

Book Reviews

Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury (eds.), *Patrons and Clients*. London: Duckworth, 1977, pp. 348.

This volume demonstrates difficulties common to most interdisciplinary enterprises. It grew out of a 1974 conference of some twenty-two anthropologists, political scientists, and sociologists. According to Ernest Gellner, the co-editor, the gathering was to examine the impact of industrialization, urbanization and secularization on various forms of patronage. The results of the conference are aptly summarized by the other co-editor, John Waterbury:

...there is little consensus as to what should and should not be considered an aspect or manifestation of patronage. Likewise there are widely varying views of the analytic power of the concept, ranging from those who contend that patronage is no more than a simple descriptive device encompassing one kind of interpersonal relation, without *explaining* anything about them, to those who consider the concept a powerful analytic tool seminal to the understanding and explanation of the use of power in human society.

This is a fair summary and not unexpected when essays range across time and place, investigate behavior in remote villages, urban slums, or at the apex of political systems, and in addition are the product of scholars with diverse perceptions and methodologies. Regardless, students of Balkan affairs should find this volume useful. Several chapters do deal specifically with Balkan materials, but more important, the concepts examined here and the social changes charted, have economic relevance and application in Southeastern Europe.

There are three general pieces in addition to the introduction and conclusion provided by the co-editors. Sydel Silverman contrasts the myth of patronage with the reality of social relationships in a reexamination of earlier village research in Italy. James Scott provides an analysis of clientelism and changing class relations in the agrarian sector, and Alex Weingrod makes some useful distinctions between studies of clientelism emphasizing social process and those emphasizing structure.

After these selections, the materials are organized geographically according to a clockwise progression around the Mediterranean, starting with Spain and ending with Morocco. Only France, Greece, Syria and Israel are unrepresented in the collection. Unfortunately, this organization tends to emphasize the discrete character of the essays when interesting contrasts could have been emphasized. For example, Alan Zuckerman labels elite interrelationships in the Italian Christian Democratic Party as clientelist. Similar assessments are provided by Sabri Sayari on the Turkish political elite, and by Samir Khalaf on Lebanon. An essay by Ghita Ionesco entitled "Patronage Under Communism" seems rather out of place, but the description of the elite interrelationships involved in appointments appears to support a clientelist label. Yet Clement Moore, who seems to be describing similar relationships among elites in Tunisia and Egypt, rejects the clientelist label.

Jeremy Boissevain, returning to Malta, finds individual clientelist relations diminished in both religious and political spheres because of modernization. Yet in other modernizing contexts, clientelist links remain or increase. Michael Johnson finds them flourishing in the

muslim quarters of Beirut. Peter Loizos and Michael Attalides in separate articles on Cypriot village politics also find clientelist links adopting and extending during modernization. Similar conclusions seem warranted from materials presented by Kenneth Brown on a Moroccan city, and Amal Rassam in an article dealing with patron-client links in Iraq, and another by Amina Farrag on center-periphery links in Jordan.

Other essays stand more alone. Joaquin Romero-Mauro provides an interesting account of caciquismo in early 20th century Spain. Bruno Etienne's essay on clientelism in Algeria demands attention because of the sparseness of descriptive materials. Some essays, such as Emrys Peters' account of patronage in Cyrenaica and Samson El-Messiri's dealing with the changing role of the *futuwwa* in the social structure of Cairo, are so narrowly focused that only specialists will be interested.

Two pieces—one already noted by Sydel Silverman, and another by Michael Gilsean focussing on Lebanon—do offer insights that once elaborated could serve to sort and integrate much of the clientelist literature, including the contributions in this volume. Silverman emphasizes the distinction between patronage relationships and the patronage ethos; Gilsean contrasts the ideology of patronage with the reality of power relationships. Presumably an ideology of clientelism and the reality may coincide, but probably only in a relatively unmobilized setting. Once client demands increase, the ideology may remain, but reality is likely to change. Moreover, an ideology of patronage may or may not be held by all parts of the population. Similarly, reality need not be the same for all. For example, the ideology and reality of patronage relationships might remain at the elite level and become attenuated for the rest of the population. Most accounts of patron-client relations ignore these distinctions, and consequently many of the disputes among scholars of clientelism (or scholars opposed to the concept) never meet and rarely end. *Patrons and Clients*, then, is a significant contribution, but it should be viewed as an interim report rather than the final word on the subject.

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Spiridonakis B. G., *Essays in the historical geography of the Greek world in the Balkans during the Turkokratia*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1977, pp. 171.

The history of the Greek world during the Turkish domination, or as we say in Greece under "Turkokratia", has not been studied thoroughly. The latter is usually considered to have lasted 1453-1821, that is from the Turkish occupation of Constantinople to the beginning of the Greek revolution in 1821. In reality it has begun in other parts of the Greek world much earlier and has not yet finished in some others. As a matter of fact about 40% of Cyprus, the Greek islands of Imbros and Tenedos, Halki, Prinkipos and Constantinople remain under Turkish domination and are submitted to a strenuous effort of "Turkification" by the settlement of Turks dispatched from Asia Minor. Every effort is undertaken by the Turkish authorities to exterminate the Greek population there or at least terrorise them sufficiently until they decide to leave without taking with them their belongings. They are very successful in this connection.

The author makes a very satisfactory analysis of developments in the Greek world 1453-1821 without however considering Asia Minor, the Ionian islands and Crete (the latter before 1669). Whilst the exclusion in the latter two cases may be justified by the non expansion