need to study or work (Palaiokrasas, 1996a).
4.3. The young people of Anogia and education

When considering the findings from the previously mentioned studies, as well as the low percentage of unemployment on the island\footnote{According to the NSSG: 2001, the unemployment rate in Crete over the last decade ranges from 3.8\% to 5.8\% and is one of the lowest in the country.}, it seems that the main reasons for this dropout phenomenon are the involvement of these young people in the economic activities of their parents in the primary sector, the availability of jobs in the tourist trade as well as the youth involvement with other technical jobs. In other words, they are mainly reasons that have more to do with economic prosperity and ensuring a professional outlet than with the need to help out the family or due to a lack of educational structures. According to the 2005 survey (Rouseas & Vretakou, 2006), the student drop-out rate at the gymnasium of Anogia is 26 per cent, while a previous study estimated it to be 19 per cent (Vuidaskis, 1996). This clearly indicates an increase in the phenomenon over the last decade.

The gymnasium of Anogia lies in the only rural town of the prefecture. The student body is made up of youngsters from the primary schools of Anogia (55\%), as well as of youngsters originating from schools from nearby mountainous regions (45\%). It is estimated that 70 individuals are enrolled at the gymnasium every academic year. Of them, more are boys (53\%) while less are girls (47\%), (Vuidaskis, 1996, school archives, 2000). This reflects a more general phenomenon. The patriarchal social structures of Crete and Greek society in general, considered education to be the exclusive prerogative of boys. Additionally, the school dropout figure is much higher for the boys (68\%) than it is for girls (32\%). When comparing this with the dropout figure in the prefecture of Rethymnon, the Anogian boys are ranked among the first to abandon school whereas the girls are among the last. In overall figures, the girls who ended up graduating from gymnasium outnumbered the boys. The girls in Anogia make the most of their right to a gymnasium education far more than the boys do. The majority of the boys seem to view this right as a burdensome obligation which they usually try to rid themselves of as soon as possible. The school dropout rate in Anogia, one of the highest in the prefecture, can be mainly attributed to the boys and not to girls.

Student dropouts, with whatever this entails for the future of these young people, should probably be linked to the socialization processes within the family and community, to the occupational and educational status of the parents, as well as to the opportunities and expectations of the young concern-
ing job placement. At this point, let us look into data on the educational level of the population of Anogia.

When studying the data (NSSG, census 1991, 2001), one may ascertain that the population’s participation in education rises as the age groups decline, with a noticeable rise in the participation of women. Of the inhabitants who are 40 and over, 96 per cent are either primary school graduates or did not complete primary school, or are illiterate. Within this age group, women have a much lower educational level. The whole setting changes as we descend the age scale. The majority of the population between 25 and 39 years of age graduated from primary school, some completed their compulsory education, while 20 per cent have completed lyceum and 10 per cent are higher education graduates. This means that the 1980’s marked an advent in change regarding the community’s attitudes toward education. As regards the attitudes of the two sexes, it is noteworthy to mention that the female population is slightly superior to the male one in their participation at all levels of education and the degree at which they participate increases as we further descend the age scale (NSSG, census 1991, 2001). Finally, when looking at the youngest group in the ladder, 15 to 24 years of age, we notice that all of them complete their primary school education. However, 1/3 of the population does not proceed to a higher level, while 1/4 of the population goes on to complete compulsory education. As we go up the education scale, the girls continue to outnumber the boys. However, the numbers of University graduates of either sex are about the same. In general, the supremacy of the girls in this case is clear and constant. Even in Anogia, there has been a clear decline in certain traditional patriarchal structures which dictate that a girl’s place is in the home.

Generally speaking, the last thirty years have indicated a rise in the educational assets of the village. However, even the completion of compulsory education for all young people is far from being a given fact, even more so when it comes to completing lyceum. The fact that boys drop out of school more frequently than girls is indicative of their premature involvement in cattle-raising or the family business. The fact that the girls are more determined to continue their schooling is probably because they see education as the only means by which they could become professionally active. For some, schooling is continued even if this means leaving the village, for others because this means leaving the village.

The relevant data (NSSG, census 1991, 2001) confirms the above trends. The young between 15-24 years of age make up approximately 20 per cent
of the economically active population\textsuperscript{25} of the village. Of those, 74 per cent are employed while the rest are unemployed. When looking at this in terms of gender, the economically active young male population is three times greater than that of females and the number of working young men is five times greater. Unemployment for girls totals 50 per cent of this population while for boys it is only about 15 per cent. If we look at the economically non-active population of these ages we may ascertain that the girls are three times greater in number than the boys. Comparatively, this means that the girls follow a longer course of preparation in all formal education institutions before searching for job placement. It is also indicative of the lack of job positions in the village for the female population.

In conclusion, we may say that despite their common origin and common concerns, the young people in Anogia differ in the attitudes they adopt towards education and school. When considering all the above, we can see that this will affect their occupational choices and, by extension, their life plans and their courses of action. The two genders seem to have diverging views when looking at education as a means used for fulfillment of their occupational pursuits and strategies. On the one hand, we have the vast majority of the male population who follow traditional practices in seeking occupation, while on the other hand, we have the vast majority of the young female population who use education as a means for relocation and as a precondition for job placement. Young females seem to be vehicles of change much more than young males do.

4.4. The young people of Archanes and education

For the community of Archanes, a more detailed study was conducted as regards schooling and school abandonment since the situation there is more complex and the trends are not as clear as they are in the schools of Anogia.

The total number of students registered in each of the academic years between 1990 and 2000 at the high school in Archanes is estimated to be 80 individuals (school archives, 1990-2000)\textsuperscript{26}. More boys (52\%) than girls

\textsuperscript{25} We consider an economically active population to be the people between 15 and 65 years old who do not suffer from any physical or mental health problems at a percentage higher than 67\%. Moreover, they do not attend school or any other kind of education at any level, unless if they want to work parallel to their education.

\textsuperscript{26} In order to ascertain the attitude of the young towards compulsory and Lyceum education, the Archanes high school and lyceum files were kindly made available for investigation. The student mobility over a ten-year period was recorded, from 1990-91 until 1999-00. We should
(48%) enroll. Of them, the vast majority (86%) graduates, 8 per cent do not complete their compulsory schooling, while 6 per cent, mostly boys, transfer to other gymnasiums and their progress is unknown to us. Although more boys than girls enroll at the high school, the number of girls who graduate is slightly higher. The percentage of drop-outs for the boys is 9.5 while for the girls it is 5.7. Of the students who graduate high school, only 88 per cent of them seem to have enrolled for further studies at the lyceum of Archanes. In fact, 47 per cent are boys and 53 per cent are girls. Therefore, while more boys than girls enroll in gymnasium, fewer end up graduating, and even fewer move on to lyceum. Perhaps this is because they move on to technological lyceums, or most probably, to vocational training schools or enter the job market.

An interesting piece of qualitative data is the students’ performance rate. Most of the students graduated with low or average grades while the girls’ school performance is far better than that of the boys. It appears that the girls put in more effort, are more studious and determined to succeed in graduating from high school with the best possible grade.

The number of students to enroll at the lyceum of Archanes every academic year is estimated at approximately 60 individuals, 44 per cent are boys and 56 per cent are girls. Of them, 73 per cent graduate, 13 per cent drop out, while 14 per cent, mostly boys transfer to other schools or attend technical institutes and night schools. We may observe that the number of students dropping out of lyceum is almost double that of high school. The drop-out rate for boys is 16 per cent while for the girls, it is 9 per cent.

As regards the performance rate, the vast majority of the students seem to strive for the completion of their lyceum studies since these are also a prerequisite for pursuing academic studies. The performance rate of girls is much higher than that of boys, and the girls once again prove more focused on completing their studies.

In conclusion, we could say that the drop-out rate in Archanes is rather high and it is the boys who drop out of high school or lyceum more frequently.

At this point, let us see what appears to be the educational level of the local population. Of the inhabitants who are 45 and over, 84 per cent are either
elementary school graduates, did not complete primary school or are illiterate. Within this age group, there are more women at the lower educational level. The educational level of the population rises the further we descend the age scale. Between the ages of 25 and 44, 35 per cent are either elementary school graduates or did not complete primary school or are illiterate, 42 per cent completed compulsory schooling, or are lyceum graduates, 22.3 per cent have moved on to further education and 1.2 per cent have pursued academic studies. The situation has reversed for women, with their educational level now being much higher than that of men. This change in the population’s educational level first began in the mid 1970’s. Finally, the further we descend the age scale, the more we see a steady rise in the educational level of the community and a higher level of education in women as opposed to men. In fact, within the 20-24 age group, 17 per cent have only completed elementary school, 16 per cent have gone as far as completing compulsory education, 46 per cent are lyceum graduates, 15 per cent of the population have pursued higher non-academic studies, while 6 per cent are university graduates (NSSG, census 2001).

Another element that may offer further insight into the attitude of the young people towards education and its use as a means of securing employment would be to find out how many of them succeed in entering higher education. On average, every year, 33 students gain entry to tertiary education, 14 boys and 19 girls; that is 35 per cent of lyceum students who further their studies at university and whose career prospects are more certain. We may note that the girls seem to have greater success in entering higher education and universities as opposed to the boys (school archives 1990-2002).

What fields of study do the young people of Archanes choose to pursue? 26 per cent choose to pursue theoretical studies, with the girls making up the overwhelming majority. These fields of study mainly lead to public sector employment or salary paying jobs. Another 46 percent of them choose to pursue studies in the exact sciences. This preference is equally shared by both sexes; 25 per cent pursue studies in the field of economics. Here too, the numbers regarding gender deviate very little. Studies in the exact sciences and in economics also lead to independent self-employment.

Another element for further evaluation is the degree of difficulty for entrance to the total schools of study. A trend seems to be forming in that the boys, as opposed to the girls, are those who gain entrance to schools of study with high or very high grade requirements. When taking into account the girls’ better performance in school and success rate for entering university as opposed to the boys, this somewhat contradictory trend could be interpreted as follows: the boys, more than the girls, strive to pursue studies that lead to
high-powered professional careers. The girls are more inclined than the boys to choose occupations that offer job security and set working hours.

Furthermore, of the young inhabitants aged 10 to 24, the economically active population is twice fewer than the economically non-active. Most likely, 2/3 of the young in this age group attend some level of education, academic or otherwise. Far more boys are employed (64%) than girls (36%) and unemployment is lower for them than it is for the girls. Within the 20-24 age group, the non-active female population is double the non-active male population. This data also constitutes evidence of the trends we have come to ascertain throughout the study. The trends indicate that the girls in this farming community follow a longer course of preparation for their entrance to the job market, their employment prospects being far fewer than those for the boys. Marriage constitutes the alternative solution for the girls. Of the 55 young people who have gotten married, 46 of them are girls (NSSG, census 2001).

Conclusively, we could say that most of the young people of Archanes, with the girls outnumbering the boys, use education as a way of acquiring the means that will help them gain access to the job market sectors of their choice. However, there are also those, the majority being boys, who abandon basic or even secondary education, and either turns towards farming occupations or technical occupations. The girls of this category have fewer job prospects, and marriage constitutes an outlet for them.

**4.5. Young people in Anogia and Archanes caught between tradition and modernity.**

The ‘life plan’ includes aspects such as education, career orientation, employment, marriage, family, social circles, leisure time and so on. The ‘life plan’ does not simply appear out of nowhere. Individuals shape their future perspectives in given environments and by interacting with others in habitual ways (Caspi, Bern & Elder, 1989; Lerner, 1982). At the same time, their actions are influenced by demands and opportunities afforded by the social context (Hogan & Astone, 1986). We may therefore say that there are plans that are accessible and, then again, there are plans that are off limits. As a result, each young person handles his/her problems in their own subjective way. Thus, how they perceive the social opportunities and limitations ultimately determines their course of action. More specifically, their chosen course of action is determined by how they perceive their social reality and what they are willing to do for themselves with regard to this reality.
It is logical to surmise that the young, more than any other age group in these communities, experience the contradictions arising from the co-existence of tradition and modernity. It is either the one or the other social representation that dominates while in truth, they co-exist either as a contradiction or a counterbalance as regards conscience. It is within this realm of contrast that they must decide upon their future. They must weigh the potential gains and losses of either choice, as well as their own desires before deciding on their own future and professional pursuits.

If we look at these contrasts from a standpoint of values, we could say that conflict involves two points of reference. On the one hand, we have the local community and the dominance/acceptance of the tradition and the values of the ‘traditional’ family while, on the other hand, we have the models of modern society and the values of the ‘modern’ family. According to Georgas (1990:19), values represent “the clear or implied perception of what is desired, this being characteristic of an individual or of a certain group, and influences one’s choice of models, means and actions within society”. The word ‘desired’ signifies that values refer to conceptual categories, ideas and types of behavior deemed by society as being desired. They also have to do with the individual’s conscious or subconscious perception of the past.

The more stable and constant values remain over the course of time, the more central a role they play in forming the social behavior and attitudes of the individual. This is because the values become deeply rooted in the individual’s conscience, which means that any violation of them would create great upset within the psychic/emotional mechanism of the individual. However, when we find ourselves within a period of change in social structure,

27 According to Kataki’s study, in rural Greece, the extended family and the co-inhabitance of at least three generations constituted the social rule. The main aim of the traditional family is to ensure a means of livelihood and that the goals of one member are in no way different from those of the whole group. The basic values that characterize relations within the group are mutuality, cooperation, interdependence and mettle, all of which are a result of the steady interdependence and mutual interaction of the society. The roles to be taken on by the members are clear, mutually accepted and come with a clearly defined and predetermined behavioral code. The family must be considered by the community as having one identity which in turn, is determined by the position and role of the family within the community, as well as by the position and role of the family’s next-of-kin (kindred). Within the family, emphasis is placed on similarities and there is no room or time for disagreement or differentiation. The methods of communication among family members are strongly dependent on references regarding what ‘must be’, what ‘we believe’ as a family as well as on unquestionable values and principles. Interaction among members of the family is constant and permanent (Kataki, 1998).
this being the case in Greece over the last decades, especially regarding the rural areas, then as a result, there will be changes in social values. One consequence of this may be a complex series of inner conflicts because the value system is unstable. Values, which were once considered staunch and prominent, are now put into question due to the invasion of modernity on rural communities. Young people, who are still going through the process of socialization, are called upon to answer such dilemmas as, where do I belong? Where should I belong? Where do I want to belong? Where can I belong? Where am I forced to belong? For many, answering these questions is no easy matter.

Each individual belongs to a certain group or groups which deeply influences him/her. Such groups include the family, local society, national society and so on. It is considered that the smaller groups such as the family, the local community, in Tönnies’ terms Gemeinschaft, have a greater impact on the behavior/attitudes of the individual than that of the abstract, impersonal, de-localized social institution, in Tönnies’ terms Gesellschaft. Small and relatively closed rural communities where traditional values are practically the sole source of influence in the lives of former generations have allowed their members to form strong interaction, while assimilation of the external influences comes from big, de-localized communities.

Thus, despite their having been raised in traditionally structured families, the young people of Anogia and Archanes, are themselves the carriers/bearers of new trends of social perception either because this is a conscious choice or due to their need for survival within the newly formed social setting. The incompatibility between the ‘traditional’ family and social evolution eventually turns into incompatibility among/between the generations. Nowadays, the once dominant role of the group unit gives way to the individual who sets his own aims for self-activation, self-accomplishment and free expression (Kataki, 1998). Modern society demands that its members ‘grow up’. For many, this constitutes a challenge while for others, a threat. Within this new setting which has been stripped of the protective, traditional family shield, man is called upon to search for his own way of life. In following his own individual course, he must determine the means and ways in which he will interact so as to satisfy his personal needs and desires. The greater the variety of choices, the more difficult it is for him to determine exactly what he wants or what his needs are.

The dilemma regarding how one should deal with issues concerning the future does not exist solely within the bounds of Anogia and Archanes, but is a rather general phenomenon. This dilemma appears as a result of the globalized economy and culture and causes one to wonder how each individual
responds to these changes. It is certain that people do not experience or decipher social conditions in the same way and therefore, do not adopt the same life plans. As concerns the nonmetropolitan youth, we may say that, over the last decades, rural communities have experienced economic decline due to global market trends and a reorganization of farming (Freudenberg, 1992). Consequently, many face declining occupational opportunities in their hometown communities (Hobbs, 1994) which in turn causes economic uncertainty to have a negative impact on their aspirations for the future (Wilson & Peterson, 1988). Thus, its little wonder why for such closed or small communities, values, customs and identity are of the utmost importance to the individual.

It is now clear that here too, the young people of Anogia and Archanes have, over the past few decades, been growing up in a society which has been undergoing continuous social and economic change which interacts with its members’ culture\(^{28}\) and differentiates it from the past. They are brought up and socialized in a society that both maintains its ‘traditional’ characteristics, and adopts important elements of a more contemporary urban and globalized society, which, as it appears, currently finds itself in a state of fluidity and transition. Once again, the questions that arise are: How do the young people of these villages see this social reality? What prospects and limitations do they feel it sets? How do they deal with it, and to what extent do they end up pursuing their life plan and chosen occupation?

In Chapter 5, the method of the empirical study is presented. It is the two-step case study and the chapter presents my arguments for it, the material used, the data collection methods, the choice of data analysis as well as the ethical considerations of the study.

\(^{28}\) The term ‘culture’ is used here to describe a common basis of knowledge, values and common behavioral codes which are the result of the social structure and the course through history with which the people have been bred and have come to regard as being a normal way of life (Hodkinson & Sparkes 1997).
Chapter 5: Research Methods

In this part of the study, the empirical research is presented. That is, the research that took place in the field of the communities of Anogia and Archanes, and addresses the young people of the villages, so as to gather primary data as regards the two questions posed in the study. Those are:

- The occupational orientations and choice of occupation of the young people within the communities of Anogia and Archanes.
- The main contextual factors that contribute to the young people’s occupational orientations and choice of occupation in Anogia and Archanes.

Consequently, this means that the study’s main as well as initial phenomena of interest are the occupational orientations and choice of occupation of these young people, as well as the main factors that contribute to this process.

5.1. Research strategy

The overall approach is a qualitative inquiry consisting of two case studies. The small number of cases enables an in-depth investigation as well as an in-depth analysis (Creswell, 1998) and allows the researcher to contextualise the issue well (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 1970). The study is an exploratory-descriptive as well as an explanatory one (Marshall & Rossman, 1995), aiming at a systematic study of social reality as regards the occupational orientations and choices of young people in the specific settings. More specifically, by being an exploratory study, it aims at investigating and understanding the occupational choices young people make and it seeks to identify and discover the main contributing factors. By being a descriptive one, it aims at documenting the phenomenon of interest, this being the occupational orientations and choices of the young people, while making it comprehensible and therefore capable of arriving at findings that can shed light on the research questions. Additionally, the study aims at giving possible explanations as regards the young peoples’ occupational choices and at identifying plausible factors shaping their choices (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). In all, the specific research strategy chosen is well-advised due to the complex investigation of the subject under study and because the research should be carried out in real social settings. This strategy enables the detection and assessment
of the dominant factors of the phenomenon, of the general tendencies that characterise possible relations among these factors and also enables rational inferences (Paraskevopoulos, 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

5.2. The value of the study

“A case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied” (Stake, 1994:236). Additionally, “a case study is both the process of learning about the case and the product of our learning” (Stake, 1994:236). The study is interested in a thorough and deep consideration as to how the occupational situation and the occupational perspectives of young people within the two specific communities, those of Anogia and Archanes, represent themselves. The settings themselves form two cases of intrinsic interest. However, the serious question that is always posed in such cases concerns the applicability and the possibilities to generalize from the findings. Although it is known that “the sample of one, weakly represents the larger group of interest” (Stake, 1994:243), it can be claimed that the phenomenon of interest observable in a case, can represent the phenomenon generally (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The dilemmas faced by the young people of Anogia or Archanes are not unique for these villages only. Along with the internationalization of economy and culture, this is an important topic for research where the focus is on how individuals experience these changes.

These characteristic cases are not much different from many other cases on Crete, where 48 per cent of its population lives in rural areas (NSSG, census 1991, 2001), with strong roots in tradition and rapid changes taking place in their society due to the diffusion of modernity. The study may shed light on how tradition and modernity affect the occupational choices of young people living in rural areas. In mentioning the above, the study does not claim that these case-studies are an advanced generalization. Instead, its value lies in refining the theory and further discussing it, in suggesting complexities for further investigation, as well as in helping to establish the limits of generalization. A comparison with other findings taken from international research constitutes an important factor enabling us to further assess the value of the present study. At the same time however, due to the transformations and drastic changes that are currently taking place in these specific social settings, they can also form cases of vital interest. This means that the cases can provide insight into the study of the phenomenon and in the refinement of the surrounding theory (Stake, 1994).
5.3. The procedure used in conducting the empirical study

This study was conducted in two phases. The first phase involved studying the community of Anogia while the second phase involved the study of Archanes. The reasons for which these two communities were chosen could be summed up as follows:

As we have previously mentioned, the chosen settings constitute two typical rural communities in Crete both of which are cases of intrinsic interest since their societies, despite their being steeped in tradition, show clear and evident signs of a modernity that has invaded the local communities and has affected the lives of all their inhabitants as well as the social structures and institutions.

The decision to study a relatively secluded mountainous cattle-raising community and a flatland farming community located in close proximity to a large urban centre, would enable us to ascertain the possible existence of substantial similarities or differences in the occupational prospects created for the youth, the deciding factors that come into play concerning their choice of occupation, as well as the reasons for these similarities or differences. Additionally, these two communities were chosen so that the study may show different aspects of the ‘rural’ due to differentiation in history, culture, traditions, ethics, community spirit, location, etc.

The first study took place in Anogia, a community of greater anthropological interest. The findings, reported by Ratsika in 2001 are derived from a single case study that increased our understanding of the consequences of modernity on youth in rural areas. In considering the limitations of this specific community, a second case study followed whose field of study constitutes a community with comparable similarities but also fundamental differences with that of Anogia, the case of Archanes.

Anogia’s case study was used as an instrumental case. The study which was conducted, fulfilled the aims of the research and gave answers to the research questions posed, thus proving to have been fruitful and proficent. Future relative case studies could be based on a similar study approach and methodology. In fact, the second phase of the study was based on the first initial case study of Anogia in terms of the form and methodology used. This similarity could enable the direct comparison between the two settings.

The findings from the second study could either serve to corroborate the findings from the first, thus enhancing the generalizing qualities of the entire study, or weaken them, thus enabling us only to look at them as cases of intrinsic interest. The second field study on the community of Archanes was
conducted in order to ascertain whether the Anogia study findings are respective of other farming communities and thus have a more general value.

5.4. Material used

There were indeed many sources from which data could be obtained thus providing answers to the research questions the study posed. The primary data was obtained through semi-structured interviews with the youth of both villages and is further analyzed below. However, other means were also used for the completion of the study.

Elite interviews were conducted in both communities so as to gather a wider range of information as regards the two settings. As regards the student dropout phenomenon, the study by Vuidaskis (1977) was used as well as relative data from the schools’ archives of Anogia and Archanes.

Finally, it should be mentioned that my participation in the International post-graduate Summer School at the University of Crete’s department of Sociology gave me the opportunity, over a four-year period, to spend 15 days in the community of Anogia taking part in small, on-the-spot research from which material was used for the present study. Furthermore, the close collaboration between the department of Social Work at TEI Crete where I teach and the local authorities and social services in the community of Archanes has enabled me to make frequent visits to the village and get to know it as an insider. Both settings were familiar to me. Although this may appear to be an advantage, one inevitably stumbles on the problem of pre-understanding. In all research, we are called upon to deal with our preconceived notions in order to remain open, to recognize prejudices in order to avoid their effects upon data collection, data analysis as well as conclusions in research (Nyström & Dahlberg, 2001). Being aware of this problem, I started my study with as open a mind as possible, trying to remain receptive and theoretically sensitive (Starrin et al., 1997). In so doing, I used different methods for data collection while trying to use all my senses during this pro-

---

29 In Anogia, discussions took place with the president of the dairy co-op, the manager of the youth centre, the town’s social worker, the president of AKKO-M as well as with the high school and lyceum principals. Respectively, in Archanes, discussions took place with the director of the organization for social and communicative policy of the local authorities, with the president of the union of integrated management of grape-wine, the high school and lyceum principals, one social worker of the municipality’s social services and with Mr Christidis, a teacher, historian and writer who is also the president of the cultural association.
cess. Finally, I tried to maintain equal balance between distance and closeness to the settings, the participants and the phenomenon in question (Starrin et al., 1997). Induction is dominant during this phase of the study.

5.5. Data collection methods

5.5.1. Interviewing method

An interviewing method was employed for gathering information. Through interviews, one “can yield rich sources of data on people’s experiences, opinions, aspirations and feelings” (May, 1993:91). This was exactly what the study wanted to find out: how the target population experiences the influence of tradition and modernity upon them, and their own feelings and orientations/choices as regards their occupational situation. On the other hand, this method is greatly limited when used as the sole way of gathering information. Data does not reflect the “real world” but “how individuals make sense of their social world and act within it” (May, 1993:108) and what their perspectives are on events. This minimizes the external reality and maximizes the internal one.

There are a few arguments one can pose as concerns ‘objectivity’. Firstly, it has already been mentioned that the interest of this study is on how young people cope with society, how they experience social conditions and changes, which are a ‘real fact’. Berger and Luckmann (1967) make it clear that people in interplay create society and that the acquired perception of this society is constructed. This holds true even when we talk about science and theories; consequently scientific truth is never absolutely objective or incontestable. Truth is relative. It is constructed in the research process and different opinions are open to struggle or negotiation. The premise given us by Berger and Luckmann describes the dialectic between what is objective and subjective. “Society is an objective reality but also subjectively perceived and created” (Dahlgren et al., 2004:17). So, this method can provide data that answer these questions. Secondlly, since these are two case studies of intrinsic interest, generalization is not a first priority, despite the previously discussed potential it may offer. Finally, the theoretical part of the study and particularly the study of the community may provide secondary validity to the data and the final discussion will enable us to talk about objectivity as regards the data obtained.
5.5.2. The content of the interviews

Five main general topics were defined, derived from both literature and experience, and the interviews were structured around them. Those are: description of the family, discussion about school life, discussion about work opportunities offered in Anogia or Archanes, occupational status, orientations and expectations young people have, and finally, discussion about the social setting. A schema had been prepared with all possible questions included. This was for consolidating and ensuring that all the necessary information would be collected, rather than a schema which would be followed strictly. On the contrary, the purpose was for all the interviews to flow as conversation while focusing on the five predetermined thematic areas and, at the same time, remaining open to any unexpected information. Here, I would like to point out that the interviews held with the young people of Archanes proved to be richer in content. This is mainly due to the fact that the phenomenon of the study seems to be more complex in its description and investigation concerning Archanes as opposed to Anogia. Of course, one important contributing factor was the experience and knowledge I had acquired from the first study.

Generally speaking however, my main aim when conducting all the interviews was to ensure a “thick description” on the ‘narrations’ of the participants. This in turn could make possible a “thick description” and understanding in balance with “thick interpretation” in the later steps of the analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

The questions posed pertained to background/demographics, experience/behavior, opinion/belief, and feelings. The interviews’ schema is attached in appendix No.1.

---

30 By experience, I mean my personal views on the youth in Anogia, derived from my participation in small field research studies carried out in the village, during the annual international Ph.D. summer school, organized by the University of Crete’s, the department of Sociology.

31 The concept was introduced in the field of qualitative research by Geertz (1973 & 1983), who argued that the old functional, positivist, behavioral, totalizing approaches to the human disciplines were giving way to a more pluralistic, interpretive, open-ended perspective. This new perspective took cultural representations and their meaning as its point of departure. Calling for “thick description” of particular events, rituals, and customs, Geertz suggested that all anthropological writing were interpretations of interpretations. The observer had no privileged voice in the interpretations that were written. The central task of theory was to make sense out of a local situation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).
5.5.3. Criteria for the selection of the participants

A limitation of the qualitative research and the interview approach is the lack of accepted principles for the selection of participants. To overcome this, the selection of the interviewers has been based on theoretical methods. The objective was to approach different types of young people regarding their occupation or job position and their prospects for future occupation due to their present situation. This means that the sampling was theoretically driven and purposive and that the participants must have had first-hand experience of the phenomenon under study. The sampling was also of maximum variation as regards job orientation and choice, age, educational level, place of residence and sex (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The age has been defined to be 16 to 25 years old. According to a law, working is not allowed under 15 years of age. The age limit of 25 years enables the inclusion of the sample cases of young people who have studied or completed their military service before starting to look for employment. A list of criteria was taken into consideration in order to determine the sample. The interviewees had to have one or more of the following different characteristics: a) be working - be unemployed, b) be working at the village - be working at an urban centre, c) be of both sexes, d) have completed or completing lyceum - have quit school, e) be in a traditional job - be in a non-traditional job, f) have attended or will attend academic studies - attending vocational training.

As concerns the number of the interviews, the limits were set between 10 to 16 in each case study. The criteria for the final number were three: to include as many different cases according to the above-mentioned list, to continue until the majority of the answers reached saturation point, those being repetitions in the information obtained and confirmation of previously collected data (Morse, 1994), and finally to consider time consumption.

5.5.4 Presentation of the sample

Finally, 15 young people from Anogia and 14 young people from Archanes participated in the interviews. The repetition of information in basic questions that were posed during the interview constituted the basic criteria for eventually determining the number of interviews. Basic demographic/background elements as regards the interviewees are presented in order of age in appendix No. 2. The interviewees’ original names are not mentioned, so as to protect their anonymity.
5.6. Process of the selection of the sample – ethical considerations

This is an open research study and the results are available to those who may be interested. Regarding the young interviewees, their names will not be made public. When conducting interviews, a researcher must maintain discretion and sensitivity regarding the content of the narrations.

As regards the Anogia community, there was close cooperation with the two social workers of the village in selecting the young boys and girls who fulfilled the above-mentioned criteria. Both of them have been working for the Local Authorities for more than ten years and know the village and its inhabitants very well. My long-standing acquaintance with them ensured a good cooperation in seeking out the participants, while their long lasting presence at the village and their bonds with the setting facilitated my contact with the target group. A list of twenty young persons was drawn up with their telephone numbers or contact persons. In order to facilitate my contact with these young people, the social workers got in touch with them, informing them about my presence in the village and asked them to cooperate with me. This proved to be very helpful in the majority of the cases, in that it eliminated initial hesitations and misgivings on behalf of some young people to meet with me.

Respectively in Archanes, in selecting the young boys and girls who would meet the criteria, I worked together with key-persons in the village who were able to offer their assistance in this specific case. I was given important assistance by the lyceum principal, the social worker at the consultative support center, the secretaries at the organization for social and communicative policy of the local authorities and the president of the Union of Integrated Management of Grape-Wine, all of whom, aside from being people of the above-mentioned status, originate from Archanes and reside there. The procedure that was used is the following: I discussed with each of them the reason for which I wanted to conduct the specific interviews with the young people of Archanes, I mentioned the subject matter on which the interview would focus and its possible duration. I handed them a list with the features and traits that I was looking for in 20 young people, and we discussed how they could help bring me in contact with at least some of them so that I could then arrange a time and a place to conduct the interviews. They were all willing to help.
5.7. Interview records

5.7.1. General remarks

a. Anogia
All the 15 interviews took place in September and October 1998. Fourteen of them took place in Anogia, and one in Heraklion. The majority of the interviews took place in one of the offices at the Community Center for the elderly, kindly assigned to me by the social worker of the Center. It was a secluded, comfortable office where we could talk without interruptions. Two of the interviews took place at the Youth Center, one at the interviewees’ house and three of them at the interviewees’ workplace after working hours. In all cases, we sat in chairs facing each other.

b. Archanes
All 14 interviews in Archanes took place between November 2003 and April 2004. A comfortable office was assigned to me at the Consultative Support Center of the village for this specific purpose. Although the office building was situated in the center of the village, it was secluded enough, the interviews were conducted during afternoon hours, and each interview took place without breaks or interruptions.

Being familiar with the settings and conscious of the cultural differences between the participants and myself, I knew that there were a few things to be taken into consideration as regards the interviewing process. It was important that the participant feel at ease and confident during the interview. So, before beginning the interview, I introduced myself and, after telling them how important their participation in the research was for me, I mentioned a few things regarding the conversation I would like to have with them and what was expected of them. I explained the reason for doing this study, where it would be presented and that the results would be available to them and the community if they were interested in obtaining them. I assured them that their names would not be published and that I would protect their anonymity as much as possible. I explained the reason for recording our discussion. It was not easy to convince all of them about the recording. Consequently, I had to replace three of the initially chosen young people. The interviews lasted 50 to 70 minutes. In the end, I thanked them for their participation.

5.7.2. Reaction – degree of ease during the interview
As regards the intense reasoning concerning the subjectivity and objectivity of the interview process (May, 1993), I made every possible effort through-
out the interviews to encourage a balanced and comfortable atmosphere, thus maintaining an objective and friendly rapport with the interviewees. I constantly kept in mind the following question: what effect am I having on the interviewee as well as on the material gained during the interview? I also tried not to emphasise issues concerning gender, age, cultural differences and language dialects.

I was well aware that all the participants had access to the information I sought to gain and they were fully informed of what would be asked of them during the interviews. This was done not only to ensure the interviews’ success but for moral reasons as well. Finally, I did my best to make them feel that their participation and their answers were of great value and that their cooperation was vital to the research at hand.

The majority of the participants were confident during the discussion. They were curious as regards the reasons their village was chosen to be the setting for this research and many of them felt flattered to be participating and, as a result, were quite willing to talk. The girls proved to be more willing. The greater difficulty lay in persuading young herdsmen to talk and particularly in getting them to agree to a recorded discussion. This came as no surprise considering their cultural background. The non-recorded interviews were not included in the sample. In one case, the interviewee, who seemed to be very upset about her decision to leave school, burst into tears and we had to stop the interview for a while. When the discussion turned to the relationships between girls and boys, all the participants were very careful about what they said and how they said it. The majority spoke using the local accent and dialect. Otherwise, they were all simple but modern looking.

5.8. Data elaboration

5.8.1. Methodology in data analysis

In order to arrive at the findings, data analysis derived from the Grounded Theory methodological approach was employed (Strauss, 1987). The aim

---

32 Grounded Theory is a scientific methodological approach in qualitative research aiming at building theory out of data elaboration, by using a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon. The procedure of data analysis includes the techniques for conceptualizing data that is called, coding procedure. This approach to data analysis consists of breaking down the data, conceptualizing it and putting it back together in new ways. This is composed of three major types of coding, open coding, axial coding and selective coding. The lines between each type of coding are artificial how-
of the present work is not to build a theory, but to base data analysis on the grounded theory method of analysis.

On the other hand, the objective is not a simple description of the findings. The study aims at meeting four central criteria for judging the findings, which, according to Strauss and Corbin, judge the applicability of theory to a phenomenon and characterize a well-constructed grounded theory: comparability (fit), understanding, generality, and control (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

More specifically, the findings should reflect the everyday reality of the area under study and be induced from diverse data, thus fitting that substantive area. The findings should be comprehensible and make sense to the persons under study and to those who are scientifically involved in this field. Furthermore, they should be abstract enough and include sufficient variation to make it applicable to a variety of contexts related to that phenomenon. Finally, the findings should provide control toward the phenomenon. Fundamentally, according to Dahlgren et al., we are talking about the credibility, the transferability, the dependability, and the neutrality of the study (Dahlgren et al., 2004).

5.8.2. Keeping of code notes
The first step in data analysis was the interviews’ accurate transfer in written manuscript. All the material was transcribed. In later steps of the analysis, it could be decided if all this material was relevant to the research or not. Secondly, analytical code notes were kept of two interviews, those being singled out as the richest and most decent ones. Such a process was considered to be worthwhile so that, through this raw data, initial thematic areas and initial labeling of the phenomena under study could be formed.

Breaking down the data and keeping code notes, was not an easy task. The range of each thematic area had to be decided upon. It was not supposed to be too extensive because the danger of generality was present, nor too short, because the thematic areas could be meaningless. After many attempts and after deciphering what the specific data was about, the code notes were ever, both open and axial coding are done in the service of selective coding. It is the central process by which theories are built from data. Building a theory or arriving at findings is not only a technical matter. It is also a matter of “theoretical sensitivity” that is, the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand and separate the pertinent from that which is not. It allows one to develop a theory that is grounded, conceptually dense and well integrated (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

---
labeled thematically. Furthermore, two factors proved helpful in this process: the structure of the interviews in broad thematic areas and my previous involvement with the settings, the focus group and the phenomena under study.

The exact process was to label different phenomena and thematic areas from the two interviews. Then, the rest of the interviews would be elaborated on according to the previously derived concepts, all the time remaining alert for any possible development or unification of the initial thematic areas and labels, if deemed necessary. Under each thematic label, code notes derived from each interview separately were written down together with the ‘name’ of the interviewee. Noting the ‘names’ of the interviewees was necessary for the further elaboration of data. Qualitative research is an in-depth research method, it is not impersonal and many details are important in order to reach reliable and valid conclusions. The code notes were written accurately and transferred from the interviews, line by line.

In this way, data was broken down in detail into discrete parts, initially labeled under different thematic areas. This process facilitates the next step in data analysis.

5.8.3. Open coding process

The open coding part of analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) pertains specifically to discovering, naming and categorizing phenomena through close examination of code notes and developing categories in terms of their properties and dimensions. The data was already broken down. The objective here was for the data to be closely examined, compared for similarities and differences, while questions were asked about the phenomena as reflected in the data.

The accurate process was to make comparisons and ask questions aiming at conceptualizing data. Any part of data that stood for or represented a similar phenomenon was selected. Questions were put forward like ‘what is this?’ and ‘what does it represent?’ Each incident was compared against the other; each piece of data was compared with other data to discover similar data in which the phenomena represented could be labeled. Similar phenomena were given similar names.

The initial label of the thematic area was the base for giving a provisional name to a category (phenomenon), i.e. *Attitude towards school*. Additionally, the more precise parts of the data constituted the sub-categories, i.e.: *Attitude towards school, Reasons that led to my finishing school, Reasons that led to my quitting school*, and so on. In other words, this was a procedure for discovering categories and grouping the concepts that seem to pertain
to the same phenomena. Giving names to the categories and sub-categories in some cases was descriptive, in others abstract.

At the same time, sub-categories were developed in terms of their properties and in some cases, in terms of their sub-properties and dimensions. For example, the properties in the sub-category *Attitude towards school* were developed in terms of the sub-properties *Positive attitude towards school*, *Negative attitude towards school*. Dimensions were developed in such a way that they could capture the common attitudes, views, opinions, practices, ideas, situations, etc. of the young people in the sample.

A basic consideration in developing properties was keeping the balance between developing enough density and overdoing attempts to develop density. During this phase of analysis, the research project was still very open. The sampling was also open aiming to “provide the greatest opportunity to gather the most relevant data about the phenomenon under investigation” (Strauss & Corbin 1990:181). Equally important to this part of the analysis was the development of sub-properties as regards two categories of my sample: sex and graduation from Lyceum. Properties and dimensions were developed in detail because they form the basis for creating relationships between categories and sub-categories, as well as between major categories in later steps of the analysis.

The approach of the open coding process was also analysed in great detail. This was rather due to personal inexperience in grounded theory analysis but, on the other hand, Strauss says that it is the most generative type of analysis. In this phase of the data analysis, as regards Anogia, 8 initial thematic areas were discovered. The provisional names given to these phenomena were:

- *Attitude towards school*, developed in 13 different sub-categories.
- Youths’ occupational perspectives-status, developed in 16 sub-categories.
- Occupational perspectives for young people in Anogia today, developed in 16 sub-categories.
- Description of the relations among young people of different sex, developed in 15 sub-categories.
- *The local community*, developed in 18 sub-categories.
- *Everyday life*, developed in 4 sub-categories.
- *Contact with urban centres*, developed in 10 sub-categories.
- Description of interviewees and their families developed in 22 sub-categories.
Correspondingly, as regards Archanes, 8 analogous initial thematic areas were discovered and further developed into sub-categories in terms of properties and dimensions.

5.8.4. The axial coding process

In order to form the basis for the final steps of the analysis (selective coding), the data elaboration was further conducted via the axial coding type of analysis. The purpose here is to put data back together in new ways, by making connections between a category and its sub-categories leading to the ultimate development of several main categories. The main categories have to be worked out in terms of their properties and dimensions and are associated with their sub-categories by the means of the “paradigm model” (Staruss & Corbin, 1990). In this phase of the analysis, inductive and deductive thought is necessary in order to develop the “paradigm relations” and to give the categories richness and density.

Following logical reasoning and thinking systematically about data, I had to decide what the phenomenon under study is. In other words, what the main category is. At the same time, I had to decide which sub-categories make up the causal conditions for the phenomenon, which give rise to the context of the phenomenon and, consequently, what the intervening conditions are, the action/interaction strategies and finally the consequences.

Open coding analysis was reconstructed again in new ways. Main categories were refined and associated with sub-categories. Complete dissociation of all sub-categories is not possible. What may constitute, for example, consequences of action/interaction in one phenomenon may become part of conditions in another phenomenon. All sub-categories were closely examined. From the initial surface and off-handed association with the thematic areas, I moved on, in this phase of the analysis, to the essential association between the main categories and the sub-categories. The aim in this process is to capture as much of the complexity and movement of the real world,

33 In the Grounded Theory and in the axial coding process, subcategories are related to their categories as well as to the categories between them, through what Strauss and Corbin call the “paradigm model”. We link subcategories to a category in a set of relationships denoting: the casual conditions of the phenomenon, the context of the phenomenon, the intervening conditions, the action/interaction strategies and the consequences. This analysis will allow the researcher to link the categories between them according to the “paradigm model” in the final step of the analysis which is the selective coding analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).
even though “we are never able to grasp all of it” (Strauss & Corbin 1990:111) and present it in data analysis.

We have now arrived at six major categories (phenomena), all of them having been developed in terms of the “paradigm model” to denote “the nature of the relations between them and the phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin 1990:107).

- Category: Occupational perspectives for young people in Anogia today, generally
- Category: Youths’ occupational perspectives – status
- Category: Evaluation of the social setting
- Category: Young people’s everyday lives
- Category: Relations among young people of different sex
- Category: Attitude towards school

At the same time, there is also the process of linking categories at a dimensional level. It is already clear from the axial coding data analysis, that the most important phenomenon is their ‘Attitude towards school’ which, in the case of this study, is the determining factor for the future of young people. It seems that the positive or negative attitude towards school shapes their future options and desires and forms the basis for their future occupation. This will be more clear in the following step of the analysis, that being the selective coding analysis that follows in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9.

5.8.5. Selective coding

The last part of data elaboration is made up of a selective coding type of analysis, which is the final and most important one. During this process, we integrate the main categories to form grounded theoretical viewpoints. Making all the categories come together is one of the most difficult things and it could yield several different ways of bringing them together.

In general, one can say that integration is not much different from axial coding. “It is just done at a higher more abstract level of analysis” (Strauss & Corbin 1990:117). We aim at a systematical development of our material into a picture of reality that is conceptual, comprehensible and grounded.

There are several steps through which this can be done. Those steps are neither distinct nor linear. They aim at the interpretation of the “story line” or in other words, the conceptualization of the story from which the “core category” of the study will emerge. The “core category” of the study forms the central phenomenon into which all the other categories are integrated. The process of formulating the core category has already begun from the
previous phase of the analysis after having posed many questions about the study and the data. But it is here, in the initial step of selective coding analysis, that we make commitments about the central phenomenon of the study through a general, brief and descriptive story.

After identifying the “story” and the central phenomenon of the study, we continue with the conceptualization of the story, which is named “story line”. Furthermore, we have to relate subsidiary categories around the core category by means of the paradigm model, to relate them at a dimensional level, to validate those relationships against data and finally to fill in categories that may need further refinement or development.

5.8.6. A pedagogic example of an additional dimension in the construct of the core category

Grounded Theory is a scientific methodological approach in qualitative research aimed at building theory out of data elaboration by using a systematic set of procedures to develop a mainly inductively derived understanding about a phenomenon. In the present study the emerging concepts are grounded in data and are not primarily the results of preconceived ideas. Nowadays this position in leading grounded theory quarters has been softened, and theoretical pre-understanding has more and more been accepted as an advantage rather than as a bias. In this perspective, an additional dimension in the construct of the core category deserves to be mentioned, and I have tried to illustrate this in the following table. The example is very brief but hopefully pedagogic and for a more distinct description, see appendix No. 3.
Table 1: From quotes to the construct of a core category – a pedagogic example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quotations from the interviews</th>
<th>Two codes and one underlined sub-category selected from the axial coding (from the case of Archanes)</th>
<th>One example of a theoretical guidance of relevance for my theoretical pre-understanding</th>
<th>Construction of the core category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I couldn’t wait for the school bell to ring so that I could go to our vineyard where my father was and avoid having to sit down and study”</td>
<td>Reasons that led me to my quitting school School tiredness Pleasure in farming work.</td>
<td>According to Herbert (1999:157) the basic process involved in choosing one’s occupation has to do with conscious awareness of a professional self image that coincides with the other images of self that the individuals create for themselves (see more about these issues in chapter 2)</td>
<td>The transition from school to work The term “transition” from education/initial training” to employment refers to the period during which young people move from a state whose main activity is school attendance to a state where work dominates.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the prolongation of the process there will be attempts to link my findings from the analysis to relevant theoretical topics. One close at hand example is the concept of status passage that Glaser and Strauss (1971/2010) developed in the shape of a formal theory, and has already been mentioned in chapter 2. The passage from school to work may “entail movement into a different part of a social structure; or loss or gain of privilege, influence, or power, and a changed identity and a sense self, as well as changed behaviour” (Glaser & Strauss, 2010:2) According to the status passage theory, status is regarded a resting place for individuals while the transitional phase is a period of constant movement over time and keeps a person in passage between two statuses for a period of time depending on how scheduled or unscheduled this passage is for each individual.

Following all these steps of analysis, the material produced is presented in the following chapters.
Chapter 6: Stayers, leavers, or ambivalent: patterns of strategies

6.1. Conceptualizing the story: The transition from school to work

At this point in the study, a concise meta-story arising from the data analysis will be presented. This story will end by using the Strauss and Corbin (1990) “paradigm model” so that on the one hand, the crucial and determining phenomenon that impacts the occupational choices of the youth in this study is made known and on the other hand, to point out all other remaining contributing factors involved in the decision-making process as regards occupational choice. This model will enable the organization of a more analytical and structured presentation of the contributing factors involved in shaping the attitudes and decisions of the youth regarding occupational choice.

This chapter will also present the main findings of the empirical study that arise from the youths’ different attitudes, tactics and strategies as regards the phenomenon under study, therefore enabling us to recognize differences in youth trends, attitudes as well as diversification between the two sexes. Although my decision to present the main findings at the beginning of the data analysis does not coincide with the “typical” way of presenting a grounded theory analysis, it does serve the purpose of offering a cohesive presentation of the qualitative data and enables one to directly gain a concise and cohesive perception of the study findings. After all, the question often raised within qualitative social research pertains to the ideal method of presentation (Kallinikaki, 2010) and analysis while maintaining the balance between the need for detail and depth34 which should not be at the expense of pleasurable reading and easy understanding.

By relying on the axial coding analysis of both cases, we may now move on to the conceptualization of the story. The gist of the story seems to be about how the young people from two separate rural communities shape their occupational orientations or have already formed their occupational status, this being a problem that worries both the young people and their families. I have arranged the chapter so that it follows the idea of first presenting work prospects and geographical distances as general conditions,

34 “Thick description” in writing of qualitative research aims at creating the verisimilitude for the readers to feel that they experience or perhaps could experience the events described. The voices, feeling, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard (Denzin, 1989b).
while showing that these are different for boys and girls. Following this, the importance of values as an intervening condition are shown. From this point, it is then logical to present what I mean to be the central phenomenon of the thesis, namely the transition from school to work and how it is determined by different factors, perceptions and strategies. The analysis then leads to the identification of three typical types that are presented in greater detail in the rest of the chapter. These three types will also come back in the analysis that follows in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

6.2. Boys and girls, work prospects and geographical distances

What used to be the most common practice in the older days (the boys becoming herdsmen or farmers and the girls getting married), no longer seems to form a satisfactory solution for all young people. The reasons for this are both objective and subjective.

Cattle-raising and farming do not offer the security of previous years, due to significant changes that have taken place in the structure of these occupations and the trading of the products. Furthermore, cattle-raising is characterized as a dangerous job, farming as a hard and high-risk job, while both are considered to be unprofitable. Despite this fact, occupation in the primary production section is a solution which ensures an occupational alternative for a significant number of young men, particularly in Anogia. These young men have decided that they do not need to complete their secondary schooling since an education at that level is not necessary for practicing these jobs.

On the other hand, many young men of both villages either feel that cattle-raising has no future, or look upon farming as a second job and an important source of income. There are young men who choose or are forced to leave the villages and seek employment at the nearest urban centers or get employment in the villages in other economic sectors. They aim at either graduating lyceum or attending a school for technical training. They pursue other jobs or professions that are steady, easier, and socially more accepted.

Additionally, there are young men, particularly in Archanes, who have acquired new life patterns. They aim at graduating from lyceum and pursuing academic studies. These are the young men who leave or will leave the villages.

The situation is different for the young girls in both villages. Traditionally, women used to be in charge of the household and assist their husbands in farming. There are almost no work positions for girls in the primary economic sector and it is a rare exception for the girls to practice cattle-raising or farming as a main occupation. Having the experience of working in the
cattle-raising or in the fields, the vast majority has rejected these jobs. They are justified in believing, since this is usually the case, that their family or future husband will take on the full responsibility of working on the cattle or the land they will inherit from their parents.

Nevertheless, there are still girls who live in the villages and are unemployed or, in the case of Archanes, do occasional jobs. The overwhelming majority of them are those who quit school or have completed only compulsory education. Although they would like to have a job, this is rather difficult and practically impossible. They have very limited possibilities of finding a work position in an urban center or even at their village, since they have no qualifications. They stay in the villages, expecting to get married.

The majority of the young girls do not seem willing to continue the traditional role, at least not to its full extent. The new life patterns seem to have a catalytic effect upon them. They want to enter the marketplace and, since this is not possible in their villages, they aim at obtaining the necessary qualifications that would enable them to leave the village, gain a work position or study a profession. There are a few girls who drop out of lyceum and attend vocational training. For the majority however, the most important aim is graduating from lyceum and pursuing academic studies. In the event of failure to achieve this aim, they further their studies at schools for vocational education, as a precondition for avoiding future unemployment.

For both sexes, the occupational status, choices and orientations are closely connected with the place of present or future residence and therefore, will play an important role as regards the way of life. There is a clear tendency for the majority of young people, the young girls in particular, to leave their villages and continue their lives at the nearest urban centers. This is also considered an opportunity for ‘a better life’, one that is different from the life of their parents. The young people feel that obtaining a job in the village other than that of a cattle raiser or farmer is rather difficult. As farming is often considered a given, many of them view themselves as unemployed unless they find another job, which is rather difficult to get in the villages. The majority of them can practice a different job, possibly in an urban center. In the case of Anogia, that means that young people have to relocate to the nearest urban centers and abandon cattle-raising. But in the case of Archanes, the short distance from the urban center enables youngsters to have more choices. Choosing Heraklion as their place of residence, they are still only a short distance away from their village, and whatever their main job may be, they can work on their farming property whenever necessary. This is a crucial issue for the young people of Archanes. Regardless of the main job, young people do not want to disclaim the economic advantages
that farming offers them. This encourages young people to either continue to reside in the village or move to the nearby city of Heraklion. At the same time however, it causes them to experience great social change. Additionally, an academic degree gives them the ‘freedom’ to choose a different way of life and creates different life perspectives.

6.3. The meaning of traditional values

Aside from occupation, there are other conditions that are of importance and are taken into consideration by young people as regards the decisions which shape their future and lead the majority of young people to study, or many to get a work position in an urban center. It seems that some of them are: the intense social conditioning, the dominant traditional moral values and ethics, which in the case of Anogia are more rigid and strict, the reluctance on behalf of the local societies to accept changes, and the monotony of everyday life especially during winter because of the limited means of entertainment available to them. The comparison with the city of Heraklion, the variety of opportunities offered there and the freedom they feel in the city, is something the majority of these youngsters have experienced. Additionally, a factor which seems to oppress the majority of the young people is the community’s attitude towards the relationships between boys and girls. The Anogia community is very strict, and without any tolerance as concerns such relationships. Arranged marriages are the accepted way for young couples to be together. Endogamy is preferred and is still a dominant phenomenon. In Archanes, relationships are considered more or less natural, as long as they are everlasting and result in marriage. There is a very low level of tolerance concerning break-ups and this situation forces these young people to keep their relationships a secret.

It seems that the young people take into consideration all the above-mentioned factors. They express contradictory feelings as regards their villages. There are those who completely identify with the way of life in the villages as it is, or those who do not seem to be so negative, at least not towards all the mentioned factors. The majority partly identifies with the social settings they live in. They love their villages but there are many things they dislike there and they believe that there is nothing they can do at present. Young people living in Archanes are slightly more optimistic and believe that their society might change, thus enabling them to change many things in their own lives. Today, the social setting may oppress them but they can tolerate this due to certain signs of change that are evident and due to the important advantages that the village lifestyle offers. Moreover, there are those
who express a negative attitude towards the local society. They evaluate the whole situation rather negatively and they develop strategies which will enable them to live under different social conditions. However, despite their determination to leave the village, to live more independent lives full of rich experiences, they express the thought that they would not mind returning to the village some years later, or when they are ready to settle down and start families of their own.

6.4. The process of transition from school to work

The crucial period for all young people is the period during which they are still in school. The attitude, either positive or negative, that each one had adopted or has adopted towards school and education generally, has proved to play a catalytic role in shaping their future. The level of education constitutes the main tool that determines the limitations and the opportunities for job placement. Actually, the aims the young people set regarding their education and consequently, their occupation, reflect each one’s attitude towards the traditional position held by males and females in these societies.

In other words, the meta-story describes the important factors, the perceptions and the strategies which determine the process of transition from school to work for the young people of these villages, and seems to be the most crucial issue as it includes all the phenomena which play a role in the process of shaping the occupational orientations or choices of the young people under study.

In general, we may say that in both communities, three different types of young people co-exist. First, those who have adopted or have reconciled themselves to the traditional role men and women have in their society. Second, those who prefer to change this role by leaving the village and trying to adopt a modern way of life. A third type hovers somewhere between these two as it is characterized by indecisiveness regarding goals and pursuits and so we can safely say that this type follows the ambivalent path. As regards gender, the girls seem to be more daring than the boys, perhaps because the forces that push or pull work stronger on girls than on boys.

If we were to describe the whole procedure by the means of the “paradigm model” (Strauss & Corbin 1990), it could be as follows: during the process of transition from school to work, young people have determined their occupational choices by taking into consideration the prospects available to them within the local and greater job market. They evaluate and consider the positive and negative aspects of the social setting they live in and they develop analogous strategies towards education, which result either in
the continuity of, or in the differentiation from the existing situation, or they stand somewhere in between, remaining ambivalent. The scheme could be as follows:

Central phenomenon:
The transition from school to work

Causal Conditions
Occupational perspectives offered for young people in the local and the greater job market

Context
Young people’s occupational choices

Intervening Conditions
Evaluation of the social setting
Young people’s everyday life

Action/Interaction strategies
Attitude towards school

Consequences
The Stayers
The Ambivalent
The Leavers

Figure 1. The paradigm model

The transitional process from school to the job market (central phenomenon) is a complex process whose end result is reflected in the choice of occupation made by the youth in my study or in the paths pursued by those not yet working (context). What led them to make this choice and, in turn practice the respective occupation? What factors do those still pursuing the fulfillment of their aims take into consideration? They assess the opportunities offered by the local job market which may, or may not satisfy them, or they may wish to be integrated into it but fail to do so due to lack of job vacancies etc. Thus, some appeal to the greater job markets in urban centres. They assess the prospects for securing occupational placement as well as how well-equipped they need to be so as to be integrated into this greater job market. This pursuit is of the utmost importance (causal conditions). However, it is not the sole factor taken into consideration by the youth during the process of transition from school to the workplace. Since employment is directly re-
lated to the place of residence and in turn, to the natural and social environment they will come in contact with on a daily basis, the young make either positive, ambivalent or negative assessments regarding it. They assess the way of life in the village and to what extent it satisfies them and allows them to live their lives as they choose. They are particularly concerned about issues pertaining to social conditioning and conformity to accepted rules in relation to their own personal lives and their ability to associate with them. For some, life in the village is relatively problem-free while at the other end, there are those who feel that it prevents them from living the life they desire (intervening conditions). So, after taking into consideration the above-mentioned conditions, they decide on the professional field they’ve chosen or wish to pursue. How they achieve this or attempt to achieve this has to do with whether they are developing or have developed a positive or negative attitude towards school and education in general. Some conclude that school and further studies are not necessary for practising their occupation of choice or for leading a better life, while some others have found or are finding school and studies to be the only path leading to the occupation they practise or wish to practise in the future (action/interaction strategies). Finally, the existing diversity in their overall assessment of the situation has caused us to discern three different trends among the youth in the two communities. One trend shows us young people who pursue traditional occupations, with the young girls adopting traditional roles. A second trend shows young people who are ambivalent about what they want to do, are actually doing, or ultimately can do. Finally, there is also a third trend which shows young people who are working or wish to work in modern sectors far from their villages.

This scheme, its concepts and its content derive from the axial coding analysis; it constitutes the structural formula for the next steps of the analysis and is to a large extent used as guide in the remaining process of selective coding.

6.5. The three different types: The stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers

Faced with a complex and multi-various social reality, the young develop their own strategies for shaping their present and preparing for their future. These strategies have to do with the way each of them interprets this reality and feels that he/she can associate with it so as to succeed in the goals they have set for their lives. The issue of employment constitutes a key factor in predetermining the way of life each young person will follow, and it embodies the principles, values and roles with which each young person will pro-
ceed in life. The young are not in a position to come up with many strategies for dealing with it. Education and the knowledge derived from it constitute a basic means by which the young can enter the job market and is indicative of how they consciously, or less consciously, intend to live their lives. The attitude towards education constitutes the main precondition for a young person to either become a *stayer*, an *ambivalent* or a *leaver*.

Who are the stayers? They are the young people who do seem to adopt traditional values and practices. They do not question the traditional gender roles, nor are they interested in escaping from them. Their schooling is of short duration and their education level basic. The occupational practices of the boys are also traditional, while the girls do not officially enter the job market. Marriage and family constitute their ‘destiny’ in life. These young people remain in their villages. This type is mainly made up of boys, while the girls make up the minority. In fact, it is made up of the majority of boys from Anogia where traditional values and practices are more staunchly adhered to than they are in Archanes. These young people are the ‘*stayers*’.

Who are the ambivalent? This type does not seem to be sure of what they want to do. They are caught between tradition and modernity and find themselves at a distance from both. These young people seem to be less prepared to deal with the social developments unfolding before them. In order to earn a decent living, some of them, particularly the boys, are forced to change their professional practices while others, particularly the girls, would like to rid themselves of the traditional roles their predicament has forced them to adopt. Unfortunately, the existing patriarchal structures and perceptions have prevented them from becoming properly equipped to do so. These young people are the ‘*ambivalent*’.

Who are the leavers? The young people of this type do not seem to adopt traditional values and practices. They pursue and try to gain a high level of education as a means of entering a broader, ‘non-farming’ job market. Their practices may be characterized as being modern and up-to-date. This type is mainly made up of girls. The boys are clearly fewer in number. In fact, they constitute the minority of boys from Anogia. This trend clearly indicates how determined the young girls are to claim a different future for themselves and gain a position from which they can better determine the course of their own lives. This suggests that traditional societies are not as oppressive for their male members as they are for their female members. These young people are the ‘*leavers*’.
6.6. The three different types: their main characteristics

The following presents a more in-depth analysis of the three different types of young people. The characteristics that will be addressed have to do with who they are in terms of their attitude/actions towards the local and greater job-market, their occupational status or perspectives, the social setting and prevalent values, as well as their attitude/actions towards school and education. Gender differentiations will also be included.

6.6.1. The Stayers

Traditional professions, namely cattle-raising, still seem to appeal to a large number of boys in Anogia. However, in Archanes, although farm production constitutes the economic backbone of the village, it does not draw in an analogous number of boys. In fact, fewer and fewer young people, now a minority, are exclusively involved in farming production.

Additionally, there is a minority of girls who do not proceed beyond their compulsory education and have not acquired a skill. These girls remain unemployed in the villages, take up odd jobs or, in the best possible case, learn a skill. Their occupational prospects are few and so, marriage is looked upon as an alternative. These are the girls who usually remain in the villages and, either advertently or inadvertently, adopt the traditional role of women in the community.

These young people who seek employment in the villages have associated their lives and future course to those of their families. In addition, the majority seems to be more tolerant of the social limits and pressures which exist. They adopt more accepting attitudes and practices which are acceptable within their social environment regardless of whether this is seen by some as forced or by others as completely acceptable.

Those young people who have already paved their way in the village, either professionally or personally, point out the positive aspects of living in a familiar and safe social environment and say that Heraklion is only an outlet for temporary change.

The marrying age for the boys has risen. For them, marriage comes with a lot of responsibilities including complete financial responsibility. The professional uncertainty of a herdsman or a farmer, the prospect of enjoying a carefree life in the city, the modern phenomenon of consumerism which dictates the need for setting purchasing goals that will have to be met when gaining marital status, are perhaps factors that discourage them from marrying. As a result, on their part, the boys do not seem to be in a hurry to marry. Therefore the young people of the villages no longer exclusively marry
amongst themselves. The few young girls left marry young men from nearby villages. Endogamy is declining.

Let us now see the attitude these young people have towards education. It appears that the minority of young people has a negative outlook where school is concerned and end up dropping out. Here we have the young people who either did not complete their compulsory education, or simply managed to get through high school or technical training programs. All of them state that the reasons which led to their dropping out of school were their bad school grades and their unwillingness to try to meet even basic school requirements. Some boys had decided early on that they would become shepherds or farmers like their fathers, while some had hoped that they would find jobs and did not want to waste their time in school.

The boys who ended up dropping out do not seem to have wanted to make an effort and showed no interest in furthering their studies as they had become involved in the family cattle-raising or farming from an early age. “I couldn’t wait for the school bell to ring so that I could go to our vineyard where my father was and avoid having to sit down and study” mentions one young farmer. Another one adds: “My years at school went to waste, I didn’t study and my parents were forced to let me have my way and so they pulled me out of school on the condition that I would attend an institute and learn a skill. But I blew it. I abandoned that as well…”

Most of the girls, who did not even complete their compulsory education, to this day remain unemployed and live in the villages. They do not all have the opportunities of pursuing alternative education programs. Vocational schools do not exist in the villages.

The opinion that education is not necessary for a girl still exists even to this day. That is why fewer girls than boys enroll in high school. But generally speaking, the parents whose children did not even attend lyceum were completely opposed to this, and had different expectations of their children. There were however some parents, in Anogia mostly, who simply went along with their children’s desire to attend a school for technicians or even those, mainly the father, who were initially unwilling to allow their children, their daughters in particular, to attend further education programs in an urban center. Accordingly, it seems that all the parents in Archanes wanted their children to gain a lyceum degree, thus disagreeing with their children who decided differently: “My father kept telling me to go back to school, that there was no future in the vineyards, that I would have a hard life, that my earnings would be meager, that school or learning a craft was a far better choice… but I didn’t compromise, I wanted to become a farmer”. Another young man adds: “My parents wanted the best for me, they wanted me
to go to university and when I failed the entrance exams, they offered to send me abroad for studies, they didn’t want me to go into farming”

Let us now have a look at additional factors that may influence the stayers’ attitude towards school.

According to the data collected from the participants, the siblings of those who have a negative attitude towards school and education share a similar attitude about dropping out of school, and respectively, their parents’ education level appears to be poor. It is a rather unlikely coincidence that the majority of children in families with a low education level does not manage, or even try to proceed to academic studies.

The education system itself and how the young experience their role as students also contributes to the attitudes they develop towards school. The stayers agree that the school curriculum is very demanding, as are the teachers who, in some cases, do not show a real interest in their students. “Our teachers are interested only in the pupils who show an interest in learning. This is not right. School should be accessible to all” an Anogian boy says. This is also used as an excuse for wanting to dropout.

As a consequence, those who, at best, completed compulsory education may decide to continue studies at a technical school. Otherwise, they enter the job market without skills, usually in the primary economic sector, after deciding that they immediately want to enter production which, to them, means coming of age and being financially independent. They support that cattle-raisers and farmers are “their own bosses” and that their income is much higher than that of a wage earner. Generally, the boys, state that they are absolutely satisfied with their occupation and have no regrets about not continuing with school. Still, there is one who states that “it would have been better if I had not dropped out of technical school”.

The girls hope to get a steady job although it seems rather impossible. All the girls that participated in the study are still unemployed after 5-6 years of leaving school. The majority of those who have quit school has regretted it. “I was very frivolous” one girl said, “I have no chances of getting a job without the lyceum diploma”, while one female farmer who graduated from technical lyceum declares that she is completely satisfied. For these girls, marriage is seen as an outlet.

Finally, all the young people who have gone no further than compulsory education stay, and will probably continue to stay in the villages.
6.6.2. The Ambivalent

Traditional occupation sectors no longer constitute the sole professional alternative for the young boys. An important number of them have become familiar with new models in lifestyle and, combined with their uncertainty for the future of the traditional work sectors, they have decided to seek employment in sectors other than the traditional ones.

These young men are aiming for a steady job with a steady income and enough free time. The development of services in the public and private sector as well as in tourism, has offered a limited number of new job posts which, nevertheless, require some sort of knowledge and specialization. Furthermore, the job market in the urban centers, which is much larger than their own, has proven to be highly accessible to the young and offers them alternative solutions. Thus, many boys work as salary or wage earners, as workers, or as freelance professionals in technical occupations both in the village and in the city. These young people usually study at technical schools. They try to develop roles that are different from the traditional ones without challenging tradition head-on. The majority resides in their villages.

Many the young girls try to maintain contact with the learning process through studies at schools for vocational-professional training, this being done in an effort to acquire some initial career training so that they may be suitably prepared when entering either the local job market or that of Heraklion as paid employees. As for the Anogian girls, their place of residence can be the city of Heraklion, while girls from Archanes usually continue to live in their village though the prospect of living in Heraklion is not always rejected. Most of them feel a close bond to their farming property and have no intention of giving it up or selling it. They have a tendency and desire to adopt new roles but their ‘acquired means’ may not be enough to help them adopt these roles and therefore, they may not be accepted in them.

Involvement in cattle-raising and farming constitutes a rare exception but, at the same time, it is a sign of modernity. Women have always been involved in farming as assistants in a part-time capacity, but never as full-time farmers or cattle-raisers. One girl’s statement that her occupation is that of a full-time farmer denotes that there is a sense of assertiveness among these few girls and a desire for equal social standing and recognition. They remain in the villages and, to a certain degree, “enrich” the traditional role of women.

Anyway, one can see that despite their compliance with traditional rules, they have embraced new models and values in life. As a result, whether this is to a lesser or greater degree, they either experience a gap between the existing way of life and the one they desire or, they lack goals which they
could achieve with their own abilities. This is obvious as regards the young unemployed girls in the villages, who objectively speaking; sit around ‘waiting’ to get married.

What is their attitude towards education? The young people of this category do not seem to have a clear attitude towards school and studies in general. There are those who endeavor to graduate from lyceum and pursue further studies. Some of them failed in pursuing academic studies while others considered their graduation from lyceum or from a vocational-professional training school a success. These institutes are an alternative solution since gaining academic knowledge is of lesser importance, and entering the job market right after graduation from lyceum is a desired option. Furthermore, there appears to be a small minority of young people in Archanes who decided that they were not interested or did not want to make the effort to complete lyceum and alternatively studied at a vocational school. While some boys do pursue further education, the majority seems less willing to follow such a path. At the same time, we can see that the girls display a kind of persistence in pursuing alternative studies and gaining some necessary means for entering the job market. Young girls do not cut off all ties from the learning process but rather, continue to take courses in foreign languages and computers as an alternative.

Here we have girls who mention that, although they did not like studying, they had to complete lyceum, while those who did not succeed in pursuing academic studies, attended two-year programs at vocational training institutes, since the lyceum diploma does not offer any career specialization. “When I failed my exams I didn’t have the stamina to try again. I opted for the easy solution of enrolling at a career training institute because of course, I had to do something”, mentions one girl. In Archanes however, young people have the opportunity to attend a technical lyceum in Heraklion, a school that offers a diploma equivalent to that of lyceum. These schools do offer initial vocational training to its students. “I had decided that I wouldn’t continue my studies at lyceum, I didn’t want to study very much, and enrolled at a technical lyceum so that I could learn more about agriculturalism” mentions a young female farmer, while another young girl says: “I stopped studying the moment I entered lyceum. I just didn’t find it interesting. So, I eventually dropped out and enrolled at a technical lyceum to get a diploma. I like reading, but not for school”. Thus, we can see that the girls seek alternative solutions even if these are less effective than academic studies are. Being so close to the city of Heraklion, the girls from Archanes consider this opportunity a given.
Here as well, there are parents who want their children to have a lyceum degree as a means for a better life. “My parents did not agree with my wanting to drop out of lyceum, they felt that I could and must study... but it’s my life and it’s for me to decide what I’ll do”. In Anogia though, we can see that in one case, the disagreement was because the young boy decided to become a technician instead of a herdsman. “Now he eventually has to sell the cattle. He didn’t like that”. In another case, it was the father who did not allow his daughter to leave the village after she had attended vocational training in Heraklion. He wanted his daughter to stay with the family in the village despite the mother’s determination to let her girl go away and “have a better life”.

Most of them agree that the school curriculum is very demanding and the school system is mainly criticized because it is believed that the students do not acquire rounded knowledge and that the sole aim of the education system is to prepare the students for the university entrance exams. They can not bear the hectic pace and, as a result, either end up dropping out, failing their exams or gaining entrance to schools of lower credit value rather than the schools of their choice.

Those who studied at schools for vocational-professional training, have contradictory feelings. Some of them consider their studies a success, others a failure, depending on their initial aims. But most of them are employed at the moment. “At least for the time being, I am very pleased with my choice of studies” says a young assistant working for a speech therapist, while another girl is clearly satisfied with her current situation: “I still haven’t found what I really want” she states. A third one now feels that it would have been better if she had made a mature effort to graduate from lyceum. As regards the place of residence, the majority remains or will continue to remain in the villages, while very few live in nearby urban centers to practice their occupations.

6.6.3. The leavers

In describing this type of young people, let us start with the male population. There are boys who aim at pursuing academic studies. In a developing community where the struggle for day-to-day survival has been achieved, the young are afforded the ‘luxury’ of choice and their parents can now hope to offer their children a ‘better life’, which, according to them, is achieved through academic studies. These young boys will gain a diploma that will enable them to find analogous work only outside the villages. They will most probably move to the city. For them, the family farming property is a supplementary source of income. In contrast to their aforementioned peers,
these young people fully adopt new roles and cut themselves off from traditional ones.

The girls seem to worry more about their future; they plan ahead and make greater efforts to fulfill their aims. This may be due to the fact that the girls can only leave the villages to work if they have first ensured a specific job which is steady and appears to be permanent. The changes brought about by the girls seem to be more drastic. There seems to be a clear and steady attitude on their part for entering the production process and the job market, as well as a tendency to reject the prevailing traditional role of women as housewives or assistants to their herdsmen or farmer husbands. Not being able to find paying jobs in the villages, the majority of girls move to urban centers after first having obtained employment.

However, the vast majority of the girls endeavor to pursue academic studies. It is the only path that can lead to professional success, social emancipation and the possibility of a life far different from that of their mothers and grandmothers. It leads to their being integrated as equal members into society. This is why they seem to try harder and are more successful than the boys in pursuing academic studies. As is the case with the boys, the girls’ professional future is in the city while any farming property constitutes a supplementary source of income. Regardless of where they reside, these young girls adopt new roles and reject traditional ones. Besides, the relative emancipation from the rules or behaviors of family and society, as well as independence in lifestyle, are important factors which the youth care about, especially those who have decided, at an early age, to one day leave the village. They all feel that the social pressure will be less and that they will be able to determine their own limits within the boundaries of their own upbringing.

A further element which appears is the dissociation of their life course from that of their families. Despite ongoing family support and the solidarity between the family members, the young who leave become more independent, form broader social points of view and are economically more autonomous.

There is a clear desire on the part of those studying or planning to study, to live away from the village, at least for a certain period of time. They do not adamantly reject a life in the village, but they feel that they now have the opportunity to finally live independently and gain new experiences and that, perhaps one day in the future they will return to the village and live there. The fact that they express the wish to one day return and live there may perhaps indicate that the social conditions are not really that oppressive or, it could indicate that they believe they will one day be able to disregard them
or change them through their own way of life. The villages are developing, there are new economic activities and, quite possibly, a percentage of those young people who are studying, will contribute to their further development in the future.

The attitude of these young people towards education is clear. In talking about their reasons for completing lyceum, the majority explains that they want or wanted to move on to academic studies and that they had set this goal from childhood. They believe that graduating from lyceum is necessary in our days and that it is a precondition for a better life and for achieving various goals in life. Academic studies are considered to be a prerequisite for ensuring employment and are looked upon by the girls, especially by those who come from less well-to-do cattle-raising and farming families, as the sole outlet. Furthering their studies is seen as being their only 'escape' route from the village in the hopes of finding a more independent life. This reason is more often given by the girls than by the boys. For some, the very value of education itself is also important, while for a small number, the lyceum diploma is the least one must acquire if they hope to be employed today.

Most consider/considered their graduation a given, and academic studies to be their first priority. They mention characteristically: “My parents are educated people; they do not own cattle. Studies are my outlet. I could not imagine myself doing anything else other than studying at the university” a young Anogian boy said, while a boy from Archanes mentions: “My parents are both dentists and I want to become a dentist too”. Some girls said: “Ever since I was a little girl, my aim was to complete my schooling and go to university. It never even crossed my mind to think otherwise”, “I’ve always wanted to finish school and go to university, there’s no doubt about it”, “I’m tired of school and studying, but I want to go to university... it’s also what my family hopes for. After all, if a girl doesn’t further her studies, she’s left with very few options... not like boys who can work in farming or learn a skill if they choose not to further their studies. If a girl chooses not to study, the best thing that can happen to her is that she will be confined to her house”. It seems that most of the young, with the girls outnumbering the boys, show a positive attitude towards school and education and have either graduated or will graduate from lyceum. This tendency is more obvious in the Anogia community.

The parents’ attitude concerning their children’s choices is quite clear. They almost all wanted their children to graduate from lyceum and, through education, gain all the necessary tools for their occupational future and life in general. Most of them considered it a given that their children would graduate from lyceum and further their academic studies or that they would
at least attend vocational training programs. Their children feel that they offered great moral and financial support in that direction. For those parents who are cattle raisers or farmers, further studies constituted the only alternative for their children. In the cases where there was failure to enter university, the parents insisted on their children trying again, and it was difficult for them when they had to accept their children’s decision to enroll at a school for vocational-professional training.

The parents clearly support their children becoming educated, the main reason for this being their hope that their children will secure a future for themselves and go further than they themselves ever did in life. The cattle raisers and the farmers in particular, desperately want their children to get an education so that they might avoid having to lead the harsh and difficult life of a cattle raiser or a farmer. Those cattle raisers or farmers whose children are girls express this with even greater concern, as they feel that this is not an occupation for women. Nevertheless, the poorer families also insist on their children furthering their education because they feel that they will not be able to support them in the future. The parents want their children to have a steady job, a steady income and good working conditions and they feel that it is their duty to support them in their efforts to secure all this.

The youth gives various interpretations for their parents’ attitudes. In the cases where there is agreement surrounding the choices, young people from Anogia mention characteristically: “I will be the only child in the family to graduate from lyceum”. “They wanted me to have a better life although it meant being away from them”. “My father has always liked education”. “They let me continue my studies because they trust that my behavior away from the village will be the proper one”. “My father knows that the family assets are not enough for all my brothers. So I had to do something else”. Finally, one girl mentions that “my parents consider studies to be the only outlet for a girl”. Accordingly, young girls from Archanes say: “My parents considered it a given that I would study. They would say, OK, do what you want in Theatre but see that you get a diploma that will ensure a steady job for you... now I’ve convinced them that the Theatre is what I want”. “I’m not all that keen on studying dentistry but my parents have convinced me that it will be good for my occupational future”, “My parents really want me to study something that I feel will offer me a comfortable life without the problems that they themselves have had to face”, “My parents know that life today is very demanding and that one must be well equipped to deal with it... since we were little girls they’ve urged us to be good students and one day go to university because a diploma ensures security for the future...”.

113
For many, motivation came from the changes they saw in the lives of their siblings when they left the villages to study. And so they too state that they want/wanted to change their own lives, leave the villages, live independently, live in the city and finally, meet other people. Most of the siblings who have a positive attitude towards school and education have graduated from lyceum and many have pursued or are pursuing academic studies. Respectively, the education level of these young people’s parents is the highest in the sample.

The school itself, although criticized as being monotonous and having a completely uninteresting curriculum, does not seem to affect their effort. On the contrary, during the last two years of lyceum, they are/were forced to give up any extra-curricular activities they may have taken up and devote all their time and effort to preparing for the university entrance exams. The leavers are those who work/worked hard and persevered, are highly motivated and are deeply aware of how important these years and their choices are/were for the future. Perhaps what strengthens their resolve to succeed in their aim is the fact that, as students, they live in the villages but would like to leave so as to experience life elsewhere.

When judging the attitude of their peers, those with a positive attitude towards school believe that many of the young people in the village of Anogia and most in Archanes with the girls outnumbering the boys, aim at doing academic studies. They claim that some of them really try to pursue the best possible studies but that there are also quite a few who just want to gain entrance somewhere without really caring about the occupational future their studies can provide. They say that many find school to be very difficult and do not comprehend the value of being educated. They all agree that the girls try harder than the boys do and are better students. They do not agree with those who choose to drop out of school to become cattle-raisers or farmers without at least trying to get a diploma from a technical lyceum.

Finally, none of the lyceum graduates have regretted their choice. Those in school feel that they will have achieved their aim if they succeed in getting into the field of study they have chosen and they state that they are very confident about the choices they have made. Those doing academic studies are satisfied because their first goal has already been achieved.

At the very least, the situation is indicative of the young people’s intention to have their own future place of residence. About half the young people will leave the village to pursue further studies. They do not know whether they will return. However, it is an option some of them have kept open for the future.
6.7. Summing up

On completing this unit which deals with the transition of the young people from the school structure to the job market, we could say that there are many different main strategies which, in the course of time, undergo changes and are formed depending on the outcome of events.

To sum up, we could say the following:
In these small societies, the traditional roles have been overturned as regards the youth and their professional perspectives, and to a great degree these are accepted by the local society. The majority of young people follow new practices in seeking employment. These characterise the following three types of youth: the stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers. These types can be characterized as ‘ideal types’. According to Max Weber, the ideal type is an intellectual construction based on rationalism. It is formed through emphasis on or exaggeration of one or more characteristics or views observed in reality. It is a limiting concept used as a precedent for comparing real situations and actions during the research process (Timasheff, 1964).

In order to link the previously presented types of stayers, ambivalent and leavers, I have added the concepts of tradition and modernity in this summary. I will return to this theoretical construction in the final discussion:

The traditional type: the stayers
- Boys who adopt traditional roles and pursue traditional professions. There is a high school dropout rate among these boys. Traditional values and practices are dominant. The stayers consist of the majority of boys in Anogia and the minority as regards Archanes. These are the boys who remain in the village.
- Girls who adopt traditional roles and are almost completely reconciled with them. Here, we see unemployment and a high school dropout rate. Traditional values and practices are dominant. The stayers consist of a minority of girls. These are the girls who remain in the village.

The ambivalent type: the ambivalent
- Boys who either have not rejected traditional roles or do not identify with them to a great degree but nevertheless, were forced to pursue new vocational practices. This is accompanied by completion of compulsory education or secondary education and often enrolment in technical ly-
ceum or technical schools for vocational studies. Traditional values seem to prevail or to be present, but modernistic practices are followed as well. The ambivalent type consists of a minority of boys. These are the boys who remain in the village.

- Girls who feel ambivalence as regards the traditional roles without being completely able to escape them. The dropout rate is rather high. Here, we can see alternative solutions in career studies such as vocational training and salary-paying jobs, part time jobs as well as unemployment. Traditional values do not seem to prevail, and the followed practices are both traditional and non-traditional ones. The ambivalent type consists of a minority of girls as well. These are the girls who remain in the village.

The modern type: the leavers

- Boys who have rejected traditional roles and have chosen new vocational practices. This is always accompanied by completion of secondary education and by either enrolment in a technical institute or vocational training institute in the case of Anogia, and studies at an academic level which is more obvious in the case of Archanes. Traditional values seem to be rejected and modernistic practices are followed. The leavers consist of the minority of boys in Anogia and the majority of boys in Archanes. These are the boys who usually leave the village.

- Girls who have rejected traditional roles and have chosen new vocational practices. This is always accompanied by completion of secondary education and either a degree from an institute for professional training or the pursuit of academic studies as regards both the case of Anogia and the case of Archanes. Traditional values seem to be rejected and modernistic practices are followed. The leavers consist of the majority of girls. These are the girls who usually leave the village.

It is clear that education constitutes a means of transition from the rural area to the urban center. In general, the secondary-school graduates greatly outnumber the student dropouts who are more frequently boys than girls. In total, traditional values seem to be adopted much more by the boys than by the girls, while the girls are those who seem to reject them. This observation may be considered remarkable – although very reasonable – if we take into consideration that Anogia and Archanes seem to be traditional and male-dominant societies and as such, the social emancipation of women is limited. The steady tendency of the girls to gain the right to employment, with what-
ever this entails, reflects the diffusion of modernity into the life of these societies. It is this fact that has led this study to shed light on gender differentiation as regards occupational perspectives.

In closing, this presentation came about as a result of analysing the various strategies followed by the youth of the two communities in their quest for integration into the job market and has therefore offered a clearer understanding of the existing differentiation among them as regards their attitudes, perceptions and followed practices. As a result, we now have answers to the first research question of our study regarding the occupational orientations and choice of occupation of the young people within the communities of Anogia and Archanes. The lack of homogeneity presented reveals the fluidity within the social status quo that the youth are called upon to face and associate with before they can fulfil their aims. We will move on to take a more detailed look at how the youth interpret this reality. This will help us gain a better understanding of the main contextual factors that contribute to the young people’s occupational orientations and choice of occupation.

The following chapter 7 describes the general ideas young people have regarding occupation and the work opportunities offered in their villages.
Chapter 7: Youth’s general ideas about occupation – the job market

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we ascertained that there are three different paths followed by the youth during the transition process from school to the job market. As a result, some village youth are characterized as ‘stayers’, some as ‘ambivalent’ and some as ‘leavers’. By extension, these three different types of youth also express different life values. In continuing the analysis, the study will seek to gain further insight into the factors that contribute to the young people’s occupational orientations and choice of occupation, thus providing answers to the second question posed in the study.

By using the paradigm model (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) as the basis for the structure and content of the analysis, this chapter will present the views expressed by the youth concerning the local job market (i.e. causal conditions according to the paradigm model). The prospects the job market offers for job placement and permanent employment constitute a basic factor which is taken into serious consideration by the youth when deciding on and planning their occupational future.

At this point, I would like to mention that, owing to the credibility of the analysis, in particular to that of the Grounded theory analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), many quotations taken from the interviews with the young people have been used in the texts that follow. Additionally, the present chapter, as well as chapters seven and eight, attempt to present a comparative analysis that derives from the data gathered from the two settings, starting with that obtained in Anogia and continuing with that obtained in Archanes.

Let us now take a more analytical look at how the young people who live or used to live in either of these two villages deal with their lives and their future in relation to their job placement.

7.2. The young peoples’ general ideas about occupational conditions in the villages

When planning or outlining their future, the young people of the villages seem to take into consideration the more general conditions that exist in their communities, while those concerning occupation prevail. Their attitude towards them and their awareness of the outcomes varies. These determine each one’s final choice regarding his/her plans for occupational placement.
The case of Anogia

When expressing their opinion as regards the occupational sector, the young people of Anogia feel there is a high rate of unemployment among young people as well as a lack of opportunities for occupation in the village unless one wants to work in cattle-raising, as it constitutes the only option available to them. Unemployment among the young population as a more general phenomenon does not seem to worry them. Not that they are not aware of it. However, when considering the tremendous lack of employment prospects in the village, the opportunities outside the village seem endless. They take advantage of the possibilities and opportunities the nearest urban centres can offer to those seeking them. Being “so close and yet so far” from the urban centres has enabled them to interact with broader social surroundings while maintaining their physiognomy and identity.

The case of Archanes

Most of the young people of Archanes believe that their village “isn’t a poor place”, on the contrary “the majority of the inhabitants enjoy a good standard of living” and their village “has developed greatly in recent years”. But they feel that farming is no longer as profitable as it used to be. This is accompanied by a general feeling of dissatisfaction and worry. The vast majority of young people believe that their village has been undergoing a process of development and that this has also helped create new services in the private sector, a new job market and new growth prospects but that, despite all this, the problem of unemployment still has not been solved. Farming no longer constitutes the sole sector of economic activity but it still remains the chief determining factor of economic and social life in the village.

7.3. Occupation sectors

When discussing sectors young people can be occupied with in the Anogia and Archanes villages, they mention cattle-raising and farming, correspondingly, as the main sectors of economic activities. In both villages, a few young people have the opportunity to work in small family businesses such as taverns, restaurants, cafes, stores and so on, usually on a part time basis. The work positions in certain small industries and in the public sector are limited and are already saturated. Many young men have become technicians and work independently in the free market. In Archanes, a primary aim of many young men is to succeed in combining farm work with another occupation.
It is on the basis of this economic setting and job market that the young people make their assessments concerning their employment prospects in the villages. The majority believes that their possibilities for employment in the villages are limited, unless they wish to work in cattle-raising or farming, which constitutes the only guaranteed alternative for the boys. “If someone wants to work in the village, there is work in farming and construction... a lot of work, that is, work we all do here in the village. On the other hand, those who do not feel like working and would rather live off their father’s money... well, that’s a different story. We’re talking about those kids who, like me and many others here in the village, aren’t furthering their studies. They just don’t want to work in farming” says one young farmer, a stayer, from Archanes.

The perspectives for occupation in the villages do not seem to be the same for the two sexes.

7.3.1. The boys

The case of Anogia

The overwhelming majority of the young men in Anogia become herdsmen, taking after their fathers and their brothers, while only some of the farmers’ sons became farmers too. “Ever since I was a little boy I had decided to become a herdsman, like the majority of young men here” a young herdsman, a stayer, said, while a farmer’s son, an ambivalent, said characteristically: “There is no money in farming any more. Whatever my father can do, let him do it alone. He himself does not want me to be occupied in farming. The income is not enough even for one person. He is disappointed. He’s encouraging us to leave the village”. A few young men work in salary based jobs in different sectors. Having cattle-raising as an alternative, the majority of young men stay in Anogia. A young man, an ambivalent one, although a herdsman’s son, did not follow in his father’s footsteps: “As I said before, I am an only son and this job requires the work of at least two persons. It is usually handed down from father to sons. For me, it was difficult since I don’t have a brother. In a few years, my father will be unable to practice this job. How could I look after the cattle alone? Cattle stealing is a fact that has discouraged single sons from entering this job. So, since I’ve graduated Lycée I could not become a herdsman. I decided to follow vocational training and become a technician”. Some, but explicitly few, follow academic studies: “My parents and my grandparents were educated people. So I guess I’ve taken after them in their thirst for knowledge. Working with my hands would not satisfy me. I intend to take part in the national exams for entering University or TEI and I will persist until I succeed in pursuing academic stud-
ies” a young man, a leaver, said. Both his parents work in the public sector although they own and cultivate land.

The case of Archanes
The situation is slightly different in Archanes. Many boys drop out of school. Some of them become farmers. Although farming may not constitute a satisfactory sector for work, it still is an important alternative for the young boys. Some others attend schools for vocational training to become technicians. They can easily get seasonal or temporary jobs, do a day’s wage or find employment in the city. Nevertheless, many boys complete Lyceum and pursue further academic studies.

7.3.2. The girls
The case of Anogia
On the other hand, they all agree that girls in Anogia cannot find work in the village or at least they all agree that in Archanes, occupational choices and work positions for unskilled girls are limited. “If there was work here it would be paradise” a young Anogian girl, a stayer, said. “The majority of the young people have left. Only those who became involved in cattle-raising at a young age stayed here. The girls of course have all left. Only the married ones have remained here. Very few...”. “In the village one is ruined” another girl who lives in Anogia, an ambivalent, said. “There is nothing one can do. What can a young girl be occupied with in Anogia? Weaving? Housekeeping? You are completely ruined. If you can not find a job, the only prospect left is marriage”. Young girls have changed perceptions and do not seem to be willing to follow the clearly defined traditional role women used to have, at least not to its entire extent. This is the main reason for which the vast majority of the girls completes lyceum and pursues academic studies. Thus, more girls than boys leave the villages to study. Those who fail to enter university or TEI, attend professional or, to a lesser degree, vocational training. In this way, they endeavour to become professionally well equipped to competitively enter the public or private job sectors of either the village or the city.

The case of Archanes
In Archanes, female employment in farming as a main job is a rare exception: “The girls are not occupied in farming. They all turn their noses up to it... most of them at least. There are exceptions to the rule, of course....... it doesn’t make them less feminine......as long as their parents teach them the value of work...” comments a young student, while a young farmer, a stayer,
is more caustic, he says: “there are young girls who work hard in the vineyards, they drive tractors and do the ploughing........ but they are few. The others are afraid they may ruin their manicure”. However, there are girls who have dropped out of school and abandoned any attempt at gaining some professional training and who, as a result, remain unemployed or semi-employed in the village. Lack of professional training has not enabled them to be competitive in the job market of the village, let alone the city. This, and not so much their parents’ refusal to let them work in the city, is the main reason for which they are forced to stay at home. “In this day and age of the 21st century we still have cases, not many but a noteworthy percentage, where girls get married at the age of 16 or 17. This saddens me... some become hairdressing assistants, others salesgirls…” comments a young man about the girls who abandon school. Similarly to Anogia, the majority of the girls complete lyceum and pursue academic studies. They became leavers.

7.3.3. The parents

According to the young participants, it seems that the parents consider their children’s work placement to be of vital importance. It is of less importance to them where their children will relocate in their search of employment. They would of course, prefer that place to be the village. Heraklion, offers the required solution, while seeking employment outside Crete is by no means desired. “Crossing the sea is like emigrating”, they say characteristically.

*The case of Anogia*

In Anogia, cattle-raising is widely perceived as being a solution which however, refers exclusively to the boys of the family. There are many who believe that the girls have no choice but to study and then seek employment. Many other parents believe that marriage is the best future prospect for the girls. They would rather the girls remained in the village. In some cases, there are disagreements within the family and it is usually the fathers who disagree with the girls’ departure. “Our mother wanted us to leave so that we could become educated and pursue careers. Our father was completely opposed. He wanted us to stay close by. He doesn’t understand that by doing that he is closing our doors to opportunity”, said a young girl, an ambivalent, who lives in the village. In any case, the departure of their children is an event that causes sadness within the family. “Our parents would prefer that we stay on here, but work opportunities do not and can not possibly exist in Anogia”, mentions one young man, while a young woman, a leaver, tells us: “My mother is very sad. My sisters have gone and I’ll be leaving too. Only
my brother will stay on. I’m trying very hard to make her understand me. She’s always tried to do what’s best for us. She says that she wants me to at least go to Heraklion, where I’d be closer to the village”.

The case of Archanes
In Archanes this is a more characteristic trend. It seems that the parents encourage their children to further their studies or to at least remain in school. Most do not wish for their children to become farmers although this is usually inevitable. Today, all the basic needs of livelihood are covered and are a given for the vast majority of the inhabitants. This gives the young inhabitants and their parents, the ‘luxury’ of ‘choice’. At the same time, new values, ideas and perceptions have seeped into this otherwise closed environment and have brought about changes in the traditional roles and particularly in the traditional role of women.

7.4. Outlets in traditional occupational sectors

Correspondingly, since cattle-raising and farming in Anogia and Archanes constitute the main sectors of economic activity, it is important to examine the views the young people hold as regards these sectors of production. Do they constitute economic sectors with an absorption capacity to accommodate their youth? Are they seen as attractive prospects? The answers to these questions will greatly determine whether these young people become stayers, ambivalent or leavers.

The case of Anogia
When commenting on the ‘traditional occupation’ the young present the given situation as follows: Cattle-raising is the main occupation, which is of course true. Thus, the majority and not only those belonging to cattle-raising families believe that the future of the village is dependent upon the future of cattle-raising. “Anogia is a village that has always been supported by and depends on its cattle raisers. They are what keep the village on its feet. When cattle-raising ceases to exist in Anogia, everyone will leave. There are others who do other jobs but the village economy is controlled by the cattle raisers”, says one young man, a stayer, characteristically.

One can easily sense a general feeling of insecurity regarding the future of cattle-raising. If subsidization one day stops, they believe cattle-raising will no longer be a financially viable sector. Only few believe that the way in which subsidization was handled was not conducive to their field. They do however admit that their profits are far from good and that their bank debts
are very high. Furthermore, they mention the parameter that has to do with the dangers and risks of the job, this for example being diseases and weather conditions that affect productivity. However, the most threatening factor is cattle stealing and the constant need to protect one’s cattle. This is why families with many boys are seen as being strong. There are no days off for special holidays or celebrations, nor are there days for rest and relaxation. Commuting during winter and the separation of the family are also mentioned as negative factors. Where farming is concerned, they believe that the job is a strenuous one and that their income is constantly shrinking. They can continue to help their parents but, as far as they are concerned, this occupation can only offer them a supplementary income.

A traditional field of occupation for women within the context of the household economy used to be weaving. Weaving, as a sector of economic activity, does not seem to be an attractive option among the young women. They believe that its future depends upon the development of tourism in the village, which has experienced a decline in recent years. It is a difficult craft for one to learn and the existing incentives are not adequate enough to motivate young women’s serious involvement in it.

All the young people in Anogia talk about the need for modernization of the village as well as for the creation of new job posts. The funded support of the cattle-raising sector, the improvement of the road network to urban centres and the centres offering job training programs are all regarded as being important steps in that direction. They want the Youth Centre of the village to resume its previous functions as a cultural meeting place and job training area. The solutions, as many feel, must come from the government, the mayor, and politicians originating from Anogia, while the idea that the inhabitants themselves must do something is very rarely expressed. Although they appreciate the efforts made by politicians, the mayor, village unions and services, they feel that they have failed to solve the problem regarding the development of the region.

The case of Archanes

When commenting on the village’s main occupation of farming, the young believe that indeed the village economy is based on the cultivation of vineyards and olive groves and that this has enabled and still enables many families to have a very good life. From this perspective, it is an occupation that is highly respected in the village. From another perspective, it is not considered an occupation that holds any prestige since it does not require any special knowledge and is common in the village as everyone has farmland of their own. However, it is unanimously considered a difficult and hard occupation,
especially in the area of grape cultivation. It requires daily attendance and work on the part of the cultivator (this often constitutes a hindering factor for the young) and depending on the size of the land, extra work hands are often needed. Produce prices are considered to be very low and do not satisfy farmers. As a result, the unsteady income and strenuous work required are two factors that discourage the young from becoming involved in farming.

Nevertheless, there are also young people who assess the situation from a different perspective: “All occupations involve risk and if you don’t take risks, you’ll never get anywhere in life. The weather conditions and the other difficulties don’t mean anything to me” states a young farmer, a stayer, who goes on to say: “...if you handle and work on your crop properly, you’re sure to profit”. Many young farmers are beginning to deal with crop cultivation not simply as empirical work settling for whatever it may yield but rather, as a business activity, which requires knowledge, organization, the know-how of specialists, updating, insight and economic management. They claim that farming is not as difficult as it once was because today, farmers rely greatly on mechanical means. There are quite a few who trust the opinions of specialists concerning their fathers’ empirical cultivation: “... we need the knowledge and assistance of specialists. This is what I’m trying to do and my father trusts me because he sees that things are getting better now” states a young farmer, an ambivalent, while, on the contrary, another young farmer, a stayer, states: “I myself am the agriculturalist of my own vineyard”. It is clear that traditional and modern views co-exist among the young farmers.

However, despite the positive attitude of these young people toward farming, many of them support that a second job ensures a better life or at least allows one to make ends meet. This is common practice for young farmers who, in this case however, usually end up neglecting their crops while settling for “what will be, will be”. However, these young people ultimately support that, if they had to settle for any occupation, they would be much better off turning to farming as it would certainly earn them a better income than any other salary-paying job.

The improved working conditions in this occupation do not seem to convince the young, most of whom want to escape from the accompanying way of life. Comparing themselves with their parents’ generation, they acknowledge that “times have changed”. They believe that previous generations were content with fewer things, they made fewer demands, their standard of living was lower and, generally speaking, life was easier. “They didn’t expect much” mentions a young-working man, an ambivalent, “yes, that’s for sure. ...for example in those days they weren’t well off and the whole neigh-
bourhood would gather, I experienced this myself as a child, and we’d eat sunflower seeds, watch a movie on TV and that was basically our entertainment ...”. Furthermore, this is a generation that cannot imagine itself working according to set hours or a strict time schedule or under management hierarchy. “The people here are accustomed to their way of life in the vineyards and they could not tolerate having a boss over them”. Nowadays, things are completely different. The young demand a good quality of life, thus their needs have extended beyond the realms of mere survival as they have more expenses to cover because they want more material goods for the home, work and for their personal needs. “Yes, demands are greater today ... for example each family owns 5 or 6 cars. Just considering the servicing needed for each car ... well, you get the picture...”. They are not exclusively devoted to their work but rather, they also want to enjoy themselves, live comfortably, be educated and see the world. These expectations are completely legitimate. “I’ve never left Crete, only when I served in the army. I’ve no idea how people live in other places. I’d like to know more” states a young farmer characteristically. The young want to savour the achievements and material goods of the modern world ‘on equal footing’ and escape from rural life.

As regards tourism, the young believe that it has helped their village as many families have alternatively begun their own small tourist businesses: “Here in Archanes, certain occupations have developed over the last few years such as, let’s say, that of my parents. The taverns, the restaurants... have all acquired a favorable reputation and many people come here on Sundays. Many have named Archanes the eatery of Heraklion”. Another example of this is this quotation: “Tourism is a reliable source of income and, because of the type of tourism involved here, it is not only limited to the summer season but rather, exists all year round. Quite a few citizens of Archanes make a living from this and the town’s municipality makes money from the reasonable taxes it collects. In my opinion, tourism is a very smart move because it is based on a sturdy foundation and continues to grow”. It is considered an activity that will not stop, although the potential for further development is not limitless. However, venturing into the sector of tourism is no easy matter for the young as they feel that this has already become a highly competitive sector requiring a large amount of capital.

The majority of the youth feel that the town’s municipality has been the driving force for development. “The people here really work hard” a young man mentioned, “but the village has developed due to the Mayor’s efforts, due to action taken in general over the last few years, due to the regeneration it has undergone...”. They also look to federal agricultural policy for
greater support, while some believe that farmers themselves need to change their mentality which holds that hands-on experience is better than scientific or school knowledge and know-how. Generally speaking however, they believe that the village itself cannot solve issues regarding unemployment and farming policies and that these constitute matters that only the federal government can successfully deal with. There are also those who feel utterly disheartened by the existing situation in the sectors of employment and farming policy.

As regards the new program for the ‘certification of the quality of vine cultivation and produce’\(^{35}\), very few young people are aware of this and the potential benefits it may bring to farmers in the future. As one young farmer, an ambivalent, explains, the aim of the program is: “with the assistance of experts, to urge us to cultivate our vineyards with fewer pesticides so that our produce is more ecologically friendly than what we’ve been producing up to now. This will make us more competitive on the market and our grapes will have better prices. Imagine how good it would be for our region if everyone participated”. As with all innovative ventures, this one too is looked upon with scepticism by some young farmers, the stayers, who, as someone stated, do not want to lose their “independence”. For some, mutual ventures are better while for others, they are not. The same scepticism exists as regards the ‘young farmers’ program’\(^{36}\) which assists young farmers through funding, seminars and know-how. An insufficient diffusion of information, the red tape involved in the program and possibly, the above-mentioned scepticism were reasons for some farmers not participating in the program. “I found out about this program at the shop where I purchase fertilizer. I’m very pleased” states a young man who has been integrated in the program. “I’ll apply but I don’t know exactly what it’s about” states a young girl, while another young man says characteristically: “...most of those who apply, do so for the funding... so they can buy a better car”, “now that I’ve been informed, I’m going to apply” mentions a young driver. “as I will be better able to tend to my vineyard.”

---

\(^{35}\) With the constant support of the municipal authorities, a civil non-profit organization was set up in 2005 for the benefit of producers, its principle objective being the certification of quality for the edible ‘sultanina’ grape, both on the national market as well as on the markets of Western Europe, where the product is mainly sold. The aim of the organization is to intervene in the cultivation technique applied by producers for the sake of meeting product safety standards and protecting cultivators.

\(^{36}\) A program partly financed by the EU aiming at supporting young farmers.
7.5. Strategies for entering the job market

The range of assessments and strategies on behalf of young people has specific consequences and thus, enables us to make specific evaluations.

*The case of Anogia*

The efforts made for the development of the village have not brought the desired results. Consequently, as regards job placement, they say that this village is currently experiencing a high rate of unemployment and consequently, there has been a strong sense of uncertainty for the future among the young inhabitants. Job prospects exist, in most part, for cattle raisers – with whatever problems this entails. The youngsters in Anogia deal with this situation by adopting their own personal strategies and tactics that will hopefully lead to their entering the job market. Collective strategies have not been developed.

The situation is not the same for both sexes. There is clear differentiation. The boys must work at all costs. They have the alternative of becoming herdsman and many of them do. Eventually, the majority stays on in the village and goes into cattle-raising. They follow the traditional path (see chapter 5).

Additionally, the boys are free to leave the village and seek employment at the nearest urban centres. Many would rather not have to leave, although they do. They have low school progress reports and show very little interest in learning, while the dropout rate is high. Some attend public or private institutes that specialise in job training programmes and many boys attend O.D.W.F.37 schools which offer job training for technical professions. There are quite a few who complete lyceum and turn to relatives and fellow villagers to help them find a job in the city while those who stay on in the village go into the family business. They follow the ambivalent path.

A few pursue academic studies. These boys are often looked down on by the previously mentioned majority, for being good students and setting high academic goals. They follow the modern path.

For the girls, work placement is not seen as equally vital. The village offers them no job prospects. If a girl desires to be employed, she must leave the village. And this is what most of them desire. However, they must first graduate from lyceum. They can leave only if they have already secured a job either after attending a job-training institute or after completing further

---

37 Organization for Development of Work Force.
academic studies, which is not easy. Thus, they study harder and do better in school. Many of the girls who end up staying in the village would rather have left. Some do not have their family’s permission to leave while others did not meet the necessary requirements that would enable them to do so. In both cases, their stay in the village means that eventually, they will see marriage as a possible solution to the bleak reality of certain unemployment. The majority graduates from lyceum and leaves the village to pursue academic studies.

In their pursuit of better job prospects or academic studies, the majority of young people choose Heraklion as their re-location setting due to its close proximity to the village and the fact that many of their relatives already live there and can offer any necessary assistance or support. Relocation outside of Crete is not looked upon as being a desired prospect and such a possibility is not pursued unless it has to do with academic studies. In general, such relocation is considered a kind of emigrating from Crete. This of course, does not mean that it does not exist at all.

The case of Archanes

It seems that the young people of Archanes find themselves in a less difficult position, as their village is less isolated and less attached to traditional values as opposed to Anogia, and because they can maintain farming as an additional source of income. Respectively, they have developed various strategies and tactics so as to set the boundaries of their own future the way they feel suits them better.

On a general and vague level, they recommend further development of the village, greater support in farming and measures that will fight unemployment. This, we may say, is the framework within which they are aware of the problems afflicting their social environment. In practice, this transforms into individual strategies which each one of them develops on his/her own.

As time progresses, there are fewer and fewer young people who see farming in a positive light. For those who still do, a lucrative piece of farming property, along with hard work, ensures a good life. They cannot understand how anyone would prefer a salary-paying job to farming and they acknowledge that one’s vineyards are worth abandoning only if someone is pursuing an academic career. Anyway, the young farmers themselves, though still maintaining traditional ways of thinking, have also adopted a more modern mentality. Though the former is dominant, the latter, that being modernization, has indeed entered their lives. These are the young people who follow the traditional way, the stayers.
The majority of the young people have developed a negative attitude towards their involvement in farming. Farming tends to constitute a second job for this new generation. There are objective and subjective reasons for this. The former has to do with the size of the farming property, although those with small properties are indeed few. The latter has to do with the change in attitude and lifestyle sought after by the young, this also including a change in social models, principles and values. They point out that: they do not want to have to work hard, they would like to earn a higher and more steady income than that of their parents because they believe they have greater demands and, consequently, greater needs compared to their parents and, finally, they want to have enough free time to make use of all of the above.

The youths’ refusal to take on farming as a main occupation has brought this age-old occupation to a critical point. There are also some young people who do nothing at all: “They have their daddy’s money. They pocket 20-30 Euros a day and just sit around. They’re lazy. I have no idea how their fathers can afford this”. For an ever-increasing number of young people crop cultivation constitutes and will continue to constitute a secondary occupation. When their parents inevitably retire from crop farming, no one knows what will follow and what the consequences of this will be for the village. Most of the young people seek employment in larger job markets than that of their village. Nevertheless, there are quite a few who prefer the idea of finding a job in their village. The follow an ambivalent path and are the ambivalent.

And so, most of the young pursue and finally do academic studies. They believe that an academic degree will help them find a job but, at the same time, some feel that it will improve their social image. They follow the modern path and are the leavers.

The existing difficulties surrounding female employment have led more girls than boys in the direction of further studies. Dropping out of school leads to unemployment, lack of steady work and unstable employment. Farming as a main occupation constitutes a rare exception. Enrolment in schools for vocational and professional training constitutes a final option for those who failed to enter academic schools as this later helps them to find salary-paying work, while technical training is better than nothing. The majority of the girls pursue academic studies as the ideal means for securing future employment. And in this case as well, the girls outnumber the boys in pursuing such studies.

Here as well, the urban centre chosen by most of the young people as a workplace is Heraklion. The fact that it is only a short distance from their village increases their range of choices and the strategies they develop for
entering the job market. For many, it is a choice made out of preference while for others, it is a choice made out of need. However, the mere fact that this urban centre is only a stone’s throw away from their village, is definitely something the young have taken into consideration or have looked upon as a given. This fact has also spared them and their families the otherwise huge dilemma of whether to remain in the village or leave. Other urban centres are chosen only as places of study and the young usually return to the island on completion of their studies unless of course they get married or begin a promising career elsewhere.

Based on the accounts and views imparted to me by the young, this is how things stand regarding the general employment conditions that exist in the village.

The following table summarises the content of the chapter:
Table 2: Job placement and the educational level of the stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anogia</th>
<th>Archanes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement</td>
<td>Cattle risers</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ambivalent type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement</td>
<td>Technicians</td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
<td>Farming as a second job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td>Vocational training</td>
<td>Lyceum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational training</td>
<td>Vocational training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Modern type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
<td>Farming as a source of income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td>Academic studies</td>
<td>Academic studies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In chapter 8, the youths’ own occupational orientations and desires are discussed together with what they represent for them.
Chapter 8: Youth occupational orientations and choices

The previous chapter presented the general conditions that exist in the villages regarding the occupational perspectives of the young. These conditions are taken into consideration by young people when planning for their occupational future. Within this general outline, we may now look into the more particular and specific attitudes and prospects that they have set for themselves. These are defined by the way they experience and interpret the overall conditions, but also, by each one’s personal conditions that intervene, exist or arise and are taken into consideration when creating strategies for succeeding in their aims. In terms of the “paradigm model”, this part of the study describes: the context or, in other words, what the young participants’ job orientations or job placements are, their main reasons for choosing the specific job, other intervening factors that influence their decisions, the strategies and efforts they make/made for accomplishing their aims and finally, the consequences of the above-described process.

We can start by looking at some of the evidence derived from the study on the personal work orientations or professional status of the young people who took part in the interviews. As we will notice, the job orientations or the professional status of the participants will further verify gender differentiation as regards job placement and attitude/practice towards education.

8.1. Job orientations or the professional status of young people participating in the study.

The case of Anogia
In total, 15 young people originating from Anogia took part in the interviews.

Of those who have already dropped out of school (1 boy and 4 girls), the boy is a herdsman while the 4 girls are unemployed. One is married to a cattle raiser and has 2 children. Since they are unemployed, they occupy themselves with the household duties while, during the winter quarters offer a great amount of help with the cattle. One young girl attended a hair dressing school but was unable to set up a viable business in the village. In total, the five youngsters who dropped out of the school will continue to live in the village.

The three young people who will graduate from lyceum this year (2 girls and 1 boy) are planning to leave for further studies.
Of those who have already graduated from lyceum (3 boys and 4 girls), two girls are currently working, one in journalism, a profession she had studied at a private institute in Heraklion, while the other is working at her elderly parent’s shop in the village. Although she is a university graduate, she has not been able to find employment in her field of study. Of the others, (3 boys and 2 girls), one boy is now studying to become a technician. Another is going to pursue similar studies. And the other, after having worked in his family’s cattle-raising business, will now do his military service and pursue a career in the tourism sector because their cattle-raising business will not be able to support all the brothers. Of the girls, one succeeded in pursuing academic studies and the second, after failing twice in the Pan-Hellenic University entrance exams, has applied for entrance at a public institution for professional training in marketing and is very worried about whether or not she will be accepted. She does not have the financial means to attend a private institute. In total, 9 of them are planning their professional future in such a way that, if they succeed, employment will be feasible only in an urban center.

What about their siblings? If we look closely at the siblings of the interviewees, we will find certain facts to be quite revealing. In total, we are talking about 44 siblings of which 8 are pupils and lyceum students. Of the 36 remaining, 17 siblings live in the village. Of the male siblings, ten are herdsmen, while all five female siblings are unemployed. The remaining 19 have left. These are 2 male and 17 female siblings. Two female siblings have gotten married and moved to other villages and 17 siblings have relocated to urban centres. One male and five female siblings are away studying while the others are employed in Heraklion or outside Crete.

It seems that the participants and their siblings constitute part of the general conditions which have already been described.

The case of Archanes
As far as Archanes is concerned, a total of 14 young people took part in the interviews.

Seven of them work. Of the 3 boys, the first is a full-time farmer, the second has farming as his main occupation while doing seasonal work as an electrical assistant, and the third works as a driver for various companies in Heraklion while maintaining his own medium sized farmland. Of the three, only two have completed compulsory education. None of the above occupations are characterized by permanency. That which offers some relative certainty is the income derived from farming.
Of the four girls, the first two work under temporary contract in public service departments located in the village, the third one works as a private clerk in Heraklion while the forth is a farmer who, along with her family, runs a small convenience shop in the village. Correspondingly, the studies they have completed are at accounting institutions for professional training and at the technical lyceum.

Seven have not entered the job market yet. Five are students in their final year of lyceum (2 boys and 3 girls) and intend to pursue academic studies. The other two are already pursuing academic studies and are doing seasonal work in cafes or on the farm. Most of the chosen fields of study lead to a dependence in salary paid work.

If we look closely at the siblings of the young people from Archanes who took part in the study, we will discover quite a few revealing findings. In total, we are talking about 17 siblings of whom 8 are high school and lyceum students who intend to do vocational or academic studies and live, at least for a while, away from the village.

None of the siblings have farming as a sole job. Of the male siblings, one has become a plumber while the other works as a farmer and winemaker in the family business. Of the female siblings, three are employed in the private sector, in Archanes and in Heraklion, and two others are unemployed and married.

One male sibling is attending an institute for professional training to become an accountant, two others are studying at TEI of Athens and one female sibling is studying at the University of Crete.

The girls, more than the boys, complete lyceum and pursue further studies. Similarly to Anogia, it seems that the participants of the study and their siblings make up part of the general conditions.

However, apart from the young people’s present or future main occupations, we can clearly see some involvement, to a greater or lesser degree, in the family business or in farming or in cattle-raising, regardless of whether this constitutes a primary or secondary family occupation. Many of them have long been helping their families with cattle-raising, farming or any temporary wage-earning jobs they could find. Assisting the family is typical of most young people and is something that really concerns them. This is also the case with all the young people who intend to further their studies or who are already studying, as they, more or less, continue to offer their assistance in the family business. The secondary students mainly help over the summer, during holidays and harvest periods. The university students help on a more permanent level. “Every weekend, I help my father with the gardening and in the vineyard” mentions a young female university student,
while a male student states: “I often accompany my father to the fields... we harvest the olives and grapes by ourselves... after all, they are few... just enough for family consumption...”

This practice is more obvious in Archanes than in Anogia: “I actively help in farming” a young girl says, “and I like it as opposed to my brother who does not even know where our property lies”, while another says: “I rarely help but I like farming. I will never sell the family fields and in the future I will take over their cultivation with my future husband”. As is often the case, one of the siblings takes over the farm cultivation and pays the others their respective shares of the crop yield earnings: “I have worked in farming since I was a little girl and I run our farming property with my father. My sisters are not interested” or “I run the family farmland... my brother will not be a farmer. Thus, the vast majority of young people is, more or less, closely and personally involved in farming. It seems that this connection will follow most of them regardless of the occupation they choose to practice or are already practicing. The available potential of making profitable use of the family farmland is indeed a huge advantage these young people have over their Anogian counterparts.

In summarising the content of this chapter, it would be safe to say that the occupational status or the occupational orientations of the participants are easily classified into the three diverging types – stayers, ambivalent and leavers – which the young people of both villages seem to follow.

8.2. Main arguments for occupational choices

After taking into consideration how the young people assess the economic environment of their villages (see chapter 6), let us now see some main arguments the young participants put forward. In evaluating the whole situation, they interject their reasons for choosing the occupation they are already doing or are planning to do. Cattle-raisers and farmers have their own reasons: “A cattle-raiser is his own boss”, “As a farmer I earn more than a clerk who works in the private sector”, “I’ve liked farming since I was a little girl...Combining farming with the small shop I own seems good to me”. These are some of the reasons given by “stayers”. However, there are others who are forced to do the work they do, these being the “ambivalent” ones: “Work in the private sector is all I have been able to find up to now. I’d prefer to be employed in the public sector where your future is more secure and one has better working conditions...” a girl said. “After repeatedly failing to set up my own business, I followed in my father’s footsteps. I became a
driver and a farmer too. By being a driver I can earn enough money to get by” said one boy.

As regards the young who are working, the majority seems to be practicing the occupation they desired. “Getting a work position in the greater public sector, although temporary, is a lucky strike”, a girl says, while another underlines that “By being an office clerk, I have a steady income, a pleasant work environment and spare time to tend to the vineyard”.

As regards those young people who are studying or plan to study, these being the “leavers”, we can see differentiation. There are ideological reasons such as, “I’ve liked theatre since I was very young”, materialistic reasons like “Although I don’t like it very much, being a dentist offers me security for the future”, realistic approaches such as, “The economic sector offers many opportunities for getting a steady work position”, scientifically oriented reasons, “Biology is very interesting”, personal interest reasons, “I like constrictions” or survival reasons “I just want to have a job, earn some money and live independently”.

It seems that for the majority of the young people, there are basic reasons for which they have chosen to practice their respective occupations, while those forced to practice occupations other than their chosen one are fewer and mainly originate from Anogia.

8.3. Intervening conditions which affect the occupational choices

In their effort to arrive at specific choices, the young participants do not only take the general conditions into consideration. A series of intervening conditions play an important role in the choices and available options. Following the “paradigm model” in terms of structure and content, I will now examine the additional conditions that effect the decisions of the participants.

8.3.1. The financial situation of their families

The family’s financial situation constitutes an ‘objective’ starting point apart from the desire shared by both the young and their parents for their successful transition from school to the workplace. The situation in the two villages is not exactly the same.

The case of Anogia

Regarding the financial situation of the families in Anogia, we can say that the majority have the basic necessities to eke out a humble living. The minority live a good or even comfortable life. The family assets have to do with
ownership of their family home, car ownership for most, land which is not
worth much and cattle herd which varies in size. In general, there do not ap-
ppear to be great deviations concerning the financial status of the families,
while none of them can be considered wealthy. The farming families of the
village are among the poorest. In general, they do not consider their financial
status good. Most say that they face financial difficulties, that their families
support them as much as they can although their financial predicament is not
any better than theirs. All the unemployed girls and boys alike do not feel
comfortable with their families supporting them. The fact that families still
support them is a problem for most young people: “You can not keep saying
‘give me money’. My father doesn’t say anything but I feel bad just the same.
I am 20 years old and I can’t still be asking my father for money. You go out
and find any job available to you and you do it” says a young man with no
fixed job. They feel that they are too old not to be able to support them-

selves. Furthermore, many of them have financial problems. For example,
while they would like to attend some kind of training school, they are not
able to afford the school fees of a private institute. If their applications to
public institutes are turned down, they will not be able to further their stud-
ies. It is clear that not all youngsters have the opportunities they would like
in order to invest in their future.

This bleak financial situation is further verified by their parents’ job sta-
tus. The majority of the fathers are cattle raisers, while two are farmers, one
is a builder, one is an employee and two are in business for themselves. The
mothers are housewives while two are farmers, one weaves, one is a public
servant and two are employees in the public sector.

The case of Archanes
In Archanes, the majority of these families seem to live comfortably. Some
feel that they can afford only the bare necessities but none of them can be
characterized as poor. The family property includes ownership of the family
house, which has all the modern amenities and remains the place of resi-
dence of the young people until they marry, while the family also takes on
the expenses of a new house for those of their children who are about to get
married. The purchase value of homes has risen significantly over the last
few years due to the village’s revitalization. Their property also includes
ownership of a family car or pick-up truck and, in many cases, farming ma-
chinery. It is noteworthy to mention that all the young working people in the
sample own their own car while 2 young students own motorbikes. The
farming assets of the families range from being small for some, or quite
sizeable for others. This is also the case with land value, while there are
quite a few young farmers who have even purchased new farming land for themselves.

The job status of the parents varies. The majority of the fathers are farmers, one also owns a small winery, three are drivers, one owns a tavern, one is dentist and one is builder. Almost all of those who are not farmers, own farming property. Respectively, the mothers’ main occupations are: a public servant, a dentist, a farmer, a tavern owner, an employee in the private sector, a kindergarten teacher, and the majority, 7 to be exact, are housewives. The remaining 9 work on the family-owned farmland, and one is a wage earner (she does not have farming property).

In conclusion, the family’s economic status and assets constitute significant factors for both those young people who choose to further their studies and those who choose to become cattle-raisers or farmers. For the former, it means that the family can support them during their studies but it may also mean that, in cases where the family has managed to move from a life of indigence to a life of relative comfort, they are now in a position to offer their children a better future. It may also mean the complete opposite. Families who work hard just to make ends meet and be able to offer their children the necessities of the modern world, want to give them the opportunity to escape from their own life of indigence. A young female student characteristically states: “my father would go without bread and water if it meant our being able to study”. Sizeable farming assets or sizeable cattle constitute a tempting prospect for the boys of the family as they ensure a satisfactory income which cannot be compared with that of a clerk. In any case, the young assess the situation and determine their future.

Generally, most feel that their parents have supported them any way they could and made sacrifices for them in the hopes that they would have a better life. However, there are also some cases where harsh and bitter opinions are expressed such as, “my father ruined my life”. This was expressed by one young girl in Anogia who was not able to fulfil her plans due to her father’s insistence that she return to the village.

8.3.2. Expectations from their present or future job

The case of Anogia

When discussing the expectations they have from a job regardless of whether they are working or not, the young Anogians express the following: it should ensure steady work and financial independence, it should improve their present standard of living. Whether it provides personal independence seems to be of lesser importance to them. Furthermore, doing a job that they do not
like does not seem to bother them. This is the order with which they plan and decide which route they will follow regarding their future. For the majority, the deciding factor for choosing a school or occupation is that it should ensure a job position. Few are those who insist that they should both like what they are doing and get paid highly for it or that it should ensure a career. The expectations mainly concern their simply having a job. The urgent need for employment will urge most of them to leave the village. However much it may be desired, it cannot be done without some amount of sadness. No one desires to leave Crete other than perhaps a few who only plan to do so temporarily due to their studies. They wish to remain close to the village and their families and this is achieved with their relocation to nearby Heraklion.

The case of Archanes
The young people of Archanes seem to be in a rather better predicament. What concerns them is not simply succeeding in getting a job, but having a job of their own choice. Let us look at what the young consider to be some of the pros and cons of their future or present jobs. Those who plan to study, feel that the studies they have chosen to pursue create the requirements needed for a working career that is desired by each individual for his/her own different reasons: challenge, security, scientific interest, easy job placement etc. At the same time, they are fully aware that nothing comes easy and that they must struggle to succeed. The advantages put forward by those working vary. Opinions range from “I’m just glad I’m not unemployed” (private-sector clerk) to “I earn a very good income” (farmer). Anyway, earning a steady income, working in the village and having crop yield earnings are the most important advantages mentioned. The disadvantages include insecurity about the future, since none of the wage earners occupy permanent posts, the need to move to Heraklion, the fluctuating and often unreliable size of the farming income, the hard work, long hours, the hazards of being a driver, the lack of prospects and career opportunities.

In short, local attachment, career prospects, a steady job and a good income constitute the basic elements taken into consideration by the young who, depending on the priorities they set for themselves, try to pursue the career that will ensure all or, at least one of these elements.

8.4. Strategies followed for fulfilling their aims
The occupational status or the occupational orientations of the young participants is also determined by their own personal efforts and developed
strategies, to obtain the necessary requirements and qualifications needed for the occupation of their choice.

8.4.1. The efforts made by the young people to fulfil their aims

Each young person, depending on the degree to which he/she realizes the efforts that need to be made so as to fulfil his/her goals, makes strategy choices and develops the respective tactics which will lead to the desired results. We may observe that most of the young people taking part in the interviews, their siblings included, use their schooling and education as the means by which they will succeed in entering the job market. However, not all make the necessary effort.

All the young boys and girls who abandoned compulsory education or simply completed it and went no further, remain, and will continue to remain, in the village. Most of the girls believe that they would not have any prospects in the city since they have no special training or qualifications that would enable them to seek employment. For most, their course has already been pre-defined and their commitments have been determined: marriage, the husband’s occupation, helping in cattle-raising, farming or perhaps part-time jobs. Only half of them declare that they like life in the village, it is likely that some would leave if they found permanent employment in the city. There are also those girls who would definitely prefer to live in the city but possess no such prospects, and end up feeling trapped in the village and in a role they do not desire: that of an unemployed housewife. These young people are stayers and ambivalent.

There is a clear differentiation between the two genders with the girls, more than the boys, insisting on using education as a means for entering the job market. Dropping out of school or completion only of basic education is a frequent phenomenon as regards the boys. Nevertheless, graduation from lyceum, the pursuit of academic studies and a foreign language are goals set by at least half of the boys. The vast majority of the boys look to the free market for placement, while farming often constitutes the main or parallel occupation. At the same time, we can see that the majority of the girls graduate from lyceum, pursue academic studies and, in the event of failure, opt for vocational-professional training (IEK, Technical lyceum) as an alternative solution. Completion of basic education is not the exception, but the rule, while the technical lyceum training courses offer an equivalent diploma with that of lyceum. Learning a foreign language is considered to be of great importance and is therefore pursued. The studies chosen by the majority of the girls, at any given level, lead to salary paying jobs while there are only very few who are not dismayed by the free market. For the majority, farming
constitutes a supplementary source of income rather than a second occupation. These young people are ambivalent or leavers.

How do the young people planning to study or already studying think they are going to find work? They do not all have something specific in mind. They basically believe that their diploma will constitute the means for this. Friends and acquaintances may play a part. We may observe that the clearest form of strategy was followed by one young man who chose to study his parents’ profession for no other reason than that it meant his having a ready clientele. The young people already earning salaries in the job market were fully aware of the fact that job posts within the village, whether in the public or private sector, usually go to young people from the village instead of out-of-towners who might be interested. The EU funded programs for the integration of young people in the job market, proved to be of great importance. Their specialization also played a role. During their period of unemployment, some young people did not just sit around waiting. On the contrary, they did odd jobs and whatever day’s wage they could find. For those whose main occupation is cattle-raising or farming, their decision regarding this was made early on, which explains their decision to drop out of school.

8.4.2. The family’s strategy

Since the choice of occupation is considered a matter of great importance, the young people discuss their plans and options with their parents and the whole family and, for almost all of them, their choices are the result of a mutual decision. The family’s approval is something they want and strive to achieve. Those who decide on their own and then discuss their decisions with the families are indeed few and far between. This indicates that the family members maintain strong ties and show concern for one another. Some discuss their plans with friends, relatives or professionals in their field of interest. They feel that talking about this helps to expand their ideas and strengthen their resolve. Mutual decisions are necessary in cases where there is joint management of the farming property, or when the parent is financially dependent on his offspring.

8.5. Consequences

In continuing with the “paradigm model”, we should now look into the consequences that come as a result of the occupational orientations and choices of the young participants.
This whole process of transition from school to work translates into certain consequences for themselves, their families and the social surroundings. The majority of the young people who are studying, or plan to study, wish to do so in a city other than Heraklion, or even away from Crete. The reasons given for this are, on the one hand objective, that their chosen field of study does not exist in Crete and on the other subjective, that they feel the need to experience a life free of social confinement. Economic reasons often cause them to reconsider and choose Heraklion as their place of study. In any case, their main priority is gaining entrance into university, wherever that may be “…even if it is here in the village” as one female student says.

As regards their place of residence following completion of their studies, the young people express contradicting opinions and feelings. The majority expresses the desire to live in a bigger city, to gain experiences away from the village and “…live without social control” as a young girl characteristically mentioned. For some occupations, such as the one in theatre, finding a decent job even in Heraklion is a problem, while for the young man who wishes to become a dentist, his parents’ clientele will cause him to return to the village. Despite their initial and intense desire to flee, a second thought is that their villages are nice places to live in and ideal places to raise a family. “I would like to live here when I start my own family, but not before then” a boy said, “I could live here, I am not negative, but at the moment I thirst for experiences” another boy adds. But generally, the chances of future repatriation are few for two very different reasons. The majority feels that even the future looks bleak in terms of job positions in the villages and secondly, some of them prefer living in Heraklion regardless of any future occupational prospects their villages have to offer, because they do not like the way of life in the village.

Following in their parent’s footsteps is not very popular among the youth nor could it possibly be in all cases. We observe that the majority of the young do not follow in their father’s footsteps, especially the girls, most of whose parents are cattle raisers or farmers, as this is something they themselves could not be or do not desire to be. But there are still some young men who do or would like to follow in their fathers’ footsteps. “I have never thought of being anything else other than a herdsman” a young Anogian boy, a stayer, said, while a young Archanian man said that “I’ve wanted to be a farmer for as long as I can remember”. Being a woman and cattle raiser is extremely rare. In some cases, young boys do not want to become herdsmen. “I don’t wish to practise such a profession because I do not like it and I have other expectations from life”, a young boy said. In some other cases, the young boys would like to become herdsmen or farmers but the family
property is not big enough to support all the siblings. Thus, they are forced to do something else to ensure their livelihood. If they have completed lycée, they have other options. As regards the young people in Anogia, they have left or will leave for the city to get a job at their families’ urging. Here, there is definitely a clear trend towards relocation to Heraklion. Young people from Archanes will do the same, but they can continue to live at home in the village. Relocation is not necessary.

The following table will assist us in summarising the content of this chapter:

Table 3: Job placement and place of residence of the stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anogia</th>
<th>Archanes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement</td>
<td>Cattle raisers</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>The village</td>
<td>The village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ambivalent type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement</td>
<td>Technicians</td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farming as a second job</td>
<td>Farming as a source of income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>The village</td>
<td>The village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The city</td>
<td>The city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Modern type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salary paying job</td>
<td>Farming as a source of income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farming as a source of income</td>
<td>Farming as a source of income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>The city</td>
<td>The city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The city</td>
<td>The city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 9: Aspects of social life as intervening factors in the decision-making process as regards occupational choice

In searching for the main contextual factors that contribute to the young people’s occupational orientations and choice of occupation, we now come to the final part of the data analysis in an attempt to find any further intervening factors the young people may take into consideration as they go through the process of occupational choice.

The choice of occupation, which extends to a choice in the way of life, place of residence and place of work, are not determined solely on the basis of job prospects that are or are not available in the villages. A variety of conditions influence the expectations young people form regarding their future. New values, new ideals for life, new roles for both sexes are all factors which affect the youth and the goals they set, regardless of whether or not they adopt them. Life in the village, their involvement in it, and their day-to-day life in these social settings all constitute important factors for their being content or not. They are issues the youth take under serious consideration.

Certain aspects of the social life that are mentioned by the participants as being important to them, as well as their own assessments of them, are factors that may either have a positive or negative affect on their feelings and disposition towards their village. As a result, some prefer to remain in their village, some have mixed feelings about their place of residence and some others wish to live far from their village. Whether or not they fulfil their desire depends a great deal on either their current or future occupation.

9.1. Evaluation of the social setting

Young people feel that the natural and structured environment of their villages is beautiful and, under different circumstances, could be good places to live in. The young people believe that both villages have many well-organized services for its inhabitants, and that many cultural activities are organized during the summer months thus, for that period, they all characterize the villages as vibrant and full of life, as places of great interest and they are all aware of the positive impression their villages make on visitors. They also feel that life there is calm and stress-free and, in the case of Archanes, that its people are peace loving and come from a village that can cater for both leisure-time activities and entertainment.
On a deeper level, they try to describe the mentality that exists within their local communities. A wide-spread belief among the youth of Anogia is that the society is not open to change. They feel that it is mainly the older inhabitants who resist change and in some cases, behave as though change is not occurring around them. Despite the inflow of new ideas, it is the traditional way of thinking that prevails. “It is a society that wants to take a step forward but instead takes two steps backward. They want to try to do something but they don’t. Just when the village is about to adopt new ideas, it returns to the old ones” says a young female student, a leaver. It is even said that some of these old ideas “will never change” since there are even many young people who accept them. The young people consider their society to be very strict and closed to the outside world. They also feel that it is stricter as regards the moral principles that must be adhered to by the inhabitants, especially by the females.

Accordingly, the young people of Archanes describe their community as being one of strict principles, one that does not live in isolation from the rest of the world but instead, is influenced and affected by it thus rendering the village more tolerant and open to change. Nevertheless, they all insist that it still remains a closed community that engages in strict social control of its members, especially of the young. Most of the young experience this control intensely and negatively, at the same time trying to adhere to the ‘social rules’. However, there are some young people who feel that not all the people share the same mentality but rather, that there are those who are more liberal-minded. They feel that the village combines “the negative aspects of village life as well as those of city life”. Although interest in common issues does exist, in practice however, individualism overrides collective efforts. Women have greatly improved their position in the community as many of them have their own occupations aside from helping with the farm cultivation. All in all, they feel that the community they live in is a good one.

The families of these young people also take the prevailing social mentality into account. As the young participants in Anogia mention, the majority of the families adopt the strict social principles that exist. The exceptions are few and do not leave room for their members to differentiate themselves too strongly in the various social settings. According to the data derived from Archanes, despite the fact that the young feel that relations with their families are becoming more open and honest, here too, there are quite a few parents who oppress their children for fear they might otherwise become the object of social criticism. And so, we can see that social conditioning does not only concern the young people but their families as well.
Generally speaking, we may say that there is community respect for the elders and compliance to certain rules having to do with “proper social behaviour” that does not provoke “public sentiment”. When this is not the case, they become the objects of gossip and criticism while there is less tolerance for the girls who are forced to be more wary and self-conscious of their behaviour. This is how they sum up some of the negative aspects of the society in which they live. However, at the same time, young people feel that living in small, close-knit communities also has its positive points: “It is easy to trust people, to make friends and feel safe”. The fact that everyone knows one another allows parents to put their trust in the society and in their children. Despite some rare cases of rivalry and hostility, they also feel that there is a strong sense of community solidarity among the relatives and fellow-villagers.

With this general notion in mind, the young people present their assessment of the community in which they live.

For the young people, social life that takes place in public places is dominated by the “rules of proper and non defiant behaviour”. Although these rules may seem vague to an outsider, they are very real for the young themselves who believe that they have been preserved through a series of principles and values originating in the tradition and way of life of previous generations, by the elderly in the villages and by a need to maintain social cohesion within the local communities.

However, the young people feel that their villages have undergone some socially accepted changes, with the degree of change being different for either village. The village of Anogia still remains more conservative. It is now acceptable for the school girls to go to the village cafes. Ten years ago, this was only considered acceptable if the girl was a university student. School parties have also come to be tolerated. They generally believe that things have improved for women since more and more women are allowed to work outside the home. The average marrying age for males has risen, the reasons being the desire for more freedom, financial insecurity and a shortage of girls living in the village. However, relationships out of wedlock between the two sexes are still considered to be a “crime”. Flirtation, dates in public, pre-marital relationships are pointed out as key issues. This reflects the existing moral ethics regarding relationships, but it also depicts the socially accepted role of the girls. This mentality prevails not only among the boys but among the girls as well, despite the fact that their behaviour regarding the above mentioned issues is put under the social microscope. Some girls feel that this is a male dominated society and most agree that, at least in public, a girl’s opinion is never given consideration. One could sur-
mise that this appears to be a society where the only changes that occur are those which take place before the society is consciously aware of them thus rendering these changes beyond their control, or those which the inhabitants are forced to tolerate because life itself has imposed them.

The situation is more liberal in Archanes. They consider life in the village to be very ‘vibrant’ and feel that the youth is an active part of this life. In explaining what they mean, they say that there are many cafes and bars mostly frequented by the local boys and those from small neighbouring villages, that many social functions are organized with the help of the municipality and in which many of the residents take part, as well as two festivals during the summer in which the entire village participates. There are also functions organized by the school, amateur musical groups and the town’s theatre group. Friendships are easily formed and groups of friends have a good time together. Of course, there are also those who feel that life in the village is monotonous and offers very little for one to do. There are also many traditional coffee houses which are always full of men, pensioners or farmers and which are not frequented by the youth or by the women, a fact that is indicative of the traditional roles of the two sexes. The meeting places of the young are the schools, cafes, bars, taverns, the cinema, local festivals, the public gym and each other’s homes etc. Finally, we may generally say that the young are bothered by the fact that their communities are closed and many, in Anogia mostly, insist that the villages do not offer them the employment or entertainment opportunities of a big city.

As regards their social behaviour, the young take into consideration the way in which the social mentality intervenes and becomes a specific practice directed at them. Therefore, they know that “remarks are made about everything” and that these remarks are usually negative. “Where you go, what you do, who you are with, what you wear, what time you came home last night are all remarked upon…” mentions one girl. “How you dress, how you cut your hair, if you’re wearing an earring, if you’re having coffee with a girl… it all interests them” mentions one boy, a leaver. But what interests them more than anything else are the courtships, the relationships and the behaviour that develops between the girls and the boys. It is not acceptable for a girl and a boy to be seen walking around the village together or having coffee alone unless they are accompanied by a large group of friends. This is because, to a certain extent, the attitude and behaviour, especially of the girls towards the boys, constitutes an indicator of the girl’s and, by extension, her family’s honour and morality.

The girls come under greater social scrutiny than the boys do. There are stricter limits to what is considered ‘good behaviour’ for a girl. This forces
them to be more wary. Generally, they must draw attention to themselves with their behaviour or the clothes they wear. Many of the boys feel that the social control they are experiencing does not differ from that of the girls. The boy is mainly expected to be very careful not to put the girl in a socially compromising position. If, however, he does, he is obliged to “do the right thing” by making their relationship official and marrying the girl. Nevertheless, there is definitely more tolerance towards the boys than the girls.

A final intervening factor that plays an important role in how the young evaluate their social surroundings is their relationship with their families. In Anogia, a common characteristic of the families seems to be that they are closely-knit amongst each other. In most of the families, there is a great amount of verbal communication and in many families it is said that the woman’s presence is strongly felt. Understanding among siblings has more to do with their being of the same sex. “I especially love my sisters. I love my brother too, but we don’t get along well. He has the village mentality. I try to understand him even though I don’t agree with him most of the time”, says one young girl while another mentions: “My brothers are more liberal-minded than my father, but if I had a boyfriend I wouldn’t tell them about it. I’d be afraid of what they’d say, how they’d take it...” The boys, who always know the exact whereabouts of their sisters during the entire day, enforce a kind of control over them, although everyone says that all family members are well aware of what they should and should not do. “My brothers always know where I am and what I’m doing”, a girl says. The roles, the place and the expected behavior seem to be well defined and each member is well aware of them. A young boy expresses this characteristically: “I don’t say anything to my sister. Each of us knows how we must behave and what is or isn’t allowed. We learn this from a very young age”. Many young people say that these rules are or were useful because they set limits which are necessary when someone is in the process of socialization. The family, just like society, puts more pressure on the girls.

In Archanes, it seems that the understanding and communication that exists between the family members helps young people to feel freer in their social behaviour. The majority does not feel that they are under any pressure from their parents but rather that they share an open rapport with them and that their parents trust them and try to do the best they can for their children. Family ties are very strong as well, and the young feel that their parents expect them to be responsible and display proper social behaviour. It seems that the parents are more tolerant towards their children than the greater social unit which imposes compliance to the ‘social rules’.
What kind of attitude do they acquire towards this mentality in the local community? When the young ‘translate’ and evaluate the general context, they find social scrutiny and gossip to be very annoying because they care about their social standing and do not wish to be the objects of social scrutiny. Generally speaking, the young people seem to be well aware of what is allowed and what is not and even if they disagree, they still respect the social values and principles. They learn to keep their opinions to themselves or share them strictly with those who understand them. “We have learned to be respectful of our elders,” mentions one girl. “We know that our elders will judge us by their standards and so we behave accordingly...This doesn’t oppress us. It comes naturally to us because that is how we were brought up”.

Therefore, most young people adopt the same attitude when dealing with these conditions. They want to be socially accepted and this is why they respect and follow the rules. “It is the only way for me to survive”, says one girl, a stayer. They all do their best not to provoke social scrutiny. Instead, they respect and uphold the social dictates of their community so as not to become the objects of village gossip, as this would indeed be very insulting for their families. Nevertheless, some admit that they too engage in gossip and concern themselves with what others do. Most feel that they have compromised and accepted the prevailing social mentality while others, who are fewer in number, say that they do not place much importance on to their customs. One girl who has recently moved to the city and is employed there says “I can not believe that I too once had such views”. Others claim, “I can not be bothered. My family trusts me and this is more important” or “I usually don’t care any more although I should...”. However, some identify completely with what their society dictates: “this is how we found it and this is how we must continue it”, “I like it, we live according to our customs.” These are views of both girls and boys who have so far adopted the traditional roles of both sexes. Nevertheless, most of the young people are careful and often compromise their wants or beliefs. A frequent tactic for dealing with this, more often used by the girls, is finding a legitimate reason to leave the village, this usually being to pursue studies or a career. Moreover, the young avoid becoming involved in relationships within the village and prefer to do so with young people who are from Heraklion or other neighbouring villages as they are fully aware that relationships are seen in their village as being “serious from the very onset, even if this is something nobody can know right away...”.” “I want to be with someone because I love them and not because of a sense of commitment to society” mentions a young girl who is involved with someone in Heraklion.
We may generally say that the young try to lead a socially accepted way of life and avoid directly challenging mentalities that often oppress them.

Finally, let us look into the effects resulting from their evaluations of the social life and mentality in the village. There are values and principles that the young accept and adopt and others that they reject. The majority respects the institution of family and believes that one must respect the prevailing views within it. Many believe that they must respect the local community and the opinions of their elders, while there are many who believe that it is just as well that young people of either sex are not allowed to have pre-marital relationships and that setting limits is useful when one is young. Some also feel that the values they experience in their local community are important because they include such admirable traits as honesty, sensitivity within relationships, the value of friendship, solidarity, and a strong sense of humor. Only a few fully reject and are completely negative towards the strictness which they experience as oppression. "I am doing forced labor," says one young girl. And few are those who take a stand concerning the restrictions on dating. "It really bothers me that they don't accept dating among young people. That is one of the basic reasons for my not wanting – even if I could – to return and work in the village," says one young man.

Almost all of them try to display proper behaviour. Most feel inhibited and do not enter into relationships with the opposite sex, or they try to do so either covertly or away from the village. Very few go against social dictates. Those who do, as regards Archanes, defend their natural right to be in love and have a relationship. The majority suppresses such needs and tries not to upset anyone. As a result, some do not go out very often but prefer to get together with friends at home or if they can, go out for a night on the town in Heraklion. Very few feel that they are doing the things they really want to without creating problems.

Ultimately, it is the social mentality of control and gossip that bothers all the young people of the villages. What they do like however, is the tranquility and peaceful way of life, the security and trust they feel, the close human relations, the natural environment and, in the case of Archanes, the fact that their village is only a short distance from Heraklion.

To sum up, it is clear that contradictory feelings prevail since not all the young people experience the situation in the same way. The majority tries to keep things on equal level and is resigned to the idea that they will not be able to live the life they had imagined for themselves. Some are quite satisfied even though there are those among them who will be forced to leave due to job shortages. Life is more difficult for the girls and there are even a few who say that they live under complete tyranny and cannot relate to village
life. For the most part however, almost all love their villages. Many express the possibility of eventually returning to their villages following the completion of their studies or at some point in the future. Some express sorrow at the prospect of never returning and others are sorry they have to leave.

9.2. Evaluation of leisure time

In addition to all the above, the everyday social life in the village contributes as an intervening factor and determines the choices the young people make.

The everyday life of the young is determined by many factors such as those involving the possibilities and opportunities provided to them by the local community and their families, the ensuing goals and responsibilities that arise from these but also, the free time, interests and hobbies that the young people have. Of these factors, I will now discuss the last one as the others have been discussed in various parts of the story.

We can say that the young have many different interests. Some are interested in music and play a musical instrument and some exercise or are involved in traditional dance. A handful of them are interested in theatre, cars and motorcycles, politics and in surfing the internet. However, there are many who do not have a specific interest and simply wander around the villages or spend time at the local hangouts frequented by the village youth. Despite these diverging preferences, they all share one common interest and that is, going out for entertainment and flirting. Those involved in cattle-raising and farm production do not seem to have special hobbies or interests.

The working girls, along with those who are studying or preparing to do so have far more interests.

In describing their everyday life, young people seem to agree that it is simple, relatively stress-free, very uneventful in winter but much more vibrant and pleasant during the summer.

Entertainment is important to all the young people. There is not much to do in winter other than attending a few school functions and going out to cafes. For many, mainly girls, entertainment means staying at home to watch TV or listen to music or drop in on friends or relatives. Things are quite different in summer. The villages are livelier. In Anogia, all the inhabitants gather as the weather allows for a more intense social life. Many weddings and baptisms are held during that time, which means that many celebrations take place. They are seen as an opportunity for entertainment and the coming together of the whole village. As for Archanes, the university students are back and the village is inundated with visitors and tourists alike. They all agree that life is vibrant and pleasant. They go out on a daily basis; they at-
tend social functions, go to the beach and meet with friends. For the farmers however, free time is limited as many of their farming activities take place during the summer. Furthermore, each summer, the local communities organize various cultural events which are attended by the vast majority of the young people.

Heraklion offers itself as an alternative. The city constitutes a point of reference for the young, although they do not all visit it with the same frequency or for the same reasons. Nevertheless, there is an on-going communication and contact that has expanded their range of options and enabled them to take a break from their daily life. As regards Anogia’s youth, almost all the boys pay frequent visits to the city of Heraklion while the girls do so rarely. Heraklion is a far more familiar setting for the young people of Archanes, while visits outside Crete are very rare. Many of them have not been to any other urban center other than Heraklion. Some only go if they have something specific they need to do, while others go simply because they need a change of scenery. So, when in Heraklion, the young visit the marketplace and shops, they go to taverns, cafes, bars and nightclubs or, on rare occasions, they go to the cinema. The girls do not go to the city for the sole purpose of seeking entertainment. Their visits are combined with a certain errand they need to run and they are usually accompanied by a relative. Young people from Archanes are in a more privileged position. The fact that their village is only a short distance from the city is important to all of them. They feel that this keeps them from feeling socially isolated and enables them to take advantage of the amenities the city has to offer.

Everyday life is more intense in Archanes than it is in Anogia. In general, the boys who are employed and, respectively, the girls who are engaged seem to have greater freedom to do as they please. The high school students spend most of their time studying for school. Additionally, the young people of Archanes have the opportunity to attend private lessons in a foreign language and preparatory courses for their upcoming exams. They pay frequent visits to Heraklion. In the case of Anogia this occurs only once or twice a year while in the case of Archanes, it could even be once a week. Of those who are employed in the village, some feel that all their needs are met there and do not feel the need to go to the city very often, while others try to go as often as possible. There are a few who can not stand being confined to the village for more than three or four days in a row. We can clearly see that, for most of the young people, Heraklion constitutes an important outlet that changes their day-to-day life. The daily life of these young people is greatly determined by the options they are given and how they themselves deal with them.
To sum up, the youth in Anogia spend their free time in the village, and the majority spends most of the time in the village cafes. This everyday life is usually negatively described as being the same thing day in day out: they stay at home, go to the cafe, visit friends, and go for walks in the village or in the mountains with friends. They talk with friends, go to Heraklion, and do their homework. The village youth have a lot of free time on their hands. Life in the village is very simple, often making it monotonous for most.

Respectively, in Archanes, the available choices in the village are the cafes, the bars, the open-air cinema, homes and summer homes and the various community events that take place. In evaluating their day-to-day life, the young from Archanes arrive at some conclusions. Most of them like their way of life. Almost all of them like life in the village and the ways in which they are entertained during the summer. They feel that there is a lot for them to do and that they can visit many other places from their village. As citizens of Archanes, their quality of life is good and is combined with the tranquility they cherish. They feel that, on a smaller scale, they lead a similar life to that of a young person in Heraklion. They seem pleased with the outlets available to them. Very few youngsters, girls mostly, find life in the village so monotonous that they cannot stand it.

In gaining experiences from both the village and the city, with their experiences in the village being far more, the young people are in a position to assess what they like and do not like about the city. In general, they like the fact that they can visit many places in the city and satisfy their various needs. The fact that they are ‘anonymous’ and the sense of freedom that comes from this is important to them, as are the impressions and stimuli they gather. They like the vivacity of the city as well as being entertained in surroundings that are quite different from what they are used to. What they dislike about the city is the fact that they “run into half the fellow-villagers there”, the noise, the big buildings and, in some cases, the feeling of anonymity. One young herdsman mentions characteristically: “I do not like life in the city. It is much better here. A thousand times better... First of all I do not know anyone there...” When comparing life in the village with life in the city, they feel that, generally speaking, Heraklion has more to offer. It has a big market place, a variety of entertainment to choose from, a fast pace of life, cinemas, cultural events, libraries and finally, a sense of freedom. Of course, they also acknowledge that all this is accompanied by daily stress and a constant rat race. In this sense, they feel that the village environment is much better, that human relations are more intimate as they have friends and relatives there on whom they can rely. They never feel alone and it pleases them to know that they will see friendly and familiar faces whenever they go
out. Life is calm and all their basic needs are met there. When comparing themselves with the young people of Heraklion, some feel that the Heraklion youth are offered more ways to make better use of their time. Respectively, they feel that the young people in their village are not exposed to social hazards, they contribute more to their families and enjoy a better quality of life.

When it comes down to it, the majority prefers life in the village to that of Heraklion, which is preferred by some solely on the basis of entertainment. Despite all this, all the young people of Archanes like the fact that Heraklion is such a short distance from their village. This is also the case with the youth in Anogia, although the distance is definitely greater.

To sum up, this chapter attempted to find any further intervening factors the young participants take into consideration when going through the process of occupational choice. The choice of occupation, which extends to the choice in the way of life and the place of residence, is also determined by a variety of conditions that influence these young people’s expectations regarding their future. Regardless of whether they are positive or negative, dominant values, dominant ideals for life, dominant roles for both sexes are all factors which are evaluated by the young people. They affect their feelings and disposition towards their village and are all taken under serious consideration. As a result, some prefer to remain in their village, these being the stayers, some have mixed feelings about their place of residence, these being the ambivalent, and some others wish to live far from their village, these being the leavers.

At this point, the data analysis has been completed following the full content of the “paradigm model”. The main phenomenon derived form the data was the transition of the young people from school to work. The analysis of data, offered insight into the views the young participants as regards the prospects of the local and greater job market (the causal conditions), their occupational choices (the context), aspects of the social conditions that influence their decisions regarding the occupational choices (the intervening conditions) and finally, the different strategies they develop so as to see their decisions through, that is, those regarding occupational choice with the one towards education being the most important. The stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers, seem to constitute the three different types of young people as concerns their job placement, who, in the course of time, will undergo changes and will be shaped depending on the outcome of events.
Chapter 10: Conclusions and discussion

In this final chapter, I would like to draw conclusions and further discuss the main findings of the study.

Initially, conclusions will be drawn and a discussion will be made surrounding the occupational choices of young people in relation to the two communities in transition. Thus, I will initially present the distinguishing characteristics of the two rural communities in transition, in a more abstract way and I will try to relate these characteristics using a more general theoretical frame: the concepts of tradition and modernity. Then I will continue by drawing conclusions on the occupational choices made by the rural youth in terms of gender differences, and I will end with the three different types of young people as regards the choice of occupation in the two communities in transition. I will also discuss the different career development theories pertaining to the three youth types that have emerged from the present study, the determining role of education in this differentiation and the consequences for the two communities resulting from the career choices made.

In the second part, I will present the conclusions of the study and the final discussion in relation to basic theoretical references. In this way, I will draw attention to the characteristics surrounding the transition from school to the job market in the era of modernity, the role of the welfare state during this transition period, as well as the influence of the ‘local’ and ‘rural’ upon the young peoples’ occupational choices.

Following this, the main findings will be discussed, these being the three different ideal types, the stayers, the ambivalent and the leavers, with relevant findings from previous research.

The chapter will end with implications for policy, practice and further research.

10.1. Rural communities between tradition and modernity

The communities of Anogia and Archanes experience the transition from tradition to modernity and are demonstrative of the course followed by ‘traditional’ local communities in Greece. In describing the two communities in a more abstract way, one could say that they experience a complex and dynamic course which includes the development of a continuous, but not unhindered dialogue between the local and de-localized socio-economic environment. The changes taking place in Anogia and Archanes do not constitute
a simple linear progress but rather, suggest complex structural social change. The overturning of these traditional societies entails re-adjustments, inner conflicts and the lengthy process of social re-defining and change. Social elements of the past begin to wane or disappear altogether, while others resist or even adapt to the new social setting. At the same time, elements of modernity may be rejected but they may also bring rapid and decisive change to already formed social customs. Resistance, contradictions, inconsistencies, relapses and conflicts are all elements that generally define the entire process of change. Social structures may change within the two communities while perceptions, mentalities and codes of ethics may remain staunchly intact, thus influencing the behavior of individuals within the two communities.

As one can clearly see, this fluid state of change does not affect all the inhabitants in the same way. Between the two poles of tradition and modernity, there are a variety of attitudes, behaviors and mentalities that render the whole social situation anything but static.

Our historical knowledge of the Greek social setting shows that traditional farming societies gradually gravitated towards assimilating small communities into big ones, local communities into national ones, as well as traditional communities into modern ones. Of course, this assimilation has varied in degree and intensity depending on the historical circumstances of each period. To better understand the features of the traditional Greek community as well as the changes it has undergone through time, we could make mention of a bi-pole as regards productive relations, with the ‘traditional’ society on the one end and the modern society on the other (Nitsiakos, 1991). On the one hand, we have the embedded economy of self-preservation and benefiting values of production, in which there is no commercialization of production rules or free market relations. This economy gradually leads to the opposite pole of a free economy in gain and consumption, in which the production of exchangeable values dominate, with complete commercialization in the rules of production as well as the dominance in free-market relations. Social and moral values which once governed economic behavior in ‘traditional’ societies are slowly disappearing and economic activity presents itself as non-committed and dominant. While the production process was once organized on a domestic and family-oriented level and had to do with small entities of groups in ‘closed’ communities, it is now heading in the opposite direction. In modern society, production relies on the ‘free individual’ and is directed at large groups in open societies. The allocation of work turns from being rudimentary and based on gender and age, to becoming advanced and based on knowledge, training and spe-
cialization. The social layering turns from being based on kinship relations to being ruled by economic criteria (the class system).

This new course however, has not led to the complete and ultimate prevalence of the free market, despite the fact that all ‘traditional’ social elements are constantly marginalized, that is, pushed aside. The course taken by the communities of Anogia and Archanes is, in most part, equivalent to that of the Greek farming society. This course could be described as being a departure from the local community to a de-localized one, from a local economy based on self-preservation to the national and international economy of a free market.

10.1.1. Occupational choices for rural youth
One may say that the life-courses of the boys and girls in both Anogia and Archanes have similar origins and different destinations. Young people seem to form an idea of their near future as well as of the years to come, by anticipating either a traditional or a modernistic framework within which they will live. Youngsters evaluate these two social representations in a different way. The respective community’s culture and lifestyle is what they are familiar with and some of them identify themselves almost fully with the given situation. Some express contradictory feelings and only partly identify with the community’s culture and lifestyle. The modern way of life that stands just outside their village attracts many of the young people. But the means to approach it are very few. In effect, their future job and their level of education as a precondition are the main means by which access can be gained.

10.1.2. Occupational choices made by boys
The traditional occupation of cattle-raising still attracts a large number of boys, though it no longer constitutes their sole occupational outlet. A certain number of young boys who have become accustomed to the new patterns of life seek better job prospects in urban centers as they feel that the future of this occupational sector is fraught with uncertainty. Relocation to nearby urban centers is a forgone conclusion for a large number of boys who nevertheless, still constitute a minority.

The young boys from farming families seem to follow the same course of action. The ever-shrinking and unsteady income of a farmer, as well as the hard work required have led young people to go in search of a better occupation which will ensure a different quality of life. It has now become a foregone conclusion that farming will be limited to being a secondary occupation and a supplementary source of income. Only a minority of boys work exclusively as farmers.
10.1.3. Occupational choices made by girls

One would expect that in communities which are reluctant toward change given their patriarchal family structure, the young girls would not be allowed access to the greater social changes taking place. On the contrary, the changes they bring to the local communities seem to be more drastic. There is a clear and constant trend on the part of the girls to become part of an economically active population and to completely abandon the traditional role in the household economy which women, including their mothers, held for centuries. As the majority of girls are not usually able to find a salary paying job in the village, they either relocate to urban centers after obtaining employment, or simply commute to and from work if their village is only a short distance from the city. The minority remains inactive and does not even learn the traditional skills involved in the household sector, like weaving. As a result, some of the age-old techniques and handicrafts are in danger of dying out. Marriage is the only outlet for them.

Despite their emotional ties to the village, it appears that the girls experience the social realities differently from the boys. They feel more oppressed by and alienated from social life. They experience the antithesis between tradition and modernity more intensely and the majority chooses to reject traditional roles.

Indeed, it would be quite interesting if we could further look into the woman’s role as regards the changes brought to the local society, as well as the consequences of their own choices on the future of this community. In Greece, studies on the role of women in social change remain insufficient. In general, however we know that: only 42 per cent of the female population is economically active (Eurostat 2001), that women excel when entering university, most of them choose fields that do not lead to the private enterprise sector of free-lancers, they mainly work in the public sector and they do not participate in any top-level decision-making schemes. However, in a relevant study conducted by Georgas (1990) on university students and how social changes affect changes in values, in comparison with their male counterparts, the females more staunchly rejected the traditional hierarchical roles which dictate that the man is the head of the family and the woman is a housewife and mother. Males, mainly those originating from rural regions, do not seem to reject such values. They seem to psychologically identify with the traditional role of the father and adopt it.
10.1.4. The three different ideal types of young people as regards the choice of occupation.

In general, when looking at the practices young people in Anogia and in Archanes follow in seeking employment, we may identify different ideal types of young people, as presented in chapter 6:

- The traditional type: the stayers
  They are the young people whose schooling is of short duration and whose education level is basic. The occupational practices of the boys are traditional, while the girls do not officially enter the job market. Marriage and family constitute their 'destiny' in life. They do seem to adopt traditional values and practices. They do not question the traditional gender roles, nor are they interested in escaping from them. This type is mainly made up of boys, while the girls make up the minority. In fact, it is made up of the majority of boys from Anogia where traditional values and practices are more staunchly adhered to than they are in Archanes. These young people remain in their villages. They are the 'stayers'.

  It seems that the young people of this type, the boys in particular, attempt to follow a short path in their transition from school to the job market. This is usually achieved by entering the job market of their villages and the traditional occupations offered there. Their professional self image seems to be in accordance with other images of self and they feel confident about the course their life has taken for the future.

- The ambivalent type: the ambivalent
  They are the young people who do not seem to be sure of what they want to do. They are caught between tradition and modernity and find themselves at a distance from both.

  Of those, certain individuals are rather forced or desire to pursue new vocational practices. The fulfillment of secondary education and often the enrolment in technical institutes-schools are the means by which new job placement is acquired. However, they maintain a rather positive commitment to the local community and they do not seem to reject traditional gender roles. This type is made up mainly of boys. Relocation or seeking employment in the urban center is rather unavoidable.

  Within the same type are those individuals who display a high dropout rate, poor vocational training, unemployment and temporary salary-paying jobs. Their commitment to the local community is rather negative but they usually adopt traditional roles and comply with traditional gender identity without fully relating to it. Girls make up the majority in this type of young
people. Finding work in an urban center constitutes their main outlet but re-
location is rather impossible due to their low qualifications.

Both groups are rather trapped, because none of them can accomplish
their real desires. These young people are the *ambivalent*.

In general, we may say that the young people of this type seem to be less
prepared to deal with the social developments unfolding before them. In or-
der to earn a decent living, some of them, particularly the boys, are forced to
change their professional practices while others, particularly the girls, would
like to rid themselves of the traditional roles their predicament has forced
them to adopt. Unfortunately, the existing patriarchal structures and percep-
tions have prevented them from becoming properly equipped to do so.

Finally, the last type can be identified as:

- The modern type: the leavers
They are the young people who pursue and try to gain a high level of educa-
tion, and have chosen new vocational practices through completion of sec-
ondary education by either enrolling in a technical or vocational training in-
stitute or, by continuing studies at an academic level, as a means of entering
a broader, 'non-farming' job market. They do not seem to adopt traditional
values and practices and they seem to reject traditional gender roles. Their
practices may be characterized as being modern and up-to-date. This type is
mainly made up of girls. The boys are clearly fewer in number. In fact, they
constitute the minority of boys from Anogia. This trend clearly indicates
how determined the young girls are to claim a different future for themselves
and gain a position from which they can better determine the course of their
own lives. This suggests that traditional societies are not as oppressive for
their male members as they are for their female members. These are the
young people who leave the village and relocate to an urban center. They are
the *leavers*.

Young people of this type are more likely to follow a prolonged prepara-
tion period before their entrance into the de-localized and competitive job
market. Similarly to the stayers, their professional self image seems to be in
accordance with other images of self and they feel confident about the
course their life has taken for the future.

These three types and their characteristics, will be further discussed in the
following sections.
10.1.5. Reflecting on Career Development Theories

If we attempt to associate these three different types of youth with the existing theories on occupational choice, we should then first mention that the above could coincide with Super’s development theory according to which, ‘career’ is seen as the sum total of all the roles people play in their lives and, in expressing an occupational preference, the individual translates the idea he has of himself in terms of occupation and in making this choice, seeks real expression of this self-image (Krumboltz, 1994; Stitt-Gohdes, 1997). Indeed, for these young participants, the choice of occupation constitutes a means of expression as well as a confirmation of how they see themselves and the way of life they wish to lead. This self-image comes into play long before they make their choice of occupation. This is more evident among the stayers and the leavers.

At the same time however, Robert’s sociological theory (Roberts, 1975) is also verified, since the process of occupational choice seems to have a realistic basis as regards the perspectives made available and the limitations imposed by the social, economic, academic and cultural environment. Initially, this becomes clear when comparing the occupational choices of the young people in the two different communities of the present study. The young people of Anogia, in comparison with the young people of Archanes, live in a community whose endogenous opportunities for employment are few and offer limited alternative solutions, family incomes are lower, the education level of the general population is also lower and the local culture is more “traditional”. School abandonment is greater and the occupations chosen require fewer years of schooling. This difference can also be seen in the number of young people who complete the various levels of education. In Anogia, the stayers, mainly boys, are greater in number than in Archanes, the ambivalent in Archanes have more alternative solutions, while the leavers in Archanes have greater academic expectations. Secondly, when looking at the specific characteristics of the participants as presented in chapters 6 and 7, one may notice that the young people from families with a higher education level are steadfast and clearly orientated towards becoming leavers.

Statements from Ginzberg’s theory is also partly verified here since, in many cases, we observe that the occupational choice was a process that began at an early age and in some cases, has not yet been completed and also has to do with the interests, the abilities, the values and occupational opportunities given (Savickas & Lent 1994). This theory applies more to the stayers and the leavers who have determined their life course early on, as op-
posed to the *ambivalents*, whose attitudes leave them with far fewer choices at their disposal.

Holland’s theory on occupational choice also applies here since we observe that there are young people, the *stayers* as well as the *leavers*, who choose occupational environments which will correspond to their abilities and potential, that will give them the space to express their attitudes and values and will enable them to take on satisfactory roles (Savickas & Lent, 1994; Stitt-Gohdes, 1997). Mention could also be made of Herbert’s theory (1994) since there are quite a few young people mainly among the stayers and the leavers who consciously develop a professional self image that coincides with the other ‘images of self’ they have created for themselves, as for example images of living in the city or in the village, images of overturning or maintaining traditional gender roles, or images of parenthood.

The first thing I would like to observe here is that according to the career development theories, the choice of occupation is the result of a series of compromises made by the youth as regards their desires, the potential and limitations imposed by the social environment. The choices are not unlimited. This in fact, is more evident among the youth in rural areas who have different and rather fewer opportunities, means and prospects of “choosing” an occupation than the youth in urban areas. A second note-worthy point could be that the above-mentioned theories apply very little to the type known in this study as the ambivalent. For these young people, occupational choice seems to be based more on off-handed “choices” rather than on well thought out choices.

A third point which could be commented on and which is not mentioned clearly in the afore-mentioned career development theories is the difference in career choices due to gender. Generally speaking, “women’s career development is affected in specific ways by a variety of structural factors, such as discrimination and sexual harassment, as well as by such cultural constraints as occupational gender stereotypes, gender-role socialization, and the dictates of the motherhood mandate” (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994). The present study could add that the young girls of rural areas have to make an even greater effort and are called upon to undergo a more lengthy preparatory period if they are to secure placement in the job market. Otherwise, they are left with occasional and temporary employment or with the traditional role of housewife which, in contemporary economies, equals unemployment.
10.1.6. Education as a means of finding employment

Education seems to be a crucial issue for the young population in the communities of Anogia and Archanes. It is commonly known that in most EU countries, more education means less risk of unemployment (Hasan, 1994; Eurostat, 2000, 2004). The direct association between the education level and unemployment is characteristic of the last decades where economies require a workforce with a wide range of qualifications (Rifkin, 1995). It is also clear that education constitutes a means of transition from the rural farming area to the urban center. Tsoukalas (1992) claims that the rural population which abandons the land and moves to urban centers requires at least a minimum of education, while school provides them with the technical preparatory tools for such a new classification. Additionally, Kassimati (1991) concludes that the level of one’s education is directly related to career choices.

School abandonment or completion and the education level in general, seem to be directly related to the type of jobs young people of Anogia and Archanes hold, and consequently, to the course of their lives.

Despite the fact that the alternatives are very few for those young people who do not complete their compulsory education and despite the ongoing decline in the occupations that require manpower with a relatively low level of education, it is still possible in Greece, for them to find work in the farming industry, as well as in family or other non-specialized businesses (IRDAC, 1991; NSSG, census 1991, 2001). This is the case for the stayers. The boys stay in the villages practicing the traditional jobs, while the girls stay in the villages, remaining unemployed for the most part.

Jobs in non-traditional sectors require the completion of at least a secondary education, attendance of vocational or technical schools or studies at an academic level. The lyceum-leaving diploma constitutes the minimum means required before moving from a rural area to an urban center in search of work in new sectors, and this is so particularly for the girls. Academic studies are considered to be the means which determine a career and enable young people to have a steady income, security and independence. This is the case for the leavers.

Generally speaking, school completion in Anogia and Archanes is greater than student dropouts, with the boys outnumbering the girls in school abandonment. However, many aspects of Bourdieu’s theory are confirmed since, the lower the parents’ education is, the lower the prestige of the field of studies is as well as the education level of the young people. In conclusion, the young people gain social experiences which lead to their making choices according to the way they take in, interpret and communicate with their mi
cro and macro environment. They acquire a practical sense of what must be done in a given situation and is what Bourdieu terms as “habitus” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996).

From all the above, we may conclude that a person’s education plays a decisive role in the career prospects provided to him, and in the choices he is allowed to make.

10.1.7. Consequences for the two settings due to the occupational choices made by the rural youth

The future of Anogia and its young people is unpredictable if the social gap and the monolithic economy continue to exist. Relocation will be the most likely outcome for the great majority if ‘outside’ support such as EU subsidies or other programs for peripheral development stops or if no further attempts are made for greater social progress in the near future. For the young, the expectations that come with their departure are summed up as being the search for a better life, this meaning a life including vocational stability, a steady income and relative personal independence.

It seems that the future of Archanes and its young people will follow a more predictable course. Its ongoing effort for endogenous growth, its young people’s increased interest in further studies, and its close proximity to the city of Heraklion have paved the way for smoother development. Here, abandoning the village is not a prerequisite for practicing another occupation. After all, despite the fact that farming is tending to become a secondary occupation, it still remains an important source of income which has not nor will be abandoned in the foreseeable future.

10.2. Traditional, modern or ambivalent: reflections on theory

The findings of the present study could be linked to many theoretical references and analytical frames that have functioned as guides for the study.

10.2.1. The transition from youth to adulthood and from school to the job market

The young people of the two communities face a complex world which they understand and interpret in different ways. The socio-economic conditions they live in are dealt with in different ways and, as the study clearly shows,

38 Programs, similar to the Leader Program or to the Program for Young Farmers etc.
they choose different life plans and lifestyle models. Indeed, as Walther states, transitions “are structured by a complex system of socio-economic structures, institutional arrangements and cultural patterns” (Walther, 2006:124) that are constantly changing and have to do with how this complex social structure is perceived and interpreted by young individuals. The word ‘choice’ is relative, however. It is either a personal choice or derives from limitations or opportunities dictated according to social background, education, gender and region. Could the increasing complexity of society and the transition to adulthood within a context of vulnerability, risk and uncertainty (Furlong, 2003) imply ‘no choice’ for some young people, as stated by Furlong and Cartmel, (1997)? The answer to this remains complex because it greatly depends on their desires, how they are formed and on how determined young people are to fulfil their plans at any given moment in their lives. So, although the young people of the two communities share common origins, they follow different destinations. I am of the opinion that people make choices within a set context of given conditions. Some young people find themselves unable to overcome obstacles and limitations, others expand or even create opportunities, shape their own lives, use strategies and choices and some may even be lucky or unlucky (du Bois-Reymond, 1995), while others have an ambivalent attitude between the known and the new, trying to combine the two in the course of their lives.

In this age of modernity, the transition from youth to adulthood and, more specifically, from school to the job market are characterised by Giddens (1997), Walther (2006), du Bois-Reymond, (1995) etc. as a non-linear transition in which de-standardization, individualization and fragmentation prevail, as opposed to a smooth transition to the job market, since young people have to deal with these inequalities and make their own very important decisions. However, according to Merino and Garcia (2006), despite increasing social complexity, linear transition has not disappeared. On the contrary, empirical data show that most youth transitions still follow the traditional path to adulthood (Bendit and Hein, 2004) in almost every European country. Waara (1996) too, points out that many young people seem to seek a linear transition process, but this route is often paved with impediments due to the complexities of life situations within the context of their transition to adulthood. What effect do these theories have on the present study? In offering a more complete and rounded answer to this question, I will first introduce another dimension of ‘transition’, that of prolongation (Giddens, 1997; Merino & Garcia 2006; Chtouris 2006; de Bois-Reymond, 1998; Plug, 2003; Walther, 2002; Westberg, 2004; Cavalli & Galland, 1993). Researchers and politicians alike agree (OECD 1998:8) that the transition period has become
more prolonged due to extended studies and the extended passage from school to work, the complexity of lifestyle models, the increase of female employment, the flexibility of the labor market, a general tendency towards individualization (Walther, 2006), and a delay in acquiring independence from the family (Merino & Garcia 2006). As regards Greece, this prolongation is also due to long military service duties, reduced female employment and the absence of training opportunities (Chtouris, 2006). The present study indicates that the transition from school to the job market is for most of the young people, (the ambivalent and the leavers), a long and complex process which, in practice, varies among young people depending on their life plan.

All the young people in the study endeavour to achieve linear transition, this being smooth integration and secure placement in the job market following the completion of their chosen studies. In other words, they choose the education-employment format. However, in practice, this route proves to be quite difficult and may even involuntarily be disrupted.

Indeed, the transition period between adolescence and adulthood has become longer, this being even more so the case for the rural youth. Due to the changes in the social structures of traditional society, the family is becoming less and less the natural training ground for acquiring skills and adopting roles from which, in past years, the young used to move on to primary production and gain integration into local society. Furthermore, these young people are given different and probably fewer opportunities of gaining access to means and structures that would encourage their transition to the job market. They deal with inequalities such as fewer alternative solutions in education, training and a smaller job market, as opposed to the young people in urban centres. The above serve to prolong this transitional period for the urban youth.

The young people of either community who pursue a shorter route in education in the hope of gaining direct integration in the traditional economy of their village seem to succeed in achieving this, especially the boys. From this standpoint, we could say that they follow a linear path leading to easy integration into traditional occupations. However, this does not ensure autonomous social and economic integration. As Walther (2006) states, entering the job market does not automatically mean the beginning of a new life. These young people continue to live with their families, thus maintaining close economic and social ties. For the boys, starting a family of their own is not in their immediate plans. The young girls in this category remain unemployed, underemployed or assist in the household economy. While they strive for linear transition, this is only accelerated in the case of job market integration and does not apply to their emancipation from their families. As a
matter of fact, late emancipation was a very common phenomenon in pre-industrial societies (Merino and Garcia 2006) and it seems that it will continue to exist. Young people are integrated into local society and quite possibly, go on to reproduce it (Waara, 1996).

This view is further borne out by the fact that the young people in the study who decided to pursue the traditional occupations of their villages are employed. Furthermore, at this point, let us be reminded that in Greece, unlike the other EU countries, unemployment for those who at best have completed compulsory education is lower than it is for those who have completed all secondary education levels, one reason for this being their early integration into primary production or unskilled labor (NSSG: 2001; Kassimati, 1991; Rouseas & Vretakou, 2006; Palaiokrasas, 1996b). Nevertheless, it has been observed that some young people who follow a shorter education route with the intention of entering primary production, find that this alone is not enough for their survival. They seek additional means, usually empirical or vocational training so as to be employed in other occupational sectors, they do odd jobs or are underemployed. The difficulties of integration into the job market are obvious, clearly bringing the phenomenon of non-linear transition into play.

At any rate, the majority of young people strive to achieve transition through the education-job market format. To achieve this, they pursue all levels of education and strive for academic studies at a university level. They feel that the qualifications gained from this are important assets for the greater job market and for their personal emancipation from their families. Today however, this format is not necessarily capable of leading to rapid and successful job market integration. Unemployment among young people and especially those first entering the job market is high, female integration is even more difficult, while job market demands for specialized training prevents smooth integration. Nevertheless, these young people are unwilling to reproduce traditional roles and local social structures. They clearly differentiate themselves and perhaps become vehicles of change (Waara, 1996).

The young people who complete secondary schooling have come to find themselves in dire circumstances. On the one hand, they have rejected traditional occupations and on the other, they have not acquired specialized skills. They then pursue vocational training and enter an even bumpier road fraught with job insecurity, cut-throat competition, low paying work etc. while being called upon to deal with constant readjustments. There is no doubt that non-linear transition prevails.

These young people could be characterised as being “young adults” not only due to their prolonged studies as stated by Giddens (1997) and Walther
(2006), but also because of their slow social emancipation. They strive for traditional transition but reality forces them to experience a complex and difficult one.

10.2.2. Transition welfare policy

With regard to the issue of government policies and support aimed at the young during this difficult period in their lives, it is clear that in Greece, the sub-protective social-policy model prevails, as Gallie and Paugam (2000) have presented for Mediterranean countries. It is characterized as being incomplete and very weak with regard to coverage towards education, training, employment, unemployment and social security. Walther’s analysis (2006) on the sub-protective welfare model completely applies to Greece and is evident in both communities. The characteristics of this model are the high rate of school drop-outs, non-selective schooling until the end of compulsory education, inadequately developed vocational training programs provided by vocational schools of low credibility. Tertiary education plays a significant role in providing young people with a social and personal status during the long waiting period of transition. Indeed, education is one of the highest priorities for young people in the two communities and indicates that young people increasingly acknowledge education and training qualifications to be the most important means for a well-paid and relatively regular job. Furthermore, Walther (2006) points out young women’s difficulty in entering the labor market, the unsteady jobs, the informal labour market and the short-term contracts, all of which are very often the case in the two communities. Social security benefits for young unemployed people are meagre. Although the overall aim of welfare policy is to provide youth with education, training and employment, the sub-protective model does not present flexibility, choices or security (Walther, 2006). Welfare policy offers very little support during this phase of young peoples’ lives.

Instead, the family is forced to carry some of this weight. That is why the family is very important in supporting young people during this extended transition phase. Kronauer (1996) argues that this is, among others, a reason for which young unemployed people in both Greece and Italy, both belonging to the sub-protective transition regime, face low risks of social exclusion. This is also ascertained in the present study. In both communities, the family institution is strong, there is solidarity amongst its members and, in most cases, the young are given emotional and practical support. Young people are financially dependent on their parents not only during their studies but also long after their adolescent years. The young people coming from poor families set their expectations for further education according to the family’s
financial situation. Furthermore, the study findings also corroborate Kassimati’s theory (1991) on the role of the Greek family in protecting its members and its active role in strategies for seeking employment. Family strategies are more evident in farming families who decide the course to be taken by its members according to the size of the family assets. In any event, even when there is disagreement, the family continues to support its young members.

Within this same context, further corroboration can be found in the opinion of Merino and Garcia (2006) which holds that many changes have taken place within families where one can see improved understanding between the parents and their offspring, as opposed to previous generations, although this has not happened without tensions and without having to accept controversial situations. Nowadays, one can see that the young are becoming increasingly more autonomous. However, the more traditional the family structure, the less evident this is. Nevertheless, even here, in these two ‘traditional’ villages, women’s right to employment and to adopting less traditional role has been acknowledged. Communication among the members takes place on a more equal level and this may explain the positive evaluation young people make as regards their relationship with their family. This positive evaluation contributes to their remaining in the family home. But still, as regards the distinction between boys and girls, the more traditional the society, the stricter it is for the girls. Merino and Garcia (2006) argue that the degree of choice regarding expenditures, studies, leisure time is not similar for both sexes in Catalonia, Spain. The freedom girls have nowadays is definitely greater compared to previous generations. Nevertheless, they still undergo greater time restrictions, greater control of resources, social activities and personal relationships.

Another parameter that the present study relates to is that of Chtouris, (2006) this being the continuous decline in both the active and employed population in the 15-30 age groups, due mainly to the greater social, demographic and cultural transformation of contemporary Greek society. Indeed, statistical data pertaining to the two communities indicate the poor representation of the young people within the economically active population as a result of their desire to further their studies. This phenomenon applies even more to the girls who display a far smaller drop-out rate than the boys.
10.2.3. Gender differences as regards the transition phase

Walther (2006) claims that there are gender differences in young people’s perceptions and views as regards the transition phase. When compared with young women, young men seem to be less capable of managing differences between their own aspirations and external demands and possibilities. Furthermore, young women hold on to and maintain their motivation over a longer period while accepting deviations during the transition phase. Indeed, it is clear that in both communities the girls are determined to gain professional qualifications through education. They strive to pursue studies at a tertiary level and they achieve it to a greater degree than the boys do. Their performance rate at school is better and in the event of failure to enter a chosen field of study, they set lower educational goals. They are aware of the fact that their integration into the job market can be achieved only through education and that this will offer them individual and social emancipation. All existing studies converge to the difficulty of integration for young women and the high unemployment rates as opposed to those pertaining to young men. Nevertheless, they are more persistent in their desire to escape from traditional roles, the male dominated society they live in and the social control they endure. They want to be able to freely make their own choices. Furthermore, traditional societies allow little room for female employment. Of course, there are also those young women who, like the young men, never thought that their lives could follow any other route other than the traditional one. Their strong ties to local society and its way of life lead to their integration and reproduction of it.

Once more, we may ascertain that the girls from both villages are part of a greater trend for female integration into the job market and for the eradication of gender discrimination, this being clearly evident in international research.

10.2.4. The importance of locality

How important is one’s hometown to young people and how do they define their relationship with the global world? Giddens (1991) has argued that in modernity, the importance of the local area has diminished, while others (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Toney, 2002) have argued that the importance of location has become greater. Tönnies (1887/1961) argues that the smaller groups such as the family and the local community have a greater impact on the behavior/attitudes of the individual than that of abstract, impersonal, de-localized social structures. Bourke (1997) believes that the majority of rural young people in Australia have a strong sense of connectedness to community. Toney and Share (2000) suggest that community as a relationship, as
well as a place, carries great weight in Irish society and this pattern has emerged very clearly amongst the young. O’Connor (2005) supports that, although many aspects of young people’s lives draw on global products, the young people remain deeply embedded within local contexts and that young boys are more likely than the girls to refer to their own locality. However, as the young grow older, their local area is not their sole geographical point of reference. For the most part, however, they would like to move away to university or look forward to traveling and working abroad. Such findings are supported by other studies as well (Paulgaard, 2002; Rygaards, 2003). Nevertheless, the girls appear to be less than enthusiastic about the informal social control exerted through gossip, which is a part of small community ties. Indeed, the young speak favorably of their hometowns, of the natural beauty, the friendly relations among the people, the security they feel and the values and principles with which they were raised. They point out the positive aspects as opposed to city life. Not all of them identify with their hometowns to the same degree. A feeling of ambivalence is predominant. They love their hometowns but they also desire change that includes more freedom of expression and choice. They wish to go away to study and get to know the world outside their villages. They do not reject the possibility of returning to their villages and residing there, provided this can be combined with their work. At any rate, none of them express a desire to cut off ties with their community. After all, as one young man mentions, “I carry the community with me wherever I go”. The value system often appears to be more influential than the material one and determines social life. As stated in Waara’s study (1996), community constitutes the starting point of reference for individuals. They all have some kind of connection to the local community. Young peoples’ life-plans are structured in accordance with their degree of commitment to the local culture. We may also add that the local ‘system’ has a regulating effect on them as it expects compliance to dominant social customs for the purpose of reproducing society.

In closing this part of the study, we can say that there is obvious agreement with Waara’s (1996) contextual and theoretical points. In his study, he underlines that there is a sense of ambivalence and uncertainty as regards young peoples’ future life. Despite the dominant effect of modernity and its global character, certain residual cultural formations have not died out. On the contrary, they stand the test of time because they constitute socialising conditions which provide a sense of security in an otherwise insecure world. The predominance of tradition or modernity depends on the degree to which either of these two social representations is accepted by each individual.
10.3. The main findings and how they reflect previous research

In completing this study, let us as determine the degree to which the major findings reflect previous research.

Although these findings arise from case studies, they allow a comparison with Waara’s respective study of the young population in the Tornedalica area on the borders of Sweden and Finland (1996). The researcher found that there were four ideal types of youngsters and named them the traditionalist, the entrepreneur, the conventionalist and the avant-guardist. The first one is described as being committed to the local community, polarized to gender-identity and orientated towards locally accepted gender-roles. Waara’s traditionalist type completely coincides with the traditional stayer type in the present study. The entrepreneur type is strongly committed to the local community but rejects the locally developed gender–roles, while the conventionalist type has a weak relationship with the local community, high preparedness for mobility, and acceptance of traditional gender-roles. These two types share strong similarities with the young people in Anogia and Archans who are characterized as the ambivalent type. In both cases, we have a strong, as well as a weak commitment to the local community, acceptance or compliancy to gender roles but no rejection of these roles to its full extent. Finally, Waara’s last type seems to be quite the same as the modern type in the present study, the leavers.

As regards the four different ‘modalities of transition’ resulting from Merino and Garcia’s (2006) survey on family emancipation and the transition from school to work in the context of transition to adulthood in Cataloña, we should note that they refer to the general population and not exclusively to young people in rural areas. Nevertheless, there are comparisons to be made. The first modality of early success includes young people who were emancipated from the family before the age of 28, have successfully followed long education pursuits and demonstrate ascending professional mobility with both sexes almost equally represented, (slightly more so by young women). The successive approach modality describes those young people whose university studies or vocational training pursuits delay emancipation but who demonstrate professional mobility, with the young women outnum-bering the young men. Both modalities can be compared with the present study’s modern type, the leavers. In this type, the young people and the girls in particular, intend to pursue higher academic studies that will lead them to independence and emancipation from the family while the likelihood of achieving professional aims are greater. The working trajectory modality includes the young people who were emancipated from the family before the
age of 28 and follow a professional course based on occupational options that do not require higher education, while most of them have low qualified jobs. There are some similarities to the ambivalent type as regards the kind of education and job positions that do not include those of primary production and will therefore eventually lead to emancipation from the family. Finally the precarious trajectory modality describes the non-emancipated young people, those who became emancipated late and those who have either undergone job status decline or remain in the unskilled labor market, have a low level of education as well as school failure, with the boys outnumbering the girls. This modality can only be compared with the traditional stayer in that this type is made up of young unskilled people with a low education level who are occupied in traditional professions with the boys outnumbering the girls.

Apart from these two cases, comparison could also be made with Australia’s agricultural youth. The phenomenon of youth movement from agricultural regions to large urban centres is a given situation due to structural changes in all aspects of rural society. The findings reveal that, although many young people see the benefits of small town living, the lack of satisfying work, school cutbacks in vocational training, a destabilisation of traditional career paths and the need for higher education leads many of them to move to the nearest cities in search of employment and further education. According to this survey, young people in urban towns fall into six identifiable groups: Those attending school; those leaving for university or vocational training schools or other training; those leaving for employment reasons; those staying for employment reasons; those staying and going to vocational training schools; those who stay and are unemployed, while a high percentage of young people, this being between 75 and 90 per cent, plan to leave small towns. It is important to note that more girls than boys intend to leave and that more girls are motivated to go on to university. Girls consider the available jobs to be mostly for boys. This appears to reflect the gender opportunities in the rural employment sector. Nevertheless, there are few full-time positions available for young school leavers. Despite the vast differences that exist between the two study fields, the similarities in the choices of Australia’s agricultural youth with those of the Cretan youth are indeed characteristic. The limited number of jobs available in the agricultural sector, the lack of jobs for young women, the desire for education and employment, and the young girls’ firm position regarding education and job placement, are only a few of the points the two studies have in common.

Although somewhat brief, these comparisons do show that many similarities may occur among young people during the transition period even if the
social settings, the methodological or the theoretical approaches differ a great deal. This is a challenge for further investigation.

10.4. Implications for policy, practice and further research

The rural youth’s choice of occupation and the possibilities of achieving this constitute a complex social issue requiring the implementation of combined policies that will aim at doing away with the inequalities that exist among the young and between the two sexes and at creating opportunities for self-fulfilment. In this regard, it is indeed difficult to suggest policies that would ensure all the above. After all, policies and legislation are only of value when they are capable of dealing with citizens’ problems, respecting democracy, diversity and separate cultures. On a practical level, one could agree with measures that aim at: the qualitative improvement of education, the removal of the obstacles preventing access to it, the improvement of youth counseling services, greater backing for vocational training programs and life-long learning, the safeguarding of the autonomous role education must maintain as a valuable asset in itself.

As regards Social Community Work (Popple, 1995; Zaimakis, 2002; Stathopoulos, 2000, 2001; Ross, 1955; Alinski, 1971; Rothman, 1970; Warf, 1979, et al.) I consider that the present study may enrich the way local communities in transition are studied (see chapter 3, 3.4.1). The approach used in the present study places emphasis on connecting the phenomena to the historic time of their origin and their progress, in relation to the wider “whole” (Nitsiakos, 1991). It is from this perspective that I feel it may enrich existing community study approaches, some of which usually refer us to static studies, leaving only a “momentary” imprint of the community (Seippel, 1974; Stathopoulos, 2000).

Furthermore, I believe that through this particular study, Community Social Work as well as other Social Sciences could work together with social agencies and structures in contributing to the planning of micro and macro programs for local, social and economic development aimed at seeing to the needs of the youth population, raising community self awareness and offering the incentives needed for improving their quality of life.

Moreover, it enables Community Social Work to contribute: to career orientation activities and programs, to job market research and its needs, to the creation of strategy programs for occupational training at a local level within the structure and capacity of local government, to youth counseling within schools and finally, to the development of recreational programs and activities.
Generally speaking, we could say that this study could enable the creation of local development programs and actions that encourage youth involvement as well as programs for social planning aimed at the youth, always in cooperation with professionals, local authorities and local government. Additionally, it offers the incentive for social action allowing all those involved to contribute to bringing the changes needed (Rothman, 1970).

In closing, I staunchly believe that there will always be a subjective reading and interpretation of an ‘objective’ situation, ‘structure and agency’, and of people’s different life plans as they continue their perpetual journey within the community of man. Knowledge and research constitute the most powerful ally for understanding the phenomenon as a presupposition for practical intervention. Future studies could focus on comparative studies on the transition from school to work among rural, semi-rural and urban youth as regards their aims, motivations, means, efforts and the ultimate achievements of these objectives, life courses as regards gender, schooling and life courses pursued by young rural girls, the social capital of the “stayers”, the “ambivalent”, the “leavers”, how social and educational capital relate to the family, and the education choices of its members. Finally, comparative studies between different countries challenge us to corroborate and enrich theory.
REFERENCES


Municipality of Archanes Archives: 5/27-1-1929, 20/21-5-1929, 30/17-6-1929 and 31/7-7-1929.


Palaiokrasas, S., Rouseas, P. and Vretakou, V. (1996b). Oi mathites pou ega- 
taleipoun tis spoudes tous sto Gymnasio kai oi anages tous se epagel-
matiki ekpaidefsi kai katartisi, [in Greek] [Students who abandon their 
studies at high school level and their need for vocational education and 
training. Athens: Pedagogical Institute and Organization for Professional 
Education and Training.

Destinations. University of Crete, 4th International Summer School, 
Anogia: unpublished.

koivnia [in Greek] [The nature of social exclusion in Greek society] in 
Petmezidou, M. and Papanthodorou, X. (Eds.). Ftoxia kai koinonikos 
apokleismos [in Greek] [Poverty and Social Exclusion]. Athens: Exandas.

cation, Culture and Modernization. Anogia Workbook 1. Roskilde: 
Roskilde University.

Papaioannou, S. et al. (Eds.). Education, Culture and Modernization, 
Anogia Workbook 1. Roskilde: Roskilde University.

Papaioannou, S. and Palios, Z (Eds.) (1995). Education, Culture and Mo-
dernization. Anogia Workbook l. Denmark: Roskilde University.

Topiki Koinonia [in Greek] [Social Transformation Education and Local 

Paraskevopoulos, N. I. (1993). Methodologia Epistimonikis Erevnas [In 

95-107.

Plug, W., Zeeij, E. and du Bois-Reymond, M. (2003). ‘Young People’s Per-
ceptions on Youth and Adulthood: A Longitudinal Study from The Neth-
erlands’. Journal of Youth Studies, 6, (2), 127-144.


Philadelphia PA: Open University Press.

Ratsika, N. (2002). Between tradition and modernity: The occupational per-
spectives of young people in rural Crete. Umeå: Umeå University.

Press.
Gronemeyer (Hg.). Konfliktorientierte Gemeinwesen arbeit. Darmstadt: Neuwied.


Tsobanaki, Ch. (1992). Neoklasikes epidraseis sta ktismata ton astikon kai imiastikon kentron tis Critis [in Greek] [Neoclassical influences in the structures of urban and semi-urban centers of Crete]. In Conference records: *I oikistiki tautotita ton Arxanon* [in Greek] [The architectural identity of Archanes]. Archanes: DIPAK-MOP Secretarial office of Crete-Archanes Municipality-OATEP.


Vuidaskis, V. (1996). *Dikeoma i ipoxreosi i eniaxroni sholi ekpedefsi?* [in Greek] [Is it a Right or an Obligation the 9 year Compulsory Education?]. Athens: Gutenberg.


Unpublished references
Archanes High School and Lyceum: School Archives, 1990-2000
Anogia High School and Lyceum: School Archives, 1980-2000
Appendix 1

Semi-structured interviews with young people of the community

A. Facts regarding family
   • Family’s members
   • Ages
   • Jobs
   • Place of residence

B. School life
   • Tell me about school

B.1. If he/she has quit school:
   • When he/she decided to quit school
   • The reasons for that choice
   • The family’s opinion regarding this choice
   • What he/she has done since then

B.2. If he/she has graduated school
   • Why he/she decided to graduate school
   • The aims he/she put, what he/she aspired to.
   • The family’s opinion as regards the aims he/she put
   • What did he/she do since then

B.3. If he/she continues studies
   • When did he/she decided that he/she want to do further studies
   • Why? What aims did he/she had
   • Why did he/she choose the specific study field
   • The family’s opinion regarding this

To sum up,
   • The personal aims (for graduating school or not) was… and sought after to fulfill them by...
   • How important was the family’s opinion as regards the aims that he/she had posed
   • The family’s expectations as regards the school and the future aims for “professional rehabilitation”
C. **Professional section.**
   - His/her professional status today

C.1. **If he/she is unemployed**
   - Is it his/her choice? Why
   - If he/she intends to search for a job
   - What would he/she like to do
   - If this is possible or not. Why
   - If he/she thinks of leaving the village to find a job
   - If not, which factors prevent him/her
   - The family’s opinion as regards the situation of unemployment

C.2. **If he/she is working**
   - How did he/she choose the job
   - Which factors played a part in the choice of the job
   - How did he/she find the job
   - The professional perspectives
   - The main problems he/she face with the job
   - Degree of satisfaction
   - The family’s opinion as regards the work position

C.3. **If he/she studies now**
   - What does it mean for him/her
   - How satisfied he/she is form the studies and the profession these studies leads to
   - In what place he/she will practice the job
   - The family’s opinion as regards his/her studies

C.4. **If he/she intends to do further studies**
   - How important is this for him/her
   - What he/she would like to study and why
   - Professional perspectives
   - The family’s opinion as regards his/her further studies

To sum up
   - With whom he/she discuss/ed his/her professional plans
   - Which factors play/ed a part in the choice of profession/job
   - To which degree the family has affected his/her choice
   - Which aims have been satisfied so far
   - The main future aims regarding occupation
   - How they will be satisfied
• The most important needs he/she satisfies / is going to satisfy from his/her job.

D. Work opportunities in the village
• What work opportunities and perspectives exists for a young person in the village today
• How satisfied are these perspectives for the interviewee
• What work opportunities he/she would like to find in the village
• What he/she thinks as regards work perspectives away from the village
• If he/she would like to leave the village in order to get a job. Yes / No, why
• Which is his/her opinion regarding the “traditional jobs” (Cattle-raising-farming)
• Which is his/her opinion for the jobs developed due to tourism

E. The social setting
• Description of the social life at the village
• Description of his/her everyday life in the village/city
• What he/she likes about living in the village
• What he/she dislikes about living in the village
• Implementation of social and personal life in the village
• Social and family conditioning. How he/she deals with this
• Acceptance of community and family moral codes
• How he/she spends the free time
• Connections with urban centers
• What they think are, the advantages and disadvantages of living in an urban center
• What are the main problems young people face in the village today
• His/her main problems
• How he/she thinks these problems can be solved
• Who can do something about them

• How he/she imagines him/herself after 2-3 years
Appendix 2: Presentation of interviewees

Basic demographic/background elements are indicated here. The interviewees’ original names are not mentioned, so as to protect their anonymity. The interviewees are presented in order of age.

A) Sample from Anogia

1. Dimitris, male, 17 years old, herdsman, single.
   Education level: Graduate of the 2nd class of gymnasium (junior high school). He did not complete compulsory education. He did not want to go to school.
   Description of his family: Dimitris is the only male in his family. His father is a herdsman raising his own cattle. His mother is a householder. His two sisters are older than he is. They have both graduated lyceum (senior high school). One of them has already graduated a public Institute for Professional Training (I.P.T), the computer department and is working as a secretary in Heraklion. The other is now studying at the same school in Heraklion. Neither is married.

2. Nicos, male, 17 years old, pupil, single. In his free time he helps with the family farming, single.
   Education level: Pupil at the 3rd class of lyceum. He strongly wants to pursue academic studies.
   Description of his family: Nicos is the eldest of seven siblings. His father is a priest and he also runs some farming property. His mother works on the administrative staff at the health center. Both his parents have graduated lyceum.

3. Efsevia, female, 17 years old, pupil, single.
   Education level: Pupil at the 3rd class of lyceum. She wants to attend farther studies.
   Description of her family: Efsevia is the youngest member in her family. Her father is a herdsman and together with her three brothers (27, 26, 24 years old) they raise cattle. Her mother is a householder. She also has two sisters 23, 22 years old. One has married a herdsman in another village and the other lives in Anogia, and is unemployed. Efsevia will be the first person in her family to graduate lyceum. Four of her siblings have graduated elementary school and one gymnasium.
4. Valia, female, 17 years old, pupil, single.

*Education level:* Pupil at the 3rd class of lyceum. She will pursue academic studies.

*Description of her family:* Valia is the youngest member in her family. Her father owns a “cafenion” and he is also a tailor. Her mother is a householder. Both her siblings have graduated lyceum. Her sister is 19 years old and she attends the department of Agriculture studies at the Technological Education Institute (T.E.I.) in Heraklion. Her brother is 18 years old and he works at a small industry in Heraklion. They both live together. Her sister spends her vacation in Heraklion taking care of her brother. They visit Anogia every weekend.

5. Maria, female, 19 years old, student, single.

*Education level:* Graduate of lyceum. Student at the department of Agriculture studies at the Technological Education Institute (T.E.I.) in Heraklion.

*Description of her family:* Maria is Valia’s sister.

6. Marina, female, 19 years old, single.

*Education level:* Graduate of lyceum. She failed twice in entering university or TEI. Now she has applied to a public Institute for Professional Training (I.P.T.) in Heraklion and Thessaloniki.

*Description of her family:* Marina has four siblings. Her father is a herdsman and her mother is a householder. Her two older sisters are students at the University of Crete and Thessaloniki. Her younger sister is a pupil at lyceum. On graduating from gymnasium, her brother followed in his father’s footsteps and became a herdsman.

7. Vassilis, male, 20 years old, student, waiter and he also helps in cattle raising, single.

*Education level:* Graduate of lyceum. Student at an IPT (technician for refrigerating equipment).

*Description of his family:* Vassilis has three sisters. His father is a herdsman and his mother is a householder. His older sister, after graduation from gymnasium got married at 16, she has now three children and lives in Anogia. Both his two other sisters have graduated lyceum. One of them has also graduated from a public IPT and works in Athens as a baby nurse and the other is now a student at a public IPT in Heraklion. They are not married.
8. Babis, male, 20 years old, herdsman at the moment, singe.

*Education level:* Graduate of lyceum.

*Occupation:* He has been working as a herdsman for one year. Now he will do his military service and then he will search for a job in Heraklion.

*Description of his family:* Babis is the youngest member in the family. He has three brothers. His father is a herdsman and his mother a householder. All his brothers have graduated gymnasium and they all became herdsmen. They are single and live in Anogia.

9. Costas, male, 20 years old, unemployed, singe.

*Education level:* Graduate of lyceum. He has applied at a public I.P.T. and at the schools for vocational training of the National Work-Force Organization to study and become a technician.

*Occupation:* He has been working with his father for one year in farming as well as a small “cafenion” they own. He characterizes himself unemployed.

*Description of his family:* Costas has three older siblings. His father is a farmer and owner of a small “cafenion”. His mother is a householder. His older sister has graduated gymnasium, got married and lives in Anogia. The two other siblings have graduate lyceum. His brother works in the labor market in Heraklion and her sister is a student at a public I.P.T. in Heraklion too.

10. Maria, female, 21 years old, unemployed, single.

*Education level:* Graduate of gymnasium.

*Description of her family:* Maria is the youngest member of her family. Her father is a retired builder and farmer and her mother is a weaver. Maria has three siblings 33, 31 and 28 years old each. They have all graduated lyceum and they are all unmarried. Her older sister is unemployed and her brother is a builder. Her other sister has graduate a public I.P.T. and she is now working in Athens as an assistant in a microbiology laboratory.

11. Rena, female, 22 years old, unemployed, she provides help to her family in the winter quarters, single.

*Education level:* Graduate of gymnasium.

*Description of her family:* Renas’ father is a herdsman and her mother is a cleaner at a public organization. She has three siblings. Her older brother, 25 years old is a herdsman as well as a musician. Her 16-year-old brother is a pupil at gymnasium, and her younger sister who is 15 years old, has been helping at home ever since she graduated from elementary school.
12. Agapi, female, 23 years old, journalist, single, she now lives in Heraklion.

*Education level:* Graduate of lyceum. Graduate of a private I.P.T., the journalism department.

*Description of her family:* Her parents are farmers. She has two siblings. Her older sister has graduated from university, the Philosophy department and she got married in Carditsa, a city in the mainland. Her younger brother, graduated lyceum, and is unemployed in Anogia.

13. Rena, female, 24 years old, unemployed, single.

*Education level:* Graduate of gymnasium.

*Description of her family:* Her father is a herdsman and her mother is a householder. She has three older siblings. Her two brothers are herdsmen and her sister is married and is a householder, in a nearby village.

14. Eleni, female, 25 years old, sociologists, she runs her parents’ supermarket, single.

*Education level:* Graduate of the university (the Sociology department).

*Description of her family:* Eleni has four siblings. Her father is a retired trader and her mother is a householder. All her siblings have graduated lyceum and have pursued further studies. Her older sister is a graduate of the Philosophy department of the university, got married and lives in Anogia but is unemployed. Her brother has graduated the Accounting department of the university and works in a bank in Heraklion. Her younger sister is studying now at the school of Agronomy at the Technological Educational Institute of Heraklion and her younger brother is studying at the Computer’ department at the University in Athens.

15. Litsa, female, 25 years old, unemployed, householder, married.

*Education level:* Graduate of gymnasium. She attended a school for vocational training, the hairdresser department in Heraklion.

*Description of her family:* Litsas’ husband is a herdsman. She has two small children. They live in the same house with her parents and her younger sister. Her father is a builder and her mother is a cleaner at a public organization. Her sister is a graduate of gymnasium and is unemployed.

B) Sample from Archanes

1. Emmanouella, Female, 17 years old, pupil, in her free time she helps with the family farming, single.
**Education level:** Pupil in the 3rd grade of lyceum. She wants to pursue academic studies in the field of economics.

**Description of her family:** Emmanouella has a younger brother, 13 years old who attends the 2nd grade of gymnasium. Her father, 53 years old, is a farmer. He cultivates olive trees and grapes. His property is characterized as small. Her mother, 40 years old, is a housekeeper, and occasionally she helps with the farming.

2. Dimitris, male, 17 years old, pupil, he helps with the family business and with farming, single.

**Education level:** Pupil in the 3rd grade of lyceum. He strongly wants to pursue academic studies. He is not sure yet if he wants to study biology or medicine.

**Description of his family:** Dimitris has an elder brother 21 years old who studies civil engineering at the TEI of Athens. His family own farming property, grapes and olive trees, and at the same time they run a café-restaurant in the village. Both his parents have graduated from lyceum. His father is 45 years old and his mother 44.

3. Nikos, male, 18 years old, pupil, he helps his family in farming during the harvest periods, single.

**Education level:** Pupil in the 3rd grade of lyceum. He will attend academic studies.

**Description of his family:** Nikos has a younger sister, 13 years old, who attends the 3rd grade of gymnasium. Both his parents are dentists and have their own practices, his father in a nearby village and his mother in Arhanes. His father originates from Cyprus. Apart from their main job, both his parents and his grandparents are involved in farming, cultivating grapes and olive trees.

4. Dimitra, female, 18 years old, pupil, single.

**Education level:** Pupil in the 3rd grade of lyceum. She wants to pursue academic studies in the field of economics.

**Description of her family:** Dimitra has two sisters. The elder is 20 years old. She studies biology at the university while she has a part-time job in Heraklion and the younger one is 17 years old, a pupil in the 2nd grade of lyceum. Her parents own a bus and also have farming property. Her father is about 50 years old. Her mother, 42 years old is a housekeeper and at the same time she helps with farming.
5. Maria, female, 18 years old, pupil, single.

*Place of residence:* Arhanes

*Education level:* Pupil at the 3rd class of lyceum. She strongly wants to pursue academic studies in drama and do postgraduate studies at the same field.

*Description of her family:* Maria has an elder brother, 25 years old, who has graduated lyceum. Her father, 50 years old, although he is a political engineer, he occupy himself in winery. Together with Maria's brother they have set up a small enterprise. On their land, they organically cultivate grapes, produce their own wine, which is bottled and exported in the USA and Paris. Her mother, 42 years old, is a public servant.

6. Michalis, male, 19 years old, student, at times he works in the farming sector, at cafés and in construction, single.

*Education level:* He is student at the TEI of Crete.

*Description of his/her family:* Michalis has two younger sisters, 16 and 14 years old, both pupils at the lyceum and gymnasium respectively. His father, 51 years old works in construction and his mother 41 years old is a kindergarten teacher. The family owns a small farming property.

7. Chrissoula, female, 20 years old, student, at times she works at cafés, she helps with the farming, single.

*Education level:* Student at the University of Crete, the Biology department

*Description of her family:* Chrissoula has two younger sisters both pupils in the 3rd and 2nd grade of lyceum. They both want to pursue academic studies. Her parents own a bus and also have farming property. Her father is about 50 years old. Her mother, 42 years old, is a housekeeper and at the same time she helps with farming.

8. Irini, Female, 21 years old, Local Authorities’ servant under a 24-month contract, single.

*Education level:* She attended the lyceum up to the 2nd grade, but then she quit it to study physiotherapist’s assistant at the Technical Professional Education (TPE). She has the 1st certificate in English language, the ‘Kleines Sprach Diplom’ in German language and she attends a private school in order to get the ‘Grosses Sprach Diplom’. She wants to be a German language teacher.

*Description of her family:* Irini has younger a brother, 19 years old. After he completed gymnasium, he attended the technical school of the National Workforce Organization (OAED) and he became a plumber. He works on his own in the village. Her father works as a driver for the Local Authorities
and her mother is a housekeeper, while she does wage work from time to time. They own a small farming property. Her father originates from Athens, and her family settled in Arhanes when Irini was 5 years old.


*Education level:* She completed lyceum and then she continued at the Technical Professional School (TPE), in the agriculture department. After that, she attended a two years public School for Training in Tourist Services.

*Description of her family:* Evagelia has two sisters. The eldest one has graduated from lyceum as well as the School of Business Administration of TEI of Crete. She is now working for a private business in the city of Heraklion. Her younger sister completed gymnasium and then she continued at the Technical Professional School (TPE), in the Microbiology department. She has no job. Her father, 51 years old, is a farmer. Her mother was a housekeeper and used to help with the family farming. They own a good farming property of grapes and olive trees and they run small haberdashery.

10. Dimitris, male, 21 years old, farmer, single.

*Education level:* He quit high school after completing the 1st grade.

*Description of his family:* Dimitris has an elder sister who graduated from lyceum and then attended a private school for computers (Free Education Centers - CFS). She is now working in a private sector in the city of Heraklion, and since she is engaged, she lives in a nearby small village, from which her fiancé originates. Both his parents are farmers. They own a good farming property of grapes and olive trees.

11. Maria, female, 22 years old, clerk at farming co-operation of Arhanes under an 18-month contract, engaged.

*Education level:* She has graduates lyceum. After falling to enter to a university school, she attended the 2 years Institute of Professional Training (IPT) of the National Workforce Organization (OAED) to become an accountant assistant. She also has the 1st certificate in English language.

*Description of her family:* Maria has a younger brother who is 20 years old. Her brother followed the same route as Maria did. He is now doing his practice at a local bank. Her fiancé works for a construction company in the city of Heraklion. Her father is deceased. He was a farmer, and her mother, 37 years old is a farmer too. The family owns grapes and olive trees. Maria helps with the family farming on a regular basis.
12. Nicos, male, 24 years old, farmer and electrician too, single.

*Education level:* He completed the gymnasium.

*Description of his/her family:* Nicos has an elder brother who is now doing his military service. He completed lyceum and he attended the Marketing School of TEI of Athens. His father is a farmer and his mother, a housekeeper, helps with the farming. They own a good property of grapes and olive trees.

13. Constadinos, male, 24 years old, driver and a farmer too, engaged.

*Education level:* He completed lyceum.

*Description of his family:* Constadinos has an elder sister, 26 years old, who is married and has a small child. She completed lyceum and she attended a 2-year private school (CFS). She does not work. His father was a driver and his mother, 46 years old, is a housekeeper and farmer too. They own grapes and olive trees.


*Education level:* Aggela has graduated from lyceum. Then she attended the public IPT, the school of computers. She now attends a private school for English language learning.

*Description of his/her family:* Aggela has a younger sister who, after graduating from lyceum is attending the public TPE and in the meantime works at a small private business in the village. Her father, 50 years old, is a farmer and her mother, 42 years old, has a part time job at a small business in the village. The whole family seasonally helps with farming.
Appendix 3: A pedagogic example

Grounded Theory is a scientific methodological approach in qualitative research aiming at building theory out of data elaboration, by using a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon (see more in Chapter 5). In the present study, I tried to ensure that emerging concepts were grounded in data and did not were simply the result of preconceived ideas. My data was analysis inductively and all the phenomena were derived from the three different analytic steps, the open, the axial and the selective coding process. Nowadays this position has been softened, and at least theoretical pre-understanding (from scientific literature) is often mentioned as an advantage in Grounded Theory (Dahlgren et al. 2004). From this perspective, an additional dimension in discovering the core category derived from my data could be added. In the following table I will illustrate a pedagogic example that includes a part form the inductive approach, an abductive approach as well. The data used is from the main category Attitude towards school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discover from the interviews</th>
<th>A few codes derived from the axial coding analysis</th>
<th>Theoretical pre-understanding</th>
<th>The construction of the core category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stayers</td>
<td>Reasons that led me to my quitting gymnasium or lyceum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I couldn’t wait for the school bell to ring so that I could go to our vineyard where my father was and avoid having to sit down and study&quot;</td>
<td>After I start Lyceum I quit reading, so I was not a good pupil</td>
<td>Tsoukalas (1992) develops the view that rural masses that leave the land and turn from physical work to a social category which requires at least a minimum of education, found at school the technical prepara-</td>
<td>The transition from school to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I didn’t find school interested, I</td>
<td></td>
<td>The term “transition” from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"My father kept telling me to go back to school, that there was no future in the vineyards, that I would have a hard life, that my earnings would be meager, that school or learning a craft was a far better choice... but I didn’t compromise, I wanted to become a farmer”.

"My parents wanted the best for me, they wanted me to go to university and when I failed the entrance exams, they offered to send me abroad for studies, they didn’t want me to go into farming”.

Girls

“It would have been better if I had not dropped out of techni-

cal school, I had many things that I liked to do

If one would like to enter the University has to work relay hard, and I didn't want to do that

I did not like school
I was not good pupil
I did not like studying
I preferred to work on with farming

Reasons that led me to my finishing lyceum

I undertake our property after my fathers death

I wanted to graduate Lyceum since I was a child
I wanted to do academic studies

Education tools for such a new classification (see more in chapter 3, 3.5.1).

Education seems to play a catalytic role in the course of the journey that stars with school and ends to the job market. Existing data (Eurostat, 2004) indicates that populations with a higher level of education are more easily integrated into the formal job market (see more in chapter 2, 2.1)

According to Walter (2006), the transition from youth to adulthood and especially from school to the job market constitutes a critical period for young people. Giddens (1997) education/initial training to employment refers to the period during which young people move from a state whose main activity is school attendance (general education or vocational training) to a state where work is dominant (OECD1998:8).

The passage from school to work, as every other passage, may “entail movement into a different part of a social structure; or loss or gain of privilege, influence, or power, and a changed identity and a sense of self, as well as changed behavior” (Glaser & Strauss, 2010:2).

According to the “status passage” theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2010), status is regarded as a
cal school”. I was very frivolous. I have no chances of getting a job without the lyceum diploma”.

**Ambivalent Boys**

"When I failed my exams I didn't have the stamina to try again. I opted for the easy solution of enrolling at a career training institute because of course, I had to do something"

**Girls**

"I had decided that I wouldn't continue my studies at lyceum, I didn't want to study very much, and enrolled at a technical lyceum so that I could learn more about agriculturalism"

I wanted to do academic studies although I failed

Knowledge is indispensable and valuable

Academic studies was the only outlet for me

Academic studies are was a means for getting a job

I just wanted to have the Lyceum diploma

considers this to be a specific stage in personal development in the modern world, and that the importance of this ‘moratorium’ is likely to grow due to the extended period of education which many young people now undergo. Additionally, Walther (2002) claims, that youth transition is also de-standardized. This long period between youth and adulthood is characterized as a “yo-yo” transition. It is argued that this phenomenon is either a personal choice or derives from limitations or opportunities imposed by social background, education, gender, region or ethnicity (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997). We may conclude that the process of the young person's restig place for individuals while, the transitional phase is a period of constant movement over time and keeps a person in passage between two statuses for a period of time, depending on how scheduled or unscheduled this passage is for each individual.
"I stopped studying the moment I entered lyceum. I just didn’t find it interesting. So, I dropped out and enrolled at a technical lyceum to get a diploma. I like reading, but not for school".

Leavers
Boys

“My parents are educated people; they do not own a cattle. Studies are my outlet. I could not imagine myself doing anything else but to study at the university”

“My parents are both dentists and I want to become a dentist too”.

According to Herbert (1999: 157), the basic process involved in choosing one’s occupation has to do with the development and conscious awareness of a professional-
Girls
"Ever since I was a little girl my aim was to complete my schooling and go to university. It never even crossed my mind to think otherwise", "I've always wanted to finish school and go to university, there's no doubt about it", "I'm tired of school and studying, but I want to go to university... it's also what my family hopes for. After all, if a girl doesn't further her studies, she's left with very few options... not like boys who can work in farming or learn a skill if they choose not to further their studies. If a girl chooses not to study, the best thing that can happen to her is that she will be confined to her house.

self image that coincides with the other “images of self” that individuals create for themselves (see more in chapter 2, 2.3)

Kassimati’s (1991) Model of Occupational Choice process, who states that the level of one’s education is directly related to career choices (see more in chapters 2, 2.3 and 3, 3.5.1).
“I will be the only child in the family to graduate from lycée. “They wanted me to have a better life although it meant being away from them”.

“My father has always liked education. They let me continue my studies because they trust that my behavior away from the village will be the proper one”.

“My parents consider studies to be the only outlet for a girl”.

"My parents considered it a given that I would study. They would tell me, OK do what you want in Theatre but see that
you get a diploma that will ensure a steady job for you... now I’ve convinced them that the Theatre is what I want”.

"My parents really want me to study something that I feel will offer me a comfortable life without the problems that they themselves have had to face".

"My parents know that life today is very demanding and that one must be well equipped to deal with it... since we were little girls they’ve urged us to be good students and one day go to university because a diploma ensures security for the future..."