THE ONTOLOGY OF DIFFERENCE: NATIONALISM, LOCALISM AND ETHNICITY IN A GREEK ARVANITE VILLAGE

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the dilemma caused by visible differences which are used etic-ly to envisage a group as an ethnic group. The Arvanites are a group of Albanian speaking Greeks who have been living in Greece for one thousand years. They are thought to have come to Greece as mercenaries. The Great Empires gave them lands where they eventually settled down in payment for their service. Throughout the centuries they have maintained their language. However, with the age of nationalism, they slowly transformed their identity from a regional localised ethnic identity to a Greek national identity. As a result, the Arvanite language, *Arvanitika,* is in decline at the present time. I set out to explore the ways in which ethnicity or non-ethnicity is practiced and examine the construction of an Arvanite/Greek national identity and offer this as a case study through which we might further our understanding of the practices and politicisation of identity in a context of the Greek nation but more generally in any national context where ethnic identities are not recognised by national, super-national or international forums.

The accomplishment of the Greek national model has been examined intensively in terms of its formation, foundation and historicity and its relationship to Europe and in opposition to other national entities such as Turkey. However, such approaches may explain the Greek invention of nationalism from a political and historical point of view but such approaches miss the cognitivisation of national, local and ethnic identities through action and practice in everyday life. Moreover, the actors have forgotten much of their local history which may have given them the propensity to choose to participate in or even subordinate their own ethnic identities for an alternative prestigious, in this case, national history and identity. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in the village of Gogofis in North Eastern Attica, I consider mundane acts of everyday life such as, patron/client systems, kin-like relationships, names and naming of people and the processes of memory production and reproduction, as well as practices associated with food and landscape within the framework of the Arvanites' relationship to the nation state. I then investigate the Arvanites' relationship to Albanian immigrants, and to the state to better qualify the Arvanites as Greeks or as ethnic Albanians. I conclude that the Arvanites consciously embrace and maintain their Greek identity through banal processes while having an alternative outlook with regards to the Albanians whom the Arvanites envisage as representations of their past selves. Thus, instead of seeing them as a threatening 'others' or simply as sources of cheap labour, they see them as part of their own village, representing future villagers, future Greeks, and future memories. The Arvanite should not be understood as just a passive ethnic group who has submitted unawares to symbolic violence. Rather they are active participants in the nation state and see both social and cultural capital advantages in maintaining the nation. Finally, although this thesis focuses on Arvanite/Albanian/Greeks constructions and expressions of ethnic/local and national identity, it may be considered a framework for any 'ethnic' group and their relationship to a state in which the said, group inhabits and participates but fundamentally does not 'fit' essentialised categorisations of national membership.

To My Sister

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Chapter 1

Greece, the Greeks, Arvanites and Gogofis

Introduction

The central thread of this thesis examines social anthropology's understanding about what we know about ethnicity. It examines the Arvanites as an 'ethnic' group suggesting that constructions of ethnicity are not simply a Cartesian debate[1] of oppositions between 'us' and 'them'. Ethnicity is a multifaceted, multidirectional and elastic process. The Arvanites are Greeks, but they could also be considered Albanians. However, they may also be considered neither, or both. In this thesis I also examine the way Arvanites, as agents, have chosen to represent themselves publicly as part of the Greek nation. It is a conscious action where they have chosen to associate with an identity they feel gives them greater social and cultural capital. How they represent themselves in public and in private reflects their active partaking in the process of boundary maintenance and transformability.

There are also two strands which are consequent of this thesis. They are the social reproduction of memory and social hierarchy; social reproduction, because ethnicity and ethnic identity are forgotten or remembered memories of difference. How an individual or collective remembers who s/he or they are and what his/her or their people have done to be where they are is a circumstance of who they feel they are and what they create and remember. In addition memories, in this case national, local and ethnic persistently compete with one another.

> Gellner (1983: 57) suggests, "Nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previous low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority… of the population."

[1] Descartes' conception of a dualism of *substance :*the Cartesian debate is founded on a dualism between mind and matter. The dualist arguments of Descartes are compelling but limit the scope of analysis of a continuum. Post-Modernists have tried to deal with this problematic however, even they have been constrained by ideas of polarization. There may be 'substances' which do not have polar opposites or there may be almost infinite oppositions. In addition, substances may exist only in some form of continuum. (cf. Stafford University Encyclopedia 2007).

The result is that the 'stronger' or more influential identities, memories and histories carry more social capital and as a result those 'inferior' or less persuasive identities, or histories carry less capital and are either forgotten as Gellner suggests, or concealed (Sato 2001). As a result, social hierarchies, which are the second strand in this thesis, are the outcome, as is observed with the process of nationalism, where local and sometimes ethnic identities and histories are subsumed by national ones. Bourdieu 1998) would probably identify this process as *misrecognition* where subordinates are given arbitrary symbols which are linked together so that the subordinates suppose that the oppressive situations they are living are not thought of in a reflexive way. Thus, those in power maintain a seemingly 'natural order of things', where agents expect that they are denied resources and restricted social mobility. Hence, from Bourdieu's perspective, ethnic groups, in this case the Arvanites, would be considered unconscious 'agents' who unknowingly are subjected to nationalist ideologies and nationalist subordination which is not of their choosing and which they unknowingly accept. However, counter to Bourdieu's argument, I argue the Arvanites are not adopting and espousing the dominant Greek culture unknowingly. They are agents, conscious of their ethnic 'leanings'. However, they choose to accept the social hierarchies associated with national memory and identity, rejecting, for the most part, any association with Albania and Albanians and Albanianness.

The Dilemma of Ethnicity

As a group of Albanian immigrants strolled across the village square one day, an Arvanite man in his late thirties told me,

> They [Albanians] may look like us [Arvanites], they may talk like us and they may walk like us but they are not us. You see, they think we come from them but they come from us,[2]

[2] The Arvanites of Gogofis have a discourse which is also cited in the writings of Kollias (1973) which suggests that the Albanians and the Arvanites both come from the same source, the Ancient Pellaji, a proto-Hellenic race who lived in what is now Northern Albania. Kollias' suggestion is considered extreme. Many of my consultants prefer (Biris 1960) that suggests that they place both Arvanites and Albanian as coming from a ethnic Greek source, a place of Greek origin and within a Greek historic framework but performatively referring to them as Dorian Greeks not Pellaji.

Does the fact that the Arvanites did not originate in Greece proper make them Albanian, Greek, or do they have their own 'Arvanite' ethnic identity? The issues of ethnic identity have befuddled anthropological analysis because it appears to be an active, and sometimes passive, 'emic' category but the tradition of anthropological writing as well as political self-mobilization has treated it as an ethnic category: in other words, self-evident, irreducible and realizable. This may be 'nowhere more evident than in the case of the Arvanites – a group that nominally exists because it is a subject and an object in discourse as a category, a name, and ostensibly a group, but which has an indeterminacy and fluidity when one actually tries to pin it down. To be sure there are 'Arvanite' traditions; 'Arvanite' villages; the language, Arvanitika and 'Arvanite' material culture, artefacts and production (music, retsina, etc.) but when searching for a conscious tangibility as a marker of identity, then the researcher is faced with a dilemma: One finds 'Arvanite things' but not Arvanites acting as Arvanites; as self-conscious political actors in Greece.

This dilemma is not simply answered. Having lived in and been part of the history of Greece for so long, they identify with being Greek. Knowing that their ancestors originally came from Albania and sharing a commonality in language, they can identify with the people of Albania. In many ways, however, the Arvanites have developed and kept to their 'own people and own ways'. The Arvanites of Gogofis, for instance, remained endogamous until only thirty years ago. Are these differences enough to define a group as an ethnic group? Is it even enough to define them as a 'group' or as having ethnic 'grouped-ness'?

In this chapter I introduce the Arvanites in their [a]historical and cultural context. I then discuss the Greek national movement. I also introduce how the Arvanites are categorised and its effect on their collective self. In addition, I examine how the fall of the Iron Curtain created circumstance which forced them to re-evaluate their identity as Greeks and as Arvanites.

When Albanites Become Arvanites and Alvani

The terms "Arvanite" and/or, "Albanian" *(in Greek "Arvanitis*" or "*Alvanos"* respectively,) meaning Albanian was used interchangeably during the 19th Century (Skoulidas 2002). "Arvanite" and "Vlach" were also used interchangeably (Skoulidas 2002). Thus, *Arvanitis, Alvanos* or *Vlachos* were generic labels for peasants. Today, *Vlachos* often is used to mean an unsophisticate, a shepherd or a peasant, as well as meaning a member of the Vlach speaking people. However, *Arvanitis* and *Alvanos* are no longer used to refer to someone as a peasant nor do they refer to the same category, i.e. Albanian speaking people. Sometime in the early 20th Century a differentiation was made. An indication of this is visible in a vernacular, demotic Greek/English dictionary, printed in 1903, where the term for Albanian was *Albanitis* (Contopoulos 1903). It can be deduced that a differentiation occurred shortly after this time where [l] [b] became [r] [v] and one individual is labelled as an *Alvanos* -Albanian, and the other as an *Arvanitis* - Greek, was probably the result of the creation of the new Albanian state after the Second Balkan War. This was also the opinion of interlocutors in Gogofis. Thus, the term "Arvanite" historically may be considered tortuous. However, distinction between a *Vlachos,* an *Alvanos* and an *Arvanitis* in contemporary Greek speech are clear.

Gogofis is an Arvanite village. They call themselves *Arvanites* (plural). Gogofis is a mountain village approximately 200 meters above sea-level, situated in the mountains above the village of Marathon. According to the 2001 national census there are approximately 1300 permemant residents in the village. The village is situated in Eastern Attica province and is about an hour's drive from Athens. Historically it has been populated by Arvanites. The dialect spoken is known as *Arvanitika,* a Tosk-dialect spoken by the people from Southern Albania. However, it is suggested that the Arvanite people originally came from Northern Albania where people speak the Gheg dialect (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977; Tsitsipis 1998; Bintliff 2003)[3]. Recently Arvanitika in Greece has been in decline, (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977; Tsitsipis 1998).

[3] Bintliff (2003) argues that place names in Viotia correspond to place names in Northern Albania suggesting that the Arvanites who settled there were from the north.

The Arvanites came to Greece, primarily as mercenaries for the Venetians during the 13th and 14th Centuries but have had a long tradition of fighting for different empires throughout the middle ages (Bintliff 2003). They may have settled in Northern Attica as early as the 9th Century (Biris 1960). Unfortunately, little is actually known or been written about the area. During the 19th Century their primary modes of production were transhumant pastoralism and non-irrigation agricultural. During the last part of the 19th Century and for the first part of the 20th Century (1880's-1920's), Gogofis became a mining town. Much of today's Arvanite population came to settle there to mine the iron/magnesium ore[4]. After WWII, the mode of production slowly moved away from agriculture. Several families owned rock quarry enterprises which were developed and maintained and were prominent for the next 30-40 years. Presently, Gogofis is a very mixed economy. Many individuals of the community work in Athens and other neighbouring villages, either as civil servants, proprietors of shops, or as employees in various businesses, still few are fulltime agriculturalists. However, the land and agriculture are highly valued and given much importance.

In 1990, the borders between Albania and Greece were opened. Large numbers of Albanians came and settled in Gogofis. They were a source of cheap labour. They took care of the fields which, to some degree, had been left fallow. They also took part in the maintenance of the village. They learned very quickly about construction and many now work in the maintenance and building of the village. During this time the demographics of the village, as well as the rest of Greece, shifted greatly as the borders between Eastern and Western Europe were opened. Greek population growth would have been negative if it had not been for the mass migration of immigrants to Greece (Paxson 2004). The Arvanite-Greek people were also not having children. However, the Albanian immigrants with their new prosperity soon married, brought wives and families from Albania to Gogofis and the population stabilised and even grew. Indications of this shift are seen in the number of Albanian children attending

[4] After analysis of some ore from the mines in Gogofis, the National Institute of Mineralogy suggested that the mine in Gogofis probably closed when the iron market bottomed out in the early 1920's. They did not know about the mine's existence. The Gogofiotes were also not sure what their predecessors were mining for either.

primary school in the village. More than fifty percent of the children were Albanian immigrant children. Moreover, the village priest stated that the Albanians changed the dynamics of the village. He stated that only recently has the number of baptisms in the village surpassed the number of funerals. However, the new shift created a dilemma for the Arvanites of Gogofis who had been promoting a private kind of ethnicity or what Bintliff (2003) calls the Arvanites' 'passive ethnicity.' The Arvanite went through a drastic (re)evaluation of what it means to be Greek and what it means to be Arvanite.

In the following section I introduce the social, local and national context in which the Arvanites find themselves. A middle-aged accountant from Kalamata, living in Athens made the following discourse which may be a grand narrative where both Greek and Gogofiotes place themselves in the world, Europe and Greece, itself.

> If it were not for the [Ancient] Greeks the world would not have anything; they would not have language, poetry, theatre or medicine. Science, imagine a world without science." You know, all scientific words come from Greek: biology, dermatology, cardiology, all Greek. If it weren't for the Greeks the *cosmos* (world or people) would still be living in caves. We [Greeks] would be nothing without the [Ancient] Greeks either. We would be like everyone else.

Her narrative illustrates how Modern Greeks credit the Ancient Greek culture for 'our' modern way of thinking and modern way of life. Moreover, the Modern Greek identity is tied, by means of inheritance, to the Ancient Greeks (cf. Just 1989). Thus, without their relationship to the past, the Greeks believe that the people of Greece and by extension, the world, would be without culture, *choris kultura* and without civilization, *choris politizmo*, as the interlocutor suggests[5]. From this perspective, culture and civilization are made equivalent to one another: those without culture are considered uncivilised, or *apolitistoi.*[6] Thus, Modern Greeks differentiate themselves

[5] The above statement appears to concur with Geller's (1983) hypothesis about the relationship of high culture to nationalism where industrial economies homogenised discernibly and culturally different societies creating universal idioms and context free symbols. Teaching of these contextual free symbols is based in a literate society which is taught by those who create that literate society, i.e. high culture. Thus the nation is based on a universal 'idiom' and becomes the protector of the same high culture.
[6] *Polis* meaning city in Greek, is the root of the word *politizmos* and *apolitistoi* in other words, urban 'sophisticated' values and high culture (cf Yalouri 2001).

as people with culture and civilization from outsiders.[7] In the next section, conditions which lead to a national movement and ideology in Greece are examined.

Nationalism in Greece

Several decades after the French revolution nationalism became a movement with an end in itself, an inevitable part of the modern world as was religion during the middle ages (Veremis 1990). Nationalist ideologies were imported into Greece from the West by the middle and upper-classes that had been educated in the West and merchants travelling to the West (Veremis 1990, Kitromilides 1990, Sant Cassia and Bada 1992; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). The narratives for the construction of Greek nationalism were not a singular dominant narrative, however. The genitors of nationalism, Korais, Paparigopoulos and Dragoumis, to name a few, had competing ideas of what Greekness 'is' and what the role of the Church was in its formation (Veremis 1990). Korais for example, was a proponent for a secular French model of Nationalism. However, the Orthodox Church had taken the role in the preservation of the Greek language and had assumed a leadership role for the Christian communities during the Ottoman Empire[8]. Thus, the Church unwittingly possessed the building blocks required in the formation of the new Greek identity though it was strictly against rebellious actions. Thus, the Church's initial resistance to nationalist movements in the Balkans went unabated (Kitromilides 1990). The Church then became the rallying point for nationalism in Greece (Veremis 1990). Church martyrs became national martyrs. However, instead of becoming a powerful free-agent in the newly created nation state, the Greek state subordinated the Church. In 1833 the Greek government declared the Church of Greece independent against the wishes of the Patriarchate (Veremis 1990; Kitromilides 1990). The state gave the Church the task of education and initialising the national homogenisation process (Kitromilides 1990), giving it ministry status in a newly formed *Ministry of Education and Religion* under the direction of the government (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002).

[7] Within the Modern Greek culture, this differentiation is refined to 'cultured' urbanites and uncultured rural people as suggested by Ching and Creed (1997:10). Their study of urban landscapes indicates that knowledge itself is urban.

[8] The Church had been compliant with the authorities of the Ottomans and discouraged disobedience and revolution (Veremis 1990).

The anonymous authors of the *Greek Nomach* (most probably, Rhigas and Korais) explicitly expressed the state's goals where peasants would be transformed into full-fledged citizens of the liberal state rooted in neo-classicist interpretations of 5th Century Greece (Veremis 1990).

Initially there were two antagonistic central movements of neo-classicism promoting the Greek nationalistic ideology. There were those who were specific in the limitations of who was considered Greek, the *Autochthones,* who promoted the 5th Century ideal that the 'Greek' people would only be those Greek-speaking Christians who were born in the Grecian borders of 1830. This idea was supported by the majority: the established nobility and the peasant farmers. In contrast, the *Heterochthones* were the Aegean, Ionian and Constantinopolitan intellectuals, who also based their ideas of Greekness on 5th Century Greek polity, but also promoted the idea that all Hellenic people share a common cultural heritage beyond existing state borders. In the end the *Heterochthones* argument was more persuasive (Veremis 1990). The *Heterochthones* used irrendisism to promote their cause and the expansion of neo-Hellenism (Koliopoulos 1990; Veremis 1990, Sant Cassia 1993).

Kitromilides (1990:24) suggests that national ideology was a slow transformational process of a 'national awakening[9].' He suggests that there were writings predating national movements which recognised 'ethnic' differences between communities in the Balkans which were, though inchoate and inarticulate, the precursors of modernity and nationalistic identities. He also suggests that the process of state-building in Greece was actively approached by the various institutions organised by the state. The military, the Church and the education system were all active mediators promoting a nationalist agenda by producing a more homogeneous Hellenised population.

Thus, it is as Billig (1995) suggests that nationalism is not only a thing which is created. It is a process which requires maintenance. The initial founders of nationalism in Greece were not keen on promoting the Church or the Byzantine eras. They felt that period of time in history was a "disgraceful era for the Greek nation" (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996:1) However, after Kapodistrias' assassination in Nauplion in 1831, the Great Powers installed a Monarchy in Greece. King Otto of

[9] Contrary to Gellner's (1983) argument for the preconditions of nationalism based on the industrialisation of the countryside, Greece did not take part in the industrial revolution.

Bavaria became King Othon of Greece. Othon was a staunch classicist[10]. However, he was not Orthodox and was never baptised into the Church. It was felt that he could justify his royalty and become accepted by the people by promoting the ideas of the Empire of Byzantium. Thus, the Byzantine era was promoted as part of the classical continuity.

In contemporary Greece the ideas of a classic Greek heritage are promoted and maintained through both the people and their expressions (Hamilakis 2007), in national institutions, such as the military (Tsitsipis 1998) and in the education system (Kitromilides 1990). Classical Greece is used as symbolic capital manipulating antiquities as a limited resource (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Hamilakis 2007). The Greek state and its citizens and even the Greek diaspora use their antiquities as social and cultural capital to justify Greece's prominence on the world scene, as a resource to be symbolically traded but also in the production of the Greeks and their perception of their Greekness. In Chapter 9, I illustrate how antiquity has a power over individuals subordinating their concepts of local histories and landscapes to justify their taking part in the 'Greek' experience.[11]

Greece and the Arvanites

Arvanites take part in the narratives of continuity as they attempt to place themselves in Greek history. The Ancient Greek presence is found on the landscape and is practiced in names the Arvanite people use for their offspring. How Greece is presented publicly, nationally, and globally affects how Arvanites see themselves and how they represent themselves to others. Their compliance or collaboration with their idea of Greekness creates an intriguing relationship with the people around them, namely between themselves and other Greeks, and between themselves and the recent Albanian immigrant arrivals.

Even though Arvanites may be in practical terms considered a minority in Greece, they choose not to overtly distinguish themselves and their boundaries from the non-

[10] Bavaria, at the time, was considered the most powerful centre of Classicism in Europe (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996).
[11] The 2008-2009 Ministry of Tourism campaign was "Greece, the True Experience" which prominently exhibits the Parthenon, as well as other antiquities on its web page, http://www.gnto.gr/

Arvanite Greeks. They prefer instead to publicly hide their ethnicity, even formulating ways in which they are publicly indistinguishable from other Greeks or Greek communities. They even choose to disassociate themselves culturally from Albanians, producing complex narratives of disassociation.[12]

This Arvanite collaboration with the Greek model of nationhood and national identity accentuates both Arvanite and Albanian social position and each group's status within Greek society. The Arvanite case is not unique in Greece (cf. Winnifrith 2002) and may not be unique in other parts of the world either. However, does the Arvanite case show the group's attempt to forget their ethnic-selves as suggested by Gellner (1983), or is it concealing their ethnic-selves or is it transforming their ethnic-selves into a new identity consistent with their local past and their present national-selves? Gellner (1983: 45-66).states:

> Ernest Renan defined the modern nation, such as can rightly aspire to its own state, in terms of *oblivion*: the members of the nation, and hence of the state, have simply *forgotten* their diversity of cultural origin. The average Frenchman knows he drinks wine, has a decoration and knows no geography. This is the most popular definition of the typical Frenchman, invoked in France itself. But this typical Frenchman does *not* know whether he or rather his ancestors were Gauls, Bretons, Franks, Burgundians, Romans, Normans or something else. It is this national Cloud of Unknowing, this blessed amnesia, which *makes* France.

In other words, to be French is to forget your past as an ethnic localised other. I would argue that forgetting or concealing a local history or identity, is only partially achieved. This partiality tends to emphasise the stratified relationship to the nation-state in which they live. The question then arises: why would the Arvanites subscribe to such a hierarchical relationship and why would they prefer an association with the nation to the detriment of the local/ethnic associations.

[12] Taussig (1999:6) refers to this angst as a 'public secret': "we all 'knew' this, and they; 'knew' we 'knew', but there was no way it could be easily articulated, certainly not on the ground, face-to-face. Such 'smoke screens' are surely long to mankind, but this 'long knowingness' is itself an intrinsic component of knowing what to know...*knowing it (the public secret) is essential to its power, equal to the denial. Not being able to say anything is likewise testimony to its power."* In other words, the public secrecy provides ambiguity, and hence flexibility for social structures. It is insinuated in the truth and cunningly revealed.

This study explores the hierarchical relationships and social tensions between the Arvanites and the Albanians and between the Arvanites and the Greeks. To understand the Arvanites' selfhood and relationship to their Greek and Albanian selves, I investigate patron/client and factional systems, local fosterage and the system of name use and acquisition. I suggest that embedded contradictions force local/ethnics to either conceal or try to forget their ethnicity. As a result, a pan-ethnic/national identity and movement may not exist for the Arvanites as Albanians as it does in other Albanian speaking Balkan communities outside Greece. Their Arvanite identity thus maintains differences between themselves and Albanians. Their national identity is Greek and their Arvanite identity remains local. In the next section I introduce how the Arvanites are categorised within Greek society.

The Use of the Category 'Arvanite'

S. Green (2005) suggests that ambiguous ethnic groups in Northern Greece are empowered by their multi- ethnic ambiguity and the maintenance of that ambiguity. I found the Arvanites in Gogofis express themselves very differently. In the following section I examine the initial effects of the introduction of their familiar 'other', the Albanian immigrants, and the Albanians' affect on Arvanites when they arrived enmass in the early 1990's. The Arvanites desire the opposite of ambiguity and do not feel empowered by their non-Greek ethnic ambiguity. They attempt to conceal or forget their non-Greek ethnic differences to conform to official national discourses of Greekness. They feel empowered by their Greekness. This thesis explores how the Arvanites of Gogofis play with, and manipulate, formal and normative institutions to lessen potential differences between themselves and other Greeks, while at the same time creating and maintaining some differences; differing themselves from the Greeks and lessening difference between themselves and Albanian immigrants and vice versa. I would suggest that their identity flows between imagined Greek and imagined Albanians. I illustrate the conventions of this fluidity through the examination of practice through the patron/client relations in the village, with their implementation of alternative kin-like systems, through the way naming is practiced, and how memories are maintained, through expressions of foodways and through their conceptions, and use of the landscape.

Arvanites in Greek history

The Arvanites are approximated to have been half of the Greek population before the exchange of Asia Minor Greeks in 1922, according to estimates by several amateur historians (Kollias (1973) being the most well known). At the turn of the 19th and 20th Century several records were made with Arvanite demotic songs according to the curator of the Museum of Popular Music in Plaka in Athens. Demotic music was first recorded in Greek, Vlachika and Arvanitika, which may indicate that the Arvanites had a large presence in the pre-1922 Greek nation-state. The Arvanites have had a ubiquitous role in the formation of the Modern Greek state. Many of the *"kleftes"* were Arvanites (Sant Cassia 1993). Moreover, many of the owners of the merchant fleets were Arvanites and became the Greek, war-time, fleet used against the Sublime Porte (Hirschon 1999; Bintliff 2003). Another group chosen to represent the sacrifices of the Greeks for the new nation was the women of Souli. The Souliotes are an Arvanite/Albanian speaking people from several villages in the Pindos Mountains (Hirschon 1999). They have become immortalised national heroes from their conflict with Ali Pasha Tempeleni at the turn of the 18th -19th Centuries (see, pic. 1.1).

Pic. 1.1 *Ary Scheffer (1795-1858), depicting the suicide of Souliote women*

Thus, Modern Greece has incorporated stories from the recent past to include Arvanites in the creation of the new Modern Greek state. However, the Arvanites are explicitly not mentioned[13]. There appears to be a systematic attempt to avoid differentiating people according to any kind of ethnic or linguistic difference. Officially, ethnic difference is defined *de jure* in terms of religious difference by the Greek state. A question arises as to why these ethnic/linguistic differences are ignored by official state historiography. Here tensions are exposed: between Greekness and otherness, between the imagined Greece and the 'real' multi-lingual, culturally diverse Greece. In the next section an examination of the factors which has lead to Arvanitika's present status and the 'public secret' associated with being an Arvanite is explored.

[13] Leonidas (1983), an amateur folklorist, is disconcerted that the Arvanites, of which he is one, have not been recognised for their part in expelling the Turks from the Greek lands. His discourse is common among the Arvanites in Gogofis. However, the discussion never goes beyond the point of a performative disappointment. I suggest this may be for two reasons. 1) the discourse is in the context of a Greek historical space and, 2) It focuses too much attention on the Arvanites as being different.

Oppressed Ethnic Expressions

During the dictatorships of the 1930's and the 1960's, the minority speakers of Greece were generally ill-treated[14]. In the 1930's, Gogofis was an exception. During the 1930's the village escaped much of the prejudice of the time due to their strong ties with the Greek Government. This was not the case however during the military junta rule of the late sixties and early seventies. The people of Gogofis did not want to discuss this period, but it is interesting to note that it was at this time that they stopped teaching their children Arvanitika.

Kyriakos is an unmarried man in his early forties and a night guard at the local archaeological site. He relates how when he was a child the school master crushed a hand made flute he had made and brought with him when his primary school class went on a field trip.

> I had made a *flogera*, [a shepherd's flute], and it sounded pretty good. I decided to bring it on the school trip. When we went to play, I sang an old song (an Arvanite song) away from everyone, but Hoxja (the nickname for the teacher) took it away from me and broke it in front of the whole class. I understand he told me not to sing but I did. Then, he suspended me from classes for two weeks. But it was too harsh. He reacted too much. Ok, if he took it away I would have stopped.

Kyriakos then showed me a scar he received in the Army. Some soldiers had burned off a tattoo he had had on his forearm[15]. I asked him what it had said. He told me,

> Only I know what it said, I remember and I will always remember. It is only for me to know.

He did not tell me that it had to do with something Arvanite; however, he referred to the scar during the context of our discussion about Hoxha, his *flogera* and his pride about being an Arvanite. What his scarred tattoo referred to was clearly too painful to express openly. He had been reprimanded many times in his life for expressing his Arvanite identity publicly.

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[14]Karakasidou (1997) observed in her research on Slavic speaking peoples in Northern Greece, that during the Metaxas Government, all non-Greek languages were forbidden to be spoken in public sometimes with serious repercussions. Arvanititka and Slavic, as a result, became a domestic language.
[15] Tsitsipis (1998) argues in his study of Arvanitika in two other villages that it was a time when Government institutions such as the military harshly mistreated conscripts who spoke Arvanitika.

However, this ‘public secret’ may not be the sole reason for Arvanite language decline. The progressive death of Arvanitika may also have resulted from state infrastructures which linked Gogofis to Athens and to the nation. In the late 1960’s, the Junta did construct a paved road to the village, telephones became more widely available, and television made its first appearance in Greece and in Gogofis at the time. During the decades following the Junta, Gogofis did not differentiate itself from other ‘Greek’ villages. They were not publicly recognisable as an Arvanite village. They were for the most part fully integrated into mainstream Greek society. People began to practice ‘ethnic’ exogamy in the 1980’s. Many left the agricultural way of life as the primary mode of production and went beyond the minimum required educational standards of the state. Some individuals even received higher degrees from foreign universities. Thus, anti-Arvanite attitudes did clearly affect the community; however, the early 1970’s was also a time where modern life was encroaching on village life.

Enter Albanians: Stage-left

In the following section I examine how the mass migration of Albanian immigrants becomes signifiers of the Arvanites ethnic non-Greek selve. This non-Greek self may have been something they may have wanted to forget. A large wave of Albanian immigrants introduced themselves into Greece and Gogofis as a result of the end of the Cold War and the opening of the Albanian Greek border. Past contestations of the origins and identity of the Arvanites were moved to the forefront; well established ‘non’ boundaries of their ethnic-ness forced the Arvanites to reevaluate their identity as Greeks as the new population of mostly young Albanian men appeared in the village, destitute and very poor but willing to work and speaking the language of the elderly generation and their forefathers. Before World War II there is some evidence from the narratives in the village of people who moved back and forth across the Albanian/ Greek borders. In fact several ‘Albanians’ even settled in Gogofis in the early 20th Century. But shortly after World War II the borders were sealed. Thus, the two populations had no contact for more than fifty years.

In 1990 600,000 Albanians fled their country after years of mismanagement, oppression, and poverty (Saltmarch 2001;King and Vullnetari 2003). The mass migration resulted from the domino effect of Glasnost and the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. Albanian citizens took over Western embassies in Tirana and the government was forced to open the borders. Most of the fleeing Albanians went to Italy and Greece (King and Vullnetari 2003). Mass media broadcast dramatic pictures of people appearing completely destitute, travelling on overflowing rusty old ships, arriving at the Southern Italian harbours. At the same time, masses of Albanians crossed into Greece. This event received less global media coverage, however, as it did not appear as dramatic (King and Vullnetari 2003). The number of people who first arrived 'on foot', as an Albanian interlocutor put it, is not well documented (King and Vullnetari 2003). It is not clear how many Albanians died while crossing into Greece either. Greek interlocutors, who were conscripts at the time, told me they had orders to shoot to kill if they came across anyone at the border between Greece and Albania. Regardless, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children came to Greece. Many of them came to, and still live, in Gogofis. This may be a turning point in Modern Greek history and an equally important point in time for the Arvanites of Gogofis, as well as for the Albanians. Until this time Southern Europe, Greece included, had been emigration countries (Iosifides and King 1998). The Greek government was not prepared for such a large influx of people coming into the country. At present, Greece is a country of destination and is considered an easy point of entrance into the European Union.

Initially, many Greeks welcomed the Albanian immigrants. Interlocutors of the older generation who came from Asia Minor seventy years earlier, now living in Athens, initially saw the Albanian exodus as something akin to their trek from Turkey in the early 1920's. They saw the Albanians walking across the border on television and empathised with them because of their experiences of racism, poverty, and lack of state infrastructures when they were refugees. Likewise, an Arvanite interlocutor told me the people of Gogofis saw the Albanian immigrants as long-lost brothers and took them into their homes and fed them when they had literally nothing but the clothes on their back.

> They were like brothers very poor, like we were in the past but they had nothing! What could we do, we had to take care of them. They had mothers too.

The Gogofiotes may have exhibited a slightly different response from non-Arvanite villages in that they took care of the newcomers, taking them into their houses. They also felt a common thread based on their place of origin and language[16]. The Asia Minor Greeks may have also sympathised with the Albanians plight and may have even given them some food and a place to lay their heads. Generally speaking, however, they did not take them in, nor did they exhibit a sense of a kin-like bond. I never heard an Asia Minor Greek refer to them in kin terms[17] using terms such as 'cousins', 'brother' or 'mother.'

The honeymoon was short lived, however. Even though crime in Greece is still one of the lowest in Europe (http://zeus.hri.org/news/greek/mpab/2003/03-11-08.mpab.html), within two years, crime increased nationally by one hundred percent. The mass media exacerbated a sense of urgency, creating a sense of fear and xenophobia by reporting every petty crime happening around the country, inevitably blaming the Albanians[18].

The terms for Albanian: *Alvanos* became synonymous with the words thief and criminal while the term *Alvanessa* was equated to prostitution (Psimmenos 1994). The affects of the media created the same climate in Gogofis. The Gogofiotes, too, became apprehensive about them. To make things worse, Roberto, an Albanian immigrant who had been accepted in the village, was found stabbed to death for an honour killing between Albanian immigrants. The Gogofiotes began to fear the daily arrivals of Albanians and felt they could not be trusted. They used terms such as barbarians,

[16] The Arvanites did not express this directly. However they treated the Albanian immigrant children as though they were child members of Gogofis. Several old women would call them over in Albanian and talk to them in Albanian. When the children went away to play. one woman said, "They are just as we were." The children were pre-schoolers and could not speak Greek yet. Velioti-Georgopoulos (1982;1993) examined Arvanites in Didima and Nauplion. Comparatively, the subjects of her study jokingly would discuss unrealisable trips to the then isolationist Albania to find wives illustrating an understanding of their common origins which suggests that a particular relations existed between the Albanians and the Arvanites .

[17] During the initial stage of my fieldwork, I drove through several Asia Minor communities as well as Arvanite ones. I found it interesting that while there were queues of immigrants waiting to be hired every morning in the Asia Minor communities, in Gogofis there were never any such queues of Albanian immigrants.

[18] Greece is reportedly the most xenophobic country in the EU (Mikrakis and Triadafilidou 1994)

varvari, wild people, *aghrioi,* honourless ones, *atimoi,* to describe the Albanian immigrants. At the same time they still maintained close relations with the Albanians who first came to Gogofis[19].

Samaras whose nickname means saddle-maker, expressed his distrust in the following narrative. Samaras was seventy-one at the time of my fieldwork. His grandfather came from Albania to Gogofis as a young man, married a Gogofiote woman and settled in Gogofis. Samaras inherited his nickname from his grandfather. We would meet in the *palioplatia,* to talk. On several occasions I would also visit his home. His wife, Yiannoula, was from an older Arvanite family in the village. He retired from working the local quarries several years ago and now herded sheep. He told me how he dealt with the newcomer Albanians sometime after Roberto's murder:

> I was herding my sheep near Kotsomichas, before you get to Aghios Ioannis, (sic.) when several Albanians came to me on the field. I looked at them and they looked at me. They asked me if I had any work. I looked at them, I spoke to them in Greek. They spoke [to each other] in Arvanitika [Albanian] but I understood what they were saying. We looked at each other. I told them to get out of here in Arvanitika and that we did not want their *typi,* kind, around here. They would kill you for a piece of bread. They can't be trusted. They are an honourless race, *atimi fili.* Not after what happened to Roberto. You know they killed him in cold blood and left his corpse in the square. I understand these *typi,* kind of people.

With Roberto's death and the media denouncing of Albanians as criminals, Gogofiotes came not to trust the newcomers. During this period, the relationship between Arvanites and Albanians in Gogofis became strained and the tensions of being Greek/Arvanite and Albanian were reified.

Hardheads and Mercenaries

To understand why the Arvanites expressed their knowledge about Arvanitika and Arvanite things, one must examine how the Arvanites are characterised by the

[19] There appeared to be greater symbolic capital for those whose Albanian immigrants who first settled in Gogofis. The Albanians who came later were less trusted and held a lower profile in the village.

Arvanites themselves, as well as how they are characterised by mainstream Greek culture[20]. When I asked non-Arvanite Greeks to describe Arvanites, almost everyone describe them as *"sklyrokefaloi*", hard-headed and stubborn. The Arvanites are seen as uncompromising and 'irrationally stubborn to the point of stupidity', "*sklyrokefaloi mechri vlakias*" or "*sklyrokefaloi tou kerata.*" The retired teacher Hoxha was not an Arvanite. He married into the community.

> The reason the people here [Gogofis] do not progress is because of their culture. They have an anarchistic and stubborn (rebellious) *nootropia*, culture. If I compare it with my village, we have doctors and lawyers come from backgrounds like the people here. We were just as poor, maybe even more so. But we made something of ourselves.

He blamed the low level of education and lack of progress on the Arvanite lack of culture. He said the Arvanites were stubborn and their associated non-progressive values is what 'holds them back' (cf. Campbel 1964: 226). Stubbornness is a common idiom used to describe Arvanites.

The Arvanites are also often described as, "*mistoforoi yia tous Tourkous*", Turkish mercenaries. How this statement and the history behind it is assigned meaning also exhibits how Arvanites see themselves and their language. The statement above is historically true to some extent. Papailias (2003) suggests that the Albanian people have a long tradition as mercenaries, which is exemplified in her study of the *kurbet*[21]. During the Middle Ages and in the late 18th and through the19th Century, Arvanites served in the garrisons of cities of the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Venetian Empires and even during the Napoleonic wars (Durham 1910; Biris 1960; Bintliff 2003; Kollias 1973). According to the contemporary Greek definition, *mistoforos*, or mercenary has the negative connotations of being 'soldiers of fortune,' individuals who have no national loyalty and would kill anyone for money i.e. '*rufianos*[22].' One strong aspect of self for the Arvanites of Gogofis was this association with being a *rufianos.* They

[20] Jenkins (2008) suggests that categorisation affects how an individual or a group's identity is formed. Categorisations, positive or negative, may affect groups' behaviour and individual's perceptions of themselves.

[21] *Kurbet* is a centuries old tradition which is derived from Turkish, meaning travel for money. It is an idiom used to represent the adaptability and sacrifice the Albanian immigrants have made when they leave home to work abroad Papailias (2003).

[22] In most cases, they use the popular term *rufianos* rather than the more formal and ethnically neutral term *mistoforos.*

use myth and their interpretation of historical events to justify why they are *rufiani* (plural). Kyriakos tells how an Arvanite was the one who betrayed Ali Pasha.

> Ali Pasha went to his island to escape the Turks. They searched for him all over Jannina but because the people were loyal to him they could not find out anything. They [the Turks] even threatened people. They burned some houses and raped the women. They killed all the tall men because they assumed them to be his guards. My Great Grandfather, *pro-papous* [who was a tall man] escaped because he was hidden by a friend. Finally they found their *rufianos*[23]. His brother knew where he was hiding and he took them directly to him for a bag of gold. I am not sure how much but it really was not that much, I think (sic.). When his brother arrived with the soldiers he [Ali Pasha's brother] placed his hand on his shoulder and the Turks shot him dead in his home. This shows we can't be trusted, even your brother can be a *rufianos*. Your best friend cannot be trusted.

One cannot but notice the similarities with the story of Jesus and Judas. However, in this narrative there are several Arvanite values weaved into the story as well as some contradictions. Ali Pasha's brother, similar to Judas betrayed his master for a sum of money, but, the brother betrayed Ali Pasha, his closest and elderly kin and he did it in his home, the sacred asylum (cf. Lopic 1992), emphasising how terrible the betrayal of Ali Pasha was. He is the worst /best example of a *rufianos*. One interesting point which contradicts their idea of them being *rufiani* is their actions as a collective. They are faithful to Ali Pasha and willing to sacrifice themselves and their family for their master.

In another narrative a man in the café told me:

> When we had the *Turkocratia* (the Ottoman times) some Arvanites were *armatol*i. They were our people but were not considerate of us. They stole for the Turks.[24]. But we are different now.

The man showed honest remorse for his Arvanite/*rufiano* heritage and suggested that it was better to forget the language and Arvanite things because "that is what is holding us back". They use the term *rufianos* to describe themselves as back-stabbers

[23] Kyriakos uses the term *rufianos*, as a betrayer, a Judas in contrast to the Arvanite category. Good Arvanites stick together but there will always be a *rufianos.*

[24] The Armatoli and Kleftes were many times the same people depending on the time and who gave them better benefits. They were bandits and brigands who took turns terrorising the countryside. They were hired by both the Ottomans and the newly formed Greek state of the 18th Century as a way to control and disrupt the local populations (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992; Koliopoulos 1990; van Boeschoten 1991)

and mercenaries for the Turks. When placed in its historical context, however, the depiction is less ethically loaded as there was no nation-state to be loyal to. In return for their service, many Arvanites were given land in places such as in the Messogia, or places like Gogofis in Attica. Arvanites are depicted as a stubborn, dishonourable people without true loyalties, '*rufianoi*', to anyone and are described as, a non-indigenous people who are closely associated with the Turks[25] and not the other Western Empires such as the Byzantines, Venetians, or the Austro-Hungarians[26]. The Arvanites perceive themselves as Greeks distancing themselves from their ancestral negative categorisations. However, they often blame their economic situation and social position on their stubbornness and their disloyalty to others.

Codes of Honour, Codes of Behaviour

I found that Arvanites also see themselves as *sklyrokefaloi*, but they are proud of it. This trait is seen as stick-to-itiveness. They see themselves as having *besa* - in other words, if they say something it is their bond. Silva is a woman who has married one of the men who was one of the first Albanian immigrants in the village. We were talking about making plans to take a trip to Albania to visit her and Lukas', her husband's, village in Northern Albania when she said:

> I will not tell you something yet. You understand. You know about *besa.* If I tell you something, I mean it and I will have to do it. This is what we believe.

They will do it no matter what the personal cost. *Besa* is originally an Albanian word, which has to do with the code of honour (Bintliff 2003). Moreover, *besa* is also a code of behaviour and the basis of the *Kanun i Lec Dukgjini*. The *Kanun* i *Lec Dukgjini*[27] explains the roles of men and women in society: How one is supposed to behave, such as gender roles, or how to deal with conflicts, such as blood feuds or land disputes

[25] Albanians/ Arvanites then, appear to envision, as Kirtsoglou (2007:174) suggests, that the 'Turk' is sometimes seen as a friend or a foe but "sadly always as nothing more than a faceless collectivity, that happens to inhabit the other side …."
[26] Western Europeans are associated with culture and enlightenment (Sutton 1998)
[27] The "Kanun i Lec Dukgjini" was unwritten and considered an outline of tribal Albanian laws. It was transcribed by Father Gjecov, a contemporary of Skanderbeg. The Kanun defines day to day life for the people of northern Albania. There were similar codes in the south. Presently people are remembering and reinterpreting the Kanun. It had been almost forgotten during the communist period.

(Durham 1910; Hasluck 1967; Gjenov 1989; Lopasic 1992; Young 2000). In Gogofis, as well as other Arvanite communities, the rules of inheritance appear to follow the codes of *besa* as suggested by the following excerpts from the *Kanun*:

+65 The House, Grounds, and Pasture

1) The house, together with the grounds that surround it, belongs to the last brother.
2) The huts and pasture are divided into as many parts as there are brothers.

+66 The Land

1) The land of the ancestors is divided by measure amongst brothers.
2) The land that has been purchased by the sons-after the death of their parents-is divided amongst those who bear arms.
3) The middle brother has the right to choose the land that he wants.
4) The fields, vineyards, meadows, woodlands, copses, small forests, and thickets are divided by measure equally among the brothers. (Gjenov 1989:48)

In Gogofis, the Kanun is not known as 'the Kanun' or labelled in any other way by the Arvanites but there are some aspects of traditions which reflect the Kanun even today. As in section 65.1 of the Kanun, and traditionally in Gogofis, the youngest son takes care of the parents and resides in his father's house. Post-marital residence contrasts with non-Arvanites who expect the groom to move uxorilocally near the bride's family (Casselberry and Valavanes 1976; Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991).

It has become a bone of contention with many of the elderly generation whose sons had not married Arvanites and were leaving the village. Kyria Roula generally got on with her daughters-in-law, but she was a little disappointed that her sons had not married Arvanite women and as a result were not living patrilocally. She states:

> Those women always insist our boys go live with them in their homes. I am alone and I have no sons to take care of me. What would happen if I broke something [a leg, arm, or hip]? Who would take me to the hospital. My *nyfes*, brides, have their own families to take care of. A *dopia*, local [female] will always take care of her own. My sons are far away and there is no one to care for me or for the house we built for them.

There are concerns that they will not be cared for when they grow old. Kyria Roula was also concerned that she and her husband had prepared houses for their sons but they now lived 'far away'. Since most marriages in the past were endogamous and

patrilocal, women appear to have become more estranged from their families' land which emphasises agnatic ties and the men's control of the land; the *de facto* result is as it is stated in the *Kanun*.

The term, *besa* is used in Modern Greek as well as in Albanian. In Greek, the term besa is used when someone is considered trustworthy: "*echei besa"*, he is trustworthy. In Albania, it means much more. It is a word that still maintains powerful meaning of honour and trustworthiness at many different levels.
The codes of honour are still salient to everyday life. However, young and middle-aged Arvanite Gogofiotes see themselves as having less *besa* than do the older generations. As stated earlier, I have heard both young and old characterise themselves on many occasions as *rufianoi*, "Even your best friend can't be trusted" *Mechri kai o kaliteros sou filos tha einai rufianos*." Furthermore, they know their ancestors were mercenaries and take pride in the fact that they were great warriors[28]. Paradoxically, they are ashamed of that fact too, because they use the contemporary definition to define their mercenary ancestors. They do not realise that their ancestors were considered loyal gatekeepers rather than mercenaries for the Turks as well as other empires at that time. Associating themselves with the Turks makes their ancestors, *prodotes* and *rufianoi,* dishonourable traitors and back-stabbers to Greece or the 'dream' of Greece (cf. Gourgouris 1996). Therefore, they associate their ethnicity with both *besa*, codes of honour and at the same time, dishonour.

However, several people in the younger generation (below 50 years of age) have read Kollias or Biris' books and have made it part of their identity as Arvanites. This identity has some form of continuity but the majority of Gogofis' residents have a very contradictory idea about where they came from or how their ancestors came to speak Arvanitika. The blurred understanding of how they came to live in Gogofis is seen in a discussion I had with an elderly woman during the first part of my fieldwork. I asked Kyria Roula why the old women tied their head scarves in a particular way. She told me that they wore the head scarf like the Souliotisses[29]. The

[28] Velioti (2001) and Kazatis (1998) observed similar attitudes about the Arvanites' warrior past
[29] The Souliotesses are heroic representation part of national lore who danced off the side of Mount Mourgana in Epirus, babes in hand, to escape being tortured by Ali Pasha and the "Turks". Actually Ali Pasha was not Turkish nor were his soldiers. They were probably Muslim and ethnic Albanians. The Souliotes dance off the side of the mountain is part of the national lore of "freedom or death". The

women told me that the Souliotisses were famous heroines. On another occasion I asked: "Why do you wear your scarf like Souliotisses?" But the answer was the same. I received curious looks when I suggested the scarves they wore were like the scarf Bouboulina wore, another Arvanite/Greek national heroine but not a Souliotissa. I understood they did not tie their scarves because this is the way their ethnic Arvanite sisters tied them. The scarves were not markers of Arvaniteness: the scarves were markers of national and local identity related to their fictive kin from the neighbouring village and the 'national' Souliote heroes. The scarves were not a marker of identity with other Arvanites elsewhere in Greece, Italy or even Albania.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 "Ethnic Identity and Nationalism" examines the concepts of ethnicity and national identity. This chapter places ethnicity into a historical and theoretical perspective. It recognises how the term 'ethnicity' is a convoluted analytical category. The chapter begins by reviewing the conceptualisation of ethnicity and how anthropology as well as other social sciences are preoccupied with the other conceptual categories such as race and tribe which had different research orientations and limitations with regards to ethnicity. With the seminal work of Barth (1969,1996), the questions of ethnicity became more evident and a debate between primordial and instrumental conceptualisations of ethnicity is discussed. The chapter then discusses nationalism. I examine the development of the Kosovar ethnic/national movement, their identity as national-Albanians I, then, compare it to the Arvanites and their national and pan-ethnic, or lack of pan-ethnic orientation. Finally, I review the extensive work on ethnicity and nationalism in Greece.

Chapter 3, "Methods and Ethical Issues", explores the methods and ethical issues I had to deal with in the field. I give an overview of the problems, challenges, and experiences I faced in the field and the phases my research went through. Moreover, I examine the way in which my interlocutors took my many statuses and identities and

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Souliote women, representing Greek women in this case, preferred death to imminent capture by the Turks, in this case represented by the Muslim Ali Pasha. The Souliotes were Albanian speaking Orthodox Christians. Ali Pasha was an Albanian speaking Muslim.

used them to their own satisfaction. I discuss how the Arvanites generally chose one identity while the Albanians chose another. I explain how those choices inevitably affected the fieldwork process, data collection and finally the written thesis. Finally, I introduce the ethical question of dealing with the idea of informed consent. Treating the people of Gogofis with the greatest precaution and respect, I felt my interlocutors did not comprehend or have the tools to evaluate the purpose of my existence in their midst nor what my research was really about.

Chapter 4 "Patronage, Factionalism and Agency", discusses Arvanites as a part of both the local and national power structures. It examines how differences between Arvanites and non-Arvanite Greeks are downplayed. I examine the arguments associated with patron/client relations. I then examine the concepts of factionalism. Finally, I examine the concepts of agency and how agents manipulate factional and patron/clientage systems to their advantage. The chapter then focuses on patron/client relations in Gogofis. I illustrate how agents manipulate or attempt to manipulate the greater systems of patronage and factionalism. I examine the concept of *nikokiris,* as a responsible individual, and their obligations and how they present themselves as potential patron/clients. Then I examine patronage within a system of finite social capital. Next I re-examine the *kafenio*, as the place where friendships are initiated and maintained. Finally, I illustrate how the *Proedros*, the community president, uses his accumulated social capital maintained in the cafés to hinder factional alliances and obligations in order to be a *nikokiris* and serve his local community. I then, compare and contrast the Arvanites to Albanian immigrants' relationship to the Greek state, thus, exposing the Arvanite and Albanian immigrants' relative integration (as non-ethnics or ethnics) into the national social political Greek system.

Chapter 5, "Fostering 'Barbarian' Children", investigates alternative kin-like systems unitised in the Balkans, Albania and Greece. The focus, however, is on spiritual kinship and adoption which were synonymous in the past (during the Byzantine and early Roman Catholic eras). I illustrate how Arvanites use their "hybrid," ambiguous ethnicity to maintain relations with Albanian immigrants by utilising the metaphors of kinship. Albanian immigrants are present in every community in Greece, large or small. What makes the situation in Gogofis different from non-Arvanite villages, is the Gogofiotes' ancestral/cultural and distant kinship relationship with the Albanians

in the village. I illustrate how this kin-like relationship is not merely a patron/client relationship. The Arvanites and Albanians exercise the metaphor of kinship to create stronger bonds between the two groups, thus fulfilling the psychological and physical needs and the objectives of each group. However, because it is an unsanctioned and hidden relationship, the Arvanites treat the tensions created by the existence of kin-like newcomers optimally. The idiom of kinship exposes the differences between their imagined Greekness and Albanianness. The idiom of kinship therefore becomes the backdrop for the group, the Arvanites, in this case, are different from whom they expect Greeks to be.

Chapter 6 "Naming and Names", examines how the act of naming and the use of names are employed in the village. This chapter begins with an investigation of the patronymic system. Then it investigates the types of names people use and what they signify. It examines surnames, forenames and nicknames and places them in the varied milieu of nation and local frameworks. Next it examines how the newcomers as "semi-outsiders" use naming traditions with sometimes marginal and sometimes more complete success to become integrated into the local society. I argue that the use of names creates or maintains relationships among different groups. Names indicate mechanisms of exclusion or inclusion. This section confirms that differences are maintained but also deferred as forenames and many surnames are Greek. Thus, forenames, surnames and nicknames express different fluid levels of identity. Names are not strictly structural as they are chosen and negotiated by the namer (Herzfeld 1982). The ability to give a name is a representation of power (Bourdieu 1985). Power is expressed implicitly in the names people choose for one another. Names (forenames, surnames and nicknames) remind people of their subordinate relationship to legitimate state and church institutions while inherited names and some of the nicknames remind Arvanites of their non-Greek past. This chapter illustrates how nationalism plays a role in the names given to people. Likewise, how people deal with the embedded traditions of name-giving and owning are explored. Thus, something as mundane as names reflects tensions and hegemonic relations when someone uses, speaks or listens to a name of an individual being addressed. Names are the backdrop of the relationship people create, what they mean when addressing someone and their relationship with others, be it fellow villagers, compatriots or strangers. Thus, this

chapter is about the relationships of groups, hegemonic or not, and the tensions embedded in the names people use and what the names signify.

Chapter 7 "Organic Memory", begins with Halbwachs' initial understanding of aspects of collective memory. Gogofis is examined in terms of the way its inhabitants subjectively remember and forget things, which distance themselves from the official Greek-national constructions of memory. Gogofiotes attempt to constitute some collective memories in the Greek context. However, 'non-Greek' memories remain an essential part of everyday life, remaining outside of the national context. In theory, those memories that do not fit well into the national context are forgotten (cf. Frentress and Wickham 1992). Gellner (1983) argues nationalism is more about forgetting than about remembering. I suggest that those *organic memories* that cannot be forgotten are embedded into everyday life and into the senses, thus, are deliberately hidden from outsiders. The concealment of customs and memories of the Arvanites maintains differences between themselves and/or 'others', which only defers memories instead of forgetting them in their totality. In addition, these memories may still attain social and cultural capital. Finally this chapter examines the March 25th and October 28th celebrations to illustrate historical and autobiographical memories and contrast them with sensory based memories embedded in the landscape and in food as well as other elements of the everyday.

Chapter 8, "Food", examines how the Arvanites use food to engage differences between themselves, Albanian immigrants and non-Arvanite Greeks. The Arvanites insist on hiding local cuisines from the outside world. This de-emphasis of the ethnic may be noteworthy because foodways are unusually employed to maintain and identify boundaries between groups. Gogofiotes have decided to publicly express themselves - not as ethnics within the nation - but as Greeks in a 'homogeneous' Greek nation-state. In this chapter, I examine how the Gogofiotes express themselves through the medium of food; how the action of producing, cooking and consuming food is used to establish them as Greeks but is also used to maintain differences in the cognitive systems through the senses. Here again food expresses identity, inclusion, exclusion and hierarchies in society. The tensions are made visible when local foodways have to compete with non-local Greek foods. In addition, this chapter examines why the Gogofiotes feel it is necessary to maintain Arvanite foods in

private. In Gogofis, there are several distinct foods which have non-Greek names and others which are consumed only by insiders. Food is part of people's *organic memory*. Tastes, smells and textures embody food memories into individuals and groups. In Gogofis, Arvanite names, and unique non-cookbook Greek foods are expressed in private. They are hidden, being 'visible' to Arvanite taste buds and eyes only. However, the production and consumption of *retsina* wine is part of the Arvanites' identity (Gefou-Mandianou 1999) and is very public. Behaviour associated with consumption expresses, *levendia, kefi* and *besa*. Therefore, the consumption of wine expresses salient values associated with Gogofis. Retsina, now considered the quintessential Greek wine by the global market, includes them into the nation. This chapter suggests that there is a hierarchy created by public and private types of food.

Chapter 9, **"Landscape", first explores the debates in anthropology with regards to landscape. It then, examines local knowledge and the relationship the local conceptions of the landscape has with the national conceptions of the landscape. Landscape is empowerment of the local. Gogofiotes are tied to their landscape by their tenure and practice and the local and national memories of their land. They are embodied in the place because of their relation to its past and the tenure and kinship associated with it. The landscape is made up of a mental map of historic events and people, past and present. They define the land in kinship terms and local social relationships. In other words, landscape is inclusive/exclusive of memory and kinship. The people know Gogofis' local past. They work the land. They harvest its grapes for wine and its olives for food and oil. They graze their animals on it and have died in the holes they cut for mining ore in the land. The land's history and ownership are intimate to them. In contrast, the Athenian 'Greek' tourists or summer residents are not intimate with the landscape but paradoxically, the Albanian immigrants have become intimate with the landscape, its history, its kinship and its provenience. The Albanian immigrants toil on the land, thus, becoming part of the local landscape. They have begun an intimate relationship to the place. In contrast, the Gogofiotes relationship to the land is quintessential to their identity because it justifies their relationship to the nation-state. But, this relationship is inevitably determined by the state and, therefore, their pride is also a burden as it defines them as Gogofiotes and as Greeks, and is, therefore, somewhat contradictory. The landscape has memory**

and represents kinship relations which are not necessarily Greek. This is where the tensions lie, because although land-use and tenure are determined and regulated by the state, the landscape's meaning is defined by action, by food production and by memories people create on it. Landscape, therefore becomes a backdrop of tensions between the local/ethnic and national identities and memories.

In conclusion, I shall show how the Arvanites have actively used their choice of identity as Greeks, ignoring a potential ethnic identity because there is greater social capital in being Greek while at the same time maintaining willingly or not, differences from other Greeks as well as Albanians. I shall show how practice of identity is embedded in the mundane routines of everyday life. Some aspects are Arvanite/Albanian and some are not. The Arvanites of Gogofis must make conscious choices with respect to their identity in, for example, the way they eat or in the way they name one another. Finally their relationship with the state is not simply a relationship of subordinated and subordinator.

Chapter 2

Ethnic Identity and Nationalism

In this chapter, I first examine the theoretical discussions surrounding the Arvanites' ethnicity, ethnic identity, nationalism, and national identity. The chapter begins by placing ethnicity into a historical and analytical perspective, within the discipline of social anthropology. I, then, examine the debates which arose after the seminal work of Barth (1969, 1996), which perhaps became the most important conceptual framework for research into ethnicity and which, almost forty years later, is still worthy of discussion in contemporary anthropology. Within this context, I examine the idea of the ethnic group and its relationship to 'others' and to the nation-state. This examination leads to the concepts of nationalism and national identity. A review of the work done with regards to ethnic and national identity in Greece is undertaken. Finally, I ask the question: do the Arvanites constitute an ethnic group, when they have different traditions, origins, language, and other observable primordial elements or, if there is no public discourse about them as an ethnic group, and if the ethnic-actors do not want the ethnic recognition, should they be considered an ethnic group?

Ethnicity as an Analytical Category

Ethnicity as an analytical category is elusive. It is elusive because, as our ideas about ethnicity have developed, they have been interpreted in different situations, in different ways, defined under various conditions and constructs. Moreover, ethnicity can be observed from different perspectives: from the perspective of the actors and from those of the observer; as bound or as non-fixed entities; having fluidity and movable boundaries. Ethnicity has also been conflated with various concepts: political action, race, blood, kinship, boundaries and/or other processes. In addition, it has been given the status of being either the origin of a 'nation' or the result of nationalism and national ideology. It has been called both 'a phenomenon of modernity' and 'a phenomenon predating the modern world'. Thus, ethnicity is a debated subject meaning many different things to many different people.

Ethnicity as a Concept

Ethnicity or the word 'ethnic' comes from the Greek word, *ethnos*, originally meaning 'pagan' (Eriksen 1993). The terms ethnicity and ethnic do not necessarily refer to a nation-state but to a nation of people or to a group of people who share or have a 'collectivity', where people live and act together (Ostergard 1992, cited in Jenkins 2008). The term ethnicity can also be considered a matter of personhood (Ruane and Todd 2004, cited in Jenkins 2008). Geertz (1973:268,309), furthermore, suggests, ethnicity as the 'world of personal identity collectively ratified and publically expressed' and as a 'socially ratified personal identity'. Geertz's (1973) definition, argues that ethnicity is a collective of personal and public identities. In the following section, I examine the development and trajectory of the concept of ethnicity.

Theoretical Development

Early 20th Century

Race, Tribe and Ethnic Groups

During the first part of the 20th Century, the anthropological discipline was focusing on the concepts of race and tribe (Wolf 1994). Race was a primary focus for study before the 1960's (Eriksen 1993; Jenkins 2008). Using and examining the term 'tribal' when speaking of societies had several results according to Jenkins (2008):
1) There was a distance created between 'tribal' and 'civilised' societies and 2) an environment for anthropological discourse and modelling of 'non-civilised' social organisation was established (see, Leach 1954:17). Races and tribes were thought of as discrete interbreeding populations (Eriksen 1993) which were considered to be biologically and culturally distinct from other races or tribes.

Weber (1978) also refers to race or tribal groups, as they were understood at the time. He, however, introduces the concept of an 'ethnic group'. He discusses race and tribal groups and refers to them as 'anthropological groups'. He argues that

anthropological groups facilitate the formation of an ethnic group but are not, in essence, what constituted the ethnic group.[30]

Weber (1978), furthermore, argues that ethnic groups are not defined by particular racial features, but form and are a "product of collective political action" (pg. 389). Writing just after the First World War, he refers to the Serbian and Croatian ethnic tensions. He infers that though the groups are 'racially' the same, they have chosen which characteristics to collectively understand as shared and/or as unshared. In this way, Weber's ethnic groups are not simply based on a primordial essence of the group. Common ancestry is the consequence not the cause of collective action (Weber 1978). Ethnic groups are a result of its members' shared sense of 'belonging together', their common background and common belief system and a shared political action.

Today, race, as a notion, is no longer a valid analytical category. Instead, it is understood that all people, everywhere, have always been exogamous and that groups are not static entities. Thus, culture and biology differentiating bound groups is a fallacy (Banks 1996). This does not mean that 'race' should be ignored, however. Race and racism are important in social context and may be significant as part of local discourses on ethnicity (cf. Weber 1978) Thus, race as a category of study is perhaps anachronistic, but 'racial' relations, imagined or not, can be justifiably examined and perceived as ethnic and power relations (Eriksen 1993; Jenkins 2008) and/or in the context of hegemony (Alonso 1994) .

Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups

The actual term 'ethnicity' was first used by Riesman (1953). Ethnicity was basically ignored as a subject of study in anthropology because of the focus on race and tribes at the time. Thus, little else was written about it until the 1960's (Calhoun 1993; Eriksen 1993; Wolf 1994; Jenkins 2008). During the 1960's, however, there was a shift from a structural-functionalist perspective to one of 'non-corporate collectives of social life', when discussing 'groups'. These collectives include networks (Mitchell

[30] Weber (1978) is sometimes categorised as being a primordialist (cf. Calhoun 1993) because of the emphasis he puts on an ethnic groups' belief in a common ancestry.

1974), patron/client relations (Boissevain 1968) or quasi-groups such as friends (Mayer 1956; Kiefer 1968; Foster 1976). Ethnicity now became a focus of debate.

Barth's Work

Barth's (1969, 1996) work, at this time, became the foundations for the studies of contemporary ethnicity in social anthropology and is still dominant today (Jenkins 2008). His discussion of ethnic groups and boundaries was intended to be within the framework of a structural-functional model (Jenkins 2008). His ideas, however, move the focus away from lists of static characteristics, which separate bound groups, to a more fluid model of the boundary elements and boundary maintenance (Barth 1969, 1996). Barth argues that shared culture is created through the processes of maintenance of the boundaries between groups.[31] The starting point of his argument is on how people, the actors, think or believe, focusing on the processes of (self)ascription (Barth 1969, 1996; Jenkins 2008). Moreover, those boundaries are osmotic and changeable (Jenkins 2008). Ethnic groups, therefore, are entities as a reflection of 'others' and are maintained in opposition to 'others'. Moreover, individual agents can manipulate those boundaries (Jenkins 2008).

This understanding of ethnic groups, or any groups, for that matter lead them to different potential evaluations and re-evaluations. In this new perspective, ethnicity, identities and members have the ability to change. This perspective also emphasises strategies that individuals and groups take in decision-making.

Barth's framework provided the tools to deal with both social change and agency. The following debate evolved from Barth's hypothesis: Are ethnic groups based in history and language or are they constructions based only on changeable boundaries?

[31] Leach (1954) has implied that Kachin identities were movable and flexible, through time, debating the validity of the notion of tribe. Leach does not, however, allude to the mechanisms of this flexibility.

The Primordial and the Instrumental

The primordial perspective, on the one hand, is understood to be a static and non-agent-oriented model of ethnicity. In contrast, on the other hand, one finds the instrumental perspective, which gives the actors agency and fluidity. There have been heated debates (Cornell and Hartmann 1998; Fenton 2003) over the two perspectives in the past. The primordial point of view is part of the normative discourse about identity, at least for the people of Greece (Just 1989) and Gogofis, and, therefore, will be discussed first.

Primordialism

Primordialism is the belief that a person's or a group's identity is based primarily on blood, history and unchanging cultural norms. Primordial models of identity are also thought to be based in the emotions, the senses and in cognitive developments (Jenkins 2008). Primordial models, thus, are similar to Wolf's (1994:5) description of the German interpretations of culture or *volksgeist*, folk spirit, where "the spirit was believed to be anchored in passion and emotion, not in reason, and manifests in art, folklore, and language."

One criticism of the primordial ideology is that it justifies and naturalises chauvinism and nationalistic elements of society (Smith 1986; Bauman. 1992; Jenkins 2008). The Nazis, for example, utilised this concept to mobilise an entire nation-state into war and to form 'the final solution' (Goldhagen 1996). There are anthropologists that have supported the primordial perspective, however, Clifford Geertz being purportedly the best known. In his work, Geertz (1973:261) suggests there are 'primordial attachments' which originate in kinship, place and culture. He argues that blood ties, language and culture are seen as natural, beyond words, and essentialised by the actors. Eller and Coughlan (1993) are highly critical of Geertz's interpretations, suggesting blood ties, language, and culture are socially-unconstructed emotions and are 'unanalysable'. Jenkins (2008) argues, however, that Geertz uses a 'constructed primordiality', proposing that Geertz (1973) is interested in how the people mobilise and believe. He argues that these 'primordial attachments' are emphasised, stimulated and quickened (Geertz 1973: 269-270) in the cases of nation-building and modernisation, giving primordial ideas greater consequence. Jenkins (2008) argues

that in some societies, primordial models take precedent over alternative models of ethnicity. In those societies, ethnic identity has powerful primordial tendencies.

Furthermore, Jenkins (Jenkins 1994;Jenkins 1996;Jenkins 2008) suggests that ethnicity may be a primary identity of selfhood. In such cases, it is not that primordial models supersede instrumental models[32] of self. On the contrary, he suggests ethnicity under certain circumstances may be primary to selfhood and the identification of self. Thus, during 'primary socialisation' (2008:49) people's identities are part of the social consequence and thus not part of the individual's choosing. In contrast, Wolf (1994) is critical of those who give agents too much freedom. Using the analogy of 'The Little Engine that Could' (an American bed-time story), he suggests that capital, whether social, cultural or economic, puts constraints on an agent's choice and action, affecting the individual's self definition.

Instrumentalism

In opposition to the primordial perspective, are those who extend the Barthian perspective. The instrumental, or situational, perspective distinguishes ethnicity or ethnic groups as people, who shift their ambitions, depending on the situation or environmental condition, for political advantage or self-interest (Jenkins 2008). The instrumental perspective gives individuals and groups flexibility, which is implicitly missing from the strictly primordial perspective. In addition, unfixed boundaries permit change to happen. In other words, social change and fluidity is embedded in an instrumental model of ethnic identity. However, the weakness of instrumentalism is its preoccupation with collective ascriptions and the boundaries they produce. Though useful for actor oriented analysis the focus on boundaries hinders the understanding of the processes of ethnic identification. In addition, such models can also be taken to extremes, resulting in an unintended reductionist perspective. Jenkins (2008) makes several points. He summarises anthropological contributions as follows (p.14):

1) Ethnicity is about cultural differentiation – although to reiterate the main theme of '*Social Identity*' (Jenkins 1996), identity is always a dialectic, between similarity and difference;

[32] In instrumental models of ethnicity actors or groups have an important role in the development and alterations of boundaries between individuals.

2) Ethnicity is centrally concerned with culture – shared meaning – but it is also rooted in, and is to a considerable extent, the outcome of social interaction;
3) Ethnicity is no more fixed or unchanging than culture (of which it is a component) or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced;
4) Ethnicity, as a social identity, is collective and individual, externalised in social interaction and internalised in personal self-identification;

Nationalism

Nationalism is inevitably bound to ethnicity (Banks 1996; Eriksen 1993; Fenton 1993; Gellner 1983; Jenkins 2008). This section examines the theories with regards to nationalism. I discuss an understanding of nationalism considered by Gellner (1983), A. D. Smith (1986), Anderson (1983) and Billig (1995). Gellner (1983), and to some extent A. D. Smith (1986), discuss nationalism as a modern phenomon. According to Gellner (1983), nationalism is the result of societies which have gone through an agrarian-to-industrial process. In the semi-autonomous agrarian, non-industrial societies, kinship plays a salient role in socio-economic and political relations in society (Keesing 1975) and has a major effect on the choices agents make in everyday life. Industrialisation, however, created a shift in the occupational structure, resulting in a great shift in populations, and thus, the uprooting and major social/structural change in social organisation. In the transition to industrialisation, Gellner (1983) suggests that a void was created in the agrarian's up-rooting. The state and the elite created systems to deal with the shortcomings caused by the transition. Acting as 'protectors', they created institutions, such as the universal education system, to cater to societal needs. With these actions, the state and culture merged[33] (Gellner 1983).

There are several weaknesses in Gellner's argument. Though his idea may hold true for societies which have gone through such an agrarian-to-industrial process, whether this model holds true for post-colonial or even post-industrial societies is not clear. Moreover, when he wrote his book in 1983, the disbandment of the Soviet Union and

[33] Gellner (1983) argues that with the industrial age high culture (supported by the social elite) survives the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. High culture uses collective, shared meanings which are shared with ethnic cultures. Thus, cultural differences are diminished. Modern elements, such as literacy, a universal education system, mass media, secularism and capitalism shape the nation and nationalism. Nationalism is a new form of social organisation.

Yugoslavia had not yet become a reality. In fact, the image of a post-Cold War world of new nation-states was not even imaginable at the time. Moreover, he does not consider the powerful emotional sentiment which is associated with national identity and nationalism.

A. D. Smith (1986), attempts to deal with the criticism of Gellner's unemotional detachment about nationalism. A. D. Smith suggests that preceding the formation of the nation, there is a history of 'ethnic groups'. These pre-existing groups have common myths, memories, constructed histories, and a shared identity and what he refers to as '*ethnies'*. These *'ethnies'*, for example, similar language, kinship patterns and religion, were the basis of the national 'culture'. Similar subordinate *ethnies* incorporate the *ethnies* of the dominant group, choosing these over their own ethnic groups' ideas/notions. The modern nation erodes ethnic differences as a result of the recycling of national/ethnic myths and ideas of collective heritages. In this way, the *ethnies* have common roots, language, territory, history from which the idea of the nation is built. In presenting this perspective, A. D. Smith clarifies why someone may have the passion to die for one's nation, given the deep rooted factors which hold the nation together. However, social constructionists regard A. D. Smith's hypothesis as a primordial perspective, stating that some histories are complete constructions.

Anderson's (1983) seminal work examines nationalism from an alternative perspective. Anderson argues that, with the decline of large religious communities, who had a shared language, local vernaculars began to take precedence. The advent of print capitalism enabled more people within these local communities to read and get the same information. As such, 'language, capitalism, and a monopoly on the production of information were all key to developing a sense of nationhood, as the consumption of such information gave the readers a sense of a common culture - a national consciousness. Anderson's hypothesis differs from that of Gellner and Smith in that his notion of the national community is not dependent on any primordial ideas preceding the nation. This, in turn, works well for those using an instrumental approach to ethnicity and nationalism. The nation, as an imagined community, is not determined on pre-existing histories which bind the ethnic groups together, but in the

control and distribution of information; creating a sense of commonness between people who may have socially little in common.[34],

In contrast, Billig's (1995:6) work focuses more on a nation, after it has been formed. His work argues that once nations are created, national ideologies have to be maintained to reproduce themselves. He suggests it is the mundane habits of everyday life that reinforce the national, as these things are 'flagged in the lives of their citizens'. He states the metonymic image of banal nationalism 'is not the flag which is being waved with passion, it is the flag hanging unnoticed on a public building' (Billig 1995:8). Billig (1995.:8), thus, argues that these 'forgotten' things are cues embodying identities of social life making it seem as natural or common sense as 'thinking or using language'.

Greek Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism

There are several authors who had developed innovative ideas in the development of both Mediterranean and Greek studies and whose influence are felt beyond the region. Many ethnographic analyses in Greece consider historical constructivism to some degree. Understandably so, since Greek society places a great deal of importance on its relationship to history, historical constructivism is the inclusion or synthesis of the past into the present (Faubion 1993). History may be considered a primordial element on one's ethnic or national identity. Geertz (1973) states, that the sharing of history is the roots of the people. Just's (1989) conclusion is similar. However, Just suggests that this essentialist model is what defines a person being a member of a nation. Furthermore, Just (1989) proposes that national identity is simply defined as 'to which country an individual is a citizen'. Ancestral origins are not of primary concern. Rather, emphasis is on citizenship and on who occupied the land first, in other words, the land was first occupied by the Greeks and therefore those presently occupying the land are 'Greeks'. Just (1989), furthermore, suggests that in Greece, there is a difference between the *kratos*, the state and *ethnos*, the nation. These concepts,

[34] Such as, their social class, social structures, modes of production, etc.

however, are not completely separate because to be part of the *ethnos* is to have citizenship defined and sanctified by the *kratos*.

Just (1989) suggests that ethnicity is composed of several components within the nation-state.

> 1) *Political incorporation into/membership of a sovereign state*: Assumes the identity of the *ethnos* and *kratos* to the extent that the specific question of ethnicity may become irrelevant or redundant. One is French because one is a citizen of France and for the majority at least, there may be no need to look further. A legally and politically valid civic state coincides with self-conception of self-identity. No further concept of ethnicity is required; it is subdued by what legally one already has. To assert Frenchness under such circumstances is absurd, it is unnecessary.
>
> 2) *Geographical Circumscription/Location*: This component goes hand-in-hand with the aforementioned since the existence of a state presupposes the existence of its territory. Geographical Location can also work against the state, however, challenging its authority and asserting the rights of regional autonomy, or even succession. Either way, whether working for or against the state, an identity is asserted between 'people' and 'place'. Politically and polemically it is usually the people who lay claim to their territory. The relationship is reversible, however, and a metaphor of locality sets in; but a people are what they are because 'of' their land.
>
> 3) *Historical continuity*: Neither political incorporation nor present location are in-and-of-themselves enough. 'Origins' and the sanctity of history must also be invoked. It is not sufficient merely to live in a place, or to be granted citizenship of it, to claim the ethnic status associated with it. There must also be roots. One must be able to claim some historical rights to it, as a place of origin. In other words, one must be able to claim its history as part of one's 'own' the product of some collective past.
>
> 4) *Culture*: This as history's 'present witness' comes quickly into play. Tradition is a banner of the ethnic nationalists; and certainly difficult to deny as an anthropologist (even though it is difficult to define) but culture is an uncertain ally. If social history has any meaning, then it is that societies change and culture with them. Within those changes, continuities, traditions, may certainly be traceable. Language is a paradigm case, its history often is demonstrable, its possessions seen as guarantors of ethnic legitimacy. But languages, not only change, they may be suppressed, lost forever, 'stolen' (for after all, others are always capable of learning them). As for cultural possessions, religion (central in the Greek case) is open to both conversations and apostasy. As for material culture, and those 'customs and habits' so beloved of folklorists, they of all things, have been acquired, shared, transformed and reinterpreted over time; yet together with language and judiciously selected customs, they are always presented as part of a cultural tradition, which proves their guardians to be of ethnic origin they espouse (Just 1989:75-76).

Just demonstrates that all components, legal, geographic conscription, history and culture must be shared. He also illustrates that being a member of a nation-state has both primordial and essentialist aspects to membership.

Yalouri's (2001) monograph discusses the significance of the Parthenon[35] as a powerful symbol of nationhood. She suggests that the Acropolis materialises Greek identity and condenses everything about the past and the present (modernity) into the ruins. In this way, I suggest the Acropolis is not unique in that it analogously represents all ancient monuments or should I say all ancient monuments analogously represent the Acropolis and what it symbolises. In this respect lesser imperative ancient sites are given equal importance to local populations. The presence of local archeological sites is similar in the meaning of nationhood as Yalouri's Acropolis. The Acropolis, as a symbol of history, legitimates national territory, and it can be easily seen to represent national territory. Gogofis has its own archeological sites: the ancient port of Ramnous and Marathon. Thus, for the Arvanites the space is territorialised becoming unquestionably Greek. Thus, tensions between the local and the nation are maintained. These sites reify the local's relationship to the national "condensing national identity" (Yalouri 1991:75) in its existence on Gogofiote land[36].

Conception of "Us and Others"

Sutton (1998) understands identity as a reflection of 'otherness'. Sutton observed on the Greek island of Kalymnos that the Kalymnians used a binary opposition either with respect to the Turks or with respect to the Europeans. According to Sutton (1998) 'European' is equated to modernity and 'Turkishness' is equated to backwardness. If it is examined as a binary relationship, however, binary opposition was utilised even though it created ambiguities in the Kalymnian's own understanding

[35] Kuchler, S., (1993). Landscape as Memory: The Mapping of Process and its representation in a Melanesian Society. Landscape Politics and perspectives. Providence, Berg. In her investigation of the Archeology of the First World War she suggests that archeological sites maintain tensions between the present and the past emphasizing the differences between present and past cultures.

[36] Yalouri (2001), Hamilakis and Yalouri (1996), Hamilakis (2007) discuss how archaeological sites suggest truths , create national boundaries and conceptualise histories in themselves. Time and space are transformed into history and territory. The ruins are interpreted by both insiders and outsiders alike as social and cultural capital. Moreover, interpretations are subjectively different within Greek society itself, leading to different representations and constructions of Greekness.

of self. Thus, for example, if one bathed often, s/he would be discussed as being European (1998:37) Kirtsoglou (2007) in her research on Greek army officers and their vision of 'the Turk' suggests that depending on the socio-political situation, Greeks envision the Turks as intimates and/or others.. Kirtsoglou, however, suggests a more fluid self/other relationship where the Turk, in this case, 'the Other'… as nests on a vision of the nation, as a metaphor of the 'family' constituting kinship, as an idiom that mediates nationality, ethnicity and notions of collectivity' (2007:172). She argues that the Greeks 'continue seeing Turks, as friends, foes, friends and foes, sometimes friends or sometimes foes, but sadly, always as nothing more than a faceless collectivity that happens to inhabit the other end of the Aegean (2007:174).

Herzfeld (1986) in his semiotic analysis of texts by folklorists of the turn of the 19th and 20th Century argues that folklorists neither intentionally nor unintentionally used Homeric analogies to link , then, present day Greek folkways with that of ancient Greece. He suggests that these intellectuals were part of the process of nationalisation and homogenisation. He suggests that they were guided by a prevailing nationalist ideology which created a skewed interpretation of folk life in Greece at the time. Herzfeld (1997) also developed the notion of 'cultural intimacy'. This notion is salient in that it fits very well with the public and private behaviours and the contradictory personalities of the Arvanites in Gogofis, in these two realms. Cultural intimacy is based on the idea of disemia. Herzfeld observed that there were two transparent types of behaviour in Greeks. He determined that in public, individuals exhibit a perfect self or selves. In private, however, they exhibit an imperfect self to other imperfect selves, thus, creating a bond in their group's imperfections. The disemia Herzfeld discussed was that of a public, perfect 'Hellenic' self and a private flawed 'Romios' self. Theodossopoulos (2007) extended Herzfeld's argument, suggesting that there are many disemias and that Greeks may share a disemic relationship with the Turks and another with other Greeks. Therefore Greeks share imperfection as Mediterranean Europeans, Balkan people etc. In this respect, the Arvanites share flaws or are culturally intimate with the Albanians. They share another disemia with the non-Arvanite Greeks, etc. Theodossopoulos (2007: 4) argues along with Anderson (1983) and Gellner (1983) that nationalism is 'deliberately imprecise'. He suggests that nationalism is a 'hollow identity', which can metaphorically be filled; an identity with an outer-shell. This gives those with a 'particular' identity the ability to change,

participate in a metamorphosis, so that comparative identities can have a cultural intimate relationship. I would suggest that the Arvanites have just this type of hollow national, local, or ethnic identity. This gives them the ability to create relationships which would be counter to national discourses, allowing them to formalise their relationship to the familiar 'other', in this case, the Albanians.

Sant Cassia (2007) attempts to understand why two cultures which, appear to be more similar than dissimilar, tend to have great conflicts. Instead of applying Freud's notion of the *narcissism of minor differences*[37]. Sant Cassia employs Derrida's concept of différence as an ontological state of difference to understand the conflict. Différence is thus, a state of being, not a simple opposition, but is produced. In the same way, Turks and Greeks cannot seem to get along regardless of how many things they have in common. Sant Cassia (2007:115) states, "…there is a specific ontological problematic here related to identity and differentiation which cannot be conjured away by the mere listing of similarities and differences between two cultures, or through explaining it by reference to national agendas and historical experiences. He suggests that national rhetoric of difference negates the sameness; the 'who', and 'what', are deferred as *différence.* Thus, difference is both spatial and temporal. Separate groups once separate have divergent trajectories and so sameness may be obscured. Sant Cassia's argument is that these implicit differences never subside, which suggests that similar culture will always have some sort of antagonism against one another. He suggests that situations change because of différence, the emphasis on deferment and distancing is a fluid process, however, Sant Cassia does not suggest of how conflict between similar entities is resolved or even how differences are sometimes forgotten. Nonetheless, it is a powerful tool in understanding why such phenomena and why differences are maintained and why ethnic conflicts occur.

In conclusion, ethnicity and nationalism are concerned with similarities and differences between groups. Primordial perspectives are based on the elements which bind groups together. Instrumentalist perspective sees ethnicity as a malleable entity which is in constant flux and boundary maintenance. There are limits to this fluidity however (Wolf 1994; Jenkins 2008). Constructs such as social economic (Wolf 1994)

[37] Narcissism is based on Freud's (1923)essay "Civilization and discontents" which proposes that aggression between similar, adjacent 'others' are a mechanism of cohesion.

or interaction with the other as suggested by (Jenkins 2008; Sant Cassia 2007) may limit the amount of flexibility boundaries may have. In addition Ethnicity and, to some extent, nationalism is about shared meaning (Geertz 1973, Jenkins 2008). Ethnicity may have been the precursor to nationalism or visa versa however to maintain itself it must be actively maintained. It is part of the world view today (Billig 1995) and is maintained both implicitly and explicitly. Moreover perceptions of identity change through time. Boundaries which appear stable are in reality flexible and moveable. Both individuals and collectives form and maintain ethnic or national identities but always in the context of another. However, with 'the other' there is almost always some form of negotiation (Theodossopoulos 2007, Kirtsoglou 2007: Sant Cassia 2007). In the following two sections I use the cases of Kosovo Albanians and Arvanites to examine, and contrast the elements which lead (or not) to ethnic-national movements which direct the imagination and formation of ethnic and national ideologies.

In the following section I compare Arvanite and Kosovar-Albanians whose ethnic movements have either become nationalist movements or have failed to develop into any kind of movement whatsoever. Both instrumental and primordial factor will be considered. In the case of Kosovo ethnic/national rhetoric has been a political tool at different stages in the places past. It appears that the idioms of common history, language and culture were used as tools to create first an ethic ideology culminating into a new nation-state.

Kosovo

On February 17th, 2008 Kosovo declared independence from the Republic of Serbia. Tens of thousands of people came into the streets to celebrate in the Kosovar capital, Pristina. Above the capital, the city erupted with fireworks and gunfire. Albanians in Skopje, in the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia, and in Tirana, the Capital of Albania, also celebrated (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7249034.stm (2008)). This day was the culmination of the progression of a nationalist movement.

Kosovo is now a recognised sovereign nation-state and its people have self-determination[38].

The first indications of a nationalist discourse for the Albanian people came in 1878, after the Ottomans were defeated by the Russians in 1877. At the Treaty of San Stefano, the Serbs received Old Serbia, today known as Kosovo. In 1878 the Prizren (sic.) League, or Albanian League for the Defence of the Albanian Nation, was created by Albanian leaders from all the Albanian-speaking areas of the Albanian and Serbian Millets (Skendi 1953). There were indications that the Great Powers would chop up the millets between Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and the Ottoman Empire, as the Ottoman Empire slowly disintegrated. The League was formed to give them representation in the 1878 Congress of Berlin (Skendi 1953). It was the first time that the Great Powers understood there was an Albanian question (Skendi 1953). The discourse about the Albanian people had begun, even though the Porte later disbanded the Prizren League. With the creation of the Albanian State, Kosovo became a contentious place. Kosovo was re-annexed by the Yugoslavians in 1945, which caused tensions between the Albanians and Yugoslavians (Artisien 1984). For several decades, Kosovo was used as a tool for negotiations between Albania and Yugoslavia. In the 1960's, dialog between the two governments gave Kosovar Albanians more rights. (Artisien 1984) The Kosovars attempted to get 'Republic' status in 1968, but were not granted semi-autonomy until 1971, at which time the Kosovars established a more harmonious relationship with Belgrade (Artisien 1984). The government in Belgrade let the Kosovars print Albanian language newspapers and open Albanian schools and universities. However, in the 1980's, ethnic tensions became more evident with the riots of ethnic-Albanians in Belgrade. After the death of Tito, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, ethnic tensions between ethnic Serbs and ethnic Albanians, which had been muffled, re-emerged. Interestingly, Hodson et.al. (1992) found in the early 1990's ethnic tolerance in Kosovo was the lowest of all, in the former provinces of Yugoslavia. Throughout Kosovo's modern history, Kosovar identity was likened to Albanianness and geopolitics of the Albanian state[39].

[38] Kosovo was recognised by the United States and The European Union but Russia and Serbia did not recognise Kosovo as an independent state (Kole, W. J. and N. Qena. 2008). "U.S., European Leaders Recognize Independent Kosovo." Retrieved 9-12-2008, 2008.

[39] Herzfeld (1997) and Jenkins (2008) suggest that nationalist models are essentialist and is inevitably about the other.

Ethnic tensions increased after Tito's death, having culminated after the civil wars, which ended in the dismantling of Yugoslavia. The University in Pristina was closed. Albanian language newspapers were made illegal and, eventually, Albanian was not allowed to be spoken in public. Milosevic had been suspected of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and was not willing to negotiate with NATO and the United Nations. He was given an ultimatum before the NATO bombing began.

Kosovo and the Albanian population both had an understanding and a discourse with the 'other' - the Great Powers. The Serbs were a ubiquitous part of the process in forming their ethnic Albanian identity[40]. The Kosovar Albanian identity was not confined to individuals or to the local, as may be the case for the Arvanites. Rather, from discourse, it became a movement of 'difference' which culminated in the elections to become a sovereign ethnic nation-state, separate from the control of Serbia. In the following section the Arvanites are contrasted with the Kosovar Albanian. The Arvanites do not appear to have an Albanian pan-ethnic identity.

The Arvanites

The Albanian speaking people were not taken into consideration as an ethnic group by the congress of Berlin (Rosting 1923; Skendi 1953) where other people such as the Greeks and the Vlachs were. This allowed the kingdoms of Wallachia and Greece to open schools in areas where there were concentrations of linguistic communities. As a result, during the late 19th Century ethnic communities extended beyond national borders[41], with the exception of Albanian because, at the time, Albania was still part of the Ottoman Empire and although the Albanian people were recognised for the first time no concessions were made in their favour (Skendi 1953). Moreover, the Arvanites were geographically separated from Albania proper. The Arvanites for the most part were Christian Orthodox and had taken a decisive role in the construction of the new Modern Greek national state. Heroes such as Bouboulina, Androutsos, Miaoulis, Botsaris had taken an active role in expelling the Turks from Greece.

[40] Jenkins, R. (2008). Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Exploration. London, Sage Pub. Ltd.
[41] Similar to Anderson's (1983) ideas about print capitalism as a way to extend identities beyond the local.

Furthermore, the first Prime Minister of Greece, Koundouriotis was an Arvanite[42]. Why are these people recognised as national Greek heroes while at the same time the ethnic/linguistic difference is ignored in official discourses of history?

The reason for the obvious omission may have something to do with the discourse which had international connotations on what it meant to be Greek during the late 19th Century as a result of the abduction of English gentry in 1870, know as the Delessi affair (cf. Tzanneli 2002) where several Arvanite bandits abducted and killed them creating an international incident and a great debate on who were the Greeks. According to Tzanneli, the result was the active construction of a Modern Greek identity which reinforced the ideas based on an idea of continuity (cf. Just 1989; Banks 1996; Laliotis 2001) where the Greeks of today are related to the Ancient Greeks. Thus, the light of the Ancient Greeks was preserved by the church (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002) and non-Greek-speaking linguistic minorities were characterised as divisive foreign elements sent into Greece by her enemies at the time Tzanelli 2002). As a result the majority of Arvanites, Vlachs and other linguistic minorities being Orthodox were embraced and naturalised into the Modern Greek state. The Arvanites therefore are not legally recognised as a minority nor do they want to be (at least this is the case in the area of my study.) Differences were concealed from the public realm. In private they express Arvanite things while in public they express themselves as Greeks expressing Greek things.

There are 'etic' visible differences in their Albanian/Arvanite language, traditions, uses of nicknames and the toponymia when compared with their Greek counterparts. In addition, the Arvanites of Gogofis loosely maintain elements of the Kanun (cf. Gjeov 1989:48) such as rules of inheritance and ideas about the concept of *besa* and the sanctity of the home (Lopasic 1992). The Arvanite may have a closer relationship with the Albanian immigrants than do other Greeks which resembles a kin-like relationship, in contrast with non-Arvanite Greeks whose relationship appears to be similar to a patron/client relationship or an economic and/or antagonistic relationship with Albanian immigrants (Moor 2003).

[42] According to Koliopoulos and Vermis (2002), the heroes of the Revolution may have not had a Greek consciousness but fought against the Ottomans to rid themselves of their oppressors.

Thus, when comparing the Arvanites and Albanian immigrants, the Arvanites are fully incorporated in the Greek society. An example which indicates this is when I visited a local folklore museum in the Arvanite village of Varnava[43]. In a discussion of funding for a local project I suggested that the EU would fund ethnic minority programs for minority languages for the museum. The co-director of the museum told me,

> Why should we call ourselves a minority, we are not. We are Greeks, we take part in all the political things. We are not different from anyone else. We are not a minority. The Government should be supporting us.

In her denial of ethnic status, she expresses several elements about the Arvanites relationship to the Greek state. It is true that they are not considered a minority by the Greek state and they are presently not discriminated against because they are Arvanites[44]. Her statements also indicate something else. From her perspective, her relationship to the state is not one as an ethnic other but as a full fledged citizen of the state. She expects, as other Greeks might, that the state should fund culturally based organisations like her local museum. In fact in my time in the field there was a noticeable lack of 'ethnic' discourse with regards to the Arvanites position in society. This lack of discourse is telling. I pose the question, is a group an ethnic minority if they do not have the perspective of an ethnic minority which ties them to others beyond the local with other groups?

The Arvanites never developed a pan-ethnic perspective. They see themselves as primarily rural peoples, who took part in the revolution against the Ottoman yoke but within a Greek context. Arvanitika and Albanianness is a rural and local part of their everyday life. Their Albanianness is maintained in private and was never developed into a pan-ethnic difference. There is no opposition to Greekness nor to other ethnic/linguistic groups other than the Turks. Likewise they never developed a sense of collective culture with Arvanites in other parts of Greece, the Balkans or in other places around the Mediterranean. Thus, when the bombing of Kosovo took place the

[43] The folklore museum of Varnava (www.ilmb.gr) exhibits are only implicitly Arvanite. Although Arvanite culture is mentioned it is marginal to exhibits and is peripheral to the focus on their web page. The focus of their exhibits is the Greek agricultural heritage and way of life of the past generations.
[44] During the dictatorships of Metaxas in the1930's and the dictatorships in the late 1960's reports of sometimes violent oppression of linguistic groups were reported (see, Carabott 1997, 2003)

people of Gogofis as was expressed in other parts of Greece (cf. Brown and Theodossopoulos 2000) sympathised with their Orthodox 'brethren' in Serbia, even inviting Serbian children to stay in the village until the bombing subsided.

I would suggest that this is the key differences between the Kosovars and the Arvanites 'ethnic' orientations. Their alternative notions of their origins suggest differences which have temporally and spatially deferred the Arvanites from Albanians. In contrasting the Arvanites with the Kosovar Albanians who have maintained and identify with their Albanianness, the Kosovars have chosen to disregard potential minor differences between themselves and Albanians in Albania and to embrace their Albanian selves in opposition to being Serbian as suggested by Jenkins (2008); that ethnicity is a play between differences. They have expressed an understanding of a united Albanian people. While the Arvanites, situate themselves, as other Greeks in opposition to being Turkish and Muslim of which they consider the Albanians to be a constituent. In contrast, the Arvanites attempt to put themselves and Albanians into a Greek model of history. The Arvanites have chosen to be part of the Greek context. Their identity is closely linked to their Orthodox faith which, define them as Greek, Christian and European and not Turkish, Muslim, or barbarian.

At the same time, the Arvanites have chosen to play with the categories of Greek and Albanian. Most of the time, they appear to choose to associate with Greek models of nationalism and indeed they would disagree with any suggestion that they are associated with Albania and Albanians, however, they have selected to place themselves and other Albanian diaspora into a Greek historical 'ethnie'. Their 'national' identity (which is probably not an ethnic identity) is in opposition to Turkishness. Their localised Albanian traditions are devoid of any kind of 'ethnic' discourse or political mobilization as suggested by (Weber 1978). It may be as Theodossopoulos (2007) suggests, their identity is a hollowed one which can be easily filled depending on the circumstances as is perceived from their relationship with Albanian immigrants. In contrast, the Kosovars have chosen to include themselves into as an Albanian 'ethnie' deferring themselves as a political mobilization, from the Serbian 'other'.

Chapter 3

Methods and Methodological Issues

Introduction

This chapter explains the methods and methodological issues used in pursuing the research and data collection for this thesis. Grounded research and participant observation[45] were the primary strategies of data collection. I took part in the day-to-day activities to build a rapport with members of the society. I also used formal and informal structured and semi-structured interviews. When communicating with key consultants, I used the snowball method. The primary site for the research was the village of Gogofis. However, other related sites were also taken into consideration for this research project. The neighbouring villages, for example, had ethnic and kin relations with Gogofis. I therefore, interviewed some individuals from these villages. I also conducted interviews with Albanians and Arvanites both from Athens and from several villages in the Messogia area of Attica and Albanians in their 'homes' in Albania.

As my research progressed, I determined that it was vital to understand the Arvanite and Albanian immigrants' places of origin, to better understand the Albanian/Greek-Arvanite society and the conditions of the Albanians' migration. In 2002, I spent July and August in Albania, participating in everyday life of the Albanian immigrants observing how they maintain social relations and how they conceptualise their villages and cities 'now' comparing it to what they were like in the past. However, in October, 2003 I had a serious accident. Due to my immobility, I focused on Albanian immigrants I knew in Athens, who, in effect, were a good comparative tool in understanding their compatriots in Gogofis.

[45] My understanding of participant observation is that it is an attempt to experience the life of your consultants, to the fullest extent possible, by living their life on their terms, and thus reducing the affects of reactivity (Bernard 1988). The anthropologist is not a detached observer but an active member of the society (Crane and Angrosino 1974).

Data was also collected from newspapers, mass media, internet sources, and local government archival sources as well. Finally, library research was conducted throughout the fieldwork process and during writing-up.

The following pages examine in detail, the methods and strategies used during my fieldwork. This chapter also explores my status, as an ethnographer, in the village. And finally, it delves into the ethical issues of 'informed consent' and other complications associated with work in the field.

Research Design

When I began this study, many Greeks I spoke to were not fully acquainted with the Arvanites. They would ask, "Who are the Arvanites? And where do they come from? And are they Greek?" Even my Albanian and Arvanite consultants had to ponder the answer to this question before finally answering with some apprehension[46]. This suggested to me that it had the potential for an interesting study. This research actually germinated as a result of my Masters thesis, which examined the traditional filigree cottage-based industries still being practiced in Albania shortly after the borders had been opened to foreigners. In the early 1990's, Albania was like a scientific "Heart of Darkness" for Western social scientists. Little had been written about Albania since the 1950's (Durham 1910; Coon 1950; Halsuck 1956; Hall 1994) of which most of the research with the exception of Hall, had been done in the early part of the 20th Century. There are very few contemporary writings. Sjoberg (1991) wrote a book about rural social change after the fall of communism, but his perspective was political science rather than anthropology. There had been articles written about Albania in popular news magazines and few general historiographies discussing pre-modern and modern Albanian history (see, Poulton and Vickers 1997; Vickers 1995) or about Albania's role as a communist state (Saltmarshe 2001) and/or its relationship to China during the 1960's and early 1970's (Biberaj1986), but little else. Literally nothing was written in social anthropology.

[46] Unknowingly I placed emphasis on the Arvanites ambiguity by posing this question.

Although Albanian society had been an enigma for most of the 20th Century, there has been a growing body of literature about Albania and the Albanians since the end of the Albanian state's isolationist policies. Likewise, there is a growing body of literature about Albanian immigrants in Greece (Iosofides 1997; King et. al.1998; Iosifidis and King 1998; King and Wood 2006; King and Vullnetari 2003; Psimmenos 1994). Even so, literature and knowledge are still limited.

I had an interest in studying the links between Greece and the other Balkan states. Historically Greece had always been somewhat distinguished from its Balkan neighbours, as it is considered the 'birthplace of Europe' - giving it a prestigious place in European history and 'society' (Bintliff 2003; Todorova 1997). The other Balkan states were given the lesser more ambiguous distinction of being considered the 'Barbaric' Europe, being blamed for the First World War (Bintliff 2003; Todorova 1997).

Since the time of my Masters fieldwork, I had only visited Albania briefly, but when I returned, I saw dramatic changes in both material wealth and technology. In addition, over half a million, then illegal, Albanian immigrants had migrated into Greece for work, within an almost implausibly short timeframe. This may be the most massive demographic change since the 1922 exchange of populations causing serious problem for Greek society and the Greek state (Iosifides and King 1998). Considering that Greece and Greeks are articulated, publicly, as a homogeneous 'race', this great influx of immigrants, almost 'overnight' from the poorest country in Europe to Greece (and the reality that there were people in Greece who had been speaking "Albanian," as their mother tongue, for generations) made for an interesting problematic.

This study is not about the Albanians *per sé*. It is a study of the Balkan continuum which Greece is constituent. Thus, the focus is not simply about Greek nationalism but about how it refracted in the Arvanites who may be considered representative of many unofficial ethnic minorities in other places around the globe. Only in the last few years has the topic of Greek Nationalism been considered worthy of investigation. How this nationalism relates to Albanians and Arvanites is an interesting problem. In the same way that there is little anthropology about Albanians in Albania, little is known about them as immigrants in Greece. The Arvanites,

Albanian-speaking Greeks, too, are part of the list of peoples in Greece not studied[47]. As a consequence, my research showed promise and has proven to be salient, both for the anthropological community, but also for Albanian and Greek studies and for the Albanians and Arvanites themselves.

Research sites

After I had decided on a topic, I had to choose an Arvanite village. Albanian immigrants are now a facet of almost every cultural landscape throughout Greece. Although there were several things I had to take into consideration when I chose the site, finding an Albanian immigrant population was of least concern. During my fieldwork, I was an instructor at the American College of Greece. I thought it best to find a village which was within commuting distance from work, so that I could maximise my time on site and still teach. The provinces of Attica, Efthiotita, Corinth and Viotia and the islands of Evia, Andros, and the Saronic Gulf: all were in relatively short commuting distance and each have Arvanite villages. Many Attica villages were within an hour's driving radius from Athens. I wanted one which had 'less direct contact' with Athens. There are several villages which have become commuter towns for the City - Gerakas, Painia or Koropi, to name a few. Others are major points of passage for people leaving the city, to go to the beach or to go on Sunday drives. These include Spata, Loutsa, Saronida and Varkiza. Gogofis and the surrounding villages were far from being isolated, but seemed slightly off-the-beaten-track, at the time. I also had to consider if community leaders would be willing to cooperate. I went to the community administrative centres of several villages. I found the president and the people of Gogofis were not only willing to tolerate my presence, but also willing to work with me. Moreover, Gogofis is the 'end of the line', as many villagers put it, for the KTEL (bus service), which might have had potential advantages sometime during my fieldwork. I, thus, settled on Gogofis.

[47] Only a handful of researchers have investigated the Arvanites. Several historians (Biris 1960:Kollias 1973; Leonidas 1983), linguistic Anthropologists (Tudgill and Tzavaras 1973; Tsitsipis 1999), and anthropologists (Alexakis 1988; Bintliff 2003; Mandianou-Gefou 1999; Velioti 2001: Kazakis 1998; Toudasakis 1998).

During the first year of research, I did not have a place to stay overnight. This gave people time to get used to my presence, but it meant I had to commute back and forth to the village. There was a shortage of available housing. Albanian immigrants for the most part lived in old abandoned stone houses, but such structures were never offered to me because of my status as a Greek or a Greek-American to the Arvanites. During the first year, I would visit two to three times during the week (Tuesday and Thursday afternoons and one day during the weekend). I soon learned that the people of Gogofis slept in the afternoon about 13:30. Thus, I either had to leave or wait for people to become active again around 17.00. My commuting to the village was not seen as 'out-of-the-ordinary', since many villagers had either lived or worked, some time of their lives, in Athens. It just became inconvenient at times, because events would happen in my absence. Rather than being a resident, my status was that more similar to a visitor during my first year of field work.

I finally found a house to live in on Sept. 2nd, 2001. My status in the village changed dramatically. Many people came to visit immediately. On my first evening there and with what appeared to be heartfelt enthusiasm, we had an impromptu party of sorts where people brought food and I gave everyone drinks. It lasted well into the night. They called me 'neighbour'. My new residence was a 'modern' home[48], one floor up from the ground floor. Like many of the houses, it was built directly on top of a traditional stone house. The house's location was ideal for several reasons. Firstly, it was on the old village square, or *Palioplatia*. The *Palioplatia* was a place where people would congregate on warm evenings. As I was told, it is the only place in the village which is still like a neighbourhood. By contrast the *Agora* (the new village square) is a place where children play and people gather for public events, such as elections and parades, but it is not a place where most people, other than children, congregate on a day-to-day basis to sit and talk. The *Palioplatia* was a place where people went to relax, to watch their children play and where the elderly sat and talked, until late hours, in the summer evenings. In addition, there were several Albanian immigrant families in or near *Palioplatia.* As a result, I was able to interact with both populations publicly and privately, visiting their homes in the evenings and on weekends with as little uneasiness as could be expected from the Arvanites.

[48] Modern houses are dwellings which have the kitchen and WC inside the residence. Traditional house have a separate building for cooking and washing up.

In addition to taking part in everyday life in Gogofis, I took part in several events central to village life. In 2001 and 2002, my family and I participated in processions associated with the patron saints of the village. We also took part in Carnival, Easter week celebrations, and observed secular national holidays, such as *Ochi* day on the 28th of October and the Greek Independence celebrations on the 25th of March. In addition, I went on a pilgrimage with the Arvanites to St. Haralambos Monastery in Evia, on the 10th of February 2002. I also went to several town-hall meetings whose topic of discussion was their mobilisation against the refuse centre proposed to be built next to the village. In addition, shortly before my accident, I went to organisational meetings, gatherings and public events associated with the October 2002 local elections.

During this period, I also visited Albania several times. In the summer of 2002, I visited my consultants in Vlorë, where I stayed two and a half months. While there, I experienced the border closing between Greece and Albania and the delayed return of many of my consultants. While in Albania, I baptised my host's brother and went to a Muslim wedding celebration of their childhood friend.

After the accident where my leg had been broken in several places, I was obliged to stay in bed for six months, followed by another six months of physical therapy, I was not mobile, nor well enough to travel to the village. In May 2003, however, I was fortunate enough to be asked to be *koumbaros* (best man) in the marriage of the thirty-one year old man from Vlorë, whom I had baptised. The marriage took place in Athens. Also in Athens in September 2004, I participated in the baptism of the couple's baby son, Later that month, I went to a conference, in Korcë, sponsored by the University of Sussex. The conference focused on Albanian immigration. I took advantage of the situation, travelling to Korcë as most Albanian immigrants do, on a chartered bus. I was able to experience first-hand what Albanian immigrants encounter when they are required to cross the Greek/Albanian borders using public transport.

Stages of fieldwork

My fieldwork went through three distinct stages. The first stage of fieldwork lasted for the first year and was pursued on a part-time basis. Without a residence on site, I had to work around both my own teaching schedule and the village rhythm. During this time, I had interview schedules. I took life histories of predominantly elderly people or retired persons as they were available and had less time constraints. In addition, I did library research at the American College of Greece. Fortunately, the College's library is well-established, so, I was able to find or order books important to the study. In addition, the College was a good place to study. I used the facilities throughout the time of this dissertation. Field research took place from summer 2000 until the end of fall 2004. Archival research began in the summer of 2000 and continued until the end of 2007. Actual work in the field began in September 2000.

The second stage of my fieldwork dawned when I found a flat in Gogofis. This was a watershed moment for the research. There are, from time–to-time, Athenians who live in the village. They have very little to do with the everyday sociality renting houses only in the summer. However, there were Athenians who had lived in Gogofis before me, which provided a pre-existing category of people in the village with whom I could be linked, so my presence was not very abnormal. My relationship with the villagers changed dramatically the moment I moved into my flat. I was able to take part in the everyday life and I sensed I was no longer seen as just a guest, but as a neighbour. In addition, being a resident gave me the ability to be in the village during important moments of the year. I was in the village for religious festivals and celebrations, and for the entire summer. Moreover, I extensively collected genealogical data. Equally important, I was there for the mundane and everyday activities, as well. Living on site gave me the opportunity to engage in impromptu visits with neighbours and hosted them too.

Almost instantaneously the villagers' behavior changed towards me, I lived in the village 4-5 days a week and spent 2-3 days (the middle of the week) in the city and was present during bank holidays, summer and winter holidays. This schedule worked quite well, as many Gogofiotes worked in the city and were only free on weekends or in the evenings. As a result, my work schedule was much like those working adults who lived in the village.

The September 11th, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center should be mentioned. I had been in the village a little more than a week, as a full-time resident, when the event took place. Because of the cataclysmic, almost unbelievable nature of the event, it was the topic of discussion for almost two months. People were not interested in discussing their mundane lives when such a dramatic world event had taken place. In addition, because I am a Greek-American and working for the American College, they may have been particularly interested in engaging me to discuss it. As a result, explorations about the 'everyday' were almost impossible to conduct. Such an event or, even lesser events, affect the goings-on of people.

The third stage of my fieldwork took place as a result of several accidents. The first accident happened on May 15th, 2002 and the second accident happened on October 14th, 2002. My fieldwork was put on hold for a year. After October 14th, I did not visit the village and I discovered I could not start where I had left off. Thus, in real time, it put my research back one-and-a-half to two years because Gogofis had changed, elderly consultants had died and I had to re-build relationships, as the people with whom I had established good rapport before the accident, were slightly distant on my initial return. Fortunately, the bulk of the work had been done. I retained the house until the end of September 2004, so that I could reside full-time in the village during the summer of 2004. However, I maintained contact, visiting with Albanians and Arvanites who lived in Athens; and telephoning those who lived in the village. This gave me an opportunity to compare and contrast the Arvanites and Albanian immigrants in Athens with their counterparts in the village. After my recovery, I completed the archival research at the village *kinotita* or community centre, and tied up loose ends with key consultants. The third stage of the fieldwork took place between October 2004 and December 2004. By the end of this stage, I no longer rented a residence in the village, but maintained relationships with key consultants. Visits were done periodically, but not on a strict schedule. This period was focused on interview schedule or impromptu interviews, dealing with particular subjects, which required better clarification. In addition, due to the unstable labour situation and living conditions of Albanian immigrants during this time, investigations were made about their changing situations. They often changed residence, jobs, marital status and had children.

My-self as an anthropologist

I was born and raised in the United States. My father is an academic. Thus, my family moved around a lot when I was growing up. Because my father was a student for the first eight years of my life, we moved as he furthered his education. As a result, I started my schooling in Great Britain and was then uprooted at the age of eight to continue my schooling in upstate New York in the United States. We moved again eight years later as he was offered a better position in Nebraska. We lived in a larger mid-western city. Thus, I had no real place which I could say I 'belonged' while I was growing up. I had no place which my family belong to either, with exception to Greece. Almost every summer my family would travel to Greece to be with my relatives there. Therefore, as a child I felt rooted in Greek culture and I had a place in my grandparent's home. Moreover, I am of Greek and Jewish decent. My parents actively made the choice to expose my sister and me to only one culture and one religion. Therefore, my Jewish identity was never developed by my parents with the thought that we would be less confused and thus, better off. As a result, I had a sense of belonging to my family in Greece, having a Greek identity. I was taught about "our" Ancient Greek heritage, of gods, myths and philosophers. In pragmatic terms my identity was Greek-American because I was raised in the United States and embedded in the American daily life, but with an understanding of my Greekness. However, in Greece I was called the little American, *Americanaki,* while in America I was called, 'the Greek'. As a result, I always was, and still am, distanced by and/or associated with both cultures.

When doing research with human subjects, it is important to take the role the anthropologist plays into consideration (Agar 1980). The researcher's cultural background is important, in as much as how the research interprets what s/he sees and data s/he collects (Clifford and Marcus 1986). In the case of my research, it is important to understand where I, as the researcher, came from, as it will have a direct effect on how I understand what I have observed. In addition to this, how the anthropologist's subjects interpret his or her identity affect the research (Gefou-Mandianou1999). It was very consequential how the subjects of this study formed and interpreted my identity. I was allowed access to parts of their culture according to

where I was placed in their understanding of me[49]. Moreover, as is suggested in Goffman (1959), each person in this study altered their behavior, depending on whether s/he saw me as a guest, an intruder, a 'fellow outsider' or a member of his/her own social hierarchy or even as an 'American colonial' ethnographer. Informants' perceptions of me as an insider, or 'fellow actor', or as an outsider, would affect what s/he did or did not say and how it would be said or acted out.

Understanding of Purpose

Most of the Arvanites I spoke with, asked me why I wanted to study them. Their inevitable follow-up question would be: "Who is paying you to do your research?" They found it very odd that I could be interested in them and, secondly, that I would spend so much energy and expense doing such a thing. When I explained my reasons, the villagers' responses to my answers varied from repeating these questions several times in succession due to their disbelief, to looking at me in a questionable manner, and sometimes even responding with outbursts of laughter. I asked the owner of the café why people could not understand why I would want to study their village as a project. The café owner explained that no one does anything for anyone, unless it is for money. Money is clearly not the only motivation for action. However, it is a major concern and does occupy many discussions. From the Gogofiote's perspective, one only expends so much energy for kin, for a patron/client, or for economic gain. I had no kin in the village, nor did I have any patron/client relations there. I was a *xenos*, a stranger, so I must have been paid by someone to do the study. When I insisted I was not employed by anyone, they did not accept this well, automatically placing me under suspicion. They did become excited when I told them that my dissertation was a book. Several consultants responded by saying "you will make good money from a book". But when I told them the book would probably be read by few specialised individuals, they looked at me as if I were crazy. Eventually, I realised that I could

[49] During Bui's (2001:5) fieldwork, she found that her status and position as a Vietnamese-American doing fieldwork with Vietnamese immigrants in Germany was similar to that of a colonial ethnographer in the sense that her American passport placed her in a superior position than the Vietnamese in Berlin even though she could be considered an insider of sorts.

explain to them that after I finished my dissertation, I would be promoted at work. This was a satisfactory answer and people's suspicions of me generally subsided.[50]

The research populations select my identity

This research deals with the interactions of several identities and ethnicities making up the population of Gogofis. Interestingly, different groups chose to identify me according to what they preferred me to be. One population, the Arvanites, chose to identify me explicitly with one identity, while the other, the Albanian immigrants, chose an explicitly different identity.

To the Arvanites, I was considered both an 'insider', because I was 'Greek'[51], as they were, but also an 'outsider' because I was not an Arvanite or fellow villager. For the most part, the Arvanites identified and treated me as a Greek. They consider me a 'fellow Greek' having a defined role in Greek society and thus, a defined role in their greater Greek community. I was identified within a particular category of people, as a Greek or a Greek-American living and working in Athens. In fact, in the beginning, Arvanites treated me as if I were a Greek holiday resident, living in Gogofis during the summer months. They would often mention taking my family to the beach or to *tavernas* to eat. However, as such, I was never allowed to mutter a word of Arvanitika, which subtly created boundaries defining me also as an outsider.
I, therefore might be considered a 'native anthropologist' being Greek, having access to Greek things for "unlike the outsider, the 'native anthropologist' is placed in one of the existing social categories and is required to conform to social norms" (Manos 2002:25, Gefou-Madianou 1993). However, on another level, I was not particularly a 'native anthropologist' to the Arvanites' society because I was not Arvanite and therefore I did not fit into their typology as one of them. As with many non-Arvanites Greeks, until I started studying their culture, I was not completely familiar with

[50] As a result, however, one of my nicknamed was the *Practora*s, the agent. I would be teased about being in the CIA. The majority of my study taking place after 9/11, the villagers would often tease me by asking if I had come to the village to find Bin Laden. The nickname may also indicate some antipathy for prying into their lives. However, people to whom I had rapport showed resentment when someone used *Practoras* to address me, instead of my other nickname, *Kathigitis*, or professor.
[51] They learned that I had been living in Greece for six years when the research was initiated and that I had been visiting Greece since childhood – and Greek culture was emphasised in my upbringing.

Arvanite or Gogofiote society. Even so, they have been a part of Greek society for so long and there is a mixture a hybridisation of sorts of both familiar and unfamiliar aspects of their lives to me. Okley (1983) discusses her experiences as a 'native' anthropologist studying Traveller Gypsies and her experiences of 'double vision'[52]. The fact that parts of life are both familiar and unfamiliar, that parts of her own society was completely outside her everyday experience in the field and understanding may suggest that the term 'native anthropologist' may be ill defined for even the ethnographer's position in their 'home' society maybe fluid in itself. This was the case for me. In the same village I was treated differently by particular groups and individuals.

In contrast, I knew little of everyday life of the Albanian immigrants, nor they, of mine. Thus, I cannot be considered a 'native anthropologist' for them under these circumstances. The Albanian immigrants chose to recognise me with my American identity and introduced me to their compatriots as an American. When I told them I was of Greek descent, they seemingly ignored this, choosing to maintain my former ascribed identity. The Albanian immigrants treated me with some degree as a 'fellow outsider' and possibly as an American because of the status America has. I was in similar circumstances as the Albanian immigrants, when I began this project, I, too, had to apply for an alien's permit and deal with the Greek bureaucracy as they did[53]. They saw me as outside the Greek political apparatus and outside local culture and politics. Whereas many Arvanites had an uneasy feeling associated with my presence – being suspicious of my motives/or outcome. The Arvanite's uneasiness may be a result of me being an American. To them, I may have been someone of higher prestige. As an American I may have been potentially threatening. As a result, they preferred to identify me as a Greek[54]. The Albanians appreciated my interest, and were very willing to answer any questions I had about their everyday lives. The

[52] Okley (1983) uses the term 'double vision' to explain the perception of ones own culture while almost simultaneously seeing things from the perspective of ones host society.
[53] Dealing with the Greek bureaucracy was a major concern of the Albanian immigrants in Greece. Legal documentation gave them rights to travel freely inside Greece and come and go to Albania. Proper documentation also gave the Albanian immigrants the right to health and work benefits defined by the law and to education of their young. We had long discussions about how they had to deal with the Greek state. Much of their experiences with prejudice were not with citizens but with the state apparatii.
[54] The paradox is that the Arvanites also have multiple 'ethnic' identities, Thus, as a Greek looking at them as Arvanites, I may have also made them uneasy.

Albanian immigrants saw me as a prestigious 'friend'[55] who, despite my prestige, had to deal with the Greek state as they did.

In both cases my prestige position was similar to that of Bui's (2001:4) experience studying Vietnamese immigrants in East Berlin. She states:

> Among Vietnamese people, my American citizenship was usually a bonus. Some felt comfortable with a Vietnamese person who was nonetheless, an outsider…The difference between their minimal rights to global mobility and my own, based not on my citizenship, but also my affluence, youth, lack of financial dependents and personal networks, as stunning. The difference became even more pronounced when I received funding for my research from a prestigious German foundation.

My position was similar to Bui as a semi-outsider.

As the way each population (Arvanites and immigrant Albanians) viewed my identity was different, I had to adopt different strategies to gain rapport with them. The Arvanites were the established population that did not want to create as they called it a *thema mianotitas,* a minority issue[56]. While the Albanians immigrants were very willing to talk to me, as they may have seen me as an avenue giving them a voice and maybe a way for a better future.

Not far into my research, I soon understood that the Arvanites did not like me associating with the Albanians in public, nor did they like me speaking Albanian or Arvanitika. The Albanian immigrants had no such taboo towards my behavior. They felt very comfortable speaking either Albanian, even though my Albanian probably

[55] On several occasion I was asked to help them get to America. At one point my host in Albania took me to the United States' Embassy to ask on his behalf to see if I could sponsor his family to America.

[56] Bintliff (2003) observed the Arvanite repugnant attitude about being labelled a minority suggesting their ethnicity should be considered a 'passive ethnicity.' Contrary to being passive, Gogofiotes did not want my research to suggest that they were an Albanian minority because their performativity was not Albanian. They told me they did not 'feel' like Albanians but Greeks, and were aware of that they may be unwillingly used by 'others' as geo-political pawns. *Thema mianotitas* was an initial concern for many of my consultants. They were also worried that Albanian nationalists and the governments of Albania, Kosovo and the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia would use them or the knowledge of them against Greece, their 'homeland' and to them as Arvanites or Albanian speaking people. TheArvanites are very aware of the multi-cultural complexity of the Balkans its place of confrontation in 'history. The Arvanite's response may illustrate their concern about the (re)Balkanisation of Greece.

sounded rough at times or Greek with me. The Albanian immigrants created no restriction between language and domain.

Due to the apprehensiveness many Arvanites exhibited when I had been seen publicly socializing with the Albanians, I concluded that I would have to work closely, but not exclusively, with the Arvanites in the beginning and focus on the Albanians, in the community, afterwards. I did not want to alienate myself from one group, before I had completed my research with them, by associating with the other[57].

Family and fieldwork

At this point, I should mention my family's role in my fieldwork. It was important to establish my status in the village as a married man (cf. Wolf 1972). This gave me access to married men, women and families in the village that I may not have otherwise had a chance to meet.

Before the research began, I was under the romantic notion that the fieldwork experience would be made richer with the aid of my family with the anthropologist's spouse taking an active role in data collection, assisting the anthropologist by having access to people, groups, and discussions otherwise taboo for a single male, which would have been the case, had I done the research before I was married and had children. In my case, my family did establish me as a married man in Greek society, but my spouse had no training in interview, participant observation or cultural relativism. She was an urban Greek woman and had little long term, day-to-day contact with rural Greece. In fact, she felt she had nothing in common with the people of Gogofis and, thus, was intimidated by the idea of interacting with them. Though I had hoped that she would expose me to the women's everyday life in the village, I soon realised she could not be part of my strategy in the field. My access to women was thus limited, but my role in the village as a husband and father was established and gave me some access to women and families though it was limited.

[57] This situation was a bit similar to Loizos (1975) when he conducted fieldwork in a mixed Greek and Turkish village in Cyprus in the 1960's – with the difference that the situation in Cyprus was even more delicate than in Gogofis.

Strategies in the field

As stated above, the strategy to access the Arvanites was very different from the strategy used to access the Albanian immigrants. Due to expectations and position in which each group identified me, it was important to approach each group separately in public. I decided to divide my fieldwork in two. The first half of my fieldwork focused on Arvanites and Gogofis, while the second half focused on Albanian immigrants. The Arvanites' social-relations with Albanians were not a familiar public relationship. Thus, by the Arvanites' behavior, they made it clear to me that, as a Greek, I had no business associating with Albanian immigrants in public. They did not want me speaking Arvanitika for our relationship was a 'Greek' relationship. I was to be a 'Greek' interacting with other 'Greeks' and dealing with the immigrants as 'Greeks' were expected to do[58]. I was made to feel uncomfortable when I socialised openly, either speaking or drinking a beer, with Albanians, in a public place, in the village. When I saw the unambiguously negative reaction of the Arvanites, I decided to first focus on them, while keeping a cordial, relationship with Albanian immigrants in public.[59]

The strategy for fieldwork data collection with the Albanians was more complicated and not as straightforward. I met with them only in particular cafés which they frequented or in places away from the village when seen in public. Moreover, I discussed with them in the privacy of their own homes or in the Arvanite homes just as the Arvanites did with the Albanian immigrants. I had to be aware of what was said in public and not to speak Albanian in public which was how the Arvanites behave with the Albanian immigrants. In contrast, the Albanian immigrants had no taboos about which language they used and in which domain it was used in.

My strategies to deal with the field situation directly shaped the outcome of my work. Moreover, interlocutors by their own choices or agency of how they accepted me or how they perceived me affected how I was allowed to behave, how I was able to interact with them and what my results were. I was an ethnographer 'between'. I was

[58] I use the term, 'Greek' not as an essentialist idea, rather in the context of how the Arvanite expected me to behave as they understand 'Greeks' to behave.

[59] The Albanian immigrants and I went for a drink, but not in the village. I also would talk to Albanian immigrants in the privacy of their homes or their foster families' homes, where both Arvanites and Albanians were more relaxed and would speak Albanian together.

neither an outsider nor an insider and thus, treated by some as a 'Greek' giving me access to Greek aspects of some of the Arvanite lives, or as an American which allowed me access to Albanian lives which the Greeks would not have been allowed to see.

Moreover, this fieldwork was done over several years. The attitudes and the relationships between the two populations changed. Reports of violence, on the Greek news, for example, created tensions between the groups. Furthermore, national policies towards immigrants either created more tensions or lessened them, depending on whether the policies were about legalization or about the Albanians' clandestine social status[60]. Over time, I was related to differently; taboo subjects of an 'ethnic' nature were spoken about without the initial angst by Arvanite interlocutors.[61]

Informed Consent.

Informed consent, which is part of the ethical code of the ASA section I.part.4 section a, states:

> **(4) Negotiating informed consent**: Following the precedent set by the Nuremberg Trials and the constitutional laws of many countries, inquiries involving human subjects should be based on the freely given informed consent of subjects. The principle of informed consent expresses the belief in the need for truthful and respectful exchanges between social researchers and the people whom they study.
>
> (a) Negotiating consent entails communicating information likely to be material to a person's willingness to participate, such as: - the purpose(s) of the study, and the anticipated consequences of the research; the identity of funders and sponsors; the anticipated uses of the data; possible benefits of the study and possible harm or discomfort that might affect participants; issues relating to data storage and security; and the degree of anonymity and confidentiality which may be afforded to consultants and subjects."

http://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.htm (9/6/2008)

[60] Tensions between Greeks and Albanians and thus, between Arvanite and Albanians lessened when for example, after the Olympic Games 2004, many if not most of the Albanians' documentation was processed and they could work proper jobs with all the state allocated benefits such as health-care and freedom of movement without the fear of being arrested.

[61] An example of this is the admission of the use of Arvanitika in public. During most of my fieldwork almost everyone denied using or even knowing the language. After a well maintained presence I heard it spoken often and knowledge of the language was openly admitted to me.

On paper, it seems quite straight forward. However, my experience with 'informed consent' was not straight forward. I assume other anthropologists may have similar experiences in the field, with peoples who do not understand the ramifications of being studied. Although the village I chose could not be considered an isolated place, I was surprised to find the population had little-to-no knowledge of the social sciences. Most of the elderly had very little, if any, formal education. Even, the younger members, however, almost all of whom had completed secondary school, could not understand why I was in their village. When I would explain to everyone that I am a social anthropologist conducting research for my dissertation at Durham University, I would get blank stares. Those few who had heard of anthropology thought it had to do with human anatomy. Anthropology, as they understood it was something like physical anthropology. This caused further confusion. Moreover, most found the discipline inconceivable. I would explain that it was something akin to folklore. I felt that I was getting nowhere, so I thought I would explain that it was like sociology. This also failed. Finally, I told them it had much to do with history. Everyone understood what history is, but inevitably they began to talk about historic events in Ancient Greece, such as the battle of Marathon or the local ruins. When I clarified I was more interested in contemporary events they would tell me about events associated with World War II or the Civil War. I felt that my attempts at informed consent were failing. I finally decided to explain that I, as an anthropologist, was interested in the social, cultural, historical and present way of life. This explanation was fairly successful. On some level, they began to understand the reason for my presence. Most people were very willing to discuss the traditions of the past and their place in history. They also allowed me to observe and participate in events such as the slaughter and preparation of lamb for Easter and in important harvest times, such as, that of the olives and the grapes. Although they were helpful and accepted me in their homes, clearly, some individuals still were not quite sure why I came to their village or what I was doing there. Theoretically, I did comply with the ethics code. Informed consent is not something to be taken for granted, however. One cannot just assume individuals, in a particular society, will understand what the researcher is doing in their midst. As seen in Gogofis, consultants' understanding of why the ethnographer is in the village and what s/he is going to say about them may not be fully comprehendible. This, therefore, begs to be debated in a larger forum. Just because a social scientist informs the subjects of his/her purpose for being in their

midst, it does not mean the population being studied understands, even vaguely, the reasons why s/he is amongst them and what could result from it. An example of this is when Karakasidou (1997) went to a village outside Thessaloniki. Because of the timing of her book and the geopolitical environment in the region at the time of her books publishing it became a national debate about 'her' people's identity. Karakasidou received death threats and the University of Cambridge Press was pressured to sell its rights of the book to the University of Chicago Press because of bomb threats against the University of Cambridge Press. The people in 'her' village did not understand why she wrote what she did. They had thought she was a local woman doing work for her Ph.D. (Karakasidou 1997:229). While she did inform the subjects of her study and its purpose, they were unable to express to the media why she was in the village. As mentioned earlier, a few people of Gogofis were apprehensive about speaking with me, because they thought the book would be used to create 'minority issues'. The notion of informed consent could have been utilised on a superficial level all within the understanding of the ASA guidelines. However a question must be asked. Do people understand, even on a superficial level, what they are consenting to, and if not, to what degree must the social scientist make efforts for his/her subjects to become aware of this?

Conclusion

This chapter consisted of the methodological issues in conducting this research. I have presented the methods employed and the issues related to doing fieldwork as a hybrid ethnographer in a multi-sited fieldwork situation. I discussed the process of selection of this particular topic and its relevance to Anthropology, and to contemporary Albanian and Greek studies. I explained why I chose to investigate Albanians in Greece and their relationship to Albanian speaking Greeks; also, why I chose Gogofis as the main site of my research. In addition, I deconstructed the fieldwork into various stages.

Moreover, I examined how the people of Gogofis viewed the research, and their relationship to me, as the researcher. I explored how their placement of me and my family, into their own scheme, affected my relationship with them; how this affected the strategies I was then allowed to employ, with each group, in the village. Finally, I

examined ethical issues associated with doing research, as outlined in the code of ethics on ‘informed consent’, and how the consultants’ prior knowledge or the lack thereof, should truly be considered as an issue.

Chapter 4

Patronage, Factionalism, and Agency

In this chapter I examine the arguments surrounding patronage, factionalism and agency. I then, show how the Arvanites exercise or disregard the various systems either as agents or as a group to create or lessen differences between themselves and other Greek communities. Instead of emphasising their 'ethnic' otherness by exclusive social investment of local/ethnic networks and patron/client relations, the Arvanites choose to situate themselves within the 'Greek' nation through the use of patron/client and factional alliances. As a result, the content of their discourses concerning social networks focuses within a national context; not a performative discourse of minority disputes with the state. Likewise, their performative discourses are in the context of local rural needs in relation to the state. After outlining the conceptual frameworks of patronage, factionalism and agency I focus on the concept of the *nikokiris,* as a responsible person who supports his family and his village and as, an integrated individual, who uses his agency to actively participate in the patron/client and factional systems. Then, I re-examine the *kafenio* discussed by Papataxiarchis (1991) not as an egalitarian place but as a place where potential patrons and clients and friends may meet in a 'less hostile' environment to create or maintain relationships.

After exploring the importance of agency as an initiating point for patrons/clients relations, I illustrate how patron/client and factional relations are utilised in Gogofis by focusing on the election process. In this example I suggest that Gogofiotes are completely integrated into the nation. The election, thus, is a node, which exemplify their 'non-ethnic' status. Finally I compare their position with that of the Albania immigrants' position whose relationship to the state epitomises Albanian otherness. This comparison clarifies Arvanites position not as ethnics in a multi-ethic Greece but as rural Greeks in an integrated 'homogeneous' nation-state. Finally, I illustrate how the president of the village is not simply a factional pawn. Instead, I argue he uses his own agency for the village in local disputes with the state. He is a local agent, a *nikokiris,* looking out for the concerns of his community. In addition, his agency also exemplifies his position as a Greek rather than an ethnic-Arvanite/Albanian. His

discourse and that of the village in Gogofis, is one of a rural 'Greek' community instead of a marginal ethnic one.

Individuals from Gogofis, use the local frameworks of individuality, manhood, friendship and party politics, to place themselves into power relationships with other Gogofiote men and institutions. The Gogofiotes also have tools to deal with non-local state power apparatuses. To begin this discussion, there are several concepts which need clarification to situate the ethnographic data.

The Arguments

Patron/Client Relations

Patron/client relationships are types of relationships which are individually-based (Boissevain 1968). Patron/client systems are a form of social networks. Networks tend to be ephemeral, ego-centric systems, which exist as long as ego maintains relationships (Boissevain 1968). Thus, networks die with individuals. In contrast, kinship structures are not based on the individual and continue to exist irrespective of a kin group member's death. Moreover, by managing the idiom of kinship and friendship people craft close associations. (Lyon 2004)

According to Boissevain (1968), there are several ranges of networks to which an individual or ego may belong. One network, the personal network, is ego-centric and is defined in terms of the following three characteristics:

1) One person or group is at the centre. All other persons in the network define their position in relation to this central figure.
2) The linkages between the central ego and others within the network, and the linkages between others within the network, who are also in touch with each other, are structurally diverse.
3) The relationships that the ego maintains with the persons in his network are qualitatively diverse (Boissevain 1968:569).

This third characteristic states that different qualities of relationship exist. One's relationship with a brother, for example, may be more intimate than his/her

relationship with a colleague at work – demonstrating that intimacy of contact can be very different from frequency of contact.

Boissevain (1968) continues to qualify relationships into four other categories:

A) Intimate networks are relationships with people well-known to ego. These networks are limited in number and by what Boissevain called 'bounded zones' - they are, therefore, finite.
B) Effective networks are relationships with people known to ego, but from whom ego expects little or nothing.
C) Extended networks are those relationships with people ego does not know, but whom ego could get to know, if ego wanted. Extended networks are unbounded and therefore open-ended.
D) There are other networks - defined to be the intersection of one or more of the intimate, effective, and extended networks.

While patron/client systems share all of the characteristics defined above, they have several additional characteristics which need specification.

Patron/client systems are asymmetrical (Pitt-Rivers 1954; Boissevain 1966). There are two main theoretical perspectives in the literature about the function of such systems. These are:

1) Patron/client networks which are integrative (Boissevain 1968).
2) Patron/client networks which maintain inequalities in society (Boissevain 1966; Davis 1977; Gellner 1977; Gilmore 1977; Stein 1984, Lyon 2004).

According to Boissevain, patronage systems are integrative because they allow people of very low societal status, who otherwise would have little or no contact with people of high-status, access to powerful individuals. In this two-way system, the clients need their patron to access otherwise-inaccessible power structures, and the patrons, whose power and prestige is based on the number of clients one has, need their clients to maintain their status. Thus, it is a reciprocal relationship which reduces conflict and maintains cohesion in the society (Boissevain 1968).

Others, such as Gilmore (1977) would disagree. He suggests that there is a difference between brokers and patrons; the patronage system maintains social class divisions creating isolation of one group from the other. Brokers control and manage limited resources and make decisions based on inclusion/exclusion criteria and practices. Similarly, Stein (1984) suggests that patron/client systems create interdependency, inferiority and subordination to maintain itself. He also suggests that to have 'friends' inductively, means that there also must be enemies which exist in the hostile world.

Networks, of which patron/client relationships are one type, are systems (Boissevain 1966; Davis 1977; Galt 1974; Gellner 1977; Lyon 2004). Galt (1974) suggests that patron/client systems are adaptive strategies to deal with unfair and hostile state apparatuses. Galt suggests that these hostile and unfair apparatuses empower and sustain patronage. He also suggests that patron/client systems are the rule and not the exception. They are based on moral decisions and therefore are the normative rule. Galt draws a distinction between official systems which are based on law and democracy, where everyone is 'equal under the law', and unofficial 'real systems' which are based on normative behaviour. Official systems are codified whereas real systems are not. The real systems are based on unwritten rules of behaviour and personal linkages and networks. Official and real systems are parallel structures. Real systems operate within official systems and are used to avoid crises or inconvenience. Real systems are normative and not pragmatic because they follow ethical action, whereas pragmatic rules of behaviour are decisions based on effective, non-ethical actions (Bailey 1969).

According to Galt, there is a difference between what he calls the 'official' system of bureaucratic channels, which, in reality, cannot produce the desired result, and the 'real' system which uses 'friends of friends', in other words patron/client relations, to get results. He suggests that the official system is a process of channels. Lyon (2004) whose research is based on his fieldwork with the Punjab and Puktun in Pakistan suggests that inequality is inherent and necessary in the system. Patron/client systems, therefore, work because of the inherent inequality and must be maintained through stratification (Lyon 2004). According to Lyon, most work written on patronage, does not investigate it systemically. He shifts the focus from the roles and elements of patronage to questioning how it operates for those with little to offer versus those who

have a lot. He concludes that the system only works if the individual has something to offer to the system. Not participating in the system marginalises individuals. If one is too poor or too wealthy to offer something in return, then their position in society is also marginal (Lyon 2004). For both Galt and Lyon patron/client systems are self-perpetuating. Patron/client systems give lower status individuals access to otherwise-unattainable goods and services, but patrons are dependent on clients for their position in society, as well. Therefore, both patron and client are dependent on one another for the 'system' to exist and maintain itself (cf. Campbell 1964). Moreover, as Lyon suggests, patrons are generally clients for someone, while clients are patrons to others, making this dyadic system, in pragmatic terms, always triadic.

Factionalism

In the literature, patron/client relations are differentiated from that of factions. Patron/client systems are the primary mechanism by which one accesses the limited resources within the village but patron/client systems also reach beyond the village (Boissevain 1966, Galt 1974). Clients, for example, are known to receive economic benefits and protection from (il)legal extortionists (Wolf 1966; Galt 1974). Within the patron/client system, patrons and clients are both horizontally and vertically positioned. They are dependent on each other for the maintenance of the relationship (Campbell 1964, Lyon 2004).

The objective of factionalism, however, is to manipulate patron/client-like systems with the intention to consolidate power (Pettigrew 1975). Factions are vertical structures of power. The power links make services and favours available to its defined 'party'. Influence is used to skew the potential power from one faction over another (Pettigrew 1975). In contrast, Boissevain (1975) defines factions as a type of coalition or a particular type of network. As a network, individuals or groups access, for scarce and/or valued-resources[62]. Boissevain sees factions as a political process,

[62] Factionalism becomes particularly obvious in Gogofis during local elections.- as in the elections of 2002. Although factionalism and patron/client networks are not always the same, in Gogofis they are referred to in the same way by the inhabitants using the idiom, friend, *filos*. The grey area between the two systems blur together. They become a normative extension of patron/client systems but party oriented patron/client relations. Thus, Gogofiote factional relations are fluid, resembling

but discusses them from the local perspective. Thus, he discusses local groups, such as those found in local church associations. He argues that a faction is:

> "… a coalition of persons (followers) recruited personally, according to structurally diverse principles, by or on behalf of a person in conflict with another person(s), with whom they were formally united, over honour and/or control over resources." (Boissevain 1975: 149)

Boissevain (1975) understands factions to be vertical networks, where there are leaders competing for followers, resulting in the division of once-united groups. Factional leaders position resources against their opposition. Thus, they place people, and use the social and cultural systems against their opponent. Kin, clients and client's clients are strategically placed in positions of relative power. As a result, their faction has access to resources, while their opponents do not. Factional leaders compete for power. Boissevain (1975) suggests that the political element is only part of its nature. Counter to Pettigrew (1975), Boissevain's (1975) understanding is that factions are political or politicised patron/client relationships.

Pettigrew (1975), on the other hand, suggests that factions are part of the political sphere. Factions, being vertical structures, go beyond local structures and are part-and-parcel of the state apparatus and therefore a tool of the state. She argues that factions are:

> "'…vertical' structures of power, oriented towards influence, that is, towards the establishment of links which will provide for the transmission of favours and services." (Pettigrew 1975:63)

She emphasises that factions are primarily vertical relationships, which link either top/down or bottom/up[63].

Boissevain's conceptions of factional coalitions rather than Pettigrew's strictly vertical structures of power.

[63] There are several contradictions in Pettigrew's (1975) conceptions of factionalism. She also suggests, horizontal relationships are eclipsed and therefore absent where factions take precedent. Even though she emphasises vertical power relations, she does state that horizontal links do exist between leaders of equal status in neighbouring districts. These relationships, however, are still vertical in nature, as localised 'units', as she calls them, are isolated. Pettigrew illustrates this concept by describing the Jat whose families increase their power and prestige, by using families of similar status, disregarding horizontal patronage – through marriage and/or through recognizing distant kin who may have joined the faction. Jats also improve their social position through the seizure of land (as a form of power and control) and then through the act of becoming patrons (Pettigrew 1975). Societies, where factions operate, are not made up of these completely isolated 'smaller' units, which only have vertical

However, Scott (1985, 1989) agues that the most marginalised use subversive and competing systems as a way of defiance. Likewise, those who can use other competing systems such as kin-based, or other formal and informal group association such as those in religious affiliation (Boissevain 1975) or other patron/client relation will use them if vertical factional structures are to their disadvantage or in the case of Gogofis where the faction one is allied with is not the one in power[64]. Pettigrew's (1975) conception of factional, vertical alliances is based on decisions made by individuals, based on their idealised association with such power structure. My research would suggest, however, that factional systems may take precedence during particular periods of time but competing systems such as kin-bases systems or patron/client system will never be eclipsed.

Agency: within the context of boundary maintenance

Although the primary focus of this thesis is not the 'agency versus structure' debate, in studying social networks, we find that they can be defined to be both agent-based and structural systems: Agent-based, because there are relationships created between individuals and maintained by individuals (Boissevain 1966, 1975; Davis 1977; Gellner 1977: Gilmore 1977, Lyon 2004) and structural, because they are formed by 'friends of friends', creating patterns based on coded rules of behaviour (Galt 1974; Lyon 2004, Stein 1984).

To support this hypothesis, consider Gell's argument about 'agency':

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linkages, however. She suggests that people need to create horizontal relationships in their quest for cooperation in such venues as land production/agricultural endeavours. Pettigrew argues that factional units compete in the political sphere, as part of larger political units, which comply with even larger units, eventually applying to state-wide factions. A faction's control is not permanent, however, neither are the positions people occupy when their faction is no longer in power. In addition, factions are weakened when people choose to use kin-based or patron/client relationships to access good and service as when educated individuals send remittances back to their villages from the city. Although I agree with Pettigrew understanding that factional associations are political she disregards that there are other systems which compete with factional association. Thus, Pettigrew's augment is slightly problematic if not contradictory. Agents use many institutional recourses which are available to them. If people at the top and at the bottom use both horizontal and vertical social relations as Pettigrew (1975) states herself, this exclusively linear factional model she envisions may be simply an anthropological construction. The Jat inhabit North-West India and Eastern Pakistan.

[64] During the Greek Civil War (1946-1949); a time of great polarisation, the country was greatly polarised. Individuals used competing non-vertical systems to save many kin from incarceration and execution (Kollopoulos and Vermis 2004).

> "Agency is attributable to those persons, and things, who/which are seen as initiating casual sequences of a particular type, that is, events caused by acts of mind or will or intention, rather than the mere concatenation (combination) of physical events. An agency is one who 'causes events to happen' in their vicinity. As a result of this exercise of agency, certain events transpire; not necessarily the specific events which were 'intended' by the agent. Whereas chains of physical/material cause-and-effect consist of 'happenings', which can be explained by physical laws, [and] which ultimately govern the universe as a whole, agents initiate 'actions' which are 'caused' by themselves, by their intentions, not by physical laws of the cosmos. An agent is the source, the origin, of causal events, independently of the state of the physical universe" (Gell 1998:16)

In other words, agents affect their immediate environment, by their own actions, causing the environment to change. Moreover, how others interpret these actions also has an effect. In Gell's work, his interpretation of agency focuses on people and art. He describes art (i.e. material culture) as a mechanism of subjectivity and objectivity which imposes choices on the world. Thus, in his vision of agency, there is a 'nexus' of creators (in this case, the artist and audience) which creates objects, art, and patterns. This nexus cannot be quickly deciphered. Thus, the viewer is 'abducted' and the indexes of creator, object and audience, are markers of negotiation becoming part of memory and cognition (Gell 1998).

Furthermore, as Barnes (2000) argues, agents are governed by social responsibility. Barnes' sociological theory attempts to create grand-level theory where responsible agents create institutions of responsible action in a Durkhienian sense of the meaning of action. Diverging from Barnes, the anthropological approach uses comparative and cross-cultural evaluation. Social responsibility as a reflection of coded understanding of social/cultural normative behaviour maybe understood as part of a cultural (specific) value system. Nonetheless, agents' preferred actions are bound to what they think they 'should' do.

On a different level of analysis action results from 'habitus' because the agent is found in a particular field or set of relationships in a social domain. Each relationship has a particular form of social or cultural capital. Thus, the individual evaluates and makes decisions based on his or her expectations in that domain and the disposition there in (Bourdieu 1998). Agents therefore can be argued to be:

1) individuals seen as free agents interacting with and responding to a 'nexus' of interplaying free agents (Gell 1998).
2) individuals making decisions within a value-laden context where choices are made by individuals who believe they are being socially responsible (Barnes 2000)
3) brought up in a particular field, where the individual operates choice based on the dispositions in that particular field (Bourdieu 1972, 1998).

Though patron/client relations are not material culture, they are caused by deliberate actions "caused by … [people's] intentions"[65] (Gell 1998:16). The relations created by reciprocity within the patron/client, and the interactions between the actors and the group, within a cultural context of morals and values, become part of cognitive memory. As suggested by Barnes, however, each party within the patron/client relation acts as an agent out of responsibility.

Bourdieu's definition of agents within a social network includes a 'structural' context. He suggests, because of habitus[66], an individual creates social relationships, which then become a web of interacting individuals - in other words, agents within a basic set of structures and/or disposition, what Bourdieu would refer to as structures of structures.

Gell disregards structural effects of the 'physical universe.' However, I argue the morals and values and the resulting dyads and triads have a structural element which causes relations to develop through an interdependent reciprocity. Therefore, even though agents interpret and act as individuals, their actions are constricted by their subjective constraints within a socio-cultural context. Even so, patron/client relationships are not structurally deterministic. Agents do have flexibility, even though they are governed by overarching senses of responsibility and action/reaction to other agents.

[65] It is interesting to note, however, that the result is not always the intended one.
[66] Acting out of responsibility or because of 'habitus' are not mutually exclusive activities.

Patronage, Factionalism and Agency in Gogofis

In the following section I examine the relationship of agency to patronage and factionalism. I argue that there is a fluid utilisation of the systems made available to agents. They make decisions based on their ideas of social responsibilities (Barnes 2000). I argue that agents use patron/client systems to incorporate themselves into factions. To which degree agents are incorporated, if there are and boundaries between Greeks and Arvanites; Arvanites and Albanians may suggests where Arvanites are situated as an ethnic or non-ethnic group.

Agents create relationships for specific 'intensions to generate an environment for potential events to transpire' (Gell 1998:86). Patron/client relations are not *apriori*, agents, either as patrons or clients, must search for and cultivate relationships. In this section I examine the *nikokiris* as an agent, is a responsible individual. The *nikokiris* is an agent who links the individual to the local and thus to the national but not necessarily to the ethnic[67]. In the following section I examine four *nikokirithes* (plural). The final two patrons, the oil miller, *O Ladas*, and the president of the village, *O Sarmas,* are of relative high social status and well incorporated into the both local and national systems. They are 'quiet' patrons. They are men of substantial influence. They have many clients to their beacon call and are rarely seen boasting about it.

Patronage and Agency - The Nikokiris as Responsible Individuals

A *nikokiris*, in other studies in modern Greece, is understood to mean "a man who is in charge of a household" (Sutton 1998). In Gogofis, men often use this phrase, stating they or others are *nikokirithes*. I suggest that present definitions may be too general and may not be very useful with respect to Gogofis. Being in 'charge of a household' needs more specification and may vary between societies even within Greece. This debate is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I suggest that, who a *nikokiris* is, and who he is responsible to, should be clarified from the perspective of the people in Gogofis. Thus,explaining why they may take part in patron/client or

[67] According to Boissevain (1975) coalitions exist in factional environments. Ethnic coalitions do not seem to have formed in Gogofis. Nominally they may identify themselves as Arvanites but do not appear to have collective ties or exclusive patron/client relations with other Arvanite communities beyond their local vicinity. I saw no evidence that they used their ethnic distinctiveness as a strategy for access to power or other limited recourses.

factional relations. In Gogofis, a *nikokiris* is a man who is responsible to his family, friends and community. He may not be a man who is in charge of his household but is an adult man who is responsible 'to' the household and by extension, to his community. A *nikokiris* is empowered by his ability to provide. He is a responsible man who takes care of 'his people'.

Barbastathis[68] is a good example of one who claims to be a *nikokiris*. He owns the local petrol station and was the first man I met in the village. He is an elderly man with a reputation of wealth, but one would never know it from his appearance. He usually wears torn clothes, which are soiled; His hands are usually grimy. His shop has boxes of motor oil, spare auto parts, and accessories, haphazardly filling the space inside. Everything is slightly grimy. He is always found at his petrol station. He loves to talk and always offers a cup of Greek coffee to anyone who stops and takes the time to talk to him. I visited his petrol station several times. He claimed to know everything about Gogofis and said he would tell me everything I wanted to know. And because he came from one of the oldest families in the village, he stated that he had an intimate knowledge not only of all the villagers, but also of many forgotten traditions.

> You came to the right place. I know everything about everyone. I know everything (tapping both hands on his chest). I am a *nikokiris*. I can tell you what you want to know about things that have happened around here.

Another time he said,

> You know, I sent my son to America to study to the best university, I found him a job. Now he has a big house in Ekali,[69] with his wife and the children. He is an engineer for a large petrol company.

Many of Barbastathis' statements were correct. His son went to the United States to study and did become a well-paid engineer. He expressed himself as a responsible person who was able give his son a better life through giving him the opportunity to study and to find a prestigious job in a petrol company.

[68] The prefix '*barba'* is used as a kin-like term, my *barba* is used to mean my old man, or father but it can also mean uncle.
[69] Ekali is one of the poshest areas in Greater Athens

Interestingly, expressions of wealth are not something most men in Gogofis do publicly. Potential patron/clients therefore, are not gaged by public expressions of wealth.[70] Most are dressed simply and live in modest residences. Poorer individuals lived in much the same types of residence as did the richest people. Thus, Barbastathis' wealth was neither expressed in the car he drove, nor in the clothes he wore. His concept of being *nikokiris* was not an expression of monetary wealth, but in his abilities to provide for his family and others.

In yet another example, Barbastelios was a villager who had lived his entire life in the area around Gogofis. He is a widower for about 30 years. He is almost eighty years old but is still active. He left for a short time in the 1950's, to do his military service, as a cook in the navy. His ship was a minesweeper, collecting mines which were placed in the Greek seas during World War II and the Civil War. In the 1960's and 1970's he worked as part of the maintenance crew for the American base in Nea Makri. After the base's closing in the mid 1980's he retired to the village. He has a few sheep and some chickens. He also is the cantor for the village church which allows him to supplement his retirement income. He has a son and a daughter, both married with children. His son Panos recently married a woman from Eastern Europe while his daughter Maria married a man from Gogofis, She has two daughters. Barbastelios built a 'modern' home for his daughter, next door. He lives in his natal home which will be given to his son after his death. He sent his children to private schools in Athens because he felt the schools in and around Gogofis were not good. His son is a civil servant and is hired to haul things that need to be moved for the community such as the village's rubbish, rubble, soil or other by-products from civic projects. In the following narrative Barbastelios expresses his responsibility to his children after his wife's death from cancer.

> After Stavroula's death it was very difficult to raise two children, in their adolescence. It was expensive but I thought it would be better to send them to school in Athens where they might have better chances to learn.

He also iterated that,

[70] Everyone in the village knows what eachother's status is, so thirer expressions of wealth may not be tools used to evaluate someone's reliability.

> After Panos finished school I sent him to get a lorry licence, He is friends with Sarmas and he [Panos] now works for the *kinotita*.

Barbastelios expresses how he did what he could, being a single parent. He and his son are PASOK members which also may have been beneficial for his son who now has a steady and permanent job with the local government. Maria had the opportunity to buy the rights to operate the kiosk in the Agora. Barbastelios gave her the money to get started which was approximately 12,000 euros. He stated why he gave his daughter the money.

> Panos is situated[71]. Maria has not had the chance yet to situate herself. She works for Ladas on occasion but there are not many jobs here and she has to prepare the children for school. If she has the kiosk then she will be near the children and her and Thanasis [her husband] can make a good living. Their children will be better off. They will be able to go to better [tutoring] schools and have better clothes and nicer things than they have now.

Barbastelios is a responsible individual he uses all his means to secure his family's future in society. He is a *nikokiris*.

In the above cases, Barbastathis and Barbastelios through a lifetime of actions have shown themselves to be *nikokirithes*: They are responsible individuals making choices based on what they believe their families needs. A *nikokiris* is a man who is honourable; he is family/community centred individual; a man of value. He is in the public eye. He has the ability to be part of social networks. The *nikokiris*[72] is a male role which is not dependent necessarily on his marital status. The *nikokiris* is a proper man who provides for his family, for his 'friends', patrons and clients. He is a man who has something to offer the system (cf. Lyon 2004).

[71] To be situated, *na volefto*, is a term used often when one is concerned about the children's career. To be situated means they have a steady income. Being a civil servant is a desirable job because it is a relatively good salary and it is almost impossible to be made redundant. Parton/client relationship play an important role in getting one's children situated.

[72] The men's position as *nikokirithes* are embedded in public moral behaviours with respect to his household and, as expected, is different from that of the female equivalent, the *nikokira* (or home maker). The *nikokira's* role is also embedded in moral behaviour and discourse, but is instead associated with the domestic realm (du Boulay 1986). To be considered a *nikokira* is to be a good homemaker and child raiser (du Boulay 1984; Herzfeld 1991; Sutton 1998).

Being a *nikokiris* is essential in a patron/client relationship in Gogofis. Only responsible people have value which shows their patrons they are dependable. A *nikokiris* offers his services to others; they become instrumental friends (cf. Boissevain 1975) who can be asked to assist when needed. Moreover, since a *nikokiris* has shown his worth, he can also ask a potential patron for help, when and if the time arises. If a man has nothing to offer to a patron/client relationship, his position is greatly compromised (Lyon 2004).

Finally, *nikokirithes* can be described as agents. Gell's argument suggests that they are individuals that 'cause things to happen': from the Barnes perspective, they are responsible individuals bound by social responsibility to their community and family; the *nikokirithes*, by their actions, through the underlying structures, they interact with other individuals – it is within this constitution that certain expectations arise - the actions taken either create the scenario where the person can act like a patron or has proven himself to be a good client to a prospective patron/client.

Patronage and Agency - The 'Quiet' Nikokiris

Ladas is married to a woman from a neighbouring village. He has a son who is a young adult, who lives in Athens and a daughter who was just finishing elementary school at the time of this field work. He has friends in the village but also many who live in the city. He also had business ties beyond the village. Ladas does not take part in public displays of influence or of wealth. He spends most of his time at home. He may go out with friends or to Athens to visit his sister. He does not go to the village coffee shops[73] nor does he conspicuously take part in local festivities or other social events. For the most part, he socialises in private, in his home or in visiting others. On the rare occasion when he does visit the café he does not boast nor does he conspicuously 'treat' others to a drink though he does participate in treating.

He is the only man who has a large lorry to hire for the grape and olive harvest. He is the only oil press in Gogofis and the surrounding villages. In addition, he does not

[73] One of the contentions the other villagers have with Ladas is that he does not participate in *kerasma* regularly or visit the local coffee shops. Several interlocutors question his character for his non-participation.

hire Albanian crews for the harvest. Rather he hires local unemployed women to do the harvesting and one or two Albanian men to carry the grapes and olives to be loaded into the lorry. He pays them all the going rate of 40 euros a day and feeds them a cooked meal at his home everyday after the work is done. He takes fifty percent of the profit from the harvest, while the landowner pays for the lorry and labour. As a result, Ladas takes approximately 70% of the profits made from any days harvest. In addition he presses the olives. The landowner can take his portion either in oil or in cash. The importance of Ladas' patronage is not self-evident. However, he is one of a hand full of people who has strong business links outside the village, sometimes taking the grape to be pressed several hours away for a better price. Moreover, he does a local service to not only Gogofis but also the region harvesting in other villages. He hires local women which helps local families while at the same time maintaining obligations of their families to him[74]. In contrast with small producers of grapes and olives who hire only family and Albanian men and women, he never hires family and only a few Albanian men for the heavy labour.

He is probably one of the wealthiest members of the village, owning one of the largest pieces of land. He is also a member of the largest family in the village, the Safiris family. He is hired out to do most of the olive and grape harvests because he has the largest lorry in the village and is willing to do it. Ladas is a *nikokiris* because he takes care of his family and the needs of the village. He always uses local labour which makes his ties with the local population strong. Simultaneously, he is also seen as doing a service to the village. He helps the community, when he can, such as when the snow needed clearing he offered to plough the streets for free. He has a close relation to the president of the community but was not outspoken in his political views[75]. Ladas has connections with wealthy outsiders. He was the first person the president contacted for me. He was asked to show me the different 'historical sites of Gogofis and let me participate in the grape harvest

[74] Obligations to Ladas guarantees he will have labour for the grape and olive harvests but also maintains a client base who will come to him to press their olives.
[75] Ladas was not outspoken in his political views. He probably wanted people's clientage thus, though most people thought he was a member of the centre left party he was not very openly political; probably not to alienate people. I did not see how he got on with the new centre right president but I assume it was probably cordial.

In contrast *Sarmas* is the village president. He is always in the café. He conspicuously treats everyone and presents himself as a good party member of one of the national political parties. At every opportunity he exhibits his influence in the party. In the community offices he is often prepared to listen to the needs constituents offering his services by getting them in touch with someone in Athens. After a visit of an Albanian, he even offered him help with the processing of their papers. He also offered to speed up the process of my citizenship papers and wanted to bring my voting right to Gogofis. However he does not boast about his position in the village nor does he overtly attempt to cultivate clients. Clients are always coming to him. However, he has a devout group of individuals who support him even during trying times[76]. Later in this chapter I illustrate how Sarmas, the community president, uses his influence for his community.

Social Capital and Patron/Client Relations

In Gogofis, the result of receiving a friend's patronage is called *ypochreosi*: *ypo,* meaning 'under', and *chreosi,* meaning 'debt'. The individual (client) is 'under debt' to the patron. Being 'under debt' is considered a burden, because it is costly, in terms of time and energy.

Clients of lower social status, therefore, cannot maintain too many patrons, due to their time and energy being limited resources. In addition, when a patron cannot help his client in a particular situation, the patron can call on someone s/he knows who can help him assist the client - as in the triad discussed by Lyon (2004). Patrons, however, are finite in number (Boissevain 1968). I suggest that because social and cultural capital is limited, there is a limit to the number of favours a man is able to ask of his patron, and still be able to reciprocate.

Pavlos is a good example of this. Pavlos needed someone to help him transport his grapes from the field to the local grape press, because the previous winter was unusually cold and the engine block cracked on his light truck. When he asked for help, people would find some excuse not to help him. They were either too busy or they had car troubles of their own. Pavlos had had this problem before and seemed to

[76] During the time of the fieldwork PASOK was accused of corruption. Sarmas was also accused and taken to court. Even so his client supported him during the entire process.

forget his *ypochreosi*. In other words, he had not reciprocated favours in the past. He had used up his social capital and now had to search for help. In another situation, Pavlos had a basement room to let. In fact he was the first person I found to rent a room from but I was given advice to do otherwise. After he had left the café a relative of his told me:

> Pavlos is a nice guy, he is my cousin, but you don't want to deal with him if you can [avoid it]. He does not understand his *ypochreosi* to others. He had some Albanians in his flat but never turned the heat on so the Albanians left and he can not get anyone to rent it. He also asked too much.

Exchanges are not always monetary exchanges even if they are expressed in this way at times. There are implicit codes of responsible behaviour. Pavlos' flat price was not too unreasonabe. However the people renting the flat would most likely be either Albanians or local Gogofiotes (in other words, either patrons or clients) and there were many codes of behaviour about how people 'should' behave.

The *Kafenio*

The *kafenio*, or café, is an egalitarian place where men can assert their masculinity (Papataxiarchis 1991). Papataxiarchis suggests that male friendship in the Mediterranean is an egalitarian relationship which goes beyond social class, wealth, profession, family background, or marital status. The locus of exhibition of this egalitarianism is in the *kafenio*. As a result, it is for some, a place where 'men can be men', able to express themselves openly, without fear of emasculation.[77]. I agree with Papataxiarchis to some degree. However, I propose that in the *kafenio* setting there are individuals who have other objectives and do not forget his social status inside or outside the *kafenio*. In this section, I would like to show how *kerasma*, which is also discussed by Papataxiarchis, is a tool not only of friendship, masculinity and reciprocity, but also factionalism, patron/client relations and used as a mechanism of differentiation.

During my fieldwork, people often paid for my coffee. One day, I sat with some of my consultants. I decided to pay for myself because I had to leave early. One member

[77] There are in more competitive places, such as the market place or in affinal homes (Papataxiarchis 1991)

of the group had not yet had the opportunity to treat me. When he found out I had paid for myself, he was very upset. He followed me out of the *kafenio,* stopped me, and frustratingly stated how disappointed he was that he did not pay. I told him he could treat me on the next occasion. However, after this incident, he was never quite as friendly with me as he had been. Did I reject his friendship by paying for myself, or was it something more? There were many other opportunities where we could express our friendship and for *kerasma*, or so I thought[78].

It turns out that the *kafenio* is the only non-competitive place to express friendship (cf. Papataxiarchis 1991). It is the site where, almost everything men are interested in, is discussed and exchanged; whether it is football, politics or the weather's affect on their crops. It is a place where business plans are discussed and where collective labour is organised between 'friends'. The *kafenio* is a place of sociality, which is non-threatening. To illustrate this, *kerasma*, a common custom occurring in the *kafenio* should be reconsidered. *Kerasma*, or the act of treating someone, by buying them a drink, creates a sense of egalitarianism (Papataxiarchis 1991). It is a method, by which, two people of equal social status, show respect and honour to one another. Individuals take turns in the practice of *kerasma.*

However, by practicing *kerasma*, whether buying or accepting a drink, an individual is not only cultivating a 'friendship', he is creating an environment where patron/client relationship and abeyant relationships with people of different statuses are potentially created.

Patron/Client Relations and Factionalism

In this section I examine the community president's relationship to his fellow villagers. I explore how he uses patron/client relations and customs such as treating to establish himself. The relationships are not as rigid as they may appear. There is fluidity, as competing local relationships and structures may at times take precedence over factional ones. However, these relationships may be deferred or differentiating and they are always with respect to the state. Thus, as Billig (1995) suggests, the

[78] In western society not letting someone pay is not a sign of disrespect. It may even be considered polite. However, in Gogofis and probably in the rest of Greece if someone rejects an other's willingness to treat you, may be rejecting that person's friendship.

context is a national one[79]; individuals identify with the Greek nation-state resulting in a lessening of 'other competing identities.

The following ethnographic example supports the hypothesis that factionalism is a type of patron/client relationship (cf. Boissevain 1975). Moreover, it can be understood as a vertical power relationship whose goal is control of resources and is tied to the national power structure (Pettigrew 1975). The *Kinotita* president and the local committee are the governing body of the village of Gogofis. As such, they are responsible for making decisions at both the local-level and the national-level. For the most part, they are making decisions on the local-level such as, decisions on rubbish collection or maintaining the water utilities, making sure that everything runs smoothly in the village. More serious questions are also addressed, however. One such question, periodically under consideration, is one of local municipal planning.[80] Municipal planning is determined both at the local and national levels. In Greece, there are local and district officials who decide which lands are considered for development and which lands are to stay *ektos skediou*, outside city planning. The person or patron, who is in office, at the time of consideration, affects land-use and therefore the potential value of someone's land. A patron in the *kinotita* will tend to favour his client(s) in such decisions.

The *Proedros tis kinotitas*, President of the community, is another government official who strives to maintain patron/client links with his constituents, usually by the allocation of labour. Local work contracts are spread between his 'friends' and family in the village. Thus, if a street needs repairing, he (no women have yet held office in Gogofis) contracts someone in his party, usually kin, to do the job. Likewise, if a member of his constituency needs work, the *Proedros* will use his influence to get that individual a job. At the local level, his actions are considered an honourable act -

[79] Billig (1995) argues that people see themselves as members of nations in a world of nations

[80] Estate zoning policy determines land-use. If land has been designated as *voskotopia* (grazing land) then it can never be developed and only be used for grazing animals. *Dasotea periochi* (forested area) also cannot be built on, unless it is re-zoned. Native Pine species cannot be cut down without the proper permits and therefore land cannot be developed. Unfortunately, sometimes fire is used to illegally clear land (so it can be re-zoned). *Acheologikoi choroi* are declared archeological areas and cannot be developed. Lastly, land designated *ektos skediou* are non-zoned lands away from city or village settlements. Development is also illegal in these areas, but building permits can be issued if the estate owner has more than four *stremmata* (4000 square meters). In many cases illegal summer houses cannot get proper access to infrastructure such as electricity because they were built *ektos skediou.*

he does it to be a *nikokiris* taking care of his friends and family[81]. In the state/national level, however, though his decisions are based partly on cultivating clients within the patron/client arena, it is all within the context of party politics (factions), because his patronage is determined by his national political association as well. For the clients, it is as Pettigrew (1975) argues, they benefit greatly from the *Proedros'* influence, due to the 'vertical' structure of power to which he is linked, that connects them to the national power apparatus far beyond the village.

Kerasma, the *Kafenio,* and Factionalism

Kerasma, the treating of a drink, has been argued is a way to maintain egalitarianism and respect between fellow villagers (Papataxiachis 1991) However, Herzfeld (1991:51) suggests people practice *kerasma* to maintain social, political and economic relationships with local politicians who have influence with government officials in the far off national capital, which suggests that *kerasma* is intertwined in patron/client relationships, party politics and factionalism. Herzfeld (1997) also suggests that by selective *kerasma* one chooses friends but also avoids others.

Sarmas can literally count the people he expects to vote for him, because the pool of voters is so small. Therefore, he must maintain a relatively good relationship with villagers other than just the members of his political party and kin. This is done by the symbolic exchange of '*kerasma',* which, as stated earlier, is how he expresses himself as an honourable man and *nikokiris*. The *Proedros*, on the other hand, does it not only to maintain client relations with his constituents but also to consolidate power. The *Proedros* practices *kerasma* with everyone - even his political enemies. He has a running tab in all the cafés. I discovered this when I went to treat everyone on my name's day and ended up footing the President's large bill. In doing so, however, he not only maintains his present clients but also keeps a cordial relationship both with unpredictable voters and his opposition's allies[82]. In addition, by performing *kerasma*, the receiver of the *kerasma* symbolically becomes a 'potential friends' of the *Proedros*.

[81] Campbell (1965) suggests that those people in opposition of the village president accuse him of 'eating'. In Gogofis the same metaphor is used. However, the *Proedros* was sharing resources with his clients in the form of contracted local projects and employment for clients. The *kinotita* paid the expenses. However people accused his friends of over-charging for their services.
[82] People would probably take offence if he did not 'treat' them. It would be a sign of disrespect.

Factionalism can be seen in all the *kafenios* of Gogofis. The men who frequent these cafés tend to be allied with one national political party or another. They may not be political activists or active members of a particular party, but their discourse about the leaders of the opposition, both at the local or the national levels indicates their political leanings. Furthermore, many of the people who frequent the *kafenios* are employed either by the public utilities, the civil service, or the military. Which café they frequent tends to reflect the office to which they are employed and the time period in which they began working. The pizzeria, for example, which also acts as a coffee house during the day, is frequented by Sarmas. He had been president of the village for 12 years, ending in 2002. Everyone who frequents the pizzeria works either for IDAP the public water utility, or for the civil service. They were all hired during the 1980's and 1990's.[83] From my observations, the relationship of the people and their devotion to Sarmas is unquestionable[84]. They would never be seen in the opposition's *kafenio.* This loyalty to Sarmas and to his party is evidence of vertical relationships: his relationship to his followers is that of a patron, but Sarmas' patronage is clearly politically motivated and he is always oriented to national political discourse either for his party or against the opposition in the village.

'Potential' Patron/Clients and Horizontal Relationships

Not all patron/client relationships within Gogofis are vertically oriented, however. As mentioned above, local politicians, through the act of *kerasma*, also buy drinks for people outside of their family or political circle, thus maintaining respect and 'potential' friendships[85]. In times of need, he can then make extraordinary requests not only of his 'current' clients but also of these 'potential' clients. Calling on his 'potential' clients in this way is using his 'horizontal' relationships. To illustrate a good example of how a local politician calls upon his 'horizontal' relationships, we

[83] Sarmas is an active member of the national PASOK party, which was in power at the time he was in office.

[84] Similar to what I observed in Gogofis, Campbell (1965) suggests that the village president needs to exhibit his patronage by treating large groups of lower status individuals (shepherds) at his table. There is a mutual need by both the patron, the president, and his clients, the shepherds, to be seen together, to elevate each others status; to be seated at the President's table is an honour. Likewise, the president needs people of lower status accompanying him to show that he is a worthy patron.

[85] The act of reciprocity which is important to all the men of Gogofis, because it represents much of what is valued in the village: hospitality, respect, honour, and masculinity.

can look at the political struggle over where to locate the ***c****homateri*, or Athens municipal refuse centre.

For several years the national Greek government, has been attempting to get each *nomos*, or province, to be responsible for the disposal of its own waste. This is a particularly acute problem for Athens, which is situated in the province of Attica. The solid waste facility in *Ano Liossia*, the Athenian tip, is almost full to capacity. The Greek state has been paying the European Union large fines, for not dealing with the problem with expediency. As a result, several sites for future disposal facilities have been proposed around Attica. Unfortunately, Gogofis is also in Attica and a site was proposed only three kilometres from the village. The president of the community, independent of his political affiliation, used all his political capital to postpone the decision to make Gogofis a waste disposal centre by calling on 'friends' in the Government to postpone the site-assessment of Gogofis as a potential site, thus taking Gogofis out of the, then, current running as a site. He requested assistance from an important patron in his own party in the national government, to ultimately delay the decision. In the meantime, he was able to rally the entire village to take part in creating a blockade one of the few national motorways entering Athens, protesting the construction of the disposal centre. If his party was not in power, he would not have had access to the decision-making process and, thus, would not have been able to delay the construction of the site. Furthermore, had he not had the support of his fellow villagers, he might not have been able to amass enough people to create a blockade, putting the necessary pressure on key individuals in the national government to bypass Gogofis for consideration of the city's refuse.

Moreover, this example exhibits how the village's interests transcend national factional concerns even though those same factional connections were utilised. It suggests that factionalism is not as rigid structure as Pettigrew (1975) portrays, but a malleable system which, depending on the situation, can be manipulated. This type of factionalism more closely resembles the Boissevain (1975) notion of a 'coalition' than Pettigrew's (1975) notion that it is a top/down vertical structure. In the case of the *chomateri*, though, much of the power and influence is dictated from the factional political parties or the government, the *Proedros* demonstrated he is first-and-foremost a patron to his fellow villagers. His actions showed that his clients and

interests on the local level were more ubiquitous to him than his patrons and interests on the government level at that particular moment. Pettigrew argues that horizontal solidarities disappear at the local level with factionalism. In this case, however, the horizontal relationships were more important to the *Proedros*, so much so, that he was willing to expend some of his social/political capital for the benefit of his village.[86]

Furthermore, this event suggests that not only did the *Proedros* ally with villagers from his own faction, but he most likely had created good-and-trusting 'potential' friendships with people from opposing factions. Many villagers were willing to mobilise behind him. In other words, the villagers had horizontal relationships with the *Proedros* which also transcended party lines.

Voting, Patron/Client Relations, Political Alliances and Factionalism

In Gogofis, the concept of freely voting for a politician/patron of one's choice is not always a possibility. This is because voters in Gogofis are not always free agents. Temporal political patronage may not necessarily be based on an individual's true political philosophy. However, alliances to a political party are assumed by other villagers and are maintained over several generations. Families, historically, may be bound to and identified with one particular political party, usually because some member(s) of their lineage have/had been 'helped'[87] either by that particular party or by a politician within that party. People and families identified, in such a way, as being clients of a particular party, are referred to as *vamenoi* (plural form of 'painted' or tarred)[88]. Kyria Roula is an example where political ideology, political affiliation,

[86] Since his actions usurped decision-making processes on the national and political party level, he may have less political capital to negotiate with the next time he needs a favour. This indicates the seriousness of his decision to ask his 'friends.'

[87] Greek ethnographies (Campbell 1964; Herzfeld 1991) suggest the public servants are primarily patrons. In Gogofis, not surprisingly, politicians are patron/clients. They become elected because they have successfully urged those 'current' or other 'potential' clients with s*ymferon* (self-interest) to vote for them. Generally, individuals vote for a politician/patron in the party because s/he is distinguished as an agent that 'can help,' *na voithisoun*, either the voting individual, or a member of the voting individual's family.

[88] To be *vamenos* has several meanings; It is associated with the colours representing the different political parties: the centre-left party, PASOK, being represented by the colour green, the centre-right party, New Democracy, by the colour blue, and the two communist parties by the colour red. The phrase *vamenos* is usually used derogatorily. It suggests that the individual or family is a client to a

or clientage is not congruent. In the early 1980's her sons became members of the PASOK centre-left youth party. Historically, her family were members of the centre-right party. I asked her about Metaxas, who was dictator during the pre-WWII period. He allegedly had treated linguistic minorities such as the Arvanites very poorly (Karakasidou 1997; Carabott 1997). However, Kyria Roula told me,

> He was a great leader, and had warned us to be prepared for war. He told us to plant wheat everywhere… in flower pots and in the corners of the garden….He told us, we should trust no one, all foreigners. They could be enemies anywhere.

In the preparation for war, any stranger was suspect. However, in the above case her political orientations was neither based on political ideology nor oriented towards ethnic identification and oppression. Her family, now, is allied with the PASOK party. Once a family or individual is *vamenos*, it is very difficult to change political alliances because patrons would be expecting a family's clientage. Likewise, patrons of opposition parties would be reluctant to offer their patronage to a family or client they believe to be *vamenos* with the opposition. If this individual changes party affiliation, it is usually looked upon with much scepticism by others in the community. This is because the family is seen as having a vested interest in the 'family' party and their associated elected patrons. Local politics, thus, is tied to family, community and the state. For both patrons and clients, choices at elections, voting and political decisions, are based on honour codes and diachronic reciprocal exchanges. Kyria Roula told me why she would vote again for the *Proedros* even though people we not happy with the way PASOK was running the country[89]

> I know people are not happy with PASOK but I have to vote for my *symferon*. The *Proedros* got both George and Pandelis jobs. He has taken care of us. Both of them have beautiful families.

Barbastelios told me something similar to that of Kyria Roula:

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particular party through cronyism. It also means they cannot be swayed to change political parties, which may suggest 'fanaticism'.

[89] In the October 2002 local-national elections for provincial leaders, mayors, and community presidents, New Democracy won in a landslide victory, taking control of almost all the major cities and prefectures in the country.

> My son has a good job working for the *kinotita*. Those people are always criticising the *Preodros*. But he has helped my family and many others a lot. Of course I am going to vote for him.

In both cases, they are voting based on how their families were helped by the *Proedros*. National party politics is secondary to family and personal obligations to the president. However, loyalties transcend the local because local alliances are in part party alliances. Kyria Roula's sons, George and Pandelis, are civil servants. They are members of their party youth organisations as well as party affiliated factions in their trade unions. Thus, on both local and national levels being an official member of the party in power gives an individual's *soi* access to influence - which in turn 'helps' him/her access employment possibilities or better health care, education, etc. To gain access to such favours and limited resources, the individual and/or his/her family has to be aligned with a political party. Their potential vote is then tallied and must be considered sufficient enough patronage. Thus, declarations of party alliances might be all an individual or family needs to have to gain client status. The disadvantage of this system, however, is that if one's family is not allied with the party in power, then direct access to resources is limited and families are marginalised .The families, then, have to depend on extended family and alternative competing structures (such as godparent-kinship or other patron/client relationships) to access limited resources. Accessing resources in this way, however, can be more costly (in terms of time reciprocity and energy) and more difficult to maintain. Barba Yannis was enthusiastic about the coming local election in 2002. So much so, that he went to all the party gatherings and visited all the candidates. However his mind had been made up sometime before the elections campaign had gone into full force. He stated:

> The others have been 'eating', *echoun fai*, for twenty years. Now, it is time for our people to get a chance to eat too.

The metaphor, eating is not necessarily used to indicate corruption. They used this metaphor in the sense that it was his patron and/or faction's time to have access to limited recourses and in turn he and his *soi* would also have access to limited recourses. The opposition party had control for the past twenty years and he and his friends had been relatively marginalised.

To summarise, there are factional mechanisms which resemble patron/client relationships. However, they differ in that they are vertically oriented and pressure individuals and families to declare their alliances. Inevitably, they are oriented to nation-state power structures even if the issues of concern are local issues. Greek issues are local issues. Discourses of minority issues of ethnic patron/client relations never developed and may be non-existent. Minority ethnic politics, thus, threatens factional relations with the nation state. They insist that minority status does not apply to them.

Arvanites and Albanians, Power and Patrons

The Arvanites may be completely integrated in both the local and national power system. In fact, Gogofis is a relatively wealthy village, in large part due to only being an hour's drive, with relatively easy access, to the Athenian power structure. The *Proedros* told me many times that if there was a problem he could just hop in his car and see a Greek minister or cabinet member whenever he wanted.

> There are advantages living in Gogofis. If I want to talk to a minister or someone on an important committee which has to do with the village's interests, *symferon,* I just get in my car and in an hour I am in their office…. The *chomateri* is a serious issue. I had to go to the centre everyday for months. I saw many friends and others to get something done.

While the people are not completely satisfied with the Greek government, blaming it for inflation and the refuse problem, they do not put their discontent in ethnic terms, in other words, performatively their ethnic discourse is lacking[90]. Similarly, ethnicity does not come into play when they work with non-Arvanite communities, for such things as demonstrating against the refuse centre's construction[91]. In terms of power structures, then, we see that the Arvanites are considered to be Greeks and not a marginalised minority. They are completely bound to and incorporated into the processes of power, both at the local and the state levels.

[90] Butler (1997) argues that performativity is a reiteration of power relations which is regulated and constructed. Categories, in her case categories of sexuality are continuously being scripted i.e. doing straightness or doing queerness. In the Arvanites case their lack of ethnic discourse suggests they are not 'doing' ethnicity However, this does not suggest they will never do it.

[91] Villagers from all over Northern Attica took part in demonstrations against the refuse centre regardless of whether they were Arvanites or non-Arvanites.

In contrast, the Albanians are complete outsiders with respect to the national political power structures. The Greek government's legalization of the Albanian immigrant population has been slow in coming and the process of legalization, is not quite complete. The result is a quasi-legal situation for immigrants leaving Albania and settling in Greece. The political structure of both Greece and Gogofis is a patron/client system. Albanian immigrants still have little access to *de jure* power structures because they have no direct links to the factional political patron/client system. Voting, and the power of one's vote, is quintessential to asking favours of people in power. Only recently have Albanian immigrants been given voting rights in local elections. When they will actually be able to vote is not clear. They are almost 10% of the total Greek population and approximately 16% of the population in Gogofis. [92] They have not organised themselves, however, to make requests of guarantees from the Greek government, with regards to their status[93]. On the surface it would appear that Albanian immigrants are completely disenfranchised. The political apparatus would appear completely against them. They have no representation in government and their patron/client relationship with government officials is not based on their ability to vote or on factional party membership. Likewise, at the local level, they have no official involvement with the political system because they cannot vote. They, therefore, cannot participate in the election process or in the patronage associated with local election politics.

In White's (1997) study of Turkish immigrants in Germany, she suggests that it is a typical strategy for immigrants coming to a new place to exchange goods and services by the use of reciprocity. The Albanian immigrants came to Greece 'on foot', as they say, with literally nothing but the clothes on their backs[94]. In Gogofis, they incorporated themselves into the village using reciprocity and honour - each male immigrant having created and maintained a network of patrons. The Albanians, over time, developed a reputation for being skilled and honest labourers. The particular

[92] 16% of the total population in Gogofis is Albanian immigrants according to details taken by the *kinotita* from the 2001 census

[93] There is one exception. The immigrant association had a very large demonstration about the legalization process. The complaint was that, literally thousands of immigrants were stranded in Greece because of the protracted process which would not let them out of the country, for whatever reason, until the process was done. After seeing the size of the demonstration, the government allowed immigrants to enter and exit the country without the residence permit. Their only requirement was they had to have a valid work permit.

[94] At the time of the border opening most payments for exchanges for good and services in Albania were done with pseudo-money, or coupons which had no value beyond the Albanian borders.

families gave the newcomers food, shelter and took care of their basic needs. This close relationship resembled family (which is examined in detail in chapter 5). As a result, the patron or the 'foster parents' of Albanian immigrants assisted the immigrant and his family in finding work. The patron may also help the immigrant, if his foster family does not have the influence to assist him with the local government, in dealings with paperwork for legalization or other red tape. Albanian immigrants have become an essential part of the village and have used their knowledge of patron/client relations to assist their marginal situation.

Although the Albanian immigrant does not have direct links to the political patronage system, they do have indirect links, by proxy of their patrons and foster families. An Albanian immigrant can go into the *kinotita* and ask for 'help'. In many cases they ask their foster families to go in with them, to process documentation. Albanian immigrants allied with individuals and lineages that are part of the political structure, have some flexibility with regard to government structures, especially at the local level. Local officials, then, assist the immigrants in attaining legal status or other limited resources. In addition, the *Proedros* assists them by making calls, sometimes personally, to the required government offices to expedite the legal status of his Albanian clients.

Kerasma and, thus, honour and respect are often part of these situations. Usually the Albanian immigrant accepts drinks offered by their patron. *Kerasma* can be initiated by either the general Gogofiote or even the *Proedros*. The result is that both the patron and the immigrant are interacting, using *kerasma,* as a way to showing mutual respect and friendship. A bond is created and reinforced, as Bloch (1989) suggests, both parties are taking part in a ritual with which they identify and thus the relationship becomes part of the system.

Conclusion

In this chapter, through their use of patron/client systems and state organised factional relations I attempt to illustrate how the Arvanites of Gogofis are fully integrated into

Greek society. In this case there are no obvious differences between other non-Arvanite Greek villages and Gogofiotes reaction to the state power apparatus. I would suspect there are probably not much difference in the normative social relations between other Greek villages and that of Gogofis and Athens either (cf. Campbell 1964; Herzfeld 1997). The lack of ethnic coalitions and ethnic discourses with regards to their patron/client and factional relations is also telling. Whereas Jewish and Gypsy communities have a discourse and 'ethnic' patron/client network separate and interlinking with more powerful institution which reach beyond the local and sometimes even national borders the Arvanites of Gogofis do not. Nor do they have an ethnic political agenda from which to organise themselves. However, I am not suggesting they will disappear as an ethnic differentiated group. As seen in other chapters of this thesis differences are maintained even if it is just nominally in some cases. Differences have been maintained at certain points in history. It is true for the Arvanite at present obviously prefer their connections to the Greek nation-state than forming separate ethnic ones.

The patron/client system is a form of social network which can either work for or against an individual. It is up to the individuals to choose with which patrons or clients to associate. Sarmas made the political choice to work for his village to avoid having the *chomateri* built in the area. He used his connections in the national government to delay decisions of its construction. In other words, he used his positions and factional ties, as both a patron and a client, in the triadic relationship to actively achieve the desired goal. In this case, factional obligations did not take precedence over local patron/client obligations. In fact, he used some of his social-political status, with certain national government officials, to work in the village's favour instead of to their detriment. In choosing this path, he once again expressed himself as a *nikokiris* to his family and to the village.

Being a *nikokiris*, may define an adult male in Gogofis. I would suggest he must express himself as a *nikokiris* to show others what he has to offer - in an exchange - which is the foundation of patron/client relationships. His agency is within the confines of his identity as an honourable man; guided by the moral responsibilities he has to differentiate competing patrons, clients and kin obligations.

The Arvanites' successful 'intergration[95]' may be gaged by how they handle themselves, within their own agency, with the patron/client relationships, as well as within factions in Greek society. They are neither treated nor defined as a minority, by the state apparatus. In comparison, Albanian immigrants face a long road ahead in their transition and integration into Greek society from the respect of political/power integration and patron/client relations. The Albanian immigrants pose another problem for the Arvanites of Gogofis, however. The Albanian immigrants' new presence enforces differences between Arvanites and other non-Arvanites. The Arvanites see similarities with the Albanian immigrants. They imagine themselves like the Albanian immigrants in their own past. The Arvanites manipulate these differences, as is seen in Chapter 5. However, in doing so they are unintentionally emphasising the differences between themselves and their Greeks compatriots.

[95] I use the term 'integration' lightly because it is debatable whether the Arvanites can be considered separate from Greek society since they have always been part of it. The term, 'integration' suggests they were at one time separate from Greek society.

Chapter 5

Fostering[96] 'Barbarian' Children

This chapter examines kinship-like relationships which have developed between the Arvanites of Gogofis and the recently arrived Albanian immigrants. I have chosen to qualify their relationship as one most like a foster parent/child relationship. In this case, however, the 'foster parentage' is unofficial and unsanctioned by formal institutions existing in Greece[97]. The relationship, however, creates a sense of closeness between groups and individuals lessening difference and emphasising social and cultural similarities. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the relationship between Arvanite Greeks and Albanian immigrants is not simply one of patron/clientage. The following section clarifies the notions of adoption and fostering and examines other alternative forms of kinship-like relationships. This analysis suggests that although fosterage satisfies the needs of both Arvanites and Albanian immigrants in the short term and empowers the local, the relationship is tempered because it is unsanctioned and because of popular cultural beliefs in Greece about both groups about ambiguous status[98].

Kinship-like Relationships

Kinship-like relationships are those relationships which are not primarily based on consanguineal or affineal kin relations. These relationships sometimes compete with kinship structures. Adoption, fosterage, spiritual kin, blood-brotherhood and milk kin are all examples of kinship-like relationships. These institutions, while differing from kin relationships, share some commonalities with consaguinial and affineal relationships. Sant Cassia and Bada (1992) consider spiritual kin and blood kin, for

[96] I use the word 'barbarian' in this chapter to emphasise the difference between Greeks and non-Greeks. This term is often used in everyday discourse about Greeks and others, especially the other peoples of the Balkans both in the village and in Athens.

[97] Both Bourdieu (2004) and Gramsci (1972) suggest that illegitimate and unsanctioned social behaviours are subordinated to official and sectioned behaviours in a hierarchical hegemonic system.

[98] Abramson (2000) argues that ideal-types are analytical tools. As with the formulation of all ideal-types in social analysis, the bundling of criteria is designed not to capture the essence of a phenomena (which is a familiar empiricist utopia), but to help guide analysis towards the discovery of credible and significant connections. As such, ideal-types are theoretical models which realise their value as much in the local of discrepancy, exceptions and deviations as in self-affiliation through the real.

instance, both link two otherwise unrelated kin groups. These links are transmitted across generations and are used to defuse/prevent hostilities. Hammel (1968) suggests that 'alternative social structures' intertwine allegiances, descent and alliances. Kin-like relationships, such as blood brotherhood and milk kin, are formed to create alternative ways in which individuals and groups extend their social networks beyond the limitations of blood and marriage (Parkes 2001). Others, such as fosterage and, again, milk kin, are used as a political alliance mechanism. Milk kinship is a ritualised consaguinial-like relationship formed when two individuals suckle from the same breast. Milk kinship is between individuals and agnatic groups (Parkes 2001). Marriage restrictions are similar to that of consaguinial sibling[99]. Blood brotherhood is another alternative kin-like relationship which was used to created strong consanguineal-like bonds between otherwise non-related agnatic groups. It is still prevalent in Albania and with Albanian immigrants (Standish 2005). The relationship is created with the ritualised transfer of blood of two males by consumption or symbolic transfer of ones blood to the other (Durham 1910). As with milk kin there are regulated rights and responsibilities and restrictions related to marriage. Durham suggests that blood brotherhoods are used to create security in hostile places. In Albania, a blood brother is obligated to take part in blood feuds and maintain a blood brother's household if a blood brother has been killed (Durham 1910, Halsuck 1956). However, blood brotherhood is a relationship of choice of individuals which makes it differ from consaguinial and milk kin.

Adoption

The concepts of adoption vary from culture to culture. According to Goody (1969), in Western Europe adoption has several functions. They are:

1) to provide homes for orphans, bastards, foundlings and the children of impaired families;
2) to provide childless couples with social progeny;
3) to provide an individual or couple with an heir to their property.
(Goody 1969:57)

[99] Milk kinship waned in the 1930's, as spiritual kinship became the precedent (Parkes 2001).

This analysis should consider several factors. Residence of the adoptee should be considered as well as who raises the 'child'. In addition what is the child's relationship to either the kin based or non-kin based group. What is the relationship with the parents, siblings and marriageable partners; in the past and in the present and what are the considerations regarding incest taboos (Goody & Goody 1967)?

Roman law on adoption states that the adopted individual would no longer have any social relationship with his/her natal family. The act of adoption made the individual exclusively a member of the adopting family. S/he would have all the rights and responsibilities associated with the new adopted family (Goody 1969). When the Roman case is compared with contemporary Europe, it was more extreme. Separation was drastic to the point where the adoptee could not return even during a crisis to his natal family (Goody 1969). Cross-culturally adoption creates different degrees of association. Adoption is a primary jural parenthood. In other words, the primary legal responsibility for the child is the new adopting parent(s) (Brady 1976; Isaac and Conrad 1982; Keesing 1970). For the adoptee the advantage is that, theoretically, s/he would be placed in a status of higher position, wealth or at least the better prospects of it for the future. The adopted individual usually must forfeit their birthright (Goody 1969). Keesing (1970) also observed that, cross-culturally, when a child is adopted, s/he usually forfeits his/her birthright.

Macrides (1990) suggests that during the Christian era of the Roman Empire, several forms of older Roman adoption were made illegal. However, the rules of separation became less strict. Macrides uses only historical data of the aristocracy in her argument which may not indicate how non-aristocracy dealt with adoption and fosterage. Nonetheless, during the Byzantine Empire the sponsors of children for baptism gained prominence, and the alternative kinship term *Koumbaria* came into use. Adoption and fosterage were closely tied to baptism (Macrides 1990). In the medieval Christian Greek world the words for godchild and adopted child became interchangeable, and thus it is difficult to discern the difference today between the adoptee/godchild's social statuses during the Byzantine period (Macrides 1990). Macrides (1990) as well as Sant Cassia and Bada (1992) also suggest that because of

this interchangeability adoption might be related to the Church and its notions of sacrifice, the holy family and brotherly love, *adelphosini*.

Fosterage

In contrast to adoption, the fostered person does not have all the rights an adopted person has in his or her 'new' family. The foster 'child' resides apart from his or her natal parents but is not a full member of his or her new home of residence. In other words, a foster child is not indistinguishably a member of his/her new family. The foster child has been transferred only limited rights and duties as a foster child (Goody 1973; Isaac and Conrad 1982). The foster parents have secondary jural rights over the child while in adoption the parents have primary jural rights (Brady 1976). Fosterage may be more dynamic than adoption, meaning that all parties involved have more flexibility and are systematically more dynamic (Goody and Good 1967). Fosterage is a multifunctional institution but also has specific functions, so, its importance may change over time (Schidkrout 1973 cited in Goody 1966).

Silk (1987) examines fosterage and adoption from the social biological perspective. She points out that the natal parents do not stop having a relationship and are involved in their child's welfare. Fosterage and adoption are also ways to deal with crisis and loss of a parent or parents either because of death or divorce; "The child's welfare maybe bettered by 'fostering out,' increasing the child's inclusive fitness" (Silk 1987:46). She suggests there is a reduction in hazards for the children and fosterage can potentially improve the child's education, social status and economic prospects. However, she also mentions that there are many asymmetries with fosterage. Foster and adopted children tend to be worked more than natal children. The fostered and adopted children are disciplined more, and they are allotted fewer familial resources than natal children (Silk 1987).

In Western Societies adoption and fosterage are sometimes concealed because giving up biological children for adoption reflects the inability of the mother to care for her children (Bowie 2004). In contrast, fostering children is considered virtuous in Cameroon. In fact, many people prefer to raise others' children (Notermans 2004). Halbmayer (2004:146) suggests that adoption and fostering are "selective processes of

inclusion and internal reproduction". In other words, they are processes which are inclusionary mechanisms creating closer social and kinship bonds within and between groups. Moreover with regards to fostering and adoption, children gain new parents but never forget their association to their genitors (Menget 1988 cited in Halbmayer 2004). Therefore, children never completely abandon their biological family or lineage by substituting it with another; it is an additional social relationship for the child not a replacement of it (Halbmayer 2004).

In Greece, adoption was considered a purer type of family than was the biological family because it was modelled after the Holy family where Mary's virginity is maintained and Joseph, Christ's adopted father, maintained the role of father though Josef was not his biological father (Armenopoulos 1774 cited in Sant Cassia and Bada 1992). Moreover, in Greek, the name used for the adopted child, *psycho –ios* or *–kori*, meaning spiritual son or daughter, is the same as the baptised child, and the name used to describe the adoptive parents or godparents, *pnevmatikoi goneis*, or spiritual parents[100] for both adopted and baptised children is the same (Macrides 1990, Sant Cassia and Bada 1992). Adoption or baptism was done for one's own sake, as an act of salvation. Moreover, just as suggested by Silk (1987), the adopted children can have a better fate. Adopted or foster girls received better dowries than they would have in their natal, rural homes (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992).

To summarise, adoption has been argued to be the transfer of individuals from one family to another. In adoption the adopting parents as well as the adopted children have more rights in their new social family but still retain a link with their biological families. As a result, the networks of individuals are extended through the process of adoption and fosterage because adopted/fostered individuals maintain relations with both old and new families. Foster children do not have all the rights that adopted children have in their new social families nor is their situation as permamant. However, fosterage is a more fluid system which gives individuals more flexibility by allowing the foster children to maintain relations with their birth family as well as creating a new kin-relationship with their foster family. In both situations the child works harder, is reprimanded more, and has fewer benefits than do their natal

[100] *Psycho-* or *pnevma-* both mean spirit; however, *psycho* also means soul while *pnevma* means spirit but can also mean holy.

counterparts. Alternative kin-like relations extend networks and are embedded with strong emotional attachments. Alternative relations, however, attain a flexibility which allows actors to manoeuvre in cases of stress and change.

Child- parent-like Relations

There are many types of social relationships which have been practiced in the Balkans in the past. In this section, I suggest the Arvanite/Albanian association utilises non-consanguineal relationships because of their similar cultural background. Instead of arguing that their relationship is simply a patron/client relationship, I argue that the patron/client relation is too simplistic[101] to characterise this association. I shall argue that their association resembles adoption or fosterage relations. Cultural similarities and contradictory historical/national sentiments of either group regulate the choices they make. The relationship of individuals and thus groups is similar to what E. Goody (1969) outlines in her discussion of adoption processes:

1) providing homes for 'foundlings',
2) providing childless couples with social progeny, and
3) providing heirs to their property.

In addition, their relationship is similar to what Kay (1963:1034) argues, that is

1) Parent fostering was usually done by elderly people but not during their reproductive years
2) The relationship benefited the land owner because they had an active supply of labour and a sense of security in their declining years and
3) A foster child supports the elderly and has informal use of their land.

In almost all the cases where I observed fosterage-like relationships, there were either no direct biological progeny or the children had left the village and not taken up agricultural occupations. Thus, there was little likelihood that the Arvanite children would return to the village and maintain the land. The Albanian immigrants were described as if they were like 'foundlings'. Mrs. Pagona described the immigrants when they first arrived.

[101] Patron/client relations are discussed in Chapter 4. The literature discusses them as social-political and economic relationships where patrons or clients utilise their relations for political gain or to get access to limited resources. For the most part the literature does not deal with the psychological needs individuals have. Adoption and/or Fosterage take the role of kin which theoretically supports the individual psychologically (Notermans 2004).

> When they came to Gogofis they were very poor, so very poor. They had no place to sleep or blankets to keep them warm. We gave them a dry place to live and food until they could make it on their own. They have *prokopi*, like we had when we were poor. They worked very hard and still do. They made something [of themselves]

What makes the relationship between Albanians and Arvanites atypical in Gogofis for the Greek case? In the urban, non-Arvanitic context, the typical relationship between the immigrant and their host is a labour relationship (Psimmenos and Kassimati 2003, Iosifides 1997). This entails a relationship of negotiated labour for monetary reward. The employer measures the cost benefit to give his employee benefits such as IKA (access to the national welfare system) or housing, etc. In the case of Gogofis, Albanian immigrants are given housing, employment and IKA. In addition, host and guest eat together. I would propose that the Arvanite-Albanian relationship is not simply an economic relationship or a negotiation of labour for monetary reward. Rather, their relationship is one like that between a parent and a child because it has both social, economic and psychological support. I realised this when discussing with an elderly Arvanite man, Kotsos. He was upset with Arri, a man who he had let stay in his basement. His complaint seemed petty to me at the time because he was complaining about how they fed him and asked for nothing in return, and how he showed little respect for them. When Arri was in the room they got along well. Arri would do errands such as getting cigarettes, bread or medicine. Arri would spend many hours in the house watching television and keeping Kotsos and his wife company. They in turn helped him get his work papers and would feed him. After Arri had married, his wife, Bona, would help around the house. They in turn brought her to the hospital when it was time for her to give birth. Later, Kotsos and his wife took care of the child when Bona wanted to work. They were like a ‘family’. Complaints that Kotsos and his wife, would have of Arri were reminiscent of a father and mother and a son. In addition, Arri would feel burdened by them wanting to know where he was and if he was all right. Arri also felt obligated to them because of their assistance to him and his wife. Kotsos and his wife also helped Bona adjust to her new life in the village where she knew no one and spoke no Greek. I found this common with many young Albanian men in the village.

Another example which suggests a symbolic parent-child relationship is when Tilli, an Albanian man was baptised by his "employer", who also gave him a nice house to live in. Moreover, Tilli was renamed, Thanasis, after his new Godfather's father at his baptism[102]. It is in accordance with Greek Orthodox tradition that a father has his son baptised with the name of the father's father. The "parent-child" relationship thus, fulfils the objectives of both the Arvanites and the Albanians socially or psychologically to what Malinowski would call their basic, instrumental or integrative needs. 1) Arvanite- labour, repopulation of village, making Greeks, and cultural continuity and companionship 2) Albanian- work, remittance, settlement and a better quality of life and psychological support.

Finally, before the new mass migration of Albanians to the region, speaking Arvanite or expressing his or her identity in public was taboo. So too, is the Arvanites' relationship with the Albanian immigrants. One would not openly express their relationship in public. Likewise Arvanites speak scornfully to any stranger when asked about the Albanians in the village. I heard individuals state countless times how the Albanian immigrants were an *atimi ratsa*, an honourless race and could not be trusted. But Arvanites' private actions contradict what they say in public. This became clear when Gjini was leaving the village to live with his brother in another part of Greece. Yannis, a man who had employed him in the past came to say good-bye. He had never spoken Albanian (Arvanitika) in public. He had never spoken Albanian in my presence either. He came and spoke to him. He wept and gave him a gift and helped him prepare to go, never once using a Greek word with Gjini. Gjini's departure was a sad event for him and his adopted families. Gjini's relationship with Yannis was a private one. To the outsider it appeared as though they only had an employee/employer relationship. But when Gjini had first arrived in Gogofis, Yannis had let him stay in his family homestead even though it had been abandoned for many years. Yannis had fed him and clothed him and given him work. But they were rarely seen in public. They would be seen together only for the purpose of work. Yannis and Gjini's behaviour was typical. Occasionally, Albanians and Arvanites might sit in the same café but almost never at the same table. Their relationship was one of *cultural*

[102] Keesing (1975:129) suggests that "the relationship between sponsors and parents that characteristically has strong associations and entails respect and family reciprocity." The ritual of baptism thus creates kin-like relations extending genealogies and broadening the social horizons of individuals. In this way Tili has consciously chosen to become integrated into Gogofis.

intimacy (Herzfeld 1997). I would suggest such behaviour has more so to do with the Arvanites' position in Greek society. Arvanite identity is expressed and delegated to the private realm. Therefore the Arvanites '*culturally intimate'* relationship with the Albanians was delegated to that private realm also. In public, Arvanites were Greeks - therefore they were expected to speak harshly of the Albanians. They were expected to treat them as "others": as pariahs or at best employees. An example of this was when I took Gjini and his brother for a drink by the sea. We arrived home around dusk. The neighbours watched as we parked outside my home. After Gjini and his brother left, the Arvanites harshly reprimanded me and told me the Albanians could not be trusted. While, many of them had fostered Albanian "children," I was not supposed to. If I had to, I could hire them for work, but I was not expected to have a public relationship with Albanian immigrants. This sometimes makes maintaining their relationship very difficult. On the one hand, they have a close relationship to their Albanian "children" while on the other hand, they publicly scorn them. This strains their relationship because the Albanians dislike this behaviour. I have often heard my Albanian contacts say the Arvanites are more Greek than the Greeks. In public, Arvanites are evaluated and evaluate themselves as Greeks.

Patronage, Kinship or Adoption?

The Arvanites have a social relationship to the Albanian immigrants which is qualitatively different from other Greek non-Arvanites in rural settings. They both claim origins from the same source. They both speak the same language. Even though the Arvanite, at one time had been marginalised themselves (Gefou-Mandianou 2001), they now feel they are fully incorporated into the local and nation state. On the other hand, the Albanian immigrant's power is not a result of their direct relationship to the state power apparatus. The odd set of circumstances defining their social relations requires further analysis. Several questions emerge. What is the Arvanite and Albanian relationship? Is it a kinship-like relationship or a patron/client relationship? If it is a kin-based relationship, how is it so, and what form does it take?

I have suggested above that their relationship is like a parent, (Arvanite), and child, (Albanian immigrant). The relationship is not strictly a kinship relationship either. None of the new immigrants have any consanguineal or affineal ties with the Arvanites. The one exception I observed was of an Arvanite man marrying an Albanian woman. He declared that his children will be raised Greek and will only speak Greek even though he spoke Arvanitika fluently. Although the present day population may not all be directly related to the first 'Arvanites' settling in or around Gogofis, it is significant that the Arvanites express themselves as having this long-standing tenure and relationship to the land[103] which the Albanian immigrants do not have and do not claim to have.

Both groups recognise their common origins. But is the relationship a convenient disguise for a patron/client relationship? It is true that patron/client relations use the idioms of kinship and friendship in discourse and when favours are given or received (Boissevain 1975; Stein 1984; Lyon 2004). Arvanites do ask for help from particular individuals with regards to legalisation and health matters. But I believe their relationship is different. I have participated and observed both kinship related behaviours and patron/client behaviours both in public and private social environments. People act differently with their patrons than they do with their brothers, sisters, mothers or fathers.

In Gogofis, patrons are treated with more deference than are 'family'. When a patron is addressed, they may be spoken to by his first name or by his title; mister or president, etc. (cf. Campbell 1964). Kinship terms are not used when addressing patrons in Gogofis. Moreover, in a patron's absence, I have observed Albanians using a patron's nickname indicating an intimate relationship. This is not the case when Albanians refer to their intimate particular hosts. They refer to them using kinship terms; usually, *Barba*, meaning uncle for elderly men, and *Thia* or *Yiayia* meaning aunt or grandmother, for elderly woman[104]. Generally speaking, when a young person calls an older woman, *Thia*, in Gogofis s/he creates a sense of kinship and community. Moreover they create kin-like relationships by the use of kin-terms. Kin-

[103] Theodossopolos (2000) suggest, that jural lands is embodied by sweat, tears and toil and transmitted through the state.
[104] The use of *barba* in demotic Greek is used by youg people to talk about their fathers. For example: *"Ti Kanie o barbas sou;"* "How is your old man?"

like relations establish kin-like obligations (cf. Aschenbrenner 1986). Moreover, when an Albanian goes to visit a patron's house he does not act like a guest[105]. He may help with the serving of food and drink or run to fulfil the patron's request. However, the spaces he occupies are much the same as those of a guest. As a client he will not go into the bedroom, an example of a private space; unless asked specifically to do so. I was with Gjini before the *trigos*, the grape harvest. We went to Ladas' house. We were there a bit early, so we waited for the rest of the crew to come. Ladas told Gjini to make himself coffee, so he did. I was made a coffee by Ladas' wife. In this particular case, Gjini was told what to do and which cabinet to open. Ladas was Gjinis' patron. Gjinis did not go into private spaces like the kitchen cabinets unless specifically told to do so. In contrast, Gjini had been taken in by Barba Yannis. In his house he and his wife would come and go in Yannis' house whether Yannis or his wife were present. He would open the refrigerator, use the bathroom, and sit in the bedroom around the oil heater when Barba Yannis was sleeping. They had full and informal uses of the entire house. If the casual observer were to see Gjini and Barba Yannis, s/he would probably think they were a "family".

Gjini is not legally adopted by Barba Yannis. He has no *de jure* rights to anything Barba Yannis owns. Nor has Gjini's relationship to his own natal family changed in terms of his rights and responsibilities. In fact, much of the fruits of his labour are sent to his natal family in the form of remittances. His relationship with Barba Yannis family is not one of formal adoption. But it is similar. I would suggest it has the hallmarks of fosterage because it is a more fluid relationship. He only has partial rights within Barba Yannis household and his right of inheritance to Barba Yannis estate does not take precedence over consaguinial and affineal kin's rights.

Tilli is another example of a similar type relationship. Tilli's family of procreation, his wife and daughters were baptised by the Zacharias' kin. Of the many jobs Tilli does is care for the Zacharias' olive trees and takes a majority percentage of the oil harvest each year. In the past this type of profession was common but most people do not do agricultural work and the fields are left fallow. However, Tilli now has *de facto* rights over the Zacharias' land similar to what Kay (1963) observed. Of course what

[105] Similarly to Gogofis, Herzfeld (1985:37) describes how guests and hosts follow relatively strict rituals in Crete.

Tilli's right with regards to the land in the future is difficult to predict. Tilli's relationship to his foster family is slightly different than Gjini's relationship to his. Tilli and each of his family have been baptised by the Zacharias' or the Zacharias' kin. He therefore has made an informal foster arrangement official through the rituals of the church and sponsorship. Thus, he is no longer just bound by a sense of obligation and honour to the people who fed and clothed his family when he came into the village but has more formal rights and responsibilities to and from the Zacharias family as it is defined by local, and religious custom and by the society at large as the Zacharias' Godchild.

Results from Formalisation of Albanian/Arvanite Relationships

In this section I illustrate how formalisation or naturalisation of the Albanian/Arvanite foster relationships results in how Arvanites view themselves and how Albanians deal with the problems of immigration. The results are visible in the Albanians' relative success in the village and their inclusion into Gogofiote society[106]. In the following section the *vëllazëri* is examined to illustrate the relative inclusion/exclusion and the success the Albanians immigrants have in Gogofis.

The agnatic kin or *vëllazëri*, literally meaning brothers[107] are an important socio-economic institution in Albania. It is the basis of social organization and blood feud in the *Kanun i Lec* as described by Hasluck (1954;1967). The *vëllazëri* or *vlasni*, according to Hasluck (1954), is referred to in anthropological literature as a *zadruga, originating* from Serbo-Croatian (Hammel 1968; Mosley 1976; Mosley 1978). The *zadruga* was widespread throughout the Balkans. It functioned as an agnatic socio-economic unit. It has largely disappeared everywhere but still has some prominence in Albania (Mosley 1978). The Post World War II authoritarian Albanian state saw it as a threat. Thus, Hoxha attempted to dismantle the system by allowing only two brothers to live in the same household (Poulton 1991) but after the fall of the iron curtain, Albanians reorganised themselves into agnatic households but with some alterations. The household tends to be patrilocal but brothers can live in separate residences within the same neighbourhood. The father usually lives with the youngest

[106] Formal Boundaries are manipulated and made more fluid.
[107] literally meaning brothers

son (Gjecov 1989). In Albania limited space and communist urban planning limits this desired type of residence, but when the Albanians immigrated, *vëllazeris* became common again. I have observed the *vëllazëri* residence patterns in both the Athenian urban centre and in rural Gogofis. When I began this fieldwork, Gogofis' limited housing made it difficult for *vëllazëri* to establish residence near on another, but with time Albanian immigrant agnates moved closer together. This became apparent towards the end of my fieldwork. In Gogofis, men tend to initiate their settlement according to *vëllazëri* preferences. A man or several brothers come into the village and become established. Several agnates follow. After establishing themselves, they go home to Albania, marry, and bring their wives to Gogofis.

This section contrasts two *vëllazëri* in Gogofis (see fig.5.1). These *vëllazëri* illustrate how some Albanian objectives are achieved by using existing Arvanite kinship systems in this newly settled place and how Albanian immigrants use kinship to extend social networks.

Fig.5.1 Vëllazëri i Lulë ***Vëllazëri i Shpuzë***

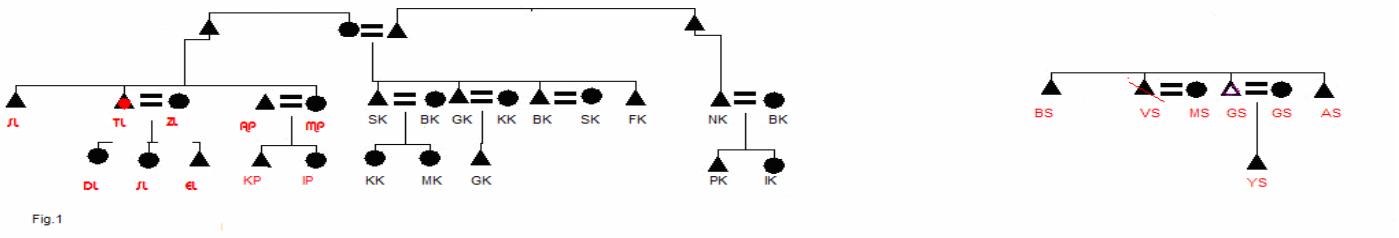


Fig.1

Figure 5.1 is a diagram comparing the Lulë and Shpuzë brotherhoods. Tilli is indicated by the TS. He arrived in the village with his brother, sister and his first cousin. Shortly afterwards Tilli brought his wife and four 1st cousins followed. All of them are working in Gogofis or the neighbouring village. In contrast, Gjini (GS) is the only one who has a child. His elder brother died (VS) and his eldest lives in a village 3 hours from Gogofis. The youngest brother (AS) moved away after their elder brother's death. Now they all live with the 2nd eldest brother.

The Lulë and the Shpuzë *vëllazëri* came to the village in the early 1990's. Some of the Lulë brothers have become the most prosperous immigrants in the village. Thus, their family size has grown. The Shpuzë, reluctantly left Gogofis as they were unable to do more than subsist in the village even though they had a good reputation as hard workers. Tilli Lulë has done very well for himself. He has found a niche in the

village. He cultivates and maintains many olive groves taking his profit from seventy to eighty percent of the harvest at the end of the year. He sells firewood from the olive tree cuttings and paints houses and does odd jobs during the rest of the year. He is the only Albanian adult to have become an Orthodox Christian in Gogofis and the only one of his *vëllazëri*. As a result, he is paid by the Church to bury the dead. He works 6-7 days a week often turning down work as he has too much to do. He has more extensive social networks, than any other members of his lineage in the village. Thus, he has a guaranteed good wage, standard accommodations with the average person living in Gogofis, money for remittances and has no problem maintaining a legal residence and working status with the government. He was one of the first Albanian immigrants to have processed his immigration papers for his family. His brother has returned to their village in Albania and has opened a convenience store.

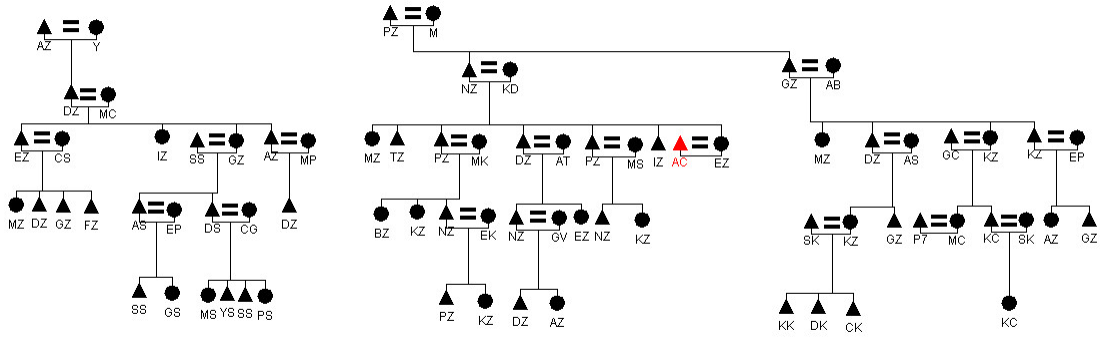


fig.5.2 The Zacharias lineage

NZ and his sister KZ (in the centre of the diagram) fostered and later sponsored Tilli's baptism. Zane, Tili's wife works for KZ and NK second cousins SK and KZ (to the left)

In contrast, Gjini Shpuzë decided to leave the village. While in Gogofis he was mostly given seasonal agricultural and construction work. He had told me he worked 4-6 days a week but sometimes when things were slow, he worked only 3 days out of the week. He eventually moved to a village where another brother had been living about two hours west of Athens and three hours west of Gogofis. There he has attained more stable work. He has made enough to buy a car but because he has moved away from Gogofis, he has had to solicit former neighbours in Gogofis to help him process his immigration papers but, his former foster family has shown some apprehension. Tilli appear to be doing better than Gjini in Gogofis. There are several factors. Tilli's foster

family is the Zacharias' family (see fig.5.2). The kinship chart shows that the Zacharias family is a relatively small family. It isn't one of the more wealthy families in the village either. But they have been very helpful in supporting Tilli. Tilli says:

> They have taken me in; have taken care of me and my family. If it wasn't for them life would be very difficult. I would have starved when I [first] came. They found Zane (his wife) work immediately. They [the Zacharias'] baby-sit the kids whenever we are working. I don't have to worry about them [the children]. They even help with their lessons. It is difficult for us to help, Greek is not our language. They are like family.

In fact they have become godparents as the Zacharias' cousins baptised Tilli and his wife while their children were baptised by the Zacharias' themselves. Now that his children are a bit older, his wife was able to get a part time job at a tavern by the sea employed by the "Kolias" family who is also the cousin of the Zacharias'.

In addition, Tilli works for non-Gogofiotes. He does work for wealthy Athenians who have summer houses in Gogofis. Thus he has a very mixed group of *extended networks*[108]. Gjini worked almost exclusively for the Safiris family. Gjini told me he felt obligated to stay and work for the Safiris' because they gave him shelter and fed him and took care of his boy when he had to work. In addition, the Safiris have a large extended kin network (see fig. 5.3) which kept Gjini fairly busy but which did not always have direct economic benefits. Although Gjini's immediate foster family is not the wealthiest in the village, a closer examination shows that the Safiris family is one of the wealthiest Arvanite families in the village. They control production of two of the most important agricultural products in the village, grapes for retsina and olives for oil. Gjini's network does not extend much beyond the Safiris family and he has no networks outside of the greater Gogofis. The strategy he chose was adequate before the induction of the Euro. But with its introduction and the inflationary practices that followed, there were greater economic pressures on him and his connection to maintain himself and his family. More of Gjini's *vëllazëri* did not migrate to the village thus his extended networks remained limited to his foster family and that of his brothers. After the accidental death of his eldest brother, one of his brothers left to find other work and Gjini finally followed. Moreover, his relationship

[108] Boissevain 1969

with his foster family is maintained by his presence in Gogofis. I spoke with his foster father. Gjini had been back to request assistance to process his papers. He debated whether to support him saying, "*poname yia afton ala then ine pia edo*", "We feel pain (sympathise) with him but he is no longer here". Eventually they did help him process the paperwork he and his family needed. If they had not helped him by getting his working papers in order, he might have been sent back to Albania. Gjini depended on the Safiris family for shelter, work and for assistance with legalization of his status. Tilli has the same needs but because he has more extensive social networks, he is able to utilise more 'wells' of influence. He is not dependent on a few members of the community for his needs. Tilli can find work for other members of his family beyond the confines of Gogofis and thus, is a patron to his family and friends in his own right. As a result, his *vëllazëri* has grown and his extended network has grown also.

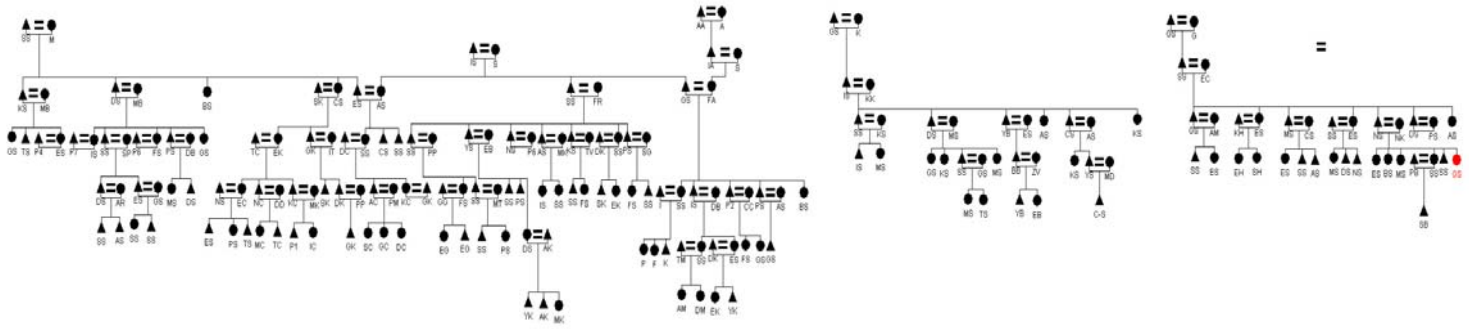


fig. 5.3 The Safiris Lineage
The Safiris family is the largest family in Gogofis. Gjini's foster father IS (located, left of centre). Gjini had work but also other obligations. There are over 30 first cousins with whom he could access work but also had to maintain reciprocal relations which gave him little time to cultivate other relationships. Note a close-up the first cousins which Gjinis work for.

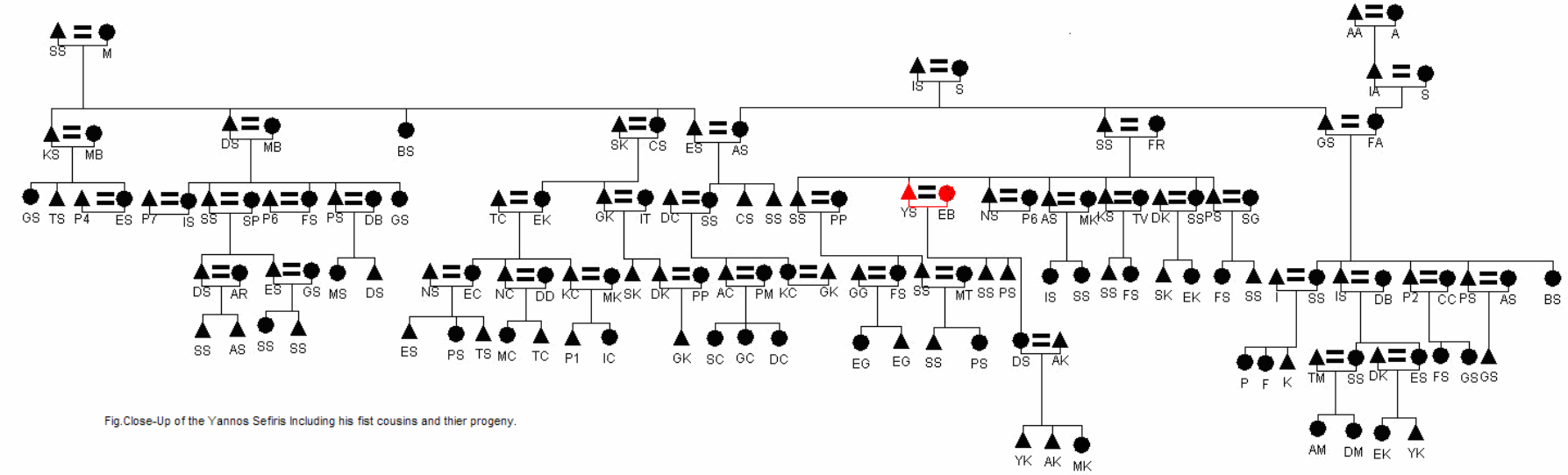


Fig.Close-Up of the Yannos Sefiris Including his fist cousins and thier progeny.

Conclusion

Although it appears as though Tili and Gjini have chosen to be associated with the Zacharias and Safiris" families respectively, creating the results by which they exist, Tilli and Gjini's choices are limited. They do not choose who their foster parents might be. The Arvanites are the ones who choose to take in an Albanian immigrant into their home. Thus, Tilli's 'fortune' had been chosen by the Zacharias family giving him different options than Gjini's. How each individual used those options depended on which pre-existing kin structure they became associated with. As a result, Tilli's *vëllazëri have* become more integrated into the Gogofiote society. Tilli's family members are all proficient in Greek while Gjini and his wife are not fluent in Greek. In Albanian, Gjini is eloquent and very witty, but he has trouble expressing himself in Greek. Gjini decided to leave whereas Tilli's position and his *vëllazëri have* become better and more stable with time. Tilli has decided to settle in Gogofis and would like to live there permanently. In conclusion, the Arvanites are in control of most of the symbolic and cultural capital in the village. They choose whether to foster an Albanian or not. Their choice directly affects the options the Albanian immigrant is given as they try to create a life for themselves away from 'home'. Furthermore, unlike official kinship structures these fosterages are maintained by reciprocity (Kay 1963, Goody 1967). Therefore Gjini had difficulty maintaining his Arvanite family and after the death of his elder brother, his brother's foster family could not be maintained, thus losing those important patrons. Gjini was forced to leave as he no longer could attain his goals in the village and support his foster kinship network, whereas Tilli was no longer just a client but also became a patron and head of his *vëllazëri*. The Albanians and the Arvanites tend to organise themselves in agnatic groups (cf. Just 2000; Sant Cassia and Bada 1992), a process which is essential to spiritual brotherhoods and blood brotherhoods. Tilli's situation is an example of the transition from an informal agnatic system of fosterage to a formal system tied to baptism. Most Albanians do not become baptised but most of them baptise their children. As a result, the Albanian immigrants are extending their social networks more formally.

The Arvanites bond with Albanians is a culturally intimate relationship. Their relationship is implicitly Albanian and thus, placed in a hierarchy of relationships

beyond the village. Albanian immigrants in Gogofis have found a place where they are welcome but their position is still subordinate to the established Greek/Arvanite population who has chosen to 'foster' them. If there is a falling out between an Arvanite "parent" and an Albanian "child", the Albanian immigrant's position may be compromised. The Arvanites are a source of social, economic and psychological capital for Albanian immigrants. The Arvanites willingly help their "foster children" but it is their choice not the Albanian immigrants' choice. The Arvanites have control of labour in the village and are the Albanian immigrants' link to essential state structures of which their legal status in Greece is dependent. The ambiguity of both the Arvanites' Greekness and Albanianness is part of their relationship to their Albanian "foster children." The Arvanite and Albanian close relationship empowers their position in the local but at the same time emphasises their potentially non-Greekness. Whereas patron/client relations are normative and publicly practised behaviours between Arvanites and others, Arvanites foster parent relationship with the Albanian immigrants is more ambiguous. It is not publicly acceptable beyond Gogofis and therefore not expressed publicly. However, because they recognise their common culture, they maintain a private relationship. Thus, familial relationships, social and psychological bonds are maintained in private. This relationship is potentially subversive because it undermines the entire construction of Greekness itself. I suggest the Arvanites and other ambiguous groups in Greece is the key to maintaining the Greek identity, because they are the mirror of Greekness. Their cultural intimate relationship is not completely as Herzfeld (1997) suggests because the Arvanite public Greek and legitimate world separates the two groups. Greekness, or what the Gogofiotes believe Greekness to be, and the nationalist ideology associated with it subordinate them and their expressions of ethnic difference. The Arvanites appear to desire a more formal relationship with their ethnic 'children.' They desire a more formal relationship so the differences are lessened. Moreover, by the processes of naturalisation, in other words, baptism of the Albanian immigrants and the legitimisation of their relationship they affect their own perceptions and relations to Greek national ideologies of 'Greekness.' On the one hand, Albanian immigrants are in the process of becoming Greek. On the other hand, the Albanian's position as semi-legitimate kin emphasises the Arvanites own ambiguity. As a result, differences between Arvanite-Greeks and Greeks are maintained even though it may not be their objective or their desire.

Chapter 6

Names and Naming

Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck (2006:2) suggest, "The recitation of names is a crucial aspect of memory, an active not-forgetting that validates the present order more often than not, bringing the political aspect into view." Calling me Kathigitis*"* (Professor) or "*Practoras"* (Agent) appears innocent enough, but it was subtle in that, it makes a statement about my relationship to them and my position in Greek society and at the same time placed me into local autobiographical memory. Naming individuals is a way of boundary maintenance. In Gogofis' case names are used to create both otherness and sameness. This chapter attempts to illustrate how both Arvanites and Albanian immigrants in the village of Gogofis use names, surnames, and nicknames as tools of socio-cultural exclusion/inclusion and remembering/not forgetting. Likewise, this chapter attempts to show how Albanian immigrants use the tradition of names and nicknames to create more inclusive relationships with the villagers[109]. The process involved with name use, manifests and reifies the changing relationship of Albanian immigrants to Arvanite villagers and the relationship of the villagers to the State. To conclude, I suggest that even hierarchical relationships between the village and the state or between the immigrant and the villager are negotiable (cf. Alia 2007; Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck 2006). The subordinate party can maneuver his/her position 'satisfactorily' because of his/her intimate local knowledge, limiting those in superior position influences on end results. Names may signify ethnicity. However, by concealing ethnically identifiable names they remain part of local knowledge[110]. Thus, I suggest that ethnic ideology remains localised and undeveloped. Actors in the group lack the tools, the desire or the political momentum to transform themselves into an ethnic-national movement; an ethnic national movement which Weber (1978) suggests would result in ethnic group formation. Differences are maintained, however. Through use of different types of names, in this case, forenames, surnames

[109] Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck (2006:2) suggest that names are thought to have the capacity to fix identity which creates a tension with the individuals' capacity to detach from those identities.
[110] Although nicknames and Albanian immigrants' given names are not secret *per sé*, they are guarded information. Thus the lack of intimate local knowledge results is a form of secrecy. Alia (2007) suggests that secretive names are a result of a society which is under threat and is a form of resistance to assimilation by a dominant culture.

or nicknames. Each name identifies the individual[111], categorises him or her. Names, thus, become both signifiers and metonyms.

The nature of names

Introduction

In this chapter I attempt to illustrate the practice of naming in Gogofiote society. Since family names, forenames and nicknames are part of everyday life in Gogofis, one would expect them to hold meaning as signifiers to other interlocutors. How a name is used and which name is used delineates different meaning to the interlocutor. To introduce the subject of name use and to put this use into the proper perspective, it is best to examine the general properties of names and name practice. I shall demonstrate how names are used specifically in Gogofis. I shall also illustrate the fluidity not usually associated with naming by comparing how Albanian immigrants use naming processes. Albanian immigrants attempt to manoeuvre in this pre-existing system in which they have placed themselves by the act of migration. Finally, I suggest that names are metonyms, which by their nature create hierarchical relationships between outsider/insider and local/state[112]. Moreover, the structures associated with naming and name categories appear to be inflexible. I illustrate how agents and groups manipulate differences (temporally and spatially) within the contexts of naming and name use.

At first glance, a name represents an individual. On closer examination, however, a name has a much greater significance (content, meaning and impact) than simply representing the individual. It is a signifier placing the individual into several groups. The names one owns classify a person's profession, religious group, or ethnicity (Stahl 1998). Moreover, one's name tells the individual, the bearer to which groups s/he belongs. As Stahl (1998:192) states, "Each bearer of names, by knowing his

[111] (Alia 2007; Bodenhorn and Vom Bruch 2006) suggest that names are the essence of one's identity. It can also represent collective property.
[112] Scott (1989) suggests that everyday forms of resistance are actions which lodge protest against those in power where power is represented by civil authorities such as the state and its administrative structures.

various names, knows who his people are". In other words, names create social boundaries and a sense of belonging, simultaneously placing the individual as a signified into the social matrix. Therefore a name includes that person into one group and/or excludes him from another. On the other hand, Wilson (1998:xii) who examined the use of names in Western Europe from a historical perspective, concludes that an individual is classified and positioned into a family and society at large by virtue of his/her name, which thus defines ones 'social personality'. In other words, he is suggesting a name defines a person in society. An example of this is as Wilson indicates feminised versions of masculine names in Europe were first practiced in Roman times suggesting that the Romans saw women as not complete individuals but as part of the family unit. This name usage is still practiced in Greece by Arvanites and non-Arvanites alike. Such practices are explicit and create gender hierarchies in the society (Wilson 1998). Zonabend (1980) proposes that names are 'mnemonic tools' which contain different fields of reference. Gender is one such field. Furthermore, names also signify fields of class, religion, kinship, or fields such as ethnic belonging or nationhood (cf. Alia 2007; Bodenhorn and Vom Bruck 2006). However, names are not static signifiers. They change, and therefore their meaning changes through time also. Therefore, the way children are named after relatives of past generations in Greece, may represent new individuals while simultaneously maintaining ties with those of older generations (Didika 1998, Sutton 2001). Names are not only related to the present but also exist in time and through time (Seremetakis 1994). Herzfeld (1982: 289) suggests that although there is the custom of naming children as a maker of memory and as a substantiate tradition, people use alternative discourses and alliance or honour codes to manipulate the systems to their own benefit. Therefore, if an agent manipulates the different rules of naming, choosing a particular name honours the individual who the new person is named after by creating a bond and obligation from the honoured individual which may have social and economic benefits in the future (Herzfeld 1982). I would suggest that this is the key to changeability of names, the meanings they are imbued and their future use.

To summarise, names can either be seen as social markers as suggested by Stahl (1998) or as representations of social status, as suggested by Wilson (1998) or they can represent symbolic fields such as kinship, or village (Zonabend 1980). A name may represent any or all of these fields. In addition, these representative fields may

also be politically charged, thus, imbued with power and hierarchical relationships (Alia 2007; Bodenhorn and Vom Bruch 2006). Names are not only synchronic phenomena either. They link people to the past. Moreover, meanings behind names, or names of groups or families, change. They are not static monolithic representations of a group and therefore fields of status or social demarcation also change through time. Finally, names are tools for memory practice. The individual is placed in or displaced from a social temporal and spatial matrix by the act of being named.

The Family Name

Family names are official names recognised and utilised by the state and by global *de jure* legal channels (Stahl 1998: Alia 2007). However, they do not exclusively define the individual. The forenames and therefore particular individuals associated with that forename are changeable while the family name does not change (Didika 1998). My research suggests that several family names actually do change with time but at a slower rate than the rate of change in other name categories. The family name in Gogofis is based on a patronymic system. In Maniate society, for example, the family name represents the family line or sub-families (Didika 1998). Gogofiote society is similar to Maniate society but has some notable differences. Didika (1998) suggests the family name is directly related to the founder, which appears to be similar to what existed in Albania's *fis* or clans (Durham 1910, Halsuck 1954). In Gogofis, family names do represent family lines because family ancestry can only be traced a few generations back. There is evidence in the *Demotologio* (local village registrar) that many Arvanite families changed their family names slightly. Initially I suspected forename changes were done to Hellenise non-Greek sounding names, but I found no evidence to suggest this. Therefore, Hellenisation was probably not the primary purpose of the changes as many changes indicate acceptably 'Greek' surnames changing to other Greek surnames as in the example of one sub-lineage of Pappas changing to Peppas. I was told that it was a trend to change names in order to hide the fact that two families were closely related. An informant told me,

> This was done because many Arvanites were members in the military and because officers could not promote *to soi* [direct kin] easily. They changed their family names.

I suspect this practice may have been to circumvent the church and state's authority and rules of marriage, incest and property rights. This subject is obviously taboo and difficult to pursue deeply[113]. Of the changes recorded in the *Demotologio*, it appears to be that intermarriage is an exception between kin who have changed surnames. Although rare, it did occur. The result is that after several generations, exact kin connections were forgotten and therefore, kin relations and clear understanding of lineages are blurred, though they recognised they have a relation. In addition to slight phonetic changes to a family name several others had changed their surname by placing the suffix [Papa-] in front of the ancestors' forename. I was told that the Papadimitriou family, which is also a common surname in Messogion Arvanite villages, were indeed related to the Kiousis family but had changed their name. This was only one of the indications of a name change. Since the change happened before the turn of the 20th Century, precise relationships between lineages had been almost forgotten. Kyriakos whose family ran one of the *kafenions* explained,

> When my Grandfather came back to the village [from working in northern Greece] he changed his name back to Kiousis. Kiousis means *ktistis*, builder, in Turkish. He was proud of his name. He did not want to have a different name. The others kept the name Papadimitriou. I like the name Kiousis. It means something.

His grandfather came back to the village sometime in the first decade of the 20th Century. This is evident in that some of Kiousis' children were born in the North while the last three were born in Gogofis[114]. Thus, surnames appear to be more stable because they represent lineages but can change under certain circumstances (cf.

[113] The d*emotologio* was created sometime shortly after World War II. As a result, many changes had already taken place or not recorded in the register. Moreover, the register was limited to people's living memory and only interested in the living and the living's parents and grandparents at the time of its creation.

[114] The exact meaning of the name was not found and does not resemble modern Turkish, Albanian or Greek works for "builder".

Didika 1998). Surnames, as are all names, are manipulated to reach particular goals. In Gogofis, the external power structure is usurped just by slight changes in the pronunciation and spelling of surnames. The action of name change is an act of defiance. However, this defiance resembles types of resistance likened to everyday resistance discussed by Scott (1985, 1989, 2002) where subordinate groups resist for their everyday survival through insubordination or false compliance to undermine those in power. However, this act of defiance still recognises the power of Church and State over the families in the village[115]. This reaffirms the state institution and national discourse's power even though it temporarily subverts it.

Patronymic system

The Patronymic system is defined to be the transmissions of the father's surname to offspring and husband's surname to his wife (Stahl 1998). Indications of when the patronymic system was established in Gogofis are not clear but there is evidence of its establishment in Syros during the 17th Century by the Venetians (Sapkidis 1998) and in the 20th Century in Kastellorizo (Tsenoglou 1998). The inconsistent temporal transformation to the patronymic system indicates several things: first, different parts of Greece began to use the patronymic system at very different times over the centuries. Secondly, though Gogofis uses a bilateral kinship system, after a few generations, Gogofiotes forget bilineal ancestry creating a society whose history and collective memory is male-centred. The patrilineage is elevated to an official and thus, legitimate higher status[116].

The kinship system in Greece has been described as a bilateral kinship system by several anthropologists (Campbell 1964, Just 2000.) The patronymic system is also mnemonically patrilineal. In other words, the paternal side and lineage are remembered. It is easy for individuals to trace lineages and sub-lineage relationships to apical ancestors. The patrilineage is therefore easily identified. The male side of the family has prominence in a patronymic system (Tsenoglou 1998). The result in

[115] Counter to Scott (1989), Herzfeld suggests (1987) defiance reinforces the official power structures.
[116] All official records in Greece require the father's forename and surname, or *onoma patros.* The *onoma patros* reinforces the patronymic and patriarchal system with structural state legitimacy. This is not to infer that the mothers' names are not required on some governmental documents but the *onoma patros* is required on all government petitions without exception.

Gogofis is that the father's side of the family can be traced four to five generation back from ego while in ego's matrilineage, descendants can only be traced for two or, at most, three generations back. Moreover, it is almost always the ego's mother's patrilineage, not the matrilineage. As a result, most women's lineages and all association to them are forgotten. Since Gogofis is both patronymic and patrilocal, women's 'historical' place in Gogofis is *de facto* lost in the passing of time. For those women who were married out of Gogofis, their *de jure* rights, though theoretically intact, would appear to be lost *de facto,* as the memory of relationships to Gogofis diminished with time. Although I do not have direct evidence of this kind of disinheritance, Gogofiotes refer to land ownership through the patriline.

If women who had been married out of the village had maintained rights to the village lands over several generations, I suspect there would be more than the occasional reference to a plot of land being owned by a *xenos*[117]*, a* stranger, from villages with which they had affinial kinship ties, such as, Varnava, or the villages of Southern Evia, for example. Land provenance is always referred to according to patrilineage. When a woman owns a plot of land, she and her land is referred to through her patronymic line and to her patrilineage, "*Afta einai ta ambelia tis Pagonas, i kori tou Koutsogeka*", these are the vineyards of Pagona, the daughter of Koutsogekas. Furthermore, the patronymic surnames in Greece and in Gogofis follow Greek rules of grammar. The feminine form of Greek surnames is in the genitive form of the noun. In other words, a typical surname, such as "Sideris" for example, is the masculine form of the noun. "Sideri" is the female version of the name and the genitive form of Sideris. In other words, since Sideri is the genitive form of Sideris meaning ' tou Sideri', she is always designated as the daughter (or wife) of Sideris[118]. Her surname and identity is associated with that name and cannot be independent from the males in her family. She is signified by a patronym and by the men of the family. In 1984 the law was adjusted in regards to name-change for women at marriage. Women were now obligated to maintain their paternal surnames after marriage and were no longer legally separate(d) from their natal family as affected in

[117] The *xenos* usually refers to people from other villages near Gogofis. In recent contexts a *xenos* could be someone who has recently purchased land such as summer residents from Athens.
[118] Using the feminised masculine first started in Roman time, according to Wilson. "Roman women bore feminised male names. Women bore their father's names" The term was referred to as *gentilicuum.* (Wilson 1998 p.xii)

earlier years by adopting their husband's surname at marriage. Thus, since 1984, women continue to be associated with their fathers' patrilineage instead of acquiring their husbands' patrilineage at marriage.

To summarise, Greek kinship systems are considered bilateral[119] but women in Greece and particularly in Gogofis are not onomastically independent from the patrilineage that they are associated with either at birth or in marriage. In effect they are as Wilson (1998) suggests: Women are not considered complete individuals but are associated with either their husband's patrilineage or that of their father's patrilineage.

Pic. 6.1 Safras, Mexis and Evagellou/Gerasimatos family tombs. The tombs have the male genitos' surnames

[119] According to Just (2000:98-99) in his research in Spartohori there are several parallels to Gogofis. Bilateral and agnatic grouping appeared to be nominal and residence was preferably patrilocal. 'Bilateral' as a 'real' category may be much more fluid than suggested here. There are some characteristics which would categorise the people Gogofis as a place where bilateral kinship is practiced. Firstly land is passed on by law to both sons and daughters equally. Though there is a slight emphasis on the agnatic relationships because of patrilocal practices in the past. Today Gogofiotes are no longer ethnically endogamous; men do move in the vicinity of their wives natal homes which is creating visible tensions. Labour in the fields tends to be organised according to patrilineages. Even married women also depend primarily on the patrilineage for labour and support during harvest and cultivation times. However, future research is required to understand to what extent ethnic exogamy has changed the village social structure and women's and men's perceptions of that change.

Their past and uterine kin are limited to their autobiographical memory[120] and not to official lineages. As a result, women's contributions to the community and to the family are quickly lost after a few generations. This is particularly evident in Gogofis in the patrilocal practices and exogamy of women of the village. As seen from the *demotologio*, evidence of where women have gone to, or if they were married, is unanswerable. What has become of them is lost to the past. In addition, the lack of evidence of women's likenesses or of when they lived or died is reflected in the cemetery and the monuments to the dead (see picture 6.1). There are tombs for women, but usually only their husband's name is attached to their forename. In picture 6.1, as in most of the tombs in Gogofis, only the male lineage is indicated and only the patronym appears on the grave. Finally, exogamy, patrilocality, and patronymic practices in affect, appear to exclude women and their offspring to their right to the land of their mothers or their mother's fathers as time passes and their relationship to Gogofis diminishes.

Surnames, and identity

In Gogofis there are 89 surnames only associated with the place (see table 6.1). There are some surnames which the residents consider unique to Gogofis. I have been told, on many occasion, that:

> When you [the ethnographer] hear the Safras family's name anywhere you will know that the person is from Gogofis.

Gogofiotes identify three particular surnames in the village as unique. There are also families which are considered the "old families" of the village. They are incidentally also the largest families in the village according to the voters' registration list of 1965. An individual had to have one of the 89 surnames to "belong" to Gogofis. In fact to completely "belong" to the village, the individual's name had to be Arvanite. Indeed non-Arvanites settled in the village but their "belonging" has been contested by both

[120] Autobiographical memory, based on the notions by Halbwachs (1992) is further discussed in chapter 7

the name-holders and the particular individuals even though their ancestors came to Gogofis a century ago.

Table 6.1 *Surnames of adult members of Gogofis according the 1965 voter's registration*

Surname	Males	Females	Total	Surname	Males	Females	Total
Aggelis	9	11	20	Biniaris	1	1	2
Aggelou	4	3	7	Bousoulas	6	8	14
Alikiotis	4	5	9	Nikolaou	1	2	3
Votsis	11	9	20	Dasis	1	0	1
Gennatos	1	1	2	Panourias	7	11	18
Gerasimatos	3	1	3	Papageorgiou	10	11	21
Gianouros	1	1	2	Papakonstandiou	7	9	16
Gikas	17	22	37	Papastratou	2	2	2
Gosmas	3	1	4	Pappas	13	7	20
Dardavesis	9	8	17	Paronis	2	0	2
Dimoliannis	5	5	10	Peppas	5	7	12
Eleftheriou	1	0	1	Pylichos	6	3	9
Efstathiou	2	3	5	Raptis	2	3	5
Efstratiou	1	0	1	Raftis	1	0	1
Zegginis	9	11	20	Rousis	3	2	5
Ioannidis	1	2	3	Sapata	2	2	4
Kakaris	26	35	61	Safras	28	24	52
Kaletzis	1	0	1	Sideris	38	36	75
Karavas	2	1	3	Siogas	1	2	3
Karadimas	8	6	14	Skitzos	4	5	9
Karamitsas	1	1	2	Stasis	18	16	34
Karvouniaris	7	3	10	Synodinos	3	1	4
Kardasis	1	0	1	Sotirchos	3	5	8
Kastipis	3	2	5	Tzanegakis	1	5	6
Kiousis	14	16	30	Tollias	3	1	4
Kollias	16	15	31	Tourkoandonis	5	4	9
Koloneros	9	12	20	Tsoutis	1	1	2
Korovesis	31	30	61	Frangos	4	2	6
Koukis	5	6	11	Hatzidakis	1	1	2
Kyparisis	1	1	2	Hatzopoulos	4	4	8
Kyriakos	5	4	9	Chysinas	41	41	82
Lambros	3	1	4	Skintzou	0	1	1
Liagis	2	7	9	Roussis	0	2	2
Liagis-Kiousis	1	0	1	Rafras	0	1	1
Ligoxigis	2	4	6	Pilichos	0	2	2
Lyras	1	3	4	Bisbikis	0	3	3
Magginas	2	3	5	Bertoulis	0	1	1
Mamalis	11	10	21	Moutsopoulos	0	1	1
Mantzis	4	3	7	Michalis	0	1	1
Mexis	8	4	12	Mantas	0	1	1
Merkouris	3	3	6	Liapis	0	1	1
Barbas	7	7	14	Kannelis	0	1	1
Barbakos	2	2	4	Dimitrakis	0	4	4
Baronis	8	6	14	Bafeiadou	0	1	1
Bertolis	11	11	22				

Names like Korovessis, which is common in many Arvanite villages[121], incontrovertibly belong to the people of Gogofis. The Orphanidis family came to Gogofis in 1922 from Asia Minor. The Orphanidis patriarch and his family claim not to "belong" even though other villagers say they do. Thus, names like Orphanidis represent families which do not feel completely incorporated into Gogofis even though close to a century has passed since the Orphanidis ancestor settled in Gogofis.

Although I tried to avoid giving my opinion or information when doing fieldwork, on several occasions I was asked about the history of the village lineages because they considered me to be an authority. I was considered the specialist, even though they may have more intimate knowledge of the subject than I. One discussion went as follows:

> Informant 1: "How many families are there [in the village?]
> SM: Oh, many, I couldn't tell you exactly without my notes.
> Informant 1: Approximately? Ten?
> SM: More, much more.
> Informant 1: Twenty-five?
> SM: You know there are many because there are several Kakaris's who are not related to of the other Kakaris's and several Safrades who are not related to either.
> Informant 1: I know, I know. There were the "Kakaris's, Mexides, The Mexis *soi* are found from Marathon to Kalamo, and beyond; 150 years ago there were the Korovessides, Dzanatakides, Panourades, were here, Chrysinas , The Sideris,
> Informant 2: Korovessides were one *soi*, and the Kiousai, one *soi*.

Interestingly smaller lineages were usually excluded from discussions about families from the past. Moreover, Arvanite families were included in the discussions but, Orphanidis, Narvariniotis, Kefalonitis were never mentioned in such conversations as their ancestors had only been in the village for about 100 years and were of non-Arvanite origins[122].

[121] Toundassakis (1998) and Bintliff (2003) refer to the surname Korovessis but in different locations. Toundassakis did her research on the island of Andros while Bintliff did his research in the province of Viotia on mainland Greece.

[122] The latter three lineages did marry Gogofiote-Arvanite women. This type of discussion was common. Interlocutors appeared to analyse what I said to understand what I understood was 'correct' while reinforcing their own understanding of the names of groups in the village. There was always a historical component to their discussions. The latter discussion indicates their own understanding about belonging to Gogofis. Names signify Gogofis as being understood as Arvanite.

Forenames

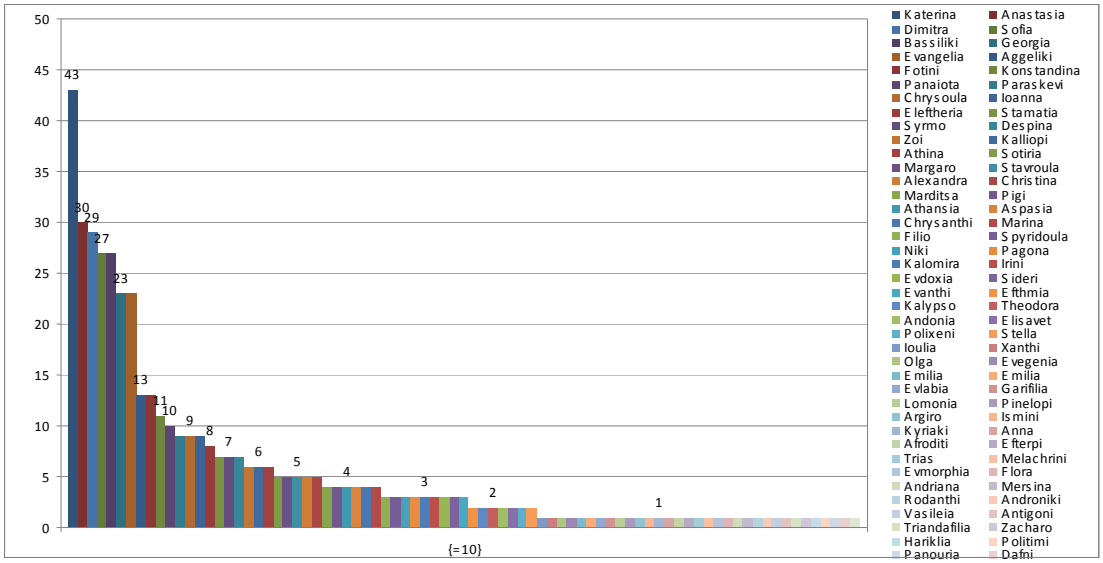
Didika (1998) suggests that forenames are individual property, in contrast with surnames, which are collective property. Stahl (1998) suggest that names have a classifying quality. In the case of Gogofis, I would suggest that forenames are classifying individuals as members of Gogofiote society and therefore have a sense of collectivity even though forenames are considered individual property. Forenames belong to several fields as suggested by (Zonabend 1980); one is the individual, another is the village, yet another, is the Church. Gender and the nation are also fields represented in forenames[123].

Data was collected from genealogies taken by personal interviews, archival records such as the *demotologio,* and the voting registrars from 1965. For the sake of simplicity I shall discuss the voting register from 1965. This is a good snapshot of the forenames used in Gogofis. The genealogy of the village suggests that the village was relatively ethnically endogamous before the 1970's. In addition, transportation to the village was limited by unpaved roads until they were paved by the junta (1967-1974). The register also reflects the situation well before the Athenian summer migrations occurred, and the settlement and migration of Albanians, which did not noticeably begin until the 1990's. Therefore, the voting register gives the reader a good indication of the officially state recognised names of Gogofiotes at a particular point in time. The voters register indicates all living adults who are legal residents of Gogofis[124]. In 1965, it was geographically more isolated than contemporary times and therefore the latter condition did not cause such rapid changes (see graph 6.1 and 6.2).

There are several patterns which implicate the forenames owned in 1965. There were approximately equal numbers of adult men and women registered to vote in Gogofis in 1965 (521 men and 548 women).

[123] Stewart (1991) suggests that people who have the same forename is believed to protect them from demons because the demon cannot tell individuals who have the same name apart (cited from Machins 1983)

[124] In 1965, people were required to vote in their ancestral home. After marriage women could apply to vote in their husbands' place or could maintain voting rights in their natal home. It should be understood that this is only a snapshot. The name list changes continuously because of births/deaths and marriage, emigration and migration. Moreover, the voters' registration is not an indication of actual residence living in Gogofis, just those who are legal residents and registered in Gogofis to vote.

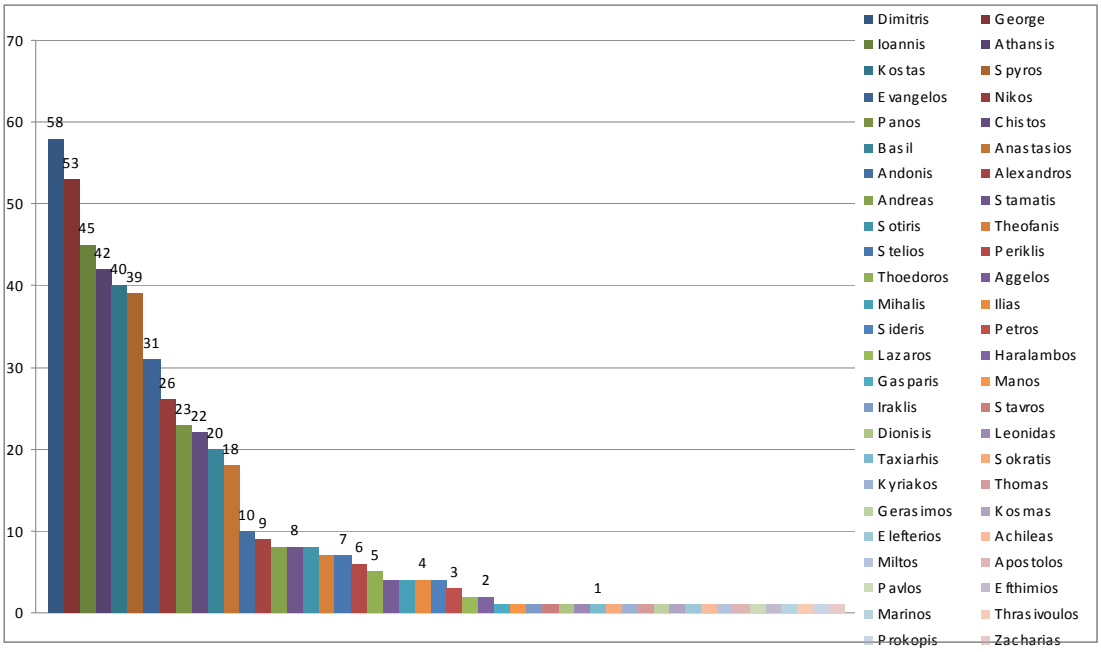


Graph 6.1 *Frequencies of women's forenames according the voters registrations of 1965*

There were 132 forenames used in the village. Men's forenames were less diverse than women's forenames. In other words, only 38% of the names were men's names while 62% were women's. This is visible of the graph 6.1. The first seven bars represent the most used names. There is a large drop in the frequency of between the names Georgia which has 23 individuals and Evagelia which has only 13 individuals. There were exactly 50 male forenames in the village and 82 women's forenames. The frequency of names with more than 10 male owners was 30 %. In other words, 84% of the adult males used 30% of all the men's names, while 65% of the women used 35% of the names used (see graph 6.2). Similar to the trend in female names, there is a visible drop in frequency of name usage between 39 individuals owning the name, Spyros, and 30 individuals owning the name, Evangelos. The 65% represents the names of ten or more individuals who use a particular name (see table 6.2). Therefore, men tend to use a higher concentration of fewer names than women. In short, men are less personally individuated than women, and as Stewart (1991) suggests, men are more protected from deamons than are women.

	Forenames	Frequency >10	of total used	Total percentage
Male	50	84%	30%	38%
Female	82	65%	30%	62%
Total	132	30%		100%

Table 6.2 *Frequencies of man and women's forenames according to the voters' registration of 1965*



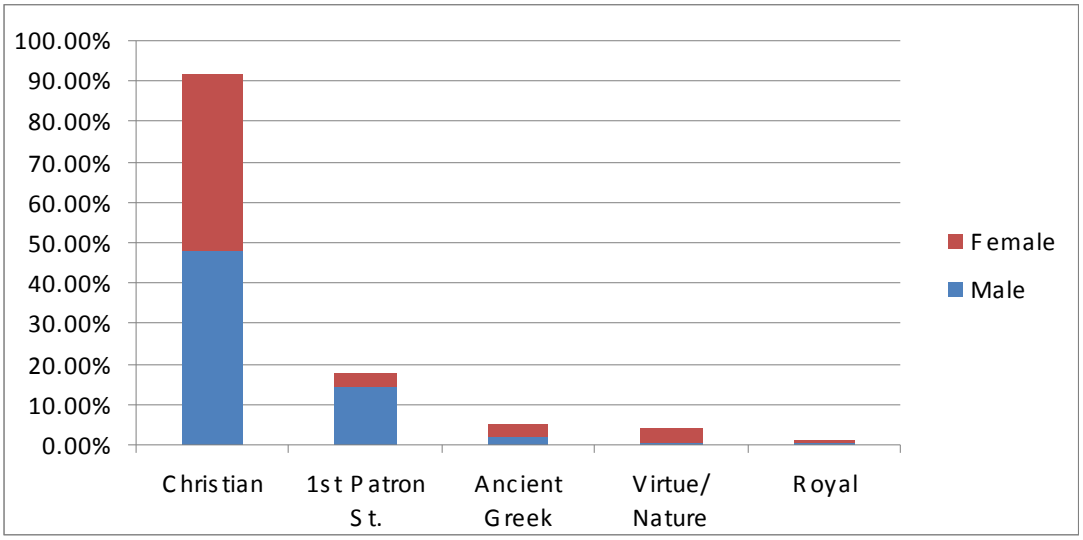
Graph 6.2 *Frequencies of men's forenames according the voters registrations of 1965*

In addition, there were several types of forenames being used in Gogofis. Names fell into several categories; 1) Christian names, 2) ancient Greek names, 3) names describing a virtue or parts of nature. 4) Royal names and names with unknown origins (see graph 6.3). The vast majority of names used were Christian religious names. In fact only 3.5% of the men owned non-religious names or 96.5% of the male names used were religious. Of that 3.5%, only four individuals had names that were not Ancient Greek names. Those four individuals had the same forename as a common surname in the village, Sideris which means strength. For the women, 6.3% of the total individuals used ancient Greek names while 6.6% use names, which were descriptive in nature. Only two women had names of royal origin. I had expected to see the majority of names in the villages to be named after the patron saints of the village. Interestingly "Dimitri" was the most common name used in the village with 58 individuals with this name. "Maria" was the most common for women with 66 individuals in the village. Maria, is a very common name in the Christian Mediterranean, but neither of the names, Maria nor Dimitri, are primary patrons of the Churches in the area of Gogofis (see table 6.3). The male names used in the village reflecting patron saints are 29%. St. Paraskevi (a female saint) is not represented in

the male population[125]. Individuals with female names of patron saints in Gogofis are surprisingly only 6.9%.

	Christian	1st Patron St.	Ancient Greek	Virtue/ Nature	Royal
Male	48.25%	14.50%	1.75%	0.50%	0.50%
Female	43.50%	3.45%	3.15%	3.30%	1%

Table 6.3 *indicates the percentage of names which are either Christian, the subtotal of primary patron saints, ancient Greek and names characterising virtues and nature as people named after the Greek royal family*



Graph 6.3 *Name categories using gender and frequency as variables*

The results indicate several trends. There is a greater diversity of names used by the women. This may be a reflection first of the exogamy and patrilocal custom of the people of Gogofis because for generations natal women exported out of Gogofis while new women were incorporated from elsewhere into the village; from different pools of names. In addition, there are a more significant number of ancient names used by women. The majority of individuals have Christian names but there are a large number of individuals who have names signifying and there are a statistically significant number of greater than 5% of individuals who own ancient Greek names (see, table 6.4).

[125] Paraskevas is the male equivalent to Paraskevi

	Most Common	Christian	1st Patron St.	Ancient Greek	Virtue/ Nature	Royal
Male	58 (Dimitris)	96.50%	29.00%	3.5% (4 names)	<1% (1 name)	<1% (1 name)
Female	66 (Maria)	87.00%	6.90%	6.30%	6.60%	<1% (2 names)

Table 6.4 *Comparison of most common male and female names*

The use of ancient Greek names, though not significant in number, is salient signifiers to the population. Origins of why people have ancient names have been forgotten but because of traditional naming customs it is assumed that ancient names represent continuity with the ancient past though the use of ancient Greek names became popular in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries with the rise of nationalism (Kitromilides 1990). Those few people's names maybe most salient signifiers to Gogofis link to the *Elliniki klironomia*[126] and their national identity even though they are a minority of names. Moreover, Christian names and the action of giving Christian name through baptism is most prevalent in number. Thus, its importance is reflected in their collective identity both in practice and through action.

Baptism

The first name or forename in Greece and Gogofis is given to a child at baptism. Baptism is both a religious and social rite of passage (Stewart 1991; Just 2000). From a religious point of view if a child dies before baptism its soul is lost[127], never to go to heaven or to hell. Therefore, baptism gives the baby protection by the Holy Spirit and, therefore, it is a sacred act and one of the mysteries of the Orthodox faith (Just 2000). Baptism is also a social right (Aschenbrenner 1986). Firstly, it creates a new relation between adult individuals, creating a new affinial kin relationship by the sponsorship of baptism, *koumbaria.* A *koumbaros/-a* is also called the *nounos-/a*, the godparents, to the child and has the role to assist the child and to theoretically take care of the child if something tragic were to befall the parents. The *koumbaros* is sometimes referred to as, the *pnevmatiko gonios*, or spiritual parent, of the baptised child and

[126] *Elliniki klironomia* is also referred to as the *Ethniki klironomia* or national heritage. *Klironomia* also has a double meaning; one is heritage and the other is inheritance

[127] Stewart's (1991: 95-95) research about perceptions of the supernatural on the island of Naxos suggests that without baptism the soul cannot ascend to heaven. Before baptism the child is especially vulnerable to daemons. The child's emersion during the ritual of baptism is an act of purification of both the flesh and spirit. It is performatively a process of death and rebirth; unclean and polluting spirits are washed away.

therefore has a special role in the life of the child[128]. Assignment of a forename is essential for the child to be accepted by the state giving the child rights, thus, associating it there to. A child cannot attend school without a forename nor can a child have a proper funeral without baptism (Didika1998). Moreover, when an individual has a Greek Orthodox Christian name, the bearer of the name is identified as a member of the faith to others regardless of the bearer's actual religious belief. This relationship to Orthodoxy is not exclusively a religious marker of identity but is also a social identity marker. Stewart (1991:213) suggests that in the performative act of naming in Greek culture a child is simultaneously given a name and made Christian. Having a Greek Orthodox name also signifies that the named is Greek. For the Arvanites and therefore for the vast majority of Gogofiotes this is quintessential to their identity as Greeks and as Arvanite-Greeks and not Albanians, Turks or *Turko-Alvani*, Turkish Albanians, in other words, Muslim. The act of baptism is not simply a religious act but is also a nationalistic act. Being baptised and owning a "Greek" Orthodox name defines that the child as "one of us", Greek and owner of the *Elliniki klironomia*. Therefore, having a name like, Dimitri, Kostas, Panagiotis or Maria, Yanna or Paraskevi is a signifier and places the individuals into several fields or collective groups. 1) as Orthodox Christians, and 2) as Greeks. Moreover and generally speaking, there are many more Christian names employed in Greece than there are employed in Gogofis. The number of forenames used in the village of Gogofis is finite. Therefore, logically the finite use identifies people as members of Gogofis (see, graph 6.1 and 6.2). It is especially true for the men of the village since the set of names used is even smaller. The women have a greater range of forenames (though they are also finite in number) and therefore forenames may not be as significant an indicator or marker of regional or local identity for the women of Gogofis[129].

[128] Stewart (1991:209) suggests that, "Because the godparent was not involved w/the sexual act that engendered the initiate, the godparent-godchild relationship is untainted in a way the relation between child and natural parent can't be." Just (2000) argues that the Godparents in Spartehori are more significant than the biological parents because the Godparents are responsible for the child's moral upbringing.

[129] Married women are not usually referred to by their given forename but by a female conjuration of their husband's name or nickname; for example, Mitsos (m) – Mitsena (f) or Balafas (m) – Balafena (f) respectively.

In Gogofis and generally, in Greece, naming an offspring follows the custom where the first boy and girl is named after the paternal grandparents and the second boy and girl is named after the maternal grandparents (Seremetakis 1994, Sutton 2001). Albanian immigrant interlocutors told me that in Albania, naming was done in a similar custom before the communist government of 1943, but since then the tradition is no longer maintained[130]. Whereas in Greece forenames represent a temporal continuity through the generations and a tool of memory and social reproduction (Sutton 2001, Bodenhorn and Vom Bruch 2006), in Albania this temporal continuity was broken or transformed and is no longer a tool of social reproduction. In addition, the religious association so prevalent in the Greek naming system was forbidden in Albanian society. Thus, forenames in Greek society have a sacred religious component closely associated with the individual's identity as Orthodox Christians where in Albanian the religious component of naming was, for a large part removed, though this is changing with immigration, as can be seen in the latter part of this section.

National identity is also expressed in the names given to one's offspring in both Greece and Albania. Religious names in Greece can be associated with nationhood because of the role of the Church in the formation of the Modern Greek state (cf. Kitromilides 1990, Veremis 1990). Name-days are celebrated throughout Greece and in Gogofis. Many national holidays are tied to Christian holidays such as the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary on the 25th of March. Maria, Panagia (the virgin) and Panagiotis (the male equivalent) are among the most common names in Greece. The 25th of March is also the day of celebration of the revolution against the Ottoman Empire. Konstantinos/Konstantina and Eleni, Dimitrios/ Dimitra, Vassilis/ Vassiliki, Ioannis/ Ioanna, and Georgios/ Georgia are all very common names and each day celebrated on particular days of the year. If a particular church belongs to the patron saint of the village or town then on the name day of the patron Saint there is a school holiday. In Gogofis there are two main churches, St. Athanasios, which is a medieval Ipirote style church, built in the 14th Century (see pic. 6.2) and St. George, which is newer and built over a tiny church of the same name in the 1960's.

[130] Hoxha strictly forbade the use of religious names as forenames. Only names of heroes of the state, legendary Albanian/Illyrian names or non-restricted names from the government name list were allowed. (Pritchard Post 1998)

Pic. 6.2 *The roof of Aghios Athanassios and the cemetery in the background*

Nicknaming

Nicknames are used to subvert the authorities (Jacqument 1992). Jacqument suggests that nicknames are an integral part of gang life and its relationship to the state authorities. Gogofiotes are obviously not members of an urban gang, but their nicknames are used to deal with the state with regard to land disputes with outsiders as a type of resistance (cf. Scott 1989). Several individuals may have the same name, surname and even father's name; therefore, nicknames are used to differentiate individuals (Brandes 1975, Jacquemet 1992). An interlocutor told me:

> If I shout Yannis Safiris' name five or six people will lift their heads. If I want to talk about Yannis the others don't know which Yannis I am talking about, so do you know why we use nicknames…? We use them for that. We can know who we are talking to. Yannis is called, *o Peripteras* (the kiosk owner), Yannis, *o Peripteras* so, we know which Yannis we are talking about (sic.)

The above case appears straightforward. The above statement goes along with what Brandes suggests. Nicknames are implemented as clarifiers. They indicate which individual is being addressed in a place (the village) where a limited range of names are being used (Brandes 1975). On the other hand, nicknames characterise the bearer's physical and moral traits in a manner that is either satiric or critical of each 'male' individual, in the finite world of the village (Toundassakis 1998). What people

believe about the bearer is represented in their nickname. Toundassakis (1998:157) referred to the nickname as "the principle peep-hole for information and receptacle of idea… transmitting any opinion by the community about one of its members, the life he leads and the event which are part of him"

Whereas forenames and surnames are official and associate the individual as a point of reference within the context of the greater society, one's nickname creates a critical view of the bearer. Though satiric or humorous descriptive means gives greater dimension to the bearer as a 'person', nicknames also place the bearer into a historical and specific moment in the villages past as seen from the following statements by several interlocutors:

> My name [nickname] is "*Sarmas*"; I used to carry this shotgun around with me when I was a boy. The make was *Sarma* so this is where I got my name.

Another man said,

> They call me "*Psychogios*," spirit child. My mother had great difficulty having children. Finally, I was born but she could not have another child.
>
> His name is "*Trichas*," hair. Because when he was in school he was always *stin tricha*, very orderly (every hair in place). So the name stuck.
>
> *Gjonis*, scops owl, want to be called "*Trechas*," speedy, because he likes fast cars and wanted to race them, but the name did not stick. He did not like his name and tried to change it. Once a name sticks to you it is your name and is difficult to change.

In all four examples a story is associated with nickname acquisition. It explains something about an individual's personality when he was growing up. Brandes (1975) suggests that part of this childhood identity and personality is preserved in adulthood. Brandes also suggests that, in societies where childhood names are abandoned, the part of the childhood personality is also abandoned in adulthood. When someone tries to change their name as Gjonis did, the attempt usually fails. The attempt also places the origin of the name into a moment in the past. Nicknames are part of the 'autobiographical memory' of the villager as described by Halbwachs (1992). Thus nicknames place an individual into a moment in time. Knowing how and why people are named creates a local, intimate memory and history of the place.

Because of the nature of nicknames, they are always a substitution for official names, and in this sense, official meanings are insubordinated by unofficiality. The hierarchical relationship of the official to the unofficial is implicit. From Gramsci's perspective about the position of unofficial, illegitimate customs and traditions (as cited in Lears 1985) it can be suggested that, nicknames would hold lower prestige because of their unofficial social status with regards to powerful institutions such as the state or the church. Unofficial names and nicknames are associated with subordinate institutions, autobiographical memories, and identities such as the local past, and unofficial ethnic identities, village life and the agrarian life style. Thus, nicknames, in the eyes of the rural users, subordinates them to official, religious and state institutions centred in the urban society. There are several aspects of nicknaming which is seen in Gogofis which need greater discussion.

1) In Gogofis the act of naming people is important for religious, national, communal and ethnic identity. The use of nicknames is much more complex as it sometimes situates Gogofiotes into a non-Greek or pre-Greek ethnic context.
2) It also indicates belongedness to Gogofiotes and others.
3) Nicknames also create greater dimensions in the character of the nicknamed than do official names and family names. Nicknames are fashioned to describe the individual and are unique to that individual (Toundassakis 1998).

As will be discussed in Chapter 7 autobiographical memory is maintained by the use of nicknames. In the case of Gogofis, nicknames are still salient to everyday life. Thus, autobiographical memories are maintained by the use of nicknames. Moreover, bearers of nicknames frequently have inherited their name from their father's father. As a result many nicknames are Arvanite.

Some example of nicknames with Arvanite origins are:
Balafa, meaning face
Rruko, meaning close shaven or, nut shell
*Liopass*i, meaning black eyes
Kostovogli, meaning little Kostas
Kukivogli, or *Kuq i vogli*, meaning little Red

Greek nicknames have become common. However, this significant minority of Arvanite/Albanian nicknames reminds Gogofiotes of their origins and their contested ethnic differences and otherness in Greek society.

Surnames and forenames are makers of insidership in Gogofis. However, nicknames are more intimate. Whereas official names can be shared with a larger group such as Orthodox Christians or Greek nationals, nicknames are unique to the individual and are only associated to individuals who have been ascribed these nicknames because of something they are or something they have done or inherited from their grandfathers. In addition, nicknames are value driven. They express the individual in the construction of the morals and values of the group reinforced by action and practice (Jacqumet 1992). In other words, nicknames are intimate names which are attached to a coded system of cultural values which is unique to the group, in this case Gogofis, binding the users and bearer together. And as Davis (1977) suggests honour can only be evaluated when there is intimate knowledge of a man and his family – which I suggest may be reflected in how he is nicknamed and what that nickname means.

Whereas official forenames and nicknames are used to index individuals as members of a family, etc., they lack the ability to express more about the individual's personality. In this sense, nicknames are often not flattering. They tell something which official names cannot. They offer the interlocutor the ability to describe the nicknamed giving him personality (Toundassakis 1998; Wilson 1998). Moreover, this is a reminder also to the bearer of his deeds or misdeeds which may be difficult to erase from the autobiographical memory of the community. Contrary to Gilmore's (1982) analysis suggesting nicknames as devices of 'male castration,' I would suggest that nicknames are one of few tools of autobiographical collective memory, still had precedents in Gogofis. They may be demeaning but for the most part in Gogofis nicknames are used in fun. However, in contentious times such as in disputes, local conflicts or during elections, they may be used as 'castrators' of opposition.

On the other hand, nicknames are subversive, un-official, illegitimate names. They can be insulting and childish, poking-fun at personal flaws (Brandes 1975). They represent traditional old-fashioned ways of life. In Gogofis and maybe rural Greece in general, it should be understood that nicknames represent anti-modern, backward

customs and therefore are subordinate to modern, urban 'European' ways[131]. In Paxson (2004) analysis of modern women in urban Greece, Paxton suggests that there is a tension for individuals as modern and traditional images of self are in contradiction of one another. Similarly, Brandes(1975) mentions that the people of Navanogal, Spain have the same impression of nicknames, calling them "backward" and "degrading". Bourdieu (1972) suggests that this illegitimacy is innate to the basic structure stratification. It is implicit and creates a stratified relationship between official and unofficial structures, which in turn is acted out and maintained in the habitus. Rather than simply being a question of class, Bourdieu's concepts of distinctions and taste can be applied to the urban/rural relationship and the national/minority identities. Thus, similar superior legitimate fields can be compared to illegitimate competing 'inferior' structures. In this way, one's nickname is subordinate to one's official name. Individuals in the village know that educated city folk do not have nicknames (Brandes 1975) but the villagers assign each other nicknames and use them in everyday discourse. As suggested in the example about provenance in places discussed above about patronymic systems, nicknames are used as a tool so that only insiders know the "who's are where's" of the discussions. This results in stronger awareness of outside and inside and thus, is markers of belongedness and outsiderness, local, ethnic and national, urban and rural.

Nicknames in Mediterranean societies have been examined as mechanisms of egalitarianism (Brandes 1975) or as mechanisms of subordination or factionalism (Gilmore 1982). Many nicknames in Gogofis are Albanian in origin which suggests what Seremetakis (1994) called, "suppressing the passing of finite time." In other words, they predate modernity and therefore represent something 'timeless,' before time itself. They create collective memories binding individuals to the place and in the case of Gogofis, their ethnic pre-modern roots. People own nicknames but are ascribed and therefore have no choice of their ownership (Gilmore 1982). A particular category of nicknames can be inherited but inevitably the majority are given to the nicknamed by others. Thus, people do not like to be referred to by their nickname. Regardless to the named acquiescence, they own their nicknames and the nicknames are part of their identity.

[131] Paxson (2004) suggests there is a tension in Greece for individuals as they strive to be modern.

The New Immigrants

The new immigrants posed an interesting situation for the people of Gogofis. The Gogofiote official onomastic identity and definition of themselves was based on their relationship to the nation and to the Church and to each other as Gogofiotes with local, intimate knowledge. Their names were signifiers to the 'other' Greeks that Gogofiotes shared a common history and heritage with all Greeks. With the arrival of Albanian immigrants to Gogofis, Gogofiotes ethnic identity was re-evaluated.

Albanians have had a long tradition of flexibility with regards to their forenames. According to Durham (1910, 1976), Christian Albanians would use Muslim names when they interacted with Muslim Albanians and vice versa. More recently, Muslim families during Hoxha's regime gave their children Christian names as respect for Christian friends and in Northern Albanians, both Christians and Muslims would officially have both Christian and Muslim forenames (Kondi 1998). In Gogofis, there were several Albanian immigrants whose official names were Christian Orthodox even though their families were historically Muslim. Even though surname change is part of Gogofiotes living collective memory, today name changing is looked down upon and no longer practised.

When Albanians emigrated from Albania in the early 1990's they quickly established themselves in Greece and Italy using Italian or Greek forenames. Though, it is not unusual for immigrants to adopt names of their host country and a reflection of the acceptance of a new identity (Broom et.al 1955; Crane and Schulhof 1970), the practice of name change for the Albanian immigrants was a customary tool and not necessarily a conversion of their identity as Albanians. The act of name usage in this manner could be considered a marker of their identity, or put another way, their identity was not strictly tied to the nymic devices as it is for Gogofiotes and for other Greeks. Their identity as Albanian immigrants is more importantly connected to their ability to adapt. The reason may be that this is how the people of the region dealt with their historic-geographic position of being wedged between three powerful religious Empires; Ottoman Islam, Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy; among and betwixed

by many ethnic groups such as Pomaks, Vlachs, Albanians etc.[132]. The result is that Albanian immigrants' primary identity may not based on theonymic, religious based names, as markers of identity as might be the case for Arvanites in Greece. They have different markers of identity such as language, culture, and the *kurbet* migration and adaptability (Papailias 2003).

The Albanian immigrant taking the names of their host community resulted in several reactions in Gogofis:

1) There appeared to be a very quick acceptance of the Albanian immigrants in the village, and
2) There was a gradual increase in tension because of the ease with which the Albanians almost universally adopted 'Greek' names.

The Albanians who moved to Gogofis did not only adopt Greek names but in fact commonly used forenames used in the village. So names like Kostas, Kotsos, Nikos, and Yannis were adopted. Only two interlocutors, chose to keep their forenames, one was a bit of a rebel, Mondi, and the other, Arben told me on several occasions,

> I am proud of who I am. I don't want to hide behind a name. My name is Arben, Do you know what this means? Arberor, Arberia. They are old names for Albania. I am proud of being from Albania. Why should I hide it?" Some people use 'Greek' names. I did not. I let others do what they want.

In the latter case, Arben identified with his name and the place and people it represented. This is not to suggest that others were not proud of their origins but their names may have not had such a strong national representation of their origin, because the name 'Arben' is a very powerful signifier to others. For Arben the use of a substitute name might be to deny a core part of his and his group's identity. Mondi and Arben are signifiers to both populations. To the immigrant Albanians they are reminders of their national identity but also of the power imposed upon them by their host society. Most people change their names. Mondi would take abuse for using his Albanian name. It reminded both Albanian immigrants of their fragile position in

[132] Green (2005) observed that in Epirus where there is a complex mix of different ethno-linguistic groups, the inhabitance use their ambiguous status as a tool such that the 'Balkans' is a constantly dynamic existence which is used to the inhabitance advantage because they cannot be categorised.

Greek society. Arben also represented something to the Arvanites. Arben was never ridiculed for using his name in public where others were if their 'real' names had been mentioned in public. This might be because 'Arberor' is the name for "Arvanite" in Arvanitika. Thus, Arben, and to a lesser extent Mondi, signified the non-Greek 'barbarian' ancestry to Arvanites which contests the Arvanites right to the *Elliniki klironomia* and thus, this relationship as well as others between Albanian and Arvanite is maintained as a public secret[133].

In contrast, the Albanian immigrants are criticised for using Greek names. There is a religious and national sacred component to forename use. However, Albanians' adoption of Greek forenames lessens the signification of the Arvanites' forenames. The Albanians are then criticised of being *pseftochristiani,* false Christians, or using *psefthomoma,* false names suggesting they are liars or untrustworthy, because they use 'false identities'. The Arvanites call them *Pseftochristiani, Tourki,* or *Turko-Alvani,* Turks or Turkish-Albanians; in other words *atimi ratsa, atimi fara,* or honourless race, honourless clan[134].

In contrast, the Albanians baptise their children in the village, their children are officially Christians. Their children have Greek/Arvanite godparents, and the Albanian families have *koumbaroi.* The children have a sacred link to the Church and, thus, to the nation-state and to the community. Their names are legitimate. As suggested in chapter 5 the Albanian children are thought of as new members of the village and are expected by the Gogofiotes to become full-fledged members of Gogofiote and Greek society. The act of baptism gives children legitimate Greek names transforming them from ambiguous individuals to domesticated 'Greeks/ Arvanites'.

[133] Taussig (1999)

[134] Both terms were used. However, fara which was used less frequently suggest they are a different, *fara,* or clan than the Arvanites. When they used the term *ratsa,* they were implicitly including themselves because they consider themselves as having the same origins. Being untrustworthy suggests that they are also *rufiani,* which gives the Albanians similar negative qualities to what the Arvanites give themselves, imbuing an intimate, though contrary sense of collectivity between the Arvanites and the Albanians.

Conclusion

The boundaries between Greeks and Arvanites are almost indistinguishable with regards to the use of names. Few surnames are purely Albanian and those that are, Korovessis for example, are found throughout Greece.I Its Albanian origins in many places have been forgotten. Thus, instead of flagging up their ethnicity by the use of names such as when African Americans who adopted African names after the civil rights movement in the 1960's in the United States (Romano and Raiford 2006), they have chosen to maintain Greek and Greek Orthodox names. They have not ethnicised their otherness. Nicknames maintain a component of ethnicity but the use of nicknames is qualified only in the local and is always subordinate to official 'Greek' names which are recognised nationally and internationally. In contrast with the other names people own, nicknames adopt a local form of resistance (cf. Scott 1985, 1989) not based on the national identity, but as a way of maintaining boundaries between local and national power relations, where local knowledge and autobiographical memories of the village and maintained within the village. Moreover, because nicknames are common in other Greek villages, the men of Gogofis do not attach ethnicity or ethnic discourse to their nicknames; instead they consider nicknames an inclusionary national practice. Interlocutors stated they had nicknames like all Greek villages extending their sense of community. In contrast, the newcomers have adopted ways to become part of Gogofis. The Albanian immigrants exemplify the salience of legitimising name use, their embedded local knowledge, and how names can be fluid categories between exclusion and inclusion.

Albanian immigrants and Albanianness could maintain the Arvanites in an ambiguous position in Greek society. Several surnames and names place the Albanians in this ambiguous space between Greekness and Albanianness and also signify the Arvanite's Albanian ethnicity. The Arvanites' relationship to the Church and to Ancient Greek culture is expressed in their choice of forenames. Albanian Immigrants, in several cases, have attempted to be socially closer to their 'cousins' by the manipulation of social rules having to do with names. Most of them have only partially succeeded. However, Tili, and his family by the act of being baptised illustrate the importance of legitimising and naturalising their status in the village. Tili's nickname, *Nekothaftis* is not a very congenial name to have but it signifies what

he does and cheekedly, his acceptance into Gogofis and represents the process he went through to become a Gogofiote. Names are not written in stone. However, they mean different things at different times and can blur the boundaries which are used for exclusion or inclusion. They are a mundane part of everyday life but they can not be ignored. Names and naming can either emphasise or deemphasise differences, the temporal and spatially between groups. Names embody memory. As a result, they are both present, and past. They represent more than the individual. They engender institutions such as the nation, the Church, the village, the family or any other group. As a result names embody the owners. In this case of their owners for the basic part of their identity (Gilmore 1982; Alia 2007; Bodenhorn and Vom Bruch 2006). However, names and naming can be manipulated within the system either by minor changes or by how a name is chosen (Herzfeld 1982) or by the act of migration (Broom et. al.1955; Crane and Schulhof 1970).

Chapter 7

Organic Memory

Introduction

One of the characteristics of modern nation states is the use of selective memories to create a national history (Anderson 1983). There is a homogenization of local history and national history (Anderson 1983). This chapter is about memory and how memories intertwine with the concept of the Greek nation of which the village of Gogofis is part. However, 'other' collective memories are embedded in the villagers' everyday life and may contradict the collective memories which constitute the idea of the nation. This chapter examines how the villagers negotiate the identity associated with those collective memories as Greeks and those as Arvanites. Therefore, the chapter is about collective memory but inevitably it is about national and ethnic identity because different memories maintain and create boundaries between and within groups such as the village or the nation.

This chapter first examines the notions of collective memory. It then, investigates the collective memories that the people of Gogofis (re)produce: the processes of collective remembering and forgetting within the context of the wider Greek society. It examines how the people of Gogofis attempt to place themselves within their idea of the national collective memory and thus inside the national history legitimatising their national membership. The official national versions of origin and identity of the Greek people sometimes diverge from that of the local, which happens to be the case in Gogofis. Thus, Gogofiotes are caught between their ethnic Arvanite, part-Albanian identity and their Greek national identity. They negotiate their memories for fear of exclusion. This chapter finally argues that different collective memories maintain different identities. The historical memories may be counter to local "autobiographical" memories, which in turn create a localised 'Other' or minority identities. In the case of the Arvanites and Gogofis, official repositories of information and memory which are based on institutionalised recorded history and performed through dramatic commemoration oppose unofficial repositories of memory, which are based on direct experience and the sensory of the local. These

identities are sometimes juxtaposed against one another. As a result, there may be a desire to forget particular memories associated with their ethnic non-Greek past but these elements are embedded in the 'local'. These defiantly local collective memories are maintained regardless of the desire to forget (cf. Fentress and Wichham 1992)[135]. This chapter shall examine the commemoration of the 25th of March celebrating the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire as an event creating collective memories about a remote and unexperienced event versus a memory experienced in action, or as local autobiographical memories. As shown later in this chapter, the collection and preparation of wild greens provides an example of the creation and maintenance of local ethnic collective memories. For any memory to be maintained it must cognitively be incorporated into the body and the mind. The next section discusses the social/ cognitive aspects of memory.

Cognition and Memory

Action and history are contained in cognitive systems (Bloch 1989). If collective memory is understood as a cognitive system then action and history are contained in collective memory. Durkheim visualises the process of cognitive systems not as an individual process but one of society and history where the individual is product of society (Bloch 1989). Sahlins (1963), on the other hand, comprehends it from the perspective of culture; cognition is a historical process which is all encompassing and coherent and not based on the individual (Bloch 1989). Bloch and Sahlins argue that collective memory is not based only on the individual's cognition. It is rather a process based on collective action, history and a product of society. It is an all encompassing, integrated and a coherent system. Halbwachs was a student of Durkheim. His work went fairly unnoticed until recently. Halbwachs (1992) uses the term, 'historical memory', which should not be confused with history. Halbwachs (1992) suggests that collective memories are maintained by commemoration and dramatics, as in festivals and celebration. He differentiates 'historical memory' which is maintained in media such as writing or other such records[136] and 'autobiographical

[135] Frentress and Wickman (1992) suggest that memories are always seen from the perspective of the present. Those memories which do not apply to present everyday life are forgotten or transformed into perceptions which are valued today.

[136] Halbwachs (1992) notion of 'historical memory' parallels Anderson's (1983) notion of how print capitalism was the trigger for nationalist sentiments in that both are dependant , in part, written

memories' which are ephemeral in nature because actions to maintain them are determined by individuals and their social networks (Halbwachs 1992). Therefore, celebrations such as anniversaries or birthdays are only maintained as collective memories as long as those individuals choose to maintain them or as long as individuals are there to remember them. 'Historic memories' are commemorated and not dependent on individual's associations or personal experiences. Thus, individuals can experience and remember remotely; in other words, the individual's direct experiences are not essential. Anderson's print capitalism resembles Halbwachs' notion of historical memory. National identity is a form of collective memory, a form of historical memory of a place and people which has only been experienced remotely. Bloch's and others' mentioned notions are more akin to the idea of an understanding of an embedded 'past' where objects, actions and ideas are placed or make up a cognitive system.

Frentress and Wickham (1992) suggest that collective memories exist when those memories have meaning for the group. They call this type of memory, 'subjective memory'. Remembering is legitimised in the present, in other words, it is made important by present situations and therefore past memories may potentially compete with present day cosmologies. Memories are then adapted subjectively to present-day cosmologies. Therefore events, customs, etc. which are based on collective memories are validated and connected to the past from a retrospective eye-piece placing them into today's past; making them relative to existing situations. In addition, the sharing of memories is given meaning by both the sender and the receiver of information. In the case of the Arvanites, perception of local ethnic 'autobiographical' memories would either actively be forgotten or transformed to fit present-day interpretations of the world and their place in the formation of the state.

Seremetakis (1994) argues that memories are individually and collectively understood and somatically incorporated through the senses. She suggests memory is stored in the senses. Memories can be recalled when similar sensory stimuli are presented to the individual. Thus, examples such as food aromas or a musty attic are stored in the mind reminding the individual of events associated with those aromas years later. She

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records, on the monopoly of information which has 'one' voice, so to speak, disseminating a particular point of view to a mass audience.

suggests memory is assembled through the senses. Storage of memory has a four-dimensional quality and a cultural component (1994:29-30). Memories are intertwined with multitudes of senses temporally and spatially within a cultural context. Therefore, a memory may be associated with a mixture of smells, tactile and auditory stimuli through both space and time. Moreover, experience and the sensory are fragmented. They must be arranged by memory in the mind and the imagination to create an understandable sequence of events. On the other hand, Seremetakis uses the example of the Aphrodite's peach which is rarely found in Greek markets today. She suggests that if objects and actions which are linked to sensory perceptions come into disuse, then the memories associated with those objects and actions eventually are also collectively forgotten. Moreover, sensory memory has a collective component as memories and the senses are shared. Just as one shares memories of a meal, one shares smells and tastes reciprocally. The Arvanites, thus, are bound to place through memories in Gogofis by their senses. I would argue that sensory recollections are not voluntary. Smells, sounds and tactile sensations in Gogofis produce memories for all who live there. Some of these memories are congruent to 'Greek' things; other memories are not. But I would also argue that since the senses are tied to the subconscious, memories therefore are sensory recollections and may come to mind involuntarily. Moreover, action related to embedded cultural elements of ethnic nature reinforces non-Greek identities. Existing incongruent collective memories may appear antithetical to Fentress and Wickman (1992) hypothesis, because ethnic memories may contradict national ones. In the following section the commemorations of Greek Independence day and *Ochi* day are compared and contrasted. The similarities of otherwise temporally unlinked events which the commemorations represent reinforces national identities by merging historical and autobiographical memories together. Local experience becomes national experience. National experience becomes local experience. Through this analysis it should be clear how historical and autobiographical memories and the boundaries between them are blurred.

The Nation and Collective Memories

Historical Memory

Herzfeld (1997) argues that national models are essentialist models. He suggests that they are essentialist because they are models of 'Otherness'. They must define the 'Other' to define the national-self. It can be surmised therefore that membership is also essentialist (cf. Just 1989). Theoretically, individuals must fit strict definitions to belong, thus the paradox. Many members do not fit such strict definitions. The Greek national model is no exception. For Greece and the Greek people, the official national history is a salient part of the national model and defines Greekness. Official national history leaves little room for academic debate. Events such as the Armenian Genocide, for the Turkish state, or who the Souliotes[137] were, for the Greek state are clear-cut and non-negotiable events of the past. The national Greek model asserts that the Ancient Greeks are direct ancestors of the Modern Greek people. Briefly the model goes as follows: the 'light' of Greek culture and knowledge was sown throughout the world by Greeks such as Odysseus and 'Alexander the Great'. *i Elliniki kultura* or Greek culture was maintained during the Byzantine Empire and preserved today for the Greek people by the Greek Orthodox Church that was the caretaker of the 'light' during the dark times of the Ottoman oppression. This model does several things. First, it gives the Church a key role in the preservation of Greekness and second, it maintains the existence of only one minority, the Muslim minority in Greece[138]. The Muslim minority is not defined in ethnic terms; Turk or Pomak are not differentiated as ethnically different. The same holds true in Christian

[137] The Souliotes were Albanian speaking Christians who were chased by Ali Pasha at the turn of the 19th Century. They have become national heroic figures in Greek history as representations of Greek resistance to Turkish oppression because women and children committed suicide rather than being captured.

[138] The Greek conception of otherness is a reflection of Ottoman and Muslim influences on Greece. The *umma,* which is based on the Koran, describes the categories and responsibilities leaders have to their subjects. "The *umma*: During the Ottoman Empire people were not defined by ethniciy. People were defned according to Islamic philosophy which does not recognize ethnic difference. Therefore religion defined 'nation.' Turks Arabs or Kurd were all considered on nationality or part of the Muslim *umma*. Christians and Jews were considered infedels and not allowed to live in the Islamic state. But because they were "people of the book" they were guaranteed protection according to the Koran because they worshiped the same God under the condition that they pay a special tax, the *jizye.* Therfore there were two other nations under the Muslim *umma,* the nation of Christians (Greeks and others). The Jews were made up the Jews which Isabella sent from Spain and the Jews who had been there from antiquity". Kocturk, (1992:5). A Matter of Honour: Experiences of Turkish Women Immigrants. London, Zed Books Ltd.

Greece; the Vlachs, Arvanites, People from the Pontos mountains, or Tsakones are not recognised as ethnically different by the state. Each group could be defined as different minorities because they come from different historical trajectories. Likewise, they also have different marriage, kinship and linguistic traditions. It could be argued anthropologically that they are different ethnic groups but, are they? Arvanites, speaking Arvanitika (Albanian) and having non-Greek origins do not fit well into this national model. As a result, they feel they could be seen as potential 'Others' in their own country.

The Greek state utilises various mechanisms which maintain Greek identity and collective memories for its existence (cf. Billig 1995). I would suggest this utility could be characterised as 'historical memory'. Most of these memories are not personally experienced but are maintained through re-enactments, commemoration of past events or are reinforced in the national education system and by the written or electronic media. For this chapter the 25th of March celebrations shall be placed under the looking glass. Official state institutions are all represented well in this celebration. The celebration is similar to the celebration of the 28th of October, which commemorates Greece's entrance into World War II. The comparison is important but the details will be discussed later in this section. The 25th of March celebrates the revolution against the Turks in 1821. It is a national holiday coinciding with the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. Every primary and secondary school in the country has a parade of the national colours.

Pic 7.1 *Top student's honoured at 28th October Parade*

The children dress in blue and white. Schools are selected by lottery for the honour of parading in front of the President of the Republic and the Parliament in the capital. The following day the military parade their national defense forces in front of the President and Parliament. During my fieldwork in the village the primary school did not receive the honour so the village held its own celebration. The children of both the primary and pre-school queue up outside the school. Some of the children are dressed in traditional clothes of the early 1800s. Several boys wear the traditional *foustanella*, which is something like a kilt, and the girls wear long dresses.

Pic 7.2 *Children waiting at school, wreaths in hand to parade for the 25th March*

Pic. 7.3 *Young boys in foustanella paying respect to the fallen*

The children who do not wear traditional costumes wear dark blue trousers and white shirts for the boys and white shirts and dark blue skirts for the girls. They parade down to the main village square and line up facing the village war memorial in the main square. The square has been decorated with large and small flags several days previously. As the children pass the *kafenio,* or coffee shop, the men stand as they enter the square. The families directly precede or follow the parading children. The villagers gather on both sides of the children. The children stand to attention. The best students have the honour of being the standard bearers of the school banner and the national colours. When everyone has arrived in the square, the Priest and cantor bless the ceremony by saying a few prayers and sing a few hymns. Then the priest blesses the children and the crowd with holy water. The national anthem is sung and then some of the children walk in front of the memorial and say a patriotic poem about the flag or about the events or people who were involved in the revolution. The children take wreaths, which had been given to them as they arrived in the square. They place them on the war memorial. One of the elder schoolchildren announces by the loud speaker each name of the fallen, such as, "*Yannis Sideris epese yia tin patrida*", "Yannis Sideris fell for the fatherland". Names are read in such a fashion and each time a child places a wreath on the memorial. After the children have placed the wreaths on the memorial, the head of each institution takes his turn as the names of the fallen are said one by one. Thus, the village president, head of the port authority, the representative from the local military base, the women's auxiliaries, and the captain of the local fire-fighters, all place wreaths on the memorial. The school headmaster then says a few words about why the village and the nation celebrate the

day. Then the celebration is over. The villagers take pictures and the children go to the local cafeterias with their families.

The 25th of March is an important ceremony because it embeds the village into the nation-state. The state and village are equal. The 25th of March is not in anyone's living memory. No one actually lived or fought in that war. It is a mythical time; a time when modernity and modern history started (cf. Gourgouris 1996). The children and their families take part and remember the sacrifices of the Souliotes, who sacrificed their lives rather than being captured by the Turks. Every time a name is called, the villagers know that that individual was related to them. The dead have the same forenames and/or the same surname as many of the living villagers (see pic 7.6and 7.7). They see the individual honoured as a member of their village. The dead's sacrifice is the living's sacrifice. Both local and national institutions are there; the Church, the government, the fire brigade, the school, and the military are there to honour 'their' dead family members. The children are dressed and act like little soldiers ready to do their part in protecting Greece from her enemies.

Pic. 7.4 *National officials honour the dead of Gogofis*

The 25th of March celebration, sometimes referred simply as the *epanastasti*, or the revolution, is similar to the 28th of October, or *Ochi* Day, in its presentation but symbolically different. *Ochi* Day is celebrated because Metaxas said "no," *ochi*, to the Italians when Mussolini offered Greece an ultimatum of an unconditional surrender, resulting in the defeat of the Italians in Albania and forcing the Germans to expand their war in Greece. The ritual of the parade and ceremony are identical with the March 25th Celebration, except that all the children are in blue and white dress. The

difference is also in the content of the poems and the relationship the village has with the stories told, in other words, their experience with the past. Some of the poems are generally about the war but some are actually about the experience of the villagers themselves. When I observed the ceremony one of the poems was about how one man saved the village from being burnt down by the German forces. Thus, the village's experiences were equated with those of the nation. Village and nation made sacrifices for each other[139].

Pic. 7.5 *Dressed for the October 28th Parade presenting poems*

Around the time of *Ochi* Day, this also gave the elderly the opportunity to remember the war and their part in it. The children and young adults listen with curiosity and interest as their grandparents, uncles, and aunts remind them of the poor conditions and their relationship to the Italians and to the Germans.

There is much similarity between the two celebrations but the 28th of October is in the realm of autobiographical memory. The villagers know what they had to do to survive World War II. Many experienced the sacrifices of losing loved ones and having their

[139] Hirsch and Stewart (2005) suggest that history or historicity is viewed through the perceptions and meanings of the present. Their argument is similar to Frentress and Wickman (1992) who suggest the same for memory

labour and goods confiscated for the war by the Italians. The 25th of March is historical memory but because the ritual of each celebration is the same they have equal weight. The children perform and the dead are honoured in the same fashion even though no one from 1821 is represented on the memorial and none of the people heralded and given wreathes even existed during the Revolution of 1821.

To conclude, the commemoration of March 25th is a commemoration of sacrifice for Greece. The villagers remember their village's sacrifices for their fatherland. All the formal institutions take part and commemorate and honour those lost fighting for the village, the kin of the living Gogofiotes.

Pic. 7.6 *monument in main square*

Pic. 7.7 *Close-up of names of the fallen*

But the similarities between the 25th of March and the 28th of October celebrations give them both similar meaning in the minds of the people of Gogofis. Both celebrations work to include Gogofis into the nation. Both ceremonies represent the sacrifice the country and the village made against a common enemy.

Autobiographical Memory

Subjective Greek Memories

Memories are continually being negotiated in Gogofis. There is a constant reminder of the legacy the Ancient Greeks have given to the Greek people. It is a major part of the school children's curriculum. Historical memory is (re)established every day of their lives in one form or another. There are several major archeological sites very close to the village[140]. One is on Gogofiote land, which limits how this land can be used, and the other is Marathon, which weaves modern and ancient events such as the [modern] Olympics and the Athens Marathon to Ancient Greece. Being in such close geographical relationship to such a symbolically powerful place reminds all the inhabitants in the vicinity of the Ancient Greek influences on their daily lives but also their *klironomia,* their heritage or inheritance. This message is enforced every day in school and in the media. Thus, I would contend that to reject any relationship to the Ancient Greeks is rejecting very powerful symbolic capital[141]. Since the conception of the Modern Greek state, what it means to be Greek is in a process of negotiation. An example of this is the Delessi kidnappings. The Delessi kidnappings[142] of a party of English gentry in the 1878 ignited the debate about what it meant to be Greek (Tzanelli 2002). A debate ensued in Greece and in Europe. Was Greece a place of lawlessness, of barbarous bandits or a place of enlightenment and the birthplace of Europe (Tzanelli 2002) The Arvanites were branded as foreign agents in their own country. The brigands were finally captured near Gogofis. Interestingly the Delessi affair was not part of the collective memory of the villagers. One can only assume the Delessi affair being the largest manhunt in Greek history was deliberately forgotten[143]. According to Frentress and Wickman (1992) such Gogofiote memories in a Greek context would not have legitimised their present position in the present.

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[140] (Yalouri 2001:50; citing Shanks and Tilley 1994; Sutton 1998) argue that Archeological sites are seen as perfect spaces. Yalouri (2001: 50) investigates how the acropolis is a 'prefect' and condensed national symbol' par excellence'. It is a place where history is materialised. I contend that an important archeological site such as Marathon, may have the same symbolic value but at a lesser degree.

[141] Hamilakis and Yalouri (1996)

[142] The Arvanitakos brothers, who from the name were Arvanites, kidnapped a group of tourists on their way to see the Tomb of Marathon. The British Government refused to pay the ransom and the Brigands killed their captives. They were captured and beheaded in the hills above the village of Marathon (Tzanelli 2002).

[143] Oropos which is presently under Gogofiote jurisdiction is where the Arvanititakos gang had held and killed their British hostages (Tzanelli 2002).

The Arvanites of Gogofis were fairly endogamous until the 1980s, which suggests they had a more limited social relationship with non-Arvanites. Remembering an event such as the Delessi affair would suggest that they were *varvari,* "barbarians" or to say the least a foreign element, which excludes them from the Modern Greek project.

Gogofiotes treat this potential foreign-ness subjectively. Generally, there were several responses in public discourse with Gogofiotes with regards to their Arvaniteness. The two main responses were as follows: 1) They reject the existence of Arvanite elements in their village or, 2) They attempt to place Arvanites into a Greek context.

"I am Greek I do not know Arvanitika"

This rejection would usually be supported with reference to some specific local historical event; an example of this is their reference to the local iron mine which was in operation from about 1880-1920. When I first arrived I was told that at one time Gogofis was an Arvanite village but with the opening of the mine and the migration of strangers into Gogofis only about 20% of the population are still Arvanites. The other 80% of the people in Gogofis today are Greeks who came from all over Greece. This is only partially true. From closer observation most of the men who finally settled and married into Gogofis were Arvanites from elsewhere in Greece. Most of the surnames are Arvanitika in Gogofis and in the surrounding villages in Northern Attica and Southern Evia. Incidently, affinal relations were maintained until the 1980s as the following generations became less endogamous.

Another very typical response;

> I do not speak it but my grandparents did. They would speak it when they did not want the children to know what they were saying.

I heard this discourse from Arvanites from all over Greece. Almost everyone gave this response in the beginning of my fieldwork. Even the eldest individuals would make these statements. Later on during my fieldwork I found that many people over thirty-five years of age could speak Arvanitika fluently. Individuals under that age could

speak Arvanitika only in a very restricted manner[144]. Discourses such as the ones about language are subjectively manipulated in that they are attempting to distance themselves from non-Greek elements of their society. Another way in which they maintain inclusion with other Greeks is the statement that Arvanitika is really a Greek language. It was often stated, "It is the first Greek language". Then an example of etymological significance is made such as the following statement from a key consultant to illustrate this statement. Takis, a middle aged officer in the Air Force told me:

> The word *punon* means work in Arvanitika. *Ponos* (pain in Greek) means *punon*. Work is painful. Do you see what I mean? Arvanitika is the language of the Ancient Dorians. We are the first Greek tribes to have come to settle here.

Regardless of whether this is a viable linguistic argument or not, the people of Gogofis feel compelled to say such statements to reduce potential exclusion as non-Greeks. The final example of placing memories into a subjectively Greek context where the Arvanites try to maintain a relationship with the greater Greek society is the s*triga*[145]. The *striga* was first described by Durham (1923). At the turn of the 20th Century the idea of this spirit was known throughout Albania. The *striga* is an evil female spirit, which takes various forms and does harm to people and animals (Durham 1923). The Gogofiote *striga* is a spirit, which kills people, and if it is heard it will kill someone in the village. I have been told the *striga* can take many forms. For example, the *striga* may appear to be a baby or a little lamb, but it has a call that is neither human nor animal.

[144] Tsitsipis (1998) studied two Arvanite villages from the perspective of language and praxis. He found the degrees of language acquisition and fluency was not transferred to the younger generation. This competence in the language he refers to as 'terminal fluency' because the language can no longer be reproduced at a proficient level where it successfully maintains itself.

[145] *Srtiga* resembles the word *strega* which is Italian for witch, which may indicate its origins are not Albanian. Stewart (1991) discusses extensively the role that supernatural spirits such as *neraides* and *exotica*, of which the *stiga* is part, play in Greek society

Barbastelios told me about his father's death and the *stringa.*

> One evening, my father came home carrying a little lamb. He had been out looking for some sheep that had got lost. He found this little lamb. He said he heard it calling for its mother. He placed it near the fire to warm. I went out to do something but when I got back he was done [died] and the little lamb had disappeared. He was perfectly fine when I left. If he wasn't I would have not gone out. It must have been the *striga*. It hides and makes calls like babies sometimes. It can be anything. You have to be careful when you are in the hills. It is evil and it kills.

The people of Gogofis, especially the elderly, use the *striga* to explain unexpected deaths in family or livestock. It is used to deal with the unplanned crisis death causes, but it is not particularly Greek. When they talk about the *striga* they tell me, for my sake, as a foreigner that it is like the Cretan *niktopuli*. However, the *niktopuli* is a bird, which presents itself at a house where death will visit[146]. By telling me the *striga* is like a *niktopuli* they associate them with the *striga* in a Greek context.

To summarise, there are many elements of everyday life, which can be forgotten either because the local context distances Gogofiotes from other Greeks, such as the terminal disuse of language, or because past events could stigmatise the population. They manipulate the identity of traditions such as the *striga* and try to fit it into what they feel is a Greek context. Moreover, by explaining that Arvanitika is an Ancient Greek language or how the iron mines converted Gogofis into a Greek place by altering the identity of the population, a potentially foreign place is transformed into a place that can be called a Greek village. By saying the *striga* is a *niktopuli* it makes their local traditions Greek and not foreign. Thus, Gogofis and Gogofiotes are not excluded from the Greek nation.

Organic Memories

[146] The s*triga* is an active agent of death. The Cretan *niktopouli* is a messenger of death.

There are memories that originate and are unique to Gogofis. In this section I attempt to illustrate that some memories essential to everyday life cannot be forgotten or subjucated even if there is a wish to do so.

As Seremetakis (1994) argues, memories are stored in the senses. There are countless sensory memories associated only with Gogofis. In this section sensory memories associated with non-national collective memory are discussed. Some of these memories could be considered memories, which bind some to national memories while others cannot be considered in the same category as national collective memories. There are many sensory memories in the village which maintain Greekness, such as the Church rituals, but in order to be concise I shall only focus on those stubborn memories which indicate and maintain 'otherness.'

Foraging for *Horta*

In the spring, a favourite pastime in Gogofis is the collection of *horta*, or wild greens. A piece of wild greens pie is almost always the first thing offered to a guest[147]. There are over twelve varieties of greens mostly from the daisy family that are collected, bitter greens being the most prized. *Horta* is used in pies and eaten boiled with olive oil and lemon. It is believed wild greens are part of a healthy lifestyle and that some have medicinal properties[148]. Wild greens are usually collected in small groups of both men and women but can also be collected individually. The cleaning and preparation is usually done collectively by the women as cleaning is time consuming and labour intensive.

In the spring there is excitement when someone comes home with the first bag of greens. The women start discussing when the best time to collect is and where the best patches are found. Any outing is a potential opportunity to collect greens.

There are many stories told about collection; such as when is the best time to collect a particular species, if it was too early or too late in the season, what is their favourite *horta* and why.

[147] In every Arvanite village I visited, greens pie was the first thing a guest was treated to. Spoon sweets is the first thing a guest is given in non-Arvanite villages in my experience.

[148] Sfikas' (1979) guide to medicinal plants in Greece mentions *radiki*, a type of dandelion which is one of the most popular greens collected (incidentally it is the only one that has the same name in Demotic Greek and Arvanitika) According to Sfika, *radikia* (plural) is used to cure spots, kidney stones dermatitis, swollen liver, swollen spleen (caused by malaria), glandular malfunction, and general fatigue.

Collecting and consuming greens is a collective process. Finding and discussing where they are found, where they were last year and which one to collect at which times is learned and told to the younger members while collecting and processing.

> We used to be very poor. When I was out with the sheep I used to bring a few olives and a clove of raw garlic and a piece of bread. As we were walking with the sheep I would cut greens to be cooked for dinner (sic.). I would cut *radiki* and *bithe vjite* if I could find it.

It could be argued that collecting, preparing and consuming greens is not unique to Arvanites and that many Greek communities do the same. This is not a false statement but what makes collecting greens different for the Arvanite is that it is one occasion where Greek has not replaced Arvanitika. All the greens cultivated have Arvanite names; *bithe vjite, marvro zeze* and *buk i lepura*. And the foods prepared still maintain the Arvanite name such as *kalopodi* and *musdha*. All the greens have Greek nominal counterparts, but they insist on using Arvanite names. If I were to use Arvanitiko names I would be quickly corrected, "You [the ethnographer] should call it "*anginaraki*" (*bithe vjite*). The power of maintaining the name maintains the power of the entire process of collection, production and consumption. The greens were found on their land. The land has an autobiographical provenience.

> R: "Where did you find such big *radiki*?"
> M: "Over at *mall i zeze* near *Kotsovogoli's* place"

This type of exchange is very common and not exclusive to orienting one's self only for the collection of greens. Whenever any event happens a genealogy of the place is produced publicly so that everyone who knows who the owner was and who presently owns the land where a particular event happened. Thus, there is a mental map created for the receivers. They then clarify by giving another genealogy of the neighbouring land to clarify its location. In this way listeners develop a mental, cultural and ethnic map because toponymia and people's nicknames may be Albanian as is discussed in detail in Chapter 9. Therefore *horta* collection becomes temporal and spatial at the same time. It places the actor into an (pre)historical moment. To be able to understand where the *horta* is located s/he must know the lineage of people and the land and when and what type should be collected. Before Barbayannis had a stroke he had

several hundred head of sheep. Barbayannis used to collect greens while his sheep were grazing. He told me how he used to collect horta:

> When I was with the heard I would have my bag and I would collect whatever the sheep did not want. I would take them past Aghia Triada, it is very green there in the spring. They like *buk i lepura* they are sweet. I like the bitter ones like *radiki* or *maro zeze*. By the time I got home [in the evening] I would have a whole bag. When we were poor it was more than a meal.

They process, distribute and consume *horta*. The finished product is also an essential part of their diet today and in the past. Consumption, in this case eating, is part nourishment and part sensory. Nourishment obviously has symbolic significance but I would like to focus on the importance of the sensory interactions produced from the process of collecting *horta*.

First there is the early morning environment of birds and dew, which reminds the participant of where and when they are or were in a particular place collecting greens. Then there are the sounds and smells of cleaning, the washed soil and the swirling of the greens in the frigid water. Next, there is the production of the final product. The aroma of the pies or boiling greens which wafts its way around the neighbourhood invites guests and family to consume the final product.

Horta reminds Gogofiotes of their traditional modes of production and connects them to the land historically and to the present day. One must understand not only the landscape and its geography but also understand it culturally. However, the collection of *horta* is a collective process from beginning to end; from learning how to distinguish greens from inedible and poisonous plants to finally eating it. It is tied ethnically to the land by geographic place names, acknowledging land tenure, to the name of the *horta* itself.

In conclusion Gogofis is a complex of intertwining memories, which define individuals as members of the nation. People in Gogofis are continually negotiating their ethnic and national identities. Many autobiographical memories are manipulated and translated into “Greek” memories. In order to maintain an appropriate closeness to the nation, They maintain memories in a context which they feel is comfortably

national. Other non-Arvanite communities in Greece maintain their local traditions, while Gogofis has lost theirs because they could not explain them in a Greek context. But there are collective memories not easily adapted or transformed to subjective realities of the present. These are what I call, "organic memories". These are memories which are either stored in the senses and cannot be forgotten because they still have a salient position in the everyday, or they are structurally embedded into the society such as nicknames which are interwoven into kinship structures, identity of the other and control of social behaviour. Therefore, they cannot be consciously or subjectively changed because such a tradition maintains other structures and cannot be so easily manipulated.

It could be said that identity is the 'cultural stuff', the collective memory. Shared memories, shared histories, and shared understanding of origin mark individuals as members of a group. The national community may be too large to have these intimate shared commonalities, thus it creates its own problems because not everyone truly fits the essentialist model defining membership. This chapter illustrates the fragility of identity. Memories can contradict identity. Before the nation-state identity was localised (Anderson 1983; Sugarman 1999). Memory was 'autobiographical,' closer to the present, not historic in nature (van Boeschoten 1991). Therefore national identity and the mechanisms which produce national collective memories should be examined more closely. In the case of Greece and Gogofis, a common history is the cornerstone of national identity (Herzfeld 1991, Hirschon 1999, Just 2000). It defines where they came from and who they shall be. Gourgouris (1996) suggests that the nation is a dream, conceived to be a timeless entity. Gogofiotes see themselves as part of this dream but must subjectify their own history[149] to maintain themselves within the Greek context. The Albanians and Albanianess are facing them like a mirror, and must be confronted metaphorically because this 'other' defines Gogofiotes as Greeks or as barbarians. To extend this argument, one could say that Albanians and Albanianess or any parallel "otherness" existing in Greece therefore defines Greeks because if the Greek nation is made up of many villages and cities like Gogofis then Gogofis could be considered a typical village in Greece and not the exception. If the argument is taken further, it could apply to any nation-state or imagined community.

[149] Hirsch and Stewart (2005)

Thus, Gogofis may be considered typical for Greece. Moreover, places like Gogofis could be considered an example for any group, or any village in any nation where a national history is salient part of their identity and the said group does not fit nicely into the particular national-historical model. A homogenization has occurred since nation-states have come into existence (Anderson 1983). Language, local cuisine, and other types of performance are in the process of being forgotten. This collective amnesia could even transform the social structure. If possible, local cultural difference is manipulated. However, I have suggested that everything cannot be manipulated or forgotten. Local difference in Gogofis was hidden from me for a long period of time. The result is a subordination of the local by the national. The Gogofiotes have decided to maintain their ethnic in-distinctiveness instead of remembering non-national, alternative memories and identities. The recent programs established by the European Union to emphasise ethnic identities presently do not have any Arvanite takers. The Arvanites' memories are culturally intimate ones and it appears they have more to gain by maintaining a Greek public identity than an Arvanite one. In addition, organic memories by their nature are salient in maintaining difference. Things from the past and present, are reminders of a different past.

Chapter 8

Food

Introduction

In this chapter, I first examine past research, focusing on the relationship of food to culture. I then look at food in its physical presentation: production, preparation, consumption, and circulation and reciprocal exchange. Additionally, I investigate the cognitive and structural elements encapsulated in food, as a medium of memory and identity of the people of Gogofis. I consider how the nature of eating situates food as a cognitive system and how this cognitive system embodies and is embodied in people's identity.

On the one hand, because the locals are obligated to conform to hierarchical models of identity, the local/ethnic depictions caused by the traditions associated with food, subsume the local culture in this case, ethnic/Arvanite food, to a homogenised national version of Greek-ness. The local food identity in Gogofis, therefore, has been consciously suppressed, and publicly deemphasised. Furthermore, the act of 'eating', in its various manifestations (from the smallest expressions to the largest events, such as feasting), reflects the hierarchical relations between the Greek nation and the Arvanites as well as between Arvanites and Albanian immigrants.

On the other hand, Arvanite 'food differences', though masked in public, are privately maintained because food is a cultural site based in cognitive aspects of sensory memory[150] (Sutton 2005). In fact, Gogofiotes defy the hierarchical model privately. Moreover, with the advent of the mass migration of Albanian immigrants to Greece, and subsequently to Gogofis, many subconscious parts of food identity have become conscious.

Food is used as an ethnic and national marker in many situations in its public display (Caplan 1992; Hamilakis 1999) However, food is not employed as a marker of

[150] The act of eating stimulates all the senses, placing the tastes and smells in memory of the individual (cf. Seremetakis 1994).

difference by the Arvanites. There appears to be a conflict between their public face and their private one. This can create tensions, and is symptomatic of the systemic contradictions between what is experienced and what is expressed, in different levels of culture, by both the individual and the local/ethnic group.

In this chapter I investigate how the Gogofiotes use food to manipulate private and public realms and the food associated in each to express either an Arvanite identity or a national Greek identity. However, I suggest their Arvanite identity as it is expressed through food may be difficult to be understood as an ethnic Albanian expression of identity because the Arvanites themselves do not envisage their 'different' foods as part of an 'Albanian' culinary tradition.

Theories behind Food

Food, Eating and Culture

In this section I examine the arguments in Anthropology surrounding food and foodways. Like sex and reproduction, food and eating are essential to living. Unlike sex, however, eating and food processes are mostly public expressions of culture (Hamilakis 1999). People have been categorised and essentialised by the way they eat, even at a national level (Farb and Armelagos 1980). How food is prepared, spiced and presented; how it smells, tastes and is consumed and in what contexts, are all cultural components of food, incorporated and placed in memory, and are specific to a particular group. Consuming food involves action and sensory memory (Seremetakis 1994; Sutton 2001). In fact, eating is an abridgment of the senses, pleasure, and nutrition. It, thus, constitutes incarnation and memory (Seremetakis 1994, Hamilakis 1999, Sutton 2001). Therefore, foodways incorporate the relationships between emotion, pleasure, and feeling (Falk 1994; Lupton 2005) and one's emotional states and senses (Seremetakis 1994).

FOOD AS A CULTURAL SYSTEM

Food, like any cultural system or expression, suggests inclusions and exclusions, boundaries and transactions (Douglas 1997). In her work "Deciphering a Meal",

Douglas (1997) suggests that people see meals not simply as nourishment. Rather, food is imposed with a value system. When one thinks of 'Christmas Dinner', for example, one envisions a specific meal which must be made up of particular foods, illustrating that a meal can be considered both culturally and grammatically specific.

Bourdieu (1974, 1985, 2005) suggests that, culturally, the preparation and consumption of food are, in a normative sense, restricted to the action or act of it, respectively. He infers that the discussion of food becomes more interesting when one speaks of the 'tastes' and/or 'classifications' of foods. He further suggests that foods associated with habitus, class identity and social reproduction, are regulated and as such are what social life is composed of. Bourdieu uses the example of French society to illustrate his point. 'Light' foods, in France, are associated with the habitus of the upper class and the way they identify food. The French working class, on the other hand, because of social and structural constraints, identify with cheap and high energy foods, or what Bourdieu calls 'heavy' foods. Thus, food is a marker of identity.[151] Moreover, people identify with particular foods, and what they consider 'the proper grammar of food', on the basis of their social class' habitus.

Class ideology of 'what proper food is', in fact, not only affects taste but is also internalised by the act of consuming. For instance, class habitus and food affect one's body and body shape (Bourdieu 2005). The body is a reflection of what one eats, in part, based on that individual's concerns of what his/her entire class considers 'proper' food. This implies, again, that food is imbued with values, as suggested by Douglas (1997)[152], not only affecting the social structure of a particular class, but also maintaining the power of those, who, by virtue of their position, have the prerogative to define what 'proper food' is (Bourdieu 2005).

[151] It can be associated with a certain section of society, as shown above, or in an entire region, as is seen in the commercial identity of Burgundy wines. These wines are known to come only from the Province of Burgundy. Although regional recognition is not the focus of this thesis, research suggests (Yakoumaki 2006) that regional recognition by world bodies is a marketing strategy for global markets which, in turn, alter regional and global concepts and identities of the people living at the local level.

[152] Douglas (1997) suggests that a meal can be deciphered and an understanding of its structure established. She further suggests that there are hierarchies in what is considered food and what is not.

Food, the Body and Memory

From the moment we are able to eat solid food, we are taught to become accustomed to different flavours. By the action of ingestion, the flavours become part of the body (Seremetakis 1994; Counihan 1999; Lupton 2005). In fact, through the use of all of our senses: taste, smell, touch, sight - the flavours, smells, the tactile element, and the way food is presented - all become part of our memory (Seremetakis 1994). Seremetakis (1994) suggests that memory is a meta-sense which bridges the senses creating an involuntary experience of past events: The senses move beyond the conscious thought and intention, creating a sensory-landscape that is made up of memories intertwined with senses and material objects.

In contrast to Seremetakis, who suggests that senses are housed in material non-subjective objects, Lupton (2005) argues that food and eating practices are subjective, being repositories of emotion. She suggests that food and eating practices are "of the body and how we live through our body" (pg.317), in other words, central to self-ness and to the embodiment of action. Lupton does agree with Seremetakis, stating that memories are recalled through smell and taste, and memories are triggered through textures, smells and tastes. Lupton, however, develops her ideas from the perspective of emotions, saying that the senses also embody emotions and emotional recall; senses are not just passive recall mechanisms.

She further suggests that circumstances which are associated with emotions and food may be the most powerful. Unpleasant experiences with certain foods, for instance, make people avoid those foods. Other memories, however, can create desires for particular foods, to relive pleasurable moments (Lupton 2005). Any experience with food will create long-lasting memories. Thus starvation, or the lack of food, creates powerful lasting memories too (Lupton 2005). Food then is an emotional and memory trigger which may affect action through avoidance or replication. Food is also a source of memory. Food is a sensory experience tying it to *organic memories.* Moreover, it is basic to one's identity (Seremetakis 1997) through cognitive processes. However, food is not simply about identity and emotions created by experience. Food and its public or private presentation are political expressions. In the following section the politics of food are examined.

Food, Taboos and Power

Caplan (1992) suggests food is often used as a metaphor for self and selfhood and the relationship of self to society, cosmology and the global world, giving added meaning to the adage "you are what you eat" or maybe, "you are what you don't eat".

Food taboos suggest the boundaries of the body and the outside world (Counihan 1999; Hamilakis 1999). They can be religious taboos, such as the taboos of eating pork, or cultural taboos, such as the taboos applied to women during menstruation, pregnancy and reproduction (Caplan 1992). Eating taboos reinforce ethnic and religious differences between groups (Sokefeld 1999), furthermore, eating taboos "subsume notions of power and powerlessness" (Caplan 1997:18).

Food and Power

Caplan (1992) suggests that food is a public expression - feasts are part of this. In contrast with other public expressions of culture, however, feasts are quite costly (Hamilakis 1999). Caplan (1992) proposes one explanation, stating that feasts are a symbol of one's status. In other words, feasts are an expression of social stratification. Appadurai (1981), in his examination of marriage feasts, for example, states that marriages are what he calls, a quintessential 'gastro-political arena' where the maximum number of satisfied persons is directly related to the reputation of the bride's family. Thus, feasts, with all the surrounding rituals and associated production, preparation and consumption of food, are seen to be related to kinship, social relations, economic exchange and social stratification/hierarchies within society (Appadurai 1981; Caplan 1992).

Food and Identity

Kershen (2002:6) brings up the question "if a Punjab were to eat corn flakes for breakfast would that make him less of a Punjab?"[153]

In most of the ethnographies, food is discussed as a public demonstration and expression of identity. Food is, in fact, a marker of identity (Brown and Mussel 1984;

[153] It is my contention, that it does not make him less a Punjab, but a different Punjab than his grandparents would have been, since they did not eat cornflakes.

Moore 1984; Kravva 2003;Williams 1993) just to name a few. Sutton (2005) suggests that food and its sensory properties are not simply markers of identity between 'us and them[154]'. He states that food is a 'synaesthesia', uniting the senses together. Producing, preparing and consuming food, furthermore, become embodied by practice and thus, can be represented in the food itself, as repositories of the senses and memory.

Food, therefore, creates a cultural site essential to maintaining identity. How foods are processed/prepared, what ingredients are used, what foods are allowed to be eaten and when - all are related to locality and are indications of identity (Bell and Valentine 1997). Food, as a cultural site, thus, has significant meanings to both individuals and groups. Embedded in eating are rituals associated with integration and cohesion. Eating and drinking reflect cultural and societal adaptive dietary properties and their relationship to the environment (Farb 1980; Anderson 2005). These cultural sites can, thus, be examined at the local, national and global levels.

Food Studies in Greece

Surprisingly, food and foodways are not major topics of anthropological discussion for Greece. Commercialisation of ethnic and national identities, however, have created a homogenisation of identity of what Greek cuisine is supposed to be (Brown and Mussel 1984; Ball 2003; Yakoumaki 2006).

Ball's (2003) analysis, observes that cookbooks are a salient literary form representing national character through food. He illustrates how Greece, starting with Greek cookbooks written in the 19th Century, has a long tradition associated with writing about food. Ball's study suggests that food, through the interpretive eye of both regional and national cookbooks, reflects elements of Modern Greek society and how Greeks represent themselves through time.

Cookbooks have conformed to national models of identity and the discourse of continuity. Ball discusses how Tselementes, a quintessential cookbook author from the 1920's, attempts to distinguish then-modern Greek cooking from other cuisines,

[154] Foodways, in general, mask elements of implicit hegemony, competition and violence (Hastorf and Johannessen 1993; Bourdieu 2005).

by stating "the progress in the arts halted the invasion of the barbaric peoples of the North into lower Europe"[155]. Tselementes, furthermore, referred to Greek cooking continuity models, by stating that "Greek cooking simultaneously puts Greece at the centre of history" (Ball 2003:8). The process of nationalisation, and the representation of corresponding 'national foods,' resulted in a homogenisation and the avoidance of distinguishing regional cuisine. Ball further illustrates the focus on homogenisation and the continuity model by contrasting Tselementes' cookbooks, with those of more contemporary authors Nikos and Maria Psilakis (1995). Ball (2003) conjectures that cookbooks like the Psilakis', emphasise regional cooking. Such cookbooks could pose particular problems with regards to the nation.[156]

To deal with this dilemma, Ball suggests that contemporary cookbook authors refer to the concepts of 'the regional authenticity of cooking' of '*the grandmothers*[157]' who are thought of as being uninfluenced by modern and post-modern society. '*The grandmothers*' preserve the timeless cooking traditions, reinforcing ideas of cultural continuity, purity, and health.

Whereas Ball (2003) suggests that discourses about cooking and food are suppressed by dominant discourses about the nation and continuity, Yakoumaki (2006:416) argues that the "visibility of 'ethnic and rural' modalities become a process of affirmation of Greek-ness and the culturally diverse". This opposing viewpoint may be due to changes in perspective in post-accession Europe. Because of the European Union, attention is now being focused on larger regional identities'. In regions such as the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and Southern Europe, food has become a point of (re)evaluation. Moreover, marketing of local/regional products, such as feta and retsina, embodies a traditional character, which is under the protection of the European Union. Suddenly, through the consumption of food, individuals of the advanced consumer capitalist society experience the countryside (Yakoumaki 2006). In other words, regional diversity is epitomised by the consumption of diverse foods. This has become the 'new' Greek experience, as an ethnically and regionally diverse place.

[155] Tselementes (xiv as sited in Ball 2003:8)

[156] Regionality may be considered subversive and separatist with regards to the nation and the nationalist ideologies of the state (Jenkins 2008).

[157] In contrast, in Chapter 9 on landscape I refer to the *papoudes*, or grandfarthers, as ancestoral ties to the landscape.

In contrast to Ball's findings, Yakoumaki (2006) further observed that different local and minority cuisines, which had been publicly overlooked in the past, have now been publicly recognised in Greece. Jewish, Muslim, Turkish and Pomak foods, for instance, which were not publicly recognised before, are now openly part of the repertoire of Greek food. Yakoumaki suggests this is a result of the effects of the European super-state and identity now recognising minority cooking as antithetic[158] and in contrast to nationally homogeneous foods and globalisation.

Kravva (2003), in her study of Sephardic Jews of Thessaloniki, illustrates how the Jewish population's identity shifts depending on the situation. She demonstrates how, through the process of participation and the use of food-naming, they define their identity as Greek, Jewish or Sephardic. Kravva (2003) furthermore notes that this population of Sephardic Jews have decidedly created markers of identity associated with food, even though their food, on many occasions, is arguably the same as that of non-Sephardic Greeks[159].

Public recognition does not encompass all local and minority cuisines. Ambiguous minorities' cuisines, such as those of the Vlachs or the Arvanites, have neither been publicly acknowledged, nor been distinguished as, so called, 'Greek' cuisine. "These elements continue to be points of contestation of 'Greek-ness', while the urban Hellenistic model is still dominant" (Yakoumaki 2006: 428).

The Gogofiotes, thus, choose to keep their local food a 'public secret'[160] to de-emphasise anything that could potentially be criticised as being non-Greek. They use private expressions of foodways as a mechanism to maintain private, local, and ethnic identity, while using public expression of food and foodways to openly maintain them as part of mainstream Greek culture.

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[158] Since the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, the Greek state maintains that there is only one minority in Greece, the Muslim minority in Eastern Thrace. Public visibility and unofficial recognition of alternative minorities may be an indication of attitude changes in Greece. However, the *de jure* status of minorities is still unchanged.

[159] Plaut (1996) suugersts the Jews numbered approximately 50,000 souls before WWII in Thessaloniki. The Jewish population of Thessaloniki is one of the few that were almost completely obliterated. Presently the Jewish community is a shadow of what it once was.

[160] Most literature on the topic of food, describes the 'public display' of food. Little has been written about the use of food as a 'public secret'; In contrast with Taussig's (2002) notion of the public secret: a 'public secret' could be something used to promote 'quiet identities', which are not publicly or openly expressed. These 'quiet identities', furthermore, are encouraged in private and are empowered with the in-the-private/local context (cf. Taussig 2002).

Because foodways are used as a mechanism of homogenisation within the nationalising project (Ball 2003), hiding foodways, then, reifies power relations of the public structure over private ones.

Foodways of Gogofis

Ethnic Diversity Not Recognised

Food is a public expression of culture (Hamilakis 1999) and is, thus, often a public expression of identity (Anderson 2005; Caplan 1997). Often foodways represent national identity or regional identity.[161] I suggest foodways are an extension of one's relationship with the nation and national ideology.

Many ethnic communities throughout the world celebrate their ethnicity through public expressions of food. In France, for example, every village has its own cheese and its own wine (Anderson 2005). The same is now true in Greece. Though not as refined a system as the French, each region has its own wine and selected other foods such as preserves, pasta, cheese, and sweets. Different regions in Greece also have their own way of making their particular savoury or sweet pie, etc. Moreover, regional/ethnic cooking is also being celebrated on such popular television cooking programs as Mamalakis' *Boukia kai Sigchorio* or ET3's *Kyriaki sto Chorio*. On these shows, it is not uncommon to see dishes from places like Asia Minor and the Pontus Mountains distinguished, designated by their native names, and even labelled with their place of origin. Ironically, in both programs, Arvanite food is never mentioned. Even when *Kyriaki sto Chorio* visited Thebes, an Arvanite town, no dish was distinctly labelled 'Arvanite' or labelled with an Arvanite name. This 'overlooking' of Arvanites as their own ethnic identity (through food, in this case) may or may not be by design; however it is a preferred state of being for the Arvanites. To them, public foodways are used not to represent regional or ethnic identity but instead to signify uniformity and national homogeneity. To examine why this is the case, I will first explore public, and then private Gogofiote/Arvanite foodways and their presentations of food.

[161] Two examples of this are that of Italian immigrants selling 'Italian' food in restaurants or festivals (Fortier 2000) and Mexican immigrants selling their native food at Mexican-American festivals on such celebrations as the 5th of May (Williams 1993).

Public Foodways

Gogofis has many public places to eat. In the main square, there is one pizza/kebab place and two cafeterias serving primarily drinks and snacks. Gogofis also has more than six *tavernas* in the village and five *tavernas* in the lands surrounding Gogofis, two *tavernas* near the Archaeological site, several fish *tavernas* near the sea port and several others at the beach about 20 minutes from the village, all in Gogofis' jurisdiction. Obviously, with little over 1000 people living in Gogofis, most of these eating establishments are not just for the local village consumption. On the weekends, most of the eateries are filled with visitors from the city, who come to the countryside for the day. During the winter months, the village is quieter, so most of the *tavernas* are not open on a daily basis - opening up only when a large party of people come to eat.

The main courses presented at inland Gogofis *tavernas* are generally centred on meat: namely, chicken, lamb, pork or beef. Near the sea, the main dishes are fish and other varieties of sea food. Starters include such items as *melintzanosalata, taramosalata, tzatziki*, several varieties of bean dishes and greens pies, cheese pies, fried courgettes, aubergines and chips, feta cheese and olives. *Tavernas*, both inland and by the sea, serve an array of salads such as *horiatiki salata* (village salad) and a wide range of seasonal wild and domestic greens. This kind of fare can be found almost anywhere, both on mainland Greece and on the islands.

Arvanite food, in actuality, is not much different from non-Arvanite Greek food, but there are small differences. The Arvanites could emphasise these differences and use Arvanite names when speaking of their food publicly. They choose not to, however. Instead, public production and consumption of food in the village is one of non-differentiation. Greek-named equivalents of Arvanite foods, in fact, are used to diminish differentiation. In this way, the Arvanites publicly express themselves as part of a homogeneous Greece, demonstrating their Greek-ness through 'Greek' food.

In the *tavernas*, for instance, differences in Arvanite cuisine are not noticeable to the visitor. Specialties are presented as "chef's specialties", but always within the context of public Greek discourse. In other words, publicly, Gogofis is as typical as any other

Greek village, there is almost nothing regionally or ethnically distinct about the menus of the Gogofiote *tavernas.*[162]

Private Foodways

It took many months to learn about the private foodways of Gogofis in my field work. They were never expressed publicly and people seemed uncomfortable when private foodways were mentioned in my presence. Whereas public expressions of food do not differentiate the Arvanites from other Greeks, there is some unease surrounding the Arvanite perception of their private foodways[163] and its associated concealment.[164] It is only in private, in their home or some culturally intimate environment, that the Gogofiote non-Greek 'expression of diversity' is seen. Such differentiation is maintained in the home and is not mentioned beyond the limits of Arvanite or Albanian company, yet is salient to the Gogofiote definition of themselves.

In private, Arvanite foods are given important meanings and are associated with events, such as the starting of winter and/or religious moments in the cyclical calendar[165], which enforce their ties with the local past, agricultural life, and their land tenure. As discussed in Chapter 7, the local memories and Arvanite language are linked to a whole process which acts as a marker of difference between Arvanites and outsiders. One key marker, for instance, lies in the distinction of Gogofiote private foodways with respect to wild greens. Their private process of collection, preparation, and consumption of these greens is embedded in Arvanite culture and is markedly different from that of their public expression. The type of greens, where they are found, and the names of pies made from these greens – all indicate 'otherness'. As suggested above, Arvanites are wary of expressing this difference openly, concealing it from the outside. Not surprisingly, then, foods such as those made from wild greens

[162] There are two exceptions. One being the occasional addition of locally gathered wild greens, which either are simply boiled or are served in wild greens pie. The other exception is *provatina*, or ewe meat, which I was told by Arvanites from other parts of Greece, is typically Arvanite. This is an unusual dish for Greece and is cut into chops or ribs and grilled. Both exceptions are described to Gogofiote *taverna* customers by their Greek names, however, the greens as *agrio-horta*, wild greens, or *agrio-hortopita*, wild greens pie. *Provatina*'s Greek name, makes it understood to be lamb, so, for the outsider it is unusual. but not too odd.

[163] as with other expressions of Arvaniteness

[164] This concealment exposes the tensions between their imagined Greek selves and their imagined Arvanite selves. It enforces the power relationship of the publicly accepted and legitimate Hellenic national identity - popular Greek food - over their ambiguous Arvanite local identity and Arvanite food.

[165] such as the Aghios Lazaros feast

are not labelled with their Arvanite name on any *taverna* menu. In fact, when I would ask about these greens using an Arvanite term, I was quickly corrected. The Gogofiotes would only allow me to mention them using the Greek equivalent.[166] This indicated to me not only my position as a non-Arvanite Greek, but also how foods are used as ethnic markers - a distinction between Arvanite and 'other'.

Greens are not the only food that differentiate Gogofiote cuisine. There are also some breads which are made in, and are distinct to, Gogofis. One type is called *propyr*, a bread which is slightly burnt because it is traditionally made in an outdoor wood-burning oven and is made while the wood is still aflame.[167] Another bread local to Gogofis is *koulouria* (plural). *Koulouria* are round, decorated, and inedible bread sculptures which represent fertility and a successful marriage. They are exchanged by the groom's and wife's families during engagements, weddings and baptisms.[168]

Other foods, like *gogllidhes*, are also unique markers to the Arvanites. *Gogllidhes*, which literally means little marbles in Albanian, are a type of gnocchi-like pasta. They are eaten either warm or cold with grated *kefalotiri* cheese and without sauce.

In the past *Gogllidhes* may have been associated with the end of the wheat harvest but it is now associated with the end of summer - the end of grape harvest and the time before the olive harvest. The making and consumption of *gogllidhes* is a marker of the cyclical calendar[169] and is an indicator of the start of the winter celebrations. It represents the beginning of the winter season and is traditionally first served on Saint Lazarus' day - October 17th - and then is made and consumed throughout the winter months.

Yannis who is a retired guard at the local archaeological site a told me:

> I love *gogllidhes*; it means the beginning of winter. When we start eating them, I know that holidays are coming. It reminds me of when I was a child. I was impatient for school to end. My mother always makes them on St. Lazaros' Day. St. Lazaros is between the grape and olive harvest.

[166] In contrast, Albanians in this case, are allowed to use Arvanite names of foods.
[167] Propyr is not made very often anymore
[168] The processes of Arvanite traditions, such as the *koulouria*, have been documented by Greek folklorist, Fouriki, at the turn of the 20th Century, on the island of Salamina (Fouriki 1996).
[169] The cyclical time associated with life in the village may be compared to linear time which is associated to the state. However, Gell (1996) argues that cyclical time is actually another form of linear time because cyclical time is diachronically remembered in lineal moments.

Kyria Fotini who also lives in P*alioplatia,* is Yannis wife. She showed me how *Gogllidhes* are made:

> *Gogllidhes* [similar in shape to the Italian gnocchi] are made from semolina wheat and water. The dough has to be made from flour that is not too elastic so it can role out and still maintain its shape. A small glass, of a diameter of approximately two centimetres, is used to cut the dough. Then the little flat disks are simply curled by pressing the disk, [drawing it towards the body and pressing simultaneously]. The pasta is then put in boiling water until it floats to the top.

Gogllidhes are an example of a mnemonic device used to maintain memories, as suggested by Sutton (2005). They are also an Arvanite cultural site.

Food as a Cultural Site

A Visit to Kyria Roula

It was a few days after Easter. I had not been to Gogofis for several months.[170] I went to visit Kyria Roula in my old neighbourhood. At the time of my visit, Kyria Roula was a seventy-five year old widow with three sons, one surviving brother, and some members of her extended family, still living in the village. All three sons had married women in neighbouring villages. Her sons and their families regularly spent their free time in Gogofis. When I lived in the village, I would visit Kyria Roula often. Either we would sit and talk in *Palioplatia* or she would invite me into her home for a coffee and some *koulourakia,* homemade shortbread biscuits, or a piece of wild-greens pie.

Once when I visited her house, she had just come back from her brother's wife's sister's home, where she had been given some vegetables. She was preparing them for her son, George, since his wife had been busy running a shop in the *agora* (the high street on the main square). She had me sit, waiting in a room off the kitchen, where she washed the vegetables. She offered me some fruit (since she did not have the usual biscuits or greens pie) and something to drink. Foodways and exchange are always part of the host/guest ritual.

[170] Due to a car accident, midway through my fieldwork.

SM: I won't stay long because you will be eating soon.
R: No sit, sit … aren't you going to celebrate the first of May?
SM: I am not sure [what we are going to do].
R: Ah, re Simo, things are getting worse everyday, getting worse, getting worse … Simo! Worse… *[referring to the cost of living]*
SM: How was your Easter?
R: For Easter we were at Petros' place in Varnava … at Petros'. The evening of the *Anastasi* (Easter Eve), we ate at the shop [George's restaurant] and on Saint George's, we celebrated at George's. We ate *Magiritsa* (Lamb's head soup). In Varnava, we spit a lamb.

This exchange illustrates how events and memories are marked through the medium of food and eating, where food is the cultural site, as suggested by Olick and Robbins (1998). Even in a rapidly changing world, where Gogofiotes are moving to the city and new immigrants bring their culture into the village, instead of being a point of identity of displaced people creating a sense of wholeness caused by globalisation (Sutton 2005), food is a cultural site which maintains the village, and the families associated with it.

In fact, food is a mnemonic marker of social interaction (Sutton 2005), as there is almost always some sort of food exchange associated with it in every social event, whether it is big, such as Easter celebrations, or small, such as my visit to Kyria Roula.

Womanhood and Food

Food in Gogofis is generally prepared by the women. In this way, women are burdened not only with the cooking but also the Arvanite identity, as the ethnic Arvanite food is prepared by them.[171]

Additionally, womens' empowerment is, in part, maintained through foodways (Sutton 2007), as is seen in how Kyria Roula takes care of her sons:

> I help because they [her son's wives] all work and have no time to take care of the family.

In other words, she is empowered by her making food for her sons' families, while at the same time lessening the value of their brides' position in their family.

[171] Though I had limited access to women and how they produced their food, I was able to observe elderly women. My studies showed that women do most of the cooking, except for the case where families, including men and children, prepare food together in the *tavernas*.

The relationship of mothers as food preparers is changing as a result of increased exogamy. As many men in Gogofis marry non-Arvanite women, Arvanite-ness through food, faces a dilemma, as this may have a significant effect on the preparation and consumption of Arvanite food in the future.

Manhood, Besa, and National/Ethnic Identity

A Story of Food, consumption and Honour

Lakis' *kafenio* is not an out-of-the-ordinary Greek café. It faces the main village square. There are two old mulberry trees in front of the shop, which give cooling shade during the hot summer months. There are a few tables and chairs placed outside. Most or all of the chairs face the square. In the back corner, inside the *kafenio*, there is a fridge and counter where Lakis and his sons brew the coffee and prepare alcoholic and fizzy drinks. There is a television placed on a high pedestal, which can be seen from the counter. Next to the counter there is a small table, where Lakis or his sons usually sit. Next to his table, there is an unused meat locker against the centre of the back wall which dates back to when the place was a butcher shop. There is also a round table in the back corner opposite the serving counter where some serious card players sit and play until late in the evening. Eight other tables are located inside the *kafenio,* arranged so that a void is created in the centre of the room. Most tables are square but have only three chairs around them because it is considered rude to have your back to people while you talk to others. The chairs are situated so that people not playing cards can observe who is coming and going in the *kafenio.* The same is true of the chairs outside the *kafenio.* They are all placed in a way to maximise the viewing of passers-by and the activities in the village square.

Lakis had had a *kafenio* most of his life. This café was now in his youngest son Sakis' name, but the eldest son, Kyriakos also helped run it. Lakis is a member of one of the "old" families in the village. His family, at one time, had much influence in the village. Because of the size of his *soi*, the family's influence has waned.

When I first began my fieldwork I spent a lot of time at Lakis' café. At the time, he was in his mid-seventies. As I sat there, I would ask villagers to tell me 'stories' about their past. Since I was still new to them, however, not many were openly ready to talk

to me. Then, one day, Lakis straddled the chair (both forearms leaning on the wooden back of the chair) facing me, and he spoke in front of all in the café:

> You want to hear a story? I'll tell you a story. When I was young, we would go into Athens to work. We were working in Athens - Spyros K, Yannis S. and Koutsomichas, 'O Micros'. After work we went to a *steki* (an eatery) on Solonos.[172] We went in and sat down. The waiter looked at us strangely. He was probably thinking, 'What do these guys want? There are so many of them.' After a while he came over. We told him "Bring us wine!" He looked at me. He brought us the wine. We drank and then I asked him what food he had. He said it was late [in the afternoon] and the only thing he had left was a few *keftedes* (fried meat balls) and *briam*. I said to him, "What is this *briam*?" I told him to show it to me. So I went to see it - *kolokithia kai patates*, (courgettes and potatoes) - and I laughed.

Everyone listening to Lakis laughed. Lakis continued,

> I told him, "Bring us, this *briam*. Bring all you have. *Kolokithopatates*…." So he brought it. We ordered more wine and more *kolokithopatates*. He kept looking at us. We were there for a while and now the guy was probably thinking 'are they going to pay?' We drank and ate. We had a good time, but this guy kept watching us. He was by himself and we were many. I told him that the '*kolokithopatates*' were good and to bring us the bill. So, we paid and left. *Kolokithopatates*…..

As Lakis told me (and the other people at the café) the story, he hit his hand periodically on the small square wooden *kafenio* table at which he was sitting. Everyone laughed when he finished his story.

I suggest that Lakis, in his narretive about this 'meal', expresses several important elements about the Gogofiote social exchange: manhood and moral values intertwined with national and ethnic identity, He is also associating masculinity and honour with being an Arvanite and/or Greek. More specifically, he is creating difference between himself and his company with that of the urban Greek propritor.

MANHOOD

Lakis gave his narrative in a *kafenio*: a place where men go to talk, tell stories and play cards or *tavli* (backgammon). It is a place where egalitarian relations are created and maintained and where masculinity is expressed in the form of *kefi*, having a good time in a non-competitive social environment (Papataxiachis 1991). The retelling took place, here, among friends. In this way, his intention, by telling me a story about his trip to Solonos, was to create and maintain a relationship with me. In the context of

[172] Solonos is at the edge of Kolonaki, a posh middle-to-upper-class urban neighbourhood of Athens.

this place, the *kafenio*, Lakis was making a statement about manhood and honour in a humorous way. The way he moved his chair, straddled it, used large expressive gestures and banged his hands on the table, all contributed to his performance. I was being taught something about morals and *levendia*, manliness and proper male behaviour. Lakis was not the only one 'centre stage', however, the stage included both of us, Lakis and the ethnographer. I was his intimate audience but his public audience was all the other men in the *kafenio*, everyone was listening.

BESA

His story was also about *besa*[173], or trustworthiness. For an Arvanite man, *besa* is an important part of the man's character (Lopasic 1992). Lakis mentioned that he and his friends "were many", suggesting they had control and could have just walked out without paying (though they had no intention of doing such a dishonourable act). From Lakis' perspective, they ate everything the shop had to offer and drank a lot, suggesting not only are they honourable but also they are men with money, and good clients. He represents the proprietor as an urban man who does not understand Lakis or his company of friends. Had he known them, he would have understood that they had *besa* and could be trusted. With his story, Lakis is creating a collective subjective statement about how people should be treated. Just like Herzfeld's (1985:16) description of the men of "Glendi", explaining their performativity and the quality of their 'doing' by stating: "There is less focus on 'being a good man' than on 'being good at being a man'", in Gogofis there is less importance on a man having *besa* than showing that he has *besa*. In Lakis' story, he demonstrated that he has *besa*.

Besa, furthermore, has been suggested as being a salient concept for the diaspora of Albania (Lopasic 1992). *Besa* is also used in the non-Arvanite Greek language but its meaning is limited in scope: it is simply a noun which means to keep one's word. For the Albanians and the Arvanites it is more a code of behaviour. For them, it means always doing what one has said one will do; even if it is to their own detriment.

In Kadare's (1982) literary work "Broken April", he shows how *besa* was linked to pre-state rules about land, feuding, conflict resolution and other social behaviour in

[173] *Besa* is examined in ch. 1

Albania.[174] In Gogofis, whose people have been spatially and temporally removed from Albania for several hundreds of years, *besa* is still implicitly embedded in men's behaviour. Barbakyriakos, a shepherd, who at the time of my research, was ninety years old, said, "It [*besa*] is a way of understanding what the other is saying, without him saying it." In other words, *besa* is a way of non-verbal symbolic encoded behaviour which is collectively understood. The way Barbakyriakos described *besa* is similar to a Geertzian (1973) definition of culture: as an uncodifed system of symbolic set of rules which are collectively understood. In Lakis' story, for instance, he implicitly expresses how he and his mates had no intention of leaving without paying. He also implies that some 'other' untrustworthy people– perhaps urbanites or non-Arvanites - might have left without paying. Without explicitly stating that his friends and he have *besa*, Lakis suggests they would not make trouble even though they had the power to do so. Lakis is creating an implicit boundary between his people and the others who would not do the same.

NATIONAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY

In telling his story, Lakis is expressing not only his Arvanite-ness, exhibiting morals through *besa*, but also his Greek-ness. He does this by focusing on and making fun of the name of the dish they ordered. By his using the dish's Greek name, *kolokithopatates*[175], while emphasising that the restaurant proprietor called it *briam* (explicitly a Turkish reference), Lakis is marking the difference between him and his friends, and their Greek-ness, and this 'Turkish-like' proprietor.

To Lakis, his Arvanite-ness and Greek-ness are not separate identities, but parts of the same. The Arvanites, in this instance, are equated to being more Greek by implicitly deferring the other by illustrating the 'otherness' of the Athenian restaurant proprietor suggesting he might be from Asia Minor, and even from Turkey.

[174] The rules were collected and codified by Lec Ducegjini in the 13th Century. Known as the *Kanun i Lec*, these rules were used then and are still in use today. The *Kanun* discusses everyday situations such as feuds, unwanted deaths, land disputes and gender roles (Durham 1910; Hasluck 1954; Gjeov 1989: Young 2000).

[175] *Kolokithopatates* was a deliberate choice of words. The words *kolokithia* (or courgettes) and *patates* (potatoes) can sometimes refer to foolishness. *Eleghe kolokithia*, He said foolish things, or to *ekane patata*, He made a mess of it. Thus he is also making a statement about the situation or the person in the tavern usurping his authority over them (cf. Scott 1990).

Lakis, thus, through the medium of a meal - the acts of naming the food and consuming it - lessens his own ethnic ambiguity by emphasising the proprietor's 'otherness' making this Athenian's identity more ambiguous than his own.

To conclude, on the one hand, in Lakis' account, neither explicit references were made about manhood, nor direct references made to national identity. Instead Lakis' 'story' shows that Arvanite identity and Arvanite values are hidden under a veneer of Greek-ness. The fact that *besa* is not referred to by name, suggests its implicitness. Moreover, Lakis never referred to Arvanite identity, but juxtaposed his company of rural Arvanite friends to urban cosmopolitan Greece, suggesting that multi-cultural Athens is less Greek than Gogofis, and in doing so, reified his and his community's position in the national matrix.

On the other hand, however, because this discussion was held in a 'private' Gogofiote *kafenio*, between and implicitly understood by those members of Gogofis who were listening, it is also implicitly strengthening the position of the urban over the rural. Moreover, in his narrative, Lakis subtly recognises the authority of the state and its prestige in such an establishment, just by recognising that they did not really belong there. He also recognised that the proprietor, in fact, had the power to not serve them or to do something if they did not pay. Thus, Lakis recognised their position and powerlessness, and had to accept it, even if he and his friends momentarily defied it.[176] Thus, by differing the 'other' in the Athenian, Lakis is also unwittingly maintaining difference of himself and his company from other Greeks.

Food, the Albanians and the Arvanites

Similarities and Differences

Though there are probably class and regional differences, Albanian immigrants are misunderstood to be a homogenious group. Even though there is a palatable difference between households' dishes, both Albanian immigrants and the Arvanites

[176] Scott (1989) suggests that the 'powerless' use actions such as foot-dragging, false compliance, as well as a list of minor clandestine activities, as a way to usurp the powerful - as a form of resistance and as mechanisms for survival. Johnson (1999) argues that the "weapons of the weak", a phrase coined by Scott, may also be used by the powerless to prevent the desecration of values and customs. In Laki's case, it is not a matter of survival nor a way to avoid physical abuse. Rather, he is asserting his own values, national identity, and *besa* in a social environment where his ethnicity, legitimacy and honour could be questioned.

have the same cultural representations of most dishes and meals. There were only four seemingly insignificant differences that I observed in my research:

1) Albanian immigrants use yogurt more extensively in their cooking than do their Arvanite counterparts. The Albanians have several dishes with cooked yogurt. An example of this is *Kos me pule* (baked rice, yogurt and chicken). Arvanites consume yogurt in its raw form, as a side dish. *Tzatziki* is a good example.
2) The Albanians, typically, have a more refined/aesthetic way of presenting salads and other vegetable dishes on celebration days, whereas Arvanite presentations were the same whether there was a celebration or not.
3) Arvanites prepared horta and horta pies, while the Albanians did not prepare nor consume them.
4) A very small minority of Albanians did not eat pork due to being Muslim and maintained Muslim fasts, such as during Ramadan. All Albanians, however, whether Muslim or not, without exception, consumed alcohol.

It was unexpected that this last difference, concerning dietary taboos and restrictions, was never mentioned in discourses that Arvanites and Albanians had about one another. It was something which appeared neither to occupy people's thoughts nor to be an explicit marker of identity and/or exclusion. It could have been a restriction, with compound effects on religious and structural elements of society, but appeared not to be.[177]

On the one hand, these seemingly small differences could indeed be noted as markers of identity. Both groups, on various occasions, used the pronoun "we" to explain how they did or did not consume one type of food or another. An Albanian immigrant, for example, told me, "We do not eat *horta*, though they [our ancestors] did a long time ago." In this case, he is subjectifying his own identity, relating the Arvanite 'others' with Albanians from the past.[178]

[177] This may truly have been the case or I just may not have been present when a Muslim-Albanian immigrant was put in the position or was pressed to exhibit his Muslim self, by refusing to eat pork or because he was taking part in the Ramadan fast.

[178] In some ways, the Albanians view the Arvanites as 'fossilised Ancient Albanians'. In many Albanian discourses, Arvanite foods, music, and language are characterised as the ways they [the Albanians] did things in the undetermined distant past.

On the other hand, the Albanian immigrants have adopted many of the Arvanite eating and drinking habits. The following narrative illustrates how some foods, in this case alcohol, have been replaced with other types of food which are locally more abundant.

For a gift I gave my Albanian neighbour a gift of *raki i rrush*[179] [a very powerful alcoholic drink made from distilled grapes]. He thanked me but told me that he did not drink it because he was not in the habit of drinking it anymore. He told me he was now in the habit of drinking *retsina*.

This example demonstrates an Albanian's choice not to exploit differences between himself and his Arvanite neighbours. Likewise, in my research, I noted that the Arvanites did not make a point of singling out particular foods that were consumed only by them, to the exclusion of the Albanians. It can be deduced, therefore, that food similarities, or the clear lack of differences in foodways, are not generally used as markers of difference between the two groups. In fact, their lack of emphasis on differences is an inadvertent mechanism of inclusion: showing food is not an important medium to identify 'otherness' between the two groups.

Food, Place, and Intimacy

Since Arvanites and Albanian immigrants have historically both lived in the Balkan Peninsula, herding animals and maintaining virtually the same crops, I suspect a more demonstrative mechanism of difference is not in the content of the food but in how and where the production and consumption of food takes place.

Food is produced (such as in the fields), processed (such as at the wine or olive presses), exchanged (such as in the farmers' market, *laiki agora*) and consumed (such as in the *tavernas* or the *kafenio*) in public spaces. The Arvanites, through social structures and the landscape[180] are the "owners" and "employers" of the public space. Thus, they are in a position of power and legitimacy in the public realm. The

[179] *Raki i rrush* is consumed in large quantities, on both special occasions and in Albanian everyday life. I have witnessed on different occasions two to three men consuming several litres of this 90-98% proof alcoholic drink at one sitting. Many homes have their own distillery. Raki is also used in rituals, such as weddings, for the purpose of purification and bringing good luck to the couple.

[180] including established kin and social relationships with fellow Arvanites, as well as inherited lands, such as the grape and olive fields. See Chap **9**

Albanian immigrants' position in this domain, on the other hand, is one of exclusion or subordination[181] because they are neither masters of the space nor place.

In this way, there is a hierarchy created by the space Arvanites and Albanian immigrants inhabit. Publicly, Arvanites and Albanian immigrants tend to eat and drink separately from one another. In the *kafenio*, they rarely sit together and very seldom treat each other. Furthermore, during the olive and grape harvests, though the Arvanites employers prepare food for the workers, the Arvanites sit separately from their Albanian employees to consume it.

I observed that the sharing of food and space, between the two groups, happens only in private places, such as in the home. In this space, they are not employees or employers. Rather they are 'ethnic' colleagues, *kolegjet.* They are metaphorically members of each others' family. As members of the family, they share food as families share food. In this case, food is also a mechanism of cultural intimacy within an ethnic local context.[182]

Conclusion

Though cultural diversity in food expression is becoming more and more accepted throughout the world, the Arvanites still choose to consume food in ways which incorporates contradictory identities – their public versus their private faces. Using their public expression of food preparation and consumption, they are able to claim Greek-ness. By concealing their local ethnic foodways, expressing it only in the culturally intimate privacy of their homes, they maintain their idea of their Arvaniteness. In doing so, however, they subordinate themselves, re-enforcing the power and legitimacy of the state and their national model of identity over their ethnic identity (cf. Herzfeld 1997)

This concept of a public versus a private face carries over into the Arvanites relationship with the Albanian immigrants. In public, the Arvanites choose to

[181] In official discourse, the Arvanites are subordinated to public main stream Greek society through their private use and eating of food through public representations of food and food processes. The Albanians are caretakers, employees and labourers. They are subject to 'symbolic monopoly of violence', public official positions on their people and are not acceded - this is represented in their relationship with the Arvanites, in the public consumption of food.

[182] The ethnic context is an ambiguous one because it is unofficial and illegitimate. It is subordinate to official public relationships.

maintain the hierarchical relationship they have established in Greek society. They, thus, in public, disassociate themselves from Albanians, not only to lessen their ambiguity in the Greek nation, by strengthening their ties to Greek-ness over Albanian-ness. At the same time they are maintaining their own level of superiority over the Albanians. In private, however, it is a very different story. The Arvanites do not exclude the Albanians from their tables. As suggested by Weber (1978) people choose what things they have in common and what things differentiate them from others. In this case, the Arvanites accept the Albanians into their homes, as family, even though there are significant differences which could be used to constitute 'otherness'.

In some instances the Arvanites defer their relationship to 'other' Greeks, but when faced with their familiar ethnic or 'barabrian', non-Greek 'other', the Albanian immigrant, they choose to defer their associations with them. What does this suggest about Arvanite ethnic identity? Discourses of (non)difference are always put in a Greek context in public with regards to foodways. Food is not referred to in the same way in private as it is in public. Arvanite food is kept concealed and local. It therefore does not attain the status beyond the local. It maintains a local status and it is associated with a local identity. Arvanite food is neither considered or is it known as a national cuisine. Nor is Arvanite food publicly considered an Ethnic Albanian cuisine.

Chapter 9

Landscape

This chapter illustrates, through the medium of landscape, the Arvanites' local ideas of honour, their relationship to the nation-state, and their relationship to their ethnic 'other', the Albanian immigrant. To demonstrate this, focus is given to the *trigos* (the grape harvest) one of two annual events which gives meaning to the Arvanites' connection to the Greek land.

The connection of the Arvanites with Greek land and landscape initially appears to be ambiguous. They came to reside in Northern Attica about 1100 years ago (Biris 1960). The Arvanites not only own the land on which they live, but they have done so, since the time when people were first allowed to own private property in modern Greece. These 'potential' non-Greek Greeks also have unclear ties to non-Greek lands, such as Albania, however. So, are their identities linked to Greece or elsewhere? What appears to be an ambiguity, in fact, is much the opposite. I suggest the land and landscape to be the quintessential element, the nexus, where the Arvanite and Greek identities merge.

For the Arvanites, their connection to the Greek land not only indicates their relationship to one another and their hierarchical relationship to the Greek nation-state, it also distinguishes them from, and defines their relationship with, the newcomers, the Albanian immigrants. If it were not for the land, not only would the Arvanites' Greek identity be contested, but also Greece's claim of its own ethnic homogeneous existence may be in question.

Events, such as the grape and olive harvests, are the subject of, and are central to, much discourse in the village of Gogofis, throughout the year. The harvests are no longer the primary source of income for most of the families in Gogofis – yet they are all-encompassing events in which almost everyone in the village participates diverting time away from their primary source of income. The fact that many Gogofiotes no longer employ the land to generate their primary income does not lessen the land's importance. However, they maintain their land, by expending funds from their

primary sources of income, giving the land, if not greater importance now, at least equal (but different) importance to when it was directly related to their primary source of income and survival.

The villagers harvest the fields of grapes to be consumed as fruit, or to be converted to wine. They harvest the olive groves to be used for eating or cooking (in the form of olives or oil), for fodder for their animals, or for heat for their homes. All aspects of the harvest have the elements of identity and memory, action and ritual.

I would suggest that the Gogofiotes are actively maintaining their relationship with the land and landscape because of their identity with the land and the lanscape. The land and landscape are major markers of their identity as both Greeks and Arvanites. Moreover, through the action of maintenance of the land, they are in the process of maintaining the boundaries of their own identity.

Theoretical background

Envisioned Landscapes

On the one hand, the land appears 'innocent' and apolitical; neutral and 'natural'. However, it could be a place of tension between urban and rural (Ching and Creed 1997), between national and local histories (Gefou-Madianou 1999; Darby 2000; Caftanzoglou 2001), and even a place of tensions between national demands and ethnic associations (Green 2005).

From the Western perspective, landscape is 'what is seen on the surface' (Bender 1993). The surface of the landscape being defined as one of utility or subsistence usage (Bender 1992); a reflection of how the land is used. Bender (1992) suggests that social scientists, primarily archeologists, support this idea, as they perceive land to be interconnected ritual sites. Clearly, one component of the landscape is its surface. The simple characterization of landscape as "the surface", even a multi-voiced surface, is superficial and limits our understanding of it. Such an approach is incapable of providing an understanding of how the people envisage, interact and become involved with the landscape. Bender suggests that 'how people engage the

land and how different people may engage the same landscape' exposes tensions or contestations embedded in the landscape and in society (Bender 1992).

According to Hirsch (2003), cultural anthropology, too, has had a limited understanding of how landscape is perceived. Anthropologists, in the past, have taken the following two approaches: 1) the 'objective' perspective: a structuralist, systemic point of view of the people living on the landscape, and 2) the 'cultural surroundings' (Hirsch 2003) perspective: observing how people use culture to interact with their environmental biomes[183]. Using these two approaches, however, limits what can be understood about the landscape and its multifaceted and multi-historical constitution. What can be examined, today, is that landscape is not an orderly, mono-historical, monolithic place nor is it just a representation, understood from its surface; it is a lived-in place. The same landscape is viewed by, and represents different things, to different groups (Bender 1992).. Such is the case with the Greek nation-state and Gogofis. Nation-states impose one meaning on the land creating national roots, boundaries and belonging (Bender 2001). The same landscape can be seen differently by both individuals and by local or other subordinate groups, who have other histories, other narratives, and other stories to tell.

Landscape, History and Memory

Like all memories, 'landscape memories' are salient because they are selected and understood within the prism of the present (cf. Fentress and Wade 1992).

Bender (1992) suggests that landscape is understood at a specific time, within specific places, and with specific histories. Two people coming from different historical trajectories, with different memories, may, therefore, see the same physical landscape differently (Bender 1992). Furthermore, different pasts encoded into the same landscape, combined with the memories associated with these pasts, may create tensions, as the memories may be competing with each other.

Conflicts and tensions are also introduced, as the landscape, being a value-driven entity (Cosgrove 1993), becomes the nexus connecting local, regional, national and even global dimensions (Stewart and Strathern 2003), where emotionally burdened

[183] Such as, rainforests (Chagnon 1981), Pacific Atolls (Weiner 1988) or deserts (Lee 1984).

notions of 'ownership' of land, 'home', 'roots' and 'father/motherland' emerge and become forever embedded in the landscape. Emotions are not the only entities to be embedded, however. The landscape holds the values and ideologies of the people who inhabit it (Tilley 1994). Tilley also suggests that the landscape stores the biographical memories created by the people who pass through it daily. It contains their identity and history[184], while becoming part of their biographies and memories (Tilley 1994; Edensor 2002).

Seremetakis (1994) suggests that this two-way connection occurs, in part, through sensory experiences of one's interaction with and action within the landscape, stating that, through the medium of the senses, memories are cognitively bound to places and to moments in time.[185] Kuchler's work (1993) supports this theory, illustrating that in Melanesian society, the act of creating sculptures, as a representation of the landscape, embodies the landscape into the individual (Kuchler 1993). Thus, ritual and action make the landscape reflexively and non-reflexively part of the individual[186].

Landscape as a Aide-Memoire

(Bender 2001) suggests that landscape has traces to the past and past activities which animate people to reiterate specific memories in the context of the landscape. The landscape may be viewed as a shared 'aide-memoire', a memory inscription used to retain cultural knowledge of the past, for the future (Kuchler 2003). However, Kuchler (2003) suggests that instead of preserving it as an 'aide-memoire', the

[184] Historical events are encoded in the features of the landscape. The landscape, therefore, ties the individual to one or many of the identifiers within it, potentially becoming ubiquitous to the individual's identity (Relf 1976; Tilley1994; Bender 2003) .

[185] (Stewart and Strathem 2003) also believe notions of memory and notions of place occupy the same cognitive spaces.

[186] The landscape is a constituent of the cognitive system through memory and the senses (Tilley 1994; Seremetakis 1994) or through action and history (Bloch 1989). Landscape is always being acted upon. The landscape is a traveled, traversed, viewed, and a worked reflection a society's actions on the landscape. Thus, as part of the cognitive system, landscape is part of the historical process. Seen from a particular individual's perspective, landscape expresses selective personalised memories, common actions, and sensual experiences creating publicly communicated collective historical discourse and representations of the landscape.

landscape should be considered a memory process (Kuchler 2003): a process where, within the same landscape certain things are remembered, while others are forgotten; where the accounts or lack of them, shape the process.

Undesired Organic Memories

There are some landscape memories which relate to events that are difficult to forget. Sometimes they are connected to human activity, other times they occur naturally. They can be visible in the physical landscape, or not. Generally, they are unpleasant memories. Relf (1976) may have been referring to these kinds of memories when he described the landscape as:

> "...drudgery of place, a sense of being tied inexorably to a place … to established scenes and symbols and routines" (Relf 1976:41)

In other words, there are undesirable, embedded memories, which are maintained either through action or interaction with a landscape which have features, physical or imagined, to which people are culturally bound. I would argue that these types of memories can neither be easily forgotten nor transposed within a context to fit the greater society's perception and memories of the landscape. To deal with them, then, such memories are hidden, concealed from non-local/public discourses, giving the landscape 'culturally intimate' (cf. Herzfeld 1997) meanings which become public secrets (cf. Taussig 1999).

Birth and Death

Birth and death have a natural association with memories and landscape. Birth because a place may be directly related to where someone was conceived (Gefou-Mandianou 1999) and death[187], with the process of internment of the body into the land, in a specified place in the landscape, makes the 'interned' part of that landscape. Kuchler (2003) suggests this is part of the lifecycle process where the landscape becomes subject to recollection - rooting individuals back into the landscape. Moreover, human constitutions of landscape, from different perspectives, roles and

[187] Gefou-Madianou (1999) mentions Arvnaites couples spending their first married night in the family fields. This may be an indication of the level of intimacy they have with their land. It also indicate how the land is seen and intimate space and not public space. Later in this chapter, I suggest that the way people act during the harvest supports this argument.

actions, create a "stage for human drama" (Cosgrove 1993: 281), where cemeteries, gardens, or olive groves become stages of action and memory. These are the unreflexive parts of the landscape, when the routine of action, in various designated places, creates a mundane organisation of the world (Edensor 2002), which, in turn, creates a practical orientation within the landscape.

Landscape and Identity

Landscape is not explicitly associated with identity, however, metaphors such as 'home' or 'roots', used to describe landscape, implicitly embody complex notions of identity (Tilley 1994; Dawson and Johnson 2001). Metaphors, like these, though not direct markers of one's identity, recognise the individual's powerful emotional ties to a place, and its landscape, whether it is a 'real' lived-in place or a 'virtual' place of a Diaspora's imagination.

To illustrate this, consider the term 'home'. 'Home' is a multileveled notion, meaning 'house', 'land', 'village' or 'country'. Each of the meanings have sentimental associations on different scales (Sopher 1979; Edensor 2002), each expressing special and symbolic links, through the different levels employed. 'Home' signifies a connectedness to a place from which an individual or a group may be spatially and temporally separated (Pulvirenti 2002).

'Rootedness', on the other hand, suggests individuals having a tie to a particular place - rooting themselves by the activities, properties or human intention of that place (Relf 1976). Relf suggests that the concept of 'rootedness' is directly associated with 'caring for' or 'taking action on behalf of', a place. Therefore, 'rootedness' is both intentionally and unintentionally bound to action and practice.

There has been some debate as to what 'rootedness' means in a trans-national world, where individuals move from one place to another (Rapport and Dawson 1998), and are always interacting with people from other places. Are these people's identity 'rooted' in their current 'home' or in a place which may not/no longer exist?

In the case of Gogofis, where there has been an influx of Albanian immigrants, the vast majority of Gogofiotes still state that they feel 'rooted' in Gogofis. This may change over time, as the flow continues and the population of Albanian immigrants in

Gogofis grows, but for now, most Gogofiotes have a history in and a bond to Gogofis and thus feel 'rooted' there and identify themselves with Gogofis.

Landscape and Hierarchy

A landscape is an interactive process (Bender 2001). It is created by and, in turn, creates people through their experience.

Landscape and place are made up of physical features which change, through human modification, over time (Relph 1976). I suggest modifications of place and landscape reflect changes in people's relationships - to one another, to outside groups[188], and to the land itself – and thus reflect the hierarchies that are formed in society. In a stratified society, therefore, it would be expected that social hierarchies are embedded in the landscape. Conversely, how people interpret their landscape, as the place in which they live, is a reflection of their subjective relationship to it. One's connection to the land via ownership, tenure, histories and memories (both sacred and mythical), and the modes of production are all embedded into the landscape. All these elements affect what the landscape is and to whom it has meaning (Bender 1992; Cosgrove 1993; Caftanzoglou 2001; Green 2003).

In the following section, the interactive process between land and the Gogofiotes is explored. I examine the stratified relationship between the urban spaces and rural Gogofis[189], and the prestige attached to national and sacred places as opposed to the subordinate status given to mundane everyday places.

Urban/Rural Hierarchies

In their study of landscape, Ching and Creed (1997) suggest that there is an urban/rural hierarchy. The centres of power, which are almost always urban, determine dominant attitudes towards rural places and people. Ching and Creed suggest that there are two opposing viewpoints in the urban perception of rural places. On the one hand, the urban landscapes blame rural 'uncivilised' places for the general 'ills of society'. When the urbanites choose to glorify the rural landscape, on the other

[188] Including powerful entities, such as the state

[189] The people living in Gogofis generally are considered rural people: not only the Albanian immigrants (who came to Gogofis in the 1990's) who, without exception, were all from rural Albania, but also the Arvanites, who claim to have been in Gogofis for centuries.

hand, they depict it either as 'closer to nature' (i.e. pure and uncontaminated) or as 'fossilised in the past'. Whether the perspective is one of condemnation or glorification, the result is the same: rural landscapes are subordinated to urban constructions of the rural[190].

Edensor (2002) suggests that though the subordination of rural landscapes to urban landscapes exists, the idealised rural images are possibly an essential part of the national identity. Edensor discusses the case of the romanticised rural Southern England, which is often placed in the context of a pre-World War Britain, encapsulated by national literature and folk culture. These notions may be romantic, but they are an essential part of British national identity (Edensor 2002). Bender (1992) also considers landscape to be either idealised or subjugated. She suggests that urban spaces, and the people living in them, have constituted the urban landscape as an idealised, intellectualised and sophisticated space. The rural landscape, however, is constituted as an underdeveloped, uncivilised, and illiterate place[191].

Ching and Creed (1997) suggest that because rural landscapes are not static places, they are either converted into inferior copies of the urban landscape or left 'underdeveloped'. In either situation, the rural landscape is stigmatised and subordinated to the urbane.

Furthermore, even when the rural landscape is one of prestige, a receptacle of symbolic capital, it is maintained by the urbanised complex, which, in turn, maintains the rural within its control (Ching and Creed 1997). Caftanzoglou illustrates this concept in her discussion of the ambiguous group of Anafiotes, a people who live under the 'sacred rock' of the Parthenon in Athens[192]. In her discussion, she suggests that Anafiotes' subordination is maintained because both the dominant and the

[190] The Ching and Creed (1997) evaluation parallels Jenkins (2008), whose work about ethnicity, argues that categorisations by those of a superior status affects those in subordinate positions. In other words subordinates are subject to positive or negative views about themselves and alter their idea of self, either as a reaction or in accordance to those views. The Arvanites, for example, credit their rural 'backwardness' to their culture and ethnicity, in other words their Albanianess. They do not blaim their position in Greek society on their rural maginalality rather, they blaim their maginalisy on elements of their cultural atributes such as their language and their stuborness.

[191] Edensor's (2002) and Bender's suggestions about the urban and rural relationship in term of the landscape may not be a cross-cultural generality. For example the Japanese envision the landscape as natural but if often a product of human engineering (Nitschke 2007).

[192] The sacredness of this location brings prestige to this landscape. Generally, this would mean that it would bring prestige to the people who live on it.

subordinate societies have similar values and categories (Caftanzoglou 2001) or the same 'historical block' (Gramsci 1972). Caftanzoglou (2001) indicates that those in the subordinate position, the Anafiotes, must maneuver their own values and categories, within those of the nation-state, to make their existence justifiable and viable.

THE MUNDANE, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In an act of naturalization, the nation-state leaves its marks of ownership on the landscape. Nation-states are territorial entities (Anderson 1983; Cohen 1985; Gellner 1997; Smith 1999; Edensor 2002) which colonise people and places (Gourgouris 1996). For the state, the landscape becomes a 'bounded space', where hegemonic administrations form discrete political systems, holding sway over the whole space (Edensor 2002:37). It is a space with which nationals and non-nationals, alike, interact and identify.

State symbols of mundane ownership create a relationship between the person living in the landscape and the things the state has created in that landscape (Edensor 2002). Edensor suggests that mundane infrastructure, such as the way roads or housing complexes are laid out, the national chain shops, post boxes, or the 'red phone' of Great Britain, become part of the routine of everyday life with which people identify, as part of their national identity[193]. Nations define themselves by the land and through their landscape[194]. The land is encoded with identities and events from the past and present.

[193] Edesor's argument about taskscapes resembles Billig's 'bannal nationalism' (1995) The landscape, in this case, is nationalised, but mundane and part of the everyday in a non-reflective way, as a 'unwaved flag'.

[194] Karakasidou (1997) illustrates how changing perception of the landscape was an active process where the state, the elite utilised many social institutions and mechanisms. a) the local elite supported the reconfiguring of abandoned Muslim lands. b) Landless peasant receiving land rights; c) oppression of diglossia supported by government decrees out-lawing the use of non-Greek languages in public; d) local teacher suggesting the change of the villages name from Guvenza to Assiros binding the village to 'their' Ancient Heritage. The nationalization of the land and the people was a united front of organised conversion.
In contrast (Sato 2001) observed the members if the Malkiya Christian who came to settle in Syria after the 1915 massacres of Armenians during the Ottoman Empire. They self-imposed a 'safe ethnicity' (p. 228) in the construction of an Assyrian identity. As a result, they could make claims to belonging to Syria. They claim to be Syriac Christians which enforces the idea that they were the original people of Syria. To support their claims they recount the Virgin's establishing the village and church of al-Malkiya using archeological evidence. Thus, 'proving' their belongedness to the place and the landscape. The Malkiya Christian case indicates how locals adapt and transform themselves in order to

Gogofiote Landscape and Memory

Gogofiotes envisage the land both in Western and non-Western ways. They understand that it is a surface area which has a monetary value and as a tool, from which one can make short-term and long-term profits, is not unknown to the Gogofiotes. They have been in the business of exploiting the landscape, both above and below the surface for many years.[195] They have used the land to be a part of the market economy of Athens, Greece and the rest of the world. However, Gogofiotes also see land in a very different way. It is not simply by what is seen on the surface, but a place where their people live and a place where they cultivate their fields or graze their sheep. It is a complex reflection of local memory, social and kinship relationships. The following example illustrates this:

Embedded Memories

The landscape in Gogofis has names whose origins are both known and unknown. It is also constituted by a grid of non-Greek, ethnically distinct, named places. Additionally, this grid is kinship-based, being part of local kin relations and local knowledge, and thus is a repository of local memory, as exhibited in the following:

Saki, who is a middle-aged man from an older family, explains to some men in the *kafenio*, how several areas of the village got their names.

> Andonis had a wife in Varnava. There were these men, tax collectors, probably from the Bei. They raped his wife, Andonis' wife, from Varnava [sic]. Andonis was told [about the event] as he was working in the fields. He returned, hunted the men down and killed them. [After that] he was called *rap'te Turk* ("Where he killed the Turks"). This is why it [the land] is called *Rap'te Turk*. We call it now, *To Turko* or *Rap'te Turk.*

Sakis is maintaining local ethnic memories within the context of the land and the landscape. *Rap'te Turk* has no distinguishing 'surface' features commonly attributed to land, but is given provenience through its relationship to the neighbouring village of Varnava. *Rap'te Turk*, being an enactment of local memory and a term differentiating the Gogofiotes from the "Turks", also places Gogofis into the context

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be part of the national collective. This case indicates how local groups adapt and transform themselves to be part of a greater national collective.

[195] both at the turn of the 19th Century and later in the 1970 and 1980's, with the opening of small locally owned quarries

of local history. Sakis explicitly suggests the *xenoi* men were oppressors - tax collectors and rapists. In addition, by telling the story of Andonis, a man from Varnava, who was working his land in Gogofis (and who now has descendants there), Sakis implicitly illustrates the historic and ethnic ties that Varnava and Gogofis have together. In doing so, he illustrates, from a time predating Modern Greek times, that kinship relations, place-names and local memories are interwoven into the landscape.

To further demonstrate these interconnections, Sakis talked about another area of Gogofis, again incorporating stories, memory, kinship and ethnicity into the landscape:

> Sakis: "Here in Gogofis, there was a man called Buldas. You know where the *Buldi*[196] are? He used to live next to Liopesi, where the old buildings are. That's where the Buldi are."
>
> Georgos: "There, near Selgile'?"
>
> Sakis: "Yes, near Liopesi, down from Liopesi[197]: he was killed by Dimitrikatsaris, the [my] Great great-grandfather. He [Buldas] had cattle. His [Buldas'] family was here for many, many years. That's why it is called *Buldi*.

In this case, by putting the landscape into a context explaining how Sakis' ancestor had killed Buldas, and where it had happened, Sakis creates ties between the land, his lineage, other lineages[198], and local historical events.

The landscape, thus, is seen as a matrix of localised Arvanite memories, histories and kinship relations, woven into the everyday life, reinforcing Gogofiotes' sense of belonging to the land.

[196] *Buldi* is an area within the village of Gogofis

[197] *Liopesi* is not to be confused with the village of Paiania, about 50 km to the south, which is also called Liopesi, meaning dark eyes in Arvanitika. Liopesi is the nickname of a family and an area in the village.

[198] Selgilé and Liopesi are ethnic/Arvanite nicknames for men and their lineages.

Gogofiote Landscape and Action

The Grape Harvest for Retsina

In this section I illustrate how action, memory, local and ethnic identities, institutions of the state and Church are molded inseparably by the activities of everyday life. I shall revisit the grape harvest, the *trigos,* focusing on it as a place of intimacy and social reproduction. I, then, examine the role the Church has in relationship to the landscape.

The *trigos* is associated with the Gogofiotes' local and national identities, their ideas of honour, and their relationship to landscape. Thus, the landscape is a nexus where local and national identities are enacted and reified. During the month of September Ladas takes the women out to the field early in the morning. The women cut the grapes from the vine and place them into baskets called *koffas*[199]. Then, either Ladas or one of the men, carry the *koffas* to Ladas' lorry, to be unloaded. The driver of the lorry takes the *koffas* and dumps them in the back, making sure to distribute them evenly. The team continues this process, furrow by furrow, until each plot of land is completely harvested. The lorry holds the harvest until Ladas is ready to take them to the local cooperatives or to regional presses, choosing the place where the locals can get the best price for the must used in making white retsina wine.

[199] The *koffas,* in the past, were woven baskets but now they are plastic bins.

Pic 9.1 *Ladas carries a koffa back to the lorrey for unloading*

Harvesting the land takes about a month, from the beginning until the end of September. They start in the valley owned by the Gogofiotes, which is almost at sea-level. They finish on the hills above Gogofis, in the lands of neighbouring Arvanite villages, which are about 500-600 meters above sea-level.

Gogofis' fields are about a fifteen minute drive from the village. Each day, the team meets the oil-miller, either at his home, at about 5.00 AM, or at the fields, at 5.30 AM. A working day finished at around 2:00 - 2.30 PM. The days are long and the act of harvesting grapes is difficult, backbreaking work.

Pic. 9.2 *The crew begins at the start of the day. The ethnographer, in blue is learning to harvest grapes," na trigisie".*

To make the time pass more quickly, however, people humour themselves by teasing one another about day-to-day events.[200]

The year that I lived in Gogofis, I joined the workers in the fields, participating in the *trigos* several times. From my first day in the field, being both inexperienced in the ways of harvesting grapes[201], and working in close quarters with several women, I soon became the butt of many a joke.

I was paired with a young single woman, named Maritsa. This was the fodder of conversation for many days. Ladas would usually be the one to begin the banter:

> Ladas: We'll put you together with Maritsa. She is single and maybe you might get lucky, *tha sou katsi.* She won't bite … unless you want her too. If anything happens I want my cut of the dowry.
>
> Ladas: Maritsa, be careful with him (meaning me). He is inexperienced. Teach him a few things.

[200] Many of the jokes were of a sexual nature: dating or working in close quarters with the opposite sex (and how husbands might feel about it) were often topics of much teasing.

[201] One day, for example, I cut my finger while cutting grapes off the vine, giving them yet another opportunity for making jokes about me.

Ladas: Simo, this is hard work. The women have to bend over a lot, right Maritsa?

Ladas: I don't think your wife will like what I see. I won't tell anyone, *etsi paidia* (Right everyone)?

Poor Maritsa and I seemed to be the centre of attention. The attention soon shifted, however, as soon as the sun came up and everyone's focus was redirected to the long, hot, and sweaty day ahead.

The grapes were cool and easy to handle first thing in the morning. By afternoon, however, with the over-ripened grapes bursting as they were cut off the vine, and the must becoming very sweet and very sticky, everyone, who was part of the harvest, was covered from head-to-toe. The *trigos* was truly a sensory experience for me. I could taste the salt from the sweat, the sugar from the grapes, and the grit from the dust being kicked up, while working each furrow. The *trigos* is also an event which culminates daily in *glendi*, celebrating with an exchange of food and camaraderie. At the end of each harvest day, the team would, again, meet at the Ladas' house, where his wife had prepared a meal for both them and the oil-miller's parents. The meal was always elaborate. On the first day of the harvest, the meal may have been a little more elabourate than usual[202], but each day, without exception, the oil miller's wife would have several types of meat, salads, and fruit for dessert, waiting for us. The grape harvest is not simply an economic activity. It is a highly repetitive, loosely ritualised, activity which has been done annually, for several generations, tying the Gogofiotes, both ethnically and nationally, to the land, the landscape, and the past.

Smaller Family Grape Harvests

Other families within Gogofis, owning smaller plots of land, maintain their land with the help of extended family kin groups. Kyria Yiannoula, for instance, owned a plot which was only about 2 acres. To harvest her grapes, Kyria Yiannoula enlisted the help of her son (who had to take a day off from work), her husband, her brother, her sister, a niece and a nephew. She and her family also hired six Albanian immigrants,

[202] On the first day, the oil-miller's wife served several hot cooked meats: chicken, pork steaks, and beef with onions and peppers (she said this dish was Mexican). There were also fried potatoes, salads, beer, wine, fruit (oranges, apples, pears, cantaloupe and watermelon) and ice-cream.

five of whom were from the village[203] and one man who came, just for a day, from the village of Nea Makri.

Pic. 9.3 *Kyria Yannoula's brother, their relative and the Alabnain immigrants harvesting her land*

Pic. 9.4 *Tilli shows off the harvest*

[203]Tilli and his wife, Zana, and several of Zana's Albanian women friends were present. Kyria Yiannoula was the sister of Tilli's adopted Arvanite father.

Pic. 9.5 *Loading the Lorry*

The process of their *trigos* was very similar to that of the oil-miller's harvest, just on a smaller scale. The group harvested Kyria Yiannoula's husband's field on the first day, her field on the second day, and her brother's field the next. The Albanians tended to work in separate rows from the Arvanites. Arvanitika was not expressed openly with the Albanians: the Arvanites only spoke Greek. The working day was a bit longer and finished around 3.00 PM. Each day, after the harvest was complete, everyone was paid a day's wage of 40€ and we all ate, in the fields, under a few trees. Here again, food was supplied by the land owners. The Arvanites sat under one tree, however, and the Albanians under another. I was seated with the Albanians. The meal was simpler than the one the oil-miller served his team, but the food was plentiful - we had wine, tomato salad, cold chicken, fried meat balls and feta cheese and bread. The meal was finished with fresh watermelon for dessert.

After harvesting their lands, Kyria Yiannoula and her family would take the grapes to the local press and press the must themselves. They would then make their own retsina. The retsina was made primarily for consumption by friends and family. Some families sell their wine to the *tavernas* (restaurants). As do many other small producers, Kyria Yiannoula's brother made several large barrels for his own family's

consumption. He sold a barrel to a local tavern and also sold his bottles of wine to visitors passing through Gogofis.[204]

The Grape Harvest and Social Reproduction

The landscape is a medium for memory, which is incorporated into their bodies, through working the land and in *kefi*, a form of commensal friendship, deriving from the heart (Loizos and Papataxiachis 1991) through the production and consumption of retsina.

The grape harvest takes place in fields owned by the people of Gogofis. They reminisce, reinforcing their memory and relationship to the land and the lineages who owned the land before them. It is a loosely ritualised activity which is determined in part by the nature of the crops harvested. It is also celebrated with a feast after each day of the harvest is done and the consuming of *retsina* wine. The landscape therefore becomes a context for the enactment of memory and non-reflexive identity through action and the sensory experience. Actions such as singing, stories about past harvests and about their ancestors doing similar activities is embedded in the landscape and the actions taking place on that landscape.

Gogofiote Landscape and Identity

While harvesting the grapes for Ladas, his workers would intermittently talk about their *papoudes*, grandparents[205], and what they might have said (in Arvanitika) about the harvest:

> "Punë është ladhur', I Yiayia, mas elege"
> Work is tiring [Arvanititka], Grandmother would tell us [Greek]
>
> "Punë është vector', i dhulia ine skliri"
> Work is hard [Arvanititka], it is tough [Greek]

[204] In contrast, the oil-miller kept a few barrels from the harvest for himself, but the rest of the must was sold to large wine producers. He also took a percentage of the returns made from the other vineyards which he harvested.

[205] When they employed the term '*papoudes´*, it does not mean their own father's or mother's father. Grandparents or Grandfathers are metaphors often used to refer to their ancestors. It was not referring to a specific person.

Talking about and using idioms of their 'grandparents' was often code-mixed like this. The vineyards were treated like intimate private spaces where Arvanitika could be used. By code-mixing, they were indicating a tie, or continuity, with their ethnic past, while emphasising their present state, their Greekness and Greek identity[206].

For people who harvest their own family plots, the time and energy expended makes little sense, when it is looked at only from the perspective of economic profitability. I asked many families why they still harvested their grapes. It appeared to me not to be very cost-effective and took away time from their 'proper' jobs. Many, Kyria Yiannoula and her brother included, responded that they were doing it *yia tous papoudes*, for the grandfathers.

Yia tous papoudes, is a different context than the *papoudes* mentioned earlier. It is a metaphor for honour; to honour tradition and for the memory of their ancestors. I argue that their reason for maintaining their ancestral land is even deeper than just maintaining a relationship with the *papoudes*, however. The land must be maintained because it is the core of their identity as Gogofiotes and Arvanites, and as Greeks. Through the action of maintaining their land, they have the right to title. As Gefou-Grfou-Madianou (1999) suggests, the harvesting of grapes and production of *retsina* is a link to their ethnic identity. She argues that *retsina* no longer represents only drunken illiterate peasantry, but has also become a representation of national Greek identity.

Gogofiotes tenure to the land substantiates their relationship to their Greekness as unambiguous[207]. If the Arvanites were landless peasants they might not be able to claim to be caretakers to the *Elliniki klironomia*, or Greek heritage. Through their actions, they are tied to the place, as suggested by Relf (1976). The place has a history and they are taking part in the making of that history. Local, ethnic and national memories/histories are mediated both through the actions and sensory experience of the grape harvest, and through the production and consumption of wine.

[206] The combination of place, activity and the use of both Arvanitika and Greek suggests that Arvanitika may be a marker of tradition and a source of folk wisdom which intimate connections can be traced. Their fields are treated as intimate spaces. Arvanititka is spoken without taboos against it.
[207] The Albanian immigrants, on the other hand, are presently landless and have no historic ties to the land.

(Gefou-Madianou 1999) argues that the Arvanites attribute the production of retsina wine as a salient part of their identity. I propose, however, that it is not just the wine production that is important, but rather the act of cultivating the land itself. As Relf (1976) suggests, the act of caretaking the land is equally important. For the Gogofiotes wine production, in-and-of-itself, is not something which has been their connection to the land for the past seven or more generations[208]. The Gogofiotes have only been cultivating grapes, in large quantities, since the 1920's. In earlier times, they were primarily pastoralists who harvested their few olive trees and their wheat fields. They worked primarily as agricultural labourers, at harvest time, in the neighbouring Arvanite villages of Spata and Markopoulos. Their identity now, as Arvanites, is indeed associated with retsina production, but for the Gogofiotes, the land and its maintenance maybe just as important as the production and consumption of retsina wine. In other words, the entire process of taking care of the land and its bounties, the grapes, together with the process of producing and then consuming the wine; all are essential to their bond with the land.

It is this bond that leads to my final hypothesis of why maintaining ancestral lands is so important to the Gogofiotes. In Greece, the "squatter's rights" law provides that if a land is abandoned for more than twenty years and an occupant shows that they have cared for the land, s/he can claim ownership of the said piece of property. To the Gogofiote, this means that if a s/he does not maintain his/her property, and someone else were to harvest the grapes, over a twenty years time period, the caretaker would have the right to lay claims to the land. The caretaker is not just taking over one's land, however, s/he is taking part of one's identity, as the landscape is encoded with the history of the place (Bender 1993).

Finally, even though the consumption of retsina is in decline nationally, it is known outside of Greece as the quintessential 'Greek' wine. Thus, the Arvanite's production and consumption of retsina makes them 'very Greek' to outsiders and insiders alike. The land is the link to their Greekness and to the Arvaniteness.

As such, Gogofiotes feel they are not only obligated to maintain the land *yia tous papoudes*, but also for their own history and for their future generations. In doing so,

[208] The Messogiote Arvanite family genealogies and land ownership,go back seven generations or more (Gefou-Madianou 1999).

they honour their ancestors, their children and the nation. The land represents future memories for when they become *papoudes.* They see the land not as square meters of fields or as horizons but as metaphors for their wealth, their kinship, their national status, and their rights as Greek nationals.

History and Hierarchy

Interestingly, the cultivated fields of Gogofis have been declared archeological spaces because they are next to a very large ancient Greek port. As a result, their lands are now considered part of the national heritage. This brings up conflicting feelings for the Gogofiotes.

On the one hand, being designated an 'Ancient' site gives them prestige and justifies their perceptions of their Greekness. For this, they are very proud. Many have become very knowledgeable about the ancient history of the place. Others, such as Kyria Yiannoula's son, Vangelis, have become guards for the site. The Gogofiotes' discourse about the site indicates how closely they identify with it and with their relationship to the Ancient Greeks.

The state giving this 'new' definition to the land, on the other hand, creates a hierarchical relationship between the state and Gogofis. Herein lies the tension. By designating the fields as an archeological site, the Gogofiotes' freedom to use or develop the land, in a way they would like, is now constrained. Gogofiotes, just as the Anafiotes (Caftanzoglou 2001), are now only considered tenants on these national 'sacred' lands. Buying and selling of their property is restricted and they are not allowed to build or to dig wells on the land. This leaves them poorer than their neighbours, who have been able to take advantage of their close proximity to Athens and the sea - promoting their property either for summer residents or for the tourist industry.

Thus, the Greek state, through the landscape, has raised Gogofiote prestige (cf.. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996), while at the same time keeps them in a subordinate position. One might think that the Gogofiotes might rebel against this newly-defined hegemonic relation between themselves and the state. It is maintained, however, not

only because the Gogofiotes respect that the State defines the laws governing the acquisition and use of land, but also because both Gogofis and the state share the same values about their relationship to the land, as Greeks[209]. Gogofiotes cannot ignore the state's power over their landscape or the memories associated with it.

Sacred Landscapes

The Church and Identity

Churches are not simply features of the landscape. They represent a relationship to the people, giving the Greeks a sense of their Greek identity (Kitromilides 1990; Hirschon 1999) and the Arvanites, their Arvanite identity as Greeks (Gefou-Madianou 1999). This sense of identity is particularly important for Gogofiotes. Churches tell the present-day people why they belong in the area.

In the following discussion, the men in the café asked me how old I thought the village was. Even though I generally tried to avoid such discussions, because I did not want to affect their perceptions of the world, I told them that I suspected the village to be only 150 years old. This is how Gjonis responded:

> Gjonis: "The Arvanites were here before [the] 1400's. Just look at Aghia Triada. Old Churches show how long … [sic]. The Churches of Aghia Triada and Aghios Athanasios tell us that the Arvanites have been here since the 1400's. It is not just one Church. Below them are ancient [Greek] temples. The churches were built on Ancient foundations. They are not only 150 years old."

The village and its people are assumed to have been unchanged since the churches were built. It is also assumed that the Arvanites were the ones who built the churches. Regardless, the Gogofiotes tie themselves to the churches and identify themselves as Greek Orthodox Christians and therefore as Greeks, linking themselves to the physical and spiritual foundations below the surface which happens to be Ancient

[209] Caftanzoglou (2001) saw similar relationship between the Amafiotes and the state with regards to the status of their homes under the acropolis. It is reminiscent of Gransci's (1975) arguments about cultural hegemony and the 'historic block'. Both dominant and subordinate sectors of society support the domination of one over the other because they share the same cultural values.

Greek[210]. Indeed, the churches are not just surface features but connect below the surface to foundations which are believed to go back to Ancient Greek times [211]. In modern times, the Church took an active and very significant role in the building of the modern Greek nation (Kitromilides 1990; Sant Cassia and Bada 1992).

Throughout Greece, including Gogofis, churches dot the land, giving symbolic jurisdiction of the national/religious tenure they impose on the landscape. People may own the physical land, but the land's metaphorical spirit is Greek Orthodox.

The Church, and what it represents, is omnipresent in the Gogofiote lands, village, and the everyday lives of the people. Chapels are present in the fields surrounding the village. And upon entering Gogofis, one is immediately greeted by three hills, the two outer hills, each having a church on the top, and the central hill exhibiting the village cemetery, which can be seen from all points within the village.

The sounds of the Church are heard every day, with either bells ringing or daily liturgy services or vespers. In addition, when someone is baptised, marries, or dies, the whole village knows about it because the church bells ring[212]. The sound fills the landscape of Gogofis.

The village priest is always in attendance at any official ceremonies. These include both blessings of the school, at the beginning of term, and prayers at public 'secular' holidays such as, the 25th of March and the 28th of October, or during religious holidays such as Easter or Name Day celebrations of the patron saints of the village. His role in the village is very important. I was witness to several events where the priest was arguably very late and ceremonies could not commence without his prayers

[210] Stewart (2008) suggests that people visualised churches on the island of Naxos having a relationship both on the surface and below it. Many churches had been built after an Icon was found, while digging below the surface.

[211] Stewart (2008:104) in his research about Naxiote land conceptualisation suggests that the village people had long relationship with the land but with the instating of the modern Greek state and alternative connection, or conjectures about the land was envisaged. The land was constituted with powerful buried object below the surface. Gogofis may conceive the classical ancient foundations in a similar fashion. I suspect that before the state imposed value on the ancient ruins which were the foundations of Orthodox churches would be inconsequential. The foundations in contemporary society are imbued with power and social capital legitimising and justifying their settlement and relationship as Greeks to the land.

[212] The Church bells tone and rhythm changes for different occasions.

and blessing. The priest's service can be heard everywhere in the village over the loud speaker. It is part of everyday life[213].

Pic 9.6 *The village priest and Barbastelios blessing the 25th of March celebrations*

The Church, itself, is incorporated into individuals' daily lives, having a presence in the schools, in their homes, and in their attire[214]. It is instilled not only through one's senses: (hearing), sight, (touch - tactility) and smell (Sutton 1998, Seremetakis 1994) but also (is embodied in the people of Gogofis) through actions and the rituals (Sahlins 1963, Bourdieu 1972, Bloch 1989) of baptism, naming, marriage, and funeral services.

Edensor (2002) suggests that a nation is a bound space. It is bound by familiar taskscapes and common features in which people move and live. Gogofis becomes part of the bound national/religious space which is encoded with a specific

[213] The Orthodox faith has numerous memorial services for those who passed away: after three days, seven days, fourteen days, one month, three months, nine months, one year and three years. Inevitably there are memorial services almost every day.

[214] People wear religious symbols, such as crosses worn around their necks or Byzantine coins made into pendants or rings.

remembered historical past. The Church's presence on the landscape is an important component affecting Gogofiotes' position in Greek society[215].

The Church clearly marks and maintains boundaries between believers and non-believers, and between members of Greek Orthodox faith and non-members. This translates into boundaries being then formed between members of the local community and non-members, and moreover, between the members of Greek national community and non-members. Even in death, membership is made very clear because to be buried in Gogofis one must be an Orthodox member of the village through state and church bureaucracies. Everything the Church does, confirms belonging to, or being part of, the local or national landscape. Obviously, individuals can cross these boundaries and become Christian through the ritual of baptism. Thus, the Church defines membership in essentialist terms.

"Symbolism, thus constitutes the boundary between the mundane and the sacred" (Cohen 1985:53). Here, the Church constitutes the mundane and the sacred in the people and the landscape.

Consider the Albanian immigrants in Gogofis who, with the exception of Tilli and his wife, are not Orthodox. The Church constantly reminds the Albanian immigrants that they are 'others'[216], excluding them from the 'mysteries' of the Church. One of the ways in which Arvanites differentiate themselves from their Albanian immigrant 'other', is their right to participate in sacred Church rituals. The Albanians do not have the right to enter churches or monasteries, around Gogofis, during sacred occasions, such as the holy week before Easter. The landscape, therefore, becomes a tool for the incorporation of the Arvanites by the Church and a tool for exclusion of the Albanian immigrants[217].

However, when an Albanian becomes Christian and takes on local forenames the question arises: would s/he become Arvanite or Greek or neither? The process is

[215] Much of the time the churches presence is on a unconscious level.
[216] When I asked what the difference between Albanians and Arvanites was, I was told that Arvanites are Christians and the Albanians are Muslim.
[217] Mondi, his brother and his wife are actually Catholic but did not participate in the mysteries of the Orthodox Church even though both Churches recognise each other's rituals as valid. They preferred to baptise their son in Albania. This may have been because they wanted to maintain boundaries between themselves and the Arvanites and/or because they may have wanted to celebrate with friends and family at home in Albania.

complex. I would suggest the answer is neither, at least not immediately. An Orthodox Christian Albanian, or a person baptised in the Orthodox Church is in the 'process of belonging' to the various fields which make up the Gogofiote society and, in turn, the Gogofiote landscape.

This is the case for Tilli and his wife who, by legitimately taking part in sacred Gogofiote everyday life' are moving and manipulating the boundaries becoming members of Gogofis and, in turn, of Greece. Tilli and his wife, however, have come to 'belong' to the Arvanite society more than their Albanian colleagues, who also work and take part in non-mundane work on the landscape.

Burials

The Church designates who can be interred into the Gogofiote landscape. When an Albanian immigrant dies he is sent back to Albania, with the financial help of the Gogofiotes. Gjini's brother, for example, died in a diving accident (after landing on some shallow rocks just under the water's surface), after which he was sent 'home' for burial. Regardless of whether his relatives in Albania wanted him to be buried at his natal home, he was not allowed to become part of the permanent landscape or part of the collective memory of Gogofis because he was not baptised. In contrast, native Gogofiotes, after death, do become part of the village landscape through the funeral rites, inscriptions, photographs and the Earth to which they return. In this way, death exposes the hierarchical relationship between the Gogofiotes and the Albanian immigrants through each group's relationship to the Church and, therefore, the landscape[218].

Baptism

To suggest the existence of a primordial identity or an essentialist position of the Albanian immigrants, however, would be a misinterpretation of their situation. Those Albanians who chose not to be baptised are also choosing to maintain a relationship with their home community in Albania. Tilli, as an agent, chose to use the system and the options available to him. He chose to be baptised as an Orthodox Christian, and did so with his entire nuclear family – wife and children. The Albanians, like Tilli,

[218] Although it is difficult to determine the percentage of people who have moved away and return to Gogofis to be buried in Gogofis, I observed several funerals of people who were not current residents of Gogofis but were buried there which indicates their strong connection to Gogofis.

who have shown agency by incorporating their offspring into Greek/Gogofiote society[219], through their offspring, are in the process of becoming Gogofiotes and Greeks themselves. Thus, these Albanian immigrants are manipulating the boundaries which were seemingly static and inflexible and will be able to participate in sacred parts of Gogofis' landscape.

The Church and Naming

Names and naming conventions were discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, but I would like to briefly discuss some of the intricacies of naming here, since the Church plays a major role in naming conventions.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, forenames are associated with particular villages in Greece. At the moment of my initial introduction to members of the village, the people of Gogofis immediately understood that I was an outsider, because my name is Simeon. Though Simeon is a Christian Orthodox name, it does not belong to this village and therefore they assumed, correctly, that I was not an Arvanite.

And though the Greek/Gogofiote tradition of naming is generally kin-based, there is another tradition which is not kin-based, one in which a child is named after a particular saint or church.

If a pregnant woman sees a saint in a dream, she may wish to name her child after that saint. In addition, if a woman prays in a particular church, then she might name the child according to a *tamma* or obligation, a pledge to a saint or to a church. *Tammas* are a promise of either goods, services or an action, such as a pilgrimage, for answering one's prayers. This could be why approximately thirty percent of the Arvanite Greek Orthodox members in Gogofis, have the same name-day as the churches in the village. The end result from these traditions is that there are a relatively small number of recycled forenames in the village and everyone has at least one close relative with a village patron saint's name-day. So, for example, on St.

[219] Through the rights of baptism and naming; Most of my Albanian informants are Muslim. By proxy of their offspring, however, they incorporate themselves and are in the process of making themselves part of the Gogofiote community.

Athanasios' day many people in the village will have a party for their kin and close friends[220].

Thus, Arvanite naming conventions have links to family, lineage/ancestors, and 'the sacred'. They also have a spatial element - showing belonging to Gogofis, to the patron saints of the village, and to the Churches[221]. Names are, thus, markers of the village and national boundaries. The named become part of the village landscape and, in turn, part of the national landscape.

Conclusion

In conclusion, landscape may be more than a physical presence. Landscape is something which transcends the physical, comprising histories and selected and/or encoded memories, because a landscape is a lived-in-space and place. The landscape incorporates biographies to become intimately part of both the individual's and group's memory and sensory experience and therefore it becomes the nexus of values, history, memory, identity and culture, establishing a very important part of one's cognitive world.

The landscape in Gogofis is a repository of knowledge and memory about social and kin relations in the past and present. It has names which are sometimes rooted in ethnic, non-Greek, origins but also layered with a plethora of hierarchical relationships which are claimed or counter-claimed by different institutions. The nation-state has final jurisdiction to govern the land and the people on it. As Gourgouris (1996) suggests, the land and the subjects are colonised by the state. The Church, too, and its incorporation of the landscape, by its establishment of holy places across the landscape, is part of the hegemonic relationship of the rural to the city, of the local/ethnic to the national, and to the church. Therefore the land is a place where boundaries are maintained and manipulated; a place of tensions between local and national, between sacred and mundane and between ethnic and national identities. As

[220] Name days are celebrated much like birthday parties in the West. Theoretically one's door is open to anyone who wishes to visit on that day.

[221] As demonstrated earlier, belonging to the Christian Orthodox Church suggests membership not only in Gogofis but to a larger group - membership in the "Body of Christ" and/or membership in the Greek nation.

Gogofis' landscape cognitively becomes part of the national, through the process of non-local acquisition of lands and the establishment of state-governed entities in the area, the local landscape is not only changing physically, but is also changing the memory and the relations of the people of the place. Furthermore, the Church has an unreflexive hierarchical relationship to the land. Its presence creates a 'Greek' Orthodox rural landscape. The state's presence is both coercive in an active sense, through the use of law and jurisdiction and appropriation of lands, but also hegemonicly, since to deny the state's power over archaeological lands would be a rejection of their understanding of their Greekness and as such is probably unimaginable.

The hierarchy of landscape can be summed up from this discussion with Sakis and his friends. In the following discussion, Sakis was trying to understand where the Arvanites are, within the scheme of things, within Greek society. He talks about landscape but what he is unreflexively talking about is his village's position in the hierarchy of Greek society. As in an earlier discussion, he places the Arvanites in Gogofis since ancient times, as part of the continuity that makes up Greece. He states with some remorse:

> "History isn't written from what we say or what we saw. History is written from what the *mnimia*, monuments or memorials tell us. History is not written from what I saw or what I said."

Mnimia[222] are changes made by authorities to the landscape to create memory. They also indicate who has the authority to erect them on the landscape. In this case, the Ancient Greeks placed the *mnimia* on the landscape and the Modern Greek gives them a specific meaning used in national discourse. Sakis asked me if I had gone to Albania and then said,

> "What did you see on the *mnimia* in Albania? [Did you see] Greek ? Albanian is not written anywhere. It is a manufactured language"

In this case he is also implicitly equating it to Arvanitika, which is not written and, thus, in the hierarchy of languages it is non-existent. What Sakis is suggesting is that Greek and Greek monuments are more valued cultural capital, while inferring that

[222] *Mnimia* comes from the Greek word *minimi* meaning memory.

Arvanitika and Albanian monuments are not[223]. The Ancient Greeks give meaning to the land, to language and to writing. Sakis inadvertently is displaying the power of the urbane literate society and landscape over his own local, rural and ethnic one. Cultures, illiterate languages, local ideas, and history of landscape are subordinate. In short, the *mnimia* are imponderable, heavy and dominant and thus illustrate the Gogofiotes insignificance.

Sakis and his friends support the hegemonic relationship which is imposed on them. The previous discussion indicates the way he and his friends feel about the insignificance of their ethnicity. Instead of having explicit common ethnic and cultural social bond with their ethnic 'cousins', the Albanian immigrants. Arvanites have chosen to be part of the dominant national discourse and to subordinate their own local memories and knowledge about the landscape to an urban national and western one. Surface features take precedence over local notions of landscape. Monuments and writing are important; leaving writing on rocks on the landscape with great symbolic capital and power. This power is emphasised in the urban/rural relationship. Writing and the making of temples are a result of centralised states or at least they are in Greece. Therefore using Sakis' logic those people who leave nothing on the landscape are insignificant. The Arvanites and Albanians are not significant. The ancient Greeks and the Byzantine Empire have left temples and monuments, but the Albanians and the Arvanites, in this case, have not. Sakis is expressing the hierarchy and power relations of which Gogofis is part. He expressed how his relationship to the land based in kinship and non-surface features. However, he concludes that what he knows about the land and landscape is not important. He subordinates his own local knowledge and understanding to that of the national legitimate conceptions of the landscape.

Local understanding about the landscape is essential to symbolic and embedded actions of the 'local' everyday life. Individuals choose to maintain their fields. The vast majority of Gogofiotes maintain their fields cultivating olives and grapes. It was expressed to me that it was not economically worthwhile, rather that they had an 'obligation', *ipochreosi*, to their 'grandfathers'. In other words they used honour and reciprocity as a justification for maintaining their fields and in turn their ethnicity. The

[223] cf. Gellner (1983) arguments about high culture, nationalism and the state.

papoudes represent a local level of honour to their ancestor, but also to themselves and to their own future generations which ties them to the place. It is a model of their own continuity on a local level which has embedded within it counter-discourses to that of the nation-states' model of continuity, which in some other circumstances might be considered threatening to the existing ethnic/local and nation-state power structures. This results in a double-blind of competing concepts on the landscape they themselves impose the national discourse about the land on-top of their own constituting the nation-state with greater social capital over their own local concepts of landscape.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

Billig (1995:8) suggests that the flagging of nationalism is rooted in repetitive mundane acts. Established nations use cultural products of daily life such as political discourse, newspapers or weather reports - to remind the actor, unconsciously treating him/her as part of a nation. “National identity embraces all the forgotten reminders. Consequently, an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life.” I suggest that ethnicity could likewise be envisioned in a very similar light. Ethnic ways of doing things are, much of the time, part of everyday life. Unless these things are flagged as ‘different’ for someone who wants to be part of the nation, then the embodied ethnic habit will also remain unconscious.

One of the dilemmas discussed in the thesis is how an 'identifiable’ ethnic group may not be considered an ‘ethnic group’ at all. Though my study is focused on the village of Gogofis, I suggest this problematic is not specific for Gogofis and its Arvanite population. Rather, I argue, it may apply to any identifiable/unidentifiable ethnic or other group where historical constructions of nationhood are prevalent but not congruent with local/ethnic memories and constructions of history.

In this thesis, I have examined several aspects of everyday life in Gogofis. I have attempted to understand not whether the Arvanites are an ethnic group or not, but whether their ethnicity is a conscious practice. The Arvanite Gogofiotes represent themselves quite differently in public Greek contexts than they do in private Albanian/Arvanite contexts. They express themselves this way because of their understanding of who they are. In contrast to Billig’s hypothesis, they do it consciously and with particular goals in mind. In other words they consciously attempt to place themselves in the national collective while at the same time protect private intimate parts of their local social life.

I have tried to illustrate how Arvanites, in their everyday life, practice what appears to be ethnicity or ethnic grouped-ness, having marked and maintained ethnic boundaries. Not only do they inhabit a place which is not their place of ancestral origins (Bintliff 2003), the Arvanites also maintained their own language, Arvanitika. Furthermore, until very recently they also were a very endogamous population. Their ethnicity has been visibly noticeable in that they maintain perceptible customs which may be considered different from other communities[224] in Greece. In fact, their ethnicity has been recognised 'enough' that they have been marginalised and oppressed during different periods of the Modern Greek era. From Barth's (1969, 1996) perspective, the Arvanites affirm the group's integrity by maintaining boundaries. Two examples of this are in their use of food and their use of names - nicknames and surnames. Boundaries were maintained through linguistic taxonomy, provenience and preparation of wild greens and through differentiating presentations between their own villages' food, which is uniquely Arvanite, and other Greek foods. Thus, they create a boundary with the outside world. Furthermore, their use of nicknames and surnames of ethnic Albanian-origin are used not only to refer to one another within the community, but also to create and maintain boundaries between themselves and non-Arvanites, and between themselves and non-members of Gogofis.

With these boundaries in place, a question might be 'do the Arvanites of Gogofis feel a part of a larger ethnic entity?' Generally, ethnic groups have political orientation (cf. Weber 1978) where the group sees itself as part of a greater 'ethnic' imagined community (cf. Anderson 1983) such as the Jews, or the Gypsies. For the Arvanites of Gogofis, however, though they recognise some cultural similarities between the Albanian immigrants and themselves, they do not look at themselves as part of a greater imagined Albanian diaspora. In fact, they reject any such connection. Instead they manufacture associations which imagine both the Arvanites and Albanians part of a common 'Greek' *pighi*, or spring, as they put it. They have incorporated a historical construction of their national identity based on a Greek model of history. Kollias (1983) and Biris (1960) have argued alternative historical, national construction within which the Arvanites and Greeks are situated. However, both authors insist on a link to an ancient Greek or proto-Greek past giving history symbolic capital from which to draw on (cf. Hamilakis 2007).

[224] Such as those examined in this thesis

Anderson (1983:149) has suggested "nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies". Gourgouris (1996:48) suggests that Greece sees itself as a 'dream nation', born out of myth. With both of these perspectives in mind, I suggest that the Arvanites see themselves as a component of the Greek destiny and the Greek dream.

In chapter two, I compared the Arvanites to the Kosovar Albanians. From this comparison, it is clear that the Arvanites see themselves differently that the Kosovars. The Kosovars and the Arvanites have chosen different destinies and different dreams; following different historical trajectories. The Arvanites were part of Greece's inception and part of its imagining. Moreover, because of the late addition of Albania into the 'family of nations', and its isolationist policies during the Cold War, the Arvanites were physically and mentally separated from the 'dream' of Albania. I argue that the Arvanites, furthermore, and even consciously prefer to associate themselves with Greek national ideologies, in large part because of the competing levels of prestige that come with it (cf. Todorova 1997). Thus, with the Albanians having become the objects of the Arvanites' own non-Greekness, the Arvanites assert the differences between themselves and the Albanian immigrants. To illustrate this, I discussed the fact that the Arvanites adopted Serbian children during the bombing of Kosovo, not as a rebellious act, but rather as a conscious act, allying themselves with their 'Christian' kin rather than their 'ethnic' kin, solidifying the Gogofiote relationship to the Church and to the Greek state. The Gogofiotes could have just as easily rejected the plea from the Church to take care of these children or they could have sought to take of Kosovar Albanian children instead. In accepting the Serbian children into their home, however, they lessened any potential nationalist ambiguities the conflict could have caused, reinforcing their position as Greeks and as Orthodox Christians, but not as ethnic Albanians.

The adoption of Serbian children was one conscious practice of the Arvanites' Greek national identity. The action of taking part in political gatherings and the active promotion of one 'national' party over the other is another. Elections and their associations to patron/client and factional relations are everyday activities. In chapter four, I illustrated how these activities are closely related to moral responsibilities - interplaying local and national interests. However, the line between conscious and unconscious practice becomes blurred when local ideas of *nikokiria* and patron/client

relations are associated with national or local issues. As a consequence, banal everyday events of patronage/client cultivations are linked to national factionalism.

Furthermore, as I suggested in chapter six, there is an interplay between conscious expressions of identity, in this case the act of naming, and unconscious banal expression, or action of identity. Names situate individuals into several fields. Clearly, the act of naming a baby and giving it an Ancient Greek name is a conscious act of identity politics. Many people, however, follow traditions in naming. As is seen in the lists of names used, it does not appear to be coincidental that a vast majority of the names given to children are Orthodox Christian. Moreover, for Gogofis, the finite set of 'historically/purely Gogofiote names' identifies someone as belonging to Gogofis or not. Thus, there is a fluid unconscious understanding of who belongs to Gogofis and to the nation.

The mechanics of landscape and identity are similar in this respect. In chapter nine, I suggest that that the working, toil of the landscape, its past memories and its future memories, are an unconscious act that the people of Gogofis create to belong to the place. Simultaneously, the jurisdiction and legal usage is defined and regulated by the state (cf. Theodossopulos 2000). The land is an unambiguous node which ties ownership, local identity, and belonged-ness to the local and the national. In other words, the ownership of the land is a conscious understanding of the landscape, while the actions on the land are unconscious understanding of belonging.

In contrast, the chapter on food illustrates how food preparation, presentation and consumption are conscious acts of identity. The Arvanites consciously make some foods public and other foods private. Public presentations of food define the Arvanites publicly. The foods they make in private are concealed from outsiders. Here the act of identity politics is evidently to produce one image in the public domain, while creating a more culturally intimate one in private (cf. Hertfeld 1997).

I suggest the conscious act of concealment has particular consequences. Throughout the thesis, I have inferred that concealment enforces hierarchies between the nation and the local or the nation and the ethnic. Furthermore, this thesis has established that

Arvanite/Albanian ethnicity is consciously subordinated to 'Greek'[225] culture. Similarly, local ethnic memories are forced into private. Interestingly, I suggest in chapter seven that there are memories which are tied to local/ethnic everyday life which cannot be forgotten or manipulated. Thus, counter the Billig's hypothesis about banal nationalism, here are other types of competing banalities, or banal identities, which may contradict imagined national ideologies. This may be the key to why nations are not eternal. The dissolution of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union may have happened because of these competing banal identities. Obviously, national identities are powerful, very powerful identities in many cases, but they are not made of granite. Differences are maintained, deferred and manipulated but they always exist.

My research was determined on my access to parts of the Gogofiotes' life, based on perceptions of me, as a Greek American, an instructor at an American institution, or as a student from the United Kingdom, in that specific time period. Clearly, I would have been treated differently and had access to different parts of their lives had I been an Albanian or an Arvanite and was doing the research at a different time. As in any large project, this project has places where further study could be made. There are many aspects of the people of Gogofis' life which have not been examined to the extent which I would have liked. Clearly, data from women is limited. An extensive examination focusing on the women's practices and perceptions would have made this a richer and a very different study. Furthermore, I have compared the Arvanites to Albanian immigrants' life in Gogofis. A similar study might have taken place where the Albanians were the primary focus and the Arvanites were subjects and objects of reflection on the Albanians' own identity, as Albanian immigrants, in Greece, and how they reproduce their own memories or how the act of migration has altered their identity and their perception of the world.

Moreover, during my fieldwork the numbers of non-Albanian immigrants was relatively insignificant around Gogofis. Since its completion measurable numbers of South Asians, primarily but not exclusively from Pakistan, have become a significant labour force in the villages below Gogofis, such as Nea Makri and Marathon. They probably are having an effect on Albanian and Arvanite social relations, and ethnic

[225] I emphasise Greek culture because in many respects Arvanite culture is part of Greek culture and vice versa.

and national identity, as well. It would be interesting to see how the South Asians have been incorporated into the village society.

The Ontology of Différence

This thesis examines temporal and spatial differences create differentiations between the groups. I have not directly referred to the Derrida's concept of différence in most of this thesis. However, there are clear temporal and spatial differences between the Arvanites and the Greeks, and between the Arvanites and the Albanians. The Arvanites are manipulating difference almost continuously as they vacillate between and betwixt their perceptions of their Albanianness and their Greekness. Différence is not simply an opposition of 'us' and an 'other'. Nor is it lists and categories which separate groups (Sant Cassia 2007). Différence is a 'state of being' and as such, creating differences is a creative act. It brings things into being. The 'Others' are fluid subjects which may, depending on the circumstance, be deferred or made closer but will always be different. Differences may be deferred or made intimate. In the case of the Albanian immigrants and the Arvanites, common roots and cultural traditions are not sufficient for the two populations to emerge as one group. Although Arvanite and Albanians share the same cultural origins and now exist in the same 'place', they create and occupy different spaces in history, thus they are living in different histories and different places though they occupy the same spaces. The Arvanites are creatively both lessening and strengthening differences between themselves and the others. In this thesis, I have attempted to illustrate how those differences are expressed in action, such as in naming, in food and in the landscape. In addition, differences are created and maintained in social memory and the social reproduction of those memories.

In a Global World

The Arvanites of Gogofis have given up much of their local, ethnic identity and collective memory to be part of the Greek nation. However, as the world gets smaller, there is a valorization of things, local traditions, foods, dances and so forth which becomes more evident (cf. Yakoumaki 2006), what will Arvanites, and specifically Gogofiotes identity be like in the 'new world order'. Peoples like the Arvanites are presently placed into a predicament. They no longer remember their local past and

national pasts are either being de-ephasised or dismantled for the purpose of the creation of new super-state identity. As with Bozon and Thiesse (1990) suggested about the people of Vexin, their memories and local history was segmented and made irrelevant to present day living. The Gogofiotes as with other unrecognized ethnic groups beyond the borders of Greece have to either transform themselves into a new entity or they will find themselves in a similar situation as the people of Vexin who have few local memories to valorise themselves with and lack the ability to express themselves. A global world could leave people like the Arvanites without an identity to connect to. I am, however, optimistic about the Arvanites. They have been able to transform themselves, internalizing new identities and becoming dominant forces in the past[226] and shall probably be equally important in the future. Interestingly, différence has a preserving element because memories never really disappear and differences are constituted and are part of one's existence. Thus, as the world changes différence, as a creative act, preserves 'otherness' and thus unifies otherwise separate individuals as a collective.

[226] The Arvanites have taken a dominant role in the creation of the Greek state. More rescently Melina Merkouri became the symbol of Greekness in her quest to have the Elgin Marbles returned to Greece (cf. Hamilakis 2007)

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