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A. Collard

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The inequalities of change in a Greek mountain village (Sterea Hellas: Evritania)

by A. Collard

M. Phil., London School of Economics

1. Introduction

The observation that the processes of social change may bring about certain contradictions in the structure and functioning of a given society, is not a new one in Anthropology. Such observations have been subsumed in the study of social change, generally, theories of development, modernization and so on. Frequently, the contradictions have been expressed in terms of the ways in which «traditional» aspects of the societies in question are combined with «modern» forms. The difficulty for analysis lies in the fact that not only is there a problem of defining what exactly constitutes social change but that the precise meanings of the terms employed to assess such changes are often not clear. It is not my intention to discuss the theoretical and methodological questions implicit in this. By way of introduction to this paper, however, I wish to make two main points concerning such problems. The one refers to the meaning of «traditional» and «modern» and, related to this, the other refers to the relationship between different segments of society. The conceptualization of this relationship is important to understanding changes in a given society and the consequent contradictions that may occur in the process.

A. On the whole «modernity» has implied a western, modern ideal of industrialization and its concomitant

capitalist, economic and political structures and values. The «traditional», on the other hand, has tended to refer to a homogeneous, «hypothetical antithesis» to this ideal.¹ As a result, the term «modernity» has been used as a «classificatory device distinguishing processes of social change which are deemed 'progressive' from those which are not».² Implicit in the concept is that notions of tradition and modernity are «two mutually exclusive, functionally interdependent clusters of attributes».³

Such notions have been criticized, not only for their ideological assumptions (the western ideal of progress) but because ethnographic evidence has proved that they are neither mutually exclusive nor functionally interdependent.⁴

On the one hand, the destruction of tradition is not a prerequisite of modernity. In many cases traditional institutions and values may facilitate rather than impede social changes, or they may represent the only available means of responding to them. In a recent book on Greece,⁵ for example, the author contends that the traditional «skills of the marketplace» have allowed Greek peasants to adapt to rapid urbanization; and far from modernization having destroyed traditional structures and values, the latter have fundamentally affected the process of modernization to renew and to bring «Greek public life as well as Greek economic patterns»

—The aim of my research (which is still in process) was to investigate the effects of the war years (1940-50), in terms of regional and local government, for a study of rural life and the ways in which village units are, and have been over a specific period, incorporated into the regional and national life of Greece.

The work is towards a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology for the London School of Economics and Political Science and was made possible by the generous help of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and a British Council Scholarship.

1. Tipps, D.C., «Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A critical perspective» in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Jan. 1973, vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 199-226 for a full discussion on the topic.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-226 for a summary of the criticisms, etc.

5. McNeill, W.H., *The Metamorphosis of Greece since World War II*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1978.

into the modern world, despite the «systematic differences» they display «from patterns familiar in western Europe...».⁶ More convincingly, Schneider and Schneider in their examination of culture and political economy in western Sicily,⁷ showed how the active perpetuation of past cultural codes were used to cope with the 19th century penetration of capitalism. They suggest that the cultural codes at issue were instruments of adaptation to secular forces of «exogenous colonialism and neo-colonialism», and not, as often contended, simply a residue of a traditional, preindustrial past which acted to hinder the ongoing processes of change.

Secondly, the attributes of the traditional and the modern cannot be considered homogeneous clusters of interdependent features, in the sense that changes in one sphere will necessarily produce changes in another. Changes occur piecemeal and to different degrees within the same society. Changes in one sphere may even compound the lack of change in another, as Schneider and Schneider imply in their analysis. What is important, then, is to identify the underlying core structural problems to which these changes are a response.⁸ In this identification the reasons for apparent contradictions between new and old are found outside any continuum which traditional and modern suggest.

In order to identify the underlying structural problems it is important to specify the precise social and historical context in which these occur. In such a context the «traditional» and the «modern» become a linguistic differentiation which refers to the past and present of the society in question. At most they may identify concepts developed without reference to this dichotomous approach.⁹ In the Greek case, for example, as has been argued elsewhere,¹⁰ the imprecision of this dichotomy for the study of change can be overcome by the use of such concepts as «articulation» and «transition». What emerges as important in the society is the way in which the technologically advanced industrial sector (with its implied urban ideology) is linked, through time, with the backward sectors of the economy; agriculture and the peasantry in this case. The problem becomes one of specifying the type of articulation between these sectors, that is here, between two different modes of production.¹¹ Social

change in this case refers to the historical forces at play and, the contradictions, to the *disarticulation* that may occur between the above segments as a result of these forces.

B. At issue, then, are two related sets of problems. Firstly, the way in which peasant communities are related to the nations of which they are part and how they often appear to lag behind the industrial, urban sectors, whether in terms of technology, the economy in general (production, income rates *et al.*),¹² political structures or cultural values. Secondly, that the explanation for such apparent contradictions and their emphasis is dependent on how the relationship is conceptualized. In other words, the problem of how the peasantry is integrated into the State through time lies in the consideration of social change. And the way in which this occurs helps explain certain contradictions manifest in peasant communities.

My intention is to assess these considerations with reference to an ethnographic example in Greece. I will begin by giving a background description of what I consider the most relevant aspects of the area and village with which I am concerned. I will then discuss three main facets in greater detail.

2. The village and its setting

In many ways the Province of Evritania is distinctive in Greece. It lies almost exactly in the centre of mainland Greece,¹³ and all of its area of 1,871 sq. kms. is mountainous, over half of it more than 1,000 metres above sea level. It is often referred to as the «Greek Switzerland» because of its mountainous peaks, snowcapped for most of the year, and because of the first impressions it gives of rich verdancy, extensive forest lands and abundance of water in the form of springs, streams and rivers.¹⁴ Ironically though, it is held to be the poorest Province of Greece with a higher emigration rate than any other region of the country.¹⁵ The Province has only one town, its capital, Karpnissi, with a population of about 5,000 and overall is compris-

agricultural sector. For question of «articulation» between these two sectors see also Lipton, M., *Why the poor stay poor*, Temple Smith, London, 1977.

12. *Ibid.*, part III «urban bias: some evidence», pp. 145 ff.

13. In the region known as Sterea Hellas: the southern most part of the northern block of mainland Greece. To the NE lies Thessaly and NW Epirus.

14. This actually holds true for the southern half of the Province. There are areas in the northern half which are very barren and stony and have no water. The main approach, however, is in the south where the capital, Karpnissi, lies.

15. This factor has been mentioned in a number of government publications on the area. But see, for example, *Epitropi Agrotikon Periohon, erevnes ston Ellinikon horo. Nomos Evritanias*, ATE., Athens 1976.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

7. Schneider, J. and Schneider, P., *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*, Academic Press Inc., New York, San Francisco, London, 1976.

8. Tipps, D.C., *op. cit.*, p. 224.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 223 footnote 17.

10. Mouzakis, N. P., *Modern Greece Facets of Underdevelopment*, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1978. For discussion of this point see especially Chp. 3, p. 56. Though the question is at issue in all development studies.

11. i.e. the capitalist mode of production characteristic of the industrial sector and simple commodity production characteristic of the

ed of 87 villages and 166 hamlets, with a total population of less than 25,000.¹⁶

The village of AT., as marked on the map, lies 27 kms. north of the capital. In practice, it is over 70 kms from Karpnissi by public transport as the direct route is accessible for only two months of the year. AT. is the «head» (*kefalohori*) and largest village of a group of 5 and 1 hamlet.¹⁷ In some respects, this cluster of villages, especially AT., are uncharacteristic of the area as a whole. They are more easily accessible by dirt-track road and there is a daily bus service to and from them; most are rich in chestnuts and walnuts which provide the main source of income; there is less stock-raising (sheep and goats) than in other areas of the Province and there is an abundance of water. They are characteristic, however, in terms of their disadvantages to the urban centres of Greece; in their declining populations, relatively low production, lack of employment, technological backwardness and lower incomes than the national average.

As a *kefalohori* AT. provides certain administrative functions for the surrounding villages. It is a postal centre and the postman visits the other five communities once a week collecting and distributing mail but more importantly, paying out remittances, social security benefits and pensions on which the inhabitants are largely dependent for their livelihood. He also collects savings and pays the «civil servants» (teachers, secretary of the Community, priest). The police who serve the area are stationed in AT. There is a small clinic in the village and the Doctor¹⁸ is responsible for medical care in the surrounding communities. The village also has the first three forms of a secondary school which children from the surrounding area attend, boarding out with families in AT. during term time. Finally, AT. has an Agricultural Bank Storehouse which provides the villages in the periphery with State subsidized grain for animal feed and flour.

Apart from these services each village is autonomous with its own elected President and Council members, State appointed (though a local man) secretary of the Community and Fieldguard (*agrofilakas*). Each has its own primary school and resident teacher.

Politically, AT. stands out as distinctive to some extent as it is the native village of the Right-Wing MP. for the area, serving in the present government and who was previously vice-minister of Education. The significance of this is twofold. To some extent he has

the power to undercut the authority of the elected president of the Community¹⁹ and, in the final analysis, takes precedence as the «mediator» with government institutions.²⁰ Secondly, it gives the villagers of AT. a certain priority in the patron-client relationship.

An aspect of this relationship is manifest on first entering the village which gives the impression of being both up to date and affluent. There is a large, modern Kindergarten, for instance; a new football stadium and a complete secondary school (6 forms) for up to 1,000 pupils is in the process of being built. There is also in the village a recently completed Hostel (*xenona*). Unlike the surrounding villages, AT. has concrete-paved roads with efficient drainage and sewage systems. All these have been built with funds secured from various Ministries by the MP.²¹ These buildings are impressive and an obvious source of pride to the villagers who reaffirm their close connections with the MP by constantly pointing to them. They are, however, sadly at variance with the conditions which define their reality. They do not take into account the declining population rates: the Kindergarten is functioning with 4 pupils, 2 of whom are pre-Kindergarten age;²² there is at least a 10% yearly reduction of all school children²³ and it is questionable whether the new secondary school will be able to function when it is completed. There has been little attempt to counter the population problem by developing the area in such a way as to encourage families to remain or re-settle. There has been no agricultural development since the war, a factor which is emphasized by the complete lack of mechanization; production has declined steadily since the early 1950s.²⁴ There has been no attempt to exploit natural resources

19. This, despite the fact that the MP is not resident, was evidenced in the fact that he created obstacles to the previous president re-standing as a candidate in the last municipal elections.

20. The other villagers have to rely more on their presidents. An example of this was that a few years ago a neighbouring village wanted a road cleared so that the local bus could descend into the village square. After pleading with the regional authorities and the local MP, the president and some men stole a bulldozer one night and cleared it themselves.

21. Interesting to note: ATE., 1976 *op. cit.*, p. 23 quotes figures relating to the annual «community income» for the villages of Evritania for the year 1975. Each community has a regular income derived from municipal funds which are collected from fines, grazing rents and the selling of any community property. These are collected by the municipality and then re-distributed to the villages. In addition to this regular income, villages may have «extras», if any public building has taken place and so on. AT. had the third highest «extra» amount of community income, though its population is of average size; it is not being developed by the Tourist Board and so on.

22. This does not only mean the underemployment of a teacher but is in fact illegal in Greece where a kindergarten may not function with less than 10 pupils.

23. ATE., 1973 and 1976 *op. cit.*

24. *Ibid.*, and unpublished Min. of Agriculture figures given to me in local office, Karpnissi.

16. 1971 census ΕΣΥΕ (General Statistics Office) Athens; and *Meleti oikonomikis anaptixis periohis nomou Evritanias*, ATE, Athens, 1973.

17. Total population approximately 1,165 with AT. the largest at 350-400.

18. Doctors are usually medical students doing their obligatory practical year in the countryside. For this reason they tend to change every year.

such as the Forests²⁵ and communications (roads) remain substandard.

A. Patronage

Though they do not imply any far reaching changes, minor developments such as the construction of new schools and village drainage do point to a number of significant aspects in the rural life of the area.

Firstly, they underline the fact that the village world is permeated by external forces on a number of different levels. In this case they may be seen as an expression of urban ideals which are closely linked, in terms of patronage, to the political properties of the wider society; ideals to which the efforts and aspirations of villagers have been orientated almost since the birth of the Greek Nation in 1821.²⁶ But they are ideals which lack substance in the rural setting and merely point to the lack of development in the rural economy. Public buildings, paved roads and efficient drainage are not, for example, part of a decentralization scheme. In the case of AT, they do not even serve the more pressing needs of the population such as a good medical service. The sick still have to travel at least 70 kms. to the nearest hospital and are dependent on the few, mostly shop owners, who have vehicles to transport them.²⁷

The school buildings, the hostel and the paved roads in the village suggest that things have changed over the last 10-15 years but conceal the fact that people continue to produce on subsistence levels. The cost of living has risen in relation to the higher expectations in the standard of living making people increasingly dependent on supplementary forms of income, remittances and Agrarian Insurances, for example, and the young are still driven to migrate because of the lack of economic opportunity.

It is exactly because of the «disarticulation» between the productive industrial sectors of the economy and the technologically backward sectors²⁸ that the rural areas manifest such inconsistencies and in the process often become increasingly dependent on the State and its «mediators». That is, the capitalist mode of production, characteristic of the urban, industrial area of Greece and characterized, in this case, by wage labour, has not managed to establish itself in the rural areas of Greece. Instead, as has been analyzed elsewhere,²⁹ «it has incorporated the rural economy in such a way that its own development takes place at the expense of those

involved in agricultural production».³⁰ This involves a systematic siphoning off of resources through a variety of mechanisms, which I shall discuss below, while leaving the rural areas virtually unchanged. Under such conditions, the State, mainly through the Agricultural Bank in Greece, becomes the main means of survival as it is the basic provider of capital in the rural economy; and the securing of an economic or political patron the main means of advancement. This situation has a number of aspects which express the ways in which the village is «short-changed» in its relation to other sectors of society.³¹

In order to secure his livelihood the peasant finds it necessary to establish connections with a variety of political and/or economic intermediaries. People who can channel his demands into the appropriate State departments and supply his basic needs, which range from ensuring his flocks are inoculated against Brucellosis, to securing a market for his produce, to getting his son a city job. To some extent the President of each community performs this role by having the power to give (or deny) the necessary official papers to secure Agricultural Bank loans, Agrarian Pensions and even jobs.³² His powers are also dependent on building up good relations with the local government representatives but they are limited, at most to the regional level. Shop-keepers too, have to create close relations with urban merchants who act as their intermediaries giving them credit and providing them with access to the market. In turn, peasants who are dependent on selling any produce, such as walnuts and chestnuts in AT., have often to rely on their local shop-keepers to sell their produce. Most of the chestnut and walnut producers in AT. use the local shop-keepers in this way³³ —relying on the latter's already established relationship with a merchant to get a good price for their produce. A few have cultivated relations independently with a merchant, over the years. It is a relationship based on the expectation of equivalent exchange. The merchant is constrained to buy at a good price in exchange for an ensured and continuing supply from the producer.³⁴

30. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, pp. 75ff.

31. The use of the term «short-changed» obviously implies that correct/fair change is calculable according to some kind of rationale. By using it I simply wish to emphasize that development in one sector appears to take place at the expense of another and that, as a result, peasants in particular seem to be done out of full participation in national life.

32. The president is often required to write a reference stating that a villager has finished primary school. This is often inaccurate but has the desired effect of securing jobs. The same goes for emigration papers.

33. Though the shop-keepers compete among themselves in terms of how much commission they will take and are dependent on fluctuating prices from the merchants, so their clientele is not ensured.

34. This gives the merchant room for speculation during the year, allowing him to buy other goods on credit. The producer also gives his supply on trust: he is paid after it is sold in the urban markets.

25. The only attempt has been the establishment of a small sawing mill in Fourná, about 30 kms. from AT.

26. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, esp. chp. 5.

27. I am suggesting, here, that transport is inadequate.

28. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, chp. 4.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 74ff see also Lipton, *op. cit.*, and Campbell, J., and Sherrard, P., *Modern Greece*, Ernest Benn Ltd. London, 1968, esp. chps. 9 and 10, for discussions of this type of process.

Such a relationship usually takes place only when the villagers produce above 500 kilos of chestnuts and walnuts and can therefore sell in bulk. And the results are not always beneficial as the merchant is subject to market forces outside his control (annual agricultural prices). Some sell outside either of these relationships but they are frequently the smaller producers, often widows, and more often than not they get the worst prices.

The most common way of securing a mediator is by giving him political allegiance. It is not surprising then, to find in AT., that the recently elected president is the local greengrocer. On a wider scale, the reward for political allegiance to the MP in AT. has been the public spending in the village. The immediate returns are schools, paved roads and city jobs for the young, but they are such that they necessitate a continued dependence on the patron who has the power to channel the demands and keeps most of the doors to advancement.

In this context, as Lineton³⁵ has pointed out, «wealth, power and security in the village» no longer depend on the sources of income «but on being or having connections with political or economic intermediaries». Such connections can only change conditions for individual families, they cannot change the structure of the rural economy. On the contrary, they maintain the already existing situation in which resources are transferred from one sector to another. They are used for this very reason and the more connections that are established the more people become dependent on them for their power, wealth and security. A change in the sources of income would interfere with the relations in which the intermediaries hold the reins. For, in the final analysis, a change in the sources of income suggests a change in the mode of production and therefore, the establishment of another set of social relations.³⁶

The forging of links with economic or political intermediaries, in this context, is necessary for survival. The returns come in the form of being able to survive as small commodity producers and the possibility of advancement for the family. For the village as a whole, however, the returns may be seen in terms of the permeation of urban ideals. Because of the close links between people in rural and urban areas as a result of migration³⁷ and the forging of ties with urban intermediaries, the villagers are able to learn the urban idiom. This is expressed in a variety of ways such as dress, interior decoration of houses, cooking and in

some cases language. People tend to point to the lack of a cinema or theatre more readily than to the lack of proper medical care. Their expectations of a higher standard of living have changed. This to me expresses one way in which the peasants are short-changed through the patronage network. Their basic demands for jobs and higher incomes, channelled as they are through intermediaries, are not in themselves met but they are offered the outer manifestations of a different life instead. This helps explain why, in a place like AT., sophistication and a sense of the modern go hand-in-hand with traditional practices.

B. History and migration

By the late 18th century there were 60-70 families settled in AT.³⁸ The place was originally the seat of a monastery and most of the cultivated areas were monastic lands. Transhumant shepherds (Sarakatsani) had their summer pastures in the area; but now in the whole cluster of six communities there are only 12 such families left who arrive with their flocks from the plains of Lamia in the early summer and return to them at the end of the autumn. It is said that other itinerant shepherds were permitted to graze their flocks on monastic land in exchange for labour for the monks. Other families were given refuge from the Turks by the monastery, again probably in exchange for labour in its fields. The area was gradually settled by families who for one reason or another were fleeing from the Turks, and they remained in the area as permanent cultivators and small-time shepherds.³⁹ In 1779 there was even a «secret Greek school» functioning in the monastery which had considerable reputation in the area and in which a number of famous Greek bishops taught.⁴⁰ The naming of various areas in and around the village suggests that Turks did in fact inhabit the village at one time. Evidence suggests, however, that the Turks who remained in the whole Province had collected in Karpenissi by 1821.⁴¹ Certainly, the area was never given over to large Turkish estates and the economic pattern from early on appears to have been subsistence farming combined with stock-raising (sheep and goats).⁴²

By the end of the 19th century migration from the area seems to have already become common. Constantinople during this period appears to have been a still

35. Lineton, M., *Mina: past and present. Depopulation in a village in Mani*, unpubl. thesis Univ. of Kent 1971, p. 175.

36. For example, a change from SCP where the worker owns his means of production to wage labour where he doesn't.

37. Given that Greeks do maintain close connections with their villages.

38. Basiliou, P., *Touristikos Odigos Evritanias, Nomarchias Evritanias, Karpenissi*, 1972, p. 89.

39. i.e. shepherds who were not transhumant and combined shepherding with some cultivation. Their actual flocks were often large, sometimes 1000 head.

40. Basiliou, *op. cit.*, and in *I Evritania*: quarterly periodical July/Aug./Sept. 1972, p. 47.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

42. My historical data are subject to correction due to the lack of/inaccessibility to relevant material at this point of my fieldwork.

favoured destination for those who emigrated abroad and migrants were probably orientated towards clerical and mercantile activities in the still existing Greek diaspora communities.⁴³ At the turn of the century emigration to the USA began to be more usual all over Greece. Land shortage does not seem to have been the paramount factor in migration from the area. Rather the difficulty of production. The soil is not fertile;⁴⁴ hillsides had to be terraced into small fields to counter against a propensity for landslides and soil erosion added to by heavy rains and snow. Combined with these factors, the mountainous cut of the land meant that the average size field was rarely more than 1-1½ stremmas. As in other mountainous areas of Greece there was always a grain deficit. It has been estimated that the Province produced 30% of its needs in cereal before the war.⁴⁵ Now it produces virtually none. Wheat and other cereals (maize, barley, rye) were grown up to the early 1950s but their quality was poor, they were mostly used for fodder, and the cost of production tended to exceed the returns.⁴⁶ Finally, there seems to have been a constant tension between those who relied primarily on cultivation for a living and those who relied more on stock-raising. Goats, in particular, were constantly damaging crops and young fruit trees.⁴⁷

Migratory movements from the area seem to fall into three distinctive phases: the relatively steady migration of the early 20th century both to urban areas of Greece (Athens) and the USA; what can be termed the dramatic political migration between 1947 and 1951, and the intensified migration of the early 1960s corresponding to both the economic opportunities which had opened up in western Europe (namely, West Germany) and the internal industrial development of Greece which had been aided by the injection of foreign capital at about this time. Most of the early migration took place between 1907 and 1920 when the population of the whole Province dropped by 5,515. After that, and probably partly due to the abrupt change in USA immigration policy after 1921, the population of the Province grew and reached its peak in 1940 with 53,474. Between 1940 and 1951 12,803 people left the Province and between 1961 and 1971 another 10,183.⁴⁸

43. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, p. 165 footnote 105.

44. Oral information from local Agronomist and local branch of Dept. of Agriculture.

45. Bakojannis, P.K., *I Evritania kai oi oikonomikes tis dynatotites*, Athens 1960, pp. 17-36. He estimates that for the pre-war population of 50,000, 11,628,000 okes of cereal were needed per annum.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-36. He estimates the cost of cereal production (in 1960) per stremma at 229.40 drs. and the yield at 171 drs. For maize 589.50 drs., and 455 drs. respectively. Therefore, produced at a significant loss.

47. An antagonism common in the Mediterranean. See Schneider, J., «Of vigilance and virgins», in *Ethnology*, 1971, 9, i, 1-24. Also Schneider and Schneider, *op. cit.*

The first phase of migration relates to the relatively early urbanization of Greece which was already significant by the end of the 19th century,⁴⁹ though emigration to the USA had also gained momentum in the first two decades of the 20th century. Peasants were pushed by the lack of economic opportunity in their villages and pulled by the prospects of being able to make their fortunes elsewhere. What characterizes this period of migration is the fact that the men tended to migrate alone and for most of their working lives. Migrating to the USA meant joining the bottom rung of the working classes and living conditions were probably too difficult to contemplate bringing families even if this were possible. The intervening ocean concurrently meant that an annual return to one's village was impossible. This had both economic and social consequences. On the one hand, it meant that remittances took the place of visits and began to assume, for the first time, an important supplement to local resources. In this way, emigration to the USA in its early stages helped many mountain villages to retain their traditional patterns of life,⁵⁰ and compared to the later emigration of the 1960s it did not deplete the number of villagers to such an extent. On the other hand, it meant that the women had to assume a greater responsibility in the cultivation of family lands and often they did not see their male relations until they returned as old men. Many migrants married before they left, usually leaving their wives pregnant; others, who could manage it, returned to marry village girls whom they then left behind. A male child might be later sent to join his father as would male relations who foresaw better prospects away from the village. This pattern was obviously truer for those who emigrated to the USA but even those who went to seek their fortunes in Athens, for example, often left their wives and families behind visiting them at irregular intervals. This pattern meant that cultivation could still be carried out by women and in some cases their growing families. Possibly it helps explain why production was maintained during this period though the returns were minimal. Those whose husbands continued to send them significant sums of money⁵¹ were able to hire labour when it was available and thus create for themselves a relatively higher standard of living. On the whole, however, a young wife would work her lands and those of her husband with her sisters-in-law and mother-in-law relying on remittances for survival. From the women who passed their lives in this fashion there is an often to be heard complaint that they, in fact, married their mothers-in-law not their husbands.

The second period of migration did far more to

48. Karapiperis, D.P., *I Patriki mas ghi*, Athens, 1972, p. 51, also ATE, *op. cit.*

49. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, chp. 1 and chp. 5.

50. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

51. i.e. over the years remittances might stop.

deplete the population of the whole Province. Nearly 24,000 people left Evritania between the 1940 war and 1971. The first of these periods is closely related to the German Occupation of Greece during the Second World war and the following civil war, and can be divided into two distinct phases. Most of the villages of Evritania were evacuated by the Greek National Army during 1947-1950. The purpose of this was to deprive the Left guerrilla movement of recruiting grounds, supplies and information.⁵² In Evritania it brought thousands of people as refugees into Karpenissi and Lamia.⁵³ The second phase, related to the first, was the immediate post civil war period.

As the Province of Evritania is in many ways distinctive geographically, so is it, in some ways, historically. The Germans in 1941 never occupied this area but what is important (because the Germans were unable to make inroads into other parts of—especially mountainous—Greece) is that it became the centre of the Resistance movement. Not only was it important in military terms but many of the administrative policies of EAM were developed and applied here for the first time, notably those concerning self-government and popular justice.⁵⁴ And in 1944 the first official Government of the Mountains (PEEA) was established in a small village south of Karpenissi. Partly for this reason, the widescale involvement of the area in EAM/ELAS, the civil war when it broke out late in 1946 was especially severe. Young men who had previously been sympathetic to the EAM forces were recruited into the national army and made to fight their fellow-villagers, and in many cases their own brothers and sisters.⁵⁵ Others who had simply lived under the regime or those who had been elected to serve in the village administration of EAM as committee members or «chairmen» in the local courts were suddenly forbidden to mention their involvements or refer to the 1940s at all. Everyone was told that they had been duped by the leaders, not of a heroic resistance movement but of an «anti-Greek, anti-nationalistic» one.

In this context it was only too easy to use old grievances against neighbours and fellow-villagers as an excuse for taking sides and wreaking personal vengeance in an idiom of national civil war. The fact that so many people were forcibly evacuated from their villages by the army having to forgo everything they

owned and their only means of livelihood⁵⁶ under the proclaimed threat of «extermination by ELAS/EAM forces», which had now become synonymous with a «soviet red threat» in the minds of people, did not aid the situation.

In terms of migratory movements, the effect of civil war and the evacuation was twofold. For many, especially the women, this was their first taste of urban life and first glimpse of a way of life which offered other opportunities. When the government then started to repopulate the villages in 1950, not everyone returned to them for this reason. Some had managed to find a niche for themselves in the urban milieu. Of those who did return it is probable that many felt discontent being more aware now of another way of life. Of these some moved back to the urban areas at the first opportunity while others probably encouraged their children to migrate, very often by seeking urban husbands for their daughters. The biggest depletion of numbers, however, was due to more direct political reasons: the persecution of the Left. Many were imprisoned, many exiled or fled into Eastern Europe while others who had managed to escape were frightened of returning to their villages.

The upheavals of the war period and its human losses did nothing to aid production when the villagers returned to their fields and since that period cultivation and stock-raising has rapidly declined. As a result people continued to leave the area and were only too pleased to take up the opportunities offered by the economic boom of western Europe in the early 1960s. Migration was again intensified during this period.

Wartime experiences created the bases for far reaching disruptions in the traditional patterns of village life.⁵⁷ Postwar developments, namely the introduction of electricity to many areas of Greece, added to these changes.⁵⁸ Emigration to West Germany when it came in the early 1960s led to a further drastic drop in agricultural production and in fact created labour shortages all over Greece.⁵⁹

The main characteristic of this later phase of migration was that it became a family affair. Men no longer emigrated by themselves but took their wives and families with them. Even those who emigrated to the USA returned to their villages to find suitable wives but once married took them with them. Today, children and wives tend to return to the village for the summer as do other relations from the urban centres of Greece bringing with them a new ideology and the promise of a better material life elsewhere.

52. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

53. A main provincial town about 80 kms. from AT. Not in the same Province, however.

54. Kastρινος, A.V., «Popular Justice and Self-Government in Free Greece 1941-1943» (in Greek) in *Istoriki Epitheorisi*, 1963, vol. 2, Nov.

55. As many of the young men were recruited into the army, the ELAS forces did a lot of recruiting, some forcible, among the women.

56. Foreign remittances had also come to an abrupt end in 1941 due to the war.

57. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 93. A result of American Aid and the establishment of a national electric grid. However, nearly half the villages of Evritania are still without electricity.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

What the migratory movements show is how they are built into internal and external arrangements of a particular area.⁶⁰ This both structurally, because of certain conditions, the lack of economic opportunity in this case consequent on the lack of agricultural development, the difficulty of production and the diminishing returns arising from this; and historically. Migration began as a consequence of the incorporation of a depressed rural area into the expanding, wealthier nation-state, which in itself came about as a result of a particular conjuncture of economic, social and historical forces related to the rest of Europe.⁶¹ For the same conjunctural reasons the expanding nation was unable to develop its agricultural sector satisfactorily and migration gained momentum further depressing the rural areas. In this context, foreign emigration acted as a safety-valve to some extent, as the industrial sector was unable to absorb all the surplus labour from the countryside. Urbanization, then, reduced some of the economic pressures that peasants faced but through emigration did not act to drastically add to unemployment in the city. In addition remittances helped the peasants survive at a certain low level. The events of the war, which constituted another set of historical forces, further depressed agriculture and added to migration. In this way it can be shown how the village is part of the structural and historical development of the whole nation, but it remains at the losing end in the sense that the particular development of Greece as a nation has acted to continuously depress its rural areas.

Migration, which is seen here to be an aspect of the properties of wider society, helped reduce the gaps between village and town bringing with it many changes in rural life. In other ways, however, it heightened the differences and made the peasants more aware of them and increasingly dependent on a way of life which maintained them.

C. *The Economy*

As mentioned above, the economy of AT. is based on simple commodity production⁶² which remains largely on a subsistence level. The main crops are garden produce (including some fruit trees) cultivated mostly for family consumption, and chestnuts and walnuts grown for marketing. The latter provide the main source of agricultural income. Most agriculture is combined with stock-raising (sheep and goats). In some cases this provides the main source of income but mostly it is a subsistence supplement. Every family has at least one goat

for milk and other dairy products; it is mated annually. Offspring may be killed and eaten by the family, kept or sold. Many families have 10-15 sheep which, again, are largely used for family consumption (meat, milk, wool). 19 of the 135 or so families in AT. have over 30 sheep. 6 of these families are transhumant shepherds born in the village with houses there but no land. They rely entirely on their sheep for an income. The other 13 combine stock-raising with agriculture and market their lambs; the wool and dairy produce, however, is traded mostly within the village.

There are few mechanized aids to agriculture. Tall grasses and trefoil which grow wild in the small terraced fields are scythed and baled and carried to storage by hand in the early summer and used for animal feed in the winter. Fields are dug by hand (mostly womens' work) for the sowing of beans, potatoes and some maize. There is no ploughing mainly because wheat and cereals are no longer grown and because there are no longer enough available horses or mules in the village for this purpose. The watering of the small fields, garden plots and of the chestnut and walnut trees is laborious as it involves digging small canals run off bigger dug canals which are channelled from the surrounding streams. The smaller canals have to be closed and redug throughout the summer months to allow everyone a turn in the water rota system. Sheep are sheared with scissors and the wool washed, dyed and spun by hand.⁶³

There have been fluctuations in this economic pattern of small commodity production. Chestnut and walnut production has been intensified since the war,⁶⁴ part of the reason for this is that they do not require much labour and production costs are minimal. Cereals are no longer grown and maize only by a few in small amounts. Flocks have become much smaller since before the war and dairy products as well as garden produce, such as beans, are rarely marketed though they continue to be sold in small amounts within the village. There have been, however, few significant changes. The large reduction in the agricultural population during the 1940s and 1960s had the effect of lowering production but did nothing to change the pattern of small family holdings, relying on family labour and producing largely for subsistence. With the desertion of large areas of land there has not, for instance, been any concentration of holdings into larger units; there has been no introduction of new cash crops, even the cultivation of beans of which there are a large variety and which have always been an economically viable crop,⁶⁵ has not

60. Lineton, *op. cit.*, chp. 8.

61. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, chp. 1.

62. SCP defined as: a) Individual private ownership of the means of production and b) individual private appropriation of products of labour and dispersal through market. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, p. 167 fn. 132.

63. In the last 2-3 years some people have begun to send wool to be dyed and spun, and woven, sometimes, in a small weaving industry near Lamia.

64. Despite a set back over the last 10 years when the trees were struck by disease and some people lost all their trees.

65. Bakojanis, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-36.

been intensified but rather has declined. The existence of many, now uncultivated, meadows could have provided the basis for systematic stock-breeding, but instead there has been a systematic decline in the number of sheep and goats. Finally, despite government subsidies and loans, there have been no notable capital investments in this sector and the villagers are unable to accumulate the capital to invest in such things as intensified stock-breeding.

The gap in productivity between this sector and the industrial one is reflected in the national distribution of income which is constantly declining. In 1951 the agricultural per capita income was 83.3% of the national income. In 1962 it had dropped to 60.3% and in 1971 to 51.1%.⁶⁶ Other figures show that in 1973 the bottom 40% of Greek income groups received only 9.5% of the national income, while the top 17% received 58%.⁶⁷ Ironically though, the effect of reduced productivity in agriculture, which is reflected in the national distribution of income, has not made the villagers of AT. poorer in money terms than before the war and even the early 1950s.

Increased migration in the 1960s led to an increase in migrants remittances, these were combined, in this case, with the establishment of Agricultural Insurances and Pensions in 1962 which added to the meagre incomes of the village households in cash terms. Added to this was the development of a few opportunities for wage labour in and around the village. One important source for supplementing one's income is the existence of a Forestry Department co-operative in the village.

All forest lands are owned by the Greek State Forestry Department. Men work on the forests adjacent to their villages usually, felling and chopping timber. They are formed into a co-operative which is paid according to how many cubic metres of wood its members cut for the Forestry Department per annum. The Department states when and where the trees can be felled and in some places this amounts to wage labour for almost half the days of the year. In the area immediately adjacent to AT. there is in fact a lack of timber but there is enough work to supplement the incomes of the 36 members of the co-operative with between £500—£1000 per year. Another form of wage labour which supplements agricultural income has been in building. AT. has benefited from this due to the amount of construction over the last 10 years or so.⁶⁸

Compared to before the war and the early 1950s the villagers are better off in that they labour less hard in their fields but have more cash in their hands. In rela-

tion to the nation as a whole, however, and the urban sectors of Greece, they remain poor. That is, they remain at a disadvantage relying largely on economic patterns which have not greatly changed.

Increased migration, both internal and external, has had the effect, among other things of widening the horizons of villagers and making economic and social inequalities both more visible and less acceptable.⁶⁹ The fact that Greek villagers do not usually sever their ties with their home villages is very important in this respect. Easter, in AT., in particular, is a time when relations living in the urban areas of Greece come back to the village; in the summer children from abroad are also sent to pass their holidays «back home»; often they come with their mothers. And in the autumn those who can, come to help their elderly parents with the chestnut and walnut harvests. All of them bring into the village the outer manifestations of a better material life, new knowledge and an urban sophistication. One result of this pattern is that people in the village increasingly define themselves in wider terms of reference looking for an expression of their needs and beliefs beyond the confines of the village. In this way the bases of stratification have been gradually transferred from the local to the national level. Today there is a greater similarity of life-styles within the village than there was before the war when the unequal distribution of land, size of flock or ownership of a shop, made more difference and allowed for the formation of a powerful local and resident elite and bad communications gave local merchants greater economic power. This «elite» is now urban based leaving the villagers more or less on a par in terms of cultivatable land and size of flocks, and economic opportunity. However, as I have suggested above, these similarities tend to mask the differences which do exist. In a local context the latter are increasingly expressed in the differential access to the political and economic elite of the country, an access which is dependent on who one's urban relations are, where they work and what position they hold in the urban milieu. On a national level, changes in the bases of stratification have brought the peasant into greater competition with the urban sectors of society and on the latter's terms. One result of this situation is that the young of the village tend to spurn, and are encouraged to by their parents, not only agricultural work but any form of manual labour. They do not seek factory jobs in towns merely to escape the confines of the village but they all hope to study and end up with clerical jobs preferably in one of the Ministries. In the young girls this is reflected in the choice of marriage partner. It has become the norm to accept only urban husbands,⁷⁰ that

66. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, p. 174, footnote 31.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 173, footnote 31 *cp.*, also Lipton, *op. cit.* and Campbell and Sherrard, *op. cit.*

68. In 1966 there were large scale earthquakes in the Province. After 1967 and the donation of Government building grants quite a bit of construction took place, giving work.

69. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

70. Rejection of rural husbands by rural women is common elsewhere. See for example, Franklin, S.H., *The European Peasantry—the final phase*, Methuen and Co., Ltd. London, 1969.

is, men who already have such a position or those who intend to go to the city or abroad. This makes it very hard for the few young men who remain in the village to find wives at all.

All in all, because status and the promise of wealth is increasingly defined on a national level, and this means access to people in power, I think there has been an increased dependence on intermediaries since the war.⁷¹ In political terms the dependence has acted as a means of incorporating the peasantry into the national life of Greece but without, in effect, changing the rural economy. And the result has been differential incorporation into political and economic institutions fundamentally alien to the peasantry. That is, they have not been represented as a class either in themselves or for themselves. Rather, they have been enlisted to legitimize the power of a bourgeois elite⁷² or to support the ranks of the working urban population.

On the one hand, then, the changes which brought about a decline in agricultural production and different migratory and patronage patterns could be seen as adaptive mechanisms for national integration. On the other hand, however, by allowing small holders to survive in this way, they remain a stagnant and technologically backward sector of the nation where traditional inequalities⁷³ are maintained but within wider terms of reference. In this way, the community gets caught up in forces far beyond its boundaries, forces which can act on local traditional structures to change them but which can also compound their lack of change.

3. Inequalities of change

There is no doubt that changes have occurred in the village since the war to raise the standard of living, and that these have accelerated over the last 10-15 years. Villagers can now sit and smile as they relate their earlier experiences.

In the past the summer months were spent in hard labour in order to survive the winter months. Sowing, scything, threshing and grinding flour in the water mills took place day and night, and in the height of the summer families would camp out in their fields, both because many were located at a distance from the village and because watering usually took place at night. The little cereal that was cultivated had to be carried back to the village and carefully stored to provide

the family with flour during the winter and animal fodder. Potatoes and pulses provided the main staple and despite the fact that it was stock-raising country meat seems to have been eaten only on special occasions. In early November the chestnuts and walnuts had to be carried on foot across, the often snowed up, mountain passes to town where they were sold for a few drachmas per kilo; money was used to buy a few essentials in the seasonal bazaar at Karpenissi which coincided with the end of the harvest.

Shoes were a rare commodity even upto the late 1950s and those available were usually made from bits of pig hide soled with rubber tyres (where they were available). Most clothes were of coarse wool, woven or knitted by the women, mostly from their own sheep and goats, cotton was scarcer and a more expensive commodity. Girls were rarely sent to school and usually one son would be chosen for education. This helps explain the low literacy rates in the whole Province. In 1971 figures⁷⁴ show that 50% of all women living in the Province were illiterate and 70%⁷⁵ did not finish primary school, against 10% and 50% respectively in the male half of the population. In the age range of 35yrs and upwards only 24 of the women living in the Province now completed the first 3 forms of secondary school and 12 all 6 forms.

Olive oil was a luxury though acquired by some either by working in the olive harvest in the plains or on an exchange basis if they had relations in towns or in the plains. Fish was unknown and coffee made largely from chick-peas.

Into this pattern was woven the importance of the kin group and the significance of the church. The family comprised the main economic unit that is, usually, the parents, their unmarried daughters and sons and married sons and daughters-in-law. First cousins, where there was a need could be called on for labour or the loan of a horse/mule to form a pair for ploughing or threshing. Labour, here, was based on the notion of exchange. For building or large harvests where extra labour was needed work parties were formed. These were usually comprised of kin but not exclusively. Payment was in kind, the provision of food and drink during work and in the case of chestnuts and walnuts part of the produce and reciprocal labour.

With the growing loss of working hands through migration, and an ageing population which was not being replaced, the use of labour cut across kin lines to a greater degree. Now it is more the case of using the few available hands. These include young couples who are both willing and able to work (on buildings for example, or for those who have more chestnuts and walnuts than a single couple can collect) and younger widows or

71. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, p. 125, who takes the opposite view. But compare Wein Grod, A., «Patrons, patronage and political parties» in *Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist.*, 1967 68, vol. X, pp. 376-400.

72. McNall, S.G., «Barriers to development and modernization» in Freidl, E. and Dimen, M.» (eds), *Annals of New York Academy of Science*, vol. 286, 1976, pp. 28-42.

73. i.e. the distribution of wealth, political power and stratification patterns.

74. General Statistics Office, Athens.

75. Percentage includes some of those who are illiterate.

those who do not have their own chestnuts and walnuts or at least have only very few. Payment is still partially in kind but a daily wage is increasingly demanded and even by close kin (i.e. younger unmarried brothers and sisters). Part of the reason for this is that, increasingly, labour cannot be reciprocal. It is the older couples whose children no longer live in the village who require the labour of the relatively few young ones who remain.

This has required the creation of relationships outside the close kin group. Ideologically, however, the kin groups remain the most significant. This is expressed in a variety of ways. One has been the attempt to translate non-kin relations into a kinship idiom by making them godparents and wedding sponsors (*nounos* and *koumbaros*). A pattern, though not exclusive, does emerge whereby the particular people called on for labour turn out to be related in this way though not necessarily in their generation. The significance of kinship is also expressed in the persisting competitiveness between unrelated families, evident in one way through gossip networks which rarely cross kin lines; and the constant reference to the fact that «friends (i.e. non kin) cannot be trusted». The ambivalence of the situation is expressed in another frequent saying that «it is more important to get on well with your neighbours and friends than your relations; even if you fight you will always be related to your family».

Up to the war years the priest was also, usually, the village teacher and gained some stature from his educative role. The church provided the focus for many activities and was the main source of enlightenment and protection in an essentially hostile world filled with unpredictable events both evil (brought about by the evil-eye and the mischief of a variety of fairies-*neraïdes*) and good (miracles—people often refer to the «wonderous happenings» that «took place in the past»—mostly connected with saving lives and crops). The church was the main focus for the rites of passage collective activities and a main means of entertainment. Important feasts and name-days provide a respite from hard labour and an excuse for eating and drinking well and visiting each other. Marriage, in particular, apart from its economic and political significances of cementing relationships and property was a highlight in village life. Marriage festivities extended over a week, from the time that the trousseau (*prikia* as opposed to *prika*, the dowry proper) was prepared, bundled and transported by horse to the house or village of the groom, to the actual wedding which always took place on a Sunday. There were songs and rites for each stage of the festivities. Altogether they provided a main chance to display skills; songs, music playing, dancing and the handicraft that went into making the trousseau.

Most of these things have changed. Marriage ceremonies very infrequently take place in the village.

The traditions associated with marriage are a thing of the past, the young no longer know them and if they do prefer to play them down and appear «modern». On major feast-days one or two of the cafeoneos may hire professional musicians from the towns who now play electric instruments and not many people attend. Name-day visiting has become a formality confined to the women only, a question of keeping up appearances. Villagers claim that strange events no longer happen and that the fairies have «gone from the area because people are no longer innocent». Such beliefs are, of course, forbidden by the church as are any rites associated with casting out the evil-eye. The latter which continues to be a strong and persistent belief is accepted by the church but only the priest is authorized to cast out the evil. However, people continue to have faith in their own practices and in old women who allegedly are able to cast out the evil-eye. The priest anyway demands payment.

Of interest is the fact that these beliefs do continue to exist side by side with the influx of the mass media, greater education and new knowledge. Fate reading,⁷⁶ the belief in the evil-eye and the wearing of prophylactics amulets are still very popular and common, as is the interpretation of dreams. Such beliefs combined with other practices⁷⁷ seem to be in direct contradiction to the decline of other traditions, the higher standards of living and the exposure such a village has had both to urban knowledge, through evacuation in 1947 and migration, and to the intense politicalization that it has undergone mainly as a result of the civil war. They seem to underline a fatalistic attitude which arises from the fact that in many ways the hardships of their lives have not changed. In this sense they can be seen as persisting cultural categories which help explain a mode of life which is subject to forces beyond their control. The belief in the evil-eye is of special interest. The casting of it is confined to persons outside the immediate kin group and it has the effect of turning anything potentially good in an outsider into the potentially harmful. This seems to suggest an attitude of mutual distrust between inter-kin groups, and of competitiveness in a world of «limited good».

What have changed are consumption patterns. The villagers no longer labour in their fields day and night simply to survive. Cash from chestnuts and walnuts, though prices are still relatively low, is usually enough to secure the yearly supply of flour and olive oil. A fishmonger comes to the village twice weekly as do other travelling salesmen with a variety of groceries and goods. A large variety of knick-knacks are constantly

76. e.g. in coffee-cups, chicken-breasts, lambs offal.

77. The grave of a young boy killed in an accident was, for example, covered with a sheet when it rained «to keep him dry»; fruit and other offerings (cigarettes) were laid at the grave every few days and letters written to him by his mother and brothers.

being bought from these salesmen and on the whole people are not only better dressed but they are well dressed.

Opportunities offered by migration, the increase in foreign remittances, more state aid in the form of Agrarian Insurances (OGA), Agricultural Bank loans and subsidies as well as regular financial help from city relations have all helped to increase the amount of available money, and in one way, have countered the loss of labour and resultant drop in production. This has done little, however, to alter the social institutions supporting underdevelopment. The greater availability of cash in their hands has allowed villagers to participate in the modern world by increasing their desire to buy consumer goods.⁷⁸ It has given them the ability to take part in the urban world but the power to do nothing but consume, because their new, relative wealth cannot create the capital, for example, necessary to change the rural economy and it remains a dependent and uncertain source of income.⁷⁹

The inequality of change does not only lie in the fact that the village remains a blend of old and new but that as part of a whole sector of society it is at a disadvantage in economic and political terms. The reasons for this, as mentioned before, are to be sought in the «negative links» with which the rural sector of Greece is bound to the urban, industrial sector. In terms of simple commodity production, the rural economy has not changed but has been sustained at a certain low level while its resources have been transferred to the technologically advanced sector. This has taken place in a variety of ways.

Migration, which is the result of the lack of rural economic development, simultaneously helps sustain the rural economy at a low level. It does this through remittances which allow the peasant to survive by giving him a supplementary income, but one that cannot be counted on for investment.⁸⁰ It is a risky income because any recession abroad is likely to dry up the source and insufficient for capital investment in agriculture. The cultivation that exists provides the villagers with food and remittances are used for immediate consumption to maintain the modern standards of an essentially urban pattern of life. Migration also drains the countryside, in a one way process, of the educated and skilled. What is important here, is that the peasant foots the bill for education and training. It is, of course, an investment for individual families in terms of status, establishing the right connections to «facilitate the numerous dealings that villagers unavoidably have with the centre»,⁸¹ and as a source of income in old age. It is, nevertheless, a drain of resources from the coun-

tryside. This is reflected in the concentration of services in and around Athens. More than half of all industrial employment is centred in and around Athens. It is provided with over 50% of public administration and Health Services, half the available hospital beds and 4/5 of the countries medical specialists.⁸²

Other resources, agricultural products and raw materials are transferred from the countryside into the urban areas where they are processed and sold into other markets and there is no concomitant development for the further exploitation of these resources because there is a lack of capital investment in this sector and a lack of development in internal markets.

Part of the reason for this is the proliferation of small-holdings, obvious in an area like Evritania, resulting from a number of historical and structural reasons.⁸³ The absence of big landed property combined with the lack of specialization in agriculture has been inimical to capital investment in this sector. At the same time, for the same conjunctural reasons Greece has had to rely on foreign capital which has never been orientated towards developing internal markets or agricultural production.⁸⁴ Low agricultural product prices and high taxes, which result, aid in the transfer of resources.

On a more local level, kinship plays a role in the transfer of resources. As mentioned above, it is the family—and the State relies on this «family welfare»—that support the education and training of the young for the industrial and urban centres. As Freidl⁸⁵ pointed out, however, rural wealth is increasingly transferred to urban areas in the form of dowries. That is, where «the dowry was once functional as it provided a transfer of wealth from one generation to the next»,⁸⁶ it now leads to the «permanent alienation of rural property» (whether in terms of land or livestock as in AT.) as it must be sold «to support young couples to move to the city».⁸⁷ In addition the dowry no longer represents the means of production which are passed from one generation to the next, but the profits from this which, finally, are used to support a segment of the urban population.⁸⁸

This only further weakens the rural sector, transferring its resources and prohibiting agricultural investment. What profits were previously re-invested by the peasant in agriculture are now used elsewhere and in

82. McNall, *op. cit.*, p. 33, also Kayser, B., «Dynamics of Regional Integration in Modern Greece» in Freidl and Dimen, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15.

83. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, chp. 4.

84. McNall, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

85. Freidl, E., «Some Aspects of Dowry and Inheritance in Bœotia» in Pitt Rivers, J. (ed), *Mediterranean Countrymen*, 1963, pp. 113-137.

86. McNall, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Freidl, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

78. McNall, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

81. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

their new role are subject to the higher prices of the urban sector. That is, higher living costs and house prices. This, as Freidl showed, means that the value of the dowry is no longer limited to the daughter's inheritance share but has often to include part of the son's share. Where land is of little value, as in AT., other ways of raising cash for dowries have to be sought. Both remittances and part of the wages of sons working abroad or in towns in Greece have often to be used. The only resource the sons have is the demand of an equally high dowry from their wives. This has led to an inflation of dowry prices unrealistic in the economic setting of the village.

These are some of the ways in which resources are transferred from the rural sector to the urban industrial one. They all contribute to the increasing marginality of the rural areas, and the changes that occur in them.

4. Conclusions

I have tried to show, with reference to one area in Greece, why certain communities continue to exist in the form they do. Communities which display certain contradictions, lagging as they do behind the urban sectors of society on the one hand, but manifesting many characteristics of those sectors on the other.

One reason for this is that change has come at certain levels and in certain forms. Understanding this lies in looking at the ways in which different sectors of society are articulated with one another. That is, understanding that the village itself is part of events and forces which constitute the properties of wider society but is in a particular relationship to them.

In this case, the village of AT. can be seen to have changed since its pre-war days. The standard of living is generally higher and people produce less but have more. However, the same factors which have allowed these changes allow the village to persist in an increasingly marginal and disadvantageous way. In order to reproduce their mode of living, people have to rely on migration, patronage and other sources of income but these also help to keep them poor. They do nothing to change their mode of production.

A major change has been in ideology, that is, knowledge, political power and stratification, new consumption patterns and demands, all of which are increasingly defined in urban terms. The question is not whether the traditional and modern aspects of society can co-exist or how they are combined in influencing each other, but how an ideology developed in and orientated towards quite a different mode of production can continue to be supported by and supportive of another.