

Title: Strategies of Success and Limitation in an Arvanite Village
Simeon Magliveras PhD. Candidate
University of Durham
Department of Anthropology

Abstract

This paper is the result of investigations done for my dissertation for PhD in Anthropology at the University of Durham. The fieldwork took place from 2000 to 2004. Gogofis (pseudonym) is a community in the Northern part of Attica province near Athens, Greece. Gogofis traditionally has been an Arvanite village. Arvanites until recently spoke Arvanitika, a Tosk dialect of Albanian but presently Arvanitka is in decline. This paper examines social networks and family social structures as a basis of power relationships in Gogofis. Gogofis is much like many societies in the Mediterranean in that power relations are directly related to social networks. In Gogofis, Albanian immigrants do not have direct access to formal power structures such as those found in party politics. As a result they are dependent on informal networks, preexisting kinship structures and unofficial power structures. Furthermore, patron/client rituals maintain social relationships which are inevitably tied to formal power structures. As a result, Albanian immigrants in Gogofis have limited participation in such rituals. Thus, Albanian immigrants in Gogofis use several forms of symbolic capital to maintain and sustain themselves. This paper discusses how some strategies are more successful than others by investigating kinship structures of the native Gogofis populations as well as social networks the Albanian immigrants have developed over the last ten years of their residence in the village.

Introduction

To commence this paper it is important to conceptualize what an Arvanite is. What makes an Arvanite an Arvanite? Secondly and equally important is what is an Albanian. Are Arvanites Albanians? Are Albanians Arvanites? The definitions of who they are, in this paper is for the most part, their definition of themselves. It is not a definition based on academic historical accounts or biological based genealogies of how the people are but how they seem themselves. This understanding of who they are is not without confusion as there are many tropes of Greekness and Albanianess. Having potentially non-Greek speaking origins Arvanites feel, puts them under suspicion of not being Greek. Arvanites see themselves as Greeks. Greekness is defined as have a long-standing legacy tied back to Ancient Greece. In addition, they see Greekness quintessentially defined as being Orthodox Christian. The Greek model of nationhood professes there is a continuity where Greek culture permeates through time and the people of Greece (Gogofis included) are the care-takers of this legacy. Of course there are several problems with this model of Greekness as it ignores the influences of varied empires and migratory peoples who have cohabitated in Greece proper over the thousands of years. The Arvanites are one of those peoples. As a result being Arvanite is a public secret. They have had to rationalize their own existence with in the sometime conflicting Greek National model. They see themselves as speaking the oldest 'Greek' dialect, the dialect of the proto-Dorians. Thus, they have a claim to the Greek legacy. But with the arrival of Albanian immigrants their Greekness is again contested, if not so much by others but by themselves. When I asked about who the Arvanites were and what they have to do with the place they live, one informant answered me by saying he wasn't sure if it really had anything to do with 'us' [the people of Gogofis]. I asked several Arvanites who are the Albanians? I was given

several answers. One common response was that they are, *Touki*, Turks, or Turkish Albanians, *Turko-Alvani*. Thus, to differentiate themselves from Albanians, they use the religious millet system set up by the Ottoman Empire to differentiate themselves and the Albanians. Albanians are Muslim and Turkish while Arvanites are Christian and therefore Greek.

I had brought an American Student with me to the field. He had been living in Kosovo so knew Albanian but did not know Greek. One of my Arvanite informants told him in Greek, I am not Albanian. As I explained to him that my friend did not know Greek he told me to tell him that he was Christian and that only the grandparent's generation knew the language. This is a typical response to outsiders. The fact of the matter is that the old Arvanite knew Albanian but was presenting himself as a Christian and a Greek. This response may have been different before the mass migration of Albanians to Greece in the last decade. In fact in writings from as late as the 50's and 60's the Arvanite villages were described as *alvanophono horia*, or Albanian speaking villages. Koumaris, a physical anthropologist in 1948 for the University of Athens suggested that the modern Greeks are a Mediterranean type which is a mixture of Ancient Greek and Albanian origin. Today such suggestions would be completely politically incorrect. Albanians are seen as uneducated, poor barbaric peoples¹, a new invasion of thieves. Immigration and crime are referred to in the media when *ftora* (erosion) infers Albanians. Thus, being associated with being Albania is not good. As a result Arvanites have had to publicly disassociate themselves with Albanians or hide the 'Albanian' origins. The Arvanites of Gogfis define Greekness as described above. They are Christian Orthodox. Thus, they have chosen to the idea that they are of the first Doric tribe as discussed by Biris (1984) or as Proto-Greeks or Pelasgi who first came down from what is now Albania. Thus they can claim to be Greek as they tie themselves to the matrix of Greek ancestors.

Albanians of the other hand use another mythical historic model to explain their existence. They claim to be the modern predecessors of the Illyrian peoples. The Illyrian culture at one time stretched as far west as Corinth and as far East as today's Croatia (Pluto 1984). But the national model they created for themselves is a more secular model than the Greek one. Albania is a country of many religious faiths and sects. Where as religion was the basis of nationalism in the Balkans (Kitromilides 1990), religion could not be a basis of national identity in Albania (Vickers 1991). Furthermore religion could not be used as a moving force to differentiate themselves from the Ottomans as the majority of Albanians were Moslem. Thus, culture and language were the basis of national identity.

During a discussion at a wedding celebration I discussed how Albanians feel about religion and being Albanian. A Muslim Albanian said,

“We are luck to be Albanian. One of my sisters married a Christian man, he is a good man. That's what matters, not what religion his family is. We are not like the Greeks,

¹ The word 'barbarians' has a special meaning in this case as barbaric neighbours are blamed for the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

they have to marry Christians. See I am friend with both Christians and Muslims. Both are here, no difference.”

Often they refer to their national hero, Skanderbeg, in this context.

“Skanderbeg was not concerned about what religion he was he married a woman from the south ... He rejected his [Turkish] Muslim religion and position to be Albanian”

The Village of Gogofis

Gogofis is an Arvanite mountain village in Northern Attica. It is within 20 minutes drive from several important Archeological sites and an hour's drive from Athens the nation's capital. As a result, the village has always been greatly influenced by the city. In addition, the archeological sites are a constant reminder of the Greek influence on the area. In the last 30 yrs. fewer community members know Arvanitika (a Tosk dialect of the Albanian spoken in Greece (Tsiptsis 1995)). Many of the Arvanite residents live in the village but commute for work to either Athens or to larger towns in the valley. A large percentage of the villagers work for the civil service. Several families have lucrative small-scale limestone quarries. In addition to what they consider their full time job, the residents of Gogofis work their land. Few are full time farmers but all except few feel obligated to harvest their family's grapes for retsina wine and to harvest their family's olive groves for oil. Although sheep and goat herding were their primary mode of production in the past, today most people only have a few head of sheep or goats. The Albanian immigrants work as day laborers doing odd jobs either in the fields or in the village. Several Albanians have become quite talented in stonework. Thus, they make a good living building walls or finishing stone patios. In fact those who have become specialized technicians hire out other Albanians as their employees. There are also a growing number who work for one Arvanite employee on a (permanent) full time basis. Albanian immigrants also help Arvanites tend their fields even though they say they usually do not do this type of work and only do it as a favor to their Arvanite hosts. But what is the difference between an Albanian Immigrant and their Arvanite counterparts?

Commonalities between Albanian and Arvanite

So what bonds the two groups in Gogofis? Clearly common origins are a source of symbolic capital. When Albanians and Arvanites attempt to weaken ethnic boundaries they use common elements of their common histories. Interestingly two things happen simultaneously. 1) Commonalities build bonds and ethnic boundaries weaken the differences between Greek/Arvanites and Albanians and, 2) Ethnic boundaries are created or reinforced. First, language is the most obvious common denominator between the two groups. The elder Arvanite generation, in particular, feel very comfortable having a conversation with Albanians. Although, many Arvanites have expressed to me that Arvanitic is less refined and “uglier” than Albanian. They also feel uncomfortable seeing the Albanians using an otherwise domestic language in the public realm, where the Albanians do not make such distinctions. Although attitudes are changing towards the public use of the language, Arvanites still relegate speaking Arvanitic to the private. The next most common thing people discussed was Arvanite and Albanian common origins.

The Arvanites are ashamed that their ancestors were mercenaries. Although they are proud that they were fierce warriors, they believe themselves to be an untrustworthy race, willing to betray someone at the highest bidder. Albanians, on the other hand do not see their mercenary ancestors this way. They also see themselves as fierce warriors but also as adaptable and resourceful diasporatic people who were the protectors of great empires. In addition, both see the Ottoman Empire as a time of occupation. The Arvanite, on the one hand see the Ottomans within a Greek context. In the context of 400 years of slavery, a dark age where Orthodoxy and the Byzantine Empire were robbed of its greatness. While, Albanians see it in a similar context but they see the Ottomans as robbing them of 500 years of the greatness, where they could have become as Albanians or as Europeans. When both parties discuss such subjects they attempt to create common ground. But because of the models, which both parties assume, create inner conflicts. Therefore common ground was only partially achieved. As a result boundaries were maintained even though common histories and language were better understood. What appeared more powerful in building common boundaries were the concepts less exact in nature. Those were the concepts of 1) poverty and 2) a strong work ethic. The idea of being hungry is understood by anyone who has experienced it. The details of why someone is poor are not always obvious but those who have experienced it understand the experience of what it means to be poor. Firstly, Gogofis was poorer than many of the communities below in the valley. People would do seasonal harvest work or work as labors in Athens as construction workers or as waiters in restaurants because their fields could not support the entire community. They grew up with very little, which was the case up and until about 25 years ago. Arvanites would use the statement, “we would eat raw garlic and olives” suggesting great poverty. Similarly Albanian immigrants experienced hunger and poverty. All the immigrants in Gogofis are from rural areas so their experiences were similar even if the circumstance of their poverty was very different. Albanians first arrival in Greece exemplified extreme poverty too.

Secondly, both groups have a strong work ethic. They both believe their progress was caused because of their persistence, sacrifice and hard work. Arvanites see their past selves in their Albanian counterparts, starting with nothing and making something of themselves. They understand each other when working or discussing work and poverty. They understand each other, creating common experience and common identities. The Albanians, likewise, believe they work very hard and have earned a certain amount of respect for their good labor. Of course these common understanding and experiences are only as important as those individuals make them. They are important because agents choose to use these elements of commonality for specific purposes. Otherwise, Albanians would be no different from Pakistani or Polish immigrants.

Why, then, have Albanians been accepted into the village? It is a sometimes-uneasy acceptance. Albanians remind many Arvanites of their polluted origins (Tzanelli 2003). Arvanites generally see the Albanians differently than they may be seen in non-Arvanite communities. In non-Arvanite communities Albanians are seen as a good source of labor but are also seen much as a threat (Moor 2003). Men bring their wives to the village. Shortly thereafter children are born. In Gogofis most of the primary school children are Albanian. In fact, the population growth in Greece would have had a negative growth if

not for foreign workers in Greece (Tzilivakis 2003). Non- Arvanite Greeks were concerned about being overtaken by Albanians (Moor 2003). In Gogfis the opposite is true. Gogofians are happy to see Albanian mothers and children in the village. I was told, “the children will grow up to be good members of the community,” by some Arvanite women. When I suggest that they are not Greeks, they tell me they will become Greek just as they [Arvanites] had. They see the new immigrants not as a threat overtaking the village by over population but rather as new blood in the village, new citizens (Greeks). In addition, they see the new immigrants as members of their own community already. They see Albanians as the semi-barbaric as they [Arvanites] once were. But, they also see them as having cultural continuity, which is not necessarily true for how they see the Asia Minor Greeks who settles in the valley in the 1920’s. The Albanian immigrant settling into the village secures several objectives. 1) dependable labor source, 2) reproducing the village, 3) making new Greeks and, 4) cultural continuity.

The Albanians have another set of objectives. They see living in Gogofis better than other places because the work is steadier. Elsewhere they are looked upon as cheap labor and nothing else. They would have no social bonds or relations with their employer. From discussions with Albanians living in the city, I found their position is sometimes much compromised. In many cases they do not have legal working status that means they are not registered as being employed. They may not be guaranteed a wage or any of the social benefits associated with it, such as national health insurance, or government benefits, etc. In addition, legal employment gives immigrants the right to maintain workers, resident’s permits and freedom of movement back and forth from Greece to Albania. Without legal employment an Albanian immigrant quality of life is quite unstable. There is the constant fear that s/he may be deported, injured or left destitute. Albanians in Gogofis have job security being employed and contracted by the villagers. Social relations with Arvanites more or less guarantee them some sort of job. All the Albanians living in the village have had constant employment and are legally employed and therefore have all the benefits that they are entitled to. Since their income is more or less constant they are able to send remittances back home. Someone’s worth with respect to his colleagues (koligjet) is determined by the willingness to send money home.

A contact told me not to keep company with Beni because “he was not a good person. He spends all his money on himself and sends nothing to his family.”

The reason they are in Greece is to work. Therefore constant employment means constant remittance to their families in Albania. Finally, better social relations allow the Albanian immigrant to choose whether s/he wants to eventually settle in Gogfis or not. Some of the Albanian residents in Gogofis have chosen to not return to Albania. This is a luxury. Many Albanians living in Athens have shown concern about their future in Greece. A shortage of cheap housing is a problem. In addition few have permanent employment (Iosifides 1997). In Gogofis, houses were provided free of charge to newly arrived immigrants, “until they were able to support themselves”, as an elderly Arvanite women told me. Even after they became established, the cost for housing was given at a reduced price. Housing in the beginning would have been a spare room, a basement, or an older stone house (‘pyrgos’ or ‘kulla’ without electricity or indoor plumbing. But when

the Albanians brought their wives', they quickly found better accommodation. But, modern accommodation was not available for everyone. Since, housing is in high demand some individuals made agreements with their Arvanite host to improve the older houses in exchange for free housing. As a result they were able to improve their standard of living in a relatively short period of time, while their counterparts in Athens had to pay large amounts for rent and live in basement apartments. The Albanians living in Gogofis had a relatively guaranteed wage and affordable accommodations. As a result many have chosen to not go back. Several contacts have even decided to invest into the community by buying land with the hope of building a house some day.

Symbolic Parenthood - Foster Parenting

What makes the relationship between Albanian and Arvanite atypical for the Greek case? The typical relationship between the immigrant and their host is a labor relationship (Psimmenos & Kassimati 2003, Iosifides 1997). This entails a relationship of negotiated labor 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 other words it is a patron/client relationship. In the case of Gogofis, Albanians immigrants are given housing, employment and IKA. In addition, host and guest eat together and the Albanians call their host by kinship terms. I would propose that the Arvanite-Albanian relationship is not just a patron/client relationship. Rather, their relationship is one like that between a parent and a child. I realized this when was discussing with an elderly Arvanite man, Kotsos. He was upset with Armond, 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 feed him and ask nothing in return, and how he showed little respect to them. When Armond was in the room they got along fine. Armond would do errands like getting cigarettes and bread. Armond 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 Armond had married, his wife 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 Armond's wife wanted to work. They were like a family. Complaints that Kotsos and his wife would have were reminiscent of a father and mother and a son. In addition, Armond would feel burdened by them wanting to know where he was and if he was all right. Armond also felt obligated to them because of their assistance to him and his wife. I found this common with many young Albanian men in the village. Another example which suggest a symbolic parent-child relationship is when an Albanian man was baptized by his "employer", who indecently also gave him a nice house to live in. The "foster family" relationship thus, fulfills the objectives of both the Arvanites and the Albanians. 1) Arvanite- labor, repopulation of village, making Greeks, and cultural continuity 2) Albanian- work, remittance, settlement and a better quality of life.

Finally, what more can be added about the relationship between the Albanians and the Arvanites. Before the new mass migration of Albanians to the region speaking Arvanite or expressing one's identity in public was taboo. So too, is the Arvanite's 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. In fact, I heard countless times individuals state how they were an 'atimi ratsa', an honorless 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 (Arvanitic) 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. Gina'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 he had let him stay in a house of his 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 behavior 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 intimacy* as coined by Hertfeld (1997). But why is this so? It has more to do with the Arvanite's position in Greek society. Being an Arvanite is relegated to the private realm. Therefore the Arvanites '*culturally intimate*' relationship with the Albanians was delegated to that private realm. In public, Arvanites were Greeks therefore they were expected to speak harshly of the Albanians. They were expected to treat them as "others": as pariah 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 neighbors watched as we parked outside my home. They reprimanded me and told me the Albanians could not be trusted. Where as, many of them had Albanian "foster children," I was not supposed to. If I had to I could hire them for work but nothing else. I was not supposed to show our social relationship in public. Arvanites have to live between different tropes. This sometimes makes maintaining their relationship very difficult. On the one hand, they have a close relationship to their Albanian "foster children" while on the other, publicly scorning them. This strains their relationship because the Albanians dislike this behavior. I have often heard my Albanian contacts say the Arvanites are more Greek than the Greeks.

Kinship structures and ego centered networks

All individuals have structural groups which they are members. Time honored definitions of kinship structures are defined by either blood (consanguinal kin), marriage (affinial kin) or in the case with most Christian Mediterranean societies by sponsorship in baptism or marriage (fictive kin). Kinship groups are group centered structure which exist whether one individual dies or not (Boissevain 1968) Kinship structure thus ascribe an individual within it and are finite. Kinship has been a time honored study for Anthropologist as it has given an understanding of structural functional view of how societies work but has limitations when discussing informal group interrelations such as patron/client relations or local/national politics.

Networks are the essence of patron/client relations which is a quintessential part of everyday life in the Mediterranean. Thus, in contrast, network relations are determined

on the individual. They are ego-centric structures which are much more ephemeral in nature. If someone dies, therefore, his/her network dies with them but are potential infinite (Boissevain 1968). Boissevain (1968) has outlined networks into several ranges of networks. He suggests there are initially two types of networks. 1) *Intimate networks* – “relatives or friends, with whom ego is on closest terms” (p. 547) and 2) *effective networks* – these are “persons whom ego knows less well and from whom he can expect less” (p. 547). The third range he calls *extended networks* “is made up of persons ego does not know personally but of whom he knows and can easily get to know. (p 547)” In addition there are a range of extended networks of third parties which are unknown to ego which can assist him or her when the need arises (Boissevain 1968). These individuals are friends or kin of friends of friends. This range of networks is infinite. Albanian immigrants are not part of the kinship structure of Gogofis. When they arrived they had not formed any networks in the village but later acquired relationship which then formed networks.

Methods

This paper is a result of an investigation of one component of my dissertation. Research for the dissertation began in 2000 through 2004. Fieldwork was done on a full time basis from 9-2001 to 10-2002. Data collection methods were primarily qualitative in order to obtain rich textual data set. The methods include participant observation, interview schedules. Interviews were both structured and semi-structure. Interviews were taken from Albanian immigrant men and women, local Arvanite community leaders, local Arvanite people in various age groups and genders as well as representatives of National Arvanite organization such as the Arvanitiko Synthesmos tis Eladas (the Arvanite Contact of Greece). In particular, genealogies were personally take of the key families of the village and verified by archival research. Recording of data was taken in an ethnographic diary. Note were taken of impromptu conversation, formal and informal encounters and direct observation. In addition individual and group interviews were taped, transcribed and cataloged for cross-referencing. For this paper kinship and social network analysis were used to find coded patterns of social relationships.

Results

The Agnatic kin or *vëllai* (literally meaning brothers) have been 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 Halsuk (1967, 1954). The Post World War II authoritarian 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 have reorganized themselves back into patrilocal households but with some alterations. The household tends to be patrilocal but brothers tend to live in separate residence within the same neighborhood. The father lives with the eldest son. In Albania limited space and communist urban planning limits this desired type of residence. But outside the country it is especially clear. I have observed the *vëllai* residence patterns in both the Athenian urban center and in rural Gogofis. Although when I began this fieldwork Gogofis’ limited housing made it difficult for *vëllai* residence but

with time Albanian Immigrant agnates slowly have been moving closer together. In Gogofis men tend to initiate their settlement according to their *vëllai*. A man or several brothers comes into the village and establish him/themselves. Several agnates follow. After establishing themselves, they go home to Albania, marry, and bring their wives to Gogofis.

This paper contrasts two *vëllai* and their relationship to existing kinship structures (see fig.1). I shall attempt to illustrate how an Albanian objective are achieved by his use of existing Arvanite kinship systems in this newly settled place and how they use kinship to create new social networks.

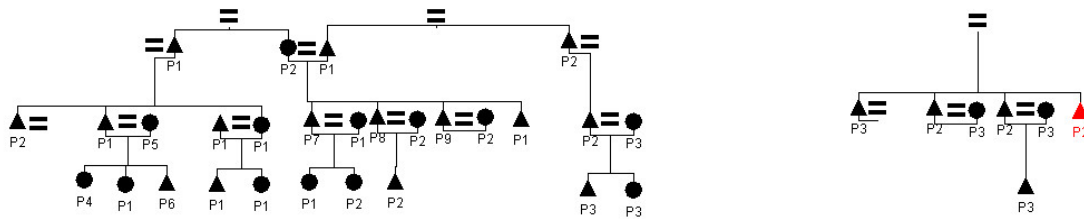


Fig.1

The Lulë and the Shpuzë *vëllai* came to in the village in the early 1990's. Some of the Lulë brothers have become some of the most prosperous immigrants in the village. Thus their family size has grown. The Shpuzë, on the other hand, had to finally abandon Gogofis as they could not do more than subsist in the village even though they had a good reputation as hard worker. 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 half the harvest at the end of the year. He sells firewood from the cuttings from the olive trees 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 *vëllai*. As a result, he is paid by the Church to bury the dead after someone dies. He is very busy. He usually worked 6-7 days a week often turning down work as he has too much to do. He has very extensive social networks, more so than any other members of his kin in the village. Thus, he has better than a guaranteed wage, equal living 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. In fact, he was one of the first Albanian immigrants to have processed his immigration papers for his family. One of his brothers has returned to the village in Albania and has opened a convenience store.

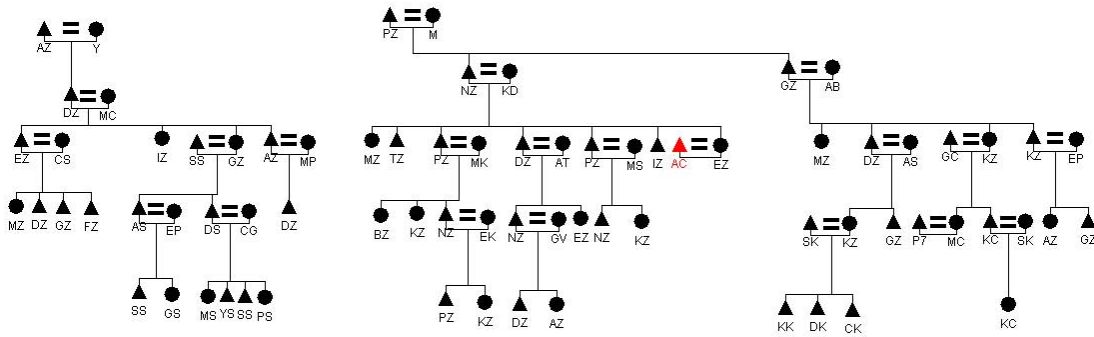


fig.2

In contrast, Gjini Shpuzë decided to leave the village. He was given for the most part seasonal agricultural work and work in construction. He told me he worked about 4-6 days a week but sometimes when things were slow he would work only 3 days out of the week. He eventually moved to a village (where another brother has been living) about two hours from Athens and three hours from Gogofis. There he has attained more stable work. He has made enough to buy a car but because he has moved away from Gogfis he has had to solicit former neighbors in Gogofis to help him process his immigration papers (but his former foster family has shown some apprehension). Why is Tilli doing better than Gjini in Gogfis? There are several factors. Till's foster family is the "Z" family. The kinship chart shows that the "Z" family is a relatively small family. It isn't one of the more wealth 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. They are like family."

In fact they have become formally fictive kin as the "Z's" cousins baptized Tilli and his wife while their children were baptized by the "Z's" 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 "K" family which is cousins of the "Z's"

In addition, Tilli works for non-Gogofians. He does work for wealthy Athenians who have summerhouses in Gogofis. Thus he has a very mixed group of *extended networks*. Gjini worked almost exclusively for the "S" family. Gjini told me he felt obligated to stay and work for the "S's" because they gave him shelter and fed him and took care of his children when he had to work. In addition, "S's" has large extended kin network (see fig. 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, with closer examination the "S" family is one of the wealthier 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 "S" family and he has no networks outside of the greater Gogofis. This strategy he chose was adequate before the induction of the Euro. But with its introduction and inflationary

References:

- Boissevain, Jeremy 1968, "The Place of Non-Groups in Social Science" **Man**, New series, V3 No.4 (542-556)
- Hasluck, Margret 1967, "Albanian Blood Feuds" in **Law and Warfare: Studies in the Anthropology of Conflict**. Paul Bohannan ed. The Natural History Press, Garden City New York
- Herzfeld, Michael 1997, **Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation – state**, Routledge, New York
- Iosifides, Theodoros 1997, "Immigrants in the Athens Labour Market: A comparative Survey of Albanians, Egyptians and Filipinos" in **Southern Europe and the New Immigration**, ed.s Russell King & Richard Black, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton
- Kamaris, John 1948, "On the Morphology Variety of Modern Greeks" **Man**, v.48 (126-127)
- Kitromilides, Paschalis M. 1990, "'Imagined Communities' and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans" in **Modern Greece: Nationalism and Nationality**, p.23-66 Sage-Eliaemer, Athens
- Moor, Rolland 2003, **Dancing in the Shadows: Recent Albanian Immigrants in a Rural Greek Town**. Paper from Meeting of Modern Greek Studies, Toronto Canada
- Poulton, Hugh 1991, "**The Balkans: minorities and states in conflict**" Minority Rights Pub. London
- Psimmenos, Iordanis & Koula Kassimati 2003, "Immigration Control Pathways: Organisational Culture and Work Values of Greek welfare Officers" **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, v29 n2 (337-371)
- Tsitsipis, Lukas D. 1998 **A Linguistic Anthropology of Praxis and Language Shift: Arvanitika (Albanian) and Greek in Construct**, Clarendon Press, Oxford
- Tzanelli, Rodanthi 2002, "Haunted by the 'Enemy' Within: Brigandage, Vlachian / Albanian Greekness, Turkish 'Contamination' and Narratives of Greek Nationhood in the Delessi / Marathon Affair (1870)" **Journal Of Modern Greek Studies** v20 (46-74)
- Tzilivakis, Kathy 2003, "Immigration and the Economy" **Athens News**, 19th, September. No.13032
- Vickers, Miranda 1995, **The Albanians: a modern history** I.B Tauris, London