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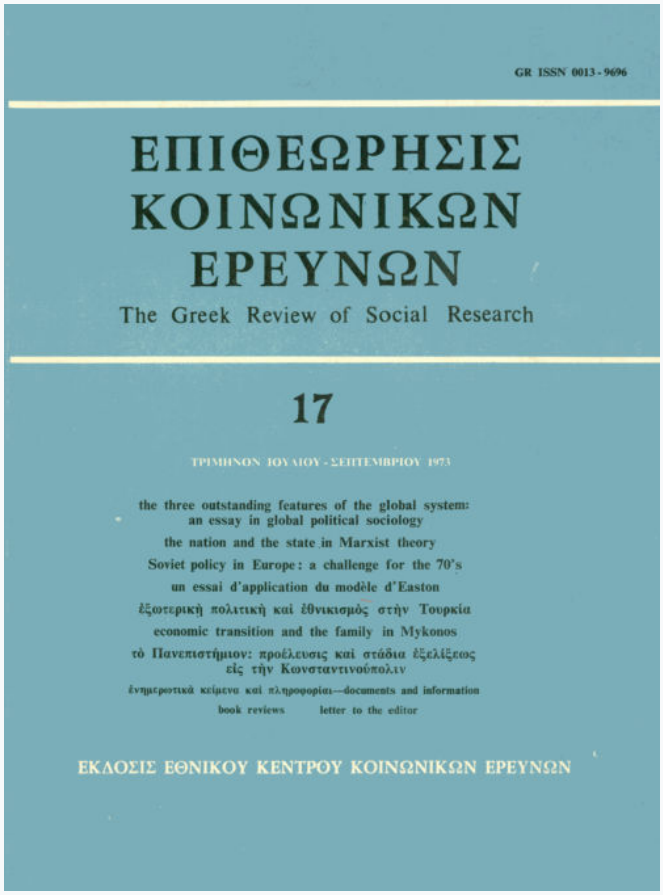

Economic transition and the family in Mykonos

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economic transition and the family in Mykonos*

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Mykonos is one of the group of Aegean islands known as the Cyclades. It covers approximately 48 square miles in area, and according to the published 1971 Census has a total resident population of 3,863. Every Cycladic community exhibits some unique local characteristics but, while very little has been written about the social structure and organization of these communities,[1] there appears to be evidence that general statements may someday be made about the social organization of these geographically related populations.

At this point in time, however, Mykonos does stand out as a unique member of the island group. The reason for this is the fact that Mykonos has become a favoured spot for hundreds of thousands of tourists. The result of this relatively recent development has been that an impoverished community accustomed to struggling along at the subsistence level has, over the short period of approximately twenty years, become wealthy. As everincreasing numbers of Greek and non-Greek tourists have descended on the small island, they have brought with them vaster sums of money than had ever before reached the island's shores or the local people's pockets.

The implications in terms of social change of a rapid transition in economic emphasis to tourist-oriented activities and of extensive exposure to behavior patterns and social mores foreign to the island are immense. Study of social change in Mykonos should encompass every aspect of social and cultural life. At this early stage in the investigation of life on the island, however, this paper gives consideration to the traditional and contemporary nature and role of the most basic institution in Mykonos society, the family, traditionally a vital unit for survival in the subsistence economy of the island. In the face of drastic economic change as a result of tourism, it appears that the social realities supporting the role of the family as a basic survival unit have either been modified or have disappeared. The question arises as to what effect changes undergone by the economic institutions with which it was so closely inter-related will have on the role of the family in Mykonos.

Throughout all periods of recorded history Mykonos has had exposure to travellers in the form of members of the merchant fleets or military forces of many nations, pirates, as well as journalists and adventurers. However, until after the Civil War fol-

* This is a descriptive paper prepared in the first phase of a Mykonos research project which is intended to result in analytical study of social change on the island. The ethnographic data were collected during fieldwork supported by the National Centre of Social Research in 1972.

1. A great deal of material has been published on folklore and folk customs, but the emphasis is seldom on the nature of the groups of people living in that folk culture.

lowing World War II, the numbers of foreign visitors remained relatively small and their influence on the economy minimal. Therefore the periods relevant in this paper are that prior to the tourist boom on the island, in comparison with the period of the last twenty to twenty-five years[1] during which there have been annually increasing numbers of foreigners[2] arriving in the community.

the traditional economy in Mykonos and the family

While there were always fluctuations over time, and minor modifications in economic emphasis, it is safe to state that prior to the evolution of the tourist industry in Mykonos the economy was a subsistence one based on farming and fishing, with commerce providing necessary community goods and services. It can also be stated that this economic pattern was characteristic of Mykonos, as it was of most of the Cycladic islands, throughout history. For comparative purposes, however, information related mainly to the Twentieth Century is utilized, comparing the situation from 1900 to 1940 with that of the period from 1947 to 1972. In looking first at the traditional situation we will consider the role of the family unit in relation to the three major economic alternatives during the pretourist period on the island.

Of the population remaining on the island[3] the largest percentage was occupied in activities related to farming. The economy of the island generally was not a healthy one. From the earliest records Mykonos has been known for its poor and rocky soil, and its problem with winds and small seasonal rainfall. Consequently an abundant harvest would be an exception. At the same time, with Mykonians in all areas struggling to earn a living, the market for all but basic foods was virtually non-existent. Even if a farmer had a good crop of tomatoes or melons, no one else could afford to buy his products. Exchange of goods and services was not uncommon, but the important factor to note is that money was scarce. Hence, the acquisition of land through purchase, or the employment of laborers for necessary farm duties was generally not a possibility.

It was the family unit that provided the manpower which determined the success or failure of the farm. Every member of the nuclear family assisted with the daily farm routine. Grain crops of barley and wheat were cultivated; vegetables such as beans and potatoes were planted. Farms were generally of relatively small cultivated areas, with varying sizes of grazing land tracts in conjunction. Sheep and goats appear to have been the most popular and abundant animals herded. Some cattle were raised. And most farms carefully fattened at least one pig each summer for slaughter in the fall and preservation of all possible parts for winter consumption. (*Hirosfyia* or the pig-slaughter remains the biggest social event of the annual cycle for farm families, an indication of its practical importance during more difficult times.)

Members of the nuclear family daily labored at the tending of animals and crops. At times when the beginning or end of a cycle required many working hands the extended family would rally and work as a team (along with affinal kin). These larger groups worked together to plough and plant new crops, and to walk side by side through the fields, with scythes swinging, at the time of harvest. Similarly, at the time of the pig-slaughter the members of the extended family labored to slaughter the animal and to preserve the pieces of skin and fat (*larthi*) in salt, and to prepare the lard and the sausage (*loukanika*) characteristic of the island. It remains implicit that those assisting on one farm with such activities would be similarly assisted with their own planting, harvesting or *hirosfyia*. The family, then, was an essential source of manpower, without which subsistence farming would have been virtually impossible in the absence of the means for employing unrelated laborers.

Dependence on the family for such labor necessitated comprehensive and early education in the variety of essential duties and in the wealth of specialized bits of knowledge upon which farmers based their activities. Children were viable members of the family unit from birth, and from the development of the ability to walk they were encouraged to participate in all domestic and occupational activities. This participation and learning process from the earliest possible age resulted in the practical and necessary end of educating the young so that they would be able to make valid contributions to the farm labor force. It also assured as much as possible their preparation for their own farming endeavours when they would ultimately head their own family units. Thus the family educated the young in farming methods, which, in view of the dire economic situation, could be considered virtual «survival techniques».

Into adulthood the family remained of survival importance. Depending on the size of family, the

1. It is true that the first cruise boats arrived at the island in the 1930's, but the marked effects of tourism as a source of income were not really felt until after World War II.

2. It should be noted that on the island the term «*xeni*», or foreigner, is used to refer not only to non-Greek nationals, but to non-Mykonian Greeks as well.

3. There was a limited trend for emigration to larger centers in Greece in search of paid employment.

lands held, and their productivity, adults either remained and worked with their parents or with the parents of a spouse after marriage,[1] or in some cases were able to begin small farms of their own. Land was either obtained through marriage, as will be discussed in detail later, or was obtained by a man from his father. The dependence on the family unit as a source of land, received in either case from relatives rather than as a result of purchase, is evident. The alternative was a more direct dependence on the family as a means of support in exchange for labor, until the lands were inherited upon death of the parents.

Despite the fact that Mykonos is an island, the number of men dependent on fishing as a livelihood has always been considerably lower than of those dependent on farming. While the seas were relatively generous in their yield of a wide variety of edibles, the treacherous winds that threaten the region made the fishing schedule somewhat unpredictable. It was not uncommon for high seas to prevail for weeks at a time, keeping the *caiques* and small fishing *varkas* anchored in port. And despite a fisherman's expertise and his acquired ability to made «educated guesses» as to where fish were likely to be abundant, the number of fish to be collected as the nets were hauled aboard fluctuated markedly from day to day. During the period when money was scarce on the island, the fisherman experienced a problem similar to that of the farmer in distributing his product. Not only might he have difficulty selling the fish, but the absence of refrigeration facilities on the island would result in spoilage within a short period, particularly in the heat of summer. Nonetheless there were families who struggled with the sea, rather than with the land, for their means of survival.

The crews of fishing boats were comprised of the male members of the nuclear family, often with extended family members as supplementary crew. Two adult brothers might own the *caique*, and their sons or other male relations would work aboard. It was expressed to me that it has always been desirable to restrict the labor force aboard fishing boats to family members, as this maximizes, or concentrates the profit. Usual payment for labor was a portion of the catch, and if all crew members resided under one, or possibly two rooves, this minimized the division of profit.

As with farming, it was essential for the young male members of the fisherman's family to learn the special techniques associated with reaping the products of the sea. A good education in these skills guaranteed a productive member of the family labor force, as well as assuring that the young man would one day have the ability to survive as the head of his own crew of fishermen.

Training began with the young boy at an early age. At first he would be urged to perform the more rudimentary tasks of sweeping the débris from the decks as the others hauled in the nets, or of sorting the fish into boxes by type, or of pouring sea water over the fish containers to keep them as fresh as possible. As the boy matured he learned and was responsible for the more arduous tasks of helping to put the nets out to sea and to haul them on board with the catch hours later. There is an interesting difference in the patterns of responsibility and control of the family property between farming and fishing families. While with farming a young man might, although rarely, have the opportunity of farming semi-independently from his father,[2] a maturing fisherman would not be likely to try to obtain his own *caique*. Instead, as the young man assumed more of the heaviest labor associated with fishing, he also began to make the decisions as to which fishing area should be approached, and at what spots the nets should be dropped. Thus at a fairly early stage the younger members of the crew began to assume responsibilities of decision-making and command. The young men would inherit the boats owned by their fathers when the latter became too elderly to work on board.

The third major economic alternative[3] open to Mykonians of the pre-tourist period was commerce. This included the various trades and services that were supported and utilized by the island's population.

In both retail outlets and workshops the workers were generally members of the nuclear, or sometimes extended family. Once again this resulted from the scarcity of drachmas. The owner of a shop could not guarantee that he would have the funds to regularly pay an employee his wage. Hence he turned to his children and brothers for assistance at his work, usually having learned his trade from his father and having obtained the shop through inheritance. Tradesmen solicited the help of their sons and trained them from an early age in the art

1. While it is difficult to generalize, it would appear that in most cases where the bride did not bring land in her dowery she would go to live with her husband as he remained to work with his parents.

2. If a young man left his father's farm, the older man and the remaining members of the family struggled along on their own, except when the son would join the extended family labor force for the major seasonal events as noted above.

3. Needless to say there were a number of occupations which have not been discussed under these three general categories, e.g. mail carrier, general seaman, etc., but their omission may be justified by the fact that only a minority of the population were involved in these activities.

of woodworking, or shoe making, or metal forging. Similarly, store-keepers were assisted by their children who worked with stock or waited on customers. The entire family was often part of the labor force, with the wife and daughters joining the male members at work in the shops and bakeries and tavernas.

The family served as the means of educating the young in the relevant aspects of commerce necessary to make them both useful and ultimately successful in their own work. The level of education in this field varied. Not much training would be required to help in a store; greater knowledge would be necessary to successfully manage a shop. The specific skills conveyed to the young craftsman, however, were extensive and would be acquired over a greater period of time. But in any case the principle was the same: through working with their elders, children learned how to survive in the family's commercial endeavours, thereby somewhat assuring their own futures. At the same time they proved a valuable and often the only available source of labor.

Young men usually continued to work with their fathers, sometimes taking control of the family business when the parent became elderly, or inheriting it upon his death. The family, then, remained the source of employment for maturing adults and ultimately became the means of obtaining the business.

To summarize, during this period of traditional subsistence economy all major efforts were oriented toward the quest for basic necessities, the struggle for survival. As has been noted above, in all walks of life the nuclear family was essential as the survival unit, as a source of manpower, as an educational organ, and as the means of employment even into adulthood. The extended family was significant economically on an occasional basis[1] when it formed into a working unit to meet the labor needs at various points in the annual farming cycle. Extended kin were sometimes involved in fishing or trade activities on a more permanent basis.

It should be noted that occupational mobility was never an impossibility for some individuals. However, in traditional times this often meant emigration, which required denial of the tendency to maintain close contact with all family members. Trends during latter years have changed, but the pattern in the traditional period was for the young to remain within the economic orientation of their elders.

1. This is not meant to imply that family ties, and affinal relationships, were not socially significant at all times. The extended family always held a role as an important social unit.

the economy and women in traditional Mykonos

Women were very important members of the family labour force. While there were few strict instances of required division of labor (i.e. tasks that women could not attempt or tasks that only females could do), there were general types of work for which married women were responsible. These were duties related to the care of the children, and domestic duties of the care of clothing, home and food preparation.

In any other work important for the survival of the family, women almost always were involved. While the men on the farms conducted the heavy work of ploughing and harvest, women assisted with the seeding of crops, watering of vegetables, threshing of grain, etc. There was a taboo against women accompanying fishermen on their boats, and so the men of the family went in search of the fish. (Recently we were informed that it was feared that women would, in their ignorance of fishing matters, step on the nets, thereby violating the inherent symbol of the cross formed so many times by the criss-crossing sections of thread. This would cause bad luck, and jeopardise the catch.) But women often assisted with the cleaning and spreading of the nets on the shore, once the boats were anchored at home. In commercial enterprises (other than the special trades), as noted above, women worked in the shops and tavernas with their husbands and children. Women were, then, a viable aspect of the labor force in the Mykonos community, particularly when the subsistence economy was at its worst.[2]

The nuclear family played an important role in the education of the young Mykonian girl. From her mother and other female relatives she learned all the domestic skills necessary for her to one day be able to function as a wife and mother. But beyond this range of general skills relating to housekeeping, special tasks had to be learned which were important to the family's livelihood. The annual cycle of activities, and the day to day sequence of events, the entire emphasis and orientation of life for the farmer differed considerably from that of the fisherman or merchant. A girl on a farm learned everything from how to tend crops or animals, to the special techniques of preparation of the parts of the pig for preservation, to the preparation of the foods traditionally served at the large celebration associated

2. Unmarried girls worked with their mothers and fathers whenever possible. Some girls went to Athens as domestic helpers if their families were unable to feed and clothe them, but this was far from desirable. The girl's absence from the community and from parental supervision might well jeopardize her chance of a good marriage.

with the pig-slaughter. A fisherman's daughter would be required to adjust to the summer schedule whereby the men were absent from the home from approximately midnight until sometime just before noon. She assisted with the care of the nets and was able to prepare meals from the entire range of sea products. The children of a merchant learned matters of stock and bookkeeping. Thus the women in the community learned from their families the special skills required in the different economically oriented life-styles.

That this was an important aspect of their education and lives might be assumed from the tendencies of marriages to occur within certain «economic circles».[1] Twenty years ago the marriage records indicate that in many cases the daughters of farmers married farmers; the daughters of fishermen often married men of their fathers' occupation. It would be difficult for a girl accustomed to another way of life to learn the myriad of tasks required of her as the wife of a farmer.[2] And since the life open to a young girl and crucial to her happiness and even survival was that of marriage, the family's role as the educator of women was as important as that of educating the young men in the specific aspects of their occupations.

the prika in traditional society

The *prika*, or dowery, played an important role in the traditional subsistence economy and society. In Mykonos the woman's dowery ideally was comprised of a house or part of a dwelling, religious ikons, the furnishings and all domestic paraphernalia that would be required to live within the house, as well as sections of family property, livestock and trees or vines, and sometimes amounts of cash. The woman also brought an adequate wardrobe. Families strove to provide as much of the above as possible for each daughter. (Needless to say this imposed a great burden on the father who struggled often from the day the daughter was born to accumulate a good *prika* for her. Other male members of the family contributed if necessary. Men with four or five sisters often laboured for years for the doweries, sometimes putting themselves into serious debt to facilitate their sisters' marriages. In accord with this, although children are important and welcomed members of the community, I was told that if a man's wife bore him a daughter during difficult times, he would receive commiserations rather than congratulations from his friends in the coffee house when he came down to the waterfront to drown his sorrows in ouzo or brandy.)

The items included in the dowery were transferred to the bride at the time of the wedding, but the powers of administration of the properties were given to her husband. Thus he actually benefitted from the use of the properties, requiring his wife's consent only when he wished to sell them. The women retained titles to properties, and in providing doweries for the daughters of the marriage, often the mother transferred sections of the property that had in fact been part of her own dowery to that of her daughter. Some women transferred the title of their dowery properties to their husbands at some point in their married lives, although the reason for this is not clear. It could, in fact, have dire results if the husband was not able to provide for his family and sold pieces of his land to one of the few wealthy individuals who could afford to buy it. In such a case the family holdings would have dwindled, thereby decreasing the man's ability to accumulate doweries for his daughters. The family would grow increasingly poorer, and the daughters' hopes of bettering their lives through good marriages would decline.

The dowery was of great economic import in the times when the economy was at its worst. For the young married couple the dowery provided the home and domestic necessities. It was then up to the husband to provide the basics of food and anything else necessary to survival. Often this was enough responsibility. If he had to be concerned about providing a dwelling as well, it would have proven extremely difficult. And in this period when cash was in shortage the dowery was often one of the few means of obtaining land and other financial assets. (Inheritance following death of a parent was another means of gaining property.) Purchase was virtually an impossibility, as men did not earn wages but often gleaned only material goods or foodstuffs from their labors.

In some cases the groom also received goods from his parents at the time of marriage, in the form of ikons and tracts of land or livestock. It appears that this was not considered essential for his marriage, however, while the absence of a dowery usually condemned a girl to spinsterhood.

As mentioned above, the male members of the family, along with the mothers, contributed to the doweries of the unmarried female members. The extended family sometimes contributed, but this was the exception. The reason why the other members of the nuclear family labored so hard to provide the young girls' doweries stemmed from the importance of the dowery in relation to a young woman's

1. It is recognized that geographic proximity and the system of marriage arrangement could also have been determinants.

2. The distinction was greatest between farm life and that associated with other occupations.

future. While young men labored with their fathers and eventually succeeded in making a living either as a member of the family work unit or independently, the career open to a young woman was to be found only through marriage. Without a dowery it was highly unlikely that the girl would marry, and that was a hard fate indeed. Hence the dowery was important initially in allowing the possibility of marriage.

The contents of a girl's dowery assumed another important role, that of influencing the very range of potential suitors. If her dowery was a meagre one, she was almost assured of being limited to suitors from similarly modest backgrounds. And when she married one of them, her life within the same economic sphere and level into which she had been born was more or less assured. On the other hand, if parents were able to struggle and provide a rich dowery for their daughter, young men accustomed to better standards of living might be interested in her. In this case the dowery was the only possibility of allowing an improvement in the life style of the girl. It was a means of social, or perhaps better phrased economic, mobility.[1]

Thus it is evident that the nuclear family in the traditional period filled the important role of dowery provider for single females. The *prika* was essential in guaranteeing the survival, through marriage,[2] of females and in providing a potential means of bettering their life styles.

marriage in the traditional period

Traditionally marriage in Mykonos was most commonly a result of an arrangement between the groom and the parents of the girl. While they might not be directly involved in the negotiations, the parents of the young man would advise him on his choice of partner. The young man would look for a girl from a family of good reputation. Important factors were industriousness and high moral standards. He would consider both the *prika* that she would bring with her (these were usually quite publicly known) and her particular skills in the home, an indication of her potential as a wife and mother. Laziness was considered one of the worst possible traits either a man or a woman could reveal.

Similarly the parents of the girl would hope to be approached by an industrious young man who could demonstrate that he would be likely to provide well for their daughter after marriage. The reputation of the suitor and his family was important, although it was allowed that young men might go through a period of relative flightiness during their early twenties, prior to settling down. Such allowance was definitely not made for young women! Laziness, heavy drinking, physical violence or overt infidelity were frowned upon, however.

The choice of marriage partner by the girl's parents was an important one, as it would be reflected in their daughter's security for the rest of her life. As noted above, it might even be possible to ensure an economically more stable life than she was accustomed to with her parents. In addition the young man who married the daughter would be a potential source of labor for the extended family. It is possible that this was an important consideration, perhaps also reflected in the tendency for daughters of farmers to marry farmers, and daughters of fishermen to marry fishermen. In addition, since the families were instrumental in agreeing to and arranging the marriages, it is not surprising that a fisherman might be happy to have his daughter marry someone of his own profession. He probably knew the other fishermen better than other members of the community, and could confidently approve the son of a fellow worker as a potential son-in-law. The knowledge and understanding of a profession might have automatically resulted in a prejudice in favor of those working within it. (The father would best understand the nature and likelihood of survival within his own field. This could, of course, work in the reverse, where a man might not wish his daughter to have to endure the hardships of his own occupation.) The importance of the education of the daughter in skills related to her husband's occupation, as discussed above, should not be forgotten.

Since the choice of marriage partner was so important it is not surprising that the rules of behavior for single girls and the rules of courtship were strict ones, closely enforced by conscientious families. This responsibility extended beyond the parents of the girl, with her brothers as well as members of the extended family watching over her reputation and behavior.

The moral reputation of a girl was of such great import in her potential for marriage, the good family supervised her very closely until the day she became her husband's responsibility. Even a large dowery would be unlikely to erase damage done by questionable behavior.

Young girls were never supposed to meet or even converse with young men while unchaperoned. They were encouraged to remain in the company of other girls of their age, and seldom went anywhere without the company of a relative. Today the comment is often made «She always goes for walks with her sis-

1. This is not meant to imply the existence of rigid social class structure, which was not the situation.

2. The girl then relied on her husband for the basic necessities, and became part of a new nuclear family labor force.

ters» as a compliment to a girl thought to be of good moral character.

The Sunday promenade along the waterfront was the occasion for young people to appear publicly in their finest clothes, and for young men to pay their first public attentions to a girl in whom they were interested. She remained in the company of her family, while he might join the group to buy them all a sweet or a lemonade. Otherwise courtship began in a very abstract fashion. «You knew he loved you by his eyes» is said to describe the traditional situation. At family gatherings, at the *panageria* (numerous special celebrations in honor of saints' days, attended generally by family groups), and in the Sunday promenade the young man was able to make his feelings known only through his general attentions. Indeed, other than in general conversation, he was at liberty to speak only with his eyes in meaningful glances to the girl of his choice until he had made his proposal to her parents.

Once the agreement had been reached between the suitor and his potential bride's family, the couple were allowed to be in each other's company more often. Generally speaking, however, the girls seldom went anywhere with their fiancés unchaperoned, and certainly never accompanied them alone after dark. There were, of course, exceptions, but what is being stated here is the accepted ideal of behavior.

If a young couple wanted to marry but faced the disapproval of her parents, they could elope. This involved spending one night together outside of her house. When they returned the following day, it was felt that they must marry as soon as possible, since the girl's reputation was destroyed. I was told that usually once the unapproved marriage had occurred, the family of the girl tended to accept the accomplished fact and tried to establish a good relationship with the new husband and his family. Family solidarity was of great import. In some cases, however, bad feeling remained for years.

In summary, the nuclear family was instrumental in the activities related to marriage. Throughout the formative years of each daughter the members of the nuclear family, along with help from members of the extended family, carefully restricted and supervised her behavior to ensure that her reputation would remain blameless and that she would have as good a chance as possible to obtain a desirable husband. The nuclear family provided the dowery, and made the important decision of who would be the accepted bridegroom.

summary of the traditional situation

To recapitulate at this point, the nuclear family in the traditional subsistence-oriented society of Mykonos prior to World War II was a crucial survival unit. For male members of the community it was provider as well as educator and ultimately employer. For females the nuclear family was also provider and special educator. In providing the dowery and in making instrumental marriage arrangements the nuclear family helped assure the security of females in adulthood.

The rigorous economic conditions and the dirth of available monies demanded the maintenance of the nuclear family's nature and role. The necessities of manpower required the reinforcement of this labor unit and the transmission of specialized knowledge. The severe conditions emphasized the economic importance of marriage. Through provision of the dowery and through restrictive supervision of single girls' behavior, the nuclear family maximized the chances of young girls for contracting good marriages.

the Mykonos economy at present

As mentioned above, Mykonos has always played host, voluntarily or otherwise, to people from elsewhere. But the reasons for drawing a distinction between the situation which existed up until the Second World War and that of the past twenty or so years are undeniable. In terms of the economy it has only been during this recent period that a notable effect has been felt from the tourist influx.[1] Tourism in Greece generally, and particularly in Mykonos, has brought increasing wealth. During the past five years there has been a concerted campaign to develop facilities and to encourage tourism, with the result that it may be regarded as the country's most fruitful industry.

The statistics over the past ten years indicate the significant impact that tourism may have had simply in terms of the numbers of individuals arriving on the island each year. The resident population of less than four thousand should be kept in mind for comparison. *Table I* contains information on the number of people arriving on the island annually by boat, recorded by the Harbour Police in Mykonos.

It must be remembered that the totals listed under the category of Passenger Ships include residents of the island if they travelled to Mykonos from elsewhere. This would comprise a relatively insignificant number, however, and would not distort the

1. It should be noted that during the Turkish occupation of Greece, from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the difficult economy of the island of Mykonos was boostered somewhat by the goods deposited there by resident pirates. But this was an irregular and tenuous improvement which disappeared by the time the great War of Independence of 1821-1829 occurred.

TABLE 1. *Number of Individuals Arriving Annually by Sea*

Year	Passenger Ships	Cruise Ships
1962	32,374	34,768
1963	45,254	46,713
1964	45,493	43,436
1965	53,480	63,442
1966	58,691	68,272
1967	53,360	69,393
1968	57,711	68,707
1969	68,705	74,480
1970	87,080	100,315
1971	95,989	148,092

general picture presented above. Relatively small numbers of people travelled to the island by helicopter during the summer months of 1966 through 1970, and by small airplane during 1971.

The direct influences of tourism on the Mykonos economy are many. The most notable one is generally that the island has enjoyed rapid transition from a poor subsistence economy to one of affluence. No longer depending on the members of its own community to support the local commercial enterprises, the tavernas and coffee houses have increased their numbers and seating capacities, and still remain crowded from morning till late at night during the summer months. Merchant outlets have a new clientele of foreigners willing to spend what might be considered by Mykonians as very high prices for imported foodstuffs and locally produced textiles and novelties. A form of entertainment new to the island in the 1960's was the bar; during the summer season of 1972 seventeen such establishments reaped the benefits of holidaying visitors.

Many local people find employment as waiters at the tavernas, coffee houses and bars. Another new source of employment is as luggage carriers. Many men meet the boats that arrive daily[1] to carry the bags of tourists to their lodging places. A few have small trucks mounted on the backs of motorcycles, but many use wooden push carts or simply carry things by hand. Small boat owners benefit through joining the string of vessels that carry passengers from the large passenger ships to the quay. The harbor facilities and treacherous seas have prevented the docking of the ships within the harbor.[2]

1. The number of passenger boats scheduled daily varies from one during the mid-winter period to four or five during the height of the summer season.

2. This situation will change upon completion of the current harbor project which will provide concrete moorings for large vessels inside the breakwaters of the harbor.

Many families in the town of Mykonos itself[3] fill their homes with beds and rent rooms to tourists. Prior to a halt on alterations imposed during 1969, many large rooms were divided by partitions to increase accomodation potential. During 1972 a neighboring family on my street moved to the small rooftop shelter for the summer months, and rented all of their own home to tourists.[4] The women gather each day at the port and greet the disembarking passengers with accented cries of «Room! Room!». During the months of July and August there are more visitors on the island than it can comfortably accomodate, and scores of people sleep on the beaches in tents or in the open air.[5] But competition at the beginning and end of the «season» becomes high, and I observed that some enterprising if somewhat indescriminate ladies hire tourists as lures for other customers. For the price of a free shower (usually costing from seven to ten drachmas) or some other arrangement, the foreigner meets the passenger boats and has the advantage of speaking English or some other popular tongue to convince fellow countrymen to stay at the rooming house in question. This is illegal—all rooms are to be registered with the Tourist Police, prices are posted and controlled, and such foreign soliciting is not allowed—but some people risk the fine penalty, and take care to warn their «employees» when police approach.

Tourist-oriented enterprises such as hotels and souvenir shops have increased in number annually on the island, offering a source of income not only to the owners and investors, but also to those employed to help operate them.

The indirect influences of tourism are also many and varied. Again the influx of capital has allowed success in many community industries and services. Prior to the recently imposed building prohibition[6] construction on the island fluorished and in recent years many men have become construction workers. Even during the restrictive period there was enough work to support many in this industry.

The influx of capital on the island removed the problem faced by everyone in selling their produce.

3. There is another small community named Ano Mera in the interior of the island, and the direct influences of tourism have not yet been extensive there.

4. According to a survey conducted in 1972 in conjunction with the Mykonos Development Plan, there were in March of that year 2160 beds registered in private homes as accommodation for tourists.

5. This situation will be alleviated a little with the development of new hotels and pensions which is currently being planned.

6. This was a wise step on the part of the administration of Greece to prevent the destruction of the aesthetic appeal of the island's architecture and town lay-out while a study of the community needs could be conducted.

While many farmers have remained on their land and continue to pursue farming activities, they no longer have difficulty in distributing their crops. Tourism has meant that the local people have the cash to expend on what previously would have been considered luxuries. This means that the farmer has little difficulty in selling his produce either to householders from the back of his donkey in the streets, or to the local shopkeepers. Similarly fishermen receive a good price for all types of fish and shellfish at local tavernas. The surplus is often sold to an agent on the island who arranges for its transport to larger markets in Piraeus and Athens.

The women of the island work throughout the winter months knitting and crochetting garments to be sold in the tourist shops. They usually receive about eighty drachmas (or approximately $ 2.60 U.S.) for a sweater, produced with wool supplied by the shopkeeper and often completed in a single day. Weaving used to be a necessary home industry for the production of items used in the houses, and fabrices made into clothing for local use. This need has decreased as most people prefer mass-manufactured goods to be purchased at local shops or in Athens. But tourism has resulted in a demand for woven fabrics which shops sell by the meter or make into garments, placemats, bedspreads, bags, etc. Interestingly there is a growing shortage of women willing to do this work, even though the looms are located in the homes, the shops provide the threads required, and workers are paid by the meter. The economy of the island is now rich enough that families do not need this income, and many women shy away from this work which they consider demeaning.

It might be noted at this point that modern technology, while often slow to reach the island, has made helpful contributions in all aspects of the economy. While most labor on the farms still depends on man or animal power, there are now cutting machines on the island which notably reduce the work of harvesting the grain. I was told that it now takes the machine one day to perform the work that it would otherwise require efforts of several laborers for two or three days. Similarly the mill to which farmers take their wheat and barley is no longer powered by wind alone. While it will still take advantage of favorable winds, it is usually machine operated, allowing more efficient scheduled work.[1]

Two or three fishermen have benefitted from the installation of navigation aids which trace the irregularities of the seafloor below. The fishermen know what sort of environment the fish they are seeking prefer, and can drop their nets at most likely locales. These devices are very expensive, however.

Other machines are utilized on the island. An aid to brickmakers is the machine which produces three times the bricks that could be produced by hand. And in answer to the growing demand of a very successful shop and the increasing problem with locating local craftswomen, one merchant has installed a mechanized loom. He informed me that if the situation continues to develop as it recently has, he will install a second automatic loom and cease to rely on local labor entirely.

In summary, the direct and indirect influences of the tourist boom in Mykonos, with some contributions from modern technology, have resulted in general prosperity for the entire population. It is said that there are few extended families indeed that do not have at least one member involved in tourist-oriented activities. And as a result the levels of poverty common in the past simply do not exist in the present.

In view of these direct and indirect effects of tourism noted above, and keeping in mind the areas considered earlier in discussing the role of the family in traditional life, what role does the nuclear family take in the society today?

occupation in contemporary society

The most obvious economic development in Mykonos during the past twenty years has been the annually increasing emphasis on commerce as a means of making a living. On the waterfront and three main streets of the town there were a total of one hundred and twenty-five shops operating during the summer months of 1972. Of those, ninety-one were strictly tourist-oriented (i.e. they did not stock foodstuffs, or standard shoes or clothing, household items, etc.) and opened in April for a season lasting until the end of October and November. As noted above, money and goods circulate freely in this new affluence, with home industry being encouraged through remuneration (the decline in weavers is an anomaly) and local produce of all kinds finding an easy market.

The amount of capital required to become in-

1. This has had interesting repercussions. With new milling techniques developed a policy to grind one type of grain at one time. In the past, I was told, wheat and barley were ground together, resulting in a dark flour. Part of modernization, however, has been the preference for the production of pure white flour. I was informed by many that this new flour produces inferior bread. There is an inherent contradiction here, as I was continually told, that the mixed flour of old resulted in whiter bread than is presently available. However, people in the countryside have more or less abandoned their ovens —each farm usually has a detached oven structure—and make trips to town to purchase bread from one of the six bakeries.

volved in commercial enterprises is amazingly low. Many of the shops are opened right in family-owned homes so that rent is not required. Many of the products which are sold in the shops can be produced by the women in the extended family concerned, minimizing cash outlay. In many cases the shops are operated by women in the family, while the men continue at other economic pursuits, so that the enterprise is a second source of income. If the shop is not opened in a family-owned location, the capital necessary to establish the business is generally not difficult to obtain. Since commercial success of even the smallest outlet is more or less guaranteed, the small loan required would usually not pose any problem.

With the influx of money and the trend to affluence and a healthy economy, new occupational mobility has become a possibility and trend on the island. In many cases it is no longer necessary for young men to follow the same occupation as their fathers. With many new employment opportunities available, it is often expedient for men to undertake the activities related to tourism and noted above—waiters, taxi drivers, luggage carriers, etc.—rather than to work harder and to less avail on family farms. In fact, the number of deserted farm dwellings attests to a trend away from farming to other types of endeavour.[1]

What should be noted is that the nuclear family is no longer necessarily the unit that educates the young men in the special skills of the occupation they ultimately pursue. If they do not follow their fathers' occupations, this special education must be obtained elsewhere, often through «on the job» training. The nuclear family ceases then to be the important source, and in the past often the only source of employment. And contrary to the traditional situation, it is now often possible to obtain land or other required facilities through purchase. The availability of drachmas reduces the role of the family as the source of properties. Similarly the family as the source of labor is not as vital, since money is now available to allow hiring of outside workers. As mentioned above, even the women are experiencing a new occupational benefit through receiving payment in cash for their needlework or weaving, or through renting sleeping accomodation to tourists.

The result of all this is that the youth, and particularly the males, are able to and are, in fact, encouraged by economic circumstances to become financially independent much sooner than was possible in the past.

1. It should be noted that many farms were deserted during and after World War II when farmers migrated to Piraeus and Athens where chances for employment were better.

the prika today

The *prika* is no longer of the economic importance it once was. Gone are its significance as the only possibility for a comfortable home and its importance as one of the few sources of land or property in an otherwise poor economy. Chances for economic betterment are readily available, and while a dowery may be particularly desirable if it incorporates especially large or valuable, strategically located houses or pieces of land, its basic economic significance in terms of life style and survival has disappeared.

Now the dowery assumes importance as a social factor in a girl's marriage. While the incidents of marriages of girls without consideration of their *prikas* have increased, many parents still labor to provide their daughters with homes and goods as a dowery. What has occurred is a general increase in the value of the average dowery, far greater than general inflation would reflect. In looking at the dowery agreements recorded in the community, they range in value from under five thousand drachmas to thirty thousand drachmas in 1955, and from twenty thousand drachmas to more than sixty thousand drachmas in 1971.

Opportunities open to females in the community have allowed new possibilities for girls to accrue their own dowery goods. In addition to cottage industries, some young girls find paid employment in the shops or other commercial enterprises, as well as the post office, town hall, and boat ticket offices. When a young girl is employed in these endeavours, she is usually outside parental supervision. Her employment often puts her in contact with large numbers of tourists, and she meets with experiences from which she would otherwise be protected. Dress mores, social behavior and moral standards quite foreign to traditional life are witnessed.

While a high value is still placed by many on the good reputation and close family supervision of a young girl, it appears that the rigidity of these values is changing. Restrictions regarding the socializing of the sexes before marriage are relaxing. The changes in these matters are evident as the appearance of unchaperoned groups of young people in the bars and tavernas increases, and attendance at the *panageria*, once one of the few occasions for young people to meet, declines. The Sunday promenade is still a reality, but one observes fewer family groups and more groups of young girls and young men enjoying each other's company.

The fact remains that while the dowery will, in some cases, influence the potential range of suitors with socially conscious families (importance now being placed on success in business and on high levels of education), the family's role as dowery

provider is no longer such an important one. Girls without doweries may readily marry; there are a greater number of incidents of marriages without consideration of the bride's *prika*. The dowery is no longer of survival significance to the young married couple in the light of improved economic conditions. And finally, it is now fully possible for young women to contribute to their own doweries, an eventuality unknown in the past. Thus the role of the family in providing a dowery cannot be considered as significant as during the traditional period.

contemporary marriage and family

What role does the family play in the contracting of marriage agreements? It continues in many cases to play a part in the arrangement of marriages and in the choice of marriage partner for girls. But a general relaxation of the formerly rigid and restrictive behavior supervision is evident. The independence of children in economic activities, their employment outside of the home, forces the modification of old regulations regarding social interaction. While in the past a single woman of any age would fall under the close direction of her parents, I observed that today some single and financially self-sufficient girls past their mid-twenties are enjoying considerable independence.

This relative independence, along with exposure to foreigners and association with more independent Mykonian men results in a greater number of independently contracted liaisons than would have occurred in the past. In many cases it appears that the young man approaches the girl's parents and discusses marriage with them after he and the girl have decided that they wish to marry. Unlike the traditional situation where the parents are involved in the initial stages of the relationship, in these cases the family is now consulted at a later point in the situation to approve or disapprove the girl's choice. Previously the choice rested not so much with the prospective bride but with her family. And in accordance with this, it appears that the number of elopements has increased over traditional occurences.

With the community's development as a tourist base, the incidents of marriage between Mykonians and non-Greeks are increasing in number. The marriage records of ten to twenty years ago do not contain such liaisons. During the past ten years, however, there have been fifteen marriages recorded where one of the partners was a non-Greek. (Marriages between Mykonians and Greeks from other parts of the country have always occurred in limited number.)

The members of the community that have adhered most closely to the traditional patterns of courtship and marriage are those living outside the town on the farms, the *horiani*. There marriage arrangement apparently occurs according to the old customs. I was told by one woman of her daughter's situation whereby she married her father's choice of groom even though the girl had expressed her displeasure at the prospect of the match. Her father's approval of the young man's industrious nature and his happiness with the fact that the marriage would guarantee that his youngest daughter would remain close to the family farm site—the couple would reside within sight of the family home—overruled her own feelings in the matter. This marriage occurred less than five years ago.

However, generally speaking in Mykonos the restrictions related to social interaction of young people are undergoing modification. And the emphasis in the negotiating of marriage contracts is moving away from initial family involvement toward greater independence on the part of the partners involved.

conclusions

In conclusion, some statements should be made about social change in Mykonos. In this paper we have been presenting data relating to a traditional period (1900 to 1940) in comparison with that of a «modern» period (1947 to the present).

From the structuralist point of view we have been making statements regarding the three basic aspects[1] of the traditional social system under investigation. The unit or «actor» that has been considered is the family. With the exception of a few occasions whereby the extended family formed into a labor grouping or participated in the supervision of young women, it was the nuclear family that was the unit of interest.

The patterns of interaction that revealed themselves of major significance in the traditional situation have been described in some detail. Beyond those of reproduction, nurturing of the young, and basic socialization, they were related to labor, education and instruction, social supervision, and ultimately offering some assurance for the future of the young.

The traditional functions or consequences of these patterns of action have also been discussed in detail. Physical survival of the individual and the family unit was the ultimate function. This resulted from the primary consequence of the maintenance of the family as a labor unit, ultimately assured by the successful education and induction of new mem-

1. W. E. Moore, *Social Change,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963, p. 82.

bers into the family group through birth or marriage. The survival of female adults resulted from the close family supervision of the young female to comply with strict social regulations—determined probably by the hard facts of economic life and the subsequent economic significance of marriage—and from the efforts to provide her with a dowery, allowing a successful marriage arrangement and thereby assuring her future. The survival of male adults was assured either through their remaining in the family labor unit or through their receipt of lands and economic resources from their families or as a result of the marriage system.

The determinant most relevant in the traditional situation was an economic one. The difficult environment and the general economic depression on the island resulted in a family role that emphasized economic concerns. And the factor of prime significance in this preliminary study of one aspect of social change on the island is again economic. Social change has resulted in the social system described above, in response to an external cause. Economic development in the form of the evolution and economic dominance of a new industry, tourism, has altered one aspect of the context in which the social system under consideration traditionally existed.

In the details given above it is evident first that the traditional patterns of action no longer fulfill, or are necessary to fulfill, the functions they once did. Gone is the stern economic demand for a close-knit family labor unit, for the education of the young in the occupations of the family, for the provision of a dowery containing dwelling and domestic necessities for survival, for the transmission of properties or facilities to the offspring for their economic utilization as adults.

Assuming that the aspects of the social system remain interdependent and ever responsive to changes in any aspect internally, as well as to external factors, the question remains if the functions once fulfilled by the patterns of interaction are now either insignificant or have undergone sufficient alteration to now be fulfilled by other social systems, how will those traditional patterns of interaction and indeed the very nature of the group of actors involved be affected?

The data presented earlier indicate that there is evidence of some changes in the patterns of interaction involving the family and the education and supervision of their offspring. Facilitated and at times demanded by new economic trends, a new element of economic and social independence is apparent in the young of both sexes, to lesser extent however with females than with males to date. Effects of this have been noted in customs related to courtship and marriage, and a general tendency toward modification of regulations of social interaction is evident.

It remains to be seen at this early phase in the economic transition of Mykonos society which direction change will take in terms of the social system in which the family is the primary unit of action. If the family finds new functional pillars to support its traditional patterns of interaction, change in this aspect and in the nature of the family unit may remain minimal. If not, the patterns of interaction associated with the family are likely to change extensively, perhaps necessitating or resulting in change in the very nature of the family unit itself.

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It is the specific objectives that make a *plan* possible—that provide targets to which action may be directed—and although for some purposes it may be convenient to conceive of them as means to the attainment of categorie objectives, they are psychologically and causally primary.

Colin Leys, *Politics and Change in Developing Countries*