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TRANS-ATLANTIC LINKAGE : A CASE STUDY OF
EPTAHORI, GREEK MACEDONIA AND ITS NEW
ENGLAND CONNECTIONS

by

GEORGE B. COLLINS

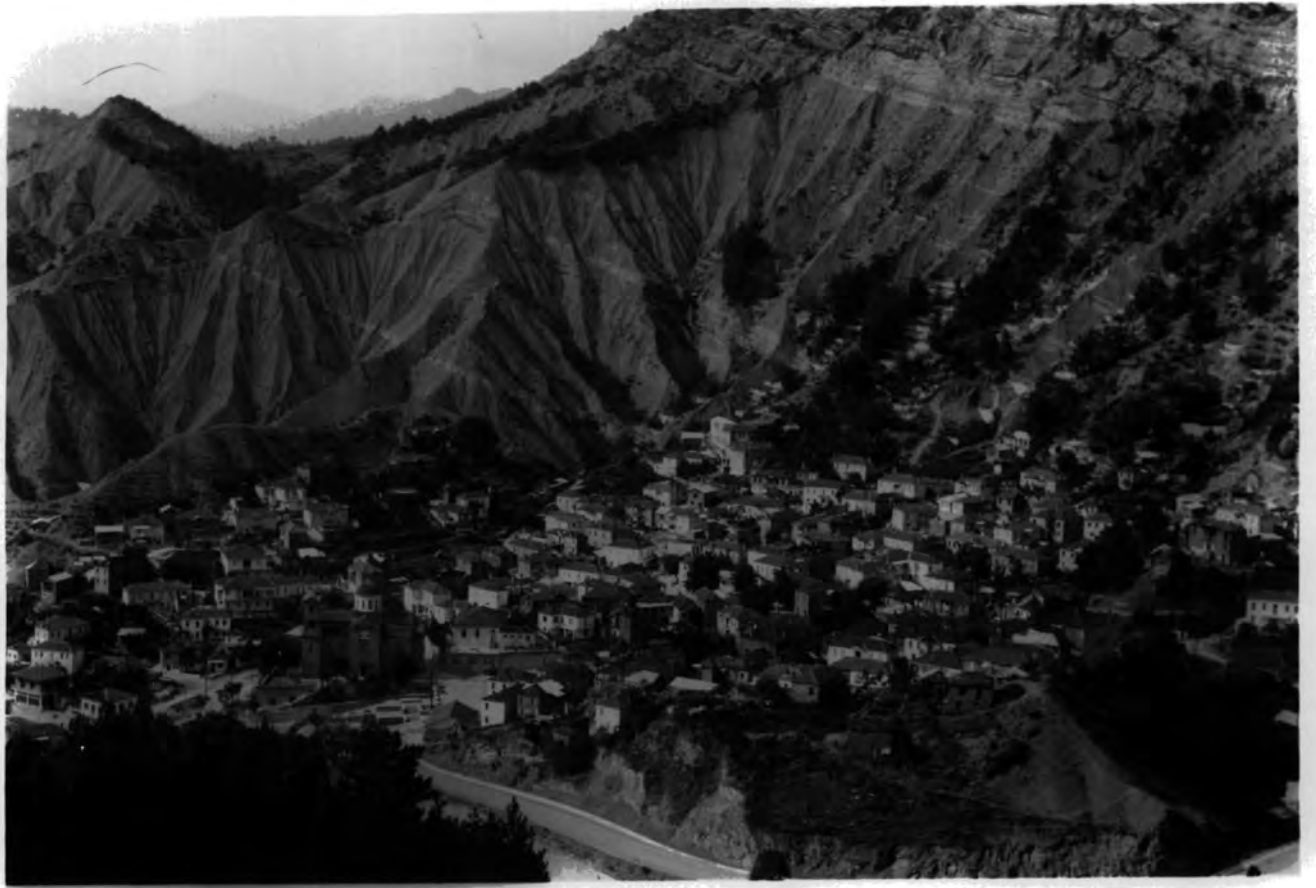
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A Thesis submitted to the University of
Durham for the Degree of Master of Arts

October 1983



26 JUN 1984



Eptahori, Kastoria, Greece (c.1980)

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to examine the relationship through time between the Greek village of Eptahori, Kastoria and the emigrants from there who settled in the United States.

The linkage between Greek-Americans and their area of origin has not been thoroughly investigated by Social Scientists. The causes, mechanics and effects of the relationship relating to both the migrants and village are analyzed. While linkage consists of economic ties in the form of remittance sending and return migration there are also the added dimensions of social and cultural exchange which effect the character of those involved.

A brief description of site selection and a succinct breakdown of the village history and physical description are given. Also, a review of the overall Greek-American migration and settlement pattern, using a specific example in the U.S.A. to illustrate the typical Greek-American community, is included. Most important, is the information which was extracted from migrants and villagers during periods of field-work in both the U.S. and Greece.

The thesis then attempts to draw conclusions concerning the Eptahori case study and the overall concepts of Greek-American linkage, from a synthesis of data analysis and background information.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Contents	iii
<u>CHAPTER ONE : CONCEPTUAL AND REGIONAL INTRODUCTION</u> ..	1
Site - Study subject selection.....	3
Research Methods	5
Previous Relevant work	9
INTRODUCTION - PART TWO	
<u>DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF EPTAHORI</u> ...	12
Economic History of Eptahori.....	27
References	36
<u>CHAPTER TWO : SOME CONCEPTS OF MIGRATION</u>	39
Selection of Migrants	40
Causes of Migration	42
Consequences of Migration	44
<u>GREEK - AMERICAN MIGRATION</u>	47
Destinations	50
Settlement	53
Greek-American Organizations	65
References	67
<u>CHAPTER THREE : THE ST. GEORGE'S EPTAHORI SOCIETY</u> <u>OF THE U.S.A.</u>	70
The Formation and Activity of the St. George's Eptahori Society	72
The constitution of the St. George's Eptahori Society	77
Transactions of the St. George's Eptahori Society	81
Notes on the American Society of Pendalofon	85
References	88

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER FOUR</u> : <u>RESULTS OF FIELDWORK IN THE U.S.A.</u> <u>WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE</u> <u>GREEK-AMERICANS FROM EPTAHORI,</u> <u>KASTORIA</u>	89
Questionnaire	97
Results	101
Analysis	104
Hypothesis for survey	108
Breakdown Analysis	110
Answering consistency	115
Remittance Survey	119
Reference	128
<u>CHAPTER FIVE</u> : <u>RESULTS OF FIELDWORK IN EPTAHORI,</u> <u>KASTORIA</u>	129
Results	134
Analysis of Results	136
Conclusions	139
The Return Migrants	142
Returnees to areas other than Eptahori	145
Notes on the Return Migrant of the Past ...	150
References	153
<u>CHAPTER SIX</u> : <u>CONCLUSIONS</u>	154
Institutional Linkage	154
Individual Linkage	158
Effects of linkage in Migration to U.S.....	161
Effects of linkage on Village Society	166
Return Migration as a form of linkage	172
The Future	175
References	179
Afterword	181
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	183

MAPS AND FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
1. Map of Northwestern Greece: Eptahori in Regional Context ..	4
2. Map of Northwestern Greece: Physiography	13
3. Map of Greece: Annual Precipitation	14
4. Map of Expansion of the Modern Greek State	19
5. Map of Proportions of Ethnographic Elements in Greek Macedonia 1912 and 1926	21
6. Map of Greece: Simplified Communications Infrastructure ..	25
7. Map of Eptahori: Local Context	26
8. Figure 1-A. Age-Sex Diagram for Population of Eptahori, Kastoria	33
9. Map of U.S.A.: Greek Immigration up to 1930	55
10. Map of Manchester, N.H.: Greek Household Distribution Outside the Greek Population/Culture Core Area: 1924	57
11. Map of Manchester, N.H.: Greek Household Distribution Outside the Greek Population/Culture Core Area: 1977	58
12. Map of Manchester, N.H.: Greek Population/Culture Core Area: Greek Population Density and Number of Greek Households 1924 and 1927	60
13. Map of Distribution of Eptahorians in the Northeastern U.S.A. 1980	90
14. Sketch Map of Eptahori	131
15. Figure 5-A. Typical Return Migration of Economically Active Eptahorian Migrant	147
16. Figure 6-A. A Simplified Example of Eptahorian- American Migration	167
17. Figure 6-B. A Simplified Example of Eptahorian- American Migration	168
18. Figure 6-C. A Simplified Example of Eptahorian- American Migration	169
19. Map of Greece: Percentage Population Change by Department 1951 -81	174

This work is dedicated to the loving
memory of Joanne Jeffers Collins,
1930-1982.

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUAL AND REGIONAL INTRODUCTION

The story of Greek out-migration to overseas destinations has been documented especially from the historical and sociological perspectives, examining the migration from the source areas and the settlement of these migrants in their new lands. In particular, recent work in the United States has focussed on the assimilation of Greek-Americans into mainstream American society and the effects of this assimilation on the existing Greek-American Communities. This study, while touching upon assimilation and/or amounts of "Greekness" observed in Greek-American communities, primarily deals with the historical relationship between the emigrants from a specific village and the village itself. This relationship termed "linkage" is examined from the time of the first out-migration from areas inhabited by Greek speaking peoples to the United States.

This linkage is the product of several positively interacting variables which together form an active relationship bonding the emigrants and their originating area. The variables involved are those of economic ties such as the sending back of remittance money, land ownership and investment purchased with American income, kinship ties and the communications process between parties in the U.S. and in the source region, and the perception of the emigrants towards their home area including their interest in political issues there, their opinion of the socioeconomic future of the region and the

amount of return migration expected.

These few variables are not all-inclusive of what produces and effects linkage but they are the more important integral components contributing to the consistency of this relationship.

This study also concerns itself with the out-migration from Greece (and the specific locality examined) to the United States as a prelude to the linkage study. The information gained from this is imperative to the comprehension of the linkage in its historical context.

Also, linkage as an organized, defined entity as opposed to an individual relationship with the source area is examined. The point being observed is the ability of the emigrants to institutionalize their linkage with the village in order to solidify and maximize the efficiency and effectiveness of the relationship.

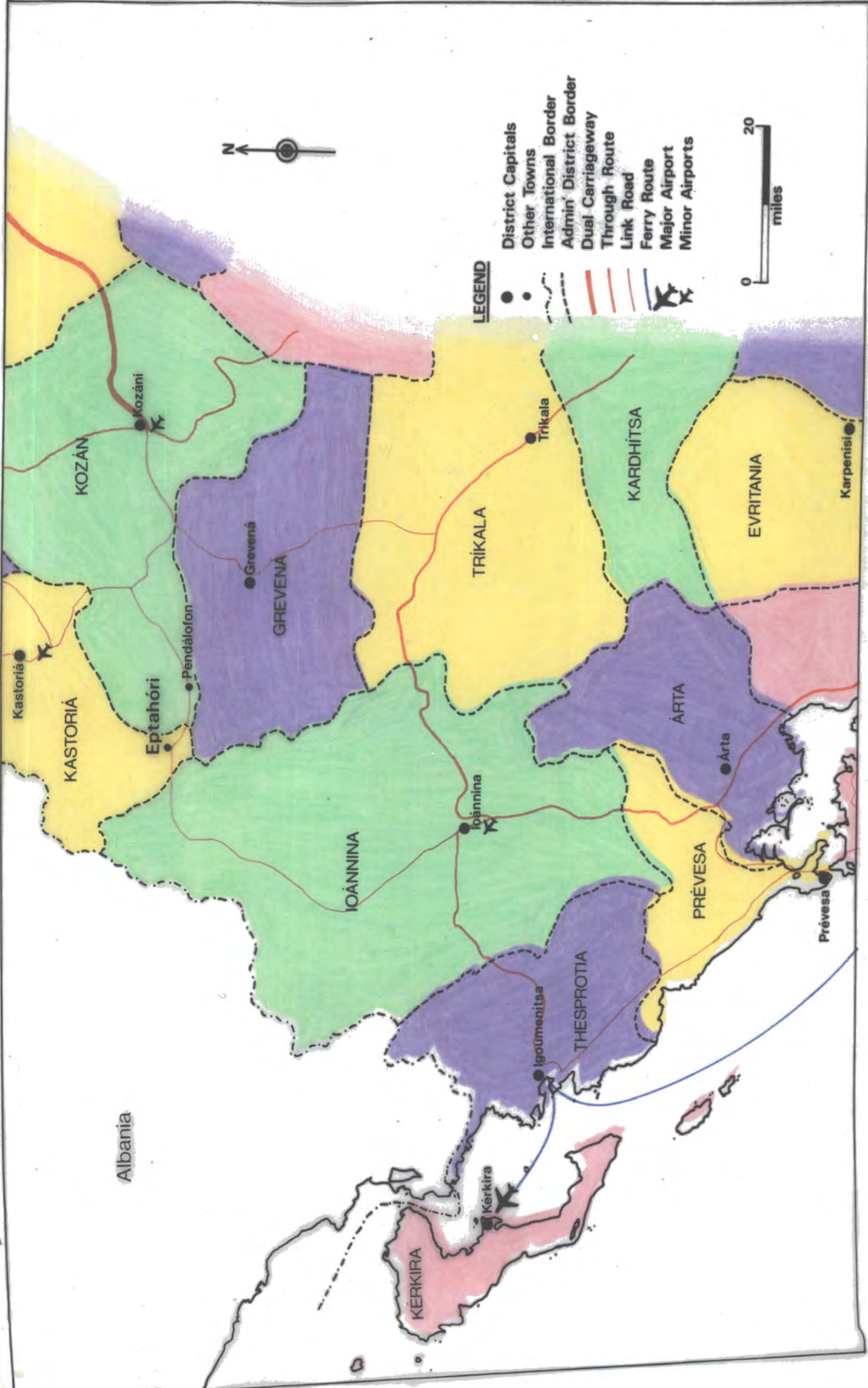
This study, in effect, synthesizes the previous conventional work which has dealt with the overall picture of migration from Greece to the U.S. and the settlement of the migrants in the U.S. and examines the ongoing connection between these two phenomena. More specifically, the questions this study confronts are why, when and how did the Greek-American migration take place and why were particular destinations chosen as a place of settlement in the U.S.? How has the association between the emigrants and the source area changed over time and how has this relationship affected both the emigrants and the homeland? What do current trends in Greek-American migration and the extent of the cultural

assimilation of Greeks in America mean for the future of this bond?

Site - Study Subject Selection

In order to successfully complete this study certain requirements in choosing the site had to be met. The requirements were as follows : 1) knowledge of emigration from the area was indeed a prerequisite as without out-migration to the U.S.A the site would be of no use. 2) Size, in both spatial area and population, was an important factor in site selection as well. The area selected had to be concentrated in settlement pattern so it could be covered adequately in fieldwork in a limited time period yet large enough demographically to have had a substantial degree of out-migration to the United States so that there would be a sufficient number of emigrants in the U.S. from this particular area to examine. 3) Previous acquaintance with inhabitants of the site was also considered a factor in that with the short amount of time available for fieldwork, community acceptance and limited suspicion was a priority.

Therefore, with these requirements in mind the village of Eptahori, Kastoria in westernmost Macedonia was chosen. (See map on page 4). This village met the requirements in the following ways : 1) The village of Eptahori was known to have had sizable out-migration to the United States due to the establishment of a society or association by the emigrants designed to help retain the relationship between emigrant and village. The members of this society number some 98. 2) The



N.W. Greece : Eptahóri in Regional Context

size of the village population included 360 inhabitants (year round) and approximately 180 households covering only 1/2 mile North to South and 3/4 mile East to West. Therefore, the village was considered small enough in physical size to deal with in short-term fieldwork and yet producing a significant Greek-American community for analysis on the American side of the study. 3) Also, I had had previous personal acquaintance with several ex-inhabitants and inhabitants of the village. Their help in supplying information about the village and the Society in the U.S. and their hospitality during my stay in Eptahori proved invaluable.

Research Methods

The research techniques used for this study can be broken down into three categories : 1) A period of fieldwork was undertaken in the United States as a questionnaire was prepared and presented to the members of the American association bearing the name of the host area as a guide to indicate the levels of linkage which exist and have existed between these people and the village. Also, a Greek-American community in which many of the members reside was examined in order to determine how the amount of "Americanization" experienced by these people could effect their linkage relationship with Eptahori. 2) Another period of fieldwork was carried out in the village itself on two different occasions. In September of 1982 and March-April of 1983 I visited Eptahori and surveyed the people there in an attempt to establish the extent of the relationship of these villagers with those ex-villagers living

in America. 3) In order to portray the scenario of the linkage factor between Greek-American and host area, the overall picture of Greek-American migration from both a regional and topical perspective was discussed. Therefore, one of the six chapters of this study deals almost exclusively with this migration (past and present) intertwined with contemporary ideas involved in trying to understand the mechanics of trans-oceanic migration and the factors which create situations of potential migration.

While the Greek-Americans could not be interviewed in person due to their widely scattered national distribution, a mail survey was produced and sent out in early May of 1982. The survey was designed to stay clear of questions which would create suspicion among the respondents. Most questions asked the respondent for social information such as his amount of communication with the village or his kinship ties to the village. Financial questions were omitted as well as sensitive political inquiries. This was done to help insure maximum response.

A well known Greek-American community in the city of Manchester, N.H. (where approximately 30% of the known migrants from Eptahori reside⁽¹⁾) was then examined. This was done to introduce the settlement characteristics of Greek-Americans in northeastern American cities (which is where the vast majority of Eptahori emigrants initially settled). The changes which have taken place in these settlement structures and the effect (if any) which these changes

may have had on the migrants perception of and relationship with the village were discussed. Also, in conjunction with these settlement factors, recent changes in the socioeconomic status of Greek-Americans in Manchester and Greek-Manchester migration trends were reviewed.

The second period of fieldwork in the village of Eptahori was completed in two different stages. The first, completed in September 1982 consisted of a two week stay in Eptahori familiarizing myself with the village and the villagers. Most of the time there was spent collecting data concerning the basic information describing the village such as population, number of households, proprietorships, economic and social structure (institutions, sex roles, division of labour etc.). This was done in order to choose an appropriate survey method which would attain the most accurate results. After this initial period of fieldwork a survey outline was drawn up :

To complement the questionnaire presented to the members of the St. George Eptahori Society in the U.S., a survey asking similar questions of that of the U.S. questionnaire will be used albeit in a much less formal, more open manner. The survey will be pre-coded in terms of the specific data set it will attempt to find but unlike the American study it will be presented orally without the respondent knowing that he/she is being interviewed.

The number of respondents will be based on households. As there are approximately 180 inhabited houses in the village it was thought that 1/3 of these would be a representative sample of the village⁽²⁾. The households to be questioned

will be chosen in a non-random fashion in order not to accidentally exclude a particular portion of the population i.e.) households with both relations in the U.S. and those without will be interviewed. Households of all political representation will be included as well. Also, households inhabited seasonally will be questioned as well as those inhabited year round.

These non-discriminating assurances must be made in order to understand the contrasts and similarities of the differently characterized people in the village as to how they perceive and interpret the "American connection" and what effect this connection has upon their social and economic livelihood.

The survey will be informally pre-coded as follows :

1. AGE
2. POLITICAL AFFILIATION
3. OCCUPATION
4. KINSHIP TO U.S.A.
5. FORMER RESIDENCE IN U.S.? (OCCUPATION THERE)
6. LAND OWNERSHIP
7. KNOWLEDGE OF ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY
8. REMITTANCES FROM U.S. BY SOCIETY
9. INDIVIDUAL REMITTANCES FROM U.S.?
10. TO WHAT USE WERE FUNDS PUT TO?
11. IMMEDIATE EMIGRATION BY FRIENDS OR RELATIVES

It was in March/April of 1983 that this survey was executed in Eptahori for approximately 60 heads of households. Two more weeks were spent in the village for this.

The third and final research method used for this study was the examination of previous works which dealt with Greek-American migration and more generally, published work dealing with concepts of migration as a historical phenomenon. This created the setting for the crux of the study and attempted to help grasp an understanding of the forces which caused the Eptahori-American migration. It was important in the course of this study to be able to recognize the factors which led to the out-migration, settlement, linkage and return migration concerning the Eptahori-American story.

Most of the resources used to complete this end of the study were obtained from American and some Greek publications dealing with this. The majority were obtained from American reference libraries, in particular at the University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H.

Previous Relevant Work

Previous work dealing with the concept of "trans-Atlantic linkage" is negligible. One is hard pressed to even find passing references that such a relationship may even exist. However, several studies have examined the migratory experience of Greek-Americans usually from a sociological perspective concentrating on the amount of assimilation and/or acculturation effecting these migrants. Other, albeit fewer papers, have described the inner-urban settlements of Greek-Americans and the trans-American diffusion of these settlements. Fewer, still, have been written by geographers on the subject of Greek-American society but in the past

decade two American geographers have stimulated an interest concerning ethnic settlement in urban areas in the U.S. These two geographers, David Ward of the University of Wisconsin and Bryan Thompson of Wayne State University, have looked at the effects of socio-historical change on intra-urban mobility and the immigrants plight as the structure of the inner city has changed⁽³⁾.

A notable work done on the sociology of the Greeks is that of Evan C. Vlachos entitled "The Assimilation of Greeks in the U.S. with Specific Reference to the Greek Community of Anderson, Indiana".⁽⁴⁾ This book was one of the first and probably the most original work on the subject of Greek-American assimilation and identity conflict. Also, it was written at a time (1970) when some 3rd generation Greek-Americans were reaching adulthood giving valuable insight as to what intergenerational differences would mean to the future of the Greek-American community.

Other mentionable publications are Charles Moskos' "Greeks in America",⁽⁵⁾ Nicholas Tavuchis' "Family and Mobility Among Greek Americans"⁽⁶⁾ and Theodore Saloutos' "The Greeks in America: The New and The Old",⁽⁷⁾ all written within the past thirteen years. Another, more historical viewpoint, is Melvin Heckers' and Heine Fentons' "The Greeks In America 1528-1977"⁽⁸⁾ which is a good descriptive narrative describing Greek-American migration since the beginning.

Add to these scores of shorter papers which have appeared in periodicals, Greek-American newspapers, antiquated (but useful) books from as early as 1907, papers given at seminars and symposiums and unpublished doctoral theses the work on the Greek-American story in America is well documented. Most of these more succinct works deal with a local Greek-American Community and do not include much as on the originating area in Greece.

Some works on Greek Return Migration are Reginald Kings', "Return Migration; A Review of some Case Studies from Southern Europe"⁽⁹⁾ and K. Ungers', "Greek Emigration to and Return from West Germany"⁽¹⁰⁾. Only one major work on American return migration is worth mentioning. Theodore Saloutos', "They Remember America: The Story of Repatriated Greek-Americans" was written in 1956 but it remains the only authentic work which deals exclusively with American-Greek return.

Other, non-Greek works of relevance are A. Azmazs' "Migration of Turkish "Gastarbeiters" of Rural Origin and the Contribution to Development in Turkey"⁽¹²⁾ and H. Toeffers' "The Mobility of Land, Labour and Capital in the Context of Return Migration to Turkey"⁽¹³⁾.

Of all this it is important to note that none of the works discussed here contain any significant data concerning the linkage of American-Greek communities. The idea that Greek-Americans have ties to the homeland is mentioned in context in some of these works but it is only alluded to sparingly and sometimes ambiguously. The socio-historical

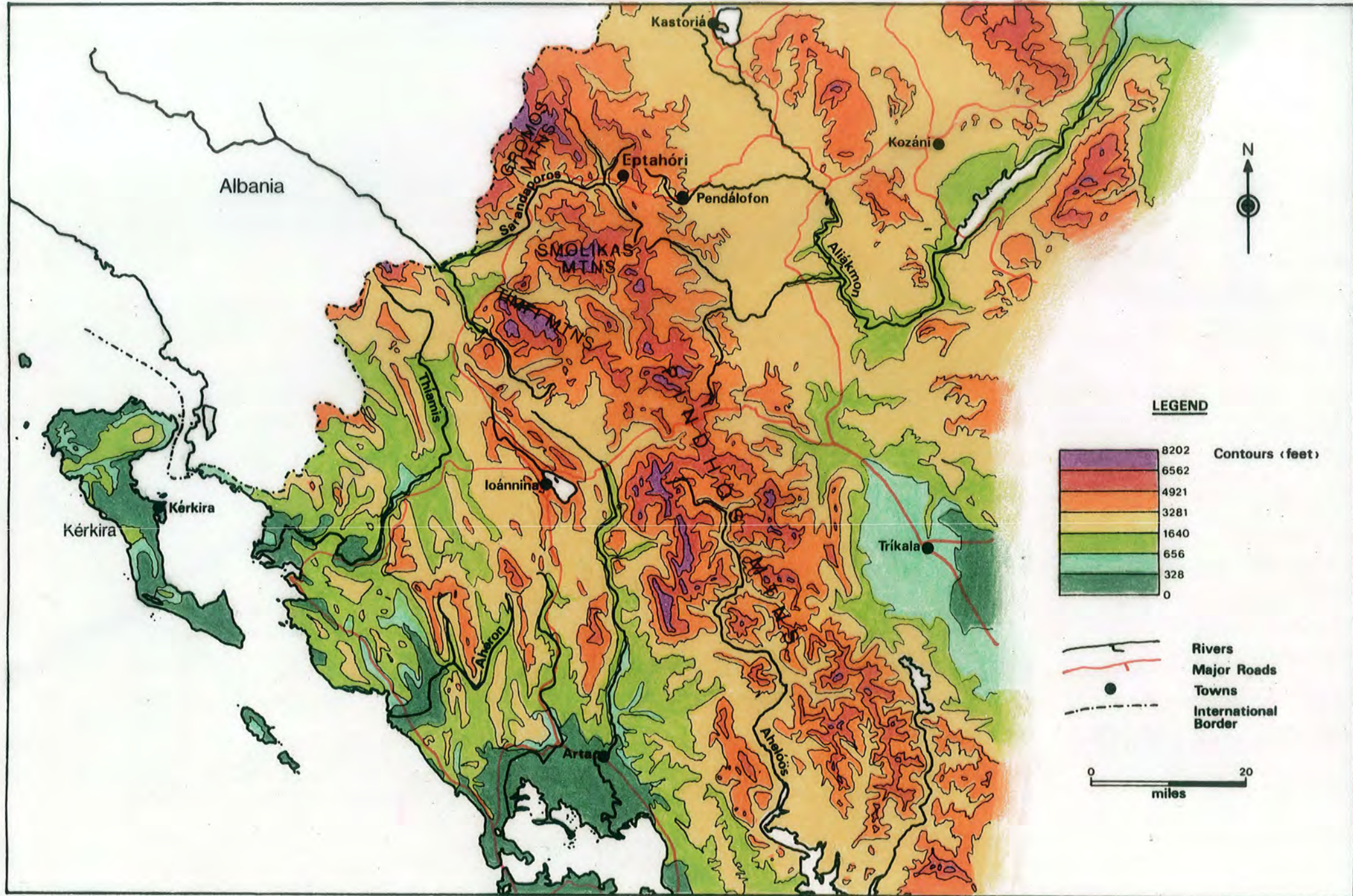
works on Greek-American migration seem to acknowledge linkage in times of dire emergency such as the Greek-American mobilization and assistance offered to Greece during the First Balkan War, World War I, World War II and the Greek Civil War⁽¹⁴⁾. However, examinations of institutional or individual trans-Atlantic linkage are missing.

INTRODUCTION - PART TWO

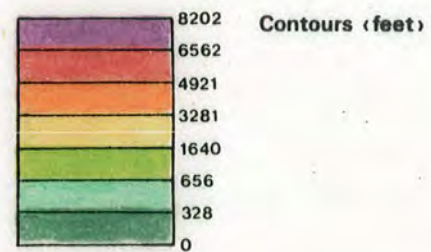
DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF EPTAHORI

Eptahori, a Greek village in the south of the department Kastoria in Western Macedonia is located in one of the most rugged and isolated regions of mainland Greece. (Map on page 13). At an altitude of approximately 3,400 feet the village lies in a dried lake basin through which now runs a tributary of the Sarandoporos River. The sedimentary landscape is evident of this as a very coarse, brittle limestone makes up almost all of the near-surface strata. Because of this, numerous springs outcrop from the steep slopes of the hills which surround and literally hide the village.

The vegetation is mostly made up of scrub pine and smaller deciduous species on the immediate slopes surrounding the village but the stands are sparse here due to the silty crumbling top soil. However, to the south and west the pine becomes more abundant until it finally is found in much taller, thicker stands. These stands are the result of a better top soil in the Sarandoporos River Valley, the high amount of precipitation (map on page 14), more gentle slopes and the fact that no timber extraction was performed here until the mid 20th Century.



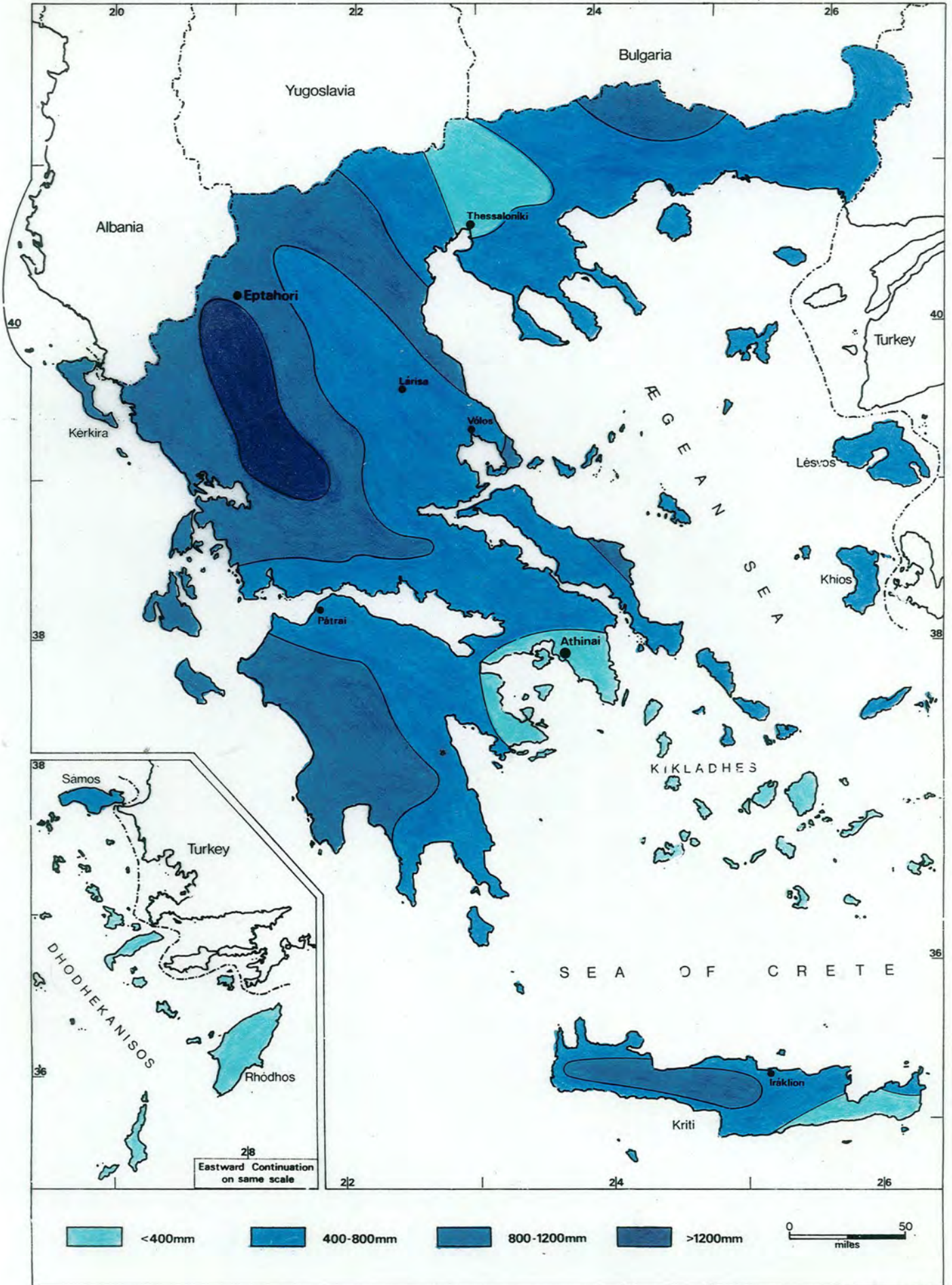
LEGEND



-  Rivers
-  Major Roads
-  Towns
-  International Border



N.W. Greece : Physiography



Greece : Annual Precipitation

The wildlife on the village periphery includes wild pigs, boar, deer, numerous small mammals and a variety of small but usually non-poisonous reptiles. Birds are also quite abundant with many hawks, magpies and the occasional eagle.

The village has been in the same location since the 17th Century although I was told by many of the villagers that some settlement has existed there for the past 3,000 years. While this cannot be verified it is interesting to note that manuscripts from the village dated as early as 1780 refer to it as an "ancient" or "historical" village.

Eptahori, in the Modern Greek language means "seven villages" as the village is the result of the union of seven villages from the surrounding countryside. This took place in 1927. Before then the village was known as Vorvotsikon, the name pertaining to the dairy industry which produced almost all of the revenue for the village.

Little is known of Vorvotsikon before the 17th Century and only because of the few surviving records of the St. Georges Monastery (2 miles to the west of the village) is there any information on the village before the 20th Century.

Like all of northern Greece, Vorvotsikon was subjected to Ottoman rule from the 15th Century until 1913. Throughout this period the inhabitants of the village argued with the Ottoman beys about ownership rights to property, troop protection and the heavy tax burden levied by the Sultan.

In the mid-19th Century the vizier of Ioannina Ali Pasha attacked the village attempting to push his Epirotic state eastward. He attacked twice, one time murdering the president of the village, burning the church and a few homes until his troops were finally expelled by Ottoman forces.

After Ali Pasha's death the Ottoman Sultan held a tighter grip on the village and region. This possessiveness rapidly grew into outright oppression as the faltering Ottoman leader placed a tax on all purchased goods in the village. This money was to be paid to the beys but the villagers ran into debt and quickly owed the Turks 6,000 liras. They protested to the Sultans' envoy Nasif Efendis that the tax was unfair but he only deducted 1,800 liras from the total for reasons of "undue hardship"⁽¹⁵⁾.

The local Mukhtar of Vorvotsikon demanded payment but the villagers refused.

Therefore, in April 1875 the Mukhtar increased the debt to 12,000 liras and took control of most of the land outright⁽¹⁶⁾. Many of the villagers were so despaired by the debt that they fled into the Greek state of Larissa to the village of Kazahlar (Abelona)⁽¹⁷⁾.

By 1880 the collection of the debt had been placed directly into the hands of the beys in Kastoria who together with three other beys in Ioannina decided to force the villagers to pay the debt through their work. The villagers were to give up a large portion of their dairy products to the beys who would then sell them to buyers in Kastoria. The inhabitants revolted at this and took over the village

killing three policemen and kidnapping the beys. They also burned the promissary note. Soldiers were sent from Adrianople to rescue the beys and punish the inhabitants, but by then the beys had been released. The leaders of the revolt escaped however and returned from their sanctuaries in the hills time and time again to murder Turkish officials and their kin.

By 1884 this bloodshed had only contributed to an even greater Ottoman brutality as for every day the debt went unpaid one male villager was taken to jail in Kastoria.⁽¹⁸⁾ With great difficulty 1,200 liras was paid but many even refused to pay this as they knew the promissary note did not exist.

In 1886, fifteen of the remaining leaders of Vorvotsikon were summoned to Kastoria and threatened with death unless the debt was paid. Three of these men even went so far as to travel to Istanbul to attempt to persuade government officials that repayment was impossible and unjust. They failed and were finally taken to court in Kastoria where it was ordered that the debt be increased to 22,000 liras and the 5,000 sheep in the village seized and driven to Kastoria. This was done and the three men fled to Thessaly never to return to Vorvotsikon.

The village continued under Turkish rule and suffered as at any time property was seized and items confiscated.

In 1900 the first migration to the U.S. began but the village was more affected by the Macedonian struggle raging

throughout the region. Bands of guerillas with leaders such as the Bulgarian Tsakalaroff and the Greek Paul Melas used the village as a sanctuary. The people of Vorvotsikon supported Melas with smuggled weapons and food. The priest, teacher and other leaders were on a committee of Macedonian struggle. One of the villagers acted as a go-between with the Centre of National Salvation in Monastir and the Vorvotsikon Committee, all the while under the pretext of agricultural officer. (19)

In 1908 the Young Turks new constitution in Istanbul created an even more oppressive atmosphere in Vorvotsikon under Moudirov Kasan bey. In 1912 however, the First Balkan War broke out with Albanian guerillas invading Vorvotsikon but being driven out by Greek guerillas within two days. These same guerillas murdered three villagers and wounded some others in a dispute. Fortunately, the villagers still had some rifles and ammunition left over from the days of the Macedonian struggle and were able to regroup at St. George's Monastery located on a ridge above the village and forced the guerillas out after a six day battle.

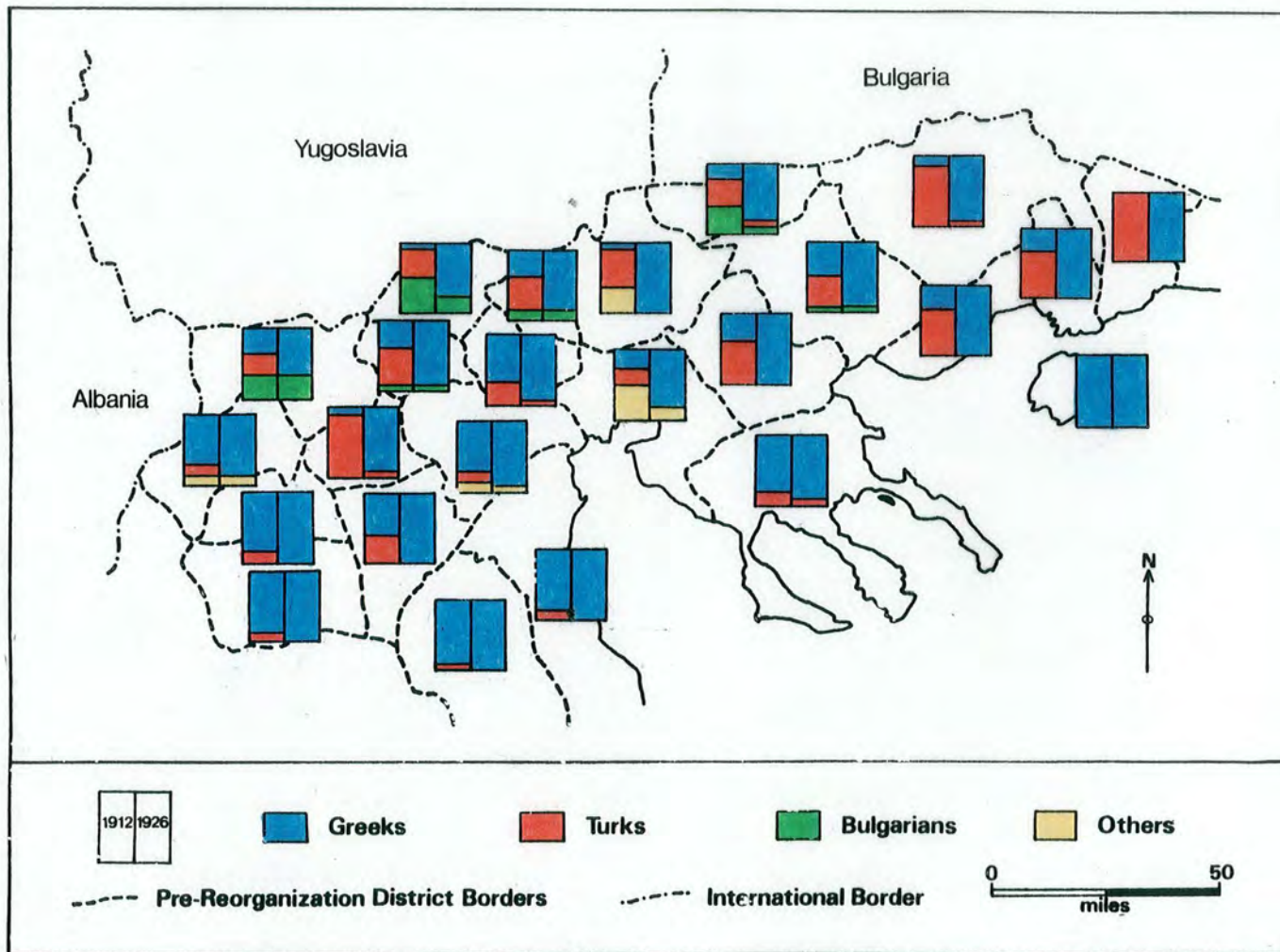
Greek troops passed through the village on their way to Ioannina and it was from these troops that the inhabitants learned of their victory and that they were now living under the Greek flag. After the Second Balkan War in 1913 the people of Vorvotsikon were officially naturalized (see map on page 19).

In 1914 the ancient church was demolished and with the help of the St. George's Eptahori Society in the U.S.A., the villagers built the Byzantine style Church of Holy Friday. (20)

With the outbreak of the First World War the people of Vorvotsikon were again put in a position of hardship. In December of 1916 Senegalian and Moroccan troops moved into the village as Greece became involved in the war with the Allied Forces planning an attack into Serbia and Bulgaria. The villagers were ordered by the Venizelos government to give up much of their already sparse food and shelter to the troops. They criticised this additional burden placed upon them and for it the president of the village, Pericles Demos, was imprisoned. (21)

In July of 1917 Greece entered the war and many men from Vorvotsikon were recruited. (22) Many of these men were to fight in the Greco-Turkish war which ended in disastrous defeat for the Greek state. At least one soldier from Vorvotsikon was killed and several others wounded.

1922 to 1939 was a period of relative peace and prosperity for the village, as it was virtually untouched by the refugee settlement and now had a periphery virtually all Greek in culture. On the 30th of August 1925 the foundation for a new school was laid and completed a year later. Also during this year, the president of the village appealed to the government for ownership of more land, in particular the forested area to the south and west on the basis that the village was poor (the dairy industry had completely dried up since the beginning of the century) and had no resources.



Proportions of Ethnographic Elements in Greek Makedhonia 1912 and 1926

The land was given to Vorvotsikon and since then the timber industry has helped to keep the village afloat.

In 1927 the seven smaller villages around Vorvotsikon came together as one to establish the village of Eptahori at the site of Vorvotsikon. The villagers were Paleohori, Paratsiko, Renda, Fraxsos, Ziavani, Thrianovan and Petritsi. (23) These villages united in order to protect themselves in this well hidden location from marauding bands of guerillas (Kleftes) but also to consolidate their communal resources in a more nucleated location to develop the timber industry.

The period of peace, however, was shattered by the Italian invasion of Greece in October-November of 1940. The Eptahori Military Unit which had been organized in anticipation of the invasion was headed by Colonel K. Davakin. They were involved in the fighting in the battle at Koutsouro near Zouzouli. The Italians were pushed back but Italian bombers began to assault the villagers with five bombs being dropped on Eptahori. (24)

Surprisingly only two Eptahori people were killed in the battle but the German invasion and subsequent occupation in July of 1941 brought Italian troops into the village. In August the surrender of the Greek army was finalized and the Italians set up their office in the school. Two inhabitants of the village were imprisoned for hiding a wireless left behind by the Greek army. German troops were also stationed in Eptahori after a few months.

The people went hungry due to the inability of the men (who had taken to the mountains) to raise any crops. What food they could get was obtained from Ioannina for whatever the villagers could trade, mostly furniture. Food also came trickling in from Greek-American relief funds. Without clothes and food many of the young and old starved unless they had been lucky enough to have escaped to rural farmhouses before the Italians invaded.

E.A.M. the popular partisan movement in occupied Greece was beginning to work effectively against Axis forces and eventually as the Eastern front began to crumble the Germans pulled out of Greece. By then, the lines had already been drawn between nationalist and communist resistance especially at the village level. The communists began to set the upper hand in the struggle despite the mobilization of the regenerated Greek Army and the village was being constantly harassed by the fighting.

The combination of the July 4th 1944 burning of the village by the departing Germans and this present harassment had left Eptahori in ruins. Twenty citizens were killed by E.A.M. forces and as many as 130 people were taken to the Iron Curtain countries for communist training. (25) Most have never returned to the village.

By 1949 the communists had been defeated and driven north. Money began to pour in from the St. George's Eptahori Society and the U.S. government to help rebuild the village. By 1950 a doctor was in the village full-time, partly paid for by the St. George's Eptahori Society.

Since the end of the Greek Civil War the village has enjoyed peace and the standard of living has greatly improved. Migration to Saloniki and Athens and the money returned from there, an increased demand for timber and better technology in extracting and transporting the wood, increased tourist traffic and the return of American remittance money have all helped to improve the quality of life for the villagers.

By 1961 the village was electrified and by 1972 a paved road ran through the village connecting it to such previously far off places as Kastoria, Konitsa, Kozani, Ioannina and even Thessaloniki (see map on page 25). Now, modern household appliances and equipment can be readily found in Eptahori.

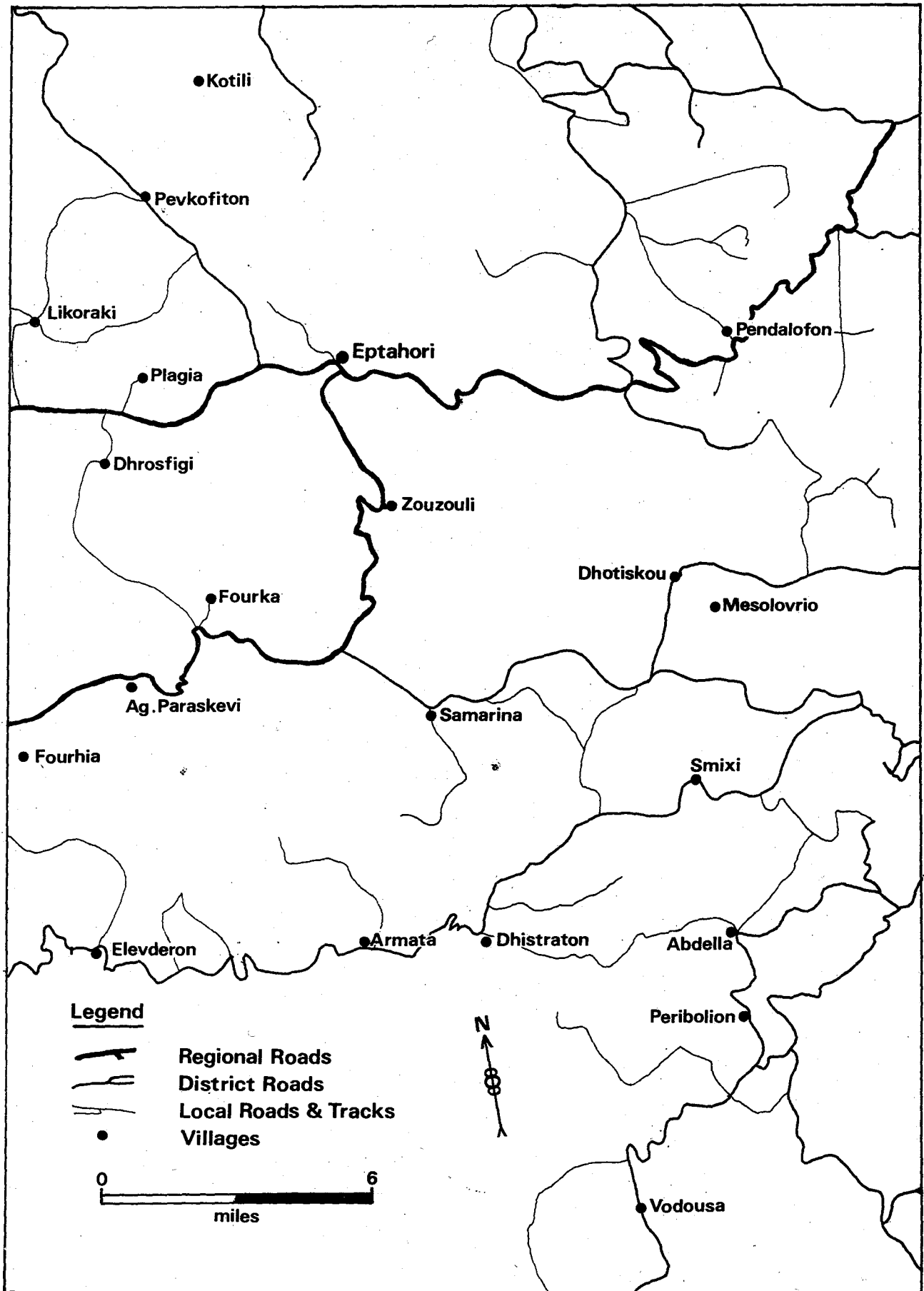
Today the village consists of 368 people, 180 houses, one church, one school, one nursery school, one library, a records office, five stores, two butchers, two coffee houses, three restaurants, one police station, two chapels, three kiosks and for professional people has three policemen, one agricultural officer, a priest, a teacher, a doctor, a nurse and a gynecologist.

Its periphery includes the village of Pendalofon to the east, Fourka , a vlach village, to the south west, Zouzouli to the south and Dhrosfigi and Plagia to the west.

High school students attend classes in Pendalofon and much of the timber equipment is kept in Fourka which is actually much closer to the forests of Eptahori (see map on page 26).



Greece: Simplified Communications Infrastructure



Eptahori : Local Context

Economic History of Eptahori

Eptahori or Vorvotsikon as it was known before 1927 primarily had a peasant economy based on subsistence agriculture with a cash crop of dairy products resulting from a pastoral tradition. (26) From the fifteenth century the dairy products (especially cheese) of Vorvotsikon were sold to merchants in the areas of Kastoria, Konitsa and Kozani, while much of the cheese was the traditional goat cheese indigenous to the area, Vorvotsikon was famous for its bovine products as well.

The men led a semi-nomadic existence practicing transhumance with their flocks and herds. The women remained at home perennially working on their weaving of goat hair rugs in the winter and helping to prepare the small fields for planting in the spring and summer.

Leather goods were also sold and with money coming in for the dairy products the villagers lived comfortably. A manuscript printed in 1881 suggests that Vorvotsikon was considered better off than its neighbours in Pendalofon due to this cash flow. (27) It is, however, impossible to suggest just how much money came in annually during these centuries of Turkish rule, but we do know that from 1875 onward the village was in constant trouble with debt collectors.

It was not until 1925 that the economic structure changed. In this year, twelve years after gaining Greek nationality the president of the village, Pericles Demos, went to Athens and asked the government to concede to the village the

forested land to the south and west of Vorvotsikon, in order to help the economy of the people. The government consented and Vorvotsikon unofficially took over approximately 70,000 stremma of forest.

While very little timber was extracted for the first thirty years (due to technological deficiencies and transportation problems) the village with the help of the St. George Eptahori Society in America helped to establish a community fund which took the profits from the sale of timber from specifically set-aside communal land. These profits would be banked by the community and from the interest on these savings certain renovations and construction could be performed on the public land in the village. It was with this money that all the interior alleys, walkways and streets in the village were paved. Communal dairy, butcher and timber sheds used for the storage and processing of these items were built near the road to Fourka in the western part of the village. Avalanche breaks were built on the north east slopes on the hills surrounding the community. (28)

It should be noted however, that the money made from this timber extraction did not begin coming in until after the Greek Civil War. It was not until 1955 that the first revenues began to come in and not until 1967 when the main road was widened that an increase in the amount of wood extracted was made possible.

In addition to the communal side of the timber industry, every man over the age of twenty one living in the village in 1925 was given an allotment to use in his own personal

manner. While these allotments were never actually written as deeds the villagers seem to know who owns which land.

In the period of approximately thirty five years that the forest land was owned by the village but not effectively worked the villagers still sold some dairy products but were becoming increasingly dependent on remittances coming from the villagers working in the U.S. Approximately \$14,110 was sent back to the village between 1915-1950 by the St. George's Eptahori Society and an estimated \$10,000 from individuals sending money back for the families left behind⁽²⁹⁾. The lack of young males (who had migrated to the U.S.) to move the herds and flocks and so many others who sold their animals just to get fare to the U.S. greatly depleted that industry.

The economic structure was one of disarray and stagnant parasitism. Even the remittances dwindled during the Second World War leaving the village to exist on rudimentary subsistence.

After the Civil War the timber industry boomed. Skidders, saws and trucks purchased with the help of the St. George's Eptahori Society increased the amount of timber being extracted and sold at a much greater rate. With the improved transportation the timber was also much more accessible to market areas and of course with the peacetime economy supported by American funds instituted under the Marshall Plan the demand for wood for building purposes was at an all time high.

Thus, the community revenue for the years 1955-65
from the timber sales : (30)

1955	\$210
1956	\$160
1957	\$360
1958	\$690
1959	\$690 (est.)
1960	\$1,100
1961	\$1,150
1962	\$1,300
1963	\$1,450
1964	\$1,800
1965	\$2,100

With the building of the main road under Papadopoulos
the cost of transportation became cheaper and the volume of
sale greater as reflected by these figures for timber revenues
from 1969-80 :

1969	\$4,330
1970	\$5,650
1971	\$5,500
1972	\$5,700
1973	\$5,700 (est.)
1974	\$6,100
1975	\$6,200
1976	\$6,400
1977	\$6,400 (est.)
1978	\$8,100
1979	\$7,700
1980	\$8,100 (est.)

While it is impossible to ascertain the amount of
sales received by individual landowners their method of
extracting the wood is the same as that of the community
in general. Woodcutters (many of whom are return migrants
from West Germany) are paid on a low-bid basis to cut out
a certain section of the owners stand and then shave and
saw the timber. The wood is then picked up by a trucker
(usually contracted by the woodcutter) and taken to
processing mills or directly to market depending on the
sale.

It can be generalized that some of the village households have subsisted solely on this source of income since 1955. However, it is usually a supplemental economic activity to a year round occupation.

Today, the economy is based primarily on this woodcutting, small service businesses, some remittance sending (from Athens-Thessaloniki as well as U.S.) and some farming. But most of this is controlled by landowners well into middle age and over. The majority of the youth has left the village finding work in furriers in Kastoria, attending university in one of the larger cities or working in Thessaloniki or Athens.

The village is now affected by an out-migration of another kind as this rural-urban migration has left even fewer young people (especially males) in the village.⁽³¹⁾ Those who have remained usually work as woodcutters or construction workers but are awaiting opportunities to leave for the city. The growth in the predominantly urban departments can be seen on the map on page 174.

Since this out-migration began in the 1960's only 32% of those leaving for the city had returned to the village.⁽³²⁾ Of these who have returned 23% are officially retired and most of the rest unemployed (voluntarily). Those who do work, work in Kastoria, Ioannina and Kozani some of them returning only on weekends. These people are usually of the child-bearing age as they can afford to raise their children in the village with their absentee jobs. But these number only some ten households.

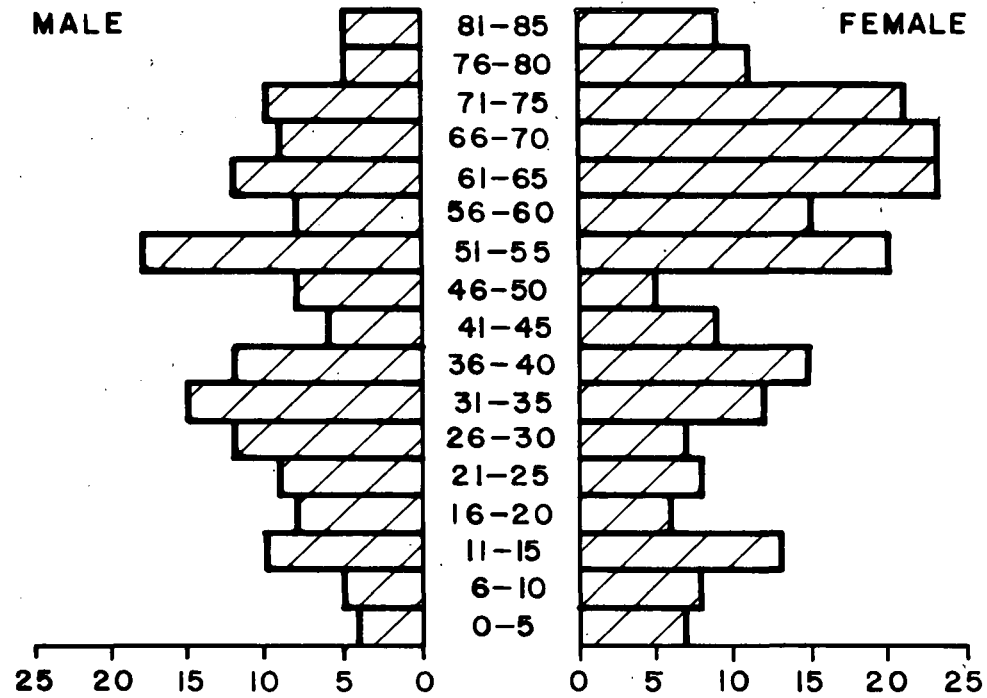
With an absence of young men, however, the village lacks a local labour supply and the innovative entrepreneurial skills which educated youth can also often supply. This means that no new industries have been developed in Eptahori and that the existing economy is one which caters to an older often retired (inactive) population which seeks little but to exist (see figure 1-a).

If anything, more youth is expected to outmigrate to the cities as there is a fear in the village that even the relatively lucrative woodcutting will become much less profitable to the next generation of males because they will have to accept smaller woodlots in order to share with their brothers. This will lessen the already minor attraction to remain in the village.

The bright spot of the villages' economy in the past twenty years has been the service industries which has expanded in volume if not in variety, thanks to American and urban Greek return migrants and an increase in tourist and trade traffic.

With the beginning of some American return migration particularly that of the 1950's and 1960's there became an increased demand for more commodities in the village. In 1955 there were two stores and one taverna. At present there are five stores and one is now being built on the main road. This one is being financed by a return worker from West Germany.

Fig. I-A. Age /Sex Diagram for Population of Eptahori, Kastoria (C.1980)



Restaurants and tavernas as well, have grown in number thanks to tourists, and truckers. These patrons who have dramatically increased in number since 1970 are almost always in transit rather than viewing Eptahori as a destination. One restauranteer related to me that the tourist traffic had increased four-fold in the past five years since his place had opened. Trucks as well, carrying timber, herd animals and building supplies to and from the larger cities, Thessaloniki and Ioannina pass through more readily due to the growth of the trucking industry in Saloniki in lieu of an effective rail system to the western part of Macedonia and Epirus.

On five separate weekdays in September of 1982 and April 1983 (obviously not peak season for tourists), I watched an average of forty seven cars and sixteen trucks pass through the village per hour. Roughly 25% of these travelers stopped and used the facilities offered, whether it was food and drink, petrol, car servicing or other miscellaneous items. 25% of all transit traffic stopped here and spent money. This does not include the daily busloads of people travelling to Ioannina or Kozani which stop in every day to eat and drink.

The service industries therefore have a rather bright future especially when considering the fact that a number of travel agents in England and West Germany have made it clear that they are interested in increasing their number of tours in the Smolikas region.

The current economic situation in Eptahori is based on the primary industries of timber extraction and the tertiary industries catering to transit traffic and return migrants. The age of the population figures to inhibit any significant new development of secondary industries particularly in view of the limited resources at the village itself. The village, however, is no longer reliant on remittances from abroad and for that reason receives much less than in the past. (33)

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28. From the records of the "Transactions of St. George's Eptahori Club", which details the uses of the money made from the communal timber industry.
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Map and Figure References

- Page 4. Map idea from Bartholomew World Travel Map : Greece and the Aegean, 37,
Scale 1:1,000,000
- Page 13. Map idea from Bartholomew World Travel Map : Greece and the Aegean, 37,
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- Page 14. Map idea from U.K. Admiralty Handbook on Greece, Volume I, Naval Intelligence Division, 1944, p.96.
- Page 19. Map idea from U.K. Admiralty Handbook on Greece, Volume I, Naval Intelligence Division, 1944, p.202.
- Page 21. Map based on League of Nations Ethnographical Map of Greek Macedonia, 1926.
- Page 25. Map idea from Philips New World Atlas, Bookclub Assoc., Edited by Willett, B.M. Gaylard, D. et al. 3rd edition, 1980. pp.44-45.
- Page 26. Map taken from National Statistic Service map of the Department of Ioannina, Greece.
- Page 32. Figure 1-A. From information obtained from Town office in Eptahori, Kastoria.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME CONCEPTS OF MIGRATION

Migration as a socio-historical occurrence has been noted as the most important characteristic of man in his impact on world history. (1)

In this sense it is the ability of pre-industrial man to mobilize which allowed him to create the industrial world of the twentieth century. As Lewis points out 'the migrant can initiate further change in his new place of residence by the introduction of new ideas, values and skills. In other words, migration is a two-way process: it is a response to economic and social change and equally it is a catalyst to change for those areas gaining and losing migrants.' (2)

In the context of Greek-American migration the above statement is most relevant. The birth of industrial America in the nineteenth century itself, stimulated by an infusion of migrants, created opportunities for 'old world' inhabitants to leave their usually rural places of residence in exchange for an alien yet promising urban lifestyle and economic activity. The imprint left by the Greek-American on American society and the effects of the migration on both host and source area are important parts of this study.

On the following pages ideas on the selection of migrants, causes of migration and its consequences on the area of origin and the host community will be briefly examined, bearing in mind the temporal and spatial dimensions

of the Greek-American story, viz that mass Greek-American migration was indirectly rural-urban and that an era of mass migration and settlement is basically responsible for the existence of the deeply rooted Greek-American community of today.

Selection of Migrants

Generalizations made by scholars on the selection of migrants are controversial. Beshers and Nishuiria's hypothesis which states that 'young adults are the most mobile segment of the population' and 'males tend to be more migratory than females' ⁽³⁾ can be criticized when considering recent migratory patterns. Some involve developed economies where females take a more active role in the labour force and therefore, sex selectivity becomes less significant. ⁽⁴⁾ Also, as shown by the north-south migration of elderly citizens in the U.S. in a post-industrial society, age selectivity also breaks down. ⁽⁵⁾

However, in international migration, in particular, that which occurred from originating areas which were rural or pre-industrial these two generalizations tend to hold true. ⁽⁶⁾

Jansen points to another selective factor, 'migration stimulated by economic growth, technological improvements, etc. attracts the better educated. Conversely, areas tending to stagnation lose their better educated and skilled persons.' ⁽⁷⁾

Again Jansen states, 'If between two population points streams of equal size tend to flow, neither making

net gains, then the composition of migration streams in each direction tends to be of minimum selectivity. If the stream flowing in one direction is greater than that flowing in the other direction there is greater selectivity in both streams. But the place showing a net gain would have a greater proportion of males, young adults, single, divorced and widowed, while the place having a net loss would have high proportions of 'migration failures' (returnees) and retired migrants returning to their place of origin.' (8)

And yet according to Bogue 'migration can be highly selective with respect to a given characteristics in one area and be selective to a mild degree, or not at all, in another.' (9)

As Lewis says, 'Evidently, individuals differently located in space and social stature have different degrees of knowledge about, and are able to benefit to differing extents from, opportunities of places other than those in which they currently reside.' (10)

So, generally there is a small number of variables which are associated with an individual's propensity to migrate. However, it is difficult to build principles of selectivity into general models without referring to the setting and composition of the population sub-groups.

Causes of Migration

In 1938 Herberle argued that migration is caused by a series of forces which encourage an individual to leave one place (push) and attract him to another (pull).⁽¹¹⁾

Bogue succinctly summarized these push-pull factors as follows:

Push Factors

(1) Decline in a national resource or in the prices paid for it; decreased demand for a particular product or the services of a particular industry; exhaustion of mines, timber or agricultural resources.

(2) Loss of employment resulting from being discharged for incompetence, for a decline in need for a particular activity, or from mechanization or automation of tasks previously performed by more labour-intensive procedures.

(3) Oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment because of political, religious or ethnic origins or membership.

(4) Alienation from a community because one no longer subscribes to prevailing beliefs, actions or modes of behaviour - either within one's family or within the community.

(5) Retreat from a community because it offers few or no opportunities for personal development, employment or marriage.

(6) Retreat from a community because of a catastrophe - floods, fire, drought, earthquake or epidemic.

Pull Factors

- (1) Superior opportunities for employment in one's occupation or opportunities to enter a preferred occupation.
- (2) Opportunities to earn a larger income.
- (3) Opportunities to obtain desired specialized education or training such as a college education.
- (4) Preferable environment and living conditions - climate, housing, schools, other community facilities.
- (5) Dependency - movement of other persons to whom one is related or betrothed, such as the movement of dependents with a bread-winner or migration of a bride to join her husband.
- (6) Line of new or different activities, environment or people such as the cultural, intellectual or recreational activities of a large metropolis for rural and small town residence. (12)

While this simplified view has been criticized for its "pick and choose" attitude, a high percentage of these variables frequently show up in determining the overall flow of migration.

Normative level studies have revealed that rural-urban migration, whether internal or international is almost always based on financial factors, namely that more income can be earned in another region than in the source area. (13)

Other psycho-social reasons for the continued existence of a migratory situation in a rural area have also been cited, such as feelings of "failure" if one does not move and that migration was the "done thing" and had to be executed as a

form of social responsibility. (14)

Lee has suggested that migration causation needs to be viewed within a framework of factors associated with area of origin, area of destination intervening obstacles and the migrants themselves. (15)

Within the realm of this study it is important to remember that economic factors such as employment and wages, tend to be of greater significance in determining long-distance (or total displacement) migration, such as that experienced by Greek-Americans. (16)

Consequences of Migration

More often than not, migrants are innovators and prospective leaders within a community, although Galtung has suggested that someone who may have been an innovator in his home community may be more conservative in his host community. (17)

The effects of rural-out-migration of this selective nature leaves what is usually an already depressed countryside even worse off. Many times births are exceeded by the number of deaths taking place. (18)

The economic consequences usually verge on stagnation and many times a later dependency on remitted funds. (19) The communities, both source and host, are affected by migration in its impact on population more than births and deaths. (20) If the migration is selective, bringing in mostly young adults, the host community's population growth rate is also increased while the source is demographically depleted.

Individual consequences are usually made up of those

problems of the differences in norms, values and customs between them and the host population. (21)

According to Gordon the sequential nature of assimilation may take the following forms:

- (1) Cultural assimilation is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene.
- (2) Cultural assimilation of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously.
- (3) Once structural assimilation has occurred either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types will follow. (22)

What this hypothesis says is that the components of assimilation do not necessarily occur simultaneously.

In this type of assimilation the mental health of the migrant is a function of the amount of stress they must undergo in the process of separating themselves from their community or origin and of gaining the status of accepted members of their community of destination. (23)

Glazer and Moynihan point to another sequential outline of assimilation:

- a) First stage - the creation of ethnic groups and organizations but a gradual disappearance of ethnic culture and language.
- b) Second stage - Beginning of the transformation of the ethnic groups into 'interest' groups distinguished by colour and religion, by attitudes to education politics and family life.
- c) Third stage - the disappearance of the ethnic groups into divisions of colour and religion. (24)

While these generalizations concerning migration are important in the context of the Greek-American story, an even broader one should be taken into account when considering this study. Specifically that migration is a 'holistic' system involving a set of inter-related, personal, socio-economic and situational elements. (25) These elements must be evaluated as they pertain to each case-study in order to achieve an understanding of the reasons behind it.

GREEK-AMERICAN MIGRATION

Although the vast bulk of Greek-American migration occurred from 1880 onwards, several smaller groups of Greek migrants made their way to the U.S. prior to this. These migrants were mostly merchants in the import-export business and sailors who found work in shipyards on the Atlantic coast or Great Lakes. By 1873 there were several hundred of these Greeks living in the U.S., enough so that an article was written about them in the New York Times. (26)

But these migrants were not part of the mass migration which was to act to establish the deeply rooted Greek-American institutions. This was to be the accomplishment of the uneducated, but energetic and resourceful, immigrants who came to the U.S. later, from the villages of rural Greece. (27)

The overwhelming majority of Greeks who came to America during the era of mass migration were from rural areas and a broad regional base. In the 1880's however, the 2,000 that migrated were mainly from Sparta and left for a variety of reasons, mainly linked to the idea that there was money to be had in America. The main push factor came into play in 1890 when the European market for raisins, Greece's principal export collapsed, impoverishing an already poor countryside forcing rural farmers to seek work abroad. Over 15,000 embarked during this period (28) but the village of Eptahori (not affected by the raisin crop) was yet to experience any out-migration to the U.S.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century the flood of migrants was in full flow and by this time had affected Eptahori. The news of exaggerated successes in America by other Greeks had diffused throughout the Macedonian region of Greek speaking peoples. From these small mountain villages plans were being made by the (usually) leading male members of the village to emigrate. This emigration, however, was to be short-term as most planned to return to the village after making their fortune.

While money was the major pull-factor it was an indirect one for the Greeks still under Ottoman rule at the beginning of the century. The primary reason for emigration was that many realized a changing atmosphere in the policies of the Ottomans concerning the many ethnic and religious groups under their rule. Of course, by 1908, the Young Turks revolution and republican proclamation had left no doubt in many of the Greeks' minds that the religious and social tolerance previously shown to the non-Turkish peoples by the Sultan, were things of the past. Religious persecution by the Young Turks of the people was widespread and the most oppressive measure was their decision to make military service mandatory for all non-Turkish subjects. (29) The reaction to this decision can be seen in that from 1908 to 1915 one in every four Greek males from Turkish ruled areas departed for America.

It is strange to think that these men would venture all the way to America with a "free Greece" so close at hand. The reason was, as mentioned before, financial. The Greek State could not support its already existing population, let alone thousands of men with no money. And,

of course, there were the stories of fantastic success experienced by others in America spreading from village to village. As one Greek wrote at the time, "so and so from such and such a village sent home so many dollars within a year" is heard in a certain village and the report flashed from village to village and growing from mouth to mouth. (30)

The outline of this mass migration is as follows:

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>NO.OF MIGRANTS*</u> (31)
1881-1890	2,308
1891-1900	15,979
1900-1910	167,519
1911-1920	184,201
1921-1930	51,084
1931-1940	9,119
1941-1950	8,973
1951-1960	47,608
1961-1970	85,969
1971-1980	102,000

* Refers to migrants from Greece proper only. The number of Greeks emigrating from outside Greece is given at 100,000.

Thus, as can be seen from the table well over half of all Greek-American migration occurred between 1900-1920. Similarly the migration figures given for Eptahori are as follows:

<u>DECADE</u>	<u>NO.OF MIGRANTS*</u> (32)
1900-1910	45
1911-1920	58
1921-1930	43
1931-1940	8
1941-1950	19
1951-1960	28
1961-1970	21
1971-1980	15

There is a great deal of corroboration between the two tables with the peak migration periods occurring at roughly the same time as well as the low points during the depression and second World War.

After 1924 the migration was suddenly halted by legislation passed in Washington known as the Immigration (Reed-Johnson) Act of 1924. This act was propagated mainly by fears of a still predominantly WASP America that feared the inundation of so many "foreigners". It was not until 1948 when the law was repealed that immigration resumed with renewed vigour.

Destinations

The Greek-American migrants were looking for one thing upon their entry into the U.S. - employment.

At a time when labour unions were in their infant beginnings there was always room for workers who would work for less wages than the existing labour force, especially in a young industrializing country where labour was a shortage. The Greek migrant found employment in just this way.

The Greek migrants generally went to three different regions in search of three different types of work. They can be traced along these major routes.

- 1) Greeks going to the Western States to work on railroad gangs and in mines;
- 2) Greeks going to New England milltowns to work in the textile and shoe factories;
- 3) Greeks who went to the large Northern cities,

principally N.Y. and Chicago, and worked in factories or found employment as busboys, dishwashers, bootblacks and pedlars . (33)

Since almost all the Eptahori migrants were of the latter two groups, especially the New England group, the Western migrants will be only briefly discussed.

As early as 1907 the Greek Consul General in New York estimated that there were between 30 and 40 thousand Greek labourers in the American West. These Greek workers found employment in the mines and smelters of the Rocky Mountain region, especially Colorado and Utah and on the railroad gangs throughout the west. (34)

Often used as strikebreakers, these migrants were probably the worst off of the 3 groups as their relations with co-workers of other ethnic groups were hostile and their health, pay and treatment by their employers was often equally bad. It was these Greek communities in the west that were often met with violent opposition. Many stories of killings and anti-Greek rioting have been published. (35)

A second major destination of Greek immigrants was New England, to work in textile and shoe mills. While many of the migrants opened restaurants, shops and other proprietorships it was the mill workers who they served that made up to 80% of the working Greek community in these New England towns. (36)

Some of the more well known New England towns where Greek-American communities sprang up were Manchester and

Nashua, N.H., Bridgeport, New Britain and Norwich, Connecticut and Chicopee, Haverhill, Lynn, Peabody, New Bedford, Lowell and Springfield, Massachusetts. (37)

Here, the Greek labourer undercut the already established Irish and French-Canadian workers by again working for less pay. They also showed a surprising indifference to the current trend of unionization. (38) Both of these factors tended to cause hostile reactions against the Greeks from the other groups.

The vast majority of the migrants from Eptahori settled in the milltowns of New England not branching out into other areas until well after World War II. They concentrated their migration to two closely located cities, Manchester and Nashua, New Hampshire. This, like most of the Greek-American migration, was a form of chain-letter migration with a few migrating at first and sending back word to the village once they had settled, with the "exaggerated story" being spread as was explained earlier many of the other villagers followed.

This is what occurred in Eptahori after the original three migrants found employment in Nashua, N.H. word of their success reached the village and the mass out-migration was underway. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

The three Eptahorians, however, did not originally seek out a particular "type" of work. Instead, after becoming disillusioned at their embarkation point of New York City they moved north to where they had heard (while still in Eptahori) that some of the men from Pendalofon

had settled in the mill towns of New Hampshire. In effect, their migration had no planned destination, yet at the same time it was not completely haphazard.

The third and final destination of the Greek immigrants was the big cities of the Middle Atlantic and Great Lakes States. By 1914 there were at least several thousand Greeks in each of such cities as Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Gary and Milwaukee. But New York and Chicago became the pre-eminent Greek-American cities with 20,000 in each by the First World War. (39)

The work they found here was concentrated around meat packing plants, steel mills and factories. Many also took the entrepreneurial route. It is within this last capacity that the Greek-American is so well known as fruit peddlers, bootblacks and restaurateurs.

Several Eptahorians encountered a secondary phase of migration to this region (especially Detroit) after initially settling in New England to work in the railroad yards but most returned East after a year or two. Some former Eptahorians live in the Mid-Atlantic region today but are not part of Greek communities there.

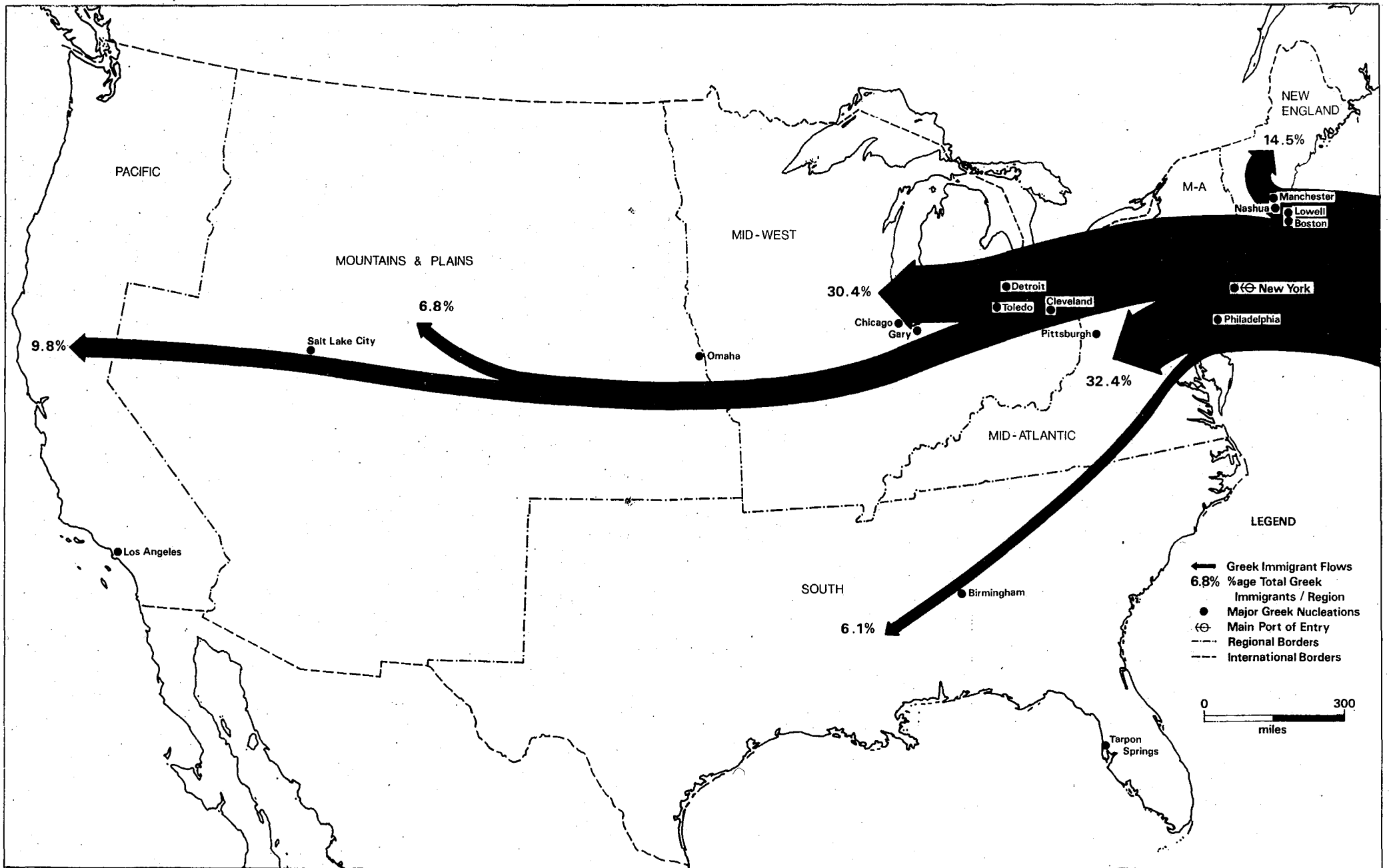
Settlement

Now that we have looked at the migration and destination of the American-bound Greek it is important in the context of this study to briefly examine the Greek-American community and those who made it up.

By 1930 (see map, p. 55) the pattern was set for the distribution of Greek communities in America. However permanent the settlement in the communities may have appeared in 1930, there were signs that the Greek immigrant did not give up the idea of returning home. A survey of 24 nationality groups showed that Greeks ranked last in acquisition of American citizenship-holding length of residence constant. (40)

Yet contrary to their original intentions it was the immigrant with the better economic fortune who decided to stay in the U.S. and bring his family over. (41.) The naturalization rate began to increase and by 1940 half of the male immigrants who had come from Greece were Americans. Also while in 1920 only one out of four Greek-Americans were born in the U.S. by 1940 American-born Greeks were in the majority. (42)

The figures changed for one reason. The 1924 Reed-Johnson Act limited the number of Greek immigrants to only 100 a year as compared to the 28,000 who emigrated in 1921. (43.) Because of this there was a mad scramble to obtain U.S. citizenship by those who wanted to still bring family members over as there was a provision in the legislation for those naturalized migrants who wanted to reunite their families. A decision had to be made by many of the male migrants - return to Greece or stay. Those with a promising future in the U.S. tended to stay - others who were barely making a livelihood returned. It was this factor which helped build the Greek-American community into a predominantly middle class community.



U.S.A.: Greek Immigration up to 1930

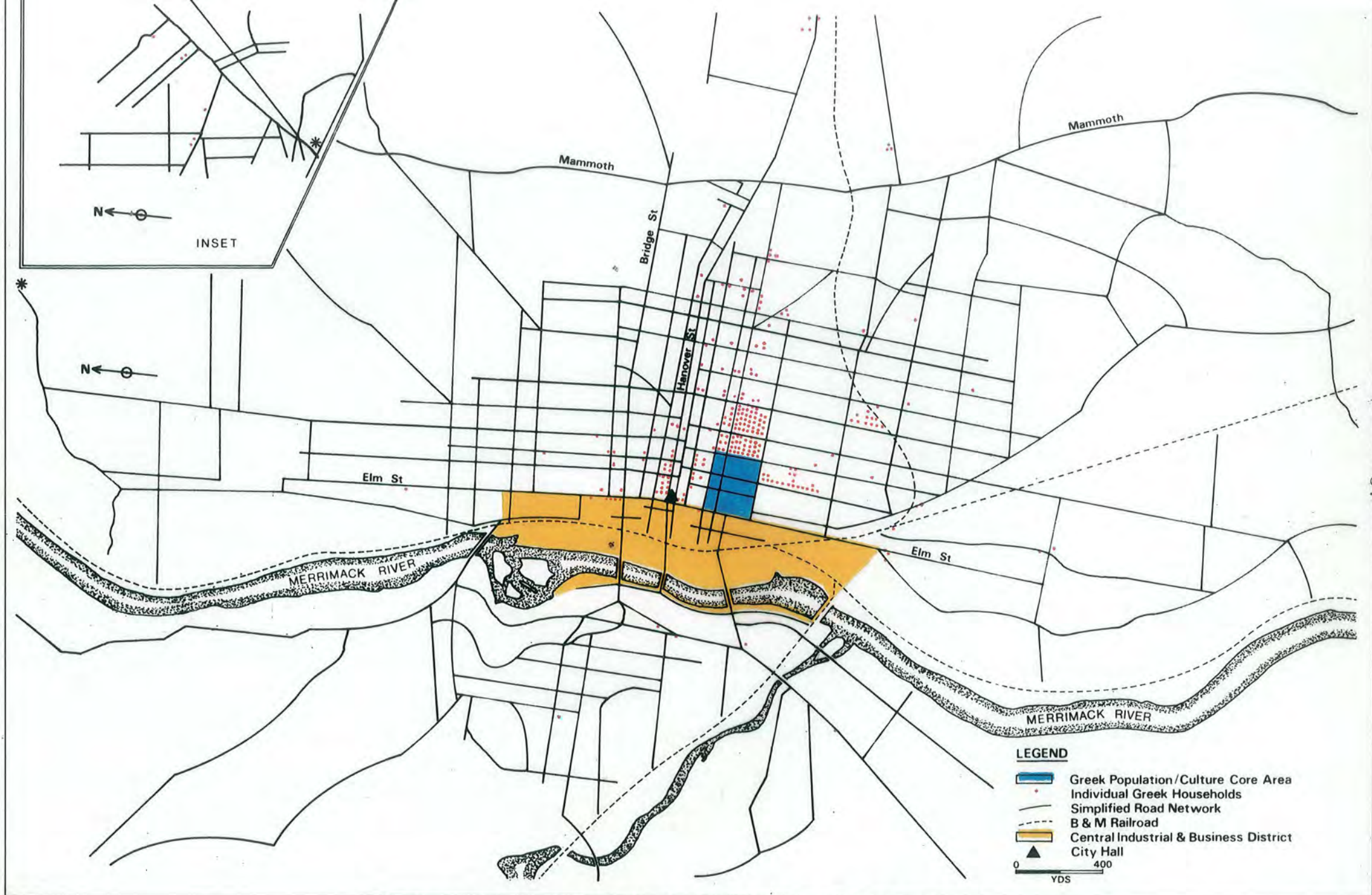
The Greek-communities were evident not only socially but were also a conspicuous feature on the landscape.

"Greek towns" were made up of numerous blocks of tenement buildings usually near the Central Business District and within walking distance of places of employment.

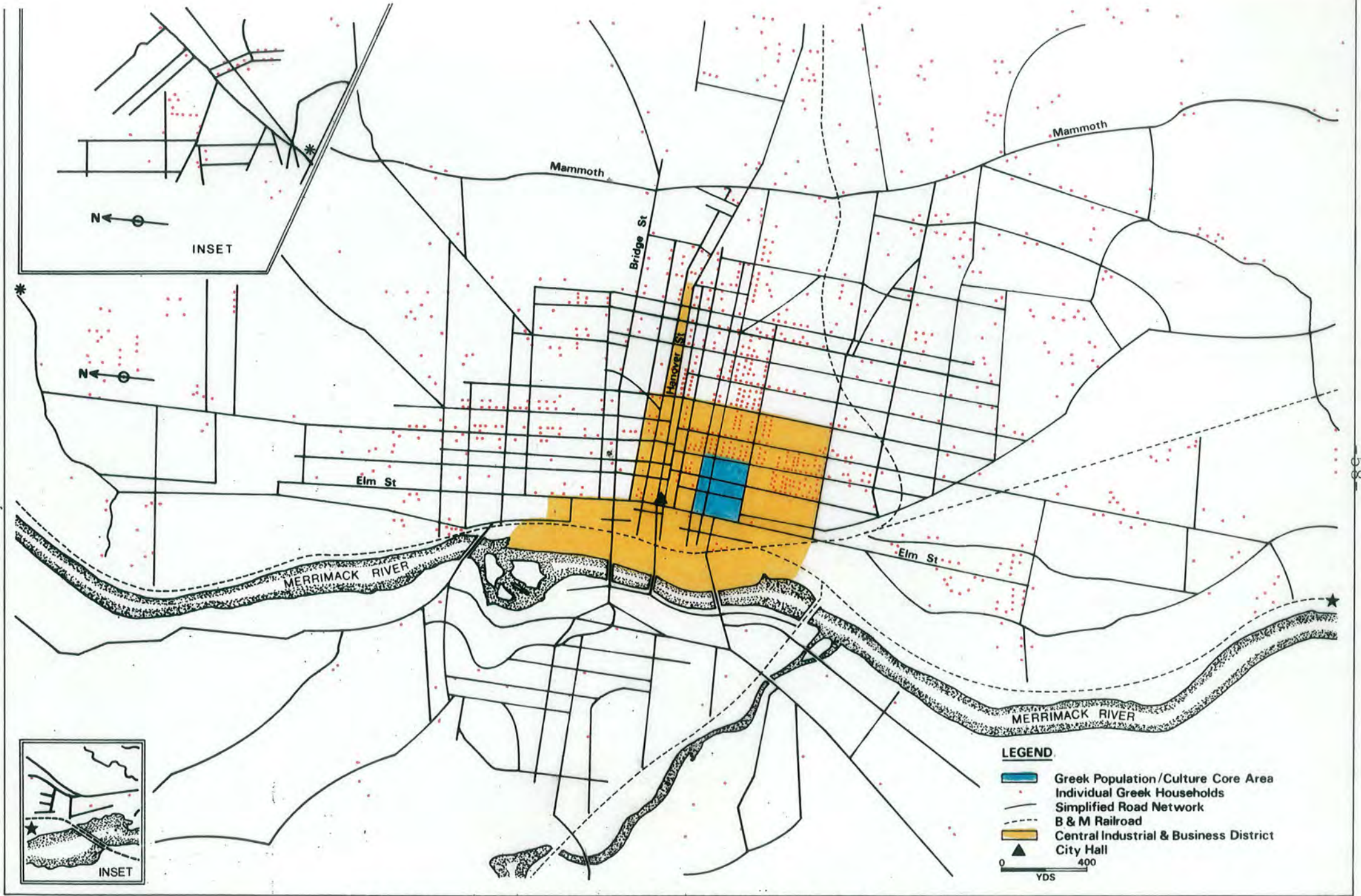
In the centre of these blocks would be the "messochori" or square where many social events were held and people gathered to talk. Greek shops lined the peripheral streets of the square and many attributes of the Greek village could be seen and heard.

The maps on pages 57 and 58 depict a Greek town of one particular U.S. city, Manchester, N.H. (a textile mill town) in 1924 and the area as it stands now. It is a very simple truth that the Greek town for the most part no longer exists. Inner urban decay in the U.S. brought on by the advent of suburbanization and urban sprawl usually left the Greek town a rundown, unkempt, slum which most communities hastily decided to tear down. Usually replaced by department stores and other business buildings, there is little remaining to commemorate the once bustling ethnic neighbourhoods that once stood here.

The Manchester Greek community was started around 1900 by the influx of Greek migrants accepting low wage employment opportunities offered by the textile mills along the Merrimack River. Manchester, a city developed in the 1820's for the sole purpose of serving as a textile center, offered an ideal site for a manufacturing town with its Amoskeag Falls a fine power source.



Manchester N.H.: Greek Household Distribution Outside the Greek Population / Culture Core Area : 1924



Manchester N.H.: Greek Household Distribution Outside the Greek Population / Culture Core Area : 1977

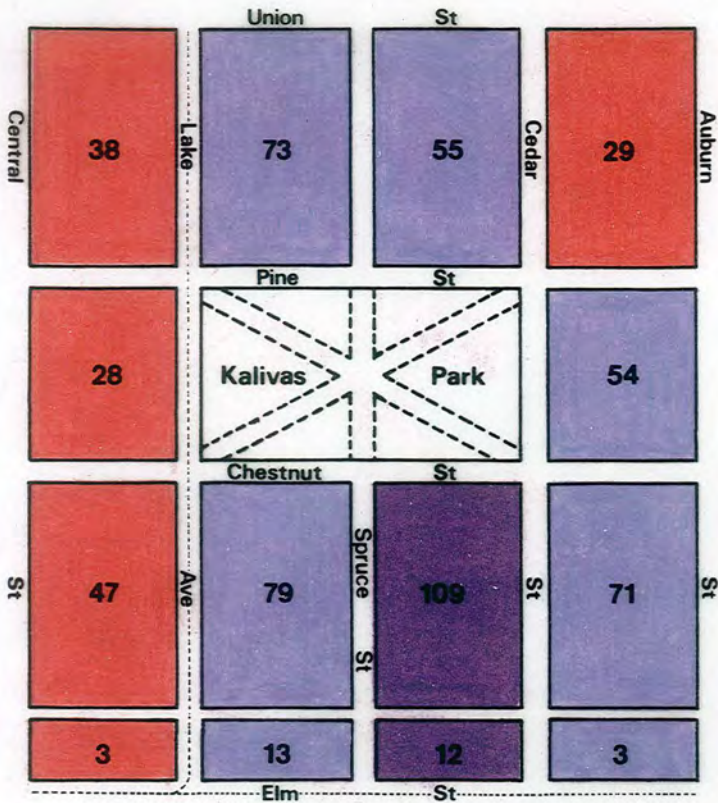
During the nineteenth century waves of immigrants such as the French-Canadian, Irish and Polish moved into the city undercutting the pre-established ethnic groups by working for less money. The Greeks did the same.

By 1905 the Greeks in Manchester numbered 300 and had quadrupled to 1,330 by 1910.⁽⁴⁴⁾ One of the first transactions performed by the Greek-Americans here, as in most milltowns, was to buy land for a site for a Greek Orthodox Church in 1912. Also, very early on settlement of the Greek workers was extremely nucleated.

Language barriers, cultural biases and discrimination forced the Greek immigrant into his own residential area where in this strange new world he could be among his own.

By 1924 (when the mass migration period had ended) the settlement of the Greek immigrants in Manchester was nucleated, localized in a ten block core area. This area was located east of the Merrimack River and southeast of the Central Business District (Elm Street) (see map, p.60) It is bounded by Union Street in the east, Auburn Street in the south, Elm Street in the west and Central Street in the north. Its attractiveness to the Greeks was obvious: it offered low-rent tenement housing which had previously been inhabited by Irish workers and was within walking distance to the mills and shoe shops where the Greeks worked.

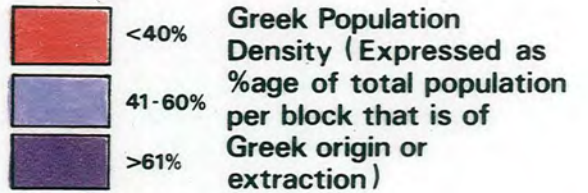
As Ward states, "The C.B.D. provided the largest and most diverse source of unskilled employment opportunities and although the facilities for local transportation were



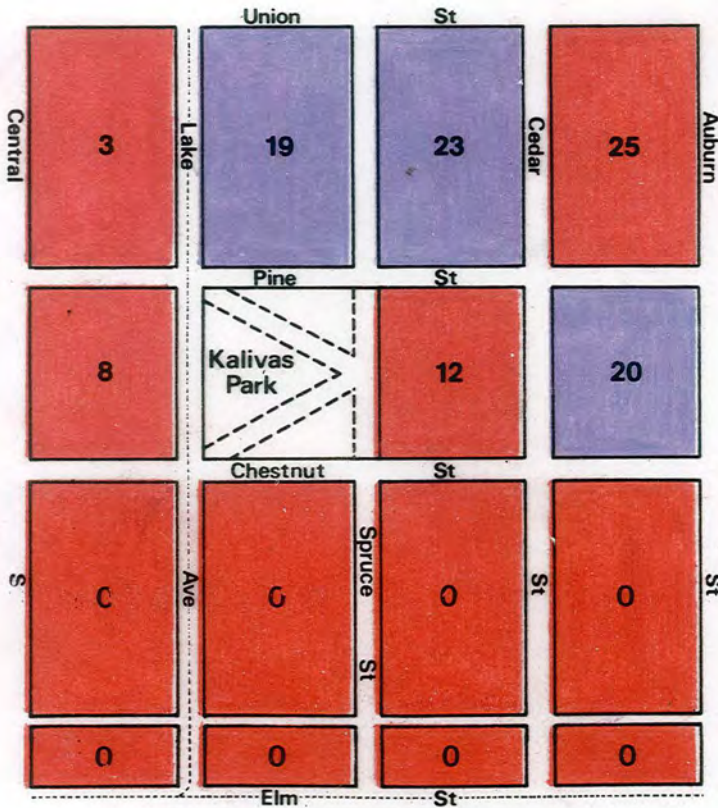
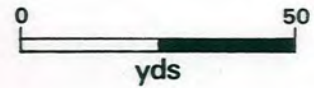
1924

Legend

38 Number of Greek Households per Block



----- Tramlines



1977

Manchester N.H.: Greek Population / Culture Core Area : Greek Population Density and Number of Greek Households 1924 and 1977

improved and enlarged during the 2nd half of the nineteenth century, many immigrants were employed in occupations with long and awkward hours and preferred a short pedestrian journey to work." (45)

A tramline on Lake Avenue gave good access to the rural hinterland, something these mostly rural Greeks valued for picnics and outings. Another reason was that a park stood in the centre of this neighbourhood. Unnamed prior to Greek settlement it became known as Kalivas Park in 1915. This park served as the community's "mesochori" or square.

While other Greeks lived outside of this nucleated area, 617 of the 897 Greek households (roughly 68%) in Manchester were located in this ten block area. The highest number of households within this area appears to be on Spruce Street, both on the west and east sides of the park.

Also, there were other ethnic groups living within this area, but in much smaller numbers. Nonetheless the minorities of Albanian, Lebanese, Syrian, Russian, Polish, Irish and Jewish households added up to 22% of the households here - the Greeks making up the rest.

Again, as Ward says, "Only a minority of the total population of a given ethnic group actually lived in the relatively small areas exclusively occupied by people of the same ethnic origin, while the boundaries of the different ethnic ghettos were seldom clearly defined, for there was a considerable mixing of groups in the intervening areas." (46)

Greek owned proprietorships in this area numbered some 129 and made up $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Greek shops in the entire city.

These proprietorships included bootblacks, tailors, coffee-houses, billiard halls, confectioners, coffee-grinders, fruit and vegetable stores, plumbers and other services.

Of the 33% of the Greek households and proprietorships in Manchester outside of this ten block area 80% of them were in the juxta-opposed blocks butting up against this area. However, these blocks were only 5-10% Greek on the average with the predominant Irish and Polish in the majority.

Generally, then, the Greek settlement pattern in Manchester, N.H. in 1924 was one of extreme nucleation and one which was geared to the economic activity of these immigrants.

The only anomaly concerning this regionalization of Greek settlement in Manchester was the twelve Greek households found east of Mammoth Road. (see map on p. 57). This area was dairy farmland and was rural in 1924. These immigrants chose to live as farmers (as they probably had in Greece) and were successful enough to eventually build their own small church (St. Nicholas) in 1928. However, they were still tied to the main area of Greek settlement by one umbilical cord, the Lake Avenue streetcar. In fact, these families were quite active in the main Greek community as their names often appear on organization membership lists. Therefore, it leads one to believe that their apparent residential independence from the Greek community was based solely on occupation.

Bonded together by an ethnic identity the Greek

settlers lived and worked for the most part in close proximity to one another creating a "Greektown" in response to the alien and sometimes hostile society around them.

Changes in the spatial distribution of Greek households and proprietorships in Manchester over the last half century are well defined. In 1977 the entire core structure of their settlement was diffused throughout the eastern and northern parts of the city (see Maps on pages 58 and 60). The ten block area which was so greatly nucleated in 1924 still contains some Greek elements including some proprietorships selling Greek commodities but it has lost its density and more importantly its space. Now 91% live outside the old nucleated area.

The blocks closest to Elm street were stripped of their tenements which had become greatly delapidated from neglect by 1960 and were replaced by department stores. Modern apartment buildings now stand on the southern half of Halivas Park as well. Few, if any, Greeks live in them.

Higher socioeconomic status and increased mobility has become a part of a very middle class Greek community since World War II. With the advent of the automobile coinciding with this social upward climbing the Greek-American in Manchester has abandoned the "mesochori" in response to his adoption of mainstream American values. (47)

Urban sprawl has also played a major role in the residential diffusion of the Greeks in Manchester as more economic activity is locating away from the congested downstream area. The overall effect, whatever the reason

is clear, the Greektown no longer exists.

Yet despite this change 75% of the Greek-Americans in Manchester interviewed in 1979 said that they felt closer to Greeks than "other" Americans and 55% said they belonged to Greek related organizations.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Indeed, the Greek-American organizations are still strong with G.O.Y.A. (Greek Orthodox Youth Associated, G.A.P.A. (Greek American Progressive Association) and the American Hellenic Educational Association having chapters in Manchester. Also Manchester continues to support three Greek Orthodox churches (St.George, Assumption and St.Nicholas).

A 1980 study conducted by the Gallup Organization Inc. for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America showed a greatly increasing amount of secularization among the younger American-born Greeks. In general, the Greek-American youth born in America appeared to have similar social views of those of their non-Greek peers. These views are not conducive to the continued existence of a Greek community as such.

In particular the Greek-American community in Manchester may have a difficult future when the number of Greek born members of the community are compared to American born over the past fifty years:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GREEKS</u>		
1930	1,604 Greek born,	1,396 American	(49)
1940	1,455 " "	(no data available)	
1950	1,298 " "	" "	
1960	1,061 " "	2,349 American	
1970	890 " "	2,282 "	
1980	683 " "	2,013 "	

These figures show that in 1980 American born Greeks outnumbered those born in Greece by over three times. If this trend continues and Greek-American migration continues to level off the Greek community in Manchester may soon run out of Greek-Americans who identify with Greek traditional values and consider themselves Greek. Already, G.O.Y.A. has suffered as its membership in Manchester decreased 45% between 1970 and 1980.

The case of the Greek-Americans in Manchester, N.H. shows that the immigrants and their offspring have spatially diffused both residentially and occupationally over the past fifty years. While some social ties are still held with the Greek community it is the youth (3rd generation Greek-Americans) who are showing signs of disinterest in the maintenance of community institutions. There is an ever-growing inter-generational difference in attitude between the original Greek immigrants and the American born youth born in the 1950's and 1960's. In the case of the latter, assimilation is evolving into acculturation. (50)

Greek American Organizations

While the "Greek town" was in its early beginnings numerous organizations were started to help unify the community socially or to seek to work out some relation between themselves and America.

The Ahepa is the biggest, most popular organization which currently has 40,000 members. Its function was to Americanize immigrants with its official use of the English language and promotion of loyalty to the U.S. Many other

Greek-American societies such as the Greek speaking Gapa, which was more traditional, were started with no bias as to membership except that one must be Greek or of Greek stock. (51)

The Greek press in America has existed since 1892 and today over a dozen Greek-American dailies and weeklies are published. Greek schools (usually associated with the community Church) and language programmes were also founded.

However, of all the groups and organizations of the Greek-American community none can stand up to the numerous associations called "topika somateia". These organizations are based on common origin from a region or even a village in the old country. A roster of the regional associations reads like this: Arcadian, Athenian, Cassian, Cephalonian, Chian, Cretan, Eilian, Epirotic, Euboean, Kasterlorizoton, Kasterian, Laconian, Lemnian, Macedonian, Messinian, Rhodian, Thessalian, Thracian and Zokinthion. These are only the larger regions. If the village associations were also counted, the list would be almost endless.

The immigrants from Eptahori, while at first dividing themselves between Nashua and Manchester, N.H. had begun their own village association in 1903. This society was formed with the intention of keeping an identity with other villagers in the U.S. and to send back funds earned in the U.S.

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Map and Figure References

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Pages 57, 58 and 60. Information obtained from Manchester City Council, Planning Division, Manchester, N.H., U.S.A.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ST. GEORGE'S EPTAHORI SOCIETY
OF THE U.S.A.

By 1900, Greek communities had begun to appear in most "milltowns" in the northeastern part of the U.S. As discussed in the previous chapter nucleation of settlement was a characteristic of many immigrant groups in urban America. While Greeks, Irish and French-Canadian immigrants lived in certain sections of the city intra-ethnic residential localization was also prevalent. It was not uncommon to find entire blocks inhabited by people from a certain village or town in the old country.

This type of settlement characteristic helped to directly manifest the continuation of an identity with the immigrants' home. The social consequences of this clustering were that the village in effect was still a major part of the immigrant's life. The fact that his friends and relatives still surrounded him maintained his knowledge of news from the village, reminded him of his experiences there and generally kept him in close contact with his place of origin. ⁽¹⁾

This situation, while initially sought after by the immigrant for protection and identity, quickly became a trap as this became his American environment. Almost all his social time was spent with old familiar faces usually gathering at the same tavern or coffeehouse. At work it was the same. Since many of the jobs received by the immigrants were made available to them by contacts with

friends, there tended to be certain sections of the factories and mills operated by men and women from certain villages or at least regions.

It was this environment which trapped the immigrant, burdening him with old world social responsibilities and limiting his penetration of the outside society. The result of this was that the first immigrants tended not to assimilate into mainstream American society but instead they continued to be "village" oriented.

Also, the immigrants did not, initially, consider themselves to be permanent Americans. Most felt that after making adequate money in America they would return to the village and live out their lives in relative ease. Their attitude in the U.S., then, was one of feeling like a visitor and for this reason not seeing any sense in becoming involved in a temporary community.

These two factors were mainly responsible for the villagers clustering together, along with the overall rejection and perceived rejection by the society of these immigrants for reasons of cultural bias. (2)

When the fact became apparent that neither wealth nor prestige was going to be gained by the immigrant immediately, the idea of pooling resources to survive became a necessity. Immigrants would often rent a tenement room with no windows and would then fit ten people into it, affording it only because of their pooled rent money. (3)

Equally when these men realized they were not going to be able to send remittance money back in any great

quantity they again found it economical to cooperate and combine their money in order to both help the village and save face. The St. George Eptahori Society was formed for these reasons.

The Formation and Activity of the
St. George Eptahori Society

The first emigrants from Eptahori to go to the U.S. arrived in New York in 1897. The first four travelled together, as was customary, and were from the wealthiest of families in the village. Three were the first businessmen in the village and the other the village teacher.

They left with the idea of returning after 2-3 years after making so much of the money they had heard about in the U.S. These men had heard that certain men from the neighbouring village of Pentalofon had struck it rich in New York. They left with the intention of doing the same.

At first the four were unemployed and only after six months did they find work in Nashua, N.H. where a sizable Greek community had already started. There they worked in a textile mill for 5 or 6 dollars for a 70 hour week. (5)

By 1903 however, conditions began to improve and more Eptahori emigrants ventured to the U.S. Before embarking from Eptahori the four original migrants had agreed to pay the new teacher's salary in the village from their "riches" earned in America. They, of course, could not afford it and therefore had to take up a collection to raise money for this purpose. Even with the newly arriving

Eptahori immigrants only 3 dollars could be raised. That was the teacher's salary for 1903.

In this same year the Brotherhood was formed. This was a social organization only, having no economic purposes and did not actively seek to raise money for the village.

By 1909, forty Eptahorians had come to the U.S. with about half living in Nashua and the other half in Manchester, N.H. However, in June of that year a man named John Soltas emigrated from the village and upon arriving in Nashua devised a plan for the Brotherhood to purchase a building and turn it into an apartment house, putting the rent money into the treasury of the Brotherhood and eventually investing this money to bring in a greater dividend. This revenue was to be used to help build public buildings in the village. The first instalment on the building would cost one thousand dollars, approximately what the Brotherhood had already saved to help pay for the construction of a new church in Eptahori. The members took a chance however, and bought the building, relinquishing all they had saved for the church and on September 1, 1909 they collected their first rent.

The men, now enthusiastic about the potential of their organization decided to become recognized as the Brotherhood of the State of New Hampshire and to print their first constitution. From conversations at the coffeehouses of Manchester and Nahua the leaders of the Brotherhood were beginning to learn how other Greek towns had started and developed their American clubs in order to send

remittance money to their homes. The villages of Samarina, Pendalofon, Kaloniotes and the town of Grevena had started their societies ten years before and were beginning to send back dividend cheques to go to the building of schools, churches, chapels, libraries and other community buildings.

By 1912 the Brotherhood was adding 200 dollars to its bank deposit every month.⁽⁶⁾ But little could be done for the village during the turmoil of the two Balkan wars.

The society was growing so large by now (approx. 50 members) that a secretary and assistant secretary had to be elected. At the first General Assembly of July 1914 the members proposed to reorganize themselves and change the name of the Brotherhood to the St. George's Society of Vorvotsikon in America. The proposal was unanimously passed.

They also elected a committee to write a constitution and to determine the appointment of a doctor to visit the village two times a month. The salary was set at 4,600 drachmas a year. Also, \$1,000 was appropriated and sent to the village for the construction of the new church which was completed in 1916.

In 1921 the society decided to put up 150,000 drachmas for the building of a grammar school and even prepared the plan for its construction. However, the villagers in Eptahori were having difficulty in determining where the school should be built and the rift carried over the Atlantic, seriously hurting the society.

Despite the fact that this problem seems minor in retrospect, it demoralized the members of the society and with the gradual diffusing of members to different parts of New England and New York (in particular Waterbury, Conn. and New York City) the society had difficulty holding together. While some dues were still being paid the national economic crash of October 1929 severely depleted the society's funds. Through the 1930's the society barely slid by with little activity.

In 1942, with the male Eptahorians in America in the military, the Ladies Society of Eptahori was formed in order to send food and clothing to the villagers under Italian and eventual German siege. Also, just after the war the women delivered a tower clock for the church (cost \$2,000) as well as a chandelier, flagstone, seats and other church necessities. (7)

After the war, however, the Eptahori Society found itself in trouble still as many of its members had moved away from the Manchester-Nashua region and also because the booming post-war economy in America offered much more to Greek-Americans than it had ever done before. The reasons for remaining close to the village were diminishing, becoming less apparent. (8) By 1952 only seven members turned up at the General Assembly meeting and in 1953 it was decided to break the society up.

Fortunately, three or four of the more zealous members saw that attitudes might change and kept the society intact by addressing one of the more pressing

problems facing it. This problem was the lack of representation for members outside of the Manchester-Nashua area.

These members gained assurances satisfactory to them that they would be able to hold leadership positions despite being in the minority and that their views would be heard in debate as to what purposes society money would be used for. This helped to bring back interest in the society from those who were affected by this resolution. But it was two major political developments which gradually restimulated interest.

The immigration law of 1924 which halted the flow of migrants into the U.S. was overturned in 1948. The Americans from Eptahori hastened to call over relatives, especially children, as the Greek Civil War was raging. These new immigrants would eventually stimulate interest in the society.

Finally, the Black Civil Rights movements which sprung out of the mid 1950's and culminated with the 1964 Civil Rights Act seemed to spur other ethnic groups into ethnocentricity.⁽⁹⁾ This "roots" syndrome helped to regenerate interest as well.

The Eptahori Society survived and membership reached over 120 for the first time ever in 1970. The Ladies Eptahori Society also got up to 60 members, an all-time high.

Over 60% of the members live outside the original "core" area of New Hampshire settlement, some as far away as Oregon,

California and Florida. The diffusion continues yet the society remains healthy. The annual summer meeting and picnic in Meridan, Connecticut draws as many as 250 people.

The society has also continued to keep up its remittance sending to the village. Most recently the society sent back over \$20,000 for the erection of the chapel near the cemetery on the extreme western side of the village. (10).

During the past decade an annual amount has also been sent for the upkeep of the library-town office and the purchase of books.

Since the early 1960's the government in Athens has paid the town physician's salary under their National Health system, yet the society still pays for the presence of specialists such as the gynecologist and on a different note has helped to build and upkeep the communal forestry and dairy buildings found out to the west one-half mile from the village.

The Constitution of the St. George
Eptahori Society

In 1954, due to the disagreements between the members on sectional representation, a new constitution was drawn up. This is the constitution which is still in use today:

I. Existing in the U.S.A. the St. George's Society of Eptahorians with principal sect in Nashua, N.H.

II. Purpose of the society is the mutual, ethical and progressive assistance for its members, and for all

members to express brotherly and patriatic love and high support for our birthplace Eptahori.

III. The benevolent purpose of the society is the support of the village physician and providing medical supplies to the residents of Eptahori and surrounding villages. To also provide, if the financial ability of the society permits, other agreeable projects such as the restoration and maintenance of the village church, the monastery of St. George, financial support of the village school and other projects agreed upon by the majority of the members.

IV. The society is comprised of regular members and honourable members. The members must have their heritage based in Eptahori and living in the U.S.A. The honourable members are considered to be those that have served the society and supported its purposes over the years and now because of age have given the leadership to younger members.

V. The members of the society pledge with brotherly love, harmony and unity to support the society's effort to aid the village physician and any other philanthropic purpose to be undertaken by the society.

Income of the Society

VI. The financial resources of the society will be composed of membership dues (\$2.00 initiation dues and \$6.00 annual dues). Financial gifts of support will also be accepted in helping to fulfil the society's purposes.

VIII. The society will be governed by nine members that will be hereafter called the Board of Directors. The Board will be comprised of a President, a Vice-President,

a treasurer, a secretary, three advisors and two auditors.

VIII. (Articles 8-15 discuss the duties and choosings of the officers).

Areas

XVI. The geographic areas are as follows: Area 1 to include the states of N.H., Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. Area 2 to include all other states. The Board of Directors serving the same term must be from the same area. The General Assembly will decide from what geographic area the next Board of Directors will be nominated from for the next election. The nine members receiving the highest plurality of votes will be considered to be the Board of Directors. If a member refuses to serve, then the one with the next highest number of votes shall be elected and so forth, the nine members of the Board will be responsible for electing the officers from amongst themselves.

XVII. The Board of Directors shall meet every three months but can meet in special session to discuss any immediate situation. The General meeting will be held on a regular basis every year, but special meetings can be called to discuss any urgent matters so deemed by the Board of Directors. The regular General meeting will be held in the month of July to correspond with the nearest weekend to that of the name-day of our village saint. The regular meeting will be held in the geographic area of the presiding Board of Directors.

XVIII. If the membership of the society decreases to nine members or less, the society will then be considered dissolved and whatever funds that remain shall be placed under a trust agreement with a bank in the U.S.

The interest from those funds, and only the interest, will be sent to the village Eptahori to provide funds for the execution of Article III.

XIX. The General Assembly will be empowered by majority vote of those present to act upon whatever situation that may not be expressed in the constitution as long as it is recorded in the secretary's minutes and does not conflict with any article of the constitution.

XX. The 20 Article of the Constitution has been presented to the members of the regular General Meeting and so approved. The constitution is effective as to the day of ratification July 30, 1955. Any article may be amended or altered by 2/3 of the regular members except for Articles I, II and III. (11)

Transactions of the St. Georges Eptahori Society

The following are the remittance transactions carried out by the society since its beginning. Purposes of gifts are given when available:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> \$	<u>PURPOSE (S)</u>
1903	3	teacher's salary
1904	5	"
1905	10	"
1906	10	"
1907	20	"
1908	20	"
1909	50	teacher's salary & medical supplies
1910	40	" "
1911	40	" "
1912-14	0	
1915	1,200	teacher's salary, doctors salary, church constr.
1916	600	"
1917-18	500	interior work on church, supplies
1919	300	salaries
1920	420	"
1921	1,100	construction of grammar school
1922	200	salaries
1923	220	"
1924	300	"
1925	250	salaries, const. of house for priest
1926	350	" "
1927	350	" "
1928	300	salaries

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>	<u>PURPOSE(S)</u>
	\$	
1929	100	salaries
1930	0	
1931	50	"
1932	100	"
1933	50	"
1934-35	0	
1936	85	"
1937	85	"
1938-40	50	"
1941-45	0	
1946	2,500	medical supplies and food
1947	2,000	"
1948-51	3,000	medical supplies, food, clothing
1952	500	salaries
1953	400	"
1954	400	"
1955	500	"
1956	500	"
1957	750	"
1958	780	"
1959	650	"
1960	1,620	purchase of a skidder and truck for lumber
1961	1,500	"
1962	750	building of lumber storage building
1963	1,000	construction of communal dairy building

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> \$	<u>PURPOSE (S)</u>
1964	300	gynaecologist salary and others
1965	400	"
1966	550	"
1967	650	to help build
1968	250	salaries
1969	300	"
1970	800	"
1971	10,000	construction of chapel
1972	10,000	"
1973	200	books for library
1974	300	" school renovations
1975	200	"
1976	0	
1977	3,000	for pavement of back alleys & paths
1978	300	"
1979	0	
1980	500	church renovations
1981	0	
1982	1,000	school renovations (11)
1983	0	

The following are the actions taken by the Ladies Eptahori Society during the five year period they were raising funds:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> \$	<u>PURPOSE</u>
1941	200	food, clothing, cash
1942	600	"
1943	1,800	"
1944	2,000	"
1945	1,600	" and church clock, chandelier

As can be seen from these figures the St. George Eptahori Society has contributed to the well being of the village in a rather consistent manner despite periods of internal dissension and unrest.

The most noticeable gifts from the society were those intended for the construction of the church and grammar school, the almost annual payment of the teachers' and doctor's salary (until 1970), the purchase of a skidder and truck for the lumber industry and the construction of the chapel on the westernmost part of town.

The total amount of this remittance sending over the eighty year period has been \$52,408 an average of \$655 per year.

The Ladies Eptahori Society sent \$6,200 worth of products and cash to the village during their 5 year period of activity, an average of \$1,240 per year.

Recently the St. George's Eptahori Society has halted its usual annual gifts since the doctor and teachers salary are now paid by the Athens government. As the secretary of the society related to me the members are beginning to run out of ideas for sending the gifts. This, he said, is starting to lessen interest in the society, although as a social event the annual picnic is still well attended.

Notes on the American Society of Pendalofon

The eastern neighbour of Eptahori is a village called Pendalofon. It is located in a much similar environment and has had an almost identical history since joining the Greek State. It experienced the same out-migration to the U.S. as did Eptahori and today there are still some 110 heads of households from Pendalofon residing in the U.S. (13)

In an attempt to compare the trans-Atlantic relationships between those U.S. immigrants from Eptahori and those from Pendalofon I tried to find evidence of a U.S.-Pendalofon connection. From conversation with Pendalofon emigrants in America I learned of the existence of a society very similar to the St. George's Eptahori Society.

The American Society of Pendalofon was established in 1897 by a handful of newly arrived immigrants from Greece. Its headquarters was in Nashua, N.H. Soon other migrants in Manchester, N.H. and Lowell, Massachusetts joined the society and began attending the annual meetings.

Its foundation was, at first, based on the social cohesiveness of the immigrants and to keep each other informed with news from the village. It was not until 1900 that they officially declared their philanthropic intentions and desires.

The society mainly wanted to help the well-being of the village of Pendalofon in any material and spiritual way it could. Membership fees were mandatory and an additional annual fee was paid as well. By 1910

the society had invested much of its money in stock certificates and was sending dividends back to the village for the payment of services and construction.

By 1920 the Pendalofon Society had at least 150 members and continued to function up until the Second World War. During World War II the society was disbanded due to the drafting of many of the males into the American armed services. As with the Eptahori Society the women mobilized and started their own society using funds from the male society and sent money and goods to the village.

Although the Pendalofon Society is still in existence it is having a much more difficult time in raising interest and therefore funds. As the old members are dying off few of their American-born siblings are joining the society. Their activity is less than that of the Eptahori Society in that they only meet biennially now and have not sent a gift to the village since 1979.

Some of the more notable projects undertaken by the Pendalofon Society has been the funds sent for the construction of a grammar school in the 1920's, as well as teacher and doctor salaries, scholarship funds and communal wells.

American organizations also represent other villages in the periphery of Eptahori including the American Zouzouli Society, Brothers of the American Society of Samarina and the American Society of Dilofon. All of these organizations were built for similar purposes as that of the Eptahori and Pendalofon societies.

The fact that these other, nearly identical societies, exist for the same reasons as the Eptahori Society that the case of Eptahori is not an unusual or anomalous one and that given substantial migration to the U.S. from these rural Greek villages, the formation of an organization created for social and economic reasons by these migrants can be considered normal if not expected.

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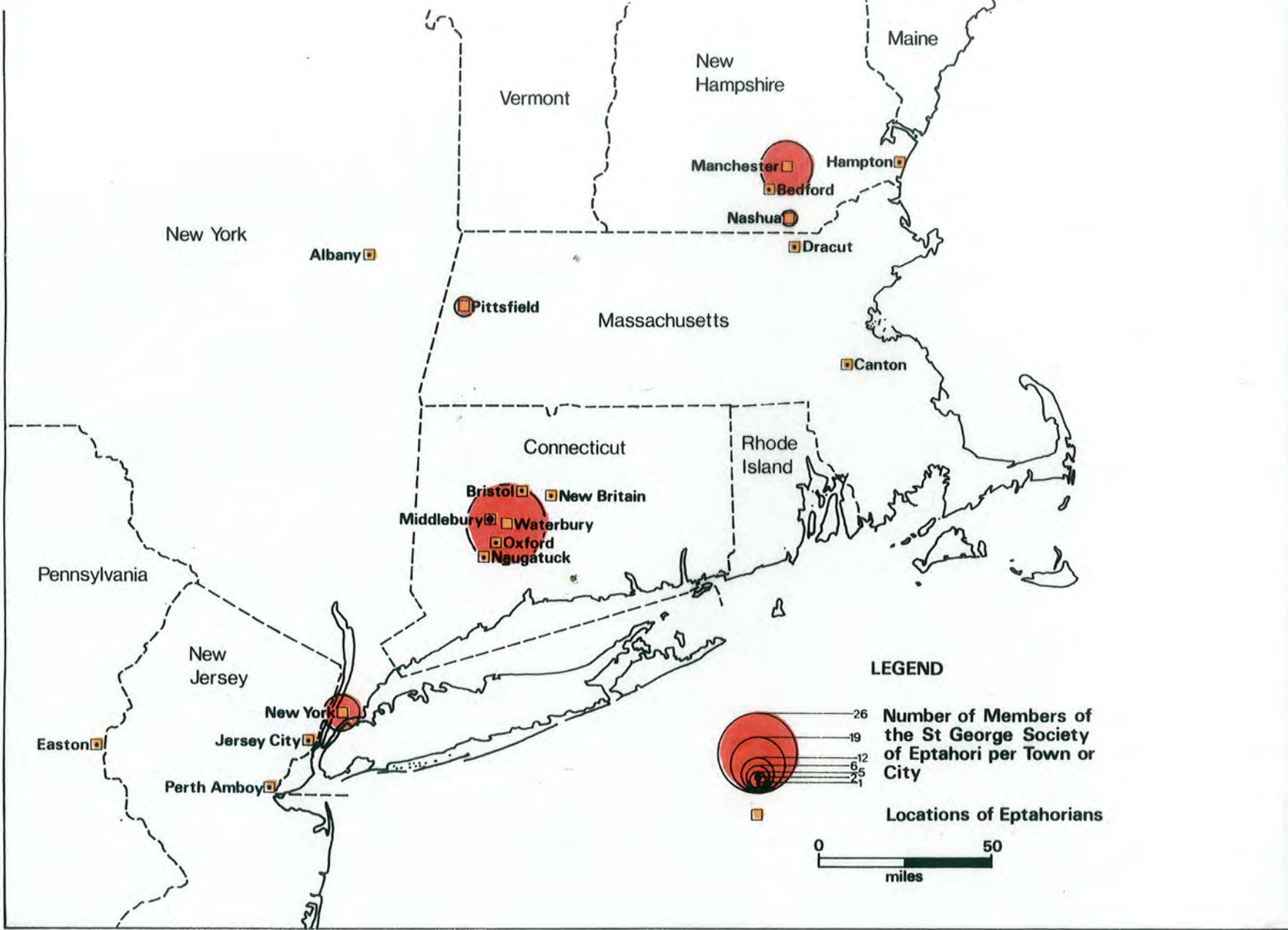
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS OF FIELDWORK IN THE U.S.A. WITH
SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE GREEK-AMERICANS
FROM EPTAHORI, KASTORIA

Questionnaire : Members of the St.George's Eptahori Society

During the early summer of 1982 a survey concerning the linkage of Eptahori emigrants in the U.S.A. was devised and produced. A copy of this survey was sent to all members of the St.George's Eptahori Society and dealt with the perceptual and objective factors involved in the linkage between these people and the village of Eptahori. Since the society is all-male in membership and the Ladies Society of Eptahori is made up of members of the same households as that of the male society it was decided that the questionnaires would be sent to the male members only.

The distribution of the members was as follows:
31 resided in the state of Connecticut, 32 in New Hampshire, 13 in New York, 9 in Massachusetts, 4 in Virginia, 2 in New Jersey, 2 in Oregon, 1 in California, 1 in Florida, 1 in Pennsylvania and 1 in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario in Canada. (see map, p. 90). The total number of questionnaires sent out was 98. From these 98, 49 (50%) responded. The distribution of the respondents was as follows: 22 from New Hampshire, 11 from Connecticut, 5 from New York, 5 from Massachusetts, 2 from Virginia, 1 from Pennsylvania, 1 from Oregon, 1 from California and 1 from Quebec, Canada.



Distribution of Eptahorians in the North East U.S.
1980

39

The questionnaire attempted to obtain information from the respondents which primarily dealt with the aspects of linkage to the village. The questionnaires were mailed out due to the geographic distribution of the members. It was impossible to give the survey in person although this would have been preferable.

Therefore, the questions were written with the realization that a mail-survey would be less likely to gain response if the respondents are asked personal questions such as those dealing with finances and exact political affiliation. The questionnaire was broken down into 10 units of questions with approximately 4 sub-questions per unit. The units were composed of the "linkage factors" as follows:

- 1) ORIGINAL RELATION TO VILLAGE
- 2) VISITS TO VILLAGE
- 3) KINSHIP TIES
- 4) COMMUNICATION
- 5) LAND OWNERSHIP
- 6) VISITS FROM EPTAHORIANS
- 7) PERCEPTIONS OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IN VILLAGE
- 8) PERCEPTIONS OF PERIPHERAL ETHNICITY
- 9) PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL INTEREST
- 10) THE FUTURE

These units or topics were selected for reasons of simplicity and inconspicuousness. The respondents suspiciousness was taken into account when selecting these units. Since the interviewer would not be present to reassure or reinforce the respondent concerning the validity of the questionnaire all caution had to be taken so as

not to inhibit the respondent from filling out and returning the survey. These units while touching on possibly sensitive topics like ownership and political philosophy veered away from talking "dollars and cents" or party membership. The units are described as follows:

1) Original relation to village. This first unit asked three basic sub-questions most important to the questionnaire : (a) whether or not the person was born or had lived in Eptahori, (b) when they had emigrated to the U.S. and (c) what village or town in Greece or the U.S. did they consider their hometown. These questions made up the basis of the hypothesis on the questionnaire (to be dealt with later) which concerns itself with the idea of the respondent's origin and how that affects his linkage to the village. The questions are relevant in that when comparing and contrasting the dates of emigration to the overall period of outmigration from Greece there may be some proof of what historical factors contributed to act as the push mechanism behind this emigration.

2) The next step was to enquire as to whether or not the respondent had returned to or had visited the village and when. This information is important in that the effect of frequent or infrequent visits may play a role in the linkage one has with the village. The number of visits and the dates of these visits are the important data.

3) Since kinship seemed to be extremely important in the amount of linkage between the members and the village, a simple bi-faceted question concerning kinship was asked. The first part merely enquired if the respondent has

relatives in the village and secondly, if so, what relatives and how many are residing there. The second part asked that if they did have relations in the village to list the "type" of relative and how many. The differences between those who have extended family in the village and those who have nuclear may show up in the other questions.

4) Another important cause and effect of trans-Atlantic linkage is the amount of communication generated between the Greek-Americans and the villagers. This communication was divided into three classifications in the questionnaire in order to help clarify the intensity of this form of linkage. Mail or post, telecommunications and special occasion correspondence were the three classes with the former two the quantifying question of, 'How many do you send per year?' and with the special occasion question 'if yes, on what occasions?' as follow-ups. The differences in the types of communications are crucial.

First, the economic (cost) difference between sending a letter or gift or making a telephone call across the Atlantic is quite pronounced. Secondly, the intimacy of the types of communicating are also quite different. These factors should produce evidence which will reveal overall answering differences between the yes/no's, many/few.

5) Village land ownership by members of the society in America is another factor which should be an indication of an individual's linkage with Eptahori. A unit dealing with this had five sub-questions : (a) the respondent was asked if he owned land in the village, (b) if yes, the

amount (c) the manner in which he acquired the land
(d) whether or not the land will be used in the future
(e) and if so, how it will be used. Again, the answers to these questions should help to gauge the individuals interest in the village. Owning land there is considered a great indicator of linkage as it is direct investment in the village by an individual.

6) This cluster of questions deals with the number of visits (when they occurred and the length of stay) by villagers to the member's household in the U.S.A. This will determine how reciprocal visits (Question 2) affect linkage and to what degree these visits are based on kinship ties.

7) Question 7 is broken down into three sub-questions each dependent on the other. The respondent was asked to "grade" his opinion of Eptahori's economic well-being relative to that of the American middle-classes for three different time periods, 1955, 1982 and 1990. The grading was done on a scale of 1 to 10 with "5" hypothetically being the "average" American middle class family's economic well-being. The primary purpose of this question is to work out how different respondents graded Eptahori's economic well-being in accordance with their answering on other questions.

8) The perception of the respondents towards the peripheral ethnic groups found in Macedonia was considered to be an important factor in measuring the evolution of linkage. Located in the midst of a national shatter-belt

and being the victim of foreign guerillas and armies over the centuries, Eptahorians still held strong feelings towards their ethnic neighbours. This question may determine if the immigrants in the U.S. have changed their attitudes contrary to the present feelings in the village.

These migrants entered a "melting pot" society after departing from the village and were forced to live and work within the same community with many of these people in the U.S.A. Do they hold a different more open attitude towards these same ethnic groups or are the perceptual feelings more strongly attached to general cultural biases which are not affected over short term displacement? Also, those who tended to avoid giving low ratings to any groups, are they less inclined to answer positively on other questions than those who seem to have the overall village viewpoint ?

9) This unit of questions looks at the political perception of the respondents and the interest in Greek-Eptahori political issues as displayed in another grading technique similar to the one used in question 7. In this question the respondents were asked to grade their interest in Greek national and village politics as opposed to their interest in American politics. The relative value was "5" again. Also, the respondents were asked if they would vote for Mr. Papandreov's government and if not, who? This question was intended to measure the voting behaviour of the Eptahorians in America as opposed to those still in the village.

The questions on political interest though were asked to determine whether the respondent was politically American or Greek in priority. They were geared to gauge the feelings for the village as opposed to current environment.

10) These questions dealt with the futuristic aspects of impending return migration on the part of the migrants and with the future of the St. George Eptahori Society in America. More precisely the interviewees were asked if they were planning to return to live in the village at a later date. Also, the question asks if the respondent feels the society will carry on with the next generation of Greek-Americans or new immigrants from the village.

These were the ten units. Each unit was designed so that the responses could be interpreted as being negative or positive in its effect on the individual's linkage with the village.

From this, presuppositions were stated as applying to the questionnaire. (1) All negative answers show some disassociation with linkage. (2) All positive answers show some association with linkage.

Also, the responses of these members of the St. Georges Eptahori Society should be relatively positive for two reasons. (1) These people have voluntarily joined an organization dedicated to the existence of a mutual relationship between migrant and village. (2) Those who did respond to this questionnaire are, in all probability, those members with a greater level of interest in their association with Eptahori.

Next is a copy of the questionnaire followed by the results.

QUESTION 1:

a) Were you born in or had you lived in the village of Eptahori before emigrating to the U.S.A.? YES NO (Please circle answer).

b) If you answered "yes", what year did you make your initial trip to the U.S.A.? _____

c) If you answered "no", of what village or town in Greece or the U.S.A. do you consider yourself a native?

QUESTION 2:

a) Have you ever returned to Eptahori since your initial visit or move to the U.S.A.? YES NO (Please circle answer).

b) If you answered "yes", how many times and in what years did not return? _____

c) If you have lived all your life in the U.S.A., have you ever visited Eptahori? YES NO (If "yes", please answer part b).

QUESTION 3:

a) Do you have any relatives residing in Eptahori (including in-laws)? YES NO

b) If you answered "yes" please designate which relative and how many:

___ mother ___ father ___ sister(s) ___ brother(s)
___ grandmother(s) ___ grandfather(s) ___ aunt(s)
___ uncle(s) ___ Greatgrandmother(s) ___ greatgrandfather(s)
___ cousin(s) ___ son(s) ___ daughter(s) ___ son-inlaw(s)
___ daughter-in-law(s) ___ mother-in-law ___ father-in-law
___ niece ___ nephew ___ brother-in-law ___ sister-in-law

QUESTION 4:

- a) Do you communicate with these relatives by mail? YES NO
- b) If you answered "yes", approximately how many letters do you send per year? _____
- c) Do you communicate with these people by telephone or telegram? YES NO
- d) If "yes", how often each year? _____
- e) Do you send gifts or greeting cards to relatives in the village? YES NO
- f) If "yes", on which occasions? _____

QUESTION 5:

- a) Do you own any land in the village of Eptahori? YES NO
- b) If you answered "yes", how much land do you own (in acres)? _____
- c) How did you come to own this land? (purchase or inheritance).
- d) Do you plan to use the land in the future? YES NO
- e) If you are going to use your land, in what manner will you use it? _____

QUESTION 6:

- a) Have you had friends or relatives from Eptahori visit you here in the U.S.A.? YES NO
- b) If you answered "yes", in what year(s) did these visit(s) occur and what was the approximate length of these visits? _____

QUESTION 7:

- a) If, on a scale of 10 the average American middle class family's economic well-being (i.e. their buying power, availability of goods, access to urban areas) was rated at 5, at what number would you rate the average Eptahori family's economic well-being? (please circle one number) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- b) From your knowledge of the village where would you have rated the economic well-being of the Eptahori family in 1955? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- c) From your knowledge of current economic trends in the village where do you think you might be rating the average Eptahori family in 1990? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

QUESTION 8:

As you know Eptahori is located near many different peoples. From your own experiences which peoples would you prefer as neighbours here in the U.S.A? (Rate with one (1) being the most desirable down to six (6)).

 Albanians Bulgarians Jews Turks Vlachs Yugoslavs

QUESTION 9:

- a) If American political issues were rated at 5 on a scale of one to ten in terms of importance to you, how important to you are Greek political issues?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- b) If you could vote in a Greek National Election today would you vote for Mr.Papandreou's government? YES NO
- c) If "no" who would you vote for? _____
- d) More specifically if your ward or town political issues

here in the U.S.A were rated at 5, how important would Eptahori political issues be to you using the same scale?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

QUESTION 10:

a) Do you plan to live in Eptahori some day?

YES NO UNCERTAIN

b) Do you feel the next generation of Greek-Americans whose parents and grandparents were from Eptahori (i.e. the children born in the 1960's-1970's) will carry on with the Eptahorian Society?

YES NO UNCERTAIN

c) Do you feel there will be a sufficient number of new immigrants from Eptahorian who will take an interest in the Eptahori Society and therefore keep it in existence if the Greek-Americans of the 1960's and 1970's fail to do so?

YES NO UNCERTAIN

Results of all Answers

QUESTION 1: a) 49 Answered
34 Yes - 15 No (69% - 31%)
b) 34 Answered
1947/8 Average date
c) 14 Answered
1 Aegina Island, 1 Athens, 9 Manchester, N.H.
1 Nashua, N.H., 1 Waterbury, Conn. 1 Oregon

QUESTION 2: a) 37 Answered
35 Yes - 2 No (95% - 5%)
b) 44 Answered
2.34 Average No trips (103 trips total)
1st trip - 1965 avg. date
Most recent - 1973. 3 avg. Data
Avg. date of all trips 1964.3
c) 12 Answered
12 Yes - 0 No (100% - 0%)

QUESTION 3: a) 49 Answered
47 Yes - 2 No (96% - 4%)
* 8(8) Mother 9(9) Father 11(13) Sister 8(13) Brother
6(7) Grandmother 4(4) Grandfather 28(96) Aunt
32(88) Uncle 0(0) G.Grandmother 0(0) G.Grandfather
40(260) Cousin 0(0) Son 0(0) Daughter 0(0) Son-in-Law
0(0) Daughter-in-Law 2(2) Mother-in-Law 3(3) Father-in-Law
2(2) Niece 3(3) Nephew 3(3) Brother-in-Law
2(2) Sister-in-Law.

*Figures in parentheses represent total number of relatives - while other figures represent number of respondents answering positively.



- QUESTION 4:
- a) 49 Answered
37 Yes - 12 No (76% - 24%)
 - b) 37 Answered
7.51 Avg. No. of letters
 - c) 49 Answered
23 Yes - 26 No (47% - 53%)
 - d) 23 Answered
4.70 Avg. Tel. calls
 - e) 49 Answered
38 Yes - 11 No (78% - 22%)
 - f) Majority said Christmas, Easter.
26 Christmas, 24 Easter, 11 Name days
4 New Years, 2 Birthdays, 1 Wedding
7 holidays in general, 1 Travel,
1 Father's Day

- QUESTION 5:
- a) 46 Answered
24 Yes - 22 No (52% - 48%)
 - b) 18 Answered
28.16 Acre Avg.
 - c) 24 Answered
1 Purchase - 23 inheritance (4% - 96%)
 - d) 22 Answered
11 Yes - 11 No (50% - 50%)
 - e) 11 Answered
2 Undecided, 3 Vacation home
5 Residence, 1 Residence-Grazing

- QUESTION 6:
- a) 47 Answered
39 Yes - 8 No (83% - 17%)
 - b) 32 Answered
52 Visits

- QUESTION 7: a) 45 Answered
3.97 Avg. Rating
- b) 39 Answered
2.33 Avg. Rating
- c) 45 Answered
5.31 Avg. Rating

- QUESTION 8: Albanians - 36 Answered
2.11 Avg. Rating
- Bulgarians - 35 Answered
3.46 Avg. Rating
- Jews - 35 Answered
3.54 Avg. Rating
- Turks - 34 Answered
5.26 Avg. Rating
- Vlachs - 37 Answered
2.70 Avg. Rating
- Yugoslavs - 37 Answered
3.11 Avg. Rating

- QUESTION 9: a) 45 Answered
4.04 Avg. Rating
- b) 43 Answered
10 Yes - 33 No (23% - 77%)
- c) 28 Answered
10 Don't know, 1 Moderate, 2 Democratic,
1 Communist, 2 Right Wing, 5 Totsis,
6 Karamanlis
- d) 42 Answered
4.19 Avg. Rating

- QUESTION 10 : a) 49 Answered
5 Yes - 25 No - 19 Uncertain (10%-51%-39%)
- b) 49 Answered
22 Yes - 8 No - 19 Uncertain (45%-16%-39%)
- c) 49 Answered
18 Yes - 13 No - 18 Uncertain (37%-26%-37%)

Analysis of All Answers

Question 1a. which was answered by 100% of the respondents showed that more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of them had resided in the village at one time or another with the average date of emigration at 1947-8. Those who didn't originate in the village were mostly born in Manchester or more generally, New England. These answers show a broad spectrum of dates of migration and a significant number of native Americans. These are important factors as they made it possible to compare and contrast the overall answering patterns of these respondents having different originating backgrounds.

The second unit questions showed very definite ties in terms of visiting the village by those who had answered "yes" on 1a. 95% of the migrants had returned to the village with the average number of trips being 2.34 per respondent. Almost all of the trips have occurred over the past thirty years with 1964 being the average date of all trips. 100% of those responding to 2c. said that they had visited the village. These figures show that the vast majority of respondents have a knowledge of Eptahori and probably personal acquaintances there as well. These factors help to reinforce the belief that these particular members of the society should have strong linkage to Eptahori.

In Question 3, the interviewee was asked about kinship ties to the village. 100% of the respondents answered and 96% said that they had relatives in Eptahori. 40 of the 47 respondents listed cousin(s) among their village relations while 28 listed aunt(s) and 32 listed

uncle(s) respectively. Again, the answering was quite positive.

Question 4. This unit dealt with the communication between the respondents and the village. 76% said that they corresponded by post, 47% answered that they telephoned people in the village and 78% said that they sent gifts on certain occasions. $7\frac{1}{2}$ letters a year was the average for those who answered "yes" on 4a, while 4.7 phone calls a year was the average for those who said that they phoned on 4c. Those who said that they sent cards or gifts listed Christmas and Easter as the most common gift-sending occasions.

While only 47% answered that they did telephone this is a high figure given that a ten minute U.S.-Greece call costs \$10.00 and that only 60% of the village households have telephones.

Question 5 asked the respondent if he owned land in Eptahori, if he does how much, the method of purchase and its future use if any. 52% of the respondents answered positively with the average holding 28.16 acres. However, the mean average was only 3 acres, as two answers of huge tracts of land threw off the median. 96% of the men inherited their land as opposed to one who said he purchased it. 50% of the landowners said they would use the land in the future with the majority saying that they would use it as a place of residence or vacation home. These results show that approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the respondents intend to use their land in the future mostly as a retirement home.

On Question 6, 83% of the respondents said they had been visited by villagers from Eptahori. 100% of those who had visited Eptahori themselves answered positively on this unit.

Question 7 showed that the respondents graded the economic well-being of the average Eptahori family below the American family in both the past and present. However, they graded higher than the average for the future, meaning that, generally, these respondents were optimistic for the economic future of the village.

On Question 8 the respondents graded their attitudes towards the peripheral ethnic groups of Eptahori who have affected Eptahorian life in the past. "1" was the highest grade for an ethnic group while "6" was the lowest (most demeaning). The overall average should have been 3.50 but it was slightly higher at 3.34. The Turks were graded lowest probably due to current Greek national attitude towards the Turkish nation and the centuries of Turkish rule in Eptahori. The Albanians received, by far, the highest grade because of the nature of close settlement in American cities by Greeks and Christian Albanians and, of course, the common religion they share. The other ethnic groups were lumped in the middle. But with the exception of the Turks the overall results were not harsh as the respondents tended not to consistently downgrade any one ethnic group.

Question 9. The grading of the importance of Greek political issues as opposed to the American issues was

lower than the American ranking of "5" by one full point. However, the lower rating for Greek political interest should not be taken as a sign of disinterest as on both the national and local politics the respondents were consistent in suggesting they were at least interested.

77% of the respondents said they would not vote for Mr. Papandreou's socialist government possibly reflecting the more conservative American attitudes or the fact that these respondents came from a predominantly right-wing element of Eptahorian society.

Question 10a asked whether or not the respondent would some day return to Eptahori to live. 51% said no, 39% were uncertain while only 10% said that they would. This answering shows that many of the respondents have accepted the U.S. as their permanent home. However, approximately half can be considered potential return migrants.

In 10b and 10c the respondents stated that they generally thought that the Eptahori Society would be continued more by the next generation rather than by new immigrants from the village although there was a significant proportion in both questions who were uncertain as to the future of the society. Overall, the presuppositions outlined earlier concerning the responses to this questionnaire have held true. The respondents tended to answer in ways indicating that they held attitudes favourable to linkage with Eptahori.

On the questions dealing with kinship, communication, visiting, landownership and the future, the respondents showed an obvious positive answering pattern.

Hypothesis for survey

A hypothesis breaking down response differences between certain respondents was stated:

Those respondents who have been displaced from the village longer than other respondents and those who have never lived in the village will answer more negatively on questions concerning the relationship between migrant and village.

In order to test this hypothesis the respondents were grouped into four categories of approximately the same number.

The first group was made up of those migrants who left the village to go to the U.S. from 1903 until the end of the Greek Civil War. The second group consisted of those who migrated during the six year period following the 1948 revocation of the immigration bill of 1924. The third, more modern group, was made up of those who have migrated since 1957 and the final group are the native-born Americans. All the groups, except the third, have thirteen members, the third has ten.

The group expected to answer most negatively was the native-Americans since they lacked any direct contact with the village in terms of having resided there. The group thought to be next in negative answering was the first migration group since they had been removed from the village and acquainted with American society longer than the other migrants. Accordingly the next migration group would answer less negatively and finally the modern

migration group should be the most positive, although the differences between these last two could be less discernible than between the other two groups.

The groups are identified as follows:

Group A - Migrants from 1903-1949

Group B - " " 1950-1956

Group C - " " 1957-1969

Group D - American born members

Breakdown of Analysis of Questionnaire

(4 Subgroups)

			Group Title
Emigrants from:	1903 - 1949	13	A
	1950 - 1956	13	B
	1957 - 1969	10	C
	Americans	13	D

QUESTION 2: A)

Group A : 12 Yes - 1 No (92%-8%)
 Group B : 13 Yes - 0 No (100-0)
 Group C : 10 Yes - 0 No (100-0)
 Group D : N/A

B) A: 33 trips (2.54 avg) Avg.Rec.Trip - 1970. 4
 B: 34 trips (2.62 avg) " 1976. 0
 C: 23 trips (2.30 avg) " 1978. 3
 D: 13 trips (1.00)avg) " 1970. 1

C)

D: 12 Yes - 1 No
 A-C: N/A

QUESTION 3: A)

A: 11 Yes - 2 No (85%-15%)
 B: 13 Yes - 0 No (100%-0%)
 C: 10 Yes - 0 No (100%-0%)
 D: 13 Yes - 0 No (100%-0%)

B)*

A: 3(3) Sisters 3(6) Brothers 3(4) Aunts
 3(3) Uncles 7(33) Cousins 1(1) Sister-in-law
 1(1) Brother-in-Law 1(1) Father-in-law
 1(1) Nephew
 Totals : 23 (53) Group Avg. 2.09 (4.82)

B: 3(3) Mothers 4(4) Fathers 3(5) Sisters
 2(3) Brothers 8(49) Aunts 10(43) Uncles
 12(117) Cousins 2(3) Brothers-in-law
 1(1) Mother-in-law 1(1) Father-in-law
 1(1) Niece 1(1) Nephew
 Total: 48(131) Group Avg. 3.69 (10.07)

C: 4(4) Mothers 5(5) Fathers 5(5) Sisters
 3(4) Brothers 5(6) G.Mothers (1) G.Fathers
 9(27) Aunt 10(28) Uncle 9(47) Cousins
 1(1) Mother-in-law 1(1) Father-in-law
 1(1) Niece 1(1) Nephew
 Totals : 55(131) Group Avg. 5.50 (13.10)

D: 1(1) G.Mothers 3(3) G.Fathers 8(16) Aunts
 9(14) Uncles 12(62) Cousins 1(1) Sister-in-law.
 Totals : 34(97) Group Avg. 2.62 (7.46)

* Figures in parenthesis represent total number of relatives - while other numbers represent number of respondents answering positively.

QUESTION 4 : A)

A: 12 Yes - 1 No (92%-8%)
B: 11 Yes - 2 No (85%-15%)
C: 7 Yes - 3 No (70%-30%)
D: 7 Yes - 6 No (54%-46%)

B)

A: 6.5 Avg.
B: 10.9 Avg.
C: 10.57 Avg.
D: 3.43 Avg.

C)

A: 5 Yes - 8 No (39%-61%)
B: 7 Yes - 6 No (54%-46%)
C: 6 Yes - 4 No (60%-40%)
D: 5 Yes - 8 No (39%-61%)

D)

A: 4.0 Avg.
B: 6.14 Avg.
C: 5.16 Avg.
D: 2.80 Avg.

E)

A: 11 Yes - 2 No (85%-15%)
B: 12 Yes - 1 No (92%-8%)
C: 9 Yes - 1 No (90%-10%)
D: 6 Yes - 7 No (46%-54%)

F) Not Applicable

QUESTION 5: A)

A: 9 Yes - 3 No (75%-25%)
B: 10 Yes - 3 No (77%-23%)
C: 2 Yes - 6 No (25%-75%)
D: 3 Yes - 10 No (23%-77%)

B)

A: 5.16 Avg.
B: 52.33 Avg.
C: 0.50 Avg.
D: 2.00 Avg.

C)

A: 0 Purchase - 9 Inheritance (0%-100%)
B: 0 Purchase - 10 " "
C: 1 Purchase - 1 Inheritance (50%-50%)
D: 0 Purchase - 3 Inheritance (0%-100%)

5: D)

A: 3 Yes 5 No (38%-62%)
 B: 4 Yes 5 No (44%-56%)
 C: 2 Yes 0 No (100%-0%)
 D: 2 Yes 1 No (66%-33%)

E)

A: 3 Residential
 B: 1 Second home, 1 Residential-Grazing,
 1 Residential, 1 Undecided
 C: 2 Residential
 D: 1 Vacation Home, 1 Undecided

QUESTION 6: A)

A: 10 Yes 2 No (83%-17%)
 B: 11 Yes 2 No (85%-15%)
 C: 8 Yes 1 No (89%-11%)
 D: 10 Yes 3 No (77%-23%)

B)

A: 30 visits (approx.)
 B: 14 visits "
 C: 8 visits "
 D: 13 visits "

QUESTION 7: A)

A: 3.50 Avg.
 B: 5.09 Avg.
 C: 3.77 Avg.
 D: 3.62 Avg.

B)

A: 2.09 Avg.
 B: 2.36 Avg.
 C: 2.86 Avg.
 D: 2.20 Avg.

C)

A: 4.75 Avg.
 B: 6.63 Avg.
 C: 6.11 Avg.
 D: 4.69 Avg.

QUESTION 8:

Avg.Rat.	3.42	A:	ALB.2.00	BUL.4.22	JEWS 4.44	TURKS 4.67
			VLA 2.27	YUG. 2.89		
"	3.71	B:	ALB.1.90	BUL.3.89	JEWS 3.80	TURKS 5.67
			VLA 3.11	YUG. 3.89		
"	3.38	C:	ALB 3.25	BUL.2.33	JEWS 3.00	TURKS 5.75
			VLA 3.29	YUG. 2.67		
"	3.12	D:	ALB.1.44	BIL.3.38	JEWS 3.50	TURKS 5.00
			VLA 2.40	YUG. 3.00		

QUESTION 9: A)

A:	3.75	Avg.
B:	5.64	"
C:	3.90	"
D:	3.00	"

B)

A:	2 Yes	10 No	(17%-83%)
B:	1 Yes	10 No	(9%-91%)
C:	6 Yes	3 No	(67%-33%)
D:	1 Yes	10 No	(9%-91%)

C)

A:	2 Totsis,	3 Karamanlis,	1 RW.	1 Middle of Road	1 Opposition
B:	3 Totsis,	2 Karamanlis,	1 RW,	1 Demo.	1 Cons.
C:	1 Don't know,	2 Karamanlis			
D:	7 Don't know,	1 Leftist			

D)

A:	3.73	Avg.
B:	6.10	"
C:	4.56	"
D:	2.31	"

QUESTION10: A)

A:	0 Yes	8 No	5 Uncertain	(0%-62%-38%)
B:	2 "	1 "	10 "	(15%-8%-77%)
C:	3 "	3 "	4 "	(30%-30%-40%)
D:	0 "	13 "	0 "	(0%-100%-0%)

B)

A:	5 "	2 "	6 "	(38%-15%-46%)
B:	8 "	3 "	2 "	(62%-23%-15%)
C:	5 "	1 "	4 "	(50%-10%-40%)
D:	4 "	2 "	7 "	(31%-15%-54%)

C)

A:	4 "	2 "	7 "	(31%-15%-54%)
B:	6 "	5 "	2 "	(46%-38%-15%)
C:	3 "	3 "	4 "	(30%-30%-40%)
D:	5 "	3 "	5 "	(38%-24%-38%)

While the native-born Americans (Group D) answered much like the other migrant groups in questions 2b and 3a, the answering patterns changed on 3b where the average number of relatives in the village was considerably less for this group than for the migrant groups (except for the 1st period migrant group, Group A).

It is in question 4 that a noticeable difference becomes evident in responses. On all the communications questions Group D and sometimes Group A were much lower than the other two migrant groups. On question 5, Group D again answered negatively with only 25% owning land, but strangely, were very close to Group C, which also had a very low percentage of land ownership. Question 6 saw little differentiation in the responses among groups but on question 7 both Groups A and D graded lower on all three sub-questions.

On question 8, the grading of preference to ethnic groups was lower in overall average for Group D, probably because of a more accepting attitude of different ethnic groups due to different environmental conditioning. Group D was not as willing to grade 1 through 6 many times commenting, "I don't judge people by nationality."

Finally on questions 9 and 10, Group D exemplifies more negative answering as they rated their interest in Greek politics far below the level of Group B and C. Group A also graded lower than B and C. An important note is that not even one of the native-Americans considered living in the village in the future, while few of Group A did.

The results of this breakdown supported the hypothesis in that, generally, the native American members responded more negatively on most all questions than any of the three migrant groups. The first period migrant group then followed in negative answering with the last two groups far ahead and almost mutually indistinguishable from one another.

This data gives evidence to the idea that linkage and the perception of linkage diminishes with increased spatial and/or temporal displacement. In this particular case, the findings reveal that with a small, static migration from Eptahori to the U.S.A. in the past ten years and with no signs of an imminent increase in that migration, linkage between Eptahorian-Americans and the village could be in jeopardy on the individual level.

However, this does not mean to say that spatial-temporal displacement will adversely affect the institutional side of this linkage. Indeed, the fact that roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the respondents were American-born shows that there may be some interest among 2nd and 3rd generation Greeks in maintaining the society.

Answering Consistency

To gain insight into the characteristics of those individuals who best exemplify linkage the responses given on certain units were broken down into two classes of respondents (those who answered negatively and positively) which were then matched against each other on other questions.

The results of this breakdown showed a cross-section of answering patterns. While in some instances there was a positive correlation between "positive" and "negative" answering groups with their other responses, there was at other times an ambiguous, static situation showing no definite answering pattern.

The first cluster to be categorized were the respondents to question 2b. Those whose most recent trip to the village was on or before 1973 (the average date) were compared to those who answered after 1973. On 65% of the following questions the post-1973 group answered more positively, especially on the questions pertaining to Greek political interest, the future of the St. George's Eptahori Society and the possibility of future return migration.

The more recent visitors to Eptahori tended to have a more positive attitude and therefore can be considered to have closer relationship with Eptahori.

The question concerning kinship was next and although it was expected that those having nuclear family relations in the village would have closer linkage to Eptahori and would answer more positively than those who didn't, little difference or clear patterns were discernible between the two groups. Even land ownership was almost even in that both had about 50% of their respondents owning land.

Those respondents who answered positively on the communication sub-questions 4a, 4c and 4e were also

expected to answer more positively than others who answered "Yes" on none, or only one or two of these sub-questions. This time expectations were upheld as 73% of the time the "positive" respondents answered other questions more affirmatively than the others. In particular, land ownership (70% owned land as opposed to 36%) and Greek political interest (5.00 average rating on Greek National political interest to 3.28) were characteristic of the differences.

The respondents to the land ownership question were also classified between positive and negative and again the positive group answered more affirmatively on 79% of the other sub-questions. Surprisingly, owning land did not ensure return migration as only 9% of the land owners said they would return to Eptahori to live while 10% of the non-land owners said the same. In most of the other questions, however, it was clear that there was a positive trend in the responses of the land owners.

The economic well-being question had 20 who answered greater than the mean, while 25 answered lower. The positive group answered more positively 80% of the time on other questions especially on the Greek political interest question and the futuristic question.

The Greek political interest question was next and here the respondents who answered greater than the mean grade on 9A and 9D answered more positively than the others 84% of the time. Impressive was the difference on the futuristics, economic well-being and communications questions. The only anomalies were the answers for the

questions concerning reciprocal visits where the negative group showed considerable strength.

The most distinct positive answering correlation however, was made by the respondents who answered "yes" or "uncertain" as to whether or not they would return to the village to live (24 of them). They answered more positively than those who answered "no" 100% of the time. In communication, land ownership and Greek political interest they answered far above the average and, of course, even farther ahead of the majority of negative respondents.

The question concerning the future of the society was also divided into two classes with those who answered "yes-yes" or "yes-uncertain" answering other questions 89% of the time more positively than the negative group. The "land ownership" answering by the positive group was extremely high with 76% saying they owned land while only 24% of the negative said so.

The respondents were also broken down into groups based on the district they lived within the St. George's Eptahori Society Constitution. While the New England district answered more positively 63% of the time the answers, when examined, were not that much different than the Southern District. No one unit was answered overwhelmingly different by either district.

From looking at these results it can be generalized that the more "linkage oriented" member can be characterized as follows: He is one who communicates regularly with the villagers, usually by post but on occasion, by

telephone. He may own land (but not necessarily), he has an optimistic view of the village's economic future, has an interest in Greek politics, he may return to the village one day to live and has a strong positive attitude about the future success of the St. George's Eptahori Society. He does not base this linkage on nuclear family ties, (although there are definite kinship overtones) the number of visits he makes or has made to Eptahori or the area of the U.S.A. he lives in.

Remittance Survey

Because of the lack of positive response to the remittance question included in the survey of the Eptahorians still residing in the village, (Chap.5) a further investigation of the amount of funds transferred from the U.S. to Eptahori on an individual basis was undertaken. This time the male emigrants now residing in the U.S. who had been previously surveyed on general aspects of linkage, were interviewed.

In July-August 1983, 56 of the 98 male members of the St. George's Eptahori Society were reached either by telephone or a personal visit and were interviewed. The interviews were very short consisting of three questions (a) Did you, or do you send money to the village of Eptahori, apart from that you invest directly into the St. George's Eptahori Society or any other organization? And did you ever receive money from an American source while (and if) you resided in the village? (b) How much money did you send/receive and over what period of time was it

sent/received? Who did you send it to/receive it from?

(c) Do you know what the money was used for? If so, what? And, if you sent or received money, was it used for the initial reason of sending it?

Of the 56 questioned, 12 had migrated to the U.S. before World War II, 21 had migrated from 1945-1960, 15 between 1960-1980 and 8 were native Americans (meaning that they were immediately excluded from the second part of question "a").

A total of 39 (70%) of the 56 responded positively that they had sent money to the village, aside from that of the society. All 12 of the pre-war migrants answered positively. 19 (90%) of the post-war group and 8 (53%) of 15 of the modern group answered positively while none of the native Americans said that they had sent money to Eptahori.

Only 18 (32%) of all the respondents said that they had received money from American sources when they lived in the village, 6 (28%) of the post-war group and 12 (80%) of the modern group were the only positive respondents to this question.

Of the 39 respondents who said that they had sent money to Eptahori, 38 gave the amounts and time periods when sent. The following, in chronological order is the data given.

(Note: Most answers are rough approximations)

<u>Respondents</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Amount per month</u>
		\$
1.	1903-1916	5
2.	1910-1930	5
3.	1912-1940	5
4.	1920-1940	10
5.	1921-1940	5
6.	1921-1950	10
7.	1922-1931	5
8.	1929-1933	5
9.	1933-1934	5
10.	1938-1950	3
11.	1941-1950	15-20
12.	1943-1970	20
13.	1945-1963	10
14.	1945-1948	5
15.	1945-Present	10
16.	1945-1976	20
17.	1948-1960	30
18.	1948-1965	20
19.	1949-1970	5
20.	1949-1951	5
21.	1950-Present	?
22.	1951-1958	10
23.	1951-1959	?
24.	On and off since 1951	?
25.	1952-1958	10
26.	1954-1955	50
27.	1954-1970	20
28.	1956-1963	25
29.	1956-1958	?
30.	On and off since 1958	?
31.	1961-1963	40-50
32.	1961-1962	10
33.	1963-1965	30
34.	1965-1968	35-40
35.	1965-1970	100
36.	1969-1970	?
37.	1971-Present	?
38.	1971-Present	50

The answers for all the respondents averaged out to \$19.35 monthly payments over a 12.36 year period.

Of the 18 who said they received money while in the village their responses were as follows:

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Years sent</u>	<u>Amount per month</u>
		\$
1.	1941-1945	?
2.	1941-1945	?
3.	?	?
4.	?	?
5.	1931-1948	100 in all
6.	1943-1949	5
7.	1951-1960	5
8.	?	?
9.	1950's	10
10.	?	?
11.	1945-1960	50
12.	1965-1966	10
13.	?	200 in all
14.	?	10
15.	1960's	5
16.	1965(?)	10
17.	1966(?)	20
18.	1970's	20

On the final question all 38 respondents answered that the money sent to Eptahori was used for the purposes intended. A total of 21 (55%) said they sent the money for their spouses and families to live on and to save to prepare to come to the U.S. to be reunited with him.

8 sent money to brothers or sisters to come over and join them or to help during times of economic difficulties. The final 9 had a variety of answers. 6 sent funds for their parents, 2 for uncles and 1 for a cousin. This money was used for supplemental income and the purchasing of home building supplies and fixtures.

When broken down a clear temporal difference in answering is evident. The pre-World War II group answered 100% positively on the question of sending money, answered 100% negatively as to whether they received money, averaged \$8.1 a month in remittance sending for an average period of 15 years and 50% answered that they sent the money to their spouses and families while 50% sent it to brothers and sisters.

90% of the post World War II group answered positively on the remittance sending question averaging \$16 a month and for an average period of 10.8 years. Only 6 (28%) of this group answered positively for receiving remittance money while residing in the village with most of the respondents saying they received their money during the Second World War, 14 of those who sent remittances said it went to their spouses, 2 to brothers, 1 to an uncle and 1 to parents.

Of the modern group 8 (53%) sent funds to individuals in the village with a 4.45 year average period and an average \$45 per month sent. 12(80%) of this group said that they had received money while in the village, almost all said they got the money for fare over to the U.S. and

all said that it came from kin. Of the eight that sent money to individuals one said it went to spouses and one to an uncle, one to a cousin and five to parents.

None of the native Americans said that they had sent money for personal use to the village.

These results show that the pre-war group sent money over longer periods of time and sent more money to their dependents in the village. The longer periods could be as a result of indecision on the part of the migrants as to whether they would return to the village or bring their families over to the U.S.

The post war group also had a greater proportion of members who sent money to Eptahori. Combined, 94% of these two groups sent remittances to wives and children and other kin. The linkage of these two groups to Eptahori (through kinship) is much more evident in this remittance sending than in the modern migration group or native American group. However, this does not indicate a closer relationship with the village by the early immigrants since it was almost exclusively based on kinship and marriage. The modern migratory group probably arrived in the U.S. single or with their spouses and did not have to wait to raise enough money to send back for relatives. The native Americans would have no reason (without nuclear family in the village) to send remittances.

The second part of the interview tried to determine the amount of remittance sending instances which were designed, not for the personal use of individual villagers,

but for more direct economic reasons such as a business investment, the purchase of a product or land, etc.

Only 3 (25%) of 12 respondents from the pre-war group said that they had ever sent money to the village for the purposes just stated. All three occurred in the 1930's and all involved the purchasing of a few acres of woodlot to add to what these men already owned. The woodlots were to be worked by the person in charge of the purchase. In two of these three cases the person handling the purchase was a brother and on the other a father. The land is no longer being used anymore since it was clear-cut by 1960 in all three of these cases.

In two of the cases the profits from the sale of the timber remained in Greece in bank accounts and has only recently been transferred to the U.S. when these men were certain they would not return to Eptahori. In the other case the profits went to the father for the construction of a new house in 1957.

Of the twenty one post-war migratory group, nine said they had sent money to the village. Five sent it for the purchase of more woodlot, three for the building or addition to a house and one for the buying of some 12 goats. The five who bought the woodlots used kin as the go-between, again with brothers handling the purchase. The dates for these purchases were 1948, 1949, 1953, 1958 and 1971. Four of these men have had their land worked up until the present and although all avoided divulging the revenue received from the sale of the timber there were hints that it was not a sizable supplement to their

American income. The other man who purchased additional woodland has never had it worked and hopes to return to the village in the near future and extract then.

The three who paid for the construction of houses and eventual additions to these houses again used him to oversee the work. Two were supposedly "retirement homes" and one was to be built for a man's widowed mother. The same family construction business was hired to build all three homes and cumulatively it kept them busy for two years. One house was built in 1958, one in 1961 and the other in 1972.

The man who purchased the goats did so as a gift for his father.

The modern migration group has only five (33%) who invested money in the village. Three purchased farm equipment, one some construction equipment and the other a house lot.

The farm equipment (a tractor and accessories, including a haymow and a wagon) were bought by three friends who pooled their funds for this purchase. They bought it when one of the men had returned to the village in 1975. Now their relatives are cooperatively using the machines to expedite the harvesting of the wheat and barley crops and to haul firewood down from the hills. Two of the men doubt if they will ever return to use the equipment but will undoubtedly return for many summers. The other says he will return to live in Eptahori.

Another respondent said that he has been buying construction equipment for a relative who is entering the

business in the town of Samarina. He said that he had invested over \$5,000 in this and in return would have a house built for him in Eptahori by the recipient of the funds.

The last respondent said he was purchasing a house lot on the southwest side of the town so that he could eventually have a house built for his mother.

All of the final group of the native-Americans said they had never sent money of any kind for any purposes to Eptahori.

Only 17 (30%) of the 56 respondents said that they had used their money to become involved in any economic activity in Eptahori. Generally this economic involvement has not been one driven by profit-motive. Instead, investment in the village by U.S. sources is one which is geared to help relatives accommodate themselves more easily and to reaffirm the relationship between emigrant and village. And given the current state of the Eptahorian economy there is little incentive for emigrant resources to be invested in any profit seeking of scale.

REFERENCE

Map on page 90 from information obtained from membership Roster of St. George's Eptahori Society. (c. 1980).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS OF FIELDWORK IN
EPTAHORI, KASTORIA

In order to extract information concerning the villagers perception of and experiences with the emigrants in the U.S. a survey was taken in Eptahori.

This survey was undertaken in late March of 1983 and was more informal than the survey used in the U.S.A. It relied on information extracted from general conversation rather than conscious responses to an obvious set of questions.

Unlike the mail-questionnaire used on the American side of this study the questions asked were "open" as opposed to "pre-coded", adding flexibility to the possible answers and requiring much more attention to the recording of answers.

The reasons...were for adopting this method of information gathering is two-fold. First, the cultural character of these rural Greeks is such that any formal or official type of interrogation brings on immediate suspicion and reluctance in answering questions.

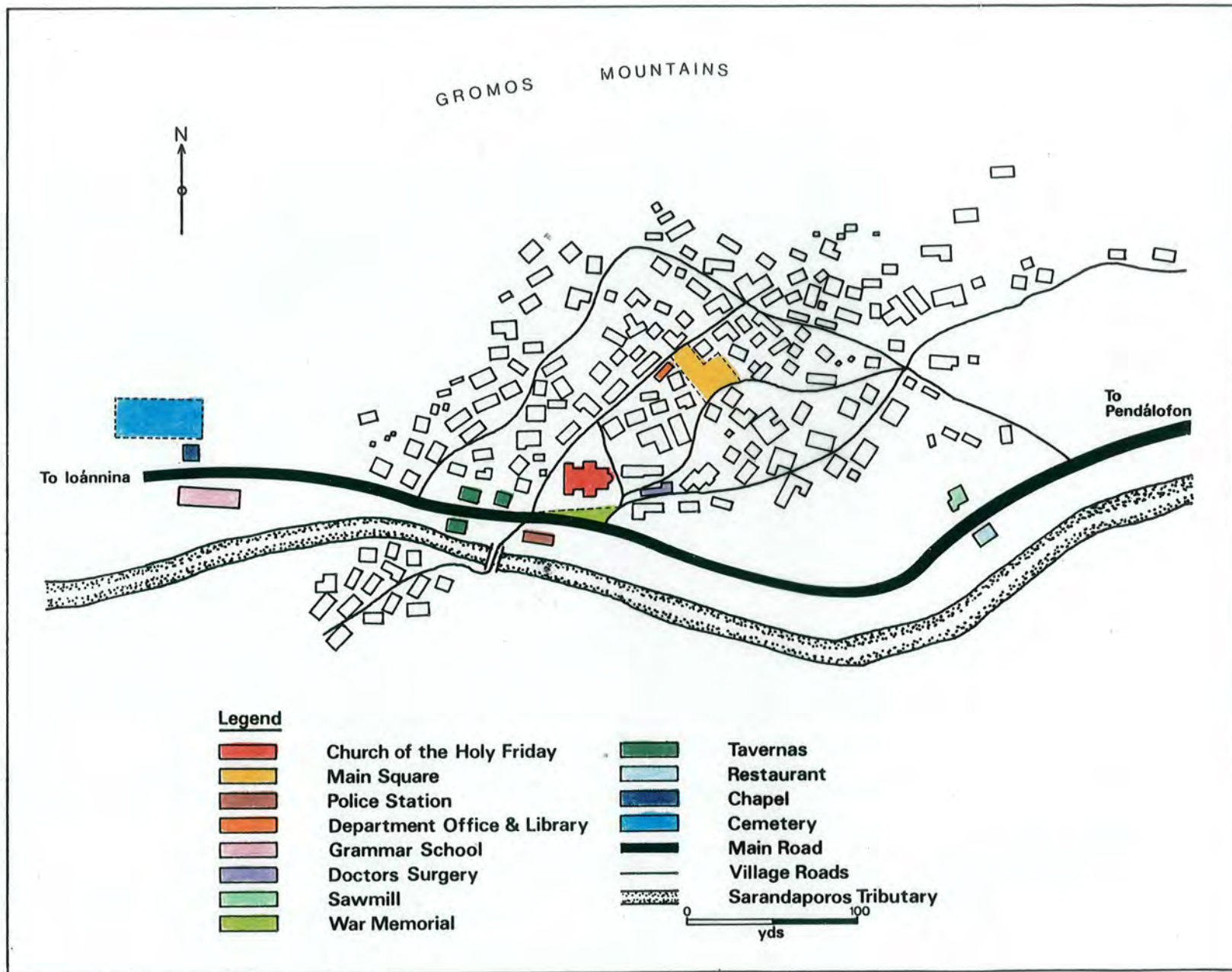
Generally a friendly, outgoing people, these villagers resent obvious infringement from the outside world, particularly if it is representing "officialdom". Of course, the survey was a tool of social science and in objective, absolute form would have been rejected by these people. Therefore, the questioning was done in a non-obvious form.

Secondly, the temporal-spatial factor becomes evident, in that unlike the American side of the study where geographic and time factors made it virtually impossible to complete personal interviews, here the study area necessitated it. The village being little more than one and one half square miles in size as well as demographically nucleated served as a prime area for door to door interviews (see map p. 131). The village could have been covered in a matter of days even if the entire population had been selected as a sample. Fortunately, not all the population was questioned.

On the other hand, informal interviews are more time consuming than the formal (especially mail questionnaires). In this particular survey "the breaking in" of the respondent was probably the most time consuming task. Because the subject viewed the interview as a social visit, congenial conversation took up much of the time. Again, fortunately there was ample time (two weeks) to spend in the locality. This sufficed as a time period in which to complete the survey.

The procedure for the survey in its entirety is as follows:

- I) Selection of sample population - approximately sixty households in the village were selected through non-random sampling. In order not to accidentally exclude any portion for the population a conscious effort was made to ensure that members of all political parties, social (occupational)



Sketch Map of Eptáhori (From Photographs by the Author)

status and people who have resided in the U.S. were given fair representation.

Those respondents of whom I had previous knowledge of their political affiliation and/or social status, were included in the sample. The remainder were made up of those whom other villagers told me about.

II) Method of Collecting Information.

As previously stated informal interviews were used to gauge responses and sift information. The key topics or points discussed were as follows:

1. Evidence of Linkage in America -

Has the individual been to America? Has the person relatives or close friends from Eptahori there? Was the person a former resident of the U.S.?

2. Relationship to Linkage -

Does the individual have knowledge of the St. George's Eptahori Society in the U.S.? Does he/she know of the transactions carried out in the past by the society? Does the person consider the American connection a positive asset to the village?

3. Effects of Relationship -

Has the individual benefitted from his/her linkage to the U.S.? Has it enabled them to live a "better life" in their opinion?

4. Magnitude of Effects Over time -

Was there a period when this linkage paid greater dividends to the village and the individual? When were remittances sent and to what use were they put?

5. The Future -

Do you know of relatives or friends of yours who are planning to emigrate to the U.S.? For what reason are they thinking of leaving? Do you expect that these people will return to Eptahori after residing in America?

This was a very approximate outline. As the interviews commenced, these questions were integrated into the general conversation.

These points were discussed in depth in a "constant line". That is to say the points were brought forth in the same order, in the same context and without conscious bias with every household interviewed.

The greatest problem for the interviewer, however, was that the recording of data could not be completed until after the interview. Trying to be inconspicuous did not mean sitting in front of the subject with paper and pencil. Therefore, it was imperative that meticulous care was taken in keeping the interview organized.

III) Tabulation and Processing of Data.

The answers or data were then edited, coded and tabulated to illustrate the results in classified groupings. It was from here that the processing of data became useful. The analysis of this data was done in two methods:

a) absolute analysis - the findings were examined and interpreted as they were discovered to gain an overall understanding of the total answering pattern.

b) relative analysis - where the results were examined after breaking down the sample into answering groups based on age, political affiliation, etc.

The survey was structured as follows:

1. Age
2. Political Affiliation
3. Occupation
4. Kinship to U.S.
5. Former residence in U.S.
6. Land Ownership
7. Knowledge of St. George's Society
8. Remittances from U.S. (Past and Present)
9. Use of remittance money
10. Immediate emigration by friends or relatives

Results

Of the 75 respondents interviewed all were the heads of households or spokesperson for the household.

The mean age of the respondents was 48.6 years with 8% of them being female. The youngest interviewed was 18 and the oldest 70.

Politically, 44% of these respondents said they voted New Democracy, 40% said they voted PASOK, while 16% were communists.

The occupations of the respondents were quite varied as there were 4 store owners, 2 tavern keepers, 6 truck

drivers, 4 university students, 21 retired persons, 5 unemployed, 7 woodcutters, 12 farmers, 5 goat herders, 3 construction workers, 2 rug weavers, 1 garage owner, 2 policemen and 1 doctor.

When asked whether or not they had relatives in the U.S. 48% said that they had extended family relations there while 12% said they had nuclear family. 4% said they had both nuclear and extended while 36% answered that they did not have kinship to the U.S.

15 (20%) of the 75 respondents said that they have lived in the United States at one time or another and 35% answered that they visited the U.S. in the past.

45 (60%) of the respondents answered that they owned land in the village other than their houselots. The average amount of holdings was 13 acres per land owner.

88% of those interviewed said that they knew about the St. George's Eptahori Society in America and its activities while only 12% said that they knew nothing about the society.

The most unexpected result found in this survey was that, of those questioned, only 16% said they had received or are receiving remittance money from the U.S. Of this group 25% said that the funds were used for education (university) while the remainder disclosed that the funds were used for necessities such as food and clothing (this answer came primarily from wives who had been left in the village before joining their spouses in the U.S.).

20% of the respondents said that they knew of someone in the village who was going to attempt to go to the U.S. to work but none were certain. The average age of those attempting to go to the U.S. was 22.3 years. Only 4% of the respondents said that they were planning to go to the U.S. themselves, 92% were negative and 4% indecisive.

Analysis of Results

In analyzing the breakdown of these results certain tendencies were found in the answering patterns according to age. The 24 respondents between the ages of 18 and 40 were grouped together and their responses recorded as a group. Likewise the age groups of 41-59 and 60 or over were also grouped together with the groups having 27 and 24 members respectively.

The average ages of the groups were 32.4, 52.7 and 64.3. Politically the younger group was much more liberal with 63% voting PASOK, 25% communist and 12% New Democracy, as compared with 44% PASOK, 44% New Democracy, 12% Communist for the middle aged group and 75% New Democracy, 13% Communist, 13% PASOK for the older aged group.

The kinship answers were not noticeably different from group to group but on the question concerning former residence in the U.S. only 13% of the young group said they had resided there while 33% of the middle aged group and 63% of the older aged group said they had. Land ownership, as well, seemed to be related to age with only 25% of the young group owning land while in both the older groups 75% answered positively.

Even the knowledge of the existence of the St. George's Eptahori Society of America was different in the young group with 38% of them not knowing of the society while 100% of both older groups did.

On the remittance question 87% of the young group said they had received no remittance money from the U.S. while in contrast 87% of the old group said they had or do.

Despite the seemingly negative attitude of the young group towards their perception of linkage with the U.S. 50% of them said they were thinking about going to the U.S. to work and stay with relatives with another 10% not knowing if they wanted to go or not. 100% from both the older groups said they would not.

Politically there were response differences as well. The most noticeable by the 16% of the respondents who said they voted communist, while their ages ranged from 20 to 60 their answering patterns were very much the same. They knew little or nothing about America or the St. George's Society. They had no kinship ties there, had never been there and did not plan on migrating. It was interesting that none of these respondents owned land or took part in any extra "profitable" economic activity such as the timber industry.

Also, as would be expected, the amount of kin in the U.S. by the respondent had an effect on his/her responses. Those without kinship ties answered negatively on every question except that 50% did have some knowledge of the St. George's Society and its activities. Whether

the person had nuclear or extended family ties to the U.S. seemed irrelevant as the answers showed no definite split pattern.

However, when the respondents were broken down into groups of return migrants and non-returnees a definite trend in answering was found. The average age of the 15 return migrants was 58.2 years as opposed to 43.2 on all the others. Their politics were much more conservative as 66% were New Democracy and 34% PASOK, compared to 50% PASOK, 25% Communist and 25% New Democracy on the others.

All of the return migrants had kinship ties to the U.S. with 33% having nuclear family relations there, 53% with extended and 13% with both. This compared with the 47% with extended family in the U.S. and 53% with none on the part of all others.

Also, 100% of the return migrants owned land as compared with 38% of all others. Their average holding was only 12.2 acres however, compared to 14.1 acres of all others.

Their knowledge of the St. George's Eptahori Society was of course 100%, their remittance receiving was only slightly higher than that of the other respondents and their intention of remigrating to the States only 11% as compared to 25% of all others.

It was clear from this comparison that the relatively small number of return migrants had closer linkage to the U.S. and also higher economic status in the village,

especially when their livelihoods are taken into account. 10 of the 15 were retired, 1 owned a restaurant, 1 was a farmer and 3 others voluntarily unemployed. All of them were living in some of the more comfortable houses in the village with at least half of them owning automobiles. When the land ownership respondents were divided up between those who own land and those who don't there were similar differences. The landowners tended to be more conservative politically with 60% New Democracy and 40% PASOK as compared to non-landowners who only had 20% say they vote New Democracy, 40% Communist and 40% PASOK. Also, on the kinship question 9 (20%) of 45 landowning respondents said they had nuclear family relations in the U.S., 24 had extended family there, with one having both and only 3 with none. The non-landowners answered 44% extended family, but 56% had none.

15 of the landowners were return migrants, while none of the non-landowners were. The average age (55.2) of the landowners was 23 years over that of the non-landowners (32.2). This is reflected in the percentage of those stating they wanted to migrate to the States (40% of the non-landowners as opposed to the 7% of the landowners).

Conclusions

From this breakdown analysis several conclusions can be made concerning the past, present and future impact of the "American connection" on the livelihoods and attitudes of the people of Eptahori.

First, while the younger respondents tended to show

a great deal of ignorance about the St. George's Eptahori Society in America and had received little in personal remittances, some were at least hoping to go to the U.S. to work. This, of course, can be attributed to their youth relative to the other groups and the lack of employment opportunities in the village. But the idea of emigrating to America is interchangeable with that of going to West Germany or even Athens and Salonika. The considerable lack of difference between the U.S. and urban Greek quality of life has been a major factor in the recent selection of a desirable destination of immigration. Indeed, it seems very doubtful that those few hoping to go to the U.S. will actually do so, but will instead take advantage of the equally dynamic economic atmosphere in Europe and major Greek cities.

Secondly, villagers who belonged to the Communist party or who stated that they voted Communist had nothing to do with the idea of an "American connection".

Thirdly, the return migrants seemed to be financially and materialistically superior than their neighbours. Yet, despite this relative wealth, the returnees have directly invested little of their money into the already existing industry, nor have they innovated any new economic activity. Most were retired and the others voluntarily unemployed. All were living a life which consisted of the "best of both worlds" - the peace and slow pace of their village, but with financial security.

Just their presence in the village, however, has raised the demand for commodities of everyday use,

including clothing and foodstuffs. The result has been that while in 1960 there was one general store in Eptahori, there are now five. Although the general increase in village revenues from increased timber and tourist industry have contributed to this growth, it was the returnees from America being used to having access to certain commodities while in the U.S. who stimulated the original sales.

There was only one proprietor whom I found had returned to the village from the U.S. for the sole purpose of investing in his business, a restaurant.

The most puzzling aspect of this survey's results was the number of respondents who said that they had received remittance money from the U.S. Only twelve said they had and six of these were widows who had used the money to live on while the husband was in the U.S. trying to raise enough money to bring the others over. Some never made it, either returning to the village with what little they had or dying in the U.S. before their family could be sent across. (1)

The other six were younger men who said they had used the money sent back by older brothers and fathers to go to university or to purchase a gift. None of the people I talked to had handled the money for investment in business. The economic structure of the village, especially before 1970, had no means to accommodate it.

The money from America, whether brought back by returnees, or sent back as remittance has not been directly invested in the village in the recent past. But since

there are an estimated 50 living returnees from Eptahori in Greece ⁽²⁾ their whereabouts and activity will be examined.

The Return Migrants

While 15 of the 75 heads of households surveyed in Eptahori were return migrants from America only five more heads of households were found to be return migrants in the entire village. So, in effect, return migrants made up 11% of all the households in Eptahori.

These 20 households are of particular interest to this study and it was these people that I spent a lot of time questioning. Three of the return migrants had at first lived in Thessalonika before returning to the village. They were included in this group.

Seven of these heads of households were women (all but one widowed) and 13 were male. They resided around the village in a very widely distributed spatial pattern with no obvious residential relationship.

Here is a brief description of each returnee:

1: Male, 75 years of age, retired, last resided in Waterbury, Conn. U.S.A., worked as restaurant cook, lived in U.S.A. for 32 years (1938-1970), owns large tract of woodland which is cut for profit, and collects U.S. social security, extended family in U.S.A., lives with spouse.

2: Female, 70 years of age, retired, last resided in Waterbury, Conn. mostly housewife but did some factory piecework, lived in U.S.A. for 28 years (1953-1981), economically inactive, collects husband's social security and pension from U.S., widowed, lives alone.

3: Male, 40 years of age, unemployed but helps father-in-law extract timber, last resided in New York, N.Y., worked in textile factory, lived in U.S. for six years (1975-1981), lives on savings from U.S., plans to return to America, has wife, daughter 10 yrs., son 8 yrs.

4: Female, 75 years of age, retired, last resided in Alexandria, V9. was housewife, lived in U.S. for 24 years (1956-1980). Lives on social security from U.S., and husband pension (U.S.), widowed, lives alone.

5: Male, 80 years of age, retired, last resided in Waterbury, Conn., worked in restaurant business (non-owner), lived in U.S. for 21 years (1954-1975), lives on U.S. social security and savings, widower, lives with sister.

6: Male, 67 years of age, retired, last resided in Pittsfield, Mass., worked as cook in restaurant, lived in U.S. for 26 years (1955-1981), lives on U.S. social security and savings, lives with wife owns land with woodlot, cuts out enough for firewood - no sales.

7: Male, 24 years of age, truck driver, last resided in Montreal, Canada, lived there for 2 years (1980-1982), wants to return if employment can be found, no investment in village, lives with parents.

8: Male, 72 years of age, retired, last resided in New York, N.Y., worked as piece maker in factory, lived in U.S. for 42 years (1933-1975), lives on U.S. social security and savings and owns extensive woodlot acreage, widower, lives with sister.

9: Female, 85 years of age, retired, last resided in Manchester, N.H., lived in U.S. for 31 years (1932-1963), lives on social security and husband's pension from U.S., economically inactive, widow, lives alone.

1): Female, 60, unemployed, last resided in Waterbury, Conn., lived in U.S. for 13 years (1952-1965), lives on savings and insurance money following husband's death (claimed in U.S.), economically inactive, lives with brother and sister-in-law.

11: Male, 55 years of age, owns restaurant, last resided in Waterbury, Conn., worked in restaurant non-owner, lived in U.S. for 22 years (1953-1975), lives with wife. Owns woodland and extracts yearly.

12: Male, 52 years of age, farmer and part-time timber business, last resided in Manchester, N.H., worked in textile mill, lived in U.S. 22 years (1958-1980), owns woodland and extracts annually, lives with wife and mother-in-law.

13: Female, 73, retired, last lived in Philadelphia, Pa., was housewife, lived in U.S., 32 years (1948-1980) economically inactive, lives off of savings and U.S. social security, lives with sister and brother-in-law.

14: Female, 68 years of age, retired, last lived in Waterbury, Conn., housewife and some factory work, lived in U.S. 35 years, (1938-1973), economically inactive, U.S. social security, widowed, lives alone.

15: Female, 26, teaches English to Greek students privately in Ioannina, lived in U.S. 21 years (1957-1978) in Manchester N.H., no economic interests in village, lives alone.

16: Male, 82 years of age, retired, last resided in Nahua, N.H. lived in U.S. 41 years (1925-1966), owns woodlots in village, lives with sister-in-law and brother.

17: Male, 70, retired, last resided in Waterbury, Conn. worked in restaurants and factories, lived in U.S. 20 years, (1948-1968), owns land (unspecified), lives with wife.

18: Male, 58 years of age, unemployed in village, part owner of restaurant in Salonika, last resided in Thessalonika (1978-1982) and before in Waterbury, Conn., for 16 years (1962-1978). Owns woodland in village and extracts, married lives with wife and one son.

19: Male, 53 years of age, unemployed (retired), worked in restaurant business in Thessalonika from (1966-1976) before lived in Brunswick, New Jersey, five years (1961-1966), owns woodland in village and extracts, married four children.

20: Male, 82 years of age, retired, lived in Salonika for ten years (1952-1962), before that lived in Manchester, N.H. for approximately 30 years (1922-1952), owns woodland, economically inactive, lives on savings, and U.S. social security, lives with wife.

The most common characteristics of these return migrants is their age and employment status. The average age is 63.35 compared to the 43.2 years of the overall household heads in the survey. 65% of them were retired, 3 were in the restaurant business, one taught English as a foreign language and another is a truck driver.

With the exception of one restaurant owner and the fact that almost all the returnees own some land which is used for timber extraction there is virtually no direct economic investment in the village by these people. Almost all of their earned incomes in the U.S. and social security payments are used to consume, not to produce.

Another striking feature of many of these returnees was the length of residence in the U.S. The average stay was 23.45 years and for most it was their productive years

of labour which was spent in the U.S.

All of the return migrants had kinship ties in the U.S. or Canada and all would not leave out the possibility that they may return to visit friends and relatives in the U.S. Only two, however, were thinking of re-migrating.

It is clear that the average return migrant in Eptahori is retired or at least unemployed living off the incomes made in the U.S. and the benefits of these incomes. There is no desire to invest or to improve the economic situations of these people. They view any economic development as detrimental to their state of existence in the village. As one return migrant explained, the village was getting "more like America" now with constant rumble of trucks and summer travellers. Time and again when asked why they had returned to the village the returnee would answer effectively, "for peace and quiet". It is this attitude which has helped to keep Eptahori an economic backwater despite capital potential. (3)

Returnees to areas other than Eptahori

As mentioned before, most Greeks migrating from Greece to the U.S. emigrated with the idea that they would return to their homeland within a few years. Some did return but not all returned to their original village as a place of permanent settlement.

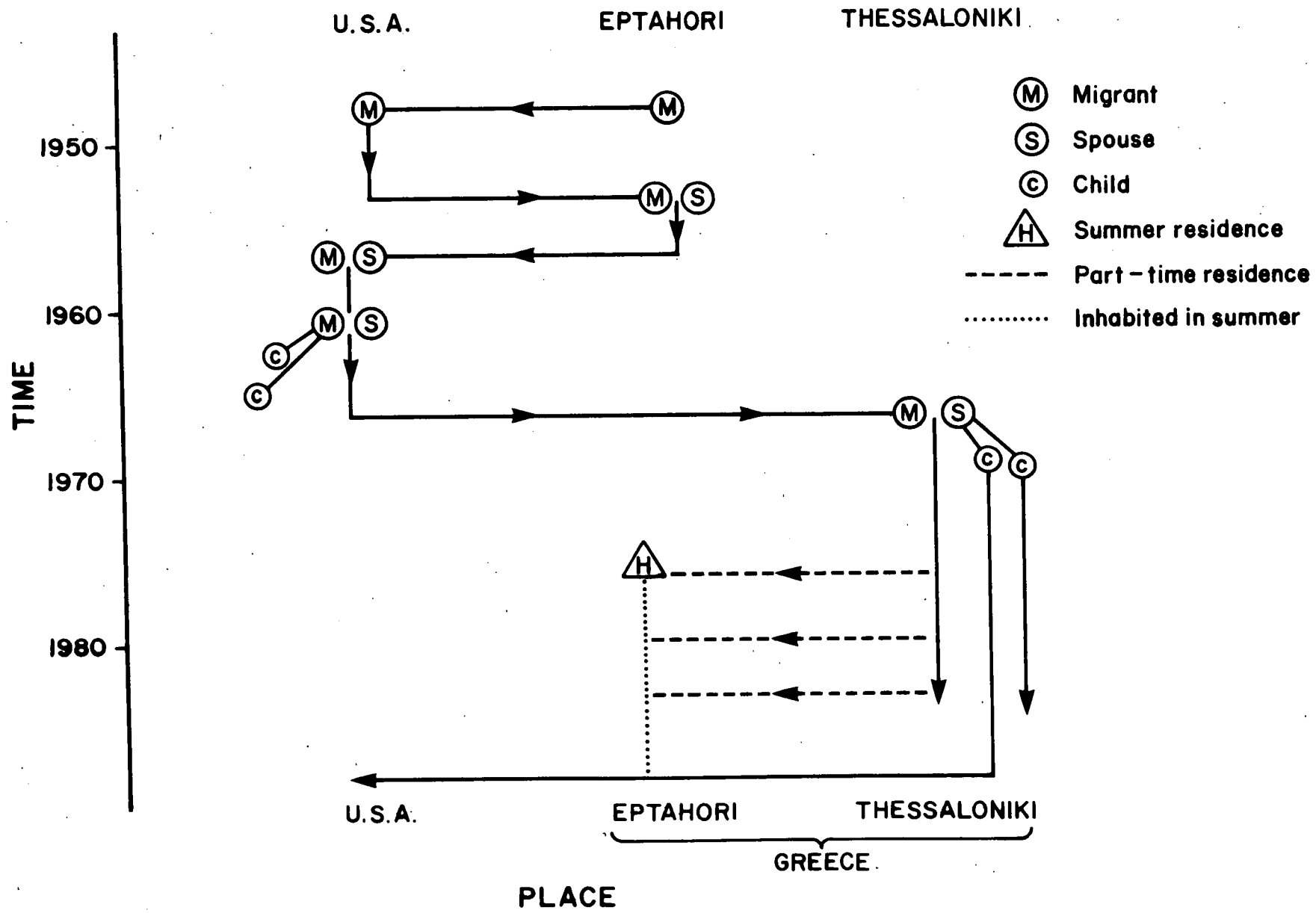
Many joined in the ongoing Greek rural-urban migration upon their return using money earned in the U.S. to open proprietorships in the Greek cities of Athens and Thessalonika. In order to discover how many (if any)

Eptahorians did this, the 56 respondents on the remittance interview in the U.S. and the 75 respondents to the village survey were asked whether or not they had any knowledge of any living return migrant who after leaving the U.S. settled in Greece in a community other than Eptahori. If they answered "yes", particulars such as age, occupation, years resided in the U.S., place of return settlement, etc. were asked as a follow-up. Also, the name of the return-migrant was required in order to check duplicate cases.

The results were interesting in that 21 cases of return migration to cities other than Eptahori were reported along with two cases of American-Greek migration by second generation Eptahorians who settled in other Greek destinations. These numbers reflect the fact that just as many returnees have settled away from Eptahori as are actually now in the village. This does not, however, tell the story for the whole of this century. As there are no records pertaining to return migration by Eptahorians alone it is impossible to tell what the distribution of returnees was like in 1930 or 1950.

For the present, however, it can be said that there is a substantial number of returnees not permanently settled in the village itself. Of the returnees described to me eight were described by the American respondents, while 13 were pointed out by the villagers. Fortunately, many of these returnees were mentioned two, three, four and even half a dozen times helping to reinforce the authenticity of their existence (see Figure 5-A).

Fig. 5-A. Typical Return Migration of Economically Active Eptahorian Migrant



The average age of these return migrants (all were male) is 42.7 years with the oldest being 95 and the youngest 27. Of the 21, fifteen (only six were owners) were involved in the restaurant business in either Thessalonika or Athens, three were in a retail or wholesale business usually dealing with fresh fruit and vegetables, one owned and operated a used car dealership, one was a teacher and one was retired.

These returnees averaged approximately twelve years residence in the U.S. with the longest staying 23 years and the least 2½ years. Their previous occupations in the U.S. were analogous with those which they took up in Greece, 15 were in the restaurant business (11 in Waterbury, Connecticut), 3 owned fruit and vegetable markets, one was in the used car business, one was a college student and the retired migrant was a former mill-worker.

14 of the returnees lived in Athens, six in Thessalonika and one in Ioannina. An important characteristic of these people was their relationship with the village. According to the respondents questioned no less than half of these returnees returned to the village for one month or more during the spring and summer, although none officially lived there. Of these 21, eight owned houses in the village, only one of which was left inhabited when the person was not there. The other few apparently stay with their families as most have nuclear family in the village.

The respondents answered negatively as to whether or not they knew of any economic activity in the village by

these returnees, but 14 were said to have landholdings containing woodlots and that their land was regularly worked.

The only effect on the economy of the village caused by these returnees is that their presence in the village during the summers brings in an increased cashflow and raises the demand for everyday commodities and services in the village. However, this is probably offset by these urbanites bringing commodities in bulk from the city where they are cheaper and considered of better quality.

The true effect of these migrants on the village would be realized if the migrant returned to live in the village permanently after retirement. The respondents answered that while they didn't know about the plans of 13 of the migrants, seven were planning to return permanently while only one was not.

During my fieldwork in the village I was able to locate and talk to three of these types of migrants who were mentioned earlier. All three were male, over 65, retired and were return migrants who had lived in Thessalonika during the early 1960's and 1970's. Their financial activity consisted of collecting U.S. social security checks from both the U.S. and Greece and taking a small profit on limited timber extraction from their woodlots.

The effect on the village economy by this small group is negligible at present and even a permanent return of these 21 known migrants would only bolster the demand for goods and services just as the direct return of the other

repatriated Greeks did. It is clear that the majority of the productive portion of return migrants have settled in urban core areas and only seek to live in Eptahori when their productivity is finalized. Because of this the direct influence of American earnings in Eptahori may never be felt.

Notes On the Return Migrant of the Past

During and prior to the mass migration movements of 1924-1926 the vast majority of Greek migrants returning permanently were economically impoverished having returned more from necessity than desire. (4)

It was these migrants who were either so unfortunate as not to find steady employment or who ran out of time before the Immigration Act of 1924 to bring over spouses and families. In either of these cases these return migrants were generally almost as poor by American standards as to when they first entered the country.

The economic impact upon the rural Greek village in this era can only be said to be one of nominal proportions. Since much of his earnings in the U.S. had already been returned to the village to either spouses or family members there was usually only enough left to pay for his fare which was much more expensive than his original ticket to the U.S. Also, the Greek-American of this era did not own articles which could be sold as he was still renting low-income housing and usually owned no automobile or modern conveniences.

His arrival in the village was one of great downplay by him and his kin, blaming the American system for his

lack of riches just as the more successful Greek-American who only returned to visit credited "free America" for his prosperity. Laissez faire social stratification and fate were the major factors in this duplicity.

The returnee of this era was economically dependent on his kin until he could begin again, usually at his old labour, whether it be farmer or herdsman. His impact on the village was mostly felt by his kin in that most of those surrounding him would never venture off to the States.⁽⁵⁾ This helped to solidify the lineage pattern of migration which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

After the 1924 Immigration bill was passed in the U.S. return migration dropped off and with the stagnant economy of the depressed 1930's there was little return migration. Most of the Greek-Americans held on to what little they had in America while those in Greece could not come across even if they had wanted.

It was not until after the Greek Civil War that return migration to Greece began again. By 1955 first generation Greek-Americans were emigrating back to Greece for repatriation in greater numbers. Most were of retired age and most would collect U.S. social security.⁽⁶⁾

It was then that the first indirect economic impacts were made by return migrants on rural Greek villages. As mentioned before the fact that this money was flowing into the villages even if it was not invested in a venture still raised the demand for goods. Quite often new general

stores and shops would open to accommodate this demand.

Overwhelmingly the productive aged return migrant headed for the urban areas, especially Thessalonica and Athens after 1955 where large markets were conglomerating, making them an attractive location for service industries such as the restaurant and wholesale food business. Areas of growing tourism (mostly located in island and coastal regions) also attracted the entrepreneurial skills of the return migrants. (7)

So, in effect, the rural Greek village grew during this period only in terms of increased consumption potential stimulating a mild growth in service industries and a rapidly aging population due to the infusion and repatriation of retired or semi-retired Greek-Americans.

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Map Source

1. Map on page 131 drawn from photograph of Eptahori.

Figure 5-A. From information obtained from actual case history of Eptahori migrant and family.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

As mentioned earlier the information gathering techniques involved in this study were greatly dependent upon the study subjects as a source. Because of this, quantifiable data which could be interpreted as reliable material on which to base specific conclusions, was replaced by less exact survey results and background knowledge allowing only conclusive generalizations in summary.

Nevertheless, the findings of this fieldwork yielded several insights into the phenomenon of Greek Trans-Atlantic linkage. These points are covered in five sections :

- a) Institutional linkage
- b) Individual linkage
- c) Effects of linkage on continued U.S. migration
- d) Return migration as a form of linkage
- e) The future

a) Institutional Linkage

The overall fabric of the American-Eptahori relationship is not best symbolized by the intentions declared by the St. George's Eptahori Society. The constitution states that its "benevolent purpose" is to support certain projects which would help the social and economic progress of the village. Actually, the forces behind this relationship consist of a much different material.

Though originally founded on the basis of social fraternization of Eptahorians in America, it, like other organizations of the same ilk, went on to consciously bond itself with the originating homeland. The reasons for this are clear: the original members, the majority of whom were certain that they would eventually return home, saw an opportunity to better the conditions of their home as well as serving their "filotimos" (pride). They saw themselves, not as permanent settlers but instead as guestworkers whose home remained in rural Greece. To help the village was to help themselves.⁽¹⁾ The need to prove to their fellow villagers left behind that they were successful was also an important factor. The idea that the emigrants might fail in the eyes of the other villagers was anathema. What better way to convey a sense of success than to be able to pay for most of the construction of something as sacred as the village church or to pay for the delivery of medical supplies in an area where malnutrition and other chronic diseases were rampant.

The attitudes of the members of the St. George's Eptahori Society changed however, in response to prolonged spatial displacement. As it became apparent that many of the migrants were not permanently returning to Greece and immigration all but ceased in 1920's and 1930's, the Eptahori Society became, once again, a tool of social and ethnic adherence. The immigrants, most of whom had remained in the U.S. went through a period (1925-1950) where few could return to the village, either for fear that they would not be

allowed to re-enter the U.S. or because of the unrest in the area. (2)

News from Eptahori was sparse and in general there was little direct contact. Although the Society was not at its peak in either activity or interest during this time, the fact that it remained intact was based on the role it played as a microcommunity of Eptahori, filling the social needs of displaced migrants, out of communication with their home. Of course, the charitable nature of the society remained steadfast in that funds were remitted to the village on an annual basis. But generally it became a village in itself, in social not spatial terms.

After this period, when 2nd and eventually 3rd generation Eptahorian-Americans became active in the society a third phase for the existence of the organisation began. These native-born Americans who now constitute 25% of the society saw it as a specific means to claim an ethnic and cultural identity in reaction to the Civil Rights movement of the late 1950's. The increase in Greek-U.S. migration after 1948 helped to stimulate interest in the Eptahori Society which has carried on to present. But it was gifts and donations of the already established Greek-Americans which kept it afloat during difficult times in the mid 1950's.

Since its formation the St. George's Eptahori Society was an institution constructed mainly for the needs of the immigrants in the U.S. and not primarily as a charity for the village. In this sense the institutional relationship

has always been one of symbiotic mutualism. On the one hand a group of rural Greeks are transplanted into a society made up of a matrix of cultures where tradition was lost in an atmosphere of mobility and innovation.⁽³⁾ Knowledge of his continued acceptance by his village of the displaced migrant gave him a sense of the tight-knit social structure on which to adhere. This absentee sense of security supplemented by the continued growth of the Greek-American community enabled the immigrant to exist with at least a skeleton of the culture to which he had been accustomed. His reaction to solidify this situation was to ensure acceptance by the village by creating a positive link to the area of origin. Since, at the outset, the Eptahorian-American had neither the social or economic power to do this on an individual basis, the logical alternative was to pool resources with his peers from the village to effectively produce a perceived situation of economic success and at the same time display "love" and "charity" for the homeland. This, to him, was a safeguard of his acceptance in the village reinforcing his belief that the village was still his home.

The village was passive in both its acceptance of the charity from the migrants and its mutualism which superficially recognized the migrant as a village member. It was not until after the migrant returned, however, and most did not, that the effects of cultural disassociation and assimilation into American culture became apparent.

The charity of the society should not be understated in its usefulness whatever the reasons for its being. Medical supplies and doctors visits were badly needed in Eptahori after the turn of the century and the construction of the church and grammar school provided desired services. Also, it was the St. George's Eptahori Society which helped stimulate the timber industry by purchasing the first extracting equipment in 1960.

Institutionalized linkage, then, in the case of Eptahori was a method by which the Greek-American immigrant attempted to maintain his link with the insular village in reaction to his sudden self-superimposition on a new, contrary environment. Later, this form of linkage materialised into an ethnic identity link during periods first of Greek-American discommunication and then Greek-American cultural disorientation. The village also benefited from this relationship in that it acquired certain goods and services which helped stabilize its continued existence.

Institutional linkage was a medium of social exploitation and yet, also a way of obtaining needed material benefits. Both factors were mutually desirable to the parties involved.

b) Individual Linkage

A form of linkage based on principles not like that of the organized institutional form was that of the individual migrant. Individual linkage consists of the relationship between migrant and villager as a method to carry out acts of real, current social responsibility. These acts usually

are direct remittance sending, communication and an interest in village and Greek affairs. These migrants were investigated in a mail survey in the U.S. (Chapter Four).

While this survey clearly showed that increased temporal and spatial displacement directly affected the individuals relationship with the village it also gave indications to the type of relationship which help promote healthy trans-Atlantic ties.

Generally, those who responded to the questionnaire were linked to Eptahori in that almost all had visited the village, most had kin there and the majority communicated regularly with those in the village. On other questions there was more answering differentiation but the general consensus was one of active relationship with the village.

While the institutional linkage with Eptahori was born of a desire to maintain acceptance by a community in general, individual linkage has been a phenomenon much more closely related to kinship ties. As uncovered by the remittance survey taken in the U.S. all of the remittance sending was done on a kinship basis and 92% of those were based on nuclear family ties. The overwhelming importance placed on the family in the rural Greek community is such that the migrant, however initially destitute, strove to complete one of two goals - to raise enough funds to send for certain kin to migrate or remit whatever was affordable so that at least the family members could share in the migrants relative prosperity

Usually it was the former of these reasons that funds were remitted. The reunification of the family was a priority and while older parents were usually excluded, brothers and more frequently wives and children were not. Here there was no exaggerated socioeconomic pretention involved in the relationship. The desire to have family closeby or to start one's own with someone from a common background was the prime force in this linkage. While this explains the original 1st generation migrants attitude towards his relationship with the village it raises the question of the stimulus behind 2nd and 3rd generation Greek-Americans continuing ties with Eptahori.

The answer to this is bi-facted. First, as shown by the surveys, native-born Greek-Americans do not exhibit as much direct linkage with the villagers. So in effect there is not the remittance sending, communication process, nor extensive nuclear kinship ties as of the Greek born. Secondly, there are the social reasons of kinship network which do stimulate an individual interest in an intergenerational way. In this instance, familiarity with certain relatives through parents, while the 2nd and 3rd generation Greek-Americans are being raised, becomes ingrained in their personalities. They perceive it as their responsibility to keep in contact with relations in the village if for nothing else than to show respect for their elders in the U.S.⁽⁴⁾ This contact indirectly enhances further linkage by stimulating visits and an overall knowledge of the region. Given this it is no surprise that 100% of the native American respondents said that

they had relations in Eptahori or that almost all have visited the village in the past.

At the same time however, it is a form of linkage which lacks the economic dimension as not one native-American answered that he now sends funds to the village. Also, it is only a small minority (an estimated 10-20%) of American-born who have Eptahorian descent who belong to the St. George's Eptahori Society. (5)

The individuals' relationship to Eptahori, then, was one based almost solely on kinship and the responsibilities of that kinship taken on by the migrant. Whether economic or social, the relationship on this individual basis was spurred on by the desire to fulfill traditional family obligations.

c) 1. Effects of Linkage on Migration to U.S.

Linkage as a historical phenomenon played a role in the further out-migration from Eptahori to the U.S. Just as the original stories of exaggerated wealth which were a form of linkage, stimulated the original out-migration from certain villages like Eptahori, linkage with established Greek-Americans affected the villagers perceptions of migration as an alternative. The question which has to be attended to is whether or not the effects of American-Eptahori linkage caused a random or selective sample of future migrants.

It is true that chain-letter migration was the mechanism which triggered a continued secession of out-migration from Greece to the U.S. in the early period from 1890 to 1920. The growth in volume of migration was exponential from 1900-1920 and it is difficult to estimate how many more Greeks would have migrated if not for the U.S. immigration legislation of 1924. Since post correspondence was the only means of keeping communication between migrant and homeland and since it is a form of communication which can often lead to a misrepresentation of reality, many emigrated with false expectations, word diffused rapidly that riches were being found in the U.S. by once relatively poor Greeks.

This diffusion of news from America was the prime mover initially but actual evidence of the relative wealth in the U.S. must have suggested to those who did not have blood ties in the U.S. that the stories were authentic. To what extent these people migrated is clear.

From the beginning the bulk of mass out-migration to the U.S. from Greece was centred on rural communities. However, the selection of potential migrants was not random and was controlled by social variables which were integral parts of the rural Greek society. Out-migration was directly linked to the already existing social stratification in the village. Despite a egalitarian veneer superficially covering Eptahori there was and are distinct status differences among families.

As was related in Chapter three the first migrants to the U.S. from Eptahori were businessmen and a teacher. Additionally, the migrants who immediately followed were also from the more prestigious Greek families in Eptahori. According to a manuscript (ca. 1905) the names of village "notables" were listed.⁽⁶⁾ These men were landowners and artisans in the village usually working in collaboration with the Ottoman Turks and who paid but also collected taxes. They were the poor bourgeoisie of an even poorer peasantry, but they were of a higher class and were accountable for the failure of debt repayments. It was these men who were dragged off to jail in Kastoria during the oppression of the late 19th Century and they stood to lose the most in times of Ottoman rule. They walked a precarious tightrope between officialdom and peasantry, but were most of all Greek, something which drew them much closer to the peasant than their Ottoman rulers.

In comparing the last names of these men to those first migrants who became members of the St. George's Eptahori Society in America there is a great deal of cross-listing. Of the twenty seven different names listed in the manuscript fourteen appear on the 1910 membership roster of the Eptahori Society for a total of thirty two members out of thirty nine altogether. In effect, these families dominated the initial period of U.S. migration as the majority of the village families remained in Eptahori.

The reasons for this were that the people of better education and means were quick to a) see a means of applying whatever skill they possessed in a society which could offer much more remuneration and economic freedom, b) could afford the fare to the U.S. either because of their higher economic standing or an immediate remittance sent from the original family migrant, c) knew that worse times were ahead for the village under Turkish rule and d) realised that the venture would not have to be a permanent one. (7)

Although by 1930, 146 Eptahorians had migrated to the U.S. only forty three different names appeared on the society roster for that year, again showing a great deal of migration linked to kinship. All but two of those family names listed on the 1905 manuscript of "notables" were present on this roster.

Today the ninety nine members of the Eptahori Society are represented by only thirty six different surnames and since few names (if any) in one village duplicate without having a kinship based relation, (8) it can be said that throughout the Eptahori-U.S. migration story families of better socioeconomic standing tended to become U.S. bound migrants as opposed to the landless peasants.

This is not to say that all villagers who had neither land nor some possessions of wealth did not migrate. But overall U.S. migration from Eptahori does not portray a random out-migration disregarding socioeconomic background. The victim of both material and intellectual poverty the

peasant could not conceive of the idea of leaving his world which consisted of the village and nothing else, even for the promised riches of a far away land. The money was the talk of the men of business in the village and had nothing to do with him. He considered these men his peers but nevertheless they were involved in occupations of which he knew little.

The stories the peasant heard of wealth in America were interesting and when money began to flow back into the village he was intrigued. For the most part though, he was resigned to his fate. It is interesting to note that most of the names of villagers who became communists during the years 1941-1951 are absent from any St. George's Eptahori roster.⁽⁹⁾

Still, there is the constant misconception on the part of the Greek-American social scientist that the American bound migrant was the poorest member of rural Greek society.⁽¹⁰⁾ There is a clear tendency by these scholars to romanticise the plight of their own people. While it is true that the early immigrants were poor by American standards and had to struggle to climb socially upward in the U.S. they were better off than many, if not most, of their fellow villagers - their ingenuity and skill exhibited in American society attest to this fact. Income levels and educational attainment are as much as 30% ahead of his urban white contemporaries.⁽¹¹⁾ While this study cannot substantiate other village's patterns of out-migration it certainly shows that in this particular case, the belief that Greek emigrants of the early 20th Century were impoverished is erroneous.

The effect of institutional and in particular individual linkage did stimulate and indeed enabled increased out-migration to the U.S. on a kinship basis. Figures 6-A, 6-B & 6-C show the typical manner in which the outmigration occurred and illustrate the kinship basis of this movement. The inhabitants who did migrate came from backgrounds more conducive to entrepreneurial adaption and environmental change. The landless peasant of Eptahori was generally excluded from this migration due to his social and economic inadequacies inherent in rural Ottoman Greek society.

2. Effects of Linkage on Village Society

The effects of linkage on village society have been discussed previously but in summary can be said to have affected both the psychological and material well-being of Eptahori.

The villager views the American-Eptahori connection in different ways. Those who are leftist in political beliefs generally refuse to accept the idea that there is such an ongoing relationship. Other, more centrist people who have no direct ties to the U.S. admit the existence of a linkage situation but will readily argue to what extent the village has benefited from this relationship - most saying that there has only been modest help from the well-meaning Greek-Americans. The final group are those who do have direct kinship ties to the U.S. and are usually most enthusiastic about the past

Fig 6-A. A Simplified Example of Eptahorian - American Migration

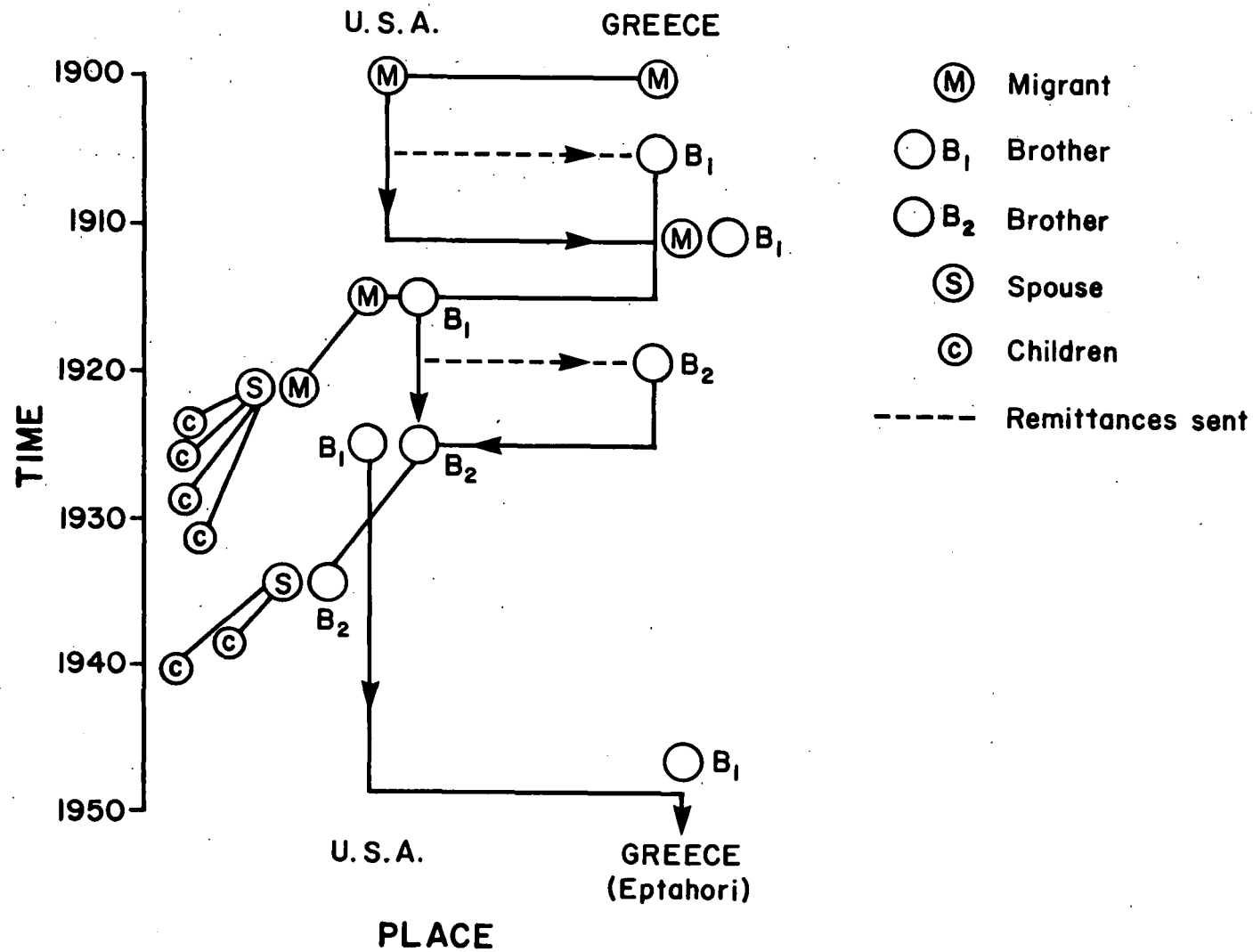


Fig 6-B. A Simplified Example of Eptahorian – American Migration

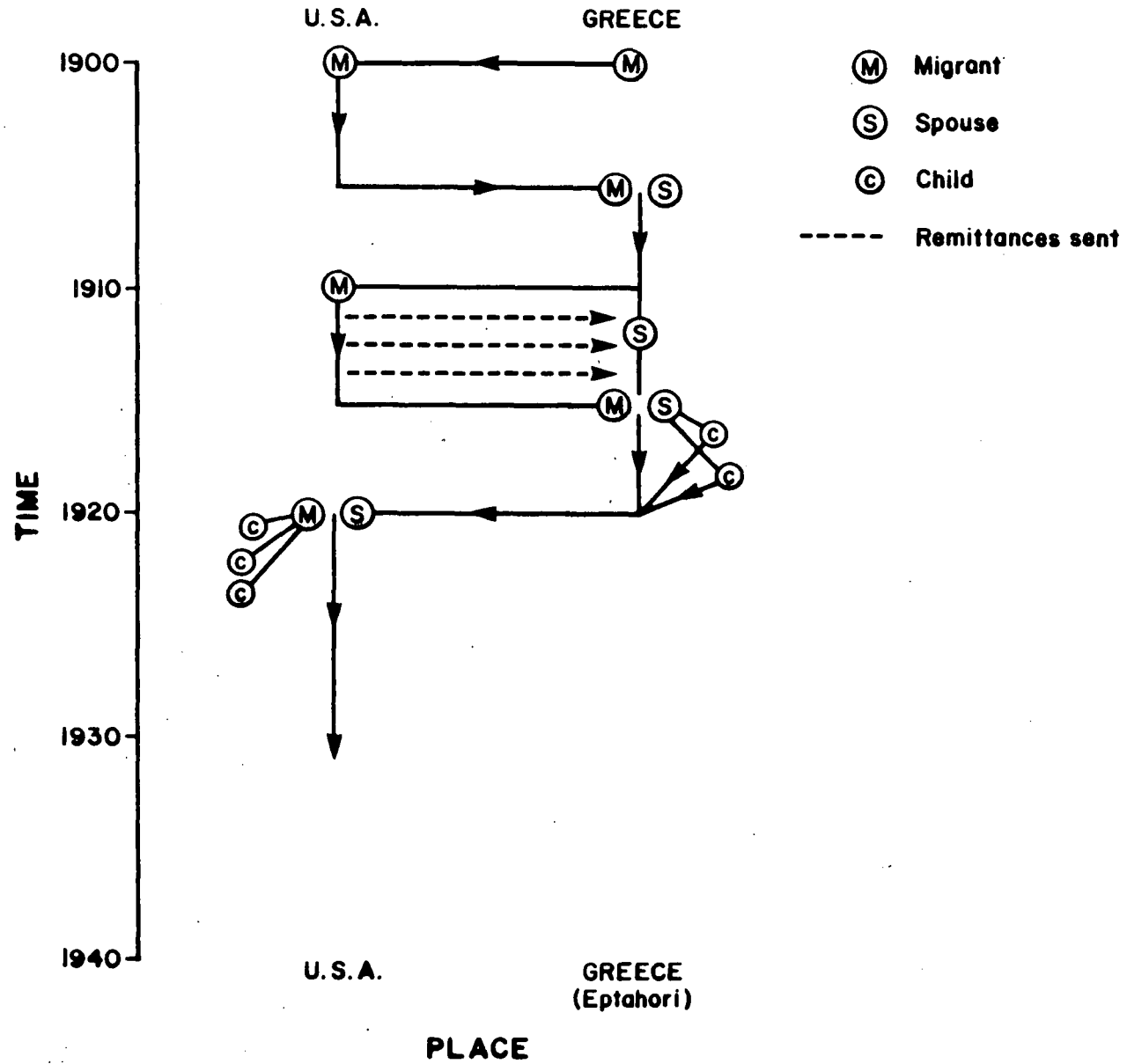
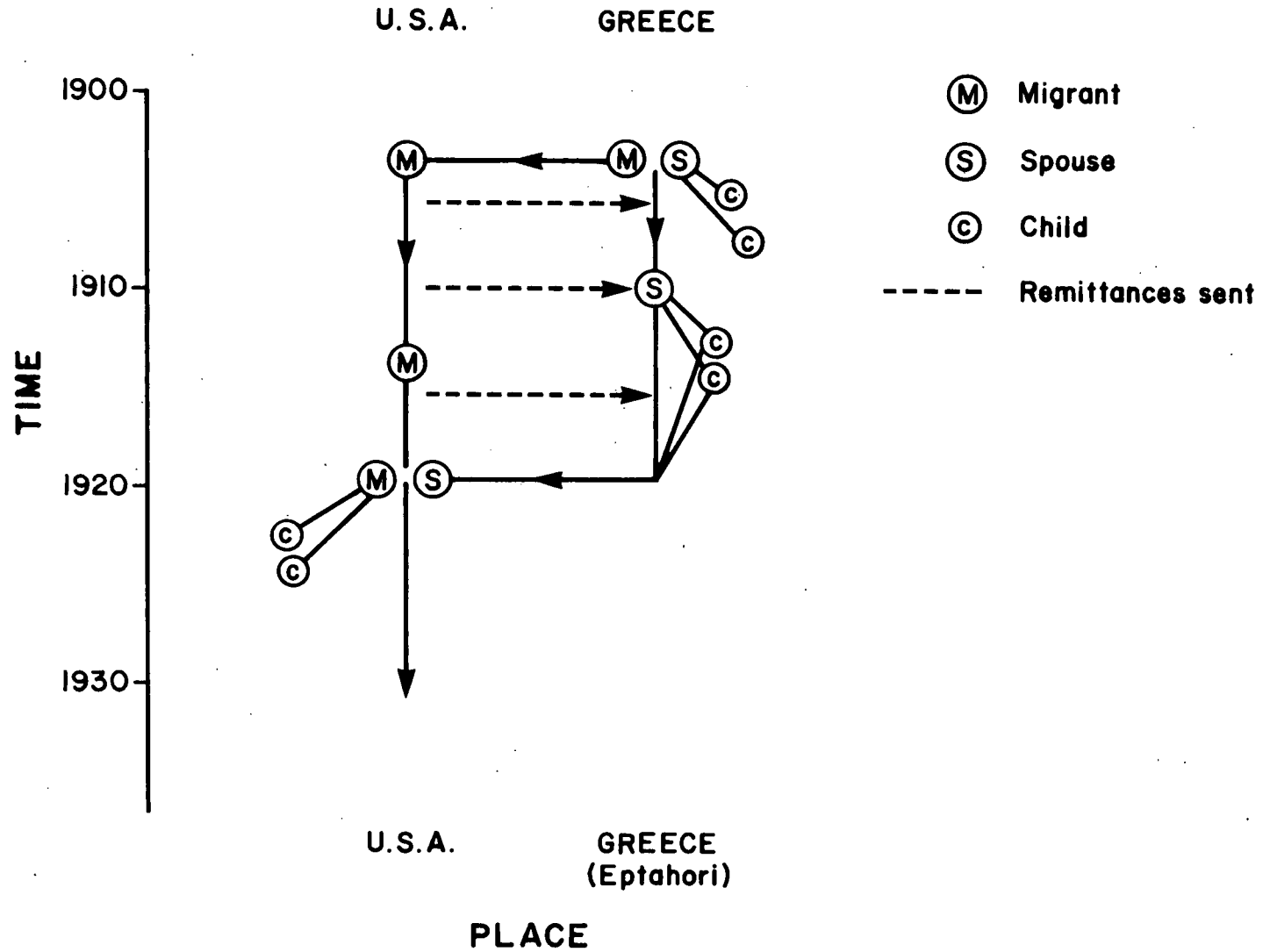


Fig 6-C. A Simplified Example of Eptahorian – American Migration



and present bond between Eptahori and the U.S. They relate that the importance in maintaining the American connection is valid for reasons of financial security for the village. Many of the people in this group are return migrants from the U.S.

There is no prevailing attitude towards Eptahori-U.S. linkage in the village and nor has there ever been. The feelings are unique to each individuals' personal relationship to the U.S. The institutional linkage demonstrated by the St. George's Eptahori Society does not bridge the gap between the groups either. The gifts, such as the money for the construction of the church, grammar school, chapel and the purchase of some timber extracting equipment affected only a portion of the village population. Those who owned no land, believed in no God or considered Greek state education biased did not exactly benefit from these gifts. The medical supplies and food sent during times of conflict have all but been forgotten by these people.

Whether the perceptions and attitudes of the villagers were positive or negative towards the existence of linkage there are certain effects that the relationship has had on village society in general. One of these is the direct effect on the quality of life in Eptahori. While much has already been said about the economic benefits received in the village from U.S. linkage the overall impressions have not been discussed.

The infusion of money into the village from individual remittances and return migrants was important in that as the demand for modern goods and conveniences rose, so too did the intelligence and acceptance of industrial lifestyle by the villagers. The introduction of industrial tools and utilities into a peasant society is indeed a form of culture shock. However, partly because of the American connection, the inundation of material goods and the overall familiarity of industrial society from the constant reports of life in the U.S., the introduction of much different lifestyle was anticipated.

In a sense the American connection helped prepare the village for the impending onslaught of modern industrial society which began with the village's electrification in 1961 and the building of the main road in 1972. While little economic development is observable on the Eptahori landscape, the social flexibility instituted in the village by prior-American contact helped establish an awareness and understanding of industrial life.

Linkage with the U.S. also educated the villagers in that out-migration was considered an acceptable alternative and even though many could not and did not emigrate to the U.S., others later emigrated to Greek urban areas during the 1960's and 1970's, and of course to northern Europe and Australia during this same period. The American experience at least, opened doors of awareness if not opportunities, for most the the inhabitants of Eptahori.

Economically, as has been stated before, there has been little direct investment in Eptahori with American capital. The service industries and timber industry have been helped by linkage in that increased cash flows into the village meant greater demand for goods and the gifts of a truck and skidder given by the St. George's Eptahori Society for the communal timber industry most definitely aided that activity.

For the most part there is no evidence (with the exception of one or two eating places) that American funds were used to gain profit in Eptahori. Most of the returning money aimed at business interests was invested in the urban core areas, such as Thessaloniki and Athens, usually in conjunction with proprietor settlement there.

d) Return Migration as a Form of Linkage

The return migrant as mentioned in Chapter five either returned directly to Eptahori or urban areas in Greece depending on his financial interests and age. Both groups have had an effect on Eptahori society and indeed have acted as a form of linkage between the U.S. and the village.

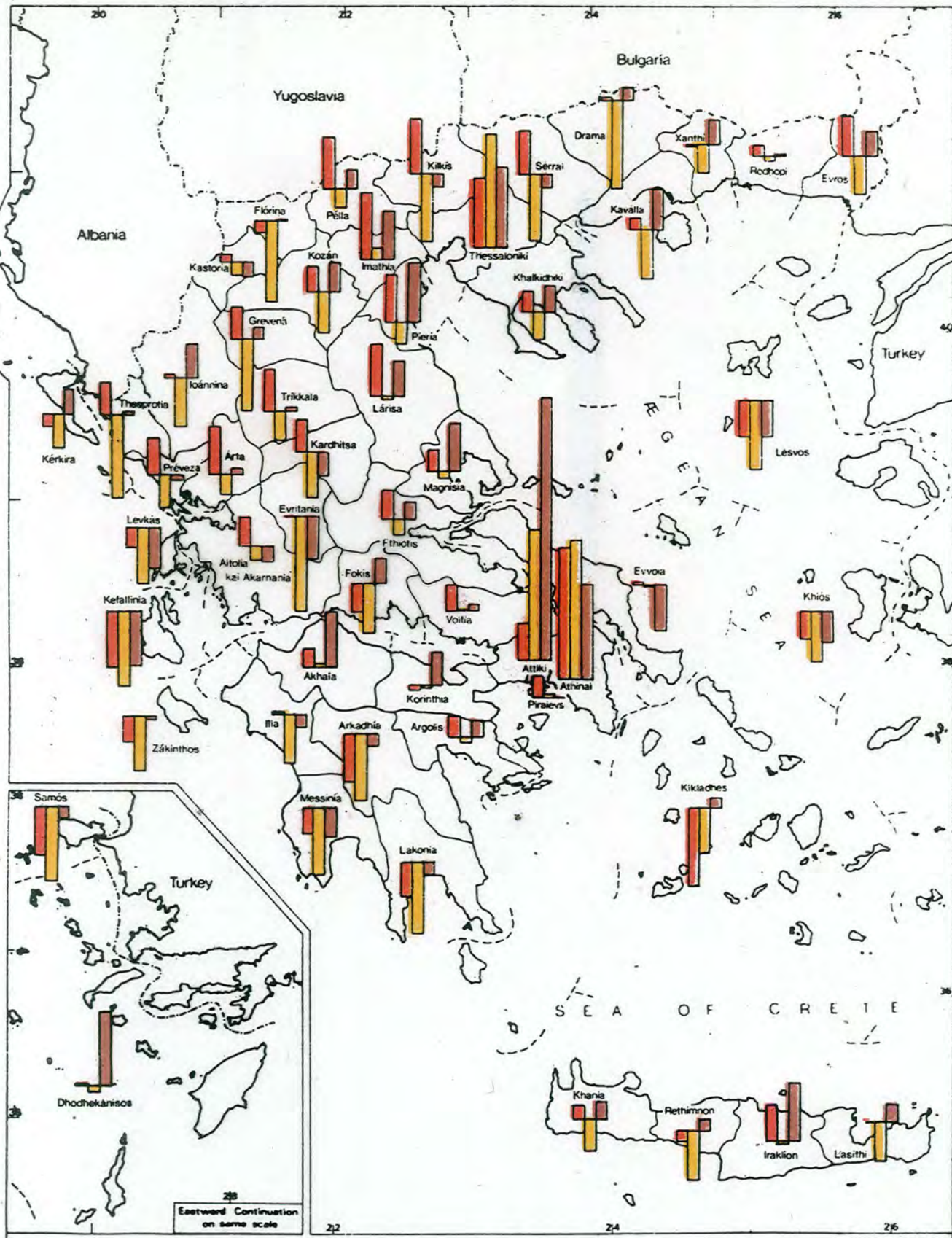
The most obvious manner in which U.S. Eptahori linkage was exemplified by return migration was of course, the revenues earned in American brought back to Greece. In fact, the earnings brought back by return migrants may well rival those (in volume) which were remitted. In the

case of Eptahori it is clear that returnees have invested a much greater percentage of their funds directly into the Greek economy than that of U.S. sent remittances.

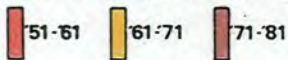
Overall, however, the economic consequences of the return migrants financial investment has yet to effect Eptahori. While some returnees are urban proprietors who visit or live in the village part of the year, they spend little in Eptahori and invest even less. There was not one returnee living in the city who had a business interest in Eptahori. Those who have returned to the village are not economically active in that there are few proprietorships run and owned by return migrants. Almost all return migrants in Eptahori are retired.

One factor which may play a role in stimulating returnee investment in Eptahori is the Greek urban-rural remigration trend which is showing signs of occurring in the near future.⁽¹²⁾ A movement towards the decentralisation of the Greek population is shown on the map on page 174. This could stimulate an increase in investment in Eptahori in response to a larger potential market. Although, now, with only 10% of the members of the St. George's Eptahori Society saying they will definitely return to Eptahori the capital for investment may not appear.

Return migration also acts as linkage in the way of an education influence as suggested earlier. The migrants act as carriers of industrial cultural traits and introduce new ideas into the village, from fashions to utilization of appliances. In general, it is a modernising influence as at least some migrant acculturation must have taken place given the average stay in the U.S. is 23.5 years. The return migrants live in comfortable westernised homes, many



Department Population Change



Percentage Increase Population

|| Increase ||

|| Decrease ||

1mm = 1%

Greece : Percentage Population Change by Department 1951 - 81

times with furniture shipped over from the U.S. They regularly own automobiles, take long trips to the islands for holidays and are occasionally visited by Americans bearing gifts of even more material worth. It was my experience that many of the return migrants were idolized by the young men of the village who talked of one day being able to afford these same commodities. In effect, an Americanisation process has touched on village lifestyles. (13)

e) The Future

American-Eptahorian linkage has been a beneficial relationship to both emigrant and source area. The immigrants in America, suffering from cultural and environmental dislocation used the relationship to help ease their plight. The fabric of rural Greek society was continued in the Greek community in America and the enforced connections to the village by institutional means developed a sense of belonging for the migrant. Today, that pervasive sense of traditional Greek values in the Greek-American community is rapidly deminishing as rural Greek migration to the U.S. has slowed and the more numerous American born Greek-Americans are taking control of their community. Despite the additional reasons for continuing a connection with the village such as recent ethnic identity searching in America in reaction to Civil Rights and popular culturism there, the validity of a physical bond between Eptahori and the U.S. is becoming much less clear.

Assimilation and acculturation of the Greek-American born in American is acute when considering their views on the importance of Greek-Orthodoxy and the Greek community. While many will continue to join more Pan-Hellenic organisations in the U.S. few will remain on an identity basis with their parents' or grandparents' village. Even if these native-Americans continue to marry Greek (and there is evidence that this is not occurring)⁽¹⁴⁾ the overriding social atmosphere is one of disassociation from specific "old world" localities. Only the general ethnic identity is continuing to hold the Greek-American community together.

From the point of view of the village linkage to the U.S. has been a dual phenomenon. While only a certain number of specific families benefited from individual remittance sending the community in general benefited from some of the more pragmatic gifts of the St. George's Eptahori Society, i.e. medical supplies and foodstuffs. Although there are those in the village who refuse to acknowledge these benefits there is no doubt that a substantial number of lives were saved or made more comfortable during the Second World War and its immediate aftermath. The building and maintenance of religious, social and educational facilities by the society also helped to improve the quality of life in Eptahori, at least for the majority. The purchase of timber extracting equipment also played a role in developing an industry which now in communal form, supports many public projects which may have been funded by the St. George's Eptahori

Society in the absence of this.

The working mechanism behind the village acceptance of economic remittance, whether individual or institutional, has been one of supply and demand. When the need for goods was great the response met it and because of this a working relationship between society and village was developed. Now, the demand has lessened to the point where at the last general assembly of the Eptahori Society not one project could be singled out as being important enough to send funds. This problem has become a chronic one in the past five years and has led to the extinction of annual gifts. As the current secretary of the society explained, the population is not large enough to appreciate new projects such as the construction of a high school or athletic field and does not desire any more help on past projects such as more equipment for the timber industry.

Because of this even those interested in maintaining links with the village are losing enthusiasm for the purposes of the society. Although membership has held constant for the past ten years the society is becoming more of a social club and is actually losing money due to fewer donations from its members.

The future for both individual and institutional American-Eptahori linkage is dim given current socio-political trends in Greece which have resulted in state involvement in the improvements and modernisation of rural Greek society. (15)

Historically, U.S.-Eptahori linkage played an important role in the subsistence of the village and in the assimilating transition undergone by the Eptahorian-American immigrant. For the future, it seems that this vital relationship will be replaced by a more passive acknowledgement of one's roots by both sides.

Even by this, however, the recuperative powers of Greek-Americans cannot be underestimated given the right conditions, as exemplified by the sudden emergence of a Greek political lobby in Washington after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974.⁽¹⁵⁾

As one former Eptahorian now living in America said to me, "Now, there is no reason for money to be sent or gifts to be given. In fact they resent it but if the village were to be in trouble we would be there"

Without this unforeseeable situation of conflict or a sudden increase of renewed migration, the relationship between Greek-American and Eptahori will gradually lessen as it has done over the past decade.

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3. Moskos, Charles C., op. cit., p.144.
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5. Vlachos, Evan C. Historical Trends in Greek Migration to the United States (paper presented at the Bicentennial Symposium on the Greek Experience in America, University of Chicago, 1976) p.35. This estimation is based on Vlachos' statement that American-born Greek-Americans now outnumber the Greek-born four to one. Given that only 25% of the St. George's Eptahori Society is American-born, in membership, the vast majority are apparently not active in this relationship.
6. This manuscript is a brief description of Vorvotsikon in the early 20th Century and was written by one of the monks attending the St. George's Monastery, it is co-signed by the mukthar of the village at that time.
7. Piowtrowski, Thaddeus. op. cit. p.18.
8. Ibid. pp.22-25.
9. Names of Communist Party members obtained from the files of the Eptahori village Police.
10. Moskos, Saloutos and Vlachos, by far the three most important scholars of Greek-American Studies, do not investigate the pre-migration situation in Greece in any depth and generally portray the rural Greek migrant as oppressed peasants when under Ottoman rule and victims of a barren environment when under the Greek flag. All three of these sociologists are Greek-Americans.
11. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population : 1970, Subject Reports, National Origin and Language, Final Report PC(2)-1A.
12. The figures of the 1980 Greek National Census show at least a movement towards decentralization of urbanisation, whether or not this will result in the demographic build-up in peripheral rural areas remains to be seen.

13. Saloutos, Theodore. op. cit. p.22.
14. Tavuchis, Nicholas. op. cit. Tavuchis suggests that one of every two American-born Greeks is marrying out of the Greek ethnic group.
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AFTERWORD

The Eptahori case-study can be considered typical of rural Greek Macedonian villages in terms of the out-migration to the U.S. from them and the post-migratory experience between migrant and village. The similarities between Eptahori and its neighbours, for instance, are striking with all experiencing sizable U.S. emigration and all having some ongoing relationship between village and migrant.

However, because of the difference in sociopolitical conditions between Ottoman Greece and the "free" Greek State, during the era of mass migration to the U.S., the stimulus of out-migration may have affected different socioeconomic groups in the two areas.

The Greek-Ottoman bourgeoisie in Macedonia and other Turkish controlled areas were undoubtedly conscious of the instability of their situation under the oppressive hand of the decaying Ottoman infrastructure.

Meanwhile the free Greek peasant being more readily affected by the failing raisin market of the 1890's and more enlightened by a much less restrictive government policy was much more accepting of the idea of emigrating than his contemporary in the north.

Therefore, given that four of every seven Greek born Greek-Americans are Peloponnesian in origin it is difficult, indeed erroneous, to say that the Eptahori example of out-migration to the U.S. was typical of the Greek-American story.

Contrary to this, settlement patterns, assimilation in the U.S., return migration and the linkage with the U.S. experienced by Eptahorians is probably most generally typical of that of most all rural Greek villages over the past century.

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