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NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE BRUCE COX, Prof.

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SOCIAL CHANGE
IN A
CRETAN MOUNTAIN VILLAGE

by

Frederick E. Brusberg, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

September 22, 1980

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis:

"Social Change in a Cretan Mountain Village"

submitted by Frederick E. Brusberg, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts.

Bruce Cox

Thesis Supervisor

Dennis Fox

Chairman, Department of Sociology

Carleton University

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is an examination of the social responses to economic change of a community of the White Mountain district of Western Crete. The study examines changes in the productive base of the village, the derivation and distribution of wealth in the community, and the changing role of the village family. Change in rural society is seen as part of a larger relationship, the social and economic interaction between village and city. It is held that the force behind change in the social and economic relations of the region are, revealed in the interests of urban capital and urban society.

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΕΣ

Θά ήθελα νά έκφράσω τίς είλικρινείς εύχαριστίες μου σ' όλους τούς κατοίκους τοῦ ΚΟΥΣΤΟΓΕΡΑΚΟΥ, γιά τήν πολύτιμη βοήθεια στόν τελειωμό τῆς έρευνας.

Λυπούμαι πού δέν μπορῶ νά εύχαριστήσω όλους τούς φίλους στό χωριό ΚΟΥΣΤΟΓΕΡΑΚΟ προσωπικά. Όπωςδήποτε, θά ήθελα νά εύχαριστήσω ιδιαίτερα τήν Κυρία Άνναστας Μυριζάκη καί τήν οίκογένειά της, γιά τήν περιποίηση πού μοῦ προσέφεραν. Επίσης, τόν γείτονά μου, Κύριο Γιῶργο Ζαμπιάκη, ένα καλό φίλο, πού μοῦ δίδαξε πολλά ἀπό τή γλώσσα καί τόν πολιτισμό τῆς Μεγαλονήσου.

Άκόμα, θά ήθελα νά εύχαριστήσω τό Έθνικό Κέντρο Κοινωνιολογικῶν Έρευνῶν καί ιδιαίτερα τόν Καθηγητή Δρ. Ιωάννη Μυριζάκη, πού μέ βοήθησε στήν προσπάθειά μου.

Όττάβα, Σεπτέμβριος 1980

Map 1

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This work stems from my interest in Greek peasant villages. Often these seem anachronisms in modern Europe, survivals of an earlier age. The peasant and his family farm may stand out in striking contrast to developing urban centres only a few hours away. I first visited the Selinou area of Crete during the winter of 1975 - 1976. I returned there for field study in the winter of 1978 - 1979. The contrast appeared to have heightened in this short interval. The provincial capital of Hania seemed more prosperous, with new construction, new cars, and new tourist facilities. In the Selinou villages, however, little appeared to have changed. As before, the villagers could be seen starting out with pack animals to the olive groves or vineyards each morning. If there had been an increase in wealth among them, there were no tangible signs of it. As before, no one owned an automobile, in general the villages remained as modest as before.

When I first visited the area in 1975, I resolved to discover how and why the village world survived. My wife and I lived for a time in the Selinou community of Moni helping with the olive harvest. We were the only wage labourers in

the community. Though we would have been willing to work for food and shelter in exchange for the opportunity to visit there, our patron insisted that we be paid lest his honour be tarnished. Although we were treated well by the villagers, it was obvious from the animated conversations in the café each evening that we had upset the community's distribution of labour. Our employer, a gentleman of about 60 years, was in ill health and faced a domestic labour shortage. His older sons were away at technical school and the younger ones were too small to be of much help. Furthermore, his holdings were much larger than his neighbours'; about 1300 trees. In spite of this, as the sacks of olives increased in their niche by the roadside, we became more and more aware that we were at the centre of a controversy. On revisiting the family during the field-work period, I discovered that we were the last such wage labourers in the village. Well fed and entertained, as is typical hospitality in Crete, I was given the strong impression that they were much happier to see me return as an anthropologist.

Climate and Geography

Crete, the "Great Island" is the largest and southernmost of the Greek islands. Situated between 34° 55' and 34° 41' N, and 23° 19' E, it lies roughly at the centre of the

eastern Mediterranean Sea. The island has a total area of 8,259 km² and a population of some 456,642 inhabitants (Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1977). It is a mountainous place for the most part; a line of mountains runs along its spine from East to West. The major mountain ranges are the Lefka Ori (White Mountains) in the West, the Idi Oris in the Centre, and the Dikti Oros in the East. Rising over 2,000 metres, these mountains present a dramatic view to the visitor approaching by sea (see Map 1).

There are three physical and climatic zones in Crete: the coastal plains, the hill or semi-mountainous zone, and the high mountain zone (Clutton and Kenny, 1976: 41 - 45). The coastal plains are sub-tropical and have rich alluvial soils which produce vines, olives, and grain along with European products such as potatoes and vegetables. Land values are high especially where farming competes with tourist or urban development.

The hill zone is typified by a maquis and garrigue landscape. The climate is cooler and temperate. The pine (Pinus brutus), Mediterranean oaks, as well as the olive, almond, and carob are the major trees. As Clutton and Kenny describe,

... rich vineyards on the fertile slopes give way on poorer ground to small patches of wheat, barley or other cereals. Winter fodder crops such as vetches are also seen. Both these and the cereals

are sown in late Autumn and have completed their growth by the time the Winter rains end. Harvest time is as early as May near the sea and as late as June or early July up in the mountains where the Summer is later.

The cereals, the vines, the olives and other fruit trees form a close mesh of cultivation over the hillsides. Slopes of surprising steepness are planted with rows of olives and vines...A few of these old terraces are still in use, following the traditions of millenia rather than merely of centuries. They are reached on foot, cultivated using simple hand-tools, and their produce is carried down in the Summer evenings on donkey or mule-back to the villages (1976: 53).

The high mountain zone is cold and used for Summer grazing. This area, above 800 metres, has a short Summer growing season. The vegetation is primarily cyprus and maple trees, of which some reach 20 metres in height. The tree line is about 1,500 metres above sea level and the areas above this elevation are snow-covered in Winter. Near the peaks there is no vegetation. The foraging of flocks and herds of goats in Summer quickly cuts down the lush Summer foliage which appears in the high mountain areas. In short, the geography of Crete changes rapidly from a lush sub-tropical zone at sea level to a cool subalpine zone in the high mountain areas. This wide range in temperature allows a diversity of natural and cultivated flora and a variety of human habitats.

Administration and Population

The administration of Crete is divided into four nomes or prefectures. Moving from East to West they are: Lasithi, Iraklion, Rythimnon, and Hania. Each of these prefectures is further broken down into eparchies or parishes which in turn are made up of municipalities or rural communes. The nome of Iraklion is the most populous with 209,670 inhabitants and a density of 79.4 per km² (Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1977: 18). Endowed with a large agricultural plain, the nome of Iraklion is the most productive agricultural area of the island. The city of Iraklion is Crete's largest. Its population of 84,710 makes it the fifth largest urban area in Greece (Yearbook p. 27). Lasithi in the East has a population of 66,266 and a density of 36.3 inhabitants per km². This is the sparsest area of the island. In the West, the nomes of Rythimnon and Hania occupy more mountainous districts. Apart from the plain between the mountains and the Northern coast, the bulk of these areas is mountainous. The population of Rythimnon nome is 60,949 (40.7 / km²) and Hania, the Westernmost nome has 119,707 people or 50.4 per km² (Yearbook: p. 18).

2

The Statistical Yearbook of Greece (1977) shows that 33.5 per cent of the island's population live in urban areas, 10.7 per cent in semi-urban, and 35.2 per cent live in rural areas (categories taken from the Yearbook). About 58 per cent of the population live on level terrain, which is mostly in the coastal plains. Another 20 per cent are located in semi-mountainous areas, and the remaining 22 per cent inhabit the mountainous regions (Yearbook: 44 - 45). As the level areas are the most productive agriculturally and the site of urban development, it follows that these are the preferred areas of residence. The figures for population growth within each nome reflect this preference. During the period 1951 - 1961 the population of Iraklion grew by 9.9 per cent while Hania increased by 3.6 per cent. Lasithi grew very little (0.1 per cent) and Rythimnon lost population (- 3.1 per cent) (Yearbook: 22 - 26). In the next ten-year period (1961 - 1971) Crete lost population: 483,258 to 456,642 (- 5.5 per cent) (Yearbook: 18). Nevertheless, Iraklion still grew by 0.6 per cent while Lasithi lost 10.4 per cent of its population, Rythimnon 12.9 per cent, and Hania 8.6 per cent. There was considerable migration from Crete during the 1961 - 1971 period: the population declined from 483,000 to 456,000 (Yearbook: 1977: 18). Nevertheless, those who moved from the countryside went into urban areas, especially

the city of Iraklion. Greater Iraklion grew from 58,285 in 1951 to 84,710 in 1971 (Yearbook: 26).

History

The history of Crete is long and stormy. The strategic position of the island between Asia Minor, Africa, and Europe has kept it on the frontiers of imperial influence for millenia. The Minoan culture held Crete from about 3000 to 1050 BC. The Dorians and later the Greeks kept it as part of their civilization from 1050 to 67 BC when it was incorporated as a province of Rome. The island remained within the Empire and later the Eastern Roman Empire under Constantine the Great. Byzantium lost it in 651 to Saracen Arabs. The island became an Arab stronghold and the centre of the slave trade for the eastern courts and harems until it was reconquered by Constantinople in 961 (Clutton and Kenny, 1976: 92 - 97).

Gradually, however, Venice and Genoa established mercantile control of the eastern Mediterranean, until in 1204 Byzantium lost most of its former territory to Rome under the guise of the Fourth Crusade. Crete was colonised by the Venetians in 1210. They established a feudal social structure which gave the local population little more than the status of slaves. The following 300 years were a period of frequent revolts by the indigenous Cretans disenfranchised by the Latin church and the Venetian colonists (Clutton and

Kenny, 1976: 98 - 117). The refuge of the mountains was the key to their survival and resistance.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 began a dark age for the Hellenic world. The Turks first raided Crete in 1471 and by 1669 it fell to them completely. The Venetians inspired a major revolt in 1692 and the Russians promoted another in 1770. For the most part, however, Crete was a victim of the interests of the Great Powers (Britain, Russia, and France) as they moved to exploit the weakening Ottoman Empire. The Turkish census of 1834 recorded 20 Christian families in Koustoyérako. These were extended families and the precise size of the village is hard to deduce. (Pashley, 1837: Vol. 2, p. 309). The Greek war of independence began in 1821 and in 1822 a major revolt began with the Cretans calling for énosis or union with Greece. A viceroy of Egypt governed for the Turks from 1822 to 1840. The return of the Ottomans intensified the suppression, in the face of increased Cretan resistance. In 1898, with the persuasion of the Great Powers, the Turks left Crete in the hands of a High Commissioner of the Great Powers, Prince George of Greece. In 1899 the first assembly of Autonomous Crete met at Hania headed by Eleftherios Venizelos. The assembly proclaimed union with Greece on October 14, 1912 and retired to an armed camp in the White

Mountains. On November 14, 1913 a treaty was signed with Turkey which put Crete within the Territory of Greece.

The island remained in relative tranquility until October, 1940 when Italy demanded the surrender of Greece. The Greek answer was simply, "No!," and the army drove the Italians well back into Albania. The Germans attacked through Yugoslavia in April of 1941 and the army surrendered at Thessaloniki twenty days later. British, New Zealand, and Australian forces along with the king and the government retreated to Crete. An airborne invasion by the Germans began in May, 1941 and on the 28th of that month the Allies withdrew to North Africa. Some 14,500 troops escaped and 13,000 were killed or captured. The Germans lost between 12,000 and 15,000 men. The occupation of the island was harsh. In response to resistance from Cretan "Raiding Forces" led for the most part by Canadian and British officers, the German administration destroyed many villages and from time to time shot ten Cretan civilians for each man wounded and twenty for each killed. During this period the bulk of Crete's livestock and other wealth was used up to support the German war effort. The German and Italian forces surrendered in May of 1945.

The economy of the island was in ruins. The civil war on the mainland further hindered recovery. Many of the Cretan men were away fighting against the communists on the mainland while in Crete leftist partisans had taken to the

mountains. The central government at Athens could do little to help. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration provided materials and other supplies for reconstruction and the New Zealand Government donated a large flock of sheep which helped to rebuild animal stock (Clutton and Kenny, 1976: 138). Apart from this little was done.

Recent Developments: 1948 to the Present

In 1948 the Rockefeller Foundation commissioned a study of Crete. The report was subtitled, "A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area," (Allbaugh, 1953). The Rockefeller Foundation did not, however, feel it "necessary" to implement its' report's recommendations (Allbaugh, 1953: x). In 1959, Crete once again attracted the attention of international development consultants. An Israeli firm, AGRIDEV, signed an agreement with the Greek government to plan Crete's "development." The Development Plan proposed the reduction of the working population in the primary production sector from 70 per cent in 1961 to 52 per cent by 1975. The plan intended that "surplus" agricultural workers be "absorbed" by the industrial and service sectors. It envisaged that the number of industrial workers would increase from 24,000 in 1961 to 42,000 by 1975, many in "large industrial units."

(Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 65). The number of people employed in the service sector was expected to increase from 35,000 in 1961 to 58,000 in 1975, most of them in the tourist industry.

The tourist potential of the island was to be developed as well; especially in the East. It was proposed that, "employment should be provided for 15,000 persons," after "some initial" problems had been overcome (Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 69).

The plan also called for improved roads and utilities. These improvements are, for the most part, in place. The road along the North coast and two links to the South, one in the East and one in the West, have been paved. Existing networks have been improved and tie in with these central routes. Electrification of most rural areas has taken place. According to the plan, electricity and improved roads would ensure "the continued viability of rural settlements in Crete, and act as a counter-attraction in controlling the drift to Iraklion, Athens, and Europe" (Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 66).

However, the consultants saw rural development in terms of large operations on consolidated holdings, the usual arrangement in Crete was simply a "major obstacle" to rural development (Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 67). Accordingly,

the consultants proposed "a pilot scheme" to develop "a highly centralised, intensive agriculture, growing export crops such as early tomatoes on consolidated holdings supplied with irrigation water" (1968: 67).

Litton Industries was the next member of the international development establishment to become interested in Crete. Litton proposed to act as a middle-man in attracting foreign investment in exchange for a commission on all foreign capital brought in. "A development period of twelve years was envisaged with an initial contract from 1967 to 1970. During this time Litton undertook to secure \$ 150 million of foreign investment, to be matched by \$ 90 million of Greek domestic investment" (Clutton and Kenny, 1976: 142). In 1969 Litton withdrew from the scheme after some controversy. They achieved one-sixth of the initial investment target in two-thirds of the contract period (Clutton and Kenny, 1976: 143).

The consultants' plans and predictions have been overcome by events. Crete's population declined from about 483,000 in 1961 to just under 457,000 in 1971 due mainly to out-migration. The Statistical Yearbook of Greece (1977: 93 - 94) shows that in 1971 (the most recent figures), 62 per cent of the labour force were engaged in agriculture, forestry or fishing. This is still 10 per cent above the

projected 52 per cent for the entire primary sector. The manufacturing or industrial sector accounted for only 9 per cent of the work force in 1971. The consultants proposed to increase the industrial labour force from 24,000 in 1961 to 42,000 by 1975. In fact, there were only 17,000 industrial workers in 1971, a decrease of 7,000 since 1961. All other sectors of which trade, services, construction and public works are the major ones, account for 30 per cent of the work force (Yearbook, 1977: 93-94). It is only in this sector that there has been growth with tourism as the driving force.

The Greek government has continued to make improvements in roads and utilities. Most of the rural areas have some road connection with a bus passing through on a daily basis. Electrification has taken place in the bulk of the rural areas. Changes in land distribution have been made in the richer agricultural areas of the Coastal plains, but in the remote mountain districts small fragmented holdings are still the norm. The government's plan still promotes the exploitation of tourism and the development of agriculture in accessible areas (Investment Guide, 1977). Development has not affected the community of Koustoyérako in a direct way. That is to say, the area has no tourist potential nor is it considered for irrigation. Thus its land has little value beyond what it can produce. As will be seen however, the effects of Crete's development have nevertheless been felt in the village.

Koustoyérako

Koustoyérako (pop. 115)¹ is one of four villages which compose the Commune of Sougia. Sougia (pop. 54) is the "main" village of the commune as it is the location of the co-operative oil factory, the police post, and the terminus of the road. In past times, before 1950, the poor overland communications gave its seaside location an added benefit as communication by sea was a major link into the area. Today the seaside location and the improved road has helped it to develop a small tourist industry and its situation in a valley gives it a better water supply which has enabled it to set up cash crop market gardens. Lividhas (pop. 65), located near Koustoyérako, and Moni (pop. 72) on the West side of the valley are farming communities like Koustoyérako who keep to the traditional pastimes of olive cultivation and pastoralism.

A look at Map 2 (overleaf) which is overlaid with a one kilometre grid and gives elevation contours in 20 metre increments, shows the difficult nature of the terrain. Koustoyérako is situated behind a precipice just over 700 metres above sea level, a rise of over 200 metres per kilometre between it and the coast below. Reaching the village

¹ Population statistics are the latest available at the Hania Prefecture, those of 1971.

CRETE GRID

MAP 2

TEMÉNIA

14 a

Map Showing Environs of Koustovérako

Overlay: 1 kilometre grid.

Elevations: 20 metres.

(Section taken from Royal Engineers

Cartography Section, R.A. U.K. 1943)

by foot is a strenuous climb although the path still has sections of cobblestone pavement placed there in the 8th Century. The approach by road is over three-times longer due to frequent switch-backs. The torrential winter rains often dislodge large rocks which further hinder motor traffic.

The village, although small and remote, has historical significance due in great part to its location. During the Turkish occupation, for example, the census of 1834 showed no Muslim families resident in the community (Pashley, 1837: Vol. 2, 309). More accessible locations in the commune such as Moni and Sougia did have Muslims. According to the oral history of the village, the ease with which it could be defended kept it safe against the Venetian and Turkish oppressors. A general revolt in the White Mountains early in the 16th Century was led by George Kandanooleon of Koustoyérako. In reprisal the Venetians sent a large force which razed the village and declared that in future no one could settle there. The inhabitants of the village today claim to be descendents of Kandanooleon's survivors and a noble family of Constantinople which returned there after the massacre. It is admitted as well that a few of the families are late comers from the

Sfack territory in the east who settled there due to vendettas.

There were revolts against the Turks in the 17th and 18th Centuries which led to destruction and dispersal of the villagers, but when events calmed they would return. A detailed history of the White Mountains area is given by Llewellyn-Smith (1973).

The period between Greek independence and the Second World War was one of expansion by the new Greek state towards its frontiers of antiquity. Many villagers served in the army in the Bulgarian, Albanian, and Turkish border areas. As a centre of the Raiding Forces during World War II, the German army sent a large force into the area. On the 3rd of October, 1943 a group of women and children were executed in reprisal. The village was razed and the surviving non-combatants were dispersed into other villages to pose as residents there. One important figure in the resistance, Manolis Paterakis, is a native and resident of the community. In response to the German policy of executing civilians for opposition to the military government, Paterakis and three others including two British officers went down to Iraklion and kidnapped the General-commander of Crete. After a long excursion through the mountains on mule back, the commander was delivered to a submarine for transport to the Allies in North Africa.

As in the rest of the island, the end of the war was a time of continued suffering. The civil war escalated in the North, food supplies were short, and the loss of manpower to fight in the civil conflict retarded reconstruction. Nevertheless, according to the villagers, houses were rebuilt with supplies brought in by the United Nations Relief crops were sown, and the age old pattern of life began again.

Theoretical Orientation

This study is primarily an analysis of the social interior of the community of Koustoyérako. Nevertheless, the relationship between it and the richer urban centres of Greece is fundamental to understanding the village's position. The realities which prevail for the villagers cannot be understood solely by an analysis of the community itself. Thus, some theoretical explication of Koustoyérako's position within the overall Greek social formation is required.

It is quickly apparent to the visitor that Koustoyérako is in many ways a traditional community. The language spoken still keeps to older idioms. Daily labour still follows patterns similar to those established in antiquity. The standard of living is low. There are no automobiles, no tractors, or other features usually associated with farming in the "developed" countries. The mule or donkey along with the villagers themselves are the major sources of

productive energy. The landscape is precipitous and terraced attesting to an historical expenditure of human labour which must sum in the many thousands of man-hours. The family is the centre of social and productive life and its exigencies are foremost in the use of wealth derived from its labours. All in all one finds a marginal community, poor in relation to the city, which still follows what appears to be an older economic rationality.

The most apparent question to the visitor is essentially, how does this community continue to function following what are apparently older forms of production? More specifically, what are the relationships which govern its position as a seemingly poor and marginal social entity? Most arguments which attempt to explain the relative poverty and marginal position of such communities assume that peasants are poor because of low productivity and adherence to older forms of social relations. The Development Plan for Crete is a prime example of this view (Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 66). This view holds that the agricultural sector does not contribute to the accumulation of capital but overall weakens the national economy. This explanation assumes that, if the peasant receives a low remuneration for his work, "this is because his labour does not produce riches" (Vergopoulos, 1978: 453; contra Mouzelis, 1979: 353). In fact, Vergopoulos (1978: 451) shows that agricultural production is higher than

in other sectors:

Greece: Gross output per worker²
(1960 = 100 in constant prices, 1970)

	1960	1970	1975
Primary	100	325	327
Secondary	100	187	---
Tertiary	100	174	---
TOTAL	100	210	298

Furthermore, as Vergopoulos states,

Between 1952 and 1973, the general index of Greek agricultural production rose by 120 per cent (in constant prices); this rate of growth is the highest in relation to the respective indices of 22 European countries of the OECD and Japan. Again, in the period 1952 - 1968 Greece held the top position among the 22 countries of the OECD in respect to the rate of growth of gross formation of fixed capital in agriculture (1978: 450).

It is evident from this that low peasant income cannot be explained by low productivity; hence, we must look elsewhere. Historically the peasant or family farm developed in modern capitalist states because it worked so

2 Vergopolous takes this data from, National Accounts of Greece, 1958 - 1975, Athens, 1976; OECD, Greece études économiques, June, 1977; M. Delivanis and D. Germidis, Industrialisation, emploi et répartition des revenus en Grèce, OECD, 1975, p. 169.

well with urban interests. Vergopoulos argues that family farming is the "most successful form of production" for marshalling peasant labour in the interest of urban capitalism. More precisely, it constitutes, "the most efficient way of restraining the prices of agricultural products" (1978: 446). This lowers food prices for the city dwellers and 'subsidises' the cost of the social reproduction of labour. Some scholars might explain the relations between peasants and city dwellers in terms of the "articulation" of disparate "modes of production" (eg. Dupré and Rey, 1973: 153). Typically a "traditional" mode of production carried over from an earlier historical era is "articulated" with a dominant capitalist mode (eg. Dupré and Rey, 1973: 158). Vergopoulos opposes this view of modes "stacked historically" (1978: 448)³. The presence of several social forms together cannot be explained as a matter of historical transition or in terms of "articulation" between them; rather it must be explained by reference to the forces which are still part of the situation (p. 448).

3 Vergopoulos opposes a "fetishisation" of the concept of modes of production. He argues that mode of production "cannot be defined as a level distinct from others and determining them; but rather as a dimension of the whole spectrum of social relations" (p. 448).

Vergopoulos (1978: 449) addresses the question of discerning, "what social mechanism prevents peasant production from gaining access to wealth." Typically, a family farmer has no savings and little land, What little wealth he has is tied up in his farm. In such villages, of which Kousto-yérako is an example, land has little value for purposes other than farming. It has no tourist or residential value nor does it bring in rent. The family farmer is thus in a poor position to bargain for higher agricultural prices. The peasant must bring his land into production in order to survive. In fact, he must do this whether he makes a "profit" on the capital invested in his land or not (Vergopoulos, 1978: 477). The small farmer, in fact, most often does not think of himself as an "entrepreneur" dedicated to making a profit. On the contrary, as Vergopoulos points out, he sees himself simply as a worker, entitled to his livelihood (1978: 446). The peasant farm, then, provides the overall society with agricultural products at their cost price which, "includes the strictly necessary remuneration of labour," foregoing any profit or ground rent in favour of the urban economy (p. 447). This form of agriculture typically arises in "modern" states. Far from being an anomaly, it may be argued that it is crucial to their development. Thus, such marginal peasant farms cannot be understood as "disappearing

vestiges" of past feudal or historical realities; quite the opposite, they are "living and constantly renewed" elements of modern capitalism (p. 462).

In fact, far from being stagnant "vestiges" of earlier forms of production, the Greek peasant economy, "is developing at an astonishing rate," Vergopoulos (p. 450) maintains. Agricultural labour is increasing in productivity faster than urban labour. Evidently family farmers are making an increased use of machinery and agricultural chemicals. (These chemicals are sold at reduced prices by the Greek state). Vergopoulos believes that they do so to get an adequate return in relation to falling (real) farm prices, which in any case, are set by the state. This falling rate of remuneration leads to technical "progress". This is, however, hardly "progress" for the farm family (Vergopoulos, 1978: 42). If the (real) price of farm products drops, it is necessary to grow more in order to make the same return. The data for Koustoyérako's production discussed in chapter 3, below, show a sharp rise in oil output as a result of chemicals (fertilisers) and new technology in harvesting methods which have off-set a decline in the village labour supply.

Thus, the adaptive capacity of the family farm benefits the urban centres. Marginal family farms are by

no means a restraining factor on development of the urban sector but serve to aid it. The high "social utility" of the peasant family farm in relation to urban centres best describes the role of villages like Koustoyérako within the Greek social formation. Food prices kept low by virtue of the low remuneration for village labour in food production and the cheap pool of labour always available in the community in response to variations in urban demands, best outline the village's position. This will be shown in various parts of the thesis.

The thesis is set out in four principal sections. Chapter 2 is essentially descriptive. It reviews the range of productive elements in the agricultural and pastoral systems of the community. The natural cycles which govern production and the related patterns of activity within them are summarised along with a discussion of changes in the technology and methods employed by the villagers in their day to day labour.

Chapter 3 turns to a review of the changes in the sorts of products produced and changes in land use which have taken place over the period 1961 - 1977. The objective here is to show the response of village production to changes in Greek social and economic life. The effects of migration from village to city and the state policies toward the

agricultural sector figure prominently here. The state, as Vergopoulos points out, is the "principal axis" of the national economy (1978: 455), and it is here that one may see the adaptability of the family farm to changing demands. In addition to this, further changes in the local economic climate are revealed through improved communications into the area, an increased in-flow of capital through tourism, and the development of foreign-financed produce growers in the neighbouring village of Sougia.

Chapter 4 looks into the derivation and distribution of wealth within the community. Village households are divided into three different groups: those resident in the community on a full-time basis, those who maintain their holdings but reside in the city, and those who are retired and have a low productive output. These three groups are cross-referenced with income derived from agriculture and pastoralism to portray the relative economic situations of the households. Included as well is a review of three households in the full-time resident category representing the top and lower ends of the income scale for this group. Details of income and expenses are given along with discussions of the problems facing each of them.

Chapter 5 examines the role of the family in relation to the social and economic changes which have taken place in the area. A dividing line between "traditional" and contemporary

families is set at the year 1950. An analysis of changes in the place of origin for brides and grooms along with an examination of places of residence (for men and women born in the village) after marriage. Attention is given as well to the continued practise of paying dowries as it operates in changed social circumstances.

Chapter 6 is the concluding section: In light of the perspective just discussed, an explanation of the persistence of family farms is offered. Attention is given to the possible futures open to the community in respect to the findings and a discussion of potential directions for future research is provided.

Field Methods and Data Collection

The research period began in the second week of October, 1978 and terminated after the middle of April, 1979. The first two weeks were spent in Athens at the Centre for Social Research where I met with social science officers working on a wide variety of problems. The bulk of the work at the Centre was aimed at problems associated with urban migration. The library at the C.S.R. was very helpful in making a preliminary study of the economic and social situation of Crete. A coincidence of good fortune occurred as well; the statistics expert at the Centre was from the

village of Sougia, a village in the same commune as Koustoyérako, and shared a flat with his cousin, a philosophy professor at the University of Athens, whose parents live in Koustoyérako. This bit of good luck did a lot to facilitate my residence and study in the community.

I resided in Koustoyérako from the 27th of October, 1978 to the 3rd of April, 1979. During this time data collection developed along the following pattern: a list of all the family names was provided by one of the young men. From a position overlooking the village, a sketch map was drawn outlining the main physical features of the community. With the aid of another young man who accompanied me, all the residences were matched up with the family names and subsequently coded with the informant numbers used in this text.

The first few weeks were given over to familiarising myself with the village and its situation. The dialect spoken was substantially different from the Neo-Helleniki I had studied before leaving. During this period I spent the days getting to know the surroundings, chatting with people as they went about their day-to-day routine, and developing a linguistic capacity which could communicate more than pleasantries. A Greek translation of a letter outlining my research interests was shown to the police officer

responsible for monitoring foreigners and the manager of the olive oil co-operative in the village of Sougia. The clerk of the commune or grammatais studied it as well. It was known within a day or two that I was visiting there to write a "book" about the village. People were friendly for the most part and as time passed I became a, more or less, normal feature of the community. My interest in pastoralism, for example, resulted often in a small party of shepherds tapping on my door at six o'clock in the morning to take me along to the pastures to observe their activities. All in all, an open explanation of my reasons for being there led to a great deal of help from the villagers.

Apart from a chilled hour or two in my cottage, the evenings could only be spent in two locations; huddled around the fireplace in a neighbour's home or in one of the two cafés. On the basis of conversations in the cafés and with the aid of a gentleman who lived next door, I managed to select five active village households which, in the context of the community, represented young and old, rich and poor families. I spent a day with each of them and kept notes on the hours they spent at all types of activity for each household; the amount of time spent travelling to and from work locations, aids used in production, volume of production (areas cultivated for example), co-operative work (with whom), weather conditions,

and other observations. Photocopies of data sheets for these observations were prepared before leaving.

A diary was kept in which I recorded daily activity reports along with other observations and summaries of conversations with various individuals transcribed from a rough notebook. Another notebook was used to compile biographical and income expenses data for the five households along with general information such as flock sizes, olive oil production, and other quantitative data.

At the end of the first four weeks I began to take down genealogies of all the community's families. In most cases they were cross-checked with others having the same family name. As all the villagers are related to some degree, cross-checking was relatively easy; at least in theory. Errors were spotted and the genealogies were clarified. In addition to noting the names and birth dates of individuals, I also took down the ages and dates at death, the place of origin of anyone not born in the community, and the current place of residence of those who had left. It is interesting to note that the villagers' memories failed for the most part to recall names of kin born before their grandparents' generation.

The collecting of information on villagers' wealth was somewhat touchy. I collected information on the number of trees or areas of land under the ownership of each of the households as well as of a few others who were

happy to discuss farming and animal husbandry. It was possible to check the veracity of informants' estimates by checking against the statistics kept in the oil co-operative for olive production. The ratio of 13 kilogrammes of oil per tree was agreed on by the villagers in the café and worked out to be accurate when dividing oil production by number of trees. Interviews with the household heads of the five selected families covered areas in production, all inputs and outputs, but did not ask for quantities in terms of money. As all agricultural prices are controlled by the government, it was a relatively straight-forward process to deduce incomes. It is probable that the estimates of wealth for these families are quite close to the real figure.

Pastoral holdings were somewhat harder to check. As a rule I counted the number of sheep at the feeding stations and goats when they were driven into pens for marking. In all cases the villagers' estimates were very close to the numbers counted. Interviews also included questions as to milk production and the productive cycle of sheep and goats. On the basis of this it was possible to cross-check accuracy of animal populations and milk product production.

The statistical officer of the Prefecture at Hania was a major source of data. While statistics were not kept

for Koustoyërako itself, the field workers' reports for the agricultural census of the commune were available for the years 1961 to 1977. The reports before 1965 were, however, less detailed and sketchy.

A visit to the experimental farm of the Agricultural Service resulted in considerable information on agriculture, especially olives. The agents of the Agricultural Service office in Hania were very helpful as well. Officers who dealt with pastoral production and promoting various changes of land use offered a variety of theories as to why the "traditional" mountain villages did not follow newer methods in many cases.

A final source in the city of Hania was an officer in the co-operatives section of the Agricultural Bank of Greece or A.T.E. The aspects of credit and markets, bank (government) policies on agriculture and economic development were discussed.

In general, all the sources interviewed were pleased to be of help in the research; but most were bemused by the choice of a small remote village as the unit of analysis as their interests were clearly in the realm of "modern" or "developed" farming.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO VILLAGE LIFE

This chapter provides an account of the way in which the villagers of Koustoyérako spend their working time. Accordingly, details of the cycles which govern production, the technical and organisational means through which production takes place, and something of the substance of the elements exploited in production are presented.

A wide range of productive activities sustain the village. A chart which outlines the cycles and types of productive activities is shown in the preceding page as Figure 1.

In the majority of households, the bi-annual olive crop is the major source of income. Pastoralism is another element which figures predominantly in the productive régime, providing milk, cheese, meat, wool and skins. The production of honey, wine, almonds, grain, carobs, and garden products must be included as well. The villagers are especially fond of natural or wild food products such as greens, mushrooms, and snails which add to their diet.

Olives

The primary agricultural resource is olive oil. The mastoidis olive, predominant in the Selinou district, is a small black fruit which gives about 30 per cent of its weight to oil. In the winter of 1977 - 1978 Koustoyérako's olives yielded some 64,000 kilogrammes of oil. The price fixed by the government at that time was Dr. 65 per kilogramme giving the crop a total value of Dr. 4,160,000. (about \$ Cdn. 122,320)⁴

⁴ At the time of study, (1978 - 1979) the Drachma equalled approximately \$Cdn. 0.03 or \$Cdn. 1.00 equalled about Dr. 31.

The olive harvest takes place between the end of October and the first weeks of May. The peak period begins around the middle of November and starts to decline by mid-February. The trees produce fruit every other Winter. The intervening Winters are given to ploughing and fertilising the terraces beneath the trees. Soil fertility, rainfall, and the species of olive are all factors in the tree's two year cycle. The bi-annual harvest prevalent in the area of Crete, however, is primarily related to the method used in harvesting the fruit.

The mastoids trees cultivated on the experimental farm at Hanía bear fruit each Winter. The harvesting is undertaken at an earlier stage when it is still green and attached to the branches. Removal of the olives at this early stage gives the trees time to regenerate new flowers and reproduce the following Winter. The trees are beaten with batons and the olives are collected in nylon nets. The trees are also set closer together (about 3 metres), and kept short and bushy by pruning. This new technique produces an annual crop which is less than the bi-annual yield of the traditional method. However, the Agricultural Service claims that some 20 per cent more oil is produced when summed over two years. The quality of the oil is also said to be finer.

Winters are given to ploughing and fertilising the terraced groves. A man with a mule or donkey ploughs about six to twelve trees per day. The average holding is between 100 and 120 trees which entails from one to two weeks at this type of work. Time is also spent pruning and cutting away damaged limbs which could not withstand the frequently violent Winter winds.

The Autumn preceding the harvest takes an additional two weeks for laying out netting. The nets improve the quality of the oil by eliminating various droppings and débris which find their way into the sacks with hand picking or the small man-powered harvesting machines. The nets are, however, fragile and their life expectancy is about 4 or 5 years. The luxuriant Winter foliage develops quickly and can pin the plastic mesh to the terrace floor. Extricating them from the foliage usually damages them. Though a large producer in the neighbouring village of Moni sprays with defoliants, no one grows olives on this scale in Koustoyérako and there is little use of defoliants. The traditional methods of driving sheep and goats into the groves is effective in solving this problem.

Oil processing has changed in recent years. In the past the produce was collected by hand and taken to the village for conversion into oil by an animal-powered

press. In 1948 the government established an oil factory at Sougia which processes the olives from most of the households in the commune. The removal for oil processing from the village has lessened the work load of the villagers and improved the yield of oil per unit of olives as it extracts much more oil than the small press used formerly. A further time labour savings has been made as a truck now collects the olives every ten to fourteen days. In the past it was packed on mules and delivered to Sougia. The co-operative factory requires that the producers pay one kilogramme for each 14 of oil produced to cover the cost of running the factory.

In Koustoyërako the old system of large trees in scattered holdings still prevails. There have been improvements in technology used in production. Oil yields have risen through the use of fertilisers. Harvesting has become less labour intensive and oil processing has been improved with the installation of the factory.

Pastoralism

The population of sheep and goats has declined severely since the pre-war period. Informants agreed that the pre-war level was in the neighbourhood of 15,000 head

for Koustoyérako alone. At that time there were 72 households in the village each having about 200 sheep and goats. The Villagers lost all of their stock during the German occupation as food for the armies in North Africa. Oxen, once common in the district as plough and draught animals, were taken as well. The Summer settlements of the shepherds and the tirocomea or cheese factories on the high slopes were destroyed in reprisals.

At the time of field research the village had 840 sheep and 560 goats. Three of the informants engaged in pastoralism said that they had been cutting back the size of their flocks each year due to a decline in the quality of Summer pastures. One individual (informant 10) has about 120 sheep and 45 goats, one of the largest in the village, claims to have reduced the size of his flock by about 100 sheep over the last ten years. He maintains that the cutting of origanum and other herbs known as "mountain tea" (tsai tou vounou) has damaged the quality of the pastures. The "tea" and origanum are sold for about 10 Drachmae per packet of 60 grammes and resold for upwards of four times this price in the market at Hania. The herbs are a major part of the animals' diet. The shepherds said that the extensive cutting of herbs not only reduces the foliage

but that many individuals tear up the entire plant leaving the soil exposed to the erosive Winter torrents. The Agricultural Census reveals that the inhabitants of the Commune of Sougia cut 50 tonnes of origanum and 350 tonnes of "tea" in 1965. In 1971 they took 100 tonnes of origanum and 250 tonnes of "tea", but by 1975, no origanum and only 1 tonne of tea was taken. The figures for subsequent years were the same. This decline in herb cutting likely represents lessened urban migration from the community because the peak period of cutting, indeed of overcutting, coincided with the peak period of migration. The revenue from "tea" provided additional income to aid in leaving the village.

The flocks' graze over a face or "foot" of the mountain bordered by the river valley of the Selinou to the West and the boundary of the Epiarchy of Sfakia to the East. The movement of sheep and goats oscillates from as high as 2000 metres in Summer to about 100 metres above the Libian Sea in Winter. The sheep are very sensitive to changes in temperature and even within the confines of the Winter ranges will climb as high as possible on warm Winter days. The Winter ranges are to the South of the village and stretch approximately 3.5 kilometres (line of sight) to the seacoast below. The Summer pastures cling over increasingly vertical topography for about 4 to 4.5 kilometres toward the North-East

terminating on the heights at Mount Aklathia.

During the Winter period the shepherds feed their animals a daily supplement of corn and grain from sheep stations located in large caves. The sheep are given 200 - 250 grammes of feed per day during the months of December, January, and February. The five men with the largest flocks do not grow their own grain but purchase it at the subsidised price of Dr. 4.5 per kilogramme. One informant required about 2.7 tonnes of grain to feed his 120 sheep each Winter. The land of Koustoyérako produces about 150 to 200 kilogrammes of grain per stremma (1000 m²) and it would accordingly require about 15.5 stremmata of land to produce the 2.7 tonnes of grain. The lack of labour and the subsidised price of feed are the reasons for not producing it in the village. As Vergopoulos has noted, this also enables the villagers to produce more stock per unit of work (1978: 452).

The sheep have a birth rate of 1.1 and give about 35 kilogrammes of milk per head. The animals are smaller than the Chios or Fresian breeds used in modernised production but they are said to be better adapted to the marginal terrain and their food requirements are

less⁵.

The Winter routine begins with a gathering of the men in front of the café just after six o'clock each morning. Outfitted with crooks and shotguns for sniping at small game, they set out as the first light appears behind the mountains. After a half-hour's walk they reach the vicinity of the Winter pastures and split up, each toward his flock. If the night has been cold the sheep will be low down near the feeding stations. In the warmer months of late January and February the animals seek cooler, higher ground and it may take as long as an hour to drive them to the feeding stations. Some of the men use dogs to help move the flocks and all keep a few goats as well for the sheep to follow.

One informant (informant 10) with whom I made frequent daily tours, illustrates the Winter activity pattern. Every fortnight, along with his eighteen-year-old son and an extra donkey borrowed from his brother,

5

According to agricultural specialists interviewed at Hania, the villagers should feed their stock more. Feeding should start in late August or early September about 10 to 15 days before mating with 200 to 300 grammes per head. During the fourth and fifth (final) months of pregnancy the amount should be increased to 300 to 400 grammes, and the 55 to 60 days during which the lambs suckle require an increased ration of 400 to 500 grammes. The experts believe that this maximises the birth rate as well as milk production.

he restocks his feed depot in a large cave which serves as the Winter station. The amount varies from 300 to 500 kilogrammes and takes the better part of the morning to stock. Each day the animals are checked for parasites and disease. Those with respiratory problems are given wine and the occasional orphaned lamb born early in the season is sent back to the village for care.

Excepting the days when the feeding station must be restocked, the shepherds usually finish their work with the sheep by about ten o'clock in the morning. The remainder of the day is often spent in a shady spot above the range where they chat, and frequently, sing. Occasionally they descend from the "root" of the mountain to the seaside village of Sougia to socialise in the café with friends and relations resident there. If the seas have been calm and the boats have ventured out, they may buy a few fish to take home for supper when they depart in the afternoon. The Winters which have an olive harvest are more strenuous however, as most of the men must return to the village to assist in collecting olives. It was their opinion that the Winter without a harvest was a time of well earned leisure.

In early March a day is given to shearing the hindquarters of the sheep. The men said that it took only a few hours with one helper to remove the hind fleece of 120 sheep. The shearing of the hindquarters takes

place about three weeks before the animals are moved to the cooler Summer pastures above the village. In the past it was during the week after Easter that the sheep were herded to the higher ranges. Now they are moved up three to four weeks before the feast due to the high cost of feed. As they could not afford to purchase more feed and as they did not grow a significant amount themselves, they are forced to move the animals up at an earlier time. The result of advancing the movement of the flocks is overgrazing on the Summer pastures and they are lean when shepherds return with them in the Autumn.

On the way up to the Summer ranges the diet of the sheep is supplemented with holly nuts which the shepherds knock from the branches with the crooks. Each day the men go up to the Northern slopes to do this and monitor the progress of the flocks. It is also at this time that the goats are re-integrated with the sheep. The slopes to the North of the village are the Winter habitat of the goats. Unlike sheep, they have a stronger constitution and survive on available food in colder circumstances. During the Winter months the men make occasional sorties to herd them down gullies into holding pens where identification marks are cut in their ears and the bulk of the new males are castrated. They are called

"wild" goats although a week of residence with the household stock kept for Winter milk will tame them. Running the goats into pens took place seven times during the Winter; each occasion collecting between fifty to eighty. This is a collective effort involving at least six people and an assortment of dogs. The terrain is treacherous and the task requires a good degree of stealth and organisation to manoeuvre the agile, canny creatures into confinement.

The animals bear most of their young in February and March. Shearing and milking begins almost immediately after arrival on the high slopes. The sheep share their milk with the villagers during the two months the lambs are suckling. Sheep are preferred to goats because they produce enough high-butterfat milk for their young and for cheesemaking. Kids take all the milk from the goats' for the first two months. The milking period lasts from April to the start of July. The cheese is aged in goat-skins which are stored in the cool ruins of the old cheese factories which have been restored in a makeshift manner. After the first week of July the sheep have "dried up" and the men are seen in the village more often. Some of them commute daily between the village and the heights, a three-hour trip each way.

The decline in pastoral activity reflects much of the changes which have taken place in the village.

The relationship between pastoralism and agriculture has been drastically altered. In the past oil was mainly for the use of the household with a small surplus for trade or sale. The major crop was grain. Informants said that the terraces on both sides of the valley were full of grain before the war. Today the visitor sees only the vague outlines of overgrown terraces. In the past it was possible to keep large numbers of sheep and goats. Depopulation of the area in the recent past probably affected village production through the supply of labour. As the areas given to grain production declined the potential for sheep declined. This coincided with government programmes which favoured the production of olive oil. This was timely as improvements in fertility through the use of fertilisers and the introduction of technical aids in harvesting helped to off-set the loss of labour (Vergopoulos, 1978: 454). A 50 per cent subsidy on grain was a further deterrent to its production which had demanded a higher investment of labour in such mountainous areas. As the situation stands today, the population of sheep and goats evidently has reached a stable level in relation to resources and population.

The Vineyards

A great amount of time is spent caring for the vines. Wine is produced primarily for consumption in the

village although small but increasing quantities are sold to friends and kin in the coastal settlement of Sougia where the growing tourist population has been increasing consumption over the last few years.

The vineyards are located in an oval valley named "Okhra", which refers to the red volcanic earth. Okhra sits about 100 metres above and 1.5 kilometres to the South-east of the village. It takes about 25 minutes to travel there on foot. The area is roughly 400 by 700 metres (280 ~~Stremmata~~) in area, but less than two-thirds of it is now cultivated. Currently about 20 tonnes of wine are produced. Pre-war production was from 25 to 30 tonnes for the same area without the use of chemicals and fertilisers.

Care of the vineyards is labour intensive. Most of the plots must be tilled by hand as the roots are close together and the spaces between them are too narrow to be ploughed with a donkey or mule. The routine for the care of the vines may be shown by informant 36 who has 7.5 Stremmata of vines in 43 parcels; a slightly larger than average holding (see section on field methods in Chapter 1 concerning allocation of informant numbers). In January he takes 10 days to cut away the old vine canes and prune the roots to grow new shoots. He spends another day with

his wife spraying weed killer.) In February, he and his wife spend another 10 days tilling the soil with hoes and spreading fertiliser. Near the end of April or the beginning of May when the vines start to flower, they spend two days to level-off the earth around the roots and an additional day to dust the new flowers with insecticide. In June, with the advent of the first small grapes, they are dusted again. Picking the grapes for the table commences around the third week of August. Wine making takes place in the first week of September. It is a collective activity. Individuals take turns wearing rubber boots at mashing the grapes in large stone and cement tubs. The juice is collected and transported back to the village for fermentation. Nothing is added to it. It is left to ferment on its own. The remains of the grapes, the mash or mustos is fermented for two weeks and distilled into an eau de vie known as secouthia. Secouthia is a potent liquid used in curing most afflictions and for warding off the winter chill.

During most of the Winter the vineyards are the preserve of the men. The women stay closer to the village looking after the gardens. The months of December, January, and February are quite cold; strong winds and torrential rain prevail. On clement days the men ride up to Okhra on their mules or donkeys between seven and eight

o'clock in the morning. They work until noon or one o'clock and then take about two hours for lunch and a nap. They work an additional two hours in the afternoon. Quite frequently, however, the bulk of the afternoon is given to sitting in small groups, chatting, watching the movements of the goats through field glasses or setting the dogs to chase hares. A few hours stooped over cutting the dead canes with snips or a hooked knife is hard work and the men prefer a relaxed pace.

All the vineyards are in one place. It is thus possible to estimate the decline of production due to the loss of labour. Some families have left the village. Those remaining have expanded their holdings somewhat, taking over the plots of kin who have left. Nevertheless, it is not possible for any family to work over ten Stremmata and accordingly there is a patchwork in the valley which is untended and grown over with weeds. Even in the bottom land where moisture and fertility are best, one encounters disused plots. Village plots are often quite small perhaps 1-1/2 metres by 2 metres. Villagers do not consolidate their holdings unless the inherited area is an adjoining one. Even then, the marker stones are left in place. The vineyards thus offer a clear view of the effects of out-migration and the decreasing intensity of activity on the landscape.

Other Crops

Almond and carob trees provide another bi-annual crop. In the Summers preceeding the olive harvest the carobs are collected. They serve as animal food. Although they are barely palatable, they were a part of the villagers' diet after the war. The trees are sacttered throughout the environs of the village and are owned by individual households. The almonds too, are individually owned and are a major component in the household income of some families. The average tree produces about 60 kilogrammes of almonds. Total production varies from 8 to 10 tonnes. The ratio of almonds to seeds (the edible part) is 3:1. While all the households of the village have a few trees for their own use, there are only two large producers in the village. Informant 36 has 105 trees in ten locations which are large and productive. He takes in about 3.5 tonnes every two years. Informant 28 produces about 2 tonnes.

Harvesting the almonds has been made faster as nylon nets may be used for this purpose too. Informant 22, who has 50 trees said it took only five days to collect his almonds. He pointed out that his trees are located in many small groups in three general areas; all a good distance from the village. Travel time and high Summers

temperatures slow down the work pace. However, the almonds are usually a reliable crop and apart from collecting the nuts, they require only cultivation and two or three kilos of fertiliser during the Winter. The villagers' only fear is the possibility of hail in the late Winter or early Spring which can destroy the buds.

Grain production has declined over the last two decades. Today only small amounts of wheat, rye, and oats are grown for animal feed. Only two houses continue to send it to Hania to be milled into flour. As was indicated in the review of pastoralism, the decline in grain production relates directly to the loss of labour and the government's subsidy on animal feed.

The gardens are the women's responsibility. Potatoes are ~~the~~ largest crop. A variety of greens are grown as well: spinach, cabbage, and a few types of vetches are most common. The gardens are situated in many locations throughout the immediate vicinity of the village. In all cases they are composed of many small plots. The central garden, for example, is made up of a series of strips from three to seven furrows wide. The initial plantings in Autumn and Spring are done collectively. At these times the men will plough the entire area and may aid in setting the seed potatoes.

Subsequent weeding and care is a part of the domestic duties of the women.

Honey is another product to which the villagers attach great value. The indigenous or wild bees are preferred to domestic strains even though the latter give more honey. The men said that the local bees produce a better quality of honey. There is a group of three brothers (Informants 34, 35, 36) who have some 250 hives between them and average one to one and a half tonnes of honey per year in total. They said that one out of five years is poor because of cycles in the population of other insects which compete for the pollen. In such years there is only enough honey for the house and the nourishment of the hives. The Summer of 1978 was not a good one. All of the residents keep a few hives, but apart from the three brothers there are only six who do so on a large scale. The hives are scattered around the hillsides between fifteen minutes to one hour away. Informant 28, the largest single producer (just over 1 tonne) has many hives on the summit of Tripiti which is a full day's journey away. In the late Winter he travels there by sea to inspect the hives. Income from honey is good. The price at the time of study was Dr. 200 to 250 per kilogramme.

Gathering and Hunting

A major part of the food consumed in the community is wild. The women spend about an hour each day cutting wild greens (horta) which are boiled and served with oil. Hares and wildfowl are common on the table in the Fall and Winter. The late Winter and Spring offer an abundance of snails which are consumed in great quantity. The families keep a reserve of live snails in cool damp boxes which last well into the Summer. Meat taken from the flocks and goat herds is eaten only on special occasions such as the Christmas or Easter feasts and on the arrival or departure of a family member. Such feasts involve most or all of the villagers. A wedding may be attended by upwards of five hundred guests, and one gentleman whose son was to marry in late April, was negotiating to shoot thirty goats. For the most part however, the villagers do not take meat from their own reserves as they are more valuable alive.

Although the gardens produce enough to sustain the households, it was explained to me on more than one occasion that wild or natural products are better than those grown by men. It is also evident that meat taken by hunting is cheaper than slaughtering stock. The gathering of wild greens, however, cannot be explained in this

way. It is more likely that the preference for wild products is an aspect of traditional ideology. Indeed the subject of purity of food and water was often discussed. It was said by the men that chemicals and artificial fertilisers were impure and the villagers favoured food grown in the wild.

Summary

This completes the review of the productive activity of Koustoyérako. There are some general features and comments which must be brought forth in concluding this section.

In the first case, the physical setting of the village is a strong factor which imposes limits on production. The ecology is fragile and it appears that its carrying capacity has lessened with respect to pastoralism. The immediate cause appears to be the overcutting of herbs. These were used as a source of cash by the villagers in the 1960's to help in financing out-migration. The effect was one of degradation on the predominately garrigue and maquis landscape. (This is discussed in the following chapter in more detail).

A second related feature of this mountainous area is that it is not conducive to "modern" methods. The cost of developing irrigation to enhance production

is prohibitive. In most instances the current use of animal and human energy is the best means of working the potential of the area.

A third aspect of the situation is revealed in the legacy of past methods and arrangements. Generations of land subdivision and transfer through marriage and inheritance have kept holdings small and scattered. They require a pattern of movement in productive activities which, in the minds of the agricultural experts, does not conform with the logic of modern production. Olives and vines develop over hundreds of years and cannot be modified without causing loss of income. The vines are planted about 50 centimetres apart and can only be tended by hand. The olives, as discussed above, are set to follow an older system of cultivation.

In sum, the visitor is quickly aware of the dispersed and varied nature of village activities. A positive aspect of Koustoyérako's situation is the high degree of ecological diversity and the wide range of resources of which the villagers avail themselves. On a day to day basis they live in dignity and independence within a system scaled to man and governed by nature. Nevertheless, the long-term survival of this community depends on its relations with the outside world. It is towards them that we now turn.

CHAPTER 3

KOUSTOYERAKO'S CHANGING ECONOMIC POSITION

The last twenty years have seen significant changes in the amount and kinds of products grown in Koustoyérako. Some of these changes have affected community life. Furthermore, institutions outside the village have come to play a part in the village's business. The central government and its institutions, merchants, banks, and capital have all become factors in community production. In light of this, it is thus important to examine the changing relationship between the village and the surrounding world.

A review of the Agricultural Censuses⁶ from 1961 to 1977 shows that dramatic changes in production have taken place. The area of land given to grain from 1961 to 1965 was just over 1,300 stremmata. During the same period 300 stremmata were used for fodder and animal feed, and an additional 100 stremmata were put to on-site grazing. In 1966, the statistics reveal, the area given to grain had

⁶

The smallest unit for which agricultural statistics are available is the Commune of Sougia in which Koustoyérako is one of four villages. The villages are quite similar, so the Commune's statistics are probably representative of Koustoyérako.

declined to under 450 stremmata, a drop of 65 per cent. Land used for animal feed fell to just under 200 stremmata, and the practise of sowing for on-site grazing has ceased. The area given to grain continued to decline reaching a low in 1976 of only 100 stremmata (see Figure 2)

Figure 2

Grain cultivation and pastoralism are closely associated. Local pastures are not adequate to maintain large herds. Grain as a supplemental animal feed is required to.

keep the flocks productive. It is apparent that the decline in grain and carobs (see Figure 4 below) is related to the decline in animal populations. The number of sheep fell from 2,500 in 1965 to less than 1,000 by 1975. The population of goats dropped from 1,300 to 750 during the same period. (See Figure 3).

Coincident with the decline in the area put to grain, there was a sharp increase in the number of olive trees brought into production. The figures for 1961 - 1965 show a steady level of 18,000 trees. The year 1966, however, shows an increase to 37,000 trees and the year 1977 shows 39,000 in production; and overall increase of 119 per cent. Similarly,

Figure 3

the number of almond trees rose from 200 in 1961 to over 7,000 in 1977. The most rapid period was the interval 1966 - 1971 in which the number of almonds increased by 250 per cent. Carob trees declined from 8,000 in production in 1961 to 5,000 in 1971. A glance at the number of trees in production shown in Figure 4 below and at the stock populations given in Figure 3 reveals a close correspondence between carob and animals. Carobs are a traditional animal feed having a trophic value close to that of barley.

Figure 4

In the past, the traditional subsistence-based economy gave priority to the combination of grain and flocks. According to informants, the production of olive oil was based on household needs. Only a few households produced surpluses for barter or sale. This changed greatly in the 1960's as villagers began to produce primarily for the external market. Not only did they bring more trees into production but they began to employ chemical fertilisers. The villagers hold that their yield per tree has increased by about four times since the introduction of chemicals and fertilisers. The current level is just over 13 kilograms per tree. This parallels a national increase in olive oil production, from 210⁶ tonnes in 1973 - 1974 to a projected 517 tonnes in 1979 - 1980 (unpublished data from Communes Office, Agricultural Bank of Greece). The change over from household production to market production probably coincided with the out-migration in the recent past. Urban migration has been a major feature of Greek society in the post-war period (see Allen, 1974). Remote zones of the country have lost population, especially the smaller islands and mountainous areas. Outside Crete, mountain dwellers and islanders gravitated to the cities; the major one being Athens-Piraeus. Cretan villagers usually stayed on Crete swelling the coastal cities of Heraklion, and to a lesser degree, Hania and Rethymnon.

Although the government statistics do not show it, the villagers believe that Koustoyérako was once half again its present size. This is borne out by genealogies taken during the study. The villagers claim that the population before the war was over 200. Statistics kept under the Egyptian régime in 1900 show 73 men and 61 women or 134 adults. It stands at 115 according to the most recent census (1972). Some families enumerated may not live in Koustoyérako on a full-time basis. This is evident just before elections when the ferryboats and buses are full of people returning to their village to vote. As noted earlier, the population of the Nome of Hania declined by 8.6 per cent between 1961 and 1971. These aggregate figures for the district underestimate depopulation in the villages. The urban centres are growing at the expense of the countryside. The effects of this decline are most noticeable in the absence of individuals of productive age.

Current circumstances show that labour has been replaced by technical aids. The switch from grain and pastoralism to olives has reduced labour requirements as well. Indeed, as Gavrielides (1976: 5) has pointed out, olives (and arboriculture in general) require "minimal inputs." The government promoted the development of olives

through the agricultural ministry and sets oil prices through an oil marketing board. In the 1960's the oil market was stronger and producers got a good return on their crop. The 1970's saw a weakening of market conditions and today the price of oil is subsidised by the state. Generally, producers must grow more to maintain the same real income (Vergopoulos, 1978: 452). Olive oil production exceeds domestic demand, and competition is stiff on world markets. Thus at present the government will advance no further funding to expand olive production.

The government's oil marketing board has changed the traditional relations between villagers and oil brokers. In the past, surplus oil was traded through brokers who in turn sold it on the market. The miller played a similar role, acting as a producer and exporter of flour. Like other brokers he underscored his economic bonds with the villagers through ties of fictive kinship. Today, however, the marketing of oil is done through a government agency which bypasses the broker's connection with the producers. The miller's role has changed too; as local production has decreased he now acts as an importer of grain for conversion and sale.

There are two government organisations which are the main instruments of government policy in the agricultural sector. The first is the Agricultural Bank of Greece or

A.T.E. The function of this institution is to provide capital and credit for developmental purposes. Apart from financing the oil factory at Sougia, the A.T.E. has had little to do with the village. Prices of feed, fertilisers, chemicals, and netting are set by the bank which holds a monopoly on price and distribution. Prices of feed and fertilizer were subsidised by 50 per cent of the market value at the time of study (Vergopoulos, 1978: 455).

According to officers of the bank, its major objective is to assist in irrigation projects. The provision of irrigation to the village would be expensive and difficult. No major improvements of this kind have been made. Water resources are barely adequate through the storage of heavy winter rains in the porous earth, but there is a limited supply for gardens and other crops. This restricts their growing season. In contrast to the situation at Koustoyérako, the village of Sougia located in the valley below has an assured water supply. The Bank has provided low-interest loans to villagers there for the construction of greenhouses to produce tomatoes for export to northern Europe. Apart from this development there has been no other A.T.E. project in the commune.

The Agricultural Bank has undergone a recent change with the affiliation of the Greek Republic with the European Economic Community. In the past the Bank was less

concerned with profits and acted, often at a loss, as the executor of the government's developmental programmes (Vergopoulos, 1978: 455). According to an economist in the co-operatives section of the Bank, affiliation with the E.E.C. has "commercialised" the institution. At present, the A.T.E. will not fund projects unless it sees a good return on the capital investment. An increase in interest rates levied in financing projects is expected and the rates will approach commercial levels.

Large amounts of capital have been introduced into the economy of the nome of Hania. The bulk of it comes from West Germany, much of it for hothouses to supply winter produce. The A.T.E. now plays a broker's role having changed from a developmental agency into an administrator of capital investment in the Greek agricultural sector on behalf of the interests of the European market system.

In addition to changes in the operations of the A.T.E., the general economic situation of the Department of Hania has changed. The urban area of Hania city and the larger agricultural producers located on the surrounding plain have benefited from an inflow of capital. Orange plantations near the city have profited from an increase in demand and a steady rise in price. Prices have risen from 4 Drachmae per kilo in 1975 to 26 Drachmae in 1978. The

effect has been a negative one for local juice producers, however. They cannot compete with large European corporations who may purchase an entire crop at a high price and export it to the home country for processing. One Hania juice producer stated that he was having trouble finding oranges and paying the price. He said that smaller producers were using less concentrate and adding more aromatic chemicals from abroad. Thus for small manufacturers and processors it is becoming more difficult to stay in business.

In the city of Hania there has been an increase in the general prosperity as well as in the cost of living. The inflow of capital has warmed the economic climate of urban areas but the situation of the villagers is somewhat cooler. Officers of the Agricultural Bank and the Agricultural Service see no potential for development in the village as it is remote and situated in difficult terrain. The Agricultural Services' programmes for the improvement of sheep stock are geared to large scale operations. Furthermore, it is probable that the village's smaller animals are better suited to local conditions. Larger sheep require more winter feed hence more winter capital is needed. Once during the fieldwork period agents of the National Agricultural Service paid a visit to the community. This was to advise the villagers on cutting back trees and parts of the

maquis which retard growth vital to the sheep and goats. The Service carries out an annual spraying programme which controls a blight common in the district. Yet it is evident that the Service does little in the commune, visiting infrequently.

In sum, the Agricultural Bank does little locally. Apart from the subsidies on feed and chemicals open to all producers, the construction of hothouses at Sougia, and the administration of the olive oil factory, nothing has been done to change the economic conditions of local agriculture.

At the national level the overall plan of development gives highest priority to industrial and tourist schemes. Figures from the Statistical Yearbook of Greece show 970,000 foreign visitors in 1967 which was a low year due to a military coup d'état, followed by a steady rise to 4.2 million in 1976 (page 379). The forecast given by the Ministry of Tourism for 1979 was over 6 million visitors. This is nearly one tourist for each resident Greek. The government encourages tourist development through grants and low interest loans for the construction of hotels and other facilities. The community of Sougia has profited from its seaside location with the aid of government capital for building hotels and cafés. In 1979, two small hotels were under construction and the number of cafés and pensions had grown from one in 1975 to four of each in 1979. The last census, that of 1971, listed only 54 permanent residents

at Sougia. Small villages such as Sougia are to serve as minor poles of economic growth which bring money into the area and provide jobs.

Improvements in communication have taken place along with these developments. The road from Hania has been widened by army engineers in response to the increased tourist and commercial traffic. The road into the Commune reached the coast at Sougia in 1952 and the steep route to Koustoyérako was made passible to motor traffic about ten years later. Although none of the villagers have automobiles, the bus from Hania stops over six nights a week and leaves in the morning before sunrise for the return trip. As it is now possible for villagers to travel to Hania and return the same day, the bus usually starts out with one of two individuals from the village. The fare is relatively expensive, Dr. 240 or approximately \$Cdn. 8.00 return. In light of this it is used only when there is a pressing matter or social event in the city. The opportunity to visit with friends and kin in other villages is also there and it is often the women who travel within the area to visit sisters and other kin whereas the men account for most of the trips to the city.

Improved communications, especially roads are a major aspect of the changed relationship between village and city. While this benefits the community by improving links with the city, better access to the area has given merchants and traders a wider market as well. The improved road has opened the way for motorised vendors. Small trucks

carrying fruit and vegetables arrive in the square from time to time selling produce not readily available in the district. Itinerant traders selling cloth or hardware, for example, also visited on occasion. One interesting feature of local trade and commerce was evident in the operations of a merchant based at Kandanos, a large village on the south side of the pass which leads into the Selinou Epiarchy. This established merchant exchanges for cash or barter taking goatskins, oil, almonds, herbs and other local produce in exchange for consumer goods.

A second and important enterprise which has grown along with improved communications is that of a transporter who trucks out olives from the villages and brings in agricultural supplies. Unlike the other three villages of the commune, Koustoyérako does not avail itself of the co-operative stockpile kept at Sougia. Although they pay slightly more than the others, the villagers prefer to deal directly through this transporter who gives them credit (Vergopoulos, 1978: 453). Such activity is forbidden but the transporter's more flexible credit arrangements are not available through the Bank. This middleman's relations with the communities of the area are quite good. He has established ties of fictive kinship throughout the valley and there is evidence that he helps the villagers find work in the city. Indeed, one of the young men from Koustoyérako

works on the delivery truck.

In summary, there have been major changes in the village's agricultural system. Changes in land use which coincided with out-migration reveal lessened activity on the landscape. The previously diversified agricultural base has been reduced to a smaller set of marketable commodities. Of all the quantitative changes in agriculture, the most dramatic is the rise in olive oil production. Productivity has increased through the use of technology and agricultural chemicals (Vergopoulos, 1978: 450). Villagers rely more on cash crops like olives and this makes them more subject to external factors. These range in scale from market fluctuations on the national or international levels to the need for technical and chemical aids in production.

The local effect of increases in the amount of capital in the island's economy has been a loss of population to centres of concentrated economic activity and a heightened contrast between the luxury of urban living conditions and the rougher rural life. Koustoyérako has benefited from electrification, better roads, and telephone links but remains outside the zone of high economic activity. The development of communications however, has taken place with tourist and commercial agricultural development. It was the tourist potential of Sougia which figured in improvement of

the road into the Commune. Koustoyérako is located outside the scope of these commercial schemes and its difficult terrain makes it likely to remain so. The villagers must derive what they can within existing conditions. Even so, much of the wealth generated in the community is drawn to the urban centres and not reinvested locally (Vergopoulos, 1978: 454). This will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

WEALTH AND HOUSEHOLD

This chapter examines Koustoyérako's households as productive units. The households have been classified into three types on the basis of their productive output and residence. The first type (Category I) is composed of retired couples, widows, or widowers who may or may not be full-time residents. The second group (Category II) are part-time residents who continue to exploit the village's resources as a supplemental income source. The third (Category III) is made up of those who are full-time residents making their living there.

Category I is somewhat a special group. These households are included in order to give a complete picture of village economic life. They still contribute to the wealth of the community although the bulk of their holdings has been passed on to their children who now provide additional support. Although it is common for many of them to visit children living outside the village for extended periods, no attempt has been made to further segregate them into the categories of full-time and part-time residents.

Figure 5 below graphs the incomes of all households in Koustoyérako. The horizontal axis lists the households by informant number and brackets them into family groups or clans denoted by alphabetical letters below. The vertical axis gives incomes in Drachmae. The computation of household incomes is based on two major sources common to all: olive oil and pastoral revenues.

Figure 5

Pastoral reports for the olive crop of 1977 - 1978 were obtained from the Commune's oil factory. The production totals for each household were converted into Drachmae based

on values set by the state at that time: Dr. 72.00 / kilogramme. In the calculation of household incomes the totals were divided by two to give a yearly average as the crop is biennial. The revenues from pastoral sources were estimated from the size of stock holdings and computed on the basis of the productive life of sheep and goats in the district.⁷ A small group of households obtain surpluses of honey and these revenues too have been included in the totals. They are denoted on the graph (Figure 5) by an asterix.

There are additional sources of income which have not been included in these figures. The state provides old pensions to all those over 65 years of age. The benefits are higher for war veterans. Thus for many of the old households there is a monthly input of cash which supplements the incomes of those who have passed on most or all of their holdings to the following generation. Most of the women spend time weaving blankets,

⁷ The productive life of sheep in the district is five years. In calculating market income, 20 per cent of the lambs are added to the flock and 20 per cent of the ewes are dispatched for mutton. In computation of values for milk production, the accepted village figure for the allocation of shares in collective milking is 35 kilogrammes per head. In computing this component of pastoral revenue, 20 per cent of the total number is excluded as new lambs are not as yet productive.

rugs, and sacks for sale on the tourist market as well as for home use. The gathering of herbs, too, is an additional source of income for the households. Finally, remittances from children and kin living outside the district must be included as a factor in the local economy albeit an unknown quantity at the time of writing. Figure 6 shows household incomes as percentages of the village total.

Figure 6

It should be noted however, that high incomes in Koustoyérako need not be high by urban standards. The annual income of men working in the metal industries was just under Dr. 282,000 (the highest paid worker category) and Dr. 131,000 for those in the furniture manufacturing industry (the lowest paid) according to the Statistical Yearbook of Greece (1977: 97). Furthermore, in comparing village farm incomes with these wage figures, it must be added that the farm incomes are gross annual revenues and that the Greek economy has an inflation rate of 20 to 25 per cent per year (Financial Times of London, 1980)⁸ with which urban incomes have, in general, kept pace. Thus the gap between village and city incomes is considerably wider than these figures suggest.

A table (Figure 7 overleaf) shows the households' incomes in Drachmae, household / informant numbers, the rank position of the household, and the households' farm revenue as a percentage of the village total. It is apparent that there is a wide range in household income from farm production. This may be explained with reference to the category within which the household is situated.

8 Article prepared by the Financial Times of London on the post-junta economy of Greece by David Tonge. Printed in the Globe and Mail, "Report on Business," Toronto, 8th September, 1980.

(Figure 7, below, ranks the households' incomes and relates this to the figures in Figure 6).

Figure 7

Ranked order	Household number	Income in Drachmas	Income as % of village total
1	36-G	400,000.	9.16
2	29-E	360,000.	8.25
3	28-E	345,190.	7.91
4	46-I	296,190.	6.78
5	10-B	273,390.	6.26
6	26-E	267,900.	6.11
7	7-B	262,260.	6.03
8	23-D	240,925.	5.52
9	24-D	198,840.	4.55
10	45-H	147,900.	3.38
11	22-D	108,590.	2.49
12	12-C	108,345.	2.48
13	35-G	103,430.	2.37
14	47-E	101,290.	2.32
15	39-G	83,610.	1.91
16	34-G	74,455.	1.71
17	30-E	68,940.	1.58
18	6-B	64,770.	1.48
19	1-A	56,010.	1.28
20	25-D	55,560.	1.27
21	4-A	53,010.	1.21
22	(41-44-H)	51,210.	1.18
23	37-G	47,700.	1.09
24	20-G	46,830.	1.07
25	19-D	45,080.	1.03
26	16-B	41,490.	0.95
27	45-I	41,340.	0.95
28	8-B	39,540.	0.90
29	27-E	37,520.	0.86
30	21-D	37,200.	0.85
31	3-A	36,840.	0.84
32	31-F	32,880.	0.75
33	17-D	30,990.	0.71
34	9-B	30,570.	0.70
35	5-A	30,570.	0.70
36	2-A	27,790.	0.64
37	15-C	23,670.	0.54
38	13-C	23,130.	0.53
39	32-F	21,900.	0.49
40	18-D	19,740.	0.45
41	11-B	11,520.	0.26
42	38-G	8,640.	0.20
43	14-C	6,930.	0.16
44	33-F	3,795.	0.09
		Dr. 4,346,579.	100.00%

Figure 8, below, separates the 44 village households into the three categories of retired, part-time, and full-time households.

Figure 8 Mean Income of Household Categories

	Mean Income	Number in Category	Total Category Income	Category Total as percentage of village total
Category I : Dr. 35,862. (Retirees)		19	Dr. 681,380.	15.6 %
Category II : Dr. 80,316. (Part-time)		10	Dr. 803,155.	18.4 %
Category III: Dr.192,136. (Full-time)		<u>15</u>	<u>Dr.2,882,040.</u>	<u>66.0 %</u>
		44	Dr.4,366,575.	100.0 %

Figure 8 shows that the bulk of the retired households (Category I) fall into the lower end of the income range. This category accounts for 19 of the 44 households (about 43 per cent of the village households) and produces just over 15 per cent of the total farm revenue. There is one exception in this group, a pensioner (Informant 46-1) with an income of 296,190 Drachmae. This individual is not fully retired. He is a widower with no immediate kin in the

country who keeps a flock of 45 sheep as a supplement to his pension. Most of the retired individuals or couples live in close association with the household of a son or son-in-law.⁹ Such individuals have given up most of their holdings to their children and the profits from the trees still registered in their names are shared with the son who cares for them by harvesting the trees, ploughing the gardens, supplying firewood, and performing other duties of assistance. The typical retired household still keeps a garden, usually tended with the aid of a daughter-in-law, as well as a goat or two for table milk and yoghurt. Although these households are set in a separate category, it should be recalled that they are most often dependent on the younger and more productive households of Category III.

The second category is that of the part-time resident. There are 10 households of this type in the village which account for 18.4 per cent of total farm revenue. The members of group fall into an intermediate area in terms of income. The mean farm income for this group is Dr. 803,155. There is a relationship between the amount of time spent in the village and the income derived from local production. Three of these households have

9 The village norm is a nuclear family household. Old couples continue to reside in their homes which are usually within a few metres of a son or son-in-law's residence. An old widow or widower may move into the home of a son or son-in-law rather than continue to live alone.

someone from the family in the village at least five days per week during the periods of ploughing, planting, and harvesting. They also keep watch over the roving goat herds, which, for most of the year, suffer no human interference and fend for themselves on the adjacent slopes.

Nevertheless, there are many part-time households which visit infrequently and harvest only olives. Indeed, saving the three families just mentioned, no-one in Category II was seen in the community during the field-work period. These households tend to be located farther away, usually in other areas of Greece and in some cases take only half the revenue from trees which are harvested by kinsmen resident in the community.

The third and final category is that of active households, full-time in the village. There are 15 of them which account for 34 per cent of the village households. This group produces 66 per cent of total village production and has an average income of about Dr. 192,000.¹⁰ As one would expect that full-time households would have the highest income from local sources, the fact that there are individuals who do less well requires explication. One of them, for example, is the owner of a café. The young members of this household suffer from physical disabilities

10 There is a wide range of income in Category III. The highest being over Dr. 400,000 and the lowest about Dr. 30,000. Indeed, 4 households account for nearly one third of the village's agricultural revenue (see Figure 6). Village ideology, however, tends to play down this disparity in incomes.

and are unable to bear heavy tasks. The lessened labour supply of this family is compensated to some degree by the café enterprise.

Another example is a household composed of a man, his wife, and two small children aged 5 and 7 years. The father is in his early fifties; his wife in her early forties. The man is chronically ill and inherited a small legacy which was not enlarged through his wife's dowry. She is from a village outside the area and did not contribute any local holdings to the household. At the time of research the gentleman was in hospital and the care of his holdings was undertaken by his sororal brother-in-law who lives about one hour away in the village of Moni. As his brother-in-law is nearing retirement age, he could only contribute a limited amount of labour.

The third household of this sort is a couple nearing the age of retirement. They left their holdings in the care of two brothers and moved to Toronto where their only daughter and son-in-law had settled. They lived there for a few years but returned to the village as they found the culture and climate difficult to enjoy. They do little more than keep a few animals and gardens for subsistence purposes.

A fourth example is that of a man in his early sixties and his wife about ten years younger (Informant 17-D in Figure 7). As in the above case, his wife is

from outside the community and his inheritance was small. They too are very close to retirement and live on a subsistence level in relation to local production. The man does keep about 45 goats in addition to his holdings. The sons of this couple have found good jobs, visit often, and care for them well. The oldest son is a fireman at Iraklion and the younger is a member of the horofilaki or gendarmerie stationed in Crete. The remittance of money from the children has enabled them to buy a refrigerator and other items for the house which gives their dwelling an appearance like any other. It was not seen as correct social form to inquire as to details of remittances. Nevertheless, it seems evident that remittances from migrant children to their parents are a normal practice.

Within the full-time, active resident category there is little evidence of disparity between households on the basis of luxury items, equipment, or other visible means of gauging wealth. Recalling that Figure 6 is based primarily on olive and pastoral revenues, it underestimates real incomes. There is additional revenue from almonds, honey, herbs, and of late, from the sale of limited quantities of wine to neighbouring Sougia for consumption by the growing tourist trade.

Olives and pastoral revenues remain the major elements in household income and it is for these two items only that data was available for the entire community. The full-time residents' situation may be better understood by an examination of individual examples. Households number 1,

11, and 12 of Figure 6 are representatives of the high and middle range of village income. A look at these specific cases will demonstrate the types of constraints, options, and problems that each of them faces.

Household number 1 is the richest in terms of locally produced revenue. This household compares favourably with urban incomes for skilled workers. The family is composed of a man, his wife, and two daughters. The oldest girl is 19 years of age and attends the university at Athens where she is studying accountancy. The younger girl is in Athens as well; a student in the gymnasium or highschool. This gentleman is well respected by his fellows. He is an honourable man and the deacon of the village's two small churches. His knowledge of traditional and modern methods of healing both animals and humans is extensive. A self-taught individual, his house contains an extraordinary quantity of books on subjects ranging from philosophy to medicine and electronics. He was a distinguished combattant during the resistance to the German occupation and the subsequent Civil War.

His holdings are not especially large but are of good quality. His inheritance was small as he has two brothers and a sister who each received a share and continue to reside in the community. On his marriage, the new household was endowed with a large dowry holding with over 90 good olive trees.

The household still produces wheat sending about 1000 kilogrammes to the mill at Hania each year. The revenues from these holdings are the result of their good quality and careful management. The production of honey is a major component of the household income. It requires relatively little labour and pays well. The inheritance of large olive and almond trees further facilitates production as they require less labour per unit of produce than do smaller ones. Here is a summary of the revenues and expenses for the household:

Olives :	(3000 kg.)	at Dr. 60/kg.	Dr. 180,000.- (each 2 years)
Honey :	(1000 kg.)	at Dr. 200/kg.	Dr. 200,000.-
Wine :	(500 kg.)	at Dr. 20/kg.	Dr. 10,000.-
Almonds:	(3500 kg.)	at Dr. 65/kg.	Dr. 227,500.- (each 2 years)
			<hr/>
			Dr. 413,750.-

Expenses for agricultural aids are:

Fertilisers:

type:	(11-10-15)	(1400 kg.)	at Dr. 250/50kg.	Dr. 7000.-
type:	(Amonia)	(1000 kg.)	at Dr. 150/50kg.	Dr. 3000.-
type:	(Phosphorous)	(300 kg.)	at Dr. 235/50kg.	Dr. 1410.-
type:	(8-8-8)	(100 kg.)	at Dr. 155/50kg.	Dr. 310.-
Defoliant (Vines)		(40 kg.)	at Dr. 180/ 5kg.	Dr. 1440.-
Netting		(5 units)	at Dr. 2500/400m ²	Dr. 12500.-
				<hr/>
				Dr. 25660.-

The net income is Dr.388,090.- or approximately \$Cdn. 12,500. This man receives an additional income from the army of Dr.5,000 per month which adds another \$Cdn. 2,000 to the total. The bulk of the income has been put into the purchase of land and the construction of a house at Hania which is to be part of the dowry for the oldest daughter. A new house has also been built in the village on the foundations of the parental home destroyed during the war. The stables and store-rooms beneath it are occupied by his mule, stock, and the still with which the villagers make secouthia each autumn. He hopes that his younger daughter will marry a man who will work his holdings as a village resident or perhaps on a part-time basis from Hania.

Apart from his trees, gardens, and vineyards, he has over thirty stremmata of good terraced land. He laments the fact that it produces nothing. He keeps no livestock apart from a few sheep and goats. He considers managing sheep too much work and he has not kept a flock in over ten years.

In this particular case, wealth is due to a good inheritance and marriage but the diversity of productive elements also adds to the equation. Revenue from honey, wine, and almonds account for over 75% of the household income. Reliance on olives is not enough to provide for all the needs of the family. This household is the largest producer of olive oil with three tonnes in the last harvest.

Household labour is directed toward the derivation of wealth for reinvestment in the family. Apart from money needed for agricultural inputs, saving for dowrys and the construction of a house in the city are top priorities. The children's education is seen by the villagers as the best thing they can do to ensure the family's continuance and success in the future.

This household has been fortunate in comparison with others; especially those composed of younger individuals. The major goal of the villagers is to establish a residence at or near Hania. As has been indicated, such residences or plots of land serve as dowrys for daughters and as part-time residences for the family in the more prestigious urban areas. In the case of household number 1, the land for the house was purchased in the early 1960's, a period when land was cheaper than it is today and more readily available. The price of land in and around Hania has increased sharply in relation to urban development, the development of tourism, and the rate of monetary inflation. Building materials, too, have gone up in price, making it more difficult to build in the area. The situation for a younger household today is, therefore, more difficult in this regard as such purchases are increasingly expensive.

A second example is that of household number 11 (see Figures 6 and 7). This household is made up of a man, wife, two sons in their twenties, a daughter of 18 years, and

the father's widowed mother. The family has reached the stage where it must provide a dowry for the daughter. This financial burden causes considerable psychological strain to the family. In order to augment income, the father works as often as possible for a cousin in nearby Sougia on the construction of a hotel and restaurant there. The oldest son is abroad as a merchant seaman and the younger one is under constant pressure to take a job in the greenhouse at Sougia or to go to Hania to work there.

The situation for the family is serious. The income from traditional sources is not enough to provide for the dowry and a good marriage for the daughter is a top priority. The family is one of only two in the village who seek wage labour in the district. The other is the son of a shepherd who is saving for his two years of service in the army. The monthly pay for a conscript is Dr.200.- or about \$Cdn. 3. The income and expenses for family number 11 may be summarised as follows:

Olives :	(1046 kg.)	at Dr. 60./kg.	Dr. 62,760.- (each 2 years)
Goatkids :	(50)	at Dr. 1300. each	65,000.-
Almonds :	(1000 kg.)	at Dr. 65./kg.	65,000.- (each 2 years)
Herbs :	500 packets	at Dr. 10. each	5,000.-
			<hr/>
			Dr. 133,880.-

Expenses:

Fertilisers:

type: (11-10-15)	(1500 kg.)	at Dr. 250/50 kg.	Dr. 7,500.-
type: (Amonia)	(350 kg.)	at Dr. 150/50 kg.	Dr. 1,050.-
type: (Phosphorous)	(150 kg.)	at Dr. 235/50 kg.	Dr. 705.-
type: (8-8-8)	(400 kg.)	at Dr. 155/50 kg.	Dr. 620.-
Defoliants (Vines)	(15 kg.)	at Dr. 180/ 5 kg.	Dr. 540.-
Netting	(5 units)	at Dr. 2500/400m ²	Dr. 12,500.-
Grazing fees	(50 head)	at Dr. .7/head	Dr. 350.-

Dr. 23,265.-

The net income from agriculture and pastoralism is Dr. 110,615.- or about \$Cdn. 3,570. Although current income from the holdings is low, things are expected to improve in the future. One hundred and forty-odd olives were planted about ten years ago and are only now beginning to bear a modest crop. The Winter of 1977-78 gave an average of 8 kg. of oil per tree. The expected ratio for the Winter of 1979-80 is 10 kg. per tree. This is still lower than the village average of 13 kg. per tree and quite a bit less than the previous case; household number 1, who averages 19 kilos per tree. Almonds, too, are a profitable crop, but they too are young; about 10 years old, and only give a small quantity. Inheritance gave 50 large trees which produce between 50 to 70 kg. apiece and an additional 20 trees planted about ten years ago are starting to bear a sizeable crop. The household's vines, over 200 years old, are declining in vitality. One area of about 500 m² has been replanted and can be cultivated with a donkey and plough as the new roots have been set farther apart. This family has good holdings and adequate labour to manage them. The fact that many of the trees are still small, however, keeps production low for the present. This problem combined with the need for a dowry forces the men to turn to wage labour.

Since the period of field study, the son has taken a job in Hania to help in dowering his sister. It is still the case that the brothers do not marry until the sisters are

wed. If the son can establish himself in the city with a government job and his village holdings as additional income, then he will have little trouble in finding a wife. His view of the situation was shown in this remark: "What woman would want to live here, work like a slave, and have grey hair by the age of thirty?"

The final representative of the ~~fully active~~ resident in the community on a full-time basis is that of family number 12. This family is made up of a couple, a widowed mother-in-law, a daughter of 14 and a son of 7 years. The daughter attends the residential school at Paleohora and like the other children of her age, is out of the village most of the school year. The 100 olive trees produce about 2 tonnes of oil. Feed grain is grown for the mule and stock. There are 25 productive sheep and 15 lambs have been added to increase the flock. A considerable amount of land was acquired through marriage and inheritance; about 150 stremmata. Fifty stremmata are allocated to grain although not all of it is used each year. An additional fifty are used for grazing, and the remaining 50 are disused. Each winter he sows about 150 kilos of seed grain at a rate of 15 kg. per day. He seeds 6 stremmata sowing 25 kg. per stremma in ten days during the early winter period. These 6 stremmata will yield from 900 to 1,200 kilos of grain depending on rainfall and temperature. The holdings in the vineyards are large but, like most in the community, they are old and low in

productivity. In total, there are 10 stremmata of vines in 8 general locations. Production is between 1.5 to 1.7 tonnes yearly. There are 35 almond trees in 10 separate locations which give about 200 kg. of clean nuts. The ten hives on the north slopes provide from 80 to 150 kilos of honey and exceed household needs in good years. The family income and expenses from agricultural and pastoral sources is:

Olives :	(1924 kg.)	at Dr. 60./kg.	Dr. 115,440.-	(each 2 year)
Sheep :	(25 lambs)	at Dr. 2130. each	Dr. 53,250.-	
Almonds :	(100 kg.)	at Dr. 65./kg.	Dr. 6,500.-	(each 2 year)
Wine :	(1000 kg.)	at Dr. 20./kg.	Dr. 20,000.-	
			<hr/>	
			Dr. 134,220.-	

Expenses:

Fertilisers:

type: (11-10-15)	(1000 kg.)	at Dr. 250./50 kg.	Dr. 5,000.-
type: (Amonia)	(250 kg.)	at Dr. 150./50 kg.	Dr. 750.-
type: (Phosphorous)	(1000 kg.)	at Dr. 235./50 kg.	Dr. 14,500.-
type: (8-8-8)	(1200 kg.)	at Dr. 155./50 kg.	Dr. 3,720.-
Defoliant (Vines)	(25 kg.)	at Dr. 180./5 kg.	Dr. 900.-
Netting	(4 units)	at Dr. 2500./400m ²	Dr. 10,000.-
Grazing Fees	(29 head)	at Dr. 7./head	Dr. 203.-
			<hr/>
			Dr. 35,073.-

The household's net income is Dr. 99,174.- or approximately \$Cdn. 3,200. In addition to the income from his holdings, this individual receives an additional Dr. 5,000.- per month for his service as the commune's magrofilikas or guardian of the fields. This supplementary Dr. 60,000.- increases the household's annual income to about \$Cdn. 8,100.-.

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Although there is some saving from not paying rents and the fact that food costs are low for the farm family, it is evident that this household's income is low in comparison to urban standards. A construction labourer earns about 1000 Drachamae per day or 20,000 per month on average. Assuming 20 work days per month, this gives an annual income of about \$Cdn. 8,000. It is evident that this village farmer's labour if taken on a daily basis earns considerably less.

The role of the agrofilikas is a difficult one as the man must perform police duties and help settle conflicts. The duties of the guardian include frequent patrols to check for infractions of grazing, fences in need of repair, and other potential sources of dispute. The major transgression of this nature during the fieldwork period involved a band of goats who managed to penetrate the greenhouses at Sougia and consume a large quantity of tomatoes. The agrofilikas was called to the scene to take notes, statements and other evidence. Most of the disputes within the village are settled without resort to courts. A dog which consumed two lambs, for example, was dispatched and payment was made between the two parties. As all the inhabitants of the village are related through kinship and cooperate on many endeavours, it is rare that the external institution of the court comes into play. The guardian frequently appeared in the café to verbally chastise the parents of children who had left a gate open or to make a public

statement of warning to an individual whose dog had been spotted in suspicious circumstances. By keeping abreast of potential problems and vocalising in the café, the agrofilikas managed to keep what all agreed was good order. In addition to the role of patrolman, the agrofilikas serves as an auxiliary to the gendarmes in emergencies and as a local advisor to the government on agricultural problems. He aids the fieldworkers from the census office in collecting data, advises the villagers of changes in government policy on aspects of land use; in short, he is the local link between government and the community in agricultural and pastoral matters.

Household income is applied to two ends: reinvestment for the purposes of production and personal consumption. The amount of money put back into production is related to the size, quality and diversification of holdings. This may be illustrated by referring to the three cases discussed above. Household number one, the richest of the three, reinvests 6.2 per cent of its gross revenues for fertilisers and other aids. Household number 11 reinvests 17.4 per cent and household 12 puts back 26.1 per cent. It appears that smaller producers must spend proportionally more on chemical fertilisers, defoliants and the like (Vergopoulos, 1978: 451). The oldest family, number 1, has kept up a good and varied resource inventory.

Honey production is quite profitable in most years and requires little input. The situation of family 11 shows that the expenditure for reinvestment is only Dr. 2,000 less than the first case yet the percentage of total revenue for reinvestment is almost three times more.

Much of this can be attributed to the fact that their holdings are young and require these inputs even though they produce less. The example of number 12 shows an even higher percentage of reinvestment which relates once more to an attempt to develop better resources for the future and to the extensive use of phosphorous fertilisers to increase grain and for age production.

The use of revenue for personal consumption or for ends not purely of a productive nature takes the largest share of the total. The costs of supporting children in educational institutions must be borne. Money must be put aside for dowries which currently are set around Dr. 400,000 (\$Cdn. 13,000). Like other values, dowries are subject to inflation. The costs of electricity, gas for the stove, and other consumer goods is high. Hardware, building materials, especially lumber, are very expensive in comparison to Canadian prices and even more so in relation to village incomes. Such prestige items as shotguns are very dear and many men sport antique carbines. Automobiles are taxed by 100 per cent making them beyond the range of village incomes.

The character of the village at this time in its history is best reflected in the three categories outlined at the start of this chapter. Each of these three categories represents a type of adaptive relationship to changing social and economic conditions. The growth or reduction of the number of households in each of these three categories offers a basis for understanding the adaptive relations the villagers have developed at present and may be an important basis for projections as to the future of the community.

During the research period 43 per cent of the households were in category I; that of retirees. The active, full-time residents accounted for just over one third (34 per cent) of the households, and 23 per cent were part-time residents using their village inheritance as a supplemental income to their urban situation. It is apparent that a new type has developed. In respect to the olive crop, representatives of this second category took Dr. 1,081,465 in revenue from the crop's total value of Dr. 3,543,640, or a share of 30.5 per cent.

Interviews and data collected on residence indicate that in pre-war years all the households were village based full-time producers. In comparison to the present, the village was a more closed social universe. There was less traffic in and out of the district. The

community did connect with outside interests through trade networks and was a component of a rural universe typified by connections of kinship and fictive kinship serving as social and economic links. The period following the civil war was a time of rapid urbanization, improved communications, and out-migration from rural areas. It was during this period that the intermediary category of households took form. This type of household may soon become more common than full-time residents. More and more of the young generation are finding jobs in the urban areas on the other side of the mountains or in local tourist oriented work. All of the young men, save one, have located away from the village after their national service. Many became seamen on merchant vessels, a few have gone on to study at universities or technical schools, and many are resident in Hania where they work as tradesmen, labourers or in commerce. Those who live in Hania are best equipped to return to the village from time to time and care for their holdings. This is consistent with Vergopoulos' view of the rural villages as sources of labour during periods of increased economic activity in the urban centres (1978: 446) but such communities are also vulnerable to drops in demand in the urban sector (see also Prattis, 1979: 361 - 362). These households return to the village frequently and take part in the church rituals throughout the year. The priest

himself, a part-time resident of the nearby village of Livadhas, lives in Hania taking the bus to and from to perform his ritual duties in the Commune. Although he is frequently seen in the area, playing cards in the café or tending his vines with his donkey, he informed me that he has kept a house at Hania for years where his oldest son is going to highschool.

The development of this intermediary group has replaced the previous "brokers" between the village and the outside world. Now, a new group of part-time villagers manage most of the relations between village and city. An institution has evolved which serves as a focal point for this phenomenon: the bus terminus at Hania. The small café owned by a couple from the Selinou district serves as a centre through which people, information, and material flow. It is there that a merchant will leave a harvesting tool or that casks of wine will await their dispatch or collection. In the bus terminus area of Hania one finds many such cafés. They serve as meeting places and communications centres between the villages and the city.

Those who leave the village usually return to retire. The cost of living is low and living on a subsistence level in the company of family members with a monthly pension provides a much better retirement than

staying in the city. During the research period an older man who had worked in the flour mill at Hania was completing his retirement home which he planned to occupy in 1980. This couple will be the first in the community to have an automobile.

The role of the full-time producer is less certain. At present there is no individual who makes a high income by urban standards. The top eight or nine producers shown in Figure 6 are doing well enough, indeed the fact that they produce most of their own food puts them ahead of many city dwellers, but only one or two of this group has a son who will continue to work the holdings on a full-time basis. The productive life left in these families is about ten to fifteen years. The future of this group is open to question. The result may well be a handful of full-time operators working in concert with a larger group living in the city.

In sum, the adaptive responses of the villagers to the changing social and economic realities have resulted in new relations between village and city. Links with the city are now made by each family which has established connections at both ends. Traditional intermediaries have been replaced to a great extent. The values of the traditional village are still given lip service within the community but they are subsumed in a new system of cash-crop production.

In addition to changes in wealth and production, there have been major transformations of the social structures of the community. To this end, the next chapter examines the social consequences of the village's changing situation.

CHAPTER 5THE CHANGING POSITION OF THE VILLAGE FAMILY

There have been significant changes in kinship organisation associated with changes in productive life. According to the villagers the clan was once the predominant institution of the White Mountains villages. Koustoyenako is composed of forty-four households divided into ten family names which the villagers call fara or clans. There are eleven burial vaults in the churchyard; one for each clan as well as an extra for a group which appears to have divided into two about four generations ago. Apart from the physical evidence of the churchyard, a few other sources indicate that the clan was basic to social action in the past. Conversations with the villagers themselves, the folk songs of the oral history sung at feasts, and even discussions with urban lowlanders refer to the past strength of this organisation.

Conflict, often violent, was characteristic of relations between mountain villages and feuding between clans was common. According to a retired officer of the gendarmerie at Hania, the last major conflict of this type terminated in the mid-1960's with over forty homicides. According to villagers, most conflicts started as arguments over sheep-stealing and grazing rights. The village itself engaged in such struggles with enemies near and far. A feud around the year 1917 took the lives of five men and

ended in the rout of the predominant clan of neighbouring Livadhas, a village about 20 minutes away by foot. The territory of the Sfaks to the east, with whom the community shares a common border, was the scene of considerable raiding. The treacherous pass between the two areas was fortified and guarded, from time to time. The old village houses are constructed with the living quarters over the stables and storage space for security. Newer structures do not follow this model but are much like new homes at Hania. Feuding ended in the 1960's. Out migration and the decline in livestock production lessened competition for grazing lands. This may well have been the most important single factor in the cessation of inter-clan conflicts. Improved communication with the area also aided the gendarmerie who were present in force to help in reducing residual conflicts.

The ideology of independence and regional uniqueness is still strong in the oral history and folk songs of the district. The area of the White Mountains was once a relatively closed social universe in comparison to today. Surrounded for over 800 years by the alien regimes of the Venetians and Ottoman Turks who occupied the fertile plains and cities below, the rugged mountain terrain and the role of the clans as fighting units helped keep the area relatively free from alien control. Nevertheless, the villagers still see the clan as a part of their traditional ideology. The Church still places the dead in clan vaults and lands or resources are still denoted by clan names. Housing clusters reveal a

Many of the houses were razed by the German air force during the war and not all of them have been reconstructed on the same sites. In general, however, the effect remains and the clan still has some tangible manifestations of its existence despite emigration and changes in production.

Village holdings are distributed in small packets passed on through legacy and dowry. The government's suggestions of effecting a "rational" land redistribution scheme was rejected almost unanimously. Villagers reason that the intermixing of holdings offers all an equal chance in poor years and aids in maintaining a high degree of diversity in the ecological system. As the government is offering little more than free advice and it is not prepared to provide improvements such as irrigation water which would enhance productivity, they see no reason to change the system of tenure.

Though the system of small, scattered family holdings remains in place, the family is shifting to accommodate new realities stemming from the changed relations between village and city. Genealogies collected included the birthplaces of husbands and wives from outside the community as well as the current location of the families who have emigrated. Two figures have been constructed to show the places of origin of husbands and wives in the last two generations on the village genealogies and their place of residence after marriage. The last two generations have been labeled, "G-1" to indicate those born before 1950 and, "G-2" those born since

this date. There is a considerable age gap between the two generations. The older people suffered ten years of war and hardship. In most cases they did not bear children until they were well into their thirties. There are separate tables for males and females.¹⁰

Figure 9 refers to origins of spouses in marriage and Figure 10 relates to current residence locations of these marriages.

PLACES OF ORIGIN OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES
AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL MARRIAGES

Figure 9

	G-1	MALES	G-2
Wives' Place of Origin			
Place of origin, women village	43% (23)		21% (6)
In Hania Nome	55% (29)		54% (15)
Outside Hania Nome	2% (1)		25% (7)
	n. = 53		n. = 28
	G-1	FEMALES	G-2
Husbands' Place of Origin			
Place of origin, men village	49% (19)		17% (8)
In Hania Nome	44% (13)		70% (32)
Outside Hania Nome	7% (7)		13% (6)
	n. = 39		n. = 46

¹⁰ In the case of males, they refer to marriages of men born in the village to women of various origins; in the case of females, the converse applies.

The data shows that for all marriages in G-1, 43 per cent took brides from the village and 55 per cent found mates in the communities of the surrounding area. Only 2 per cent married women from outside the Nome of Hania. The younger generation, G-2, shows a sharp decline in the number of men who married women from the village, with only 21 per cent of the marriages being of this type. Those who married women from within the Nome remained about the same, at 54 per cent, but today most of these are from the more urbanised areas close to or in the city of Hania. The city has changed greatly in the space of one generation. The population has increased from about 24,000 in the period before the Second World War to 53,000 in 1977. What was once a quiet port town has become a small city expanding rapidly into the agricultural plain which surrounds it. Whereas at the time of marriage for the members of G-1 the Nome was primarily rural, for the members of G-2 it is increasingly urban. This fact should be borne in mind in regard to changes in marriage and residence.

The data reflect an important change in the strategy of marriage. Traditional wisdom considered it best to take a woman from one's home village or one close by. The fusion of a man's inheritance and the bride's dowry offered the maximum in benefits to a new household.

This usually fell to the oldest son, for once successful in marrying off his sisters, he was expected to be the first to marry. The younger brothers often had to look farther afield. The situation today is the opposite. The ideal situation for the village male is to marry a woman living in an urban area. Dowries are now paid in cash and ideally include an apartment, house, or plot of land in the city or its environs.

Let us consider the changes in marriage patterns from the perspective of Koustoyérako's women. The older generation saw 49 per cent of its members wed village men. Another 44 per cent married men of the villages in the surrounding area and 7 per cent went to husbands residing outside the Nome. Although the numbers are small, it is noteworthy that more women than men went out of the area in this generation: 7 per cent versus 2 per cent or 7 women and 1 man. Under the traditional system women could be a liability to the family. Marriage to a man from a distant place cost no permanent loss of property and provided the benefits of political connections outside the immediate area.

The younger generation of women are much less likely to marry men of the village; only 17 per cent have done so. They are more likely to marry men from within the Nome as 70 per cent have. Furthermore, it is most interesting to note that the data for birthplace of husbands shows that most of them do not come from urban or semi-urban areas but are from other villages of the White Mountains. The percentage of marriages to men from outside in the same generation

is: 13 per cent versus 25 per cent. As in the past, men have a higher degree of mobility than their sisters. A man can travel to Athens and eventually find a wife there, but the women still stay closer to home. The prospects are changing for the current generation of young women, however. They are being educated in high schools along with their brothers in the cities and larger towns and are making friends there.

A further example of the change in rural society may be seen in the data for place of residence selected by married couples. The statistics are set out in Figure 10 below.

AREAS OF RESIDENCE BY PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
MARRIAGES FOR FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME
RESIDENTS BORN IN KOUSTOYERAKO

Figure 10

	G-1	MALES	G-2
Location after marriage: village	62% (33)		21% (6)
In Hania Nome	21% (11)		36% (10)
Outside Hania Nome	17% (9)		43% (12)
	n. = 53		n. = 28
	G-1	FEMALES	G-2
Village	49% (19)		17% (8)
In Hania Nome	33% (13)		50% (23)
Outside Hania Nome	18% (7)		33% (15)
	n. = 39		n. = 46

The men of G-1 saw 61 per cent of their peers reside in the village after marriage. Another 21 per cent moved to other villages in the district and 17 per cent left the area. These percentages are altered somewhat by the fact that some of the older couples in G-1 left the village after many years of residing there. Thus one may assume that the number of G-1 couples living in the locality was even higher in the past. For this generation the out-migration came quite late in their lives. The contrast between G-1 and G-2 is lessened somewhat by the fact that some of the older people migrated, too, in spite of the fact that they spent most of their productive lives in the village. The contrast is still apparent however; for males only 21 per cent of the marriages in G-2 remained in the village whereas in G-1, 62 per cent did so. Those who took up residence in other areas of Hania Nome rose from 21 per cent in G-1 to 36 per cent in G-2. It should be recalled that the Nome has become more urban since those of G-1 married and in effect many of these are living in the urban environs along the North coast. The most dramatic shift however, is for those who settled outside the Nome itself: 43 per cent in G-2 versus 17 per cent in G-1.

The change from the females' point of view is similar. In G-1, 49 per cent remained in the village after marriage. In G-2 only 17 per cent have done so. The number

of women who settled in other areas of the district rose from 33 to 50 per cent. The percentage who located outside the area after marriage, while still less than that of men, is dramatic: 18 per cent in G-1 versus 33 per cent in G-2. Though men are a little more likely to remain in Koustoyérako than women are (21 per cent versus 17 per cent), men who leave have a higher probability of becoming urban dwellers and as the men move out some of the women are taken along. Until quite recently, women had no opportunity to do so on their own. The younger women currently in school will look to the city for husbands. The increase in village - city links through part-time residents may also foster female mobility.

The institution of the dowry also reflects the village's changing position. The family must provide a dowry for the daughter before she may marry. In the past dowries given in local marriages were made up of trees, livestock and lands with which the new family could begin its life. Dowries for women going farther afield would be payments in oil or other agricultural commodities and sometimes cash. Whereas the old system redistributed local resources to new families, the current system demands cash for setting up an urban household. Although women are more mobile than in the past, they still have a more difficult time finding an urban husband than their brothers do in

finding an urban wife. The tradition of paying dowries remains and women with dowries in urban property are much more desirable than their rural sisters. Dowries paid in rural coin are not highly valued in the city. The villagers must pay cash if they marry their daughters to city men. This puts a difficult burden on many village fathers, and a high proportion of the household's labour is devoted to this end.

Recalling that women have a higher probability of remaining in rural situations, with 37 per cent marrying rural males versus 75 per cent of the men marrying rural women, and 67 per cent of the females remaining in rural areas after marriage compared to 57 per cent of the males doing so, one may surmise that the dowry acts as a barrier to women moving from rural to urban situations through marriage. The institution may serve as a mechanism for the social exchange of wealth within groups but for the poor rural migrant it might also be seen as a barrier between classes. The rural male may seek his fortune in the city, in most cases as a wage labourer, but the women must acquire a dowry as many young Hania shopgirls from poor villages are doing today.

The previous social order was oriented to rural exigencies. When the men took their flocks to the mountaintops each Summer for milking and cheese making, they spent a few months in close proximity with others of villages

relatively far away. During this period friendships and alliances would develop. A look at marriages with partners from outside the community showed that, in G-1

the outsiders came from villages which share Summer pasture with Koustoyérako on the heights at Omalos and Akladia.

The universe was for the most part delimited by the movements of the flocks and the relationships of a few villages sharing limited resources. Urban migration, changes in local agriculture, and improvements in communications have changed the position of village households. The household remains the basic unit of social and productive life but it is no longer a part of a universe delimited by primarily regional interests.

In spite of the costs incurred in financing the early phases of outmigration, those who remain in the village do have an increased potential for prosperity in so far as the former human pressure on the environment has slackened. The drawback is that present-day village agriculture requires more capital than the traditional labour-intensive form did. Furthermore, the market which takes in village products is no longer a regional system but one governed partly by international commodity markets and under the strong influence of the state. In social terms, the village is part of a new development in rural-urban relations, as is shown in part by changing marriage and residence preferences. The village's position is now that of a refuge

and source of supplementary income for migrants working in the city. This may be the villagers' best strategy under the circumstances. Their position in the Greek social formation will be considered in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has sought to outline and analyse the responses of the community of Koustoyérako to changing circumstances of social and economic life on the island of Crete. I have followed, for the most part, the perspective of Kostas Vergopoulos. Vergopoulos has described the relationship between urban and rural sectors in Greece as "deformed capitalism." In this view, peasant producers subsidise the development of urban centres through the provision of cheap agricultural produce. Furthermore, due to the farmer's low remuneration for his labour, he is ready to work as a wage labourer in response to fluctuating demands for workers in the urban sector. For Vergopoulos (1978: 447), "this non-correspondence between urban and rural social forms" which are integral parts of the same social body constitutes "deformed capitalism". Vergopoulos sees the peasant agricultural sector and the urban capitalist centres not as separate "modes of production;" on the contrary, he takes the view that they are aspects of an overall process which, following the logic of capital,

favours the wealthier urban centres (1978: 446 - 447).

The state is the principal "social machine" behind economic and related social development in Greece (Mouzelis 1979: 132 - 133 ; Vergopoulos 1978: 455). As was discussed at the outset, the general position of the state has been to develop tourism, industry, and agriculture. Plans for the development of manufacturing and industry have not been realised. The Litton "episode" is a good example of the success the Greek leadership has had in attracting investment. In fact, such grandiose schemes may have set back the progress of small entrepreneurs. There were 24,000 industrial workers in 1961 employed mostly in small concerns. The number of industrial workers fell over the next ten years with only 17,000 working in this sector in 1971 (Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1977: 93). The deterioration of this sector of the island's economy is in all probability a result of local concerns losing out to the interests of larger foreign corporations and to increased concentration of the industrial sector itself. The result of failure to sustain local industry is reflected in the population. The period 1951 - 1961 shows a population increase from 462,124 to 483,528 or 4.6 per cent. The next decade, 1961 - 1971 shows a drop to 456,642; a decline of 5.5 per cent. It was this decade which saw the greatest

migration to Athens-Piraeus, Europe, and America where the centres of economic growth were strongest.

Tourism and the service sector have shown some growth from 24.5 per cent of the workforce in 1961 (Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 65) to 30 per cent in 1971 (Statistical Yearbook of Greece, 1977: 93). The bulk of communications and electrification infrastructures have been set up in support of tourist development. Roads and services were deemed fundamental to attracting tourists throughout the island.

In the agricultural sector, the number of people in the workforce has declined from 70 per cent (primary producers, Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 65) in 1961 to 62 per cent in agriculture and other primary production activities in 1971. The development of the agricultural sector was concentrated for the most part in level areas where irrigation water is available. Land redistribution consolidated holdings in such areas and developmental capital was made available.

Crete as a whole appears more prosperous than formerly. Although the industrial sector has been weakened, agriculture and tourism have developed. Not much of this prosperity touches Koustoyérako however, Koustoyérako does not qualify for grants to put in irrigation, for example.

Its location in marginal mountainous terrain makes this impractical. The village's lands are of no tourist or industrial value and as such are confined to more or less traditional uses. The government has provided electricity, telephone, and a road: it was being widened during the field study period. These benefits are appreciated by the villagers. Mountain villages are of little direct value to commercial interests, however, and are left alone for the most part to contribute what they can to the market. Indeed, as Vergopoulos (1978: 453) has shown, the peasant farmer is the most efficient or "socially productive" means to exploit such remote locations. This is sometimes conceded by development consultants. The development of roads and the provision of electricity was meant to ensure "the continued viability of rural settlements in Crete and act as a counter-attraction in controlling the drift to Iraklion, Athens, and Europe" (Kosseris and Clutton, 1968: 66). While these improvements are good for the community, they are worth the investment to the city as they provide a minimum of supporting infrastructure to aid the peasant in increasing production. Fertilisers and chemicals may be brought in relatively cheaply, olives may be taken out for processing at factories having much higher efficiency than the mule-driven presses still

used in isolated villages. As the state is subsidising prices of all inputs and outputs, enhancements of this type assure maximal co-operation between it and the producer.

Having outlined the general relationships which prevail between urban and rural Crete, we turn now to the village and its responses to changing conditions.

Since 1961 there have been significant changes in the agricultural system. The loss of labour due to migration coincided with a shift from wheat and other grain production associated with pastoralism to the development of arboriculture. In the Commune of Sougia the area allocated to production of grain fell from over 1300 stremmata in 1966 to just over 100 by 1976 and the number of olives grew from 18,000 in 1965 to over 40,000 in 1975. It is evident that a major change took place. Arboriculture requires less labour than wheat does. Technical aids such as picking machines and nylon nets have greatly enhanced the speed of harvesting. The use of fertilisers and other chemical agents have greatly increased the output of the trees; as much as 400 per cent according to informants. All in all it appears to be the case that the productivity of agriculture in Koustoyérako has risen with that of Greece in general.

As Vergopolous (1978: 450) has noted, because of "incessant adaptation to technical progress, the yield of crops has not stopped increasing." The price of this increase in production, however, can be seen in the increased use of chemicals and technical aids which require an outlay of capital. While the price of oil increased by about Dr. 5.00 per kilogramme between 1978 and 1979, the cost of nylon netting rose from 2,500 to over 3,000 Drachmae during the same period. Netting and fertilisers are sold at subsidised prices but their rises are moving with inflation and increased market prices whereas the prices for produce are falling behind. Villagers are caught in a bind and can only get a satisfactory real return by producing more (Vergopoulos, 1978: 452). In Koustoyérako oil production statistics suggest that a constant rise in production may be off-setting the slippage in real income (see Figure 4).

The study of wealth in the community in Chapter 4 looks into the social responses to current economic relations between the village and city. The major recent development has been the rise of an intermediary group of part-time villagers. These "Category II" households show what may be called "conditional migration." Most of them are resident in the city of Hania where the

majority work as wage labourers. They keep their holdings in the village as an added source of income and a hedge against the instability of the labour market. Should growth decline in the city they will have at least a subsistence living to fall back upon. An important social feature of this group is its role as an intermediary between village and city. The relations between Koustoyérako and Hania are for the most part handled by this group. This contrasts with the past in which the miller, for example, was an intermediary between town and country in economic and political matters.

The social structure of the community has changed as well. A review of marriages before and after 1950 has shown that those born since 1950 have a much higher frequency of marrying out of the village than those born before. Men especially seek urban wives and urban dowries as a means of effecting a move from country to city. The continued use of the dowry, however, retards women's moving to the city. The preferred medium of exchange in dowries is now cash and not rural property, so few village families can find an urban son-in-law.

All in all the situation is one of change. The village has become less an independent centre of social consciousness and more an appendage to the cities. Relations

between the countryside and the city are unequal in economic terms. It is fair to say that the city exerts a strong attraction to the poorer villagers who view it as a place of opportunity and possible gain.

Vergopoulos makes the point that the development of rural areas is directly related to the fluctuations of capital in the urban centres. There will probably be a few full-time producers who keep to the village as their source of income. The component of part-time producers will quite possibly grow as long as the urban economy continues to develop and there may be a further loss of population. The interesting feature of the Cretan case, however, is the development of the part-time villager. The close proximity of urban areas to the village and enhanced communications may foster this group; but the important factor from the urban view is that agricultural exploitation of remote rural areas continues. Statistics for the year 1974 (Statistical Yearbook, 1977: 183 - 184 and 203 - 204) show that for Greece in general, 25 per cent of milk and lambs, 33 per cent of mutton, and 43 per cent of goats killed for meat came from mountainous communes. In addition to this 27 per cent of the country's olives and 21 per cent of its grapes were produced in such areas. Figures for Crete are not available, but it is apparent that the contribution of mountainous areas may well be higher as the island has more than twice the population located in mountainous areas than

the country in general. In 1976 Greece was a net importer of 94,055 tonnes of meat and 78,695 tonnes of milk and cream. As such areas represent a substantial input to the total production of Greece, it is apparent that their continued viability is important to the national economy.

It is within the conditions summarised here that Koustoyérako exists today. The continuance of this community, it appears, will depend to a high degree on developments in the urban sector, the activities of the state as supreme "social machine," and the relative remuneration the villagers receive for their toil.

Areas for Further Research

This thesis has been restricted to a study of the village of Koustoyérako and its changing position in an increasingly urbanised context. While this is an important step in commencing a study of the area, its scope has, by necessity, been limited. Future research will be directed toward the study of an expanded unit of analysis. The Commune as a whole will be taken as the area for study. As the forces of economic change are concentrated in the seaside village of Sougia in the form of tourist money and capital for agricultural development, it is there that the economic centre of the Commune has been established.

In light of this, two subject areas arise. In the first case, the relationships in terms of social and economic interaction between the Commune and Hania would be researched in order to provide the necessary background for the second area. The second area concerns internal relations within the Commune. The relations between the three farming villages and Sougia are changing with the growing wealth of this seaside village. A probable approach here would be to overlay changing economic relations with traditional social relations of kinship and fictive kinship to determine to what extent these relations continue under changed economic realities. As political relationships which have evolved in association with an agricultural village society, a study of their continuance, discontinuance, or re-application in a new way would be of great interest in the study of social effects with respect to changes in economic relations. One may consider the bonds of kinship, and especially fictive kinship, to be ideological programmes for the ordering of realities. Should the material basis of reality change, what then are the ideological expressions? Furthermore, what are the theoretical implications for the study of the relationship between these two domains?

In addition to an expansion of the geographical dimensions of the study area, more attention will be given to historical data. There is a wealth of information concerning

past relationships between the villages through marriage and alliance as well as in feuds and other conflicts which reveal much of the former society and economy of the Selinou valley. A wider temporal perspective, in addition to adding to the general knowledge of a rich culture, would provide a base for the study of transformations in the economic and social forces which prevailed in village society. In addition, a greater historical view would add to the understanding of current relationships. It is then, within these general considerations that future research is anticipated.

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