

**ECOLOGICAL ADAPTATION AND THE MANAGEMENT OF NATURAL  
RESOURCES IN A TRANSHUMANT PASTORAL COMMUNITY OF  
PINDUS**

**(Vassilis Nitsiakos, *A Vlach Pastoral Community in Greece. The effects of its incorporation into the national economy and society*, Phd Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1985)**

## CHAPTER 2

### THE COMMUNITY IN ITS ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC SETTING.

#### A SYNCHRONIC ACCOUNT.

##### A General Description

The community which this study is concerned with constitutes one of the few remaining transhumant pastoral communities of Greece. Ethnically it belongs to a minority group of the national population of Greece known by the name Vlachs. Nowadays only a small section of this ethnic group continues the pastoral way of life although the origins of the entire group are undoubtedly pastoral (see chapter 1).

Sedentarization, urbanization and emigration have much affected the community. Its present population is but a tiny part of a previously large community of pastoralists which has been depleted due to the above-cited phenomena. Members of the community who themselves abandoned transhumance at some stage or their descendants, are to be found in diaspora all over Greece and even abroad. Nevertheless their sense of belonging to the community persists and, what is most significant, they always retain the right of resuming citizenship in their native village and using the rights that it implies, (e.g. building a house, bringing animals to graze in the village pastures, joining a timber co-operative etc.), simply by virtue of their descent.

The community today comprises about sixty families all of which lead a transhumant pastoral life. The transhumance cycle consists in a periodical movement of flocks and families from the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia to the mountainous grasslands of the village of Denisco (now called: Aetomelitsa) and back each year (see map 1). This migratory pattern corresponds to a division of the

yearly pastoral cycle into two seasons, the cold and the hot season, which in terms of residence means two homes located in places that are physically separate and ecologically distinct.

While the cold season finds the community dispersed over a wide area in Macedonia and Thessaly, the hot season brings them together in the mountain village of their origin in Epirus. The places in which they are to be found during the cold season are the villages of Rodia, Kalamaki, Pournari, Gerakari and Tirnavos in Thessaly and Kale, Apsalos, Anydro, Alouro, Laka and Nea Zoe in Macedonia (see map 1).

## 2. The Transhumant Cycle

The timing of seasonal movements in the transhumance cycle has been considerably affected by development. In the past, almost until the civil war (1946-49), the base for the seasonal migrations was the mountain village. Usually families spent the whole winter there, while men descended with the flocks to the plains in search of winter pastures. These were not the same every year. Consequently they did not have any permanent dwellings for themselves and their animals in the winter areas. Their permanent base was in the mountain village where they returned as soon as weather conditions permitted in the late Spring. The difficulties involved in procuring winter pastures, and insecurity and historical instability in general, were some of the reasons underlying their desire to spend as much time as possible in the summer village; there pastures were free and under their own control, and life in general was more secure and enjoyable near their own families and relatives. The two points which traditionally marked the separation of the seasons were the days of St George (23 April) and St Demetrius (26 October). Thus the summer season lasted from 23

April until 26 October (6 months) and the winter season from 26 October until 23 April (6 months).

Modernization of livestock production, the implementation of intensive schemes to increase productivity, and the increasing control by the State over the pastoral populations have led to a fixing of the winter areas and the introduction of new strategies and techniques of production along the lines of modern stable-based husbandry. As a result, the whole pattern of transhumance and the relation between the two pastoral seasons have undergone significant changes. The demands of the national market have imposed different patterns of production: early lambing implies an earlier return to the winter resorts. The use of motorized transport has affected the migration patterns; migration times have been shortened and the time traditionally spent en route is now mostly spent in the plains. Subsequently the hot season has undergone a significant shortening. The maximum time spent in the mountain village is today four months (June-September), whereas the time spent in the plains is eight months (October-May) when vehicles are used, and six or seven months in cases where migrations are carried out in the traditional way.

These alterations in the transhumance cycle are reflected in many aspects of social life and are revealed quite conspicuously in residential patterns as well as in the housing conditions of the summer village in comparison to winter homes. Today the community considers as their main homes their houses in the winter villages which are modern constructions, well furnished and equipped, like the houses of the sedentary populations of those villages. Their houses in the mountain village, on the contrary, are a miserable sight. They are seen as temporary accommodation and are rudimentary. Several decades ago, however, before the catastrophes of the village in World War II and the Greek Civil War (1946-49) the situation was quite different. Their mountain dwellings presented a



completely different picture and the whole settlement suggested a coherent and well-maintained village.

### 3. Dispersal and the Sense of Community

Although the situation of the community is one of dispersal during the cold season, every individual family is always set amidst a smaller or larger number of *Denisciotes* because they are settled in the winter villages in groups. In most cases, significantly enough, the Vlachs have formed their own neighbourhoods and their presence in these villages is characterized by a more or less "ghetto-like" co-existence with the sedentary populations. Despite their increased assimilation in recent years they are easily distinguished even today by their distinct sociocultural life and their forming solidarity groups in various social and political circumstances. Participation in life crisis rituals, disputes with the rest of the population of the sedentary villages, co-operation and institutions of mutual aid constitute some typical examples whereby solidarity manifests itself. Because they are entitled to citizenship in these village communities (see chapter 3) some of the members or even whole families belong to their electorates, so that they have the potential of sending at least one elected person of their community to the village council to represent them. It is quite usual that within the same family some members are enrolled in the election lists of the winter village and some in the summer one. In this way their interests are represented in both.

Nowadays, however, modern means of communication and transportation have reduced the significance of geographical distance and physical separation. Therefore contact during the cold season is not only preserved among members of the community settled in the same village, but among the totality of the community's

members, though it occurs on specific occasions, such as life crisis events and village festivals. In this respect, the two cultural associations of Denisciotes are important. They are societies formed mainly by people who have settled down in different towns and villages. They function as poles of attraction of the dispersed *sympatriotes* (compatriots). According to their constitution they are sociocultural organizations aiming at strengthening the bonds among the Denisciotes in diaspora, preserving the community's cultural heritage and transmitting it to the new generations, bettering the living conditions in the mountain village of their origin, and providing its population with any other possible assistance. One of their main social activities during the winter is the "annual dance" held in a central town, which has always been a major social event for the community. Their "offices" are places where people can meet and have entertainment; young people are taught traditional dances which they perform on a number of different occasions. Generally speaking these two societies based at Larissa (Thessaly) and Salonica (Macedonia) constitute the poles around which communal life beyond the local level revolves during the winter season.

#### 4. The Cold Season (*Sta Himadhia*)

The cold season is the busiest in the pastoral cycle as well as the most vital from an economic point of view. Lambing and the most important part of lactation take place in this season. Also success in sheep's mating, which usually takes place in the beginning of the hot season, depends completely upon the condition of the flock, a question of good care in the cold season.

Preparations for this season begin in late summer or early autumn. Then shepherds take some days off to go to the winter

quarters to store the necessary winter feed for the animals, such as maize, barley, trefoil etc. as well as to ensure that the folds are in a good enough condition to receive the flocks. Agreements with cheese-merchants on milk prices and the timing of payments are usually made at this time.

In the beginning of October, after the families and any household belongings have been loaded on trucks and sent to the winter villages, the shepherds set out on their *dhiava* (route down the hills.) Departure times may vary with the stages of ewes' pregnancies; if ewes were late in mating their owner might delay his move until middle or late October, if conditions permit.\* Shepherds who have decided to transport their flocks by trucks may stay in the mountain village until immediately before the beginning of the lambing period.

The prevailing dependence on the market entails fixed patterns for the marketing of lambs which is dictated by the functions of the national and to a certain extent international market. Development and the concomitant introduction of modern techniques in stock-keeping has made adjustment to the market demands feasible. Market demand for lambs is at a peak at Christmas and Easter holidays, which means that prices also rise at these times. Shepherds under these conditions try, as far as it is possible, to arrange the mating so that the bulk of lambs are ready for marketing at Christmas - an additional advantage of early lambing is better lactation. Animals that are going to drop lambs later are kept longer in the mountain pastures. Because pasture quality is often less good after August and conditions risky, these ewes are less well nourished in the later stages of their pregnancy than ewes that drop earlier. Because all milking stops anyway at a fixed date

\* This allows him to use standing pasture longer (thus delaying the time when purchased feed must be used in the winter village).

earlier lambing means a longer period of lactation.

Under present conditions mating is to a large extent controlled through a number of strategies. A good feeding of ewes and rams alike during the cold season is a decisive factor. Separation of rams until the day the shepherd wishes the mating to start ensures a fixed date for the beginning of lambing as well as the majority of births taking place in a limited number of days. This is desirable for commercial as well as technical reasons. Uniform flocks of lambs are more marketable and marketing all lambs at once is more convenient since there is then no need for keeping some ewes separate because of their unmarketable lambs. Artificial insemination recently has become one of the techniques by which people try to control mating more precisely to make the enterprise more profitable. Many pastoralists have even changed the strains of their animals by the introduction of new rams that have made the strain more productive.

The ideal month for lambing to start is November since lambs should be at least 40 days old to be marketed. It is however difficult to control mating. Usually a number of ewes are not mated until quite late in the autumn - especially young ones. This results in two lambing periods, the second normally starting in February. This has also been well accommodated into the functioning of the national market as this second yield of lambs is ready for Easter, a festival when, in Greek Orthodox tradition, lambs are roasted in all households.

Shepherding tasks in the cold season are simple; most of the time the animals are enclosed in the folds which today are large modern constructions resembling farm-stables rather than transhumant *stanes*.

Animals are divided basically in two flocks. The first is the flock of *ghalaria* (*vl. matritsi*), lactating ewes. The second is the

flock of *stira* (vl. *stiarpi*) which contains unsuccessfully or late-mated ewes, last season's female lambs kept for the purpose of reproduction of the flock (rather than sold), and the rams. The *ghalaria* are mostly kept inside and fed with dry feed (or occasionally in spring grazed in privately owned or rented meadows), whereas the *stira* during the day are grazed for certain hours in the village grasslands (for which taxes are paid) and brought back to the fold in the late afternoon.

The milking season begins when lambs are sold and the ones kept for the reproduction of the flock are weaned. In terms of labour requirements this is the most difficult period in the pastoral cycle, but also the most rewarding in financial terms. The animals are fed and milked three times a day.

Cold season labour requirements and organization are simple and are based on the conjugal pair; a man and his wife are capable of managing a flock of 300 head, a number that is rarely exceeded in the community; the only exceptions involve a form of extended family discussed later. Modernization of pastoral production has reduced the distance between the home and the work place (fold) and reduced labour requirements as well as improved working conditions. This has made women's participation in stock-keeping possible. Their participation became necessary for the autonomized elementary family to survive in the new socioeconomic conditions.

Daily work during the lactation period in the cold season consists basically in feeding and milking the animals three times. After the dawn milking is over, the husband, if he has no other tasks in the village or in the market town, takes the small flock of *stira* to the village grasslands while the wife returns home to do household work. The next feeding and milking is in the afternoon when both of them come back to the fold. The last milking is usually at 9 o'clock in the evening. The time between the second

and the third milking and feeding is spent at home by the wife and mostly at the coffeehouse by the husband.

This with some variations (especially in the few cases of goat-herding) is the usual work pattern until the community returns to the mountains.

At the end of the cold season (April and May), when vegetation is suitable and the weather conditions favourable, the flocks are grazed on open pasture - either on the village grasslands or in a few cases on privately owned meadows. At this time the shearing (*okouros*) takes place. This is a major social event in pastoral life that marks the passage to the new season, and the return to the place that people refer to as *loclu anostu* (vl.) (our land). Thus after the *okouros* preparations for the migration have to be made. *Kouros* constitutes one of the few remaining symbols of a changing way of life. Institutions of co-operative labour still function on this occasion and the traditional festive activities to celebrate the end of shearing continue today.

##### 5. Passage to the Mountains (*Dhiava*)

At the beginning of May the first flocks set out for the mountains. The trip is planned so that the flocks reach the mountain village borders on the eve of the "entering day" (*entrare*, vl.). This is one of the first days of June when according to prior agreement the animals can enter the village area. Shepherds who decide to transport their animals by trucks leave the plains the day before *entrare*. Families leave the same day except for those waiting for their children to finish school; these leave a few days later.

The spring trip is more labour demanding than the autumn one. This is due chiefly to two reasons. The first has to do with

the difficulties in leading the flocks through cultivated areas. The second and most important is that this time coincides with the lactation period; the animals are milked twice a day, the milk is processed, and the cheese produced is marketed directly by the shepherds themselves. These high labour requirements cannot be met even when two owners co-operate by combining their flocks into one.

Special forms of co-operation have been developed to meet the needs of these migrations. Shepherds who have agreed to manage jointly their flocks during the hot season combine their animals in one flock and co-operate with other equivalent joint management units to form associations (*parees*). This makes the tasks of the migration easier. The simplest and most usual form such an association takes consists of two flocks corresponding to four shepherds i.e. each flock contains the animals of two different families. This arrangement makes the available labour sufficient. Two men look after the flocks en route. The other two make the cheese, market it in the adjacent villages, and take charge of the pack animals, the transportation of personal belongings and the material necessary for the construction of temporary pens for milking. When the flocks arrive at the next camping site (*konaki*), where the milking will be done and the night will be spent, everything there has been prepared by these two men. After finishing with the selling of the cheese and any shopping in the villages they overtake the flocks with the pack animals and reach the camping site earlier. Because of co-operation, milking also becomes easier since the two flocks can be milked by three milkers (*armehtadhes*). The fourth man (*strougaris*) herds the animals from behind. If the two flocks were to be milked separately only one milker would be available per flock since one person is always needed to herd the animals from behind.

The co-operative association formed for the migration trip may



or may not continue during the summer. The joint management unit of two flocks combined into one does however remain throughout the hot season. Nevertheless, as we will see later in this chapter, some form of co-operative association functions during the summer on lines similar to migration associations whether or not these remain unchanged.

## 6. The Hot Season

On the eve of the *entrare* (the entering day) all the flocks, amounting to about thirteen thousand head, meet at the village border. There are specific regulations about entering the village territories as well as the grazing zones which the animals are allowed to use in the first days. All these decisions are made the previous autumn by the villagers themselves and are variations on traditional practices transmitted from one generation to another.

The communal pastures, that is the whole area that belongs to the village, are divided into two zones, the low (*lazina*, vl.) and the high (*munts*, vl.), which are used in rotation. This division corresponds to the different geomorphological, climatic and vegetational features characterizing the low and the high altitude pastures. Variation in the climatic conditions and vegetation entail vertical movements of the flocks from the low to the high pastures and back.

The low pastures are the forested and bare slopes around the village to an altitude of about 1800 metres. Because of their milder weather and more even geomorphological features they are used in the early days of the season when the high mountain-sides are still snow-covered. They are also used later on, whenever bad weather conditions make shepherding in the high pastures difficult, or for a certain number of days irrespective of the weather to avoid

exhausting the pastures. Thus for the first twenty or more days (depending on the particular year's available vegetation) all the flocks graze in the low pastures without allocation of specific pastures to specific flocks. This sort of unrestricted use of the low zone is valid until the allocation of the high zone pastures to specific associations. The high zone pastures correspond to low zone pastures which are similarly allocated. After the allocation procedures are completed the flock can use only the belt of the low zone that corresponds to the belt of the high zone which they were allocated (see figure 1).

The periodic redistribution of pastures which takes place every year in June is carried out on the basis of traditional procedures. The ultimate authority for this is the assembly of all the male members of the community concerned. Every single member or association can exercise a veto; decisions are based on consensus. The distribution procedure allocates the existing grazing areas to specific numbers of animals on the basis of the total number of that year's animals. A sort of auction takes place in which associations try to get the most favourable pastures for themselves. A committee is appointed by the assembly. This committee is responsible for general management procedures and the settlement of any disputes. In the allocation, the committee takes into consideration the total number of animals and defines the minimum number of animals that should be using each tract. These numbers are announced and the auction proceeds in the following way. The grazing tracts are announced one by one with the corresponding defined number of animals. The associations bid for whichever tract they consider good for their flocks. The number of their animals must be equal to or bigger than the number announced by the committee. The association bidding to put the highest number of animals on a particular tract obtains its allocation. Changes may be made,

however, if disagreements arise.

This process balances the interests of the individual herd owner and those of the land-holding community. It is in the interest of herd owners, as represented by the associations, to be able to use as much good pasture for their animals as possible. They cannot put more animals on a given tract of pasture than its resources permit without endangering the well-being of their individual animals. The community on the other hand must equitably distribute access to its limited resources among individual herders.

The grazing areas that are allocated by this process are the ones for sheep which constitute the bulk of the animal population of the community. Each pasture tract is defined by tradition and accommodates the needs of herd management as practised by this specific community. Each grazing area contains the appropriate ecological characteristics for at least two flocks of 500-600 head each. This is the normal animal holding of each co-operative association. The pastures are known by specific place-names and their borders are clearly defined by natural markers such as forests, mountain peaks, ravines, big stones etc. Knowledge about these territories is orally transmitted through the generations. It is significant that several old men are always invited to the assemblies for the allotment of pastures to be consulted on matters related to borders.

Goat herds are not allocated specific pastures but they are free to graze in the entire low zone where the vegetation is particularly appropriate for goats, which can browse bushes. Today there are five families owning goats instead of sheep. Lately, also, three individual members of the community have bought a number of cows. This has created some problems for the distribution of pastures; for the time being cattle either are allocated a specific area or are allowed to graze in part of the low zone south of the

village. Pack animals, the number of which has decreased considerably with the introduction of motor transport, are not restricted to an officially specified area but usually they are not allowed in the high zone pastures.

The following diagram (see next page) shows the division of the village pastures into grazing areas; it should be considered in conjunction with the two detailed maps 2 and 3 taken from the community archives.

The average carrying capacity of grazing tracts, as already noted, is about a thousand animals. This corresponds to the normal holding of the associations which are two flocks averaging 500-600 head. Each flock corresponds to one joint management unit consisting of two, and more rarely three, individual herds. The two management units co-operate in the milking of their animals. They have a common *stani* (corral) and use the same milking pen (*strunga*). In this way the management of a family herd can be effectively carried out by one man. The autumn journey to the winter quarters is carried out usually on the above basis, though owing to reduced labour requirements at this time (period out of lactation plus already harvested fields that animals do not have to be kept out of) a joint management unit or even an individual shepherd can undertake this trip alone. However this seldom occurs for security reasons and needs for companionship.

At this point I will discuss the current forms of co-operation characterizing the pastoral adaptation of the community throughout the hot season. I do this for two reasons. First, because it poses the question of the relationship between social organization and ecology, a central theme in the anthropological literature on pastoralism, and second because it is related to another central subject of anthropological discourse, namely the role of kinship with regard to co-operation in production. Hopefully, also, this

analysis will contribute to the understanding of kinship and family structures described in the last chapters of this thesis.

What can today justify the characterization of this community as 'traditional' and even 'pastoral' is its transhumant migration and the persistence of traditional forms of organization of production and social life during the hot season. As already noted, this season has undergone significant temporal shrinkage.

The conditions of pastoral production which characterize the community in their native mountain village during the hot season account for the persistence of traditional forms of co-operation and social organization in general, which have of course been adapted to the property relations as they developed after the war (see chapter 3).

I have already implied that the essence of forming co-operative associations lies in the fact that co-operative herd management permits higher returns to labour because of herding economies of scale. A typical co-operative unit, an association (*parea*), today consists of two joint management units each of which is made up of the animals of two households (see diagram I). An ideal association thus consists of two herds which constitute the property of four domestic units. Each herd corresponds to a joint management unit in which two independent families carry out the process of pastoral production jointly throughout the hot season. The associations as well as the joint management units are ephemeral i.e. they are formed for one season.

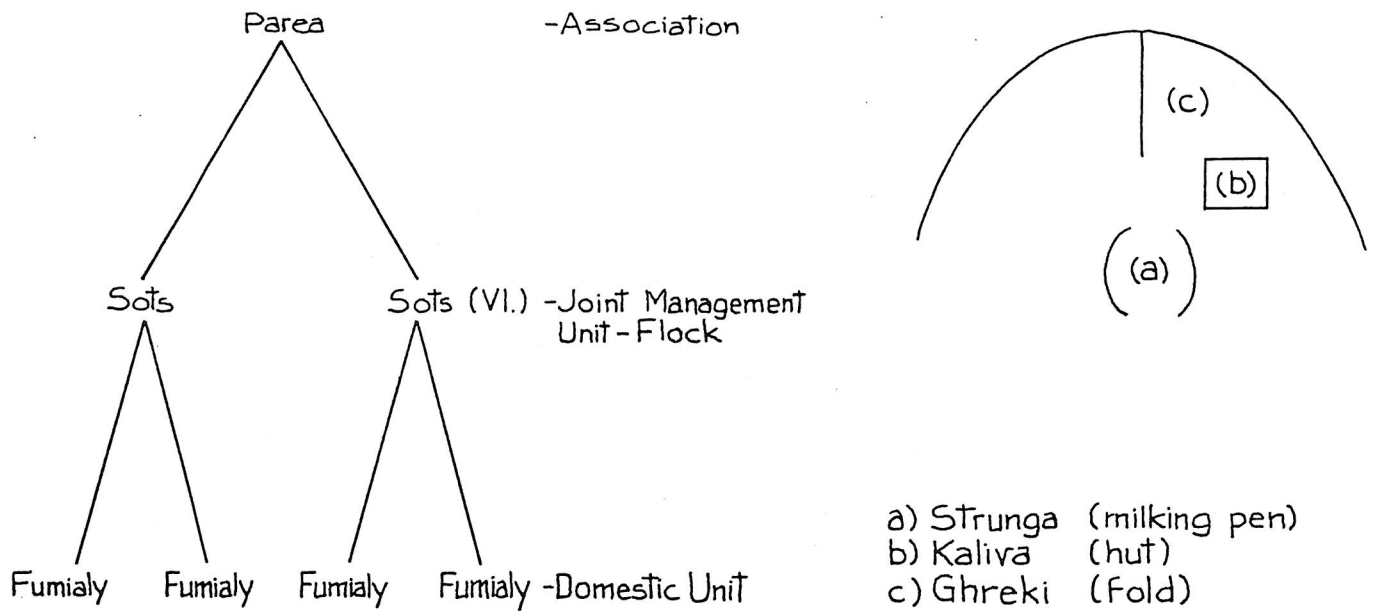
Co-operation for herding and milking functions at different levels. The animals of the association are pastured in two separate herds whereas all of the association's animals are milked together. Since each of the herds is made up of the animals of two separate households, the two male heads of the two families take turns herding the combined flock ("Tzuani shi tzauts" Vl.: "my day and your

day"). The two joint management units which make up an association co-operate in milking their flocks. This means the use of a common milking pen (*strunga*) and consequently a common sheepfold (*ghreki*) divided into two parts and a common hut for the sheep (see diagram I). The word *stani* is used to refer both to this whole physical set up as well as to the group of humans and animals using it.

In this way milking is easier for the shepherds. Three men milk all the animals of the association while one more drives the animals from behind (one person can milk a herd containing a maximum of 300 animals, 200 of which are lactating). If each household were milking its animals separately, a total of eight people would be needed as milking always requires at least two people, one to milk and one to drive.

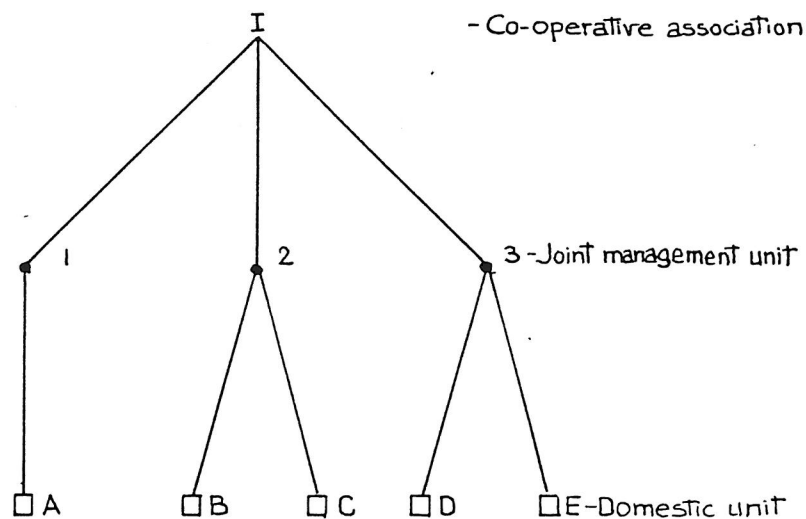
This process of co-operation entails the use of a common territory by the two co-operating units. Consequently the whole territory occupied by the community has to be divided in a way that can accommodate the animal population best in this specific ecological niche on the basis of the principles of social organization which characterize the community. Ecology poses certain constraints with respect to the social use of its assets, but it does not play a determinant role. The organization of space underwent alterations throughout the community's history following changes in socioeconomic relations. Given the environmental constraints ecology in a way dictates possible adaptations of specific forms of socioeconomic organization, but in no way determines social reality. As T. Ingold has put it, "...ecological relations of pastoralism stem from the implementation of its social rationality and not vice versa" (Ingold, 1980:81).

Diagram I



With respect to the second of the most interesting aspects of co-operation, namely the role of kinship in the constitution and function of co-operative associations, I will begin my analysis by giving a detailed diagrammatical description of the composition of the co-operative units formed in the village at the time of my fieldwork (summer 1983). I incorporate numerical data on the actual relations on which co-operation is founded in these figures.

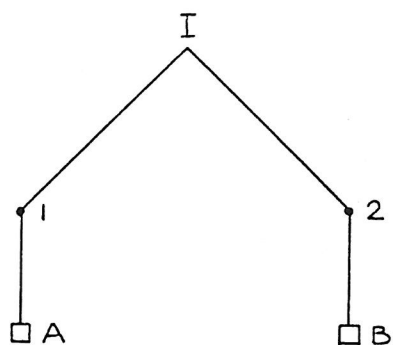
Fig. 1



- (1) A unrelated to B (5) B kin (brother) C (8) C affine D (10) D kin (cousin) E  
(2) A unrelated to C (6) B affine D (9) C affine E  
(3) A unrelated to D (7) B affine E  
(4) A unrelated to E



Fig. 2



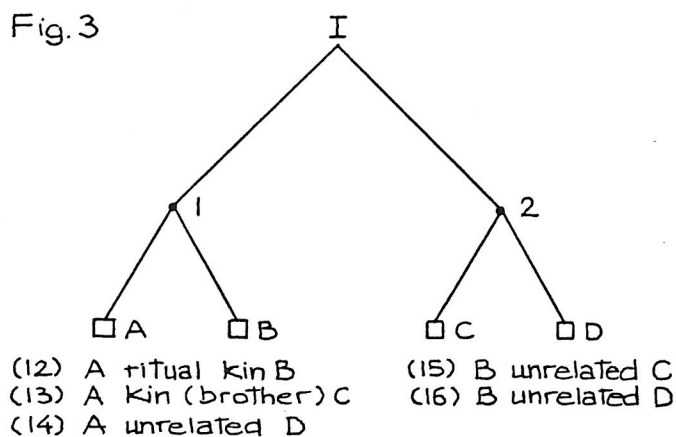
Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(11) A ritual kin B

Fig. 3



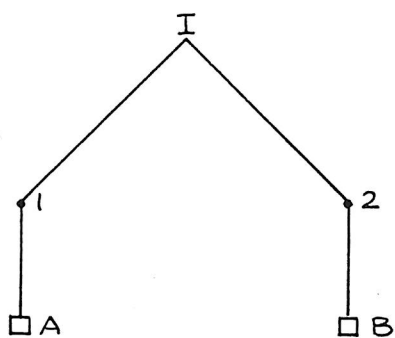
Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(17) C unrelated D

Fig. 4



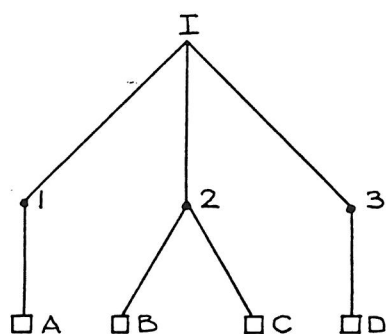
Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(18) A affine B

Fig. 5



Co-operative association

Joint management unit

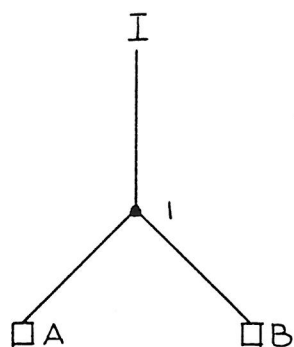
Domestic unit

(19) A affine B  
(20) A unrelated C  
(21) A unrelated D

(22) B unrelated C  
(23) B unrelated D

(24) C kin (brother) D

Fig. 6



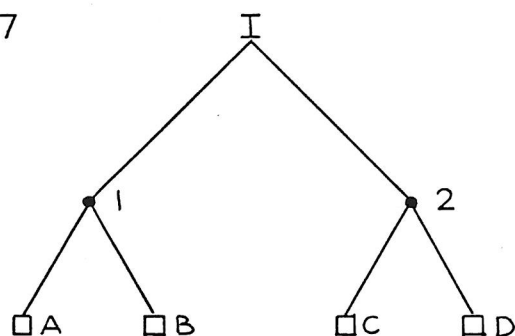
Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(25) A affine (son-in-law) B

Fig. 7



Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(26) A kin (brother) B

(27) A affine (brother-in-law) C

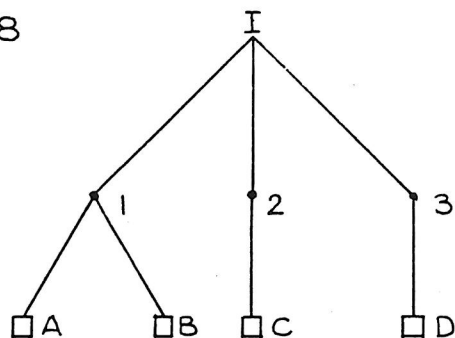
(28) A unrelated D

(29) B affine (brother-in-law)

(30) B unrelated D

(31) C unrelated D

Fig. 8



Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(32) A unrelated B

(33) A unrelated C

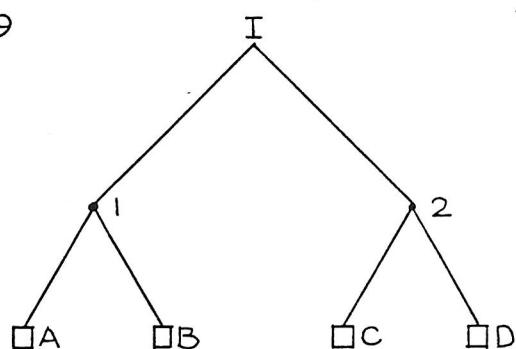
(34) A unrelated D

(35) B kin (brother) C

(36) B unrelated D

(37) C unrelated D

Fig. 9



Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(38) A unrelated B

(39) A kin (maternal uncle) C

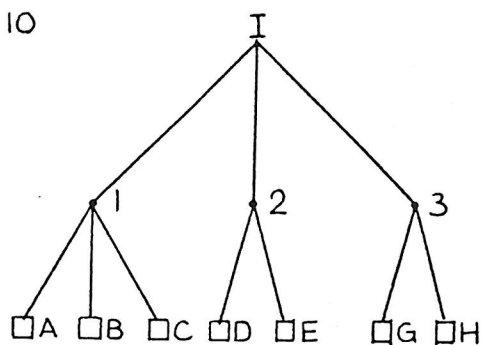
(40) A affine D

(41) B unrelated C

(42) B kin (cousin) D

(43) C kin (distant) D

Fig. 10



Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(44) A kin (cousin) B

(45) A affine (son-in-law) C

(46) A kin (brother) D

(47) A affine E

(48) A unrelated G

(49) A unrelated H

(50) B affine C

(51) B kin (cousin) D

(52) B unrelated E

(53) B unrelated G

(54) B unrelated H

(55) C affine D

(56) C affine E

(57) C unrelated G

(58) C unrelated H

(59) D affine E

(60) D unrelated G

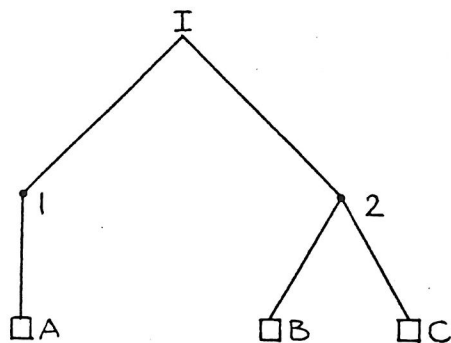
(61) D unrelated H

(62) E unrelated G

(63) E unrelated H

(64) G kin (brother) H

Fig. 11



Co-operative association

Joint management unit

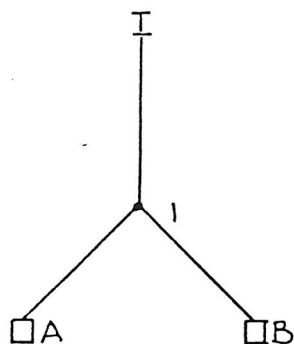
Domestic unit

(65) A unrelated B

(66) A unrelated C

(67) B kin (cousin) C

Fig. 12



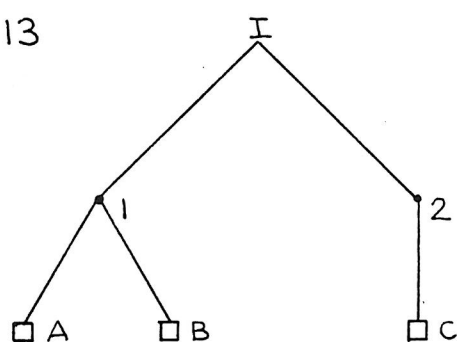
Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(68) A kin (cousin) B

Fig.13



Co-operative association

Joint management unit

Domestic unit

(69) A kin (brother) B

(71) B unrelated C

(70) A unrelated C

Total cases of co-operation	Kinship links	Affinal links	Ritual links	Unrelated*
71	16	16	2	37

Table I. \* See chapter on Kinship for definitions of kin and non-kin (unrelated). See chapter on Ritual Kinship for definition of ritual kin.

The role of kinship with respect to co-operation is one of the central themes in anthropological literature on pastoralism. By way of example I will refer briefly to some cases representing distinct ethnographic areas. The pastoral *siida* (local band) among the Lapps, as Pehrson has demonstrated, recruits its members almost invariably on the basis of kinship and affinity (Pehrson, 1957: 90-92). Among the Jie and the Turkana, according to Gulliver, a man's agnatic and uterine kin, as well as his affines, constitute potential associates, to whom he may delegate sections of his herd, or with whom he may reside in the same cattle camp (Gulliver, 1955: 203-215). Co-operative herding arrangements are primarily between fathers and sons or brothers among Fulani herders in Niger (White, 1984: 317-319). Finally, Campbell writing about the Sarakatsani of Greece stresses the importance of kinship and affinity with regard to the formation of co-operative associations (Campbell, 1964: 41).

However, this emphasis on the importance of kinship as an ideological basis for the constitution of co-operative teams in productive processes is prevalent not only in ethnographic accounts of pastoral societies. It is a characteristic of a wide range of social formations. The anthropological debate based on this ethnographic fact has revolved around the idea of morality as an inherent quality of kinship. Fortes's views on the "morality" of kinship, its "prescriptive altruism," have stimulated variable arguments. M. Bloch further developed Fortes's argument by denying "functionalist" criticisms that minimize the notion of morality as having a force of its own. Fortes's main critics have been Leach and Worsley who arguing along functionalist lines maintained that "the cause of social facts is the result of the uses to which they are put", and in a sense, were inclined to reduce the morality of kinship to uses to which it is put (Bloch, 1973). Bloch uses examples of agricultural co-operation to demonstrate that "to the

actors kinship is moral, that is non-specific and long-term... and that it is the generality of kinship and the continuity of kinship which is of prime significance and these features are due to its morality" (ibid.:86-87).

To begin with the actors' own conceptions of kinship, as far as our community is concerned, they are quite explicit on the question of morality. The essence of such a relationship between two individuals is its moral character, its altruistic nature. This manifests itself at the level of everyday social interaction through acts of mutual trust, help and continuous solidarity among the individuals concerned. Nevertheless kinship does not by any means constitute the exclusive basis on which co-operative forms of production are founded. This is clearly shown in the above diagrams and is summarized in table I:37 relations of co-operation out of a total of 71 are between persons whose relationships are not based on kinship.

Because of the important socioeconomic transformations that have taken place kinship has become a problematic social relationship in terms of inter-familial relations. This is due to ideological and social conflicts caused by the elimination of a correspondence between the "superstructure" and the "infrastructure" of this particular social formation. Thus, through "development," the old ideologies, which were generated and functioned in relation to specific socioeconomic structures in the past are no longer in harmony with emerging socioeconomic relations.

The morality of kinship which was functional in a socioeconomic milieu where the extended family was the prevalent form of domestic organization has now become a source of social tension. There are now only a few examples of brothers jointly managing their herds although sibling relations are relatively numerous in the community. Co-operation between brothers was the rule in the past because of

the structure of the domestic unit. The disintegration of the extended family because of earlier fission (see chapter 7) has created situations of social conflict. Brothers heading individual families that are the result of fission have different orientations and conflicting interests (see chapter 7).

Morality inherent in the nature of the relationship which links two brothers turns out to be incompatible with their distinct orientations. Each ceases to be a brother within an extended family where fraternal interests are identical and productive activities collective, and becomes a father and a husband, a head of a conjugal family, thereby distancing himself from his family of procreation. Altruism and sharing without reckoning are rendered incompatible with the economic principles which govern the autonomous fraternal domestic units. The role of women in this respect is crucial. They constitute elements external to the fraternal domestic group whose interests are focused on the prosperity of their own households and therefore are usually resentful of their husbands' altruistic attitudes vis à vis their own brothers. A man feels at ease about not reciprocating with his own brother in the short term because of the moral nature of their relationship. Outside the context of brotherhood this would be considered cheating since such a morality is not valid there. Understandably, friction and tension among fraternal units is frequent in the social life of the community. Hence close co-operation with one's own close kin tends to be deliberately avoided. This social reality is embodied in the proverb "Horia ki aghapimena" (separately and affectionately). The theme of conflicts among kin caused by co-residence and co-operation is recurrent in ethnographic accounts. These conflicts can all too easily reduce close co-operation among kin. Baxter has an interesting discussion of this issue in his article with the expressive title "Absence makes the heart grow fonder" (Baxter,



1972). Often, then, morality, instead of constituting a reason for co-operation among close kin, especially brothers, becomes a reason not to co-operate. The question of inheritance is also relevant here. The fact that brothers are co-heirs in itself carries an inherent possibility of rivalry (Bloch, 1973:82). The likelihood for friction over the division of the patrimony always exists, and once it arises it is difficult to settle in the future.

In keeping with this phenomenon is the tendency to co-operate with in-laws (especially brothers-in-law and father/son-in-law). This can be explained on the basis of the principles of inheritance. As I explain in chapters 4 and 7 inheritance is not a system of divergent devolution whereby males and females inherit equally. Until recently inheritance in real property was exclusively male. Female inheritance has been introduced recently as dowry (see chapters 4, 7). Therefore there are not conflicts over inheritance between in-laws because the sister/daughter who creates the relation does not inherit. These are the conditions that affect the present herding generation which married endogamously. Female inheritance has now been introduced through dowry but these women are married out of the community and their generation in any case no longer practises herding.

Nevertheless, the fact that the morality of kinship has become a reason not to co-operate in the economic sphere confirms its strength. The preceding observations are concerned with economic co-operation involving close collaboration and collective management of herds which is, as it is now organized, an economic operation demanding "rational" attitudes. As far as other acts of mutual help and solidarity are concerned kinship continues to play an important role, except in cases where friction results in the severance of all existing bonds among kin. Not associating in any way with one's kinsmen is always rationalized or justified by denying the kinship

bond. This obviously means that acknowledgement of kinship automatically entails moral obligations. Kinship consequently has an inherent morality according to people's conceptions. People in the community often justify their refusal to help some of their kinsmen by saying "ton eho xeghrapsi apo soi" (I no more recognize him as a kin).

An additional fact confirming the morality of kinship is the use of ritual forms of kinship to establish morally charged social relationships. *Koumbaria*, the Greek equivalent of *compadrazgo*, can be utilized either to establish such a relationship or to consolidate and enhance an already existing contractual relationship; that is, it may either precede or follow co-operation in the economic sphere. In Table I there are only two relations of co-operation characterized by a link of ritual kinship. This, however, should not be taken as an indication of the minimal importance of the institution. Each member of the community has a pool of potential co-operators (which virtually consists of the whole community) from which he chooses associates according to the circumstances. Given the periodic and ephemeral character of the co-operative associations many ritual relations have been created in this context which constitute part of the pool and can be mobilized at any time under the appropriate circumstances.

To sum up, the main points of my argument concerning kinship and economic co-operation are the following. First, according to the actors' conceptions kinship has a moral character. Second, kinship constitutes an important factor in forming co-operative associations but is by no means a necessary pre-condition. Co-operation is not talked about in terms of kinship; associates do not have to be kinsmen, nor do they have to pretend to be. To compare the Vlach society with other societies, the Basseri studied by Barth bear close similarities: "Considerations of nearness of kinship seem

to be irrelevant to the composition of herding units... in every unit persons have combined with distant relatives and non-kin in spite of the presence in the camp of very close kin" (Barth, 1961: 22-23). A different example is provided by Gulliver in his study of the Ndendeuli of Tanzania. "In Ndendeuli the kinship system was a way of "talking about" practical relations of co-operation, reciprocal assistance, and support in the everyday business of making a livelihood" (p.238). Gulliver suggested that it is almost possible to reverse the Ndendeuli ethic, but without distorting empirical facts, and to say that people who regularly exchanged assistance were kinsmen because of that regular assistance (Gulliver, 1971: 216-239). This does not apply to our case at all. Third, kinship, because of its moral character, tends to become problematic in inter-familial relationships, especially among fraternal households. This phenomenon is to a large extent a reflection of the process of dis-embedding economic from kinship relations.

#### 7. Social Life in the Mountain Village

The social life in the mountain village revolves around pastoral activities. During the lactation period the village dairy constitutes a focal point in the organization of space. Milk is transported twice a day on pack animals from the *stanes* to the dairy. There a number of people make cheese. The cheese merchants are today local people who for the lactation period leave their animals with other shepherds on a contractual basis or even employ wage-shepherds.

Milk is delivered to the merchants for a period of about one month and twenty days, that is until the 20th of July. For the remaining few weeks of lactation, ewes are milked only once a day

and the lower quality milk is made into cheese for domestic consumption. The lactation period is over by the middle of August, when time is available to rest and celebrate. The patron saint's festival (*panighyri*) is on the 15th of August and is a major sociocultural event.

In the last twenty years or so, however, free time in the late summer period has been exploited economically by the villagers through the formation of lumber co-operatives. These were introduced and are controlled by the State in an attempt to improve the economic exploitation of the available natural resources and consequently to secure an additional income for the populations of mountainous areas. (This has been used by the State as one of the strategies to keep these people in their villages).

Work in the forest is done in late August and September when the lactation period is over. It is also scheduled in a way to enable all people to use this opportunity for earning a significant amount of money. Attempts are always made for the three co-operatives to work at different times so that shepherds forming joint management herding units and belonging to different co-operatives can take turns looking after their herd. In cases where this is not possible, teenage children or even women look after the animals. Work in the forest usually does not exceed 20 days, so that temporary arrangements for shepherding can always be made.

The sexual division of labour in the hot season is a more traditional one than in the cold season in the sense that women do not usually participate directly in shepherding. This contrasts with the situation in the cold season when their contribution to the management of the flock is almost as essential as men's. Women during the summer process wool and make woollen articles for domestic use, dowries and even sale. Until very recently, and even today to a limited extent, products made for sale were marketed by

the women themselves at the big bazaar in Konitsa, the local market town, in late September. This event has been traditionally the counterpart of *kouros* (the shearing) in the hot season; it signals the end of the season and heralds the migration to the plains. +

Referring earlier on to communal processes I mentioned the *village assembly*. It is an institution that can be traced back to the Ottoman era when the community enjoyed considerable administrative autonomy. With the community's inclusion in the centralized Greek State and its subsequent institutional incorporation into the State apparatus, the assembly has been stripped of all its functions except for the one noted above, namely its exclusive role concerning the division and reallocation of the communal pastures. The assembly's administrative and judicial functions and those associated with the security of the community have been taken over by State institutions and mechanisms. Security problems do not exist today, while community's relationships with neighbouring villages concerning frontiers are arbitrated by agronomic institutions. Judicial processes have been transferred to the national courts.

The chief authority in the village community today with respect to external as well as internal affairs other than the utilization of communal pastures is the community council headed by the president. The council consists of seven members and is re-elected every fourth year according to State legislation. Imposed from without onto the community it is an institution whose main functions consist in the mediation between the village community and the State as well as the fulfilment of the bureaucratic procedures related to the administration and the economic functions of the community. By and large, it represents the village to the State and the State to the community. This institution has been to a large extent, interestingly enough, adapted to local social and political

conditions; procedures and mechanisms associated with the occupation of council posts have been accommodated to indigenous forms of social organization and the corresponding ideologies.

There have, however, been conflicts between the procedures imposed by the State and indigenous institutions. A relatively recent event would illustrate this point. In the aftermath of the Civil War (1946-49) the village was nearly deserted (with only about 30 out of more than 250 families resident). About 70 families were being held hostage in Albania, while many others decided not to return to the village. The government issued a decree according to which nomadic pastoralists not attached to a village who were short of summer grasslands were to be settled in the village because of the under-exploitation of village pastures due to the considerable decrease in animals. The decision was made and the "strangers" set out for the village. Meanwhile the village assembly decided that they should not be allowed to enter the village territories: "strange blood (*xeno ema*) should not be let into the community." What followed was that officially the village authorities responsible to the State pretended to reject resistance on the part of the community, whereas in actual fact they supported the assembly's sending village youths to prevent forcibly the entry of the "intruders." The whole operation was staged in such a way that the real position of the authorities was obscured. An actual fight took place on the village frontiers which ended in a defeat for the "strangers" who were obliged to retreat. The justifications the villagers later invoked were based on customary law: according to their custom "strange blood" must not be let into the community. According to another saying "custom defeats the law." Significantly enough the government withdrew the decree.

One of the usual conflicts caused by processes of incorporation of local social units into national state structures is the conflict

between local customary rules of social organization and conduct and the law imposed artificially on such micro-societies by the centralized State. National statute law is a unified corpus for general nation-wide application, and as such it is almost impossible for it to be compatible with local customary rules. Handman, who recently did fieldwork in a village in Thessaly is categorical about the incompatibility between the Civil Code and the local custom of that village. "In Greece, as elsewhere, the Civil Code, a work of lawyers, rarely corresponds to local customs. There are quite often conflicts between the law and custom. Generally, custom is stronger than the law in everyday life." (Handman, 1985).

With regard to this particular pastoral community, the State in its different manifestations has always appeared to be an alien entity for the people themselves. The law is perhaps the most alien category, too difficult for people to come to terms with, especially when they are confronted with what seems to be its irrationality or even absurdity. Growing up among pastoralists I lived through such conflicts myself. The most effective means they have to influence the State are their personal relations with its representatives. Patronage is the most important mechanism through which they can gain access to the decision-making centres. "If you do not have a knife, you cannot cut the melon": if you do not have friends and patrons among the State functionaries you cannot influence decisions directly concerned with your own life.

It is significant that in cases where an implementation of an official decision or a law is considered to be unjust by the people, their reaction is directed against the persons in charge of its execution. Since the central authority responsible for it in the first place is out of their control and direct influence, their spontaneous anger is always directed towards the agents who "personify" it and with whom they are in direct contact. Action is



rarely taken along lines of participatory politics whereby they would endeavour through officially institutionalized political processes to advance their interests, since such mechanisms are anyway either non-existent or malfunctioning. As recently as last year I witnessed an incident in the village square where a pastoralist openly insulted the village guard because, acting in accordance with the law, the latter sent the former to court for grazing his goats in a prohibited area. The guard was trying to explain to this man that what he was doing was simply implementing a law, that was his job, while the man continued his insults on personal lines saying quite characteristically: "What law can you talk about, you coward? We have been grazing this land for all our lives and now you come to tell us about laws?"

Local custom in situations of conflicts of this kind is often used as an instrument of defence against implementations of external decisions which seem hostile to these people.

Similar situations have been reported from different parts of the world. For example, Abrahams observed the same thing happening among the Nyamwezi of Tanzania where conflicts between the informal local courts or moots and the official Chiefdom Courts towards the time of Independence were common. (Abrahams, 1981: 41, 70, 134). A more striking case comes from Sicily where traditional cultural codes are used as instruments of resistance against encroachment of external forces on the social organization of local communities. (Schneider & Schneider, 1976).

As to the institutions implanted by the centralized State in the local community, they have been accommodated by the existing forms of social organization and authority patterns. This is evident even at the present time in the electoral campaign and more generally the antagonisms surrounding occupation of council posts. Elections are waged on kinship lines; kinship groups constitute the

areas. c) Urbanization and emigration of the new generations. This phenomenon inhibits the process of increasing herds by increasing human labour engaged in livestock-raising. Parents are usually left on their own and in this way the size of herds is standardized to the number of animals that a conjugal pair is capable of managing which varies only slightly. d) Direct State intervention attempting to make pastoralism correspond to the new agricultural situation created by Land Reforms (the main characteristic of the new agrarian relations is the prevalence of small family-based plots) as well as to the general demands of national development. The State now provides poor people with sufficient loans to buy enough livestock for a viable herd. Thus people who were in the past employed as wage-shepherds or were otherwise attached to wealthy herdowners on a contractual basis owing to their own herds' non-viability acquired private herds of a size which is the average in the community today.

The central concept in these processes is *viability*. Household viability in pastoral communities not integrated to any substantial extent with the mechanisms of nation states has conventionally been defined in terms of an equilibrium between animals and human labour. According to Stenning's already classic definition "when the size and increase of the herd is adequate for the subsistence of the family and the size and composition of the family are suitable for the control and deployment of the herd, then family and herd may be said to be in equilibrium and the unit as a whole is viable." (Stenning, 1958: 100). In such societies inevitable disequilibria which pose problems of unviability to particular domestic units are dealt with through various social institutions within the wider social organization in which these units operate. A typical example is provided by the Fulani, studied by Stenning himself. Temporary disequilibria in the domestic units due to different causes are resolved through a series of collective

electoral vehicles.

The presidential and council posts have become central elements in the intracommunity struggle for power and prestige. Given the absence of any important variation in property holdings today internal competition is centered mainly around the control of forces external to the community that affect its internal affairs. This competition is not played out on equal terms among different groups however, despite the fact that an egalitarianism exists in terms of property relations and participation in the administration of communal affairs pertaining to the utilization of communal pastures.

The observer is faced apparently with a paradox, namely that although variation in property wealth is slight and participation in communal affairs total, the political power emanating from the community's relationships with the outside world through the state agents, is unequally distributed and always has been obtained and utilized by certain kinship groups.

This paradox can be explained by past socioeconomic processes. I will examine these in detail later but I will make some general points here. Today's economic equality in the community is the outcome of different but interdependent processes associated with development in the broad sense of the term. Internal economic equality has been the result of capitalist development in the wider society in which the community is embedded.

The socioeconomic processes that account for the present situation are, broadly speaking, the following: a) The Agricultural Reforms in the 20s and 30s. b) Sedentarization of both exceedingly wealthy and propertyless families. The former either acquired land by investing surplus animal wealth or even undertook urban occupations, whereas the latter obtained land through the distribution to propertyless citizens of expropriated large land estates, the *chiftliks*, or of fields created by draining marshy

institutions and mechanisms within the agnatic descent group of which the units concerned are members (Stenning, 1958). F. Barth deals with the same question in his study of the Basseri where shortage of labour or animals in autonomous domestic units is coped with through co-operation with other domestic units within the tribe (Barth, 1961).

In a sociopolitical and economic context like that of our own community of study the situation is quite different. Due to the absolute control of the State over the community as a social, political and economic unit and the community's dependence on national market mechanisms, the most critical parameter for the viability of the domestic unit is the role of the State itself. The equilibrium necessary for the viability of a household is regulated by state mechanisms through the State's social control over this category of primary producers in the national society. In its attempt to stop the "haemorrhage" of people from the primary sector of the economy, a serious illness of modern Greek society, the State has used loans to prevent the downward spiral of poor herdowners leading inevitably to their leaving pastoralism.

Given the existing form of social organization in the community, whereby the basic socioeconomic unit is the conjugal family (see chapter 7), there is a certain herd size which constitutes a threshold in a household's viability. This is a herd of 250-300 head. It is the maximum size that can be managed by two individuals which is the usual number of labourers available in a household consisting of a simple family. It is also the minimum number of animals a family needs for subsistence. Under normal circumstances each family has the necessary labour to deal with the size of herd required to ensure their livelihood: every family consists of at least a husband and a wife. As far as the herd is concerned the availability of the minimum required number of animals

is ensured by the State. In effect each autonomous household is entitled to state subsidization to keep the herd in a constant state of equilibrium.

Thus a possible downward spiral, as noted earlier, like the process described by Barth in his study of the Basseri (Barth, 1961), is prevented by state mechanisms. Herd owners can always avail themselves of credit facilities when the viability of their herds is at risk. This of course leads to indebtedness which keeps herders permanently dependent on banks which make it more likely for them to remain pastoralists. Many herdowners owe their livestock property to the banks.\* In a sense, in such cases, the herd is only nominally private property; actually, it is bank property utilized by herders to make their livelihood. People are aware of this reality when they state that what they actually struggle for is the *merokamoto* (daily wage). Asked about their economic situation they hastily reply: "osso na ta pheroume volta" (just to survive, just to keep going).

It is not only the downward spiral that is prevented by available credit facilities. Capital accumulation through herd increase beyond the threshold level is made impossible by three socio-economic mechanisms. First, the new generation's orientation outside pastoralism deprives the domestic unit of potential workers and creates additional financial difficulties because of the expense which training for different occupations requires. Ensuring one's children's future under the present social conditions has become an onerous economic burden. Any profits made are spent in this way. Capital expansion through investment in productive resources is almost incompatible with the general trend to educate children or otherwise promote them to non-pastoral, preferably urban sectors. Each offspring in order to move out and up the national social

\* mainly "*Agricultural Bank of Greece*."

ladder, whether through training in the general sense or through dowry payment in the case of daughters, has to be provided with sums of money that are extremely difficult for herders to accumulate. In such conditions the margins for investment in livestock capital cannot really be of any importance. Second, given the socioeconomic factors which characterize livestock production in this specific social situation, increases in capital do not entail any considerable increase in income. First of all it is extremely difficult to find wage shepherds today and it is so expensive to employ them that the real income expected from an additional number of animals can hardly offset the wages paid to shepherds. Furthermore, the new techniques of livestock production (mechanization, use of modern stables, etc.) require considerable expenses just for the necessary infrastructure to accommodate an increased number of animals. And third, a final reason which makes capital accumulation in livestock difficult is constantly increasing consumption needs as the community is drawn and assimilated into a consumer society.

By and large, under these socioeconomic conditions the natural reproduction of the herd is regulated in such a way that the herd size remains stable after it reaches the threshold mentioned above. Just enough replacement lambs are kept to maintain this herd size allowing for natural deaths of old animals and other losses.

The above mechanisms account for the equality of wealth in the community today. This phenomenon, however, is not intrinsic to the community's character; it has been a recent development. The apparently paradoxical uneven distribution of power can be explained by the unequal economic relations of the past. The present emerging economic equality has not yet eliminated functional manifestations of past structures.

Although I analyse economic processes of the past in detail in

the following chapter, I will here touch upon the same issue briefly to describe its repercussions on the present situation.

Complementarity and interdependence between transhumant pastoralism and agriculture in the past were expressed by the relationship between the *chiftlik* and the *tselingato*. The former was the prevalent socioeconomic formation in the agricultural community and the latter that in the pastoral community.

The *tselingato* was a productive association in which flocks of a number of shepherds were co-operatively managed under the leadership of the wealthiest one, the *tselingas*. The number of shepherds attached to a particular *tselingas* varied according to his wealth. These were propertyless shepherds as well as shepherds lacking the necessary assets to function independently, mainly the means to ensure winter pastures. The relationship was one of dependence and the association was on the whole exploitative for the weak and propertyless shepherds (see chapter 3).

Under these conditions the community was dominated by a few *tselingathes* whose economic superiority ensured their social and political dominance. Village leadership was in their hands and the community's relations with the external forces that influenced its internal affairs were also under their control. They could thus use external factors for their own interests, increasing their social power and sometimes establishing an unquestioned reputation and a prestigious position which have had great ideological dimensions. The persisting ideological differentiation of "good" and "not good" kinship groups, which today has a significant part in struggles for power and prestige, springs from the inequality of the past. It has been perpetuated through the props that powerful groups had created outside the community by being able to influence external mechanisms. They had been able to use mechanisms of patronage, and they had the means to educate their offspring, who later were to



play their own part in mediating the community's relations with the outside world.

The ideological alientation of weak kinship groups at that period took on such dimensions that even today, when the economic structures and the political situation allow for egalitarianism, the authority and prestige of certain groups is questioned with a great deal of difficulty. This is confirmed by the fact that the names registered in the community records as office-holders indicate a perpetual succession of the same patronymic groups.

In sum, emerging economic equality and proprietorial independence has not yet effected an absolute egalitarianism in power relations within the community. This is accounted for by intra-community relations of the past in conjunction with their articulation with the "outside world." (See next chapter). Groups that dominated the community in the past through their powerful internal position, as well as their structural role in the community's articulation with mechanisms and prcesses of the wider society, still retain an advantageous position in the community. Nevertheless there are signs that this phenomenon is losing importance over time and that people are becoming progressively aware of the possibilities which their present social and political circumstances offer as far as patterns of local political power are concerned.

#### 8. A General Evaluation of Present Economic "Equality"

The structural articulation of the community with the rest of the national economy and the community's general function within the nation state account for the emergence and persistence of internal economic equality. The manner in which the community was incorporated into the national economy and society has made it



absolutely dependent on the market and state mechanisms (mainly credit foundations). Pastoralists today are trapped in a vicious circle whereby the efforts at maximization of profit do not entail any capital expansion because they are aimed at meeting increasing needs linked to urbanization as well as settling the debts owed to banks.

The pastoral productive activity that characterizes the economic function of the community today has been highly commercialized. Production is market oriented, aiming at a maximum possible profit that can enable the domestic unit to meet the needs of its livelihood as well as the requirements of its reproduction within a steadily increasing process of urbanisation which implies increased economic demands. This is a process imposed from outside, and never leads to capital accumulation which would transform the domestic productive unit into a capitalist enterprise as such.

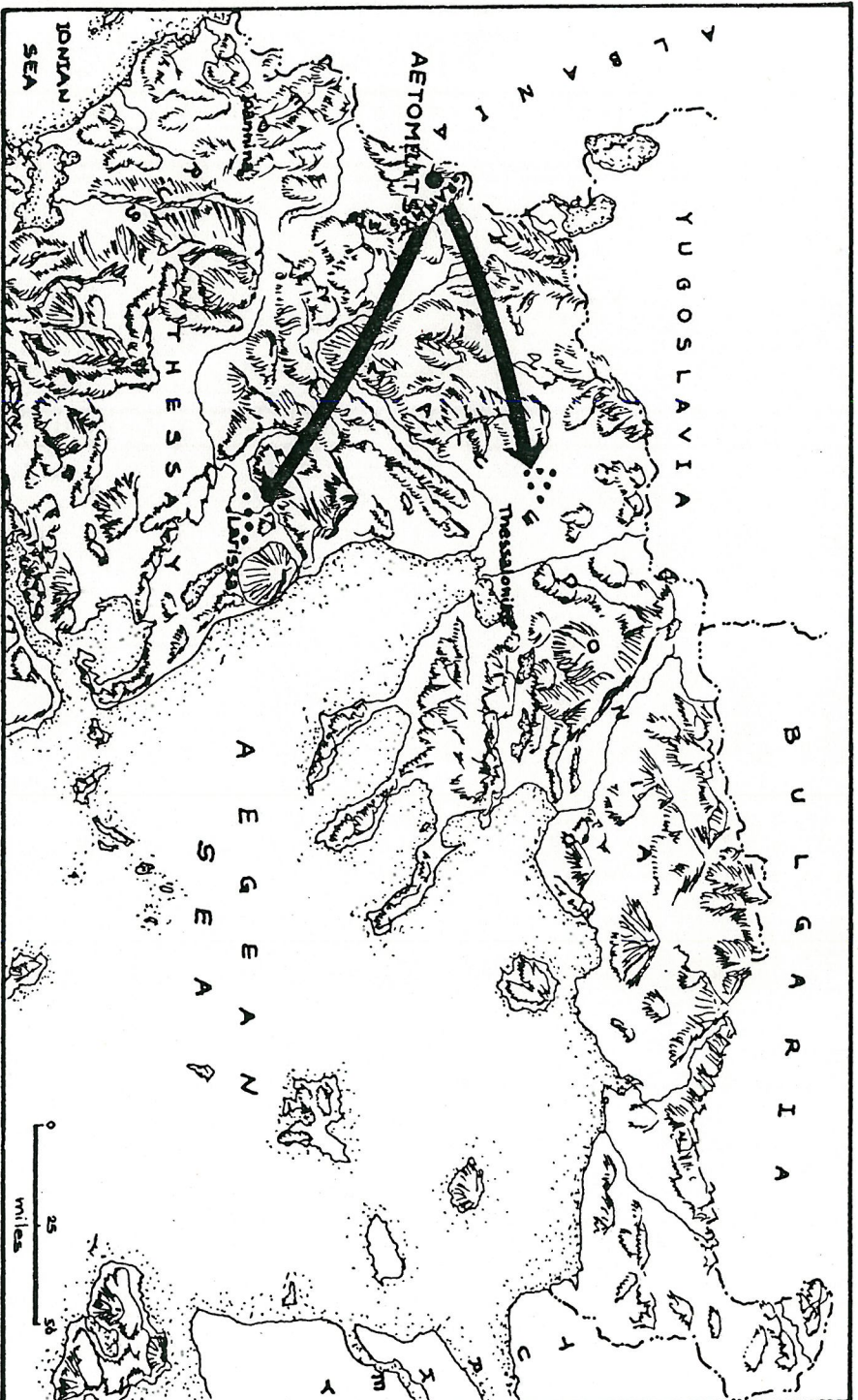
These pastoralists have been drawn into market processes within the context of national development in a way which has made them absolutely dependent on mechanisms and institutions external to the domestic processes of production and reproduction.

The transformation of the subsistence domestic productive unit into a profit-making enterprise has not led to the establishment of freely expanding capitalist units. It has created a kind of domestic enterprise which strives to keep pace with increasing market demands. Although ostensibly profit is made, there is virtually no possibility for expansion due to the mechanisms which govern the operation of domestic units. The narrow margins for profit making are offset by the increased demands for the reproduction of the unit's existence; therefore accumulation and expansion of a capitalist character are out of the question.

In conclusion, the present family-based livestock raising enterprises are equal with one another because the potential for

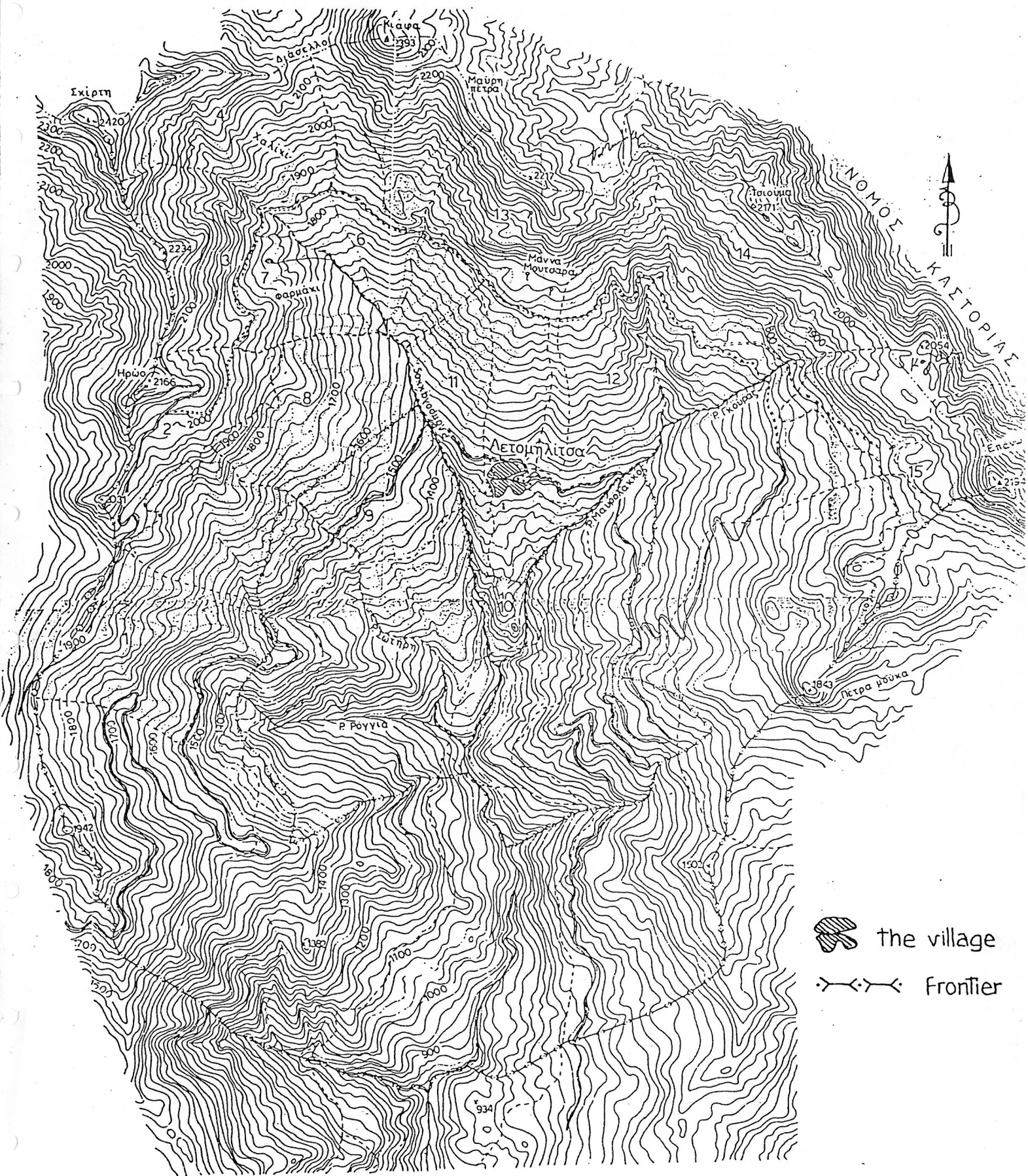
internal inequality is counteracted by the mechanisms of external national inequality, namely the subordination and exploitation of this sector of the economy. Internal equality and homogeneity is sustained by external inequality and heterogeneity.

In the following chapters I will examine the effects of changes in the relations of production on the social structure and organization of the community. The analysis will be carried out on the basis of developments in the wider society of which the local community is a part.



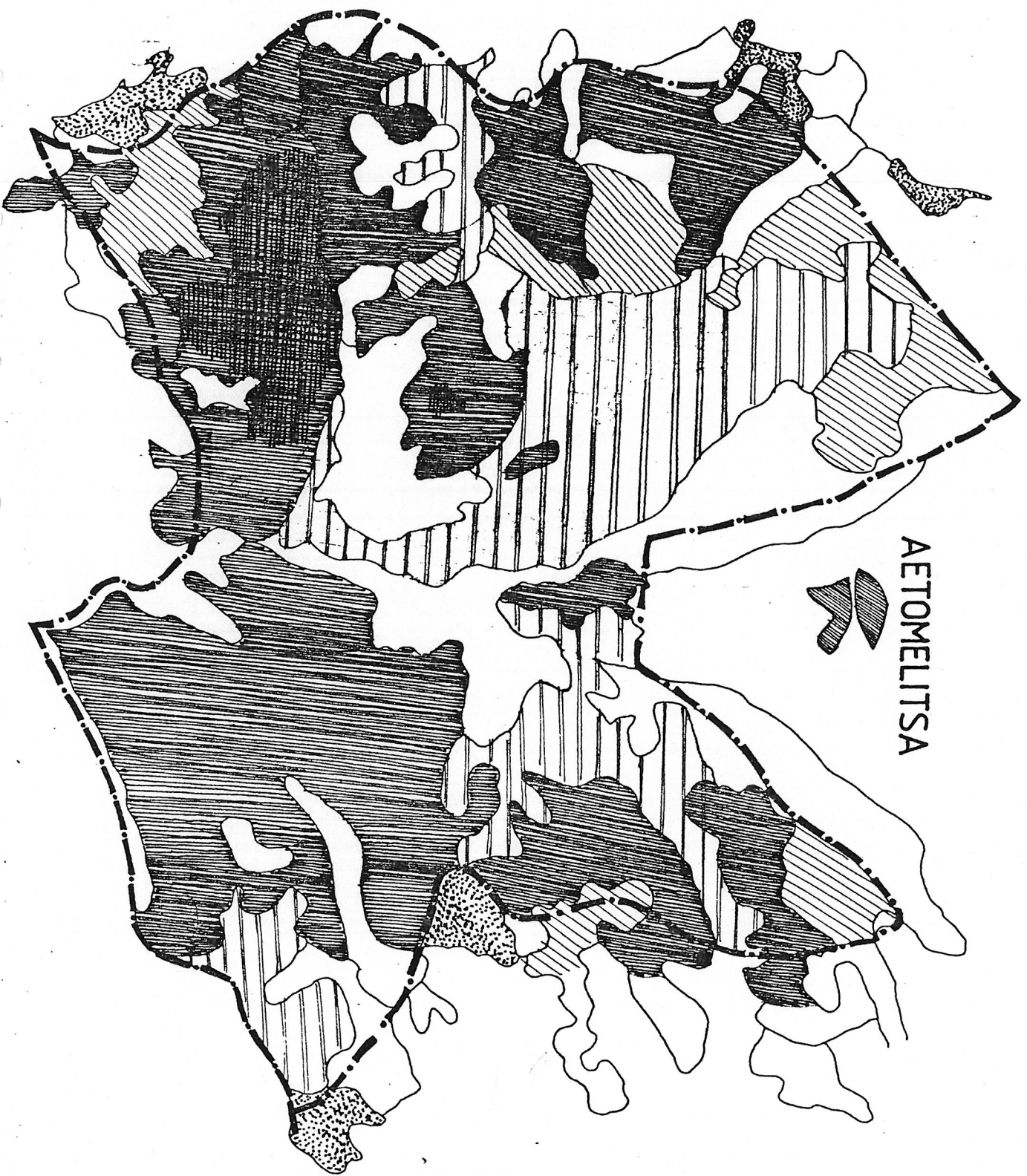
Map 1: Migration routes and settlements





Map 2: The village territory: altitudes and place names

# AETOMELITSA



MAP 3:

Southern part of the low zone of the community's pastures; morphology and flora

- pine forest
- pine / fir forest
- beech forest
- partly forested area
- denuded area
- infertile area

Scale 1:20,000