

GREEK SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

One day while driving between Larissa and Volos I picked up a youngster walking back to his village from the town where he was attending school as a boarding student. He was starting his Easter vacation. My companion said to him:

"Do you know that this man is an American and that you are riding in an American car?"

"Oh yes," he replied, "I know about America."

"Tell us. What do you know about America?"

"Oh, I know about it."

"But what is it that you know about it? This man would like to hear."

"America? Oh, America is the largest province of Greece."

It seems proper, therefore, to welcome again the visitors from Greece to this their "largest province" so that they can see how it is progressing. If they stayed a few extra days they would be able to return to their universities and institutes to lecture on "American Society in Transition." They, like me, would be faced with the task of delimiting the subject regarding both the time period covered and the kinds of change which need discussion.

For my own part, I have decided to deal only with the most recent materials about Greece available to me. These are subsequent to the period in the 1950's when I did most of my field studies there. As for topics, I shall treat most fully changes in the Greek family system and pass much more lightly over such issues as education, politics, agriculture, and additional matters to be covered elsewhere in this symposium. I hope to stress throughout the fact that Greek society can be viewed as a social system and that changes in one aspect of the society are related to changes in other aspects. Running through my considerations, too, will be the much discussed change processes of industrialization, urbanization, and modernization.

Before beginning my analysis, however, I wish to mention briefly some of the tempting bylanes into which I might have strayed if time had been less

pressing. The first temptation is to speculate about the nature of social change itself and how Greece as a society illustrates or fails to illustrate the various extant theories. One could have started with Plato and Aristotle, moved on to such social philosophers as Bodin and Condorcet, and examine more intensively the evolutionary theories of Herbert Spencer, the economic-based ideas of Karl Marx, the insights of Max Weber, the challenge and response theory of Arnold Toynbee, and the ideational, idealistic, and sensate cycle of Pitirim Sorokin. In almost every case, the Greek experience would prove relevant, though often as an exception to the theories advanced. Today it is of course much more fashionable to work with a partial theory of social change — one based on empirical data in such fields as demography, the modernization process, political development, and the spread of innovation in a society.

Another attractive bypath of speculation would be to assess the role in social change of a glorious past, such as Greece enjoys. Does it provide a self-satisfaction that is a substitute for changes which many Greek leaders think necessary today? Is there a latent, unexpressed feeling that modern sons can never hope to equal the grandeur achieved by such noble fathers? So few contemporary societies provide illustrations of the connection between “the backward look” and social change that the Greek experience spurs very interesting thoughts. Certainly, few descendants of Northern European stock have much cause to think about their forefathers’ actions in their semi-savage state some two thousand years ago. For them, achievement lies in the future and not in the past. Does this orientation stimulate a desire to innovate?

Before concentrating on change, we should note the effect of continuity in the functioning of any society. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of “Greek Society in Transition” is not its changes but rather its ability to survive in the face of scant physical resources. Has it done this by holding fast to its traditions against all odds? Or has it been able quite imperceptibly but now and then dramatically, to modify its institutions to meet changing conditions, but always with the focus on the continuity of central social values rather than upon innovation for its own sake? Related to this is a further consideration: some societies seem to have, built-in mechanisms for resisting change. In fact, my Greek friends who might lecture at home on “American Society in Transition” would probably point out that the United States and other Western societies are changing much more rapidly than any of the so-called developing societies. The reasons are at least two-fold: acceptance in the United States of change as desirable, to be welcomed by most Americans;

and the existence of many mechanisms here such as research institutes, advertising companies, and the like which exist to originate and disseminate innovations.

Such speculations, entertaining though they may be, do not advance us very far toward the description of social changes currently underway in a Greece which is in transition. Hence our first study relates to changes in Greek family life.

CHANGES IN GREEK FAMILY LIFE

No aspect of society has undergone as much experimentation as that relating to the family. Almost every conceivable arrangement has been tried out. Therefore, in looking at the Greek family we should note its special characteristics and not assume erroneously that it will duplicate family systems elsewhere.

In Greece one must start with history. Greece has experienced great political insecurity through the centuries — a fact only too well-known to any student of Greek life. In almost every generation parts of Greece have been overrun by invading armies. In response to such insecurity the Greeks have tended to rely upon their family for social stability and individual survival. As a result, they have developed one of the most closely-knit families that it has been my privilege to study. The intense loyalty and sense of obligation which members of the small family group feel toward each other is a noteworthy characteristic, which results in security not being sought primarily the aid of some distantly-related kinsman alone (though this does help) but in actual assistance by one's closest kin. This fact is one of the touchstones for understanding Greek society today; it is a benchmark against which to trace future social change. Some features of Greek family life are almost inexplicable to many non-Greeks. Take the case of the Greek who had migrated to Argentina, and who was overheard saying, "Now I am all right. I think I'll go back to Greece."

"But what do you mean that you are all right?"

"I had six sisters to get married off. Now the last one is married and so I am all right."

The fact that a man would postpone his own marriage for many years and deprive himself of every luxury while saving money for six sister's dowries is only one example of the impact of the close-knit family group. Another example is the question I put to thirty Greek soldiers guarding the Albanian frontier regarding how many would smoke a cigarette in front of their fathers.

Only one hand went up; this soldier was from Athens. Observance of this tabu may be changing, but it does indicate at least the intensity of outward respect for the father, the titular head of the family.

What happens to family relationships as broad changes penetrate Greek life? Does the traditional family disintegrate and its members become partially alienated, or does the family remain the unit of social security through modifications vis-a-vis other parts of society? I tend to think the latter explanation holds true as I will try to show by invoking three recent studies.

The Megara Study: Effects of Industrialization

In 1965 Ioanna Lambiri published a research monograph entitled *Social Change in a Greek Country Town*.¹ The town was Megara about 34 miles from Athens, with 15,500 inhabitants. The author contends that the Megarians were exposed to modern ideas for the first time in the early 1950's. Large-scale poultry farming brought increased contact with Athens, where the poultry is sold. Further impetus to modernization was provided by the establishment of two state-sponsored organizations: the Center for the Care of Children, and the Association of Young Farmers. The Center is helping to change traditional child care practices as its doctor advises mothers: the Association runs classes on modern agricultural techniques for boys between thirteen and twenty one and teaches domestic science to girls of the same age.

The most important stimulus to change, however, particularly for the women, was the establishment in September 1950 of the Piraiki - Patraiki cotton factory sixteen miles away in Megalo Pefko. It first employed only 62 workers but in 1954 there were 360, and by 1957 the size of the labor force had almost tripled. Dr. Lambiri has summarized what occurred in Megara with the introduction of factory work:

"But there is no doubt that the Megarians . . . accepted industrial work rapidly. Whereas at the time the factory was first established it looked as if the old and the new were about to clash in a dramatic manner, ten years later the outcome was a compromise. Two sets of circumstances were mainly responsible for this. On the one hand, Megarian society became for many reasons more dynamic. On the other, the behavior of the new industrial recruits did not prove disruptive of the existing standards.

1. Athens Center of Planning and Economic Research, 1965. Research Monograph Series 13.

In this decade the outlook of the Megarians was being continuously challenged by the progressive influence springing from their increasing familiarity with the life of the capital and with the local women workers. In short, Megara was and, to a lesser extent, still is a society in cultural transition. As modern social behavior and fashion became gradually more acceptable, the role of the woman became inevitably less restricted. On the other hand, the changes in the moral behavior of the women, as a result of industrial experience, were not so drastic as to provoke an insoluble conflict between the factory workers and the other Megarians. Many of the factory women did not make full use of the new opportunities for leading a freer life because of the restraining influence of the family, which proved a powerful mechanism of social control. Most important of all, they used the new financial opportunities to enhance the status quo." [meaning the dowry system].²

Dr. Lambiri's conclusion, then, is that industrialization did bring about some changes in social conventions, some increased freedom for those women who were earning their own money but that the families involved were not radically transformed in the ten-year period. Instead the family was such a guiding, constraining influence that factory work by women enhanced rather than disturbed the status quo. Since such a finding runs counter to the stereotyped view of the effects of the factory upon family life, we should look more closely at Dr. Lambiri's analysis.

In the first place, there was great resistance in most families to their daughters going to work in the factory. The father would be accused of being unable to support his family, the brother — who traditionally is supposed to protect the honor of his sister — might be embroiled in a tragic situation if his sister met strange men at the factory, and the neighbors kept saying that a girl who went to such work would become a prostitute. But the women in the family circle, especially the mother, were the real decision-makers. Frequently the mother persuaded her daughter to take on the factory job; usually she was supportive or the daughter would not do so. As time has gone on, more and more families take an active role in suggesting factory work to their girls.

What about the girls themselves? Relatively few took the job in order to escape their families. For most, the motivation was two-fold: to dress more richly and thus become the subject of envy in the town, and to build up

2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

a dowry. Of the 101 girls studied, 89 were increasing their dowry and 12 were helping their families. In most cases, the mother was helping her daughter decide how the money was to be spent.

As for morals and social conventions, the factory girls did not break very strongly with tradition. They did not travel outside Megara or go to the cinema more often than the Megara girls who did not work in the factory. Inside the factory, the girls were supervised. Supposedly, they could do what they liked when they finished working but family controls were strong even here. Most of the girls were required to come directly home. Indeed, the girls usually went about in groups of three or four, so that opportunities for clandestine dating were limited.

Thus one of the most striking conclusions of the study is that change occurred in the *outlook* of the factory girls but not in their *actual behavior*. Furthermore, there is clear-cut evidence that mothers who in their youth had been employed at farm work (and therefore been away from their sheltered home in a non-conformist situation) were most inclined to urge their daughters to work in the factory, thereby disregarding traditional values and public opinion. Dr. Lambiri, looking a generation ahead, supposes that the daughters of the present factory workers may well break with traditional patterns of behavior, going far beyond their mothers' shift in outlook.³

Evidence that work in the factory has become more respectable is the move of girls from higher status families into such occupations whereas initially only the poorest girls took such jobs.

Here, in one Greek country town, we have documentation of social changes brought by a nearby factory. The emancipation of the women that does occur is directly related to the income they receive and which they can spend for clothing and other items otherwise not available to them; their patterns of consumption as well as social behavior lie well within the general family traditions of the country, though some modification in emphasis and values have taken place.

Finally, Dr. Lambiri suggests that women are attracted to industrial employment mainly to *indirectly* improve their social status through contract-

3. C. A. Yeracaris has observed in a personal letter: "The fact that dowry can now be prepared through outside employment of the female is the beginning of the end of both the institution of dowry and the subordinate role of the female and other changes. For example, the brother may no longer have to postpone his marriage until his sister (s) are married, which fact will also enhance female emancipation even when the dowry institution does not change. (You are, I am sure, aware of the fact that there is a special fund for dawry for needy females headed by the Queen Mother in Greece).

ing a socially successful marriage; whereas men seek industrial employment in order to improve their status *directly* by earning money, acquiring a skill and rising in the industrial hierarchy.

No single case study and no single community can truly depict the industrialization process taking place throughout Greece. But Dr. Lambiri's study does remind us that industrialization far from being an impersonal process, is a highly personal affair for those involved. Most specifically, it affects family relationships but not in a one-sided manner. The Greek family is sufficiently strong, at this stage at least, to strongly influence the effects of industrialization on its members, particularly if they continue to live at home.

Vasilika: Aspects of Urbanization

A most obvious fact of change in Greece, as elsewhere is the movement of people to the cities. This attraction to urban centers has quite properly been called *urbanization* and needs to be analyzed in terms of its effects on national life: political, medical, educational, use of leisure, and the like. But urbanization has a reverse side as well. This is the spread to rural areas of urban values, conveniences, and ways of behavior. It is to this aspect of urbanization that Professor Ernestine Friedl, of Queens College, has turned. Many of her observations are based on extensive study of a Boeotian village of 250 - 300 people, named Vasilika.⁴ I will discuss only two of the concepts that she treats: namely, the family transmission network and lagging emulation.

I have already alluded to the ability of the Greek family system to deal with social change while ensuring continuity. One manifestation of this is the contacts which relatives who migrate to the city keep up with their relatives in the village and provincial towns. Dr. Friedl writes:

"The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns, and cities. Therefore it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers", in Greece can be understood best not only as indi-

4. *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

viduals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also — and perhaps more importantly — as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure.”⁵

When she investigates how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission in Vasilika, Dr. Friedl notes the following:

“New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.”⁶

Of course, the grandchildren of those who moved from the village return less frequently than did their parents and gradually loosen the ties with their rural cousins. But, as Dr. Friedl points out, social mobility is a continuing phenomenon in Greece and thus there is a constant renewal of the cultural transmission between urban and rural areas.

From the vantage point of Vasilika, one can observe an additional fact of Greek life: namely, which urban people the villagers tend to emulate:

“The rural people of Vasilika are in a changing situation by virtue of a new ability to achieve their ambitions for a higher proportion of their children than was formerly possible; their models for what constitutes achievement are drawn from those which were features of early twentieth century national Greek standards as established in the cities; the urban economic, political, and intellectual elite have in the meantime, developed additional standards for what constitutes high social position, with accompanying additional means of achieving their aims; these have

5. “The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece,” *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 61 (February, 1959), p. 31.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

not had any effect on the villagers. The villagers' activities and attitudes can therefore be designated as lagging emulation."⁷

Dr. Friedl illustrates her case as follows: as income and education increase, the villagers tend to seclude their women to the extent feasible in a settlement where both sexes labor in the fields; there is no youth culture — or cultural forms for courtship in the village; strictness of control over marriage increases with income and education; and large dowries are expected and much stress is placed upon marrying off daughters to urban men in order to increase the affinal kinship connections there. Large households also are prized in Vasilika. Such attitudes still characterize the middle income groups of Athens and other towns, but the new pace-setters in the capital are developing a youth culture, efforts are being made to both make marriage a less materialistic undertaking and to treat the dowry as an outmoded practice. Athenian leaders, while respecting the old professions, are more readily accepting engineering, economics, and the natural sciences. But in Vasilika, the stress remains upon classical education, as it was in Athens a generation ago.

The main conclusion of interest from the Vasilika study is the changing nature of village; family members who live outside play an important part in this process, although many of the changes are more reminiscent of an earlier period of Athenian life than of the new trends in the capital. This should not surprise us. And it does occur in such a way that the "human actors involved see it as a gradual and not excessively disruptive development."⁸

Athens: A Question of Modernization

One index of modernization, especially in industrialized Western societies, is the egalitarian family system. It is, of course, never completely achieved but nevertheless serves as an ideal. A 1964 study of 250 married couples in Athens, by Dr. Constantina Safilios Rothschild sheds some light on changes occurring in the urban Greek family. Two papers have presented her findings to date: one discusses the power structure or decision-making within the family, and the other deals with marital role definitions.

Many observers would consider it pointless to question male dominance in the Greek family. But sociologists do not take the obvious for granted. Dr.

7. "Lagging Emulation in Post-Peasant Society," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 66 (June, 1964), p. 574.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 582.

Rothschild questioned Athenian spouses about eight decisions: 1) child-rearing; 2) use of money 3) relations with in-laws; 4) use of leisure time; 5) family size; 6) choice of friends; 7) purchase of clothes for the entire family; and 8) purchase of furniture and other household items.⁹ The information about these eight kinds of decisions provided data for calculating the extent of the husband's authority. Here are some of the findings:

"In Greece, the husband's authority is higher in the absence of children and is lowered when children are born. Generally, the presence of children gives the Greek wife a greater right to make and influence decisions, mainly those directly related to the children, and this right increases with the children's age. (Trend contrary to study of French family and Detroit family).

"The wife's employment lowers the degree of authority exercised by the husband. (Some in France). But the wife makes decisions only concerning child-rearing, purchase of clothes for the entire family, the purchase of furniture and other household items, and less often, the budgeting of money. These "feminine" decisions do not threaten directly the husband's position in the family."¹⁰

At this point Dr. Rothschild felt it appropriate to observe:

"In examining the answers of husbands one notices that Athenian men are less willing to admit that their wife's employment diminishes their authority in decision-making. This is probably because until quite recently the Greek family was a traditional-patriarchal family in which the absolute power of the husband could not be questioned. It is still, therefore, very difficult for a Greek man to admit he is not the despot in his family, even when he knows he is not."¹¹

Continuing now with some further findings:

"In urban Greece, the more educated the husband, the less he is domineering. On the contrary, in France, there is a tendency for the husband's authority to increase with higher education.

"The authority of the Greek husband is maximum among

9. "A Comparison of Power Structure and Marital Satisfaction in Urban Greek and French Families," Invited paper to the Sixth World Congress of Sociology, Evian, France, September 8-11, 1966, p. 2. Published in *The Journal of Marriage and the family*, vol. 29 (May, 1967)

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

those with the lowest social status and minimum among those with the highest social status."¹²

Dr. Rothschild then suggests three reasons why the Greek husband's authority diminishes with high education, skilled or prestigious occupation and high salary, though it does not in such highly industrialized countries as the United States, France, and Germany. First those with low educational and financial accomplishments in Athens are of rural origin and bring to the capital traditional values, according to which a man has a right to dominate all family decisions simply because he is a man. Second, education, and particularly college education, helps free Greek men from the traditional ideology of male dominance; they develop liberal attitudes and accept changes in the social order. Third, in Greece as in many other developing countries, the worth of a man cannot be measured simply in terms of his earning capacity. With unemployment following the War, governmental planning and administration and not the individual was blamed if his pay was low or not in keeping with his training and experience.

In her second paper, Dr. Rothschild deals with marital role definitions.¹³ In effect, she asks whether the husband or wife holds the traditional, transitional, or modern definition of a suitable spouse. According to the modern perception of the husband's role, he is a friend and companion, provides expressive and emotional support and tenderness for his wife, spends his leisure hours with his family and takes his wife out often. Furthermore, he is expected to be a kind and a real father to his children as well as a good example.

As for the modern role of the wife, she is expected to be a friend and companion, affectionate and loving. Unlike the husband's role the giving of expressive emotional support by the wife can be characterized as transitional rather than modern since women have been doing this for time immemorial.

Admittedly these brief characterizations do little justice to the careful differentiations which Dr. Rothschild has made between the three types. What most interests us, however, are the findings. First those regarding the husband's role:

"Most women (54.6%) and a large proportion of the men (43.4%) defined the husband's appropriate role in modern terms. The majority of Athenian women want their husbands to be understanding, loving, and entertaining friends and companions,

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

13. "Marital Role Definitions by Urban Greek Spouses," Paper read at the National Council for Family Relations Meetings, Toronto, Canada, October 21, 1965.

whereas a smaller proportion of Athenian husbands conceive their role in the same way. This discrepancy may be a source of potential conflict.

The younger the age of women the more modern their views concerning the husband's role. There was no age difference in men holding the traditional or modern role definition.

Respondents with modern role definitions are the relatively better educated. The lower the husband's occupational standing the more traditional was the respondent's notion of the husband's role."¹⁴

The conclusions about the process of defining the wife's role are not too surprising. More than half the men (52.6%) and almost half the women (47.3%) defined the wife's role in traditional terms. (Notice that this contrasts with definitions of the husband's role, which was perceived by almost the same proportion in modern terms). Only very well educated men and those in high occupations tend to define the wife's role in modern terms. It is curious that the definition of the husband's role has now predominantly changed from traditional to modern without an accompanying reciprocal change in the definition of its counter-role.

Dr. Rothschild shows us that the urban Greek family has moved partially toward modernization — at least in the increasing recognition of a modern role for the husband.¹⁵ What might a similar study show ten years hence? What it would have shown ten years ago? The lack until now of such studies on Greece made generalizations about social change extremely hazardous; obviously further studies are badly needed.

This ends our discussion of the role of the family in changing Greek society. We have noted its reaction to industrialization (Megara), the part played in urbanization by the extended kinship group (Vasilika), and shifts in husband-wife relationships in Athenian families.

Another institution — government — is also closely linked to social change. It can either stimulate modernization or frustrate it. The closing section of this paper will investigate this theme.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

15. Dr. Rothschild indicates in another article entitled "Some Aspects of Fertility in Urban Greece, *Proceedings of World Population Conference*, 1965, Volume 11 (in press) that another indication of modernization is the low and slowly declining birth rate and the people's acceptance of the idea of birth control.

GOVERNMENT AS AN AGENT OF CHANGE

Government in Greece, as elsewhere consists of two important subsystems: the official and the electoral. The *official* subsystem pertains to the judicial, legislative, and executive segments of government and their relationship. The *electoral* subsystem relates to the entire apparatus of political parties which elevate new elites or re-elect incumbents to certain portions of the official subsystem. Such elections are most closely related to the legislative branch but also determine the composition of much of the upper echelon of the branch.

One can say today, as in the past, that many Greek leaders are more interested in the political subsystem than in the official subsystem. They are far more concerned with the process of gaining and keeping power (the function of the political subsystem) than with using power once acquired. *The Report on the Greek Economic Problem*, prepared by Kyriakos Varvaressos, at the request of the Greek government in 1952 is one among many studies that underline the frequent disinterest of officialdom in efficiency per se. Officials do not glory in inefficiency, but rather are intrigued by the politics of their immediate situation and tend to apply what Talcott Parsons has called particularistic rather than universalistic criteria. Hence they consider such factors as friendship, kinship, *patridha* or social class rather than objective impersonal standards in reaching a decision. Even the thought of an impersonal approach, as used in the civil services of some countries, would seem not only unfair but even repugnant to many Greeks. And since the official subsystem is deeply imbedded in Greek society, changes are very unlikely until the society itself experiences considerable transformation. Whether this will be for good or ill depends on the opinion of the beholder.

Given these facts of political life, one might ask whether the Greek government is capable of or interested in promoting economic and social change. The answer is clearly affirmative although some of the social aspects of development may not always be borne in mind. Development usually entails the formation of a new agency, a new social structure composed of fallible human beings. Success or failure is due just as much to the way these agencies operate as social mechanisms as it is to the amount of investment capital available or the economic models used. To combine the political and economic systems of a society, even for a specific purpose such as developing water resources, is as much a problem in social engineering as in civil engineering, and as much a human problem as a technical one. The record attests to an increasing awareness of this in Greece today.

Agriculture

The Greek government can take much credit for the noteworthy improvements in agriculture. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has recently completed a study of agricultural development in Greece.¹⁶ It finds that:

“Technological innovations have been encouraged, water resources exploited and new production possibilities developed. The effect of these changes has been to alter and enlarge the scope of the agricultural industry and to change its production potential. At the same time, new patterns of consumer demand, at home and abroad, have altered the task confronting it. Traditional practices with regard to land tenure and farm organization have, however, remained largely unchanged.”¹⁷

The report emphasizes that the task for the future lies in organizational change even more than in technological innovation. If agriculture is to prosper and expand, a new infrastructure — a series of social mechanisms — will have to be created. Greek agriculture is clearly in transition; it is “the most important element in the economic and social structure of Greece”.¹⁸ As it changes in keeping with the Draft Economic Plan (1966-70), it will stimulate changes throughout society: in the family, in education, recreation, and even in politics.

Industry

Statistics show that considerable progress is being made in industrial growth and in electrification. A spectacular example of government encouragement for this trend is the development of the Esso Pappas industrial complex around Thessaloniki. Centered around an oil refinery already in operation, the complex will produce fertilizer, gasoline, kerosene and fuel oil and chemical products for rubber, paint, plastic, textile, and paper pulp industries; the list could be extended. But the impact of this new industry is social as well as economic. The supply of secretaries, foremen and technicians must be greatly expanded through migration from elsewhere or the modification of local educational institutions to assure the training of young people who can live in an industrial society. The American Farm School of Thessaloniki, of

16. *The Development of Agriculture in Greece*, Report of a mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with the cooperation of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Washington, D. C., December, 1966.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

which I happen to be a trustee, is adjusting its program to meet the changes in village life resulting from increased electrification and mechanization. Consumer habits will change as the incomes increase of those involved even indirectly in the economic change. And this takes us back to the Rothschild study: who in the family will determine the spending of this extra income thereby modifying some traditional family relationships? A visit to Thessaloniki demonstrates that Greece is in transition: "from what" is clear but "to what" is not so clear.

Transportation

The Greek government, assisted by foreign technicians has also been responsible for directing the creation of a transportation system which has ended the isolation of hundreds of villages, and brought them into the twentieth century. I have tried to describe elsewhere the social effects upon a village of gaining an all-weather road.¹⁹ Such effects are highly desirable: easy in reaching medical care, in getting perishable crops to market without damage or spoilage in attracting better teachers to a village which they can easily leave on weekends, and in visiting more frequently with relatives elsewhere. Trucks can bring in modern building materials, consumer goods, and agricultural buyers. But such roads encourage homogeneity. The individuality, the quaintness of many isolated villages is disappearing perhaps has disappeared. To the local inhabitant this seems a psychological gain; to the foreign tourist it is disappointing. Much too often, the cruder side of industrial civilization spreads fastest, forming a striking contrast to its predecessor. The benefits of the Western way of life can only be gained at a price. That is the nature of a society in transition.

Education

We can close this inquiry into social changes in Greece by noting the new demands being made upon the educational system. As mentioned above,²⁰ the present school system is not geared to provide the kinds of skills needed for a modern industrial society. Here lies the challenge for Greek educators, as indicated in a recent study of policies for educational expansion.:

"Despite the prevalence of unemployment and underemployment, it is difficult, at present to recruit suitable personnel for certain occupation in Greece...In the public sector, in spite of

19. *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1962, pp. 45-47.

20. See p. 28, above.

substantial pay increases, the recruitment of engineers, town planners and agronomists is becoming a problem, all the more serious as those professionals play an important part in the preparation and implementation of economic development plans.

In the private sector, great difficulties are experienced in recruiting certain types of scientific and technical personnel, and even industries most vital to the export trade, such as textiles and food processing, cannot get certain types of specialists. There is also a lack of top-level administrative staff in the civil service, and of top-level managerial staff in the private sector."²¹

The report also enumerates the steps needed to meet the requirements, not only of today but those expected in 1975. But changes in education, the guardian of the past as well as the preparer for the future, will not come easily. Here the stress upon continuity and tradition, will conflict with the suggestions for innovation and reform. More education for more people is desirable; but changes in curriculum stir up otherwise dormant forces within both church and state. For in the long run, the basic question facing any transitional, developing society is whether it wants to modernize or not. Modernization means not merely accepting technological innovation, obtaining more consumer goods, and working at new occupations; modernization is primarily a revolution in the value system of a society. Many Greek values are already consonant with the modern world, which has inherited much from the Golden Age of Greece. But some Greek values, run counter to the needs of industrialization. Will the rugged individualism of the Greek decline or will it put its own stamp on the industrialization process?²² Will the civilized, almost lackadaisical approach to time and its use give way to the clock-run schedule demanded of efficient producers? Will cooperation in community and economic matters become accepted, offsetting divisiveness and distrust? Or to return to an earlier question, will universalistic criteria replace particularistic criteria in decision-making? Twenty years hence when scholars gather for another symposium, the answers to these questions may be much clearer.

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21. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, *The Mediterranean Regional Project, Greece: Education and Economic Development, A Study of Policies to Meet the Needs of 1975*, Working Draft, Paris, 26 February 1964, p. 12.

22. For an interpretation of this individualism as a group phenomenon see Adamantia Pollis, "Political Implications of the Modern Greek Concept of Self", *British Journal of Sociology*, March, 1965, pp. 29-47.