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**Tourism on Samos: Implications for marriage, dowry and
women's status**

Moutafis, Vasiliki, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1990

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A

TOURISM ON SAMOS: IMPLICATIONS FOR MARRIAGE,
DOWRY AND WOMEN'S STATUS

by

VASILIKI MOUTAFIS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The
City University of New York.

1990

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

TOURISM ON SAMOS: IMPLICATIONS FOR MARRIAGE,
DOWRY AND WOMEN'S STATUS

by

Vasiliki Moutafis

Advisor: Professor Jane Schneider

This study traces historically the decline of a land-based system followed by the growth of tourism, which has prompted the rise of entrepreneurial, service-oriented activities, and points out the implications of this process insofar as local control over economic development is concerned. The case of the Aegean island of Samos (Kokkari) exemplifies a type of touristic development that is grass-roots, small-scale and locally controlled. Tourism has generated shifts in the value of local property resources and labor, resulting in a stabilization of the community's population size, a reduction in class differences and increased participation of village families in social and economic consumption. The rise of new tourism-related economic activities has not brought about social and cultural changes in men's and women's values, goals and roles. Despite new behavioral patterns, marriage continues to be a social goal construed in terms of cultural role expectations and reflecting values which highlight the centrality of the family. The provision of dowry by the family has not ceased but what is viewed as a valuable dowry resource is an expression of economic conditions in terms of cultural values that pertain today.

Investigating women's involvement in household management, the study measures the extent of female autonomy and accounts for

determinants—such as the economic possibilities made available through tourism—of women's status. A key finding is that sexual differentiation based on ideology and behavior has not ceased as a result of women's increasingly assuming an active role in the economic realm outside the home. However, the supply and demand conditions created by tourism, as well as the structure of the tourist industry, have put a premium on female property resources (houses), as well as on women's domestic labor services. Because of these developments, tourism has availed women of new outlets to have a greater input in household management and to attain autonomy. The rise of women's resources relative to that of men's has also lessened the power imbalance between the sexes. Finally, a description of women's associations further illuminates the implications of women's public roles for their status.

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INTRODUCTION

This study documents how adjustments to the requirements of tourism in a local community have influenced the established order of domestic life: family needs and strategies, especially those concerning the provision of dowry, as well as the household division of labor and women's roles. It contributes to studies on modernization and development by examining the implications, in terms of processes of socio-economic change, of a transition to tourism-oriented activities. As a lens of analysis, it uses household organization, family relations, the dowry, cultural values and women's roles and status. The study seeks to reveal the dynamics of economic development based on tourism by offering data from a peripheral insular region of Greece, the Aegean island of Samos and, within this region, from a touristically developed village, Kokkari. Data from this island community contributes, therefore, to balancing the strong concentration in Greek studies on small, mountainous pastoral villages, as well as on villages whose economy is based mainly on agriculture. Fieldwork on Samos was carried out from 1963 to 1984 and for several months during the period 1984-85.

The analysis of the dowry and women's roles and status is anchored in a discussion of values concerning the family, since it defines the actions and purposes in life of actors in Greek communities. Values are juxtaposed to peoples' practices and courses of action through the application of analytic tools. The approach I utilize entails identifying patterns of action that systematically link males and females, primarily in the domestic sphere. The examination of men's and women's choices and strategies—as well as the motives behind them—which are directed towards social goals points out how

tourism, acting as a vehicle of change, has affected the dowry system both ideologically and in terms of actual practices. This focus also reveals important aspects of women's role in social reproduction because of their direct involvement in matters related to the provision of dowry. I seek to avoid the androcentric bias that appears at times in studies of gender by viewing women as actors who seek, in culturally structured ways, to achieve desired ends. This approach acknowledges that culture does not consist of a fixed set of roles and rules for behavior; hence, social roles and relations are negotiated and flexible rather than rigid and invariable. Adopting a diachronic perspective and accounting for women's practices and work activities through time, my study attempts to show that female choice and action has a certain flexibility, the extent of which can be largely explained in terms of the social and economic structure of the community at any given time.

In the final analysis, this work contributes to the study of gender-related issues by examining the relationship of gender to the public and private spheres and to power and lack of power within a specific social setting; also, by assessing the degree of separateness of the domestic from the public domain of village life, as well as the nature of the interrelationship between the two realms. What adds to the discussion of the relationship of gender to public and private is the investigation of Kokkariote women's associations. A focus on the ideology, strategies and orientation of action of the members of these all-female groups provides a context for further exploring the issue of what constitutes a locus of power for women and what factors influence their status.

This work contributes to three areas of anthropological research: first, tourism and its effects on a community's social and economic structure and value system; second, dowry and marriage practices in the context of tourism-related economic development; and third, touristic development and its implications for gender relations and

women's roles and status. Concerning the first area of research, the study of the effects of tourism on small local populations has become increasingly popular in the social sciences in the past fifteen years. Economists who have adopted a market model for evaluating tourism, and have assessed its expansion in terms of supply and demand, have given a problematic conception of tourism as a system of inter-societal exchange—a mechanism for redistributing in poorer countries the resources of the richer industrial ones. According to this model, tourism contributes to the growth and development of tourist-receiving countries because it generates employment as well as taxes and revenues for the government; provides foreign exchange with which to acquire consumer capital imports; stimulates activities in other sectors of the economy; and fosters foreign and local investments and capital formation. The underlying assumption of economists who apply this model (e.g., Fremon Jones 1971) is that each country is able to control and shape its tourist industry as it pleases. This view underestimates the impact of international corporations that promote tourism and determine the structure of the tourist industry within each country.

Studies that use the market model for the analysis of tourism draw their assumptions from the modernization approach to economic development, which is based on the perception of social change as a linear movement from backwardness to modernity. Specifically, it calls for the adaptation of technology, institutions and attitudes similar to those existing in the advanced capitalist countries of the West. The theory does not emphasize changes in class relations or the contradictory effects of the capitalist development process, nor does it acknowledge the possibility of alternative development models. In contrast, the developmentalist approach does not see a pervasive internal dynamic carrying societies towards

modernization. It rejects the notion that changes in one sector will generate compatible changes throughout the economy—new technologies introduced to raise productivity may remain encapsulated—and looks instead for conscious policies that move societies towards desirable directions. Developmentalists recognize that many societies may not develop regardless of the changes they undergo as they respond to inputs from already developed centers. As Andre Gunder Frank has argued in his case studies of Chile and Brazil, "economic development and underdevelopment are the opposite sides of the same coin" (1969:9).

That modernization and development are not only different but antithetical processes has been stressed by Schneider, Schneider and Hansen (1972) in their study of Catalonia and Western Sicily. According to these authors, modernization is "the process by which an underdeveloped region changes, in response to inputs (ideologies, behavioral codes, commodities and institutional models) from already established centers," whereas "development refers to the process by which an underdeveloped region attempts to acquire an autonomous and diversified industrial economy on its own terms" (Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1972:340). On the basis of this distinction, it can be stated that tourism, as it is structured and as it operates, leads in most cases to a situation which is characteristic of modernization without development. It creates new sources of income and gives rise to secondary and tertiary economic activities, but simultaneously strengthens a region's dependence on metropolitan centers and precludes development, as it does not facilitate the expansion of the region's productive capacities. Furthermore, it promotes the diffusion in backward areas of new products and life styles and affects social relations and cultural values.

A concluding argument of many studies on tourism is that an economic case can be made against touristic development. Tourism is

sometimes regarded as a negative alternative to other industries in developing national economies, as it is considered to lead to increased regional dependency (Noronha 1975:6). It is argued that tourism, like classical imperialism, creates export-oriented societies geared to the needs and demands of developed capitalist countries (Perez 1973; Morley 1974; Vaughen 1974; Davis 1978). The tourist industry is unproductive because it is not geared towards direct production for industrial growth. It does not, therefore, expand a country's economic base nor does it contribute to its self-sufficiency. Instead, it provides for a structure of dependency that is contingent upon the hegemony of leisure imperialism from developed countries.

Such arguments are mainly encountered in studies which adopt the dependency approach to tourism and development. This approach, dominant in most Latin American intellectual circles in the late 1960s and through part of the 1970s (e.g., Frank 1967; dos Santos 1973; Cardoso 1972, 1973), emphasizes the constraints placed on development by international forces, that is, industrialized nations holding economic hegemony through control of markets and technology. An assumption basic to the dependency perspective is that the development of a nation or region must be understood in connection with its historical insertion into the world capitalist economy (Wallerstein 1975). By emphasizing the ways external and internal structural elements are connected and by viewing relations of dependency in historical context, the dependency approach has contributed towards an integral analysis of development—one that is structural, historical and macro-sociological.

Studies that adopt the dependency approach note the following characteristics and economic effects of the type of tourism which has developed in parts of the Caribbean, Africa and Asia: a high degree of foreign investments encouraged by government incentives; the alienation of land to foreigners (a consequence of this is the flow of

profits toward the developed, tourist-sending countries); the tendency on the part of the industry to create few low-paying jobs for locals while placing management in the hands of trained foreigners; government investments in infrastructure which benefit the industry but are of little use to natives; a high import component that contributes to a deficit in the balance of payments; and failure on the part of tourism to generate investments in other productive activities (Bryden 1973; Vaughn 1974; Morley 1974; Wood 1975). It is ascertained that the type of tourism development that produces these effects accelerates a host country's dependency.

Before arriving at an understanding of the impact of the tourist industry in a given country or region, it is necessary first to analyze the structure of the industry. It has been shown that, in areas where tourism has consequences as those described above, the tourist industry consists of vertically integrated corporations that control every facet of the tourist trade (airlines, travel agencies, reservation systems, organized tours, hotels, restaurants and recreational facilities). The industry is mostly foreign-owned and any control of tourism development through planning is non-existent, considering that no policies and ground rules are formulated that would regulate land use, construction, hotel management and employment, profit remittances and environmental pollution. Nor are training programs established for teaching natives the skills which would enable them to work at various capacities in the tourist industry. Instead, legislation and government incentives such as subsidies, tax exemptions and loans favor foreign ownership of tourist facilities.

Under these circumstances, the type of tourism usually developed is charter luxury tourism which involves a high import content. This is most evident in the sleeping accommodations' sector where luxury hotels require imported materials as part of capital

investment and as part of their normal operations. The management of these hotels is in the hands of foreigners because locals are not trained to fill skilled positions (Farver 1984:259-61). Furthermore, in the construction, as in the operation of luxury hotels foreign workers are often used. It has been argued that investment in luxury hotels represents a continuation of the speculative real estate-oriented investments which are characteristic of the ruling classes of many underdeveloped countries (Wood 1975:283). Luxury tourism not only does not solve the problem of labor surplus many underdeveloped countries face (it creates few menial jobs) but—because hotels hold a near monopoly on the provision of tourist services—there are not many possibilities for local businesses to take advantage of the tourist market and gain income. In addition, since charter luxury tourism is often concentrated in urban locations, it increases disparities between rural and urban areas. Direct employment in these cases is available only for a few relatively educated young people from urbanized areas (Esh and Rosenblum 1975:58). Finally, luxury tourism tends to lead to the rise of food costs. Because the local food supply is limited, or in order to provide tourists with the commodities and standards they demand, hotels often purchase imported foodstuffs, thereby inflating prices.

An analysis of touristic development must begin with the understanding that new economic, social and political phenomena tend to adapt to, and take on, the structural characteristics of the society into which they are introduced (Young 1977:657). A tourist industry (in its structural dimensions) will therefore reflect the socio-economic structure of the society that hosts it. As Caribbean studies indicate, large-scale, luxury-charter tourism is encountered mostly in societies with rigid economic and social structures, such as former colonial and plantation societies. Puerto Rico, Jamaica, the West Indies, other Caribbean islands, as well as Latin American and

African countries, are examples of such highly centralized and socially stratified societies. These societies' structures of production were, and continue to be, geared to the demands and needs of metropolitan capitalist economies. They have been penetrated by metropolitan capital in the form of investments in agriculture or in extractive raw material industries (and today in the tourist industry), and have constituted markets for the import of manufactured goods from metropolitan centers. Their governments have rationalized a policy of industrialization based on foreign investments.

Thus, tourism has institutionalized the sources of underdevelopment--inaccessability to capital and the concomitant flow of capital outside the country--and has reinforced the monoculture economies of plantation and former colonial societies. Tourism-generated employment and colonial monoculture systems are similar, in that both are characterized by cyclical employment patterns. Employment in the tourist industry has created a sector of waiters, bartenders, chambermaids and porters receiving low wages in inflationary economies. Former agricultural laborers have become dependent low paid service workers. The entire tourist sector is geared toward gratifying the wants and needs of foreigners, who are frequently former colonists and of a racially different population than the native one. Only a small national elite, who in the pre-tourism period had access to productive resources, has access to the tourist industry and gains profits from it. Hence, touristic development has not altered the basic characteristics of plantation societies; the social pyramid continues to consist of a few landowning and entrepreneurial elite at the top and a large majority of landless peasants and workers at the bottom (Farrell 1977:2). In converting former agricultural monoculture economies to travel monoculture, tourism renews and reinforces the process of underdevelopment, while it keeps intact, and manifests, the basic features of the socio-economic structure of the societies concerned.

Large-scale, enclave charter tourism that is controlled by vertically integrated foreign corporations is the type of tourism most frequently discussed in the literature. However, in assessing the extent to which tourism accelerates dependency or leads to uneven and distorted development, alternative types of tourist industries (other than those associated with charter and luxury tourism) must be explored. One such alternative may be sought in community-integrated, grass-roots tourism with small-scale, locally owned establishments, where the host society is able to exploit tourism for its own ends rather than become overwhelmed by it. This is the type of tourism examined in this study. The area of my research, Samos, is an economically declining region where tourism, in contrast to other Greek islands, has developed relatively late, basically during the last fifteen years. Also, tourism on Samos is not as advanced and large-scale as in other parts of Greece and in areas of the Mediterranean and Caribbean where most studies have been carried out. Considering that in the chosen area touristic development is not as highly intense and modern as elsewhere and consists of a network of local initiatives, the case of Samos—and particularly of the village of Kokkeri—allows for the observation of processes rather than end results. Therefore, because it contrasts with documented cases of advanced mass tourism, this study makes an additional contribution to studies on modernization and development.

Studies on tourism have isolated several effects of commercialization and economic growth brought about by tourism on the social structure, organization and culture of host societies. Some of these effects or changes include: increased social stratification due to differential access to profits (Rosenberg, Reiter and Reiter 1973:34; Mendonça 1983:236); the monetizing of social relations (Forster 1964:222); changes in community values resulting in competitive patterns of consumption (Greenwood 1972:86); the emulation of tourist behavior, which places a strain on relations between men and women in the host

community (Boissevain 1977:534); and new employment opportunities for women in both the hotel service industry as well as in the home (Stott 1973:130 and 1979:76; Armstrong 1977:138-39; Duffield and Long 1981:419). Nevertheless, much of the literature dealing with the socio-economic and cultural effects of tourism is based largely on inferences which are barely supported by hard data because many studies are macro-level. Thus, although tourism is recognized as an agent of change, effects of touristic development on the micro-level—on the community, its social structure and cultural codes, and particularly on the household and domestic relations—have not been adequately assessed.

Studies on rural Greek communities whose economic base rests on agriculture emphasize the economic and social significance of the conjugal family; namely, that it is an entity which controls and transmits property from generation to generation, an important source of manpower, a unit of production and consumption and a unit of honor and shame (Friedl 1962, 1967; Campbell 1964; Dubisch 1976, 1986). Given what is known of Greek village family life, I expected that in Kokkari, with the growth of tourism and the concomitant exposure to leisure, consumption and behavior patterns alien to the community, the socio-economic realities which have formally supported the role of the family would change. To the extent that people seek to accommodate themselves—in terms of their practices and expectations—to the changing conditions, familial roles and strategies would also be affected. Thus, focusing on the conjugal family household as a microcosm of the village, this study investigates changes at the level of domestic organization associated with the development of tourism.¹ One way it accomplishes this is through the comparison of households differing according to income sources and their members' economic activities. Such a comparison makes possible first the documentation of decision-making processes, that is, the ways in which individuals and families assess needs, perceive options in terms of their monetary and non-material utility and make choices to attain desirable

ends; and second, the delineation of tourism-related changes in the household economy, the division of labor and women's economic roles.²

A large number of studies on tourism, besides being macro-level, lack a comparative perspective and a holistic approach. Hence, they do not account for the multiplicity of processes of change and fail to distinguish tourism as an agent of modernization from other factors and processes that produce similar changes. An additional drawback of many studies is their lack of historical perspective. With the exception of Stott's work (1973, 1979) on the Greek island of Mykonos, Boissevain's work (1977, 1979) on Malta and Kottak's study (1983) of a Brazilian village, very few attempts have been made to examine the extent to which the history, social structure and organization of a community affect the flexibility or inflexibility with which it responds to tourism. In evaluating the impact of tourism on a community, one of the basic questions that should be asked is: what circumstances prevailed in the community where the tourist industry was introduced?

This study seeks to correct the above drawbacks in several ways. First, it reconstructs Kokkari's pre-tourism social and economic structure—the system of production, distribution of property, structure of employment opportunities, labor patterns and class relations—in order to demonstrate how it has affected the organization and structure of the tourist industry. Second, by adopting a historical perspective, the study points out various developments, such as those related to the rise and decline of markets, as well as to out-migration, which provided a source for major transformations in village life prior to the advent of tourism. Such developments suggest that any assumptions of a "stable" village base only recently disrupted by tourism would be misleading. Third, placing the study of the contemporary village against recent analyses of Greek society makes it possible to distinguish those patterns of change in peoples' attitudes, values and aspects of social interaction which are rooted in tourism from those that denote changes

in the wider society. The main focus of this part of the research and analysis is on examining the transition to tourism in Kokkari for what it reveals concerning local involvement in and control of the industry, employment and investment opportunities, the organization of labor as well as occupational and social mobility. To identify and explain new trends the study illuminates the impact on Samos of its involvement, in earlier times, in external systems; gives an account of Kokkari's level of differentiation—assessed in terms of the opportunities available for its residents to make a living—and its social structure prior to the growth of tourism; and discusses how the state, through its non-intervention, played a role in influencing the type of tourist industry established on the island. That the Greek state with its policies acts as a major force behind trends in touristic development becomes evident through a comparison of the case of Samos with alternative and similar types of touristic development described in studies of other Aegean islands.

Regarding the theoretical approaches proposed for the analysis of various aspects of the touristic process, it has been suggested (Nunez 1977:207-208) that tourism may be understood within the framework of acculturation theory; that is, it may be viewed as representing a "donor" culture while the host population a "recipient" culture. In the process of adapting itself to tourism (responding to the tourists' needs, attitudes and values), the host community must, in some ways, become more like the tourists' culture. A related approach, proposed by Dennison Nash (1977), views tourism as a means by which a new socio-cultural reality, attributable to an externally-based leisure class, is presented to the native people to which their social system must adapt. The main adaptations that ensue are between groups and classes; a service class is created to deal with foreign guests and to provide for their leisure activities. The necessity, in turn, of some hosts to function as culture brokers, in order to deal with

tourists and their cosmopolitan sponsors, creates pressure for acculturation in the direction of metropolitan and foreign cultures. Acquisition of qualities such as learning how to carry on superficial transactions and providing for leisure needs are seen by Nash as a potential source of social conflict.

A third approach which considers the impact of tourism on the host community and its culture suggests that one effect of the host-guest interaction is the "demonstration effect" which may run the gamut from emulation to rejection of partners in touristic transactions. Greenwood states that "it is possible to view the tourist industry as a vast school for the modernization of peoples' values through a massive "demonstration effect" (1972:90). Contact with tourists brings a new profile of life, most often presented in a distorted way, into the consciousness of local people. The latter, however, may be unaware that the profile of foreign culture or urban life to which they are exposed is very selective. One of the major weaknesses of most of these approaches and studies relates to the fact that they fail to distinguish the social and cultural consequences of tourism from the changes which other agents of modernization facilitate. Tourism may simply provide an easier facility for the absorption of national cultural patterns. Also, changes in behavior whose source may be the demonstration effect may actually not indicate changes in values. It is possible that such changes may reflect new expressions of existing cultural principles.

Regarding the various dimensions of the emulation effect, which in Kokkari are readily discerned in the behavior of local young men, this study explores several related questions concerning their encounters and relationships with tourist women and their participation in the tourists' leisure activities. What existing latent cultural values concerning male sexual behavior find expression in the tourist setting? To what extent do relationships between village men and tourist women disrupt domestic life? Do such relationships affect young men's

commitment to work and their obligation to contribute family labor in economic activities? How are young men who pursue such relationships socially evaluated—is there a stigma attached to them and what aspects of their interactions and relationships with tourist women are stigmatized? In relation to these and other questions pertaining to the attitudes and practices of young village women, an assessment is made of how tourism affects sexual interrelations, values and marriage patterns. The study also points to ideals, strategies and aspirations of young people and their parents as evidence of new trends and developments.

Another problem which becomes evident in studies on tourism relates to the general tendency on the part of anthropologists to assume that socio-cultural change produces conflict. A study of the impact of tourism must provide sufficient evidence to empirically establish whether or not tourism-related changes precipitate conflict. The anthropological and sociological literature present ample evidence of cases where various mechanisms exist within a social system to alleviate stress and even to prevent the manifestation of conflict. Also, if conflict is present, it should not be examined and analyzed as though it is peculiar only to tourism, but rather the possibility must be considered that its causes may lie outside tourism and its effects. Finally, whether conflict results from tourism and the form it takes will depend to a large extent on the structure of the industry and on the local community's pre-existing social organization and cultural values. This study, by focusing on new economic roles and changes in domestic relations, explores developments which contain potential and actual tourism-related conflicts. It examines, for example, whether women who take on employment in the tourist industry find that their new work roles conflict with their domestic work activities. Also, where conflict exists, research reveals the form it takes and the ways it is resolved—that is, the strategies women use to deal with conflicting obligations and responsibilities. Comparing cases of women whose

work activities are unrelated to tourism with cases of women whom tourism has availed with new opportunities to earn income illuminates conflicts which spring from tourism-related work, as well as adjustments to new conditions.

The second area of research which concerns this work is dowry and marriage practices in the context of tourism-related economic development. Research in local areas undergoing a shift in emphasis to new economic resources and activities is relevant for exploring processes affecting marriage and the dowry. Since economic changes rooted in the development of tourism affect the ways people evaluate property resources and influence opportunities for social mobility, such changes are expected to also have an impact on family strategies concerning the accumulation and use of dowry as well as on marriage practices. This study is based on the assumption that property illuminates important dimensions of the relationship of dowry, marriage and women's position. It provides insights on the woman/property relationship, on dowry as a factor influencing marriage possibilities and on the articulation of ideology (expectations, views and legal stipulations concerning dowry) and practice. Some of the questions addressed are: in what ways are domestic (economic) and residential arrangements structured by access to, control over and transmission of dowry property? To what extent and in what respects is women's income-earning potential construed as a "resource"? Overall, the discussion on marriage and dowry sheds light on various aspects of social reproduction and the organization of the functions of the domestic (household) group.

Dowry, according to Davis' definition, is the property given to a bride by any donor; such property is subject to restrictions on use and alienation—it cannot be disposed of without legal permission or the donor's consent—and its granting may or may not disqualify a woman from inheritance (1977:182-83). It consists of a trousseau,

mostly of embroidered linen, but it may also include a house, money and land. The dowry system does not place emphasis on the new couple at the expense of kin; instead it serves to maintain a link between a daughter and her family of origin. Historically, the emergence of dowry in the Mediterranean area occurred in the context of various developments—demographic growth, land shortage and commercialization—which created a crisis of status.³ Under those circumstances, dowry functioned as a mechanism for alliance and mobility (Hughes 1978:288-99). Furthermore, the rise of dowry drew attention away from the conjugal bond and focused it instead on the relations between the couple and the wife's kinsmen, and particularly on the daughter-father bond. Other important characteristics of the dowry system include peoples' tendency to count on daughters for security in their old age and to look for certain in-law relationships. As a result of a daughter's marriage and her being given dowry, a network of affinal kin relations is established which may be valued for economic and other reasons. Friedl (1968) reports that in Vasilika, because of the preference for urban husbands, the disposition of dowry has led to the creation of kinship networks between the village and the city.

The Greek institution of dowry is one of considerable antiquity and has shown great regional variation (Friedl 1962, 1976; Campbell 1964; DuBoulay 1974; Loizos 1975; Kenna 1976; Symeonidou-Alatopoulou 1979). It has been stressed that dowry influences to a great extent the attractiveness of women as brides. There is, however, no clear association with hypergamy. Individual family strategies may work on this basis but marriage is usually conceived of in terms of matching the wealth and status of potential spouses. Nevertheless, in situations where dowry operates in the context of social mobility, the consequences are usually the inflation of dowries and the increase in the age of marriage for women, since it takes longer to accumulate dowries (Friedl 1968:128-30).

In studies of rural Greek communities, changes in the form and function of the dowry system have been related mainly to out-migration, which has resulted in a shortage of single males and a decrease in land values, as well as to the desire for urban living. Villegers have adopted an urban standard regarding dowry because dowries must be acceptable to urban marriage partners. Thus, associated with the accelerating rural exodus since the Second World War, there is now a countrywide emphasis on urban real estate as the most acceptable dowry (cf. Allen 1973). The provision of a dwelling by the bride's family may also reflect demographic factors. In the Greek-Cypriot village studied by Loizos, prior to 1930 the house was commonly provided by the man's family at marriage, whereas in 1968 it was supplied by the woman's family. What contributed to this change was mainly the reduction in the number of males available for marriage. In the latter period the number of women of marriage age exceeded greatly that of men and, as a result, houses were offered to men as an inducement for marriage (Loizos 1975: 512-13).

That cash and urban real estate have been replacing the traditional dowry of agricultural land indicates that this change in the form of dowry is associated with its ever-increasing cost. There are also references that a greater emphasis is today placed on material wealth over other qualities such as reputation, virtue and skills (Hirschon 1984:13). Finally, it is suggested that the incorporation into a community of a new industry may make it possible for women to earn income and accumulate their own dowries. An example of this occurrence is found in Stott's discussion (1973) of the implications for the family of the development of tourism in Mykonos. According to the author's argument, the dowry has not ceased to be desirable but its basic economic significance in terms of survival has disappeared. (An increase is noted in the number of marriages that have occurred without consideration of dowry). This is because opportunities are available for females to accrue their

own dowries—working in cottage industries, in shops and other commercial enterprises—and for males to become financially independent much sooner than was possible in the past. Hence, Stott maintains, the effect of tourism-related economic changes on dowry has meant that the role of the family in providing it has lessened (1973:131-32).

As can be derived from the above references, the investigation of the dowry—in terms of its implications for marriage, family relations and social mobility—end of peoples' conceptualization of what constitute valuable dowry resources at any one historical time directs attention to wider economic, social and legal forces as well as to the domestic household locus. This study explores the factors influencing Kokkariote women's marriageability in the pre- and post-tourism period and distinguishes those changes in marriage practices and the dowry which are the result of tourism's socio-economic effects from those linked to wider societal developments. As part of this attempt, it also accounts for variability through time in the form and value of dowry items. Furthermore, by adopting a historical perspective, the study gives much data on the ways in which economic and social conditions have affected, in different periods, the role played by the family in marriage arrangements and in providing materially for the establishment of new households. I expected that in Kokkari greater importance would be attached to certain types of dowry property, such as real estate, whose value rises with touristic development. By enhancing, in this sense, the institution of dowry, tourism would contribute to strengthen the role of the family as its provider.

Hirschon notes that "what is construed as a valued resource, whether personal or productive, is an expression of the material conditions of existence in terms of values and perceptions pertaining at that time" (1984:5). Taking into account this statement, it is possible that in Kokkari, where tourism has introduced a new source of income, namely cash earned from services, female labor may also be thought

of as a resource; and this because the provision of services to tourists is primarily women's work. To explore this issue, the study addresses several questions: what factors enter today into peoples' evaluation of occupational and income-earning possibilities for women, either for purposes of acquiring their own dowry items or contributing, subsequently to marriage, towards their own family's economic well-being? To what extent and in what respects is women's income-earning potential (or generally their contribution of labor services in extra-domestic tasks) construed differently today than in the pre-tourism period? Also, depending on the extent to which tourism increases employment opportunities and access to cash for women, does it lessen the disadvantages or difficulties which the lack of dowry tends to imply for marriage?

Although Mediterranean ethnography provides much information on marriage and the institution of dowry, such information is at times incomplete or even controversial.⁴ In addition, discussions on dowry often fail to link the "general" to the "specific" and concentrate mainly on describing the dowry in terms of peoples' views and conceptions. However, the expectations surrounding dowry will vary because they tend to be adjusted to aspects of social organization such as ownership and control of resources. Depending on the distribution of property, educational opportunities and occupational possibilities, the means available for the attainment of upward mobility, as well as social values guiding social interaction and women's behavior, dowry will mean different things to different people. Also, significant inconsistencies tend to exist between prescribed standards and actual practices regarding dowry. Although attempts have been made to explain diachronic changes in this particular mode of marital property transmission, variations in the provision of dowry—with respect to the frequency of its occurrence, the content of dowries, how they are accrued and who contributes them—in a particular community, and at a specific period of time, are not adequately accounted for.

The present study seeks to correct these drawbacks. It focuses on peoples' ideals and actual practices concerning dowry and explains the causes which account for inconsistencies between the two. In addition, it analyzes the relationship between legal provisions about dowry and local customs and expectations. The comparison of legal with community values makes it possible to assess the extent to which changes in legal principles pertaining to dowry reflect or correspond to changes in practices and interrelations centering around marriage and the establishment of new households. Besides analyzing dowry from both men's and women's point of view, the study also uses dowry as a focus in order to investigate family relations and strategies, decision-making processes over matters concerning marriage and the relationship of women to property.

The woman/property relationship, as an aspect of women's position, cannot be ignored. Friedl, for example, claims that because of the dowries they bring into marriage, females have an effective voice in many domestic decisions. These women, through their control of economic resources, are able to exercise influence over their husbands and to counteract their spouses' decisions (Friedl 1967:105-106). Other studies also suggest that, regarding their position in the domestic sphere, there are certain advantages which possession of dowry bestows on women.⁵ This work, by investigating the dowry both from the point of view of women's attitudes and expectations as well as in terms of the ways it relates to women's roles, strategies and economic action, points out factors relevant to women's position in the household.

The third area of research encompassed by this study concerns touristic development and its implications for gender relations and women's roles and status. The development of new economic activities in local areas does not affect women uniformly. To explain variations in women's work and status, in view of changing economic realities, it is necessary to investigate the type of economic development a community is undergoing;

to examine the ideas and values concerning the roles of men and women; and to account for factors which regulate women's actions and choices. It is through such a comprehensive approach that an understanding of the variability of women's roles and of the various dimensions of women's position can be attained. A large number of anthropological studies which deal with or focus on women center on female forms of power and women's status. The majority of these works reject the view that women are passive victims of their sexual constitution and assume that women are social actors with goals of their own and means to attain them. To the extent that women have low status, this is considered the result of social or cultural arrangements. Thus, several feminist anthropologists demonstrate that because of the nature of social and cultural systems, men have more power and women are universally subordinated.

A common argument of those who use economic criteria for measuring women's status is that it increases with women's contribution to the subsistence economy (Martin and Voorhies 1975). Other writers, however, have taken issue with the assumption that participation in production is the key to women's status. According to Friedl, "those who work to produce goods have a greater chance to be assigned the control of distributing them, but do not automatically gain the right to do so" (1975: 8-9). Reacting to the notion that women's role in production may be used as a simple measure of their status, Sanday (1973) has specified four indicators as measures of women's status: female control over produce; external or internal demand or value placed on female produce; female participation in at least some political activities; and female solidarity groups devoted to female political or economic interests. No direct correlation was found cross-culturally between these factors and women's contribution to subsistence, indicating that access to resources does not necessarily result in control over them. Sanday concludes, with Friedl, that their contribution to production is a

necessary but not a sufficient condition for the improvement of women's status. Friedl (1975) argues that more important may be women's culturally recognized right to dispose of the products of their own labor.

Another focal point in many studies on female status is women's participation in political activities. Rosaldo (1974), for example, argues that because women are confined to the domestic sphere only, they have no access to politics which occur in the public sphere; men, however, having access to the political structure, are in the power positions and, therefore, universally dominant. Rosaldo makes a distinction between power, the ability to gain compliance, and culturally legitimated authority—the recognition that such ability is right (1974:21). It is often suggested in the literature that women may have considerable power or influence, but it is also argued that the fact that women have only informal, manipulative power at their disposal is indicative of their low status.

As for social loci and their implications for women's power and status, the domestic arena—and the association of women with it—is viewed as universally weighing women down and preventing them from participating in valued male spheres. The domestic (private) sphere is seen as molded by higher level arrangements in the extra-domestic (public) arenas. According to one argument, where the public/private distinction is highly developed, women, because they are associated with the private realm, have lower status and more circumscribed power. Thus, Sanday points to segregation as a necessary precondition for sexual inequality. She states that "men and women must be physically and conceptually separate in order for males to dominate females" (Sanday 1981:7; see also Martin and Voorhies 1975). A similar position is taken by Rosaldo who brings together a series of superficially similar ethnographic examples to demonstrate that an asymmetry in the cultural evaluations of male and female—in the importance assigned to men and women—appears to be universal (1974:19-21). She then attempts to explain this universal

sexual asymmetry in terms of a division between the public and the domestic spheres of life and suggests that the most egalitarian societies are those in which public and domestic spheres are weakly differentiated (Rosaldo 1974:36).

Concerning the relationship between power and domestic roles, a different argument has emphasized that if we neglect the domestic realm, we overlook an important source of power and status for women (Lamphere 1974). According to this argument, where the private/public dichotomy is highly developed, domestic roles give women a separate sphere of power and authority—one in which they may be dominant. It appears, then, that there are two contradictory views of the relationship between the private/public division and women's status and power. One assesses women's association with the domestic sphere as a factor that accounts for their inability to exercise control over their own lives and the lives of others. The opposite view holds that such domesticity may provide the basis of power for women, although not necessarily "legitimate" power.

Many studies on women's roles and the relationship of gender to the public/private dichotomy and to power (or lack of power) begin by defining what they mean by "women's status" in terms of female political participation, economic control, personal autonomy, interpersonal equality, legal adulthood and ideological position, in order to test a particular hypothesis. Yet, it is often assumed from the outset that women are subordinate and the conclusions reached speak broadly of "women's low status," "female subordination," "female oppression" or "male dominance" (Guinn 1977:182). The fact that women are assumed from the start to be subordinate introduces a tautology. Hence, analyses point to the existence of female subordination because the criteria for measuring women's status are chosen and defined with this conclusion in mind (Rogers 1978:142). Also, variations in the contextual meaning of particular institutions are often overlooked since the intent is to find "objective" criteria applicable to all societies.

There have been several challenges to the uni-causal explanations or "key" theories about women's status. One such challenge has been posed by the trend away from the search for conditions purported to influence women's status overall. In recent years the emphasis in the literature has shifted to the definition and investigation of more particular domains of women's lives and activities, and ethnographic data has allowed for a greater understanding of the complexities and multiplicity of women's roles across these domains. It has been acknowledged that it is more accurate to treat women's status as a composite of different variables, often causally independent one from the other. In a given society this status may be "low" in some domains of behavior, approach equality in others, and even, in some domains, surpass the status of men (Quinn 1977:183). As Dubisch states, an important factor that needs to be taken into account in the study of gender and subordination is that of context (1986:15). Much of the recent literature that seeks appropriate ways of assessing women's status in particular societies examines the position of men and women vis-a-vis each other. What is considered important is the power distribution of men and women who share daily life.

Certain biases in the ethnographic literature underlying the definition and analysis of gender differentiation and gender power have also posed a serious obstacle in the understanding of the position of women in different societies.⁶ Furthermore, as it is charged by critics, concepts and notions relating to equality and inequality and to competitive and hierarchically structured social relations which are based on experiences that derive from the anthropologist's own class society, have been used to explain behavior patterns and institutions of other societies. Sacks (1976), for example, characterizes as "state-specific thinking" the tendency to perceive hierarchy even when it may not exist in the minds and lives of people. According to Reiter (1975), the division between private and public spheres may be characteristic of state

societies. The dominance of men in the public sphere and of women in the private domain of the family is related to the growth of the state which usurps power and control over economic resources from kin groups and relegates them to a private economy whose orientation falls to women. The functions of kinship, which shrink to those of reproducing and sustaining labor power, become defined as private matters (Reiter 1975:275). For Reiter, the low status of women in state societies derives from the fact that the performance of these activities, unlike that of public ones, goes unrewarded by power and prestige.

Regional and area studies dealing with women's roles in various cultures have challenged anthropological descriptions biased by arguments about male dominance and the implicit assumption that such dominance is based on women's relegation to the home and men's involvement in the non-domestic, especially the productive, sphere. The meaning of the public sphere has been revised, as has the notion that the domestic domain is of secondary importance. Furthermore, the investigation of women's roles in domestic, economic, ritual and religious spheres has contributed to alter existing preconceptions regarding power, its sources, as well as the methods through which it can be exercised. Thus, several researchers have illustrated the importance of the domestic sphere in peasant life and women's power within that sphere (Sweet 1967; Friedl 1967; Nelson 1974; Rogers 1975; Rothstein 1983). It has been shown that peasant society is domestic-centered and one need not look beyond the domestic sphere to measure the relative status of men and women.

Besides striving to overcome certain biases rooted in one's own culture, the anthropologist must be aware that the role he or she adopts or is assigned in the field has significant implications in terms of the insights he or she obtains. Because it affects who the ethnographer associates with and what social events he/she observes, this role filters his/her perceptions of local patterns of social life (Clark 1983:122).

Assessing both her own fieldwork experiences in Greece and those of other anthropologists who have also worked in Greek communities, Clark points out various elements of social identity—gender, marital and parental status, as well as status as an educated foreigner—that affect the nature of data collected by ethnographers. The accounts presented by the author provide a useful insight into the type of bias which results from the negotiation of social relations between the ethnographer and informants. Such bias, Clark suggests, may account for the different and even contradictory descriptions in the literature of gender role expectations and behavior.

Another type of bias which explains the apparent contradiction between different accounts of gender roles results from the ethnographer's inadequate recognition of situational or regional variation in behavior and in statements related to gender roles. In her research, Clark found that what were stated as ideals concerning the appropriate qualities and activities of men and women varied in actual practice, depending on the perspective, age and gender of the speaker as well as the situation in which the cultural norms were expressed (1983:128). Situational variation in the acting out of gender roles and ambiguity in norms in different situations suggest that roles and rules for behavior are not fixed, but flexible and negotiable. Hence, the ethnographer's goal should be to investigate the patterns which underlie such variation rather than to seek standard gender role norms. Clark proposes that the concept of gender be analyzed "...as a generally ambiguous cultural construct that is elaborated in response to constraining factors and individual goals in particular situations" (1983:129). This concept offers a way to explain variation in the elaboration of gender and other social roles in different situations.

The concern for documenting the role of women in the social system has been especially strong among a number of anthropologists working in Greece (Friedl 1962, 1967; Dubisch 1974, 1983, 1986; DuBouley 1974, 1986;

Hirschon 1978, 1981; Sutton 1985). Through their attempts to explore the social and cultural importance of gender in Greek society, these researchers have produced studies which contribute significantly to the understanding of gender roles. As Dubisch notes "... the history of the anthropological study of gender in Greece parallels, and has influenced, the interest in women within the field of anthropology as a whole" (1986:5). Friedl was the first to point out the need for a reassessment of the role of Greek women in village life, stating that "if pragmatically the family is the most significant social unit, then the private, and not the public sector, is the sphere in which the relative attribution of power to males and females is of the greatest real importance" (1967:97). She found that in Vasilika male monopolization of prestigious public roles gives an appearance of male domination. This public prestige, however, gives men no advantage in the private sphere, where the "realities of power" are found; here men and women play complementary roles and neither enjoy higher prestige.

According to Friedl, the economic power of women is based on their ability to bring dowries of land into the household and to maintain control of this property. At times women upset the balance of domestic power by controlling not only their own realms but encroaching on those of their male counterparts (Friedl 1967:98-105). Dubisch has broadened Friedl's argument by pointing out that a woman's status and power may be influenced by the following variables: the amount of property relative to that contributed by her spouse, her character, the prestige and wealth of her village, her village of origin and whether she owns her own house (1974:28, 32). She suggests that a woman's status, instead of being formally prescribed, is relatively flexible, depending on marriage and circumstance.

In various studies of gender relations in Greece, it is acknowledged that, since women's roles in the domestic sphere are significant for the society at large, the power women wield in this sphere has implications

that extend beyond the household (cf. Hirschon 1984; Dubisch 1986). Thus, the division into public and private has not prevented researchers in this area from analyzing the interconnections between the two spheres, viewing women's activities in the context of the larger socio-economic system and assessing the ways in which power in one sphere translates into power in the other. Dubisch (1974), for example, has argued that the prestige of each marital partner, deriving from appropriate behavior in his/her respective domain, can translate into power in the other domain. Where an attempt has been made to avoid a binary reduction—that is, seeing an absolute correspondence between male and female roles and public and private domains—the focus on the public/private dimension of Greek life has enabled scholars to view power contextually, distinguishing realms for the exercise of power and pointing out sources from which power and prestige emanate.

Unlike Friedl (1967), who presents women's status and power as informal, Salamone and Stanton (1986) argue that women's power and prestige is formalized in the institution of the nikokyrio, household economy. The latter spans both the private and public realms of Greek life and comprises the source of power and prestige for men and women. Social prestige is bestowed on men and women as husbands and wives and depends on public recognition of the household's success (Salamone and Stanton 1986:97-98). In the northern Greek village of Amouliani, where the authors carried out fieldwork, the concepts of nikokyris and nikokyra—male and female householder—define the ideal roles of men and women in relation to each other and to the community. A woman derives her status in the community from approximation to the ideal role of nikokyra (Salamone and Stanton 1986:99-100).

Still other researchers have suggested that, ironically, women's power may stem from submission to the system that seeks to deny it to them. DuBoulay (1986), for example, argues that it is by accepting, rather than seeking to reverse, the order of reality that women attain

a sense of satisfaction and self-worth. Through such acquiescence to the cultural value system women find the route to power. According to DuBoulay, "... a woman increasingly exercises power as she succeeds in embodying the maternal ideal that is open to her" (1986:159). For DuBoulay, other factors, such as possession of dowry, are idiosyncratic and may not have an effect on women's position in the household. These arguments suggest that in order to arrive at an understanding of women's power, it is necessary to appreciate the different expressions of the power of women in different contexts.

Most studies dealing with gender related issues in Greece, especially those investigating women's role and position in the domestic sphere, neither treat women as passive objects nor ignore structural factors that regulate women's actions and choices. At the same time, they also avoid an excessive emphasis on the pursuance by women of strategies as a means of gaining power. Thus, Salamone and Stanton (1986) stress that in Greece the goals of men and women tend to be social rather than personal in nature, since they are concerned with promoting the family's interests rather than those of self. This explanation gives further support to those discussions of gender relations in peasant communities which, focusing on the family economy, argue that men and women engage in "cooperation of labor" rather than "division of labor," and that the individual submits to a formalized family role behavior (Rothstein 1983). Another point, made by DuBoulay (1986), is that conformity to cultural role expectations may serve as an avenue to power. Such conformity may be as much a strategy as is the circumvention of cultural principles.

In a comprehensive review of studies of the role of gender in Greek social and conceptual life, Dubisch points out the necessity for taking an approach which accounts for the complex interaction between actor and system, in order to arrive at an understanding of the various dimensions of women's position in Greece (1986:28-29). It is through an actor-system analysis which takes into account the structural constraints operating on

women and the ways in which women strive to overcome them, that the researcher can thoroughly investigate the flexibility and variability in women's roles and in their exercise of power. Furthermore, by seeing women as actors, both shaped by and shaping the social system, it becomes possible not only to examine women's activities in relation to gender roles and status, but to place them in the "larger" context in order to distinguish patterns and processes that comprise essential aspects of the socio-economic system of Greek communities.

The complexity of women's position in Greek society, and the necessity for viewing women as actors with goals and strategies, can become especially evident through the examination of the internal social dynamics of Greek communities which experience involvement in new economic systems. A focus on changes that occur in women's roles and work activities when new economic structures emerge leads me to turn to the body of literature dealing with the impact of modernization and development upon the lives and status of women. Explanations of national development which—making assertions of unilinear progress and sharing the dualist framework—have classified societies as either "traditional" or "modern" have suggested a global trend towards female equality. The implication is that the introduction of modern technology and western institutions encourages women to be as fully productive as men. The western industrialized nations are perceived as being closest to the ideal of the modern egalitarian treatment of women. In addition, the growing participation of women in the labor force, as an index of modernization, is taken to imply increasing equality (Bernard 1971). This type of argument ignores the fact that in many traditional societies women are highly mobile and productive workers. Also, the rate of labor force participation, which basically measures wage labor, is a misleading index of women's economic participation.

The view that women's position improves with modernization has been criticized on several grounds. First, since modernization and

westernization do not imply full equality for most women in western societies, it cannot be assumed that such processes would encourage female equality in other parts of the world. Secondly, the traditional ideal type is nothing but a prejudicial characterization of underdeveloped or non-industrial societies and does not describe the real situation of women; in fact, the stereotype of female domesticity and dependency derives more from western traditions, rather than from a cross-cultural analysis of the variety of women's social and economic roles in non-industrial societies. Thirdly, it is unclear whether modernization improves the position of women relative to that of men or whether the improvements cited are unrelated to sexual equality (they may actually result from a rise in a society's overall standard of living). Finally, by confusing dominant ideologies with actual conditions, the unilinear view of development tends to obscure differences in the position of women according to class.

The implications for women's status of the increased involvement of traditional or subsistence cultures in market economies or their dependence on wage labor as the predominant form of "productive" labor have been investigated by a number of researchers exploring issues related to women and development in different parts of the world (Boserup 1970; Bossen 1975; Remy 1975; Rubbo 1975; Davis 1981; Blumberg 1981). Most of these developmentalist studies accept the premise that the economic role of women is a key factor determining their overall social position. Also, they consistently argue that, under the modernization of traditional economies, opportunities for wage labor, higher paying jobs and training for skilled and supervisory positions in the modern labor force favored men; women were either relegated to marginal wages or left behind in non-competitive and shrinking traditional sectors.⁷ Contributors to the study of women and development have dealt, to a great extent, with issues which center around the question of labor, unemployment and disguised employment, agriculture versus

industrialization, state planning and the role of foreign capital investments. Instead of perceiving women as simply conservative holdouts from change, they have identified obstacles to women's participation in economic development. Thus, developmentalist studies have documented that in the process of development, no conscious efforts are made to upgrade women's non-market work; the costs of the incursions of the market are ignored; and women suffer an increasing narrowing of both their social roles and capacity to generate income--they loose control, relative to men, of both expertise and capital (Bosser 1975:597-98; Elliott 1977:4-5).

That economic development often lowers women's status by undercutting or destroying their vital subsistence activities was first pointed out by Boserup. In her work Women's Role in Economic Development (1970), which represents an effort to provide an overview of women's role in the development process, she sought to delineate the negative effects that colonialism and the penetration of capitalism into subsistence economies have often had on women. What can be drawn from Boserup's work is that women have been excluded from productive roles in the modern sector and phased out of traditional ones as part of the process of development. Women's inferior position is considered to be the result of their less specialized and less productive roles. As society becomes more complex, women continue to be restricted in the domestic sphere, which is less specialized, instead of moving into the larger economy.

A major weakness of Boserup's study is that it takes as given a unique model of development, that which characterizes capitalist economies. Her analysis is a variant of the modernization approach and has been criticized for not emphasizing changes in class relations nor acknowledging the possibility of alternative development models (Benería and Sen 1981:284). Moreover, Boserup's inverse correlation between the position of women and economic development may not always apply. There

is evidence, for example, that increased sexual inequalities, which have emerged as a result of a dichotomization of sex roles in other colonial situations, did not occur in Java. As Stoler (1977) points out, during the period of colonial rule in Java the systems of land-labor-produce extraction did not confine women to subsistence agriculture alone; both male and female labor contributed directly to export production.

Boserup's general argument is that women workers are marginalized in the process of economic development because their economic gains as wage laborers, farmers and traders are slight, compared to those of male workers. Hence, policy efforts must redress this problem in order that women share fully in the fruits of modernization. Essentially, this is the argument developmentalists make; that development will benefit women only if enlightened planning removes the obstacles to women's economic participation and brings them into the public sphere for productive work. This view, however, neglects to consider that such planning may actually lead to women's double exploitation, if no measures are taken to reduce their domestic work. In addition, "working in the public sphere" cannot be used as an index for measuring women's improvement of their status. It is implied that by having their own income women would be released from male domination. Such a notion does not take into account the fact that women may not have control over their earnings. Moreover, developmentalists have tended to focus their attention almost exclusively on "objective" facts, while neglecting to examine how women, themselves, apprehend the opportunities and choices available to them and what they conceive of as contributing to higher status for them. They have, therefore, failed to explore the relationship between self-image and economic conditions.

A case study which emphasizes the need for taking into account women's own assessments of their situation is that of Kung (1976). Examining the effects of wage earning on young unmarried women in a market

town in Taiwan, Kung shows that despite changes associated with factory employment—increased exposure to formalized organizations and interaction with peers—Taiwanese female workers did not articulate any improvement in status. These women defined status not by income, but by how that income was earned (Kung 1976:41). A keen sensitivity to the low prestige accorded to factory work and an awareness of the generally low educational level of factory workers generated among the women a sense of inferiority which tended to preclude any feeling of status improvement. Frustration, resulting from a lack of alternatives, and the deadening quality of factory work also contributed to undermining any sense they might have had of increased self-worth in the process of earning income (Kung 1976:53-54). What becomes evident through this study is the necessity for taking an actor-oriented approach when examining the issue of women's status and economic development. In order to view women as actors making choices, it is important to understand the economic options women see available to them, the constraints operating on them, as well as the criteria and motivations on which their choices are made.

The criticisms presented so far of developmentalist studies speak to another important point, namely, that women's preferences or choices regarding work activities (or occupational possibilities) cannot be taken as given, but must be seen in dynamic perspective. They are the result of factors such as household roles, family structure, family income, the availability of employment, access to resources and the women's perceptions of their economic and social roles. Furthermore, in investigating how women's position is affected by the emergence of new economic structures, it is necessary to account for the particular society's cultural value system and to examine how changes (or lack of change) in women's work articulate with expectations concerning ideal female roles. On the basis of the discussion presented earlier on the relationship of gender to public and private, and to power and lack of

power, it can be stated that the application of western standards regarding women's position would be inappropriate for understanding the impact of economic development on the status of women in rural Greek communities.

In American society, feminists feel that what constitutes for women an avenue towards the attainment of equality is work in the public rather than the domestic sphere. However, in certain segments of Greek society women may regard not having to work outside the home—and particularly not having to contribute labor in agricultural activities—as an improvement in their position (Dubisch 1986:31). According to several contributors to Gender and Power in Rural Greece (1986), Greek village women derive their social identity and a sense of self-worth from their domestic roles. Thus, considering the centrality of the family unit in both the social and economic sphere of rural Greek communities, and the role of women in the household, it would be misleading to assess the effects of economic development on Greek village women's status only in terms of their participation in extra-domestic labor. Since the realities of power lie in the domestic sphere, it is essential to incorporate in one's analysis an account of women's contribution to the economic organization of the household.

These arguments lead me to turn to the major reason why Boserup failed to present a clear-cut analysis of women's subordination: her approach has focused on non-domestic production as a determinant of women's position in society. Consequently, for Boserup, the solution to women's oppression is seen in the sphere of economic and social relations outside the household. Her analysis has been criticized for falling within a traditional approach to women's issues in that it seeks to explain women's status mainly in terms of the degree to which women participate in productive roles outside the home (Benería and Sen: 1981:291). Nowhere does the author make reference to how central women's primary involvement in household activities is to an understanding of

their subordination and their role in the economy. Nor does she account for household organization and the social relations among household members in her effort to explore the role of women in economic development.

International development policies which--ignoring the significance of women's role in biological and social reproduction--encourage women to enter the work force to earn income for their basic needs, are also considered ineffective because they are only concerned with how women can be useful for development.⁸ This perspective has dominated studies of women and development because little attention has been given to specifying the relationship between production and reproduction.⁹ The resulting gap in theoretical development has made it difficult for many researchers to reconcile the status of women in the domestic domain with their role in production. Nevertheless, since Boserup's work was first published, studies dealing with the role of women in changing societies have contributed new insights towards an understanding of women's economic roles by focusing their attention on domestic labor and reproduction.

The penetration of economic analysis into the household has increased as scholars have sought to incorporate domestic labor, and its connection with the non-domestic economy, in the mainstream of analysis (Gardiner 1975; Fee 1976; Beechey 1977; Mackintosh 1979; Benería 1982). This reflects the realization of the importance of domestic labor for a comprehensive understanding of women's work and of the sexual division of labor within and outside the household. Also, in comparing development patterns in different countries, analysts have made conceptual and methodological refinements that distinguish between the sexual division of labor as a cause of female subordination and the sexual division of labor as the effect of female subordination (Benería 1979; Amsden 1979; Afonja 1981; Deere and Leon de Leal 1981). It is recognized that in order to explain the relationship between the cause and the effect of

female subordination one must analyze the continuity between historical and contemporary patterns of the sexual division of labor in production and reproduction. These insights have generated certain assumptions which are useful for the study of women's roles and status in changing societies: that the analyst must identify more than one causative factor of change; that cultural values which are meaningful in social relations between men and women must be accounted for; that there is a need for an explanation of how women's economic activities are integrated with other areas of production and reproduction; that analysis must articulate traditional patterns of the sexual division of labor with new forms; and that gender relations in both production and reproduction must be examined, because a change in one sphere signals change in the other.

The focus on reproduction and on the analysis of the household sphere indicates that the traditional emphasis attached to commodity production is insufficient to explain the factors affecting women's participation in the development process. To analyze women's work and the impact of economic development on women's status, it is necessary to examine the areas of production and reproduction as well as the interaction between them. It is interesting to note that within the Marxist tradition the Engels thesis contains an analysis of the interaction between reproduction and production. In his explanation of the origins of women's subordination Engels (1972) linked the productive sphere—the growth of private property and the need to transmit it from one generation to the next—with reproduction, that is, the need to identify paternity of heirs through the institution of the family and the control of women's sexuality and reproductive activities. However, Engels assumed that the elimination of private property and women's participation in commodity production, made possible by industrialization, would set the preconditions for their emancipation. Thus, his initial connection between production and reproduction became blurred with the

assumption that transformation of productive structures would automatically erase women's oppression.¹⁰

Underlying Engels's argument is the assumption that women's position will improve—they will gain social and economic equality—if their involvement in domestic activities is reduced and they take on work in the public sphere. Yet, it is one thing to say that men and women take on the same extra-domestic jobs and another that women attain status equal to their husbands. Since spouses' social interactions are defined according to the roles they play in the home, wives need to share in family decision-making, as they do in other spheres of subsistence, in order to enjoy privileged relationships with men. Thus, traditional Marxists and leftist feminists who elaborate on Engels's initial formulation can be criticized for omitting to take into account whether women's earning of high wages or their pursuance of life-long careers translate into domestic autonomy (Beristoun 1972:126) or whether women are unlikely to benefit from occupational advancement if they have no control over their income. On the basis of descriptions of women's roles in anthropological studies of Greek communities a case can be made that female autonomy and status emanate from a combination of social and economic factors at the domestic level. Hence, an attempt to assess the impact of economic development on Greek village women's status must seek to integrate the study of women's economic activities—the ways in which women participate in extra-domestic labor—with an analysis of family life or, more specifically, of men's and women's roles in the household.

A common theme which emerges from the majority of anthropological studies in Greece is that the internal workings of rural communities represent responses to political, economic and social factors of change affecting Greek society at large. Because of the recognition that villages are connected with larger systems as consumers of industrial goods and nurturers of workers who join the industrial work force of large

cities within the country and elsewhere, a strong argument has been made against those few studies which have dichotomized Greece into rural-urban through the lens of modernization theory (McNall 1974). In many of the published village studies, the implications—for the family, marriage, residence patterns, the dowry, the role of kinship interaction and the value system—of the articulation of local areas with larger systems are discussed in terms of the types of linkages established through rural-urban migration and the role of the city as a resource for villagers (Friedl 1976; Allen 1976; Dubisch 1976, 1977; Sutton 1963). This is understandable considering the scale of the recent rural exodus and the country's unbalanced internal growth, which has led to what Kayser (1976) calls the overcentralization of modern Greece. There is, however, a relative paucity of studies of rural communities experiencing the effects of the emergence of new economic structures associated with the transition, in economic emphasis, to non-agricultural activities—which may result from factory build-up or the growth of tourism—and a stabilization or even an expansion of their population base.¹¹ Because of this gap in research, most accounts of gender role values and women's work come from studies of communities whose economic base rests mainly in agriculture.

Even though the topic of women has not been ignored in reports on the economic and social transformations of Greek villages, insufficient data has been produced to allow for a comprehensive analysis of the effects of different patterns of economic development on women's status and rights within and outside the family. Nevertheless, references in the literature point to industrialization, the growth of tourism and the expansion of the market economy as having a varying impact on Greek women in rural and provincial areas. Lambiri's study (1963), for example, shows how the establishment of a factory provided opportunities for local women to become involved in wage employment. The author found that in the provincial town of Megara it was single

women whose families could not provide them with adequate dowries who chose to risk their reputation by moving outside the sphere of family supervision and seek work at the newly established cotton factory. By accepting the conditions of industrial employment, these women deviated from the prescribed norm and became subject to social disapproval. In time, however, since their earnings were spent on increasing their dowry, Megarian female factory workers acquired some prestige in the eyes of the community and improved their chances for marrying above their status (Lambiri 1963:240-47). This study suggests that social status and moral codes play a key role, in that they influence those women who take on jobs in a new industry.

A key point one can draw from Lambiri's study is that values restricting women's social interaction did not prevent Megarian women from households with a limited resource base from becoming involved in industrial wage employment. Stott (1973) found such values to have changed in Mykonos in response to the new social and economic realities created as a result of the development of tourism. She reports a change in social conventions regarding female employment, allowing women to become publically involved in the island's tourist-based economy without posing a threat to family reputation. Both authors suggest that alterations in economic structures (associated with the opening up of factories and the growth of tourism) have worked to the benefit of women. Their implied conclusion challenges theories of female marginalization.¹² Nevertheless, even though the accounts of Lambiri and Stott add to the discussion of women's work activities in different economic settings and in relation to community values which may or may not prohibit various types of extra-domestic female labor, they do not deal with the issue of women's domestic roles and their status.

Instead of concentrating on women's participation in economic activities which fall outside the sphere of the household, Pavlides and Hesser (1986) have focused their attention on the role of women in

shaping their domestic environment. They report that in the community where they did their fieldwork (a village on the island of Lesbos) women's vital contribution to the house, centering on the production of furnishings—in the form of handiwork and as part of the dowry—diminished because of changing perceptions of modernity which have been influenced by a changing economy (Pavlidis and Hesser 1986:91). The decrease in value and significance of this major productive activity of women coincided with the increasing importance of the role of men as wage earners. Male-generated cash income assumed greater importance since handcrafted items were replaced by manufactured ones. As a consequence, women, from creators, provisioners and guardians of the interior of their houses, became the letters' unpaid caretakers (Pavlidis and Hesser 1986:89, 91-93). The authors argue that this lack of control by village women of their domestic environment signals a narrowing of their productive activities and a decline in their status. It is one effect of the changes accompanying the transition from a subsistence to a market economy.

Like Pavlidis and Hesser, Salamone and Stanton (1986) suggest that women of rural Greek communities derive their identity and self-worth from sources other than their extra-domestic labor. Their accounts, however, indicate that changes ensuing from the process of modernization may have a differing impact on women. Thus, while the first two authors describe how, in the context of recent economic changes, manufactured household goods have increasingly taken the place of women's handcrafted dowry items, the latter two note that in the community they studied, Amouliani, the traditional handicrafts women produced as dowry have continued to be valued. According to Salamone and Stanton, the trend towards store bought items did not diminish the importance attached to women's hand-made household articles (these are part of the trousseau and are referred to as the rouha). In the rouha institution the researchers found an affirmation of the skills valued in a woman

as well as a clue to the centrality of her role as housekeeper and financial manager (Salemone and Stanton 1986:109-111). They also found that the new popularity of the traditional styles of the rouha items, which is a consequence of the interest shown by the mass media and the Greek commercial enterprises in "authentic" handcrafted designs and forms, contributed to enhance the validity of the rouha institution (1986:113). These findings led the authors to argue that modernization and economic development have unveiled the women of Amouliani with greater options to successfully fulfill the nikokyra role model.

The references cited above point to a need for studies of rural Greek communities experiencing the development of new economic activities, in order to account for the significant variations in women's work and status. As a touristically developing area, the community I studied is an appropriate setting to explore issues related to women, their work and status, and economic development. Tourist-related economic activities allow women to engage in activities, including the sale of crafts, which are geared towards an international market. More importantly, it can be said that tourism upgrades the economic roles of women in the sense that it offers them compensation for work—cleaning, washing, making beds, serving meals—which had not been thought of as having any economic value. Such work, however, basically replicates or comprises an extension of their domestic labor.

One may ask, therefore, whether the participation of women in the tourist service industry contributes to diminishing their status (since it involves the performance of tasks requiring skills associated with the domestic sphere). This study is, in part, an effort to answer this question. It investigates the articulation of women's family maintenance work with work directed towards the tourist industry and other areas of economic activity, while also taking into account values associated with the family and women's domestic roles. Focusing on the interaction between production and reproduction to analyze women's work, the study

points to the relevance of those arguments which state that women gain status when they transcend domestic limits, enter the public sphere and take on male jobs (cf. Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974).

Family security, the successful establishment of children and entrepreneurship are goals which have been documented as widespread and enduring for Greece (Friedl 1962; DuBoulay 1974; McNeill 1978; Dubisch 1986). Also, as has been already pointed out, the domestic (household) sphere has been identified as a locus of power in rural Greek communities. Hence, I expected that in Kokkari economic conditions created by tourism--new opportunities for investments and the accumulation of income, as well as shifts in the labor market--would provide a potential for the development of new family strategies and changes in the domestic power structure. In my study I explore how the transition to tourism-oriented activities, and the concomitant transformation of the material relations of households, have affected peoples' perceptions of familial needs. I consider this to be a key factor in terms of ascertaining how efforts to meet familial needs have encouraged various types of women's labor. Also, I focus on household activities and decision-making processes to locate patterns concerning the division between men and women of domestic rights and responsibilities; my intent is to isolate those factors of change rooted in touristic development which have had an impact on women's position in the household.

Viewing women as actors pursuing strategies, this study examines Kokkariote women's perceptions and aspirations in order to locate the motives or goals behind their choices of income-generating activities. Since economic and ideological factors may converge or diverge, the study also investigates the extent to which such activities lend themselves to the affirmation of cultural values--for example, those pertaining to role expectations. The other possibility which is considered is whether the community's value system has been changing to grant "recognition" or "respectability" to women's new economic pursuits. Hence,

one basic issue is that of assessing the interrelationship of work roles and gender role values in the pre-tourism village economy and then showing how it compares with the current situation. This diachronic and comparative perspective is instrumental for distinguishing changes in behavior and values stemming from or coinciding with tourism-induced transformations from those changes which derive from developments unrelated to tourism.

Considering that context is a crucial factor for understanding variations in women's status and power, I focus on different spheres or arenas in which Kokkariote women operate. By assessing the extent to which women are in a position to attain knowledge, acquire new experiences and influence the actions of others in these different spheres, I expected to be able to account for what constitutes a better position for women. Thus, I considered the public/private distinction especially useful for the purpose of pinpointing the sources of power and status for women. This distinction should not, however, be taken to imply a lack of linkages between the two spheres. In fact, it is through the investigation of women's domestic and extra-household activities that the articulation between the two spheres becomes evident. Regarding female activities oriented towards the tourist economy, I hypothesized that involvement in the tourist service industry would enhance women's autonomy in those cases where it increases their opportunities to participate in household management and organization. As used in the study, the term "female autonomy" refers to the freedom of choice and action women enjoy, particularly as it relates to carrying out strategies of decision-making. The degree of women's autonomy is measured in terms of their participation in economic decisions concerning the household, i.e., their role in regulating the accumulation and disposal of material and other resources.

This study, therefore, attempts to document how the economic possibilities tourism opens up for women affect their role and position in

the domestic sphere. However, it also takes into consideration that tourism alone cannot account for the multiplicity of factors influencing women's status. Data point to a number of indicators of women's position in the household which are unrelated to tourism-deriving modifications in women's economic roles. In examining the issue of women's status, I considered it essential—especially in view of the hypothesis stated above—to distinguish between the causes and consequences of women's decision-making power (or lack of power) in the household. This means ascertaining whether control over or management of tourism-related material resources is a cause of women's decision-making power or its consequence—for example, such power being exercised by women prior to their involvement in the tourist industry. In other words, I sought to assess the extent to which female autonomy in the sphere of the household is rooted in economic factors associated with touristic development or derives from other sources.

What made it possible to delineate the various causes or sources of women's domestic power and status was the investigation of women's experiences in the household both prior and subsequently to their taking on work in the tourist service sector. Then, there followed a comparison of the situation of these women with that of women whose non-domestic activities were oriented towards non-tourist areas of the economy. Of the twenty-four women interviewed, eight were employed for a wage in the tourist industry. Another eight carried out tourism-related work without partaking of the wage labor-capital relationship. The remaining eight women worked in different capacities outside the home, but in sectors other than that of tourist services. Because women's experiences in the household were expected to vary depending on age, marital status, residence and stage of life cycle, I decided to work with women in the same household role, that of conjugal partner-mother. This role was found to be dominant in the age cohort of 25-55 and subsumed women residing with their spouse and at least one dependent child of their own.

Since my overall goal is to analyze processes of change affecting village life and since the public/private distinction is essential for the understanding of much of Greek social life, especially the roles of men and women, I considered it necessary to go beyond the domestic sphere and to account for the role women play in the public domain. This undertaking led me to explore various behavioral and ideological dimensions of Kokkariote women's associations in order to identify patterns and regularities in women's "public" group action. It is my premise that a knowledge of the goals, strategies and activities of village women as members of associations is indispensable for analyzing processes of social and economic change. Such knowledge allows for an assessment of the nature and significance of women's public roles for the operation of the social system, as well as in terms of their status. I expected that the investigation of the courses of action open to women members of associations (whether they operate in a social universe separate from or with men) would enable me to discern the implications for women's status of their involvement in extra-domestic arenas as well as for sex-group power relationships. One of my basic purposes in studying women's associations is to ascertain the types of resources—not only economic, but also those pertaining to knowledge, information and decision-making rights—women control or have access to in the public sphere. Depending on the relative significance of these resources, control or lack of control over them indicates whether women have power in the public context.

Collier notes that women's efforts "... are channeled by cultural codes, by available resources and by the choices of others within the social system" (1974:90). Viewing women as actors and seeking to explain their patterned behavior, this study accounts for the constraints and incentives that channel Kokkariote women's choices when it comes to joining and participating in female groups. More specifically, the purpose is to locate the factors responsible for women's orientation to any one

of the associations. In the course of investigating these underlying factors the study attempts to provide answers to the following questions: what conditions—economic, social or political—have favored the rise of women's associations? What structural aspects of village life can be identified in the activities carried out by the members of these associations and whose interests or needs are ministered to through such activities? Is there an interconnection between women's domestic and public roles? Do the associations constitute female solidarity groups? A comparison between the associations points out the respects in which they differ ideologically and behaviorally. I expected that ideological and/or behavioral differentiation would reveal various aspects of women's relationships (the concerns or bonds that bring them together in groups) and that it would contribute towards an understanding of the articulation of individual and/or family interests with group interests. In the final analysis, Kokkariote women's associations provide a context for examining the ways in which women's group actions affect the public world and reflect on the women's status in the community.

NOTES

1. This study makes an attempt to go beyond household size and composition and show what households do and do not do; that is, households are viewed in terms of the activities they carry out rather than as tables of personnel only. The term household, as used by Sanjek (1981, 1982) and Yanagisako (1978), refers to organizational aspects that can be assessed etically. According to these anthropologists, households are delineated in terms of their share of the society-wide activities of production, social reproduction, consumption, sexual union and socialization. In my research I adopted Sanjek's minimal definition of households as staging areas for social life limited to people who sleep together, store their personal belongings and refurbish themselves for the next day. First I assessed household membership in terms of age, sex and kinship affiliation. Then I proceeded to ascertain which of the above universal activities are occurring within households and what activities bring household co-members together throughout the year. This organizational approach is conducive in determining the degree to which relations are occurring between households as well as the extent to which relations of production—affected by the transition to tourism-related activities—are influenced by norms of kinship.

2. Random visits have been used by anthropologists to collect quantitative data on time allocation to household activities (Johnson 1973; Minge-Klevana 1980). The fieldworker randomly selects times to visit a household, then observes and records the activities the person(s) is (are) engaged in. This technique is useful as it allows for random data collection on household activities. Part of my data collection on household activities and the division of labor is based on random visits (between 10 and 15) made to village households in both the off- and tourist season. During these visits each person present was asked what he or she did during the day until the time of the visit; inquiries were also made concerning the whereabouts of absent members (see Appendix A). This method made it possible to isolate important factors and look for consistencies and inconsistencies, especially seasonal variation, in household organization. Thus, behavioral research on households preceded ideological research. At the level of ideology I focused on peoples' beliefs about how household labor should be divided and why. The comparison, in turn, between actual behavior—documented by personal observations—and peoples' views about how household labor should be divided enabled me to assess conjugal and familial roles and men's and

women's expectations concerning such roles. The ways people explained discrepancies between belief and actual behavior revealed the significance of new economic relations for domestic organization and ideology.

3. For an example of a case study which analyzes the causal factors responsible for a change in the mode of transferring marital property see Patronoti (1984). The author argues that among the Karagounides of Western Thessaly what accounted historically for the shift from brideprice to dowry were changes in land tenure and use, as well as additional changes allowing for social mobility. Prior to the late 1920s agricultural production in Western Thessaly was based on a sharecropping system whereby peasants cultivated chiftlik lands (large private estates) for a share of the produce. Inheritance practices aimed to maintain the family estate intact as long as possible and served to mobilize labor for working the fields, caring for animals and processing land and animal products. Thus, daughters did not share in property inheritance, while sons received their shares after their father's death (Patronoti 1984:32-35). Under these circumstances, the brideprice—consisting usually of animals—served as a type of compensation for the woman's family of origin which lost her labor. By the mid-twentieth century the brideprice had been replaced by the dowry which operated as a mechanism for social mobility. A competitive situation emerged whereby parents often sold their land to purchase a house or an apartment in Athens for their daughters, while at times the shares of male children were sacrificed to provide daughters with dowries. The developments which contributed to this change included: the appropriation by the state of chiftlik lands and their redistribution to landless peasants; the commercialization of production; the introduction of modern technology, reducing the need for cooperative labor; increased opportunities for wage labor; out-migration, especially after the Second World War; and increased state intervention.

4. Davis (1976), for example, in his study of Pisticci, Italy, associates the transmission of town houses to daughters at marriage with developments which led to greater opportunities for social mobility. He notes that in the context of these changes the reputation and evaluation of Pisticci families had greater consequences. Because competition was conducted not only in market terms but in terms of honor, and since male honor required the subjection of women to constant public scrutiny, it became necessary that women live in town (1976:297-91, 301). This argument, however, does not explain why women should have been provided with houses, particularly since this practice was uncommon in Southern Italy.

5. It is suggested that women who own basic material resources and retain title to them enjoy a privileged association with their husbands; they make decisions about their families' wider interests and

are not altogether subservient to men (Lineton 1971; Baxevasis 1972; Gavrielides 1976; Petronoti 1981).

6. Such biases are attributed to male-oriented ethnographers and their male informants (Reiter 1975; Rohrich-Leavitt, Sykes and Weatherford 1975; Slocum 1975; Etienne and Leacock 1980); in addition, it has been pointed out that women may be unwilling or unable to talk to ethnographers (Ardener 1972; Strathern 1972).

7. More specifically, it has been pointed out that under conditions of capital-intensive industrial growth, encountered in many Third World countries, male workers filled jobs in greater proportion than female ones in new occupational specialties, and even in industries that traditionally hired women. Only a few women with technical and professional training benefited from this type of industrial development (Chinchilla 1977:53-56). Another point made concerns a pattern whereby women's participation in formal employment declines with age, while it increases in informal activities (domestic service, trading and casual jobs) (Arizpe 1977:26-29).

8. Reproduction refers not only to biological reproduction and daily maintenance of the labor force, but also to social reproduction--that is, the perpetuation of social systems. This notion has enhanced our understanding of how societies, in order to control social reproduction, have developed different forms of control over female sexuality and reproductive activities. For a discussion of the different aspects of reproduction see Edholm, Harris and Young (1977).

9. Rapp (1978, n.d.) has demonstrated the simultaneity or integration of production and reproduction by making a distinction between household and family. According to her argument, the household is the locus of shared activities which are part of the larger processes of production, reproduction and consumption, while the family provides normative recruitment to such household activities; that is, people enter household relations through their family connections.

10. What best summarizes Engels's argument is his statement that "... The emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. And only now has that become possible through modern large-scale industry, which does not merely permit the employment of female labor over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends towards ending private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry" (Engels 1972:221). This view raises several questions: under what conditions does domestic family work no longer take up but an insignificant amount of women's time? Also, when and why does large-scale industry recruit female laborers? Isn't it possible that the way in which such industry

absorbs and utilizes female labor contributes to perpetuate the existing division of labor without freeing women from domestic responsibilities? Even when private family work is, to a certain extent, transformed into a "public" industry, isn't it the case that those who perform such activities (even though for a wage) are primarily women?

11. References to rural areas which have experienced in-migration as a result of the establishment of cash cropping, the growth of tourism or the settlement of refugees can be found in Sanders (1902: 297), Campbell and Sherrard (1960:323), Stott (1973:122), Dubisch (1976: 325), Salamone and Stanton (1986:101) and Sutton (1987:27-29).

12. The term "marginalization" has been used to refer to the diminution of women's work roles which is linked to the rise of capitalized economic systems involving wage labor (Boserup 1970:111; Leacock 1975: 605; Saffioti 1975:60; Blau 1975:271).

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY AND ECONOMY OF SAMOS UNTIL THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

Historical Background

To understand the contemporary structure of Samiot society one needs first to examine historically those processes which have affected land tenure and use, patterns of trade and exchange on the island, as well as between the island and national and international centers, sources and uses of capital, the size and composition of the local population and the island's level of integration. Peasants and rural producers vary in their dependence on external sources of capital, consumer goods, foodstuffs and political regulation. This dependence is the cause of shifts in economic strategy and in a community's or region's level of integration. In a particular mode of production such dependence is reflected in economic differentiation and specialization, which is measurable in terms of production and distribution, incidence and sources of paid labor, trades and crafts and reliance on certain elements of technology.

Certain historical problems arise from a reading of the available literature on the modern history of Samos before its union with Greece in 1913. It appears that its history falls into three periods: 1) Turkish Ottoman rule from 1450-1821; 2) a period of revolutionary activity associated with the Greek War for Independence, 1821-1834 and 3) almost a century, 1834-1913, of rule as an eghemonia (hegemony)—that is, a tributary part of the Ottoman empire but a practically independent principality. It was under the sponsorship-protection of the Great Powers and was governed by a prince of Greek nationality, eghemona, who was appointed by the sultan. The first period, one essentially of a closed

economy, indicates that the island was ruled by the Ottomans mainly for the collection of tax revenues. Local Samiote secular and ecclesiastical notables were used in the administration of the island with the preservation and extension of their privileges as compensation. At the base of the society the large mass of Samiotes—small landowners, agricultural workers, sharecroppers, seamen and skilled craftsmen—were exploited for the government's tax revenues and the elite's accumulation of wealth. With the expansion of trade between the capitalist Western European commercial center and its world periphery during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Samiote mercantile interests, inspired by the French Revolution, sought to free the island of the Ottoman administrative and economic control and attach it to the cause of the Greek War for Independence. Sevastakis (1959), however, who takes a critical view of Samiote social history during this period, does not describe what the revolutionary changes, if any, in the island's socio-economic structure were. Aside from administrative reforms that reflect a broader popular participation, little is said about land redistribution or general improvement in the lot of the masses.

The period during which Samos constituted an eghemonia was essentially a return to the pre-1821 social conditions, with the local notables entrenched in power under an almost arbitrary local ruler. The purpose of administration was to supply the annual tax revenues to the Ottoman authorities and to provide a base on the island for European commerce, which centered on the extraction of local cash crops and the marketing of imported manufactured goods. However, with the development in Greece of an industrial-financial bourgeoisie in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, another situation—similar to that of 1821—arose. The Greek irredentist expansionist movement, Meghali Idea, which sought, for political and economic reasons, to place under the aegis of the Greek state the Greek-speaking populations in the Ottoman Empire, found support among those similarly-minded

progressive bourgeois elements on the island and a movement for union with Greece ensued. Again, the broad mass of Samiotes, oppressed by the economic conditions and the hegemonic arbitrary rule, supported the national liberation movement.

Historical accounts indicate that the raids and pillages carried out by Venetian pirates during the first half of the fifteenth century forced the inhabitants of Samos to abandon the island and immigrate to the nearby island of Chios and coastal Asia Minor (Kritikides 1870: 9-13). Samos remained uninhabited from 1476 until 1560, when its re-settlement began to take place under the initiative of the Turkish admiral Kiliç pasha. Because of the forests it contained and its proximity to the Asia Minor coast, Kiliç pasha assessed that the island was not only a source of lumber for shipbuilding, but could serve as a strategic naval base as well. Transport, foodstuffs and agricultural tools were provided for the settlers who came from various parts of the Peloponnese, Epirus and Albania, the coastal cities of Asia Minor and various islands. To attract settlers, the Turkish admiral secured for Samos the following privileges by imperial decree:

- 1) Each settler had the right to occupy and cultivate the land he chose.
- 2) A christian, chosen by the settlers and acknowledged by the sultan, was to administer the island.
- 3) Samos was subject to the poll tax, but it was relieved of custom duties. Its settlers, in place of the tithe from which they were exempt, paid an annual tax on produce.
- 4) No Ottoman subject had the right to settle or stay temporarily on the island.
- 5) Roman-Byzantine law was to be applied in civil matters and in cases concerning inheritance. In penal cases involving punishment both Roman-Byzantine law and customary law were to be applied.
- 6) The Samiote villages enjoyed absolute freedom and any outside intervention on the part of the Ottoman authorities was prohibited.

7) The Samiotes were free to build churches and to practice their religion. When the settlers brought their cases before the sultanate or other Turkish authorities they had the right to use the Greek language (Sevastakis 1959:2).

Of all the privileges granted by the sultan, the right of self-government was the most difficult to apply. During the first settlement decades a type of "self-government" developed that served the purpose of collecting taxes while it also functioned as a system of political authority. Economic, political, judicial and social power was concentrated in the hands of proestoi or notables, one or two from each village, who were chosen by the Turkish authorities. These notables carried out the allocation and collection of the poll tax (to which all married males were subject) as well as the tax on produce. Furthermore, along with ecclesiastical authority, the notables exercised legal authority. Since the notables were appointed by the Turkish authorities and were not accountable to the island's taxpayers, they oppressed the latter by arbitrarily imposing upon them heavy taxation. As a result, social and political antagonisms arose between the Samiote people and the notables. Another element of friction was the control over administrative posts by the economic elite, which allowed wealthy villagers to serve their own economic interests at the expense of the disadvantaged (Sevastakis 1959:16-17).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Turkish authorities set up a new administrative system which completely negated the principle of self-government. The new system, which lasted until 1821, was headed by two Turkish officials, the aga and the kadi, who resided at the island's capital. Each village elected one or two notables whom the aga officially confirmed. These notables were elected by all adult males who had paid their taxes. In addition, the people elected four megaloï proestoi, high notables, one from each district of the island, whom the aga also confirmed. They administered political and legal

authority and constituted a counselling body for the aga. Without exception, the economically most powerful notables were elected to village and district posts (Kritikides 1870:41-42).

The aga's administrative officials were in charge of collecting tax revenues. All tax measures taken by the aga, in consultation with the high notables, were conveyed to the lesser village notables who, in turn, carried them out. It was the responsibility of these notables to ascertain each household's taxable revenues and to uncover cases of tax evasion. In this capacity they exercised political power over the people to serve the aga and to enrich themselves. The aga imposed fines (a function related to his right to impose taxes) and other types of punishment, while the village notables had the right of confiscation. The general overseer of the collection of the poll tax was the kadi, to whom the village notables and priests submitted annually the names of people who were subject to the tax. Also, it was within the kadi's jurisdiction, following the information provided by village and district high notables, to carry out a survey of the movable property of deceased persons and to receive three percent of the total value. Legal authority continued to be exercised by the high notables and the ecclesiastical authorities, even though the kadi also visited villages frequently and judged various cases. Therefore, popular customary law had to face a double assault, the Roman-Byzantine law, which was officially applied in most legal cases, and the Turkish law which was also applied, although less frequently and without being compulsory (Sevastakis 1959: 17-24). Under this administrative system the immediate tyrants of the Samiote people were the notables whose political, legal and economic decisions were irrevocable. Over the decades and centuries the islanders developed a hostile disposition towards them.

Local self-government, with all its inefficiencies and weaknesses, remained the basic form of political authority because its existence was made necessary by the prevailing social formation. A basic

characteristic of the island during the period under consideration was its closed economy. Each region produced the goods which were needed for purposes of consumption and sale in the local market. Another characteristic of the period was the uneven distribution of land (disproportionately large amounts of land were in the possession of a few large landowners). Land was also concentrated in the form of vakufs or monastery property. Generally, Samos's closed economy, which lacked extensive exchange and commercial relations, facilitated the island's internal decentralization and, to some extent, its detachment from an external center of control. Normally, economic and technological self-sufficiency entail political self-sufficiency and community government. However, on Samos self-government was practiced only in part. Essentially it was limited by the administrative, economic and legal authority which the Ottoman appointees, the aga and the kadi, exercised. The limitation of local self-government resulted from the penetration of Turkish control and led to a system of political authority which was incompatible with the prevailing structure of society.

As early as 1800 there had developed on Samos a progressive revolutionary movement which aimed to challenge the local Greek notable and Turkish ruling authorities. This movement was inspired by the democratic principles and liberal ideas of the French Revolution and was led by the party of Karmanioloi. The name comes from the Greek word for guillotine, karmaniola, which indicates the influence of the French Revolution. Opposition to the radical movement of the Karmanioloi came from the conservative party of the Kallikantzaroi. Its followers derived the name from the Greek word for goblins, kallikantzaroi, because they held their meetings at night just like the folk ghost creatures. Landless peasants, small and medium landowners, seamen, merchants and some clergymen comprised the party of Karmanioloi, while large landlords and notables—collaborators with the Turkish authorities—adhered to the party of Kallikantzaroi. The period 1805-1813 was one of armed

uprisings on the part of Samiote peasants who, led by the party of Karmanioloï, demanded justice, fewer taxes and the return of their confiscated lands. During these uprisings the landowners and notables, along with the Turkish administrators, sought the sultan's assistance to restore order. From 1813 to 1821 the conservative Kallikantzaroi party, together with the aga and the kadi, held power, imposing heavy taxation and subjecting the peasants to brutal force (Kritikides 1870: 56-59). Starting in 1821, however, and throughout the Greek Revolution for Independence, the party of Karmanioloï—acting as the Samiote organ of the national liberation struggle—prevailed in the island's administrative, political and military affairs.

During the Greek revolutionary period the Karmanioloï established an autonomous state, independent of Greece's influence. The kinotita or community was recognized first and foremost as the basic political, economic and social unit. Universal male suffrage and the principle of popular sovereignty constituted the essence of the new democratic government and was a response to the historical conditions brought about by the revolution. Under the Karmanioloï rule a political and military system solidified which regulated public and private life until 1834, when Samos was declared an eghemonia. In this system political authority originated from the people and all legislative functions were carried out by elected individuals. An important characteristic of the system was the union at all levels of political and military authority. Such a union was necessary if the forces of the military and political sectors were to be mobilized towards the strategic aim of national liberation (Sevastakis 1959:42-47).

The politico-military system which functioned during the period 1821-1834 had as its apex the governor-general, who simultaneously held the position of highest military officer. The first governor-general, Lykourgos Logothetis, was not only appointed by the Philiki Eteria (the revolutionary coordinating society for the Greek War for

Independence) but was also chosen for the post by elected Samiotes representing the people at the general assembly of the island. Representing the ultimate executive, legislative and judicial authority, the governor-general was responsible for maintaining public order, regulating government operations, protecting public property and appointing various public officials. In times of emergency, he had the obligation to consult with the peoples' representatives at the general assembly and, for ordinary matters, to consult with the civil judges who were elected annually by the people. These civil judges constituted the governor-general's counselling body and their duties were centered around the allocation and collection of taxes. Specifically, one functioned as head of the treasury, another was in charge of the collection of revenues and the third had the responsibility to record commercial transactions. At the end of their term the three civil judges had the right to seek re-election, after they had rendered an account of their performance to the peoples' representatives at the general assembly.

This politico-military hierarchy was duplicated, on a smaller scale, at the village level, where the elected officials were the tax collectors. Their main responsibility was to collect taxes and keep a register of all business transactions. In addition, they carried out the governor-general's directives and provided the civil judges with information concerning tax allocations. Their power was limited because they could be recalled upon the local villagers' request. Furthermore, at the end of their one-year term the tax collectors also had to give an accounting of their office to the villagers' assemblies. Finally, in this democratic system of government, which had as its inspiration the French revolutionary Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789, there was a convergence of political and military authority at the village level. The governor-general appointed an army officer to assist each tax collector with various

duties, such as the maintenance of public order (Sevastakis 1959:30-35). However, the military hierarchy was organized in such a way that a lesser officer's violation of duties fell into the responsibilities of a higher one.

After 1830 the form and content of Samos's political, judicial and administrative system were determined, to a large extent, by the historical conditions which resulted from the Protocol of London of 1829. According to this protocol, Samos was kept outside the boundaries of the newly formed Greek state. In 1834 it was declared a self-governing eghemonia under the guarantee of Great Britain, France and Russia, and it was required to pay an annual poll tax to the Ottoman Empire. Under the newly imposed system, and according to the stipulations of the 1835 Organic Charter, executive authority was vested in the eghemona who had to be of the same religion as that of the islanders. The external control exercised on the island was reflected in the appointment of the eghemona and the imposition of the poll tax. The eghemona was assisted by a council, consisting of four members who were chosen by him out of eight candidates nominated by the general assemblies from the four districts of the island. The council members were usually notables, as were the thirty-six deputies to the parliamentary chamber who were elected at the general assembly. Any parliamentary act that aimed at regulating the internal administrative organization of the island and maintaining order was considered lawful, provided that it did not violate the principle of submission to the dominant external power, the Ottoman Empire. Relations with the Ottoman authorities were regulated by the eghemona. Although it was stipulated in the Organic Charter that the source of all executive, legislative and judicial authority was the chamber, the eghemona had veto power in various matters concerning jurisdiction (Sevastakis 1959:56-59).

It is evident that from the very beginning of this new administrative system there was a conflict between two sources of authority,

one originating from the general assemblies and the other from the dominant power. The vagueness of the island's Organic Charter did not allow the realization of the principle of internal self-government. Essentially, an administrative system prevailed that was similar to the one imposed on Samos during the earlier period of Turkish occupation. The eghemona and "elected" deputies were institutions analogous to those of the age and high notables respectively. In 1835, at the general assembly the people assigned the management of all economic matters to the chamber and decided that its deputies would be elected directly by the populace, according to the pre-established custom. They also recognized the jurisdiction of the chamber and the eghemona over the island's internal administration. However, that same year the eghemona called another general assembly and, after invalidating the decisions of the previous one, issued an executive order which limited the jurisdiction of the peoples' assemblies to electing the deputies of the chamber, reviewing the record of the senatorial council at the end of its term and examining financial matters concerning the island's revenues. In actual practice the right to elect parliamentary deputies was taken over by the eghemona. As a consequence, any substantial review of the chamber's performance became impossible because this would have ultimately held the eghemona accountable to the general assemblies. The latter exercised authority only in checking to ascertain the extent to which public revenues were managed judiciously. As the chamber's legislative jurisdictions were curtailed, the most important areas of legislative authority came under the eghemona's control. Gradually, as the chamber came to serve more and more as a counselling body, active executive authority was also exercised by the eghemona (Sevastakis 1959:60-63).

Under the hegemonic regime the decision-making center moved from Samos to Constantinople. Authority flowed from outside the island and was monopolized by the eghemona. Consequently, the circle of local elite formed around him constituted the source of privileges, fame and

wealth. For the lower strata of the population, however, the conditions were unbearable. Not only were they stripped of the right to elect their representatives to the chamber, but they had to carry the heavy burden of taxation. Thus, in 1849 the Samiotas masses, led once again by the Kermanioloi, rebelled against the eghemona and his collaborators. Although the Turkish army was sent to restore order, the rebellion took such dimensions that a year later it brought about the collapse of the first eghemona's regime. Nevertheless, no important changes were instituted in the existing administrative and political system (Sevastakis 1959:68-70).

During the period from 1850 to 1900 the island's economy continued to depend on agriculture, sea-faring and trade. A stratified social system had developed which was based on disparities in property and other forms of wealth, mainly cash resources. As a consequence, class differences were heightened during the second half of the century. The island's social structure consisted of three basic classes:

- 1) an upper stratum of large landowners, merchants and shipowners or captains;
- 2) a middle stratum of medium landowners, small shopkeepers, craftsmen and other specialists who usually possessed some agricultural land;
- 3) a lower stratum of small farmers, seamen, sharecroppers, as well as agricultural and industrial laborers.

Large landowners and merchants were the main employers and money lenders. There was no bank on Samos and since the need for cash for planting and improving vineyards, as well as for mere subsistence was acute at times, many members of the lower stratum borrowed money from merchants and landowners. Land was used as collateral but when the debtors could not repay their loans their mortgaged property was auctioned off. This practice further increased the trend towards greater land concentration in fewer hands. During the second half of the nineteenth century access to landed property and cash resources also influenced power and

prestige. With the eghemona's consent members of the upper stratum exercised political authority and enjoyed special economic privileges. While peasant farmers, for example, paid a ten percent tax on their gross income from agricultural produce, money lenders, merchants and rentiers were exempt from taxation. Employment opportunities—outside of seasonal agricultural work, maritime activities and some light industrial work in the tanneries—were limited and many families of the lower stratum were poverty-stricken.

In the period 1897-1900 when the phylloxera disease destroyed the island's vineyards, property ownership and control of wealth lost, to a certain extent, their validity as criteria of social class membership. Not only did farmers and landowners lose their major source of income, but money lenders and merchants suffered economically. Perhaps this was the only time in the island's history when the interests of all social classes converged. The conditions were once again ripe for an insurrection against the hegemonic regime, when Themistocles Sophoulis appeared on the scene. University-educated and the son of a Samiote wheat merchant, Sophoulis left Athens after an unsuccessful attempt to gain a professorial post and returned to Samos in 1900 to seek a political career. After being elected to the general assembly, he began to attract the support of the island's educated elite and the broader masses. Sophoulis started a movement which aimed at restricting the eghemona's authority, reviving the island's economy, removing the Turkish troops from the island, establishing a bank in order to free the people from their dependence on usurers and restoring the rights of the chamber and the peoples' representatives at the general assembly.

In order to undermine Sophoulis's efforts to organize the masses, the eghemona Andreas Kopasis ordered that no general assembly be held in 1907 and asked for the support of Turkish troops. The following year the people armed themselves and clashed with Turkish military reinforcements attempting to disembark on the island. The European

powers did nothing to prevent the Turkish military moves and many of their consulates on the island consented to the intervention. When the Turkish army succeeded in landing on Samos, after the capital of Vathi had been bombed, many of the armed Samiotes either took refuge in remote villages or left the island. The four year period which followed the insurrection was one characterized by exiles, trials, imprisonments and brutal force in general. Kopasis governed as an absolute ruler in cooperation with the anti-Sophoulis landowners and notables. However, leaders of the insurrectionary movement, even while in exile, continued their efforts to overthrow the hegemonic regime. In March 1912 they succeeded, through a non-Samiote accomplice, in assassinating Kopasis. The same year the exiled Samiotes, including Sophoulis, returned to the island and sought to organize and arm the people. Once again the European powers did not intervene in favor of the local population but instead sent representatives to forestall the anticipated uprising. Under these circumstances, however, it was difficult to stop the popular upheaval. Throughout September 1912 the people held rallies in various villages, besieged the residence of the eghemone and forced the Turkish army to leave the island. Although the senate suggested that the island continue to be administered as an eghemonia, the decisive factor was now the popular will which called for union with Greece (Demetriou 1979:97-120). At the general assembly of November 11, 1913 the popular will was expressed and Sophoulis declared Samos to be a province of Greece.

The Economy of Samos from the Eighteenth Through the Mid-Twentieth Centuries

Viniculture

By the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries the economy of Samos was mainly agrarian, although it had a substantial light industry. Statistical accounts indicate that among a working population of nine thousand three hundred people in 1886, 58.2

percent was engaged in agriculture while 27.8 percent was in shipping and manufacturing (Sofoulis 1965:11). There is historical evidence that until the end of the seventeenth century Samos had a subsistence economy based primarily on mixed agriculture and animal husbandry. In time, however, as the population multiplied and consumer needs increased, the island's economy became organized around production and distribution for the market. Beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century and until the latter part of the nineteenth, viniculture constituted the backbone of the Samiote economy. Variations in the production and distribution of Samos's wines during this period reflect the island's dependence on outside markets. It was the social category of merchants, shipowners and money-lenders that linked the local economy to these markets. During the eighteenth century the island had trade relations with the Italian cities of Venice and Ancona. Samos exported to these cities its sweet muscatel wine and imported from them furniture, china and household utensils. Venice was considered by the islanders the center of craft industries as well as the center of European civilization. According to folklore accounts, when Samiotes wanted to praise a woman's appearance they said that she was as beautiful as Venice. Also, anything valuable was called venetiko. Venice was even mentioned in folk songs; mothers, for example, used to put their children to sleep with lullabies which promised that "... the mother will order the child's clothes and jewelry from Venice...." (Stamatiades 1886:445-57).

At the end of the eighteenth century, in an effort to bypass the heavy taxation which the Constantinople government imposed on Samiote wines, island cultivators shifted from the production of wine as a cash and export crop, to the production of raisins. Since the Ottoman authorities classified raisins under the category of dried fruits and nuts, they did not subject this crop to taxation. The same shift also occurred in the mid-nineteenth century, when Russia imposed a heavy tax duty on Samos wines (Stamatiades 1886:457-58). Raisins were not only

a marketable crop, but their production was less costly in comparison to wine and required less care in processing and packing. Trade relations also linked Samos with Greece until the mid-nineteenth century, when the latter, to protect its domestic wine market, imposed import duties on all imported wines, including Samiote ones. In response to these restrictions island merchants cut themselves off from Greek markets and turned to Turkish ones for the acquisition of consumer goods and foodstuffs (Stamatiades 1886:460-61).

During most of the nineteenth century Samiote wines were purchased by merchants and sold in the markets of Smyrna, Constantinople, Alexandria, Trieste and in the port cities of Italy and France. The last two countries mixed Samos wines with their own or used them as a base in the preparation of various beverages. Markets in Italy and France, however, closed when these countries began to produce their own sweet wines and subjected Samos wines to high import duties. Cut off from these markets, Samiote merchants sought new ones in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Norway (Zaphiriou 1948:178-79). Wine merchants who linked cultivators to export markets were both Samiotes and Franco-Levantine; they maintained mercantile establishments in, as well as outside, the island. Especially important among the foreign mercantile houses was the one established by Gregory Louis-Mark, the English Consul General on Samos, because it promoted the distribution of island wines and raisins to England and the Netherlands (Stamatiades 1886:459-60).

At the very end of the nineteenth century Samos's wine and raisin production decreased sharply because the phylloxera disease destroyed the vineyards. Although the hegemonic government imported American vines from France and attempted to teach cultivators how to graft them onto local ones, production remained at low levels. Several reasons account for this: the difficulty involved in the grafting process, the long time it took for new vines to produce a crop and the fact that cultivators were attracted to tobacco as a more valuable crop both in

terms of its yield and the short time required for it to grow and ripen (it was planted in April and sold in September). Adding to these difficulties, the local landed and mercantile elite had taken no measures to protect and upgrade the island's wine industry. Content with their control of the local chamber of deputies and of access to cash, these Samiote elite had been reluctant to make improvements in the production and marketing of the island's wines—such as using sturdier vines and instituting export controls to assure the authenticity of local wines. The latter measure was particularly needed because foreign buyers, like the Smyrna merchants, had been marketing dilluted Samiote wines as their own at great profit (Daunas 1902:335-37).

Cultivation of vineyards has continued on the island up to the present, but the nineteenth century record in both the volume of production and extent of distribution of wines has not been reached since then. In 1935 the Greek conservative, though popularly-oriented, parliamentary government established the Union of Wine-Making Cooperatives of Samos and forced cultivators to join their respective village cooperatives. The Union's purpose was to synchronize and systematize the distribution and processing of island wines. Former wine merchants were excluded from all administrative positions in the Union as well as in the village cooperatives. Cooperativization aimed to free producers from their dependence on wine merchants who controlled the market and offered extremely low prices. Nevertheless, this measure, which was supported by the small producers, was the Union's only positive accomplishment. To the detriment of the cultivators, it has had no success in promoting the distribution and consumption of Samiote wines. A more serious difficulty has stemmed from the Union's inability to dispose of the island's wine stock. At the end of the 1970s decade most of the island's wine production of the previous two or three years remained unsold. This has been a factor in the Union's policy of borrowing money from the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The extensive

borrowing from the bank was evident in the period 1934-40, when the Union's indebtedness to the bank amounted to 125 million drachmas (Zaphiriou 1948:181-82). Although twenty-six cooperatives with approximately five thousand producers participate in the Union, the latter functions inefficiently because of its cumbersome bureaucratic structure and constitutional framework. Most cultivators question the ability of the Union to carry out its functions and are in agreement that it needs fundamental structural changes if it is to adjust and respond successfully to the ever-changing market.

The Tobacco Industry

With the destruction of vineyards from phylloxera, Samiote cultivators were necessarily forced to turn to new crops. The production of legumes and cereals was unsatisfactory both in terms of quantity and quality because of land fragmentation, soil composition and the mountainous terrain. Furthermore, these grains were available in the market at low prices. In 1898 two tobacco merchants from Asia Minor settled on Samos and, after experimenting in the cultivation of the plant, found the island's crop to be of exceptionally good quality. At first, however, the prices of tobacco were low and consequently cultivators limited themselves to producing mainly for consumption and very little for the market (Zaphiriou 1948:184-85). It was only after outside markets for Samos tobacco were secured and prices rose, that the production of the new crop expanded (vineyards became converted into tobacco fields) and a thriving industry was established. The island's tobacco industry was monopolized by one dealer, a Samiote who promoted the crop's distribution by convincing a Greek-owned tobacco firm in Egypt to substitute the Smyrna brand with the Samiote brand (Zaphiriou 1948:186-87). In time, as Samos tobacco became known in Europe, it was also sold in Austria, Germany, Russia and Rumania. In the first decade of the twentieth century the island's annual tobacco production averaged 800 tons. The new crop constituted a major source of wealth on the

island. Cultivators secured a source of income from its sale and thousands of male and female laborers found employment in its processing industry.

After 1916 the production of Samiote tobacco increased substantially, with seventy-five percent of the island's stock being purchased by American companies, the most important of which was the Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company. The reason for this was that the Americans had stopped importing tobacco from Smyrna, since Turkey in World War I had sided against the Allies of the Entente Alliance. Later, because of the Greco-Turkish war of 1919-22 and its consequent demographic and economic dislocations, the stability and security of the Turkish market was further affected, forcing the Americans to continue their reliance on Samos as their supplier of tobacco. A substantial tobacco processing industry developed on the island which served not only Samos, but several nearby Aegean islands. In 1938, 4,900 Samiote households were directly involved in tobacco production which in that year yielded 1,280 tons (Zaphiriou 1948:188). However, during World War II the cultivation as well as the trade of Samos tobacco was disrupted. After the war the Samiotes resumed its cultivation but to a limited extent, in comparison to the pre-war years. The market situation had changed since the Americans were no longer importing tobacco from Samos; the island producers faced competition from Greek mainland tobacco industries; and the Greek government took no measures to maintain price supports for the cultivators in order to protect them from the merchants' arbitrary price setting.

The Leather-Processing Industry

Simultaneously with the tobacco industry Samos experienced the development and eventual collapse of a leather-processing industry. This industry was primarily located in the western part of the island, in the port town of Karlovasi, in contrast to the tobacco industry which was concentrated mainly in the northeast and had its center in Vathi, the

present day capital. Several factors contributed to the growth of the Samiote leather-processing industry: first, the hegemonic regime had exempted imported hides from tax duties; second, hides were supplied by the Egyptian market at low prices in exchange for various island export crops; third, Karlovasi's seaport was suitable as a shipping facility to the industry's needs; fourth, raw materials, such as the bark of trees and several plants which were used in the industry, were readily available on the island; and finally, the leader of one of the island's political factions had succeeded in convincing the Turkish authorities to grant a concession freeing from taxation all Samiote manufactured leather that was exported to Turkey. This exemption worked to the advantage of Samiote tanners because it allowed them to sell their products at lower prices and compete successfully with their Turkish counterparts. As the industry expanded, the island's manufactured leather—used primarily in shoe-making—flooded the markets of Constantinople, Smyrna, Thessaloniki and Beirut (Zaphiriou 1948:84-85).

A key factor which facilitated the growth of Samos' leather-processing industry was the availability of capital sources. The manufacturing process, since it did not initially depend on the use of chemicals, required a period of six to nine months during which tanners were unable to meet the costs of production. They depended, therefore, on wealthy wine merchants and money lenders to supply, through loans, the necessary working capital (Zaphiriou 1948:86). After 1913, when the island was unified with Greece, in order to withstand competition from the Pireaus and Athens industries, Samiote tanners were forced to adopt modern technology and to implement the use of chemical substances. These modernizing attempts required capital investments. At this time several money lenders formed partnerships with tanners and established processing units comparable to those of Pireaus (Zaphiriou 1948:87).

World War I proved beneficial to the Samiote tanning industry because, since Pireaus was blockaded by the Entente Allies, the island

constituted practically the only market in Greece for manufactured leather. Also, Samiot vessels sailed freely in the Aegean and were not exposed to the danger of being sunk by German submarines. The reason for this was that, although unification had occurred, the island had not been formally annexed to Greece (this occurred in 1923) and was, therefore, considered to be friendly to the Triple Alliance, as was the Ottoman Empire. Prior to World War II Samos' tanning industry was the largest of its kind, in terms of production, in Greece; in 1940, for example, it produced 1,600 tons of processed leather (Zaphiriou 1948:84). In the pre-war years Karlovasi had 43 tanneries which employed approximately 700 workers. Of these factories two were steam-operated, seventeen were oil-driven, ten were electrically powered and fourteen operated without machine power. Taking into account that during the inter-war period Karlovasi had a population which averaged 6,500 people, the ratio was one tannery for every 150 people.

Unlike World War I, however, World War II and particularly the Italian occupation policy of property confiscation had disastrous effects on Samos' tanning industry. In 1952 only 31 tanneries were functioning in Karlovasi—one used steam, twenty-one oil, one electricity and eight lacked engine power—while the remaining twelve had either closed down or had moved to Piraeus. The number of workers employed in Karlovasi's industry in 1952 had also dropped to 100 (Proodhos, 21 September 1952:1). The disaster of World War II and the Greek Civil War depleted the island's tanning industry of its sources of capital. Credit provided by the government in the form of industrial loans was insufficient to enable the industry to recover. In the post-war years government policy was disposed more favorably towards metropolitan rather than towards provincial industries. The interest, for example, on loans to metropolitan industries ranged between 3.5 and 5 percent, whereas loans made to Karlovasi's tanning industry had a 10 percent interest rate. Furthermore, loans were short-termed and did not give

the Samiote industry the time it required to create its own capital.

Shipping

Samiotes, having a long-established tradition of living off the land and being relatively free from direct outside political control, did not feel a strong need to leave the island and work as seamen. In comparison with other Aegean islands, Samos had a rather small commercial fleet. During the period of hegemonic rule small ships of up to one hundred and fifty tons capacity were built in local shipyards and served the island's import-export trade with Greece, Egypt and Turkey. The owners of these vessels, who were also their captains, when in need of capital purchased island crops such as olive oil, wine and currants and sold them from their ships in various Eastern Mediterranean ports for cash (Zaphiriou 1948:80-81). Larger Samiote-owned ships, having a capacity of five hundred tons, were chartered in order to transport cereals and other agricultural products from the ports of Russia, Rumania and the Ottoman Empire to the Western Mediterranean ports of Austria, Italy and France. Samos' commercial fleet reached its peak, in terms of capital accumulation and the range of transport-trade activities, in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1876 a naval insurance bank was established on the island to insure both ships and merchandise against natural disasters and other losses. However, failure to modernize in order to compete successfully with the new steam-powered ships, eventually led to the Samiote commercial fleet's decline (Stamatiades 1886: 483, 489). Of the island's two shipping companies which survived into the twentieth century one went into bankruptcy in 1931, while the other today engages in passenger and freight transport between the island and the port of Pireaus. Although a Samos-based commercial fleet is non-existent today, there has been a continuous absorption by Greek and foreign merchant marines of Samiote seamen. This has been a consequence of the declining sources of income from agriculture and the non-availability of viable employment opportunities on the island.

Historical sources point out that the economy of Samos was relatively prosperous at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. By the end of last century there was an extensive Samiote export trade in muscat wines, olives and olive oil, fruits, tobacco and tannery goods to France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and the Ottoman Empire. According to Daunas (1902:331-35), by 1898 the value of the island's imports and exports had each reached a value of 4.5 million francs. Also, Sofoulis (1965:11-12) estimates Samos' gross income in 1864 at 120 million drachmas, corresponding to a per capita income of 4,250 drachmas or 140 dollars. The argument Sofoulis (1965:12) makes is that if only the factor of annual per capita income—which in 1961 was approximately 170 dollars—is taken into account, it becomes apparent that the island's economy was much sounder towards the end of the nineteenth century than it was as recently as twenty-five years ago. The Samiote economy has shown a continuous decline since the 1920s when the large urban centers of Greece (notably Pireaus, Athens and Thessaloniki) began to grow. It can be argued that this decline began from the time the island became economically integrated into the Greek mainland economy. As a consequence of this integration it lost its multi-directional orientation and became economically dependent on the industrial and trading centers of mainland Greece. Also, the 1922 defeat of the Greek military forces by the Turkish nationalists in Asia Minor and the consequent removal of large Greek-speaking populations from the opposite mainland littoral region had the effect of severing traditional Samiote mercantile ties with the Anatolian hinterland, which were maintained by Greek middlemen.

The obvious conclusion which arises from this review of Samos' political and economic history is that a region must be placed in its national and international setting in order to deal with the economic and political forces which impinge upon it. Many of the problems the island faced historically, and continues to face today, originated in

its relationship to metropolitan and foreign centers and to local and non-local political and economic institutions. As early as the eighteenth century Samos was penetrated by, and dependent on, capitalist markets. Its nineteenth century economic development—based primarily on the intense production of export cash crops—meant that local producers were dependent on outside markets for their produce and for ensuring access to externally produced items on which local specialization rested. They were also dependent on local elites to ensure access to cash credit. There is evidence that relatively high rates of population growth on Samos during the nineteenth century are related, in part, to land use intensification and the expansion of settlements. In the period 1824-1864 the island's population increased at an average annual rate of 0.7 percent and during the second half of the last century it doubled, to a figure of 52,775 by 1898 (Hauttecoeur 1901:103).

The focus on a region would be incomplete without an understanding of the role of political and economic elites who are interposed between the region and national and international centers. During the period of hegemonic rule Samos' landed and mercantile elite exercised control over production for export and acted as the link between local production and distribution systems and the world market. They took advantage of changing market conditions, maintained international connections through foreign mercantile establishments within and outside the island, set prices for local produce and engaged in capital accumulation. Being the collaborators of the eghemona and the Turkish officials on the island, these Samiote elite were able to further exercise direct and indirect control over people and resources. Following Schneider, Schneider and Hansen's description (1972:345), they could be characterized as dependence elite—cultivating strong external ties, placing emphasis on markets, neglecting to improve and diversify agricultural production and generally failing to expand the island's productive capacities.

The modern history of Samos shows that the island was affected by developments that threatened its exchange relations with outside markets. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the wine crop disaster caused by phylloxera led to stagnation in wine prices. Furthermore, external dependence made the island's economy vulnerable to market fluctuations; the decline of the Samiote leather-processing and tobacco industries are examples of this vulnerability. However, neither Stamatziades (1886) nor Zaphiriou (1948) discuss the actual social and economic relations between the small landowners and the mercantile middlemen or money lenders. What became of the producers' standard of living because of the low prices for their crops, and what became of their landholdings as a result of their relationships of dependence with the money lenders? Nor is information available on the working conditions and wages of sea-men. Although there are references to seasonal labor migration from Samos to the nearby Turkish coastal littoral, information concerning its organization, compensation and working conditions is also lacking.

Union with Greece did not free the island from dependence but meant that from being a satellite to the world metropolis Samos became a satellite to the national metropolis. Resistance to the Ottoman power took the form of nationalism; however, the end result was that the Samiotes exchanged dependence on one foreign political power and several external markets for dependence upon a national power and market. The role of landed and mercantile elite was taken over by the state which, mainly through the Agricultural Bank of Greece, became the basic provider of capital in the island's economy. One of the state's early measures was to establish the Union of Wine-Making Cooperatives of Samos. However, cooperativization did not contribute to improve agriculture. Cooperatives were not formed to facilitate collective land ownership and cultivation, but to process and market island wines. The state gave no incentives to cultivators to upgrade the old vineyards and failed to secure stable long-term markets for Samos wines. Neither

was agricultural productivity increased nor were other alternatives, such as industry and manufacturing, made available to boost the island's economy.

The economic and demographic conditions of Samos in this century, and particularly after World War II (these will be described in detail in a later chapter), reflect processes that have affected and contributed to the underdevelopment of rural areas throughout Greece. In the post-World War II period a distorted capitalist development took place in Greece that had as a consequence the marginalization of those involved in small commodity production (agriculture and small industry). Foreign capital, which entered the country in very large amounts during the 1950s and 1960s, boosted manufacturing. However, the result was that large foreign firms—exercising monopolistic control of the economy—grew at the expense of agriculture and small industries, as the foreign-controlled manufacturing sector was not linked with the rest of the economy. Mouzelis (1978:41-45) has argued that the underdevelopment of Greece resulted from the specific articulation between the two modes of production, the capitalist mode represented by big industry and encountered in urban centers and the simple commodity production, encompassing agriculture and small industry. The capitalist mode of production (urban, industrial wage labor) incorporated the rural economy in such a way that its own development took place at the expense of those involved in agricultural production. This involved a systematic siphoning off of resources—labor and capital—while leaving rural areas, such as Samos, underdeveloped.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION, DEMOGRAPHY AND ASPECTS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF KOKKARI

Samos lies in the southeastern Aegean sea and is separated from the Turkish mainland by a mile-wide strait. It is about 43.5 kilometers in length and 22.5 kilometers in breadth. The major part of the island's territory is occupied by forested mountains rising to the west, with the two highest elevations of Kerkis (1,440 meters) and Karvounis (1,140 meters), and descending to the east where small coastal plains are found. Samos' land is fertile and a great portion of it is covered with vineyards and olive trees. Its capital, which is also the main port, is at Vathi, fringing a deep bay on the northeastern coast, and it is connected with roads to the interior villages and to Pythagorion, a port on the southeast coast. A third port, Karlovasi, is located in the western part of the island's northern coast and serves a separate lowland region.

In 1915 Samos, along with the nearby island of Icaria and the group of islands known as Phourni, was established as a prefecture (nomos) of Greece by royal decree. In the prefecture the highest official is the nomarchis, a government appointee whose seat is located at the capital, Vathi. The island alone constitutes a province (eparchie) with administrative subdivisions the municipalities (dhemoi) and the communities (kinotites). The latter are the smallest territorial and political units in the Greek government system and administrative hierarchy. Kokkari has been functioning as a kinotita since 1918, when it was recognized as such by government order. A kinotita's administration is in the hands of a locally elected president (proedhros)

MAP OF SAMOS (WITH INSERT MAP OF ITS POSITION RELATIVE TO THE GREEK MAINLAND)

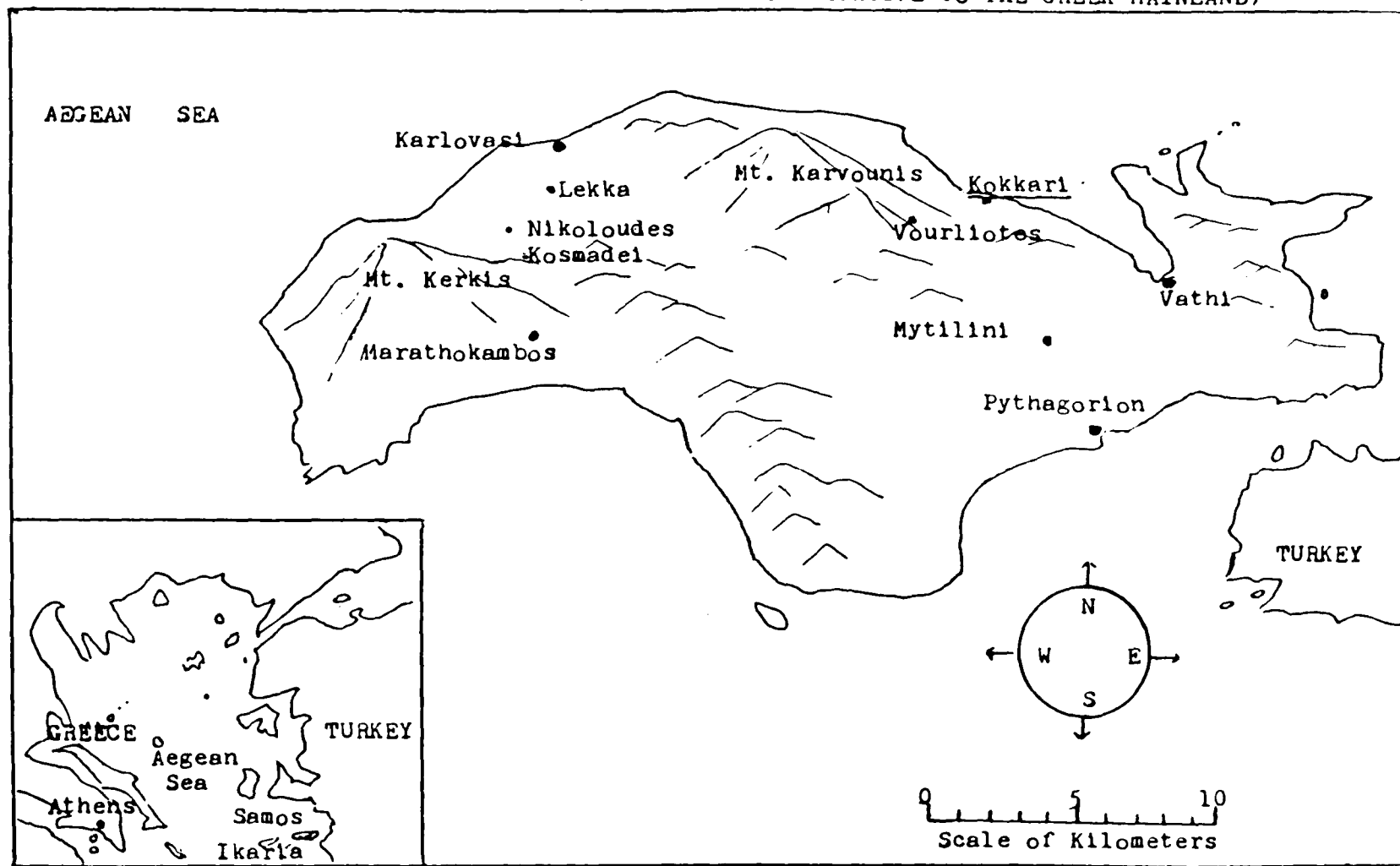


Figure 1

and council (symvoulia). Tasks assigned to the president and the council include keeping vital statistics on births, marriages and deaths, maintaining the property of the kinotita (such as roads and paths), balancing the annual village budget, preparing tax rolls and other related activities. The council and the community are served by an additional official, the secretary of the kinotita who is appointed by the nomarchi upon nomination of the village council. The secretary occupies the office on a tenured basis and is considered a permanent civil servant.

The Village Setting

Kokkari is located on the northeastern coast of the island, eight kilometers west of Mytilini. Its main features include: a nucleated settlement pattern (with a compact arrangement of houses and fields extending between the village and the rising elevation which is part of the foothills of Karvouni); accessibility to the paved road that runs parallel to the northern coast of the island; and the existence within the village of a school, several coffeehouses and shops, as well as a church and a resident priest. The village was settled about the early nineteenth century by residents of the interior settlement of Mytilini who planted onions on the coastal plain that is today covered with vineyards. In Greek, Kokkari is a collective noun for "small dry onions used as seed" and is an appropriate name for a village that was established in an area of onion fields. A main road passes through the village as part of the island's northern route which was constructed in the early 1920s (underground pipes for running water were installed a decade later). There are also paths through the fields and over the hills that lead to neighboring villages.

A significant number of village structures, including several hotels and shops, the schoolhouse, the church and the cemetery, are lined up on both sides of the main road. Although houses are found on the side of the road fronting the fields, most buildings occupy the

area that extends between the road and the sea. This area includes a low-lying flatland and two heights referred to by the Turkish word tepedes. Alleys, some wide enough to be used by vehicles, cross the village in all directions while terraced steps facilitate access to the heights. From the top of the tepedes the view of the sea, the village below and its surrounding fields is panoramic. Commercial establishments are scattered throughout the level section of the village even though a few hotels, pensions and rooms for rent are also found at the elevated heights. The village square borders the sea and is surrounded on its three sides by coffeehouses, restaurants and tourist shops. The area is a site of intense activity when it is inundated by tourists and locals in the afternoon and evening hours during the tourist season.

The people of Kokkari have easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village. Buses travel through the main street of Kokkari several times a day and in the summer months, because public transport also serves the tourist population, buses arrive in the village on an hourly basis. Furthermore, at least thirty villagers own automobiles, small farming trucks and various types of commercial vehicles, which are used for transporting building materials and produce, as well as for commuting to Vathi and to nearby villages. Most of these vehicles have been acquired in the past ten years, as access to cash has increased with involvement in the tourist industry and as people have engaged in new economic activities which require the use of transport means. For non-owners of vehicles transport is also facilitated by two taxis which are based in Kokkari; however, during the 1984 and 1985 tourist season there were four taxis stationed in the village.

Kokkari's access to communication with the outside world was enhanced by tourism, even though it prevailed prior to its advent. Although electricity was produced earlier by an electrical technician for the operation of his cinema, electrical power was brought to the village

for general consumption in the mid-1960s. The first television sets were acquired by village coffeeshouses in the late 1960s and early 1970s and today practically every Kokkariote household owns a set. Telephone communication was established in the mid 1970s, when the first private phones were acquired. The installment of phones, however, has been a slow process and currently fewer than one-fourth of the village households possess a phone. People complain that after making a petition they have to wait several years before they are supplied with a telephone line. The single public telephone located in one of the coffeeshouses is insufficient to serve the needs of the local residents and tourists. However, if telephone communication is limited, postal communication is adequate in terms of regularity and organization. Mail arrives in the village daily, except on weekends, and is distributed by a local businessman from a central location (his place of business). For this service he is paid a small salary by the postal service. Besides mail, newspapers and other printed matter are also available in the village daily. Newspapers, for example, are transported from Athens to Samos on the morning air flight and by early afternoon are ready for distribution. A variety of magazines whose subject matter is the home, fashion, sewing, knitting, as well as stories of romance and of cinema stars, are read by village women. These are purchased either in the village or in Vathi. During the tourist season a plethora of foreign language newspapers and magazines are also available for purchase.

Kokkari's elementary school, at which are currently enrolled fifty pupils, occupies a two-room building and is staffed by two resident teachers. In 1980 a kindergarten was established and housed, along with the kinotita office, in a renovated public building (at present twenty youngsters attend). After completion of elementary school students are enrolled in the three year gymnasio (junior high school) at Vathi. Commuting poses no problem for these students.

since a school bus transports them daily to and from the capital. Upon completion of the gymnasio the nine years of compulsory education are completed. If the student chooses to continue his studies, he or she is admitted for a three year course, and without examination, to one of the two types of high schools (lykeia) located in Vathi--the general (academic) and the technical high school. The first prepares its pupils for further studies at a university or one of the various schools of arts and sciences at the university level, while the second prepares students for technical or vocational schools of advanced education without excluding the possibility of further studies in the sciences at the university level. For students who do not wish to enroll in high school there are a few opportunities for vocational and technical education. Several village youths attend a center for technical and vocational education near Vathi, where they acquire skills such as those of an electrician.

Kokkari has its own public clinic staffed by a resident doctor and a nurse who, once a week, are assigned to visit the nearby village of Vourliotes and to provide its residents with basic medical services. Prior to the establishment of the clinic in the late 1960s the village was served by two elderly doctors and a midwife. At present only emergencies and rudimentary treatment are handled by the local doctor because people in need of medical attention usually seek the advice and care of specialists in the capital or in Athens. Furthermore, village women no longer give birth at home with the assistance of the midwife but at private clinics or in the hospital. For the maintenance of law and order a police force is stationed in Kokkari. It is comprised of a stathmerchi, police captain, and two khorofylakes, police guards. Their duties include registering citizens and issuing national government identification cards, registering young men for conscription and serving them with draft notices, keeping a record of tourist arrivals and enforcing regulations regarding prices which the National Tourist

Organization sets for tourist facilities and services. There is also an aghtrofylake, field guard, based in the village who handles disputes and violations concerning peoples' rights to land and to its produce.

A relatively wide range of services and commercial establishments are locally available for Kokkari's residents. The types of commercial businesses which operate in the village on a year round basis include: four grocery stores, two bakeries, four coffeeshouses, a notions shop, a pizza parlor, a barber's shop, a hairdresser's shop, a newspaper shop, a butcher's shop and a cinema. There are also three carpentry workshops, a metal worker's shop and a small electrical appliance store. Most of these businesses are the major source of income for their owners who also have agricultural holdings and often other secondary part-time occupations. Aside from the pizza-making outlet, the establishment of the above enterprises predates the intrusion of tourism into the village. In order to meet the needs and demands of tourists local businesses have either modified the services or have diversified the products they offer. Coffeeshouses, for example, in addition to serving coffee and drinks, provide breakfast to tourists. Grocery stores have increased their stock and variety of imported foodstuffs, while at the local newspaper shop a large number of foreign language magazines and newspapers are available for purchase. In addition to local merchants, outsider vendors frequently pass through the village selling fruits and vegetables or household wares. Furthermore, the village's wine cooperative runs a retail outlet where such consumer items as soaps and detergents are sold at slightly reduced prices. Daily food purchases are made at the village grocery stores where one can find most of the local and imported food items which supermarkets in Vathi supply. However, Kokkariotes visit the capital frequently in order to avail themselves of banking and drugstore services which the village lacks, to shop for consumer goods, to pay bills, to conduct business transactions and to have personal and family matters handled by civil authorities as well

as by public and private agencies.

Kokkari constitutes an open, non-corporate type of community. It comprises a group of people living in a definable territory with primary institutions, and it provides a context within which culture is transmitted from generation to generation. In such a context there is a degree of community sentiment and group solidarity (Arensberg 1961:243-50; Arensberg and Kimball 1965). However, as Dubisch (1977:78-79) has pointed out for the island of Tinos, there is another "community", a non-territorial one of former villagers who have migrated and maintained ties with the village. Thus, Kokkari cannot be characterized as an "introverted" community, a term DuBoisley applied to the village of Ambeli in Euboea (1974:11). A large number of social and economic activities in the village take place with reference to outside centers. Also, a variety of economic and cultural activities which in the past were learned and perpetuated from generation to generation are no longer preserved; nor is preserved the system of ideas that traditionally validated these activities. Prior to the advent of tourism the urban world intruded into Kokkari through the mass media, increased transport and contact within and beyond the island, and as a result of out-migration (with visits to and by relatives residing outside the village). With the development of tourism the village has become "urbanized" much more rapidly and extensively. Kokkari, therefore, provides evidence which supports generalizations about the urbanization of the rural sector in developing countries.

Demography

Census data, although incomplete, show a steady increase of the island's population during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, followed by a continuous decline beginning with the 1940s. The rate of population decline for the province of Samos calculated at ten year intervals are (in percentages): 13.6 for 1940-51, 14.84 for 1951-61, 19.5 for 1961-71 and 3.2 for 1971-81.

TABLE 1
POPULATION FIGURES FOR SAMOS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of People</u>
1828	27,125
1864	33,998
1874	39,442
1913	54,178
.	
1951	47,628
1961	40,558
1971	32,671
1981	31,634

For the period 1971-81 the percentage of population decrease is most likely underestimated because the 1981 census was taken during the month of May when the tourist season had already started and it is very possible that visitors of village descent were included in the collection of data. The age-sex composition of the island's population during the four decades 1940-80 shows an excess of elderly and widowed persons. An information report published by the nomarchis' office indicates that the rates of population decrease presented above are much higher for younger age groups, in contrast to the older age segment of the population which is experiencing a considerable increase in numbers.

The steady population increase on Samos in the latter part of the nineteenth century is attributed to a high birth rate, as is suggested by the table below which the island's historian Stamatiades (1886) compiled from census data for the period 1874-84. These figures suggest that the average birth rate on Samos during this period was double that of the death rate and that the infant mortality rate was 25 percent.

TABLE 2
FIGURES ON BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS FOR SAMOS, 1874-84

TABLE 2—Continued

<u>Year</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	
				<u>Adults</u>	<u>Children</u>
1874	1,119	236	479	253	226
1875	1,263	282	572	295	277
1876	1,291	218	699	340	359
1877	1,237	235	727	352	375
1878	1,275	191	727	384	343
1879	1,255	235	650	375	275
1880	1,303	358	676	317	359
1881	1,202	261	567	272	295
1882	1,284	253	513	232	281
1883	1,293	275	619	224	395
1884	1,267	259	528	222	306

Approximately a century later the death rate exceeded the birth rate by a ratio of 2:1. Statistics of the island's natural demographic movement available only for the 1980 and 1981 years, provide evidence for a drop in the birth rate.

TABLE 3

FIGURES ON BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS FOR SAMOS, 1980-81

<u>Year</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
1980	323	184	507
1981	300	179	468

Kokkari's demographic development is comparable to that of the entire island.

TABLE 4

POPULATION FIGURES FOR KOKKARI

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>

TABLE 4—Continued

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1920	1,385
1928	1,536
1940	1,423
1951	1,279
1961	1,070
1971	849
1981	965

TABLE 5

POPULATION CHANGES IN KOKKARI
(in Percentages)

<u>Period</u>	<u>Population Change</u>
1920-28	10.9 increase
1928-40	7.4 decrease
1940-51	10.0 "
1951-61	16.4 "
1961-71	20.7 "
1971-81	12.0 increase

In Kokkari, for the 1961-82 span of time the death rate was, on the average, double that of the birth rate. The lower birth rate is one of the factors which has contributed to the village's demographic decline. Out-migration is an additional reason that accounted for Kokkari's population loss and the augmentation of the older segment of its population, in contrast to the younger child-bearing segment.

TABLE 6

FIGURES ON BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS FOR KOKKARI, 1961-82

<u>Year</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
1961	8	4	11	1972	2	4	18

TABLE 6--Continued

<u>Year</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Deaths</u>
1962	6	12	10	1973	10	8	11
1963	10	10	19	1974	9	3	11
1964	11	6	12	1975	6	5	28
1965	10	9	11	1975	9	3	19
1966	8	3	19	1977	3	5	16
1967	7	8	14	1978	11	6	27
1968	12	5	21	1979	10	6	23
1969	4	5	9	1980	11	11	14
1970	5	8	13	1981	14	6	21
1971	9	1	20	1982	4	6	15

The rapid decline in Kokkeri's population which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s and continued steadily up to the early 1970s was the result of out-migration. A lower birth rate can be excluded as a factor contributing to population loss, since the trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920s. Genealogies show that in the 1920s the size of families was limited to an average of four children, in contrast to the late 1800s and the first decade of the twentieth century when the average was seven children. Furthermore, since the 1930s the village family has, on the average, no more than two or three children. According to informants' accounts, the earliest cases of out-migration date back to the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, when a small number of single males left the village to seek their fortunes in the United States. There they worked in the construction of railroads or as farm workers. Some of these early migrants saved money which they invested upon their return to the village in purchasing land, while others gave no sign of life and were never heard of again. It was not, however, until after the civil war years that out-migration became the main cause of village depopulation.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and up to the early 1970s, there

was a steady movement of people out of Kokkari. Economic difficulties, stemming mainly from the lack of adequate land yields and employment opportunities, were the basic reasons which motivated villagers to leave. An alternative available to those men and women in their teens and early twenties whose families possessed little land and had no other means of earning income was to seek employment in Athens. There, males worked in construction or other related industries and acquired skills such as ironworking, bricklaying and carpentry. These skills have enhanced the employability of those who returned to the village during the past decade because they were in demand for the development of tourism's infrastructure. Village women in Athens worked mainly as domestic servants and either returned to Kokkari after a number of years, where they married and settled, or remained in the city as a result of marrying urban husbands. The overwhelming majority of Kokkari's migrants, however, were hosted by the former Belgian Congo (the present Zaire), Australia, Canada and the United States. Much of this emigration was sponsored by kinsmen who had left the village earlier or by the Ecclesiastical Committee for Emigration, an agency of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in Athens which processed applications. Arranged marriages also resulted in emigration, as men and women who were already abroad facilitated the move away from the village of a spouse-to-be. As a consequence, emigration enforced village endogamy.

Today the majority of Kokkari villagers who had gone to Zaire have been forced by circumstances in the host country--the anti-colonial and independence movement with its concomitant attempts to nationalize foreign-owned enterprises--to return to the village. Their repatriation started in the mid-1960s and continued up to the mid-1970s. Of these "Congolese," as they are often called in the village, those who managed to take their savings out of Zaire have made investments in urban real estate (in Athens) and/or in village land and housing. Furthermore, from the mid-1970s a new trend has started involving the return of some

former villagers from Australia, Canada and the United States as well as to a lesser extent from Athens. It is this phenomenon of repatriation that accounts for the twelve percent increase of the village's population in the 1971-81 decade. Among these returnees are included not only older people over the age of sixty who, having secured a pension from working abroad, returned to spend their remaining years in Kokkari, but individuals of a middle age group with their families. The latter explain that it was always their desire to return to the village, but it was the availability of opportunities to invest in the tourist industry and earn an adequate income that affected their decision to repatriate. Because of tourism, therefore, and the structure of employment and investment opportunities it has created, Kokkari has stabilized and even increased its population in recent years.

Social Organization

In Kokkari aspects of social organization such as the selection and age of marriage partners, postmarital residence and the division of the patrimony have been affected by demographic and socio-economic changes. Because of reasons related to the disposition of dowry and inheritance property, village men and women have traditionally married endogamously. However, because of out-migration, which limited the availability of potential village spouses, a trend started from the 1960s on towards village exogamy. In cases of village exogamy, spouses were sought mainly from other Samiote villages and, only in very few cases, from outside the island. Marriages which occurred in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s outside the island, following migration, were mostly exogamous. Village endogamy, however, still occurred in those cases where out-migration was facilitated by a marriage arrangement to a village man or woman already living outside the island. According to genealogical data, from the late 1800s until the mid-1950s close to 90 percent of all marriages were endogamous, whereas from 1960 to the present endogamous marriages represented only 50 percent of the

total number of marriages. Church records indicate that of 135 marriages recorded in Kokkeri for the period 1961-82, 50 or 37 percent were endogamous and 61 or 45 percent exogamous (in the 61 exogamous marriages the non-village spouse came from within Samos). The remaining 24 marriages or 18 percent show that one of the spouses came from outside the island.

According to village custom parental property was in the past (as well as presently) divided among all the children. However, the youngest son or daughter who assumed the responsibility of looking after the elderly parents usually received a larger share of the patrimony.¹ Kokkeriote women received their share of property upon marriage in the form of dowry which ideally included a house along with its necessary furnishings and linen, roukha. Men received their shares either while the parents were still alive, and usually at marriage, and/or through inheritance. Informants referred to conflicts that arose in the past among siblings and between parents and children over the division of the patrimony. It was out-migration that eased such familial tensions and benefited those siblings who remained in the village. These siblings often received a larger share of the patrimony and had use rights over the property of brothers and sisters who had migrated.

Historical sources and villagers' accounts suggest that both on the island and in Kokkeri postmarital residence was in the past either neolocal or uxorilocal² (Stamatiades 1986:273). Uxorilocal residence was encouraged by the system of dowry, according to which housing was provided by the bride's parents. In cases where a daughter was dowered with a house other than the parental one neolocal residence was established. Furthermore, neolocal residence occurred in situations where spouses, having no access to property or other resources by means of inheritance and dowry (since they came from large and poor families), were forced to rent village houses and establish independent households on the basis of agricultural paid labor. Virilocal residence occurred

rarely in Kokkari and when it did it was usually associated with cases where women brought very little dowry property in marriage. When village men and women married exogamously factors such as the bulk of the spouses' resources and, more recently, the availability of wage employment for the husband determined which spouse moved to the other's village. However, since Kokkari—in comparison with other villages—has more extensive and fertile land and with the development of tourism there is more demand for paid labor, as well as more opportunities to earn income from the rental of houses, it has been common for non-village spouses to move to Kokkari upon marriage.

Examining marriages which took place in Kokkari between the early 1970s and the present, it becomes evident that the more recent trend is towards neolocal postmarital residence. The increased frequency of this type of residence and of conjugal family households conforms to the contemporary ideal that every married couple should have its own residence. The creation of the home serves the need for identity and indicates the independence of the family unit. Uxorilocal or virilocal residence occurs in limited cases and is encountered in situations where the female or male spouse, with whose parents the couple resides, is the only child and inevitably inherits the patrimony. This may be a means parents use to keep an only child close to them, thereby securing the assistance and care it will provide them with in their old age. In those cases where a couple resides in the same dwelling with the wife's parents (which is more common than residence that locates a married couple with the husband's parents) it most frequently constitutes an independent conjugal family household; it occupies a separate floor of the house, eats separately and maintains its own household budget.³ As will become evident in later chapters, as far as proximity of residence, domestic cooperation and interaction are concerned, the residents of Kokkari tend to be more oriented towards the kinsmen of the bride. Certainly the practice of the bride's family being responsible for the

dowry house has been consistent with this orientation, especially in the past.

Neolocal postmarital residence and conjugal family households are an indirect consequence of changes in the village economy which stem from tourism. In Kokkari today most domestic economies are directly or indirectly based, to some extent, on tourism. Property and labor have a new productive potential, employment opportunities have increased and, therefore, most household incomes have substantially increased. In the context of these effects of tourism, the economic foundations of a new household can no longer be provided exclusively by dowry and inheritance. In the diversified economy of the village factors such as male employment and investment opportunities outside agriculture, as well as opportunities for women to come out of their domestic or farm-focused realms and participate in other spheres of the local economy, have the potential to lessen a couple's dependence on parents and other kin as the source of property and other resources. The above factors provide a new couple with the motives to have its own residence and establish a conjugal family household. Today, it is generally acknowledged by Kokkariotes of all age groups that a family cannot be independent in providing for its livelihood if it relies exclusively on agriculture. Young village males seek non-agricultural employment and express little concern as to when, and what portion of, parental agricultural property will be passed on to them. Therefore, it is becoming common practice for parents to transmit agricultural landed property through inheritance. Even in cases where such property is transferred upon a son's or daughter's marriage it is the parents who cultivate and live off the land while supplying, at the same time, their married children's households with part of the produce for purposes of consumption.

Another factor which has facilitated neolocal postmarital residence in Kokkari is the increased availability of houses for rent. As

a consequence of the development of tourism houses have become productive resources and villagers, aware of this, have sought to reconstruct old houses, storage places and barns or to build new houses in order to make them available for rent. Thus, a market has been created of houses for rent not only for tourists but for village couples as well. Tourism, however, and the increasing demand for houses have inflated rents to such an extent that rent payments for a village house are a serious drain on a couple's monthly income. High rents of village houses and the productive value which real estate property has assumed with the development of tourism have had the effect of enforcing the importance attached to dowry.

Genealogical data point to a reduction from the 1960s onwards in the frequency of late marriages for both Kokkariote men and women. The fact that siblings married according to their order of birth, with sisters having priority over their brothers, accounts in part for the relatively high percentage of late marriages prior to the 1960s. Older men explained that they married late either because they had to wait for their sisters to marry first and to contribute to the accumulation of their dowries, or because they had to take on the role of protector and provider for the family since their father was ill or had died. Additional factors which may also account for the frequent occurrence of late marriages were the need for field hands, considering that the cultivation of tobacco and vineyards required a maximum source of labor; the need to maintain the family's landholdings intact (undivided) as long as possible, since for most households land was the only source of livelihood; and finally the need for children to support parents in their old age. Reliance on, and the need for, unpaid family labor was such that, as informants explained, parents often withdrew their children from elementary school in order to have them work in the fields or to herd the household's animals.

As far as birth control is concerned, it cannot be considered a

significant factor in taking the burden off of marriage. Until the late 1970s the dissemination of information on contraception was extremely limited. Furthermore, although some type of birth control—however rudimentary—was practiced in the past, it could not have had any noteworthy impact as a marriage regulator, considering that for a young woman premarital sex meant jeopardizing her marriage possibilities.⁴ I encountered several cases involving women who had married in their mid-teens through elopement. Although this occurred more frequently in the past than in recent years, it should not be interpreted as the only factor contributing to the early age of marriage. Elopement was a way by which a young man and woman, through a voluntary agreement, made known to their respective parents and to the community at large their decision to marry. Women who eloped, in almost all cases, came from poor landless households which could not provide dowries for their daughters. Often elopement took place after parents expressed disapproval over the young woman their son showed a liking for or interest in marrying. The usual reasons for such parental disapproval were a woman's young age, the fact that she possessed no dowry or that she came from a family of lower social standing.

TABLE 7

CHANGES REFLECTED IN KOKKARIOTE MEN'S AND WOMEN'S AGES OF MARRIAGE
(in Percentage of the Respective Total Number of Marriages)

<u>Women</u> (age group)	<u>1930-49</u>	<u>1950-69</u>	<u>1970-85</u>
16-20	55.00	47.50	36.00
21-25	10.00	25.00	41.10
26 and over	35.00	27.50	20.90
<u>Men</u>			
19-23	10.00	7.50	20.83
24-29	45.00	50.00	62.50
30 and over	45.00	42.50	16.67

The reduction in the late age of marriage for men is evinced as definitely beginning with the 1970s, although it can be interpreted from the figures to have started earlier. This reduction can be attributed to the shift away from agricultural occupations, with the consequence being a lessening of the dependence on parents for access to land. In Kokkari multiple occupations are carried out within most households and opportunities exist in the village for young men to engage in economic activities other than those of their parents. Another reason men married at an earlier age is that as a result of out-migration there was less need for parents to divide the patrimony into so many parts (the sons who remained in the village received marriage gifts, while those who left got their share of the patrimony through inheritance), and male siblings were less obliged to delay their marriage in order to contribute to the dowries of their sisters. Regarding women, the reduced birth rate, as well as the increased availability of new sources of income and opportunities for wage employment within or outside the village, made it possible for parents to provide dowries for their daughters relatively early, thereby facilitating their earlier marriage.

As is generally the case in rural Greek communities, in Kokkari the household is the basic social and economic unit. Concerning composition in terms of personnel, the majority of Kokkariote households consist of single nuclear family groups or remnants thereof.⁵ Where extended family groupings are encountered the "extra" members are one or both of either spouse's parents. Recruitment of members is based on kinship, although in the past a few wealthy Kokkariote households recruited a male or female servant. Where a nuclear family is augmented, consanguines are preferred more than affines, but the latter are tolerated out of responsibility or because of economic interests such as property inheritance. In the past the developmental cycle of the domestic group often included a patrilineal or matrilineal extended family phase as a result of a shortage of housing and the fact that many

young couples lacked the resources to establish separate households. Such arrangements, however, were not usually permanent. Today in Kokkari the normal pattern is neolocal residence and nuclear family households.

TABLE 8
COMPOSITION OF KOKKARI'S HOUSEHOLDS (1984)

<u>Household Members</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Nuclear family	67
" " plus wife's parents	7
" " " husband's parents	2
" " " wife's father	4
" " " " mother	4
" " " husband's father	1
" " " " mother	5
" " " wife's father (divorced) and brother	1
" " " " mother's sister	2
" " " " father (divorced), brother and	
mother's mother	1
" " " wife's and husband's mothers and distant	
affinal relative	1
Husband and wife alone	44
" " " plus wife's parents	1
" " " " " mother	4
" " " " husband's mother	1
" " " " wife's mother's brother	1
" " " " husband's father's sister	1
Married female alone	1
" " plus children	3
Unmarried female alone	6
" " plus brother (divorced)	1
" sisters	2
" brothers	1
" male	1
Male alone (divorced)	1
Widow alone	5
" plus young children	1
" " " " and her parents	1
" " unmarried son	3
" " " sister	2
" " " sons and her mother	1

TABLE 8—Continued

<u>Household Members</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Widow plus unmarried sister and son or daughter	2
Widower	2
" plus adult son (married or single)	4
" " wife's unmarried sisters	<u>1</u>
Total	185

A common household structure in Kokkeri is the nuclear family consisting of a married couple with their children. This type of household constitutes 36.22 percent of the total 185 households surveyed. More common, however, are households consisting of remnants of nuclear family groups: a husband and wife alone, a husband and wife plus near kin, including parents of either or both spouses, widows or widowers, sets of unmarried brothers and/or sisters and elderly unmarried men and women living alone. Such family groups comprise 49 percent of the Kokkeriote households surveyed. The prevalence of these households, which are most frequently encountered (their proportion being higher than that of nuclear family ones) and tend, with few exceptions, to consist of elderly persons is a consequence of out-migration. Kokkeri's nuclear family households which are augmented by a near relative—usually one or both of a spouse's parents—comprise 15.16 percent of the total 185 households. These arrangements are often temporary until a couple fulfills its obligations towards parents or secures a house and establishes a separate household. In addition, death or other special circumstances such as divorce or family abandonment result in the formation of extended family households. There are also a few cases where a couple and their children live in the same house with an aunt or uncle, usually childless, of either spouse. In these cases the family, attracted by inheritance, assumes the responsibility of caring for the "extra" household member. The above table reveals that in Kokkeri, simple family structures, including remnants of

nuclear family households, comprise 65.22 percent of the total number of households examined. The high frequency of nuclear family households and their variants conforms with the expressed ideal that every married couple should have their own residence.

NOTES

1. This practice is similar to that described by Davis (1977:187) in the case of Pisticci whereby, in addition to the dispersal of property at marriage, parents keep a reserve to make sure that children take proper care of them during their lifetime.

2. I use the term locality to refer to the dwelling and domestic (household) unit. According to Harris uxorilocality is "postmarital residence that locates the married pair in the wife's domicile but not necessarily with the wife's mother's domiciliary group" (1971:659). He differentiates the term from matrilocal residence which means "postmarital residence that locates the married pair in the domiciliary group of the wife's mother" (1971:643); this type of residence results in "the sisters and daughters remain(ing) in their mother's domiciliary group" (1971:325). Behaviorally, this distinction is important because it indicates that matrilocal residence allows for greater cooperation between resident females than is necessarily the case in uxorilocal residence. However, instead of Harris' concept of "domiciliary group" (1971) I use the household as the residence unit; this is because I am interested in residence mainly insofar as domestic behavior and interaction are concerned.

3. This pattern has also been encountered in urban Greek areas. Hirschon (1981) reports that in a district of the city of Pireaus dowry takes the form of separate living quarters in the parental home, since houses originally designed as residence units for single families are subdivided for dowry purposes. The autonomy of each separate household is revealed, in the physical form, by the presence of separate kitchens (1981:72-73).

4. Today some type of birth control is commonly practiced by married Kokkariote women in order to prevent unwanted pregnancies and limit the size of their families. On the other hand, several young unmarried women confided to me of being sexually active without, however, taking precautions against becoming pregnant. Furthermore, a considerable number of women who had married since the late 1970s informed me of having been pregnant at the time of marriage.

5. In a later section of this work dealing with domestic economies and organization, households are examined in terms of the activities they carry out.

CHAPTER III

KOKKARI'S PRE- AND POST-TOURISM SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Kokkari's Pre-Tourism Social and Economic Structure

Distribution of Property and Social Stratification

Most of the Mediterranean communities studied by anthropologists have been primarily agrarian. Therefore, it is not surprising that the analyses of these communities have emphasized the significance of the distribution of property, specifically agricultural and grazing land, in determining the social order (cf. Cutiliero 1971; Lison-Tolosana 1976). Although the relations of production as well as the factor of dependency on access to land or employment are also considered, the overall emphasis has been on land distribution as a key to understanding social stratification. Even studies of communities with diversified economies (cf. Davis 1973) relate inequalities in the distribution of property to social stratification. The case of nineteenth century Samos suggests that not only access to productive resources but control of other forms of wealth, and particularly cash, should be considered in examining social stratification.

Samos' economy was based mainly on agriculture and trade, and to a lesser extent on sea-faring and community services; industry developed later, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The island was not self-sufficient, its internal market was restricted and the need for cash, particularly to meet the needs of viniculture, was acute. Social classes in the nineteenth century Samote society are distinguished according to the unequal distribution of strategic resources, primarily land and capital. Land was the most valuable productive property and access to it influenced

greatly power and prestige. It was desirable as dowry, providing income from the sale of cash crops and from rental and comprising collateral for personal loans.

At the apex of the class structure were large landowners (ktimatios), merchants (omboroi), brokers (mesites) and a few owners of large vessels. They controlled the bulk of landed property as well as the lion's share of available capital and were referred to as "the rich" (oi plousioi). Many landowners were also merchants who acted at the village level as brokers on behalf of Samiote and foreign mercantile establishments and between them and the landowning peasants. Furthermore, since cash was in short supply, merchants and substantial land proprietors functioned as money lenders. When poor families could not repay their loans—the interest on which at times reached as high as twenty percent—the land they had used as collateral was auctioned off or directly possessed by the money lenders. Usury took such dimensions that in the latter part of the nineteenth century half of the cultivated land of the village of Marethokambos (having been mortgaged for loans) had come into the possession of a few money lenders. Inequalities in access to cash and to resources were the basis of patron-client relationships between members of the upper and lower classes, like those which have been described in Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean (cf. Gellner and Waterbury 1977). The middle stratum of the Samiote society consisted of medium landowners as well as shopkeepers, craftsmen, artisans and other specialists who also possessed some land. At the bottom of the social hierarchy were found small landowners, male dependent laborers (parayoi), sharecroppers, agricultural wage laborers, shepherds, industry workers, fishermen and seamen. They were described as "the poor" (oi ftohoi). These social classes are folk categories remembered by contemporary informants.

Stamatiades' occupational analysis of the 1874 population census presents data which confirm to a large extent the existence of the

social strata described above (1886:97). In 1874 the island's population was 39,442. The adult males and females numbered 9,324 and 9,388 respectively, while the remaining 20,730 were children. Grouping together the related male occupations which Stamatades recorded (the only female occupation he made reference to was that of midwife) and including the number of individuals who exercised each occupation, the following occupational categories are evident:

TABLE 9
OCCUPATIONS AND NUMBERS OF SAMIOTES INVOLVED, 1874

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>No. of Individuals</u>
Landowners	143
Merchants (including wine, wheat, tobacco, lumber and textile merchants).....	239
Brokers	116
Peasants	5,189
Shepherds	78
Fishermen	25
Seamen	1,401
Tannery Workers	390
Artisans, Craftsmen, Shopkeepers	1,190
Public Servants (including lawyers, priests, teachers, doctors and military personnel).....	<u>449</u>
Total	9,220

These occupational categories are not by any means analogous to social strata or even sub-strata and do not describe well Samos' late nineteenth century population. The category "peasants" does not distinguish between medium and small landowners; nor does it differentiate sharecroppers and agricultural workers from landowning peasants. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the category "seamen" includes, along with crew members, the owners of vessels. "Merchants" and

"brokers" are also problematic categories because, according to the extent of their business ventures and the assets they controlled, members of these groups could have fallen in either the upper or middle stratum. The occupational group "public servants" (priests, teachers, doctors, lawyers and military personnel) also cannot be placed in a particular social class. Depending on their wealth and background individuals from each category could have fallen into any of the social classes. On the basis of these occupational categories, and despite the above shortcomings, it can be estimated that in the late nineteenth century the upper class made up less than five percent of Samos' population.

The phenomenon of landlessness was not very common on Samos. Even members of the lowest stratum usually owned some property as a result of the dowry and inheritance customs common throughout Greece (Campbell and Sherrard 1968:337-339; Friedl 1959). Most Samiot households possessed a house, maintained a few animals and had at their disposal enough land to produce some of the foodstuffs necessary for subsistence--olive oil, wine, wheat, legumes and onions. Nevertheless, there were significant disparities in properties and capital owned by members of the higher and lower social strata. Class differences were evident in peoples' attire and diet habits. Wealthy households consumed meat four times a month, each Sunday, whereas poor households had meat four or five times a year. In addition, wealthy households had access to luxury goods. In these households, for example, men's and women's clothing articles were often imported from Venice. For poor households, however, luxury was non-existent; women wove cloth and made clothes for all household members (Stamatides 1886:455-57).

In the early part of this century agricultural land was a major form of immovable property in Kokkari and consisted of vineyards, olive trees, gardens, orchards and uncultivated sections of land or fields. Within the village houses, along with storage houses, shops, building

lots and gardens comprised the most common properties. Land was obtained through purchase, inheritance, marriage gifts and dowry. Although dowries commonly included a house as the principal item, frequently land was also given to a daughter. Furthermore, marriage gifts to sons usually included land. According to a common pattern throughout Greece, when women had received dowries but sons had not received equivalent gifts while the parents were alive, the remaining properties were usually inherited by the sons only (Friedl 1959). This pattern complied with the ideal of providing equally for all children.

In Kokkari, although the ownership of agricultural and village properties involved a wide spectrum of society, there were significant disparities between members of the higher and lower strata. There was also a connection between the ownership of property and the control by a small number of Kokkariotes of access to cash. Property was used as collateral for loans and upon default it came into the possession of money lenders. For the wealthy, property—and primarily agricultural land—provided direct income. The sale as well as the processing and distribution of cash crops were the most common means of acquiring income. In addition, many landowners obtained produce from the sharecroppers who worked land for them. Finally, property influenced status in the community. When informants described the status distinctions of the past they invariably phrased their descriptions in terms of property ownership or the lack of it. Property ownership, therefore, was a major criterion of social standing.

Prior to World War II Kokkari's upper stratum consisted of approximately ten families which made up 2.5 percent of the village population. This stratum included large landowners, merchants and money lenders, as well as owners of trading vessels. Members of these families were well-educated, held key political posts, owned extensive properties—in land and houses—acted as patrons and maintained contacts through trade with Asia Minor, parts of Greece and even Europe.

They were also the money lenders and main employers in the village. Making mortgage loans to members of the lower stratum was a common means by which large landed proprietors accumulated extensive landholdings. The largest landowner and merchant in Kokkari, I.E., utilized—in addition to house servants and a land overseer—between thirty and forty agricultural workers on a continuous annual basis. Owning the most productive land in the village, he engaged exclusively in viticulture and produced annually over eighty tons of grapes. The average vineyard holdings of upper stratum families ranged between twenty and fifty strammata, in contrast to families of the lower stratum whose holdings did not exceed three or four strammata (four strammata equal one acre). For the economically leading families of the village the provision of at least one son with higher education was a matter of family pride and prestige. As was the case in most of Greece, the organization of upward mobility through education was a family concern (Tsoukalas 1976:425). Families of the upper stratum placed emphasis primarily on professional and career education, and particularly on law and medical studies.

During World War II, when the Greek currency—subject to repeated devaluations—became greatly depreciated, Kokkari's economically leading families suffered a substantial decline in their fortunes. There were, however, additional developments which also contributed to these families' decline. The establishment on the island of the Union of Wine-Making Cooperatives deprived them of their control over the wine market. Village merchants were ruined since they could no longer pursue the economic endeavors which related to the distribution and processing of local wines. Furthermore, after the establishment on the island of the Agricultural Bank which provided credit on favorable terms, villagers no longer depended on the much hated usurers for access to cash. As a result, many merchants and large landowners who had acted as money lenders suffered. After World War II, although differences in the

distribution of landed property continued to prevail and to determine the social order, inequalities in access to cash began to be reduced. The productivity of agricultural land dropped sharply in the post-war years. As for the market, tobacco declined, as the prices for local wines remained low, and as immigration began to drain off the available supply of labor and to inflate its cost, incomes derived from agricultural property (the sale of produce) diminished.¹ The cost of hiring help rose greatly, especially after 1970, because of inflation brought about by the shortage of labor as a consequence of out-migration. Especially hit by the labor shortage and inflated wages were the large landowners who depended on hired labor.²

Employment Opportunities and Labor Patterns

In nineteenth century Samos, labor was organized principally in terms of the nuclear or extended family. Men held most paid occupations, while women—excluding those of the lowest stratum—contributed primarily through assisting with agricultural and domestic tasks. Until the latter part of the century employment opportunities were available only in the sectors of agriculture and sea-faring. Labor patterns were dictated by the sharecropping system and the wage labor contract. Since land was unequally distributed, for many peasants access to it through sharecropping was essential. This dependency had important socioeconomic implications and led to the formation of patron-client relationships. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the extent as well as the characteristics of Samos' sharecropping system because historical data is practically non-existent. There is no information as to what the terms and duration of the sharecropping contract were or whether conflicts occurred between sharecroppers and landowners. The only available reference indicates that sharecroppers who cultivated olive groves were entitled to one-third of the harvested crop, while the proprietors received the remaining two-thirds (Stamatiades 1986:414).

Networks of trade and sea-faring activities were not the only

means of linking the island to national and international centers. Labor migration from Samos was a common phenomenon throughout the nineteenth and during the early part of the twentieth centuries. Each year as many as two thousand Samiote males migrated in groups of ten to twenty individuals to the nearby coastal regions of Western Asia Minor, where they were employed as harvest laborers on large landed estates, chiftliks. Each group of laborers was recruited by a leader or "captain", as he was called. He contacted the chiftlik owner, usually in May, and agreed with him on the land area that was to be harvested, the time and duration of the harvest and the laborers' compensation, in the form of shares of the harvested crop. Each worker's share amounted to about twenty-five kilos of cereals and was exempt from both import and export duties. In 1896 1,636 Samiote men, having worked as harvest laborers in Asia Minor, brought back to the island 30,242 kilos of wheat, 1,541 kilos of barley and 206 kilos of legumes (Zaphiriou 1955:159). Considering that production of cereals was limited by the island's mountainous terrain and that many households possessed very little land, this was a means by which approximately 1,500 poor Samiote households secured their yearly supply of cereals for 1896. Although the remaining island households produced some grains, they relied mostly on imported wheat and cereals.

Kokkariote family histories indicate that it was common for men and women who came from households with little land to hire themselves out to village landowners and merchants as wage laborers on a seasonal or semi-permanent basis. Landed and mercantile elite families also employed parayoi, male laborers who functioned as servants and land overseers, and female domestic servants. The former lived in their master's household for long periods of time and were paid a minimal monthly or yearly wage for working the fields, caring for the animals and doing various repair jobs.³ It is not clear, however, whether this was a contractual relationship and whether the rights and obligations

of the parties involved were specified.

During the latter part of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries domestic service work was commonly sought by women of the lower stratum. It was a means of reducing the number of persons poor large families had to feed, while also solving to some extent the problem of providing dowries for their daughters. Several old Kokkariote women explained that they had worked as domestic servants (maids, wet-nurses and nursemaids) for as many as ten to twenty years mostly before and even after they married. They were warded off by their parents at an early age to wealthy families of Kokkari or the capital in order to carry out small chores at first and the work tasks of a maid later. Upon termination of their services some of these women were dowered with a house or a piece of property, while others allocated their small accumulated earnings to assist their families and/or to acquire a dowry. Domestic work, as maids, was also the occupation of several young Kokkariote women who migrated to Athens in the 1940s and 1950s.

At the beginning of the century the shift to tobacco cultivation provided a new source of income and employment opportunities, particularly in the northeastern section of the island where this cash crop predominated. Since its cultivation was labor intensive it absorbed a large portion of the excess of labor in the area. Men, women and children were actively involved in tobacco cultivation. The men prepared the land for planting, while it was primarily the women and children who sorted out and strung the tobacco leaves after they were picked. Generally, however, there was no patterned sexual division of labor in the daily tending of the crop. In peak periods, as during picking and sorting, which fell in the late spring and summer months, over half of Kokkari's households abandoned their village houses and moved to huts, (kalivia), near their tobacco fields. Children's schooling was frequently interrupted in order that they could assist their parents with

the intense work. Extended families and neighbors also cooperated on the basis of return favors or labor assistance.

With the expansion of tobacco cultivation a substantial tobacco processing and cigarette industry was established at the island's capital. This industry offered year-round and seasonal (for women) employment and attracted male and female workers from the capital—many of whom were refugees from Asia Minor, who had settled in Vathi after 1922—as well as from several nearby villages. A large number of those young Kokkariote women who had been employed outside the domestic group as field hands and maids took advantage of the new employment opportunity to assist their families and contribute to their dowries. It is significant that the new work activities in the tobacco processing industry took these women away from the village and from familial or any other form of supervision. Although women may have been living away from the village, as maids, they were under the custody of their employer. However, since commuting facilities were not readily available at the time (only horse carriages were used for transport), village women working in the tobacco factories had to rent and share a room, two or three together, in Vathi, while returning on foot to the village on weekends.

It appears that status as well as moral codes prevented upper, and to a lesser extent, middle class women from holding certain occupations and engaging in work activities outside the domestic group. The economic participation of these women was restricted by rules of approved moral conduct, and their interaction with men outside their families was strictly chaperoned. To be employed outside the domestic or extended family group these women would have run the risk of damaging their own and their family's reputations. The only acceptable occupations were those of teacher and seamstress because they involved working with women and children or working at home where family supervision could be exercised. For women of poor peasant households, however,

involvement in occupations and work activities which fell outside the sphere of family supervision was less determined by social norms than by economic responsibilities towards their families. What was pointed out by informants in evaluating the role of these women was their industriousness and contribution in satisfying their own as well as their families' needs. The findings from Samos confirm Petronoti's argument (1981:6-7) that when women's economic activities are crucial to the household, women are free from sanctions applied to female conduct.

In the pre-tourism economy of Kokkari, since productive resources were unequally distributed, for those village households which possessed little land and had no other sources of income, scarcity of cash necessitated the search for and dependence on paid work. Generally, boys—starting at the age of thirteen—found employment as workers aboard trawlers and as apprentices to tradesmen, while adult males found their employment opportunities limited to hiring themselves out as agricultural laborers, construction workers and seamen. Village women could earn money by working as field hands, maids, seamstresses and midwives.

Production, Specialization and the Domestic Economy

The pre-tourism economy of Samos, and particularly of Kokkari, was comprised of three sectors: agriculture, trades and community services (and to a limited extent sea-faring). As was the case with other Aegean islands (cf. Hoffman 1976; Sutton 1987), Samos in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was characterized by a cash economy, coupled with a market of brokers and merchants, and an integration with national and international trading routes. Although the peasants lived in a cash economy, cash was limited and so was peoples' purchasing power. Agricultural payments came in lump sums some time after each harvest and part of these payments went to cover debts for mortgages and various economic and social needs. Production was based

on two levels: landowners and merchants operated mainly in a commercial economy while peasants, concerned with family subsistence, committed themselves more to diversified production and less to commercial production. However, despite the fact that the island's economy was diversified, most household economies were not, in the sense that the family's male provider worked in one sector of the economy only.

Mixed agriculture prevailed to the extent that each household strived for a degree of self-sufficiency based on the cultivation of several grains, fruits and vegetables. Most of the households kept a few fowl and one or two beasts of burden. They also raised one or two goats for milk and other dairy products as well as for the kids they produced every spring, which were either sold or slaughtered for consumption at Easter. A few households also kept cows and sheep. During the 1950s and 1960s the cultivation of tobacco had ceased (former tobacco fields were planted with olive trees) and Kokkari's economy was based mainly on the production of grapes and olives for the commercial market. Viniculture, however, began to prove unprofitable because of changes that had affected the village and the island at large.

For Samos and Kokkari, the period of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was characterized by an extensive specialization of trades and crafts. After the Second World War, however, because of the impact of imported machine-made goods and the craft skills not being learned by the young as a result of out-migration, most of these activities died out, while those few that are still practiced (with the exception of fishing) have lost their viability. Common crafts and trades were those of fishing, lime-manufacturing, mattress, barrel, shoe, lamp, soap and drug making, carpentry, tailoring, stone masonry, brick layering, copper- and gold-smithing and butchering. The skills required for these specialized activities were passed on from father to son or were learned through apprenticeship. At that time crafts and trades were not substantial sources of paid labor

because the work was carried out primarily by family members.⁴ Payments to craftsmen were made mainly in produce or in agricultural labor assistance (if the craftsman or tradesman owned land), although money was also used as compensation for services. Furthermore, a minimal wage was paid to apprentices for their work.

Regarding sea-faring, family histories indicate that in Kokkari the number of individuals who worked as seamen during the period 1850-1950 was relatively small, considering that the village had only three or four trading vessels. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that some village men worked on larger vessels that traded outside the island or on vessels whose owners were from other villages. Samos' fleet of small trading vessels engaged in import-export trade between the islands and Asia Minor, as well as with the Greek mainland ports and other islands. They supplied villages with foodstuffs, primarily cereals and legumes, as well as china, clothing and luxury goods. One Kokkariote vessel owner was a merchant and grocer while another was a substantial land proprietor who owned a coffeehouse that also served as an inn. The number of crew members who worked on trading vessels usually numbered five or six and were in most cases members of the same family, although non-kin were also employed. It appears that the method of payment of Samos' seamen was similar to that described elsewhere in Greece (Papagerifallou 1977:54). Seamen did not receive a regular wage but shared a certain portion of the profits. The last of Kokkari's trading vessels was sold by the son of its original owner in 1979 because its maintenance was no longer considered profitable. Large ferry-boats and freight carriers have made the transport of imported merchandise much more efficient and less costly.

In the pre-tourism Kokkariote economy the family constituted a unit for most economic activities. As elsewhere in Greece (cf. Stott 1973:123-25) members of the nuclear family household labored daily at

the raising of crops and tending of animals. At times when the cycle required extra working hands the extended family, often along with affinal kin, would rally and work as a team. The participation on the part of children in all domestic and occupational activities was a learning process, as it assured the preparation of the young for their own farming endeavours when they would ultimately head their own households. In addition, restricting the labor force to family members had the effect of minimizing the division of profit. In grocery stores, workshops and aboard fishing vessels the workers were also generally members of the nuclear or extended family household. This was a result of the scarcity of both employment opportunities and cash. A commercial entrepreneur or tradesman could not guarantee that he would have the funds to provide an employee with a regular wage and, therefore, turned to family members for assistance at his work.

Regarding the sexual division of labor, in the pre-tourism domestic economy of Kokkari there was a rigid delineation of tasks within the household and little mixing of the sexes in public. Nevertheless, family members of both sexes participated in agricultural activities. Household activities were allocated on the basis of age and sex. Female tasks included cooking, cheese and bread making, the making of raisins, house cleaning and whitewashing, clothes washing, as well as tending children and small animals. House repair or improvements and the tending of large animals were male tasks. Women made a large contribution in agricultural activities, since the harvesting of grapes and olives was primarily a female activity. In viniculture the tilling of the earth, the pruning of grape vines and, more recently, the spraying of vineyards with a chemical weed killer were exclusively male activities, while the dusting of grape leaves with sulphur was carried out by both men and women. The weeding of vineyards and vegetable gardens was done mainly by women, as was the cutting of the top shoots of vines. Men engaged in wine making and in the transport of grapes

and olives on pack animals to the wine cooperative's gathering site and to the olive press respectively. Women milked the goats and butchered small animals, while men's activities involved charcoal making, wood cutting and butchering of large animals. Another female activity was that of gathering wild mushrooms and vegetables. Women also played a major role in the operation of grocery stores; since it was frequently necessary for the males of the proprietor families to be absent at other tasks, the women regularly took over the operations of the stores. However, the same cannot be said for coffeehouses because, although women at times worked at preparing coffee and drinks, it was the men who served them and dealt directly with the customers.

Thus, in the pre-tourism economy of Kokkari labor was organized in terms of the nuclear family which constituted the most common type of household. Generally, households derived income from one sector of the economy only and men held most paid occupations. Women assisted with agricultural and domestic work activities, but the need for cash forced those of the lower stratum to seek paid work as domestic servants and field hands. With the development of tourism, property and labor have assumed new productive potential and most household incomes have increased. Also, with new sources of income, traditional occupations have either been abandoned or continued on a part-time basis.

The Development of Tourism on Samos and Kokkari's Tourist Industry

The Tourist Population

During the pre-war period international tourism in Greece was limited mostly to certain organized cruises of English and German travellers who visited the country as part of their Mediterranean tour, and in order to see the remnants of its ancient civilization and culture. Domestic tourism had developed earlier, with the formation of the first touring club in 1925, and centered around bathing resorts (Loukissas 1977:96). After World War II—with the construction of an improved

road network and the first modern hotels--domestic tourism reached a high volume. However, its rate of growth did not keep pace with that of tourism from abroad. The promotion of this tourism has been part of the official policy of the Greek state since the mid-1950s. During the past twenty-five years the number of tourist arrivals in Greece has increased at least forty times. European tourists hold today the first place in the composition of Greek tourism, while Americans rank second. Among the European countries, England and the German Federal Republic consistently send the largest number of tourists, while the Scandinavian countries' share has increased substantially over the last several years. According to sources provided by the National Statistical Service of Greece, during 1982, of the 5,463,860 tourists who visited Greece, 4,115,356 came from European countries (1,022,692 from England, 606,406 from the German Federal Republic and 548,394 from Scandinavian countries); the United States sent 330,080 tourists. Furthermore, the Greek National Tourist Organization (EOT) reports that in recent years the annual increase in the country's tourist arrivals amounts to five percent.

While tourism as an industry was a phenomenon of the 1950s in many areas of Greece, on Samos it did not occur until the late 1960s and early 1970s. Its development was "organic" in that it grew spontaneously and without outside planning. At first Samos received a few metropolitan or domestic tourists--middle and upper income Athenian families or elderly couples--who visited the island repeatedly over several years. The formation of relationships of friendship between them and local families was not uncommon. Because they spent their holidays regularly at the same site, these early tourists may be characterized as seasonal residents (Loukissas 1977:30-31). Despite domestic tourism, however, the tourist industry did not begin to develop until the early 1970s, when the island was "discovered" by foreign tourists. These were mainly young European travellers--among them a

few intellectuals—in search of novelty and an unspoiled environment.

Except for the island's wines and its archaeological sites (German archaeologists had excavated the temple of Hera in the southeastern part of the island), Samos was relatively unknown in Europe. The young travellers of the early 1970s to the island fell into Cohen's (1972:168) typologies of explorer and drifter. What differentiated these two types of tourists was that the explorers sought some familiar accommodations and means of travel, while the drifters tended to shun any connection with the tourist establishment and to live according to their own style. Informants referred to the latter type as "third" and "fourth" class tourists, characterized them as poor and equated them with "hippies". This characterization was based on their observation that such tourists stayed in inexpensive rooms or camped on the beach, purchased and cooked their own food and even sustained themselves by taking freely from peoples' gardens and vineyards. As Cohen (1973:101) argues, drifters are the antithesis of what is the image of the tourist in the host country. They rarely bring in foreign exchange in the quantities expected, do not appear to be rich and work from time to time when in need of spending money. Samos is included in the itinerary of a large number of explorer and drifter tourists as an intermediary stop on their travels eastwards to Turkey and to nearby islands.

During the past ten years the island's tourist industry has grown to major proportions, as the following Tables indicate.

TABLE 10
ANNUAL ARRIVALS BY AIR ON SAMOS

<u>Year</u>	<u>On Olympic Airways</u> <u>Flights</u>	<u>On European Charter</u> <u>Flights</u>
1963	1,511	-
1964	3,088	-

TABLE 10—Continued

<u>Year</u>	<u>On Olympic Airways</u> <u>Flights</u>	<u>On European Charter</u> <u>Flights</u>
1965	2,862	-
1966	3,150	-
1967	4,937	-
1968	5,987	-
1969	9,591	-
1970	12,945	-
1971	15,840	-
1972	20,485	-
1973	22,523	-
1974	20,407	-
1975	26,526	-
1976	33,319	-
1977	47,720	-
1978	57,976	-
1979	-	8,754
1980	59,980	16,141
1981	54,180	34,478
1982	66,540	29,844
1983	72,636	32,016
1984	84,709	38,674
1985	87,783	43,890

Source: Olympic Airways and Samos Airport Authority.

TABLE 11
MONTHLY ARRIVALS BY AIR ON SAMOS (1982)

<u>Month</u>	<u>On Olympic Airways</u> <u>Flights</u>	<u>On European Charter</u> <u>Flights</u>
January	3,367	-
February	2,937	-
March	3,731	165
April	6,271	2,450
May	5,869	4,858
June	6,176	5,317
July	8,223	5,795
August	9,085	5,098
September	6,543	4,387
October	5,822	1,774

TABLE 11--Continued

<u>Month</u>	<u>On Olympic Airways</u> <u>Flights</u>	<u>On European Charter</u> <u>Flights</u>
November	4,208	-
December	4,308	-

Source: Olympic Airways and Samos Airport Authority.

Between May and September the majority of those arriving on the island by Olympic Airways' carriers are of foreign nationality. Although figures were not available, most of those travelling on passenger ships are also non-Greek nationals. During the peak summer period two passenger ships make daily trips between Piraeus and Samos carrying as many as eight hundred passengers each. Since Samos is not a port of entry into Greece, records are not kept of the various nationalities travelling to the island by passenger ship and airplane. From 1979, however, the island has been connected with many European countries through charter flights. From April to September planeloads of charter tourists—one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty passengers at a time—arrive on the island several times a week directly from large European capitals and cities.⁵ The largest number of these flights originate from the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, England, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Finland.

Since the late 1970s, as the number of tourists has greatly increased, new types of tourists have appeared on the island. Tourism has also become more institutionalized, in that ways of attracting and dealing with tourists have been to some extent standardized (involving established agencies, guided tours and modern facilities). Many of the new tourists seek an experience in travelling that is largely ordered, predictable and controllable. In the villagers' view the more recent types of tourists represent "a better quality of people"

or the "model" tourist; they give the appearance of having more money to spend and of engaging in "proper" moral behavior in contrast to drifters, who are accused of strange immoral behavior and of corrupting village youth. Explorer and drifter tourists continue to come to Samos but, despite the fact that they are more visible than the recent tourists, they no longer comprise the numerically predominant type. The majority of tourists, including charter travellers, visiting Samos in the last several years fall between Cohen's (1972:168) types of organized mass tourists and individual mass tourists. They differ in that the former travel in groups and seek maximum familiarity (the itinerary of their trip is fixed in advance), while the latter are not bound to a group and have a certain amount of control over their time and itinerary (their trip is not entirely pre-planned). In Kokkari organized mass tourists engage in leisure activities as groups, secure in their guided tours, transportation and modern hotel services. In the morning tour buses pick them up from the hotels for visits to other villages or to the island's archaeological and historical sites and bring them back to the hotels in the late afternoon or evening. Their contact with local people is extremely limited and this is one reason villagers are unable to form impressions of and opinions about organized mass tourists as individuals. Instead, they refer to them as groups of a particular nationality.

Of the non-local Greeks who come to Samos and particularly to Kokkari for holidays, two general categories are evident. One, comprising members of an Athenian or Thessaloniki middle class (usually families or couples), arrives on the island during the height of the summer season. Many of these tourists plan their vacation ahead of time and reserve rooms in local hotels, pensions or houses. Although they do not show any preference for a particular type of accommodation, they tend to seek the comforts of their home at the places they stay. For this reason informants refer to such tourists as being unreasonable

in their demands and difficult to please. A second category of Greek tourists consists of young travellers of both sexes. They search for the beach and nightclub life of many foreign tourists, particularly that of explorers and drifters whose style of travel they frequently adopt. In addition to foreign and non-local Greek tourists, there is a significant number of Greek families who visit Kokkari each summer to be with relatives, to live in their own ancestral houses and even to look after the property they retain in the village. These families come not only from Athens, but from the United States, Canada and Australia. A number of them also come for the purpose of repatriation, a pattern which in recent years has tended to cancel out the reverse movement of village out-migration. They are not looked upon as non-local Greeks, although villagers perceive them as a category distinct from full-time Kokkari residents.

The Structure of Kokkari's Tourist Industry

When the tourist industry began to develop in Kokkari in the late 1960s there was one small hotel and a large house with several rooms available for rent. In 1971 the first relatively large hotel, comprising forty rooms, was built. Between 1971 and 1982 the number of hotels increased to five, and by 1985 to eight. They are all privately owned since no government sponsored hotels have been constructed in the village. Simultaneously, as the number of tourists increased they were accommodated in peoples' homes. Old and uninhabited houses, storage places and barns were renovated and basic conveniences were installed in them to be rented out. Many village houses were enlarged through the construction of additional rooms or were divided to free space for rental to tourists. Similar rental strategies are described by Stott (1979:75-76) in Mykonos and Mendonsa (1983:231-34) in Portugal. The following Table shows the types and numbers of rental accommodations existing in Kokkari in 1985.

TABLE 12
KOKKARI'S RENTAL ACCOMODATIONS (1985)

<u>Type</u>	<u>No. of Type</u>	<u>No. of Rooms</u>
Hotels	8	195
Pensions	6	50
Rooms for Rent	189	<u>189</u>
Total		434

Source: Kokkari's Tourist Police

Considering that the majority of the available rooms contained two beds, while rooms with three beds could also be found, it can be estimated that in 1985 there were rental accomodations for nine hundred tourists in Kokkari. It should be noted that more than six rooms for rent in one location is classified by the EOT as a hotel. However, if the number of rooms which comprise a unit does not exceed ten it is usually designated as a pension. The number of rooms listed as available for rent is approximate because some people, in order to avoid paying taxes, rent rooms in their homes without having a permit. This is illegal and results in fines when discovered by the police. A few villagers also rent field houses outside the village without permits. Frequently, during the peak periods of July and August, rooms are not available in the village for rental and tourists knock on peoples' doors asking permission to sleep on roofs. On such occasions people who usually do not rent rooms allow tourists to sleep in their homes. There is also a number of tourists who are forced by the lack of available accomodations to sleep on beaches, as well as those who do so because of preference. Partly because no organized camping exists in Kokkari (or elsewhere on the island), beaches and fields near the coast serve as sleeping grounds for as many as two hundred persons a day during the height of the season.

In Kokkari, in the area of tourist business control and summer tourism-oriented labor the degree of non-local Greek involvement is minimal; as for foreign involvement, it is practically non-existent. According to the villagers' classification, a business is considered to be under local control if its owners or managers--either the husband or wife--is of village descent (that is, if their parents were born in the village). The non-local Greeks who operate tourist businesses in Kokkari fall into the categories of non-Samiotes--these are generally referred to as xenoi or foreigners--and non-Kokkariote Samiotes. The following Table shows the degree of local and non-local control of Kokkari's tourist businesses.

TABLE 13
TOURIST BUSINESS CONTROL IN KOKKARI (1985)

<u>Business Category</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Local Control</u>	<u>Non-Local Control</u>	
			<u>Non-Kokkariote Samiote</u>	<u>Non-Samiote</u>
Hotels	8	7	1	-
Pensions	6	6	-	-
Rented Rooms	189	189	-	-
Coffeeshouses	4	4	-	-
Tourist Shops	7	5	2	-
Bars	3	-	-	3
Prepared Food				
Outlets	15	11	2	2
Travel Agencies	5	1	4	-
Car and Motorcycle				
Rental Outlets	5	5	-	-

Business partnerships between locals and non-locals are not common in Kokkari. In 1985, only two car and motorcycle rental outlets were operated by locals with non-local partners. Also, the presence of a few non-locally controlled businesses does not imply that the

buildings in which they are situated are owned by non-locals. Aside from one hotel that is owned by a non-Kokkariote residing permanently in the village, the properties non-local entrepreneurs use belong to villagers who extract from them the highest rents. Most village entrepreneurs, on the other hand, own the buildings they use for their tourist businesses. Yet, despite the minimal degree of non-local control in the tourist industry, Kokkariotes tend to complain of the presence of non-village—and particularly non-Samiote—entrepreneurs. Villagers feel that outside entrepreneurs exploit the community in order to make a quick profit. Since non-local businessmen have the option of transplanting their operations to another tourist area, they disregard established standards and have been known to charge higher than allowed prices and to be dishonest in dealing with tourists. They are, therefore, responsible for trends which may eventually damage tourism in the village and the island. Furthermore, non-local entrepreneurs are criticized for being disrespectful of village residents and their rights. An example given is that managers of bars violate the local peoples' right to privacy by playing loud music into the late hours of the night. Although currently there is no rivalry between local and non-local businessmen, the potential future threat the latter represent may account, in part, for the villagers' negative attitude towards outside entrepreneurs.

While non-local businessmen are seen as having a negative impact on the tourist industry and as exploiting the village, non-local labor is not seen as depriving villagers of their rightful claim to employment. In fact, a few local employers explained that they could not find locals to work for them in their hotels and restaurants since many Kokkariotes had businesses of their own or did not wish to work as chambermaids or waiters. Although tourist establishments in Kokkari tend to comprise small units (the largest hotel has a work force of ten employees) and to be run by non-paid family members, there is

some need for non-local labor. A small number of men and women from nearby villages fill the need for such labor. Labor recruitment occurs rather informally, mostly by means of personal communication. When the need arises for paid help the owner of a touristic enterprise asks friends, acquaintances or other employees whether they know of or could make inquiries—from among their circle of friends—about a person interested in a particular type of employment. In similar ways information spreads to nearby villages. In this case a person already employed in Kokkari's tourist industry becomes the communication channel for potential recruits in his or her own village.

The absence of foreign labor can be explained to a large extent by the fact that it is difficult for non-Greek nationals to obtain work permits in Greece unless they are employees of foreign companies. In this category fall the tour leaders—trainees and representatives of foreign travel companies—who accompany organized groups of tourists. They travel and stay with a group, are provided with free accommodations (something Kokkariote hotel owners frequently complain about) but are not permitted by Greek law to guide tours of archaeological, historical and other sites. Tour guides are Greek nationals trained and licensed by government sponsored schools. In Kokkari tour guides are non-Samiote employees of travel agencies which are established at the island's capital. They cannot, therefore, be considered as part of the village's tourism-oriented labor force. Those travel agencies, however, which maintain offices in Kokkari hire as clerks local high school graduates of both sexes.

Despite the substantial increase in land values in Kokkari over the last several years, there have been practically no cases of village property alienation by foreigners, corporations and non-local Greeks. To date the ownership of resources developed for tourism has remained in local hands.⁶ Over the past ten years on those occasions where village properties—comprised mostly of building sites—have changed hands,

transactions took place between locals or between locals and individuals of village origin. The latter were former villagers or their offspring who returned from abroad and invested their savings in real estate for tourism development. Under these circumstances not only have resources remained locally controlled, but tourism has encouraged the repatriation of many former villagers. As for locals, tourism has provided an attractive alternative to migration. Greenwood (1972:187) has argued that tourism is superimposed on pre-existing economic and social arrangements in a way that industrialization is not because the beneficiaries do not have to move to the cities where industry is located. Kokkarlotes' understanding of the potential of certain types of property as sources of income should not be underestimated. This is one of the reasons they are reluctant to sell such properties, even though they may lack the means to develop them for income-generating purposes. Dowry and inheritance practices also place restraints on the alienation of village property. Building lots and housing structures are considered to comprise valuable assets of dowries and marriage gifts. The long-term strategies many villagers adopt—acquiring real estate, constructing houses, and investing in tourism enterprises and facilities—aim at creating the pre-conditions (potential income sources) which would facilitate the next generation's stay in the village.

State Policy and Samos' Touristic Development

Government policies and planning exercise a significant amount of influence on the type of tourism industry that develops in a region. Also, it has been pointed out in the literature that governments at times have taken measures to reduce external dependency caused by tourism. According to Boissevain (1977) on Malta such government measures aimed at: encouraging the involvement of parastatal agencies in hotel and tour operations; restricting air travel via non-national carriers; banning the importation of certain foreign goods (souvenirs);

limiting foreign property ownership; and building public housing to ease the tourism-induced housing shortage (1977:523-38).⁷ In the case of Samos, the absence of large-scale, non-locally controlled tourist operations may be attributed to some extent to the rather late entrance of tourism on the island. Because of the late start, touristic development on Samos was mostly affected by the more recent state policies which aim at encouraging local entrepreneurial initiative and preventing the rise of large tourist enclaves. When tourism was becoming a developed industry in Greece in the 1960s, with the establishment of large hotel complexes based on investments of non-locals and foreigners, Samos had not yet been discovered by tourists.

For twenty years prior to 1981 Greek governments rationalized the development of tourism in Greece as a means of earning foreign exchange. Tourist policy aimed at providing incentives in the form of tax exemptions and loans for hotel building. This was done, however, without applying any criteria in the selection of investors and without appropriate planning regarding the distribution of tourist facilities. The necessary infrastructure for tourism development was lacking, as were studies of the tourist market and measures for the protection of the environment. Furthermore, local interest groups had no input in decisions concerning the types of facilities established in their communities or regions. Such tourist policy had several consequences. First, the development of tourism reinforced the country's dependence on the metropolitan centers of tourist-sending countries; the flow of tourists was directed exclusively by foreign airlines and travel companies. Second, a tourist industry developed that was oriented towards serving the needs and demands of foreign tourists only (domestic tourism was neglected). Third, large hotel establishments were over-concentrated in urban areas and in certain coastal resort areas. Banks, in order to safeguard their loans to investors also contributed to the uneven distribution of tourist facilities. Fourth, hotel complexes

were frequently constructed in areas undiscovered by tourists, which lacked the necessary infrastructure for touristic development. Fifth, a large number of sub-standard accommodations appeared that had the effect of increasing the supply of facilities and subjecting tourist businesses to the interests of foreign travel companies (Tourism and Economy, March-April 1983:18-20).

The neglect and abandonment of peripheral areas, paramethories perioches, such as Samos, by the Greek governments of the past explains in part the lack of non-local initiative for tourism-related business ventures and the development on the island of a small-scale, locally-controlled tourist industry. During the first few years touristic development on Samos took place without any support from the state. Until the late 1970s the EOT showed no interest in advancing credit to enterprising individuals seeking to invest in tourism on the island. The EOT failed even to promote Samos and its tourist attractions within Greece and abroad. As late as 1982 several Athenian visitors in Kokkari commented how they chose Samos as their vacation place, thinking that it was a quiet and removed area with no tourism. Under these circumstances tourism development occurred in response to local initiative and without planning. Investments in accommodation facilities were made by locals and returned migrants, since metropolitan businessmen were attracted mainly to well known resort areas and islands or at least to sites which were already receiving large numbers of tourists. As a result, the tourist industry established on Samos had a simple structure in terms of capital investments and organization.

In the late 1970s the EOT could no longer overlook the continuous acceleration in the growth of tourism on Samos and sought to assist and encourage its further development, increasingly making available more loans to locals for the construction of hotels and other tourist facilities. Figures indicate that such loans for the period 1980-81 represented fifteen percent of the island's total government investments

in public works in 1979 and 1980. For comparative purposes it is also useful to point out that of the island's 1981 budget (twenty-eight million drachmas) two and a half million went into the tourist sector and only two million into agriculture and animal husbandry (Samiaki, 21 January 1981:1). Furthermore, from 1979 on Samos has been linked to the EOT through the Local Committee of Tourism for Samos, set up under the direction of the secretary general of the EOT. The Committee's members serve without compensation for a period of one year only and are expected to cooperate with various EOT agencies and island organizations in order to advance Samos' touristic interests (Samiakon Vima, 14 March 1979:1). Having assessed tourism as an income-generating source, many Kokkariotes and former villagers in the late 1970s took advantage of the available credit facilities to expand their operations and engage more systematically in tourism-related endeavors. As local entrepreneurial activities increased, the opportunities for non-locals to invest in the industry decreased.

The measures taken for the promotion of tourism on Samos—government incentives to local entrepreneurs, the provision of infrastructure and the linkage created between the island and a central organization like the EOT—have resulted from the new tourist policy which the state adopted, mainly after 1981. It has been declared by the recent socialist government of Greece that tourism development must be controlled and programmed. This government's tourist policy aims at: developing peripheral areas and incorporating tourism in programs to achieve such ends; curtailing the increase of tourism in satiated areas, while simultaneously expanding infrastructure to develop other areas touristically; developing new types of tourism; protecting and promoting the country's cultural heritage; and redistributing spatially and temporally the tourist supply and demand.

A number of specific policies and measures have been formulated and applied to meet the above goals. Legal measures have been taken

regarding the standards of tourist facilities and to regulate prices in order to meet the contemporary operating conditions of the tourist industry. In addition, administrative measures have been applied to decentralize the services of the EOT, to prevent the establishment of large hotel complexes and to incorporate expenditures for tourism development into programs for public spending. Measures have been taken to provide incentives for the development of tourism in remote areas, financing cultural events for tourist consumption, preserving local architectural styles, maximizing foreign exchange returns and promoting social tourism.⁸ The state's policy concerning public investments involves restoring and preserving traditional architecture, establishing recreation centers and financing the construction of camping grounds. In projecting Greece's tourist attractions abroad, the state, in cooperation with state agencies, organizations and tourist offices that function outside the country, has assumed a much more active role. Finally, regarding education, government-sponsored programs have been created to teach individuals the skills needed to work in various capacities in the tourist industry (Tourism and Economy, March-April 1983:20).

Some of the above described state policies and measures have facilitated Samos' relatively smooth adjustment to tourism. Regarding Kokkari, it can be said with certainty that the village has not become overwhelmed by tourism. The tourist industry is locally controlled and, as a result of building codes and zoning policies, tourism has been integrated into the community. Tourist facilities blend with existing patterns of housing architecture since the law prohibits, for example, the construction of hotels with more than three floors and stipulates that wood and tiles must be used respectively in the construction of balconies and roofs. Several Kokkariotes, and particularly women who operated tourist facilities and enterprises, were enrolled in free state-sponsored foreign language classes in order to acquire the

language skills needed for communication with their customers. These classes are included in programs, leiki epimorphosi, which function at the level of the province to advance peoples' education. Besides language instruction, they involve the teaching of crafts such as ceramics, knitting and embroidery. Government incentives have also helped to revive or stimulate certain local cultural manifestations, such as Kokkari's traditional patron saint's festival. This is not, however a consequence of tourism but part of the government's efforts to strengthen national and cultural identity.

Kokkari's Post-Tourism Social and Economic Structure

Property, Labor, Cash Flow and the Domestic Economy

My data collection began with a general survey that used a short questionnaire (see Appendix B) and interview to cover the largest possible number of Kokkari's households (over half). The survey was intended to encompass a cross-section of households, to identify variation in sources of household income, employment patterns and economic activities, as well as to give an outline of the sexual division of labor. The survey also revealed the scale of tourism, in terms of investments and household involvement, and the organization of the tourist industry. In addition, the survey pointed to new work roles created by tourism; types of former activities replaced by it; the extent to which tourism created economic conditions that induced former migrants and immigrants to return to the village; and the types of formerly unproductive resources that became valuable sources of income as a result of tourism. What the data point out is the significant direct and indirect involvement of village households in activities related to or affected by tourism. Today the majority of occupations in Kokkari fall directly into the service sector or benefit indirectly from tourism through increased demands for related services or, to a lesser extent, through increased markets. In addition, tourism regularly

enters the homes of many villagers through the rental of rooms to tourists. Although charter and package tours have been increasing in the last few years, and there is a growing number of hotels and pensions, the rental of rooms and local level involvement in the industry predominate over more organized large-scale developments.

In forty-seven of the one hundred and eighty-five households examined the largest portion of household income, over fifty-one percent, derived directly from tourism. Members of these households were occupied mostly in tourism-related enterprises—hotels and pensions, coffeehouses, restaurants, tourist shops and general stores—as either the owners and operators of these business establishments or as unpaid family members. In a few cases men and women derived direct income from working as hotel employees and chambermaids respectively. Analytically, the sources of income for the forty-seven households, which constituted 25.5 percent of the total number, were:

TABLE 14
SOURCES OF INCOME DERIVED DIRECTLY FROM TOURISM

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Rental from housing—pensions and small hotels run by family members	10
Rental from housing—pensions and hotels whose work force included non-kin employees	6
Combination of small hotel and restaurant (this enterprise utilized hired help)	1
Combination of rental income obtained by a young widow from her pension and income derived from her working as a chambermaid	1
Other tourism-related enterprises which operated during the tourist season only (souvenir shops, restaurants,	

TABLE 14—Continued

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
one tourist agency and a business establishment that supplied cars and motorcycles for rent). With the exception of one restaurant, these enterprises were run by non-paid family members	11
Combination of rooms rental and tourist shop (the business was owned by a widow who managed it with the help of her young adult sons)	1
Various commercial enterprises—a small wares store, coffeeshops and a pizza-making establishment—that operated on a year-round basis, but yielded most of their profits during the tourist season (no paid help was included in their workforce)	7
Taxi businesses (taxis were driven by their owners)	2
Wage employment in tourism-related enterprises (hotels):	
Income obtained by women from working as chambermaids	5
Income earned by men from hotel employment (one worked as a cook, while the other two as maintenance men on a year-round basis)	<u>3</u>
Total	47

For fifty-two of the one hundred and eighty-five households examined the majority of household income was related indirectly to tourism. Members of these households benefited from tourism since the businesses they maintained or the trades they practiced became profitable because of increased demands for the products or services they provided. The construction industry, for example, along with its

related trades, has grown significantly in the last ten to fifteen years, providing increased employment opportunities. In the fifty-two households—constituting 28 percent of the total—household income came from the following sources:

TABLE 15
SOURCES OF INCOME DERIVED INDIRECTLY FROM TOURISM

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Business enterprises represented by grocery stores, a movie theater, bakeries, a small wares store, a trucking business, a hair-dressing salon, a store selling newspapers and magazines and a butcher's shop. (Women were directly involved in the operations of most of these businesses which, with few exceptions, were small enough to be run by family members).	15
Various trades and skilled occupations practiced only by men (electricians, carpenters, mechanics and others)	11
Fishing and the selling of fish	9
Contractual work and wage employment in the construction industry	<u>17</u>
Total	52

Of the remaining eighty-six households, comprising 46.5 percent of the total, the majority (fifty-three households) consisted mostly of retired people who lived off the meager income they derived from their monthly social security allowances and/or the land. The relatively high percentage of such households reflects the excess of elderly persons in the village population. It points to an imbalance in the age composition of the local population which is the result of

out-migration. Among these fifty-three households there were a few whose income came from rentals of urban real estate or from interest on savings. These were composed of middle age and elderly couples who had returned from African countries to the village ten to fifteen years ago. At that time tourism had not yet developed or was beginning to grow and the best investment of one's savings was in urban real estate. It was also a way of providing daughters with attractive dowries—apartment houses in the Athens area. At the time of fieldwork several Kokkariote families still living in Zaira were in the process of building restaurants and hotels on properties they had acquired through inheritance or purchase in the village, in order to have a business already established upon their return.

Among both primary and secondary sources of household income remittances constituted the least significant, despite the fact that most village families had close kin outside the island. In the survey I found only one middle age woman who depended on the regular allowances her husband sent her from Canada in order to support herself. Although elderly people frequently received financial assistance from children living abroad, this assistance was not in the form of regular allowances. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that since 1981 under the recent socialist government, state sponsored increases in social security payments to cultivators have made it possible for elderly couples, widows and widowers to provide for themselves.⁹ It has also been common practice for one child to remain and marry in the village and to care for the parents in their old age. In cases where all the children had left the village, both parents (or the only surviving one) frequently also moved so that they could be with one child (cf. Dubisch 1977:73). Furthermore, the pattern of out-migration accounts to some extent for the relative absence of remittances from among the leading sources of household income in Kokkari. Emigration in the 1950s and 1960s involved whole families or young unmarried

villagers of both sexes. If emigrants from the village were individual married males remittances would have been a regular and significant source of income for their families left behind.

The ninety-nine households which derived the major portion of their income directly or indirectly from tourism represented 53.5 percent of the total number of households examined. For the remaining eighty-six households, 46.5 percent of the total, the primary sources of income were:

TABLE 16
PRIMARY SOURCES OF INCOME UNRELATED TO TOURISM

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Proceeds from the sale of surplus produce	8
Proceeds from the sale of surplus produce plus wage employment in agriculture	5
Social security payments	28
Proceeds from the sale of surplus produce plus social security payments	15
Seaman's wages	5
Payments from sewing clothes (this trade had no traceable economic benefits from tourism since the seamstress catered to village women only)	1
Remittances	1
Interest from savings	3
Rental income from urban real estate	6
Commercial enterprises:	
A business engaged in growing flowers and plants in greenhouses, mainly for export	1
A furniture and household appliance store located in Vathi (its Kokkarlote owner resided in the village)	1

TABLE 16--Continued

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Year round employment in the public and private sector, as well as in the two public utility (gas and electric plants located outside the village. With the exception of two women, this type of employment involved only men.	<u>12</u>
Total	86

One of the basic characteristics of the contemporary Kokkariote economy relates to the variability and multiplicity of occupations which have been facilitated, to a large extent, by the nature and seasonality of the tourist industry. Prior to the advent of tourism there was a tendency for family members to be engaged, at least in terms of a major occupation, in one sector of the economy. By the early 1980s tourism had opened up new areas of employment so that a variety of occupations were found within many nuclear and extended families. Land cultivation had become a part-time activity and in some cases it was even abandoned. Holding more than one occupation was not an uncommon phenomenon, nor has it been uncommon in the past fifteen years for villagers of both sexes to change occupations. Although, according to work histories, secondary sources of household income were available in the past, they do not compare with the range of income sources contributing to domestic budgets today.

The structure of ownership and employment of the tourist industry is such that it has encouraged local participation. Smaller hotels, pensions and rooms, for example, are within the range of village investors. Through minimal or moderate investments a large number of village households have turned unproductive property, mainly housing, into an important source of income. Furthermore, relatively widespread distribution of property, facilitated by the systems of dowry

and partible inheritance, has provided direct benefits from tourism to many village households. Tourism has also provided new opportunities for women, the young and the elderly to generate income either through employment in the industry or by assisting in the operations of various family-owned touristic enterprises. Since the tourist season begins in April and ends in September women's involvement in the industry (renting rooms or houses, working as chambermaids, restaurant waitresses and salespersons or managing tourist businesses) does not interfere with their major work activities and domestic responsibilities. These fall in the off-season and center around such activities as assisting children with school work and harvesting olives. Even men who engage in various trades on a year-round basis, because they tend to be self-employed, are able to allocate time and work tasks in ways that allow them to carry on seasonally or simultaneously multiple occupations. These include agricultural work and wage employment in the tourist industry.

Of the one hundred and eighty-five Kokkariote households surveyed one hundred and twenty-eight reported having a secondary (in importance or in proportion to the primary) source of income. Of these, thirty-nine households (30.4 percent) derived the second major portion of their income from a source related directly to tourism; for twenty households (15.6 percent) their second major source of income was indirectly related to tourism; and the remaining sixty-nine households (54 percent) had a secondary source of income which was unrelated to tourism.

TABLE 17
SECONDARY SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

TABLE 17—Continued

Income Derived Directly From Tourism

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Rental from housing	22
Rental from a building used for touristic purposes	1
Touristic enterprises (shops)	2
Wage income earned by women em- ployed in touristic enterprises	12
Wage income obtained by men em- ployed in touristic enterprises	<u>2</u>
Total	39

Income Related Indirectly to Tourism

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Wage employment in the construction industry and its related trades	7
Fishing	2
Various trades and skilled occupations	<u>11</u>
Total	20

Income Unrelated to Tourism

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Proceeds from the sale of surplus produce	44
Proceeds from the sale of surplus produce plus wage employment in agriculture	4
Social security payments	9
Year-round employment in the public sector	5
Rental from buildings	4
Wages from school cleaning services (the school was cleaned by a middle age woman who also worked as a chambermaid)	1

TABLE 17—Continued

<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Remittances	1
Village enterprise (olive press)	<u>1</u>
Total	69

The contemporary economy of Kokkari is no longer based mainly on agriculture but on the tourist industry and on certain industries, such as construction, which tourism has stimulated. Agricultural activities are carried out today on a part-time basis, and mostly by middle age and older people. Because the young do not participate in these activities, they do not even learn the basic tasks and skills—such as, for example, planting a garden or pruning a vineyard—required for land cultivation. Of the one hundred and eighty-five Kokkariote households examined only thirteen or 7 percent reported deriving the majority of their income from the agricultural sector through the sale of surplus produce and wage employment (Table 15). Yields from agriculture were significant only as secondary and tertiary sources of income. In forty-eight (or 37.5 percent) of the one hundred and twenty-eight households that reported having a secondary source of income (Table 16), proceeds from the sale of surplus produce and wage employment in agriculture comprised this source. Agriculture was the most common source of household income among the fifty-eight households that indicated having a tertiary income source. Of these, six households or 10.4 percent earned a third—in proportion to the first two—part of their income from a source directly related to tourism; four households or 6.9 percent earned this portion of their income from a source that was indirectly related to tourism; and the remaining forty-eight households or 82.7 percent had a tertiary source of income which was unrelated to tourism.

TABLE 18
TERTIARY SOURCES OF INCOME

Income Derived Directly From Tourism	
<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Rental from rooms	5
Income earned by a woman working as a chambermaid	<u>1</u>
Total	6
Income Related Indirectly to Tourism	
<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Employment in the construction in- dustry and its related trades	<u>4</u>
Total	4
Income Unrelated to Tourism	
<u>Types of Income Sources</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Proceeds from the sale of surplus produce	36
Wage employment in agriculture	1
Social security payments	7
Remittances	1
Rental from buildings	2
Salesperson's wages	<u>1</u>
Total	48

As is the case elsewhere in Greece (cf. Stott 1973) the transition in economic emphasis to tourism-oriented activities in Kokkeri has had an effect on the role of the family in social and economic life. Prior to the advent of tourism the bleak economic conditions and the lack of available capital demanded the maintenance of the role of the nuclear or extended family for the learning of skills by the young

as well as for the recruitment and mobilization of labor. As a result of tourism development and with the influx of cash, occupational mobility has become much more possible today than in the past. Hence, the family is no longer necessarily the unit that educates the young in the occupations they pursue. In the contemporary village society it is not necessary for young men to follow the same occupations as their fathers since they can undertake tourism-related economic activities and obtain "on the job" training. Furthermore, contrary to the traditional situation, the family has ceased to be the main or only source of employment because money is available to allow hiring outside workers and opportunities exist for the young, as well as for women, to secure paid work. It can therefore be argued that, in the face of the economic changes which have resulted from tourism, the socio-economic realities supporting the role of the family as an educator and employer of the young have been either altered or in certain cases eliminated.

Production and Specialization

As out-migration, tourism and the growing construction industry have drained off a great portion of Kokkeri's agricultural labor force, affecting the age and sex groups that mainly comprised such a force, villagers have restricted their agricultural activities to the cultivation of olives. Viniculture is not completely abandoned—middle age and elderly villagers continue to cultivate and harvest the old vineyards—but no substantial improvements are made that would enhance production. In contrast to vineyards, there are significant advantages in maintaining olive trees since they require a minimal initial investment and are less demanding in terms of time investments—they require periodic rather than year-round cultivation. Also, olive cultivation is not labor intensive; a large number of field hands are needed only during harvest which, in contrast to that of the vineyards, falls in the off-season and does not compete with the

tourist industry for labor. Finally, the product is readily marketable (converted into oil), is sold at satisfactory prices and is an essential item of household consumption. Even those families whose income derives exclusively from the tourist sector engage in the cultivation of olive trees in order to produce the oil needed for household consumption.

With the advent of tourism and the influx of capital certain industries and services have declined in Kokkari while others have flourished, providing employment opportunities. An example of the latter is the construction industry and its related trades. In Kokkari's pre-tourism economy the construction industry was dominated by three contractors, each of whom maintained a work crew of five to ten skilled and unskilled workers. With the exception of a few odd repair jobs, a worker in this industry could not secure employment unless he belonged to one of the existing crews. He was, therefore, subject to the whims of the contractor. The decade of the 1960s marks the beginning of the construction industry's period of growth, which resulted initially from the state's efforts to finance public works. Construction increased further in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, as remittances of immigrants went to improve village housing. Finally, in the last decade it was tourism and peoples' strategies to secure rental income from housing that gave the greatest boost to the construction trades.

Along with its expansion, the construction industry has undergone significant changes in its organization of labor. In the last decade there has been a tendency on the part of construction workers to break away from, and work independently of, the old crews. According to their explanations, in the context of abundant employment opportunities and having acquired certain skills in the trade, these workers no longer have to rely on a contractor in order to secure work. Today, as skilled laborers they work either with a partner or with

three or four other workmen for a higher daily wage than that paid by a contractor. Advantages enjoyed by construction workers who operate independently of contractors include: being in a position to spread work over the year in ways that enable them to have employment during the slow winter months, when the demand drops (leaving for the winter the projects that are less urgent and can be done indoors is an example of the strategies they use); and having the freedom to allocate work in ways that allow them to get involved in more than one occupation (such as continuing farming, as well as other activities, while also being employed in the construction industry). In the past being part of a crew implied a certain dependency, in that work was available for its members only if skilled masters were present to plan and direct the specific operations and tasks involved in each phase of the building process.

There are disadvantages of working independently of a construction crew, but these seem to be out-weighted by certain advantages. The range of what individual workmen can do is limited since they do not possess the heavy machinery and equipment needed to take over and complete an entire construction project. However, this limitation is insignificant today as employment opportunities in the construction industry are not only available, but are constantly increasing. Another disadvantage relates to the fact that independent construction workers lack the medical care and other welfare benefits which their counterparts in work crews enjoy (the contractor makes payments towards his crew workers' insurance). But this disadvantage does not pose a problem because these workers, as most villagers, have title to some land, are officially considered producers and, therefore, have access to the agriculturalists' insurance plan. The growth in Kokkari's construction industry has been so dramatic that it has attracted a contractor and former villager to leave Athens, where the construction boom has levelled off, and return to work in the village. In addition, a

contractor from another village and several construction related tradesmen who had migrated to Athens in the past have been lured to the village by the increasing employment opportunities.

Another trade that has survived in Kokkari and has become profitable in the past ten to fifteen years is fishing. Family histories indicate that substantial fishing activities were lacking in the village during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It could perhaps be said that in the early part of this century, as economic activities related to agriculture and the production of cash crops declined, fishing assumed importance not just for purposes of family subsistence but as a means of acquiring cash. The trade has been dominated by the same families for two or three generations. Also, for the owners of trawlers fishing was, and continues to be, the major—and in some cases the only—source of household income. During the first half of the twentieth century there were five fishing vessels in Kokkari on which fifty males worked, ten to each vessel. As is the case today, it was primarily family members who worked on each trawler, although non-kin were also employed. Payments for fishermen in the past, as well as today, were made in terms of shares of the fish caught; the owner received half of the total amount of fish while the remaining half was divided among crew members. In the 1960s, adoption of modern technology—boat engines and fishing equipment—reduced from ten to three the number of men needed to operate a trawler. Along with out-migration, these technological changes constituted one of the main reasons for the reduction in the number of village trawlers from five to three.

Fishing by trawlers is not a year-round activity, as government policy restricts it to eight months out of the year. In the remaining four months, the summer period during which fish reproduce, only rowing boats, using nets, are allowed to fish. A rowing boat's crew consists of two men who are usually close kin as father and son,

brothers or brothers-in-law. Since only small amounts of fish are involved in the catches, this type of fishing provides an insignificant supplementary source of income for the twenty Kokkariote rowing boat owners. In the last ten to fifteen years fishing has generated a trade of itinerant fishmongers. Prior to the development of this trade, fish were either transported on the backs of donkeys and hawked by fishermen themselves in the village streets, or were sold directly off the boats at shore. Today fishermen sell most of their product to fishmongers who, using vans equipped with loud speakers, pass through the village hawking the fish. As many as fifteen itinerant fish vendors from all over the island purchase fish in Kokkari on a regular, as well as an irregular, basis. Among these fishmongers, however, only three are Kokkariote residents; for two of them the trade constitutes their major economic activity and source of income while for the third, who is a fisherman and the son of a trawler owner, it forms an inseparable part of fishing, which is his household's main income-generating activity.

In the past decade fishing in Kokkari received a considerable boost from tourism. Fishermen today find good markets for their product which is sold to restaurants as well as to individual tourists. In the summer, because of the increasingly growing influx of tourists, the demand for fish in the village is too high to be met by the local fishermen's catches. Even in the off-season, however, the demand remains high. As new tourism-related economic opportunities have provided the villagers with more cash, fish—despite its high cost—is not considered a luxury item in peoples' diet. Furthermore, modern refrigeration and means of transport enable local fishermen to export substantial quantities of their off-season catches to Athens and elsewhere. Although both fishing and construction are viable trades in Kokkari today, the former does not involve as many people because of the high cost of acquiring a trawler and fishing equipment, the uncertainties of the

catch and the problem of weather conditions at sea. On the other hand, one reason the construction industry has attracted relatively large numbers of village males relates to the fact that it can reasonably assure a regular daily wage; also, those wishing to work in the industry as independent skilled laborers—something that represents a common objective—can acquire the necessary tools with a relatively small monetary investment.

Contemporary Structure of Social Stratification

The major changes which Kokkari's economy has undergone since the growth of the tourist industry include: a decline in primary production and increasing reliance on the market; changes in the structure of employment opportunities, with increased opportunities in the tertiary sector (especially in the construction and service industries); changes in the definition of productive resources; plural employment and multiple sources of income; and increased consumerism. Socio-economic categories have eroded in the village due to increased occupational mobility and to the shift to economic activities away from agriculture. Although class differences have not been eliminated, distinct social categories are absent and there exists instead a continuum of ranks. As Davis (1973:90-91) argues for the Italian community of Pisticci, Kokkari is today characterized by a ranking rather than a class system. Tourism has provided the opportunities for people to adopt strategies in order to acquire income and raise their social rank. As a result, occupational categories currently do not represent the social order in the village.

The relative absence of specific economic roles means that social groups cannot be distinguished by their skills. Several consequences have ensued from these changes in Kokkari's occupational structure: first, social mobility is possible today, unlike in the past when it could have been achieved only outside the village; second,

there is a great diversification of activities because new occupations do not demand total commitment in terms of time, on a year-round basis, and the labor of all the household members; third, occupations are not generally passed on within family lines. The most important variable determining socio-economic status is income. Today's local elite are entrepreneurs—owners of hotels, pensions, restaurants, stores and coffeeshouses. Many villagers derive substantial incomes from tourism-related investments while simultaneously earning a wage or drawing supplementary incomes from traditional economic activities. Individuals with extensive agricultural landholdings do not enjoy high social status because of reduced incomes. For example, in 1982 a large land-owning household, while earning 225,000 and 300,000 drachmas from the grape and olive harvests respectively, earned 900,000 drachmas—almost double the monetary value of the agricultural produce—from the rental of rooms.

In the new tourism based economy of Kokkari the relationship between property and production has changed from what it was in the past. Village land unsuitable for cultivation and unused buildings have been utilized for the construction of, or in order to house, tourist facilities.¹⁰ The type of tourist industry established in the village has affected the definition of productive resources. Also, the shift in what constitutes productive assets and the relatively easy access to them because of inheritance and dowry customs have allowed a wide participation by Kokkariotes in the tourist industry. Property, however, is not the only means of achieving economic success. Labor plays an equally significant role in the village economy. Individuals who are employed for a wage or work as self-employed skilled tradesmen also have a chance to accumulate substantial incomes. Thus, whereas in the past the supply of labor in Kokkari was in excess of demand, today there is a heavy demand for labor in the construction and service industries.¹¹ Although landed property continues to be unequally

distributed, the ownership of agricultural land is no longer profitable. Land is presently valued in terms of its real estate potential rather than its returns from agriculture. This is the reason the descendants of land proprietors pursue different occupations.

What is evident in the contemporary Kokkariote society is that income provided by tourism-oriented activities has become the basis of a consumer economy. Money once used to repay loans or acquire land now goes to purchase consumer goods, which function as symbols of success and provide an image of social mobility. Displaying high fashion clothes, automobiles and urban style houses is a means by which people compete for prestige in Kokkari. In addition, since access to cash is relatively easy and free time made available by the seasonal nature of tourism, the consumption of leisure by locals is also high. The greater unrestricted cash flow is a key factor that has influenced changes in Kokkari's contemporary social structure. In some communities tourism development reinforced the existing system of social stratification. In these communities, because productive resources were controlled by local elites, the latter were the ones who benefited in terms of access to cash (Reiter 1973). In Kokkari, however, the type of tourist industry that developed facilitated the use of resources—housing and building lots—whose ownership is widely dispersed locally. In the past wealthy village families did not make investments in real estate, but sought to accumulate land for agricultural production. Much of this land today lacks significant productive value because building codes and zoning policies prohibit the use of agricultural land (even though it may be adjacent to the village area) for building construction. Under these circumstances a tourist industry developed that encouraged the wide participation of community members. That economic returns from tourism are not controlled by any one group is evinced in the villagers' saying "today everyone has money and there are no poor people". Although Kokkariotes recognize differences in property

ownership, income earnings, consumption patterns and education, they emphasize that the distinct social class differences of the past are non-existent in today's village society.

Individuals and families are evaluated in Kokkari in terms of prestige. High prestige is associated with ownership of productive assets, large incomes, the provision of substantial dowries for daughters and of education for one's children, a relatively high standard of living and a "modern" life style. In contrast, people with relatively low prestige lack productive property, have low incomes, give meager dowries, do not place a high value on children's education and maintain a low standard of living. In addition, individuals who display negative personal qualities--such as immoral behavior, laziness and wastefulness--are also considered to have low prestige. However, prestige attributes do not designate social status, as in the past. In the contemporary community what contributes to high or low prestige is a relative matter and depends on how one is evaluated personally.

Finally, with changes in Kokkari's social order, patron-client relationships have also changed. In the past wealthy families, by providing loans and offering employment, acted as local patrons. Patron-client relationships were long-term and involved mutual obligations of both parties concerned. Presently, when in need of assistance or special favors, village people rely on individuals who are in instrumental positions and usually outside the village. Persons of influence are sought to intervene in recommending someone for a position (usually for public office work) or in assisting someone to secure a building permit or a license to operate a business. The administrative process is not followed in these cases because it is long and tedious and frequently does not result in success. With increased incomes, however, villagers are in a position to offer bribes in exchange of favors, something which has freed them of long-term obligations and relationships of dependence.

Social and Economic Costs and Returns of Samos' Touristic Development

In assessing tourism development in terms of social and economic opportunity costs and returns, it can be emphasized that tourism is economically beneficial to the host society if it contributes to increased incomes and employment which, in turn, have the effect of stabilizing the local population structure. The history of Samos since the turn of this century with its declining economy and abandonment of land cultivation, the dirth of local employment and the massive depopulation indicates that had tourism not developed in Kokkari, maintenance of a viable local economy would not have been possible. Kokkari would have been today just as many of the island's non-tourist villages, characterized by a reduced and aged population struggling with a semi-subsistence economy and dependant on financial aid from relatives living elsewhere. Tourism has provided an alternative to economic insecurity, family disruption and out-migration.

Studies which examine the impact of tourism on small-scale economies have revealed several ways in which tourism can influence agriculture. Tourism is considered to have a negative effect on agricultural employment because it competes with and attracts labor from agriculture (Bryden 1973:21). It is essential, however, to look at the argument about competition of resources, such as labor, more carefully in order to avoid accepting a superficially convincing argument as a substitute for more persuasive reasons why people are not engaging in agriculture. Greenwood (1976) presents evidence which shows that while tourism may initially stimulate production and contribute to the commercialization of agriculture, in time it may bring into play pre-existing and new forces which cause its decline. These forces, according to Greenwood, include the increasing complexity of the farmer's economic role; the long subjection of the selected heir to parental authority; the loss of the prestige of agriculture as an occupation; and the feeling that the agricultural way of life is doomed

(1976:40-42). The case of Samos indicates that workers were moving away from agriculture even when there were no other income-earning alternatives on the island. Indicative of this trend was the massive village exodus which started before tourism became an attractive employment alternative. Agriculture was plagued by difficulties that would have persisted even if the tourist industry had not developed. This study, therefore, demonstrates that where tourism can be cited as related to certain changes, its effect is often to stimulate already existing changes—affecting the supply of labor for agriculture—rather than to create new ones.

Another way in which tourism is considered to influence agriculture is by reducing the availability of agricultural land through an increase in the use of land for recreational purposes (Friedl 1972: 150-57). It has been pointed out that tourism tends to modify land use and inflate land values (Friedl 1973; Greenwood 1972; Rapp 1977). On Samos, because building codes are strictly enforced and a zoning policy regulates the construction of buildings, the argument that the development of the tourist industry deprives agriculture of critical land resources cannot be used to explain the decline of agriculture. Kokkari's hotels and other tourist-oriented establishments do not constitute a separate enclave but are built within the village area and occupy very little of what may have formerly been agricultural land.

Currently a plan is under way in Kokkari for the construction of a public road which will cross diagonally the plain of vineyards that extends between the village and the nearby rising hills. This road will serve to divert the heavy traffic, particularly of the summer months, from the coastal road and relieve the village of traffic congestion. As the project is expected to begin soon, estimates have already been made for compensating the people whose vineyards and fields will be taken up or partitioned by the road. It is expected that, as a result of the road's construction, building regulations

will change (the village will expand inward from the coast) making vineyards and fields valuable building sites. With the exception of a few people who are either dissatisfied with the compensation estimates or oppose having their field houses destroyed, the majority of village residents have expressed approval of the project because they expect to ultimately benefit from increased land values. Future developments will show to what extent tourism may compete with agriculture in Kokkari and to the detriment of the latter for land.

Of Kokkari's pre-tourism industries construction and its related trades have received the greatest boost from tourism, while fishing has also benefited indirectly with the expansion of the market for fish. Traditional trades and crafts which tourism has stimulated are those of carpentry and iron-working whose viability is directly related to the construction industry's growth. Other crafts had already declined or become extinct prior to the advent of tourism because of factors such as out-migration (an obstacle in passing traditional skills to the young), the intrusion into the island of machine-made goods and changes that affected the production and marketing of crops. Only knitting and crocheting have survived and are carried on, as in the past, by women of all ages. These activities, however, do not appear to have been stimulated by tourism since they are commonly practiced by women throughout Greece. In Kokkari today only a few women crochet and knit in order to supply goods to the tourist shops they operate. The majority of village women do not sell the products of their labor but keep them for household and dowry use exclusively.

A community's level of differentiation, which may be measured in terms of opportunities available for its members to make a living (Loukissas 1977:2) and its social structure, will play an important role in influencing the type of tourist industry that develops. Availability and distribution of those resources whose productive value is enhanced by tourism will affect the extent of community participation

in ownership and control of the tourist industry. The conditions which prevailed on Samos prior to the growth of tourism favored the development of a type of tourist industry that was locally controlled. It is also suggested that linkages exist between the stages of the development of tourism and the characteristics of the tourist industry, on the one hand, and the nature of the accompanying economic impact and the responses of the host community, on the other. The cost and benefits of tourism increase commensurately with the scale and pace of tourism development, with a resulting change from "organic" (locally controlled) to "induced" (externally controlled) tourism (Noronha 1977).¹²

For comparative purposes it is useful to give a brief account of alternative or similar types of tourism development that have taken place on other Aegean islands. One island with an overly specialized tourist sector which caters to mass tourists is Rhodes. The Rhodian tourist industry is characterized by a high level of entrepreneurial activity among local and outside businessmen and a sophisticated tourist structure, in terms of capital investments and organization. It was the long history of Italian occupation that laid the foundations of tourism development on Rhodes, as the Italian government made the first efforts to promote the island as a tourist resort. After the foreign occupation ended the Greek government promoted the growth of tourism by granting special tax exemption privileges to the group of islands known as the Dodecanese, the largest island among them being Rhodes, and by making the latter a free port. Investments in the hotel industry were made by emigrants who had been successful abroad as well as by a few locals and foreigners. The type of tourism which developed and increased rapidly after the late 1960s was that of luxury mass tourism. Rhodes' residents were attracted by the higher wages of the service industry and entered the hotel sector en masse. A serious consequence of this flow of labor was the abandonment of farms, the

depopulation of rural areas and the overconcentration of people in the city of Rhodes (Loukissas 1977:120-49). The rapid growth of mass tourism did not bring the expected growth in other sectors of the Rhodian economy. Destruction of the environment, pollution, soaring prices of goods and services, as well as shortages of materials and labor, have been common side effects of the rapid, uncontrolled and unplanned development of tourism on Rhodes. It brought the local population in contact with the problems of a modern society without the means to cope with them.

In contrast to Rhodes, on Mykonos tourism developed gradually and involved the mobilization of local people and resources. It began in the 1930s with tourists coming to visit the nearby archaeological site of the island of Delos. As the Mykonos society allowed tourism to be absorbed into peoples' homes, many local households benefited from increased incomes. Existing trades and industries received a considerable boost from tourism and new areas of employment opened up for locals. As for farming, it did not suffer from labor shortages since land cultivation was included among the various economic activities Mykonians pursued simultaneously. Although there has been substantial non-local Greek involvement in the area of business control and tourism-oriented labor, the presence of non-locals has not prevented the island's residents from successfully operating businesses of their own or from finding employment (Stott 1979:76-80). The fact, however, that non-locals have acquired in recent years property on the island suggests that resources for future expansion may not remain locally controlled.

The pattern of tourism development on Samos is very similar to that encountered by Stott on Mykonos except that in the case of Samos tourism began much later, the tourist density is not as high, the degree of non-local control of the industry is much lower and the latter's structure is less complex and differentiated than that of the Mykonian tourist industry. Furthermore, in Kokkari the strong local

involvement in the rewards of tourism development has been made possible by the fact that until recently most travellers to the village were not institutionalized mass tourists and hence their demands—in terms of facilities, comforts and services—were not extraordinary.¹³ Locals, therefore, did not need to possess special skills in order to provide tourists with basic services. Language barriers did not seem to pose difficulties because many villagers and particularly high school students, many of whom studied English at private tutorial schools, were able to communicate with tourists. Consequently, the expertise needed to satisfy the tourists' needs was not monopolized by any one group of individuals.

Nevertheless, the benefits tourism has brought to Samos, which include the creation of jobs, the curtailment of out-migration and an increase in the accessibility to cash and the means of social mobility, can be considered as short-term ones. They must be weighed against the negative ramifications of a dependency relationship, which is required for the tourist industry's survival, and of a distorted occupational and regional structure. The tourist industry is dependent on the demand of travellers; tourist demand, however, is elastic while supply is inelastic (Davis 1978:316). The viability of the island's, as of the country's, tourist industry is contingent upon upswings and downswings in the economy of tourist-providing nations. Political conditions that affect Greece will also influence the perceived and actual desirability of Samos as a tourist attraction. Tourism's susceptibility to national political changes cannot be underestimated. During the 1974 Cyprus crisis the threat of war between Greece and Turkey posed enough of a threat to tourists to keep them from travelling to Greece and to Samos in large numbers. Furthermore, in attracting tourists Samos has to compete with other islands and nearby Turkish coastal areas. There is apprehension, on the part of Kokkariotes, that the latter may be more desirable to tourists because of the relatively

lower cost of food and accommodations they offer. Thus, in order for the island to keep a constant supply of tourists it must not "develop" beyond the point that it would lose its low cost price advantage.

An assessment of the social and economic costs and returns of Samos' touristic development must also take into account geographical inequalities. On the island tourism is restricted mainly to the eastern coastal villages of Pythagorion, Kokkari and Vathi, even though other places—such as the vicinity of Karlovasi and Marathokambos—are able to offer what the tourist needs and desires: accommodations, attractive sea shores and sandy beaches. The problems of uneven economic development based on tourism are particularly striking in the island's interior mountainous villages which remain completely outside the tourist economy. For these villages what underlines the continuous population decrease is a declining economy. Finally, Samos' tourism has not brought about an equilibrium between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the island's economy. Because the tourist industry is not geared towards direct production for industrial growth, the economic base of the island has not expanded. Samiotic tourism has expanded tertiary (service-oriented) economic activities which are parasitic in terms of development. Investments have been made almost exclusively in the service sector for quick, short-range profits at the expense of long-term planning. While incomes have risen and accessibility to cash has increased in the island's touristic villages, profits from tourism have gone mainly to consumption, rather than to create new sources of capital. These changes characterize the process of modernization rather than development.

NOTES

1. As recently as 1976 four stremmata of vineyards (the average holdings of a small cultivator) yielded an annual income of 40,000 drachmas or 1,300 dollars (Samieki, 8 September 1976:1).

2. The case of two elderly sisters, the descendants of Kokkeri's former largest landowner I.E., reveals the severity of the problem of labor shortage. In the last several years these two women have found themselves in a situation where not only were they unable to secure a sufficient and regular supply of labor, but they could not even afford to pay the inflated wages demanded by those few available agricultural workers. Having no other alternative, in 1980 the two sisters made a contractual agreement with a cultivator from another village whereby he would work their fifty stremmata vineyard for eighty percent of the returns of the harvest. For several years prior to this arrangement, they relied on tourists as a source of labor for the grape harvest. Until the late 1970s the "off-beat" tourists, whom the villagers described with the adjectives kataskinotes (tent dwellers) and samarathes (those who carry pack saddles) were the predominant type among the foreign tourists to the island (Smith 1977:9). Working at the grape harvest was for these tourists a way of experiencing the local way of life and heightening the excitement of vacation by doing something beyond the norm, as well as a means to earn money in order to sustain themselves and/or to prolong their stay. However, since the late 1970s the number of "off-beat" tourists has been decreasing and field hands can no longer be recruited, in significant numbers, from among the new types of tourists. The latter are of middle class background and their main goal in travelling is to engage in leisure activities as individuals or as groups.

3. Generally the parayoi were unmarried men, at least as long as they lived in their master's household. If they married they usually established their own households. More frequently, however, they continued to work on a permanent or semi-permanent basis for the same village family that had formerly employed them as parayoi. In one case a former parayoi married the wife of his master subsequently to the latter's death.

4. An exception was the craft of shipbuilding which is presently kept alive by a seventy-five year old man who works alone, with the occasional assistance of a local carpenter. Up to the late 1950s this craftsman had a work crew of about fifteen apprentices and skilled

workers who received orders from him and worked under his guidance. With great regret, however, he told me that none of these apprentices learned the multiple skills of shipbuilding. One by one they abandoned him, the older ones migrating abroad and the younger ones quitting because they were unwilling to dedicate the period of ten to fifteen years required to learn the craft. Continuing in his advanced age to receive orders for construction of fishing vessels, pleasure boats and small boats used in passenger transport between the islands, the craftsman evaluated his occupation as profitable. He explained that from his trade alone—he basically had no other source of income—he was able to educate his three daughters and dower each one with an apartment in Athens. In 1984 he sold a 30 feet long vessel, which he had constructed in a period of three months, for 600,000 drachmas. Today the craft of shipbuilding is dying out throughout the island not because it has lost its vitality and has ceased to be profitable, but because the men who have practiced it are passing away without leaving behind younger ones to continue in their footsteps.

5. According to most recent figures, the number of European charter flights arriving on Samos in 1986, 1987 and 1988 were 624, 824 and 823 respectively. The total number of European tourists travelling to Samos on such flights rose from 59,782 in 1986 to 80,501 in 1987, to 86,689 in 1988 (Samiakon Vima, 20 February 1989:1).

6. Foreigners are not permitted by law to acquire real estate in areas such as Samos which are considered strategic for national defense purposes, because of their close proximity to the country's borders. There is only one case of an American and seasonal resident of the village who has built a private dwelling on land purchased in Kokkeri. In this case the name of a third person—a villager related to the purchaser through marriage sponsorship—was used officially in the property transaction.

7. Although Boissevain's (1977) statement that tourism has helped to maintain a steady economic growth on Malta may have validity, his argument that tourism has contributed to Maltese economic self-reliance can be challenged. Tourism cannot contribute to self-reliance or self-sufficiency because it does not expand, to any considerable degree, a country's productive capacities and does not assist the development of an autonomous and diversified industrial economy.

8. Social tourism is an experimental state program that was started in 1983. By reducing drastically the cost of transportation and the rates of hotel accommodation, this program enables workers and working youth to travel and vacation in various parts of Greece.

9. These payments, however, are still relatively low compared to those that pensioners of other occupational groups receive.

10. Regarding tourism and land values, Dubisch has communicated to me that the situation in Tinos is similar to that of Samos, in that agricultural decline occurred prior to the increase in tourism and summer visiting. She also notes that today barren and abandoned plots of land are acquiring new value as sites for summer homes.

11. Dubisch has informed me that in the early 1970s there were some young people who went from Tinos to Mykonos to work, but she feels that now there is enough work in Tinos that this phenomenon does not need to occur. She also encountered non-Tiniotes coming to the island for summer work.

12. That outside control based on financial dependence on external centers is exercised in many tourist areas is exemplified in studies by Spiteri and van der Werff cited by Boissevain (1979). In both Malta and the area of Persia on the Italian Tuscan coast foreign ownership of rental accommodations is extensive and one-half or more of the annual net profit from the tourist industry goes to outsiders.

13. The case of Kokkari suggests that where these type of travelers predominate, we may expect the entrepreneurial response to be largely local and dispersed—traditional accommodation system expanding to meet the new demand—while original patterns of life and residence to remain relatively unaffected. Among the few references to this type of tourism are Cohen's (1972) observations about its "institutionalization" in terms of shared perceptions, on the part of tourists, about places to visit, where to stay and what to see.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE AND DOWRY IN THE PRE- AND POST-TOURISM KOKKARIOTE SOCIETY

Marriage and Dowry in the Pre-Tourism Kokkariote Society

In the pre-tourism economy of Kokkari the family estate was divided among all the children and ideally a new household was established at marriage, with sons receiving a share of the patrimony and daughters a dowry. The property parents retained for their own use was given to the son or daughter who cared for them in their old age. From the villagers' point of view a daughter's marriage constituted the family's primary obligation and dowry was perceived more as a requirement for marrying off daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. At least a token dowry was expected by prospective husbands. Since the dowry was important in relation to a young woman's future, it was the parents' duty to assure—through its provision—the future well-being of daughters. Although property was also transmitted to sons at marriage (a practice equally referred to as parental duty), it was the dowering of a daughter that parents considered a heavy economic burden. Villagers pitied a man whose wife bore him girls and raising daughters was referred to as incurring debts, ghrammatia, because fathers at times went into debt to facilitate their daughters' marriage. Thus, because of the emphasis attached to dowry for marriage, women were given first consideration upon the division of the family property. This tendency coincided with the pattern whereby, despite the order of birth, male siblings delayed marriage, giving priority to their sisters and contributing to their dowries from their own shares of the patrimony as well as through their work.

The dowry consisted ideally of a house, along with its necessary furnishings and the roukha, as well as land. Parents who could not

provide a house gave only land and the roukha. Furthermore, a daughter whose dowry included a house tended to receive a smaller share of the family's landed property, compared to that of her brothers or other sisters who were not provided with a house. A woman's father had ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry in the sense that he conducted the formal negotiations involved in a daughter's marriage arrangement and signed the dowry contract (proikosymphono). However, in informal discussions at home the mother as well as the woman's adult brothers also expressed their views. The mother had a say regarding what part of the property was to be transferred to her daughter(s) since she herself had contributed to the family estate through her own dowry. Also, the mother had the ultimate responsibility for providing a daughter with her roukha. Aside from basic articles and house furnishings which were purchased, the roukha were made by mothers and daughters and consisted of woven and embroidered sheets, towels, other linen and rugs. The quantity and workmanship of the roukha was a matter of pride for the women and was evaluated by mothers- and sisters-in-law.

Considering that in the pre-tourism economy of Kokkari, and particularly prior to World War II, agricultural land was the major form of immovable property and the main source of peoples' livelihood, the dowry (as well as inheritance) provided one of the few means of obtaining land. For most village households the purchase of land was virtually an impossibility since cash was in short supply. It was commonly stated that new couples needed a double source of land—meaning from both spouses' families—to assure the economic welfare of their household. The villagers' accounts that the shares children received as dowry or by means of inheritance should have included some land are based on their assessment that landholdings were the most valued asset. Landholdings were valued in terms of their size and the quantity of cash crops they yielded, but among small landowners the value of land was also estimated in terms of the degree to which it could supply a household with basic foodstuffs.

A man's interest, therefore, was to supplement his patrimony with as much land as he could receive from his wife's dowry.

Along with land, which was transferred from parents to daughters and through them to the jurisdiction of their husbands, houses were also valued as an important component of dower property. Capital resources were scarce to allow a young couple to purchase or build a dwelling. According to peoples' assessments, it was the responsibility of the husband to provide food and anything else basically necessary for survival. If he had to be concerned with supplying a dwelling as well, it would have proven extremely difficult. Furthermore, from the villagers' viewpoint, since friction between a woman and her mother- and sisters-in-law was considered inevitable and there was no assurance that daughters would be treated decently in their husbands' household, women were dowered with houses, thereby allowing for the establishment of separate households. In the case of large families or families with a limited land resource base the provision of daughters with houses may have served as an adjustment or partial solution to the problem of land fragmentation which the system of equal inheritance posed. By giving daughters their full share of land at marriage the shares remaining for sons would at times have been too small to depend upon as a basic source for their own future family's livelihood. Thus, daughters may have been provided with houses as compensation for smaller shares of land.

As elsewhere in Greece, marriages in Kokkari were most commonly the result of an arrangement between young men and their families, on the one hand, and the parents of young women, on the other. Parents sought suitable mates for their children and mediators (usually friends or relatives of the prospective spouse's family) to open the dialogue leading to the marriage arrangement. Yet, the structure of marriage arrangements was not as rigid and precise as peoples' general statements imply. Although less common, there were cases whereby young couples conspired to have their parents arrange the marriage; in these cases the young man

revealed to his father that he liked a certain girl and asked him to approach her parents. Nevertheless, despite the fact that a young man and woman were in theory given the right to express their opinion regarding a prospective mate, according to the accounts of several female informants, women were at times forced into matches against their will. If the marriage was considered an advantageous one daughters were persuaded to abandon their objections and overcome their feelings of antipathy towards the chosen bridegroom. Accounts were related to me by a few women who eloped because they had fallen in love and were unable to exercise veto power over the selection their parents had made for them. Sons were also urged by their parents to wait for a "properly" arranged marriage to a woman that had a decent dowry. Facing the disapproval of their families, young men who wanted to marry also eloped at times.

Although villagers expressed disapproval over elopement, it appears that in Kokkeri, unlike the situation in Vasilika, no social stigma was attached to a man and woman who eloped (Friedl 1962:70). After the event it was commonly agreed that marriage should take place in order to restore the girl's reputation and following the marriage the couple was generally accepted by both spouses' families. Furthermore, the violation of prescribed norms surrounding marriage had no repercussions on the system of the transmission of property. Unless their families lacked property resources, neither a man nor a woman was cut off from their share of the family estate because of elopement (property was transferred to them upon marriage or subsequent to it). The family, therefore, even in those cases where it had no decision concerning the choice of a son's or daughter's mate, continued to be the unit which provided the basic resources for survival.

Elopements occurred more frequently in the past than in recent years and usually under circumstances where no material benefits were expected from an arranged marriage. They involved young people each of whose families--and particularly the girl's--had limited economic resources.

Several women who had eloped remarked that there was no point for an arranged marriage since they could not have expected a dowry; their parents had more children than they could feed and cloth, let alone provide for their marriage. Family histories reveal that the subsequent standard of living of a relatively large number of couples whose marriage had resulted from elopement was among the lowest in the village, with both spouses having to work for others in order to secure a meagre family income. As such couples explained, without economic assistance in the form of dowry or a marriage gift, life was quite a struggle. These examples reinforce the villagers' argument that dowry was essential for a woman's future well-being. It determined, to a large extent, her own as well as her family's standard of living.

In the past, as well as today, villagers referred to the marrying of daughters as apokatastasis. This word, which literally means "establishing economic security through marriage," denotes the emphasis people placed on the economic importance of marriage for women. While young men, either laboring with their fathers, learning a trade or working in an industry, eventually succeeded in making a living, the opportunities open to females to provide for their own livelihood were virtually non-existent. It was only through marriage that a woman's future well-being was secured and what allowed the possibility for marriage was the dowry. The family, as the main provider of dowry, made the important decision of who would be a suitable mate for a daughter. From the point of view of a woman's parents a suitable husband was an industrious man who could demonstrate that he would be able to provide well for their daughter after the marriage. Personal qualities were considered to influence the degree to which a prospective groom would succeed in managing his own and his wife's (dower) properties. Laziness and drunkenness were frowned upon and villagers commented that a man who displayed such qualities was likely to "consume" the woman's dowry rather than preserve and draw income from it. In judging the desirability of a

potential spouse for their daughter, parents also made inquiries as to what properties a man was to receive at marriage or what income he was likely to earn for his family in the future.

The groom and his family, on the other hand, sought a woman with a "good name," that is one who had the reputation of being industrious, virtuous and modest. Personal looks were of secondary significance since a good reputation and a modest dowry compensated for a girl's lack of good looks. For a woman with a bad reputation, however, marriage was possible only if a considerably large dowry was provided for her. A prospective bride's skills in the home were also considered important because they served as an indication of her potential as a wife and mother. One of the criteria villagers used in evaluating a woman as a desirable spouse was that of being a kali nikokire, one that was well trained in housekeeping.¹ Furthermore, since a woman was also a potential source of labor outside the home, brides were often sought who had knowledge of the skills and tasks related to their future husbands' occupations. For example, small and medium landowning families looked for brides who in their parental households worked in the fields. However, at times parents did not wish that their daughters after marriage endure the hardships of their fathers' occupation and aspired instead that they marry men of a different occupation, which would allow them to enjoy a less arduous life style. Aside from the above considerations, a primary concern of the groom's parents was that their son be able, through marriage, to augment his patrimony by his wife's dower properties. From their standpoint, their son's future welfare depended to a great extent on the amount of land and other resources his wife contributed as dowry.

Since marriage partners were sought mainly from within the village, and less frequently from nearby villages, it was not difficult for a Kokkariote family to assess the reputation of a prospective spouse and to check on the claims of that spouse's family. Also, in the past the majority of villagers contracted marriages with individuals from families

whose socio-economic status was equivalent to that of their own. When a marriage was contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, such as between similar types of landowning families, dowry negotiations were rather simple. The woman's dowry was expected to supplement or match the resources which her prospective husband was to receive at marriage. However, in cases involving the marriage of a woman to a man of a higher social status (which was associated with a profession, white collar employment or the ownership of substantial property resources) the size of dowry assumed particular importance and negotiations over it resembled commercial transactions. In these cases a large dowry served as a type of guarantee for the parents that their daughter would enjoy a higher standard of living than she did at her parental household. Under such circumstances dowry allowed for an improvement in the girl's life style and served as a means of social and economic mobility.

Women who had done wage labor or had earned money prior to marriage from dressmaking, hairdressing and domestic service work, unless they were asked, made no reference to using their wages for their dowries. Yet, most of these women contributed financially—either in a direct or indirect manner—towards the acquisition of their trousseau. As they explained, they gave their earnings to their father who used them for the family's living expenses or to their mother who ultimately helped in the collection of their roukha. When asked what they brought into the marriage, female informants commonly listed the types of immovable property their parents had transferred to them as dowry. The trousseau was frequently not mentioned because it was taken for granted that a girl who married had to have her roukha. Only in cases where women's savings were allocated to acquire property was their contribution to dowry acknowledged. Although it was recognized that by working in the fields women contributed family labor, their earnings were not recognized as part of the family's capital resources. Also, in stating the

sources of household income, the earnings of women who worked as maids, field hands, dressmakers and hairdressers were not referred to.

This attitude may be rooted in part in the peoples' understanding that they did not live by money as much as by the land (and to a lesser extent from various industries and commerce). Being in short supply, money was not a commodity to be parted with, but rather stored and used in emergencies, to pay debts and cover certain economic and social needs. Even though members of households with limited resources earned a living by working for others, opportunities for wage labor were both limited and available only on a seasonal or semi-permanent basis. Thus, wages, especially of women, were not counted as a significant and stable source of household income. Furthermore, various female trades such as dress-making were not valued so much for their income-earning potential either prior or subsequent to women's marriage (in most cases women ceased practicing the trade after they had married), but in terms of the skills girls acquired through such trades. These skills were highly valued because they added to the attraction of a prospective bride. Finally, the parents' main objective in having a young daughter work as a maid for a wealthy household was not to derive income from her earnings, but to ease the economic burden of providing for the basic needs of a large number of children and to give her a chance to earn her own dowry.

The data presented so far indicate that it was rigorous economic conditions—limited resources and employment opportunities as well as the dearth of available monies—that emphasized the economic importance of dowry in traditional Kokkariote society. Outside the island, where economic conditions changed, the dowry lost its significance. In the city or abroad it was possible for both spouses to contribute in building the family income by working in factories, as salaried employees or by running their own enterprises. Family histories reveal that Kokkariote women who married and settled in the city or abroad did not receive their share of the family estate at marriage as dowry, but rather upon their

resettlement in the village or through inheritance. These women fall into two categories: those who, having moved to Athens in the 1950s and 1960s in search of employment, married urban husbands and remained in the city; and females who married abroad after a prospective spouse sponsored their move away from the island. Although the move of women away from the village was at times facilitated by marriage, the motives behind such a move were survival and economic betterment. Women of the first category left the village in their teens and early twenties and went to the city where they commonly worked as domestic servants. In their case the family played virtually no role in contracting their marriages; the choice of spouses rested either with the women themselves or the families which employed them. Even if their own families owned property resources, which was uncommon, these women were not provided with a dowry but contributed instead their own savings to the marriage. There were also cases where they received a marriage gift from their employer in the form of linen or an amount of money. It appears that the motive of the women concerned, as well as of their families, was not to move to the city in order to marry urban husbands—even though this occurred at times—because a number of them returned to marry in the village.

As for the women of the second category who married abroad, they also came from families with limited resources. Their marriages were usually arranged—although not always—to village males who, having emigrated earlier, sponsored their move away from the island. In these cases the decision concerning a woman's marriage rested solely with her parents who received, evaluated and accepted or rejected marriage proposals. Also, dowry did not enter into the marriage arrangements since it had no utility in the establishment of new households. The considerations of a girl's parents centered on the reputation (personal qualities) of the prospective son-in-law, whether he had a job and earned sufficient income to support his family and whether their daughter would move into her husband's family household at marriage. Parents basically

wanted assurance that their daughter would be treated decently since they could not intervene on her behalf if the need arose.

Aside from the above considerations, what influenced the decision of parents to accept a marriage proposal for their daughters was the realization that she would enjoy an easier and more comfortable life abroad than if she married and remained in the village. Villagers stated that whereas abroad a person was compensated for the labor he or she expended, literally "one got rewarded for working hard," in the village hard work did not guarantee material and monetary returns because of the uncertainties involved in making a living from the land. The marriage of women to men living abroad cannot be viewed in terms of upward mobility but should instead be seen as an escape from the economic conditions in the village. Unlike the situation in Vasilika (Friedl 1968: 128-31), where families strove to secure urban husbands for their daughters and where dowry served to achieve such a purpose, in Kokkari marrying urban husbands as well as marrying and settling abroad may be characterized as a side effect or the result of peoples' strategies for survival. As a consequence of these types of marriage arrangements, parents were freed from the economic burden of providing a dowry. Also, land and other indispensable resources were released for the siblings who remained in the village; they had use rights over the properties of sisters and brothers who migrated.

Genealogies and family histories yielded 55 cases of marriage with information on dowries, their content and other aspects related to the transmission of property to women. These cases cover the period from the early part of this century until the mid-1970s. In 31 of the 55 cases dower property included either a house, part of a dwelling (such as one level of a house) or a building plot. There were also two additional cases involving women who possessed a house upon marriage, but since it was not contributed by their families such a dwelling cannot be considered as a component of dowry. In one of the two cases a woman had

worked for several years as a maid and had used her earnings to purchase a house, while in the other case a young female was given a house as well as some land by her employer as compensation for her services as a maid. These two cases point to wage employment for women as having the potential of being a substitute for dowry.

The 22 cases involving women whose dowry did not include a house or building site serve as a focus for investigating variations in the custom of dowering females with houses as well as the effects of such variations in terms of household formation. In 3 of the 22 cases, houses were contributed by the husbands at marriage as part of their share of the patrimony and new conjugal family households were established. There was an additional case wherein a man, having married after his first wife died, brought into the second marriage the house he had received as his first wife's dowry. Where neither of the marriage partners was given a house one solution was for the couple to move into the wife's or husband's household (there were 5 and 3 such cases respectively). It was primarily in situations where the wife or husband was an only child or the only child that remained in the village that this type of arrangement was encountered. Another solution was for a couple to rent a house and establish its own separate household (there were 8 such cases). This practice appears to have been particularly common among young people each of whose families had relatively few economic resources; in the majority of cases (7 out of the 8) these were also the people who had eloped. Finally, houses or other types of real estate were not provided as dowry in 3 cases involving women who had married and settled abroad or in the city. The provision of a house or building plot as dowry did not preclude females from receiving land; in 30 of the 31 cases dower property also included olive trees and vines. However, money rarely comprised dowry assets for it occurred in only 7 of the total number of cases. With the exception of one case, where half of a bakery was transferred to a woman at marriage, other types of property were not

contributed as dowry.

In ascertaining whether in the 24 cases of women whose dowry did not involve a dwelling or building plot (the cases of the two females who had themselves acquired such property are also included) other types of dower property were given, the findings revealed that: in 5 cases women received land, in one case land as well as money, and in another case only money. There was also a case of a woman whose family had paid for the training she had acquired in Athens as a hairdresser. In the remaining 16 cases women were provided only with the roukha and/or house furnishings. Nevertheless, it should not be interpreted that a woman whose dowry did not comprise property and other valuable assets was deprived of her share of the family estate. Family property was not transferred to females, either before or after marriage, in only 10 of the 16 previously mentioned cases. These cases pertain to women who came from large families and families with meagre economic resources that depended mainly on wage labor to earn a living. Under these circumstances the division of the patrimony at marriage would have jeopardized the livelihood of the rest of the family or that of the parents. Even after the parents' death such division would not have been feasible. In the 10 cases both sons and daughters were excluded from the transmission of property because resources were extremely limited or non-existent.

Data pointed out that in the past Kokkariote women received their share of the family estate not only as dowry, but subsequent to marriage as well. Of the 24 cases referred to above of women whose dowry did not include a house or building site, 12 indicate that the women inherited or were donated a dwelling or a building site after having married. Besides housing, land was also transmitted at times to women by means of inheritance or donation rather than as dowry. This mode of transmission of property usually prevailed in situations where the woman was an only child and heir to the family estate, and a son-in-law's assistance on the land or in certain economic activities was needed. Under these

circumstances the husband frequently moved into his wife's household. This arrangement, which was not common because of the infrequent occurrence of one child families, insured parents that an only child—especially a daughter—would remain close to them. Even though villagers stressed that "a man ought to be master in his own household," unlike the case of Vasilika, no social stigma was attached to a man who moved into his wife's household (Friedl 1962:65). As most marriages took place within Kokkari, such a man was not a stranger in the village. He often brought property of his own into the marriage and was not simply a laborer on property that belonged to his wife's parents. Also, since there were no brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law to make claims on his wife's family estate, he was assured that he would ultimately have jurisdiction and control over it. Women who moved outside the village prior to or as a consequence of marriage also tended to receive their share of family property by means of inheritance or donation. In addition, inheritance occurred in situations where property was transferred to a woman from grandparents or other affinal kin whom she had looked after in old age.

The data contained in the fifty-five cases of marriage was analyzed to assess the degree to which the presence or absence of dowry and the size of dowries influenced women's age of marriage. Dowries were categorized in terms of their size and composition as meagre, modest and substantial. A meagre dowry consisted of just linen, linen and basic house furnishings or a small piece of land. What constituted a modest dowry was, along with the roukha, a house or building plot and one or two small parcels of land. In the absence of a dwelling or building site, this type of dowry may have been comprised of an amount of money and/or vines and olive trees. As for a substantial dowry, its components were—in addition to the trousseau—one or more houses (often including storage places), large parcels of land planted with cash crops, and/or other assets. This categorization approximates the

villagers' own assessments regarding the values and desirability of dowry. No divergence was discerned between men's and women's—and specifically between husbands' and wives'—evaluations of dowries.

TABLE 19

DOWRY AS IT RELATES TO KOKKARIOTE WOMEN'S AGE OF MARRIAGE
IN THE PRE-TOURISM PERIOD
(The Figures Represent Actual Numbers of Women)

<u>Age Groups</u> <u>(of Women)</u>	<u>Meagre</u> <u>Dowry</u>	<u>Modest</u> <u>Dowry</u>	<u>Substantial</u> <u>Dowry</u>
15-20	14	4	3
21-25	3	10	3
26 and over	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	22	23	10

The figures of Table 18 suggest that dowry was important enough in traditional Kokkariote society to have had an effect on women's age of marriage. Village females who received a meagre dowry tended to marry at an early age. In the majority of cases the marriages of these women were not arranged but were contracted subsequent to elopement or after parents gave their consent to a son's or daughter's own choice of mate. Since the women came from families with limited resources, their young age served to a certain extent as compensation for their lack of dowry or their inability to contribute valuable properties to the marriage. Constituting exceptions are a few cases of women who married young and with no dowry but whose families transferred to them properties after marriage. These women tended to be the only children in their families and remained with the parents after having married. The decision over their marriage was not necessarily that of their parents because a few of them had also eloped. Relatively late age of marriage and absence of dowry were encountered in cases involving

women who married abroad or in the city (among the five cases was also a woman who had come from outside the island). In such cases, since there were no practical reasons or necessities for the provision of dowry, the late age of women lacking property resources was not a disadvantage and did not lessen their chances to marry. Furthermore, these women contributed either their savings or income potential to the marriage, as they settled in areas where opportunities existed for regular female employment.

Where women were dowered with a modest amount of resources their marriages tended to be arranged and they usually married at a later age (in their mid to late twenties and at times even after thirty). In these situations a modest dowry had the effect of increasing the number and to a lesser extent the range of potential suitors. If a woman's dowry was a modest one she was assured of a sufficient supply of prospective mates of similar modest backgrounds. This is because the number of households which constituted the medium stratum was proportionately larger than that of households of the upper and lower strata. Parents frequently delayed their daughter's marriage by waiting until they had found a desirable mate. The waiting period required for a house to be built or for resources to be accumulated for dowry purposes also accounts for the relatively late age of marriage of the women concerned. Additional factors explaining the frequent occurrence of late marriages for Kokkariote women are: the prevalence until World War II of large families and the practice whereby siblings married according to their order of birth, with older sisters having priority over younger ones as well as over brothers; the reduction, as a consequence of wars and emigration, of the supply of males available for marriage; the fact that women contributed family labor which was particularly needed for the cultivation of tobacco and vineyards; and finally, the need for daughters--especially if they were the only children to have remained in the village--to look after parents in

their old age.

Because of the small number of cases nothing conclusive can be drawn from the figures of Table 18 concerning the relationship between the provision of substantial dowries and women's age of marriage. It can be said, however, that the range of potential suitors for women of well-to-do village families was restricted. If a woman's dowry was a substantial one she was limited to mates from an upper class background who were few in number. Both in Kokkari and in the nearby villages there was a shortage of such prospective husbands because the upper stratum consisted of only a handful of families. Until the 1950s it was mainly daughters whose fathers were large landowners and merchants who received substantial dowries. The parents of such women sought sons-in-law from among families equal to their own in wealth and social position. In the discussion of the dowry in Mediterranean ethnographies it has been stated that women of families from the upper stratum tend to remain unmarried longer, until they are past twenty-five and even thirty (Chepman 1971:98-99). Late age of marriage for women has also been explained as a consequence of dowry inflation. In Vasilika, for example, the marriages of women to town men were delayed until large amounts of cash were accumulated for their dowry (Friedl 1962:66).

In the case of Kokkari data is insufficient to indicate a relationship between the provision of substantial dowries and women's late age of marriage. Family histories, however, reveal that in the past celibacy occurred mainly among women of the economically leading families. Failure to find mates of a commensurate position or income with that of their own families, and the refusal to marry men of lower social and economic standing, meant in the case of these women the postponement of marriage which often led to celibacy. An argument which could be made is that for women of high social and economic status marriage was not as important economically--a means of survival--as it was for females of modest and poor backgrounds. Instead, marriage

was more significant in terms of the alliances it helped to create between families, as well as for purposes of procreation (securing heirs to the family estate). In Kokkari, after their parents' death, celibate daughters of wealthy families managed the properties they inherited with the assistance of married brothers or other relatives and potential heirs.

During the decades of 1960 and 1970 a few cases were encountered whereby parents gave large dowries to daughters in exchange for sons-in-law with "respectable" occupations such as professional men or civil service workers. Savings from earnings abroad were invested by repatriates in real estate in Athens as well as in the village for purposes of accruing income and for providing substantial dowries. Also, the training of a few sons in skilled occupations, such as those of electrician and plumber, and the involvement of others in the construction industry as laborers released property resources to add to girls' dowries. Another related factor is the decline in the birth rate which had started during the first decades of this century and continued after the World War II years. Thus, parents of marriageable children in the 1960s contemplated the division of their estates into fewer portions than their own parents had done before them. This change allowed to some extent for the provision of larger dowries. Finally, given out-migration, dowries were at times augmented by remittances and because of the reduction of the shares of children who had left the village.

In contrast to Vasilika, no cases were encountered in Kokkari where the education of sons facilitated the release of property resources to add to daughters' dowries. Until World War II the secondary and higher education of sons was exclusively a characteristic of the upper strata. It was not so much motivated by the actual financial gains involved, but by considerations of social position and status; professional training endowed a person and his family with prestige. Unlike men, however, women of well-to-do families received no more

than an elementary education. For these women—as for all young females—the family had the responsibility of watching over their reputation and behavior. By sending a daughter away to school parents could not have ensured that her reputation would remain blameless (a prerequisite for obtaining a desirable husband) because she could not have been carefully supervised and restricted. Even a large dowry could not ultimately have erased the damage done by a young woman's questionable behavior.

During the decades of 1930 and 1940 seven men in Kokkari had received an education beyond that offered at island schools. They were all sons of substantial landowning and merchant families. Two had been trained as doctors, one as a dentist and two others as elementary and high school teachers. The remaining two were brothers who had studied chemistry in France but did not continue their education far enough to make professional use of it. It was perhaps for reasons related to family prestige that the above five educated males chose to practice their professions in their native village (the high school teacher had a post at the gymnasio in Vathi); only there could they really have enhanced their family's social standing. As for families of the lower and middle strata, besides being unable to meet the financial costs of providing children with education, they could not afford to reduce the family's supply of labor by sending a child away to school.

In the 1950s and 1960s the range of families with sons educated beyond the village and island schools had broadened to include those of a lesser social and economic position. Even then, however, the cost of financing secondary and higher education was too great for most village families to afford. By that time education had come to be valued more in terms of economic returns than in terms of prestige and social position. In the period following World War II, when Samos' agriculture was in decline, there was no guarantee even for an only son who

inherited the family estate that landed resources could secure his future. In terms of alternatives, the six year gymnasio served as a base for a civil service position and white collar work, as well as for further study at the university.² Thus, it is not surprising that despite practical difficulties several sons who had shown promise as students were encouraged to continue their schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. However, difficulties stemmed from the fact that Kokkari had no gymnasio and its students had to attend the one at the island's capital. There was no regular public transport to and from Vathi and parents had to pay for a son's room and board in the town while he attended school. Even at the secondary level, therefore, education involved a large expenditure of family income.

During the decades of 1950 and 1960 eight Kokkariote males continued their education beyond the level of elementary school: three had completed only the six-year course of the gymnasio while the remaining five had proceeded further with higher education. Of the first three, one obtained the position of clerk at the office of the kinotita, another was employed as a bank teller, while the third chose to emigrate to Canada. Among the five men with advanced education, three had studied in Italy: one received his degree in dentistry and set up a practice in Karlovasi; the second earned an agricultural science degree and returned to the village where he started a successful business of raising flowers for export; and the third, who had attended medical school, died prior to completion of his studies. As for the two remaining village men, one had enrolled in the School of Advanced Commercial Studies in Athens but interrupted his training short of earning a degree, while the other became a high school teacher. Of these eight village males with secondary and higher education backgrounds, six were the only children of families with modest property resources (the other two were brothers). More specifically, one was the son of a storekeeper,

another of a coffeehouse owner, a third of a school teacher, and the remaining sons of medium landowners.

Besides the seven families which had sought to educate sons, there were also two that had educated their daughters. One daughter had attended the Polytechnic Institute of Athens where she was trained as an architect, while the other had studied international law at both a Greek and French university. Today both women are past forty years of age, unmarried and have established successful careers in Athens. For the first woman—the daughter of a storekeeper—education counted as a major portion of her share of inheritance; her brother showed no exceptional ability in academic subjects and did not obtain a higher education, but inherited instead the family store and a larger share of the family's agricultural land. The education of the second woman, who was a fatherless and only child, was financed by her mother's brother. Since he had no children and earned a substantial income as a seaman, the uncle assumed the responsibility of providing for his niece's education.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s education, particularly of the secondary level, had become more attainable and a major concern of the Kokkariote family. It was less costly because daily bus service had been installed to and from the capital, allowing village children to commute to the gymnasio. Although all post-elementary education continued to be a source of pride and prestige for the family, by this time it had come to be valued more as a means to an end which in the villagers' view constituted a position in the growing tertiary sector. Throughout Greece the expansion of the tertiary sector had a multiplier effect on the demand for secondary and higher education facilities (Tsoukalas 1976:423). Yet, this increased emphasis on education had no effect on the dowry; it did not contribute to reduce its frequency nor to lessen the concern of parents to dower their daughters.

In an attempt to explain variations in the frequency of dowry occurrence throughout Greece during the period 1956-74, Symeonidou-Alatopoulou (1979) has isolated a number of variables considered to have an effect on dowry: the ratio of working women, the proportion of elderly people in the population, male emigration and the level of men's education. She found a negative relationship between the dowry and women's participation in the workforce indicating that as women's involvement in production increased the dowry lost its importance. Regarding the ratio of elderly people in the population, Symeonidou-Alatopoulou found that the greater the ratio the stronger the practice of dowering daughters; a disproportionately large number of elderly people in an area's population is viewed by the author as a factor delaying the acceptance of new practices (1979:331-32). The third variable, male emigration, Symeonidou-Alatopoulou claims to have influenced the dowry in a negative way--as the trend towards male emigration increased in a region the emphasis attached to dowry decreased. The explanation she proposes for this relationship is that male migrants who returned to their place of origin to marry were economically self-sufficient and had adopted to some extent the customs of their host countries. Finally, the author found that in areas with a large proportion of male high school graduates the ratio of dowry contracts tended also to be high since educated men made more claims for dowry (Symeonidou-Alatopoulou 1979:332, 335).

For the prefecture of Samos, Symeonidou-Alatopoulou (1979) reports that the practice of dowry for the period 1961-71 was strong because a relatively small percentage of women were economically active; the population was characterized by an overwhelming excess of elderly people; male external migration--although not as strong a factor--was taking place; and young men were beginning in limited numbers to receive a high school education. In the work under consideration the four variables which relate to or affect dowry are derived from simple

correlations. The proposed relationships constitute only assumptions or unproven hypotheses since they are not tested in the field. Also, no actual historical or comparative data are presented to highlight the economic, social and demographic conditions under which the institution of dowry is strengthened or weakened. Furthermore, the reliability of the data, which are based on population censuses and statistical figures provided by the National Statistical Service of Greece, can be questioned.³ For example, the percentages given by Symeonidou-Alatopoulou of "working" women in every prefecture of Greece are most likely below the actual proportions of women working either for or without compensation. This is because statistical surveys and population censuses do not account for the fact that women may be periodically or seasonally employed for a wage in agriculture or other sectors of the economy, and that they frequently contribute labor in running the family enterprise or in assisting with work in the fields. As for stressing the ratio of elderly to younger people in a region as a factor influencing dowry, the author tends to perceive the practice of dowry as a remnant of an older cultural system. She suggests that an excess of elderly people in the population prevents the modernization of values from taking place. However, ethnographic accounts give no support to this type of argument.

In Kokkari, prior to the advent of tourism and in the context of large-scale out-migration of younger people, what accounted for the strong emphasis attached to dowry was its economic import. In an economy where cash was in short supply and employment opportunities limited, dowry constituted one of the few means available for obtaining valuable assets such as land and houses. It is my premise, based on information provided by Mediterranean ethnography, that variations through time in dowry must be examined in view of the implications of changes in: the structure of property ownership, labor patterns, occupational possibilities for young people, patterns of out-migration, the sex composition

of the population, opportunities for social and economic mobility, family size, as well as cultural and legal codes regarding marriage, sex roles and the transmission of property between generations.

Provisions in Greek Law for Marriage, Dowry and Sex Roles

The relationship between legal principles and customary practices may take various forms over a period of time. There are cases where legislation is enacted which, by dictating new concepts of behavior and making provisions for peoples' rights and duties, ultimately helps to influence the direction of social change. In other cases legal concepts reflect the values, norms and interrelations that prevail in society. However, as a result of diachronic changes, a chasm may develop between behavioral practices as well as cultural ideologies and the corresponding—often more conservative—legal codifications. Under such circumstances, the pressure exerted by new social and ideological trends often leads to legislative changes in order that the law may parallel social conditions and values. The dialectical relationship between legal and customary principles is affected by the rate of social change; it also varies according to the types of practices and interrelations that a specific law regulates, as well as the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions.

A discussion of legal regulations governing marriage, dowry and sex roles helps to demonstrate the extent to which the legal rights and duties of Greek women resemble those accorded to them by tradition and whether women take advantage of their entitlements. Also, the degree to which national and local definitions of female behavior differ from or coincide with each other is best assessed by a comparison of the rights and duties females are given by law with the actual activities of women. In comparing, however, legal with customary principles it is necessary to examine the ways in which concepts of sex interrelations correspond to the economic and social position of the couples involved. Several ethnographies have emphasized that variations

between legal and customary concepts of female conduct follow differences in women's economic responsibilities. A large dowry, a respectable profession or high social status make it possible for women to attain a great deal of independence. Thus, beating or insulting one's wife is considered unacceptable by members of the upper strata, but it is less stigmatized among those belonging to the lower strata (Campbell 1964:152; DuBoulay 1974:104). It has been further argued that women enjoy their legal rights only when they possess the means to retain and implement them. According to Safilios-Rothchild (1969), townswomen who had a paid job and kept the household budget utilized their legal rights and sued for divorce more frequently than village women who were not in charge of family finances (1969:210-12). This and other examples indicate that whether customary sanctions or legal codifications prove more effective in the definition and regulation of sex interrelationships depends to a large extent on the spouses' economic rights and activities.

Studies referring to women in Greece vary in terms of the type of analysis they are based on—macro- or micro-level—and according to whether and the extent to which they explore the issue of women's position by abstracting cultural values from female behavior and practices and vice versa. In order to assess the position of Greek women, several sociologists have relied mostly on national census statistics as well as data supplied by studies on occupational categories, political groups, the distribution of employment in various sectors of the economy, and education as it relates to social stratification (Nikolaïdou 1975; Meimeri and Nikolakopoulou 1978; Frangou 1980; Filias 1981; Lambiri-Dimeki 1983). According to the conceptualization of these scholars, what constitutes the position of Greek women is the sum total of the various posts they occupy, in relation to men, in the social (in terms of prestige and authority) and economic hierarchies (Lambiri-Dimeki 1983:45). This approach fails to enhance our understanding of

the roles of women in different domains, as they are influenced by cultural values and as cultural values dictate or reinforce such roles.

Significant data on Greek women's position are provided by ethnographic and a few sociological accounts of the family and conjugal roles, honor and shame, and the customary and legal provisions and allowances for the rights and duties of both sexes (Friedl 1962; Blum and Blum 1970; DuBoulay 1974; Hoffman 1976; Handman 1978; Nikolaidou 1981; Mousourou 1984; Sutton 1985; Dubisch 1986). Many of these accounts, which are part of studies of small communities, provide examples of the integration of the analysis of values concerning women's roles, behavior and relationships with an analysis of women's economic and social accomplishments both in the domestic and public spheres. Undoubtedly, concepts and values set certain limits on the range of female activities and affect women's position insofar as this position is defined culturally and according to legal ideologies. In turn, social and economic possibilities for women have the effect of influencing social consciousness and ideology, that is local and national concepts regarding women's rights and duties, roles and behavior.

In Greece family law had remained unchanged from 1940 until 1983, when legislation was enacted abolishing dowry and recognizing that men and women have equal rights. Underlying the new law were certain changes which Greek society has undergone during the past twenty years. Many of these changes contributed to emphasize the need for the legal recognition in the Constitution of 1975 of the principle of equal rights and opportunities for men and women (article 4, paragraph 2). Nevertheless, even though this principle found expression in the family law of 1983, it does not reflect the position of women in contemporary Greek society. Today Greek women continue to have access to fewer opportunities than men for economic and social advancement. Also, since they do not generally anticipate a life-long career, most women do not take full advantage of available opportunities for advanced training or

vocationally oriented education which would enable them to join the professions and to obtain administrative, managerial and executive positions (Lambiri-Dimeki 1983:41). Beyond these explanations, what influences the position of Greek women is the family system of roles; for women to gain full social equality, male and female roles must be altered.

In the last twenty years Greek society has undergone urbanization, industrialization, emigration (and more recently the repatriation of former immigrants), as well as the effects of the mass media—especially television—and tourism. Additional developments since 1974 include: the fall of the military dictatorship and the legalization of the Communist Party in 1974, the formal recognition in the Constitution of 1975 of equal rights for men and women, Greece's entry into the European Economic Community in 1981, the growth of both the university students' and the women's movements and the passing by the parliament in 1983 of the new family law. The question to be raised is what have been the effects of these trends and developments on the position of women in contemporary Greek society? Available studies have focused primarily on women's relationship to employment opportunities in urban and rural areas, according to different sectors of the economy and in the context of urban and industrial growth.

In contemporary Greece it is possible to speak of a socio-geographical formation which divides the country into: the two large urban centers, Athens and Thessaloniki, whose combined population reaches 44 percent of the total; a small number of cities (Patras, Larissa and Heraklion), each with over one hundred thousand inhabitants, which grew mainly during the last decade; and the semi-urban and rural communities (provincial towns and villages) that contain 53 percent of the country's population. According to ethnographic and sociological accounts, in the rural communities traditional values regarding family life and sex interrelations tend to persist more than in urban areas. Women

obtain a relatively lower level of education and are occupied primarily in agriculture as unpaid family members. According to Symeonidou-Alatopoulou (1980:105), in 1971 80 percent of the Greek women involved in agriculture worked as unpaid family members. Also, when compared with their counterparts in urban areas, these women have less access to the modern amenities which have been introduced in the average Greek household during the last ten to twenty years. It has further been pointed out as characteristic of rural communities that the family and kin continue today to play an important role in regulating behavior and social relations. Consequently, women enjoy greater support in these communities than in urban areas where family and kin ties are weaker. At the same time, however, their behavior and daily activities are subject to a great deal more scrutiny (Lambiri-Dimaki 1983:45-46).

In the last twenty years the growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the Greek economy and the decline of the primary one have affected the distribution of employment. One related trend has been a substantial increase in the number of women who joined the work force and especially the tendency, on the part of females, to seek employment primarily in the tertiary sector.⁴ Nevertheless, data also point to an increase in the participation of women in industrial work. This can be explained by the increased demand, as a result of industrial development, for cheap unskilled and semi-skilled labor; the reduction of the market for male labor due to emigration; and the disproportionately large increase within the work force of the number of clerical workers.⁵ The growth of female employment is viewed by several economists and sociologists as evidence for an improvement in Greek women's position. Thus, according to one argument, women in Greece have advanced economically because statistics show their participation in white collar work to be approaching since 1971 that of men (Frangou 1980:118). This and similar statistically based findings have been used by those who argue for a significant rise of Greek women in the

occupational hierarchy.

Another approach has been to assess Greek women's position in terms of the degree to which they take advantage of opportunities for higher education. For example, it has been stressed that whereas in the early 1960s 3 out of every 4 students attending the university were men, by 1977 the ratio of male to female university students had become 3 to 2. This change is viewed as indicative of the educational and, by extension, the social and economic advancement of Greek women. Furthermore, special emphasis has been placed on the increase in the number of women obtaining advanced training in disciplines such as theology, medicine, architecture, as well as veterinary and agricultural sciences which in the past were chosen exclusively by men (Lambiri-Dimaki 1983:47). These arguments are based on gross statistical figures and fail to contribute towards an understanding of female roles and actions; variations in women's economic activities and behavior between rural and urban areas; the degree to which such variations are affected by marital as well as social and economic status; women's relationship to the distribution of power and authority within the family; the extent to which wage work or self-employment changes female responsibilities for domestic work and allows women to gain economic autonomy and decision-making power in the domestic sphere; and whether there is a connection between women's participation in the labor force and the frequency of dowry.

The family in Greece has viewed women's work outside the home as a sideline or secondary activity in comparison to domestic work and the basic destination of women, which even today is considered to be marriage. Despite the fact that particularly in the post-World War II period women were led by economic necessity to participate in production for wages, the family system of roles did not change. Supported by law, this system continued to perpetuate the primary differentiation in the basic roles of men and women. The legal stipulation in the 1940

Civil Code according to which women were eligible to retire and receive a pension after fifteen years of employment provides evidence of the emphasis placed on female domestic work for family use (Androulaki-Demetriadou 1983:130). The social and legal systems, therefore, assigned women to the domestic sphere to engage in child rearing and housekeeping and to provide non-paid family labor. Their contribution from paid employment to the family's finances was considered only as a form of assistance.

The 1983 family law has been characterized as a turning point in the political, social and legal history of Greece. To a large extent, however, the legislator has advanced beyond the level of changes which have taken place in both the family and Greek society at large. The new family law has stipulated that women have equal opportunities with those of men for economic and social advancement, they are equal to their male conjugal partners and just as responsible as their husbands for the family's upkeep. Yet, in real life Greek women continue today to constitute a cheap labor force as well as to face the serious problems of unemployment, inadequate maternity protection and lack of opportunities for paid work, particularly in non-urban areas. In such areas, but also in urban centers, large numbers of women seek paid employment on a seasonal or part-time basis in order to supplement the family income or assist as non-paid family members in agricultural work as well as in running the family-owned commercial and manufacturing enterprises. However, regardless of the work activities they pursue, the individuality of women in contemporary Greek society continues to be intertwined with the clearly defined roles of wife and mother. The stipulation of the new family law that Greek men and women are equal cannot become reality as long as the public world does not open up to more than just a relatively small number of women, the asymmetry between work and home is reduced and male/female roles altered.

An examination of legal regulations governing family life, dowry and sex roles is necessary in order to understand the provisions Greek law makes for the sexes, especially regarding women's rights and duties in the definition of their associations with men. The pre-1983 family law essentially gave expression to the principle of male superiority and supported the patriarchal family system. A considerable number of the allowances the Greek Civil Code, and particularly the family law, made for women were subject to the consent of their male kin. According to the summary analysis of Fepachristou (1980), prior to the reforms of 1983, family law dictated that Greek women give up their family name at marriage and take on that of their husbands'; seek their husbands', or generally their male kin's, consent in order to work outside the home; and submit themselves to the authority of men who were given the right of decision-making on family matters. Furthermore, it imposed on women the duty to administer and carry out domestic activities, while assigning the overall rights concerning family life and the management of the household (especially its finances) to husbands. It also stipulated that only fathers had the right to decide about matters related to children—represent them vis-a-vis public agencies, manage property on their behalf, decide on their schooling, punish them and give or withhold consent in cases where children needed medical treatment and surgery. Women were deprived even of the right to register their children in school. Finally, according to law women had no authority, only guardianship, over children and were required to contribute dowry upon marriage.

As with other legal regulations, those pertaining to dowry can serve as a focus in the investigation of concepts of female roles as well as of the rights and duties given to women by law. In Greece the institution of dowry appears for the first time during the Homeric period in the legal codes of Greek city states. It was provided for in Roman law which was practiced in Byzantium, subsequently under

Turkish domination, and in independent Greece after 1821. Of the 2,035 → articles included in the 1940 Greek Civil Code, 644 comprised family law and out of those 22 related to dowry: how and why it was given, who was entitled to receive it, what was the legal status of dower property, how it could be used, who had rights to any returns from it, how were women protected from their husbands' misuse of it and what rights they had concerning its return in case of divorce. In article 1406 dowry was defined as "the property given on behalf of a woman by the father, mother or a third person to her husband in order to relieve him of the (economic) burdens of marriage." If a woman was unjustifiably refused a dowry she had the right to initiate court action in order to oblige her father to relinquish the dowry to her. The main assumption underlying the legal definition of dowry was that "husbands assumed the (economic) burdens of marriage" since women were not economically "active" and needed male support. Girls were, therefore, dowered because they were considered incapable of making a living. Possession by a woman of property lessened her father's obligation to provide her with dowry, but the fact that she might have been working or even had a career was not legally considered to count as her contribution to the "economic burdens of marriage."

Article 1412 of the 1940 Greek Civil Code designated the husband, unless otherwise specified in the dowry contract, as the owner of movable property, while also giving him administrative and usufruct rights over immovable dower property. Once the dowry contract was signed the husband had absolute control over the returns of dower property, acting as his wife's legal guardian. According to law, where dowry included immovable property the woman was unfit to administer it and thus it was her husband who managed and exercised usufruct rights over it. The disposal of such property required a court's permission which was granted upon the woman's consent or upon presentation of evidence demonstrating inevitable need for, or direct benefit from,

its disposal. However, witnesses were needed to supply further evidence since the law considered women incapable to represent themselves. This measure was intended to prevent cases where the husband might force or convince his wife to accept a decision which might have had detrimental effects on the family. Such legal regulations "protected" women but assigned them simultaneously to a subordinate position. Another significant stipulation concerning dowry specified that a given dowry had to correspond in value to the wealth as well as to the economic and social position of the giver (most commonly the woman's father) and the receiver (her husband). The assumption was that a woman did not have her own social position but partook of that of her father or husband. As other articles in the Civil Code indicated, any legal claims on the part of a woman depended on such a position. For example, article 1391 stated that the alimony a woman was entitled to receive in case of divorce was to be proportionate to her husband's property resources, income or his social position.

Since the socio-economic system did not allow females to participate—on an equal basis with men—in production for exchange, marriage constituted for women the only means of survival. It contributed, however, to perpetuate women's subordination to male authority figures in the family and helped cultivate beliefs concerning female morality and sexuality. As a counterweight to assigning women to the position of subordinate wives certain legal measures were taken to safeguard their "protection." It was stipulated that the duty of men was to provide for their wives' subsistence and material needs. The law also protected women's interests relating to dowry and prevented its disposal. Furthermore, according to legal allowances, a married woman enjoyed medical insurance through the social welfare program her husband participated in and upon his death was entitled to receive a portion of his pension. Thus, even in cases where she had a career or her own property a woman sought marriage in order to secure her future. This

brief analysis of legal principles indicates that marriage was based on property considerations and on relations of dominance and subordination. It provided for the establishment of the family as a unit centered around the authority of its male head who controlled all decision-making processes and fulfilled its economic needs. From within this particular domestic unit stemmed the primary differentiation in the basic role patterns between men and women.

In recent years the foundations of marriage—property and relations of dominance and subordination—have been shakened. Property is no longer the only means of livelihood for the family; making a living has become more of a personal matter depending on occupational and work possibilities. Furthermore, with the 1983 family law, marriage has ceased to be the basis of the family as the domestic unit which, according to former legal definitions, functioned under the direction and control of its male head. More specifically, marriage, as essentially an institution that supported the traditional patriarchal family, has been legally redefined. The new law has made marriage a partnership: a contract of unspecified duration between the two spouses which, outside the provision for conjugal loyalty, does not entail the loss of the contracting partners' freedom. Article 1387, paragraph 2, of the modified Greek Civil Code states that "conjugal life must not interfere with either spouse's professional, as well as social activities, and infringe upon his or her personal life." Evidence for the dissolution of marriage as one of the foundations of the patriarchal family can be found in article 1388 according to which "the legal surname of spouses does not change with marriage" (Androuleki-Demetriadou 1983: 132). From the legal point of view the spouses are two self-contained individuals because they do not sacrifice their right for self-determination in order to establish a conjugal relationship which can be dissolved by mutual agreement (article 1441). However, the partnership established by marriage between the spouses functions only in the

domestic sphere; there are no provisions in the law allowing one marriage partner to represent the other in public life.

As it is defined in the new family law, marriage has different economic consequences from those of the traditional "patriarchal" marriage of the 1940 Civil Code. Both the obligation of parents to dowry daughters and the duty assigned to men to provide for the family's upkeep are absent. Not only is dowry abolished, but both spouses are required to contribute--each according to his or her ability--to the family's economic and material needs (article 1389). In addition, the new law has made provisions for the return to women by self-right of those immovable dowry properties they had contributed up to the date it was passed by the Greek Parliament (January 1, 1983). By the same right women have also been entitled to claim any movable dowry property preserved as part of their husbands' holdings. However, the same legal stipulation has not applied to cases where dowries included money since only by mutual agreement between the spouses could such assets be returned to women. With the abolishment of dowry certain legal measures were taken in order to enable parents to provide a son or a daughter with economic assistance at marriage. Such assistance is described as a contribution towards the fulfillment of needs related to the establishment of a new household, the practicing of a profession or generally the pursuit of economic activities. Thus, the law provided for a tax reduction on parental contributions (ghonikes parohes) of property whose value does not exceed five million drachmas.

Regarding regulations governing property relations between the spouses, the 1983 family law has maintained the earlier stipulation (article 1397 of the 1940 Civil Code) of the inalienable right of ownership for each spouse. According to this right, any assets contributed by the wife and husband to the marriage remain their personal property. Intervention by the legislator is foreseen only when the need arises to provide proof of ownership of movable property (article 1398)

and in case of divorce, when a spouse exercises his or her legal claims to receive a portion of the wealth accumulated during the marriage (article 1400). Such a portion or share is defined as proportionate to the contribution made by the claimant spouse in increasing the other spouse's estate, with domestic family work and child rearing being considered part of the wife's contribution (Manesis 1983:28-29). Even though article 1400 reflects a concern of the legislator to protect the interests of the economically dependent spouse, it has a serious drawback which makes its stipulations ineffective. The conjugal relationship—charged, according to the legal definition, with sentimental value—does not allow for the use of measures such as accounting books and other means of evaluating property that would enable a spouse to safeguard his or her future claims to the other's estate. Therefore, in practice it is left up to the spouses to single out their holdings in more definite and assuring ways during the marriage.

As it is today defined and regulated by Greek law, marriage does not facilitate a woman's economic survival subsequent to its termination by divorce; only in a few exceptional cases does the law give women the legal entitlement to claim for alimony (article 1442). What has been preserved from the earlier legal system as a type of security is the woman's right to receive her dead husband's pension (Androulaki-Demetriadou 1983:133). With marriage having developed into a contractual conjugal agreement without important economic guarantees, women will have to seek security in paid work outside the home. Yet, despite the legal reforms and the fact that large numbers of females have joined the work force in the last twenty years, full sexual equality has not been achieved. Wage work has become for women an additional burden and in no way has it changed their responsibilities for domestic work and child rearing, the reason being that male and female roles have not changed. What the new family law has succeeded in doing is to acknowledge the equality (equal worth) of the roles of men and women, without

however altering them.

Finally, I shall present a brief account of the political circumstances which were the preconditions for the passing of the 1983 family law.⁶ Relevant is the position of the Pan-hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) government with regard to the central role of the state in the area of social welfare and to its conceptualization of the role of women in production. PASOK had been practically the only major political party since the fall of the military junta in 1974 to emphasize the importance of the "women question" and the need for the extension of laws in the area broadly designated as women's rights. The way in which the question of women has been inserted into the party's ideology—prior as well as subsequent to its coming to power—is posited on the necessity, following Engels, of bringing women into capitalist production. This is seen as contributing to their emancipation and also as necessary for the advance of the country. The party's leadership also saw a necessity to ally itself with the women—among other social groups such as the farmers—in order to undertake certain reforms. These reforms began with its election to power.

Women were given a central place for the role they could play in assisting the development of the new "socialist" society envisioned by the PASOK government, but their oppression was seen only (or mainly) in relation to the legal rights accorded to them as wives and mothers. Programs were included in the government's overall strategy for improving the conditions of women in the areas of health and old age insurance as well as child care. Yet, at the same time the issue of the women's position was not viewed in relation to the uneven development of economic relations and the lack of opportunities for women, especially in rural areas. There has also been little effort to develop an adequate understanding of the implications of the centrality of the family in social and economic life for the women's position.

The state's efforts to intervene in certain of those areas of

life that directly impinge on or relate to the family, the home and women (such as schools, maternity and child care) have not had any significant results. Overall, the government has been unable to remedy deficiencies, particularly in non-urban areas, in the provision of social services. This has meant that the family, and primarily the mother, continues to provide these necessities. Nor have provisions been made for the entry or re-entry of women to paid employment after their children start attending school. In the 1970s and 1980s Greek women in increasingly large numbers have sought employment outside the home because of inflation and the heightened demand for consumer goods which have led to the necessity for a second wage. The state's declared commitment to upgrade the position of women has not been channeled into efforts towards changing prevailing conceptualizations regarding marriage, the family and men's and women's roles. The male-female division of roles within the family is today upheld and positions and roles in general are allotted in terms of the family's culturally defined functions.

Marriage and Dowry in the Post-Tourism Kokkariote Society

I expected that in Kokkari the development of tourism and the changes associated with it in the structure of property ownership, labor patterns, occupational possibilities—especially for women and young people—as well as in the community's system of social stratification would have certain implications in terms of marriage and dowry. Also, I assessed that new influences reflected in consumption patterns, the patterns of interaction between young men and women and the life styles of Kokkariote men—including their sexual relationships with tourist women—would imply changes in the accumulation and valuation of dowry items, young peoples' behavior and interrelationships, marriage practices and the role of the family in contracting marriage arrangements. My field research focused on ascertaining the ways in which marriages are today contracted in the village, how villagers assess potential

spouses and how the youth's sexual behavior and values are affected. Regarding the dowry, I sought to examine the role of the family as its provider; the economic importance attached to dowry as well as its importance in terms of social mobility; the value and contents of the dowries young women receive or expect to be given; divergencies between expressed values and practices concerning the provision of dowry and the extent to which peoples' expectations and practices regarding marriage and dowry conform to the 1983 family law. In addition, to predict possible future trends, I attempted to assess whether families engage in long-term planning and employ strategies for the purpose of accumulating dowries or whether they look for alternatives to dowry.

Church records and family histories served as my guide in locating sixteen marriages which occurred during the period from 1976 until the time fieldwork was completed. Fourteen of these marriage cases involve Kokkariote women who remained in the village or elsewhere on the island after they were married. Of the remaining two cases, one concerns a local female whose marriage had led her to move to the city where her husband lived, while the other pertains to the wife—from a nearby village—of a local man. Since it had become officially known during the time of fieldwork that two more village women were engaged to be married, I decided to also make reference to their cases. Several changes and new trends concerning marriage and dowry in contemporary Kokkariote society are discerned from the eighteen cases examined (see Appendix C).

Although the family continues to play a part in the arrangement of marriages and in the choice of marriage partners, the number of independently contracted liaisons between young people is much greater today than in the past. Unlike the traditional situation where parents were involved in the initial stages of the marriage agreement, now the woman's family is consulted after a relationship is already established. Often young people decide to marry and then proceed to ask for their parents' approval or disapproval of the mate they have chosen. The

young man (or the father on his son's behalf) approaches the woman's parents and discusses marriage with them but he and the woman have already decided to marry. Even though objections may be raised by the parents, consent is usually granted if the relationship has reached this stage. In cases, however, where parents become aware that their daughter is "seeing" a young man they disapprove of, they may attempt to dissuade her from considering the possibility of marriage with him. Measures may be taken to convince the woman that the young man will not make a "good" husband, to subject her to strict supervision and even to make her interested in a prospective mate of their own choice.

The trend away from arranged marriages appears to be due to changes in the broader society which took effect in the village indirectly through tourism. It denotes not so much changes in moral values but in young peoples' behavior and interrelations and points to the adoption of urban national patterns instead of foreign ones. Increased transportation and communication, and especially exposure to mass media after the early 1970s—when television entered peoples' homes—have facilitated the importation of ideas and patterns from the city into the village. Tourism, in particular, has provided easier facility for the absorption of urban middle class cultural patterns and a corresponding modification of local values. Involvement in the tourist industry has meant new experiences for locals: signing contracts, acquiring licenses to operate enterprises, obtaining loans, dealing with public and private agencies, travelling to the city to make purchases and having cash to expend on leisure trips, luxuries and entertainment. Whereas in the past young village women were rarely allowed to travel to the island's capital unchaperoned, today no one questions their going alone by bus or taxi to Vathi for shopping purposes, to pay bills and to obtain services from public offices. Furthermore, young daughters are frequently the only family members with free time, particularly in the summer months, to carry out such activities.

Changes in Sexual Behavior Among Kokkari's Youth

Although references are made in the literature regarding the impact of tourism on social relations, behavior patterns and values (cf. Cohen 1971; Moore 1976; Johnson 1978; Boissevain and Inglott 1979; Huit 1979; Stott 1979), it is not clear at times whether the changes described arise from tourism or other broader societal developments. Existing studies have often neglected to examine in any detail the extent to which changes in behavior indicate changes in values and the factors determining the degree to which changes become adopted. At first appearance the observer in Kokkari is led to conclude that restrictions regarding the socializing of the sexes before marriage are relaxing. For example, in the summer young men and women are encountered mixing together in the local cafeterias or pubs, settings where secret liaisons may start. Such mixing, however, does not take place in open spaces in order not to give rise to gossip and sanctions. The fact that young women, when in the company of young men, tend to be accompanied by a male relative—a brother or cousin—or to be at least in a group with other females indicates that certain prescribed standards of behavior must be kept. It is commonly understood that a girl's reputation will suffer if she shows regular contempt for the rules set by elders.

Even though there is a great deal of discussion on the part of villagers about changing sexual mores, changes seem to be more superficial than fundamental, something which becomes quite evident when comparing summer and winter patterns of social life. In the winter there are few occasions for young people to socialize because pubs and cafeterias are not operated in the off-season (only local coffeehouses are kept open and these have been traditionally male domains). This, however, is not the primary reason why young people do not seek each other's company. Entertainment places for youth operate during the off-season in the town and it is theoretically possible for women to frequent them—particularly since a large number of the village's young men

own some means of transport—but this is not done for fear of gossip. As female informants commented, "besides the fact that there is nothing for a young woman to do or place to go in the winter to pass her time, any encounters with young men become inevitably known in the village." Even on those few occasions when dances are sponsored by the local women's associations, young women attend with their families and never alone and unchaperoned. The comparison of summer and winter life reveals that the change in sexual behavior observed during the summer and the seeming increase in freedom for young women are consequences of tourism.

Herman's argument (n.d.) that, during the summer, differences in freedom between young men and women disappear due to the chaos created by the large number of tourists and the impossibility of social control applies to the case of Kokkari. The influx of large numbers of tourists serves to obscure behavior on the part of local youth that would otherwise be sanctioned. Furthermore, tourism affects sexual behavior and day to day interaction by creating conditions under which social control cannot be exercised. These conditions relate to the pressures and rigid work schedule that characterize the nature of work in tourism. Since work is a way of life in the summer, it leaves little room for parental supervision and the enforcement of rules. Thus, tourism has allowed for a loosening on a temporary basis of the application of moral values. The tourist season may be seen as an intense, non-ordinary period of relaxation from the rules; it serves as an escape valve and ultimately helps to preserve the status quo. Another evidence that the rigidity in moral values is not essentially changing is the parents' reluctance to allow daughters to seek paid employment in hotels and various commercial establishments such as restaurants and coffeehouses (it is primarily married women who are employed in these endeavors). When paid work puts young women outside parental supervision and in contact with large numbers of tourists they meet with experiences from which

they would otherwise be protected. Since their moral reputation is more important in terms of marriage than any amount of personal savings they may contribute towards dowry, young women are generally encouraged to stay at home and work for the family.

In considering the impact of tourism on a host community and its culture it has been suggested (Greenwood 1972) that tourists may come to constitute for certain groups of the population models for emulation. It has been pointed out that tourism tends to affect the youth who seize upon the freer life style of foreign visitors to their country. Boissevain (1979), for example, finds tourism responsible for the emergence of the Maltese Don Juan, a term he applies to Maltese young men who tend to imitate the style and behavior of tourists. These men are described as aggressive towards unaccompanied female tourists who hold more permissive standards than Maltese girls and are willing to emancipate the local males from traditional Mediterranean sexual restrictions. This phenomenon is, in turn, viewed as leading to tensions between native men and women (Boissevain 1979:132-33). In Kokkeri, exposure to tourists and familiarity with their life styles and norms do not account for the changes observed in young women's behavior and in the way marriages are contracted. Young Kokkeriote females tend to emulate urban national models and fashions, rather than tourist behavior.

For approximately fifteen years villagers have been witnessing dress mores, social behavior and moral standards foreign to traditional life. According to peoples' comments, tourist behavior, as it pertains to public expressions of affection and nudity, tends to offend local moral values, causes embarrassment among family members and indicates disrespect for others. Nevertheless, such behavior is viewed as being outside the community system and is tolerated because tourists are seen as an economic resource. Where exposure to and association with tourists has had an impact is on the life styles and behavior of Kokkeri's young males. The latter tend to imitate the young off-beat and

explorer types of tourists (their modes of dress, style of entertainment and leisure activities); individuals from both groups are seen socializing together in pubs and cafes. The tourist group which is most important for local young men are young unattached females travelling often without a definite itinerary and looking for adventure. An element of change introduced by tourism is observed in the relationships formed between young village men and these tourist women.

As it is indicated in the literature, intimate relationships between Western European tourist women and local youths can be found in most Mediterranean resort areas. In the case of Kokkari such relationships tend to be transient, since tourists have a high turn-over rate, and maintained for purposes of sexual satisfaction. Nevertheless, there have been several examples of stable, long-term relationships, a few of which have led to marriage. Considering that access to women is not any easier today than in the past, tourist women provide an outlet from the sexual dilemma young Kokkariote men find themselves in. Furthermore, relationships with foreign women are highly valued because they endow the youth with status in their peer group; a reputation of success with such women is much sought after. The fact that there are a few other symbols by which young men can bolster their ego and exhibit their masculinity may account for this intense preoccupation, which often leads to infatuation with tourist women. In discussions, young village men emphasize their liaisons with tourist women and the lasting interest the latter demonstrate in them. They take pride, for example, in describing how tourist women invite them to visit their own countries, something which frequently takes place in the off-season.

Contacts with tourist women enable local youth to fulfill their wish to visit European countries. Provided with room and board by their tourist friends, Kokkariote males are in a position to enjoy the luxury of travelling abroad, something they would not have been able to afford under different circumstances. Furthermore, travelling provides them

with an alternative to the isolation of winter life in the village. However, what is particularly revealing in this situation is the fact that such visits serve to strengthen the young men's attachment to their native community instead of leading them to opt out of its social system. As is evinced by their explanations, witnessing the rigid work schedules as well as the anonymity and isolation of urban life in the European metropolises, they come to value life in the village more than they would have otherwise. Only one of the four village males married to foreign women has gone to live abroad; the remaining three have chosen to stay in the village. In addition, there are ten young men who live and work in the village during the tourist season, but spend the winter months in Europe with their tourist friends. None of these individuals expressed an interest in moving permanently away from the village.

The case of young Kokkariote males is very different from that of Arab men in the mixed Jewish-Arab community studied by Cohen (1971). Behind the Arab youth's relationships with tourist women lies the motive to move to a foreign country (something which did not materialize) in order to get away from fundamental problems such as highly irregular employment patterns and lack of possibilities for a satisfying career (1971:227-29). Tourist women, therefore, provide for Arab youth a potential vehicle (latent function) for opting out through emigration of the dominant Israeli social system. For Kokkari's youth, on the other hand, increased opportunities for wage employment and for profitable investments in the tourist industry (even though the latter entails dependence on the family for obtaining property and capital), as well as access to foreign women as sexual partners, provide a solution to the problems of their life situation which might otherwise have led them to seek a better life abroad. Subsequent to their visits to European countries, which tourist women facilitate, local men's ties with their native community are strengthened instead of being severed. Thus, in the case of Kokkari, tourist women serve as a

self-regulating mechanism, in that they contribute to prevent the social system from breaking down.

Regarding the images tourism creates and the ways in which it affects peoples' aspirations, it has been pointed out in the literature how local people often tend to project their desires for a better life onto visiting tourists. Tourism, however, does not project a true picture of a foreign culture but a distorted version of it. Concerning the incorporation of distorted foreign and metropolitan life styles by dependant regions, Schneider, Schneider and Hansen (1972:343) have stated that "... the American tourist in Spain is clearly not a model for the American middle-class way of life in Detroit ...". A similar statement can be made with regard to the Dutch or German tourist visiting Samos. For Kokkari's youth, young tourists represent—by their origin and life style—the emancipation in social relations as well as the freedom of movement and decision-making they dream of attaining. Exposure to Western culture (as used in the popular sense, the designation refers to music, dance, style of dress and types of entertainment), which through the mass media has been indirect and limited, today appears to be more concrete because of the presence of tourists. Nevertheless, this is only an illusion because the picture of Western culture that tourism presents is a distorted one. Aspects such as work and leisure activities, behavior patterns, as well as social relations and mobility are either not portrayed at all or shown in a very selective manner. An exception constitutes those cases where relationships with tourist women enable village men to visit European countries and obtain direct, first-hand knowledge of Western culture. Under these circumstances a true picture emerges of how tourists as natives in their own countries organize their lives and deal with problems arising from their life situations. In these cases tourism contributes to destroy the false image which in the first place it helps to create. The rejection by village males of the ideology of a

superior Western culture may be assessed as an indirect influence of tourism.

The case of Kokkari points out that tourism may not have a detrimental impact on values and prescribed rules. It suggests that changes in behavior may not indicate changes in values, but reflect instead new expressions of existing cultural principles. Although relationships between Kokkariote males and tourist women constitute a new practice, they do not denote a change in values regarding sexual morality. Thus, young men emphasize that they would expect absolute loyalty from their future wives, as they themselves would demonstrate a similar commitment towards them. Behind young men's sexual behavior lie latent cultural principles and values which find expression in the new tourist setting. Hirschon (1989:226) reports for an urban district near Pireaus that for men the period before marriage is carefree with few responsibilities; at this stage the pursuance by a young man of sexual relationships is expected and the more assertive aspects of masculinity are emphasized. Similarly, Kokkariote males have always been expected to go through a period of "wildness" before marriage and the assumption of family responsibilities. Therefore, preoccupation with sex and womanizing are not new phenomena in principle; what can be characterized as new are the means by which such existing tendencies become externalized today. A similar argument is made by Stott (1979:85) in her work on Mykonos. Provided that they do not interfere with one's commitment to work and familial obligations (for example, providing for or assisting elderly and sick parents), sexual relationships with tourist women are not deplored but viewed as part of a stage in young men's life cycle. In actual practice, interest and involvement in such relationships decrease as young males become preoccupied with occupational matters and work activities.

Because of their relationships with and attachment to tourist women—both in the high tourist season as well as in the off-season—

local males tend to neglect native women, something the latter criticize and complain about. By so doing, young village men lose desirability as potential marriage partners in the eyes of local females, who look among non-village males for prospective mates. This new trend accounts to some extent for the recent increase in the incidence of marriage between village women and non-Kokkariote men. Furthermore, as the parents of daughters and young women themselves explained, preoccupation with tourist women tends to occur at the expense of young men's commitment to an occupation. Villagers assess that a number of local males do not qualify as desirable grooms because they show lack of industry. However, young men's work activities, as well as their aspirations and choices regarding employment and ways of earning a living, reflect actual conditions and occupational shifts rather than changes in work attitudes and values.

Factors limiting young Kokkariote men's occupational choices include a lack of skills and education as well as the limited range of employment and income-earning possibilities outside the tourist industry. Opportunities for entering the university or attending a higher level vocational or technical school are limited because high academic standards are required to meet competition. The life situation of a large majority of young village men is such that upon finishing high school they can qualify for mostly unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Openings in the public service sector, which has traditionally absorbed individuals with a secondary education diploma, are today a rare phenomenon. Also industry, aside from the tourist one, is practically nonexistent on the island to provide year-round employment for village youth. As for agriculture, the uncertainties involved in land cultivation, the large labor input it requires, the fragmentation of landholdings and the increasingly diminishing returns from the sale of produce dissuade young males from agricultural work. Only the construction industry offers opportunities for regular employment because of the

building boom which tourism has stimulated.

The few young men who have in the past worked periodically as construction laborers are against pursuing this type of work activity as a means of earning a living in the future. Most of Kokkari's construction workers are married men who sought employment in the industry at a time when there were few income-earning alternatives available in the village. Today they are earning a higher wage because several years of experience and the learning of skills qualify them as skilled laborers. Nevertheless, their wages are not the only source of income for their households; the renting of rooms or their wives' earnings from paid work in tourism add considerably to household income. I should add that, besides individuals from low income groups—such as cultivators—there are several professional people, salaried employees and successful tradesmen whose households obtain income from tourism-related endeavors. Their cases point to the increasing involvement in tourism of individuals from all occupational and social groups. Such involvement takes place primarily through direct investments in the tourist industry and less commonly through wage employment.

Indicative of this trend is the fact that the majority of Kokkari's young men express an interest in ultimately establishing their own touristic enterprises. A similar interest is revealed by their work activities which tend to center around tourism. Village boys between the ages of 14 and 18 seek seasonal employment in the tourist industry—working as waiters at hotels and restaurants—to earn pocket money. Sons of families which operate businesses such as hotels, grocery stores, coffeehouses and various food outlets work for and with their families. Although they do not earn a wage, these males, if very young, are given spending money, while older ones receive a portion of the income earned (at times this is deposited in the son's savings account). Also, a few young men are employed during the tourist season by travel agencies, while several others operate outlets for the renting out of

motorbikes and bicycles. However, to be in a position to invest in their own enterprises, young men need access to productive resources and capital. There are families which have transferred property to sons prior to marriage in order to give them an opportunity to set up a business and earn income. These findings indicate that in contemporary Kokkariote society the family constitutes for young people the main provider of property and other valuable resources.

Tourism has no special effect on the village youth that it does not have on the rest of the community. Young men's work choices and future aspirations reflect the prevailing emphasis on achieving income mobility as well as the strategies village households employ in order to partake of the wealth generated by tourism. What hinders young men's marriageability and accounts for the villagers' negative evaluation of them is their preoccupation with tourist women. As a consequence of their spending an inordinate amount of time at cafes and pubs in the company of foreign women, and travelling abroad to visit them in the off-season, the youth's commitment to work activities inevitably suffers. The "looseness" reflected in the patterns and rhythm of young men's work is interpreted as laziness and lack of self-discipline. But the effect is not one of a fundamental change in values or even ultimately in behavior. Several cases of young men who have set up businesses or secured a civil service post and married local women suggest that ultimately Kokkariote males adopt what is considered by village standards a "respectable" life style and demonstrate self-reliance and industry. This shift usually occurs when they are in their mid- to late twenties, have completed their army service and—considering the responsibilities associated with marriage and their role as breadwinners—concentrate their energies on attaining a successful adaptation to the problems of economic life. Position in life cycle, therefore, is a major factor that must be considered in explaining young men's conduct and orientation to economic pursuits.

The Implications of Changing Economic Conditions for Marriage and Dowry

In the contemporary Kokkariote society the role of the family as the provider of dowry property and assets has not basically changed. What have changed instead are the economic conditions which have made it possible for husbands, along with their wives who frequently pursue income-earning activities, to supply basic subsistence without having to depend on resources contributed as dowry. Generally, in terms of making a living, dowry is not as essential today as it was in the past. Opportunities to earn income are more readily available and while the dowry is desirable—especially if it includes houses, building plots or capital—it has lost to a great extent its basic economic significance in terms of survival. Nevertheless, certain dowry properties such as houses allow families not only to save income by not having to pay high rents, but to achieve income mobility (through the renting of rooms) and enjoy a higher standard of living.

As was the case in the past, today the portion of the patrimony a woman receives at marriage very frequently includes a house. However, the change in the factors of production concerning the use of housing as a means of sharing in tourism's economic benefits has enhanced the desirability of houses as dowry items. Existing houses are in short supply because their owners tend to convert them into small pensions and earn high rents from several occupants during the tourist season; villagers consider this to be a more profitable venture than renting the entire house out to a local family on a long-term basis. As a consequence of this practice, house rents have been escalating faster than inflation, making housing costly. Houses and building plots available for purchase are also scarce and costly due to an increasing demand for such property by repatriates and local entrepreneurs seeking to establish a business or to invest in real estate. Furthermore, the increased cost of both labor and construction materials

prohibit young couples with access to a building site from erecting their own home. Thus, dowry and inheritance are the most effective ways of acquiring housing, since they are the least costly, whereas rental and purchase are ineffective means. One marriage case points out how a newly married couple with limited capital resources depended on the wife's parents for financial assistance in order to renovate their dwelling and accrue rental income from it. In several other cases the transfer of houses to women who subsequent to marriage moved away from the village or even the island provides additional evidence of the importance attached to housing in terms of dowry.

The change observed in Mykonos whereby young women take advantage of employment opportunities in the tourist industry to accrue their own dowries is not evident in Kokkari (Stott 1973:131). In only five of the eighteen cases of marriage examined have village women contributed their own earnings either in the form of savings or as dowry goods (domestic necessities). Of these cases, in turn, two involve women who have been married for a second time and in the interval between their first and second marriage earned income from seasonal employment in local hotels. In only one of the remaining three cases has a woman engaged in paid work in tourism and upon marriage invested her accumulated wages to help renovate the dowry house. The other two women have undertaken year-round work unrelated to tourism (one has been employed in a civil engineer's office while the other at a language tutorial school). Young females' limited participation in wage-earning activities suggests that their dependence on the family in order to acquire dowry has not lessened. Even when there is involvement on the part of local women in such activities, the family's role as dowry provider is not reduced. Village women who are able to bring into the marriage cash from their personal earnings do not receive less dowry than their counterparts who make no such contribution. To acquire real estate properties which are today valued as dowry, young females must rely on

their family. Unless these types of resources are transferred by the parents at marriage or by means of inheritance, Kokkariote women are unable to obtain them through purchase, even when employed and earning income.

Economic changes brought about by tourism have made it possible for families to accrue income and make investments for purposes of dowry which under different circumstances they would not have been able to afford. In one case, a local family which operates a coffeeshouse—because tourism made the enterprise a profitable business—has provided each of its two daughters with a house as dowry. There are also examples of how paid employment in the tourist industry allows women to add to savings accumulated for their daughters' dowry. I encountered cases where mothers employed as chambermaids at local hotels use their earnings to purchase dowry goods such as house furnishings. However, tourism has had an additional effect on the dowry as a result of certain developments it either introduced or helped to accelerate. With new consumption patterns, the influx of money and rising inflation, the value of the average dowry has increased. According to both estimates and actual accounts, an average sum of five hundred thousand drachmas is required to furnish a dowry house. This amount is equivalent to the annual income which a village family with a modest amount of land obtains from the sale of produce.

In the past, house furniture consisted of a bed, a wooden wardrobe, a table and some chairs, in addition to which a young woman was also given cooking and serving utensils. Today it is expected that a daughter be provided with a complete set of kitchen, living room and dining room furniture (custom dictates that bedroom furniture be purchased by the groom). The provision of the trousseau also entails a great expense for a young woman's family because most of its items are currently purchased whereas in the past they were made by women. Sheets, towels, pillow cases, floor coverings, blankets and tablecloths are no

longer woven at home but bought at shops and from itinerant merchants. Mothers begin early on, when their daughters are still very young, to set aside small amounts of cash in order to accumulate such items. Even though women crochet, knit and embroider trousseau articles, what they produce are primarily decorative rather than use items. These items are displayed by young women in their homes as examples of their own and their mothers' workmanship.

With increased access to cash, non-essential items have also come to be valued as dowry. This new trend is evinced by the incorporation in dowries of consumer goods, such as electrical appliances, and by a change in the form of gifts made at weddings. While in the past new couples received china, linen, cooking utensils and other related articles as gifts from relatives and invited guests to the wedding, today they are frequently given money. According to villagers' explanations, since it is taken for granted that a young woman would be provided by her parents with what are considered basic or essential items for her home, the giving of money allows a new couple to acquire possessions based on their own choice—what they consider desirable. The emphasis on consumer goods as dowry items and the new practice of making gifts of money to newly married couples reflect the greater cash flow as well as the increased importance attached to money. In contemporary Kokkariote economy people live by money and expend cash to meet family needs and fulfill social obligations.

The dowry comes into the consciousness of villagers not as an absolute requirement for marrying off daughters but as a means by which parents can make provisions for the betterment of a daughter's life after marriage. Thus, they derive a great satisfaction from having supplied a daughter with a well-furnished house, appliances and roukha that are substantial in terms of both quantity and quality. Among other things, such possessions account for a higher standard of living in contemporary Kokkariote society. Subsequent to her marriage,

parents continue to maintain an interest in, and make provisions for, a daughter's well-being. Land given as dowry is at times worked by the father who supplies his daughter's household with produce. Also, at times parents expend income to supplement the earnings of a son-in-law or to assist him in the construction or renovation of a house. This type of assistance cannot be viewed as a kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan, since reference to it is not part of the negotiations where the interested parties discuss the material contributions to the marriage (Friedl 1962:67). Furthermore, I encountered cases of parents assisting a son through various support measures after he had married. Of equal importance to the parents of either spouse is that they contribute to the welfare of their children's family. Supplied with produce, labor value and even cash, a new family is in a position to save current income and improve its economic position. In the past rigorous economic conditions and the dirth of available monies made it extremely difficult for parents to provide a married son or daughter with material goods or financial assets. A family could only count on relatives to assist in labor intensive activities such as in the grape and olive harvest; however, even on those occasions, assistance was secured through labor exchanges.

Increased access to cash has allowed villagers to plan for the future and make provisions for their children's well-being in ways they have not done so in the past. Parents and grandparents, for example, deposit money in bank accounts which are opened up in the names of children. It is stressed by people that "children's needs are today much greater than they were at their times." Expressed attitudes indicate that parents want to assure, insofar as they are able, that their children will enjoy a better life than they themselves had. Building up savings is a measure taken to meet the cost of educating a son or daughter, to accumulate dowry goods or to assist a son in establishing his own business in the future. Parents who have invested savings to

purchase property or build houses in order to earn current income expressed the intention to transfer such resources to children at marriage. That children's needs are perceived by villagers as greater today is related to increased opportunities for economic betterment, allowing for more possibilities of improving young peoples' life situation.

Today the value of dower property such as real estate cannot be estimated as the share of the inheritance to which a young woman is entitled; this is because large amounts of cash must be saved for the accumulation of the trousseau and other dowry goods. As a consequence, there is inflation in dowries which surpasses the current overall rate of inflation. In the literature, late age of marriage for women has frequently been attributed to dowry inflation. The fact that it takes longer to accumulate what is considered valuable for dowry—for example, cash and urban real estate—has been stressed in accounting for late marriages (Friedl 1962:66; Allen 1973:88-89). In Kokkari there is no evidence that dowry inflation has had an effect on the age of marriage of local women. As shown in an earlier chapter, a reduction in the frequency of late marriages for both men and women began in the 1960s and continued throughout the 1970s. I have also explained how the trend towards smaller families, out-migration, and the move away from agricultural occupations has had as a consequence an increase in earlier marriages for young people of both sexes. Despite this trend, however, until the mid-1970s dowry influenced to some extent the age of marriage for women. Thus, village women who received a meagre dowry tended to marry at an earlier age than those dowered with a modest amount of property.

Using data from the eighteen marriage cases and taking into account the way in which villagers evaluate dower properties today, I sought to distinguish dowries, on the basis of their content, into those that incorporate real estate and those lacking such a property component. According to this basic distinction, a meagre dowry consists of the trousseau and/or house furnishings. In addition to these items, what constitutes a modest dowry is a house (a parental one or a section

of it) or a building plot. As for a substantial dowry, it includes valuable real estate property such as a newly built house—part of which may be rented out—or an existing house as well as additional property which may be a building site or a city apartment. All three types of dowry may incorporate trees, vines or uncultivated fields. Such resources may augment the actual size of dowry, but do not increase its value significantly; they have lost their desirability since they no longer comprise important sources of income. The fact that informants, unless they were asked, did not mention fields and cultivated land as dowry components (even when such resources had been transferred to women at marriage) provides further evidence of the change in what is currently considered valuable dower property. As for money, I found that it is rarely given as a dower asset. Instead, cash is expended in order to accumulate the trousseau and to purchase house furnishings and appliances.

Despite the relatively small number of marriage cases examined, data point to a decrease in late marriages for women. Four, three and two women having respectively meagre, modest and substantial dowries had married between the ages of 15 and 20. Another seven women had married between the ages of 21 and 25; of these women two, three and two had provided meagre, modest and substantial dowries respectively. In two cases involving relatively late marriages (26 and over) the women had married for a second time. These figures indicate that dowry does not appear to have an effect on women's age of marriage. Inability to contribute valuable resources as dowry does not limit the possibilities of young females for marriage. Neither does access to such resources presuppose the delaying of a woman's marriage in order to find a desirable mate. Regardless of the economic position of their families, village women today marry in their late teens or early twenties.

Several factors account for the reduced frequency of late marriages for women. First, as a result of the wide participation of villagers in tourism and the increased access to cash, it takes less time

for families to accumulate dowry goods and even to build a house or renovate an existing one for purposes of dowry. Second, subsequent to marriage a couple can count on financial or other means of assistance from either spouse's parents. Third, the supply of males available for marriage has increased substantially since 1974 when, following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, a large number of troops were stationed on the island; these troops are comprised of young men from different parts of the country who, in the process of fulfilling their compulsory two-year term of military duty, are assigned to an army unit on Samos. Fourth, increased possibilities for employment as well as opportunities for entrepreneurial family investments, from which sons frequently benefit, have resulted in reducing the emphasis on dowry as a requirement for the establishment of a new household. Finally, the new occupational benefit women have experienced with tourism may be viewed as a type of compensation for the meagre dowry they may bring into the marriage.

Since social ranking is characterized by fluidity and relativity, marriages need not necessarily occur between families of similar socio-economic position. Nevertheless, even though the dowry is no longer as economically important as it once was, in some cases it influences the potential range of suitors, particularly with families which provide large dowries as a vehicle to improve a daughter's life style and enable her to enjoy a higher standard of living. A dowry that incorporates extensive real estate properties increases a young woman's possibilities for marrying a professional man, a man who operates a successful business or one holding a salaried post. But women with modest or even meagre dowries may also marry mates of a higher social rank. Generally speaking, there is no strong evidence that possession of certain types of dower properties influences marriage possibilities. Among the eighteen marriage cases examined there are two of young women with modest and substantial dowries who married construction workers; another three cases involve young females with meagre and modest dowries

whose conjugal partners are a professional man, an entrepreneur and a public servant. Since different strategies are available for villagers to improve their economic position, the potential exists for young couples with limited resources and access to cash to eventually engage in profitable productive activities and secure additional sources of income (through wage labor or, if they inherit property, by making investments in tourism). The fact that the role of the family in contracting marriage arrangements is today reduced and the choice of marriage partners rests more on young people than on their families is a further indication of the declining emphasis on marriage as a means of achieving upward mobility.

Young Peoples' Evaluation of Dowry and Marriage Possibilities

To obtain information on how young people evaluate dowry and to assess its importance in terms of marriage possibilities, I presented eight young men of marriage age with seven model cases, each of which describes a potential mate's dowry resources or assets (see Appendix D). In evaluating the types of dowries and by extension the marriage partners these hypothetical cases represent, all eight participants agreed that the most desirable spouse is the one with training or educational facilities which enable her to secure employment and earn a regular salary. Agreement was also expressed on the least desirable mate in terms of dowry, the one who brings into the marriage only agricultural land. Concerning the remaining cases, the young men's responses, even though varied, indicate a preference for spouses whose dowry consists of a rental or commercial outlet, as well as real estate property—particularly housing—that is located in the village and has the potential of yielding income. Urban real estate property, a highly valued resource in the past, was not evaluated by informants as especially desirable for dowry purposes. Also, five of the eight young men expressed apprehension about marrying a woman whose family gave her as dowry an already established enterprise; they felt that under such circumstances they may become

dependent laborers, as their father-in-law would most likely continue to exercise control over the management of the enterprise. In several cases a similar concern preoccupied parents because they claimed that marriage to a woman with substantial dower properties may force their son into a subordinate position vis-a-vis his in-laws.

In rating the listed types of marriage partners in terms of dowry, three young men marked only the most and least desirable mate, explaining that for the remaining five cases other criteria such as personal qualities, physical appearance and overall interests would determine their choices. The social and economic position of a woman's family was not considered a factor that would influence the young men's evaluation of and decision concerning a prospective mate. In addition, informants rejected the possibility of their decision being affected by village gossip about a young woman's moral reputation; from their point of view, blameless moral behavior is an essential requirement for a woman from the time she marries. The only precondition for marriage set by Kokkariote men was that the choice of spouse would rest exclusively on themselves instead of their parents. Young men's personal plans and future aspirations show that their priorities lie in securing regular employment or establishing their own business prior to making any commitments to marry. Regarding dowry, there is evidence that they would welcome it, provided it is given to their spouse to serve as a type of economic assistance and has no binding obligations attached to it.

To assess dowry from the viewpoint of young village women—its role in affecting marriage possibilities—I carried out a testing procedure presenting eight women of marriage age with a list of types of dowry as well as a list of potential mates with different occupations or resources (see Appendix E). In matching the items on both lists, all eight females agreed that by contributing a meagre dowry which consists only of agricultural land or even a somewhat larger one comprised of a house (as dwelling and not for rental purposes) and agricultural land,

a young woman can only hope to marry a farmer, a fisherman, a wage laborer or a tradesman. Four of the women included in this group of occupations of potential mates that of seaman. Agreement was also expressed that a woman with a salaried position, which is based on educational facilities, is likely to marry a professional man, a civil servant or generally a mate who engages in white collar work. Beyond these points of agreement, each of the remaining types of potential male spouses was matched with several types of dowry in a way that no common pattern can be discerned from the responses. The informants explained that they can only predict with some assurance marriage possibilities in cases where both of the prospective spouses come from families with limited resources or are men and women who have salaried positions, careers or practice various professions. All other cases have to be treated each as a separate one, taking into account additional information about the personal qualities of the individuals involved as well as the way the marriage is contracted.

All of the young women expressed the view that a "good" marriage is based on mutual respect and understanding between the spouses. Nevertheless, they also emphasized economic considerations in describing what they assessed as an appropriate choice of a potential mate. Regardless of their family's social and economic position, informants (including two university students) described as a desirable marriage partner one who either through self-employment or a relatively well-paid job is in a position, upon marriage, to earn sufficient income in order to meet the family's needs. When presented with the possibility of they themselves engaging in income-earning activities while married, the eight women indicated a willingness and desire to do so. However, they assigned the primary responsibility of providing for the family's living expenses to husbands and characterized their own potential contribution to the household's finances as supplementary economic assistance. Unlike the case of young men, arranged marriages are not rejected or

even opposed by young Kokkariote females provided, as they stated, that they are given the opportunity to get to know the proposed partner and the option to reject him if he is not to their liking.

Concerning dowry, the majority (six out of the eight) of the female participants in the matching test expressed their refusal to contract a marriage that is based primarily on considerations of property. They rejected the type of marriage agreement whereby a husband-to-be attempts to extort more than what parents are willing and able to give a daughter as dowry. Finally, it appears that discussions and meticulous planning take place within the home about the division and allocation of family property to children. This can be evinced from informants' accounts about the properties they, as well as their unmarried siblings, are to receive at marriage. Also, in young women's assessment, houses are the most essential component of dowry. In their estimate, obtaining a house in the village increases the possibilities that subsequent to marriage a woman would remain near her natal family and be able to count on its moral and material support.

Ideology vs. Practices Concerning Dowry

It can be discerned from the villagers' practices and ideology that dowry continues to play an important role in contemporary Kokkariote society, even though the new family law has provided for its abolition. In twenty village households with female children, parents expressed the view that it is expected of them to dower their daughters. This suggests that legal changes have not affected peoples' practices and expectations. The majority of the people questioned were aware of stipulations in the new family law pertaining to the abolition of dowry, but parents of daughters conveyed the belief that "the dowry is today both expected and needed." They added, however, that they are against dowry being a precondition or a prerequisite for contracting a marriage. In their view, if a family is in a position to supply a daughter with property or other assets upon marriage, it is obliged to do so. In

peoples' consciousness, such resources provide a newly married couple with the basic economic means to set up their household. A house along with its furnishings and the trousseau were named as the most needed components of dowry. Several older women who had received no dowry were not reluctant to express a bitterness, pointing out that—as their husbands also did not contribute resources to the marriage—both spouses had to struggle through hard work to achieve some economic security.

The practice whereby in the past parents often retained in their possession resources in order to induce children to look after them at a future time, is strongly criticized. Today parents feel obliged to transmit property to a son or daughter at marriage because they consider this to be the time when a young couple experiences the greatest need for economic assistance. This obligation can be realized because of changing conditions. There is evidence that the transference of property to children at marriage does not necessarily result in the loss for the parental household of its source of earnings. As the youth are turning away from agriculture, older people can secure an income that enables them to make a living by continuing to cultivate the land and sell its produce; when they reach retirement age, this income is supplemented by monthly payments from social security. Also, families with successful enterprises or those with multiple sources of income are in a position to make investments in real estate, to expand their businesses or to accumulate savings for the purpose of financing children's education, dowering a daughter or assisting a son to pursue his own economic endeavors. In fourteen of the twenty Kokkariote households examined, savings accounts are maintained in the names of daughters (the latter range from elementary school age to their early twenties) to which parents and grandparents regularly add money. In only two of these households do young women keep such accounts by depositing small amounts from their own earnings. Furthermore, in four of the fourteen households which have both a son and a daughter, bank accounts exist in the

names of both children. There is no evidence, therefore, that parents prefer or choose to build up savings for the future needs of daughters instead of sons. Nevertheless, in the long run, a greater amount of savings is allocated to a daughter's needs because substantial amounts of cash are spent over the years for the purchase of trousseau articles.

At first appearance there does not seem to be a contradiction between the legal stipulation which makes provisions for the transference of property to children, ghoniki parohi, and actual practices. Transferring property to sons at marriage is considered to be a parental duty equally important to that which pertains to daughters. Yet, primarily because of their conceptualization of male and female roles, people phrased their explanations by pointing to a "special" need for women to bring property or other assets to the marriage. Men continue today to be considered the breadwinners while women's paid work or unpaid contribution of family labor is seen as constituting a side-line activity because of their domestic responsibilities and the structure of employment opportunities for women. Since the dowry can comprise a source of earnings or make it possible for a household to save income, it is seen as a means by which women supplement in an indirect manner their husbands' earnings.

From the point of view of parents, education is not considered an alternative or substitute for dowry. They explained that education lessens the need for dowry by enabling a young woman to obtain a diploma and secure a salaried position. In this sense, education is perceived as a component of dowry—a type of investment that provides a daughter with security in the future. It is also viewed as having the quality of enabling women to achieve independence, since it makes it possible for them to earn income. One family revealed that since financing a daughter's education is a significant investment, if only one of its two daughters earns a university degree the other one will receive a larger dowry. Its oldest daughter is attending the university and rental

income is being allocated to cover her expenses of living and studying in the city. Nevertheless, both daughters are to be provided with houses. In another case, a young woman—the family's only child—is studying at a university in the Soviet Union. The parents, both of whom are wage earners, give priority to the daughter's education but without neglecting what they regard as their duty to provide her with some type of economic assistance at marriage. Presently a second level is being added to the family's dwelling, in order to be rented out and later given to the daughter as dowry. But both parents agree that they would be willing to stop the construction project if the need arises to save income and finance the daughter's studies.

In another case a family with substantial real estate properties has financed its oldest daughter's university education and has expended a significant amount of savings to set up a dental practice for her at Vathi. Currently the same family is providing for a younger daughter's post-secondary education (she is enrolled at an advanced foreign language institute in Athens) and is prepared to assist its youngest daughter who is completing high school and who plans to attend the university. The family's only son (and the oldest child) has also obtained a university diploma and, taking advantage of the opportunity offered to him to live with a tourist friend abroad, sought to pursue graduate work at a German university. According to the parents, a diploma from a higher educational institution serves as the most valuable dowry they can provide their daughters with. In their estimate, the dowry which is to be given to each daughter at marriage—a house along with its furnishings and the trousseau—qualifies as a type of parental assistance of secondary importance. Particularly revealing is the mother's statement that "unlike property which may lose its value, a diploma remains invaluable regardless of what may happen in the future."

Concerning formal education, villagers understand that

professional and career outlets are to a large extent a function of the level and quality of education received. However, although highly valued, a degree from a higher educational institution is beyond the reach of most of Kokkari's youths because of the extreme difficulty involved in passing the state's entrance examinations to universities. Considering that only one third of the examinees from all over the country are admitted each year, one's chances of success are from the start limited. Extensive studying, supplemented with private lessons during the lykeio years, frequently prove to be fruitless efforts. On the other hand, the cost of financing preparatory lessons and providing for children's room and board in the city is not a factor that precludes village youths from receiving post-secondary education. During the second half of the 1970s several village youths of families with meagre resources had obtained a higher education degree. Increased employment opportunities allowed these families to earn income in order to finance a son's or daughter's education.

During the decade of the 1970s the majority of Kokkariote boys and girls started the gymnasio upon finishing elementary school. However, approximately half of those youths failed to complete the gymnasio and/or lykeio course because they either lacked the required self-discipline or talent. Entering into amorous relationships or marrying are also given as reasons for which girls interrupted their studies. Generally, it is more common for girls than for boys not to carry their secondary education studies to completion. This is perhaps due to the pressure exerted on sons by parents who stress the importance, in terms of employment opportunities, of having a post-elementary school diploma. Such pressure is not as strongly exerted on daughters because, as parents comment, a young woman's purpose is to ultimately marry in order to secure her future (have someone to support her). From the villagers' point of view, secondary education is not as valuable for a woman, unless it leads to a career—which presupposes higher education

studies—because it is not likely that it would be utilized to yield economic returns. Nevertheless, peoples' evaluations are based on their assessment of the prevailing economic conditions and available opportunities. Although managing the home is stressed as a woman's primary responsibility, it is not so much this potential duty that prevents young village females with a lykeio diploma from having a job, but a real lack of opportunities. In contrast, there are more work possibilities for young men with an equivalent educational background because they have the opportunity to acquire a basic (even though limited) technical or vocational training.

Family and life histories have yielded information on the educational background of thirty-one and thirty-four village women and men respectively. These individuals were of age to have started or had actually begun post-elementary school education during the period covered by the school years 1967-8 and 1977-8. Since secondary education involves a six year course of study, it was possible to obtain information on whether the young men and women who entered the gymnasio in 1977 went on to obtain education at a higher level. The following analysis illuminates certain points concerning the level and quality of education the thirty-one Kokkariote women received. Technical

TABLE 20

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THIRTY-ONE VILLAGE WOMEN

<u>No. of Women</u>	<u>Level and Quality of Education</u>
6	did not continue schooling beyond the sixth-grade elementary school in the village
12	completed only a partial course of secondary education. Two of these women had interrupted their studies when they emigrated with their families abroad.

TABLE 20 — Continued

<u>No. of Women</u>	<u>Level and Quality of Education</u>
1	after having repatriated to the village with her family, obtained her American high school diploma by taking correspondence courses.
1	enrolled, upon finishing the <u>gymnasio</u> , in the island's technical school and obtained basic training in designing work (she is currently employed in a civil engineer's office in Vathi).
11	completed the six year course of secondary education.
6	(of the above 11 women) went on to earn a degree from a higher educational institution.
2	finished the university and are today practicing their professions: one teaches at an Athens high school while the other, trained as a dentist, has recently opened up her own practice in Vathi.
2	are presently attending university (one in Thessaloniki and the other in the Soviet Union).
1	is currently enrolled in a school for foreign languages in Athens.
1	is studying at a state institution for technical careers to be trained as a microbiologist's assistant. (An additional young woman had obtained a certificate in English proficiency, which has enabled her to find employment at a local tourist office).

education is extremely limited at the secondary level, and more so for girls than for boys. The lack of this type of education explains in

part why approximately half of the total number of village girls who began attending the gymnasio during the period indicated above did not complete the six year course of study. As for civil service posts and clerical positions in the service industry, where secondary education facilities are required, they have been relatively few and could be secured only through appropriate connections. Despite the growth of the tourist industry, the number of vacancies in the tertiary sector has remained disproportionately low in comparison to the demand.

Parents express a concern that their daughters are not or will not be able to succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications. None of the five young females with a lykeio diploma and no advanced professional education has been able to secure year-round paid work in the village or elsewhere on the island. Employment opportunities are available locally only on a seasonal basis. Thus, of the five young women, one has been employed as a chambermaid at a hotel while another has worked for a brief period of time at a tourist shop. It is apparent that only higher education can provide professional and career outlets for Kokkariote women choosing to remain on the island. Data point to a relatively high ratio of village women acquiring advanced education, as a percentage of the total number of females who obtain a lykeio diploma. In view of people's aspirations, one can assume that this ratio would have been much higher if it were not for the structural difficulties involved in gaining access to Greek universities. Parent's attitudes reflect an understanding that a profession or career is the best investment for a daughter's future. Even though such an investment is not perceived as a substitute for dowry, it is nevertheless evaluated as the most important component of dowry and the best guarantee for a woman's future security.

For comparative purposes, I examined thirty-four cases involving Kokkariote men who had finished the village elementary school during the period 1967-8 to 1977-8. A detailed look at the educational

background of these individuals illustrates certain aspects of and tendencies that are characteristic of the orientation of education of village males. It also points out disparities between young men's aspirations and actual choices regarding education and occupational possibilities. Information obtained from work histories reveals that

TABLE 21
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THIRTY-FOUR VILLAGE MALES

<u>No. of Men</u>	<u>Level and Quality of Education</u>
7	did not continue with <u>gymnasio</u> after finishing elementary school.
4	(of the above seven young men) chose, instead of formal education, to be trained in a certain craft or trade:
1	attended a technical school in Athens and acquired skills in the making of ceramics; currently he plans to open his own workshop in the village and produce ceramic souvenirs for sale to tourists.
1	learned the trade of carpentry from his father and works as his partner (in the future the family's workshop would be transferred to him).
1	worked with a plumber and learned from him the skills of the trade.
1	worked with a local tradesman and was taught the skills of installing tiles.
4	proceeded directly from elementary to technical school, without attending the <u>gymnasio</u> ,

TABLE 21--Continued

<u>No. of Men</u>	<u>Level and Quality of Education</u>
	and completed a three year basic training course.
5	completed only part of the full six year course of classical secondary education (four finished the <u>gymnasio</u> while the fifth one attended one year of the <u>lykeio</u>).
4	chose after the <u>gymnasio</u> to continue their studies at the island's technical school, where they received basic training in mechanical and electrical work.
1	went beyond the <u>gymnasio</u> to complete a training course at a technical school in Athens, and acquired the skills of a mechanic of refrigerating and cooling apparatuses.
13	completed both the <u>gymnasio</u> and <u>lykeio</u> .
8	(of the above 13 young men) chose to continue their studies beyond the <u>lykeio</u> .
1	studied at a private college but only for two years and hence did not obtain a professional degree.
1	is currently attending a school for technical careers outside the island.
2	finished a course of study at a merchant marine academy and are employed as second and third level engineers aboard ships.
2	were trained as primary school teachers—one is presently teaching at the school of a nearby village, while the other is serving his military term in the army.

TABLE 21--Continued

<u>No. of Men</u>	<u>Level and Quality of Education</u>
2	obtained university degrees in secondary education—one is giving private lessons, since he has not yet been assigned a post, while the other is doing graduate work at a German university.

Kokkariote males with a lykeio diploma have more possibilities for employment than those who do not complete secondary education. There are also more occupational outlets for these young men than for their female counterparts. The five of the thirty-four men who did not continue their education at the post-secondary level had either failed to succeed in passing the entrance examinations to a higher educational institution or had been forced by family circumstances to abandon their plans for advanced studies. However, having had six years of post-elementary schooling, these five males have been able to secure clerical positions in the tertiary and public service sectors. Two of them have found permanent work at the local electrical power-generating plant; one has taken over the position of secretary to the office of the village wine cooperative; another has been hired as a lower clerk at the island's law courts, while the fifth—having worked for a few years at a tourist office—has opened up a pub in the village which he runs with a younger brother.

Technical and vocational education at the secondary level appears to be insufficient in providing young men with access to trades and industries. Serious drawbacks of this type of education are the limited range and low level of its training and vocational programs. The majority of village males who had attended the island's technical school are engaged in work that is unrelated to the skills they have acquired. Furthermore, a large number of them have not pursued their studies far enough to obtain a degree from this particular school or

from a more advanced one outside the island. Only three have followed occupations commensurate with their training qualifications, two working as electricians and the third as a mechanic. The others have taken over or assist in running the family enterprise (which in most cases is related to tourism), have started their own business or have found employment in the construction industry.

The marked orientation of Kokkariote males towards technical or vocational education reflects a pronounced emphasis on the part of parents to have their sons obtain as much education as possible beyond that offered by elementary school and the gymnasio. This is because it is commonly understood that the level of education influences one's occupational possibilities. Also, villagers tend to view vocational and technical education as a safety measure which at a time of need can enhance a young man's employability and enable him to obtain paid work. This rationale explains why sons who do not show promise in academic subjects are pressured by parents to attend the island's technical school. Yet, a large number of young village men are reluctant to study technology or trades to the extent required in order to put their learning into practice and earn a living. Instead, they show a preference for tourism-related employment and particularly an interest in running the family's or their own touristic enterprise.

Education, at least of the secondary level, theoretically allows one to obtain a position as an employee, ipallilos, in either private concerns or in the public sector and earn a monthly income. Parents' emphasis on education of this level (as a minimum goal) ties in with the desire for security—implied by jobs paid on a monthly basis—which is rooted in past concerns and efforts associated with the problems of livelihood. Jobs that come under the category of ipallilos cover a wide range of activities, but those highly valued belong to the occupational category of white-collar office worker. Such jobs imply security, prestige and regular earnings and are well regarded,

particularly by parents and young women who see them as an acceptable occupation for a prospective son-in-law or husband. In other words, the type of work done indicates both social ranking and ability to support one's family adequately. I have also pointed out that parents urge their sons to obtain technical education which supplies one with skills to practice various trades. This tendency denotes a preference for self-employment, as a condition that allows one to attain independence. As for young men, it appears that they do not attach as much importance to long-term security as they do to economic pursuits with high income returns, even though such pursuits often entail some risk-taking. Perhaps what accounts for this divergence in young men's orientation is the fact that they themselves have not been subject to precarious economic conditions. On the other hand, self-employment is a commonly sought goal by young village males, something which makes sense in light of values entrenched in the notion of independence and personal integrity. This brief account shows how material conditions make it possible for certain values to surface again or to continue to operate, while others prove less resilient in the context of new economic developments.

Marriage and Dowry: Continuity and Change

Several conclusions can be drawn from the preceding analysis of marriage and dowry in pre- and post-tourism Kokkari. There is strong evidence that national definitions and regulations stated in the 1983 family law vary significantly from peoples' views and strategies concerning marriage and dowry. While in the new family law, marriage is defined as based on a contractual conjugal agreement without economic guarantees, according to the villagers' assessment marriage provides for a woman's future security and well-being. Also, dowry continues to be important in actual practices, even though it has been legally abolished. The growth of tourism in Kokkari has not had the effect of weakening the institution of dowry. However, because of changing

economic conditions, dowry has lost the importance it had in the past in terms of marriage practices, women's age of marriage, as well as status and social mobility. The basic difference from the past is that dowry is no longer a requirement for marriage, but is viewed as an investment towards a young woman's and her family's future. For the same reason, education is conceived as an important component of dowry in that it provides a guarantee for women's future security.

With marriage being centered on economic considerations, occupational possibilities limited—especially outside the tourist industry—and access to advanced education restricted, young Kokkariote men and women must today depend on their families for economic assistance at marriage. Because of such dependence, parents continue to influence to a certain extent children's decisions about marriage and the pursuance of economic activities. Although, in comparison to the past, young people today have a much greater say about decisions concerning the choice of marriage partners, this does not imply a change in moral values. Behind the trend away from arranged marriages are certain developments which tourism has facilitated or helped to accelerate: the expansion of transport and communication facilities, changes in local peoples' rhythm of life and work as well as in young peoples' interrelations, increased opportunities for the youth to meet and socialize, and the adoption of certain urban national patterns. The fact that the role of the family in contracting marriage arrangements is reduced is also an indication of the declining emphasis on marriage as a means of achieving upward mobility. Possession of certain types of properties does not greatly influence marriage possibilities and marriages need not necessarily occur between families of similar socio-economic position.

Houses as Dowry and Residence Patterns: Their Implications for Women's Position

In the context of Kokkari's touristic development, property and the expansion of income-earning opportunities illuminate certain trends

behind residence arrangements which are relevant for assessing the inter-connection of marriage, dowry and women's position. Prior to the advent of tourism, availability of work and living space (where both spouses came from and resided in Kokkari) influenced residence patterns. In those few cases where marriage partners came from other villages, it was basically the location and amount of land brought into the marriage by each spouse that determined residence. Marriages that involved non-Samiote partners who established residence in the village were of rare occurrence. In fact, because of out-migration, in cases of such marriages it was Kokkariote spouses who settled outside the island. Today, due to tourism-induced economic changes, property (especially housing as a component of dowry) is one of the main factors that affords new couples, and particularly village brides, different options concerning post-marital residence.

By contributing such property women who marry non-Kokkariote men have more possibilities for remaining in the village. Housing that can be utilized for rental purposes is certainly an enticement for young couples to settle in the village. Even if a dower house is to serve only as a dwelling, increased income-earning opportunities tend to facilitate village residence in most of those cases where the husbands are not from the village. There is evidence that the number of marriages involving a non-local spouse—who is more commonly the husband—has been increasing perceptibly in the last several years. That husbands in these cases establish residence in their wives' village means that the women can count on living near their consanguineal relatives to whom they can turn to for assistance with domestic and extra-domestic activities. Since many of the tasks involved in the provision of services for tourists fall in the category of "women's work," cooperation between women and their close female kin can prove valuable in running family-owned touristic enterprises. It is also not uncommon for women participating in the tourist industry to rely on their mothers and sisters for

help with domestic activities and responsibilities such as housekeeping and child care.

In Kokkari today, as in the past, in the majority of residence cases both spouses are from the village. Thus, applying the Casselberry and Valavanis terminology (1976), most marriages result in natovicinal residence. These authors use Carrasco's system (1963) in dealing with residence in terms of two levels of analysis, that of the village (vicinal) and that of the house or household (domestic).⁷ The recent trend whereby non-local husbands tend more often to settle in Kokkari (than village brides to move with their non-Kokkariote husbands outside the village or the island) suggests a residence situation which according to Casselberry and Valavanis (1976) may be described as matrivicinal. This newly emerging pattern indicates that in the future village residents may become more matrilocal with respect to the village. Furthermore, a trend can be discerned towards matridomestic residence which is to a large extent facilitated by the types of investments and strategies villagers pursue in order to accrue rental income and provide for daughters' dowries. Common ways of investing in real estate involve expanding existing houses horizontally or vertically or building new units in lots adjacent or near one's dwelling. These "extra" housing structures are frequently transferred to daughters as dowry. A pattern can therefore be seen whereby newly married couples reside in dwellings that are attached, contiguous to or near the house of the wife's parents. This means that with respect to the dwelling or the neighborhood, villagers are becoming more oriented towards the kinsmen of the bride.

There is certainly a direct association between matridomestic residence and the practice of the bride's family being responsible for the dowry house. However, the practice alone does not produce this particular residence pattern. I encountered cases where women have not been given houses as dowry and the couples have rented dwellings near those of the wives' parents. In three such cases the husbands came from other

villages and also work outside Kokkari. By taking into account theories that seek to explain matrilocal residence and relating them to the case of Kokkari, certain factors can be discerned behind the trend towards matridomestic residence. Gough (1961:556) states that matrilocality may be characteristic of societies where women's work is done in or near the home, while men's pursuits take them away from home. According to Vatuk (1971:287-88), the lack of need for economic cooperation between fathers and sons or brothers in a joint enterprise allows for the expression of solidarity of mothers and daughters and of sisters. This solidarity often translates into "matrilocal" residence.

Both of these explanations are of relevance in the case of Kokkari. There is no evidence in the village that husbands tend to work with their kin. Because of the practice of transferring resources to children at marriage, most husbands administer property (either their own or their spouse's) that yields income. Periodically men may work together in land cultivation—especially in situations where the father maintains the land which has been or will be given to a son or daughter—but it is just as likely for these men to be related through marriage as through kinship. Furthermore, for sons or sons-in-law who pursue non-agricultural occupations (for example, in the construction industry), such cooperation is not essential for earning a living for their families. As for tourism-related work, men who run various types of businesses rely primarily on their spouses and children for labor assistance.

There is also a distinct division of labor and the worlds of male and female continue to be separate spatially. For example, even though there are exceptions, when spouses cooperate in running the family's touristic enterprise men usually carry out tasks that entail spending time away from the place of their business. On the other hand, women tend to remain in or near the home, since it is common for touristic enterprises to be part or an extension of family dwellings. In addition, women are responsible for activities—such as the daily upkeep of rooms—

that take place within the premises of the business. Overall, men do not spend a great deal of time with their wives and it is therefore convenient for women to reside spatially close to their mothers and daughters or sisters. This pattern allows for close interaction and assistance between women and female members of their natal family. It has been stated in the literature (Dubisch 1974; Petronoti 1981) that the prestige and wealth of the woman's village as well as the fact that she resides in close physical proximity with female relatives are some of the variables affecting women's power and status. Hence, the trend towards matrivicinal and matridomestic residence in Kokkari may signal a strengthening of women's position in the household.

NOTES

1. Villagers placed equal emphasis on a woman being a good housewife and mother as on her being a good household manager. The term nikokira or kali nikokira was not used only when villagers wished to praise a woman for her skills in domestic work tasks. It was also applied to extol a woman's ability to fulfill her economic responsibilities. Not being wasteful in handling the household's finances and making provisions to meet the necessary expenditures of the household as well as saving income for future needs, were pointed out as attributes which a kali nikokira possessed. I agree, therefore, with Salamone and Stanton (1986: 103) that the nikokira concept is an economic one because it suggests household management. It is closely tied with cultural values and expectations associated with the household as a family-based economic enterprise.

2. In the early 1970s the six year secondary course of study known until then as the gymnasio was re-classified as the gymnasio and lykeio for the first and last three years respectively.

3. A serious problem in census taking is that of one person, usually the head of the household, answering questions for the entire domestic family unit. When this happens the survey fails to furnish accurate information on the economic activities of households and the participation in such activities of their members. For example, unless employed outside the home for a regular wage, females are grouped under the category of "non-working women" or "housewives."

4. During the 1951-71 period women's participation in industry and manufacture rose only by 20 percent, while in commercial enterprises and restaurants it increased by 271 percent, in transport and communications by 282 percent, and in insurance and banking by 293 percent (Filias 1983:329-30).

5. Regarding the relationship of female to male employment in the industry, the ratio has changed from 1 to 4 in 1958, from 1 to 3 in 1963 and from 1 to 2 in 1970 (Filias 1983:332).

6. For a discussion of how feminist issues—in this case, divorce and abortion—came to assume political importance in Italy in the 1970s see Caldwell (1978). The author gives an account of the social and historical circumstances which were the preconditions for these issues attaining political priority. She also comments on

the position of the state with regard to conceptualization of sexuality, women and the family.

7. Casselberry and Velavanis (1976) follow Bender (1971) in treating the household as the smallest residential referent unit. Bender (1971:223) argues that a household may also consist of two or more contiguous dwellings; co-residence is not only restricted to members living in a single dwelling.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY KOKKARIOTE SOCIETY: THEIR ROLES, STRATEGIES AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTION

Developments Affecting Economic Behavior in Kokkari in Historical Perspective

An appreciation of economic behavior in Kokkari, and particularly of the activities and strategies women pursue, requires the elucidation of areas pertaining to the applicability of certain ideals (that is, the degree of adherence to standards dictated by social norms); economic conditions and access to opportunities; and the implications, in terms of attitudes and values, of outside influences. I begin my analysis with the premise that individuals engage in certain practices, implement strategies and allocate time and energy with reference to a set of goals—in order to achieve certain ends. Furthermore, they have an awareness of the limitations which make some behavior intended to accomplish these ends rewarding, and some not. Finally, whether certain activities and strategies are pursued or not depends on the outcome of earlier behavior or on the availability of "models" for emulation.

An assessment, through a historical perspective, of various post-World War II developments at the local and national level is crucial for understanding the reasons behind the entrance of Kokkariote women into the tourist industry. Two phases can be distinguished in the post-war period that are relevant in terms of examining the issue of women and work. The first phase includes the 1960s and 1970s period and is characterized by developments that encouraged the removal of women from the labor force, while the second phase of the 1980s involves women taking on work in tourism. What distinguishes the first phase is changes linked to demographic shifts—resulting mainly from

out-migration—the decline of agriculture and the increased orientation to wage-earning activities, state expansion and a rise in peoples' standard of living. It is a phase of transition denoting overall the decline of land-based status systems and the urbanization of rural areas. In the case of Kokkari, the above changes contributed to giving emphasis to the "domestication" of women as one of the national petty bourgeois criteria for measuring status. However, the withdrawal of women from the labor force was temporary because in the 1980s new forces came into play.

In Kokkari, the growth of tourism and expanding income-earning opportunities, along with the decreased dependence on agriculture, have caused profound changes in relative standards of living and contributed to a breakdown of the old social structure. The basis of the village's socio-economic system has been altered and differences in control of critical resources and labor have been greatly reduced. Many of those households which in the past could not live solely from the proceeds of their land and had only their labor to sell for a daily wage, today have assets and skills to draw income from a combination of small businesses, trade, as well as employment possibilities in the tourist industry. The increased emphasis on having more disposable income and achieving a higher standard of living is an important factor underlying the linkage between externally generated influences and values and local responses to changing economic conditions.

The reasons for women's entrance in the 1980s into the labor force of tourism are partly economic: more opportunities are available for them to pursue activities that earn relatively high incomes. Equally important is the fact that village women take on jobs associated with modernity and urbanity; there is less stigma attached to working in the tourist industry than doing agricultural labor. New status symbols and consumption patterns reflect national petty-bourgeois standards and villagers express a definite understanding that the involvement of

women in tourism enhances a household's ability to participate in social as well as economic consumption. Thus, the same processes associated with the urbanization of the countryside and the hegemony of the national petty bourgeoisie as the standard-bearer of respectability account for the articulation in the two phases of women's work and the status system. However, a key intervening variable in the 1980s is the economic changes caused by the growth of tourism. The absorption, through tourism, of the local economic system into the national and international economy has been instrumental in bringing about the changes indicated above, but responses to the new economic variables are largely determined by the influence of national urban middle class values.

In the pre-tourism Kokkariote society, status and moral codes were much more relevant than they are today. A family's prestige related to its economic position (structural dimension of social evaluation) and the moral behavior of its women (individual dimension). Women, through violation of moral codes, could destroy their family's reputation, whereas men could destroy its material base through laziness and carelessness. Until the 1960s, most of the criteria used for inclusion in the high status group, which was described as oi kales oikoghenies (the good families) or oi plousioi (the rich), were substantial landed property, capital resources and education. However, members of the high status group were often referred to as having committed moral transgressions, such as cheating poor villagers and foreclosing unfairly on mortgaged property. At the same time, an individual of low social status who was industrious, temperate and a good provider for his family (key among the values governing social evaluation for men) was described as a "good person" in terms of personal qualities. These assessments are based on the personal level rather than on the level of social categories.¹

Information about social evaluation and villagers' designations of the past suggest that women were chaperoned in their interaction

with unrelated men. This meant that it was not possible for them to be employed outside the domestic or family groups without risking serious damage to their own and their family's reputation. Consequently, most village females remained close to home and family and were extremely limited in their economic and other involvements outside the domestic domain. It is true that women of the lower stratum worked as housemaids, field hands and wage laborers in the tobacco processing industry but, generally, they were not characterized as having a low reputation. To a certain extent this is because domestic service as well as the other employment possibilities available for local females either did not entail their coming into contact with men or allowed for women's behavior to be subject to scrutiny and for social sanctions to be applied. For example, as domestic servants women came under the custody of their female employers, while as field hands and tobacco factory workers they worked principally with other women. More importantly, for women of poor households, involvement in occupations and work activities which fell outside the sphere of family supervision was less determined by social norms than by economic need and family responsibilities. The fact that these women sought employment in order to accumulate their dowries and assist their families economically, fostered to a large degree acceptance of what constituted a deviation from the norms of prescribed female conduct.

From the mid-1960s until the late 1970s Kokkariote women who had formerly been involved in wage-earning activities tended either to disengage themselves from or not to take advantage of existing possibilities for paid work. Lack of opportunities for female employment cannot fully account for this pattern. First, even though the decline in agriculture was accompanied by a drop in the demand for field hands, agricultural wage work had continued to be periodically or seasonally available, and this because out-migration had reduced the village's workforce. Second, from the early 1970s the employment structure

created with the development of tourism had begun to provide jobs for local females. However, data point to a delay in women's entry into the new industry, since Kokkariote women were not drawn into it until the late 1970s and early 1980s. The argument presented by informants that the role of wife and mother conflicted with wage work, although reflecting certain real difficulties, is not supported by actual facts. Today, while the traditional sexual division of labor with regard to household duties continues to prevail and men's input to household labor to remain minimal, women enter into the labor market in increasingly large numbers. More importantly, not only has women's labor force participation increased in the last several years, but the most significant rise has been in working mothers. For these diachronic changes to be analyzed, they must be viewed in conjunction with economic changes, material relations, outside influences and the system of community values—factors which have historically affected Kokkariotes' behavior, choices and strategies.

The decade of the sixties was one of transition for Samos' population, as it was for rural populations in other regions of Greece. By the mid-1960s prospects were not as bleak in Kokkari as they had been in the early post-World War II years, and this despite the fact that agriculture was in decline and non-agricultural forms of property did not provide income. In terms of its social and economic implications, landed property ownership was no longer as important as it had been in the past. Increased contact with the world beyond the village, integration of the latter into the national culture and society, as well as values related to education, hard work and particularly manual labor, had come to influence social and economic action in Kokkari. First, emigration and urban migration had relieved pressures in the community by removing a portion of those in need of employment and by reducing the demand on local resources.² Second, from the mid-1960s on, changing economic opportunities had begun to open the way for the development of

new occupational categories and labor patterns. The construction industry and its various related trades had begun to grow, opening up jobs for many village men who had formerly relied mainly on agricultural wage labor to earn a living for their families. A gas as well as an electric public utility plant, established outside the village in the late sixties and early seventies respectively, provided an additional source of employment (although a less important one in terms of its labor absorption capacity).

As a consequence of these changes in the employment structure, several small landowners had started to become part-time cultivators, as they concentrated more effectively on earning income from the new non-agricultural activities, while many agricultural laborers were being attracted towards construction and trade work. The combination of wage work in agriculture and the construction industry meant that members of the lower stratum could count on having regular employment and on being able to earn a high enough wage to support a household. Also, as access to cash began to increase, it was no longer necessary for women of households with limited land resources to work for a wage in order to supplement their family's income. Another factor which should be taken into consideration concerns the reduction in the size of families. Since children were becoming more costly, fewer children meant that parents could provide with greater facility for their basic needs as well as for their future. Out-migration had a similar effect: a son or daughter who had moved outside the village contributed through remittances towards augmenting the family's income while also making it possible for those siblings left behind to obtain a larger share of the estate. This factor, along with the prospect of sons benefitting from the new occupational possibilities, had as a consequence the release of property and capital resources to add to daughters' dowries. The expansion of employment opportunities for men, the increase in the available supply of cash and the economically beneficial effects of out-migration

account to a large extent for the decline in women's participation in wage earning activities. These developments comprised the pre-conditions which allowed villagers to adopt outside influences.

Information about aspirations and assessments of prospects for a better life suggest that during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s improvement of one's economic and prestige status was associated with having an occupation other than in agriculture; enjoying security in terms of employment; and obtaining a high enough income to support a level of consumption higher than that of a land cultivator. Education was perceived as the basic requirement for moving upward in the rank order of occupations. Ranked from most to least desirable—according to these criteria for improvement—the following occupations were considered possible for local young men: a) professions such as law, medicine and teaching, requiring advanced education beyond the island's schools; b) white collar and civil service work (office work and clerkship) which could be obtained provided that one had completed six years of post-elementary education; c) skilled work in the construction or related trades, requiring training but not necessarily educational qualifications; d) unskilled non-agricultural labor (construction work); and e) unskilled labor in the fields. Proprietorship of a grocery store or coffeeshouse, because it provided a modest income but required low educational qualifications and did not involve arduous manual work, was ranked at a level between the (b) and (c) occupations. On the other hand, agricultural work on one's own land was rated as equivalent to category (c) occupations, provided that the landowner did not need to work as a wage laborer in order to supplement family income. As for fishing, even for owners of trawlers, it was ranked at or below level (d).

For young village women, the most important way of improving their life situation was marriage to a man having a "desirable" occupation (according to the order listed above). Another means, ranked at a lower scale, was education of a level that qualified a woman for

teaching or white collar jobs. Acquisition of skills such as dress-making ranked lower than the previous two possibilities, even though it was assigned to a higher level than agricultural wage labor and domestic service work. Not only was the range of possible occupations for women limited, but a woman's occupation was considered of secondary importance in her life. For Kokkariote women the functions of job and the family had always been ranked in order of importance with the latter taking precedence. Changing socio-economic conditions had the effect of strengthening this attitude. During the 1960s and throughout most of the 1970s women from non-agricultural households that had substantial and modest incomes constituted models of ideal behavior which were embraced by lower status families. This is because wealth and their spouses' non-agricultural activities spared such women from hard work in the fields and from wage labor, allowing them thereby to allocate time and energy exclusively to domestic family duties.

The orientation, in terms of ideals or aspirations, of Kokkari's residents towards non-agricultural pursuits was based primarily on an awareness that agriculture in the village was in decline. Ownership of landed resources could no longer determine status and influence prestige. Disparities in comforts, conveniences, dress and diets had begun to narrow, but what appeared as markedly different were the standards of living of the villagers and those of urban dwellers. Contact between the village and the outside world, particularly with the urban metropolis, had increased during the 1960s and early 1970s and one aspect of this contact was the diffusion of information through mass communication. Prior to the advent of television in the early 1970s the cinema was practically the only type of mass entertainment Kokkariote families were offered. Common themes of motion pictures included the attractiveness of city life (entertainment facilities and services, a more intense rhythm of life, comforts and modern amenities, as well as opportunities for sexual adventure), while stressing that

economic betterment and social advancement were possible, provided one took advantage of the best opportunities in terms of education, employment and marriage. On the other hand, people of rural areas were presented as backward: lacking in modern amenities, living monotonous and confining lives, retaining provincial speech patterns, having to abide by strict moral codes and being relegated to difficult agricultural work without adequate economic returns.

Middle and upper class Athenian families--primarily of professional and public service backgrounds--spending their holidays in Kokkari prior to the advent of foreign tourists further reinforced this view of village life. Through their manners, speech, styles of dress and spending patterns, they displayed those traits which in local peoples' perception differentiated urbanites from rural dwellers. The aspects of urban behavior and types of possessions exposed in the mass media and displayed by this group of holiday travellers came to be equated with what was modern and desirable; what exemplified progress and sophistication. In the villagers' consciousness, urbanity and modernity were associated with education and non-agricultural, non-manual occupations. However, although a connection was made between the two qualities, there is very little evidence of Kokkari's young people moving at that time to the city in order to attain certain goals such as finding white collar work.

Aspects and effects of earlier migrations explain in part why young people did not leave the village for better prospects in the city. During the out-migration period the proportion of village families and individuals who moved abroad was much higher than the corresponding one of urban migrants. Consequently, linkages with the city through kin were limited; most village families had no migrant relatives in Athens on whom to count for assistance--to provide room, board and supervision for a son or daughter sent to study and find work in the city. As for those who had migrated to Athens in the 1950s

and early 1960s, they basically comprised a small group of young males and females from poor family households. Lacking both the economic resources and educational qualifications, these migrants had shifted, with their move to the city, mainly from agricultural wage work to unskilled or semi-skilled construction and factory labor (young women engaged in domestic service work). Even though those who remained in the city had improved their economic position by absolute standards, they did not change their relative position in the class and status structure of the village or the wider Greek society. This situation is similar to Friedl's assessment (1976:379) of the prospects of those Vasilikan migrants who had come from the village's lower economic substratum.

Since Kokkari's "pioneer" migrants had basically not attained any high level posts or prestige granting occupations in the city, they did not constitute models for emulation for later "potential" migrants with high aspirations. Furthermore, these post-World War II migrants lacked the means to facilitate the subsequent move to the city of relatives attracted to urban life for the opportunities it offered for socio-economic advancement; they could not offer much economic assistance and had no access to better jobs through personal contacts. The non-availability of "appropriate" linkages through kin with the city and the high cost of financing a son's or daughter's education, particularly at an advanced level (income from the land was insufficient to meet such a cost), meant that the prospect of attaining goals by moving to Athens could not materialize for the majority of Kokkariote families. Yet, despite these prohibiting factors, the range of families with sons educated beyond the village and island schools had begun to broaden in the 1960s to include those of a lesser social and economic position.

In the traditional village community, along with land ownership as a major criterion of social standing, education was also associated

with status. For families of the upper stratum it was a matter of prestige to provide a son with professional and career education. Professional people were the most highly regarded and respected members of the community. They were not evaluated so much in terms of materialistic criteria (wealth and economic success), but on the basis of traits which set them apart from the rest of the population: sophisticated manners and school erudition. Although their standard of living was not necessarily higher than that of landed elite, because of these two prestige-granting characteristics they were assigned to a higher social position. Therefore, it is not surprising that the organization of upward mobility through education was a major concern for the village's economically leading families. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, this concern had come to be shared by families of lower socioeconomic standing.

As villagers were becoming increasingly aware of the limitations of agriculture—both as a source of status and a means of earning a living—as well as exposed to urban metropolitan influences, education assumed in their consciousness great importance. It was evaluated as a basic requirement for improving one's economic and prestige status; a means to escape the economic and social limitations of agricultural life. The high value attached to education accounts to a great extent for the willingness of villagers to accept and even adopt metropolitan influences. Kokkariotes resisted the idea that economic betterment came basically through hard work. This attitude was rooted in disdain for manual work which Greek education helped cultivate by emphasizing the professions to the detriment of technical studies and occupations. The explanation for the tendency of Kokkariote women during the 1960s and most of the 1970s to either disengage themselves from or choose not to seek paid employment must be sought in part in the low value attributed to manual work, and particularly to agricultural work which was also not rewarding economically.

During this period of the 1960s and 1970s metropolitan influences and those facilitated by education were being expressed or displayed locally by lawyers, doctors, notaries, government officials, as well as individuals occupying middle and low level civil service posts. This expanding social category, comprising the new professional and bureaucratic elite, concentrated mainly in the island's capital and possessed what had come to be distinguished as traits marking high status. In contrast to the educated elite of the recent past, they were recognized primarily by their high incomes (and the consumption standards which such incomes supported), their level of education, the non-manual work they carried out and generally their higher standard of living. The prestige standards of this group became available to villagers through contacts and relationships (in the process of obtaining services or in seeking assistance in legal and other types of transactions). Furthermore, a large portion of its members were of Samiote origins: sons of merchants, landowners, proprietors of stores, as well as of families with professional backgrounds. Yet, the new occupational category also included individuals who came from families of lower socio-economic standing, even though their numbers were disproportionately low. Accessibility to the new elite who were also of local origins affected Kokkariotes' perception that they were in the same universe as those of higher economic and prestige positions. In addition, an awareness that secondary education provided a base for white collar work and that a civil service post could be obtained through appropriate contacts further contributed to raising villagers' aspirations.

Throughout the 1970s secondary education had become attainable but advanced studies continued to remain beyond the reach of most of Kokkari's youth. Also, six years of post-elementary schooling could not function as a guarantee for social and occupational mobility because of the limited opportunities available in the village and the island for white collar work. With touristic development the service

sector expanded but without creating a significant number of openings for office workers and clerks. Furthermore, working at a tourist shop or travel agency office does not qualify as a desirable primary occupation; because of its seasonal aspect, such work yields an income that is too low to provide for a family's living. Under these circumstances and particularly in view of the changing economic conditions brought about by touristic development, villagers began to reduce to a certain extent their expectations concerning education and to re-orient their goals.

Today increased emphasis is attached to tourist-oriented entrepreneurial activities and to self-employment—both of which are associated with independence and the potential for greater economic returns—augmenting income resources and achieving a higher standard of living, taking advantage of new opportunities for technical occupations as well as for investments in the tourist sector, and improving prospects by means other than education. Occupations and work activities are evaluated primarily on the basis of their income-yielding potential while education has assumed secondary importance as a criterion for advancement. Asked to explain the reasons for urging children to do well in school and for insisting that sons as well as daughters complete not only secondary education but also a foreign language course, Kokkariote parents phrase their responses in terms of the following general assessment: "educational facilities provide a necessary tool for dealing with the economic complexities of contemporary times." This attitude contrasts with the view of education as a means to a more defined end—that is, moving upward in the rank order of occupations—which prevailed in the past.

The rank order of occupations and economic activities villagers generally agree upon reveals an awareness that levels of education and income may not always correspond. Even though education continues to be highly valued, today there is a growing realization that it is no

longer an absolute requirement for economic success. This explains why ownership and management of large touristic enterprises such as hotels is frequently placed, along with the professions, at the highest level in the order of occupations and economic activities. With income and wealth comprising the most important criteria for measuring economic success, it is also easy to understand why public servants are ranked below proprietors of commercial, food and rental establishments.

The increased emphasis on income and consumption as well as the rapid growth of the tourist service sector comprise the basis for several changes. Taking advantage of the new opportunities, increasingly large numbers of Kokkariote women have sought to engage in tourism-related work. Many of these women contribute significantly towards earning their family's living through their non-paid labor services or wages. Yet, there is evidence that when new sources of female employment started to become available the prospect of women taking on jobs in the tourist industry was not positively viewed. Men considered the possibility of their spouses earning a wage as a venture which would have had a negative effect on their own reputation. They expressed apprehension that such a choice might be equated with a certain inability on their behalf to provide for their families. Furthermore, regular employment for women, despite its seasonal aspect, was perceived as incompatible with household work. According to a commonly emphasized male concern, as a consequence of having a job women would not have been able to concentrate effectively on domestic duties and family responsibilities. These attitudes can be explained when viewed in conjunction with certain ideals concerning family and conjugal roles. The "ideal" family was considered to be one that consisted of a wage-earning father and a home-making mother. However, as a corollary of the villagers' concern with economic and material prosperity, its achievement came to be a salient feature in reassessing the duties and practices of female conjugal partners. This fact is presently evident in

the activities of Kokkariote women; although in principle they should deal only or primarily with childcare and housekeeping work, they show much initiative and promote family welfare in ways that are acknowledged by their families and the community.

In the past Kokkariote women by assisting with work in the fields, enhanced household sufficiency, but the limited range of female activities and their association with women's restricted access to material opportunity set certain limits in terms of their contribution to the economic well-being of the household. Perhaps this is one of the reasons women's work outside the house was not highly valued. With touristic development, however, women's access to economic action has increased. Also, the nature of women's economic activities and responsibilities is today at least as critical to family welfare as the volume of their work. Tourism has opened up opportunities for women to act on their own right, carrying out transactions and engaging in decision-making processes, and conduct matters essential to their family's economic interests. The connection between women's economic activities and the recognition by family members and the community of their labor or income contribution is easily discernable.³

Economic change has facilitated the abandonment of concern with certain ideals regarding Kokkariote women's behavior and practices in favor of freedom to maximize family involvement in new economic opportunities. If former beliefs about men's efficiency as family providers as well as patterns of restriction of women's movement and conduct had persisted, many households would not have experienced the dramatic improvement in the standard of living, through increased incomes, that they have. By introducing new sources of wealth and opening up avenues for social mobility, tourism has led to a decline in the significance of moral and personal qualities and to the increase in emphasis on materialistic-market criteria for social evaluation.

Women in the Tourist Economy of Kokkari: Their Household Roles
and Work Activities

As we have seen, recruitment to Kokkariote households is based on kinship. Households tend to be small, more or less bounded units and the majority of them consist of single nuclear family groups or remnants thereof. Where extended family groupings are encountered, the "extra" members are one and, less frequently both, of either spouse's elderly parents. The survey of village households yielded no cases of individuals living in households as employees, such as maids or male servants. Women, as well as men, residing alone with dependent children is also a rare occurrence; if widowed or divorced at a young age, such individuals are more likely to move into their household of rearing. Actual instances of women living alone or with other women are in fact rare due to women's economic dependence on men. I encountered only elderly females living either in households they head or share with related co-members, or as individuals cared for by other household members. Also, unmarried adult men and women reside with their parents. With rare exceptions, practically all men and women marry and conjugal residence is the rule. Furthermore, the age difference between men and women at marriage is today relatively insignificant while divorce is not a common occurrence. However, in the last few years there has been an appreciable increase by village standards in divorce cases. This could be related to the fact that with changing economic conditions and the possibility for women to independently support themselves, the nature of the conjugal bond may also be changing.

Focusing on Kokkariote women in domestic development processes and seeking to mark out the phases or stages through which their life cycle passes—from the enculturation of children to support in old age—I delineated five household roles: child, conjugal partner-mother, conjugal partner, single mother and solitary female or related co-member.

These roles take into account residence, marital status and intra-household social relationships. The role of child subsumes adult unmarried women, eighteen years of age and older, living as dependents in their parental household. (In Kokkari women live with their parents before marriage; this is also the case with young men). Conjugal partner-mother refers to women residing with their spouse and at least one dependent child of their own. The third role, that of conjugal partner, is played when a woman co-resides with her husband but does not have or no longer has children at home as dependents. As for single mothers, they represent—in terms of household roles—women living without a spouse, but with at least one of their dependent children. These women may or may not head their own households. The fifth role of solitary female or related co-members pertains to village women who have neither a spouse nor any dependent children of their own residing with them and are not themselves dependent children of the household. Women in this role may live alone, in households they share with siblings or other kin, or as members of a son's/daughter's household.

Following Sanjek's method (1981), I sought to extend the analysis of the five household roles to 188 adult village women (those included in the household survey) grouped by age cohorts. Table 21 shows the proportions of women in each household role through their life cycle. On the basis of the derived figures, women's dominant (47 percent or greater) and subdominant (27 to 47 percent) household role in each age cohort are designated. Kokkariote women's domestic cycle is related to economic conditions and the lack—at least until recently—of opportunities for women to independently support themselves or even to contribute significantly to the household economy through their income-earning work activities. Girls have been brought up to expect that they would marry and be supported by their husbands. Because of these conditions, great significance has been placed on the conjugal bond. As the following Table indicates, most village women from their

TABLE 22

KOKKARIOTE WOMEN: HOUSEHOLD ROLES AND LIFE CYCLE POSITION (1984-1985)
 (The Figures Represent Percentages of the Total Number of 188 Women)

	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-55	50-64	65-74	75 and over
child	52								
conjugal partner- mother	31	87	75	95	100	59		20	
conjugal partner	17	13	8			20	71	53	37
single mother			17	5		9			
solitary female or related co- member						12	29	27	63
			27 > subdominant role				47 > dominant role		

mid-twenties through and beyond childbearing years until their mid-seventies can expect to live in conjugal partnership. The role of child predominates among women in their late teens and early twenties. Dominant is also the conjugal partner-mother role for women from their mid-twenties to their mid-fifties; this indicates that the overwhelming majority of women raising children live in households where their spouse is present.

Single mothers have in the past and continue today to constitute a rare occurrence in Kokkari. It is divorce, widowhood or abandonment that lead women to assume such a role. (I found no evidence of concubinage and only two cases of women-single mothers who had never married). What accounts for the rarity of this role is the cultural pattern and practice of conjugal residence and the low divorce rate.⁴ Today women in the household role of single mother have more opportunities to earn income and support themselves and their children; in fact, the cases I encountered indicate that single mothers are doing so. Yet, it is also common for members of their families of origin to provide such women with material and other forms of assistance. With rare exceptions, the only other role single mothers assume in their life cycle is that of solitary female or related co-member. This is because the possibilities for remarrying have tended to be extremely limited for them. Only if they are of relatively young age and have no children are widowed or divorced women likely to marry a second time. However, as increasing numbers of women find themselves in a position to obtain income from tourism and for dependant children to earn a wage, the divorce rate may rise and remarriage for single mothers may cease to be a rare phenomenon. On the other hand, as involvement in the tourist industry becomes a life-long process, it is also possible that women may opt out of a second marriage.

The role of conjugal partner is dominant among older women from their mid-fifties to mid-seventies, indicating that most elderly females

can expect to reside in a household where their spouse is present. For young females in their twenties the same role is subdominant and may be characterized as transitional, since women tend to beget children shortly after marriage. Regardless of age, most Kokkariote women in the role of conjugal partner live in households with their husbands as the only other member. This gives evidence that the cultural ideal according to which every married couple should have its own residence is to a large extent practiced. Only in very old age, seventy-five and above, are village women likely to live in households where neither their spouse nor dependent children of their own are present (in which case they assume the role of solitary female or related co-member). These women tend to be widows and to a lesser extent spinsters living alone as independent co-members or—if unable to provide for themselves—as individuals who are being cared for by other household members, usually a married daughter or a daughter-in-law.

The survey of village households supplemented with interviews and work histories has provided data on the range of non-domestic work activities Kokkariote women engage in. These data indicate that village women participate in the tourist industry in different capacities, revealing three types of work categories: first, through wage employment which hotels, restaurants, tourist shops and offices provide; second, by assisting in running family-owned touristic enterprises (in these cases running the enterprise comprises the husband's major or only area of work activities); and third, by "creating their own jobs," a type of self-employment that involves rendering services to tourists for compensation. Women whose work falls in the second and third categories stand outside the wage-labor-capital relationship. I found that at times the work category of "assisting in running the family's touristic enterprise" emerges when a woman becomes involved in the already existing family business, as tourism affords new opportunities for it to become a profitable commercial establishment. In my analysis of

Kokkariote women's work roles, I use the term self-employment to refer to those situations where the activities associated with the provision of services for tourists are essentially carried out by the women alone; if the women are assisted, such assistance does not constitute a primary endeavor for other family members, especially their spouses. This category of work in tourism involves mainly women who rent rooms to tourists, control to a great extent their working conditions and direct the operations of a touristic enterprise.

Outside the tourist industry job opportunities for Kokkariote women are extremely limited. Females employed in areas such as clerical, sales and professional work are a rare phenomenon. The survey pointed out only two cases of local women occupying positions in the formal sector: one, trained to be a midwife, works as an assistant to the local village doctor (she is married and has two small children), while the other (married, with no children) has obtained a technical lykeio diploma and is employed at a civil engineer's office in Vathi, to which she commutes daily. Two other females are engaged in year-round wage work: a teenage daughter employed as a salesperson at a shop in Vathi, and a married woman (mother of a grown child) who works at the local plant and flower-growing commercial enterprise. Practicing a trade which yields income is also a rare occurrence among village women; the only cases I encountered involve an elderly unmarried seamstress and a married woman with children, operating her own hairdressing establishment. As for agricultural wage work, which in the pre-tourism village economy comprised one of the few available productive sources of income for women of poor households, today it is carried out only by a handful of elderly women seeking to supplement their meagre social security payments. This is not so much due to the decline in agriculture, as it is to the tendency of women to become involved in the more lucrative, income-producing activities of tourism. Nevertheless, the seasonal quality of tourism-related work allows a large number of village women

to contribute labor in the olive harvest as non-paid family members.

After I ascertained that women frequently engage in more than one economic activity (usually on a seasonal basis), I decided to distinguish primary from secondary non-domestic female activities. The criterion I used is the economic value or importance of activities—namely, their income-yielding potential—regardless of whether women have access, to or control over the allocation of the income derived from them. Also, I sought to compare female household roles in terms of women's involvement in the tourist industry. According to Table 22, rendering services to tourists constitutes the primary—in terms of economic value—or only non-domestic work activity for 91 (57.2 percent) of the 159 adult village women (of all age groups and household roles). For the remaining 68 females (42.8 percent) such activity is unrelated to tourism. Work in the fields predominates among the secondary activities Kokkariote women carry out, particularly women of childbearing years and up until their mid-fifties. This fact provides further evidence that as involvement in the tourist industry has proven to bring about greater economic returns, agricultural work has come to represent for women (as for men) a sideline activity. Women are not necessarily opposed to agricultural work, but have a vested interest in tourism, especially those raising children. Participation in different capacities in the tourist industry is particularly high among women playing the roles of conjugal partner-mother (68 percent) and single mother (84 percent).

In the contemporary village society people strive to acquire income in order to afford consumer goods and a "modern" life style, to provide for children's needs (such as paying for private lessons and financing higher education), to accumulate dowries, to build up and transfer property and capital resources to the next generation and to plan for old age so that they would not depend on children's economic support. As a result, women performing the conjugal partner-mother role have much to gain from engaging in tourist service activities. As for

TABLE 23

KOKKARIOTE WOMEN: HOUSEHOLD ROLES AND INVOLVEMENT IN NON-DOMESTIC WORK AS PRIMARY OR ONLY ACTIVITY (1984-85) -
(in percentages)

	<u>Rendering Services to Tourists</u>			<u>Work Unrelated to Tourism</u>				
	Wage Employment	Assisting in Running Family-Owned Touristic Enterprises	Self- Employment	Non-Agricultural Wage/Salaried Employment	Assisting in Running Family-Owned Non-Touristic Enterprise	Non-Wage Work in Agri- culture	Agri- cultural Wage Work	Self- Employ- ment
child	5.5	3.0		1.5		3.0		
conjugal partner- mother	13.5	22.0	26.0	3.0	8.5	23.5		3.0
conjugal partner	2.0	8.0	5.5	1.5		39.5		
single mother	2.0		3.0			1.5		
solitary female or related co- member	1.0	3.0	5.5			12.0		3.0

TABLE 24

KOKKARIOTE WOMEN: HOUSEHOLD ROLES AND INVOLVEMENT IN NON-DOMESTIC WORK AS SECONDARY ACTIVITY (1984-85)
(in percentages)

	<u>Rendering Services to Tourists</u>			<u>Work Unrelated to Tourism</u>				
	Wage Employment	Assisting in Running Family-Owned Touristic Enterprises	Self- Employment	Non-Agricultural Wage/Salaried Employment	Assisting in Running Family-Owned Non-Touristic Enterprise	Non-Wage Work in Agri- culture	Agri- cultural Wage Work	Self- Employ- ment
child		16.7				3.0		
conjugal partner- mother		16.7	50.0	1.5	1.5	58.5		1.5
conjugal partner						14.0	3.0	
single mother	16.7			1.5		1.5	1.5	
solitary female or related co- member						11.0	1.5	

TABLE 25
KOKKARIOTE WOMEN: HOUSEHOLD ROLES AND LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IN WORK
ACTIVITIES OTHER THAN DOMESTIC ONES (1984-85)
(in percentages)

child	14.0
conjugal partner- mother	14.0
conjugal partner	38.0
single mother	-
solitary female or related co- member	34.0

the single mother role, its rare occurrence does not allow for patterns or tendencies to be discerned in the work activities of women performing it. Nevertheless, taking into account the current economic conditions, it is apparent that to support themselves and their dependant children, such women have few options available other than to seek wage employment in the tourist industry or to convert a part of their houses into guest facilities for the tourist season.

Rendering services to tourists does not predominate among the work activities of those females included under the conjugal partner role. Non-wage agricultural work represents the primary or only non-domestic activity for 64 percent of these women. The involvement in agricultural work of women performing the household role of solitary female or related co-member is also relatively high (42 percent). Since this role is dominant among middle age and older women, in their case the need to contribute household income in the form of wages or through the provision

of labor services is not as great.

Of the women in the role of conjugal partner, it is mainly younger ones, in their twenties and early thirties, who engage in tourist service activities. The arrival of children necessitates that they either withdraw from or reduce their involvement in economic activities. However, they usually resume work after a few years when children enter school or even earlier. Although several older women (as well as men) contribute labor in running touristic enterprises belonging to a son's or daughter's family, the phenomenon is not particularly common. Instead, such women are primarily mobilized to supervise children and assist with domestic work. Generally, the way elderly parents assist economically a son's or daughter's household is by supplying it with produce for consumption and carrying out, on its behalf, agricultural maintenance work. I may add that villagers defined as avaricious those few cases in which older people repatriated to the village from abroad and established touristic enterprises. Criticisms were not so much directed against the pursuit of profitable endeavors, even at an older age, but against the fact that the individuals concerned were financially well-off, had already married off their children and provided adequately for their future.

Regarding women in the household role of solitary female or related co-member, the tourist industry has availed them of an opportunity to supplement through the renting of rooms their social security payments or the meagre income accrued to them from the sale of produce. Unlike chambermaiding, which is basically arduous work, renting rooms in one's house involves tasks that even at an older age women are able to carry out. However, no trend can be discerned whereby older women opt out of the agricultural tasks designated as "female" in order to engage exclusively in tourist service activities. Finally, Table 24 shows that the proportions of women not engaged in work outside the home are highest for those in the household roles of conjugal partner (38

percent) and solitary female or related co-member (34 percent). These roles predominate among older women, many of whom may be sick or unable to perform any work activities, have a source of income (such as social security) which allows them to support themselves in old age, or have assumed the responsibility of carrying out domestic work tasks in place of other household members.

The capacities in which village women participate in tourism relate to the structure of the industry, and particularly to the fact that touristic development in Kokkari has been fueled by local resources. The overwhelming majority of women (69 out of 91) rendering services to tourists are either self-employed or assist in running family-owned touristic enterprises.⁵ It is not only the types and availability of wage employment opportunities in the tourist industry, but also the strategies families engage in, the options women see available to them and the constraints operating on their choices that account for this phenomenon. In terms of incidence and importance of paid labor, Kokkari's tourist sector has not developed to a high level.⁶ Since touristic establishments comprise small units in their majority, business operations depend only to a limited extent on paid labor. Also, running small business ventures does not call for professional skills. The work contributed by the business owner and his family is the most important factor in running a touristic enterprise in Kokkari.

Tourism is a complex of different activities ranging from the hotel and "rooms' renting" sector, and that of transport, to the provision of eating, shopping and entertainment facilities. In Kokkari the sector which predominates in terms of demand for paid female labor, quantity of business units and tourist receipts is that of sleeping accommodations. Chambermaiding constitutes the most commonly sought type of female paid employment and one of the few options women have to earn a wage from tourism. Other areas of the industry—also dominated by small, family-owned and operated enterprises—have created

very little demand for female paid labor and have affected only a small number of women in terms of employment. I encountered only three women, all in the role of conjugal partner-mother, working as paid kitchen help at restaurants. As for tourist shops—those not run by their owners—and travel agency offices, they have created the only new occupational specialties. However, in their cases jobs are filled mainly by young individuals in the household role of child: male and female lykeio students or graduates who have completed a foreign language course.

Certain aspects and patterns can be discerned as characteristic of the experiences and work activities of women playing the role of child. Of the five females in this role who have been drawn into the tourist industry as paid laborers, only one has been employed for several consecutive seasons as a hotel chambermaid. The remaining four are of younger age and have been working for one or two seasons at tourist shops and travel agency offices. The five females are practically the first ones in the role of child to have engaged in tourist service activities for pay. Prior to them—and several years earlier—only one young woman, the daughter of a poor village family, had sought to earn income from hotel employment. It appears that whereas married women raising children have been absorbed relatively early into the labor market created by the new industry, young daughters have remained outside of it. They did not begin to pursue wage earning activities in tourism until the latter was well established and involvement in it had become a way of life for a large portion of the village households. Even then, their participation has been limited to certain sectors of the industry, mainly sales and office-related work. Entertainment and the food provisioning businesses, as well as the hotel sector, are outside the areas of work activities from which young daughters accrue income.

Several factors can be posited as explanations for this phenomenon concerning women in the household role of child. First, early age

of marriage for women means that the interval between completion of secondary education and marriage is too short to allow daughters to pursue in any meaningful way income earning activities (let alone in those cases where girls interrupt their studies in order to marry). Only females planning to continue schooling beyond the lykeio or those in the process of obtaining a degree from a higher education institution look forward to securing a position in the job market and improving their future prospects. The remaining young women see their interests as best served through marriage; this orientation is related to what they consider as "achieving one's own ends"—moving out of their household of rearing, freeing themselves from parental control and establishing their own families. Second, with rising incomes there has been less need for daughters to seek paid work in order to assist their families economically or to meet personal needs. Although young daughters earning a wage emphasize the importance of having their own money and being to a certain degree self-reliant, those not involved in paid work express no dissatisfaction over the way money is allocated to them (or the amount of it) for purchases and social needs.

A third reason village women in the role of child have not basically taken advantage of the new opportunities for wage employment relates to the fact that choosing paid work in the tourist industry means opting for a strictly regularized work schedule. This is an important consideration for young females who look forward to the tourist season in order to "get out of the house" (a commonly used expression), socialize and break the routine of the off-season months. As for motivations upon which their choices are made, there is evidence that daughters are aware of the rigid schedule characterizing the nature of work in the tourist industry, and of their families' increased facility to provide for their needs. Therefore, they tend to value being able to partake of the intense social life of the season much more than any degree of economic independence they might achieve from

earning a wage. However, the bases for choice include not only a woman's own interests and assessment of her life situation as a daughter living in her parental household, but also the extent to which parents approve or disapprove of their daughters' engagement in certain tourism-related activities.

Parents tend to dissuade daughters from seeking employment at hotels and pensions because, according to their evaluation, these establishments are not readily visible to the public eye and the behavior of young female employees cannot be easily subjected to scrutiny. It is not uncommon for parents to express a concern that in such work environments they would have no control over a daughter's "questionable" activities; they also do not exclude the possibility of harassment by male employers and co-workers. Furthermore, disapproval is also expressed over daughters' working into the late night hours at cafes and pubs where they would be exposed to certain types of "loose" behavior and conduct (drinking and rowdiness), which villagers associate with these places of entertainment. Finally, another factor explaining in part young women's choices and perceptions concerning employment opportunities in tourism relates to how education is valued in terms of the kinds of employment it makes possible. Despite the limited occupational possibilities available in the village, attaining a relatively high level of education allows a person greater prospects in choosing a job. Thus, young females who have completed the lykeio and studied a foreign language have greater expectations of finding employment that does not involve arduous work tasks and can even enhance their self-worth. These considerations account for the ambivalent attitude and even the reluctance of daughters to articulate any improvement in their social standing that might result from working as chambermaids or as restaurant help while, at the same time, evaluate in positive terms clerical, office and sales work in the tourist industry.

An Assessment of Patterns in Women's Work in the Tourist Industry

In Kokkari there is no gender disparity in the tourist sector. Whereas prior to the advent of tourism men had access to a wider range of income-earning activities, today the opportunities accessible to women in the tourist industry are significant and often provide more remuneration than do men's jobs. Gender distinctions which exist in the industry parallel the sexual division of labor in the village, considering that women are most frequently associated with domestic services and tasks. Hotels and food outlets that use paid help employ mainly women as chambermaids and kitchen help. Men who are included on the staff of the few larger hotels engage in maintenance work and bar tending. There are, however, gender patterns in the tourist industry that stem from cultural restrictions on women's behavior and from the home-boundedness of females—especially prior to marriage—which these restrictions imply. Thus, it is young men who commonly work as waiters at pubs and cafes. Also, it is most often men who make arrangements concerning reservations and the transport of tourists between their point of entry on the island and the hotel or pension.

Since the majority of tourist businesses are located on the same property as the homes of their owners, this allows women to run establishments within the cultural restrictions indicated. Furthermore, unlike wage labor, involvement in the tourist sector through self-employment or by assisting in running the family's enterprise allows women to have their children with them during their work day. This means that women whose tourism work falls outside the wage-labor-capital relationship are in a better position than their counterparts engaging in wage-earning activities to face gender structured demands on their time and energy both in and out of the household. These reasons explain in part why, among the categories of female participation in tourism, wage employment involves relatively fewer numbers of women.

Another reason concerns the low labor absorption potential of the tourist industry. This is due to the existence of small family-owned and operated businesses which is a testimony to a tradition of family cooperation and joint economic effort of men and women. Also, it denotes the high value villagers place on self-employment.⁷ In the pre-tourism period, the processes that contributed to undermining Kokkari's agricultural land base as well as out-migration and the pursuance of non-agricultural occupations placed emphasis on the individual—particularly the man in the household—as the unit of wage labor. But for Kokkariotes, the ultimate goal is not having to work for someone else. Today not only is this goal much more readily attainable, but the trend towards self-employment is also linked to gender. Kokkariote women are active in the tourist industry both as owners and as managers. Especially in the accommodations sector, it is very common for the women of a household to be more involved in developing and running a rooms for rent outlet than a man.⁸

Finally, the fact that responses to tourism are generated mainly from a property base is another important consideration for assessing the concentration of women in the different categories of work in tourism. The types of property such as houses whose value has been enhanced by tourism, are contributed mainly by women as dowry. The contribution of such dowry resources means that women enjoy certain options about how and to what extent they participate in the tourist industry. Ownership of houses and the concentration of women in service sector activities, which closely approximate their roles as wives and mothers, have given Kokkariote women a certain advantage. This advantage lies in increased possibilities for women to assume the management and/or ownership of their own or their family's tourist businesses.

Insofar as recruitment of paid female labor is concerned, it cannot be said that the limited availability of local women has created

obstacles hindering the tourist industry's expansion. In those households which do not have the advantage of using capital and/or property resources as an economic base for the creation of tourist businesses, women take on wage work at hotels, pensions or restaurants. As in other touristically developed areas (Salemone and Stanton 1986:105), because of values associated with the economic significance of the household, the primacy of the family unit as well as people's goal of increasing familial wealth to meet current needs and to provide for future generations, women's work outside the family-run business is not necessarily regarded as socially undesirable. Nevertheless, the overall pattern of female participation in the labor force in tourism indicates that many women tend to ultimately shift from wage work to economic activities that allow them to engage in self-employment or to assist in running the family's enterprise. Thus, they achieve a primary village goal, that of entrepreneurship.

Not only do women seek to escape wage employment, but they are often in a position to choose from among offers made to them by several employers. Hence, owners of hotels are at times obliged to make certain accommodations regarding the terms of employment or compensation of chambermaids, as well as to look outside the community for female workers. Yet, incorporating in one's staff non-local workers is not considered an option but a necessity; individuals who contract the labor of others express a definite preference for hiring locals as laborers. They feel that recruitment from within the community allows them to utilize knowledge and personal contacts to locate a reliable work staff. This gives testimony to the personalized nature of transactions and to the emphasis placed on achieving one's ends through the use of connections and contacts in the local context.

There is no evidence that the difficulties associated with labor recruitment can account for the type of touristic development that has taken place in Kokkari. The major circumstances that conspired to

prevent the village from becoming a typical resort of the type described in the literature on Caribbean tourism include: government neglect; the trend towards repatriation, with former villagers investing their savings to establish businesses; the era of non-group organized tourism, allowing locals to accommodate tourists in their homes and accumulate income to build more rooms; a combination of wage savings (from the construction industry and various trades) that has enabled people to develop real estate property for tourism; and the unwillingness of village residents to sell their land to non-locals. It is possible to predict that the numbers of non-locals entering the community to engage in wage employment will increase in the future, since all indicators point to the fact that tourism will continue to provide many residents with income without reducing them to the role of wage laborers. But as long as the industry expands horizontally, rather than vertically, and is locally controlled, it will preserve patterns that parallel current ones in terms of female involvement in the service sector.

Kokkariote Women's Domestic Position: Their Economic
Accomplishments and Household Experiences

In addition to changing productive relations, tourism has also contributed to transforming family and personal life in Kokkari. Work and family relations cannot be viewed as belonging to two distinct spheres, that of public (male) and private (female) or the workplace and the home. Kokkariote women engage in economic activities not only as laborers, entrepreneurs or non-paid family assistants, but also as married and unmarried members of families (as daughters, wives and mothers). That is, simultaneously with production they participate in social reproductive relations and activities. The activities which go into the day-to-day provisioning of the family—cooking, cleaning, shopping, laundry—as well as child socialization constitute domestic labor. Such activities are performed primarily by women in their capacity as wives and mothers. It is these women in the role of conjugal partner-

mother that I have chosen as the focus for this part of my research.

It has been noted that the arrival of children transforms marriages, bringing a greater role segregation into the conjugal relationship (Jaccoby 1969). This is because children require not only care but create additional domestic work. Also, the demanding nature of childcare makes it more difficult to combine domestic work with wage labor or other types of income-earning activities. With this in mind, and having ascertained that the majority of adult Kokkariote females spend the greater part of their lives playing the role of conjugal partner-mother, I chose to focus on women residing in households where their spouse and at least one of their dependent children are present. I expected that the social and economic changes which have ensued from the growth of tourism would have their most significant impact on women as spouse/mothers, thanks to the dual pressure of fulfilling familial responsibilities--particularly the obligation of providing for children's needs--and responding to the increased emphasis placed on income, consumption and on augmenting property and income resources.

In order to examine the options which women see available to them as well as the constraints they experience, I selected 24 cases of Kokkariote women in the role of conjugal partner-mother representing the major categories of Kokkariote women's extra-domestic activities. Eight of the 24 cases concern women who participate in the tourist industry as wage laborers. Another eight cases pertain to women who are involved in tourism but stand outside the wage-labor-capital relationship; these women participate in the industry either by assisting in running family-owned enterprises or through self-employment. The last eight cases incorporate women whose work activities are unrelated or not directly related to tourism. Overall, I selected these cases in order to examine women's experiences in the household in conjunction with their economic actions, and to ultimately look for developments or processes--both within and outside tourism--that affect their domestic

position.

The distinction between the three types of cases associated with major categories of women's work is a strategic way of assessing: first, the impact of tourism in terms of the new economic opportunities it has created for women, as well as the degree to which such opportunities enable women to become involved in decision-making, assume managerial roles and improve their position in the household; and second, the accomplishments of women working outside tourism, insofar as these influence their domestic position. Furthermore, since they include women in the same household role who carry out different extra-domestic work activities, the 24 cases allow for a comprehensive analysis of the strategies behind the adjustment of women's work and family roles. To control for external factors such as out-migration which might have influenced women's experiences in their households, I decided to work only with women who resided in the village prior either to the development of tourism or to becoming involved in tourism-related work. Also, since women's experiences may vary depending on whether and the degree to which they control property or other assets valuable to the household, I did not include in the 24 cases women who had brought substantial dowries at marriage.

Kokkariote Women Wage Laborers in the Tourist Industry

Several sociological studies seeking to explain changes in the institution of the Greek family in terms of transformations which the society at large has been undergoing--primarily due to urbanization and the effects of modernization--have emphasized that today's parents are the last generation to have been raised in conditions of indigence and real deprivation (during World War II and in the two post-war decades). Since the late 1960s and early 1970s the rapid rise in their families' standard of living, which changing economic conditions and opportunities facilitated, has led these parents to equate any improvement in their own and their children's life situation with the

accumulation and acquisition of material goods and comforts. Being able to offer children those things which parents themselves lacked in their childhood and young adult years constitutes the basic premise or goal behind peoples' strategies. As a consequence of these developments, children have become conditioned to the idea that they are entitled to claim almost anything from parents and expect their demands to be satisfied (Filias 1980:26; Drakopoulos 1982:402; Mousourou 1984:112-112).⁹

Two studies focusing on consumer behavior and carried out, one among the residents of a provincial Greek town (Tsouyiopoulos 1981) and the other in the agrarian area surrounding it (Karapostolis 1983), have arrived at the same basic finding: increased aspirations to acquire the consumer goods available to urban dwellers have led people in rural areas to gradually reassess women's traditional role. As increasingly large numbers of families perceive the need for additional income resources, the practice whereby women work for a wage outside the house is no longer questioned. Neither of the two studies, however, examine women's aspirations, the actual motives behind their decisions to engage in new income-earning activities and their consumer behavior. In Kokkari the women's decisions to seek wage work in tourism are based on calculations concerning both short-term family needs and future prospects. In three of the eight cases I examined, the idea of investing in the construction of a house (where the family did not own one) or in renovating the already existing family dwelling with the prospect of renting a part of it to accrue income, had originated with the women. They had instilled the idea into their husbands, convincing them of the economic returns such an investment would bring.

The eight women I selected in the category of wage employment in the tourist industry range in ages from 32 to 45 and have been employed in the industry anywhere from 2 to 7 years. Six of the women work as chambermaids at hotels or pensions and the other two are employed as kitchen aids at a local restaurant. Their children are from 2 to 18

years of age (four of the women have at least one child below the age of 9, while the children of the remaining four are between the ages of 9 and 18). Only one of the women came from another Samiote village and settled in Kokkari upon marriage, while the others are of village origin. Also, one of the women has been married for a second time. Of the eight female participants, two had lived abroad and returned with their families to settle permanently in Kokkari several years prior to the time of fieldwork. A third one had worked as a live-in maid in Athens, where she was also married. Today the same woman's household is extended by her mother's sister, while the households of the other women include no additional members outside the nuclear family group. Finally, the spouses of the women concerned earn income from the following sources: four from the construction industry or its related trades, either periodically (three cases) or on a regular basis (one case); two from fishing (one husband being the owner of a trawler while the other working at times as a crew member aboard a fishing boat); and the remaining two earn a regular monthly salary—one as a seaman aboard cargo ships and the other from working at one of the local public utility plants.

Kokkariote women's decisions to seek wage employment in tourism are prompted by either a real economic need or the prospect of improving their family's economic position. The eight women I interviewed attached special emphasis to the fact that all their efforts, centered around earning a wage and pulling purse-strings inside the household, are in the interests of their families. Four of the eight women articulated no reluctance in referring to the economic difficulties their families had been experiencing at the time of their decisions to take on wage employment in the tourist industry. They also did not hesitate to find the primary source of such difficulties in their spouses' irresponsible attitude towards work and family responsibilities—a reluctance on the part of their husbands to pursue in a rigorous manner

employment opportunities, conform to a regular work schedule and rid themselves of negative personal qualities such as drinking.¹⁰ Because of these reasons, the economic contribution of the four women to their household has been of great value. In fact, in two of the four cases the women not only earn much more than their husbands, but support practically alone the entire family. Overall the women's efforts validate their economic actions. In this sense, the women attempt to compel social recognition for the part they play through their personal contributions and sacrifices in enhancing the household's economic resources and allowing their family to attain a higher standard of living. The few village women who had initially taken on employment in hotels as chambermaids set a precedent for those that followed; their cases are frequently referred to by informants as examples of a positive venture which they sought to imitate. Foreseeing the rise of future needs, particularly those related to providing for the next generation, is another important consideration influencing women's decisions to engage in paid work in tourism.

The pervasive emphasis placed by women on children and their needs is of special significance because it reveals an area where women can exercise decision-making power in the household and use various methods to exert influence. Most of the women I spoke to who earn a wage from tourism expressed dissatisfaction and even bitterness over their own experiences as teenagers and young adults. The fact that they were provided with very little in terms of dowry, had been sent away from home to earn a wage, had not been given the opportunity to obtain an education and were married off at a very young age were unhappy memories for many of them. They tended, therefore, to project onto children their own unfulfilled dreams and aspirations. However, the emphasis on children is also related to the methods women use to seek power and maximize gains. Women influence men and even change the minds of their husbands—in cases where the latter object to their

decisions to work for a wage in the tourist industry, by persuading them that such a decision is in the interests of the family and especially the children.

As³ for the ways Kokkariote men evaluate or respond to their spouses' choice to work for a wage in the tourist industry, overall they realize the economic gains which would accrue to the household from the extra income. Those whose attitudes are initially ambivalent or even negative wish to be assured that such a venture would not entail the neglect by their spouses of domestic family responsibilities. Interview accounts and observations during visits to the home of the eight women furnished no instances of men actually taking over certain of their wives' domestic work activities in order to ease their burden of family and household responsibilities. Women's sources of aid for the care of the home and particularly of children are close female kin such as a mother or mother-in-law.¹¹

It is not uncommon for women to have engaged either sporadically or on a regular basis in wage earning activities prior to having hired themselves out as paid laborers in the tourist industry. However, this fact should not lead to the impression that former experience in paid work influences to any significant extent the women's decision to enter the new labor market created by tourism. In the pre-tourism economy the nature of female employment--its temporary and irregular aspects--did not allow women to identify with their work roles and develop any sort of commitment to them. Also, the jobs women tended to hold in the past were limited mainly to agricultural work, domestic service and sewing. Such work activities offered them very little in terms of knowledge, skills and experiences to have affected their decision to seek employment in the tourist service sector. Of the eight women, four lacked previous experience of performing wage earning activities while married. Another two, although holding jobs while married and living abroad, did not take on employment until a considerable

time (four and six years) had lapsed since their return with their families to the village. This information confirms the pattern referred to earlier whereby women's participation in paid employment had declined beginning with the mid-1960s (a trend which became reversed fifteen years later).

Regarding income-earning opportunities for Kokkariote women, wage employment in tourism may be viewed as analogous to what in the past constituted working as field hands in agriculture. But, when taking into account what the latter had meant for women and their households, it becomes apparent that earning a wage in the tourist industry has a different quality and significance. Women who in the past sought agricultural paid work came from households with limited land resources and access to cash. Because employment opportunities for men were not readily available, the wages earned by male members of households—even when added to the meagre income accrued from the sale of produce—were insufficient to meet various economic needs, often basic ones. Today, on the other hand, men from households which lack productive property can count on having regular employment and earning a sufficient living for their families. Thus, women's wages from tourism do not necessarily have the quality of being indispensable to the household in terms of contributing to its budget. Since there may not be absolute need for their wages, women employed in the tourist industry can potentially have a greater choice in the way they allocate their earnings. Yet, women do not take advantage of such a choice in order to satisfy personal needs; rather, they use their earnings to build up the family's savings, modernize their home environment and improve their children's current and future life situations.

As far as attitudes towards wage work in the tourist industry are concerned, the eight women I interviewed stressed that they do not consider their work tasks physically arduous, especially in comparison to those they carry out in the fields. In their assessments, the

prospect of employment at the approach of each tourist season provides an opportunity to leave the house and break the monotony of domestic family work. The factors mentioned by women as enhancing their job satisfaction and sense of self-worth are: earning a higher wage than that which any other kind of female paid work available in the village could possibly yield; receiving social welfare benefits, such as unemployment and health insurance, which workers in the public and private sector are entitled to; working in a pleasant environment; acquiring social knowledge and attaining self-improvement. In the 1985 season the monthly incomes of Kokkariote women working as chambermaids at hotels and pensions ranged from 38,000 to 48,000 drachmas (at the exchange rate of 120 drachmas at the time, from 317 to 400 dollars) depending on their work load--number of rooms for whose overall upkeep they were responsible--and on the number of hours they worked daily.¹² For the same season three women reported to having earned from wages incomes of 260,000, 280,000 and 310,000 drachmas (2,167, 2,334 and 2,584 dollars respectively).

For comparative purposes I note that in 1985 as agricultural laborers Kokkariote women earned between 1,000 and 1,500 drachmas for a day's work (that is, from 8.30 to 12.50 dollars). Taking into account the low demand for agricultural paid labor, villagers estimated thirty days to be the maximum period throughout the year during which a woman could hope to work as a laborer in the fields. Therefore, her total earnings would not exceed 45,000 drachmas (375 dollars). However, as elderly females recalled, in the 1950s and 1960s it was not uncommon for women to earn anywhere from 100 to 150 day's wages from paid work in agriculture. These findings provide evidence of one major reason women do not consider agriculture as an option in terms of employment.

Women earning a wage in tourism also attach great importance to social welfare benefits which are evaluated positively, particularly

because they mean additional income: the lump sums collected in the off-season as unemployment compensation, the allowance for each child and two extra monthly salaries for the Easter and Christmas holidays, which employers are required by law to provide.¹³ For most of the women I interviewed, paid employment in the tourist industry also qualifies them for health insurance benefits. Being self-employed, their spouses do not contribute payments towards one of the appropriate national health plans and hence the entire family lacks medical coverage. Therefore, these women have readily agreed on participation—through their own and their employer's contribution—in the national social security system for health benefits (hospital, medical and pharmaceutical care), covering themselves and their children.

For women earning a wage in the tourist industry the positive quality of their work derives not only from economic returns and social benefits, but also from a combination of working conditions as well as attitudes they encounter in the course of their work. First, the two changes women particularly welcome relate to the fact that they neither labor under the hot sun or in the rain, as when harvesting grapes and olives, nor have to appear in dirty work clothes. Second, the work context itself is referred to as enhancing their job satisfaction. A place of work characterized by the presence and frequent renewal of people of different nationalities represents for women a pleasant change from the relative isolation and loneliness of their home environment. However, one could question this particular aspect since half of the women reported that they contemplate engaging in the future in the renting of rooms, an activity which would confine them, in a sense, to the home and the domestic sphere. Third, obtaining small gifts and amounts of money as rewards for their services also gives women working as chambermaids a sense of satisfaction and self-worth. It leads them to the realization that their work is valued by those benefiting from it; and this, in contrast to what household experience

has taught them: that "for the hard work carried out at home for one's family a woman could never hope for any material or monetary reward." Generally, regardless of the capacity in which women participate in the tourist industry, gratuities represent ways in which an appreciation for their services is rendered.

As for working conditions, the emphasis which women employed as chambermaids attach to being able to program their work or to exercise control over its pace can perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to make the best of a situation that involves working long hours and usually without a day off. For women working alone at a hotel or pension—that is, with no other female laborers present—such control means not having to keep up with the pace of a co-worker and allocating time to perform work tasks as one judges best. For example, one woman explained how she has over the years become more efficient in carrying out certain work activities, thereby reducing the amount of time allocated to them. This she perceived to be a beneficial side effect of working alone. On the other hand, there were those women who saw an advantage to working for an establishment that employs more than one female laborer and placed emphasis on being able to count on one's co-workers for assistance. Taking over or sharing the work tasks of another woman unable to work on a certain day and exchanging information on the job are several of the positive qualities five of the women noted. Finally, the opportunity, while working, to observe different patterns of interaction among tourists is viewed by women as part of an ongoing learning process, a way of acquiring social knowledge. This, in conjunction with what was described as a feeling of self-confidence which ensues as one gradually comes to be less restrained and more at ease with oneself in dealing with people, constitutes in women's perception additional positive aspects of their job experience.

There is no evidence that women who work for a wage in tourism have learned to defend in any meaningful way their interests on the job.

This should not be interpreted as implying an unawareness on their part of their rights as laborers and of the benefits they are entitled to receive. In fact, in several cases women did not hesitate to claim what was due to them by complaining to their employer when he delayed their monthly payments or for failing to make the required contributions towards their health and unemployment insurance. However, even though such cases are recognized as instances where the women are wronged, they are nevertheless handled as problems that concern each one separately and are unrelated to collective interests.

The types of interests women seek to defend (even in an unorganized, individualistic manner) are of short-term significance and relate primarily to economic matters. Thus, although it is understood that in terms of working conditions—long working hours, the excessive work load and a schedule which does not allow for a day off during most of the season—certain of their rights are violated, no action is taken by women to improve their situation. Instead, to justify their employers' strategies, often the women emphasize the demanding nature of work in the industry, particularly during the high season, and the fact that their labor services are indispensable. In those cases where a woman is the only chambermaid on the work staff of a hotel or pension she works the entire season without a day off. Only if at least another female works along with her can she hope of having an occasional day of rest. But even then such a possibility does not frequently materialize because of the common practice of entrepreneurs to assign their female employees days off at the beginning and end of the season. Nevertheless, women not only do not express concern over this violation of their rights but are satisfied to be given a chance to work extra days and earn more income. Also, none of the eight women have ever considered the possibility of joining the island's union of hotel employees.

The lack of motivation among Kokkeriote women who earn a wage

in tourism to concentrate effectively on improving their working conditions and bargaining status through collective action can be attributed to several factors. First, women lack the experience of working along with other women. Although their role in agricultural production has in the past, and to a certain extent today, been significant, they have always worked alongside men as a family unit. Small numbers of women worked together as field hands but, because they were hired at different times by different employers (landowners), they did not remain in the same work group. Second, mutual aid outside the immediate family has never been strong but today it is even weaker since families have become more competitive and suspicious of each other. Third, the nature of the tourist industry's employment structure is such that it tends to segregate women from the rest of the labor force and, more importantly, from one another. One handicap is the relatively small number of women employed for a wage in the industry. In addition, the fact that such women (except for very few) are not working for the same employer but for different family-owned small enterprises, limits the emergence of an unambiguous sense of dissatisfaction stemming from common work experiences. Thus, unlike in situations of factory employment, there is little possibility for the formation of groups of friends among women co-workers.

Women tend to stress differences instead of similarities when comparing their work experiences with those of other women employed for a wage in the same capacity by different touristic enterprises. It is also not uncommon for women to emphasize their employer's personal attributes and attitudes, rather than aspects of their own work situation such as the work load, compensation and working hours. What they evaluate as a positive quality, for example, is the hard and efficient work which members of their employer's family carry out. It appears that the direct, personal contact between owners of touristic enterprises and women employees mitigates the development in the latter's

consciousness of an awareness of the need for improving their status in the labor market. Most of the women in the category of wage laborers in tourism are optimistic about their family's future and many look forward to the time when they would themselves be self-employed. The emphasis on upward mobility, the importance attached to self-employment and entrepreneurial activities, as well as the seasonal aspect of tourism-related jobs, explain in part why Kokkariote women earning a wage in the tourist industry have not developed a strong sense of commitment to their occupational roles. Generally, the options villagers see available to them and the motivations on which their choices are made reflect a strong emphasis on individual initiative, entrepreneurial ventures and competition. The difference with women is due to the centrality of their domestic role and on how such a role affects the ways in which they apprehend the opportunities and choices available to them.

In the contemporary Kokkariote society the ideal role of wife and mother is still paramount. Most village women would argue that their primary rewards lie within the domestic sphere of their children and family. A woman feels that her own validation and status as a woman rests with her children, for whom she feels primary responsibility. The eight women participating in tourism through wage employment regard their family roles as primary and see their jobs as a way of aiding their families. They explained that despite working long hours outside the home they do everything possible not to neglect family responsibilities. Giving an account of how she manages to care for the home and her family while working, one woman noted:

I get up at five o'clock in the morning to cook the midday meal, if I have not done so the night before, and to prepare breakfast. The table is also set for the noon meal, since my husband comes home during his break from work and has lunch with the children. At seven o'clock I am at the hotel where I work until approximately

two in the afternoon. Thus I have the entire afternoon and evening to do the housework and be with the children. During those hours I shop, prepare supper, clean the house and do the laundry. My daughter assists with light chores such as washing dishes and making beds.

For the other seven women, although they are aided by a mother, a mother-in-law (mainly with child supervision) or a teenage daughter, the split between household work and wage labor also means following as rigid and intense a work schedule as the one above. Nevertheless, the women take pride that they are able to help the family with their earnings and do not complain about their husbands not sharing with domestic tasks. They consider it their own individual responsibility to resolve any conflicts or difficulties which ensue between wage labor on the one hand and housework and childcare on the other. According to their explanations, however, if their job was to create unsurpassable difficulties—in terms of their domestic roles—or if the household had economic resources sufficient to allow the family to enjoy a higher standard of living, all of the eight women (except one) would have chosen not to work.

Kokkariote women and the society at large do not regard female wage employment in the tourist industry either as a privilege or in negative terms but as a means to an end—namely earning income. However, the way a woman obtains income is considered important because it determines how she meets family responsibilities. In terms of earning income, renting rooms ranks highest among the options or future possibilities which women employed for a wage in tourism see available to them. Their assessments of this type of activity are based on actual estimates of its economic returns as well as on considerations about the degree of flexibility it allows with regard to the allocation of one's time and labor. From the point of view of the women, the importance of renting rooms is predicated on its value as an economic endeavor which yields much more income than wage

employment.¹⁴ The same activity is also referred to as being consistent with domestic work tasks since it takes place in the house and can be organized and regulated in ways that do not interfere with a woman's family roles. This account of how the women measure the positive and negative qualities of different types of income-earning activities and specify the motivations upon which their choices and future plans are made points out that today the family takes precedence over the job in order of importance.

All eight women articulated a sense of self-improvement, attributing it to changes associated with employment in the tourist industry: exposure to entrepreneurial organizations and to new patterns of interaction, familiarity with the tourist subculture and breaking the monotony of being at home most of the time. However, beyond these changes, it is their contribution to family income that has effected the women's experiences in the household. The ways in which they allocate their earnings reveal certain patterns concerning decision-making processes that relate to the administration of the household's economic and financial affairs. Only one of the eight women does not control her wages but passes them on to her spouse. In this case the husband's earnings do not amount to more than 20 or 30 days' wages for the entire year. Managing the household budget, he has assumed the responsibility of making food purchases, assisting the daughter during the tourist season in the preparation of meals, paying utility bills and generally controlling household expenses. It is also not uncommon for him to purchase clothes for all of the family members. This arrangement in domestic management, which also prevails during the non-tourist season, took effect when the wife first started working for a wage. Prior to that time she had basically no assistance from her husband with housework, but exercised some control in running the home—deciding about daily expenditures incurred in providing for the family's upkeep. There is evidence that this particular woman's status

has been reduced to that of a "wage provider with no basic rights in the home." This is to a large extent a corollary of her surrendering her earnings to her spouse and the latter assuming many of her household responsibilities.

Of the remaining seven women, four contribute a portion or all of their earnings to the household budget and towards consumer purchases. For these women, the major change associated with wage employment in tourism involves their having surpassed certain limitations caused by either domestic economic difficulties and/or their lack of control over the household's financial resources. The experience of controlling their earnings and deciding on how to dispose of them has enhanced the women's sense of self-worth and has helped create in them a feeling of independence. They claim to derive a great satisfaction from knowing that through their own initiative they are able to meet certain domestic economic needs which they as consumers primarily experience.

However, women's economic action and strategies are not limited in their orientation to family maintenance. There is evidence that when their wages are indispensable for meeting "special" needs, such as those related to housing, women may undertake additional work and pull strings in order to save income. For example, in the case of one of the women, Maria, the prospect of her family having its own house--so as to save on rent and possibly utilize the extra space of its ground floor for commercial purposes--had been of paramount importance and had influenced her decisions about employment and income allocation. Since the construction of the family house began, Maria's strategy has been to pull strings and stretch her wages to meet most household expenses in order that her spouse's earnings may be used for the purchase of building materials and payments for labor. The only other financial responsibilities assumed by her husband involve paying utility bills, the rent as well as the cost of maintaining his

commercial vehicle. During the time when the house's construction had come to a halt because of outstanding debts, Maria, by cutting down on family expenses, saved her wages for three months and facilitated the payment of debts and the assumption of the building process. However, realizing that when it came to saving income her sacrifices were insufficient, particularly since her spouse showed no sign of improving his attitude towards work and family responsibilities, she decided to take on a second job (waitressing at a local restaurant in the evening hours). She was to keep this job as long as the dire need for extra income resources persisted.

On the level of ideology, three of the four women who allocate their income to meet daily household needs and expenses express similar views concerning domestic arrangements and what they consider women should deal with in principle. These women (as well as the one who turns her wages over to her husband) conveyed to me that they envy those Kokkariote wives who do not work outside the home and emphasized that ideally a woman's work should be limited to childcare and house-keeping activities alone. On the other hand, in their definition of male roles they tended to stress major economic responsibilities related to the provisioning of the family's living. Influenced by their personal experiences, these women attach great importance to men's efficiency as family providers and consider it pervasive in determining the sexes' economic and emotional associations. They do not see their own position in the household as having improved by absolute standards with wage employment because, in their view, they have no access to the source from which such improvement derives—that is, choice of action. Having taken on paid work in the tourist industry in order to help secure life essentials for their families does not denote an option or choice since this is the only means by which they can overcome daily exigencies. From the women's viewpoint, the context in which a woman could speak of an elevation in her status is that of a marital union

based on the spouses' mutual understanding and sharing in decision-making, duties and economic responsibilities.

One of the women, Sophia, whose views diverged from those of the others, considers herself fortunate to be earning a wage and sees her venturing into extra-domestic work not as a sacrifice, but as a means of serving her own as well as the family's interests and goals. In her assessment, in order to cope with her subservient position, a woman who cannot gain the compliance of her husband through persuasion must take advantage of economic opportunities and earn her own income. Only in this manner will she be able to assert her own rights. Sophia's decision concerning income allocation was not prompted by a real economic need but by a desire on her part to acquire greater freedom in managing the household. Formerly, because she had been obliged to make due with the money allocated to her, she was constrained when it came to acquiring material goods other than those absolutely necessary for the family's upkeep. Currently, for six months out of the year (the period of time she is employed) household expenses are paid largely from her wages. During the non-tourist season the husband brings money home on a regular basis but does not turn his entire salary (the wages he earns as a seaman) over to her in order to manage it. To meet her own needs and to pay for many of the children's personal expenses, Sophia waits until she receives her unemployment compensation insurance payments, the children's allowance and the two extra months' salaries for the Easter and Christmas holidays. This case supports the argument that women through control of their earnings may escape much of their dependence on males. Sophia referred to her husband's dominance in the conjugal relationship which had prevented her in the past from having a greater say in family matters. To this aspect of her life situation she also attributed the strain and conflicts in her marital relationship. As her primary concern had been to hold the right to "act freely" in the home (not the acceptance of this right by her husband), she feels

that control over her income has guaranteed her this right. However, in her case the conjugal division of rights has not become more symmetrical; instead, in the process of making decisions about cash expenditures, the wife does not have to consult with or give an account to her husband.¹⁵

There is no evidence that the women who contribute their wages mainly to the household budget have taken on tasks formerly carried out by men or that they have come to enjoy more privileged associations with their husbands.¹⁶ Although these women exercise today more decision-making rights in the home because of their economic accomplishments, this development should not be interpreted as conducive to the establishment of a certain equality between them and their spouses. Cooperation of spouses in family decision-making, which is essential for this equality, is lacking in their case. The women themselves complained of not having been able mutually to exchange opinions and cooperate with their husbands. Also, conjugal conflicts have not ceased with their participation in wage earning activities in tourism and their more active involvement in the household's economic organization. The major positive effect of the new experience of earning income and having control over it has been for the women a lessening of their vulnerability and insecurity.

Of the eight women interviewed who participate in tourism through wage employment, three use their income to meet needs and expenses other than daily household ones. These women do not hand their earnings over to any one member of the household, but decide either alone or jointly with their spouses on how to allocate them. The women attribute the fact that they do not supplement with their wages the household budget to a lack of need (having sufficient funds at their disposal to provide for the family's daily sustenance) as well as to pre-existing domestic practices. The women play a crucial part in managing the household's finances largely because their husbands pass their

earnings—either in full or their major portion—onto them. This arrangement has prevailed both prior and subsequent to their having taken on wage employment. In their case it is difficult to speak of male dominance in the conjugal partnership, since the women have made use of critical economic rights within their homes. Also, their situation is not one in which women acquire the right to participate actively in household affairs by virtue of a strong personality or the use of informal techniques. These particular women have in the past played a crucial role in domestic economic organization and have handled matters of importance for the household's viability.

The three Kokkeriote wives have in the past, as well as since being employed in tourism, controlled the household budget, paid utility bills and, by handling all regularly recurring cash expenditures, have managed to build up the family's savings. Fishing, maintaining the land and selling its produce fall into the only area of activities where their husbands play managerial roles and make economic decisions. All other decisions about major purchases, investments and economic deals are based on the mutual exchange of opinions between the conjugal partners. In the three cases, the husbands confirmed their spouses' active and formal involvement in the administration of the household's economic and financial matters, viewing their contribution as beneficial to family interests. They even went as far as to acknowledge that their wives are best suited for handling the bulk of the household's financial resources because they run the home in an efficient, non-wasteful manner; as consumers they are able to economize and save income.

These three women's favorable position has been determined by the rights and duties they are assigned by their families. Their acquisition of such rights, as well as their activities, can be understood when viewed with respect to the economic context of the households and particularly in relation to factors such as emigration and the problems

surrounding the changes precipitated from it, economic hardship and the degree of access to material opportunity. The three cases suggest that the insecurity of men's economic position, along with the efforts of women to control expenses, help save income and augment family resources, are conducive to the development of conjugal relationships based on the mutual exchange of opinions and sharing in family decision-making between the spouses. The husbands in these cases had brought very little property or other assets to the marriage. Furthermore, their range of economic action, choices and decisions had been restricted either because of a dearth of available income-earning opportunities and a limited access to cash or due to the difficulties associated with the adjustment process of immigration. Under these conditions, the women's active participation in the household administration was a corollary of their efforts to promote household sufficiency. Even though, like their husbands, they did not contribute much in terms of resources at marriage, they did so subsequently through their accomplishments (see Appendix F).

It can be concluded that Kokkariote women's involvement through wage employment in tourism may not basically change the conjugal division of rights and duties, but there is evidence that it can strengthen the spouses' collaboration. For the women, their role in managing the household's finances may assume greater significance with their earning a wage. This is because income can provide them with new opportunities for enhancing the household's well-being (by means such as the acquisition of material goods, the accumulation of savings and the undertaking of investments). Having a paid job and control over their earnings are conditions that have helped precipitate an expansion of Kokkariote women's range of decisions. The primary way women tend to benefit from their entry into the tourism labor market is through income, which enables them to employ strategies and plan for current and future needs in ways they have not done in the past

because the household's financial resources did not permit it. As their economic action and decisions aim at attaining important ends—the achievement of material prosperity and the provisioning for the family's future—their rights to actively participate in the household's administration are acknowledged by family members, and particularly their spouses.

Women Involved in Tourist Activities Other Than Wage Labor

The favored tourism-related economic endeavors for women are the ones that offer the chance for earnings not based on wage employment. Kokkariote women do not take on paid jobs in the tourist industry if other possibilities are available to them to obtain income without being placed in the position of employee. As we have seen, views on the relative merits of activities such as renting rooms indicate both economic considerations and central cultural values. Of the eight village women I interviewed who are involved in tourism-related work without partaking of the wage-labor-capital relationship, half are self-employed and the other half assist in running the family's touristic enterprise. The women range in ages from 28 (the youngest) to 51 (the oldest) and their children are between the ages of 3 and 27. In three cases—two of which concern women who are self-employed—the children are all below the age of 7, while in the remaining five cases they are all above the age of 11. Only one of the women has come from another Samiote village and settled in Kokkari because of marriage. Also, five of the women live in nuclear family households whereas the rest reside in households which are extended by one of the women's parents. Regarding the self-employed women, the earnings of two of them amount to the major portion of their household's income. In the case of the four women whose families own and operate touristic enterprises, business earnings comprise the major or only source of household income.

The ways in which women participate in tourism through

self-employment and men's attitudes towards their wives' economic activities are relevant for understanding how and why Kokkariote women come to assume the role of entrepreneur. When it comes to becoming involved in income-earning activities in tourism through self-employment, the bases for women's choices include: the availability of strategic resources; their taking into consideration their domestic duties and responsibilities; whether they can accommodate their own interests to their spouses' convictions; and their assessments of family needs and future prospects. Kokkariote women venturing into business "on their own" usually start out by renting rooms either out of the family house or of an additional one, or less commonly by establishing small-scale commercial enterprises that do not require much in terms of capital investments and labor input. Child care duties can deter women, especially if they have no source of aid, from engaging or continuing to engage in wage employment in the tourist industry. To cope with the constraints, it is common for women to undertake the renting of rooms as an activity that does not take them away from home.

In one of the cases I examined, Elpida, a 28 year old woman, told me of her decision for the following season to rent out the food outlet she has been operating for a few years and shift to the renting of rooms; and this, despite the fact that she has been assisted by her mother in the care of the home and children. As she explained, this decision was prompted by her concern that since she went into food selling she has been spending increasingly less time at home with the children. Elpida's explanation is consistent with the way Kokkariote women evaluate options regarding extra-domestic work activities. It points out that the emphasis attached to family roles and domestic responsibilities affects women's choices and determines to a large extent their income-earning strategies.

In certain situations, renting rooms may be the only option available to women who wish to earn income from tourism, but have to

conform to their spouses' orientations. There are men who, because of their convictions, do not consent to their wives working for a wage in the tourist industry. One husband, for example, reported that he would never allow his wife to work at a hotel because he could not see himself coming home for the midday meal and not finding her there. Thus, in such situations women undertake the renting of rooms, thereby turning certain domestic tasks into economic activities by offering them to tourists for sale. There is also evidence that in assessing income-earning strategies, women take into account not only current or short-term needs but also future prospects and possible events of change. According to informants' accounts, the expansion of the family house often constitutes an investment which, while in the short run is to provide a source of household income, in the long run would provide valuable property for a daughter's dowry. Furthermore, renting rooms is perceived by some women as a safety valve in the event the construction industry declines and the household is deprived of its basic source of income, their husbands' wages. In fact, one woman, besides making reference to this potential threat, expressed a concern that her spouse's physical disability could prevent his engagement in wage work in agriculture and construction. She obviously realizes that in this situation the income earned from the renting of rooms would prove vital for the family's economic survival.

Generally, women's initial attempts to accrue income through self-employment in tourism are based on the use of already existing resources. But in time, these attempts precipitate investments (as in new rental facilities) and more organized, larger scale business activities. The four cases I examined indicate that women's entry through self-employment in the tourist industry may be preceded by both spouses' joint decision (this tends to occur in situations where some type of investment is made in housing or in setting up a commercial establishment) or it may result from the women's own assessments and actions. In either

case, men make no claims to the right of directing their wives' work activities or deciding on their behalf about how to manage business operations. There is evidence that from the start men do not wish to become involved in their wives' endeavors—referring to them as women's work—and assess their own occupational pursuits as primary for purposes of earning a living for their families. Therefore, they leave it up to the women to take all the necessary measures for "forming their work environment" and deciding how to run the enterprises.

However, the impression should not be formed that men do not apprehend the opportunities made available by tourism for securing new and significant sources of income. Instead, men tend to underestimate the value of women's economic activities, since such activities involve no special skills and basically relate to domestic work which men have always taken for granted. Also, because of the small scale of touristic enterprises which women run (at least when starting out), men do not consider them as potentially significant sources of household income. Due to their initial reluctance to show interest in and attribute value to their wives' tourism-related work, men assume an attitude of non-interference. This attitude, in turn, provides a basic element in the process whereby an increase in women's decision-making leads to their achievement of a certain domestic autonomy. However, a growing awareness of the importance of the new sources of earnings which women provide often leads men to orient their interests towards their wives' economic decisions and plans. Some men shift away from or curtail their own occupational pursuits in order to invest time and labor in the more lucrative service-oriented activities carried out by their spouses. Yet, in doing so, there is no evidence that they obtain the prerogative of deciding on how business is to be run and managed.

Villagers commented that in the early years of tourism's development public opinion condemned the practice whereby a family, in order to accrue rental income, provided sleeping accommodations to tourists in its

house. This type of action was attributed to greediness and to a lack of concern for safeguarding the "sacredness" and privacy of one's home. In time, however, as awareness of the economic value of both service activities and housing facilities increased, the renting of rooms ceased to be viewed in negative terms; today it is one of the most sought after sources of income. The explanation of a 51 year old informant, Dimitra, reflects the general tendency of villagers to compare their new tourism-related endeavors (renting rooms) with their former occupational pursuits in an effort to articulate an improvement in economic status. She notes:

All our lives my husband and I have worked on the land, only to earn a modest living. In the past, I had tried unsuccessfully to encourage my husband to invest in apartments in Athens. Money was then made to be saved. His only interest was improving the land, but our toil went to waste since agriculture did not provide us with large incomes. In contrast, renting rooms in houses proved from the start profitable. Over the years we successively renovated houses in order to rent rooms in them and reinvested the accumulated profits to build new houses for greater profits. During the last few years my husband has been complaining about the hard work required for the maintenance of all these houses. He feels that fewer rooms would have been sufficient since they would have involved less work, now that he is 65 and wants to retire. But I feel I am able to run all these houses (totalling 27 rooms) and, furthermore, they are necessary because half of them will be given to our son at marriage as his own business. Unlike agriculture, the hard work all three of us put into the business pays off; also, we have six months during the off-season to renew our strength, harvest our olive groves and periodically visit our daughter abroad.

High income prospects, the desire to accumulate material wealth and to provide her son with an already established business at marriage have comprised the basic motivations influencing Dimitra to encourage her husband to undertake investments in real estate.¹⁷ She has gained much of her drive and initiative from the realization that her contribution

in terms of labor, know-how and decision-making is vital to the family's economic interests.

I found that women who are self-employed in the tourist industry are frequently the ones whose names appear on the licenses to do business. For example, in most cases—including the three I examined—rooming facilities are registered with the local police in the women's names.¹⁸ This occurs even if the women are not the owners of the buildings housing the businesses. (In fact, this is the case with two of my three informants). Only in the case of Dimitra had each household member obtained the license to operate part of the business, namely that which is housed in the building he/she owns. Thus, in the name of the wife/mother are the hotel and the family house (one level of which is rented out); two housing complexes—amounting to approximately half of the total number of rooms—have been transferred to and are in the name of the son; and a small two-room house is in the name of the husband/father. Elpida, the young woman in the food selling business, had also applied for and obtained the license to operate her enterprise (even though it is established in a building that is owned by her spouse's father). From the legal point of view, this tendency whereby the licenses to operate rooming facilities are issued in the names of women confirms the women's entrepreneurial role; it conveys that they have a full or the primary responsibility for managing the business and in the case of legal violations are subject to penalties.

In the process of running their own businesses, women take on tasks and develop strategies that amount to new experiences and the assumption on their part of new responsibilities. I ascertained that women make the necessary purchases when it comes to furnishing the facilities of their enterprises, devise their own accounting methods and, those who rent rooms, employ strategies to attract customers. During the second half of July and throughout August there are more visitors in the village than it can comfortably accommodate and scores of tourists sleep in tents on the

beach or in the open air. But competition at the beginning and end of the season becomes intense and women employ various strategies to "lure" customers. At times they ask neighbors to direct to their rooming houses passers-by who may be inquiring about accommodations. Also, women rely on household members employed at tourist offices and shops or on relatives and friends of the family running commercial outlets (since they have the advantage of encountering holiday travellers) to "send" them customers. Another common practice is for women to gather at the bus stop during certain morning and noon hours and greet arriving tourists with cries of "Room! Room!" These arrangements may be viewed as part of the entrepreneurial skills women develop in the course of renting out housing facilities.

Of the four women who are self-employed in tourism, two have full control over all aspects of business, in the sense that there is no involvement in or interference from other household members in their activities (either in the form of labor assistance or know-how and decision-making). In the case of the third woman, Dimitra, the entire family works together to operate the rooming facilities. But in this case also, it is the wife/mother who has initiated or carries out all important decisions concerning investments, management and the allocation of financial resources. Furthermore, because she often assigns work tasks to her husband and son, she influences to a large extent the division of labor in this sphere of non-domestic work. Dimitra is responsible for the daily upkeep of all 27 rooms. She also prepares and serves breakfast to the hotel's occupants, keeps records on arrivals and departures, decides on the purchase of supplies and maintains accounts on cash receipts and operating expenses. Her spouse assists her in making beds, does the laundry (using washing machines), irons the linen and purchases supplies. Repair and maintenance work on the facilities is done by the son who also transports tourists to and from the port and airport, since he owns a van. As for Elpida, for the first three

seasons she operated basically alone her food selling outlet—her spouse assisted occasionally in the late evening hours and with the purchase of supplies. Since 1984, when the enterprise was expanded and a need arose for additional labor, both spouses have been involved in running it. Also, from that time on Elpida is paying a local woman to work as kitchen help during the late afternoon and evening hours. Currently the husband does the cooking (with some assistance from his mother) while the wife receives orders, waits on tables and keeps accounts of cash receipts and expenditures.

In order to fully assess the women's business endeavors, it is useful to note that the enterprises which they operate comprise two important characteristics. First, they provide the financial resources for their continuity and expansion. I ascertained that all money for paying the cost of operating expenses is withheld from the business while a large portion of the profits is ploughed back into it for supplies and investments. Another characteristic relates to the fact that these enterprises allow for a continuous inflow of profits. According to the informants' explanations, this means a need for careful planning and control over cash expenditures if one is to build up the family's savings or to benefit from opportunities for further investments. The ways in which the four women use the liquid resources of their businesses and seek to minimize expenditures reveal their strong commitment to entrepreneurial pursuits. They also point to the assumption by the women of new responsibilities associated with the administration of the household economy. As will be subsequently demonstrated, these women have come to exercise a great deal of control over the family's finances.

In the day-to-day running of their businesses, the four women maintain a daily register of earnings. For the three women who rent rooms, this method also enables them to record the dates of arrival and departure of occupants, so as to know when to expect vacancies as well as to make entries of received and outstanding rental payments. Dimitra

and Elpidia explained that they also keep accounts of operating expenses. Since both women run establishments which require the maintenance of a large stock of supplies, through this method they arrive at a more systematic way of deciding what commodities need to be purchased. These organizational aspects provide evidence of how women decide—without consultation or advice from family members or experts—about arrangements for the purpose of handling financial matters in the business context.

The four women articulated both a sense of self-confidence and an improvement in their position within the household, which they explained in terms of changes associated with self-employment in the tourist industry. What they regard as a privilege is not just the fact of income-earning, but that such income is earned in ways which best suit their interests; namely, by working within the parameters of one's house and, while doing so, not having someone "over one's head and be directed at tasks." The achievement of a considerable degree of control in the process of rendering services has enhanced the women's familiarity with the tourist market—its supply and demand dimensions—as well as with related formal organizations. These developments comprise one of the sources from which the four women have gained much of their self-confidence and initiative. Another aspect of their entrepreneurial pursuits which the women consider important is the prospect of increased earnings through investments. An awareness of the high returns of service activities to both labor and capital investments has led the four wives/mothers to plan for ways to ensure greater profits. Moreover, it has not been uncommon for the women to decide together with their spouses about business investments. There is evidence that there emerges through time a tendency whereby spouses cooperate in business-related decisions. The connection between this tendency and men's recognition that their wives direct tasks which promote the family's economic well-being is easily discernable.

Regarding the link between women's economic accomplishments and their domestic position, several points can be made on the basis of the

four cases. Having access to economic action, women are generally in a better position to attain a certain degree of autonomy. But they must also control the income accrued from their activities. More importantly, through such activities the women must be able to conduct matters essential to the household's viability. The four cases add to the view that the nature of women's economic responsibilities is more critical than the volume of their labor services; it is more conducive to their attainment of a certain freedom of choice and action within the home. Women's involvement in extra-domestic work does not necessarily entail a change in the conjugal division of rights. The four cases suggest that one must examine the nature of women's economic action, as well as the responsibilities such action involves, in order to look for factors or conditions which allow for a more even distribution of decision-making rights between the spouses in the domestic sphere.

None of the four cases supplied evidence that the women's earnings are either passed on to their husbands or are handled exclusively by them and that the women do not take part in decisions concerning their allocation. Instead, as a consequence of their economic contribution, the women's "domestic" activities have come to encompass decisions about the accumulation of savings and cash expenditures for household purchases, wages and even investments. In the four households, income from tourism has provided the women with the material base for achieving a greater say in family economic and financial matters. Generally, such income does not comprise the total or even the major portion of the resources allocated for the family's upkeep, but is used primarily for household purchases (consumer goods), paying the cost of housing improvements, building up savings and expanding business operations. For the four cases, domestic financial arrangements reveal that men commonly allocate money to their wives for family expenditures. From the men's viewpoint, the importance of their wives' economic demeanors stems from their value as a source of discretionary income; namely, income beyond that which is needed for purposes of earning a living for one's family.

In the households of Elpida and Dimitra, where the family works together as a unit in running the business, the spouses pool resources to pay for household expenses and meet investment needs. The income the two women earn from business comprises the major source of the family's total earnings. Also, both households do not obtain income from other sources on a regular basis, as in the form of wages. In Elpida's case, household expenses are paid during the tourist season from her business' earnings while in the off-season months it is income from the husband's trade (carpentry) that provides for the family's upkeep. The wife's food selling enterprise has also enabled the household to undertake capital investments in order to ensure greater profits above and beyond those of the business. For achieving this goal, both spouses had jointly decided to allocate a significant portion of the business' accumulated earnings towards the purchase of modern machinery for the carpentry shop. When deciding on what portion of the household's income (regardless of the source from which it comes) is to be set aside as savings or used for investments and major purchases, the spouses consult one another. But each one carries out the daily economic transactions pertaining to his and her work activities.

Prior to the time she began operating the food establishment, Elpida's involvement in the family's finances had been limited to managing the household budget. She claimed that the amount of money her spouse brought home was always sufficient to meet family needs and she rarely had to ask for supplements. From her point of view, the fact that she did not earn income did not entitle her to exercise much influence at home, especially over economic matters. Satisfied that her family was well provided for, she did not interfere with or make inquiries about her husband's earning efforts. As a result, she could not furnish information about the income her husband's work yielded in the past. Today, however, Elpida has a different image of herself. The cumulative effect of her experience in self-employment is reflected in

a greater self-confidence which enables her to evaluate her position in the household and conclude that it has considerably improved. What she pointed out as relevant is that, in earning income, she has acquired knowledge about economic processes and has attained a sense of self-worth. In her case, the change in the conjugal relationship—the husband and wife cooperating in running the business enterprise, deciding jointly about the disposal of the household's income and pooling resources to meet expenses—denotes a certain equality in the division of rights between the spouses.

Dimitra's household, aside from the renting of rooms, obtains income twice a year from the sale of produce. Such income is collected by the husband, while the wife receives all rental payments. Since agricultural income comes in lump sums at the end of the grape and the olive harvest, it is used during the off-season to support the family as well as to meet extraordinary needs and expenses (for consumer purchases, to pay the cost of repair work and to finance trips abroad). Overall, earnings from agriculture comprise the household's cash on hand to which all of its members have access. But because of extra expenditures, income from the land is insufficient to support the family throughout the year and during the tourist season household expenses are also paid from business earnings. Of the business' cash receipts, Dimitra keeps a portion at home for the family's upkeep and in order to pay the cost of the expenses incurred in operating the rooming facilities. Both her spouse and son are free to withdraw from it small sums for spending money. However, when it comes to purchasing commodities for the business, they are obliged to either turn to the wife/mother for cash or to inform her of the amount spent. She also decides when and how much of the business' profits are to be turned into savings.¹⁹

In the past, although Dimitra participated in family decision-making, it was her husband who decided about the allocation of income and on what portions of it were to be set aside as savings. She did not have to pull strings in meeting household expenses, but for special needs

(buying more clothes, new furniture and items for the daughter's dowry) she had to ask, as she put it, for "hand outs." As a consequence of her initiating economic action and making decisions about business investments, this particular wife/mother has come to exercise greater decision-making rights at home. Her control over the business' earnings has enabled her to participate in an active and formal manner in the administration of the household's financial affairs.

The two women who engage in the renting of rooms without being assisted by family members (their spouses) make no regular contributions from their earnings to the household budget. There is no need for them to do so since the money brought home by their spouses is sufficient to meet daily needs. In fact, both husbands pass their wages over to their wives and at times even turn to them for pocket money. Future needs and the concern for raising the family's standard of living—through material possessions and the accumulation of wealth—are considerations that influence the women's decisions about the allocation of earnings over and above household expenses. The fact that the two women administer the family's finances mirrors their critical role in domestic economic organization. I must also add that they had participated actively in areas of decision-making concerning the household economy before engaging in the renting of rooms. But as a corollary of their income-earning efforts in tourism, the range of their choices within the home has expanded. The decision-making rights they exercise and the managerial roles they perform are not the result of a single cause but derive from a combined configuration of several factors.

In both cases, the husbands' sphere of economic action has always been limited to their main occupational pursuits. One husband, aside from earning a wage as a self-employed construction worker to provide for the family's upkeep, has shunned all other household responsibilities. Because of her spouse's attitude, the wife has had many opportunities to act in her own right and play a critical role in

domestic management. The control she exercises extends beyond the day-to-day running of the household and includes those areas where decisions are made about savings, investments (for the construction of housing facilities) and non-ordinary expenditures. Her initiative, for example, to establish a personal bank account to which she contributes large portions of the income accrued from renting out seven rooms, provides evidence that she administers the family's wealth. She even makes decisions about the organization of agricultural work—deciding on the timing of agricultural tasks and urging her husband to carry them out.²⁰ The wife complained strongly about her spouse's "carefree" attitude and his excessive drinking, but simultaneously expressed a great satisfaction at being able to serve the family's interests through her efforts. Undoubtedly, the considerable degree of independence she enjoys at home has its base in the tasks she performs and the duties she has taken on.

As for the second husband, his part in household organization and particularly in the management of its finances is also minimal. It is relevant that in this case the wife had a long experience in earning a wage, managing her own income and providing for herself both during most of the duration of her first marriage (because of her husband's long illness) and until the time she was remarried. On the other hand, the husband not only worked before marriage on the family's plots as his father's auxiliary, but he did not control the earnings he obtained from agricultural wage labor. More importantly, when the couple established its own household, he had been limited in terms of initiating economic action because he did not control property. His share of the patrimony was not transferred to him at marriage and he has had to cooperate with his father in agricultural activities. (He has also been engaged in wage employment in agriculture and construction). In the context of these circumstances, the wife's experiences plus her economic contribution from her personal savings and wages put her in the

advantageous position to make economic decisions and participate actively in household management. It is primarily due to the wife's initiative—which at times has prompted the spouses to cooperate in joint accomplishments—that the household developed its own resources.²¹ Her strategies have been oriented towards lessening the household's economic dependence on her affines and minimizing the possibilities of their interfering in its affairs.

These two women are certainly the initiators of most decisions in the day-to-day running of the household and have supreme autonomy. Both husbands claimed that their wives are best equipped to handle managerial and especially financial matters because they see to the family's daily needs. In addition, they recognized their spouses' efforts to maximize the household's cash income. The two cases give support to the following points: first, women may enjoy freedom of action and choice in the home because of certain de facto conditions such as their husbands' lack of interest or involvement in administrative matters (in which case the women's decisions and strategies are indispensable to the household's viability); and second, women are in a position to play a more active managerial role in the household when, through their innovative roles and actions, they lessen the insecurity of men's economic position and enhance the family's economic welfare.

Of the four women I interviewed who assist in running their families' touristic enterprises, three engage in the type of work activities required for the maintenance of rooming facilities. In two of these cases the husbands did not engage in any major occupational pursuits at the time when the family's touristic enterprises (a hotel and a pension) were founded. One had repatriated with his family from abroad two years earlier and the other had abandoned his trade as a shipwright. With land cultivation being their only sideline activity, mainly during the non-tourist season, both men have concentrated their efforts in operating the family's business. For the third husband,

involvement in tourism meant initially converting the family's coffee-house into a restaurant (only to rent it out a few years later) and then undertaking investments in the hotel sector. In all three cases the establishment of touristic enterprises had necessitated relatively large scale capital investments and was preceded by a great deal of planning and decision-making in which the men had a much greater say. The women have title of ownership of the buildings housing the businesses, since they contributed the sites on which the facilities were constructed.²² But the licenses to operate the enterprises have been issued in the husbands' names. This fact is relevant because it indicates that men are responsible for managing the businesses, at least insofar as they have to conform to certain legal stipulations, see to it that prescribed standards are maintained and generally deal with the appropriate local agencies.

Despite their different experiences in assisting the family to run its business, the three women expressed a sense of satisfaction that they are able to exercise control over their work situation—not having to work for someone else and being able to allocate their time and labor without interference from other household members. In order to combine in the best possible way her work tasks and domestic family responsibilities, one of the women had persuaded her husband—at the time of the expansion of the pension—to add two extra rooms to the premises to serve as the family's living quarters. Both spouses agreed that the investment has had several beneficial effects: the conservation of time and energy, because family members do not have to commute several times a day between the house (at one end of the village) and the pension (at the opposite end); the family's spatial concentration, allowing for more direct parental supervision of the daughters; and knowing to the fullest extent about the comings and goings of the pension's occupants. For the wife, however, the most important consequence of the investment is that of saving valuable time and being able to cope

with relative ease with domestic responsibilities.

Another woman who carries a large work load (she is responsible for the daily upkeep of 16 rooms) and labors as many as 12 hours daily, does not wish to hire help. Her reasons are that this would mean a lessening of her control over various aspects of her work, the responsibility of directing and checking upon another woman's work, as well as adding to the business' operating expenses. She is assisted by her mother who prepares the family's noon meals, does most of the housework and cares for the children. Such assistance is indispensable to this Kokkariote wife/mother, considering that her three children range between the ages of 3 and 7. Also, as she commented, because the assistance is offered by a member of her natal family, it does not put her in the position of feeling obligated to "repay it" through certain expected services (as would be the case with an affine).

There is a keen awareness on the part of villagers who operate their own enterprises that having in one's business family members, who can be expected to do more work and put in more hours than paid employees, is the best way of obtaining the most of the new profit-making opportunities. Kinship connections outside the domestic family group are generally not used for the recruitment of personnel for enterprises. The men and women I spoke with felt that if they fill vacancies with relatives, they would be inhibited when it came to assigning them tasks or insisting on certain performance criteria. The fusion of family and economic obligations in the realm of entrepreneurial endeavors is particularly evident in the case of Irine, a 48 year old wife/mother whose family owns and operates two hotels.

In Irine's case a transactional pattern can be discerned between the parents and the younger unmarried daughter whereby the former set certain tasks and the latter reciprocates by carrying them out. The daughter runs the newer hotel's front desk, keeps accounts on the arrival and departure of occupants (using records which the father

supplies her with) and serves them breakfast as well as drinks. She is shown trust to be assigned such responsible tasks, but has also been told that upon division of the family property the newer hotel will be transferred to her. Therefore, it is in her interest to exhibit commitment to the business and assist actively in running it. For similar reasons, the married daughter and her spouse also work in the family's enterprises during their holiday visits to the village. It is both the duty and interest of the couple to do so since all the money for the construction of their house in the city is being contributed by the wife's family. Furthermore, like her sister, the married daughter has a potential interest in her natal family's business because the parents plan to transfer to her the older hotel. (The share of the business to be kept by the parental couple upon retirement is the restaurant as rentable property).

I ascertained that when paid labor is needed for the operation of family businesses, it is acceptable and even expected for the owner's wife to do the hiring if the job falls in the sphere of women's work. It is also the wife who allocates tasks (rooms cleaning, making beds and washing dishes) to female employees. This is related to the fact that such tasks are bound up with a woman's performance as a housewife. Thus, in the past, when the family operated its restaurant, Irine had hired a local woman to take on "routine" work in the kitchen—washing the dishes, preparing the serving trays and cleaning the premises. She felt that she could rely on another woman to perform these time-consuming activities in order to occupy herself mainly with food preparation. As she explained, she did not entrust the cooking to another woman because of the special skills and intricacies it involves. Similarly, because she considered herself best suited to run the restaurant's kitchen, she had employed a second woman to undertake the hotel's daily upkeep.

By bringing in outside help, Irine's involvement in the family's

business had come to encompass decisions about the organization of work and cash expenditures (assigning the two female employees work tasks, paying them their salaries and making provisions for the replenishment of the stock of supplies). Her husband kept records on the arrival and departure of the hotel's occupants and collected cash payments, but he invested most of his time and energy in managing the restaurant. Since 1982 the family—having rented out the restaurant—has been engaged in running its two hotels; the husband handles mainly those activities linking the business with the wider market (commercial establishments, banks, travel agencies and tourist offices). In this capacity he makes economic decisions, pursues business connections and develops financial relationships with individuals and tourist agencies. These responsibilities remove him from the day-to-day running of the hotels, which is basically in the hands of the wife. The spouses have therefore come to operate in different spheres and each one occupies a managerial role within that sphere.

In Irine's case there is certainly evidence for a specialization of roles between the spouses in the business context: the wife deals mostly with daily "on site" matters (directing activities that belong to the sphere of female labor) while the husband engages in tasks that involve dealing with outsiders. Nevertheless, the wife shares in business organization more as her spouse's partner or associate rather than as an auxiliary non-paid family member. Through her strategies and decisions, Irine ensures that daily operations are performed as efficiently as possible. For example, her decision to transfer the older hotel's chambermaid to work in the new one, while hiring another woman to take her place, aimed at assuring that a more experienced and trusted employee was well-placed to handle a greater work load. She herself spends her mornings at one hotel preparing breakfast, while during the afternoon and evening hours washes and irons linen at the other hotel which adjoins the family's place of residence. Hence, she is able to

do these tasks at home along with housework.

In small family-owned businesses a division of labor between the spouses can be readily discerned, but—unlike Irine's case—the delineation of tasks and responsibilities may be such that women lack access to managerial roles. Overall, business organization may constitute men's prerogative. This is evident in the other two cases I examined where women assist their families in running enterprises for the renting of rooms (a hotel and a pension). In both cases the women's efforts are directed towards the daily maintenance of the rooming facilities; it is their husbands who control decision-making processes and handle tasks that relate to renting out the facilities, keeping accounts on the arrival and departure of occupants, collecting cash receipts and making cash payments. The spouses exchange information insofar as it is necessary to enable one (the receiver) to conduct matters pertinent to his or her responsibilities. However, there is little sharing or cooperation between them either in decision-making or work activities.

I encountered no situations where either of the two men or the women took over the tasks which their conjugal partner performs. For example, on those occasions when inquiries are addressed to them for payments of rent, the women direct customers to their husbands. Their reason for not taking the liberty to handle accounts is that they do not wish to interfere in an area of responsibilities where their spouses exercise control. Similarly, the women do not take part in making arrangements for the renting out of rooms. When receiving inquiries of travellers about accommodations and prices, they call their husbands to give information and decide on whether or not to take in occupants.²³ The two women claimed that it would be virtually impossible for them to handle their spouses' tasks and simultaneously supply the labor they do. From their point of view, their husbands are better equipped to conduct the business' administrative matters since they are in a position to move freely (not being saddled with the domestic duties which women

have) and also because they are not constrained with an inflexible work schedule. This explanation does point out some constraints operating on the women. But it does not account for the fact that the two informants neither have any part in the management of the business' earnings nor know much about how their spouses handle the enterprises' liquid resources.

The two cases imply a connection between the role a woman plays in the operation of the family's business and her position in the household. In fact, it can be said that one is an extension of, or affects to a large extent, the other. In other words, one can speak of an interdependence between the women's involvement (in terms of decision-making and managerial roles) in the family's business and their participation in the administration of household affairs (their domestic rights, responsibilities and the range of their choices and action). Data show that the two husbands control domestic finances: they decide about savings as well as the amount of income to be set aside for the household's cash reserve, have a final say about major purchases and allocate money to their wives either at their own initiative or upon request. Essentially this means that the women do not take part in the management of income, even though through their labor input they contribute towards its accumulation. The types of economic responsibilities which the spouses hold in the home as well as in running the family's business reflect the allocation of domestic rights. Both cases, therefore, support the argument that the volume of women's work does not guarantee an improvement of their position in the household, unless it is accompanied by an increase in their economic decision-making.

We have seen in Irine's case that a woman who assists in running the family's business can play managerial roles and handle financial matters without being involved in transactions and decision-making that relate to external business concerns. In this particular case an association can be discerned between the wife/mother's role in the

operation of the family's enterprises and the rights she enjoys at home. There is also evidence that the division of economic and decision-making rights between the spouses has changed through time. Prior to the time when the family began to operate its two hotels, cash contributions to the household budget were generally made by the husband. The wife's access to business earnings was limited to making withdrawals from cash receipts in order to have money on hand for household expenses. Furthermore, she did not take part in decisions about savings, and for special needs involving non-ordinary household expenditures asked her husband to allocate her money. Today, when deciding on the uses of current income and savings, especially for the daughters' needs, the wife either has a greater say or actually handles matters through her own initiative. For example, she frequently deposits savings in an account under the younger daughter's name and gives sums of money as well as material goods to the married daughter, often without consulting her husband. Undoubtedly, Irine's position in the household has strengthened, in that she has come to handle income directly and freely. Her case suggests that when women take part in a formal and active manner in the organization and direction of the operations of the family's business, they also make use of important economic rights in the home.

In another case, a 44 year old wife/mother who assists in the day-to-day running of the family's coffeeshouse is responsible—in addition to doing kitchen work—for keeping records on cash receipts and expenditures and allocating business earnings. The range of tasks she performs includes financial transactions, the purchase of foodstuffs and drinks and the depositing of earnings. A few hours each day (the period of slow activity, from eleven in the morning until four in the afternoon) she allocates to these activities as well as to housekeeping work.²⁴ The rest of the time she is occupied in the coffeeshouse's kitchen, preparing breakfast, coffee, drinks as well as salads and hors d'oeuvres. Her husband takes orders, serves customers and collects

cash receipts. What deserves special attention about this division of work activities and responsibilities between the spouses is the wife's exclusive control over the business' external operations as well as its finances. Her managerial role must be viewed in conjunction with the part she has taken in the past (as well as currently) in household administration.

The coffeehouse has always comprised the household's major source of income. It is the only property contributed by the husband at marriage and running it has been his only occupational pursuit. Because of the long hours of work involved in its consecutive daily operation, in the past and especially today, the husband has rarely been able to spare any time to engage in other endeavors such as land cultivation. Consequently, the wife has come to assume major domestic and extra-household responsibilities associated with different realms of decision-making and economic action: keeping the household budget, making arrangements for the cultivation of the family's fields (hiring workers and paying them their wages), as well as the construction of two houses (dower properties for the two married daughters) and depositing savings. The fact that this particular wife/mother basically manages alone the household's income may be viewed as an indication or a corollary of her active participation in major economic arrangements. Although there is sharing between the spouses in decision-making, ultimately it is the wife who implements managerial decisions and carries out financial transactions. Her case provides information that the conjugal partners' economic association may be such that it facilitates a woman's playing an active role in household organization as well as in the operation of the family's business.

The Roles of Women Involved in the Tourist Industry

Several points can be made on the basis of the sixteen cases of women who participate in tourism in different capacities. Strictly speaking, the economic actions and accomplishments of these women do not

give support to what ideology stresses as the division of roles whereby men are allocated the economic burden of supporting the family and women the care of the home and the family as their major or only obligation. Yet, when viewed in the context of values related to the family, women's tourism-related economic endeavors—even when they take them away from home—convey their involvement in various arenas, which is part of an accepted role and does not upset the complementarity of the sexes. It is because their priorities are centered on the family and its needs that Kokkariote women seek to maximize income resources by channelling their labor and skills as housewives into activities that in today's tourist economy have a commodity value. Furthermore, the choices women make as well as the strategies they employ indicate a definite concern that their economic endeavors do not conflict with their domestic family responsibilities.

The economic values for Greek women have always stressed prudent management of the household's resources (Salamone and Stanton 1986:104-105; Hirschon 1989:100). In Kokkari today there is basically no contradiction or antithesis between these values and the women's income-earning activities in tourism, which aim at enhancing the family's economic welfare. Acting in the spirit of family interest has always guided women's efforts; the difference is that its locus in the past tended to be in the domestic sphere or the household economy whereas presently it is also in the market place. Thus, it is not only economic circumstances, but deeply entrenched values that influence women's decisions to work as chambermaids at local hotels, to rent rooms or to open commercial tourist outlets. These values relate to the economic significance of the household, the importance of the family unit and the community judgement of the ability of men and women as marriage partners to care and provide for their children. There is no evidence that women whose earning efforts are geared towards tourism are acting in a manner inappropriate to their role as wives/mothers. Nor can it be said that

when women's economic endeavors are based on self-employment, they have the effect of making them men's competitors; instead, such endeavors often tend to enhance the possibilities for cooperative effort with their spouses. Finally, where women take on paid employment in the tourist industry, their labor outside the household is viewed positively by both family and the community. Moreover, it is not uncommon for families to achieve the primary goal of entrepreneurship partly through the women's wages.

Women Involved in Work Activities Unrelated to Tourism

In order to shed more light on women's perceptions of available options as well as men's attitudes towards their wives' choices, I focused attention on women whose primary or only non-domestic activities fall in the category of work unrelated (or not directly related) to tourism. Of the eight Kokkariote women I interviewed in this work category, five engage in agricultural tasks as non-paid family members, one assists in running the family's grocery store, another holds a salaried position—working as the local agrarian doctor's assistant—while another practices the trade of hairdresser. The youngest of the eight women is 20 years of age and the oldest is 52, while the remaining are between their mid-30s and early 40s. Three women are mothers whose only or youngest child is between 3 and 6 years of age, whereas the children of the remaining five women range in ages from 9 to 20. In four of the eight cases the women reside in households which are comprised of the nuclear family group plus one parent of either spouse. Also, two of the women are brides from other villages who married and settled in Kokkari. I sought to view the women's experiences in the household in relation to their economic demeanors in order to look for developments and influences that are not associated with tourism and affect their domestic position.

All of the women participate in agricultural work as non-paid family members (except one whose family does not own land) and take for

granted their labor contribution in olive and grape harvesting. From their point of view, assisting the family in the performance of these tasks is not a matter of choice since it amounts to channelling their labor potential into the household's economic activities. Following a similar course of thinking, the five women whose extra-domestic work is mainly limited to non-paid labor in agriculture left no doubt that if their family owned an enterprise, they would assist in running it. As for supplying family labor which helps generate income from the sale of produce, the women assessed their contribution as insignificant because of the low returns from agriculture and their own limited involvement in this kind of work. Only one informant made reference to her assisting in the cultivation of the family's fields--both in terms of the amount of labor and the multiplicity of tasks--as a factor indispensable to the household's self-sufficiency.

In their evaluations of female extra-domestic activities, the women tended to view only those economic endeavors disassociated from the home and the household as "real" work. In their perception, wage (salaried) employment is what segregates the world of work from that of the home or domestic environment. It involves moving out of the house (spatial dimension), adhering to a regular work schedule and inevitably having to make certain accommodations regarding domestic duties. The account of one informant, Niki, who operates her own hairdressing shop, reveals how women perceive income-earning endeavors in the economic sphere outside the home and deal with the constraints of maintaining a job while also fulfilling their duties at home. Until a few years ago Niki had practiced her trade at home. Using one room of the house as a hairdressing salon, she was able to earn income in a way that did not necessitate any considerable adjustment in terms of her family responsibilities--housekeeping work and child care. Saving on rent was another beneficial effect of this arrangement, especially at a time when the hairdressing trade did not yield anywhere near its current returns. While

assessing both of these aspects of her work situation in positive terms, Niki also expressed an awareness that earning income at home had influenced her view of her trade as a sideline activity. In contrast, presently she sees the spatial separation of her workplace from home, which the need for the expansion of operations dictated (because of the increase in the number of customers), as having generated in her a greater sense of commitment to her work; in her own words, she has come to adopt a more professional or business-like attitude towards her trade. Today, unlike in the past, she pays taxes, gives receipts for payments of services, keeps accounts on operating expenses and maintains a regular work schedule. The two women involved in occupational pursuits, Niki and Dhora, the 35 year old informant who works as the local doctor's assistant, expressed a strong sense of satisfaction that training—technical and professional respectively—had enabled them to secure a regular source of income. They saw no possibility of engaging in other economic activities in the future, at least not to the extent that they would abandon their current jobs. Dhora also claimed that if it had not been first for her mother and subsequently for her father who lived in the same house and looked after the children, she would have hired help in order to continue working.

The cases of Niki and Dhora point out that earning and managing their income can provide a basis for women to assume important economic responsibilities related to household management. Because her husband's low wages (he works as a transport driver) can only cover part of the household's regular expenses, periodically Niki adds amounts from her business' earnings to the household's cash reserve for the purchase of food and clothes. But the bulk of the profits go to finance the construction of the family's house. It is because the economic returns from Niki's trade have increased significantly in the last several years, that the prospect of the family building its own house no longer remains an unrealizable dream. Decisions on matters related to the investment are

based on the mutual exchange of opinions between the spouses. However, when it comes to making payments for construction materials and the cost of labor, it is the wife who turns to her savings in order to provide her husband with sums of money. She was also the one to make the necessary arrangements for hiring a civil engineer to design the plan of the house and for obtaining the building permit.

In the past, Dhora had also contributed her savings towards the construction of the family's house and at her own initiative had contracted a bank loan to help finance the investment.²⁵ Presently she allocates her earnings to cover daily and recurring family needs, while her husband pays mostly for non-ordinary household expenditures and utility bills. With income allocated in this manner, a large portion of the husband's earnings is turned into savings whereas the wife has spent most of her salary by the end of each month. When I presented Dhora with an alternative arrangement whereby each conjugal partner adds a portion of his or her income to the household budget—suggesting that in this manner she would be able to set aside part of her salary as savings—she claimed that she would have considered this option if her husband had a job that earned income regularly. Since he is a self-employed electrical mechanic and accumulates earnings on an irregular basis—upon completion, each time, of a specific job—she cannot expect him to manage his income as prudently as she does her own. From Dhora's viewpoint, any amount of personal savings would not generate in her the sense of security which the permanency of her job and the regularity of its income do. She also stated that at her wish her name had in the past been added to her husband's personal bank account.

The two cases provide evidence that where men are in occupations which imply certain disadvantages, such as low earnings and income that accrues irregularly, their wives' income contributions may assume special significance. It appears that having jobs that allow one to enjoy security of employment and high monetary returns, and controlling household

resources are conditions which confer on women a position of considerable power. It is clear, for example, that within the home Niki and Dhora have autonomy in matters associated with household management and especially with daily family needs. This autonomy does not derive only from the fact that they control their own income; it is also relevant that through their earning of income, the women enable their households to overcome the disadvantages based on their husbands' economic pursuits. Furthermore, the two women expressed a sense of satisfaction because their husbands neither interfere with their occupational activities nor complain about certain aspects of their jobs which potentially can create practical difficulties vis-a-vis their domestic priorities.²⁶

Concerning the possibility of taking on a job in the tourist industry—for all practical purposes the only available source of paid employment—the six women who do not earn income from the activities they engage in responded in ways that indicate two major concerns: assessing the options in terms of economic returns, while also reflecting on the constraints operating on them; and taking into account their spouses' attitudes. Only one of the women, the wife of the village school teacher, phrased her arguments partly according to considerations of social status. From her point of view, her husband's social status limits the range of her choices of employment possibilities. For both spouses, as well as according to community judgement, if the wife of a man who holds a professional position takes on a "socially lower job," such as one that does not require educational prerequisites and involves manual work, her action reflects negatively on his social standing and by extension on the family's reputation. It is significant, therefore, that values are resilient when villagers view the merits of different jobs for women on the basis of whether or not they threaten their husband's social position. Generally, however, a woman's earning capacity is not seen as having a negative effect on her husband's self- and community respect. In this sense, values have not persisted against the extreme emphasis on

increased material needs.

In two cases, the tasks the women perform and the responsibilities they hold as part of their contribution to the household's economic activities have prevented them in the past from engaging in wage employment in the tourist industry. Some of the major daily activities of one of the women, Anna, include the tending of animals (domestic fowl and three goats), the selling of milk to several households and the maintenance of the kitchen garden. Her husband rarely has free time to devote to these tasks, while the only assistance which her 20 year old daughter provides is with housekeeping chores and the shopping. In agricultural activities, and especially that of grape harvesting, Anna's labor input is indispensable since her husband, when able to join her, can only put in a few hours of work in the afternoons. As a construction laborer, it is mainly during the winter months when he can spare time to engage in land cultivation. Nevertheless, practically at all times he is accompanied by his wife to the fields where she assists him in most undertakings including tasks such as hoeing, irrigating, clearing the ground around olive trees before harvest time and spraying fertilizer on grape vines, activities carried out by men.

The case of Anna, where not only the spouses work in joint effort but individually exert themselves in ways that are crucial to the household's viability, contrasts sharply with that of the second woman, Voula. Because of his excessive drinking, Voula's husband tends to shun family responsibilities and demonstrates indifference towards family needs. Unable to rely on her spouse's cooperation, Voula has come to assume a major role in the daily running of both the household and the family's business. She pays bills, settles outstanding business accounts and on those occasions when her husband does agricultural work runs the family's grocery store. At home she does not only lack a source of assistance with housekeeping work, but is obliged to care for her mother-in-law who is bedridden. In the assessments of

both Anna and Voula, evening work is the only choice available to them to earn income without depriving the household of their labor contribution. They had long contemplated taking on a job in the tourist industry but had to wait until today for the appropriate opportunity. Thus, presently Anna has been hired as a kitchen helper at a local restaurant, while Voula has made arrangements to work for a wage in the same capacity during the next tourist season. For the two women employment translates into a means of adding to domestic finances; but there are different reasons which have prompted them to take on paid jobs. Anna's decision is guided by an effort to accumulate disposable income in order to supply her daughter with material possessions at marriage. In Voula's case the family has been experiencing economic adversity for several years.²⁷ Therefore, from her standpoint, the most important quality she expects to gain from earning a wage is a lessening of economic insecurity.

The two cases provide examples that women's domestic position does not necessarily suffer because they do not hold jobs and earn income. In both cases the women handle the bulk of the household's finances and take an active part in making decisions about matters related to the household's economic interests. Their efforts and strategies are a determining factor, but the actual reasons which account for the two women's autonomy differ. Anna's undertaking of tasks and decisions associated with the household's organization and economic affairs is indispensable in view of occupational constraints operating on her husband. Circumstances that facilitate cooperation between the spouses, as well as the wife replacing her husband in activities vital to the household's economic welfare, have conferred on Anna a position of power. On the other hand, Voula's situation is similar to that of women who play a crucial role in the running of the household largely because of their husbands' neglect of their duties as family providers. These women's efforts and sacrifices are geared towards meeting the exigencies of economic life. It is evident that in cases like Voula's, without

the women's active involvement in household management, the husbands' economic pursuits would come to nothing. Furthermore, women like Voula do not only control household resources and budget thriftily in order to make ends meet, but may also undertake paid work to make up for their spouses' limited earning efforts.

In two additional cases the women look forward to renting rooms in the near future and see no obstacle that would prevent them from or limit their efficiency in earning income in this capacity. The two women had in the past considered the possibility of working for a wage at local hotels, but neither were strongly committed to the idea, because of considerations for their maternal duties, nor did they receive any encouragement from their spouses. Both men expected their wives to devote themselves exclusively to their familiar roles since no reliable help was available to assume the care of the children. The husband of one of the two informants, a 20 year old woman, responded positively when asked whether he would allow his wife to take on paid employment in the tourist industry, provided she had access to help with child care. He attached, however, the condition that he would have to make inquiries and approve of the prospective employer's character and reputation, and preferably be acquainted with him.

The concerns of this particular husband are similar to those disclosed by many parents when explaining their reluctance to allow daughters to work at touristic establishments such as hotels. He basically fears that because of her young age his wife might be subjected to the advances of male employers. This view reflects to a great extent village opinion which points to women's young age and attractiveness as characteristics that may be taken advantage of by older and morally "corrupt" men in order to exploit them sexually. I shall add that the wife refused to attribute much importance to, and did not take for granted, her husband's concern about the potential "threats" she may be exposed to in the work environment if she were to hire herself out as

a hotel chambermaid. Although not excluding the possibility of male employers trying to elicit sexual favors through various means, she felt that she could ward off any such attempts by keeping a low profile. Furthermore, she claimed that, since very few incidents escape village gossip, a woman can always obtain information from other women and confirm existing rumors in order to know ahead of time about the treatment she may expect to receive from a prospective employer. This young wife's case suggests that beliefs about inherent "flaws" in the nature of men and women are strong enough to influence public opinion and guide peoples' actions. Young women who take on jobs at touristic establishments, where surveillance is not easy, lay themselves open to threats which are linked to their sexuality and hence can cause their reputation to suffer.

The case of this young wife and that of another woman I referred to earlier who is married to the local school teacher illustrate one basic condition that favors the women's attainment of autonomy: the economic assistance to the household which a woman's natal family provides. This source of support in conjunction with various factors denoting a certain insecurity of men's economic position—low earnings, irregularity of employment, lack of property ownership and no opportunity to administer property resources—contributes to strengthening the women's domestic position (see Appendix G). The effect of these factors is evinced in the rights the two women enjoy at home; they have considerable command of financial resources and participate actively in household decision-making. In both cases the husbands pass their earnings over to their wives to handle, keeping only small amounts of cash for pocket money.

The case of the second woman who plans to earn income by renting rooms provides still another example of a divergence of attitudes between spouses. Her husband expressed certain reservations about women's involvement in tourism through wage employment which she does not share.

From his point of view, "laboring on behalf of others" entails for both men and women being directed at tasks and depending on outsiders to earn a living. He considers it a matter of course that men who lack access to productive resources would turn to wage labor in order to support their families. But he sees no reason why women whose spouses are in a position to provide for the family's livelihood should opt to take on a paid job. The wife, on the other hand, does not adhere to her husband's views and associates them with various aspects of his life situation and occupational pursuits. She claimed that his ambivalent—bordering on negative—attitude towards paid employment derives from a lack of experience, unlike in her case, of wage-earning activities.²⁸ Also, ownership of a relatively large amount of land sufficient to provide for a modest living has conditioned her husband to accept certain things as given; to view, for example, agriculture as his only occupational outlet and source of household income. Thus, in the wife's estimate, just as her spouse shows reluctance to accept innovations regarding new economic endeavors, he also has difficulty adjusting to changes related to women working for a wage outside the domestic family group.

Further evidence of men's negative—or at least ambivalent—attitude towards the idea of their wives taking on a job in the tourist industry is supplied by an additional case. In this case, family responsibilities do not create, on the practical level, insurpassable difficulties to deter the wife from seeking work outside the house. For example, the couple's 17 year old daughter can provide a source of assistance by being assigned housekeeping tasks. In fact, it was partly for this reason that two years ago the wife/mother had accepted an offer to work as a kitchen aid at a local restaurant. Also, because the restaurant's owner was a friend of the family, the husband had granted his consent. Both spouses adhered to the view that a relationship of friendship with one's employer provides one with a sense of assurance that he or she would be shown respect and treated fairly. Nevertheless, the wife felt

obliged to orient her actions towards her husband's wishes, as can be evinced from the fact that she quit the job after only one month in order to comply with his request that she be present when he returned home after a day's work.²⁹ For the husband, the monetary returns which his spouse's job yielded for the household were insignificant. In his own words, "the amount of money earned was not worth the effort nor the upset of the rhythm of the family's daily life." When asked, however, about other employment opportunities with greater income returns for women, he also rejected them as possible options for his wife, claiming that only if the family had its own business would he have considered it appropriate for her to take part in its operations.

With regard to women's experiences within and outside the household, the last two cases are quite similar. They concern wives who do not have anywhere near the economic rights and responsibilities which other women hold, a factor that bears directly on their limited range of action and decision-making at home. The two women do not handle but a small portion of family earnings—the sums allocated to them by their husbands—and take no part in decisions about savings. They also do not administer other resources such as property.³⁰ Overall, their activities reveal that they play no active role in the household's economic organization. For these women, participation in extra-domestic activities amounts to supplying family labor (a maximum of 30 days' work) in the grape and/or olive harvest. This contribution does not provide a basis for the spouses to work together as a team and share in decision-making.

In one of the two cases, agriculture, and specifically olive cultivation, constitutes a sideline activity for the husband and scarcely yields to the household its yearly supply of olive oil. It is the occupational pursuits of the husband—he owns and operates a small truck with which he transports construction materials and crops—that comprise the source of the total family earnings. In the other case, where the

household obtains income exclusively from the sale of produce, the husband conveyed that he does not construe his wife's involvement in agricultural tasks as an essential quality complementing his own earning efforts. He referred to her labor input as assistance which, if it were to become unavailable, would not require the hiring of paid help. In his estimate, agriculture is a viable income-generating activity mainly because of the innovations he has undertaken in the context of planned efforts to enhance the household's self-sufficiency and maximize its cash income. It is evident that, when measured in terms of their responsibilities as well as their actions related to directing tasks and administering resources, both women's extra-domestic efforts to promote the household's economic welfare are limited. The conjugal division of rights also reflects the women's limited range of action and choice within the home. Hence, since other factors that may have a determining effect do not come into play, it is possible to detect an association between the extent of the women's contribution to the household's economic resources and the degree of their participation in domestic decision-making.

In most of the cases I've described above, which illustrate concerns shared widely by villagers, the husbands revealed a positive orientation towards the prospect of their wives earning income by means other than wage employment. Men's attitudes are basically influenced by beliefs and expectations about the indispensability of women to the home for the daily provisioning of domestic services, and especially because of child care duties. Overall, the tendency of men to evaluate women's options of wage-earning activities in terms of the degree to which they can be combined with family responsibilities and household activities prevails equally strongly among women. Yet, there is evidence that at least on the level of ideology village wives do not support as strongly as their husbands do the principle that women should deal primarily or only with child care and housekeeping work. A major

factor behind women's decision-making concerning their evaluation of options is their keen sensitivity towards increased family needs. This sensitivity reflects a certain optimism on the part of the women that through their efforts they can improve their children's life situation. But in applying their efforts to income-earning endeavors, the women do so in ways that neither necessitate neglecting their duties at home nor depriving the household of their labor services in extra-domestic activities.

Although the eight women who are not involved in tourism share more or less similar central concerns as wives and mothers, especially when it comes to relating their own endeavors or expectations to family needs, they do not all play the same role in household management. On the basis of these cases several factors can be recognized as relevant in assessing women's domestic position: the resources—financial or property—available to women from which they may gain access to economic action and decision-making; the extent to which women cooperate with their husbands in extra-domestic activities and engage jointly with them in the making of decisions about such activities; and whether or not men enjoy independence and economic security which access to and administration of property, as well as regular earnings, help facilitate.

The Roles of Men and Women: Complementarity and Interdependence

The cases I've examined have supplied information on women's domestic and extra-domestic activities as well as their experiences in the household. This information adds to our understanding of gender-related issues, and more specifically the roles of men and women, as well as the linkages between women's public and private demeanors. In the anthropological literature it is recognized that the gender dichotomy is a basic ordering principle in Greek life and is matched by the separation of the sexes into distinct and different sets of experiences. It is also pointed out that according to the cultural interpretation of their natures (capacities) men and women are not interchangeable

entities; their relationship is defined as one of complementarity (Hirschon 1989:141). In Kokkari there is a division between the home/family unit and the extra-domestic sphere, but it is not absolute. Nor is it demarcated with respect to gender roles. Women are neither associated only with the home nor are they confined to the domestic (private) realm. Through their economic activities and household responsibilities they act in both private and public spheres for the same major purpose men do—to provide for the family's material needs. Also, the very work tasks women perform in providing various services for tourists are not essentially different from those they carry out at home, hence indicating a linkage between the private and public domains.

An analysis of roles in Kokkari cannot rest on a correlation of gender with public/private but on the interdependence and complementarity of men and women in all aspects of life. That men and women perform complementary roles is especially evident in the activities surrounding the running of family-owned touristic enterprises. This complementarity often has a spatial dimension since women tend to be occupied with activities that take place within the premises of the enterprise while men handle matters that link the business with the wider public arena. More importantly, it implies a functional interdependence in terms of the separate tasks men and women carry out (even though such tasks are not the same in all cases). In the home women are responsible for dealing with day-to-day family concerns associated with the provisioning of its members and child socialization. It is clear that women's decision-making within the home reflects considerations about the family's sustenance and its material needs. In practically all homes, expenditures for food, clothing, children's private lessons and household maintenance are made by the housewife. Other considerations that entail large expenses, such as investments or major purchases, usually form the basis for the exchange of opinions between the spouses. As consumers, women turn into commodities a portion of the household's income, part or all

of which is earned by their spouses. In this sense, men are intrinsically connected to the house and men and women engage in a partnership that supports the house.

Women's Achievement of Domestic Autonomy

The comparative perspective I've adopted in my study has made it possible to delineate a variety of situations in which women's economic and decision-making rights increase, thereby leading to their achievement of domestic autonomy. There is evidence that of the different capacities in which Kokkariote women participate in tourism, that of self-employment is most conducive to developments that enable women to initiate action, exercise control over economic processes and employ strategies to achieve desired ends. Even though the potential of houses to be valuable economic assets is recognized by both men and women, it is basically women who seek to turn existing housing facilities into sources of income. Several reasons account for women's tendency to give primary consideration to housing availability in assessing income-earning opportunities. First, there has always been a special association between women and houses deriving from the latter's use as dowry items and the women's daily activities in the home, as part of their domestic duties which bound them to it. Second, in considering income-generating possibilities in tourism, women opt for those economic endeavors that allow for a facile adjustment of one's family and work roles. Renting rooms ranks highest among the options village women see available to them because it does not require spending time away from home and making major accommodations vis-a-vis their domestic duties. A third motive behind women's choice to convert housing facilities into accommodations for rent relates to their perception of future prospects (the possibility for greater returns through investments) and family needs (providing children, and especially daughters, with property resources at marriage). Thus, the use of houses as dowry property, and also as a base for tourism-related entrepreneurial operations denotes a linkage--through the roles of women--

between reproduction and economic activities.

Men's attitudes and orientation towards women's entrepreneurial uses of housing also deserves special attention. Seeing the renting of rooms as an activity that falls within the sphere of "female" labor—constituting an extension of women's domestic work—men express no interest in interfering in their wives' income-generating pursuits. Hence, women are free to act through their own initiative and, in doing so, to assume important innovative roles. It is clear that where women direct or carry out alone the activities centered around the provision of services to tourists, they organize business operations, make decisions about management, carry out transactions and allocate resources. More importantly, there is evidence for an association between the economic accomplishments of women participating in tourism through self-employment and a definite improvement in their domestic position. In such cases men come to acknowledge their wives' initiative and the part they take in carrying out activities and directing tasks that advance the family's economic interests. The combination of strategies women employ and the managerial roles they play in earning and managing income provide them with a base for achieving a greater say in family economic matters.

For women who participate in tourism as paid laborers, earning a wage precipitates an increase in their freedom of choice in the home, which is revealed by their practices concerning income allocation. The benefits accrued to the women as a result of their earning efforts amount to a facility to surpass the limitations caused by domestic economic difficulties. For women experiencing such difficulties—which are often accompanied by the strains and conflicts of a conjugal relationship that lacks sharing by the husband of family responsibilities—wage-earning proves conducive to a lessening of their vulnerability and economic insecurity. Such women gear their strategies primarily towards family maintenance, although it is not uncommon for them to also make

contributions for investment purposes and to plan for future needs. However, in general, earning a wage provides them with a material basis for overcoming daily exigencies. A major reason behind the relative improvement in these women's position is that they control their earnings. Otherwise, there is basically no change in the spouses' emotional and economic associations. Access to economic opportunities lessens the women's dependence on their husbands for the allocation of income and enables them to act more freely when it comes to meeting daily household needs. Essentially it mitigates their lack of domestic decision-making which is caused by a lack of access to cash.

As for women who engage in tourism-related work by assisting in running their families' enterprises, it appears that one can speak of an inter-dependence between the extent of the women's involvement in business operations—in terms of decision-making and managerial roles—and the degree of their participation in household administration. It is evident that women's labor input is not a determining factor in influencing the spouses' economic associations, their sharing of responsibilities and their cooperation in decision-making. Instead, the nature of women's economic action (encompassing participation in decision-making processes, exercising control over the organization of work and handling the economic returns which such work yields) is more critical than the volume of their work in isolating the conditions which help strengthen their domestic position.

Whatever the category of women's work activities and regardless of whether or not their endeavors provide them with earnings, we can expect certain conditions to have a more or less similar effect on women's position in the household. One such condition is the lack of economic action of the type that can enable women to share with their spouses in directing matters and holding responsibilities critical to household sufficiency. This condition reflects the uneven division of the conjugal partners' domestic rights to the detriment of the women. On the

other hand, where women act as channels of economic (financial) support to their households, they find themselves in a favorable position to make use of important decision-making rights in the home. An additional condition which is relevant concerns the insecurity of men's economic position that may derive from lack of access to economic opportunities and to cash, irregularity of employment, lack of property ownership, no opportunity to administer property resources and changes precipitated by out-migration. This condition together with the women's own accomplishments aiming to promote household sufficiency, or the economic assistance which their natal families provide them with, are factors conducive to the development of conjugal relationships based to a great extent on the mutual exchange of opinions and the sharing of family decision-making.

The cases I've examined illustrate that female autonomy emanates from social and economic factors in the domestic sphere. This finding is contrary to arguments which stress women's entry into (public) authoritative domains and their taking on the same jobs as men—like in industry and finance—as conditions favoring an improvement in their position (Rosaldo 1974:35; Sacks 1974:222). Since spouses' social interactions and economic associations are defined according to the roles they play in the home, Greek women's experiences in the household cannot be appropriately assessed unless attention is directed to the part they play in domestic management. The emphasis on increased incomes as well as the opportunities made available by tourism to women that add to the household's income resources have affected the legitimation of Kokkariote women's involvement in new economic activities.

Certainly, village women do not take over male jobs; however, as part of their earning efforts, they become involved in matters outside the home having an economic purpose. Furthermore, the women described in the study do not abandon or neglect their domestic duties as a result of their extra-domestic endeavors. Instead, the assumption by many women of critical economic responsibilities that entail handling matters in the

public arena is reconcilable and not an alternative to their family roles. More importantly, the paramount concern with family needs and responsibilities as well as the emphasis on entrepreneurial activities as a desirable means to maximize income returns are the motives behind the women's strong interest in self-employment. Finally, the study supports the view that the domestic sphere is not sharply demarcated from or structurally inferior to the public one. The case of Kokkari points to a realm of economic activities which provides for a direct linkage between domestic management and extra-domestic endeavors. Women's participation in this sphere of economic action is exemplified by their involvement in the operation of family enterprises and in the renting of rooms.

Kokkariote Women's Associations

We have seen that in Kokkari tourism has laid the basis for lessening to a certain extent women's dependence on male controlled resources. The women themselves do not hesitate to describe what they view as the beneficial effects of tourism rooted in the economic possibilities it has opened up for them. But Kokkariote women also have basic knowledge of ideas about women's liberation, are aware of state sponsored programs aiming to promote equality of the sexes and are informed about several of the major changes introduced in the Civil Code in order to improve women's status in Greek law. Some of these outside influences have been accompanied by efforts to encourage and guide women towards the assumption of certain roles in the public sphere. There is no evidence, however, that such influences—either at the level of ideology or insofar as they translate into various types of action—have had any significant impact on women in terms of the development of consciousness and the models of reality women construct. In the case of Kokkari this is exemplified by the implications for women's position of their involvement as members of associations in public activities that relate to community needs and political purposes.

An outside observer may initially form the impression that in contemporary Kokkariote society women play an active role in the community and have direct access to knowledge about social and political matters. In the literature the term "knowledge" has been used to refer to information acquired about the workings of a society, as well as a group's consciousness of its position in society and its own version of reality (Sutton et al. 1975:596). A close connection is considered to exist between a group's access to and control of knowledge and its power and authority—its ability to guide action and implement decisions. Involvement of a considerable number of village women in associations and through them in public activities may be interpreted as signifying a trend whereby women are increasingly finding themselves in a position to make their ideas and action consequential for the community. However, before arriving at such a conclusion several questions must be answered. What experiences do women acquire by participating in associations? Does their participation imply that women enter into new domains of activity and have access to new forms of knowledge? Do they achieve influence and power? Do their experiences enable them to produce a female view or version of reality which challenges the existing dominant ideology? To what extent do the activities of women's associations change women's status?

Two of the three women's associations, the Union of Kokkariote Women and the Progressive Movement of Kokkariote Women, are associated with the socialist party (PASOK) and the Greek Communist Party (KKE), respectively. Their different political orientations account for their different styles of action. Established in 1982, the first has 30 members and constitutes a non-official member group of the Union of Greek Women, a pan-hellenic women's organization founded by women active at with posts in PASOK.³¹ The initiative to form such an association in Kokkari had come from a woman of village origin residing in Vathi and employed at the nomarch's office. Her ideas and advice had been readily

accepted by several local women whose families are known to be strong supporters of PASOK. According to its members, the impetus for joining the association is mainly a desire on the part of the women for social contact; having a chance to meet outside their homes, exchange information and plan various events.

The Union's activities include organizing day-long excursions and trips outside the island; giving tea and dinner parties, which involve cooking and preparing dishes, in order to raise money either for special needs (in the past the association purchased medical equipment for the clinic) or for financing the expenses of future events; donating time and material for various causes (a national campaign to assist starving people in Ethiopia) and generally volunteering their services to the community for village improvement. The Union has also made efforts to revive one of the village's major cultural events associated with the feast day of its saint, the paniyiri (see Appendix H). Furthermore, on one occasion the Union's members offered their labor services to the kinotita in an effort to clean the beaches. The successful efforts in organizing events and carrying out activities beneficial to the community are remembered and discussed by the members of the Union with pride. Undoubtedly, without their efforts and donations it would have been nearly impossible to raise money for the purposes indicated above.

It is apparent that the Union's activities do not involve women in important questions of planning and development but encompass primarily aspects of women's work. In this way women do not pose a threat to the established order nor do they press for decision-making power. Although the association encourages certain new patterns of behavior and gives women the opportunity to engage in collective action, at the same time it contributes towards the maintenance of women's traditional roles. In addition, the types of services the women offer reinforce their role as a support group. In terms of strategies and style of action, the Union's members rely on their role as voluntary workers.

This volunteer role does not prepare women to participate in local politics and is not a basis for political influence. The Union's orientation is such that it does not defend and promote women's economic and political interests. I ascertained that the association does not depend upon contacts with politicians in order to achieve its ends. The president of the kinotita and the nomarch are the only officials with whom members of the Union's administrative council meet when there is a need to coordinate certain activities, ask for advice or obtain information. The question one can raise is whether or not an association such as the Union of Kokkariote Women is an adaptive mechanism in situations of change and adaptive for whom? In Kokkari women's voluntary work provides entertainment and services which the community cannot otherwise obtain; but it does not serve to advance women as a political decision-making force.

In terms of its strategies, approach to action and its actual activities, the Union cannot be considered a consciousness-raising group. It supplies a core of "active" women (the majority of its members do not take part in the planning of events but simply offer their assistance and provide materiel support) and constitutes basically a social, service-oriented voluntary association. Its appearance as well as its orientation can be explained in view of wider social and political developments, and particularly the role of the state. The PASOK government, although attaching great importance to the principle of local self-government, essentially took no measures towards decentralization. Instead, it encouraged the growth of various types of cultural and community-oriented associations which not only lack influence beyond the local level, but also do not function as a training ground for involvement in local politics. The Union of Kokkariote Women is one such association. Thus, it can be readily understood why the Union's connection with the PASOK party has prevented it from recruiting members among women inclined to support parties of the political right or left.

Political orientations have divided women to such an extent that there is practically no cooperation and exchange of information between the women of the Union and those of the other two associations. Finally, since the Union's emphasis on community service activities limits the appropriateness of its role to the local context, its members do not meet nationally, through their association, with other women in order to learn from common experiences.

The second women's association, the Progressive Movement of Kokkariote Women, also founded in 1982, has 13 members and is a branch of the Progressive Movement of Samiote Women which was established four years earlier. At first no direct or explicit linkage existed between the Movement and any national women's group or association. As stated in its constitution, it seeks to embrace women of all backgrounds, fight for women's equality, support the rights of working mothers, demand public services (such as child care) and raise women's consciousness concerning their status in society. Women are asked to join the Movement through meetings and discussions about their immediate problems, particularly those related to child care and motherhood. However, its activities suggest that the Movement tends to concern itself primarily with more general problems of peace and foreign policy, the physical and social environment, health care, education, as well as with other issues and problems pertinent to the community. Presently, the Progressive Movement of Samiote Women, as an island-wide women's association with branches in several villages, is being officially incorporated into the Women's Organization of Greece, a nation-wide association connected with the KKE both in terms of its ideology and forms of action. Its leaders claim that this connection is necessary in order for the Movement to achieve a broader orientation and improve its style of action; it is expected to facilitate opportunities for women to coordinate their activities—so that their efforts can take on national dimensions—exert greater pressure on the government and meet with other

women nationally to exchange information, discuss common problems and decide on effective strategies.

There is a strong tendency on the part of villagers to view the Movement as a communist women's group, something which explains to a certain extent why this particular association has not been able to attract members. As for the Movement's activities, they can be distinguished between those dictated by the ideology and course of action of the nation-wide organization and those aiming to find solutions to specific problems of the local community, as well as to provide certain services. The first category includes: celebrating the International Women's Day with film presentations and speeches; collecting signatures for the removal of the American bases and the shortening of the two-year military draft; raising money and expressing solidarity for the Palestinians as well as for the famine-stricken peoples in Ethiopia; participating in peace marches and promoting the peace movement by means of showing slides on nuclear war and inviting speakers to give public talks on the subject. These activities do not avail women with the type of knowledge with which they can challenge dominant institutions and ideology and ultimately improve their status. Even the limited knowledge or information they obtain about national and world issues is frequently distorted for reasons related to political party propaganda. In addition, the events or activities the women are called to perform are usually pre-planned for them (written material, films and the speeches they give are sent to them from the central offices of the national organization). Thus, the women have little opportunity to initiate action and involve themselves in questions of planning and organizing.

Male members of the women's families support the same causes and even attend events held by the Movement but they contribute no time and labor to its activities. This relates to the dominant ideology concerning realms of knowledge and action for men and women. In the village society, knowledge and power have always been considered male domains

and hence regarded as masculine attributes. For men, access to knowledge of the society—especially of economic and political life—means initiating and directing action, envisioning options and making decisions. The male-female participation in community life reflects a cultural ideology that identifies the sexes with particular domains of activity and forms of knowledge. Despite recent developments associated with new economic orientations, the degree of separateness of these domains continues to be high. The Movement's activities do not really denote the entrance of women into spheres of community life such as politics that have always been exclusively male dominated. Men continue today to hold all important decision-making positions in the community; for example, no women are included in the councils of the kinotita and the wine cooperative or serve on the church and school committees. Participation in the Movement's activities and events means for women volunteering their services—in a way which may be described as following directions or orders—to promote certain interests unrelated to their own experiences and problems. Women are basically not given the opportunity to act autonomously, acquire knowledge and make their own judgements about issues that concern them. Hence, associations such as the Movement do not change the position of women in the symbolic order. Instead, through their activities they reinforce cultural notions about sex-linked capabilities.

As for the second category of activities, those oriented to specific issues and problems of the local community, the Movement involves itself with giving theatrical performances for children, visiting army camps near the village to offer soldiers gifts (books and sweets) for the Easter and New Year holidays; and organizing public gatherings to inform the community about narcotics and the detrimental consequences of their use. It has also directed a campaign to raise the peoples' concern about problems which have ensued from the growth of tourism and has attempted to implement strategies to ensure that officials take the

appropriate corrective measures. This area of activity can be focused upon in order to assess the degree to which the Movement succeeds in acting as a group that exerts pressure to influence a plan of action; how its role serves the community and whether villagers oppose or applaud the women's efforts. In the summer of 1982 the members of the Movement had submitted a written request to the nomarch, asking that measures be taken by the appropriate agencies to alleviate a series of community problems linked with tourism. These problems concerned public safety (reference was made to the increase in incidents of petty crimes such as thefts), public hygiene (beaches and open areas increasingly having the appearance of being garbage sites), the threat of contamination of the village's drinking water supply (public health being endangered by tourists washing in the reservoir), nudism, "illegal" camping (another cause of environmental pollution), the "improper" and socially "unacceptable" behavior of tourists frequenting the village square and the non-enforcement of laws aiming to control noise pollution (motorcycles creating excessively loud noise during siesta time and entertainment outlets playing music into the late night hours). This action was taken even though the families of 10 out of the 13 women members of the Movement earn a living directly from tourism.

The nomarch responded that he wished to be presented with the signatures of those who complained, as evidence of the extent of the community's concern about the problems, as well as with proposals for their solution. The women's group then held a public meeting and invited individuals and members of the kinotita, along with those of the other two women's associations, to participate in the discussion. At this gathering, the Movement's members argued for the need to control tourism in order to safeguard public health and safety, protect the social and physical environment and prevent the possibility of losing the "better quality" tourists. However, owners of commercial enterprises and small rental units rejected the proposals, interpreting the Movement's

position as a threat to tourism and to their own economic interests. In fact, several went so far as to collect signatures as a protest against the women's efforts to stop nudism and "illegal" camping. Disagreement over several of the Movement's proposals was also raised by the other two women's associations. At the end, members of the Movement managed to gather 200 signatures (approximately one-third of the village adults), evidence that the issues raised by the association were not perceived by villagers as crucial enough to necessitate measures which could have jeopardized tourism. Furthermore, even though the kinotita implemented several of the proposed measures—for example, it placed signs along the main road prohibiting camping and nudism—the tourist practices condemned as "unacceptable" have continued because the prohibitions are not enforced by the police or other agencies.

The only improvement which occurred subsequent to the course of action pursued by the Movement has been in sanitation conditions; efficient methods have been found to solve the problem associated with the collection and disposal of refuse. Yet, it is difficult to give credit for this achievement exclusively to this women's group, since long before its efforts pressures had been exerted by local businessmen on the kinotita to deal with the problem. Therefore, with regard to community improvement, the role of the Movement has been limited. By advocating for "controlled" tourism, the Movement created antagonisms rather than bringing about effective solutions to problems. It mobilized villagers around an issue whose significance was strongly questioned. In other words it failed to realize that the majority of the people would not support actions which they consider threatening to tourism and their economic interests.

As I have stated, the different orientations of the two women's associations, the Union and the Movement, have precluded most possibilities for joint action. The only occasion during which the two associations have cooperated was when the Union accepted the Movement's

proposal to invite physicians of different specializations to give public talks analyzing medical problems, giving information on the prevention and treatment of illnesses and answering people's questions about health. Members of the two associations referred to this effort as a valuable service to the community, but did not conceal their disappointment that attendance at the talks was very low. Perhaps, increased access to information and to high quality health services (which the rise in incomes has made attainable) account partly for the villagers' reluctance or neglect to attend the talks. Nevertheless, aside from this singular example of cooperation, the two women's groups—even when devoting time and labor to the same basic effort—do not work together. Furthermore, while dances, tea parties and other recreational events organized by the Union are usually attended by members of the Movement, the reverse does not occur. Only on limited occasions do women from the Union attend events held by the Movement, in order not to render it formal recognition. Since the Movement's activities are not geared mainly to community recreational-entertainment services but tend to help promote leftist political and ideological positions, they are not readily supported and attended in large numbers. The Movement's members, unlike those of the Union, rarely contribute time, labor and material goods to provide entertainment services and recreation for the community. Also, whereas the Union raises money mainly by sponsoring various public events, for the same purpose the Movement relies on personal contributions, admission fees charged at film presentations, as well as on the sale of lottery tickets. These differences are among several distinguishing the two women's associations on the basis of general orientation and practices.

Other differences between the two associations can be discerned in the ways they organize action. The Union tends to act on its own right, in the sense that it does not consult or cooperate with other national or island women's groups of similar orientation. A women's

group, resembling in its functions that of the Union, exists in Karlovasi but there have been no occasions on which the two groups engage in joint action. Also, despite its connection with PASOK and the Union of Greek Women, there is very little evidence that these organizations influence the ways in which the Union organizes various efforts or the activities it chooses to pursue. The association's linkage with government agencies and politicians has been limited to contacts with the nomarch (for purposes of obtaining consul and inviting him to attend public events). It was his guidance that led the Union to petition and receive from the Ministry of Culture financial assistance in order to pay the expenses incurred for the paniyiri's revival. On the other hand, the Movement does not operate independently, since most of its activities are part of a program of action which is not decided but simply implemented by its members. Even in carrying out prescribed activities, this women's group relies on the support and guidance of members of the Movement's branch in Vathi. The branch at Vathi functions as a central organ that coordinates action and directs the efforts of the various village branches. This concentration of decision-making power in the hands of the head organization restricts the local Movement's approach.

In Kokkari the third voluntary women's association is the Philanthropic Society. Officially it is not a women's organization since its constitution does not recognize sex as a factor determining eligibility for membership. Yet, it is comprised exclusively of women and is commonly referred to as the "Philanthropic Society of Kokkariote Women." For these reasons, and in order to give a full account of the range of women's voluntary community activities and practices, I decided to treat the Philanthropic Society as a women's association. The Society differs from the other two associations in that it has the longest existence (it was founded by the village priest in the early 1960s) and constitutes the largest women's group; it has 76 members. Until a year ago the priest was the Society's only male member and had always served as its

president; upon his death he was succeeded by the association's vice-president, a woman. The Society's original members were a few elderly women from well-to-do families with strong religious convictions. Their activities, which took place mainly during the Christmas and Easter holiday season, comprised part of an effort to assist the priest with charity work (visiting homes to collect contributions and making donations of money and clothing to families in need). In time, these efforts occurred less frequently so that by the early 1970s the Society had practically ceased to exist. Perhaps the relative improvement in economic conditions lessened the importance or the need for its activities.

In the late 1970s several village women, most of whom had not been members earlier, took the initiative to revive the Philanthropic Society (recruit members and organize social activities for the benefit of the community). Of particular significance is the fact that these women considered the priest's guidance of the Society's activities as indispensable. This is directly related to the great success which the association has had in recruiting members. Even though the women in their explanations point to the need for social contact as a motive for joining the Society, they also emphasize that such a venture is not objected to since it means membership in an association headed until recently by the priest. In the villagers' consciousness the priest's presence validated the women's efforts and gave the Society the image of an official and "appropriate" association. As for the Society's activities, these range from organizing excursions within and outside the island to holding ritual events as part of saints' day celebrations, and making donations of money and food to the island's hospital and old age home. On one occasion its members raised money to paint and repair the church, while periodically they also cooperate in cleaning it.

In organizing these efforts, the Society's members--and particularly a core group of active women--devote a considerable amount of their time and energy as well as material goods. Of course, baking, the

preparation and serving of food, cleaning work and shopping (for gifts offered to elderly people at the old age home and for use in lotteries for the purposes of raising money) comprise an extension of women's domestic labor. Such labor is expended to serve the community, to provide recreation and assist the sick and the elderly. Their reward, as the women themselves perceive it, derives from a moral satisfaction that they perform benevolent tasks. There is certainly no evidence that by engaging in charity work and organizing community events the women seek to defend their interests corporately or to press for decision-making power. Instead, the Society's social, service-oriented activities reinforce women's role as a group of "non-paid assistants." Furthermore, participation in such activities helps sustain the dominant ideology which associates women with the sphere of informal religion and social welfare, and strengthens notions about what feminine behavior should be. In a sense, the Society's activities imply certain qualities, such as being emotional and nurturant, which cultural codes designate as "feminine."

Usually the other two associations decline invitations to attend events held by the Society, such as afternoon teas. Members of both the Union and the Movement claim to have no reservations about the Society's activities but question the motives of its organizers and active participants. They believe that since the Society's active members are known to support the political right, their intent is to form a right-wing women's group. Yet, even though the ideology of the Society's organizers reflects a certain political world view, there is no evidence that such a view is being communicated to or understood and shared by the majority of its members. First, the degree of interaction between organizers and participants is limited because the majority of the latter tend not to become involved in the process of deciding upon and carrying out activities. Also, the Society's role as an association oriented to philanthropic work and to community social services obscures to a great

extent any connection which may exist between the ideological and political views of its organizers and the Society's practices. Finally, there are both men and women who refuse to acknowledge the value of the Society's services to the community because they object to its association with the church. What explains the readiness of such individuals to label the Society a "conservative" association is their tendency to view the church as a conservative institution which has opposed social reform.

An understanding of the orientations and practices of the three Kokkariote women's associations provides a base for a discussion of women's involvement in community activities, their access to knowledge and relationship to power and the forms of consciousness they develop. The associations do not address themselves to women's issues but seek either to organize women around demands or needs shared by the community (the Union and the Society) or to mobilize them as a force for social change (the Movement). Even though the actual organizing of activities is undertaken by women, behind both the Union and the Movement stand male dominated or controlled national political organizations. Members are recruited through informal social exchanges and rarely through political contact. Also, as emphasized by the organizers, recruitment does not involve a search for members who express allegiance to a certain political party or are interested in socialist and communist ideas, but aims to get as many women as possible to join. To appeal to potential members, all three associations stress the need for women to break the routine of the home environment, meet to exchange views and information and minister to the community's needs (only the Movement claims to address problems and issues that concern women). The appeal is made by a peer or relative with whom a woman maintains frequent contact. As for the Society, it elicits popular support by supplanting, in a sense, the church as the sponsor of charity-related activities and religious celebrations. Yet, because membership in the Society denotes allegiance to the church, it

is viewed as reflecting political conservatism and by extension commitment to right wing political parties. This attitude is influenced by an awareness on the part of a considerable number of villagers that national bonds between the church and conservative political parties has traditionally been close.

There is an understanding on the part of villagers that all three associations serve to bring women into the social sphere of political parties. One very common explanation of female informants is that women's unwillingness to join any one association means refusal to make a public declaration of their political orientation. There is also evidence that women base their decision of whether or not to involve themselves in an association on family interests. For example, fear of unfavorable economic consequences (such as loss of customers) prevents a few Kokkariote females whose families own commercial enterprises from becoming participants of any one association. One young woman claimed that her husband's work (he holds a civil service post in the village) necessitates that she assume an "apolitical" stance. If she joins a women's association, she would be identified with a political party and her husband would find himself socially isolated by a large segment of the village population. Furthermore, a certain relationship exists between women's membership in associations and the membership in or allegiance to different political parties of their closest male relatives. Thus, while male family members of the majority of women participants in the Union admit to be, and are identified as, supporters of PASOK, the husbands or fathers of most of the Society's members express solidarity around the New Democracy right wing party. As for the women comprising the Movement, they come from households whose male members support the KKE both ideologically and through participation in its organizational work. However, none of the three women's associations carries out any formal political party activity; instead, they supply an organizational structure capable of providing for a wide range of extra-family social life, particularly in

the realm of entertainment and recreation. This is especially the case for the Union and the Society. Both associations' primary medium for attracting members and gaining popular approval is their commitment to serve community needs rather than abstract ideological appeals.

Undoubtedly, the authority and prestige of political parties are reinforced through the women's associations. More importantly, the associations involve women in antagonisms because of the implied or actual political identification of each group. I should add that the criteria which villagers use in identifying coffeehouses as "rightist," "centrist" or "socialist" and "leftist" (namely the political orientations of both their owners and regular attendants) are also applied to distinguish women's associations. This illustrates how certain patterns and ideas linked with a "male" domain of public life (politics) have come to be applied to or find expression in women's associations. The tendency of any one association to perceive the other two as antagonistic, because of political party alignments, prevents women from acting as a unified group and using their activities to assert collective social power. As long as Kokkariote women partake of the dominant male ideology that defines social interaction in terms of political allegiance, the associations cannot provide a social context or framework in which female social solidarity is achieved. Neither does participation in any one of the three associations enable women to basically enter into new domains of activity, acquire knowledge and achieve influence and power. The associations are seen by women as offering them an opportunity to escape the isolation and confinement of the home environment as well as to come together, exchange information and cooperate in joint action. Yet, in practice, they guide women into activities which overlap considerably with those of their domestic family work, thereby reinforcing and perpetuating notions about women's capacities.

Since the three Kokkariote women's associations are empirically measurable units, I sought to examine how they vary between them in

membership and composition. I found that, aside from membership numbers, the associations do not basically differ in composition. The overwhelming majority of their members are women in the household role of conjugal partner-mother and of the 25-55 age group. Only the Society has a relatively greater proportion of older women members (55-65), among whom predominates the conjugal partner role. Insofar as their members' educational background and residence histories are concerned, all three associations display very little variation within and between them. Over ninety percent of their participants have completed only elementary school (among younger members an insignificantly small number have attended the gymnasio and only two hold a lykeio diploma) and in all three cases the number of women who have lived outside the village is considerably smaller than that of women lacking such experience. In each association the proportions of women who come from households with substantial, modest or limited income resources do not vary greatly. Therefore, no relationship appears to exist between the tendency of women to join any one association and the resource base of their households. Furthermore, multiple economic activities within each one's household make it impossible to assign women to specific social categories according to their household's income sources and the occupation(s) of their closest male relatives. As for the women's endeavors outside the domestic realm, at least half of the members of each association work in various capacities in the tourist industry. Also, non-wage work in tourism comprises the primary activity of each of the association's organizers or active participants.

None of the three Kokkariote women's associations comprises an in-group; namely one that seeks to defend collectively its own socio-economic interests. The members of these associations have no vested interest in tourism which non-members do not have. Also, class roles do not dictate women's decision to join a particular association. What distinguishes Kokkariote women's involvement in the community's social and

cultural life are their family roles; the fact that they participate in associations primarily as wives and mothers. The types of social community-oriented activities Kokkariote women carry out through the associations reflect norms on women's roles and also fall within the range of their service occupations.

For comparative purposes, and in order to assess differences and similarities in men's and women's styles of collective action, a focus on men's associations is necessary. For example, in her study in rural Scotland, Armstrong (1977) found that for men associations are political or economic groups, whereas in the case of women they are mainly social service-oriented. Also, while men depend on political patronage to accomplish their ends, women lack contact with politicians and rely more on their role as voluntary workers (1977:135-36). In Kokkari no men's associations exist or have existed in the past. Currently certain efforts are being made by several local males to establish an Agrarian Society for recreational and athletic activities. However, since the venture has not passed the initial stage of planning, I could not obtain adequate information about this particular men's association—its composition, orientation and strategies. Nevertheless, from conversations with its organizers—most of whom serve on the kinotita's council or on the council of the village's wine cooperative—I formed the impression that the association is to serve collective community needs. Ideally it is expected to organize athletic and recreational events and press for village improvements. This suggests that the association's orientation does not differ significantly from that of the women's Union.

Women's involvement in the Community's Social and Cultural Life

In Kokkari women make provisions for collective social needs in ways similar to how they minister to family needs. Consumption tends to be women's work since within the household it is women who turn wages into commodities. Thus, village women's efforts to create opportunities for leisure consumption at the community level can be viewed as an extension

of their domestic family work. The community appears to be the only appropriate locale for the development of female group action, considering that the work activities women engage in outside the home tend to isolate rather than bring them together in large numbers. Yet, the way village women come together is inherently restrictive because their entrance into associations is influenced by political convictions. Also, participation in associations does not involve women in an ongoing process of consciousness raising about their economic, social and political status. More specifically, the associations do not encourage women to take a greater role in crucial community affairs—and achieve a larger share of power—in the village council and in political parties, so that their needs and interests would also be represented. An additional factor which inhibits the development of female solidarity is the drive towards upward mobility, which has accompanied the rapid expansion of income-earning opportunities with the growth of tourism. There is more of an emphasis on individual initiative and competition rather than on collective action and commitment to common interests and problems.

The readiness of Kokkariote women to become involved in associations and the timing of the associations' development are related to changes in economic conditions and material relations. The most obvious economic developments in Kokkari during the past fifteen years have been the increasing emphasis on commerce and tourist service activities as a means of earning a living, the influx of money and the trend to affluence. Today people have the cash to spend on what previously would have been considered luxuries—for entertainment, the sponsoring of community events as well as for various social causes. However, despite the circulation of consumer goods, which has reached great proportions, consumer services for the local population, particularly in the area of entertainment and recreation, have not increased. The forms of entertainment which have developed in the village as a result of the advent of tourism are the pub and the discotheque, establishments that

not only do not provide a context for family entertainment, but operate only during the summer season to reap the benefits of visiting tourists. Because of this lack of services, a gap has developed between what may be referred to as "quantitative" and "qualitative" dimensions of consumption. In their attempts to hold community events as well as to organize dances, excursions and trips, women's associations help to bridge to a certain extent this gap. Undoubtedly, an expanding income resource base allows for discretionary spending and recreation consumption.

Besides setting certain social and cultural standards for community life, Kokkariote women fulfill several functions through their participation in associations. Tourism has affected day-to-day social interaction because of its seasonality, the intense rhythm of work and the pressures it exerts on the community. The social repercussions of tourism-related economic and material changes include the de-regulation of life, the erosion of sociability and the atomization of social relations. Even interaction with family friends and neighbors is reduced during the tourist season. Thus, as the associations' activities take place in the off-season, they serve to renew and stimulate social life. In the past, festivities centering around saints' day celebrations occurred within the community-at-large and served to bring people together. Today, events sponsored by the associations have a somewhat similar effect: they mediate the individual's connection with the family (since they are usually attended by families) and the community. Also, symbolically, the women's social activities mark the progress of cyclical time and help ease the transition from summer to winter life—from an intense, non-ordinary period characterized by a fast pace of work, large crowds and the lack of social control, to one of relative isolation, ordinary behavior, slow pace and social regulation. Finally, by providing opportunities that allow for the renewal of social life, the women's associations influence to a certain extent patterns of

recreation consumption.

The proliferation of modern media for home entertainment, such as television, has also had as a consequence the reduction of sociability. Today recreation consumption is increasingly becoming a private, individualizing act; a mode of separating people rather than strengthening and solidifying the social community. This process of individualization, where decisions and actions gradually become more independent of community ties, relates to the experience of modernization which is shared by many rural Mediterranean regions (Counihan 1984:47). In Kokkari many of the activities sponsored by the women's associations pose a resistance to the process of privatization of recreation consumption by providing for extra-family social life. However, although public events, these activities lack local cultural symbols, are not participatory—in that they do not actively involve their constituencies—and tend to encourage social exclusion because of political or ideological connections. In addition, the entertainment and recreational events sponsored by the women's associations convey a meaning of consumption different from that which traditionally animated community celebrations.

The study of the mode of consumption reveals human relationships and basic values in a group. Commensality demonstrates fundamental social units. As Mauss (1967:55) states, "a man does not eat with his enemies." In the pre-tourism Kokkariote society, daily food consumption took place within the family, while festive consumption occurred within the society-at-large. Social interaction was mediated to a great extent by the giving and receiving of food. Sending gifts of baked goods to close relatives and friends constituted a common practice among women. The only locus of excessive and conspicuous consumption were collective celebrations. Religious events (feastdays) and family gatherings promoted a type of sociability which had the effect of temporarily negating indigence (Loukatos 1978:198). As in many non-capitalist societies, excess consumption served to bring the community together, to obliterate

temporarily social and economic differences and to satiate hunger collectively, at least for one day (Mauss 1967; Turner 1969). At present opulent consumption is a source of prestige in Kokkari. People compete for prestige by buying and displaying high fashion clothes, color televisions, automobiles and all sorts of commodities which have value as social signs. Although saints' day celebrations contain some elements of a collective, redistributive feast, they are not only infrequent but also poorly attended events, peripheral to most people's lives. New patterns of Kokkariotes' food behavior show that today food consumption takes place through impersonal money exchanges. First, an admission fee is charged for all events held by the women's associations during which food and drinks are served. Second, there is a growing tendency for families and friends to frequently eat out in restaurants and taverns, particularly during the summer months when these establishments operate. Third, with the increasing reliance on the market and the rise in incomes, the mutual giving and receiving of food has decreased. As gifts, people are now exchanging goods which they acquire through the market.

Patterns of leisure consumption reveal socio-cultural changes produced in the villagers' effort to emulate what are perceived as "superior" national models and practices. For example, the types of opportunities for recreation the women's associations provide--organizing trips outside the island and day-long excursions--can be construed as a technique to borrow from the behavioral codes and ideologies of the national *petite bourgeoisie*. Being the numerically dominant social stratum of Greek society, the *petite bourgeoisie* consists of that segment of the population, particularly in the urban centers, which is involved in brokerage activities and in the provision of services (Filiat 1983:243). In the last fifteen years, organized holiday travelling both domestically and abroad, as well as non-group tourism, have greatly increased and changed the rhythm of Greek urban life. These patterns of recreation have come to be identified as key elements of *petite bourgeois* consumer

preferences. Kokkariote women seek to emulate such patterns through their social, service-oriented activities.

The focus of this study on women's associations points out changes produced in the community by the influx of models and practices from outside centers. It illustrates that several factors have encouraged or helped facilitate the modification described of local values and practices to accord with those perceived on national terms: the rapid increase in peoples' purchasing power, brought about as a consequence of the expansion of income-earning opportunities; the seasonal quality of tourism which, besides availing Kokkariotes of free time in the off-season to participate in social activities, has given emphasis to the need for "renewal" of the community's social life; and the relative lack of consumer services in the realm of recreation and entertainment.

NOTES

1. Many of the qualities of character or economic measures which were important in pre-tourism Kokkariote society are the same as those contributing to people's honor in other Greek and Mediterranean communities (Pitt-Rivers 1965; Davis 1973; DuBoulay 1974). Yet, in Kokkari people were not referred to as honorable or dishonorable but were instead evaluated in terms of goodness or absence of goodness.

2. Throughout Greece the rural exodus has had significant consequences. As has been documented in several studies, the high degree of occupational mobility—one of the key characteristics of post-World War II Greek society—is primarily due to rural migration and the absorption of former cultivators and agricultural laborers into the growing tertiary sector of urban centers (Moustake 1964; Sandis 1973; Karapostolis 1983). Differences in the occupations and work activities between generations provide evidence for such mobility. In the city, migrants engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work in the manufacturing sector, in petty trade and in the service industry. This trend towards increased involvement of land cultivators in non-agricultural and even non-manual occupations constitutes one of the most important socio-economic changes modern Greek society has undergone.

3. In the literature, an example which adds to the view that the nature of women's economic responsibilities is more significant than the volume of their work in the definition of their status concerns women's trading activities. In rural Mediterranean communities major transactions are dealt with by males. Women rarely trade and when they do it is mostly artifacts or dairy products (Halpern 1967: 145; Brandes 1975:51; Hoffman 1976:331) and in situations where they have to replace their husbands (Bernard 1976:305; Patronoti 1981:14). The belief that wealth accumulated by women spells dishonor because it challenges men's efficiency as family providers has been stressed as accounting partly for the prohibitions concerning female commercial activities. However, according to studies of the division of labor, peasant women engage actively in trade and their earnings are necessary for their families' maintenance. In African and Asian societies wives cannot claim support from their spouses and earn their living by selling crops (Boserup 1970:92). Furthermore, more women participate in commerce where there is diversified farming; since the growing of cash crops requires a great deal of attention throughout the year, they are responsible for their preparation and sale (Cohen 1965:24; Bailer 1976:231) and initiate exchanges with other women (Allen 1976:181).

4. The role of single mother was also rare in the past for the additional reason that out-migration from the village tended to involve primarily families and young unmarried males and females. It was uncommon for men to move to the city or emigrate and for their families to stay behind in the village.

5. The category of self-employment as women's primary or only work activity unrelated to tourism (Table 22) includes two cases of women engaged in commercial-trade work. One pertains to an elderly unmarried female living alone, while the other involves a married woman residing in a household where her conjugal partner and grown son are present. These women have full control and responsibility in running a newspaper-magazine outlet and a small wares store respectively. For purposes of this analysis, since both businesses were established prior to the advent of tourism and are operated on a year-round basis, I decided to treat the work activities of the two women entrepreneurs as unrelated to tourism.

6. This is perhaps one of the reasons prices for services and accommodations are not as high as in other tourist sites throughout Greece.

7. It may be added here that in Greece a key characteristic of the expansion of services, as well as of manufacturing and industry, is the small size of enterprises and the fact that an overwhelmingly high ratio of those occupied in such enterprises are self-employed—owners and non-paid family members (Mousourou 1984:47). This aspect of the structure of employment reflects the personalistic or familial component as a determining factor of entrepreneurial activity.

8. However, in agriculture, women have tended to remain unpaid field hands until old age; on the other hand, men shifted by their mid-thirties to the self-employment category through inheritance and at times through purchase.

9. These scholars do not deal in any detail with the various aspects of and forces behind the phenomenon, but tend to examine it only in terms of general assessments and in the context of discussions centering on the Greek family, its structure and functions. Questions which should be raised in order to shed light on family practices and decision-making patterns are: how and by whom is spending money allocated to children; which of the two parents do children address when making claims for money or material things; what specific measures do men and women take as parents to provide for their children's short-term needs as well as for those of their future; how are such needs evaluated or ranked in terms of importance and according to a child's age and sex; when and under what circumstances are children expected to demonstrate self-reliance, as for example, to earn money in order to meet certain of their own personal needs? Furthermore, if children,

as has been suggested, constitute the largest consumer group in contemporary Greek society, what can be said about parents? How do they contribute to influencing children's consumer behavior? Also, how do men and women differ as consumers?

10. Village opinion of the concerned husbands' character and behavior produced similar assessments.

11. In only two of the eight cases was child supervision assumed by fathers since no female members of the immediate family were available to take the place of the mother.

12. As is the case with prices and rates for sleeping accommodations, wage standards in the industry are set by the National Tourist Organization.

13. With few exceptions, most employees in the public and private sector are entitled, after five consecutive months of employment, to these two extra salaries referred to as the "gift."

14. In 1985 the minimal income accrued to a household renting out four rooms to tourists was 400,000 or 3,334 dollars for the entire season.

15. As a postscript on the case I add that subsequent to the time of fieldwork Sophia's marriage ended in divorce.

16. Only one of the women engages in activities and manages matters pertaining to the wider and external interests of the household—hiring construction laborers and paying them their wages—which are generally vested in male hands. Yet, she does not consider her entry into this sphere of action a privilege but a necessity since she cannot count on her spouse to share in decisions about household affairs and in the assumption of economic responsibilities.

17. It was in 1976 when Dimitra first convinced her husband to invest savings into housing for rent. In that year the family converted an old storage house into four rental units and fixed a small two-room house (part of the husband's inheritance) for the same purpose. The following year, at Dimitra's initiative, the reconstruction of the family's house was undertaken in order to free the second level for rent. In 1981 another old house (inherited by the wife) was torn down and in its place a two-level house—containing six rental units—was erected. Finally, in 1982 Dimitra purchased in her name a building plot that served as the site on which a 12 room hotel was built.

18. The registration of rooms with the local police is a procedure required by law for tax purposes, for checking whether certain standard facilities are provided and also for controlling rates for rent.

19. Originally, the family's savings (in two bank accounts) carried only the name of the husband. In the late 1970s, at her request, the wife's name was added to both accounts. Later on, the wife/mother also opened up a bank account in the name of the son.

20. It is basically with her initiative and labor input that the household raises a few animals (goats and domestic fowl) and obtains produce from the land both for sale and subsistence. The husband rarely takes part in olive gathering, the tending of animals and the cultivation of the kitchen garden, and when he does it is because of his wife's insistence that he assists her during his spare time. Occasionally she also earns a wage from olive harvesting.

21. Through her initiative the informant had added her husband's name to a personal bank account which she had maintained before marriage. She had also convinced her husband, and assisted him with her earnings, to purchase a few power-driven agricultural machines (such as a rotary tiller and a spraying pump) in order not to be obliged to borrow his father's each time he is hired to do certain agricultural tasks. The wife's view that one's kin cannot be trusted to act fairly gives support to the general claim that kinship rights and obligations towards one's parents should not take precedence over the interests of one's own family. What illustrates her strong conviction concerning priorities of interest are the terms which she set when she assumed the responsibility, after her mother's death, of caring for her elderly father. As a member of his daughter's household, he is expected to turn a portion of his monthly pension over to her as compensation for his maintenance.

22. In one case, the family's restaurant (currently rented out) and its older hotel are owned by the wife, whereas an additional newly built hotel is owned by the husband.

23. The two women stated that they would not rent vacant rooms without consulting with their husbands. They expressed a sense of uneasiness which derives from feeling uncertain whether their husbands would approve of their choice of customers. I must add here that during the high season it is not uncommon for owners of rooming facilities to decline a tourist's request for accommodations if he or she plans to stay for only one or two nights. When the demand is high villagers consider it to their advantage to choose from among those customers who wish to reserve rooms for a lengthier period of time.

24. Also, to cut down on the time spent on the preparation of the family's meals, during the peak months of the tourist season she does the cooking in the coffeehouse's kitchen. She basically has no assistance with housekeeping work, except for a few weeks in the summer when the older married daughter visits with her family. (On those occasions the daughter's husband also assists at the coffeehouse). The other married daughter lives in the village but engages in the renting

of rooms and cannot avail the parental family household of her labor services. As for the family's unmarried daughter, her presence at the coffeehouse is required practically at all times both because of her English language facility and for the tasks she is assigned to perform (selling sweets and cigarettes).

25. This is because as a public employee Dhore qualified for a low interest bearing loan for housing. For purposes of repaying the loan, both spouses made contributions from their earnings, but the largest amount of funds was supplied by the husband.

26. Niki mentioned her long working hours and Dhore her taking part in the activities of the professional association of which she is a member. From the women's perspective, their husbands' positive attitude towards their jobs reflects good will and appreciation for their efforts in adding to the family's earnings.

27. Today owners of the village's grocery stores are enjoying great profits as a result of the new market created by tourism. In Voula's case, however, her family cannot depend for its livelihood on the earnings accumulated from the grocery store. Capital is lacking to upgrade its stock of supplies because large expenditures for medical bills (payments for the treatment of the older son's physical ailment) have exhausted the family's savings.

28. Prior to the marriage the wife earned a wage working as an agricultural laborer.

29. Although claiming to have found the work arduous and referring to the long and inconvenient hours, this expression of dissatisfaction may be viewed as an attempt on her part to make the best out of a situation where she had to conform to her husband's expectations. Otherwise she would not have excluded the possibility of engaging in other wage-earning activities such as chambermaiding work.

30. One of the two wives did not bring into the marriage dower property, while the other contributed some agricultural land located near her natal village. This property, however, is not part of the household's productive resources since it is not being cultivated because of its distant location.

31. PASOK was originally elected to power in November, 1981 and again in June, 1985 but was defeated in the parliamentary elections of June, 1989.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

There is a significant literature on development and dependency interpreting tourism's impact on host areas as a form of leisure imperialism from more advanced countries, which limits the expansion of a region's productive capacities by not fostering industrial growth or diversification nor providing for its economic self-reliance. Tourism is characterized as being financed by foreign capitalist centers and, in its penetration of less developed regions, as transforming their previously agricultural economies into essentially tourist-oriented ones. As a further consequence, this mostly foreign-controlled, vertically integrated mass luxury tourism has an inflationary impact on the price of local goods and services and contributes to the decline of local agricultural production. The case of Samos illustrates that tourism may not have a detrimental economic impact on local populations if touristic development is grass-roots, small-scale and locally controlled.

Undoubtedly, tourism on Samos is associated with certain aspects of dependency. The tourist demand is an elastic one and hence a vulnerable dependency relationship (such as that of the pre-World War II period which was characterized by fluctuations of export markets) is predicated on the stability of the tourist-sending countries, mostly of Western Europe. In addition, the tourist flow can be affected by international crises as well as by competition from local Greek and other nearby regions, also developed or developing touristically. The island as a whole has not benefited from the growth of tourism, since its expansion has been limited to the eastern coastal areas. Interior mountain villages have been virtually untouched by the modernization effects—increased incomes, investments in real estate, the spread of consumer

goods and new patterns of leisure consumption—that tourism has brought to Kokkari. Finally, tourism has not contributed to bringing about an equilibrium between the primary and tertiary sectors of the island's economy. Essentially the service industry has had parasitic effects in terms of development. Despite the increasing flow of cash, incomes have not been oriented towards new sources of capital accumulation outside of tourism. Nevertheless, tourism on Samos and especially in Kokkari has had the effect of incorporating a large number of households, previously with a limited resource base, into a viable economic market. This has been made possible because of increased income earning opportunities, the expansion of the construction industry and related trades, higher land values and new uses of formerly unproductive property for the generation of income.

My research points out that the impact of tourism on a region must be assessed in view of processes that have historically affected the region's economy. Only by adopting a historical perspective is it possible to distinguish the economic consequences of tourism from those linked to other developments. Throughout the nineteenth century and during the first few decades of the twentieth century Samos' economic development was based mainly on the production of cash crops for export and depended on external and, to a lesser extent, internal markets. Availability and fluctuation of markets comprised one of the major factors accounting for changes in economic specialization, land use, labor patterns, as well as in sources of income and consumer goods. Because of shifts in demand and technological changes or of local problems such as plant blight, a vulnerable economic dependence had always existed.

During the period from Samos' unification with Greece (1913) until the two decades following World War II, a number of developments had contributed to weakening the island's economic base, affecting sources of income and employment. First, to the detriment of cultivators, failure of the Union of Wine-Making Cooperatives to promote the processing and

distribution of wines had the effect of keeping the prices of island wines low. Second, tobacco cultivation and leather processing underwent a significant decline as a result of competition from Greek mainland industries and the loss of outside markets, as well as the lack of government price supports or industrial loans. Third, repeated currency devaluations during World War II led to the decline in the wealth of the leading merchant and landowning families. Fourth, the state assumed an active role in setting up cooperatives and banking institutions, thereby lessening the dependence of small producers on local elite for access to cash. Because of these developments, after World War II there was a gradual reduction in income inequalities and in disparities in standards of living, even though differences in the distribution of landed property continued to prevail. Simultaneously, out-migration, which assumed great proportions in the 1950s and 1960s, drained off a large portion of the island's supply of labor. Large landowners who depended on hired labor had to face the problem of inflationary wages caused mainly by labor shortages. Thus, when tourism began to develop on Samos the island's agricultural economy had already undergone a serious decline. Also, the local landed and mercantile elite had suffered great economic losses and were deprived of their role in linking the island—its production and distribution systems—with national and international centers, acting as brokers in the marketing of agricultural commodities, setting up prices and providing loans.

Because of tourism, the Samiote economy has increasingly become dominated by an expanding service industry geared towards the satisfaction of the needs and demands of mostly European travellers. Tourism, therefore, has become the vehicle for the renewal of economic exchanges between western European centers and the island. But unlike in the past, when Samos' economy was oriented towards the production of export crops, today such exchanges are not dominated by any one group at the local or non-local level. A simple touristic structure has developed,

based on the wide participation of the local inhabitants in tourism-related activities. Several reasons account for the structure of Samos' tourist industry. The island entered into the tourist economy relatively late, subsequent to the period (the 1950s and 1960s decades) when the central government relied on foreign capital for the provision of infrastructure and invested credits in certain specifically designated areas. Because of the government's neglect of peripheral areas like Samos, the island's inhabitants were left to their own initiative to take advantage of income-earning opportunities in tourism. By the late 1970s and early 1980s when the government assumed a more active role in financing projects for tourist infrastructure and began to assist with investment credits, Samos' tourist industry had already developed the structure it has today. Also, since Greek law restricts foreign ownership and employment, foreign involvement in the industry has thus far been non-existent, although this situation may change in the near future when Common Market integration is achieved (in 1992).

Additional factors that explain the structure of the Samiote tourist industry include the wide distribution of houses, abandoned buildings or plots—facilitated by systems of dowry and inheritance—and the increased value of these types of resources deriving from their potential of being converted with minimal investments into accommodations for rent or used to house commercial outlets. Because of these pre-existing patterns of ownership of housing property, the tourist industry that has developed is based on small, family-owned and operated establishments. Thus, the case of Kokkari provides an example of how a tourist structure can evolve that allows for the integration of tourism into a local community. It is also significant that certain common trends and tendencies related to the ways people take advantage of opportunities in tourism reveal cultural values. In Kokkari, the proliferation of small family businesses in tourism reflects a marked preference for self-employment, which ties in with culturally defined

notions of independence and self-integrity.

There are further long-standing attitudes and concerns which operate and are revealed in the approaches taken by the villagers in their tourism-related economic pursuits. For example, ownership of property has always been viewed as the *sine qua non* of full status in the community. It has also been perceived as implying security, a resource not to be disposed of through sale, since it can prove crucial for survival in times of economic need, but preserved for future generations. Taking into account this emphasis on property and given peoples' concern to maximize their families' incomes as well as to provide for their children's future, the economic responses of Kokkari's residents to tourism can be seen as rooted in adaptability, in taking opportunities for investment and employment as they are offered, and supplementing incomes through entrepreneurial endeavors especially with the cooperation of family members. It is partly because of these attitudes, concerns and strategies that non-local Greek involvement either in ownership, management or in the tourist industry's labor force has been extremely limited.

A significant number of Kokkari's households have benefited from the economic returns of their members' participation in the tourist industry. The owners of touristic enterprises who accrue large incomes and control the bulk of the wealth in the village are far more numerous than the landowning elite of the pre-World War II period. Income accumulation from tourism-related endeavors has become the basis of a consumer society. Today in Kokkari income has come to determine prestige, and increased access to cash is reflected in new consumer patterns, the acquisition of real estate and investments into housing for the accumulation of current income from rent as well as for the provision of children with valuable property resources. In addition, by making opportunities available for profitable entrepreneurial undertakings and for wage employment, tourism has stabilized the village's

population and prevented its demographic decline. More importantly, changing economic conditions have led a considerable number of Kokkeriote families to repatriate and take up residence in the village; this has had the effect of reducing the large portion of elderly people in the population, a situation that had resulted from out-migration.

At present the majority of occupations in Kokkari fall directly in the tourist service sector or benefit indirectly from it through an increased demand for related services. The variability and multiplicity of occupations are another development also related to the transition to tourist-oriented activities. Essentially this development has been facilitated by the seasonality and the nature of the tourist industry. Agriculture, as a full time occupational pursuit, is carried out mostly by older men. A large number of villagers are increasingly limiting their efforts only to the cultivation of olives since, besides not being labor intensive, it is less demanding in terms of time investments. Also, as olive harvesting occurs in the off-season, it does not compete with the tourist industry for labor.

Tourism has brought on an urbanization effect in Kokkari. It has facilitated greater physical and social mobility as well as increased contact with urban national centers, and has given rise to new occupational categories, a shift of economic activities away from agriculture and increased consumerism. Although class differences have not been eliminated, distinct social categories are absent. Today in the village it is possible to speak of a social system that resembles a continuum of ranks. Differences in property ownership, income earnings, education and levels of consumption can be recognized, but not social classes. This is because people pursue multiple occupations and have access to multiple sources of income. In the past, inequalities in access to cash and to productive resources (land) were the basis of a stratified social system. With tourism, new forms of wealth and occupational possibilities have become available, and income has come to constitute one of

the most important variables influencing social evaluation. Therefore, individuals who presently depend on the land to make a living, regardless of how extensive their landholdings, do not enjoy high social status because of lower incomes relative to others in the village.

Changes in the values of productive resources and labor are central in the process whereby a community experiences complex changes as the local economy becomes increasingly bound to the national and the world market. Different groups in the population are affected differentially by the new circumstances. Bennett, for example, reports that in the rural Greek community she studied increased absorption into the regional and national economy has led to "a disarticulation of the local class structure" (1988:283). This has come about because of economic changes associated with the decline in the profitability of agriculture, the development of new income-earning activities in the area and the focus outside the community for employment and investment opportunities (Bennett 1988:230-34). My study of Kokkari is an example of a community which has undergone profound changes in social and economic structure as a result of the development of tourism. However, unlike the picture presented by most studies of rural areas experiencing the effects of tourism, Kokkari has remained a viable community and has profited by the introduction of tourism. For this reason, this study is offered, in part, as a corrective.

Tourism has contributed to stabilizing Kokkari's population size and to making the community more homogeneous economically by reducing differences in control of critical resources. The division which prevailed in the past between workers and work-givers, ergates and ergodotes, does not exist today. There are no entrepreneurs who do not do a share of the labor themselves, nor are there laborers who depend exclusively on wage employment to earn a living. Unlike large landowners and merchants in the past, today entrepreneurs who own substantial productive resources do not control the economy. They may utilize paid

labor but no relationship of control and dependency links them with their workers. Furthermore, the wide participation in tourism of individuals with varied social backgrounds and of different occupational categories has prevented the formation of interest groups. Since the overwhelming majority of village families benefit directly or indirectly from the tourist economy, they see their interests as best served by tourism.

In Kokkari changes rooted originally in the decline of agriculture and later in tourism have modified economic relations, caused great changes in relative standards of living and contributed to a breakdown of the old social structure. Some of the most important intervening variables in this process have been the increased demand for property such as houses—whose ownership is not limited to any one group—and the resultant higher incomes, along with the increased access to opportunities for self-employment and for supplementing family earnings. These developments have meant a reduction of differences in peoples' standard of living as well as in the dependency on employers of those who earn a wage, and an increased participation of village families in social and economic consumption. Externally generated shifts—brought about by tourism—in the values of property resources and labor have been instrumental in bringing about these changes, but responses to the new economic conditions have also been determined by the values of the local community.

A significant part of this study focuses on marriage and dowry and hence illuminates various dimensions of gender relations. It assesses the extent to which the rise of new economic activities relying on tourism bring about social and cultural changes in men's and women's lives—their values, goals, sex roles and relationships to each other. By directing attention to marriage and dowry I have examined cultural definitions of male and female roles, post-marital residence patterns and their implications for women's status, domestic organization, as well as economic and ideological factors influencing peoples' evaluations of

property. An analysis of marriage is essential for obtaining an insight into women's roles in domestic and economic spheres of action. It is certainly through marriage that women take on a full role in social as well as biological reproduction and, through their childbearing and domestic services, in productive activities. Also, in many societies—including the Greek—what socially highlights marriage is the transfer of valued resources in the form of dowry. However, what is considered to be a valued dowry resource varies at different times depending on how material conditions articulate with values and perceptions.

In Kokkeri, marriage—like childrearing and building for the future of one's children—was and continues to be a social rather than a personal goal construed in terms of cultural role expectations. The conjugal partnership was seen in the past (as well as today) as involving the husband and wife in a joint effort to create a family, since it is within the family that the individual man or woman expects to find primary fulfillment. Marriage has always been important for a woman's future security as well as for her identity—conceptualized as part and parcel of her role as wife and mother—and dowry has allowed for the realization of both of these culturally defined ends. Regarding dowry in the pre-tourism period, it was one of the key factors affecting Kokkeriote women's age of marriage as well as their desirability as potential spouses. Furthermore, the dowry enabled a woman to attain full adulthood, which was based on marriage, and constituted an important means for the achievement of social mobility.

Since prior to the development of tourism agriculture was the basic type of production for exchange and source of livelihood—and given the prevalence of a chronic lack of regular wage employment opportunities as well as the dearth of available cash—land comprised one of the primary components of dowries. The land brought into marriage by the wife combined with that of the husband's share of the parental estate to enable a couple to establish their own household. But with

agriculture being basically men's occupational pursuit, the women did not administer the landed property she provided as dowry. For men, on the other hand, access to this type of property laid the foundations for the achievement of independence through self-employment. Ultimately therefore, the wife's contribution of productive property resources helped increase the possibilities of her husband approaching the problems of livelihood through socially preferred ways—by being independently employed. The other major item included in Kokkariote women's dowry was the house; a resource of practical utilitarian value that also encompassed central cultural precepts concerning family integrity (Hirschon 1989:118). The house has always been intrinsically linked with the women through their domestic roles and self-definitions (the latter incorporating cultural notions and ideals regarding women as nikokyra). But in the past, for purposes of running the home—that is, in order to materially perform their domestic roles—Kokkariote women had to rely on male-controlled resources.

The dowry a woman brought into marriage was perceived as having the quality of complementing the husband's earning efforts to provide a living for the family. Women's primary concerns centered on raising children and caring for the home and the family. Men, on the other hand, were expected to pursue economic activities vigorously in order to support the family and provide for security of its earnings. For an unmarried woman, a role in the economic sphere outside the home was acceptable when she came from a poor family and through her earnings contributed towards her dowry. However, as is the case today in Kokkari, the parents took precautions to ensure that paid employment did not pose a threat to the daughter's chastity and reputation. Once married, a woman was expected to devote herself to being a nikokyra, and this entailed a full-time commitment. A married woman's earning potential was seen as secondary to her role in the home. Nevertheless, attitudes towards female paid employment did not mean that women's activities were

only domestic, in the sense of taking place in the home. A considerable amount of non-paid family labor was expended by women in agriculture, comprising part of their contribution to the household's economic activities. In this way, the women helped the family to conserve income by offering their labor services. Finally, economic hardship justified a woman's engaging in wage-earning activities. Doing paid labor was construed in these cases as a sacrifice a woman undertook for the financial support of her family.

According to cultural notions which guided—and continue to guide—people's actions, the relationship of men and women in the home was based on the separate roles of husband and wife. These roles of the marriage partners provided for separate areas of competence and authority and implied complementarity and mutual dependence. However, at the formal level, the status relationship of husband and wife was not one of equality. Precepts in the pre-1983 Greek family law projected the superiority of the male patriarchal roles and men's decision-making authority in household affairs. Essentially the law recognized women as guardians over children and emphasized their domestic duties, while it endowed men, as heads of families, with significant power over other family members. Overall the family law reflected the asymmetry of male and female statuses. But there is another aspect to be considered. That legal stipulations made reference to a relationship of dominance and subordination between men and women in their domestic life cannot be interpreted to mean that Greek women did not and do not wield power. In fact, Greek women have always derived much of their power from their role as administrators of the home (cf. Dusbisch 1986; Hirschon 1989).

In 1983 the Greek Civil Code was modified and a new family law was passed abolishing dowry as a legally binding contractual agreement and recognizing that men and women have equal rights in the conjugal relationship. The change in the family law was considered necessary by the legislator because of the economic and social changes Greek society

had undergone during the past thirty years. It was assessed that the structurally subordinate position of women in marriage had been shaken as a result of a combination of factors including new economic and material opportunities, changing property relations and aspirations concerning economic betterment. Thus, the new law calls for marriage to be based on a partnership between the spouses. There is no doubt, however, that the new law does not account for the multiplicity of factors affecting women's position. For example, it states as an expectation that both spouses contribute towards the family's economic support (whereas the earlier law assigned this responsibility to the husband). This stipulation suggests that women's economic role outside the home is formally considered an integral aspect of the new type of marriage based on the principle of equality of men and women. Basically, the new family law suffers from an overemphasis on women's gaining access to exchange values as a determinant of their status; at the same time it neglects to take into account aspects of women's lives such as their values, goals and domestic roles which are essential for their identity and self-fulfillment.

This study illustrates that regardless of their economic endeavors, Kokkariote women's individuality continues today to be interconnected with their roles as wives and mothers. Also, increased involvement by the state in areas related to traditional domestic concerns—like education and child care—has not lessened in any real sense the role of women as primary socializers. In Kokkari women participate in increasingly large numbers in income-earning activities but do not see their public roles as more important to their self-esteem and self-fulfillment than their domestic ones. Certainly their actions in the public sphere are not a component of their identity. Kokkariote women's identity is other-directed in that it is not based on the satisfaction of their own needs but those of their family (Counihan 1988:55). Today village women are availed of new opportunities to provide for the

family's needs, to have a greater input in household administration and to achieve considerable autonomy within the home. There is no evidence, however, that role expectations for men and women have changed.

The villagers' views about marriage continue to reflect cultural concepts and socially defined goals which highlight the centrality of the family in all aspects of a person's life. One change from the pre-tourism period relates to the trend in Kokkari away from arranged marriages as a result of several developments which tourism has facilitated: the expansion of transport and communication facilities, changes in peoples' rhythm of life and work, freer interaction between young people of both sexes, increased opportunities for the young to meet and the adoption of urban national patterns, including the pattern of small family size. Nevertheless, new behavioral patterns--such as young men's sexual relationships with tourist women--and the fact that young people have a greater say in matters concerning marriage do not imply changes in values. Nor is there a lessening of emphasis on women's moral reputation when marriage is concerned. Unlike the legal concept of marriage which refers to a contractual conjugal agreement that lacks economic guarantees, from the villagers' point of view marriage continues to be centered on economic considerations and to provide for a woman's future security. Thus, since marriage is the aim and the moral implications of a daughter's sexual conduct a major concern for most families, employment outside the home--especially where surveillance is not easy--is a matter over which parents express apprehension. Of course, holding a job and earning income is not unacceptable for a young woman. But in terms of contributing towards her own dowry, a daughter's earning capacity has lost the significance and contingent quality it had in the past. This is because there are more possibilities today for investment of material and economic resources across generations as well as an increased emphasis on accumulation within them.

Undoubtedly, when it comes to making arrangements for the future

of its children, the family in Kokkari is still the major provider of property and other assets. The strong emphasis on economic betterment and the acquisition of material possessions is revealed in peoples' reference to children's increased needs. But the strategies families employ today to meet such needs differ from those characteristic of the pre-tourism period. In the past, because of limited opportunities for increasing the family's earnings, most families could not count on augmenting property resources through purchase or investments for the purpose of transferring them to children. Savings went mainly into the acquisition of movable goods for a daughter's dowry. Today, with greater access to cash, there are many more possibilities for expanding the family's resource base. Families can afford to undertake some type of investment in housing or in a commercial/service enterprise and many do so to accumulate current income and meet children's needs. Yet, despite the overriding concern for building up resources for the next generation, there has been a definite decrease in late marriages.

Several factors explain the trend towards earlier marriages. First, with increased incomes it takes less time for families to build up a daughter's dowry. Second, a young couple today can count on financial and/or material assistance from either spouse's parents subsequent to marriage (such assistance was rarely available in the past). Third, the supply of males available for marriage has increased during the last fifteen years since young men from different parts of the country serving their army term on Samos comprise a new source of potential husbands. Fourth, possibilities for wage employment in the construction industry and in the tourist sector, as well as increased opportunities for entrepreneurial family investments from which sons frequently benefit, have reduced the emphasis on dowry as a source of livelihood. Finally, women have also been provided with new opportunities to enhance the household's income resources through their tourism-related activities. Women's earning capacity may be seen as a type of

compensation for the meagre dowry they may bring into marriage.

Today the dowry is not considered as essential as in the past for reasons of survival or making a living, but it is nevertheless expected and provided at marriage. It is viewed as an investment intended to meet specific future needs of a daughter and her family; hence it has different implications from other types of investments such as financial ones for education purposes. This is the reason why education—although highly valued for providing professional and career outlets—is not seen as a substitute for dowry. The views parents express suggest that legal stipulations have basically not affected people's practices concerning dowry. What is construed as a valuable resource is an expression of economic conditions in terms of values and perceptions that pertain today. Thus, agricultural land is no longer considered significant per se, and this can be detected in the new tendency on the part of parents to transfer fields and cultivated plots to daughters (as well as to sons) subsequent to marriage. On the other hand, houses, building plots and cash are regarded most valuable as dowry items.

Today a combination of factors can be seen to bear upon the provision of a house as dowry. Since a rising demand for housing facilities as accommodations for tourists has caused an inflation of prices, renting and purchase of houses involves a prohibitively high cost. Thus, high real estate values combined with cultural precepts regarding the independence of each family-based household have enhanced the importance attributed to home ownership. Another factor connected with the home as a valuable dowry item relates to the uses of houses as sources of income. The provision of a house lays the foundations for additional family earnings beyond those accruing from men's occupational pursuits. A house given as dowry represents an investment (by the wife's parents) which has the potential of enabling the woman to play an important part in the economic support of her family. Since it is common for Kokkariote women to initially undertake tourism-related endeavors by renting

rooms out of the family's house, the provision of the house as dowry offers the wife an opportunity for home-based earnings. This arrangement is particularly desirable because it minimizes the chances of women having to face a contradiction between their economic and domestic roles.

Insofar as women's rights to property are concerned, the giving of houses as dowry relates to patterns of post-marital settlement which is a factor that bears on gender relations and women's general status. This study points out that Kokkariote brides marrying non-local men are today less likely to leave their natal village upon marriage than in the past (matrivicinal residence). There is also a growing trend whereby women continue to reside in or near the natal home after marriage (matridomestic residence). What underlies the increased occurrence of these patterns of residence are economic forces associated with the rise of tourism (husbands who marry into the village benefit from new opportunities for earning a living) and the practice of providing daughters with houses which today comprise a valued resource because of their uses in economic terms. It is certainly not possible to speak of these trends in post-marital residence as alone having a definite ameliorating effect on the position of women—in the sense of conferring on them power—especially since living arrangements favor conjugal household autonomy.

However, with tourism having transformed houses into productive resources, women are presently in a better position than in the past to control and administer property. Also, matridomestic and matrivicinal residence patterns do have a critical bearing on the emotional security women enjoy and contribute to strengthening relationships between mothers and daughters or sisters that serve as a source of assistance for many women. Considering that increasingly large numbers of village women are benefiting from access to exchange values, and given that some reconciliation is often necessary between home,

income-earning activities and family, it is possible to see that houses and residential arrangements would have greater implications in the future for gender relations and domestic group organization.

The realities of social and economic life in Kokkari reflect processes associated with the decline of land-based systems and the expansion of non-productive (although profitable) entrepreneurial, service-oriented ventures. For this reason I considered my community an ideal setting to examine how the "modernizing" influences of this transition affects women's status. Viewing women as social actors with goals of their own and means to achieve them, I analyzed the factors favoring or limiting female autonomy, assessing it in terms of women's economic and decision-making rights in household administration. I focused on the household as a locus of power for reasons related to the nature of the Greek social and cultural system, and directed attention to the issue of female autonomy (in the domestic sphere) as a key aspect or determinant of women's status. This undertaking encompasses a large part of the study which involves documenting the courses of action open to women, the multiple factors influencing the sexes' associations, particularly the power distribution between them, and the circumstances under which greater or lesser limitations are applied to women's decision-making and freedom of economic choice in the household. The determinants of a growth in female power and autonomy are highlighted through a focus on the distribution of the control of resources between the sexes, as well as the relative value of these resources, and women's non-domestic activities as they articulate with their role in household management.

Rogers (1978:154-55) suggests that different types of sexual differentiation based on behavior and ideology result in different kinds of power relationships between the sexes. The pattern common in Kokkari, as in other Greek communities studied by anthropologists, involves both ideological and behavioral differentiation of the sexes.

Men and women are conceptualized as different and hence it is believed that they behave differently. Also, they are not interchangeable entities since they perform distinct and separate roles that form the basis of a relationship of interdependence and complementarity. Thus, following Rogers' argument, because sexual differentiation occurs along both behavioral and ideological lines, one cannot speak of a dominant/subordinate relationship between the sexes. Another aspect of gender relations concerns the control of resources enabling one to wield power. In the pre-tourism period the balance of power that existed between the sexes favored men because they controlled the most valued economic resource, land (at least insofar as deciding on production and the sale of crops). The decline of agriculture brought about a devaluation of this important resource, but at the same time the rise of tertiary economic activities (construction) enhanced the value of male labor. Wage-earning activities for men became a source of increased purchasing power, which assumed great importance considering the rise of new consumption patterns as part of the urban "modernizing" influences experienced by the community. These developments meant increased dependence of women on men for money, especially since the incorporation of metropolitan life styles lent itself to the withdrawal of women from extra-domestic economic activities (particularly those centered on wage employment).

In recent years, for reasons related to the growth of tourism in Kokkari, female resources have become valuable in economic terms and this is acknowledged by both sex groups. The supply and demand conditions created by tourism as well as the structure of the tourist industry have put a premium on houses (as income-generating sources) and female labor. Because of the service-oriented nature of entrepreneurial ventures, the women's share in the tourist economy is greater than that of men. Although the women are engaging in activities that in a sense constitute paid forms of female domestic work, the economic returns of such activities give their labor a high market value. Furthermore, it

is common for women's economic pursuits to involve capital investments; in fact, the occupations practiced by men are at times less capital-intensive than women's income-earning endeavors. Basically, tourism in Kokkari has not eroded the economic power of men but has enhanced the position of women by strengthening their income-earning capacity and contributing towards transforming formerly unproductive female property (houses) into a productive resource. In other words, it has made it possible for women to benefit in terms of access to control of valuable resources, the accumulation of income and even "expertise" in its uses.

It has been argued that in various modernizing situations—such as those associated with the transition from a peasant to a rural proletarian community—the position of women deteriorates both in an absolute sense and in relation to men. Men exercise a new power over women by virtue of the availability and nature of work. The effect is a growing dependency of women on men mediated by the male wage laborer (Reiter 1975; Rubbo 1975). There are, however, different paths to economic development, some of which may not have detrimental consequences for women. The type of economic development described in this study has neither been generated by externally-oriented dependence elite nor has it introduced or reinforced structural inequalities within the local economy. Furthermore, because it is based on local initiative and control, it has meant a widening of economic options for the population-at-large. As for women, the range of "appropriate" jobs has expanded. There is increasing demand for women's domestic service activities, providing them with an important avenue to economic autonomy. I suggest that, in the context of a transition to new economic activities, desires to increase consumption may spur new uses of property and labor, affecting the way control of resources is distributed between the sexes. These occurrences may be accompanied by a greater rise in the value of women's resources (labor and property) relative to that of men's and a lessening of the power imbalance between the sexes.

There are many references to industrialization and capitalist economic development as processes introducing or strengthening the separation of work place from home, increasing the distinction between public and private domains as well as the segregation of the sexes (Morin 1970; Reiter 1975). This explanation is appropriate for a capitalist industrial society, but in other societies (such as peasant ones) the private and public spheres are not sharply demarcated. Also, there are descriptions indicating that male and female activities may span both realms of life (Salamone and Stanton 1986). In Kokkari, as a result of the types of economic relations and labor patterns that have arisen with tourism, and given the importance of the family as a key economic unit, household and work relations are not sharply demarcated. Families do not exhibit a radical split between the "private/at home" and the "public/at work"—a separation that prevails among working-class families participating in factory employment.

One assumption commonly encountered in the feminist literature is that sexual inequality emanates from the opposition of public and private spheres and the association of women with the home. It is therefore implied that women can gain power when they transcend domestic limits and take over male jobs (Rosaldo 1974; Sacks 1974). This argument takes as given that men and women are economically independent of one another and distorts the relations between the sexes especially in those societies where sexual differentiation is based on both ideology and behavior. There is a definite bias reflected in the argument which—because it is considered to be applicable to all societies—overlooks variations in the contextual meaning of particular institutions (Rogers 1978:142). My study shows that women are increasingly participating in economic activities outside the domestic sphere of reproduction and nurturance but their priorities continue to lie in their domestic roles. Kokkariote women's major consideration in evaluating options and making decisions regarding income-earning activities is

the extent to which they can reconcile their endeavors in the economic sphere with child care and homemaking duties. If it is thought that wage employment in tourism hinders their ability to perform their domestic roles effectively, women often seek other alternatives to earn income.

The proportion of village households with female members who sell their labor power for wages is small compared to that of households whose women (wives/mothers) are involved in income-earning activities without partaking of the wage-labor/capital relationship. Hence, for most women the split between household and work place is not occurring. This is significant in that it allows for an easier adjustment between work and family roles. Another finding of this study relates to the villagers' strong orientation towards self-employment and entrepreneurial pursuits which accounts for the expansion of a large social category—that of people with access to some productive resources who have control over their working conditions, since they are not involved in wage labor activities. What is construed as a desirable approach to earning a living (self-employment) lends itself to women benefiting from new economic opportunities without having to face an unresolved contradiction between their public and domestic roles. I suggest that women's not seeing work as a personal necessity, meaning not essential to their identity, is indicative of the fact that role expectations for women do not change as a consequence of their involvement in economic activities outside the domestic sphere. In a consumerist society like that of Greece women want to earn money in order to contribute towards the satisfaction of the family's material needs; nevertheless, they continue to feel secure in the knowledge of what their role as wives and mothers is, and in the certainty that they can fulfill it.

This study illustrates that sexual differentiation based on behavior and ideology may work in favor of women insofar as access to control of resources and the distribution of power between the sexes

are concerned. It is not required that women take over men's jobs or share in the control of male resources in order to achieve autonomy. In Kokkari the identification of the sexes with different spheres of activities and responsibilities has not prevented women from taking advantage of new opportunities in tourism to earn income. In fact, a key factor behind this occurrence is that such opportunities involve the use in economic terms of female property resources and the provision of services which are construed as women's work. There is no evidence that men are taking over in the control of one major female resource--houses, when these are used for the generation of rental income. This is because ideologically and behaviorally women are associated with houses. Men also do not become involved in or take over the activities carried out by women as part of their conveying services to tourists. Men's conceptualization of what constitutes women's work accounts for many women's active and formal entrepreneurial involvement in the tourist industry. Perceiving women's participation in tourism through self-employment as encompassing tasks that fall into the realm of domestic labor, men choose not to interfere in their wives' income-earning activities. This orientation on the part of village men is conducive to women exercising control over the regulation and organization of their entrepreneurial endeavors, assuming innovative roles and allocating resources.

Village women become increasingly involved in the realm of economic action outside the home but each sex acts out different roles and participates in different activities. Cultural ideals regarding men's primary role as family providers continue to be expressed, as are notions about women's indispensability to the home. Overall, behavioral differentiation has not ceased to be grounded in differential ideology. There are situations where the handling by women of certain matters of a nature that does not indicate direct bearing on their domestic concerns or their economic demeanors (signing contracts, dealing with agencies, paying wages) may be viewed as marking a variance between role

expectations and behavior. Several reasons explain the women's assumption of the responsibility to conduct matters pertinent to the household's external links: first, as a result of their income-earning endeavors women gain access to new avenues to perform their role as household administrators by surpassing the parameters of what "running the home" means; second, for some women, the assumption of this responsibility is part of the sacrifices they necessarily undertake in view of their husbands' inability to provide for the family's support and promote its interests; and third, because multiple occupational pursuits (or other aspects of their earning efforts) place constraints on men, there is a need for women to replace their husbands in various tasks. Nevertheless, regardless of the reasons, these "externally-oriented" endeavors of the women should not be seen as denoting participation in male activities. Instead, they suggest how encompassing their role as administrators of the household is or potentially can be. Hence, this study challenges the assumption that women are primarily and narrowly involved in domestic and family activities.

The descriptions included in this study documenting the similarities and variations as well as the continuities and changes in women's lives, and pointing out the various factors influencing the sexes' economic associations support my original hypothesis: involvement in the tourist industry enhances women's autonomy in those cases where it increases their opportunities to participate in household management. In a community like Kokkari the key developments having significant implications for women's status are the increased emphasis attached to incomes and consumption, and the transition to new economic activities which puts a premium on female labor and adds great value to property resources controlled by women. In view of these developments, the women's economic accomplishments assume special importance for the household's material and economic well-being as well as for their own position in the household. The new options available to women to

engage in economic action—which often means expanding the household's resource base and increasing the possibilities for discretionary spending—serve as a potential means for their active involvement in household management. Certain findings of the study underline this conclusion.

An interconnection exists between, on the one hand, the control and management by women of critical resources, as well as the economic responsibilities they hold, and, on the other hand, their domestic position. Women who, as part of their undertaking entrepreneurial ventures, take on managerial roles and have access to or control over the returns from their activities, also have a great say in domestic decision-making. It is not the volume of their income-generating activities but their strategies, innovative roles and their control of economic resources that contribute to strengthening the women's position in the household. Thus, the gains—both economic and non-material—accrued to women from self-employment in tourism comprise a major source from which they derive autonomy. This source, on the other hand, is not available to women who assist in running their family's enterprise but are not offered the opportunity to take part in the making of decisions about management and the allocation of resources. Generally, where participation in tourism through independent or family employment introduces women to new experiences and especially enables them to obtain knowledge of economic processes and gain access to control of resources, it provides a base for their attainment of autonomy. Under these circumstances tourism contributes to strengthening women's economic and decision-making rights in the home and to enhancing overall their facility in handling household affairs.

As for wage employment in tourism, it is important to women experiencing domestic economic difficulties or to those whose husbands fail in their role of family provider, in that it enables them to respond to the stresses of economic hardship which poses a threat to family

integrity and even stability. For these women, having a paid job and gaining access to exchange values means taking on a significant share of the economic responsibilities for maintaining their households. Also, their earning capacity adds to their management ability in running the home. However, female autonomy in the household is not rooted only in economic factors associated with the opportunities tourism creates for women. Thus, in households with a small resource base where often economic insecurity is grounded in constraints inherent in men's approach to the problems of livelihood (low and irregular earnings or lack of access to control of resources), women are in a position to enjoy considerable autonomy by acting as channels of economic support for their families.

The case of Kokkari suggests that women are more likely to benefit from their active involvement in conducting household matters than from their participation in domains, such as those pertaining to community-wide activities, that do not relate to family concerns. The focus of this study on women's associations has provided a context for examining women's public roles in view of political and social realities as well as in relation to cultural notions and expectations. As members of associations, Kokkariote women engage in activities which denote unformalized public roles; and this because they encompass rights and duties that are not clearly defined and publicly recognized (Chinas 1973:1-2). Thus, they differ from their domestic roles which are formalized. In the family or in the domestic group there is a distribution between the sexes of formalized roles, placing men and women in a complementary relationship. However, in the public sphere the allocation of roles along gender lines is such that men hold formalized roles (for example, president of the village council or cooperative) while women unformalized ones. Nevertheless, women are able to play these roles largely because they operate in a social realm separate from men. The types of action they carry out pertain mainly to the provision of services—such as holding events that involve the preparation and giving of food—and are open only to women.

In this sense, the activities of the women's associations do not upset the existing pattern of sexual differentiation based on ideology and behavior.

However, through the associations the women are put in a position where they act (willingly or "by association") as "agents" of political parties—serving the latter's interests at the local level. In this manner women enter informally into a sphere which in terms of activities, information-control and "expertise" is associated with male formalized roles. Since cultural notions lend themselves to the exclusion of women from participation in political processes, the political orientation of the women's associations is a matter over which villagers express apprehension. Such an orientation reflects endeavors and concerns on the part of the women which are not grounded in culturally construed role expectations. Furthermore, even though the services offered by the associations are valued by the community-at-large, the women themselves do not benefit from membership and participation in these associations. Not only do they not gain power or influence but they become subjected to the tutelage of male-controlled political organizations.

Conclusions drawn from this study suggest that certain qualifications must be added to arguments concerning sexual inequality and women's status with respect to the private/public division. The association of the sexes—on the basis of their roles—with different spheres of action does not presuppose a relationship of dominance and subordination between men and women. Sexual differentiation along behavioral and ideological lines is conducive to autonomy and interdependence rather than submission and dominance. I have also pointed to developments that significantly affect the allocation of conjugal domestic rights as a consequence of the women's increased access to control of valuable resources and their involvement in economic activities that do not result in an unresolved conflict insofar as their domestic roles are concerned. Assumptions concerning the distribution of power

between men and women are often used to support generalizations about gender relations without accounting for contextual variations. I have described developments that result in the lessening of this imbalance of power between the sexes and at times even in women's wielding more economic power than men. The private sphere, defined as the realm of female work, is women's area of "expertise" and can facilitate their taking on income-earning activities and benefiting economically through the control of valuable resources. Through their roles, women are intrinsically linked to the home, but they also become involved in the non-domestic sphere. Hence, the public sector is both a male and a female realm of action. Finally, the assertion that only men hold formal positions reflects neglect of the variability of women's practices and economic strategies.

APPENDIX A. SCHEDULE KEPT FOR EACH HOUSEHOLD OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, THE DIVISION OF LABOR AND
TIME ALLOCATION

Time	Place	Person(s) Present	Activities Performed During the Day	Alone or With Whom

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Time	Person(s) Absent	Place	Activities Performed During Absence	Alone or With Whom

APPENDIX B. QUESTIONNAIRE USED TO SURVEY VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS

Number of persons residing in the same house _____

How are these persons related among themselves and what are their ages?

How many years of schooling has each of these persons had? _____

Where was each of the above persons born? _____

Which of these persons have lived outside the island, where and for how long?

When did the persons who lived outside the island return to the village and why?

Are there members of the immediate family who do not reside in the village currently? _____ Who? _____

Where? _____ Why? _____

For how long? _____

What regular work does each person who lives in your house do? _____

How long has each individual been doing this kind of work _____

Have any of these persons changed work or taken on additional work?

Who? _____

When? _____ Why? _____

Where does the major portion (51 percent and over) of the household's income come from?

WAGE-SALARIED EMPLOYMENT

1. wage work in the tourist industry
2. " " " " construction industry
3. " " " agriculture
4. " " " a factory
5. salary from employment in the public sector
6. " " " " " private "
7. other type of wage or salaried employment _____

SELF-EMPLOYMENT

1. touristic enterprise

2. commercial enterprise operated on a year round basis
3. contractual enterprise
4. farming
5. fishing
6. trade
7. social security pension
8. other _____

What secondary sources of income does the household have? _____

Which members of the household engage in work that relates to tourism? _____

Give a brief description of such work _____

How many hours a day? _____ days a week _____ and months out of the year are they occupied with such work? _____

Describe the work activities in the off-season of household members who engage in tourism-related work _____

What is the time schedule of the work carried out by household members who are not involved in tourism? _____

Does your family own and operate a touristic enterprise? Yes _____ No _____ If Yes, does it employ workers? _____ How many paid workers _____ and how many _____ and which family members are involved in running it? _____

Does your family own and operate a commercial enterprise (operated on a year round basis)? Yes _____ No _____ If Yes, does it employ workers? _____ How many paid workers _____ and how many _____ and which family members are involved in running it? _____

Does your family (or certain of its members) engage in agriculture _____ fishing _____ or in a trade? _____ If for any of the above the answer is Yes, are paid workers used? _____ and how many _____? Also, how many and which family members contribute labor? _____

Has the economic situation of your family improved _____ remained the same _____ or worsened _____ in the last fifteen years? Why? _____

APPENDIX C. CASES CONCERNING MARRIAGE AND DOWRY IN KOKKARI

Case 1

Woman: The younger of two daughters and the first to have married. Her education was terminated at the conclusion of her third year of high school. She engaged in no paid work prior or subsequent to marriage, but while single had contributed family labor in the olive harvest. Her family's economic activities centered around the cultivation of olives, and the only member working for a wage was the older daughter who had been employed for several years as a chambermaid at a local hotel. The household's major source of income was the pension which the father, a former civil servant, received. Although her marriage, at age 22, resulted from an independently contracted liaison, the woman under consideration became pregnant and the prospective husband had demanded a larger dowry in order to marry her. The parents, compelled to give in to the demands, increased the dowry at the expense of the older daughter's share of family property.

Dowry: It consisted of the trousseau, furnishings for the house the couple rented, the parental house, a building plot in the village, a few olive trees and one level of a semi-constructed building in Athens. (The parental house continues to be occupied by the woman's family of origin since her husband's work requires that the couple reside in the island's capital, Vathi).

Marriage Partner: A non-Samiote man with six years of secondary education, followed by training at a technical school. He married at the age of 26, after having come to the island where he had been assigned a post in the public service sector.

Case 2

Woman: The older of two daughters, who was married first at age 17. Because she did not attend high school, the parents chose to send her to the city to live with relatives and learn dressmaking. Having learned the trade, she returned to the village where marriage was arranged for her to a local young man. She had no opportunity to practice the trade, and the birth of a child in less than a year after she had married further prevented her from using the acquired skills to earn income. None of the women in her family had engaged in paid work. The father owned

a three-wheeled vehicle and was hired to transport construction materials and crops; his wages constituted the only source of income for the household. Aside from a few olive trees and vines, which yielded produce for consumption, the family had no other resources.

Dowry: It included house furnishings, the trousseau and one level of the family house (the latter is not used by the daughter because her husband's work requires that they live in another village). A second level has been added to the parental house in order to be given as dowry to the younger daughter. Furthermore, a small house—acquired through inheritance—will be renovated to house the parents in the future.

Marriage Partner: A village man and the only child of a family with limited resources. Both of his parents had worked as agricultural wage laborers, while the mother was also employed for several years as a hotel chambermaid. While at school, the son had worked as a waiter to cover personal expenses. He attended the State Academy for Teachers and married at age 25, shortly after receiving his diploma and completing his term of service in the army. Today he is teaching at the elementary school of a nearby village.

Case 3

Woman: The oldest and only girl of three children. Her family had repatriated from Canada in 1971 in order for the children to attend elementary school in Greece and for reasons related to the father's health. In the village, the father had purchased at first a small vehicle and later a truck, which he used to transport construction materials. Wages from this type of work constituted the household's major source of income. The few olive trees and vines the family owned yielded only small quantities of crops for sale. At the age of 17 the daughter was engaged to be married to a young man from the village (the marriage had been arranged by the two respective families). However, during the engagement period the young man continued to seek the company of tourist women. For this reason and also because the family of the prospective son-in-law became heavily indebted—in the process of building a hotel—the girl's parents were apprehensive about their daughter's well-being and security after the marriage. Objecting to their daughter's having to move into her husband's household and fearing that her dowry may be "consumed" (used to pay the debts), they broke off the engagement. The young woman then proceeded to complete her secondary school studies, which she had interrupted because of the engagement, and obtained her diploma. At age 21 she married a village man with whom she had fallen in love. Prior to marriage she had worked for two consecutive summers at a local tourist shop, while during a third summer she was employed for several weeks as a clerk at another village wine cooperative. Her earnings were too insignificant to have even

covered personal expenses. After marriage, the birth of a child has meant that she is no longer able to seek paid work.

Dowry: It was comprised of the trousseau, house furnishings, two fields planted with olive trees, a building plot in the village, as well as an apartment in the city. After marriage the woman moved into the house of her husband's parents; the young couple established an independent household by occupying a separate level of the house. In the future, the woman's parents plan (with the extra income from the renting of rooms) to assist the daughter and her family financially in building their own home.

Marriage Partner: The only child of a village family with modest resources (a small retail outlet and modest landholdings). Having completed secondary school but failing to succeed in passing the university entrance exams, he joined his uncle's construction crew to earn a wage. When married, at the age of 23, he received no property and continued to work as a construction laborer. However, the periodic assistance from his parents in the form of material goods and money serves to supplement the modest income of the young man's household. As an only child he expects that he would eventually inherit the family store as well as his uncle's business (since the latter is unmarried and has no other immediate heirs).

Case 4

Woman: Born in 1938, she was one of six children—five daughters and one son—of a village family with limited resources. The household's income came primarily from wages and, to a lesser extent, from the sale of produce (both parents worked as field hands). Unable to provide for their future, the parents placed the four daughters (one had died in her teens) as domestic servants in the homes of wealthy families. From a very young age, and after four years of elementary school, the informant contributed to the family's earnings by working for a wage in the fields as well as at the tobacco factory in Vathi. At the age of 25 she moved to Rhodes where she served as maid in the household of a doctor for five years. The family which employed her arranged to marry her to a local construction worker; but the marriage ended after five years with the husband's death, and the informant returned to the village to live with her parents. (No children were born out of the marriage). She had been employed, while married, as a hotel chambermaid and upon her return to the village engaged in the same type of work. In 1977, at the age of 39, marriage was arranged for her to a village man. The main reason which the informant gave for having accepted the proposal was that she was still young, and her behavior would have been subject to people's scrutiny if she had remained unmarried. After the marriage she continued to work for two years as a chambermaid at a local hotel in order to assist with her earnings in the construction of the family house.

However, once she had a child, she was unable to work outside the home and limited herself to renting rooms out of the newly-built family dwelling. Presently the child has begun to attend school and the informant has free time to devote to paid work. She has been hired by the local female doctor to supervise her children and to do her housework.

Dowry: The woman received no dowry from her parents when she was first married (only a gift of 10,000 drachmas). Her dowry at the time of the second marriage consisted of a small house, which was later rented out, and one vineyard. Attached to the transfer of the house was the stipulation that the daughter would provide her elderly father with room and board. The informant, however, contributed a substantial amount of cash from her own savings towards the construction of the family house (her father had also provided a modest sum for the same purpose).

Marriage Partner: The older of two sons of a family with limited resources. A physical disability (visible in his walking) had limited this man's possibilities for marriage, even though it did not prevent him from engaging in heavy manual work. He eventually married at the relatively late age of 33, the above woman who was six years older than himself. Furthermore, the fact that he made a living from the land had also lessened his marriageability. (Village women express a preference for marrying non-farmers or at least men who do not depend primarily on agriculture to earn a living. It is considered inevitable that by marrying a farmer a woman will have to work in the fields; she will also be limited in terms of access to cash—since the family will have a meagre income—and be unable to afford the comforts and luxuries which village women and their families enjoy today). From a very young age, after having completed elementary school, he engaged in agricultural work both as a non-paid family member and a paid laborer. Today this man is one of a few village males who hire themselves out to do specialized agricultural work, such as spraying the crops and trees with insecticides and tilling the fields. Besides cultivating the land of others and that of his own share of the patrimony, he also finds periodic employment in the construction industry.

Case 5

Woman: One of three daughters of a family with modest resources from a nearby village. She obtained a high school diploma but failed to pass the examinations for entrance into the State Academy for Teachers and completed a two-year language course, receiving a lower level certificate in English. She then worked in various capacities—as secretary and assistant teacher—at language tutorial schools. At age 23, and of her own choice, she married a young man from Kokkari who was approved by her family. What dictated her move to Kokkari after marriage was the availability of a house (that of her husband's family) and of employment opportunities. Not only has her husband secured a salaried position in

the public service sector, but she herself has been able to find seasonal paid work at a travel agency.

Dowry: It consisted of the trousseau, house furnishings, as well as olive trees and vines. (The land has been maintained and harvested by the wife's parents who supply their daughter's household with produce for consumption). In addition, the dowry included a field which, because of its location, constitutes a potential building site. After the marriage the couple has been receiving regular financial assistance from the wife's parents in order to renovate their house. The young woman's own contribution to the marriage was a small amount of savings, in a bank account, from her earnings.

Marriage Partner: The older of two sons of a village family with modest resources. He obtained his secondary school diploma but his plans for advanced education were terminated by a family crisis (the mother's death and the father's and younger brother's illnesses). Having found himself unable to cope with the economic difficulties he faced in the village, the young man left for the city where he worked in a factory for two years. However, in the city he found the opportunities for occupational mobility limited and returned to the island where he was hired as secretary in the office of the village wine cooperative. He married at age 28.

Case 6

Woman: The only child of a Kokkeriote family with extremely limited resources. In the 1960s the need to increase the meagre family income led the father to abandon fishing in order to work in the construction industry and earn a regular wage; the mother was employed as housekeeper by the household of the village doctor. In the late 1970s the family house was renovated and several of its rooms have ever since been rented out to tourists for extra income. The daughter completed three years of secondary education as well as a three-year training course at the island's technical school. Prior to having finished her studies, she was hired to work at the office of a civil engineer in Vathi. At age 20 she decided, with her family's approval, to marry a non-Samiote man who was at the time assigned to serve his military duty on Samos. The couple shares the house of the wife's parents, forming a joint family household. (Since her marriage, the young woman has continued to work and earn income).

Dowry: It was comprised of a few linen and house furnishings. The young woman herself expended the amount of 80,000 drachmas from her own earnings to purchase electrical appliances. The family house and other property will be transferred to her in the future.

Marriage Partner: The son of a city family, he also completed three years of secondary education as well as a course at a technical school.

At the time of marriage he was 25 years old. In comparison with the city he saw certain advantages to residence in the village—such as opportunities for economic betterment and a quieter, less strenuous life—and convinced his wife, who had a contrary opinion, not to move to Athens. After the marriage the young man opened up an electrical appliance repair outlet in the village but failed to succeed in business and sought instead employment at the textile factory of "Persiki Patraiki" in Vathi.

Case 7

Woman: The younger of two daughters of a poor village family. Prior to the growth of tourism all family members, including the daughters, had labored as agricultural workers in order to contribute to household income and meet living expenses. The informant's education was limited to the sixth grade of elementary school because the economic difficulties the family experienced meant that there were no possibilities for further studies. At age 14 she began working for a wage in the fields while in 1972, when the first large hotel was built, she was one of the first village women to be employed as a chambermaid. In this and other capacities she has worked continuously at several hotels, up until today. She married at the age of 23, by her own choice, a young man from a nearby village. The couple has settled in the wife's village where both spouses have secured paid work and also because the wife has been given the parental house as dowry.

Dowry: It included a house, the trousseau and a few olive trees (the couple and the woman's parents occupy two different levels of the house, constituting separate households). The wife also contributed to the marriage her earnings which went into renovating the dowry house.

Marriage Partner: He came from a family of four children—two daughters and two sons—and of limited resources from a nearby village. His education was limited to six years of elementary school and two years of high school. In his mid-teens he left the village for Athens where he worked at a factory; a few years later, however, after having served in the army, he chose to work as a seaman. When he married at age 28 and settled in his wife's village, the young man found employment in the construction industry. In 1981 he left this occupation upon being offered the opportunity to engage in hotel maintenance work on a year-round basis.

Case 8

Woman: The oldest of three daughters of a well-to-do village family whose resources consisted of a coffeehouse, real estate properties and a modest amount of agricultural land. With tourism, the coffeehouse became a profitable enterprise, yielding substantial income which has

allowed for investments to be made in housing. In order to dower its first two daughters, the family had undertaken to construct on an existing site a two-level house and to renovate an old one. The oldest daughter showed no special interest in education and was not encouraged to continue her studies beyond elementary school. Instead, she was assigned various housekeeping tasks as well as certain work activities in the coffeeshouse. At the age of 18 the daughter married a non-Samiote man who was at the time serving his army term on the island (her choice of mate was approved by the parents). Dowry property, including a house, influenced the couple's decision to remain in the village. Today the husband's earnings are supplemented by the additional income the wife contributes through the renting of rooms.

Dowry: It was comprised of the trousseau, a newly-built two-level house along with its furnishings, a building plot in the village and several olive trees. One level of the dowry house served as the family's dwelling while the other is rented out to tourists.

Marriage Partner: An Athenian man with an elementary school education and five years older than his wife. Upon marriage he opened a workshop in the village and has been engaging during the off-season in shoe-making and repair work (a trade he had acquired in the city). Simultaneously he established a motorcycle and bicycle rental outlet which he operates, along with a partner, during the tourist season. His involvement in agricultural work has been limited to the harvesting of olives with the assistance of his wife's parents. The wife herself is unable to participate because she has to look after two small children.

Case 9

Woman: A younger sister of the woman described in the previous case. Because she showed promise in school and the family's finances allowed it, it was deemed appropriate by the parents that this daughter complete the course of secondary education and even obtain a higher degree. However, when the daughter revealed her plans not to attend the last year of secondary school, because she wished to marry, the parents accepted her decision. She married at the age of 19 a city man whom she had met while he served his army term on the island. Even though the marriage resulted in the daughter's moving to the city, she was nevertheless given a dowry. Several years later, when the marriage ended in divorce, the daughter returned to live in her parental household; currently she works as a chambermaid at a hotel.

Dowry: It consisted of the trousseau, furnishings for the apartment the couple rented in the city, a house in the village—serving as a summer home—and a few olive trees. Subsequent to the marriage the parents periodically assisted their daughter's family through gifts of money and produce.

Marriage Partner: An urbanite, four years older than his wife. Prior to as well as after the marriage he had been employed at a jewellery-making commercial establishment in the city.

Case .1

Women: Her family maintains a house in Kokkeri, part of the mother's dowry, but lives most of the year in a mountainous location outside the father's village (Vourliotes). It engages mainly in raising goats (keeping no more than one hundred heads at any one time) and very little in agriculture. The family's land resources consist of a few small parcels of land contributed by the mother as dowry. Thus, proceeds from the sale of meat and dairy products comprise the major source of household income. The daughter, who is an only child, boarded with her grandparents in Kokkeri during the months she attended elementary school, while in the summer she either stayed with the parents or was sent to live with her father's kin in Vourliotes. Her wish to learn hairdressing in Athens could not be fulfilled since there were no relatives in the city to take her into their home and supervise her. At the age of 15, with the consent of her parents, she became engaged to a young man from Thessaloniki who had been at the time serving his military duty on Samos. Attracted to city life, she went to live with her prospective husband and his family but soon discovered that she was not accepted with grace by the young man's mother and sister. Also, the friction which characterized the relationship between her fiance and his parents was a sign that she would not live in a congenial household. Therefore, during a visit to the island, the young woman—in consultation with her parents—broke off the engagement. Back in her father's village, she contracted a relationship with a young man and at age 17 was married to him. Shortly after the marriage the groom enlisted in the army and the bride moved in with his family. After a year, however, when a child was born, the couple settled in the wife's village where the dowry house was located and more opportunities were available for the husband to earn a wage. It was also possible for the wife to find employment in Kokkeri but her responsibilities towards a small child and her husband's objections to her doing chambermaiding work have prevented her from engaging in paid work.

Dowry: It included two small houses and the trousseau. (The house which serves as the couple's home will also be used by the wife's parents in their old age). As for the other house, the couple had reached an agreement with their marriage sponsor, kumbaro, whereby he was to renovate and furnish it (since they were financially unable to do so) in order to accrue rental income from it. After three years the house along with its furnishings was to revert back to its owner for purposes of being rented out. At the time of marriage the young woman had two small savings accounts which had been built up by her parents. She used the

money from one account to purchase a few house furnishings and transferred the other to her daughter. Land was not transmitted to the woman at marriage but is to be passed directly onto the granddaughter at a later time. (This measure is intended to avoid paying twice the necessary taxes associated with the transfer of property). The wife's parents continue to maintain the land with some assistance from their son-in-law. They and, to a lesser extent, the husband's parents assist the couple financially as well as in kind (with produce for consumption).

Marriage Partner: The only son and the younger of two children of a family with limited resources from a nearby village. He completed elementary school and enrolled in the island's technical school, but abandoned his studies. Since employment opportunities in the village where he grew up were limited, the young man had not worked for a wage on a regular basis prior to marriage. His work activities had been restricted to assisting the family in the fields and to hiring himself out periodically as an agricultural and construction laborer. When he married, at age 19, he received no family property; in contrast to his sister who has been provided with a dowry, his share is to be transmitted in the future. Because military service did not take him outside the island, he was able to work during his furlough—usually the weekends—in the construction industry and/or as a waiter at a local coffeehouse in order to earn money and meet his family's living expenses. Once out of the army, he joined a construction crew and has ever since been working for a regular daily wage.

Case 11

Woman: Born in 1948, she is the older of two daughters of a village family. Following elementary school, she was enrolled in a trade school in Vathi to learn dressmaking. After a year and a half of training, she established a workshop in the family home and sewed for village women in order to contribute to the family's earnings as well as to accumulate her trousseau. Although the work did not pay well, the young woman's earnings were significant considering that the family's resources were limited; to supplement the meagre income obtained from the sale of produce, the father had worked as an itinerant greengrocer both within and outside the village. At age 25 the informant entered into an arranged marriage with a man ten years older than herself from another village. The couple first moved to the city, afterwards to the husband's village and eventually to Kokkari. Behind this series of relocations was the search by the husband, a construction worker, for employment. In Kokkari the couple shared with the wife's elderly parents the house which had been given as dowry. This arrangement, however, was terminated after two years by divorce; excessive drinking and irresponsible behavior on the part of the husband were given

by the women (and confirmed by villagers) as the reasons she decided to end her marriage. While married, the informant had expressed the wish to engage in paid work outside the home but was not allowed by her husband to do so. She explained that taking on employment outside the home would have mitigated to a certain extent the severity of friction that prevailed in the household. At the same time, the frequent relocations and the caring of a small child were not conducive to her working as a dressmaker at home. Ever since her marriage ended and after she was remarried, three years later, the informant has been working as a chambermaid at a local hotel. Her mother has assumed the children's supervision (another child was born from the second marriage). As for her decision to remarry, it was influenced primarily by her parents who felt that marriage would allow their daughter greater freedom of movement; otherwise her actions—because she was of a relatively young age—would have been subject to village scrutiny and gossip. For this reason, and having been assured that the prospective husband would be well disposed towards a child that was not his own, she accepted the marriage proposal.

Dowry: It consisted of a house and a few olive trees. Besides the parents who assisted financially, the young woman contributed from her own savings towards the purchase of house furnishings and the accumulation of the trousseau. At the time of her second marriage she had also used a large part of her earnings to purchase household electrical appliances (a washing machine, a stove and a refrigerator).

Marriage Partner: The first husband was from the port town of Karlovasi. Having no education beyond that of elementary school, he had been limited in terms of occupational possibilities. His only available outlet prior as well as after the marriage (to which he contributed no resources) was that of wage employment in the construction industry. The second marriage partner is a Kokkariote man and the son of a family with limited resources. Up until the time of marriage he had been the family's main provider, supplementing with his wages the meagre income which the household obtained from the land. Also, because the parents were old and disabled, he had assumed the responsibility of providing for his younger sister's marriage. These were the main reasons he married at the relatively late age of 37. Equipped with the skills of a plumber, this particular male has been earning a living as a self-employed skilled laborer. However, because there is no steady demand for the type of work he does, his earnings vary and do not comprise a regular and dependable source of income. Thus, the wife's wages are expended to meet the household's living expenses.

Case 12

Woman: The only daughter, in addition to a younger son, of a village family whose productive property resources have been limited to a small fishing boat and a very small amount of agricultural land. All of the

family members—with the exception of the daughter—had in the past and up until today engaged in various wage-earning activities in order to contribute to the household's income. In the late spring and summer the father's work activities center around fishing and the selling of the catch whereas in the winter months he is hired as a laborer at the local olive press. The mother's paid work had been limited in the past to cleaning public offices (the police station, the village school and the kinotita's office) and at times village houses. Periodically she was also hired to work in the fields. However, beginning with the late 1970s, she has been working as a chambermaid at a village hotel. The son is employed with a construction crew and earns wages to meet personal expenses. As for the daughter, she was discouraged from engaging in paid work outside the house. When she was 20 years of age, a marriage was arranged between her and a man who lived in the United States. The parents accepted the proposal, thinking that it offered their daughter the opportunity to secure a better future than one which a local husband could provide. However, once the marriage took place and the groom left for the United States in order to make the necessary arrangements to send for his wife, the family learned that he had been already married. Even though co-villagers living in the United States intervened and a divorce was granted by the Church, the family had been shamed as a result of the incident. Yet no social stigma was attached to the girl and her family since they were the victims of a type of action that was condemned. Thus, four years later, at age 24, the young woman was married with her parents' consent to a man of her own choice. The couple rented a house in Kokkari since the wife expressed a preference in living near her parents for purposes of moral and other types of support. She felt assured that her mother would assist her in child rearing and housekeeping (especially since she plans to take on paid employment in the tourist industry subsequent to the birth of her child).

Dowry: It consisted of house furnishings, which were purchased with the mother's savings, and the trousseau. The parental house is to be transferred to the daughter at a later time.

Marriage Partner: One of six children—four sons and two daughters—of a family with limited resources living in Vathi. Because he only had an elementary school education, he had been limited with regard to occupational possibilities. Prior to the marriage he worked in the construction industry as an unskilled laborer, while after the marriage he earned wages working with an older brother who owned machinery and took on various construction-related projects. Upon marriage, at age 28, he had no resources other than his savings of 50,000 drachmas. Currently, to meet the family's living expenses, he holds a second job, working in the evening hours as a waiter at a village restaurant.

Case 13

Woman: The only daughter, in addition to an older unmarried son, of a village family. Prior to the growth of tourism the household derived income mainly from the butcher shop which the father owned and operated. The family possessed a modest amount of land, but it yielded very little in terms of income. In the mid-1970s the father retired and stopped running the butcher shop. Not only was the son too young to have taken over the family business, but in order to have responded successfully to the demands of the growing tourist industry the enterprise had to be modernized (it needed, for example, modern refrigerating apparatuses) and the family lacked the capital required for such investments. At approximately the same time the household was availed with a new source of income, the wages both the son and mother earned from paid work in tourism. The former was at first employed as a waiter and later as a member of the kitchen staff at a local hotel, while the latter was hired as a chambermaid. The father engaged in agriculture to a minimal extent because of his advanced age. After the daughter was married and the son, in partnership with an uncle, reopened the butcher shop in the early 1980s, the mother—who was at that time sixty years of age and had been working for six consecutive seasons—felt that she no longer needed to work for a wage. The only family member not to have engaged in paid work outside the home is the daughter. She had completed elementary school and enrolled in high school but abandoned her studies after two years, when she met a young man (12 years older than herself) whom she married at age 16 with her parents approval. The young woman referred to her strong emotional attachment to her parents, and particularly to her mother, as the reason the couple decided to rent a house in Kokkari even though the husband's share of property includes a house in Vathi. During the five years she has been married (she has had no children), she has not engaged in paid work because her husband disapproves; he believes that since his earnings are sufficient to meet living expenses, the extra income the wife would provide is not indispensable.

Dowry: It was comprised of the trousseau and house furnishings which were purchased with the mother's personal savings. Agricultural land has not been transferred to the daughter at marriage since it cannot be maintained by her husband; instead, the father continues to cultivate the daughter's portion of the land and supplies her household with produce. Her share of the family property consists of a few parcels of land as well as a building plot which she is to receive in the future.

Marriage Partner: The only child of a well-to-do family from Vathi, he pursued a secondary education but abandoned his studies two years prior to receiving a diploma. He worked for two years as a seaman but, once his father retired, he began operating the family's transport business, consisting of three large trucks, two of which were transferred to the son prior to marriage while the third is retained by the father. Today

the young man employs a driver to operate one vehicle while he drives the other himself. He is also in the process of constructing a house in Vathi but, because the wife insists on staying in her own village, it is uncertain whether the couple will move into it. Since his work takes the husband on frequent trips outside the island, she spends most of her time at her parents' house.

Case 14

Woman: The younger of two daughters of a small landowning village family. Both of her parents had in the past worked as agricultural laborers to supplement the meagre income derived from the sale of produce. By the mid-1970s—when both daughters had been married—the father had found employment in the construction industry and earned a regular wage. Neither of the two daughters attended high school. The younger one was married in Germany, at age 16, to a man from another Samiote village. Assuming that by marrying outside the island their daughter's future well-being would be more assured than if she married a local man and remained in the village, the parents accepted the marriage proposal. They were proven wrong, however, because the daughter's marriage was terminated after seven years by divorce. In 1979 the young woman along with two small daughters returned to the village to stay with her parents who persuaded her to remarry. In their assessment, only marriage could have guaranteed her own as well as the children's future security. Thus, a year later, when a marriage proposal was received from a village man—twenty years older than the daughter—the parents agreed to the marriage. This particular male had also been divorced, but was without children; the fact that he was a skilled tradesman, had the reputation of being industrious and sober, and owned real estate properties, compensated for his being much older than the bride. After the marriage, the house owned by the husband was renovated to serve as the family's home, while an additional one was later built for rental purposes. The wife contributes income by renting rooms and assists in the olive harvest. According to her own evaluation, her standard of living is higher in the village than it had been while living in Germany, where she worked in a factory; more importantly, she lives in a congenial household near her parents and sister who provide her with moral and at times material support.

Dowry: Whereas no dowry was contributed to the first marriage, upon the second marriage the daughter received from her parents a few parcels of land as well as a modest amount of cash to purchase house furnishings.

Marriage Partner: He had worked from a very young age—after finishing elementary school—as an apprentice to a local shipbuilder and carpenter. His share of the patrimony consisted of a small house (most of the family property was transferred to his sister as dowry). Having no other resources, and because of the decline of the shipbuilding industry, the

individual under consideration engaged in construction and agricultural work to earn a living. At the time of his first marriage he inherited some real estate property from an uncle in the United States and was able to open up his own carpentry shop. After the marriage was dissolved, he continued to earn a living as a self-employed tradesman until the late 1970s when he joined the maintenance staff of his brother-in-law's hotel. Currently, this is his major work activity on a year-round basis. However, during his free time he operates the carpentry shop which provides the family with extra income.

Case 15

Woman: The older of two children, both of whom were born and raised in the United States. In 1972 the mother's death led the father to move with the children to the village and take up residence with his wife's elderly mother. Because he owned no property in the village he had originally come from (Vourliotes), the father decided to settle in his wife's village. There, not only were the children looked after by their grandmother, but land was also available—as part of the deceased wife's share of the patrimony—which he could cultivate. The household's income derived primarily from the monthly payments the father received as a disability pension from the United States, agriculture yielding only a minimum of economic returns. With repatriation, however, ensued problems regarding the children's education. The daughter, having finished two years of high school abroad, lacked the facilities needed to continue her studies at the Greek secondary school. At age 18 she married a young village man of her own choice and moved into her husband's household, which included the widowed mother-in-law. However, after a period of approximately a year, incompatibility between the spouses brought about the dissolution of the marriage, and the girl moved back into her father's household. Three years later she was remarried to a local man with whom she had maintained a secret liaison. After the marriage the couple shared the house of the wife's grandmother, which was by that time transferred to her. They occupied one level of the house, forming a separate household from that comprised by the wife's father, brother and grandmother. The young woman's mother-in-law revealed that she had expressed disapproval of her son's marrying this particular girl because her moral reputation and behavior prior to marriage had been questionable. She had also been unsure as to whether the prospective daughter-in-law would make a good housewife because, according to village gossip, she was not well-educated in the skills related to running a home. However, despite her reservations, the mother felt that she had to accept her son's choice of mate. She treats her daughter-in-law decently and has assisted her during pregnancy and with child rearing.

Dowry: At the time of her first marriage the young woman received no

dowry, but she brought into the second marriage the house which belonged to her grandmother and would have been inherited by her mother if she had been alive. Furnishings were purchased by her father as well as by her husband's parents. However, she had very little in terms of a trousseau and most of the roukha were provided by her mother-in-law.

Marriage Partner: The first husband was six years older than his wife and the older of two sons of a village family with modest landholdings. He had completed elementary school and a three-year course at the island's technical school, from which he received a diploma that licensed him to work as an electrician. After a brief period of working in Athens and as a seaman, he returned to Samos and took up the occupation he had been trained in. With his own savings and financial assistance from his parents, he purchased a commercial vehicle and tools and—in partnership with another electrical mechanic in the village—engaged in electrical installation work. Subsequent to the father's death and with the assistance of his younger brother he devoted a minimal amount of time and labor to the cultivation of the family's land. Shortly after the dissolution of his first marriage he was remarried to a young woman from a nearby village. The second marriage partner of the woman under consideration was five years older than her and the older of two sons of a village family whose resources were comprised of a small coffeehouse and a few parcels of land. His education included three years of secondary schooling and a three-year course at the island's technical school. The training he received combined with family connections enabled him to secure a salaried position at the local electrical power generating plant. Thus, at the time of marriage he earned a modest income to meet his own family's living expenses. Property was not transferred to him upon marriage since he was employed and such property was needed to provide the parental household with income. However, he devotes his spare time to assisting his parents in the fields as well as in running the coffeehouse. The parents, in turn, supply the son's household with produce from the land.

Case 16

Woman: The older of two daughters of a village family which, after living in Athens for nineteen years, had moved back to the village in 1981. Both daughters were born and raised in the city where the parents had migrated shortly after marriage. There, the father had obtained on-the-job training in carpentry work and had opened his own furniture-making shop. In the village, a building plot (part of the mother's share of the patrimony) has been used for the construction of the family's home and the establishment of a commercial enterprise, a coffeehouse with a bar which the family operates on a year round basis. In the off-season a minimum amount of family labor is also invested in agricultural work, mainly in the harvesting of olives. As for the daughters, the older one continued schooling on the island and received a secondary school diploma, while

the younger one completed only three years of post-elementary school education. In less than a year after having finished her studies, the older daughter was married, at age 19, to a local man and distant relative of the family. After the marriage the girl moved into the house of her husband's parents, a separate level of which had been reserved for the couple. On a visit to the village subsequent to completion of fieldwork I was informed that the marriage had been dissolved, divorce proceedings were under way and the young woman had moved back into her parental household. Villagers commented that the groom and his parents were dissatisfied with the contracted marriage because no dowry properties were given to the bride. The young woman herself told me that she had been frequently abused by her husband.

Dowry: It was comprised of the trousseau and a sum of money given to the daughter to purchase house furnishings.

Marriage Partner: Eleven years older than his wife and the only son—in addition to a married daughter—of a village family whose resources consist of a few landholdings, a pension in the village and urban real estate. His family had returned to the village in 1960, after several years of living and working in the former Belgian Congo, and had invested its savings into apartments in Athens to earn income from rent. This was the household's main source of livelihood until the late 1970s when the family built a pension in the village. The son had completed, after secondary school, a three-year course of study at a merchant marine school and had worked aboard ships as a naval mechanic for a period of four years. In 1982 he decided to leave his profession and settle in the village. With his own savings and financial assistance from his parents he constructed, at the time of marriage, several rooms (adjacent to the family's pension) which he has been renting out to tourists.

Case 17

Woman: The younger of two daughters of a village family with meagre resources (the older one has been married to a village man living in Canada). She completed only elementary school and has worked periodically for two years without pay as an apprentice to a village seamstress in order to learn dressmaking. This activity, however, has been a secondary one in terms of time investment because the girl has occupied herself primarily in assisting the family with work in the fields as well as with housekeeping. Her family's resources have been limited to a modest amount of agricultural land planted with tobacco, olive trees and vines. Proceeds from the sale of produce have constituted the household's major source of income, supplemented by the father's small monthly pension. The girl herself, as well as her parents, expressed the wish that she marry a man who does not depend on the land to earn a living. This type of marriage, in their view, provides a potential guarantee that a poor girl would enjoy security and a higher standard

of living in the future. Thus, when a marriage proposal was received from the son of a well-to-do village family, the girl's parents readily accepted. (At that time the daughter was 18 years of age). It appears that access to valuable productive resources is construed as a compensation for the young man's physical defect.

Dowry: It is to consist of only the trousseau. Agricultural land and the family house will be transferred to the woman through inheritance at a later time.

Marriage Partner: The younger child and only son of a family with substantial resources—housing yielding rental income, large landholdings and other assets. (His older sister married a civil engineer and is living in the United States). In addition to elementary school, the son completed a three-year course at the island's technical school and learned the skills required for electrical installation work. He practiced the trade, working as an electrical technician's assistant, but abandoned it after a year in order to assist the family in building housing facilities and renting out rooms to tourists. Until that time the young man's family had accrued an above average (by village standards) income from the sale of produce. Starting in 1974, the family began to invest its savings in the renovation of several old houses and their conversion into sleeping accommodations for tourists. Each year rental income has provided the capital used for further investments in housing. Thus, currently this particular family is renting out a total of thirty rooms. Agriculture has assumed a secondary place in terms of the amount of labor and capital invested in it. Agricultural work is limited primarily to the harvesting of olives in the off-season months. Vineyards are no longer cultivated, even though the family continues to harvest the grapes. The parents have transferred to the son property (two housing complexes consisting of fifteen rooms) which he is to use as his own source of income. At age 28, he is now engaged to be married.

Case 18

Woman: The older of two daughters, both of whom were born and raised in Canada, where the father had first immigrated in 1962 and the mother followed four years later as a sponsored bride. It was in part for reasons related to the father's health that the family repatriated to the village in 1978. (The parents' future plans include returning to live in Canada for three years because by doing so the father will fulfill the twenty year residence requirement and would be eligible to receive social security). Access to productive property resources, part of the wife's dowry, had also influenced the family's decision to return to the village. Thus, savings from earnings abroad were invested in the renovation of two houses—one rented out and the other used as the family's home—as well as in the construction of a small pension consisting of six apartments. The latter constitutes the family's

touristic enterprise and major source of income. The older daughter finished elementary school but lacked the prerequisites needed in academic subjects to continue with high school studies. She has been attending instead English classes and assisting with housekeeping tasks. Currently, at age 16 the parents have agreed to marry her to a local young man.

Dowry: It is to include the trousseau, a house along with its furnishings (adjacent to the parental dwelling), a building plot and a sum of money.

Marriage Partner: He is 26 years of age and the older of two sons of a well-to-do village family. He completed secondary school but did not pursue higher education. Although one of the better players on the island's non-professional soccer team, he did not choose to make a career in the sport. His interest and work activities have been centered in assisting his father in running the family's grocery store.

APPENDIX D. MATCHING QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETED BY EIGHT KOKKARIOTE WOMEN OF MARRIAGE AGE

Instructions: Match each number in column A with one or more letters from column B

Column A	Column B
<u>Potential Male Spouses</u> (distinguished on the basis of main occupation or source of income)	<u>Potential Female Spouses</u> (they vary <u>only</u> in terms of the dowry they contribute to marriage)
1. Agriculturist _____	a) her dowry consists only of agricultural land
2. Fisherman _____	b) having as dowry a house as well as agricultural land
3. Wage laborer _____	c) possessing, in terms of dowry, urban real estate (one or two apartment houses in Athens)
4. Seaman _____	d) with educational qualifications (as a major component of dowry) which would enable her to secure a salaried position
5. Tradesman _____	e) given as dowry a sum of money—anywhere from one half to a million drachmas
6. Owner of tourist enterprise (housing facilities, food outlet)	f) provided with a building plot
7. Owner of commercial enterprise (coffeehouse, grocery store...)	g) with an enterprise (touristic or commercial which her family established and has transferred to her as dowry upon marriage)
8. White collar worker (clerk, civil servant ...)	
9. Professional or career man _____	

APPENDIX E. QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETED BY EIGHT KOKKARIOTE MEN OF
MARRIAGE AGE

Instructions: Evaluate how desirable is each of the seven women described below as a potential marriage partner. Use a scale from 1 to 7, with 1 and 7 representing the least and most desirable mates respectively.

Potential Female Marriage Partners
(they differ only in terms of dowry)*

- _____ Woman A: is given as dowry only agricultural land (vines, olive trees or fields).
- _____ Woman B: is provided with a house (as dwelling) and a few parcels of agricultural land.
- _____ Woman C: her dowry contribution to the marriage is comprised of urban real estate (one or two apartment houses located in Athens).
- _____ Woman D: as dowry has educational qualifications which would enable her to earn a regular salary; her occupational possibilities range from being employed as an office worker or clerk to practicing a career.
- _____ Woman E: her dowry consists of a substantial sum of money (anywhere from one half to one million drachmas).
- _____ Woman F: brings into the marriage real estate property located in the village; such property may be a house (other than a dwelling) or a building plot.
- _____ Woman G: is dowered with her family's already established enterprise (touristic or commercial).

* The trousseau and basic house furnishings are components of the dowry contributed by each of the seven women.

APPENDIX F. WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN TOURISM THROUGH WAGE-EMPLOYMENT

The exercise by one of the three women of great domestic power had been encouraged in part by the fact that she had sponsored the move to Australia of her then husband-to-be, contributed savings from her earnings in setting up the household and helped her spouse find a job. Moreover, familiarity with conditions in Sydney had put her in the advantageous position of being able to provide her husband with instrumentally useful assistance and advice, so as to ease his adjustment to changes introduced by immigration. In interpreting their situation as immigrants, both spouses articulated a sense of insecurity and uncertainty about the future, a perception explained in terms of both an awareness that they were guests of a foreign country and the realization that repatriation did not represent a readily available option. Thus, cooperation in the accumulation and management of income had been predicated mainly on the couple's conscious efforts to take advantage in the best possible way of opportunities in order to attain certain security against unforeseen events of change. Following repatriation, the wife's role in the administration of the household's economic affairs increased from the time she took on wage employment in the tourist industry. The range of her decisions also expanded to include concerns not directly linked to running the household. For example, she used her own income to buy land, signed the formal documents involved in petitioning for a permit to construct a house and hired a civil engineer to design its plan. Currently, she allocates practically all of her wages to finance the construction of the house. From the husband's viewpoint, what has enhanced the value of his wife's economic accomplishments is the fact that, by serving as a significant source of financial assistance, she has allowed the family to undertake this investment without sacrificing savings intended to be transferred to the children at marriage.

The other two women came from poor households which in the past struggled to meet subsistence needs. But their rights and decision-making within the home had not been limited because of lack of access through wage employment to material opportunity. Conditions of economic insecurity had added to the cooperation of the spouses in the administration of domestic affairs and the management of the family's finances. Under such conditions, the women's role as consumers and particularly their sacrifices and strategies in the daily provisioning of the family had assumed great significance. More specifically, the

two women had shown initiative and had promoted the family's welfare by extending their domestic labor services to non-household members in order to acquire property. Wage employment in tourism has not changed the women's household experiences in any drastic way, but they have availed the household of discretionary income and have attended certain needs which in the past could not be readily accommodated. They interpret the fact that they utilize their wages to purchase consumer items (electrical appliances, house furnishings and clothes) in terms of a concern to enhance domestic well-being through material possessions. This preoccupation with consumption as a measure of material prosperity is also shared by their spouses and appears to be a salient feature in the latter's non-interference with their wives' decisions concerning income allocation.

APPENDIX G. WOMEN ACTING AS CHANNELS OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR THE
HOUSEHOLD

The 20 year old wife has brought into the marriage two houses as dowry (one used as the family's dwelling and an additional smaller one to be rented out in the near future). Her husband, on the other hand, has not yet received any property as part of his share of the patrimony. To provide for the family's livelihood, he works as a construction crew member. Also, during his spare time he assists his own as well as his wife's parental family in carrying out agricultural tasks (the wife takes part mainly in olive harvesting). Both spouses' parents, in turn, supply the young couple's household with foodstuffs. The wife, however, regularly receives financial support from her parents in the form of cash amounts intended to supplement her husband's wages. Such assistance is acknowledged by the marriage partners as crucial for meeting basic household needs, especially during those times when the husband cannot count on having regular employment. Moreover, for one year, when the husband was serving his term in the army and could not earn a wage, the family was maintained by the wife's parents.

The other informant is a 37 year old woman whose husband came from another village and was assigned a teaching post at Kokkeri's elementary school several years subsequent to the marriage. Besides a house, this wife brought into the marriage a large amount of land—planted in olive trees and vineyards—which provides the household with a significant source of income. The husband neither has contributed property of his own nor administers his wife's dower property. When he has spare time he engages in agriculture but basically works in joint effort with his brother-in-law and under the direction of his father-in-law who decides about land improvements, the organization of production and the sale of the crops. This is because, even though the wife and her married brother each have title to their share of the patrimony, for purposes of maintaining the land the members of the two siblings households work together as a labor team. Income from the land is divided by the woman's father who resides with her; he deposits certain amounts of cash to bank accounts under the names of each one of his grandchildren and turns the remaining sum over to his son and daughter in equal portions.

APPENDIX H. THE "PANIYIRI": A CULTURAL EVENT IN DECLINE

In Kokkeri today, community-wide activities centering around the paniyiri, the feast day of St. Panteleimon, on July 27, have practically ceased. Traditionally this paniyiri was the biggest and most important religious and social event, celebrated by the entire village and attracting visitors from other villages. The morning activities of the paniyiri took place at the site of the saint's chapel, on the mountain where the natural spring and main source of water for the village is located. There, people gathered in the early morning hours to attend the liturgy and eat of the traditional yiorti, a sauce-like substance prepared from a mixture of boiled meat, wheat, onions and spices that is commonly served at paniyiris (plural of paniyiri). The same individuals every year keep their vows and make yiorti for certain saints on their feast day (a tradition which is continued today). A reason for making such a promise arises when a particular saint's chapel is located on the land of one's fields and the owner feels obligated to make an offering to the saint in the form of yiorti. For many, it is their ancestors who established the precedent of making yiorti and they are obliged to continue it, since over the years it has become a family tradition. Furthermore, vowing to make yiorti on a saint's feast day is a common means of expressing one's gratitude to that saint for his or her assistance and perhaps even miraculous intervention at times of grave danger.

In the past, following the liturgy and the serving of yiorti, the activities at St. Panteleimon's paniyiri included people sitting in groups, eating, and dancing to live music or that of tape players. As late afternoon approached, the groups broke up and people descended to the village to prepare for the nightlong entertainment that followed. That evening was the biggest communal affair and the only annual celebration in which live entertainment--with musicians and singers--was available to the village residents. Local coffeehouses were engulfed by groups of family members and friends, including visitors from other villages, who spent the night eating, drinking and dancing. However, since the early 1970s Kokkeri's paniyiri consists simply of a walk to the mountain site for the purpose of attending mass at the celebrating saint's chapel and eating of the traditional yiorti. Even during this limited event, however, attendance is reduced since for a large number of villagers serving the tourists is a compulsory daily routine that cannot be interrupted for any type of communal activity. The evening

and nightly activities which in the past accompanied and highlighted the paniyiri no longer take place. At present coffeehouses are inundated by tourists and cannot function as areas of public entertainment and local cultural activities. Priority is given to the tourists' needs rather than to village-wide festivities and cultural events. In order to make a profit, local entrepreneurs no longer have to rely on their co-villagers at traditional cultural activities since tourism has opened up for them new avenues of income accumulation.

Aside from these factors which are attributable to tourism, there are additional reasons why the presence of tourists conflicts with or is contradictory to the performance of cultural events like the paniyiri in Kokkari. Taking Geertz's (1973:89) definition of culture as an integrated system of meanings by means of which the nature of reality is established and maintained, it can be argued that Kokkari's paniyiri, as a cultural performance, expressed certain meanings basic to local village culture. The intrusion of outsiders into the community affected that meaning. In the last few years there has been a "revival" of the paniyiri, but its new form does not remind one of anything that took place in the past. The cultural event has been transformed into a staged performance for public consumption. One of the three women's associations, the Union of Kokkariote Women, began in 1982 to sponsor a series of activities for three successive evenings on the occasion of St. Panteleimon's feast day. The activities were held in the school yard and involved theatrical and dance performances, art and craft exhibits, live entertainment and some dancing on the part of those present. There was an admission fee, but yiorti and wine were served without charge. Furthermore, popular music groups were brought from Athens to perform at the paniyiri. Attendance by villagers was high, but tourists also attended in large numbers. In 1985 the Union did not again organize the festivities of the saint's feast day because, as its members explained, the people had complained about the music that was played the previous year. They felt that it was neither to their liking nor appropriate for dancing; it did not include island songs, nisiotika, but rather rebetika (songs of the urban peripheral society), as well as rock music. This suggests that the efforts to revive the village's paniyiri have failed because the substitute performances were unrelated to the meaning of the traditional cultural event. People could not identify with the new activities which were not performed by them and for themselves. The phenomenon may be characterized as an example of what Greenwood (1977:134-36) describes as the commoditization of native culture.

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