Making Modern Mothers: Ethics and Family Planning in Urban Greece. Heather Passon. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles. 2004. 335 pp. ISBN 0-520-22371-2 (cloth), 0-520-23820-6 (paper).

Milena Marchesi University of Massachusetts, Amherst

In Making Modern Mothers, anthropologist Heather
Paxson investigates how "experts," such as family planners,
demographers, policy-makers, and three generations of
urban Geeck women explain the paradox of a "family-oriented" culture having one of the highest abortion rates and
one of the lowest fertility rates in the European Union. In
examining the cultural politics of motherhood in contemporary Greece, Making Modern Mothers contributes
to emerging critical works on demography, the modernist
ideology of international family planning, the relationship
between reproduction and the nation, and the valence of
reproductive practices as markers of modernity."

Paxson's research, based on two years of fieldwork in mid-1990s Athens, reveals a gap between women's reproductive experiences and dominant "expert discourses" that attribute Greece's high abortion rates to "the tenacity of tradition" (p. 3) and to "cultural resistance to contraception" (p. 121). However, Athenian women's experiences of fertility decline do not fit neatly into the teleological assumptions of demographic transition theory, which posit low fertility as a necessary condition and marker of modernity. Instead, urban Greek women are caught between the demands of modern subjecthood and the social and moral expectations of motherbood.

Chapter one, "Realizing Nature," examines the cultural specificity of the meaning and relationship of nature and gender in Greece. In the Greek language sex and gender are signified by the same word and describe a "socially ascribed and institutionally reinforced category of difference assumed by persons as a matter of moral responsibility" (p. 39), not a biologically determined state. Paxson organizes these changing, but overlapping, moral expectations of gender proficiency and motherhood into three roughly chronological ethical frameworks: the ethic of service, of choice, and of well-being. The ethic of service defines motherhood as a service to the family and the nation, a sacrifice which "redeemed women's sexuality and accorded women adult status" (p. 34). The ethic of choice describes the postwar generation, its struggle for reproductive rights, but also the increase burden of responsibility on women, and "compromises, contradictions, and hidden agendas" (p. 35). Finally, the ethic of well-being describes the current liberal ethic and mandate of self-care. Looking at abortion through the lenses of these three ethics reveals that these shift do not represent

an automatic increase in women's reproductive freedom. Although abortion was morally acceptable under both the ethic of service (for the good of the family), and the ethic of choice, under the ethic of well-being abortion becomes suspect as a backward and unhealthy practice that threatens the fertility of women and the nation.

Chapter two, "Remaking Mothers: From an Ethic of Service to an Ethic of Choice," traces the shift from early modern ethics, characterized by duty and convention, to modern ethics, which privilege inner subjectivities and consciousness. Under the ethic of service, procreation is not a personal choice, but rather a reflection of "God's will." Because modern contraceptives contradict the notion that fertility is outside of human agency, professional family planners depict abortion as a "traditional" method of fertility control. The shift from an ethic of service to an ethic of choice marks a change in subjectivity from "a self-controlling nature aimed at conforming to external standards" to internalized "inner desire that should be actualized through conscious planning" (p. 66).

In chapter three, "Rationalizing Sex: Family Planning and an Ethic of Well-Being," Payson examines and critiques "family planning as an ideology" (p. 104) linked to the desire to be modern and European. Professional family planning, which according to Paxson is "caught in the tradition/modernity dualism" (p. 105), aims to bring rationality to sex and modernity to the nation. The desire for Europeanness (p. 105) forms the backdrop of how sexuality and reproductive choices are contextualized in contemporary Greece and explains the persistence of the ideology of family planning despite nationalist concerns over low fertility rates (p. 112-113). Family planning embraces a "medical sexual ideology" (p. 141) that mystifies the structures of patriarchal power and ignores the "deeply gendered" nature of modern contraception (p. 142), thus reinforcing women's burden as the domain of fertility moves from social control to individual medicalization. Whereas Athenian women described abortion as a "necessary evil" of a patriaechal society, for example, family planners explain it as a failure of rational planning and a cultural holdover.

Chapter four, "Maternal Citizens: Demographics, Pronatalism, and Population Policy," examines the gendered status of citizenship and women's roles as the symbolic and actual reproducers of the nation. Paxson traces two decades of discourses on "the problem" of low fertility in Greece, highlighting the nationalist assumptions of demography, the paradoxes of Greek pronatalist policies under the ethic of choice, and the slippery slide from nationalist demography to biological racism. Since nations are "figured" as families, only citizen mothers can reproduce them, as "only women can ensure the reproduction of a pure, legitimate nation" (p. 153). In this context, according

Cortney Hughes Rinker

Making Modern Mothers Heather Paxson, 2004-02-12 Publisher Description Making Modern Mothers Heather Paxson, 2004-02-12 In Greece women speak of mothering as within the nature of a woman But this durable association of motherhood with femininity exists in tension with the highest incidence of abortion and one of the lowest fertility rates in Europe In this setting how do women think of themselves as proper individuals mothers and Greek citizens In this anthropological study of reproductive politics and ethics in Athens Greece Heather Paxson tracks the effects of increasing consumerism and imported biomedical family planning methods showing how women s nature is being transformed to meet crosscutting claims of the contemporary world Locating profound ambivalence in people's ethical evaluations of gender and fertility control Paxson offers a far reaching analysis of conflicting assumptions about what it takes to be a good mother and a good woman in modern Greece where assertions of cultural tradition unfold against a backdrop of European Union integration economic struggle and national demographic anxiety over a falling birth rate Islam, Development, and **Urban Women's Reproductive Practices** Cortney Hughes Rinker, 2013-09-02 Drawing on fieldwork conducted in Rabat Morocco this ethnography analyzes the relationship between neoliberal development policies women s reproductive practices and popular understandings of Islam In the 1990s Morocco shifted its attention from economic to human development as economic reforms in the preceding decades ultimately did not address social issues such as access to healthcare and education and poverty Development programs like the National Initiative for Human Development seek to create modern citizens who are responsible self sustaining and will make choices that better their well being Hughes Rinker considers the implications that the reorientation from primarily economic to social development has on reproductive healthcare Drawing on observations in health clinics interviews with patients medical staff and at government and development agencies and a document analysis she demonstrates how women appropriate the medical practices and spaces of intervention aimed at creating modern citizens to form new religious identities novel ideas of motherhood and interpretations of neoliberal citizenship based on Islamic beliefs Women's interpretations of Islam are not incompatible with the state's agenda for modernization but rather serve as rationale for women to accept modern reproductive practices such as contraception and pregnancy tests However even though female patients appropriate medical practices they reinscribe development tropes that suggest they participate in modernization through their reproductive bodies and mothering instead of their productive labor Hughes Rinker complicates neoliberalism as she shows it is unproductive to have a set conceptualization of neoliberal citizens and more productive to examine the practices and discourses that create such citizens **Orthodox Christianity** in 21st Century Greece Vasilios N. Makrides, 2016-05-13 One of the predominantly Orthodox countries that has never experienced communism is Greece a country uniquely situated to offer insights about contemporary trends and developments in Orthodox Christianity This volume offers a comprehensive treatment of the role Orthodox Christianity plays at the dawn of

the twenty first century Greece from social scientific and cultural historical perspectives This book breaks new ground by examining in depth the multifaceted changes that took place in the relationship between Orthodox Christianity and politics ethnicity gender and popular culture Its intention is two fold on the one hand it aims at revisiting some earlier stereotypes widespread both in academic and others circles about the Greek Orthodox Church its cultural specificity and its social presence such as its alleged intrinsic non pluralistic attitude toward non Orthodox Others On the other hand it attempts to show how this fairly traditional religious system underwent significant changes in recent years affecting its public role and image particularly as it became more and more exposed to the challenges of globalization and multiculturalism Jarrett Zigon, 2008-11-15 Zigon here provides an account of anthropological approaches to the question of morality By considering how morality is viewed and enacted in different cultures and how it is related to key social institutions he takes a closer look at some of the most central questions in the morality debates of our time Tradition in the Frame Konstantinos Kalantzis, 2019-08-09 Sfakians on the island of Crete are known for their distinctive dress and appearance fierce ruggedness and devotion to traditional ways Konstantinos Kalantzis explores how Sfakians live with the burdens and pleasures of maintaining these expectations of exoticism for themselves for their fellow Greeks and for tourists Sfakian performance of masculine tradition has become even more meaningful for Greeks looking to reimagine their nation s global standing in the wake of stringent financial regulation and for non Greek tourists yearning for rootedness and escape from the post industrial north Through fine grained ethnography that pays special attention to photography Tradition in the Frame explores the ambivalence of a society expected to conform to outsiders perception of the traditional even as it strives to enact its own vision of tradition From the bodily reenactment of historical photographs to the unpredictable emotionally charged uses of postcards and commercial labels the book unpacks the question of power and asymmetry but also uncovers other political possibilities that are nested in visual culture and experiences of tradition and the past Kalantzis explores the crossroads of cultural performance and social imagination where the frame is both empowerment and subjection The Nation and Its Ruins Yannis Hamilakis, 2007-08-02 Publisher description Baby Trouble in the Last Best West Amy Kaler, 2017-03-17 Reproduction is the most emotionally complicated human activity It transforms lives but it also creates fears and anxieties about women whose childbearing doesn t conform to the norm Baby Trouble in the Last Best West explores the ways that women's childbearing became understood as a social problem in early twentieth century Alberta Kaler utilizes censuses newspaper reports social work case files and personal letters to illuminate the ordeals that women men and babies were subjected to as Albertans debated childbearing Through the lens of reproduction Kaler offers a vivid and engaging analysis of how colonialism racism nationalism medicalization and evolving gender politics contributed to Alberta's imaginative economy of reproduction Kaler investigates five different episodes of baby trouble the emergence of obstetrics as a political issue the drive for eugenic sterilization unmarried childbearing and rescue homes for unmarried mothers state sponsored allowances

for single mothers and high infant mortality Baby Trouble in the Last Best West will transport the reader to the turmoil of Alberta s early years while examining the complexity of settler society building and gender struggles Making Parents Charis Thompson, 2005 Reproductive technologies says Thompson are part of the increasing tendency to turn social problems into biomedical questions and can be used as a lens to see the resulting changes in the relations between science and society Birth Control and American Modernity Trent MacNamara, 2018-10-11 How did birth control become legitimate in the United States One kitchen table at a time contends Trent MacNamara who charts how Americans reexamined old ideas about money time transcendence nature and risk when considering approaches to family planning By the time Margaret Sanger and other activists began campaigning for legal contraception in the 1910s Americans had been effectively controlling fertility for a century combining old techniques with explosive new ideas Birth Control and American Modernity charts those ideas capturing a movement that relied less on traditional public advocacy than dispersed action of the kind that nullified Prohibition Acting in bedrooms and gossip corners where formal power was weak and moral feeling strong Americans of both sexes gradually normalized birth control in private then in public as part of a wider prioritization of present material worlds over imagined eternal continuums. The moral edifice they constructed and similar citizen movements around the world remains tenuously intact The Subject of Virtue James Laidlaw, 2013-10-24 The anthropology of ethics has become an important and fast growing field in recent years This book argues that it represents not just a new subfield within anthropology but a conceptual renewal of the discipline as a whole enabling it to take account of a major dimension of human conduct which social theory has so far failed adequately to address An ideal introduction for students and researchers in anthropology and related human sciences Shows how ethical concepts such as virtue character freedom and responsibility may be incorporated into anthropological analysis Surveys the history of anthropology s engagement with morality Examines the relevance for anthropology of two major philosophical approaches to moral life Wasted Wombs Erica van der Sijpt, 2018-03-27 Central to this book are Gbigbil women's experiences with different reproductive interruptions miscarriages stillbirths child deaths induced abortions and infertility Rather than consider these events as inherently dissimilar as women do in Western countries the Gbigbil women of eastern Cameroon see them all as instances of wasted wombs that leave their reproductive trajectories hanging in the balance The women must navigate this uncertainty while negotiating their social positions aspirations for the future and the current workings of their bodies Providing an intimate look into these processes Wasted Wombs shows how Gbigbil women constantly shift their interpretations of when a pregnancy starts what it contains and what is lost in case of a reproductive interruption in contrast to Western conceptions of fertility and loss Depending on the context and on their life aspirations be it marriage and motherhood or an educational trajectory and employment or profitable sexual affairs with so called big fish women negotiate and manipulate the meanings and effects of reproductive interruptions Paradoxically they often do so while portraying themselves as powerless Wasted Wombs carefully analyzes such

tactics in relation to the various social predicaments that emerge around reproductive interruptions as well as the capricious workings of women s physical bodies The Politics of the Female Body in Contemporary Turkey Hilal Alkan, Ayse Dayi, Sezin Topcu, Betül Yarar, 2021-05-20 In Turkey the Justice and Development Party government has introduced new regulations about reproductive rights and shifted family and gender policies Women's central role in reproductive and domestic work was swiftly reaffirmed and abortion and IVF were newly debated Taking Turkey as the case study this is the first book to examine the various ways neoliberal modes of governing women's bodies interact with conservative and authoritarian measures The contributions focus on reproduction maternity and sexuality to explore the three main areas of governmental interventions into the female body Topics for discussion include the expansion of IVF and egg markets the privatization of gynaecological and obstetrical care differential treatment of poor and ethnic minority women s fertility sexuality and women s multiple responses to these shifts While focusing on Turkey the book presents analytical tools applicable under rising authoritarianisms and conservatisms worldwide Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage Ronda L. Brulotte, Michael A. Di Giovine, 2016-04-29 Food its cultivation preparation and communal consumption has long been considered a form of cultural heritage A dynamic living product food creates social bonds as it simultaneously marks off and maintains cultural difference In bringing together anthropologists historians and other scholars of food and heritage this volume closely examines the ways in which the cultivation preparation and consumption of food is used to create identity claims of cultural heritage on local regional national and international scales Contributors explore a range of themes including how food is used to mark insiders and outsiders within an ethnic group how the same food s meanings change within a particular society based on class gender or taste and how traditions are invented for the revitalization of a community during periods of cultural pressure Featuring case studies from Europe Asia and the Americas this timely volume also addresses the complex processes of classifying designating and valorizing food as terroir slow food or as intangible cultural heritage through UNESCO By effectively analyzing food and foodways through the perspectives of critical heritage studies this collection productively brings two overlapping but frequently separate theoretical frameworks into conversation

Maternalism Reconsidered Marian van der Klein,2012 Beginning in the late 19th century competing ideas about motherhood had a profound impact on the development and implementation of social welfare policies Calls for programmes aimed at assisting and directing mothers emanated from all quarters of the globe advanced by states and voluntary organizations liberals and conservatives feminists and anti feminists a phenomenon that scholars have since termed maternalism This volume reassesses maternalism by providing critical reflections on prior usages of the concept and by expanding its meaning to encompass geographical areas political regimes and cultural concerns that scholars have rarely addressed From Argentina Brazil and Mexico City to France Italy the Netherlands the Soviet Ukraine the United States and Canada these case studies offer fresh theoretical and historical perspectives within a transnational and comparative

framework As a whole the volume demonstrates how maternalist ideologies have been employed by state actors reformers and poor clients with myriad political and social ramifications Anthropology and Public Health Robert A. Hahn, Marcia C. Inhorn, 2008-10-17 Many serious public health problems confront the world in the new millennium Anthropology and Public Health examines the critical role of anthropology in four crucial public health domains 1 anthropological understandings of public health problems such as malaria HIV AIDS and diabetes 2 anthropological design of public health interventions in areas such as tobacco control and elder care 3 anthropological evaluations of public health initiatives such as Safe Motherhood and policy eradication and 4 anthropological critiques of public health policies including neoliberal health care reforms As the volume demonstrates anthropologists provide crucial understandings of public health problems from the perspectives of the populations in which the problems occur On the basis of such understandings anthropologists may develop and implement interventions to address particular public health problems often working in collaboration with local participants Anthropologists also work as evaluators examining the activities of public health institutions and the successes and failures of public health programs Anthropological critiques may focus on major international public health agencies and their workings as well as public health responses to the threats of infectious disease and other disasters Through twenty four compelling case studies from around the world the volume provides a powerful argument for the imperative of anthropological perspectives methods information and collaboration in the understanding and practice of public health Written in plain English with significant attention to anthropological methodology the book should be required reading for public health practitioners medical anthropologists and health policy makers It should also be of interest to those in the behavioral and allied health sciences as well as programs of public health administration planning and management As the single most comprehensive and up to date analysis of anthropology s role in public health this volume will inform debates about how to solve the world's most pressing public health problems at a critical moment in human history Selfishness and Selflessness Linda L. Layne, 2020-04-09 We are said to be suffering a narcissism epidemic when the need for collective action seems more pressing than ever The traits of Selfishness and selflessness address the proper and improper relationship between one's self and others. The work they do during periods of social instability and cultural change is probed in this original interdisciplinary collection Contributions range from an examination of how these concepts animated the eighteenth century anti slavery campaigners to a dissection of the way middle class mothers experiences illustrate gendered struggles over how much and to whom one is morally obliged to give Formulas for Motherhood in a Chinese Hospital Suzanne Gottschang, 2018-03-05 What happens to pregnant women when the largest country in the world implements a global health policy aimed at reorganizing hospitals and re training health care workers to promote breastfeeding Since 1992 the Chinese government has led the world in reorganizing more than 7 000 hospitals into Baby Friendly hospitals The initiative s goal overseen by UNICEF and the World Health Organization is to promote the practice of breastfeeding by reorganizing hospital

routines spaces and knowledge in maternity wards and obstetrics clinics At the same time China's hospitals in the mid 1990s operated as sites where the effects of economic reform and capitalism increasingly blurred the boundaries between state imperatives to produce healthy future citizens and the flexibility accorded individuals through their participation in an emerging consumer culture Formulas for Motherhood follows a group of women over eighteen months as they visited a Beijing Baby Friendly Hospital over the course of their pregnancies and throughout their postpartum recoveries The book shows how the space of the hospital operates as a microcosm of the larger social political and economic forces that urban Chinese women navigate in the process of becoming a mother Relations between biomedical practices heightened expectations of femininity and sexuality demanded by a consumer culture alongside international and national agendas to promote maternal and child health reveal new agents of maternal governance emerging at the very moment China's economy heats up This ethnography provides insight into how women s creative pragmatism in a rapidly changing society leads to **Hidden Hunger** Ava Hirata Kimura, 2013-02-15 For decades NGOs their views and decisions about motherhood targeting world hunger focused on ensuring that adequate quantities of food were being sent to those in need In the 1990s the international food policy community turned its focus to the hidden hunger of micronutrient deficiencies a problem that resulted in two scientific solutions fortification the addition of nutrients to processed foods and biofortification the modification of crops to produce more nutritious yields This hidden hunger was presented as a scientific problem to be solved by experts and scientifically engineered smart foods rather than through local knowledge which was deemed unscientific and hence irrelevant In Hidden Hunger Aya Hirata Kimura explores this recent emphasis on micronutrients and smart foods within the international development community and in particular how the voices of women were silenced despite their expertise in food purchasing and preparation Kimura grounds her analysis in case studies of attempts to enrich and market three basic foods rice wheat flour and baby food in Indonesia She shows the power of nutritionism and how its technical focus enhanced the power of corporations as a government partner while restricting public participation in the making of policy for public health and food She also analyzes the role of advertising to promote fortified foodstuffs and traces the history of Golden Rice a crop genetically engineered to alleviate vitamin A deficiencies Situating the recent turn to smart food in Indonesia and elsewhere as part of a long history of technical attempts to solve the Third World food problem Kimura deftly analyzes the intersection of scientific expertise market forces and gendered knowledge to illuminate how hidden hunger ultimately defined women as victims rather than as active agents **Reproductive Disruptions** Marcia C. Inhorn, Marcia Claire Inhorn, 2007 Based on research by leading medical anthropologists from around the world this book examines such issues as local practices detrimental to safe pregnancy and birth conflicting reproductive goals between women and men and miscommunications between pregnant women and their genetic counselors

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Table of Contents Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece

- 1. Understanding the eBook Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
- 2. Identifying Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
- 3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - User-Friendly Interface
- 4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece User Reviews and Ratings
 - Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece Free and Paid eBooks
 - o Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece Public Domain eBooks
 - Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece eBook Subscription Services
 - Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece Budget-Friendly Options

- 6. Navigating Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece eBook Formats
 - o ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece Compatibility with Devices
 - Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - o Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Interactive Elements Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
- 8. Staying Engaged with Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - o Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Setting Reading Goals Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Making Modern Mothers Ethics And Family Planning In Urban Greece
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements

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