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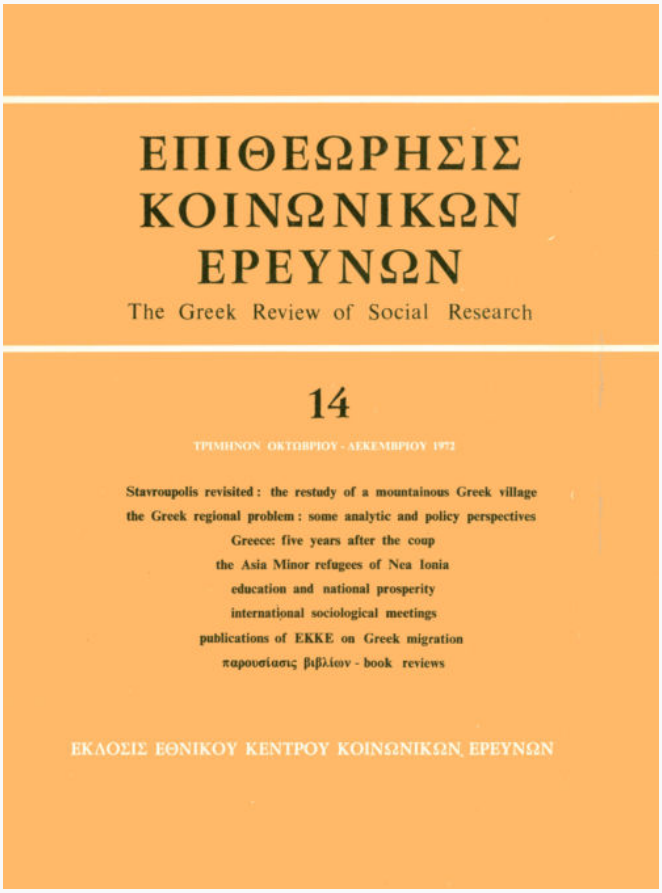

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Stavroupolis revisited: the restudy of a mountainous Greek village

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PREFACE

The National Centre of Social Research is dedicated to the objective of bringing knowledge needed for effective decision-making to those who plan and work for the betterment of the country. The need for up-to-date knowledge, and in particular, in social sciences is greater now than at any previous time.

The most important function of the NCSR is to produce the type of knowledge that is vital for rational social and economic decisions with respect to its value for leadership audiences among administrators, educators and field workers. The NCSR in fulfillment of this purpose supports a variety of research conducted both by its own staff and other contributors.

The present publication deals with the restudy of the village of Stavroupolis in Northern Greece and the changes which took place in its social organization in the last twenty years. Reading this paper, one can realize that intelligent planning can only be based on an understanding of the causes behind the rapid social processes which are underway today.

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ELIE DIMITRAS
General Director

THE FIRST STUDY OF STAVROUPOLIS IN 1953

THE POSITION OF THE COFFEE HOUSE IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE GREEK VILLAGE*

As yet, no single theory offers a satisfactory explanation to social change. Some claim that changes in the economic system initiate rapid changes in the entire social system (Marx, 1933). Others suggest that technology (Ogburn, 1946 a,b), or social values are more crucial areas (Weber, 1930). Reviewers of such theories, and their significance to programs of directed change do not repudiate them. But they suggest that situational factors determine their importance (Bierstedt, 1957, 495-541).

A number of theorists have considered the importance of social structure, but not necessarily as a substitute for any theory of change.[1] It is more or less assumed that no program of directed change can be instrumented without the appropriate social structure. Until recently, however, such structure, as an area of initial attack, had not been considered.

*Reprint from *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1965. The data reported in this article were collected in the year 1953.

1. By structure we mean uniformities of dynamic processes expressed in the form of relationships of the various parts in a given state of the system. This implies integration of cultural elements brought together in a certain kind of ordered system.

Then action programs for less-developed societies, such as the Community Development Program in the United States, started considering changes of this part of the social system as their main objective. They claim that an effective social structure can bring about extensive socio-economic changes with limited outside assistance (Taylor, 1956 and 1957).

As there is no single theory in the area of social change in general, there is no single theory among those dealing with social organization which would suggest specific parts of the structure of such organization as crucial to programs of directed change. Social structure constitutes an important part of the social system, which is a system in equilibrium. Because this equilibrium is dynamic, we assume that change in any important part affects the rest of the social system and its organization. The question, as in the case of selecting a single theory of social change in general, is the possibility of selecting the single most crucial part.

But are there such crucial parts? And if there are, is their importance determined by situational or cultural factors as has been suggested for theories of social change? This paper attempts to pinpoint such a crucial single part by pointing out the important position of the coffee house in the social structure of the Greek village.[1]

More specifically, the purpose of this paper is to: (1) determine the position of the coffee house in the social structure of the village, and (2) examine the function of this position as part of the village's social organization.

setting and procedure

The rural coffee house is an open clubroom where men meet each other, drink alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages, and play various games such as backgammon, cards, and chess.

In rural areas coffee houses are found in almost every village. They are usually located in the village square or plaza. Their number, according to the village's size, varies from 1 to about 10.

Open clubs, similar to the coffee house, are found in many European countries. Greek coffee houses are similar to these open clubs in the sense that: (1) they are the pastime centres where men congregate, (2) they are probably the only places in the village where men interact extensively with villagers other than members of their family, and (3) in societies where they are located, male adults occupy important positions in the family and community. These same common attributes have offered the basis for the propositions tested in this study. From this point of view, then, we could say that the study of the Greek coffee house has implications for the study of similar open clubs elsewhere.[2]

The present inquiry was conducted in the village of Stavroupolis. It is located in north-eastern Greece near the Bulgarian border. It has about 1,200 inhabitants, primarily tobacco producers. Although it cannot be classified as a typical Greek village, it possesses the main characteristics of villages where tobacco is the principle crop.

Villagers in Stavroupolis, as in other Greek villages, meet most of their social and economic needs in the village, interacting more among themselves than with outsiders. This intense interaction of individuals whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of shared symbols and expectations is one important indicator of the existence of a community (Loomis, 1957, 22-36) and a social system (Loomis, 1960, 3).

Concerning only certain population segments, the village's geography has helped create three separate social systems. These can be defined as neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods in the United States usually include two or three agencies that serve some needs of the locale (Loomis, 1960, 32). In this village there are no such agencies. These geographically separate neighbourhoods are separate entities primarily because women and children form their cliques inside these areas. Men do not interact or form cliques inside a neighbourhood. They use the entire community. There are five coffee houses in the village, all located in the village square or plaza.

Data for this study were collected through participant observation and the use of a questionnaire. Every third house of the approximately 320 village houses was included in the sample. Responses of only male family heads are treated in this study. Those respondents who felt that they would have difficulty answering the questions were assisted.

the position of the coffee house in the informal social structure

To examine the role of the coffee house in the organizational structure of the village, we will first examine its relationship with the informal and formal structure of the village. Then we will examine these relationships in the light of the larger social system, the community. Hypotheses referring to the relationship with the informal structure are tested with data selected through participant observation. Hypothe-

1. By important position, in this case, we mean: (a) the function of the position in the system of relationships which comprise the village social system, and (b) its vulnerability by programs of social change.

2. For more information on the Greek coffee house see: Sanders, 1962.

ses referring to the relationship with the formal structure are tested in part with empirical data. Such data deal with the relationship between formal leadership and participation in the coffee house. We will first briefly examine the important informal groups in the village of Stavroupolis, starting with the family. Then we will examine their relation to the coffee house.

Excluding the coffee house group, there are three important groupings in the village: (1) family or kinship groups, (2) groups of women, and (3) groups of children. As elsewhere, the family is the basic unit of village society. In villages such as Stavroupolis where Turkish tobacco is the principle crop, the entire family, including small children, work for long hours as a production unit. Family life thus is cemented by mechanical and organic solidarity. The father is always the undisputed leader of the family in all economic and social affairs. Often he makes the decisions for the other family members. So interaction patterns initiated by the economic system in turn help build a social system which supports the exclusive position of the adult male. This structure, as in other isolated folk societies, is supported by a rigid belief system.

If this is the father's position in his family, let us see what his position is in the other two important neighbourhood groups: the group of women and the group of children. Then we will have a picture of his position in the neighbourhood structure.

Members of a closed system, such as the rural Greek community, who hold these rigid beliefs and values, usually support norms which are in line with them when they interact in their cliques. At least this is the case concerning the image and undisputed status of the male adult. Groups formed by family members such as the women's cliques and the children's play groups, upheld these norms inside their own social systems.

Cliques of women and children in more complex and open societies are different. These cliques, due to the more diverse backgrounds of their members, their closer contact with other groups, and their autonomy as community sub-systems, most often develop norms which differ from those of the family—at least concerning the adult male.

Because of their status, male adults in the village strongly influence the members of these groups and, as a consequence, the neighbourhood. Let us see now what kind of group these high-status individuals form by considering first what motivates their interaction in the coffee house and what the degree of this interaction is.

Three reasons for participation were mentioned by respondents: (a) to meet friends, (b) to hear news, and (c) to play games or drink. Of those interviewed, about one third spend 2 to 3 hours whenever they visited the coffee house; about half of them spend about 1 hour. The rest either spend less time or do not go at all (about 4.5 per cent).

TABLE 1. *Frequency of coffee house participation*

Frequency category	Per cent of participants
Every day	35.9
5 to 6 days a week	5.6
3 to 4 days a week	16.9
1 or 2 days a week	23.6
1 or 2 days a month	13.5
Never	4.5
Total	100.0 (89)

TABLE 2. *Per cent of participation in the most frequented and second most frequented coffee house*

Coffee house	Most frequented coffee house	Second most frequented coffee house
A	51.9%	40.0%
B	24.1	43.3
C	13.9	10.0
D and E	10.1	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(89)	(30)

Excluding Sundays, villagers usually go to the coffee house immediately after work—a little before or after sunset. Almost all participants try to be there during these early evening hours. Most of them go at least 3 to 4 days a week (see Table 1). More than one third of those who attend patronize a second coffee house besides the one they usually attend.

Among the five coffee houses in the village, Coffee house A attracts 51.9 per cent of the coffee house participants (see Table 2). Coffee house A also attracts about 80 per cent of those from other coffee houses who frequent a second coffee house. Finally, more than one fourth of its participants visit other coffee houses.

Interaction that is repeated tends to develop certain uniformities over time, some of which tend to persist. Because these uniformities are orderly and systematic, they can be recognized as social systems (Loomis, 1960, 3). The high frequency of interaction, in the coffee house, together with limited outside contacts, helps develop a well-defined and cohesive social system (Homans, 1955, 138-121). These attributes become more obvious and in turn more crucial

when the nature of the interaction inside the coffee house system is considered in terms of the interaction of its members in the family, which, excluding the coffee house, is the only social system where adult males interact extensively.

At home the male adult occupies the status of the usper-ordinate. At the coffee house he may occupy two other statuses, that of the equal and the subordinate. The former implies intense interaction among men of equal status who have the same background and interests. Such interaction leads to sentiments of liking, similarity of attitudes, and formation of strong clique groups (Homans, 1955). These membership groups often are used as reference groups (Merton, 1957, 236-241).

The later form of interaction, with those of higher status, implies respect and hostility. This prestigeful stratum of the group also serves as a reference group (Merton, 1957). So male adults, the persons who exert strong influence on the neighbourhood groups, are firmly attached to their own system to which they refer for their behaviour.

The roots of this interactional structure lie in the fact that the Greek peasant culture supports a social organization which makes the coffee house a unique place which meets important needs. The more important these needs are, however, the more they depend on the group and in turn the more the coffee house exerts control over them.[1]

By exerting control over the male, the coffee house also exerts control over the women, the children, and in turn, the entire village. The male adult demands that his family members behave in line with the expectations of the coffee house, either because he likes to preserve his status in the coffee house group or because he actually adopts its attitudes. Women and children, who are aware of this group's importance to the respected male head of their family, condition their behaviour so that they do not threaten his position. Mothers often reprimand their daughters who have been seen out late by saying, «How is your father going to face the coffee house after this?».

This prestigeful stratum of the village group also exerts direct control over women and children. «The coffee house will laugh at you» is a strong threat and warning for members of these two groups who have deviated or contemplate deviation.

So this system of controls is built on interaction and decisively controls the behaviour of the villagers. The centre of this system is Coffee house A which is the centre of the interactional network. As shown previously, it attracts more than half of the coffee house participants as more or less steady members and a considerable proportion of members of other coffee houses who visit it less frequently. But this influence of the coffee house, particularly Coffee house A, on the informal structure of the village is only one side of the coin. The other side is its influence on the formal social structure.

1. See discussion on 'law of reciprocity': Homans, 1955, 284-288.

TABLE 3. *Number of offices held in relationship to coffee-house participation*

Frequency category	Number of persons	Total number of offices held	Average number of offices per person
Every day	32	99	3.09
5 to 6 days a week	5	16	3.20
3 to 4 days a week	15	34	2.26
1 or 2 days a week	21	36	1.71
1 or 2 days a month	12	5	0.41
Never	4	—	—
$X^1 = 15.11$		$p < .05$	

TABLE 4. *Number of organizations in which offices were held in relation to coffee-house participation*

Frequency category	Number of persons	Number of organizations in which offices were held	Average number of organizations in which offices were held
Every day	32	40	1.25
5 to 6 days a week	5	8	1.60
3 to 4 days a week	15	5	0.33
1 or 2 days a week	21	14	0.66
1 or 2 days a month	12	3	0.25
Never	4	—	—
$X^2 = 14.84$		$p < .05$	

the position of the coffee house in the formal structure

Two aspects of the influence of the coffee house on the formal structure of the village are discussed: (1) its influence on the selection of leaders of formal organizations, and (2) its influence on decisions made by such organizations, particularly the village government.

Nine formal organizations were considered: Community Government, Boy Scouts, Farmer's Cooperatives, Parent-Teachers' Association (PTA), Political

TABLE 5. *Offices held by persons frequenting different coffee houses*

Coffee house	Number of persons	Total number of offices held	Average number of offices per person held
A	41	146	3.13
B	19	57	3.00
C	11	6	0.18
D and E	8	5	1.00
$X^2 = 22.67$[1]		$p < .05$	

1. The X2 refers to the relationship size of the coffee-house group and number of offices held.

TABLE 6. *Number of offices held in specific organizations by participants of different coffee houses*

Organization	Average number of offices held by participants of coffee houses				
	A	B	C	D	E
Community Government	0.41	0.10	—	—	—
Boy Scouts	0.30	—	—	—	—
Farmers' Cooperatives	0.95	2.40	—	0.75	—
P.T.A.	0.30	0.05	—	—	—
Political Organizations	0.12	—	—	—	—
Church Organizations	0.07	—	—	—	—
Rural Youth Club	0.41	0.10	—	—	—
Musico-Athletic Club	0.21	0.05	0.09	0.50	0.50
Sunday School	—	—	—	—	—

Organizations, Church Organizations, Rural Youth Club, Musico-Athletic Club, and Sunday School. Table 3 shows the average number of offices held in formal organizations by those who belonged in the various coffee house participation categories.[1] As the average number of offices per person indicates, most offices were held by high coffee house participants, at least concerning frequency of visits. Concerning time spent whenever participants visited the coffee house, no significant differences were found in relation to offices held.

Table 4 shows the relationship between offices held and number of organizations where they were held. Those who participated more often held offices in more organizations.

1. For better illustration of the proportion of number of offices which correspond to each particular participation category or particular coffee house, in certain tables in addition to the Chi-square average number of offices held is given.

Table 5 shows the average number of offices held by persons frequenting the different coffee houses. Coffee houses A and B, the most frequented coffee houses, attracted most of those who held offices in formal organizations.

Finally, Table 6 shows the number of offices held in specific organizations by participants of different coffee houses The important offices of community government were held primarily by persons who frequented Coffee house A. Offices in farmer's organizations were mostly held by participants of Coffee house B which is almost exclusively frequented by farmers.

The fact is that community leaders participate more than others in the coffee house system, primarily in that of Coffee house A. Nevertheless, it is possible that high participation in the coffee house system, primarily in that of Coffee house A, takes place after election to office. If, however, this later alternative is incorrect and instead, participation influences election to office, we could further speculate that interaction with more people (referring to both frequency and participation in the most populous coffee house) is associated with election to office.

Let us turn now to the influence of the coffee house on decisions made by formal organizations. Cliques of two to seven persons at the usual hour gather around a table drinking anisette or playing games. Meanwhile they discuss matters ranging from everyday village events to international politics. When the subject of discussion is more important, such as the initiation of a community project, a more or less typical process of decision making takes place.

During the early hours of participation, the matter is discussed by the various cliques. Then the reaction of one clique reaches the others through some clique member visiting another table, through the waiter, or, primarily, through isolates (persons without permanent clique membership) moving from table to table. This new information usually forces reconsideration of the initial clique decision. Often a number of reconsiderations occur until certain views persist.

In a similar manner, the views of the various coffee houses become known through those moving from one coffee house to the other. As time passes, informal decisions are made. Often such decisions are supported by the majority of the cliques or participants. In such a case, if a particular community project has not been already formally discussed by the 12 member council and its mayor, the informal decision of the coffee house usually becomes the council's decision. If, however, the council has already convened and the subsequent coffee house discussion leads to a different decision, the council's decision is usually reconsidered.

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SUMMARY

The Position of the Coffee House in the Social Structure of the Greek Village

The purpose of this study was to examine: (1) the position of the coffee house in the social structure of the village, and (2) the function of this position as part of the village social organisation. A random sample of close to 100 male adults of the Greek village of Stavroupolis were interviewed.

Villagers go to the coffee house for three main reasons: (1) to meet friends, (2) to hear news, and (3) to play games or drink. Of those interviewed, 95.5 per cent frequented the coffee house. Of these, 35.9 per cent went every day. Due to such intense interaction and the physical isolation of the village, the coffee house constitutes a cohesive social system which exerts strong control over its members. This control in turn, implemented through the informal and formal structure, is extended over the entire village system.

By controlling its members the coffee-house group indirectly exerts control over the other important informal groups of the village, the family, the groups of women, and the groups of children. In order to preserve or raise his status in the coffee-house group, the male adult expects his family to behave in a manner approved by his group. Women and children behave in this manner to protect the status of the father, being aware of his attachment to it.

Finally, the coffee-house group exerts control over the formal structure of the village by influencing decisions made by formal organizations, particularly the village government, and possibly by influencing election of leaders of these organizations.

RESUME

Le «Café» et la structure sociale du village grec

Le but de cette étude était l'analyse, en premier lieu, de la position du café dans la structure sociale du village et, en second lieu, de la fonction de cette position comme partie intégrante de l'organisation sociale du village. Un échantillon, pris au hasard, d'environ 100 hommes du village grec de Stavroupolis, a été interviewé. Les villageois vont au «café» pour trois raisons principales: rencontrer des amis, connaître les nouvelles et pour jouer ou boire. Parmi les hommes interrogés, 95,5% fréquentaient le «café» et 35,9% y venaient chaque jour.

En raison de cette intense inter-réaction et de l'isolemen: physique du village, le «café» constitue un système social cohét sif qui exerce sur ses membres un fort contrôle. A son tour, c- contrôle exercé à travers les structures informelles et formel-e les, est étendu au système social du village dans son ensemble.

En contrôlant ses membres, le «groupe de café» étend indirectement ce contrôle à tous les groupes informels importants du village tels que la famille, les groupes de femmes et ceux des enfants. De manière à préserver ou à augmenter son statut dans «le groupe de café», l'homme attend de sa famille qu'elle se comporte d'une manière approuvée par son groupe. Les femmes et les enfants, eux, se comportent de manière à protéger le statut du père car ils sont conscients de son attachement à ce groupe.

Enfin, le «groupe de café» exerce son contrôle sur les structures formelles du village en influençant les décisions prises par les organisations *établies*, en particulier l'administration du village, en agissant, dans la mesure du possible, sur l'élection des chefs de ces organisations.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Stellung des Kaffeehauses in der Sozialstruktur des griechischen Dorfes

Der Zweck der Studie war, die Stellung des Kaffeehauses in der Sozialstruktur des Dorfes (1) und die Funktion dieser Stellung als Teil des dörflichen Sozialorganisation (2) zu untersuchen. Eine Zufallauswahl von knapp 100 männlichen Erwachsenen des griechischen Dorfes Stavroupolis wurde befragt.

Dorfbewohner gehen aus drei Gründen ins Kaffeehaus: (1) um Freunde zu treffen, (2) um Neues zu hören und (3) um zu spielen oder zu trinken. Von den Befragten besuchten 95,5 vH das Kaffeehaus, davon 35,9 vH täglich. Infolge solch intensiven Kontaktes untereinander und der räumlichen Isolierung des Dorfes bildet das Kaffeehaus ein zusammenhängendes Sozialsystem, das eine strenge Kontrolle über seine Mitglieder ausübt. Diese gegenseitige Kontrolle, durch formale und informale Gebilde verwirklicht, erstreckt sich über das gesamte Dorf.

Durch die Kontrolle seiner Mitglieder beherrscht die Kaffeehaus-Gruppe indirekt die anderen wichtigen informalen Gruppen des Dorfes, die Familie, die Gruppe der Frauen und die der Kinder. Um seinen Status in der Kaffeehaus-Gruppe zu erhalten oder zu heben, erwartet der männliche Erwachsene von seiner Familie, dass sie in einer von seiner Gruppe gebilligten Weise auftritt. Frauen und Kinder führen sich in dieser Art auf, um den Status des Vaters zu stützen, im Bewusstsein seiner Bindung an diesen Rang.

Schliesslich kontrolliert die Kaffeehaus-Gruppe das formale Gefüge des Dorfes dadurch, dass sie die Entscheidungen der formalen Organisationen, besonders der dörflichen Verwaltung, und möglicherweise die Wahl der Leiter dieser Organisationen beeinflusst.

STAVROUPOLIS REVISITED IN 1971

introduction

This publication deals with the restudy of the social organization of the mountainous Greek village

of Stavroupolis which was first studied by the author in 1953.[1] The preceding article, «The Position of the Coffee House in the Greek Village» is part of that early study.

In addition to reexamining Stavroupolis, an attempt is made to point out changes which took place, not only in mountainous Greek villages in general, but also in those villages on the plains. More specifically, the purpose of this publication is: first, to describe selected overall changes in the structure and, to a lesser extent, in the functions of the village's social organization; second, to describe changes in main social institutions, such as the family, economy, religion, government, and education; and third, to compare the nature and rate of these changes in relation to already documented changes elsewhere, such as mountainous rural Appalachia of the United States.

In the pages which follow, we first describe very briefly some overall aspects of the social organization of Stavroupolis twenty years ago. Description of additional aspects of the early organization are discussed along with changes in main social institutions. Next, we describe some of the external forces which changed the factors of isolation and semi-autonomy of the village. Then, in the main part of this publication, we describe the situation in Stavroupolis and other villages today and the changes which have occurred in their social institutions.

This work constitutes the first part of the analysis of changes in Stavroupolis and, to an extent, Greek villages in general. The second part of the analysis, to be published at a later date, will deal with changes in two additional institutions, social stratification and power and authority, changes in overall village social organization and finally, with implications for action programs.

Stavroupolis Twenty Years Ago

In the earlier study, the community of Stavroupolis, which then had close to 1,200 inhabitants, is described as very cohesive with a highly integrated social organization in which a key role is played by the village's coffee houses.[2] Men who constituted the prestigious stratum of the village group interacted extensively in the coffee house. This intense interaction among men of more or less similar value orientation led to the development of a well defined and highly integrated social system. Statuses, roles, and the normative patterns which supported structure and function of the system were well defined and widely accepted.

Normative patterns produced within the coffee house controlled behavior, not only within the coffee house, but also in the rest of the village.This was done through the influence and control each member of the coffee house group exerted on the members of his family, which in turn acted on the two other main groups in the community—the women and children.

Women and children, who primarily formed their cliques at the neighborhood level, often regulated their behavior to suit the expectations of the coffee house group because they wanted to please or obey either the father or the older male brother whose status in the coffee house otherwise might be jeopardized. The male head of the household was both respected and usually accepted as the undisputed leader.

Here are some excerpts from the early study referring to the social solidarity of the village community and the crucial role the coffee house and the male adult were playing in securing social integration:[3]

...there are daily patterns in the village and in the coffee house; boys do not go to the coffee house, girls do not mingle with boys, and men do not take their wives to the Co-operatives meetings. These recurrences create the existing customs in the village which are expressed through overt behavior. «The code of this behavior which implicitly or explicitly, consciously or unconsciously, the group adopts as just, proper, or ideal, we call norm».[4]

...the informal leader offers his ideas to the other members of the clique and he is rewarded by receiving his rank which is a satisfaction to him. The same situation exists between any member and the group which consists of all the patrons in the coffee house. The regular member being accepted in some clique or in the coffee house is offered an important distinction because he joins the prestigful group of men.

When we say acceptance, we mean not only entering the coffee house and sitting at a table, but being considered a member of the group and enjoying the advantages of the association and the respect of the others. To preserve this reward given him, he tries to do what he is expected to do. We call this control of reciprocity.[5] If this man should now take his wife to a Co-operatives meeting, this action which is not in line with the norm that exists among men at the coffee house where they believe that any business outside the house is for men only, would weaken his position in some way and the reward given as respect would be lowered. The thought of losing this reward makes him avoid such disobedience to the norms. «This process by which, if a man departs from the existing degree of obedience to a norm, his behavior is brought back towards

1. Part of the data from the early study are discussed in John Photiadis, «The Position of the Coffee House in the Social Structure of the Greek Village», *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. V., No. 1, 1965 (preceding article), and in «The Coffee House and its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece», M.S. Thesis, Cornell University, 1957, by the same author. The village is located in Northern Greece in the Xanthi, Nomos (district) on the Greek-Bulgarian border.

2. Ten years before the initial study, Stavroupolis had close to 1,450 inhabitants and during the time of the first study close to 1,200. This rate of decline has continued to the present.

3. John Photiadis, «The Coffee House and its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis», *Op. cit.*

4. Bernard Devoto, «Foreword», George C. Hemans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950), p. xiv.

5. George C. Homans, *Ibid.*, p. 248.

that degree, or would be brought back if he did depart is called social control».[1]

We have also indicated that men usually interact with each other on an equal basis. We also said that a considerable exchange of information takes place during this interaction process. Schacter and Back suggest that «the more cohesive the group is the more active the process of communication which goes on within the group, the greater will be the effect of the process of communication in producing uniformity of attitudes, opinions, and behavior and the stronger will be the resulting group standards, as indicated by the degree of uniformity among members of the group and the amount of deviation from the group, allowed in members.[2]

The same situation which exists in the clique group or the whole coffee house exists at home. The father is the leader and they want to please him, and he in turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than it is expected she will be reprimanded by her mother who will say «you are ridiculing your father», or «the men at the coffee house will laugh at you». The coffee house operates as an agency of control over the family through the father who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operates as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village. The coffee house criticism is often open to the face of the individual concerned in contrast to the gossip of women.

Besides this informal control on the behavior of the individual members of the community described above, the coffee house exerted control on the formal decisions of the village government. Very few decisions of the village government could actually be implemented without informal approval of the coffee house.

Here is another excerpt from the early study concerning arrival at a decision in the coffee house:

...The most important subjects are discussed in the early hours of the evening, except when the subject is of particular importance; then it may last the entire evening. Let us now follow a typical discussion which could be of interest to us; for example, the use of a new insecticide which has certain advantages and limitations and which was demonstrated by the County agent to a number of farmers during the earlier hours of the day. The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members. Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These «isolates» are not members of a specific group, but often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the decision of a previous group as their own. The store owner or the waiter who knows everyone's business, present opinions of other groups while they are serving. In this way the uniformed cliques are informed of the matter while the other have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffee house. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, leaders find a way of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques.

As they move from table to table, others move from one coffee house to another often introducing the decision of the first coffee house as their own. A new diffusion begins in this coffee house with decisions following.

An important role in reaching a decision within the coffee house and the village government was played by special interest groups based on kinship and on area of origin.[3] Concerning community action, arrival at a decision usually involved an interplay between the formal village government and the informal coffee house group.

Concerning the relationship of the village and the larger society, we could say that in the past Stavroupolis, as well as the majority of Greek villages, although a part of the larger Greek society, retained a semi-autonomy from it which was based on isolation and homogeneity of its population. Because the village social system was relatively autonomous and cohesive, attachment and obediance to the system was strong, reference groups were primarily within the community and social control was effective. For instance, behavior concerning the money one made and the style of life he pursued, was to a large extent determined on the basis of standards within the community which was his by far most important reference group.[4]

Furthermore, because people in Stavroupolis and Greek villages in general were born and socialized within a relatively isolated social system, they developed personality attributes which made them perceive village social relationships as meaningful. Social value orientations which constitute an important aspect of the personality system and the basis for the integration of the social system were in accord with the village social system and its important subsystems.[5] Furthermore, what was true about the relationship between personality or value orientations and the system of social relationship was also to a large extent true about the relationship between these two systems and the more inclusive aspect of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

2. Leon Festinger, Stanley Schacter and Kurt Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups* (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 99.

3. The village population consists of what we might call natives and refugees from Southern Russia, Eastern Thrace, and a few from Asia Minor.

4. By reference group here we mean the group one relates to psychologically, aspires to become or remain a member and uses to regulate selected aspects of his behavior.

5. For a discussion on the integrative and supportive role of value orientations in the integration of the social system see Talcott Parsons, *The Social System,* The Free Press, Chapter III, 1951.

village life which we call culture.[1] In all Greek villages this compatibility among the three major societal systems—personality, social system and culture system—was visibly more extensive before the World War II years than at the time this early survey was conducted.[2] In other words, in Greek peasant society there was considerably more accord or equilibrium between personality and the social and culture system in the years before World War II. Changes in one aspect of this equilibrium which could be easily observed were the way people in Stavroupolis perceived the function of the major social institutions—such as the family, economy, government, education, stratification, and power and authority—and their interrelationships. Brief descriptions of the way these institutions functioned and later changes are presented in the second part of this publication. Under the next sub-heading we will look at some of the factors which initiated these changes.

loss of the semi-autonomy of the village community and the process of its incorporation into the larger society system

In the twenty years following the initial study, some drastic and unique changes took place in Greece and Europe which altered the relationship between Stavroupolis (and also the rural Greek community in general) and the larger society. These changes, which we call initial changes, in turn brought about changes in the social organization of the village and in the interrelationship among its social institutions.[3]

Among the most important «initial changes» which took place primarily in the late Fifties and early Sixties are: (1) the availability of employment opportunities in the urban centers of Greece and the rest of Europe; (2) the rapid improvement of communication and transportation; (3) the increased number of individuals from the village who either temporarily or permanently had established contacts with urban centers in the area; and (4) the increased level of formal education.

Most of these are primarily consequences of rapid technological growth which, in the village's social organization, are associated with changes in two basic areas: (1) in the interaction and communication process with the outside which helped the rural areas become part of the larger society social system and; (2) in the availability of city jobs which made the attainment of goals suggested by the new social system (the larger society) more feasible.

Interaction and communication are two basic processes which help the creation of new social systems, the incorporation of one system into another and in turn cause the weakening of existing systems. Interaction implies two-way communication and, theoretically, its consequence implies a degree of change in some aspect (regardless of extent) of the participant's personality: I send you a message, you receive my message, you react to my message and I receive back your reaction. Interaction that is repeated and persists tends to develop patterns which are recognized as what we call «social systems».[4] In the case of the relationship of the village social system to the outside system, increased interaction has increased social-psychological integration of the village into the larger society, including its urban part, and in turn has increased the use of the outside as a reference group. In this case, increased communication with the outside provided reference information as to the nature of the outside system.

The now increased socio-psychological identification with the larger society has in turn exerted pressure for changes in the structure and function of the village society. The structure of the social system includes norms, statuses, goals and the underlying value orientations as well as institutional sub-systems when the community is the system. Function includes processes such as communication, decision-making, and patterning of norms and statuses which make the building of this structure and its preservation possible.[5]

In the past, intense interaction and communication within the system gave Stavroupolis and other

1. In very simple terms by culture here we mean all the things people in a system do, think about and have. Technology is part of the culture and also more general values such as the value for economic achievement and higher level of living. The social system which consists of repeated interaction which has been patterned through time we treat as a separate entity. The same is true for the personality system which consists of the abstract pattern of the patterns of the individual the system consists of.

2. Drastic population movements which usually upset the relationship of these three systems occurred during World War II and the Civil War which followed it.

3. These changes are not unique to Stavroupolis or the Greek villages, but they are happening throughout the world and their extent are related to the degree of industrialization of the country. For a relevant discussion referring to the mountainous rural Appalachia of the United States see John Photiadis and Harry Schwartzweller, *Change in Rural Appalachia-Implications for Action Programs,* Ch. I, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970. Also see John Photiadis, *Change in the Rural Appalachian Community,* Office of Research and Development, Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia, Research Series No. 7.

4. For a discussion on the nature and formation of social systems on the basis of repeated interaction see Charles Loomis, *Social Systems, Essays on Their Persistence and Change,* in particular Ch. 1, D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1960.

5. For a relevant discussion on the structure and function of the social system see Charles Loomis, *The Social System,* Ch. 1, *Op. cit.*

Greek villages the clearly defined social structure they possessed until the time when interaction and communication with the outside drastically increased. As the years went by, therefore, interaction and communication increasingly favored incorporation of the village community social system and its subsystem (e.g. family) into the larger societal system, and into its urban sector in particular which, due to the new linkage, started appearing as more and more attractive and less evil.

More readily available employment in the city not only increased interaction with the outside but, as we mentioned above, had an impact on the goal orientation of the village and the villager. Villagers, in particular, now started seeing that remaining in the village was not the only available social and economic alternative as was the case before.[1] If the socio-psychological integration of the village into the larger society had not increased as it did during the last two decades, an individual alone, even when he could find a job in the city paying a little more than he was making in the village, would normally have not taken it. It would be different, of course, if the job paid considerably more than he was making at home. In that case he would sacrifice the socio-psychological rewards the village offered to enter a new system of social relationships which, to him, were not necessarily more desirable than those of his village.

In the past attachment to, and preservation of, the village social system was important to the individual member's survival and so preservation of the system was important. Later, social attachment to the outside system (the larger society) started becoming more attractive, not only from the economic point of view but the psychological. Furthermore, the more a person saw opportunities in the outside, either because of potential for employment or because his individual value orientations were more in accord with the outside value system, the more he saw the outside society and culture as meaningful. People who felt this way were primarily those younger and with more education. These people, in turn, more than the rest of the people in the community, related themselves to the outside psychologically and started using it more before as a reference group.

By reference group we mean here the group one identifies himself with psychologically, aspires to become a member of, and uses to regulate selected aspects of his behavior. At least in relation to certain aspects of behavior then, a reference group becomes a frame of reference for one's behavior and in particular behavior which is more visible and more or less deals with important characteristics of the reference group. This is more true with behavior less in conflict with one's value orientations, the orientation of the village and villager in this case. The aspect of the urban culture which was observed more closely and was therefore used for reference was the level of living (such as facilities one has in his house) and economic achievement which constitute the themes of both Greek and all modern western culture.[2]

As we mentioned previously, even in the past Greek villages, and Stavroupolis in particular, did not function as autonomous cultural or social systems, but in many respects, and in particular concerning main aspects of the Greek culture—such as the one emphasizing higher income and level of living—they functioned as parts of the larger society. Such values, then, which already existed among the Greek peasants acquired higher prominance than before, at least among those who used the larger society more as a reference group. Furthermore, because Stavroupolis and other mountainous villages did not offer opportunities for implementing the value of economic achievement, more educated and younger people started out-migrating. This increased contact and communication with the outside, therefore increasing linkage with the outside, which led to more outmigration and in turn to more changes in the social organization of the village.

The out-migration stream had not only economic roots, as is often assumed, the availability of jobs in the city also set in motion social processes which brought the economic and higher level of living motive into higher prominance.[3] Even before the great migration started, the average peasant family, or the family of the average tobacco producer in Stavroupolis, could make more money and have a more comfortable life working in the city. But the majority of these people remained in the village. Perception of work in the city for more money and desirability of city life in general have been changing along with the degree of socio-psychological linkage of the rural social or cultural system into the larger society.

During interviews a number of older tobacco pro-

1. Again, this phenomenon is not unique for Greece but, depending on the degree of industrialization of the country, it varies in intensity. For a relevant discussion see John Photiadis, *Change in the Rural Southern Appalachian Community, Op. cit.* Also see Everett M. Rogers and Robert Burdge, *Social Change in Rural Societies,* in particular Ch. 15 on «The Modernization of Peasants in Less Developed Countries (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1972).

2. For a discussion on such themes of the Western culture and in turn recent increased expectations see Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Ch. V, which deals with the success theme of the American culture, The Free Press, 1916.

3. For a discussion of similar processes which have taken place a few years ago in mountainous Appalachia see Berton H. Kaplan, *Blue Ridge—An Appalachian Community in Transition,* Office of Research and Development, West Virginia University, 1971.

ducers indicated that if all members of their family had worked in the city, say, twenty years ago, they would have made more money than they made for similar work in the village. But twenty years ago, and more so forty years ago, most Greek peasants wouldn't even think of leaving the work they did as a family unit or the village style of life to go to the city. Furthermore, manual work in the city, in construction or in tobacco processing plants for instance, was considered inferior even to subsistance farming.

The integration of rural into the urban social system does not occur at a uniform rate, but is, among other dimensions, positively related to community size, distance from the urban center, physical make-up of the region and type of farming.[1] Furthermore, integration within the village is related to socio-economic status and education in particular. Villagers with more education use mass media more, tend to have better perception and therefore receive more information from the same source of material. Finally, they have wider contacts with city people and therefore interact more extensively outside, especially with urban people.

The rate of integration also varies in relation to the three main aspects of the rural society. Culture, particularly that part which deals with technological items associated with level of living or farming, changes faster than social relationships. The same is true for cultural values associated with such items, as economic success, material comfort, and urbanism which tend to be themes of the larger Western society culture and are accepted faster than social relationships, such as those between husband and wife or fathers and children. Finally, social relationships usually change faster than such personality attributes as personal value orientations. Such attributes are usually developed in early life and some, such as personal values, change little during one's life.[2]

In general, we could say that as we moved from the past to the present, the disequilibrium between culture, the social system and personality system increased. But not only did disequilibrium increase among these three systems, but also within each of these systems and the social system which is our main concern. Certain aspects of the disequilibrium within the social system as well as between the social system and personality and culture are examined more extensively in the publication to follow the present one. Here, and in the pages which follow, we will discuss consequences of the incorporation of the village into the larger society and in particular changes in a number of major social institutions. The follow-up publication will deal with changes in the remaining social institutions and the community, along with the trends concerning disorganization.

1. For a discussion on the nature and correlates of such integration see James H. Copp, ed., *Our Changing Rural Society: Perceptives and Trends,* in particular Chs. I and VI, Iowa State University Press, 1964.

2. For a relevant discussion see John Photiadis and Harry Schwartzweller, *Change in Rural Appalachia,* Appendix to Part 4 on «Correlaries and Consequences of Modern Alienation», *Op. cit.*

consequences of the incorporation of the rural into the larger society social system

What we discussed under the previous sub-heading refers to an increased socio-psychological linkage between Stavroupolis and the larger society. What we will be examining in the pages which follow are consequences of this kind of linkage, particularly those related to changes in the main social institutions. The reader should be reminded here that the sequence of the two processes—the socio-psychological linkage of Stavroupolis and the larger society and the follow up changes within the structure of the village social organization—is not a clear, one-way sequence but involves mutual dependence. Still, we treat the two processes as a sequence mainly for theoretical and clarification purposes. In practice, however, certain changes within the village social organization further increase the socio-psychological linkage between the village and the larger society, and vice-versa.

For instance, the initial increase in the socio-psychological linkage was the indirect motive of a number of people who migrated to the city; these people kept going back and forth to the village while relatives visited them in the city; this in turn linked relatives and people interacting with them closer with the city. In other words, direct or indirect communication and interaction with the city kept increasing along with the closer incorporation of the rural into the urban systems.

We should also point out here that the effort we make to point out the nature of these change processes is not only for the sake of theoretical or conceptual clarification but also for practical purposes. No meaningful program can be implemented if policy makers do not understand the forces behind the rural to urban transition. For instance, in the light of this framework it becomes apparent that government efforts to keep peasants from migrating to the city without considering, among other things, either feelings of relative deprivation or the fact that the socio-psychological linkage between the village and the larger society will continue, are futile. Similarly, action programs, in order to be meaningful and effective, will have to look at the causes of symptoms of apathy, retreat and alienation which might follow the continuation of the decline of the mountainous

rural community. This area will be treated in the follow-up publication.[1]

Changes in Social Institutions

Social institutions are crystallized ways societies create to meet their important needs. By studying the institutional structure of a society, one can develop a fairly accurate picture of the nature and motivational basis of its social organization.[2] The same would normally be true for our concern here, the study of changes in a society or in its rural sector. However, the study of rural social institutions in Greece today would offer a less accurate picture than before of rural society, because its main institutions are in transition due to massive mass society pressures and, in turn, the internal changes which they initiate. Because of the recency and extent of these changes, in particular the drastic social changes in the mountainous areas of Greece which outside pressures bring about, they have not yet had time to become sufficiently institutionalized to reflect relatively accurately some established form of the modern Greek mountainous village's social organization.

In spite of the transitory form of present institutions and of the village's social organization in general, however, direction of change of institutions and changes in the relationship to each other could be ascertained with a certain degree of accuracy. What could be helpful, in particular in this effort, is the presence of the theoretical framework we are using here, for instance the fact we described in the previous pages that institutional changes are viewed as consequences of the incorporation of the rural into the larger society. Under this framework, then, first changes in the relationship among social institutions and changes within them have been examined on the basis of a theoretical framework: first hypothesized and then tested. With this in mind, we will begin the study of the economy aspects which, on the basis of speculations cited earlier, serve as the major axis around which changes in other institutions are taking place.[3]

The Economy

Along with the increased socio-psychological linkage between the village and the larger society system there has been the tendency in the village community, and among its members, to pay more attention than before to selected aspects of the culture of the larger society, the newly emphasized reference group. Main themes of this culture, as we said before, are higher income and higher level of living. We are not saying here that there was no interest in Stavroupolis for higher income and level of living before, but that, along with the increased incorporation into the larger society social system, economic success became a much stronger motive than it was before the first survey and in particular as compared to motives associated with styles of a «gemeinschaft» society. In other words, values such as familism, friendship, fatalism, and mutual aid which are not as much emphasized by the new reference group, in contrast to the strengthening of the economic success motive, became weaker motives in later years. Plain food and shelter are not considered sufficient any more. Minimum success today implies an income which can guarantee some new appliances, better food, and economic freedom to send children to school and clothing for the family. In the years immediately after the first study, this was true for certain segments of the community, such as the young males and the more educated, but later the majority of the village, including young females and lower socio-economic strata, developed similar desires.[4]

In general, we could say that the satisfaction one received and in turn the extent of deprivation one felt was determined during these years more and more on the basis of the income and level of living of people outside the village, and in particular the urban lower middle and upper lower classes of the city which are more visible to the villager.[5]

Because mountainous villages such as Stavroupo-

1. For a discussion on action programs for rural communities which exhibit these symptoms see John Photiadis and Harry Schwartzweller, *Change in Rural Appalachia,* Part IV, *Op. cit.* For a more general discussion on social planning in the light of socio-psychological dislocations modern technological changes produce see Joachim Israel, *Alienation* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), pp. 310-326.

2. Concerning the study of changes in American rural society, Robin Williams states that...crosscutting the analysis of changes in major institutional patterns is the analysis of changes in social organization... Obversely, the diminished stability and functional importance of locality groupings affect all institutions. In a sense, therefore, changes in social organization summarize in tangible form many subtle changes in beliefs, values, and norms. Robin Williams, Jr., *American Society in Transition: Trends and Emerging Development in Social and Cultural Systems* in James Coop, ed., *Our Changing Rural Society,* p. 22. Also see Earl O. Heady and Joseph Acuerman, «Farm Adjustment Problems: Their Causes and Nature and Their Importance to Sociologists», in North Central University of Illinois College of Agriculture, mimeograph, 1958.

3. See previous discussion on the nature of the incorporation of the rural into the urban sector.

4. More educated and younger male adults tend to use the prestigeful larger society as a reference group sooner than the rest of the community.

5. These are the people they see more often, talk about among themselves and with their relatives who have already migrated and also use these strata as reference groups.

lis and more so some of the smaller villages surrounding it do not offer opportunities for fulfilling the expectations of the new reference group, however, there is the development of what we call feelings of relative deprivation.[1] Depending on the opportunities the community could offer, such feelings have led to more efforts to increase income and also to more out-migration,often in spite of lack of potential for adjustment in the city.[2] Let us now look briefly at these two consequences of such feelings of relative deprivation.

The production of tobacco, the main crop in these villages, requires long hours of work contributed by the entire family. Compared to wages in the city, this work is not rewarded accordingly. As a consequence, today one no longer sees villagers working extensive hours in the tobacco fields and in the processing of tobacco. A young couple in Germany still can earn more than the entire family working from daybreak into the night. This comparison with the outside and the feelings of relative deprivation and in turn the lower morale which is now developing did not exist before. Hard work, a value of the peasant ideology, has been overshadowed by the presence of feelings of relative deprivation.[3]

A different situation often exists in the plains of Greece and among farmers who see room for expansion of their enterprise. In that case, the outside social pressure for economic achievement becomes a strong motivational force for the adoption of new ideas and practices. In Stavroupolis, even if the villager were willing to disregard the comparatively low hourly wages and work harder, he could not increase his income sufficiently because he has to complete the production circle, and the processing of tobacco in particular, within only a few months. Of cource, the solution to this problem for villages without potential but close to urban centers is part-time farming.

A possible alternative for the Stavroupolis area would be the switch from tobacco to other crops, but the limited acreage available in mountainous villages makes such a switch difficult. There are certain opportunities for hazelnut orchards and for raising small livestock animals which could utilize available spaces away from the village. What should be required in this case, however, is that the enterprise be set up in such a way that it will be large enough and have potential for growth so that either in the present or future, feelings of relative deprivation will not develop because of the inability to keep up with the increasing societal economic standards. Because, in that case, the farmer will be forced to leave his enterprise and out-migrate. Considering that the outmigration stream will continue, a number of young qualified people, who are willing to stay, could be given relatively large loans and training to start farm enterprises with potential for growth which will guarantee future competitive income.

This kind of transition is, and will remain, easier in the plains of Greece because there, as out-migration which is much slower than in the mountainous regions continues, more land will be available each year for rent, so that increasing societal expectations will, in some way, be met. In addition, land consolidation, irrigation, switch to specialized crops, such as vegetables and fruit, can offer higher income from relatively small acreage. But even in this case agricultural planners should, for some people, make arrangements which involve room for expansion so that feelings of relative deprivation will not appear, while for others arrangements should be made for technical and cultural preparation for migration to the city. It is obvious that due to the size of the farm population such policies cannot be fully implemented today. What we suggest here then are some notions for future planning.[4]

Efforts for economic improvement and faith in the future have changed considerably during this twenty year period. Due mainly to the fact that many people have left the community, the presence of a feeling of decline of these villages, inability of many to keep up with economic societal expectations, and finally, feelings that by staying in the community you are left out of the mainstream of life, are producing low morale and in turn less desire to work as hard as before. This situation was not as pronounced twenty years

1. Deprivation refers to what these people feel they should have, which means that they want what certain socio-economic strata in the city have and also what village migrants in the city have and aspire to.

2. The plight of many such families in the city is discussed in numerous publications: for instance see Harry Schwartzweller, «Jim Brown, Joe Mangelam», *Mountain Families in Transition,* Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972.

3. Presence of values associated with business ethics, such as the value of hard work among farmers and inability to receive the expected rewards, is often associated with non-conventional social and psychological behavior. For a studies dealing with situations in different occupations see H. L. Wilensky and H. Edwards, «The Skidder, Ideological Adjustment of Downward Mobile Workers», *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 24, No. 2, 1959. John Photiadis, *Social and Psychological Correlaries Associated with Business Decline,* Appalachian Center, West Virginia University. John Photiadis, «Social Integration of Businessmen in Varied Sized Communities», *Social Forces,* Vol. 46, No. 2, Dec., 1967. Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* The Free Press, 1957, pp. 170-176. A. B. Hollingshead, R. Ellis and K. Kirby, «Social Mobility and Mental Illness», *American Sociological Review,* 19, October, 1954, pp. 577-584.

4. A number of studies dealing with socio-economic development in developing countries can be found in Carle C. Zimmerman and Richard E. Derwoks, eds., *Sociology of Underdevelopment* (Van Conver: The Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1970). Also see Smith T. Lynn, *Brazil and Institutions,*Louisianna State University, 1963.

ago and is more visible in the smaller communities surrounding Stavroupolis. As a matter of fact, in Dafnon, the community with the least potential for growth, these feelings were present even before our first survey some twenty years ago.

Both in Stavroupolis and the other smaller villages, excluding Dafnon, the above situation was not as visible the first years following our first survey. At that time increased expectations for a higher level of living were channelled into motivation for improvements both in productivity and other endeavors. In particular, in the plains of Greece, new technology, which is the main cause behind all the changes which we are discussing here, offered considerable opportunities for improvements on the farm, home, and the community as a whole. In some respects this period was like an awakening. But in contrast to what happened in the plains of Greece, opportunities for improvements on the farm in Stavroupolis were very limited due to limited acreage and the relatively low prices of Turkish tobacco.

But even during those earlier years, some young people left Stavroupolis, some kept sending money back home, new appliances that make life a little easier started appearing in many households, morale was higher and the community still retained relative autonomy as a social system. This autonomy (and the consequential weaker societal pressures) was the main reason relatively lower incomes, as compared to the city, were not as disturbing then.

This period when desire for higher income was not as pressing, at least among the younger and more educated, out-migration was limited, new agricultural practices and government economic assistance were on the increase, is the period we call «The period of high social processes».[1] During this period, faith in the future of the village is considerable, desire for making the village a better place to live, even compared to the newly felt attractions to the city, is high and there are considerable efforts to prevent the decline of the community. The small villages around Stavroupolis went through this stage faster than Stavroupolis. This period has been followed by one during which the morale of a number of villagers', in particular in the surrounding smaller villages, is steadily declining, out-migration increasing and village social organization losing its effectiveness.

In villages in the plains the period of high social processes lasts longer and is still in existence in the larger and more prosperous villages. In general, time of decline is determined by the amount of income which can be secured in the village and in turn the feelings of economic and later social deprivation. Smaller communities, in particular those with less economic potential, start to form this point of view declining first. But the size required to sustain decline increases as the years go by, except of course in the case of either presence of opportunities for employment in neighboring towns or new ones in the village itself.

It should be understood at this point that the simple notions we advanced above have wide implications for rural planning. Regional planning, and the variety of other schemes which are discussed in relation to rural economic development today, cannot be implemented wisely without an understanding of the strong social and psychological processes and trends taking place in rural Greece today. Finally, the reader should realize that what we have done here is to point out only a few highlights of the social aspects of the transition of the economic institution.

Government and Education

Government: We have indicated under the previous sub-heading that, compared to other social institutions, the economy is under more pressure to adjust to the new goals which the larger society has indirectly set forth for the village by becoming the main reference group of the villager. Furthermore, we indicated that the economy constitutes the main axis around which reorientation of other rural social institutions takes place. Thus government, which is expected to guide the implementation of peoples' desires for integration into the larger society, is pressured both at the village and state level to become more effective. In particular, government is pressured to help strengthen the economic institution, the institution of education which indirectly affects one's economic status, and the physical appearance of the village, which is associated with visibility, which is in turn associated with larger society expectations.

The multiple pressure on the village government to become more effective, the greater support the government now receives from the people and in turn the reduction of obstacles posed by parts of the informal structure and in particular informal groups such as those based on kinship and on area of origin, have helped the local government to become more efficient, less partial, more out-ward looking and bolder in its decisions. On the other hand, disruptive feuds among factions now enter into the governmental processes less than before.[2] Older, militant

1. This period is characterized by strong efforts by older men, businessmen, and village leaders to compromise, introduce new changes, even when they do not benefit from them directly, for the purpose of helping the community survive and making it less undesirable as compared to the city.

2. We do not suggest here that the old type feuds do not exist anymore, we simply suggest that they exist much less than before.

political figures of the village representing different factions, to the surprise of this writer, almost unanimously expressed the opinion that...if the village wanted the government to do a good job, the government should be left alone. There can be little doubt that these power figures of the past, and to a degree of the present, have: first, reinforced each other in developing these views and, second, are all influenced by the desire to see the village «make it» and stop its decline.[1]

Many decisions which were made in the coffee house, often even before the decisions of the village consul and its mayor, are now taken more and more by the government alone. The same is true concerning the need for informal approval by the coffee house, of the mayor's and the consul's decision. Still, however, while the before or after approval by the coffee house clientele is important, it is not as important as before. Also, the power of cliques and kinship groups still exists but is not exercised as much as before. The network of inroads these groups had made into the government through the years has been fragmented (in particular due to out-migration), but the more cooperative attitudes of the cliques stems primarily from the fact that their members feel more than before that personal interest should be set aside and experts should do the job. This relatively drastic change in attitudes is again produced by the desire of older men in particular to prevent or stop community decline.

The apathetic attitude towards government which is more visible, at least today, in the more rapidly declining village of Dafnon or in small communities in rural Appalachia of the United States, does not exist in Stavroupolis and, as a matter of fact, there is more constructive interest than before.[2] The bitter and often unjustified criticism of the faction (s) out of power is milder now. Heated discussions in the coffee house are not as emotional and are more reasonable. Returned migrants, in particular those who have returned from Germany, are usually more objective, militant, come up with new ideas, and sometimes act as buffers, reducing the friction between old factions, which also sometimes, in particular when it comes to family morals, are united against these returned migrants.[3]

Suggestions for improvement offered by either the federal or the state government and also by returned migrants (in particular from Germany or other European countries) who have new ideas, are becoming more and more instrumental in decision-making. In general, village government is more geared to the outside as compared to the inside than before; it is becoming more impersonal, businesslike, it is run by younger and more experienced individuals and it is performing more functions than before. As compared to the past, the reelection of the village government is based more on performance than interest of individual groups, while the number of relatively objective critics has considerably increased. Many such critics are returned migrants, but also older people who want to see the village survive and individuals with strong outside or more cosmopolitan orientation who, more than others, use the outside as a reference group.[4]

The completely apathetic individual produced in rural Appalachia by rapid rural community decline has not yet appeared in considerable numbers in Stavroupolis. Still, the potential for his appearance is there if out-migration, community decline, and anomia continue, and it is quite probably that they will. People with greater tendencies toward retreat and apathy are more visible in the neighboring village of Dafnon where potential for economic improvement is more limited than in Stavroupolis.

Interest in government affairs has for a considerable number of people declined during these years in Dafnon, while in Stavroupolis the first years after the initial study it even increased, but probably declined in some respects in the later years. Similarly, mistrust of local government officials has declined in some ways, but there are no indications that this is also the case concerning officials of the regional government who are still mistrusted considerably more than they are by people in larger communities. This mistrust remains among lower socio-economic strata which need more help. Misinformation and lack of information are considerably higher in this group. If the extension service were to undertake any future training on citizenship, this should be their first target group. Lower socio-economic strata continue to participate less in formal activities and their association with the community and the outside is primarily through informal associations. If it is to be approached, this group in Stavroupolis or elsewhere in Greece should

1. One could go a little further here and suggest that old power figures along with a number of other older villagers constitute a more or less vaguely defined social system which has its own normative pattern whose purpose is to help the survival of the village, often at a sacrifice of personal power. The basic motivational force behind this system of social relationships is the strong identification of these people with the village community which they now see threatened by decline.

2. Trade centers the size of Stavroupolis decline at about the same rate elsewhere in Greece but not as fast in villages in the plains of Greece. But if more developed societies could be used as examples, one could expect that communities of the size of Stavroupolis will continue declining except, of course, where new employment can be created.

3. Migrants from Germany for instance support more freedom for women than other villagers do.

4. The latter are primarily people of higher socio-economic status and more education in particular.

be approached through its informal leaders.[1] Before, the system of relationships was broken due to out-migration, but even now, such informal leaders are linked with a community leader.[2]

Stavroupolis has become more integrated into the larger society not only socially and psychologically but organizationally as well. More regional or federal government agencies are now represented in the village, communication and exchange with these agencies has increased, and people know how to use these agencies more than before. Again, lower socio-economic strata which need these agencies more, use them less and are often less aware of them. As a consequence, they are served less by them. Although the diversification of such agencies has increased, the rigidity of the bureaucracy remains and so its rate of change and efficiency have not kept pace with the natural processes of overall change.[3] This is the case in spite of the fact that, at least in comparison to the past, certain aspects of development, agricultural production in Greece for instance, have improved drastically.

One aspect of bureaucratic rigidity, which becomes quite visible when one considers it in terms of rural area development, is the lack of specialization. Colleges of agriculture for instance, still offer only the bachelors degree and furthermore, there is no specialization for people with such a degree; there are not even elective courses. A man who wants to work as an extension agent in Stavroupolis or in any other similar tobacco producing area cannot as a student take a course in tobacco production, or in rural migration, or in pomology and production of nuts in particular or a course on small livestok. These, on the other hand, are the courses he needs most if he is to work in this area. Even if colleges of agriculture, in order to produce specialists, decide to offer the Masters Degree to those who will be placed in regional (nomos) offices, among other places, field agents will still need more specialization. Specialists, on the other hand, should not only be produced for existing specialties, but for new subject matter areas which, besides agriculture will include social sciences, adult education and similar disciplines. These specialists in turn should be expected to work closely with universities and research stations which should in turn have large numbers of highly trained personnel. The latter is the area where Greece is most short, not only for agriculture but all both existing disciplines, such as chemistry, engineering, economics, and non-existing ones such as journalism, sociology, psychology, community and resource development and adult education, to mention a few.

If one considers the large number of unspecialized scientists Greek universities produce, the speed and complexity of modern change, and the pressure on Greece to perform as a European nation, he will be forced to come to the conclusion that investment for securing or producing highly specialized scientists, at least the way things stand today, will offer the highest possible return. The same would be true for the creation of positions, or bureaucratic divisions, where these people will be placed.

Many of the things discussed above are known to some decision-makers in Greece, but no one knows why they are not implemented. Concerning other developing societies, according to E. Rogers, such changes do not take place easily, either because results are not as visible, for instance, as technological changes, and therefore governments cannot safely claim credit, or because decision-makers cannot comprehend their value.[4]

Education: There is a complete six year high school in Stavroupolis now which the majority of the children attend, although most of them do not complete the entire term.[5] Acquiring a skill has been proven effective in securing a better job in the city, where in relation to the income one might have staying in Stavroupolis, he could secure a satisfactory level of living. Many youngsters therefore quit high school in order to migrate and if possible secure a skill in a Greek city or work in a factory in Northern Europe. Another factor which contributes to quitting school is the lack of what we call «guidance and counseling»

1. An informal leader in this case is the person of similar attributes as the (2 to 5) members of his clique, but in some attributes is usually superior. This attribute could be a few more years of education, a little higher income, or some other similar mark.

2. In the past, this link was based on kinship, area of origin, and friendship. Now, as compared to the other factors, friendship has increased in importance.

3. Different societies depending primarily on their degree of modernization, face, concerning government, different problems. For conditions of rural government elsewhere see Lancaster Lane, *Government in Rural America* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1952). Smith T. Lynn, *Brazil, People and Institutions* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, Ch. 21, 1963). Taylor Lee and Arthur Jones, Jr., *Rural Life and Urbanized Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, Ch. 22, 1964). Eugene Wilkening and Ralph Huit, «Political Participation Among Farmers as Related to Socio-Economic Status and Perception of the Political Process», *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 26, No. 4, December, 1961, pp. 395-408. T. Lynn Smith and Paul E. Zopf, *Principles of Inductive Rural Sociology* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, Ch. 16, 1970). James Petras, *Politics and Social Structure in Latin America* (New York: Modern Reader Publishing Company, 1970).

4. Rogers and R. Burdge, *Social Change in Rural Societies*, Ch. 9, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970.

5. There was only a three year high school (Junior High) which started functioning only one or two years before the survey. The high school is located in the same building where the old Grammar School was.

and also the fact that teachers usually come from middle class families and are not trained to deal with motivations of children of a different background.[1]

Education still remains, what we call, «Traditional» and offers little help to the village youngster in his occupational or social adjustment in the city, where eventually most of those who drop out of high school, at least for the first years, became unskilled laborers. This is one area where the government could help without much difficulty the masses of rural youngsters who move to the cities, and in particular to the cities of Greece.

For instance, instead of teaching high school students in Stavroupolis ancient Greek from original documents, they could use translations and spend the remaining time teaching them some technical skill. Villagers, in particular from lower socio-economic strata, value technical training, and at least (on the basis of interviews we had), we believe that if there were appropriate technical courses, parents would encourage their youngsters to remain in school, and do it more than they do it today. Those who drop out of high school are usually from lower socio-economic strata, with less educated parents and with lower achievement orientation. Moving to the city and acquiring jobs as laborers perpetuates their lower socio-economic standing. This, on the other hand, is the group which constitutes the bulk of the Greek population and the group which should be lifted.

As we said before, improvements in education are not as visible or not as easy to demonstrate as technological ones and, as a consequence, in developing nations, there is usually less emphasis on educational improvements as compared to technological ones. Again, this lag refers not only to the rural school but to University education which, in spite of its large numbers of students, remains one of the slower changing institutions in Greece. Higher education in turn through the experts it produces, for instance «guidance and counseling» teachers or social science teachers, directly effects the nature and extent of rural education, which can influence large population masses and lower socio-economic strata in particular.[2]

Those who finish high school intend to either secure a white collar job or go to college. College attendance has also increased considerably. In the past, it was a rarity for a village youngster to attend college and almost none of the children of tobacco producers did. As a matter of fact, the year the early study was conducted there was only one boy, the son of the village's practical lawyer attending college (law school). Today, there are close to twenty boys and girls, many of them from tobacco producing families attending college. Two of the girls are in the medical school. A number of these students come from families who now live in cities.

Attendance in school and in particular high school has also increased among children of the small communities surrounding Stavroupolis. There are paved roads connecting Stavroupolis with all these villages and in most cases daily trains or buses connect these villages with larger centers. These means of transportation each day bring youngsters to Stavroupolis to attend high school, although a number of them remain in Stavroupolis to return home for the weekends. Very few children from these villages attended high school twenty years ago.

Not only attendance but attitudes towards education have changed considerably. There were few villagers who twenty years ago mentioned a high school diploma for a girl. Then, the majority of villagers had mentioned high school for boys and three years of high school for girls.[3] For the majority today, satisfactory education is college for boys and high school for girls. Attitudes of relatives in the city, examples of other village children, and more economic flexibility have been mentioned as the reasons for the change in attitudes. Businessmen and white collar workers more often see college as necessary than tobacco producers. Also members of these two groups are the ones who mentioned more often that college is what youngsters are expected to have today. The main reference group for tobacco producers in this case is still the village, but it now tends to include those who have migrated.

In general, and from what is visible, one might say that the institution of education, in particular concerning the number of students, has changed considerably, and if one could make the comparison, changed more than the economic institution which has been under more direct pressure to change.[4]

1. For an analysis of problems of social adjustment of lower-class children see Jackson Toby, «Orientation to Education as a Factor in the Social Maladjustment of Children», *Social Forces,* 35, 1957, pp. 226-236. Everett Rogers and Rabel Burdge, *Social Change in Rural Societies, Op. cit.* James Davis, «Social Class Factors and School Attendance», *Harvard Educational Review,*23, 1953, pp. 175-185. August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: Wiley Press, 1949). D.G. Marshall and others, «Factors Associated with High School Attendance of Wisconsin Farm Youth», *Rural Sociology,*18, 1953, pp 257-260. William S. Folumen, *Rural Problem Areas Need Better Schools, Agricultural Economics Research,* 13, 1961, p. 126. Everett Rogers and Lynne Suenning, *Change in Small Schools* (Los Cruces: New Mexico State University, Educational Resources Information Center, 1969).

2. The importance of education to Greece is clearly depicted by Elias Dimitras.

3. John Photiadis, «The Coffee House and Its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis», Greece, *Op. cit.*

4. In more developed societies and even in the plains of Greece for this same time period, economic changes have been

What, of course, lacked in terms of short range potential for change in the economic institution was available for the improvement in terms of education. Given, however, that educational attainment is seen in Stavroupolis at the present primarily as a means of securing social mobility through higher income and higher level of living, the function of education could be seen as an indirect means helping the economic institution, and as a consequence, more education will, at least in the immediate future, remain closely related to out-migration.

Changes in formal education have during these twenty years affected younger generations primarily. However, improved mass media and in particular use of the radio, increased contacts with the outside, and held by the government agencies have contributed considerably to the acquisition of new knowledge and broader perceptions of the world of the adult and more so the male adult.

As indicated in the preceding article,[1] during the time of the early survey, the coffee house was more or less the center for exchange and dissemination of information and it still is, and probably it is still more effective than all mass media combined. But now its role as an agency of diffusion of information has been reduced. This reduction refers primarily to the fact that families as units, and the women's and boys' and girls' groups, have new direct lines of communication and information exchange with relatives or friends in the cities of Greece and elsewhere. On the other hand, the sources of new information input into the coffee house have also increased.

Villagers visiting relatives in the city and returned migrants in particular from Northern Europe serve as agents of dissemination of information on a variety of subjects ranging from norms and family patterns to home appliances, agriculture and nutrition.

If the subjects discussed during the evening hours of intense interaction in the coffee house (the time which was particularly studied during the early survey) are some criterion of what is going through the villagers' minds and what their interests are, as related to, say, what they were twenty years ago, one should realize that the perception of the participants is now broader and in general they are much more worldly than before.

Furthermore, what is of equal importance is that the filtering of the incoming information before being disseminated to the rest of the village, and to an extent the villages surrounding Stavroupolis, is not as biased as before. Villagers have become more broad minded and the social organization of the village, and in turn, the social control the coffee house exerts, are not as effective in distorting information as before. Besides, as we said previously, most major groups in the village, including families, have direct channels of communication and information exchange with the outside, mainly through migrant relatives, and therefore can, more than before, check the validity of the incoming information.

Another trend visible in the village is increased cooperation primarily through the PTA (Parents, Teachers Association), between village and school. The PTA was in existence even before the first survey was conducted. As compared to the family, finally, it plays a more significant role in the socialization of the youngster than before.

Looking at all the above changes both in the institution of education and in government, one could say that these changes constitute inroads of the larger society, primarily through its formal structure (mainly through branches located in the city) into the village social organization. In other words, the direction of change is towards more integration of the rural into the urban or the larger society social system.

Family and Religion

Family: In the article in the first part of this publication, the village family has been described as a cohesive unit in which the father made most of the important decisions, and the wife and children abided by them. The wife usually had control over household expenses and the raising of children, particularly the socialization of the daughter. But image in the community, behavior of the teenage daughter and, to a lesser extent, of the family as a whole, were under the close scrutiny of the father or the young adult son.

To a large extent, this system of inter-relationships within the family and between the family and the village was determined by the following major factors: (1) the semi-autonomy from the outside and internal-integration of the village social system and of its subsystems, one of which is the family; (2) the control the coffee house group exerted on the male head of the household concerning conformity of the family sub-system to the expectations of the village normative pattern, which in turn was strongly influenced by the social control the coffee house group exerted; (3) the status and prestige of the male head of the household, which to a large extent reflected the organization of the family as a work unit; and (4) the lack of open alternatives for children, particularly daughters, to secure jobs elsewhere.[2]

more drastic as compared to those of education. Of course, in Stavroupolis the means of economic expansion are more limited than elsewhere.

1. See first pages of this publication.

2. By open alternatives here we mean knowledge of available jobs and social acceptance of, girls in particular, working away from home and existence of reference individuals (other girls) who worked away from the family without severe criticism.

Before we examine what has actually changed in the family we will discuss changes in these four factors, so that a description of family changes will be more meaningful.

One of the consequences of the increased incorporation of the village social system into the larger society is the reduction of the control the coffee house group exerted over its members which in turn led to more autonomy of other sub-systems of the village social organization, one of which is the family. Not only has the control the coffee house group exerted over the head of the household recently decreased, but his position in the family, which was reinforced by the interaction patterns produced during the function of the family as a work unit, has also declined. Today, in most cases, the family, at least in so far as it concerns the involvement of the children, does not function as a work or economic unit as it did before. Still, however, husband and wife work as a unit, while the contribution of children is either more limited than before or does not even exist. Children are now geared to tasks which will lead to their employment elsewhere, usually away from the village. In other words, the family production unit is breaking up so that its younger members can contribute more efficiently to the larger economic system by becoming engaged or preparing for engagement in parts of the production line which are more rewarding. There are at least three main consequences of this new social and economic potential of the young to secure a job elsewhere.

First, by becoming able to secure a job (and having the social support for it), they do not depend on the family group as much and therefore do not have to obey its norms as much. This release from ascriptive ties refers not only to more freedom concerning obedience to the family norms, but for the same reason (the fact that they do not depend on the group as much) also more freedom from the community control implemented primarily through the coffee house.

Second, by not being involved in the interaction patterns which family work activity produces, both youngsters and parents become less conditioned by traditional patterns of family structure and in particular the superior role of the father.

Third, employment in the city or prospects for securing employment in the future imply wages often higher than those of the father, more worldly experiences, and more use as a reference group the group of people of the same age in the city.

In general, the status of children within the family has been raised and along with it their independence from family ascriptive ties. The change in status and role, however, is more drastic when it comes to the relationship between teenage children and the father. The relationship between mother and father has changed much less except in rural communities, usually closer to cities where a wife can find employment away from the household, such as a job in the service industry. The wife otherwise still considers the husband socially superior and the person who is expected to make the main decisions, although this difference in status is not as wide as before.

Daughters who attend school or are employed in the city often encourage their mothers to change and not abide as much by their husband's wishes. But on the basis of a considerable number of families we examined, both in Stavroupolis and in particular the surrounding villages, it appears that it is difficult for mothers to change.[1]

Worth noticing in this case is the function of a small number of young couples in the village who have returned from Germany. In many respects, their behavior towards each other puts some of these couples closer to the German working family than the traditional village family. If couples like these remain in the village, especially if they increase in numbers, the family social structure will continue changing even faster than it has been up to now.

A number of even older couples can now be seen sitting together regularly on summer evening nights in the open coffee houses at the square.[2] With the decline of the status of men, in particular those who have never migrated, and the frustrations they are going through because of the inability to meet the new societal expectations, older men are in many respects drawn closer to their wives, who, after all, are the only ones in the family who tend to recognize their traditional status, often, almost as much as before. In other words, although the relationship within such couples, as before, remains one of a super-ordinate and subordinate, friend ship between the two, not necessarily from the affection point of view, has visibly increased for many couples, even older ones.

Another reason which often leads to closer dependence of family members on each other, including children, is migration. Today, the family and the kinship group in general constitute the main anchorage or mechanism through which out-migration takes place. Earlier arriving members act as a bench head for the rest of the members who follow. Often these migrant family members, particularly during the first years of migration, come closer to each other. Younger children are often left with grandparents in the village and so closer ties between grand-

1. Wives usually have less education than husbands and children, still form their cliques at the neighborhood level as they did before, and most of them, unlike teenagers, do not use the group of women in the city as their reference group.

2. One or two professional women not originally from the village visit the coffee house the way men do, but this is not the case with village women.

children and grandparents develop. Also noticeable are the affectionate relationships which are developed between husband and wife working in the often culturally alien urban center. Returned male migrants, and in particular those from Germany, indicated that while in Germany they did things for their wives, such as washing dishes, they would have never dreamed of doing when they were in Stavroupolis.

In Stavroupolis, at least in the past, women worked in the production of tobacco as much as men did. Not all, but many of the new traits men acquired in Germany they practice when they return to the village. When away, the couple had an opportunity to interact in a different set of social relationships and also in a kind of set which was necessary in order for them to be able to make the required drastic new changes in life in general. These interaction patterns were in turn crucial in helping the couple retain the acquired styles of life when they return home and have to interact within the old system of relationships. In other words, while in Germany and under considerable pressure from the new social setting, the migrant couple developed, and to a degree institutionalized, a new set of relationships which it often retained when it returns home. In addition, the new patterns of social relationships tend to be retained because they had to a considerable extent become institutionalized. Part of this institutionalization is due to the fact that the German working family or the family of the migrant who had remained longer periods of time in Germany (and thus in the eyes of the newcomers had higher status) were used as a reference group by both husband and wife. Today, such families are crucial for Stavroupolis because: first, due to the reasons we first mentioned, there is strong enough motivational basis behind these new family patterns of relationships to withstand the social pressures of the community;[1] and second, these families become agents of change, but of course, also of discord for the existing village social organization.

A similar relatively independent role is played today by youngsters who have or are acquiring more formal education, and in particular among girls attending college. The author had the opportunity during an interview to listen to an exchange between a daughter attending the University of Salonica and her mother concerning the relationship of the mother and her husband. The daughter criticized the mother for not only working during the processing of tobacco as much as her husband did but taking care of the household, too. In particular she suggested her mother not have the evening meal ready and wait on him when he returns home during the late hours from drinking and playing cards in the coffee house. The response of the mother was that the position of the father was that of a man and a man who was the head of the household, which was a privileged position.

Among Greek villages in general, the most drastic changes in women's expectations for higher status as compared to the husband are associated with employment outside the household; typical are couples living in villages close to a trade center where wives can find employment. Role conflict in this case is not so much overt, but it can be detected primarily through the bewilderment of a husband who, in spite of his overtly expressed opinions about the role of the working wife, still tends to evaluate his wife's behavior towards him on the basis of the way his mother treated his father. Women, on the other hand, draw considerable psychological support for demanding higher status from the cliques they form in the places where they work, where working women tend to reinforce each other. It is not very common to hear a housewife in Stavroupolis complaining that she is a slave, although you hear it more than before, but you hear it often from wives in other villages where women are working in a neighboring city. In practice these women do not work harder than the wife, say, of a tobacco producer in Stavroupolis who stays home, but their expectations are definitely higher.

Migrant women from Stavroupolis who work in Greek cities still do almost all the household chores while the husband, as in Stavroupolis, goes out to a coffee house after coming home from work. Interviews with women from Stavroupolis working in the city of Salonica have indicated that they have much stronger desires for a higher level of living, and in particular desires to live in modern apartment houses (Megara), than women in the village and most often stronger desires than men.[2] The loosening of normative patterns, including those associated with mores, among village women in the city, which the author has noticed, seem to have different origins for married and unmarried women. For youn gerunmarried women living in the city the breaking up of the strict village normative pattern appears to be the main motive for violation of mores involving relations with men, for instance. But for married women it is more often the desire to acquire the new status symbols, such as home appliances or an apartment in one of the new apartment houses, which is most often the cause of the deviancy, sometimes including adultry.

1. It should be understood here that independence from traditional patterns is easier today because traditional patterns are neither as rigid nor as severe as they were the time the first study was conducted.

2. In Stavroupolis, living in an apartment building, which is often the opposite of living in a delapidated house, is valued highly among women because they associate it with more prestigious urban living and the urban housewife who tends to become a reference group to women from the village, in particular when they migrate to the city.

The loosening up of social control, at least concerning mores, is much more limited in Stavroupolis than among village women living in the city. And, at least from this point of view, the social organization of the village does not seem to be breaking up, as has been the case in certain instances in some rural communities in mountainous rural Appalachia of the United States. This type of breaking up has not appeared, at least not to a noticeable extent, even in the village of Dafnon which has already paid almost all its tolls to out-migration and to other causes responsible for producing strong feelings of relative deprivation. One possible reason for such lack of disorganization might be that village decline has not been accompanied by the ability to move around effectively as in rural Appalachia where there are private automobiles available. In other words, women and others who have to remain in the village depend on the village for social recognition and association. The more a person receives rewards from and depends on a group, the community in this case, the more he or she tends to obey its norm; this is what we call the law of reciprocity.[1] This is probably one of the main reasons the social organization of the village remains integrated and social control, to a degree, effective.[2]

Norms regulating relationships between women and men still remain almost intact, although some visible changes are taking place. On the other hand, romantic love is becoming more important, there are fewer arranged marriages even in the more isolated villages surrounding Stavroupolis such as Kalithea and Lycodromi (where there are very few young adults left); dowery is less important as it is marrying someone of different socio-economic status, some brothers marry before their sisters, and there have been some marriages without the consent of parents.

Another important change in the village, which is directly related to societal pressures, is family size and attitudes associated with it. As we indicated before, children contribute much less in the production and processing of tobacco and therefore do not constitute as much of an asset to the family economy as they did before. But increased expectations for more education make, then, from the economic point of view, a liability. For the majority of the villagers two or three (but mostly two) children is the ideal number. Fathers do not take pride of having large numbers of children and do not receive social reward for doing so. As one villager put it, «Nobody is bragging in the coffee house about the large number of children he has anymore». Similarly, women do not feel that they have higher status from having many children and do not feel that they contribute to the family and womanhood by doing so. But fathers, and even mothers, as before still feel more pride and receive more social rewards by having boys, particularly the first one, instead of girls.

Finally, the family's role in ascribing community social status to its members is changing. Due to the changing system of stratification, a family's name carries its members less. On the other hand, criteria based on the individual's personal achievement are becoming more important in determining social status.[3] Previously, successful tobacco producers, and even businessmen and white collar workers, often became resentful when the successful children of a previously lower status family returned home for a visit from the city driving a new car. Similarly, resentments are produced when parents of these children, due to the help they received from them, can indulge in conspicuous consumption.

If one looks at all the family changes discussed above and also considers that they are often more drastic than all the changes which took place in the village for a number of generations, one can see the extent of tension and pressure under which social relationships exist. Furthermore, pressures such as these are not only important because they can produce discord among existing social relationships, but also because they can severely pressure the personalities of those involved as well.

It is quite probable that the discord between personality and changing family social relationships creates more strain on the husband, although other members of the family are not immune to it. Teenagers, for instance, and girls in particular, are influenced much more than before, say, from the time the first survey was conducted, by at least two often conflicting sets of norms: those of the family, on the one hand, and those of the teenage group in the city, or the teenage group consisting of those who have acquired more education, or those who are either working or have worked in a Greek city or elsewhere, on the other.

Looking at all these discords from a more general point of view, we can say that the discord within the set of family social relationships and between the family and the community has increased by that the discord among the personality of the individual members and the family and the community social system has probably increased even more.

Value orientations which constitute the basis of support for any set of relationships are changing and

1. For further explanation of the term see George Homans, *The Human Group, Op. cit.*

2. It is most probable that as out-migration continues, integration will continue declining while alienation, apathy and retreat increase.

3. For a description of a similar situation sentence see John Photiadis, «The Changing Rural Family», Minnesota Farm and Home Science, University of Minnesota, 1965.

are less clear than before; for instance, faith in the family as the unit expected to more or less guarantee one's satisfactory survival has lessened and faith in land, which for peasant societies is often associated with faith in the family, has also changed. The new prominance or increase in rank of the value of economic success and material comfort is often in conflict with the old system of family relationships and even the value of familism. On the other hand, the physical comfort associated with material conveniences and higher income and the increase of social status of the villager and his family, which is often associated with the increase in income and level of living, seem to offer some justification for sustaining the strain the new family relationships produce.

These conditions will probably offer the basis for the reorganization of the village family patterns of the future. As an old, previously highly successful, tobacco producer from the village of Kalithea (one of the most isolated villages surrounding Stavroupolis) put it: «Our kids do not pay much attention to us anymore and maybe they do not show as much respect as before, but at least they have a better life (implying more material comfort), they help us a little (meaning financially), and make us a little proud because they have made it in the city».

Looking at all the contradictions mentioned above from a different point of view, one could say that disorganization within the family from the point of view of cultural consistancy has increased since the last survey, primarily because cultural alternatives have increased although few normative behavior patterns associated with them are available. Furthermore, the family is less than before the building block of the village's social structure while the upper middle class village family style is seen as less desirable than before. Finally, if these change patterns continue, and there is no reason to expect that they will not do so except, of course, where drastic disorganization will take place, overall family patterns in the village will probably follow universal trends.[1]

Religion: The social institution which has changed the least in Stavroupolis and in other Greek villages is religion and the church in particular. There are two possible reasons for this:

First, religion as it now functions in the Greek villages cannot make a direct contribution toward the pressing need for the attainment of higher income and level of living which constitute the central axis around which institutional reorganization and reorientation take place today. Experiences, however, from mountainous regions of more developed societies, such as the area of the Appalachian mountains of the United States, which have already gone through the stages of the rural-urban transitions Stavroupolis is presently experiencing, indicate that, in this respect, the contribution of the church is primarily indirect. The contribution of religion is that it serves as a buffer, helping rural people alleviate anxieties which are produced by rapid changes in other institutions, such as the economy and the family. In other words, it appears that today in rural mountainous areas of more developed societies, religion serves less than before as a mechanism of alleviating anxieties produced by the unknown or the fear of the supernatural, but serves more as a mechanism alleviating anxieties produced by societal complexity.[2]

Second, neither the church nor Greek society as a whole have through the years favored church changes, especially not in rural areas. In general, the Greek Orthodox church sees value in retaining the old, and at least in rural areas, the public usually supports this attitude. For instance, in Stavroupolis older, and even younger, villagers, excluding those who have worked in Northern Europe, believe that a priest is not a priest if he does not have a beard or does not wear his black cloth, the raso. The priest is still seen as a functionalry whose purpose is to disseminate the word of God and warn people of the presence of evil. Even now with all the changes taking place there is no noticeable effort by priests in any of the villages in the area of Stavroupolis to become engaged in social activities of any sort as has been the case with Northern European countries and the United States in particular.[3]

1. For a discussion of such trends see David A. Schulz, *The Changing Family, Its Function and Future,* Prentice-Hall 1972. Also see *Family Mobility in Our Dynamic Society,* Edited by Iowa State University, Center for Agricultural and Economic Development, Iowa State University Press: Ames, Iowa. Frank F. Furstenberg, «Industrialization and the American Family: A Look Backward», *American Sociological Review,* 31:326-337, 1966. Bernard Rosen and Manuel Berlink, «Modernization and Family Structure in the Region of Sao Paulo, Brazil», *America Latine,* 11:75-76, 1968. Ernest W. Burges and Harvey L. Lowe, «The Family», New York American, 1953. Lee G. Burchinal, «The Rural Family of the Future» in James Coup, ed., *Our Changing Rural Society,* Ch. 5, *Op. cit.*

2. John Photiadis, «The Changing Rural Church», in *Science,* Agricultural Experiment Station, West Virginia University, Bulletin 532, 1966. Also see J. Milton Yinger, *Religion, Society and the Individual,* Chs. 4 and 6 on Religion and Personality, The Macmillan Company, 1957. Thomas R. Ford, «Religious Thought and Beliefs in the Southern Appalachians as Revealed by an Attitude Survey», *The Review of Religious Research,* Vol. 3, No. 1, 1961. Also see J. Milton Yinger, «Religion and Social Change: Functions and Disfunctions of Sects and Cults Among the Disprivileged» in *The Sociology of Religion,* Richard D. Knuden, ed., Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967.

3. This trend is most noticeable in the United States, but even here the change of the religious institution is slower than other major institutions. For a relevant discussion see Everett Rogers and Rabel Burdge, *Social Change in Rural Soci-*

The most noticeable changes have occurred as parts of the traditional functions of the church which, in certain respects, are in support of the changes in direct line with the main themes of the changing society. For instance, priests in their sermons do not oppose desires for higher income, out-migration, or even the breaking up of the extended family as long as these changes do not effect the church. In other words, these changes of the church run parallel to the main societal changes which other institutions are attempting to adapt to. Furthermore, this role of the church points out the close relationship between religion and society.[1] Still other changes, less directly related to societal themes, have been criticized sometimes severly by the priest. Although priests might preach about the evils of wearing miniskirts, the use of lipstick, and disrespect for the elderly, they are either in support of some of the new drastic social changes or openly avoid discussing them, as is the case of out-migration which is hurting the membership of the church. A typical example is the breaking up of the extended, and even the conjugal, familywhich often occurs with migrants leaving their children behind. A probable exception, subject to frequent criticism by the priests, is the respect and obligation towards the elderly which is a condition that does not effect the performance of the family today. This would be the case if the priest insisted in the preservation of the traditional extended family. These attitudes of the priests are in line with those of the villagers who want the priest to talk about miniskirts, but not about the extended family which many now see as out-dated. Older villagers have mentioned that only a few decades ago priests would in their Sunday sermons chastise the son who did not take his parents to live with him.

In general, there is noticeably increased secularization of the culture of the area, with less religious ritual and fewer objects and events which would increase the distinction between the sacred and the profane which normally increases conditioning over beliefs.[2] For instance, religion is involved less in the social activities of the younger and middle-aged dealing with the family and occupation. Furthermore, the number of people for whom religion provides the main orientation in life, and these are usually known in the community, has declined during these last twenty years. At least this is what the majority of villagers interviewed think.

Today, God is perceived less than before as responsible for physical, social or other phenomena which affect man's life directly. On the other hand, man is perceived more than before as determining his own course in life, while science and technology are now seen even by the least educated, including those from the small isolated communities surrounding Stavroupolis, as powerful forces developed by men, linked to man's own life and to their own, and not alien to his personal existence and well-being. Evidence from interviews with farmers indicates that agricultural magic is gradually being replaced by new technology.[3]

During the interviews, parents, in particular those from the more isolated villages surrounding Stavroupolis, complained strongly about the fact that children don't respect parents and don't believe in God enough. On the other hand, these same parents are happy about the fact that their children are working in the city, have a better life (meaning material comfort) and at least have the opportunity to do better in life than they themselves did. In other words, with the church itself, villagers do not see religion and the many aspects of the traditional family in conflict with the new overall trends, in particular those leading to a higher level of living and to more technology and science. But they feel that adjustments to the new societal forms should include more of the old aspects of the institution of the family than they now do, which is not the case with religion.

In spite of the changes taking place in long established folkways and norms, the decline in church involvement and the increased secularization of the villagers' outlook on the world, religion still provides a relatively stable social matrix for by far the majority of the villagers in Stavroupolis and more so for those in more isolated satellite villages. In these, and noticeably among older men, religious orientation remains strong, but still in considerable accord with the new societal forms. This is the case in spite of the fact that among these older people perception of the dogma has changed much less than among younger ones.

In a coffee house open discussion in Stavroupolis, participants unanimously agreed that about 80-90 per cent of the villagers in Stavroupolis believe that

eties, Ch. 8, *Op. cit.* Also see Elizabeth Nottingham, *Religion and Society,* Random House, 1954, p. 27.

1. This relationship is explained in every book on the sociology of religion. For instance, Elizabeth Nottingham's *Religion and Society,Op. cit.* and Richard Knudten, *The Sociology of Religion,* in particular Part VIII, «Religion in the Midst of Modern Change», *Op. Cit.*

2. Religious beliefs assume the existence of sacred objects and beings, but by repetition, strengthens and reaffirms faith. For a classical discussion of the relationship between belief and ritual see Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life,* translated by J.W. Swain (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947). Also see John Photiadis, «Overt Conformity to Church Teaching as a Function of Religious Belief and Group Participation», *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. LXX, No. 4, 1965.

3. Agricultural magic refers to beliefs and practices which lack scientific explanation. Examples are witching for water and planting crops by the signs of the moon.

«there is a God who hears and answers our prayers». When the same question was asked of men from the isolated village of Kallithea, respondents indicated that all villagers would agree with this same statement. In general, basic religious beliefs seem to have changed less than religious practices. If one, however, considers that in order to sustain a belief, it is usually necessary to condition it through some religious ritual; if he furthermore considers that, at least in Stavroupolis as compared to the time of the first survey, there is less participation in church activities and in everyday rituals and newer opportunities for distinction between the sacred and the profane, he should be inclined to accept that strength of belief will continue declining. But this would be the case only when religion does not continue changing its function and becomes more than before an anxiety-relieving mechanism for the increasing frustrations modern complexity produces. In that case, anxiety itself will condition and in turn strengthen religious beliefs.[1]

If priests, not only in the Stavroupolis area but in Greece in general, including the cities, had enough education and some training in socio-psychological aspects of human behavior, they could contribute much both to their congregations and to the church itself. Because the faster technology changes, the greater the discord between personality and the social and cultural system and in turn the more the alienation and anxiety and the need to alleviate it. If priests in the future, then, could, in addition to preaching the doctrine, help their parishioners alleviate anxieties by both using some of the new counseling techniques, for instance, in helping spouces in conflict and even some elementary techniques of group therapy, such as small group discussion, their contribution to society would be increased. Furthermore, they could present along with this treatment the doctrine as an alternative to those in anxiety; thus, they could help the individual and also give the church a chance to produce a new believer.

As for those who do not participate, churches could sponsor secular activities in order to secure interaction among people in a setting they could in some way control. Repeated interaction could lead to the development of some form of social system which would be a force motivating participants to come back. Those, then, who would have a need to become attached to something because of a need to alleviate anxieties or for some other reason could choose attachment to religion as an alternative which is handily available because they will be close to it.

To conclude this sub-heading, we could say that the changing nature of the culture of rural Greece, including its mountainous regions, is apparent. If the church, in particular in the cities, is to survive as an institution, it has to adjust to these changes. To judge by indications in this study, the church has alternatives to bring about changes in its structure without becoming removed from its basic orientation. Thomas Ford, refering to the rural Southern Appalachians of the United States, suggests the following which are more or less in line with what is appropriate of Greece:

> Although religious literalists and absolutists attempt to define the essence of religion in definitive terms, modification of religious attitudes and doctrines continues. When doctrines become incompatible with the dominant directions of social life, the religious group may die. On the other hand, if the religious group adjusts its procedures and doctrines sharply to coincide with secular demands it may lose its purpose for existence. A third and more meaningful alternative lies in the willingness of religious groups to remain flexible and yet adhere to the basic elements of faith.[2]

Feelings of frustration due to relative economic deprivation and frustration produced by societal complexity and change will continue increasing, especially among low income people in Greece and mountain people in particular. Churches, therefore, have a vast potential for helping people, in particular those who need involvement because they are frustrated by modern complexity. But if the structure of the church does not change enough to become more suitable to alleviate the anxieties new frustrations produce, individuals having such needs will be prone to alienation from society or attaching themselves to a doctrine with some kind of emotional appeal.[3]

Most priests in Greece today, and in particular in rural areas, are not sufficiently educated. But even those who are expected to train and guide the priests (those who are trained in theology) are, at least in terms of today's standards, not properly trained. Because of this, religious higher education in Greece is not what it should be today. Religious higher education in Greece should involve a balance between doctrine and philosophy on the one hand, and dis-

1. In contrast to other areas of the United States, in rural, mountainous Appalachia, one finds a large number of strong believers who are not members of any church. John Photiadis, *West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland,* Ohio, Research Report No. 3, Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, 1970.

2. Thomas Ford, «Religious Thought and Beliefs in the Southern Appalachians as Revealed by an Attitude Survey», Abridged and reprinted from *The Review of Religious Research,* Vol. 3, No. 1, Religious Research Association, Inc., 1961, from *The Sociology of Religion,* Richard Knudten, ed., Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967, p. 103.

3. Typical in this case is the tendency to join authoritarian organizations. For a relevant discussion see John Photiadis and William Schwicker, «Attitudes Towards Authoritarian Organizations and Sectarian Churches», *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* Vol. 9, No. 3, 1971.

ciplines such as psychology, sociology, and organizational methods, on the other.

Finally, in order to relate changes in these two institutions, family and religion, to the theoretical framework we used in the beginning of this paper and to the second part of this analysis which will follow, we should say that the integration of the two institutions into the larger society and the city center, has increased primarily through increased informal and kinship associations and the use of the outside family as a reference group. Church ties have increased through closer cooperation between central administration and the village church and increased use of specialized services, such as programs for youth, which are originated and supported by the central administration.

FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION GREEKS IN CHICAGO

by George A. Kourvetaris

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IX. Summary and Conclusion

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