

ical *Clientelism*). The above essays have in common their attachment to some larger published study or group of studies already accessible to English language scholarship.

George K. Zacharopoulos' anti-monarchist essay, "The Monarchy and Politics in Modern Greece", is an interesting survey, but covers no new ground. Robin Fletcher undertakes an ambitious task when he seeks to review the whole range of cultural and literary activity in nineteenth-century Greece in his essay, "Cultural and Intellectual Developments, 1821-1911". From education to archeology to the arts, literature and historiography, Fletcher surveys the field. His terminal date of 1911 relates to the establishment of the demotic as literary language, though the survey actually extends past 1911 in other areas. John Dimakis' history of "The Greek Press" constitutes one of the serious additions of this volume to English language scholarship on modern Greece. Richly documented, Dimakis' account moves from the early pre-1821 Greek diaspora press, a subject of considerable recent Greek research, through the rapid growth and periodic crises of the press, including the underground press.

Quite in contrast to Dimakis' careful survey, the essay on "The Role of the United States in the Cyprus Dispute", by United States foreign service officer Thomas W. Davis, Jr., is flawed. Davis considers Makarios to have been a supporter of *enosis* long after the London/Zurich agreements, until into 1968. His essay is also conspicuously silent on the events of 1974, surprisingly so in light of the editor's reference to the Cyprus issue in the introduction to the volume.

While there are some areas of significant contribution for the English language reader, *Greece in Transition* includes many essays which are either redundant or which already have been presented in other forms to a British and American audience. Conspicuously missing is any study of the Greek village. There is also no attempt to introduce to an English language audience the recent flurry of writing from neo-Marxist historians and economists on modern Greece. These reservations notwithstanding, the volume is of value for beginning students in Balkan history or related survey courses.

Arizona State University

STEPHEN K. BATALDEN

Muriel Dimen and Ernestine Friedl, eds., *Regional Variation in Modern Greece and Cyprus: Toward a Perspective on the Ethnography of Greece*, New York, The New York Academy of Sciences, 1976, pp. 465 [Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, vol. 268].

This volume contains 34 papers presented at a conference entitled "Regional Variation in Modern Greece: Toward a Perspective on the Ethnography of Greece" held on February 10-13, 1975 by the New York Academy of Sciences and cosponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies. We are not, however, informed who participated in the conference. The papers and bibliographies roughly indicate the nature and variety of ethnographic, demographic, or sociological work with which various social scientists have been engaged in recent years. Since, however, the majority of the conferees represented American institutions or methodologies this conference can claim to have established a partial perspective of Greek ethnographic studies. Doubtless, the list of research projects reported in this volume is impressive. On the other hand, the quality of the reports ranges from very good to barely adequate. This posed a dilemma to the reviewer: How can so many and so disparate reports be briefly reviewed? And how can the readers of *Balkan Studies* be adequately informed

on the variety of ethnographic investigations reported—particularly since there is no Index? Therefore, and to do justice to all the contributors of the volume, this review reports on the entire book, listing all the published topics, and providing a very brief assessment of each. A general critique of the volume follows at the end.

We owe this volume to Muriel Dimen and Ernestine Friedl who served both as Conference organizers and editors. Dimen, in her opening remarks, pointed to the main problems the Conference wished to focus upon, these being the quality of life in villages and cities, emigration, the under-supply of labor, the possible effect of cooperatives in the emerging society, the need for more class theory, and the desire for strong interdisciplinary efforts on the part of all the social sciences involved. The Conference partly addressed itself to these. The contributions and relevant discussions centered mainly on the theme of "regional variation". The editors grouped the papers in 8 Parts, with some discussion published at the end of each, following the order of the Conference sessions, as follows:

Part I. Introduction: 1. Regional Studies and their Potential Value for Ethnography of Modern Greece and Cyprus (Muriel Dimen); 2. Dynamics of Regional Integration in Modern Greece (Bernard Kayser). Dimen's paper is elegantly—one might say compassionately-written. Wisely she indicates the many difficulties in researching such a complex society as Greece. Correctly she expects much from sociological, demographic, and historical models. Of course, she does her best to extol participant observation in order to "understand the actual concrete details of living". But of which communities and what units? Perhaps on a regional basis. However, no concrete answer was advanced on this intriguing question throughout the Conference. Kayser's paper is excellent. He forcefully discusses the breakdown of rural-urban relations in modern Greece, the inordinate position of Athens in terms of economic growth and development, and the ever-widening gap between rural and urban settlements with the attendant phenomenon of rapid rural depopulation. Convincing statistics on the pace of industrialization corroborate the pessimistic outlook in national development. Kayser's paper invited much discussion which served to give emphasis to his conclusion that, rather than pay lip-service to community development, what is most needed is national planning.

Part II. Mainland Greece; Pastoralists and Agriculturalists: 1. Regionalism and Local Community (J.K. Campbell); 2. Barriers to Development and Modernization in Greece (Scott G. McNall); 3. Frontier Between Two Cultural Areas: the Case of Thessaly (Michel Sivignon); 4. Development and Migration in the Serres Basin (Cornelis J. J. Vermeulen). Campbell stresses the deep-rooted cultural and economic regionalism of the Greeks. He draws from his extensive experience with the Sarakatsani, also from J. DuBonlay's studies in northern Evia. But when he goes on to investigate conflicts arising from what he perceives as double allegiance to region and nation (even involving the *Meghali Idhea*), Campbell shows himself to be in less familiar ground. McNall ponders the "value systems" or possible "value conflicts" of two villages (Milessi and Varnava), north of Athos. The pondering is done on the basis of 150 questionnaires. His main argument is that peasants are dissatisfied with their lot and are ready for change. Hardly surprising or new. Generally, can we expect to gain in the deeper understanding of a region like Macedonia with the distribution of a few sociological questionnaires? Sivignon ably presents geographical, demographic, economic, and cultural criteria to demonstrate the regionalism between East and West Thessaly. His data are ecologic, historical, and ethnographic. He shows West Thessaly (Karagounidhes) forming an extension of the "deep Balkans", while East Thessaly leans toward the culture-area of the Aegean. Interestingly, he shows that West Thessaly is part of the corn-producing zone that goes all the way to the Danube. Pity he did not discuss Thessa-

ian latifundism (a fact pointed out by Diamandouros in the Discussion) or the problems associated with malaria. On the whole a fine contribution. Vermeulen examines two villages in the Serrai basin with focus on the demography, migration patterns, and political differences between the two villages, particularly as they seem to be shaped by economic and political power. He vividly illustrates the problems caused by emigration to Germany. He wants to know who migrate and concludes that it is not only the poorest but also those lacking in political power.

Part III. The Peloponnese; History and Archaeology in Relation to Ethnography: 1. The Southern Argolid: the Setting for Historical and Cultural Studies (Michael H. Jameson); 2. Premodern Peloponnesus: the Land and the People under Venetian Rule (Peter Topping); 3. Fire, Axe, and Plow: Human Influence on Local Plant Communities in the Southern Argolid (Hamish A. Forbes and Harold A. Koster); 4. Farming and Foraging in Prehistoric Greece: a Cultural Ecological Perspective (Mary H. Clark Forbes); 5. The Impact of Olive Growing on the Landscape in the Fourni Valley (Nicolas Gavrielides); 6. Archaeology and Ethnography in Messenia (Stanley E. Aschenbrenner). Jameson's paper gives a synoptic account of the *Argolid Exploration Project* of which he is co-director. It is a useful summary. He makes good use of the particular ecologic and historical factors that gave the Argolis her distinct personality through the ages. Topping's paper, although somewhat synoptic also (this is a recurring feature of most papers), is a subject-specific and well researched ethnohistoric study of the "cadaster of Romania" providing us with a succinct account of settler's for the period (1685-1715), land allocation, surveying methods and units, taxation, depopulation, and other anthropogeographic parameters. This paper is a good reminder of the wealth of archival materials on the ethnohistory of Greece awaiting systematic research. Hamish A. Forbes and Harold A. Koster examine the determinants of forest and scrub denudation together with the anthropogenic causes of climatic change. This kind of study can be useful when documented in depth. The succeeding paper by Mary H. Clark Forbes examines the economics of plant gathering on the Methana peninsula. She analyzes both prehistoric (Franchthi) and recent data. Her list of exploited plants is meticulous and impressive. Some questions on method are raised, however: Who were her informants? How many? How reliable? For instance, some of her assertions indicate sloppy informants (e.g., "The fruit of the wild olive is not exploited today") or belaboring the obvious (e.g., "Analyses suggest that the wild olives are edible..."). Considerable data are in need for much more work (especially her reports on procurement and culinary technology). Methodological shortcomings of this sort characterize most of the ethnographic projects reported in this book. Gavrielides examines olive growing in the valley of Fourni in southern Argolis in conjunction with other crops. His main conclusion is that olive groves appear today in two distinct patterns—either in straight lines or with no distinct pattern. He also estimates that some of the trees are 2,000 years old. How? With similar speculations about the local "crushers" [sic] and presses, the conclusion is advanced that olive groves existed in the valley of Fourni since Classical and Roman times! Aschenbrenner speculates on the potential of the ethnoarchaeology of Messinia. He then documents these with some data on olive oil production (sources not given). But the most casual reading of books on the olive tree written by seasoned Greek scholars so long ago (e.g., Lychnos, Sarakomenos) can provide much more refined data. On the whole Part III gives a good account of itself. Most of the papers give the impression of direction and purpose. They are problem-oriented. Undoubtedly they benefited from the well-organized *Argolid Exploration Project*.

Part IV. The Peloponnese as a Region: 1. Aspida-A Depopulated Maniot Community (Peter S. Allen); 2. Maniot Folk Culture and the Ethnic in Mosaic in the South-

east Peloponnese (John N. Andromedas); 3. Karpofora-Reluctant Farmers on a Fertile Land (Stanley E. Aschenbrenner); 4. The Northwestern Corner of the Peloponnesos-Mavrikion and its Region (Perry A. Bialor); 5. We Have a Little of Every-thing-The Ecological Basis of some Agricultural Practices in Methana, Trizinia (Hamish A. Forbes); 6. Gathering in the Argolid-A Subsistence Subsystem in a Greek Agricultural Community (Mary H. Clark Forbes); 7. The cultural Ecology of Olive Growing in the Fourni Valley (Nicolas Gavrielides); 8. Competition or Symbiosis?-Pastoral Adaptive Strategies in the Southern Argolid (Harold A. Koster and Joan Bouza Koster). This group purports to examine representative regions of the Peloponnese. But again, the bulk of contributions deals with Argolis. Allen reports on Aspida—a small coastal village of Mani. The paper, accompanied by good photographs, gives a good account of a Maniot settlement. His contribution to theory is mainly on out-migration and depopulation. On this matter, his analysis of remittances is inadequate. Little is reported on wealth, land-holding patterns, or the influence of the Agricultural Bank. We do not know the source of his statistical data. Andromedas graphically reports on the "ethnic mosaic" of Mani. The model is diachronic and complements Allen. His treatment of traditional Mani (1600-1900) is too synoptic to provide sufficient depth although we get a fairly vivid description of clanship which may account for the fairly homogenous fabric of Maniot life to the present. Pity he kept his report so short. Aschenbrenner ably focuses on culture-change at Karpofora, Messinia. He provides data relating to the shift from the traditional village to Rozomilo. Statistical data show migration trends and economic activities. Income is not reported. A short account of domestic organization is good but, alas, short. The author's conclusions carry weight: Villagers progressively reject traditional ways because of new ties with urban centers, out-migration, recent educational opportunities. There are no regrets. Bialor's article describes Mavrikion or Vovoda in Achaia. This contribution stands out because the author is at home with data derived from the village records and the Statistical Service (an obvious weakness with most of the other contributors). Bialor offers a bird's eye-view of the village. Brief but good. His discussion on kinship—particularly fictive—is penetrating. An article to emulate. Hamish A. Forbes reports on farming "fragmentation" or "polycropping" in Methana. His data are drawn from observations at Kosona (pseudonym). He mentions "unofficial census figures" but we know nothing about his sources. His view is that farming fragmentation is sound. This contradicts time-tested theory and practice all over the world—particularly in the United States. We do nobody a service claiming that economic fragmentation is an adaptation to "microenvironmental" necessity. Fragmentation is primarily sociocultural. The author assumes that fragmentation ensures the villagers a "relatively risk-free livelihood". Maybe, but the problem is what sort of livelihood? Anthropologists have much too often ignored or misunderstood poverty. Mary H. Clark Forbes examines "gathering in the Argolid" once more. Her contribution is mainly a continuation of Part III/4. Why another article? The description of land-use in Methana is lucid. But we need more accurate botanical designations—particularly of mushrooms which can be lethal. Again we are not told who supplied the data. It would be nice, for instance, to know who and how many said that "acorns can be roasted in the coals..." Gavrielides reports on the "cultural ecology" of olive growing at Fourni. Essentially a follow-up from Part III/5. The paper contains undigested, incomplete or trivial information. What good is it to be told that the Fourni household (there are 103) owns a horse and a donkey, and elsewhere to be told that the equine population of Fourni consists of 75 horses, one mule, and 50 donkeys? Likewise his information on present methods of olive cultivation and oil extraction processes is incomplete. His discussion of local kinship terms is interesting but peripheral. The Koster examine re-

lations between pastoralists and agriculturalists in southern Argolis. They raise some theoretical points on competition and conflict caused by scarce resources. They discern ethnic divisions (Sarakatsani, Arvanites, Valtetsiotis). The authors observe that pastoralists and agriculturalists, rather than compete, have worked out a viable symbiosis through interdependence. We do not know their sources. The Discussion that followed Parts III and IV was good. It was stressed that we need to bring together anthropological and sociological methods with greater focus both on the "comparative approach" and on "class".

Part V. The Ethnography of the Islands: 1. Introductory Remarks on the Ethnography of the Islands (H. Russell Bernard); 2. Kalymnos-the Island of the Sponge Fishermen (H. Russell Bernard); 3. Social Interaction and Social Structure in a Greek Island Village (Richard L. Currier); 4. The Ethnography of the Islands-Tinos (Jill Dubisch); 5. The Ethnography of the Islands-Thera (Susannah H. Hoffman). Generally, this is a weak group with a glimpse of a few islands in the Kyklades and the Dodekanisos. One wonders about the greater Aegean, Crete, or the Ionian Islands. Bernard gives an overview of the two dimensions (sea or land) affecting Greek livelihood. He then elaborates with a concise and graphic account of the history and economy of Kalymnos—the island he knows so well. His contribution to theory is on the role of women and on campanilismo. Some anecdotes are illustrative but could be considered sensationalistic. Currier reports on Ios and uses it as an example of Greek island social structure. Six pages; no references. We are informed that the shepherds of Ios speak a "rough nearly unintelligible dialect". Unintelligible to whom? Dubisch reports on Tinos with her data from the village of Falatadhos. Some of the information is superfluous ("...cats and dogs are kept for pets..."). On the whole the report on the economy, tourist trends, and daily life is good. Hoffman provides a good description of Thera with observations mostly drawn from the village of Kypseli (she has also produced an ethnographic film favorably discussed in this volume). It is a very informative account particularly as regards family organization and kinship which exhibit strong matrilineal and matrilineal tendencies. There are indications of female-held property. Pity she did not provide sufficient economic data (although she does make references to Greek sources). Her work is excellent, a fact further evidenced by her informative and straightforward discussion with Peristiany.

Part VI. Cyprus: 1. Anthropological, Sociological, and Geographical Fieldwork in Cyprus (J.G. Peristiany); 2. Notes on Future Anthropological Research on Cyprus (Peter Loizos); 3. Forms of Peasant Incorporation in Cyprus during the Last Century (M. Attalides). Peristiany's contribution (plus introductory remarks) is historical showing what has been done by the Social Research Center—mainly on three comparable villages, and some facets of urbanization at Nicosia and Paphos. This short report is followed by a good bibliography. Loizos, in a very short paper, offers thoughtful comments on future research. He stresses the need to concentrate studies on the "village" or the "komopolis" *per se* rather than treating them as mere familistic relationships. Studies should emphasize these units rather than "regions". Attalides uses a historical and political-science approach to the probing of such issues as the evolution of the brokerage system, and the patron-client relationships between the Cypriot peasants, merchants, the British Colonial agents—all these interactions having given rise to specific brands of nationalism, communism, or other political events.

Part VII. The Peasant, the City, and the State: 1. Regional, Sex, and Class Distribution among Greek Students—Some Aspects of Inequality of Education Opportunities (Jane Lambiri-Dimaki); 2. The Relevance of the Concept of Class to the Study of Modern Greek Society (Nicos Mouzelis); 3. The Family in Athens—Regional Variations (Constantina Safi-

lios-Rothschild); 4. Some Aspects of 'Over-Education' in Modern Greece (C. Tsoukalas); 5. Greek Social Structure (D.G. Tsaoussis). A rather generalized group. The three parameters indicated by the title of Part VII were actually the core of most of the regional studies contributed in the Conference, the essential question being "How do these three forces presently contribute toward the complex reality of modern Greece?" Lambiri-Dimaki eloquently discusses inequality in educational opportunities particularly as this is affected by region, class, and sex. The statistical data are compelling (drawn from Kayser 1964, the OECD project of same year, and her own 1963 and 1966 projects). Correctly she emphasizes that the villagers will try to give their children prestigious education at any cost, thus over-estimating the benefits incurred. Importantly, she further dwells on regional and sex inequality regardless of economic opportunity, whereas the urban-rural dichotomy does not seem to affect much access to higher education. Mouzelis provides a useful theoretical framework for the analysis of sociological studies in Greece. His historical review of Marxist works in Greece is lucid and informative. The bibliography following this contribution is meticulous. Safilios-Rothschild examines regional variation of family composition in the Athens Metropolitan Area. Analysis is drawn from her own random sample in Athens (1966-67). Her contribution enlightens us on the family composition, residential patterns, visiting patterns of Athenian wives with their parents elsewhere in Greece, and on the social status of wives in Athens. She has isolated patterns reflecting the differential effect of regional traditionalism, values and, generally, regional aspects of acceptance/resistance to change. Along lines similar to Lambiri-Dimaki, Tsoukalas determined a "propensity for education in the Greek countryside" or what he calls the "over-education" of Greeks (with interesting statistics). He fails, however, to properly emphasize that this may be caused by socioeconomic determinants rather than a mere "passion for education and culture". Tsaoussis provides a very short but sound overview of Greek social structure, particularly the historical development of such phenomena as emigration, the incorporation of masses of refugees, rural-urban change after World War II, and national growth in general. Reports of this sort lose some of their usefulness when presented in too summary a form.

Part VIII. Future Research Strategies: Consisting of a roundtable discussion on future strategies. Nothing outstanding emerged beyond the wish to prioritize village studies and stress or perfect strategies for the analysis of class and interest groups. On the whole these discussions did not reach specific conclusions as to what groups, regions or units should be researched. Maybe for the better.

This book is a welcome addition to the slowly growing ethnographic literature on Greece. But it has many flaws. The overall impress is that of patch-work. The issues were much too many, the Conference too short. The published reports are very uneven in terms of documentation and scholarship. Many of the contributions indicate clearly that the fieldwork, and the analyses that followed, have not taken into adequate consideration the vast documentation that exists in result of the historic, anthropogeographic, demographic, sociological, political-science (political economy), and economic research that has been carried out in Greece through the years (by native or foreign scholars). To judge from the bibliographic references, it would appear that many of the contributors of this volume either were unaware of these or ignored them—and this includes all the Greek Government materials, census reports, economic surveys of all sorts, and regional or national journals. Greece is a very complex society with a rich historical heritage. She cannot be treated as *terra incognita*. On the whole it is disappointing how few Greek sources were quoted. To do this, of course, presupposes thorough familiarity with the Greek language, and years of patient work with primary sources! As any anthropologist well knows, linguistic expertise is the

key-factor on such matters. Yet, the Greek transcriptions included in this volume indicate the most cursory familiarity with the language. Furthermore, if the Conference and the ensuing volume had regional variation as their central theme, then we would have expected serious studies in museums or archives with their priceless ethnohistoric records, studies of various aspects of the material culture, the classification and taxonomy of legends and oral history, the study of festivals, regional traditional costumes, dialects and so forth. There was none of this.

On the whole, researchers will have to learn that lands with a rich heritage like Greece demand thorough familiarity with the sophisticated documentation and publications already at hand. Otherwise they run the risk of being treated as intellectual parvenus to the detriment of progress in research, genuine knowledge, and understanding.

*Memphis State University*

AUGUSTUS SORDINAS

Efrosini Gavaki, *The Integration of Greeks in Canada*, San Francisco, California, R and E Research Associates, 1977, pp. v + 117.

This publication could have been an important contribution to the study of a single immigrant population as well as being an analysis of the processes for any immigrant population becoming an integral part of Canadian society—but the potential failed to materialize. The author, a Greek-Canadian herself, conducted the study by means of a questionnaire and a detailed statistical analysis of the resultant data. In this, her objective was to delimit the progressive stages of cultural-psychological integration as seen in the degrees of satisfaction of the immigrants with Canadian society, their degree of acculturation and identification with Canadian society, and finally the degree of helplessness they felt as an immigrant minority. This was then to be developed into a “dynamic” model for determining the integration levels of an ethnic immigrant group into Canadian society.

To repeat, something went wrong. At one point, the author is her own critic—where, when she has so few young adults of the eighteen to twenty-four year old age group, she skewed her sample of 204 by adding an additional sample of twenty-four Greek students attending Sir George William University in Montreal! A careful reading raises other serious questions. Her sample was taken from the Greek telephone directory for Montreal. The author bemoaned the fact that there was so little factual information on Greek immigrants in Canada—yet, in this monograph, there is virtually NO information given about the community she studied. Social structure, religious life and institutions, sub-ethnic composition, lodges and other associations, the community educational system, ethnic businesses and the history of the community furthermore are all ignored. Though the majority of the Greeks in Montreal came after 1950, no mention is made of the remnants of the older pre-1940 Greek population. Might not affiliation with either of these groups be an important factor in responses given to her questions? Finally the title itself is totally misleading to the unwary reader—this is a study not of the Greeks in Canada but of a few Greeks in Montreal!

In my opinion, in spite of the array of spurious statistical tables, this is a study which should be redone so that the questionnaire-derived data can be anchored to the cultural and social realities of the Greek community of Montreal.

*Colorado State University  
Fort Collins*

ROBERT J. THEODORATUS