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Women's Work as a Cultural Representation: Gendered Constructions in 20th-Century Greek Song Lyrics

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the representation of female identity and its relationship to the concept of work in twentieth-century Greek popular song from a media and communication studies perspective. Although structural and legal advancements throughout the twentieth century gradually redefined women's position in Greek society, popular culture often served as a site of ideological negotiation and resistance. Using a mixed-method research design, this study combines quantitative content analysis to map diachronic thematic shifts and qualitative semiotic analysis to decode deeper ideological structures within the lyrical texts across three distinct historical periods (1900–1939, 1940–1969, and 1970–1999). The analysis conceptualises work through an intersectional feminist lens, examining both institutionalised professional employment in the public sphere and unpaid domestic or care-related reproductive labour in the private domain as interconnected facets of women's socio-economic activity. The findings reveal a persistent cultural lag within mass media discourse: despite women's increasing entry into formal occupational employment, popular lyricism consistently marginalised institutionalised female labour. Instead, the lyrical archive continually reframed female identity through emotional, relational, and domestic roles, thereby naturalising a gendered division of labour and reinforcing traditional patriarchal structures under changing historical guises. Ultimately, this research offers new critical insights into how popular music functions as a powerful cultural apparatus, illuminating the enduring tension between progressive social transformations and deeply entrenched media narratives of gender and labour.

Keywords: Mass Communication; Cultural Studies; Gender Representations; Greek Popular Song; Professional Work; Domestic Labor

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1. Introduction: Theoretical and Historical Context

Songs are an integral part of everyday life; they are listened to, performed, and often reproduced almost automatically in daily routines. Yet their reception often remains superficial, with little systematic engagement with the deeper meanings they convey. This occurs across musical genres, from traditional and folk to popular and rock, indicating that such representational patterns are not limited to particular stylistic forms but extend throughout the broader field of musical production. In this sense, songs function not merely as entertainment but as cultural texts that actively contribute to the reproduction and normalisation of gendered hierarchies in everyday culture, sustaining and legitimising specific ideological formations^[1-3].

Through lyrics and music, new generations encounter gender stereotypes and prejudices, which they either reproduce or challenge, thereby contributing, under specific social and cultural conditions, to their reshaping. To explore these dynamics, this study examines the social and historical development of 20th-century Greek popular music, focusing on song lyrics and their aesthetic, cultural, and ideological dimensions as a communicative medium in the construction of Greek women's identity.

Conversely, song can act as a catalyst for dynamic transformations in the cultural life of a society, challenging established perceptions and conservative gender norms perpetuated within the patriarchal structure. From this perspective, its potential as a political and pedagogical tool is evident, contributing to the reshaping of culture by introducing more equal representations of women and promoting balanced relations between the sexes^[4,5].

The very nature of song as entertainment makes it widely accessible, while it can also serve as a channel for developing critical consciousness and educating the public. Through lyrics and music, new generations encounter gender stereotypes and prejudices, which they either reproduce or challenge, thereby contributing, under specific social and cultural conditions, to their redefinition.

1.1. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical approach to the relationship between music, society, and identity is grounded in classic contribu-

tions from Theodor W. Adorno, Jacques Attali, Pierre Bourdieu, and Simon Frith, whose works demonstrate that music is not merely a reflection of social reality but an active mechanism in its construction. Adorno^[6] linked music to power structures and the logic of capitalist production; Attali^[7] interpreted it as a field for anticipating social and economic transformations; Bourdieu^[8] included it in the processes of producing and reproducing social discrimination through cultural capital; while Frith^[9] emphasised its role in the formation of identities and social meanings. Leonard B. Meyer^[10] examined the relationship between music, aesthetic values, and cultural meanings, highlighting its role in shaping perceptions and socially determined forms of understanding reality. From a socio-cultural and behavioural perspective, literature has long examined how the musical medium structures social behaviour and collective imagination, highlighting its function as a vehicle for psychological internalisation and social learning^[11,12]. In parallel, mass communication theory, exemplified by Marshall McLuhan's^[13] foundational premise that the medium inherently shapes human association, as well as Stuart Hall's structural models, extends this dynamic by exploring how media products systematically disseminate these structures to the wider public^[14]. From another perspective, music is considered a means of political communication and mobilisation, illustrating how it contributes to the formation of collective action, social movements, and political strategies^[15-18].

Building on these foundational approaches, contemporary sociology of music emphasises the dynamic and mediating nature of these processes. As Hennion^[19] points out, music functions as a mediator that actively produces and reproduces social relations and cultural meanings, rather than being a static aesthetic object. This mediating capacity is crucial for understanding how musical texts encode and normalise specific social roles. This perspective aligns with Hesmondhalgh's^[20] assertion that music holds profound significance in everyday life precisely because it connects directly with human values, emotions, and social identities, thereby offering a privileged vantage point for examining broader social transitions. Furthermore, MacDonald^[21] highlights the multifaceted social functions of music, particularly its role in communication, identity construction, and the maintenance of social networks—elements vividly reflected in how popular culture defines social contribution. This

structural mechanism directly influences how audiences perceive and interpret social dynamics; as Kuch and Wöllner^[22] have recently demonstrated, music and its accompanying content possess the power to alter and shape evaluations of social situations and the perceived characteristics of specific groups.

To establish the analytical scope of this study, it is essential to define and deconstruct the concept of “work” as operationalised in our communication analysis. Drawing on feminist media critique and socio-cultural theory, this study does not treat labour as a monolithic category. Instead, it maintains a clear conceptual distinction between institutionalised, professional work, formally recognised public sphere, occupational employment, and domestic, or care-related activities, which constitute localised, reproductive, and often unpaid labour within the private sphere. By contextualising “work” through this dual framework at the outset, the study examines how popular cultural texts represent these distinct domains. It investigates whether lyrical narratives acknowledge women’s transition into institutionalised employment or continue to reframe female activity through the lens of domesticity and emotional care, thereby reinforcing a gendered division of labour.

The investigation of the relationship between music, gender, and identity is grounded in a strong theoretical background from cultural, media and musicological studies, where music is understood as a field for the representation, production, and negotiation of social meanings and gender identities. Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie^[23] highlighted the close connection between musical culture, sexuality, and the construction of gendered behaviours, particularly within youth culture, where music serves as a means of learning and performing social roles. Accordingly, Susan McClary^[24] demonstrated that musical structures themselves incorporate gendered and sexual meanings, challenging the notion of “neutral” music and emphasising music as a vehicle for ideology. Sheila Whiteley^[25] focused on representations of women in pop music and how these contribute to the construction of identities and the challenge or reproduction of stereotypes, while Mavis Bayton^[26] analysed the social structures and constraints shaping women’s participation in music production, revealing gendered mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. Lisa A. Lewis^[27] and Andrew Goodwin^[28] also examined the role of music media, especially music

videos, as sites for the construction and reproduction of gendered norms, while Tia DeNora^[29] highlighted music as an everyday practice through which individuals actively construct their identities. Researchers such as Nicola Dibben^[30], Lesley-Anne Ey^[31], Karen Jones et al.^[32], Jane Gow^[33], and Sara Cohen^[34] examine how music and musical media contribute to the formation of gender identity and sexuality, as well as to the reproduction or challenge of gender roles and stereotypes.

In communication and cultural studies, emphasis is placed not only on music as a site of identity construction, but also on how representation operates through musical texts to organise and stabilise meaning^[14]. From this perspective, songs are understood as discursive formations in which gender is both expressed and symbolically structured and regulated. Related work in musicology and the sociology of music has shown that these representations are embedded in historically specific conventions that shape the articulation of gendered subjectivities^[35,36]. Drawing on Judith Butler’s^[37] notion of performativity, gender in music can therefore be approached as an effect of repeated representational practices rather than a pre-existing essence. Within this framework, representations of the working woman in 20th-century Greek songs are analysed not as passive reflections of social reality, but as structured and historically situated discourses that participate in the production and normalisation of gendered meanings. In communication studies, this mechanism aligns with framing theory and cultivation analysis, where mass-mediated cultural products systematically construct social reality for the audience by reinforcing long-term representational patterns^[38].

To address the ongoing negotiation between institutional developments and entrenched social norms, this study adopts a specific analytical focus on cultural texts. While previous scholarship acknowledges the historical evolution of women’s position, the precise mechanisms by which popular culture encodes and regulates these transitions require systematic investigation. The central research question of this study is therefore: How does 20th-century Greek song lyricism construct, normalise, and transform representations of female identity in relation to work across different historical periods?

Guided by this question, the initial assumption is that, despite legislative and institutional changes achieved

throughout the century, popular music exhibits a significant cultural lag, continually confining female identity to emotional and relational spheres. It is hypothesised that women's work, even when historically expanding in reality, undergoes symbolic marginalisation or exclusion within lyrical discourse, reinforcing traditional gender hierarchies under various ideological forms.

To test this hypothesis, a mixed-method approach is justified and applied. Quantitative content analysis provides an objective, replicable mapping of dominant motifs and role frequencies across a broad sample of 264 songs (as detailed in **Appendix A**), offering the statistical foundation necessary to capture diachronic shifts. Concurrently, qualitative semiotic analysis, grounded in Roland Barthes's^[39] framework of denotation, connotation, and myth, is employed to uncover the deeper ideological structures and discursive nuances within specific case studies that numerical data alone cannot fully interpret.

Situated within media and communication studies, this study is based on the premise that cultural texts do not merely reflect social realities but actively contribute to the symbolic construction of gender roles. Rather than treating this dynamic as a testable outcome of empirical data, it serves as the theoretical framework guiding this inquiry. Adopting a cultural studies perspective, the empirical analysis maps and interprets shifts in lyrical content as a form of mass media discourse, examining how these texts categorise and systematically frame female identity and work throughout the twentieth century. The emphasis is therefore primarily communicative and socio-cultural rather than strictly musiological, treating popular song as a powerful vehicle for mass communication and ideological dissemination.

The study is structured as follows. After this introduction and the analysis of the theoretical framework, Section 2 presents the research material, sampling procedures, and coding categories used for the text-centred content analysis. Section 3 outlines the empirical analysis, including both a quantitative and semiotic mapping of the lyrical content, together with quantitative summary data. Section 4 provides the broader discussion, structured as a comparative analysis of the three diachronic case studies and an exploration of the role of musical genre in communicative framing. Finally, Section 5 summarises the conclusions, highlighting the long-term implications of cultural production for the naturalisation

of gender roles.

Consequently, from a media studies perspective, popular song is analysed here not only as an aesthetic form but also as a mass communication medium that actively participates in ideological negotiation. While society establishes new structural frameworks, popular song often serves as a conservative counterweight or as a space where social anxieties about change are managed. This dynamic highlights the need to examine how specific social shifts, such as the entry of women into the institutional sphere, are processed and contested within popular musical texts.

To avoid the analytical pitfall of treating "Greek song" as a monolithic or unified cultural category, this study adopts a communication-centred framework. Popular music is regarded not merely as a passive reflection of reality, but as a dynamic discursive medium and a site of symbolic negotiation. Throughout the twentieth century, the domestic musical landscape functioned as a fragmented communicative field in which different genres (from early rebetiko to post-war *laiko* and contemporary pop) developed distinct framing strategies to encode identity. Consequently, female representation and labour are examined as shifting messages within a broader cultural dialogue, rather than as static representations.

1.2. Historical Context

1.2.1. The Social and Political Position of Women in Greece during the 20th Century: Institutional Changes, Work, and Cultural Contradictions

The position of women in Greece during the 20th century was characterised by a long and contradictory process of transition from institutional and social exclusion to gradual integration into the public sphere, without, however, the complete abolition of patriarchal structures. As historical research demonstrates, this trajectory was not a simple narrative of progress but a process of continuous negotiation between institutional achievements and restrictions imposed by the patriarchal environment of Greek society^[40,41].

During the 19th century and the early 20th century, women occupied an inferior position both legally and socially, with limited access to education, employment, and public life. However, from the mid-19th century onwards, the first forms of women's resistance emerged, mainly through demands for education and participation in public discourse. A central fig-

ure in these early struggles was Kallirroï Parren (1861–1940), a pioneering journalist and feminist whose founding of the *Women's Journal* (*Ephimeris ton Kyriou*, 1887) formed an initial nucleus of feminist advocacy in Greece, raising issues of education, employment, and political rights within the framework of socially accepted roles^[42]. Simultaneously, the presence of pioneering educated women indicates the gradual, though limited, entry of women into higher education and the professional sphere during the late 19th and early 20th centuries^[40,43]. This historical trajectory demonstrates that early emancipation efforts were constantly negotiating with structural restrictions that were institutionally and professionally entrenched^[41].

The period up to 1940 can be seen as a phase of intense structural restrictions on the position of women, rather than a period of emancipation^[44]. In employment, women's participation was extensive but systematically undervalued and invisible. Women were mainly employed in agriculture, handicrafts, cottage industries, and low-paid services, while their work was often incorporated into the family context without pay or with only symbolic reward^[40]. Domestic work, although essential for the reproduction of the workforce, remained economically unrecognised. At the same time, women's limited access to prestigious professions and their concentration in "feminised" sectors constituted a key mechanism in the gender hierarchy of work. In the 1940s, Greek women experienced multiple forms of exclusion. They were deprived of basic political rights, while their access to property, higher education, and positions of responsibility remained limited. Their primary social role was located in the private sphere, namely the care of the household, the upbringing of children, and the support of men's work. Even when they participated in production, their work was typically invisible, low-paid, or precarious, which was a structural feature of women's employment^[40,41].

The exclusion of women also extended to public administration and prestigious professions. Until the mid-20th century, and to a significant extent beyond, women remained largely excluded from a wide range of state functions and high-prestige professional careers, demonstrating that inequality was institutionally and professionally entrenched^[45].

In 1952, the right to vote and to stand for election at the national level was guaranteed, while the election of Eleni

Skoura in 1953 marked a symbolic milestone in the political integration of women^[46]. However, these developments did not immediately lead to broader professional or institutional equality. This change formed part of a wider international framework of post-war reorganisation, as reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the actions of international organisations such as the International Labour Organization, and was also linked to pressure from the domestic women's movement. In education, the reforms of the post-war period were contradictory. Although literacy rates increased and women's access to secondary education expanded, gender divisions persisted in subjects and professional prospects. The emergence of new professional categories, such as female secretaries, marked the gradual but controlled integration of women into the labour market.

The political instability of the 1960s and the period of dictatorship (1967–1974) again limited women's political action. After the Transition, however, a new phase of empowerment emerged. The 1975 Constitution of Greece explicitly enshrined the principle of gender equality and equal pay for work of equal value, setting the institutional framework for subsequent reforms^[45]. The period 1981–1986 marks a turning point, as extensive legislative interventions abolished fundamental discrimination, established equality in marriage, and strengthened the protection of working women. Concurrently, institutional mechanisms were established, such as the General Secretariat for Gender Equality and the Centre for Research on Equality Issues^[45]. However, despite institutional progress, inequalities persist. Women remain concentrated in lower-paid positions, face higher unemployment rates, and experience wage discrimination, while the family continues to function as a key mechanism for reproducing inequality^[45]. Overall, the experience of Greek women in the 20th century reflects a persistent tension between institutional change and cultural continuity, as the legal establishment of equality does not automatically translate into its social realisation; this gap is reproduced and normalised through cultural forms.

This finding is particularly important at the level of cultural production. Greek song of the 20th century does not simply reflect social reality but serves as a field of symbolic construction and normalisation of gender roles. The representation of the working woman is constituted through repeated narrative and linguistic practices, which do not merely reflect

the social position of women but actively contribute to its formation.

In this sense, cultural representations can be understood as performative constructions of gender, as described by Judith Butler^[37], and as discourses embedded within broader regimes of truth and power, as analysed by Michel Foucault^[47]. Song, therefore, does not merely represent the working woman but actively participates in shaping what “women’s work,” “femininity,” and “gender social roles” signify within specific historical contexts. This perspective aligns with critical scholarship in popular music and gender studies, which emphasises that song is a uniquely powerful vehicle for the naturalisation of ideology. Scholars such as Frith^[48] and Whiteley^[25] argue that popular music is analytically significant because it functions as a primary cultural site where everyday gender identities are articulated, performed, and made recognisable to the public. In popular culture, lyrics do not operate as isolated literary elements; rather, as McClary^[24] and Citron^[35] observe in broader feminist critiques, the musical medium provides the structural and emotional framework that reinforces or subverts cultural narratives. By analysing the lyrical text as a coded communicative message within this mass cultural form, we can examine how dominant gender discourses regarding female labour become familiar, compelling, and socially normative.

This analytical perspective informs the following examination of Greek song, which is approached as a dynamic cultural field in which social meanings and gender hierarchies are continuously produced, negotiated, and transformed. This historical trajectory reveals a profound contradiction: although the gradual advancement of the 20th century—particularly from the mid-century onward—granted Greek women unprecedented legal, political, and educational access, these institutional victories faced persistent cultural resistance. The contrast between this phased legislative modernisation and deeply rooted patriarchal structures creates a critical gap. Within this gap, popular culture operates, raising the question of whether popular media supported institutional progress or actively worked to preserve traditional gender roles.

To capture this dynamic with empirical rigour, “women’s position” is not treated as a uniform or monolithic category. From a communication analysis perspective, media representations of gender are always refracted through

intersecting vectors of social stratification, including socioeconomic class, age, and geographical background. The ideological framing of a young, unmarried female factory worker in the interwar period involves vastly different narrative codes and moral anxieties compared to the post-war representation of an older, rural migrant navigating the urban domestic sphere, or a university-educated professional in the late twentieth century. By decoupling female identity from an idealised, homogeneous subject, this study examines how the lyrics construct fragmented and often conflicting versions of femininity based on the specific social positioning of the subjects.

1.2.2. The Course of Greek Song in the 20th Century: Hybridity, Market and Cultural Tensions

The evolution of Greek song in the 20th century reflects and actively mediates the country’s social, political, and cultural transformations. From early urban forms to the commercial production of the 1980s and 1990s, song serves as a site where folk traditions, Western influences, and ideological tensions are negotiated.

Since the establishment of the modern Greek state, musical production has drawn on European models, particularly Italian melodrama and Western urban music, as well as local traditions. Greek musical identity can therefore be understood as a hybrid formation, shaped by processes of interaction, adaptation, and mixing.

Before 1940, Greek song was shaped by the meeting of folk tradition, urban music and influences from both the Ottoman East and the West. Rebetiko crystallised as the main form of urban popular song, expressing primarily the marginalised strata of the cities, especially after the Asia Minor Catastrophe. At the same time, the “light” song (*elafro tragoudi*), influenced by European operetta and the Italian canzonetta, appealed to the middle and upper classes. This period is marked by intense social and cultural stratification, as well as ongoing negotiation between “eastern” and “western” musical standards^[49,50].

In the 1940s, songs moved between rebetiko and light music, while also incorporating new influences from American and Latin American music. The war songs, with Sofia Vembo (1910–1978), one of the most prominent Greek singers of the interwar and Second World War periods^[51], as a typical example, introduced a patriotic discourse without

negating the dominant erotic and emotional themes. The limited discographic production of the period reflects the material conditions of the Occupation and the Civil War.

In the 1950s, the development of radio and discography helped to create a national audience^[52]. This was accompanied by the growing influence of the market, which affected the form and content of songs, shaping public preferences towards more commercial forms of entertainment. Popular singing (*laiko*) flourished, with Stelios Kazantzidis as a prominent figure, while Western influences became more pronounced^[40].

The 1960s marked a turning point with the development of the artistic popular song (*entechno*) by creators such as Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hadjidakis. The synthesis of popular musical elements with poetry set to music produced a new form of cultural production that redefined the relationship between high and popular culture. However, even in the case of political songs, the musical dimension did not function merely as a vehicle for ideology but retained relative autonomy, as aesthetic quality remained crucial for the dissemination and reception of songs. Simultaneously, the new wave (*neo kyma*) emerged as an urban musical movement influenced by the French chanson, expressing a more introspective and individual sensibility, often centred on love and everyday middle-class life, and distinguishing itself from both the extroversion of popular song and the intense politicisation of art song^[53,54].

During the 1970s, singing was directly linked to the political situation, while a shift towards the “roots” was also observed, with elements from popular and folk songs being incorporated. This trend can be seen as a process of redefining Greek musical identity through a return to pre-existing forms. In the transition to the 1980s, the commercialisation of music production and the development of a star system were reinforced, and the music industry became the main regulator of the content and aesthetics of songs. The diversity of genres coexisted with the tendency towards massification and standardisation^[55,56].

Overall, twentieth-century Greek song was shaped by a constant tension between art and the market, as well as tradition and modernisation. This dynamic also extended to the conflict between political mobilisation and entertainment. This tension is not merely an external characteristic but a structural element of musical production itself, emerg-

ing through the continuous mixing and crossing of cultural forms. In this light, the idea of an “authentic” Greekness should be viewed with reservations, as national identity is not simply expressed but selectively constructed and redefined through musical practices. Greek song thus operates as a field in which social categories and identities are constituted and reproduced. Within this framework, representations of the working woman do not merely reflect her position in society but also participate in shaping and normalising gender roles.

The evolution of 20th-century Greek song, from urban rebetiko and popular *laiko* to politically charged *entechno*, demonstrates that music has consistently served as a major vehicle for mass cultural expression in Greece. As a key mass medium within the Greek cultural landscape, the song format offers an ideal discursive archive for tracing how female identity and work have been systematically conceptualised, coded and communicated to the public over the decades. Viewed through the lens of media studies, this lyrical repertoire functions as a structured communication channel that has long institutionalised and transmitted enduring social narratives.

To ensure conceptual clarity, these musical genres are not regarded as mere stylistic variants but as distinct communicative systems involving different modes of production, media circulation, and audience reception. Early urban rebetiko operated through local, informal communication networks and subcultural micro-media, encoding raw, marginalised social experiences. In contrast, post-war *laiko* was structured by a centralised mass media apparatus and a rapid industrial distribution system, addressing a broader urban working class. Meanwhile, *Éntekhno* introduced an intellectual, politically conscious communication model that repositioned the relationship between high art and popular culture. Recognising these genre-specific media dynamics is crucial to avoiding overgeneralisations about “Greek song”, as each genre employs unique narrative codes to frame and communicate gender representations.

The primary objective of this study is to examine the communicative construction of female labour and identity in 20th-century Greek popular music. To ensure methodological precision, the analysis is strictly limited to the lyrical content, treated as the primary textual vehicle of cultural communication. While acknowledging that music, sound,

and performance are vital layers of the sonic experience, this paper does not undertake a musicological or performance analysis. Instead, it isolates the linguistic and narrative codes of the lyrics to investigate how gender discourses are structurally encoded, reproduced, or contested over time.

2. Materials and Methods

This study employs a mixed-method approach, combining quantitative and qualitative content analysis, to examine 20th-century Greek song as a discursive field in which female identities are constructed, negotiated, and ideologically regulated. The analysis focuses on the representation of work as a key site of identity formation, considering it holistically as a socially embedded practice extending beyond formal employment. Within this framework, while the study acknowledges broader forms of female contribution, it defines “work” primarily in its institutionalised sense as legally regulated activity and organised professional employment, thereby distinguishing it from unpaid domestic labour and informal housework.

As this study examines popular songs from the perspective of communication and media studies, the empirical focus is directed almost exclusively towards the lyrical text, rather than structural musical elements such as melody, harmony, or arrangement. In communication theory, music functions as an emotional framing device that enhances social relevance and facilitates cultural transmission. However, the linguistic structure of the lyrics is the primary vehicle for explicit ideological propositions, role categorisation, and narrative framing. Lyrical discourse operates as a highly structured, manifest message within mass communication channels, making it the most reliable material for quantitative content analysis and semiotic deconstruction of gendered hierarchies. Therefore, while recognising the social function of musical performance in establishing collective memory, this study prioritises the written and spoken word as the definitive site where representations of female labour are institutionalised, coded, and disseminated to public consciousness.

2.1. Research Body and Sampling

The selection of a broad historical timeframe is methodologically deliberate from a media and communication perspective. A long-term diachronic design is essential

for analysing how media agendas and cultural texts adapt to structural societal shifts. To ensure communication-theoretical precision, the corpus of 264 songs is stratified into three distinct socio-historical periods ($n = 88$ each). This enables analysis of how the encoding mechanisms of popular culture respond to major institutional turning points, from the early urban communication networks of Period A (1900–1939), through the expansion of mass recording and cultural industries in Period B (1940–1969), to the pluralistic but fragmented media landscape of Period C (1970–1999).

These structural boundaries reflect significant shifts in political stability, institutional frameworks, and media evolution, which directly influenced the construction of gender discourses:

Period A (1900–1939): The pre-war era, marked by early urbanisation, the 1922 refugee influx, and initial legislative debates on women’s status. During this time, women’s work, long embedded in family and agricultural production, gradually became visible through new forms of wage labour in urban settings.

Period B (1940–1969): This period encompasses the profound disruptions of World War II, the Civil War, and the subsequent reconstruction era, culminating in the onset of the military dictatorship in 1967. It was characterised by widespread material hardship, large-scale internal migration, and an intense renegotiation of gendered divisions of labour amid major political and institutional transitions.

Period C (1970–1999): Beginning with the final years of the military dictatorship and moving into the post-junta era, this period was characterised by democratic consolidation, formal European integration, and major legislative changes in family law. It saw the expansion of education, wider employment opportunities, and structural reforms that increased women’s participation in the formal labour market.

By aligning the sample categorisation with these historical turning points rather than with arbitrary calendar decades, the communication analysis captures more accurately how lyrical texts responded to genuine structural transformations in women’s position.

2.2. Tools and Analysis Process

By applying communication-based discourse analysis, we systematically decode the semantic categories within the lyrics. The focus is on two communicative dimensions: (a)

manifest content (explicit references to professions, workplaces, and economic roles) and (b) latent content (underlying ideological assumptions regarding gender positions and power relations embedded in the narrative structure). Within this framework, the research was conducted in two stages:

(1) Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis was employed as a systematic and objective method to organise textual data into distinct content categories based on clear coding rules^[57,58]. This study treats lyrics not as static poetry but as socially situated communicative texts that shape cultural knowledge and audience expectations. By tracking recurring rhetorical structures, this quantitative framework ensures that subsequent qualitative findings are grounded in verifiable textual patterns. To ensure reproducibility and analytical clarity, the analysis followed a structured coding protocol with strict operational definitions. Each analysed song (N = 264) was treated as a single analytical unit. The presence or absence of key themes was recorded and cross-referenced across three historical periods: Period 1 (1900–1939), Period 2 (1940–1969), and Period 3 (1970–1999). The coding protocol was structured around two main axes to capture the full range of representations without analytical bias:

- **Representation of Women's Work:** This variable was divided into mutually exclusive values. It distinguishes between (a) Institutional/Professional Work (sub-coded into manual, intellectual/office, or artistic/entertainment sectors) and (b) Domestic/Care-Related Activities (sub-coded into unpaid household maintenance and relational care).
- **Feminine Representations (Ideological Axis):** To avoid presupposing negative stereotypes, this axis considered both restrictive and emancipatory depictions. Alongside traditional motifs such as domestic confinement, moral devaluation, or hypersexualisation, the protocol systematically incorporated counter-narratives of female autonomy, economic independence, and resistance to patriarchal power. This balanced approach allows the analysis to map the real ideological tension between conservative regression and progressive empowerment.

Finally, the quantitative data underwent descriptive processing to map the frequencies and distribution of themes

across the three periods. As the corpus serves as a purposive, text-centric cultural archive rather than a random probability sample, the statistical analysis remains strictly descriptive. This distribution provides the structural baseline that informs and validates the subsequent qualitative semiotic analysis.

To ensure the authenticity and contextual accuracy of the corpus, the textual material was systematically cross-referenced between digital lyric databases, namely *kithara.to*^[59] and *stixoi.info*^[60] (retrieved 10 February 2026), and printed historical records, specifically volumes 1–4 of Mylonas' *The History of Greek Song*^[49,54–56].

Building on the operational protocol described above, the main variable axes measured for each song case included:

- **Song Identity:** year or decade, historical period, and musical genre.
- **Narrative Subject:** identification of the narrator's gender through linguistic indicators or, if absent, the gender of the first performer.
- **Female Representations:** recording stereotypical roles (e.g., mother, mistress), identifying discourse of degradation or devaluation, and references to sexualisation.
- **Work Activity:** explicit references to women's professional activities as a constituent element of their identity, as well as that of men.

(2) Qualitative Analysis

In the second stage, one song from each period was selected as a case study for in-depth qualitative analysis. The aim of this approach is to capture discursive nuances and specific meaning-making processes that cannot be fully addressed through quantitative measurement, providing a more nuanced interpretation of the construction of women's identities. The analysis draws on Roland Barthes's^[39] semiotic model, focusing on the levels of denotation and connotation, as well as on myth, understood as the mechanism by which cultural meanings and ideologies are naturalised. In this way, the analysis seeks to uncover the symbolic and ideological structures that shape representations of women in Greek songs.

This combined methodology enables the mapping of dominant motifs in the creators' imagination, highlighting how references to work are intertwined with the broader gender hierarchies of each period.

3. Empirical Analysis

3.1. Quantitative and Semiotic Mapping of Lyrical Content

This section presents the empirical data from the quantitative content analysis (N = 264) alongside the structural semiotic deconstruction of the selected case studies. To trace diachronic shifts in representations of female identity, the findings are organised chronologically into three distinct historical periods, focusing on the denotative and co-denotative layers of meaning through which popular culture normalises gender roles.

A baseline cross-period finding shows that explicit references to institutionalised forms of employment, for both women and men, remain consistently limited, appearing in only 22% of the entire corpus. This indicates that twentieth-century Greek song lyricism characteristically distances itself from representing formal occupational labour as a central social category, prioritising themes related to emotional intimacy, love, and localised everyday interactions.

3.1.1. Period A (1900–1939): Early Representational Patterns

Data from the first sub-sample (n = 88) reveal a highly gendered space of lyrical production. The female character is

highly visible, appearing in 93% of the lyrics, confirming her status as the primary signifier around which early twentieth-century popular song is structured. At a denotative level, the female figure is heavily sexualised and predominantly framed as an “Object of Desire” or “Mistress” (recorded in 58% of cases), aligning her identity directly with the male gaze. Simultaneously, a negative evaluation of female behaviour is present in 35% of the sample, frequently employing the stereotype of the “Fatal” or “Unfaithful” woman as a source of male suffering (**Table 1**). Regarding labour, 22% of the songs explicitly mention female labour. However, the occupations represented (such as seamstress, laundress, ironing work, and housewife) largely reproduce private-sphere, domestic, and caregiving roles. Characters associated with the public sphere, such as nightlife artists, tambourine players, or prostitutes, position women within spaces of social marginality. While male employment is also recorded at 22%, formal occupational roles for men (e.g., captain, doctor, industrial worker) establish social identity and structural survival, whereas women’s work is frequently reduced to a mere backdrop for erotic pursuit. To examine how these dynamics operate in a specific text, a structural semiotic analysis of a characteristic popular rebetiko song of the era is presented below.

Table 1. Diachronic evolution of gender representations and women’s work in 20th-century Greek song.

Indicator	1900–1939 (Period A)	1940–1969 (Period B)	1970–1999 (Period C)
Stereotypical Roles of Women (the main roles in order of frequency)	Mistress/Object of Desire, Femme Fatale/Unfaithful Woman, Victim	Mistress/Object of Desire, Fatal/Unfaithful, Victim, Independent/Dynamic	Mistress/Object of Desire, In love/Faithful, Fatal/Unfaithful, Mother/Wife, Independent/Dynamic
Degradation or devaluation of women (%)	28%	10%	24%
Sexualisation of women (%)	58%	49%	20%
References to Women’s Work (including Housewife) (%)	22%	15%	27%
References to Men’s Work (%)	22%	17%	16%
Types of occupation of women (most important in order of frequency)	Artist/Singer, Seamstress, Prostitute, Housewife	Housewife, Seamstress	Office Worker, Housewife, Teacher, Singer
Overall evaluation of women (%)	Positive 43%	Positive 78%	Positive 67%
	Negative 35%	Negative 10%	Negative 19%

Case Study 1: Mrs Dudou

Lyrics: Nikos Routsos, Music: Akis Smyrneos

First Performance: 1930, Performer: Zoe Kouroukli

Genre: Old Rebetiko (popular-rebetiko style)

“Mrs Dudou, Mrs Dudou, Mrs Dudou,/you sent your husband off for nothing/and in the evenings, you walk/in the mud and the gul-

lies./Be careful, Mrs Dudou,/because they figured out who you are everywhere./Mrs Dudou, Mrs Dudou, Mrs Dudou,/you left the fish in the frying pan/and in your work clothes/you went roaming around./Be careful, Mrs Dudou,/because they figured out who you are everywhere./Mrs Dudou, Mrs Dudou, Mrs Dudou,/the boys went crazy over you,/and at your feet they fight,/men like roosters clash and vie./Watch out, Mrs Dudou,/because they figured out who you are everywhere”.

In “Mrs. Dudu” the first order of signification (denotation) highlights the abandonment of domestic duties, such as cooking, and the delegation of trivial external tasks to the man, allowing the female subject to move freely in public spaces. Through co-signification, signifiers related to the domestic hearth and work attire acquire additional meanings, associating female activity exclusively with the private sphere. The woman’s departure from the home in “work clothes” is registered as a semiotic disruption that violates the strict boundaries between private and public spheres. Simultaneously, social surveillance of female visibility is directly linked to her moral evaluation, as her public presence is interpreted as a loss of patriarchal control.

3.1.2. Period B (1940–1969): Post-War Containment

During the second historical period (n = 88), women remain central figures in the lyrical narrative, appearing in 93% of the texts. The dominant framing presents women as “Objects of Desire”, with explicit sexualisation present in 49% of their representations. Within a bipolar scheme of moral evaluation, female characters are depicted either as unfaithful mistresses and victims of circumstance, or as more independent figures who emerge only fragmentarily towards the end of the era. The dimension of work reveals a strict gender division. References to women’s activities appear in 15% of the sample under a broad definition of labour, but institutionalised professional identity is almost entirely absent. The roles attributed to women are strictly limited to seamstresses or domestic workers, with the “housewife” remaining the dominant category, reinforcing their symbolic confinement to the private domain. In contrast, men are consistently associated with the public sphere and the material toil of earning

a living (17%), granting them structural authority while leaving the vast majority of female characters without a declared professional identity (**Table 1**). The following text provides an empirical illustration of how post-war popular lyricism managed female mobility:

Case Study 2: Alexandra’s News

Composer and Lyricist: Kostas Giannidis

First Performance: 1961 | Performer: Vangelis Perpiniadis

Genre: Popular (*laiko*)

“I swear to you, Vangelis,/wait, let’s talk it over,/over this backgammon game we’re playing,/over the ouzo we’re going to drink./I swear to you, Vangelis,/Vangelis, I’ll have my way with you,/I’ll take revenge on her,/I’ll burn her down./Listen to the news about Alexandra,/who was telling me: I don’t know what a man is./And yesterday afternoon/she went out shopping,/and the time reached four o’clock/and she still hadn’t returned./And searching and searching/I found her at Michalis’ place,/getting her little love notes together with the grocer./So that’s the news about Alexandra,/who was telling me: I don’t know what a man is./And today she set off/to go to the seamstress/who sits in a narrow street near Vangelistras./And they told me they saw her/coming out hand in hand/with Charalambos from the Rozikliri./So that’s the news about Alexandra,/who was telling me: I don’t know what a man is”.

In “The News of Alexandra”, the first level of signification establishes a narrative of male homosocial communication, in which the subject denounces the wife’s deviation from the expected spatiotemporal boundaries of her domestic role. Crucially, while public lore and historical context indicate that the song is based on a real event—the 1961 murder of a young woman by her maternal uncle, who allegedly harassed her—the lyrical framing systematically displaces this reality.

The transition to the second order of signification reveals that specific signifiers, such as visiting the “seamstress” or doing the “shopping”, are coded as the only socially legitimate forms of female movement outside the private sphere,

as they are directly linked to household reproduction. In contrast, signs referring to public recreational spaces or interactions with unrelated men imply the destabilisation of marital dominance. By recontextualising a brutal crime as a marital dispute over infidelity, the text serves as a powerful communicative tool of ideological distortion. The rhetoric of violence functions semiotically as a mechanism for the symbolic restoration of the disrupted patriarchal order.

3.1.3. Period C (1970–1999): Late-Century Transition

In the final period ($n = 88$), the woman remains the primary focus of address, appearing in 89% of the songs. Although there is a growing trend towards depicting independent and dynamic women, traditional roles still predominate, with the mistress, the faithful partner, and the mother or wife continuing to form the lyrical core. Quantitative tracking shows a marked increase in the visibility of women's work, rising to 27% (Table 1). Within these references, a thematic shift is evident, as women are more frequently portrayed in office professions or positions within the tertiary sector. However, this shift does not dismantle the traditional framework, as the role of housewife remains a primary identifier. Meanwhile, male visibility in relation to labour drops slightly to 16%, yet men remain closely associated with formal occupational structures, maintaining their public-sphere identity. Rather than representing the mainstream lyrical output of the era, the counter-narrative of female experience is crystallised in a few exceptional musical texts. The underlying tensions between emerging modernisation and traditional containment are uniquely captured in the following case study:

Case Study 3: A Day in the Life of a Mary (I am Mary Panagiotara)

Lyrics & Music: Loukianos Kelaidonis

First Performance: 1982 | Performer: Afroditi Manou

Genre: New Popular Song (*laiko-pop*)

"I am Mary Panagiotara, a working mother and a good housewife./I am nothing special, nothing remarkable; I am what we call a typical example./As soon as I wake up in the morning, very early, well before dawn, I tell myself, mule, get up and get dressed because there is a lot waiting for you./Then I run to wake, feed,

water, and dress the children,/while at the same time preparing breakfast for the pasha. /I take it to his bed and then immediately drop the children off at school./I queue to shop, and the butcher, in his haste, grabs my bottom.../Every day I must think of a clean shirt and underwear,/and woe betide me if I forget and there is no hot water./I must make the beds and tidy the house, prepare food for the children,/and I have to leave hungry and frantic for work./Dapa, dapa, dapa, dam.../As soon as I get to work, I must make coffee for the boss,/and there is always the man who brings it to him, who also wants to grab my bottom.../The phone rings in my ear, and his voice shouts over it,/and he sends me out to do everyone else's errands./As soon as school finishes, I rush home to set the table for dinner,/to fry, prepare the salad, serve, and cut the bread,/to be a wreck, dragging myself from hunger and exhaustion,/and they complain that the food is not good./To wash dishes, forks, and knives, and I feel like screaming,/and this gentleman wants to grab my bottom too.../Dapa, dapa, dapa, dam.../As soon as he lies down and shouts 'quiet' so I do not hear any noise in the house,/it is time for me to finish the dishes, and when I have to help the children with their homework,/it is time for the little devils to study so that later we can start running/from one person's tutoring session to another's French lesson./After they have worn me out and we finally get home,/they eat, wash, get ready, and go to sleep as usual,/while I am ironing and doing the laundry,/because that is what a woman does,/while he just sits there glued to the television,/and if I get angry when I fall into bed and see him thinking of something bad,/he turns to me and says, it is your conjugal duty./I am Mary Panagiotara, a working mother and a good housewife./I am nothing special, nothing remarkable; I am just a normal person".

In "A Day in the Life of a Mary", the denotative function focuses on the detailed portrayal of the daily cycle of

actions performed by the female subject, including caring for dependants, maintaining the household, engaging in wage labour outside the home, and responding to the sexual demands of her husband. At the level of co-denotation, signifiers such as “mule” initiate a semiotic process of dehumanisation, reducing the woman to a mere driving force of production and reproduction. The repeated references to harassment across various environments (the market, the workplace, the marital bed) co-denote the ongoing construction of the woman as a sexual object, undermining her autonomy. Simultaneously, “conjugal duty” is codified as institutionalised oppression, where even rest becomes compulsory labour.

The ironic structure of the song is reinforced by its performative delivery, as a female voice adopts an overtly satirical and detached tone. This performative aspect strengthens the critical function of the text, using the excessive accumulation of roles and obligations to expose the structural inequalities of the “double shift”.

In “A Day in the Life of a Mary”, the narrative structure serves as a communicative device that “shows” rather than simply “tells” the exhaustion of the modern woman. The lyrics employ a breathless, cumulative listing technique, explicitly linking the roles of “working mother and good housewife” with the frantic demands of clerk and housekeeper, without structural pauses or punctuation in the vocal delivery. This structural choice imitates the assembly-line logic of late-century urban life.

By analysing the latent irony in the cheerful musical accompaniment juxtaposed with the lexical choices of endless servitude, it becomes clear that the song does not reflect a general trend in the repertoire, but functions as an early, isolated critique. It exposes the myth of post-junta female emancipation, revealing it as an accumulation of compounding obligations rather than genuine liberation.

3.2. Quantitative Summary Data

The frequency distribution in **Table 1** offers a descriptive overview of changing thematic trends within the selected repertoire. Following standard practices in exploratory communication and media research, these figures present raw frequencies and simple percentages across the three historical eras. These variations reflect broader cultural trajectories and macro-level thematic shifts in mass media content, rather than statistically verified independence between the

sub-periods. Nevertheless, even as baseline descriptive metrics, the data in **Table 1** is highly indicative of lyrical patterns and provides the empirical foundation for the subsequent qualitative semiotic analysis, which examines and interprets these patterns in depth.

4. Discussion

Integrating the macro-level descriptive data from the content analysis with the micro-level semiotic deconstruction of the three selected case studies provides a comprehensive understanding of the communicative strategies employed in twentieth-century Greek song. Considered alongside the statistical trends presented in **Table 1**, the qualitative trajectories of the three tracks, “Mrs Dudou” (Period A), “Alexandra’s News” (Period B), and “A Day in the Life of a Mary” (Period C), reveal a deeper structural continuity that transcends chronological boundaries.

While the descriptive percentages indicate a gradual shift in thematic presence, the comparative analysis demonstrates a persistent cultural lag within mass media discourse. Across all three eras, the symbolic framing of women engaged in institutionalised labour remains consistently problematic, conflict-driven, or marginalised. The musical texts do not simply reflect the structural advancements or legislative changes of their respective periods; rather, as channels of mass communication, they systematically renegotiate these shifts by naturalising traditional gender roles through evolving mythologies.

4.1. Comparative Analysis of the Three Case Studies

The text-in-context deconstruction demonstrates how specific socio-historical turning points correspond to symbolic transformations in textual content:

In Period A (1900–1939), women are sexualised and depicted primarily as objects of erotic desire, integrated into a framework of aestheticisation and erotic fantasy. At a higher level of analysis, what Barthes^[39] conceptualises as mythology functions in “Mrs Dudou” as the naturalisation of patriarchal ideology, positioning women as “housewives by nature”. Within this framework, women active outside the home are constructed as deviations from normality, and any attempt at professional or social autonomy is subjected to

social stigmatisation. However, even in this phase, the relatively frequent references to female professions indicate early cracks in the boundaries of patriarchal organisation, revealing a contradictory figure transitioning into urban social life.

In Period B (1940–1969), a seemingly paradoxical development occurs: although women’s participation in work was historically increasing, women largely withdraw from the public sphere in lyrical representation. In “Alexandra’s News”, the myth of the woman as a “natural” housewife is reinforced through the negative projection of female cunning. The lyrical narrative constructs a fantasy in which domestic labour and household management serve as pretexts for a transgressive form of autonomy. By framing the female subject as a cunning agent of infidelity rather than a victim of violence, the lyrical narrative aligns with the widespread absence of formal female labour in this era, transforming the song into an ideological mechanism for silencing reality. This case highlights an active process of symbolic exclusion, in which popular music projects passivity as a virtue and punishes spatial transgression.

In Period C (1970–1999), despite the mass entry of women into education and formal employment, mainstream lyrical representation exhibits a clear cultural lag. The exception to this conservative core appears in “A Day in the Life of a Mary”. In this case study, women’s entry into the production process is depicted not as leading to a restructuring of gender roles, but rather to the consolidation of the “double shift”. Through this isolated counter-narrative, the figure of Mary Panagiotara reveals the persistence of patriarchal structures under the guise of modernisation, showing that modern female identity remains trapped in a system that redistributes workload without challenging the gender hierarchy. The song introduces an early, critical view of gender roles; however, this criticism is expressed mainly through ironic exposition rather than explicit subversive positioning, placing the text in a moderate space between reproduction and dynamic questioning of patriarchal norms.

This diachronic trajectory highlights how identical thematic nodes receive contrasting communicative treatment across different eras. While the dominant communicative strategy of popular culture consistently relies on traditional framing and symbolic exclusion, certain instances late in the century introduce internalised psychological commentary on female alienation. Consequently, the mainstream reper-

toire largely maintains its conservative core, even as isolated lyrical examples begin to record the underlying tensions of modern female autonomy.

4.2. The Role of Musical Genre in Communicative Framing

From a communication perspective, the empirical findings confirm that the ideological framing of female identity depends heavily on the generic conventions and narrative codes of each musical genre. For example, early urban rebetiko (Period A) served as an alternative communicative channel for marginalised subcultures, framing women through a dialectic of fascination and moral anxiety. In contrast, post-war commercial *laiko* (Period B) aligned with dominant cultural narratives of domestic containment, systematically employing the rhetorical erasure of women’s professional lives to restore symbolic order. A radically different communicative strategy emerged in *Éntekhno* (Period C); here, the discourse shifted towards poetic abstraction, transforming the working woman into an ideological symbol, which, however, often resulted in a different form of communicative silencing.

This differentiation becomes even more complex when the parameter of musical genre is included in the analysis. Rather than establishing causal relationships between specific genres and forms of representation, the empirical material highlights how different styles employ distinct modes of framing.

In early rebetika and popular songs, women appear more frequently as socially visible subjects associated with specific roles or types of work; however, these representations are often accompanied by moral ambiguity, derogatory undertones, or references to marginalisation. This dynamic shifts in lighter popular genres influenced by Western aesthetics, where the female figure is repositioned as a romanticised, polished focal point of beauty and charm, constructed primarily as an aesthetic Object of Desire. In both cases, the professional or social role remains secondary to erotic objectification.

In later post-war popular music (*laiko*), the lyrical focus reinforces the relational and moralised depiction of women, contributing to their confinement within the private sphere and their disconnection from productive activity. Conversely, the parallel development of art popular song (*entechno*) and the new wave (*neo kyma*) introduces a differentiated rep-

representational logic. In these genres, a lower intensity of degradation is observed, and the female figure shifts towards more abstract, poetic, and symbolic representations. However, this leads to a further silencing of women's work, as the thematic focus moves away from institutionalised labour towards idealised subjectivities.

In contemporary pop and hybrid genres, the empirical material indicates a dual trajectory: an intense emotionalism on one hand, and an emerging, though fragmentary, reference to modern office and service professions on the other. Consequently, the differences identified between musical genres concern the respective modes of representation that emerge within this specific empirical sample, demonstrating that popular song functions as an active cultural filter that absorbs structural changes without restructuring the core axes of gender hierarchy.

5. Conclusions

The systematic investigation of the 20th-century Greek lyrical archive illuminates the complex trajectory through which gendered agency was discursively constructed and textually mediated within popular culture. Using a mixed-method approach to media content analysis, the study reveals a pronounced cultural lag in mass communication channels. While macro-social developments, institutional reforms, and legal changes progressively renegotiated the position of women in Greek society, popular song often served as a conservative counter-narrative and an ideological site of cultural resistance. The empirical data, synthesised with qualitative semiotic analysis, show that the internal narrative structure of these musical texts systematically marginalised formal female labour. Instead, the media apparatus prioritised frameworks that anchored female identity within affective, relational, and domestic spheres.

This historical lag between institutional intent and cultural representation resonates deeply with contemporary socio-legal realities. While the European Union systematically pursues the eradication of inequalities and the promotion of gender equality across all its actions^[61], and the Greek state actively reinforces women's rights and societal advancement through targeted national action plans^[62], structural barriers persist. Recent empirical evidence indicates that although female institutional and professional leadership

follows a steadily upward trajectory, the pace of growth remains significantly constrained^[63,64]. Contemporary women continue to confront systemic obstacles to career progression and equitable professional standing—impediments fundamentally driven by deeply embedded cultural stereotypes and the uneven distribution of domestic and familial responsibilities.

These findings also align with recent international research indicating that the symbolic and structural dimensions of gender inequality remain closely interconnected. Traditional gender stereotypes continue to be associated with women's lower representation in the workforce and in managerial positions across countries^[65], while gendered expectations still shape workplace evaluations and career outcomes^[66,67]. Recent studies of popular culture similarly show that representations of women's labour often remain embedded within affective and relational frameworks, even when professional participation is explicitly depicted^[68,69]. At the same time, contemporary research underscores the continuing importance of gendered care responsibilities for women's participation in paid employment^[70,71]. Overall, these findings suggest that the representational marginalisation of women's labour identified in the Greek lyrical archive forms part of a broader cultural configuration whose effects continue to shape the relationship between gender, work, and social recognition.

This communicative framing of gendered roles underwent distinct shifts across consecutive historical periods. During the pre-war era, media representation of women was heavily subjected to the male gaze, presenting the female subject primarily as an Object of Desire or a source of interpersonal conflict. Although instances of female labour appeared in the texts, they were confined to local, informal, or socially marginalised environments, reinforcing rigid gender divisions and attaching moral ambiguity to female public visibility. In the subsequent post-war reconstruction era, despite the objective expansion of women's societal contributions, the lyrical texts enacted symbolic annihilation of formal female employment. The dominant discourse severed the female figure from a professional identity, shifting the narrative focus back towards domestic containment, which was then weaponised as a baseline for moral evaluation. By the final decades of the century, despite the widespread institutionalisation of female labour and changing socio-legal

frameworks, media representation failed to undergo structural transformation. Instead, it introduced a highly contradictory frame: the modern working woman was depicted as navigating a strenuous “double shift”, ultimately keeping her identity tied to traditional affective expectations.

Crucially, the symbolic marginalisation of formal employment was not exclusively gendered, as references to institutionalised labour remained consistently low across the entire sample. This reveals a broader communicative logic inherent to the medium of popular song, which functioned as a powerful vehicle for the symbolic de-labourisation of everyday life. Rather than reflecting structural production, the media content deliberately diverted audience attention towards spheres of emotion, romantic intimacy, and immediate lived experience. This agenda-setting mechanism was further modulated by genre-specific conventions. While early urban folk genres anchored the female subject within strict patriarchal supervision, more highbrow or poetic musical movements chose to romanticise and abstract her. This aesthetic shift achieved a similar ideological outcome, effectively silencing women’s productive contributions in favour of idealised, non-threatening subjectivities.

Ultimately, 20th-century Greek song acted as an active agent of cultural mediation rather than a passive reflection of social reality. It naturalised hegemonically defined boundaries of gender normativity by continuously rearticulating traditional hierarchies under shifting historical guises. While these findings are bounded by the textual limits and discursive parameters of the lyrical archive, they provide a verified empirical baseline regarding the ideological framing of Greece’s media heritage. Future communication research using audience reception methodologies could further enrich these insights, exploring how these deeply embedded textual structures interact with, shape, and reproduce public

consciousness across generations.

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Data Availability Statement

The data analysed in this study are drawn from publicly available lyric archives and online databases cited in the article. Additional details regarding the analytical corpus are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

AI Use Statement

During the preparation of this work, the author used large language model (LLM) tools to translate content from Greek into English and to refine the English wording and phrasing. The author subsequently reviewed and edited the material as necessary and takes full responsibility for the final published content of the article.

Appendix A

ID	Transliterated Title	Original Greek Title	English Translation	Year	Creators
1	Smyrneikos Balos	Σμυρναϊκός μπάλος	Dance of Smyrna	1900	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
2	Tik Tak	Τικ τακ	Tick Tock	1904	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
3	O Anthopolis	Ο ανθοπόλης	The Flower Vendor	1905	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
4	Eida Matia Polla	Είδα μάτια πολλά	I Have Seen Many Eyes	1909	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
5	Smyrneikos Manes	Σμυρναϊκός μμανές	Amanes of Smyrna	1909	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
6	Vournovalia	Βουρνοβαλιά	The Girl from Bournovas	1909	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
7	Maramena ta Gioulia	Μαραμένα τα γιούλια	Faded Violets	1910	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
8	Laloun t' Aidonia	Λαλούν τ' αιδόνια	The Nightingales Are Singing	1910	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
9	Aidinitikos Horos	Αϊδινίκος χορός	Dance of Aidin	1910	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
10	Evzonaki Gorgo	Ευζωνάκι γοργό	Quick Little Evzone	1913	Theophrastos Sakellaris (Music & Lyrics)

ID	Transliterated Title	Original Greek Title	English Translation	Year	Creators
11	Baglamades	Μπαγλαμάδες	Baglamas Instruments	1915	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
12	Sfixe Me	Σφίξε με	Hold Me Tight	1915	Theophrastos Sakellariadis (Music & Lyrics)
13	Methysmenoi	Μέθυσμένοι	Drunkards	1918	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
14	Ta Kaimena ta Niata	Τα καϊμένα τα νιάτα	Poor Youth	1918	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
15	Elenaki	Ελενάκι	Little Ellen	1920	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
16	Ach Giatre Mou	Αχ γιατρέ μου	Oh My Doctor	1920	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
17	Xenychtides	Ξενύχτες	Night Owls	1920	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
18	Mpraila (Vraila)	Μπραϊλά	Braila	1920	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
19	Smyrnia	Σμυρνιά	The Woman of Smyrna	1920	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
20	Sti Fylaki me Valane (Giaf Giouf)	Στη φυλακή με βάλανε	They Put Me in Prison	1920	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
21	San Oneiro Mageftiko	Σαν όνειρο μαγευτικό	Like a Magical Dream	1921	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
22	Ti Matia	Τι μάτια	What Eyes	1921	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
23	Trive - Trive	Τρίβε - τρίβε	Rub - Rub	1921	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
24	I Paixnidira	Η Παυχινδιάρα	The Flirtatious Woman	1922	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
25	Theho na do ton Papa	Θέλω να δω τον Πάπα	I Want to See the Pope	1922	Theophrastos Sakellariadis (Music & Lyrics)
26	Titina	Τιτίνα	Leo Daniderff/Attik (Music/Gr. Lyrics)	1924	Leo Daniderff/Attik (Music/Gr. Lyrics)
27	O Eros Xronia den Koita	Ο έρως χρόνια δεν κοιτά	Love Doesn't Care About Age	1925	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
28	I Xelogiatra	Η ξελογιάστρα	The Seductress	1925	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
29	Kelaidiste Oraia mou Poulakia	Κελαηδήστε ωραία μου πουλάκια	Sing, My Beautiful Little Birds	1926	D. Lavrangas (Music)/Traditional (Lyrics)
30	Psarades	Ψαράδες	Fishermen	1926	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
31	Mantalena	Μαντάλενα	Madalena	1926	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
32	Xanthia Mikroula	Ξανθιά μικρούλα	Little Blonde Girl	1926	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
33	I Modistroula	Η μοδιστρούλα	The Little Dressmaker	1927	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
34	Manaki Mou	Μανάκι μου	My Sweetheart	1927	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
35	O Gero Dimos	Ο γέρο Δήμιος	Old Dimos	1927	P. Carrer (Music)/A. Valiandros (Lyrics)
36	Mes stou Syggrou ti Fylaki	Μες στου Συγγρού τη φυλακή	Inside Syggrou Prison	1927	A. Kostis (K. Bezos) (Music & Lyrics)
37	Athina kai Peiraia mou	Αθήνα και Πειραιά μου	My Athens and My Piraeus	1927	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
38	Alanaki	Αλανάκι	Street Urchin	1927	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
39	Ach Mari	Αχ Μαρί	Oh Mary	1928	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
40	Milo mou kai Mantarini	Μήλο μου και μανταρίνι	My Apple and Mandarin	1928	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
41	Galata Manes	Γαλάτα μανές	Amanes of Galata	1928	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
42	Ta Matoklada sou Lampoun	Τα ματόκλαδά σου λάμπουν	Your Eyelashes Are Shining	1928	M. Vamvakaris (Music & Lyrics)
43	Tango ton Rodon	Ταγκό των ρόδων	Tango of Roses	1929	Filipos Rinaldis (Music)/P. Papadoukas (Lyrics)
44	Mia Fora Monaxa Zoume	Μια φορά μονάχα ζούμε	We Only Live Once	1929	M. Sougioul (Music)/G. Tzavelas (Lyrics)
45	An Vgoun Alitheia	Αν βγούν αλήθεια	If They Turn Out True	1929	K. Skarvelis (Music & Lyrics)
46	Ta Korallenia Xeili sou	Τα κοραλλένια χείλη σου	Your Coral Lips	1929	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
47	Pane oi Elpides	Πάνε οι ελπίδες	Hopes Are Gone	1929	K. Skarvelis (Music & Lyrics)
48	Tis Kitharas to Klama	Της κιθάρας το κλάμμα	The Guitar's Crying	1930	D. Semis (Salonikios) (Music)/J. Ioannidis (Lyrics)
49	O Seismografos	Ο σεισμογράφος	The Seismograph	1930	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
50	Ririka	Ριρίκα	Ririka	1930	Stathis Mastoras (Music & Lyrics)
51	Kale, Patonis	Καλέ, Πατόνεις	My Good Man, Are You Drowning?	1930	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
52	O Syrtis	Ο Συρτής	The Bolt/Latch	1930	K. Skarvelis (Music & Lyrics)
53	Mrs Dudou	Κυρά Ντουντού	Lady Ntountou	1930	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
54	Fonias tha Gino	Φονιάς θα γίνω	I Will Become a Killer	1930	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
55	Glykia mou Rezentia	Γλυκιά μου Ρεζέντια	My Sweet Reseda	1930	Aristis Pastry (Music & Lyrics)
56	Zitate na sas Po	Ζητάτε να σας πω	You Ask Me to Tell You	1930	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
57	I Daktylografos	Η Δακτυλογράφος	The Typist	1930	Theophrastos Sakellariadis (Music & Lyrics)
58	Misirliou	Μισιρλού	Misirliou	1930	N. Roubanis/Michalis Patrinos (Music/Lyrics)
59	I Palia Taverna	Η παλιά ταβέρνα	The Old Tavern	1931	K. Skarvelis (Music & Lyrics)
60	Prosfygoroula	Προσφυγοπούλα	Refugee Girl	1932	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
61	To Giletaki pou Foreis	Το γιλέκακι που φορείς	The Vest You Wear	1932	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
62	I Psaropoula	Η Ψαροπούλα	The Fishing Boat	1932	D. Semis (Music)/K. Kofiniotis (Lyrics)
63	Katinaki	Κατινάκι	Little Katina	1932	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
64	I Artista	Η αρτίστα	The Female Artist/Performer	1932	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
65	Peismatariko	Πεισματάρικο	Stubborn One	1933	M. Vamvakaris (Music & Lyrics)
66	O Dervisis	Ο Δερβίσης	The Dervish	1933	M. Vamvakaris (Music & Lyrics)
67	To Giasemi	Το γιασεμί	The Jasmine	1933	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
68	Tha Xanartheis	Θα ξανάρθεις	You Will Return	1934	K. Giannidis (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
69	Paparouna	Παπαρούνα	Poppy	1935	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
70	Barba-Giannis Kanatas	Μπάμπαρα - Γιάννης κανατάς	Uncle John the Potter	1935	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
71	Stou Thoma	Στου Θωμά	At Thoma's Place	1935	K. Skarvelis (Music & Lyrics)
72	Mavromata	Μαυρομάτα	Dark-Eyed Girl	1935	M. Vamvakaris (Music & Lyrics)
73	To Koutsavaki	Το κουτσαβάκι	The Tough Guy/Street Swaggerer	1936	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
74	Oi Fonografitzides	Οι φονογραφιτζήδες	The Phonograph Operators	1936	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
75	Nosokoma mou Mikroula	Νοσοκόμα μου μικρούλα	My Sweet Little Nurse	1936	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
76	Ta Vasana tis Plystras	Τα βάσανα της πλύστρας	The Troubles of the Washerwoman	1936	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
77	I Marika i Daskala	Η Μαρίκα η δασκάλα	Marika the Schoolteacher	1936	P. Toundas (Music & Lyrics)
78	Ti Krima	Τι κρίμα	What a Pity	1937	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
79	Tha' rtho mia Nychta me Feggari	Θα' ρθώ μία νύχτα με φεγγάρι	I'll Come on a Moonlit Night	1937	K. Giannidis (Music)/D. Evangelidis (Lyrics)
80	I Moni mou Parigoria	Η μόνη μου παρηγοριά	My Only Consolation	1937	K. Skarvelis (Music & Lyrics)
81	Kapoto Mystiko Echo na sou Po	Κάποιο μυστικό έχω να σου πω	I Have a Secret to Tell You	1937	K. Giannidis (Music)/D. Evangelidis (Lyrics)
82	Kallipolitissa Naziara	Καλλιπολίτισσα ναζάρα	Coquettish Girl from Kallipoli	1938	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
83	Gia mas Kelaidoun ta Poulia	Για μας κελαηδούν τα πουλιά	The Birds Are Singing for Us	1938	M. Sougioul (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
84	Xanagyriose Konta mou	Ξαναγύρισε κοντά μου	Return Back to Me	1939	K. Giannidis (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
85	Gia ta Matia sou	Γιά τα μάτια σου	For Your Eyes	1939	M. Sougioul (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
86	Xanthia Treli Galanomata	Ξανθιά τρελή γαλανομάτα	Crazy Blonde Blue-Eyed Girl	1939	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
87	Agapo mia Pantremeni	Αγαπώ μια παντρεμένη	I Love a Married Woman	1939	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
88	Vazei o Noutse ti Stoli tou	Βάζει ο Ντούτσος τη στολή του	Duce Puts on His Uniform	1940	T. Maroudas (Music)/G. Thisvios (Lyrics)
89	O Agymnastos	Ο αγύμναστος	The Untrained/Out of Shape Man	1940	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
90	Antios Pampa mia	Αντιός Πάμπα μία	Goodbye Pampa Mia	1945	Francisco Canaro/Adaptation (Music/Lyrics)
91	Dyo Prasina Matia	Δυο πράσινα μάτια	Two Green Eyes	1945	M. Sougioul (Music)/K. Kofiniotis (Lyrics)
92	Poso Glygora me Xechases	Πόσο γρήγορα με ξεχάσες	How Quickly You Forgot Me	1945	M. Sougioul (Music)/Ch. Vasiladis (Lyrics)
93	To Tragoudi tis Marinas	Το τραγούδι της Μαρίνας	Marina's Song	1946	K. Giannidis (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
94	O Psaras	Ο ψαράς	The Fisherman	1946	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
95	Pes mou Pos tha Moreso na se Xechaso	Πες μου πώς θα μπορέσω να σε ξεχάσω	Tell Me How I Will Be Able to Forget You	1946	M. Sougioul (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
96	O Pasateempos	Ο πασατέμπος	The Pastime/Hobby	1946	M. Chiotis (Music)/G. Giannakopoulos (Lyrics)
97	Ola mou Gelousan	Όλα μου γελούσαν	Everything Was Smiling at Me	1947	K. Giannidis (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
98	Magkiora	Μαγκιώρα	Strong-Willed/Capable Woman	1947	A. Kaldaras (Music & Lyrics)
99	As Erchosoun gia Ligo	Ας έρχοσουν για λίγο	If Only You Could Come for a While	1948	M. Sougioul (Music)/M. Traiforos (Lyrics)

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100	O Gero Daskalos	Ο γερο δάσκαλος	The Old Schoolteacher	1948	M. Sougioul (Music)/G. Giannakopoulos (Lyrics)
101	Gia mia Kori Xelogiatria	Για μια κόρη ξελογιάστρα	For a Seductive Daughter	1948	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
102	Maria Ntolores	Μαρία Ντολόμερς	Maria Dolores	1949	Attik (K. Kleandrou) (Music & Lyrics)
103	I Nosokoma	Η νοσοκόμα	The Nurse	1949	M. Vamvakaris (Music & Lyrics)
104	Kali sou Ora pou kai na'sai	Καλή σου ώρα όπου και να'σαι	Wishing You Well Wherever You Are	1949	M. Chiotis (Music)/Ch. Vasiliadis (Lyrics)
105	M' aresis, M' aresis	Μ' αρέσεις, μ' αρέσεις	I Like You, I Like You	1949	M. Sougioul (Music)/G. Giannakopoulos (Lyrics)
106	O Lagos	Ο λαγός	The Hare	1949	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
107	Takou Takou o Argaleios mou	Τάκου τάκου ο αργαλειός μου	Clack Clack Goes My Loom	1950	N. Gounaris (Music)/Ch. Pyrpassos (Lyrics)
108	I Raspa ap' to Mexico	Η ράσπα απ' το Μεξικό	La Raspa from Mexico	1950	Traditional/Adaptation (Music & Lyrics)
109	To Parapono tou Xenitemenou	Το παράπονο του ξενιτεμένου	The Complaint of the Expatriate	1950	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
110	Pame sta Bouzoukia	Πάμε στα μπουζούκια	Let's Go to the Bouzouki Clubs	1950	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
111	Gkioulmarchar	Γκιούλμπαχαρ	Gulbahar	1950	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
112	Palamakia	Παλαμάκια	Clapping Hands	1951	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
113	Eimaste Alania	Είμαστε αλάνια	We Are Street Urchins/Lads	1951	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
114	Mona Zyga	Μονά ζυγά	Odds and Evens	1953	M. Chiotis (Music)/Ch. Vasiliadis (Lyrics)
115	Ein' ola Mavra	Είβ' όλα μαύρα	Everything Is Black	1953	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
116	Gennithika gia na Pono	Γεννήθηκα για να πονώ	I Was Born to Suffer	1953	V. Tsitsanis (Music)/K. Virvos (Lyrics)
117	Tetoia Koukla kai Tsachpina	Τέτοια κούκλα και τσαχπίνια	Such a Doll and Coquette	1953	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
118	Ta Kavourakia	Τα καβουράκια	The Little Crabs	1955	V. Tsitsanis (Music)/E. Lampiri (Lyrics)
119	Agapi pou' gines Dikopo Machairi	Αγάπη που' γινες δίκοπο μαχαίρι	Love That Became a Double-Edged Sword	1955	M. Hadjidakis (Music)/M. Cacoyannis (Lyrics)
120	Vghikane t' Astra	Βγήκανε τ' άστρα	The Stars Came Out	1955	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
121	Svlise to Fos	Σβήσε το φως	Turn Off the Light	1955	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
122	Mia Stenachoria	Μια στεναχώρια	A Sorrow/Heartache	1955	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
123	Eida kai Epatha Kyra mou	Είδα κι έπαθα κυρά μου	I've Been Through So Much, My Lady	1955	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
124	Chthesini mou Agnosti	Χθεςινή μου άγνωστη	My Unknown Woman of Yesterday	1955	G. Mouzakis (Music)/K. Kofiniotis (Lyrics)
125	Ego eimai to Megleri sou	Εγώ είμαι το μεγλέρι σου	I Am Your Begleri (Worry Beads)	1956	M. Chiotis (Music)/N. Routsolias (Lyrics)
126	Aman i Glyka sou	Αμάν η γλύκα σου	Oh, Your Sweetness	1956	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
127	Na to Pareis to Koritsi	Να το πάρεις το κορίτσι	You Must Marry the Girl	1956	G. Mouzakis (Music)/G. Giannakopoulos (Lyrics)
128	Aspro Poukamiso Foro	Άσπρο πουκάμισο φορό	I Am Wearing a White Shirt	1956	M. Vamvakaris (Music & Lyrics)
129	Ego tha s' Agapo kai mi se Noiazei	Εγώ θα σ' αγαπώ και μη σε νοιάζει	I Will Love You and Don't You Worry	1956	G. Mouzakis (Music)/G. Flessas (Lyrics)
130	Ti einai auto pou to lene agapi	Τι είναι αυτό που το λένε αγάπη	What Is This Thing Called Love	1957	T. Morakis (Music)/G. Flessas (Lyrics)
131	Anapse to tsigaro	Άναψε το τσιγάρο	Light the Cigarette	1958	G. Klouvatos (Music)/Ch. Vasiliadis (Lyrics)
132	As' ta ta mallakia sou	Άσ' τα τα μαλλάκια σου	Leave Your Little Hair Loose	1958	M. Sougioul (Music)/A. Sakellarios (Lyrics)
133	Iliobasilemata	Ηλιοβασίλεματα	Sunsets	1958	M. Chiotis (Music)/Ch. Kolokotronis (Lyrics)
134	I pligi tou chorismou	Η πλιγή του χωρισμού	The Wound of Separation	1958	M. Chiotis (Music)/Ch. Kolokotronis (Lyrics)
135	Pare to dachtylidi mou	Πάρε το δαχτυλίδι μου	Take My Ring	1958	M. Chiotis (Music)/Ch. Kolokotronis (Lyrics)
136	Kapou yparchei i agapi mou	Κάπου υπάρχει η αγάπη μου	Somewhere My Love Exists	1959	M. Hadjidakis (Music & Lyrics)
137	Feggari chlomo	Φεγγάρι χλωμό	Pale Moon	1959	G. Mouzakis (Music)/G. Flessas (Lyrics)
138	Tsiggana	Τσιγγάνα	Gypsy Woman	1959	A. Kaldaras (Music & Lyrics)
139	To koritsi aporse thelei	Το κορίτσι απόψε θέλει	The Girl Wants Tonight	1959	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
140	Charamata kai deilina	Χαράματα και δειλινά	Dawns and Dusks	1960	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
141	Meno se kapoia geitononia	Μένω σε κάποια γειτονιά	I Live in a Certain Neighborhood	1960	M. Chiotis (Music)/Ch. Kolokotronis (Lyrics)
142	Epitafios	Επιτάφιος	Epitaph	1960	M. Theodorakis (Music)/G. Ritsos (Lyrics)
143	Ta paidia tou Peiraia	Τα παιδιά του Πειραιά	The Children of Piraeus	1960	M. Hadjidakis (Music & Lyrics)
144	Vrechei sti ftochogeitononia	Βρέχει στη φτωχογειτονιά	It's Raining in the Poor Neighborhood	1961	M. Theodorakis (Music)/T. Livaditis (Lyrics)
145	Kaimos	Καιμός	Yearning/Heartache	1961	M. Theodorakis (Music)/D. Christodoulou (Lyrics)
146	Ta nea tis Alexandras	Τα νέα της Αλεξάνδρας	Alexandra's News	1961	K. Giannidis (Music & Lyrics)
147	Aprilis	Απρίλης	April	1962	M. Theodorakis (Music & Lyrics)
148	Margarita Margaro	Μαργαρίτα Μαργαρώ	Margarita Margaro	1962	M. Theodorakis (Music & Lyrics)
149	Savvatovrado	Σαββατόβραδο	Saturday Night	1962	M. Theodorakis (Music)/T. Livaditis (Lyrics)
150	Mia kori arrosti varia	Μια κόρη άρρωστη βαριά	A Young Girl Gravely Ill	1962	Traditional (Music & Lyrics)
151	Aponi zoi	Άπονη ζωή	Heartless Life	1963	S. Xarchakos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
152	Tzamaika	Τζαμάικα	Jaimeica	1963	M. Loizos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
153	Styn Elefsina mia fora	Στην Ελευσίνα μια φορά	Once Upon a Time in Elefsina	1963	D. Moutsis (Music)/G. Logothetis (Lyrics)
154	Mia pentamorfis tsiggana	Μια πεντάμορφη τσιγγάνα	A Beautiful Gypsy Girl	1963	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
155	I kafetzou	Η καφετζού	The Coffee-Ground Fortune Teller	1963	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
156	O dromos	Ο δρόμος	The Street/Road	1964	M. Loizos (Music)/K. Mitropoulou (Lyrics)
157	Marina	Μαρίνα	Marina	1965	M. Theodorakis (Music)/O. Elytis (Lyrics)
158	Mi mou thymonis matia mou	Μη μου θυμώνεις μάτια μου	Don't Be Angry with Me, My Eyes	1965	S. Kougiumtzis (Music & Lyrics)
159	Sto palio to monopati	Στο παλιό το μονοπάτι	On the Old Path	1965	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
160	Ena asteri peftei peftei	Ένα αστέρι πέφτει πέφτει	A Star Is Falling, Falling	1965	A. Kaldaras (Music)/G. Samoladas (Lyrics)
161	I modistra	Η μοδίστρα	The Dressmaker	1965	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
162	Palikaraki pou 'lios	Παλικάρακι πού 'λωσε	Young Man, You Wasted Away	1966	S. Xarchakos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
163	I Zozo	Η Ζωζώ	Zozo	1966	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
164	Matia vourkomena	Μάτια βουρκομένα	Tearful Eyes	1966	S. Xarchakos (Music)/N. Gatsos (Lyrics)
165	Auto t' agori	Αυτό τ' αγόρι	That Boy	1966	D. Moutsis (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
166	O tropos	Ο τρόπος	The Way	1966	Paschalis Tsaousis - Olympians (Music & Lyrics)
167	Pou 'nai ta chronia	Πού 'ναι τα χρόνια	Where Are the Years	1967	S. Kougiumtzis (Music)/A. Daskalopoulos (Lyrics)
168	Palikari dipsasmeno	Παλικάρι διψασμένο	Thirsty Young Man	1968	S. Xarchakos (Music)/N. Gatsos (Lyrics)
169	Delfini delfinaki	Δελφίνι δελφινάκι	Dolphin, Little Dolphin	1968	L. Kokotos (Music)/F. Ladis (Lyrics)
170	Pes pos m' antamoses	Πες πως μ' αντάμωσες	Imagine That You Met Me	1968	G. Spanos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
171	Xyrna agapi mou	Ξύπνα αγάπη μου	Wake Up, My Love	1968	M. Hadjidakis (Music & Lyrics)
172	Gelage i Maria	Γέλαγε η Μαρία	Maria Was Laughing	1969	L. Kokotos (Music)/F. Ladis (Lyrics)
173	Ntirlanda	Ντιρλαντά	Ntirlanda	1969	Traditional/Ghinis (Music & Lyrics)
174	Aporse se thelo	Ατόψε σε θέλω	Tonight I Want You	1969	M. Plessas (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
175	Eida tin Anna kapote	Είδα την Άννα κάποτε	I Once Saw Anna	1969	D. Savvopoulos (Music & Lyrics)
176	I Gorgona	Η Γοργόνα	The Mermaid	1970	M. Loizos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
177	Vrechei fotia sti strata mou	Βρέχει φωτιά στη στράτα μου	It's Raining Fire on My Path	1970	M. Plessas (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
178	Poia nyxtha s' eklepse	Ποια νύχτα σ' έκλεψε	Which Night Stole You	1970	M. Plessas (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
179	Ta xeria	Τα χέρια	The Hands	1970	G. Spanos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
180	Oneiro demeno	Όνειρο δεμένο	Bound Dream	1971	S. Xarchakos (Music)/N. Gatsos (Lyrics)
181	I Maria ton vrachon	Η Μαρία των βράχων	Mary of the Rocks	1971	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
182	O Tarzan	Ο Ταρζάν	Tarzan	1972	G. Marinos (Music)/G. Logothetis (Lyrics)
183	An kano atakti zoi	Αν κάνω άτακτη ζωή	If I Lead an Unruly Life	1972	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
184	Chronia se perimena	Χρόνια σε περίμενα	I've Been Waiting for You for Years	1972	A. Kaldaras (Music)/P. Falaras (Lyrics)
185	Istoria mou	Ιστορία μου	My Story	1973	G. Karasoulos (Music)/S. Tsotou (Lyrics)
186	Odos Aristotelous	Οδός Αριστοτέλους	Aristotelous Street	1974	G. Spanos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)

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187	T' akornteon	Τ' ακορντεόν	The Accordion	1974	M. Loizos (Music)/G. Negreptontis (Lyrics)
188	Choris deکارا	Χωρίς δεκάρα	Without a Penny	1974	G. Katsaros (Music)/P. Pylarinos (Lyrics)
189	O stratiotis	Ο στρατιώτης	The Soldier	1974	M. Loizos (Music)/K. Myris (Lyrics)
190	Poia daskala echis	Ποια δασκάλα έχεις	Which Female Teacher Do You Have	1974	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
191	Ola kala	Όλα καλά	Everything Is Fine	1975	S. Kougioumtzis (Music)/M. Eleftheriou (Lyrics)
192	Yparcho	Υπάρχω	I Exist	1975	Ch. Nikolopoulos (Music)/P. Pythagoras (Lyrics)
193	I Roza i naziara	Η Ρόζα η ναζιάρα	Coquettish Roza	1975	V. Tsitsanis (Music & Lyrics)
194	Tis gerakinas gios	Της γερακίνας γιος	The Son of the Falcon	1975	V. Tsitsanis (Music)/K. Virvos (Lyrics)
195	I agapi ola ta ypomeni	Η αγάπη όλα τα υπομένει	Love Endures Everything	1976	G. Mitsakis (Music & Lyrics)
196	I garsona	Η γκαρσόνα	The Waitress	1976	Traditional/Adaptation (Music & Lyrics)
197	Gie mou, gie mou	Γιε μου, γιε μου	My Son, My Son	1977	A. Kaldaras (Music)/M. Govostis (Lyrics)
198	Modistres kai kommotries	Μοδίστρες και κομμώτριες	Dressmakers and Hairdressers	1977	N. Karvelas (Music & Lyrics)
199	Tosa kalokairia	Τόσα καλοκαίρια	So Many Summers	1978	M. Plessas (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
200	Ta therina sinema	Τα θερινά σινεμά	The Open-Air Cinemas	1978	L. Kilaidonis (Music & Lyrics)
201	Treli ki adespoti	Τρελή κι αδέσποτη	Crazy and Stray	1978	N. Xydakis (Music)/M. Rasoulis (Lyrics)
202	Esy sto ergostasio ki ego sto adeio spiti	Εσύ στο εργοστάσιο κι εγώ στο άδειο σπίτι	You at the Factory and Me in the Empty House	1978	V. Papakonstantinou (Music)/S. Alivizatos (Lyrics)
203	Ola se thymizoun	Όλα σε θυμίζουν	Everything Reminds Me of You	1979	M. Loizos (Music)/M. Rasoulis (Lyrics)
204	I mpalanta tis noikokyra	Η μπαλάντα της νοικοκυράς	The Housewife's Ballad	1980	L. Platonos (Music)/M. Kriezis (Lyrics)
205	Mpalarina	Μπαλαρίνα	Ballerina	1981	Ch. Kyriazis (Music & Lyrics)
206	Kyra daskala	Κυρά δασκάλα	Lady Schoolteacher	1981	L. Kilaidonis (Music & Lyrics)
207	Mia vradia sto louki	Μια βραδιά στο λούκι	A Night at the Louki Club	1982	A. Vardis (Music)/V. Papakonstantinou (Lyrics)
208	Krouaziera	Κρουαζιέρα	Cruise	1982	V. Germanos (Music & Lyrics)
209	I Panagia ton Patision	Η Παναγία των Πατισίων	Our Lady of Patisia	1982	D. Savvopoulos (Music & Lyrics)
210	Mia mera mias Mairis	Μια μέρα μιας Μάρης	A Day in the Life of a Mary	1982	Loukianos Kelaidonis
211	De thelo tin symponia kanenos	Δε θέλω την συμπόνια κανενός	I Don't Want Anyone's Sympathy	1983	Ch. Nikolopoulos (Music)/M. Rasoulis (Lyrics)
212	De metanioio	Δε μετανιώνω	I Don't Regret It	1984	A. Vardis (Music)/A. Daskalopoulos (Lyrics)
213	Mia einai i ousia	Μία είναι η ουσία	There Is Only One Essence	1984	Ch. Nikolopoulos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
214	O mavros gatos	Ο μαύρος γάτος	The Black Cat	1984	V. Papakonstantinou (Music & Lyrics)
215	Nycterini ekpompi	Νυχτερινή εκπομπή	Night Broadcast	1984	M. Germanos (Music & Lyrics)
216	Sto grafeio	Στο γραφείο	At the Office	1984	L. Platonos (Music)/M. Kriezis (Lyrics)
217	Ach Ellada	Αχ Ελλάδα	Oh Greece	1984	N. Papazoglou (Music & Lyrics)
218	Pio kali i monaxia	Πιο καλή η μοναξιά	Loneliness Is Better	1984	G. Spanos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
219	Avgoustos	Αύγουστος	August	1984	N. Papazoglou (Music & Lyrics)
220	To Ergostasio	Το Εργοστάσιο	The Factory	1984	A. Platonos (Music)/M. Kriezis (Lyrics)
221	O Salonikios	Ο Σαλονικιός	The Man from Thessaloniki	1985	Ch. Nikolopoulos (Music)/L. Papadopoulos (Lyrics)
222	Tsai giasemiou	Τσάι γιασεμιού	Jasmine Tea	1985	N. Kypourgos (Music)/L. Nikolakopoulou (Lyrics)
223	Dodeka	Δώδεκα	Twelve O' clock	1985	N. Karvelas (Music & Lyrics)
224	To mpar tis Tetis kai tis Katerinas	Το μπαρ της Τέτης και της Κατερίνας	The Bar of Teti and Katerina	1985	L. Platonos (Music)/M. Kriezis (Lyrics)
225	Rita Ritaki	Ρίτα Ριτάκι	Rita Ritaki	1985	Ch. Kyriazis (Music & Lyrics)
226	Pote Voudas, pote Koudas	Πότε Βούδας, πότε Κούδας	Sometimes Buddha, Sometimes Koudas	1986	P. Tassoulas (Music)/M. Rasoulis (Lyrics)
227	Despoina	Δέσποινα	Despoina	1986	N. Karvelas (Music & Lyrics)
228	Pes to ki egine	Πες το κι έγινε	Consider It Done	1986	A. Vardis (Music)/G. Kanellopoulos (Lyrics)
229	S' opoion aresoume	Σ' όποιον αρέσουμε	Whoever Likes Us	1986	S. Kraounakis (Music)/L. Nikolakopoulou (Lyrics)
230	Kalokairaki	Καλοκαιράκι	Summertime	1986	V. Germanos (Music & Lyrics)
231	Party ston 13o orof	Πάρτυ στον 13ο όροφο	Party on the 13th Floor	1987	Trypes (Music)/G. Aggelakas (Lyrics)
232	Pame gia treles stis Seychelles	Πάμε για τρέλες στις Σεϋχέλλες	Let's Go Crazy in the Seychelles	1987	N. Karvelas (Music & Lyrics)
233	Ai ai ai Maria	Αϊ αϊ αϊ Μαρία	Ay Ay Ay Maria	1988	M. Rakintzis (Music & Lyrics)
234	Sta krevatia ta xena	Στα κρεβάτια τα ξένα	In Strangers' Beds	1989	A. Chrysovergis (Music)/S. Giatras (Lyrics)
235	Poios ego	Ποιος εγώ	Who Am I	1990	K. Charitodiplomenos (Music)/G. Misykas (Lyrics)
236	Orkisou	Ορκίσου	Swear	1990	K. Charitodiplomenos (Music)/G. Misykas (Lyrics)
237	Mi mou milas gia kalokairia	Μη μου θυμώνεις για καλοκαίρια	Don't Talk to Me About Summers	1991	N. Lavranos (Music)/S. Alivizatos (Lyrics)
238	De metanioio	Δε μετανιώνω	I Don't Regret It	1991	M. Rakintzis (Music & Lyrics)
239	Dynata	Δυνατά	Strongly/Loudly	1991	A. Dinkjian (Music)/L. Nikolakopoulou (Lyrics)
240	Kleino ki erchomai	Κλείνω κι έρχομαι	I'm Hanging Up and Coming Over	1991	N. Portokaloglou (Music & Lyrics)
241	S' anazito sti Saloniki	Σ' αναζιτώ στη Σαλονίκη	I Search for You in Salonica	1992	M. Tokas (Music)/F. Grapsas (Lyrics)
242	To pepromeno	Το πεπρωμένο	The Destiny	1993	V. Dimitriou (Music & Lyrics)
243	Panta erotemenos	Πάντα ερωτευμένος	Always in Love	1993	A. Chrysovergis (Music)/S. Giatras (Lyrics)
244	Nychtes Sti Mykono	Νύχτες Στη Μύκονο	Nights in Mykonos	1994	V. Tsitsanis/J. Kouroutis (Music)/Traditional/Adaptation (Lyrics)
245	Ta ladadika	Τα λαδάδικα	Ladadika	1994	A. Vardis (Music)/F. Grapsas (Lyrics)
246	Akou Mana	Ακού Μάνα	Listen Mother	1994	Active Member (Music & Lyrics)
247	Aetos	Αετός	Eagle	1994	A. Vardis (Music)/I. Gonis (Lyrics)
248	Exartatai	Εξαρτάται	It Depends	1995	G. Theofanous (Music)/E. Droutsas (Lyrics)
249	An pas me alli	Αν πας με άλλη	If You Go with Another Woman	1995	K. Charitodiplomenos (Music)/G. Misykas (Lyrics)
250	Artemis	Άρτεμις	Artemis	1995	F. Delivorias (Music & Lyrics)
251	Anemona	Ανεμόνα	Anemone	1995	G. Theofanous (Music)/E. Droutsas (Lyrics)
252	Kapoies Forés	Κάποιες Φορές	Sometimes	1995	Ch. Nikolopoulos (Music)/M. Rasoulis (Lyrics)
253	Mia matia sou mono ftanei	Μια ματιά σου μόνο φτάνει	Just One Look of Yours Is Enough	1996	Yann Tiersen/Adaptation (Music)/Gr. Lyrics
254	Tora archizoun ta dyskola	Τώρα αρχίζουν τα δύσκολα	Now the Hard Times Begin	1996	G. Theofanous (Music)/E. Droutsas (Lyrics)
255	Tilefonise mou	Τηλεφώνησέ μου	Call Me	1996	A. Vardis (Music)/V. Giannopoulos (Lyrics)
256	Tha melancholiso	Θα μελαγχολήσω	I Will Get Depressed/Sad	1996	Phoebus (Music & Lyrics)
257	Archizo polemo	Αρχίζω πόλεμο	I Start a War	1996	Phoebus (Music)/N. Vaxiovanelis (Lyrics)
258	Trauma	Τραύμα	Trauma/Wound	1997	N. Karvelas (Music & Lyrics)
259	Mera me ti mera	Μέρα με τη μέρα	Day by Day	1997	Phoebus (Music & Lyrics)
260	Spania	Σπάνια	Rarely	1998	Phoebus (Music & Lyrics)
261	Apistia	Απιστία	Infidelity	1998	N. Karvelas (Music & Lyrics)
262	Monaxia mou ola	Μοναξιά μου όλα	Loneliness Is Everything to Me	1998	Pyx Lax (Music & Lyrics)
263	I gynaiika tou Patokou	Η γυναίκα του Πατόκου	Patokos' Wife	1998	Foivos Delivorias
264	Mpalarina	Μπαλαρίνα	Ballerina	1999	M. Rakintzis (Music & Lyrics)

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