

# Multiple Modernities and Reflexive Traditionalisation

## A Mediterranean Case Study

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Straddling the divide between tradition and modernity, European ethnologists feel most comfortable with explaining how the present became what it is today. We are more reluctant to forecast which ones of the cultural phenomena we can observe today will still be with us tomorrow. Globalization and the cultural transformations it entails challenge European ethnology to distinguish the durable from the transitory and also, to highlight the emergence of novel cultural practices. Using ethnographic findings from the economic culture of tourism in Cyprus as a case in point, the article explores the usefulness of explanatory models engaging either tradition or modernity.

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European ethnology today is challenged by forms of cultural practice and social experience that are neither wholly traditional nor unambiguously modern. We are studying cultures that cannot be mistaken for those traditional communities whose invention the discipline was complicit with. But neither are the people whose practices and discourses we inquire into easily aligned with uncomplicated notions of a unified culture of modernity. Scenarios that anticipate a global leveling of cultural difference and the homogenization of a single world culture have become as untenable as the ascription of cultural authenticity that constructed traditional cultures as untouched by modernity and to be protected from its destructive influence.

As a safeguard of traditionality, European ethnology itself is a product of modernity.<sup>1</sup> The folkloristic scholarly projects it emerged from – such as *Volkskunde* in the German-speaking countries of Europe – were incepted in modernizing, industrializing, urbanizing societies. As Hermann Bausinger pointed out, the most important developments of the discipline in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have to be seen as a response to the

perceived disorganization, to the mobilization, and transformation of society (see Bausinger 1969:232). The disciplinary objective of identifying folk traditions obeyed – in addition to the unmistakably nationalist motif – the need for constructing a counter-world to modernity.<sup>2</sup> To document relics of cultural forms in which the force of traditions was thought to bear witness to the archaic and primordial shape of human existence has certainly carried Folklore Studies internationally until the late 1960s when a vigorous “critique of tradition” made itself heard. Its targets were the social identity of folklore as a haven of political conservatism as well as the scholarly concept of tradition that constituted the core of the cognitive identity of the discipline and enabled it, but also restricted it to the study of the cultural heritage. This critique opened up new fields and new areas of analysis for the discipline. However, even in its progressive approach to the oppositional potential of vernacular cultures and working class milieu, European ethnology remained haunted by its predilection for cultural continuity (see Köstlin 1996, see Löfgren 1996). The ability of Europe-

an ethnology's newfound subject, the subaltern and marginal groups, to create counter-cultural niches in societies otherwise thoroughly permeated by cultural uniformity, after all, seemed to stem from their rootedness in tradition and the long-term durability of their cultures.

The impetus to discover pre-modern items in contemporary societies and to construct primitive cultures as "modernity's Other" (Trouillot 1991) has also been implicit in anthropological research on non-European cultures from the very beginning.<sup>3</sup> Textual critics have unmasked how the representational practices of ethnography made pre-modern cultures into foils and projection screens for the construction of their own societies as modern, this in itself a practice and a motif that preceded the formation of academic anthropology for some centuries. Later on, anthropologists became particularly concerned with the threat that modernization seemed to pose to the survival of traditional cultures. Western modernity's claims to universal applicability would ultimately cause the leveraging of cultural difference: This nightmare of global cultural homogenization as the assumed end-result of a worldwide success of modernization, that Claude Lévi-Strauss had warned against in his *Tristes Tropiques* (1978), today still continues to motivate many anthropological projects. The American historiographer of anthropology, James Clifford (1986), called the theme of the vanishing primitive, of the end of traditional society, and of salvaging cultures thus threatened by means of ethnographic documentation the "pastoral allegory" of anthropology.

However, social and cultural anthropology, as well as European ethnology, have also significantly contributed to that critique of ideology that has made it possible to view modernity as a historically specific, politically far from disinterested concept, as only one type of many humanly possible social orders and moral orientations, yet a type whose dissemination was actively, violently even, pursued by Western societies. European ethnologists with their close theoretical and methodological ties to social and cultural history, have been successful in pointing out that Western modernity is far from uniform but comes in many shapes, having

evolved quite differently in a number of societies that the divide between "the West and the rest" was used to lumping together as uniformly Western (see Frykman/Löfgren 1987). European ethnology is particularly well placed to contribute to the recent debate on the plurality of modernities and the realization that modern societies are much less uniform and homogeneous than assumed.

Straddling the divide between tradition and modernity, European ethnology, however, tends to feel more comfortable looking back towards the past than risking a glance into the future. Many European ethnologists consider themselves to be on safer ground formulating retrospective explanations rather than prospective prognoses of social life. We are much more willing to explain how the present became what it is today, recovering lines of persistence, than to attempt to forecast which ones of the cultural phenomena we can observe today will still be with us tomorrow. To trace the trajectory of cultural change into the future demands "to probe the connection between the singular and the structural. At issue is the relationship of individual creativity to existing cultural forms and prospective culture change" (Fox 1991:107).<sup>4</sup> At the ground level of ethnographic inquiry, this proves to be not so much a problem of epistemology than of fieldwork methodology. Cultural anthropologist Sally Falk Moore once asked, "In the thick of fieldwork how is the anthropologist to distinguish the transitory from the durable, cultural change from cultural persistence?" (Falk Moore 1987:728). In tune with the emerging anthropological concern with practice, she recommends paying close attention to the strategies and tactics of individual social actors in order to find out how new cultural practices are initiated and adopted (see also Hannerz 1992).

In what follows I will attempt to play out these concerns by interpreting ethnographic findings that evolved from exploratory fieldwork I did in the Republic of Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> Cyprus is an insular regional society in the Eastern Mediterranean, "on its journey to a destination variously called locally 'modernity', 'Europe' or 'the West,'" as Cypriot anthropologist Vassos Argyrou (1996:1) writes, a postcolonial society

released into independence by Britain as late as 1960, an ethnically and religiously bifurcated society of an orthodox Christian Greek majority and a Muslim Turkish minority, its asset – or curse – being its geopolitical position between Europe and the Arab world. The fieldwork took place in the southern and much larger portion of the divided island, that portion which remains of the Republic of Cyprus after the de-facto-partition was finalized by the Turkish military invasion 1974.<sup>6</sup> Contrary to the Turkish-controlled north, the Republic of Cyprus has had an unparalleled economic recovery and secured for itself a small but growing portion of tourism in the Mediterranean. The social, economic, and environmental consequences are as problematic as in most other circum-Mediterranean tourist destination areas. The interest in my study was with the social practices of small entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy, focusing on the interpenetration of tourist development and individual entrepreneurial decisions, of personal biographies and family histories. Most enterprises are family-run, often with two generations and siblings working full-time. Restaurants and car rental agencies, small tour operators and apartment hotels, diving schools and souvenir shops are among the typical tourist businesses. The advantage of unpaid family labor over hired employees is minimized to the degree that severely underpaid, often illegal immigrant labor has become very widely available in Cyprus. Family members also often contribute financial resources or the use of land or buildings, predictably, decisions to be taken about new activities or investments cause conflicts. Antagonisms between brothers are expected and seem to follow a cultural logic of sibling rivalry, competition for resources is clearly intensified when one or two of them plan to get married and establish their own nuclear families.

The local economy of a tourist destination area is an “environment of risk”; because the direction of tourism’s growth and its local effects can hardly be anticipated by local actors. They become increasingly dependent on global developments they know little of and have no way of accurately calculating their outcomes. The corporate board decisions of transnational

corporations are penetrating local life worlds. Needless to say, these are conditions that Cyprus shares with other tourist destination areas. However, in this case, the politically tense situation between the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish-controlled northern part of island considerably adds to the insecurity that characterize all local tourism economies. Yet, the small entrepreneurs are much less afraid of an actual outbreak of armed conflict than that they fear the media in the home countries of the tourists headlining yet another rumor of military threat, thus causing tens of thousands of tourist to cancel their bookings for vacation in Cyprus.

In such a situation, family businesses represent a strategy to minimize risk because the family usually is involved in a number of economic activities, not all of them touristic. Pluri-active households typically include agriculture with a seasonally varying intensity, one or more touristic activities plus employment in the public sector, for instance as a primary school teacher or a police officer. When outside help is needed, one is more likely to employ immigrants than those residents of the small town who are not relatives. This has to do with jealousy and mistrust between competing families, but also of course aliens can be underpaid as well as let off without consequences at the end of the season or when business slacks down.

Competition between businesses is extremely tough. Those entrepreneurs whose business is a success find themselves copied by others. Those who enter into the tourist economy consider it safer to reproduce what has proven profitable in the past than to try and develop something innovative or even to scout out a still undeveloped segment of the market. The consequence is that more and more businesses compete mercilessly for an ever smaller market. In the nearby fishing harbor, all of a sudden there are four excursion boats fighting for a meager clientele while on the coastal road, the number of souvenir shops had quadrupled in as many years. Those who were first to establish a new type of business fall victim to those who come later; those who manage to push their predecessors out are triumphant. My interviews abound with stories of “dirty competition”, of attempts to harm competitors, sometimes even by illegal

means. Actually, many new businesses founder after the first year or so can only go on because the pluriactive family is able to economically absorb the loss for a while.

Now, are these behaviors and attitudes traditional or modern? In fact, much of what this brief report reveals of the strategies that local actors develop in order to come to terms with new challenges resonates strongly with what the anthropology of Southern Europe has been insisting is the traditional ethos of Mediterranean societies. Since the 60s, the societies of the Mediterranean had become areas of research both for American cultural anthropologists and British social anthropologists. They produced numerous community studies mostly situated in rural areas of circum-Mediterranean countries. Also in European ethnology, the Mediterranean has become a regional specialization. Today in many of these countries, a young generation of native-born scholars has taken charge of research in their own societies, turned away from national folkloristics, and infused the anthropology of the Mediterranean with a critical energy.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the earlier studies in Mediterranean anthropology, however, suggested that the historical experience of poverty and of exploitation by foreign rulers produced social coping strategies that were cemented culturally through the centuries. According to these approaches, contemporary Mediterranean societies may have arrived in modernity technologically and infrastructurally, but they are at the same time socially and culturally still entangled in older patterns that obstruct the development of a productive and sustainable economy. What I have reported on the small entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy can of course be interpreted along those lines. For instance, the observation that some families are bitterly antagonistic instead of cooperating for their own good seems to make plausible any explanation involving older familistic patterns.<sup>8</sup> Familism as an anthropological trope is heavily suggestive of images of rural small towns torn by strife between rival families which in turn prevents the rationalization and depersonalization of social relations, politics, and the economy – considered a trademark of modernity.

Here also fits the anthropological diagnosis of the peasant world view of limited good, defined as the assumption that the total number of economic resources available in a given situation cannot be increased. As this is taken to mean that the total sum of profit attainable in a local community always stays the same, the individual and his family can only make a gain by changing the mode of distribution in their favor. Ethnographic findings imply that the prevalent assumption of such populations is that the cake always stays the same size, so that the competitors will each have to try to get a bigger piece of it. This serves well to explain the practice of newcomers to the local tourism economy to copy the economic strategies of their successful predecessors, and to force them out of business instead of attempting to multiply the total number of resources by inventing new types of business options.

As another pattern that is assumed to embody the truly Mediterranean ethos, the honor and shame complex appears to lend credibility and legitimacy to the sometimes even criminal acts of economically motivated competition between local tourism entrepreneurs by its very ideal of aggressive masculinity.<sup>9</sup> Honor was defined by Mediterraneanists as the publicly negotiated reputation of males, that is ascribed as a result of successful strategies of dominance in competition with other social actors. As currency and measure of male honor next to the ability to take care of the family's living there is female shame, or rather chastity and more generally, the compliance of female relatives with culturally agreed rules for behavior suitable for girls and women. Public discourse as the local arena of honor requires calculated presentations of male autonomy and aggression – as well as of female subservience and reticence.

An interpretive stance that tries to find evidence of traditional behavior among those local actors engaged in navigating a modernizing world looks for persistence rather than change. Persistence as an explanatory model implies that innovation and modernization penetrating a society from the outside will be responded to by falling back on historical experience and by activating traditional attitudes and long-standing types of social action. But some cau-

tion is in order here. Such an explanation may not tell the whole story. The assumption that in Mediterranean Europe, tradition determines practices and discourses, while the societies of Western European modernity's core are ruled by rational orientations and actions is a fiction, and hardly a disinterested one, as one of the most prominent ethnographers of Greek society, cultural anthropologist Michael Herzfeld, has repeatedly emphasized: "Entrepreneurship, a virtue in the Protestant West, becomes mere grasping or deviousness when perceived in exotic others (...) The distance between 'rugged individualism' and 'agonistic self-interest' arguably has more to do with whether one is attributing the quality in question to a collective self or an exotic other than with any fundamental difference in moral orientation" (1992:4-9).

Descriptions of self and other employ contrastive labels to divide between our own society and that of others, between moderns and those who are not-yet-modern, and thus build up a dichotomy that pretends to symmetry, but ultimately produces a hierarchy – one side of the divide is always considered to be better than the other. In the case of the anthropological focus on the Mediterranean,<sup>10</sup> I would not suspect sinister motives of disparaging Southern Europe as the ultimate other of the North and the West. Rather, the fiction of the Mediterranean as utterly traditional has a lot more to do with disciplinary politics and academic strategizing. When fieldwork in extra-European societies became increasingly difficult to implement, not least because Western experts were less welcome than before in non-Western post-colonial settings, European regions acquired considerable attractiveness for social and cultural anthropology as new fieldwork sites that also seemed to require fewer financial and temporal investments of fieldworkers. Mediterraneanists took refuge to a rhetoric of making their not all that distant field appear more exotic and alien, thereby legitimating their choice by emphasizing its cultural difference vis-à-vis other parts of Europe. Victoria Goddard and her colleagues, in their survey of the *Social Anthropology of Europe* (1994) do not hesitate to call this the invention of the anthropological Mediterranean.

It therefore seems fair to assume that an interpretation of social practice that privileges traditionality may not tell the whole story. By staying with the framework of persistence, only those strategies of local actors come into view that indeed can successfully prop up this notion of traditional orientations. Other strategies then are not immediately visible. Returning to the admittedly limited ethnographic example of small entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy of a Cypriot town, what about practices and orientations that do not comply with easy explanations of traditionality? There are quite a few. For instance, the economic strategy of pluriactive households is able to respond to a volatile market and to non-calculable risks by not staking everything on one option, but instead diversifying into a variety of unrelated fields. It can certainly be viewed as being in line with notions of the flexible social actor so much talked about in postindustrial societies. Tourism is an "environment of risk" (Anthony Giddens) for the businesspeople involved, and successful strategies of contingency management have to be seen as key qualification for surviving in such a setting.

Certainly quite a few of the entrepreneurs included in the study exhibit this modern key qualification. It is important to realize that most entrepreneurs are self-taught in their field. Their training is highly diverse – in the sample under discussion including anything from having only primary schooling in the village to having attended medical school abroad – as are professions held before entering tourism – from wine producer to marine engineer, but the qualification has hardly ever anything to do with their present occupation in tourism. However, many of the small entrepreneurs have spent years of their lives in foreign countries as labor migrants or for academic training, often in Western Europe, the United States or the overseas English-speaking countries of the Commonwealth. Often they are multilingual and also highly proficient in terms of cultural knowledge on the societies the tourist come from, something that clearly helps in the tourist business: They are very successful in decoding indicators not just of nationalities, but of different lifestyles and consumer cultures as well. Need-

less to say, a restaurant proprietor who is able to distinguish the well-off dentists' couple from Munich from a leftist university lecturer and his partner living in Berlin-Kreuzberg, and can correctly identify their lifestyle-specific expectations, will win out in a competition where prices and the quality of what is offered do not differ all that widely. The biographical experience of migration constitutes a cultural capital. Intercultural competence in their case implies multilinguality, the faculty to communicate well across cultural and social barriers, as well as experiential knowledge of the home countries of the tourists.

The worldview and the lifestyle of these return migrants has undergone changes; they differ from those of their peers who stayed behind in Cyprus, and they also perceive themselves as having a different outlook than their more stayed compatriots. The migration experience combined with the challenge of positioning oneself in the context of changing Cypriot society seems to have generated a new cultural type. These are individuals who are dissenters when it comes to many conventional values of Cypriot society.<sup>11</sup> While an analytical perspective easily identifies these individuals as embodying a post-traditional cultural option, some of them would reject the label "modern" for a self-definition, at least not in its conventional meaning as Western and progress-oriented. Conversely, they identify as traditionalists. Most of them also produce and market "tradition" as a commodity within the framework of the tourism economy. They themselves define what is traditional, or typical for the region, and sometimes do so in a playful, certainly in a creative manner. A Greek Cypriot family who has lived for a long time in Alexandria, Egypt, and then in London, England, returns to Cyprus and opens an emphatically authentic village tavern, offering a typical "meze", a meal consisting of 15 or more hors d'oeuvres and tid-bits of grilled meat and vegetables that in their case includes Lebanese starters as well as the Indian lamb curry they are familiar with from Britain. Their claim to traditionality is insistently voiced, but it is not narrowly defined as restricted by geographical boundaries or historical continuities. Rather, they reflexively relate

the experience of transnational migration to the construction of a Cypriot culture at the crossroads of multiple influences. Not simply reproducing tradition, but actively traditionalizing, these strategies are not about continuity so much as they are about invention (see Beck & Welz 1997a and 1997b).

In a sense, these self-proclaimed traditionalists defy and subvert the quality of authenticity attributed to traditional culture. They depart from a notion of tradition as a fixed ensemble of customs and artifacts that is handed down unchanged from generation to generation and closely aligned with ethnic and national identity. Official versions of Greek-Cypriot tradition as a particularly pure relic of the Hellenic heritage, are being propagated in national cultural politics and education. The notion of an unchanged and unchangeable Greek heritage also permeates much of the rhetoric of touristic productions – such as folk art museums and historic conservation sites, presentations of folk dance, traditional crafts, and music. Conversely, the traditions that the – for lack of a better designation – "post-traditional" actors invent are pluralistic, non-essentialising, and hybrid.

To sum up, these small entrepreneurs seem to be quite capable in dealing with the unexpected, and they are good communicators in intercultural situations. Also, they are proponents of a new set of values and attitudes and, at the same time, are involved in constructing something they call Cypriot tradition. For the social actors in this case study, being modern means to be self-reflexive about tradition, and also implies a cosmopolitan stance. However, there are many other options of identifying oneself as modern in a rapidly changing society such as the Republic of Cyprus, with the adoption of advanced technologies and the striving for material prosperity being embraced by a sizable portion of the population.<sup>12</sup> So, the cultural strategies of the small entrepreneurs are novel but hardly uncontested. Whether their culture of reflexivity and intercultural brokerage will be only a transitory event, or whether it will prove to be durable, is still an open issue. However, at present it emerges as one of many options of being modern in Cyprus.

Some places are better suited for witnessing

the emergence of multiple modernities than others. Societies like the Cypriot one that finds itself at the crossroads of highly diverse interests, influences, and confluences, can become new foci for research. Not as residual areas where the last relics of pre-modernity can be found, but rather as laboratories where the multiplicity of possible ways of acting and thinking modern is being invented, tried out, and revised. New patterns are lived out and also reflected on by these societies where social scientists are intensely engaged in working out a postcolonial theory in the very sense of the word. Cypriot society emerges as one of those modern “cultures where perspectives diverge and then clash, where people may seek advantage by being different, where groups of people are forever pushing further and further away from the taken for granted in their search for new understandings,” as social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (1992:163) describes complex societies. Collage is the term that the pioneer of an anthropological perspective in European ethnology, Ina-Maria Greverus, has coined for what people create in the interstices of regulated culture, when they successfully evade the constraints of homogeneity and combine from different repertoires new cultural practices (Greverus 1996). Successful collages are those that enable human beings to enter into a dialogue with one another. Ethnographic knowledge on such post-traditional settings ultimately can only emerge from dialogues that connect insiders and outsiders, native and foreign scholars alike.

Modernization does not progress in a regular and linear fashion, but rather that it kicked off a highly irregular, disjunctive and uneven dynamic that cannot be observed by ethnologists like a parade going by (see Geertz 1995). There is more social inequality, and also more cultural diversity. The scenario of global monoculture has to be replaced by images of counter-movements of differentiation and unification contradicting and complementing each other. The increased interaction between societies does not automatically or even conceivably lead to any significant leveling of cultural contrasts. Once modernity was globalized, multiple modernities started proliferating; cultural diffe-

rence now is no longer a residue of the pre-modern, but rather the product and process of modernization.

As a consequence, the culturally constructed dichotomy of tradition and modernity from which the anthropological and ethnological disciplines emerged and which in turn has been maintained by them is no longer stable. And this destabilizing affects both sides of the divide. Traditionality is not what it used to be. Not because modernization has obliterated tradition, but because the scholarly concept of tradition and the empirical reality of what is being called tradition are drifting ever further apart. Where before historical depth and the unbroken continuity of traditional patterns of thought and action were assumed, now is increasingly understood – also by the carriers and keepers of tradition – as a construction originating from present needs of people living today, not a mindless reproduction of past habits, but instead a response to contemporary challenges, a response, however, that refers back to the past and by its rhetoric of historicity gains both plausibility and legitimacy. Processes of reflexive modernization (see Beck 1986) are therefore necessarily matched by their complement, reflexive traditionalization.

On the other side of the divide breaking down, modernity also is not what it used to be. As long as we could accept modernity as the global diffusion and driving ideology of an expansive civilization of cultural similarity, we could restrict our interest to the non-modern, the pre-modern. Today, “modern” has become a problematic category of ascription and self-description, both for modern societies and for those scholarly disciplines that are engaged in constructing societal self images. We are confronted with a proliferation of options to live modern everyday lives and to develop modern conceptions of the world: “Modernity is not one but many things” (Faubion 1993).

## Notes

1. Revised version of the Inaugural Lecture for the professorship of Cultural Anthropology and European Ethnology at Goethe University Frankfurt on Main, May 12<sup>th</sup> 1999. I am grateful for

- numerous constructive comments from Ayse Caglar, Gudrun Dahl, Ulf Hannerz, and Ronald Stade at the symposium "Cyprus, Turkey, and their Diasporas" at the Department of Social Anthropology at Stockholm University, May 21<sup>st</sup> 1999. I also want to thank Yiannis Papadakis, University of Cyprus, and Vassos Argyrou, Inter-college Nicosia, for discussions and critiques of the ethnographic case study.
2. That this is no German "Sonderweg" is evidenced by historiographic and comparative studies on the development of Folklore Studies in other European countries as well as the United States (see Bendix 1997).
  3. Cultural anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff suggested that, "it should no longer need saying that the self-sustaining antinomy between tradition and modernity underpins a long-standing European myth: a narrative that replaces the uneven, protean relations between 'ourselves' and 'others' in world history with a simple, epic story about the passage from savagery to civilization, from the mystical to the mundane" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: xii).
  4. To frame the question as pertaining to the pragmatics of fieldwork: ethnography even when its based on a long term-stay always can only make visible an instant. Compared to the long periods that cultures need to form and re-form themselves this then is only a snapshot. Fieldwork is a practice of observation, experience, and description of cultural realities that of necessity is limited in its spatial and temporal scope. Recent critiques include Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Marcus 1998. See also Welz 1998.
  5. The study (1997) focused on a small town on the western coast that had in the 1980s achieved limited fame as a destination for backpacking individualists, but by now is caught up in the dynamic development of full-scale mass tourism. After a street-by-street survey of all business establishments, 25 small tourism-related enterprises were selected for a business survey, and from these, 15 chosen for in-depth interviews with individual entrepreneurs in order to reconstruct their economic strategies and biographies. Some instances of participant observation with the family of some of the entrepreneurs rounded out the picture. The community had experienced a massive multiplication of small businesses since the mid-90s, about two thirds of them immediately or indirectly connected with tourism. The decline of a nearby copper mine that until the 70s had been the sole employer in the region spelled out emigration as the only option for many of the young men then. Now, less than twenty years later, tourism brings unprecedented opportunities for hitherto unknown prosperity, but also new dilemmas and conflicts.
  6. The Republic of Cyprus constitutionally is a multi-ethnic and tri-lingual state, however today, in the remaining territory, Greek-speaking orthodox Christians make up close to 100% of the native-born population. The division of 25 years has been precariously stabilized by what must be the longest running UN peace-keeping operation in history and by continued British military presence. The division is a product both of colonialism and of the anti-colonialist struggle effecting a policy of ethnic mobilization that soon after independence erupted in violent conflict and displacements including the UN-monitored enclaveation of large parts of the Turkish minority.
  7. In the case of Cyprus, the present increase in ethnographic work on Greek Cypriot culture owes much to the support that Peter Loizos, at the London School of Economics, has been extending to numerous young scholars from the Mediterranean for many years. Presently, a handful of Cypriot-born anthropologists, trained in the United States and Great Britain, are teaching at the University of Cyprus Nicosia and at a number of colleges in the Republic of Cyprus.
  8. Familism as a term was introduced into international discussions as early as the 1950s by the American sociologist Edward Banfield and his study on the moral basis of backward societies. In the Mediterranean context, it denotes the primary social significance of the family and the descent unit in southern European communities. For a contemporary critique of the applicability see Giordano 1992.
  9. The honor and shame complex, a staple of the by now classic anthropological literature on the Mediterranean, combines the familistic orientation with an individualistic stance and was invented first by the Anglo-Cypriot social anthropologist John Peristiany and exemplified by a community study in a Cypriot Highland village in the 1950s (see Peristiany 1965; Giordano 1994).
  10. Among anthropological Mediterraneanists, the refutation of such interpretations is adding to an ever louder critique of such explanations as far too simplistic and one-dimensional. Quite a few anthropologists, goes the critique, have presented Mediterranean societies are more stable and more backward than they are or even were, also, their focus on village communities was ill chosen because it encouraged ethnographers the obscure the degree to which these communities were already integrated into national economies and modern politico-administrative systems.
  11. It seems as if tourism offers a cultural space to pursue lifestyles and personal goals that diverge from the cultural mainstream. Some of the individuals also turn away from striving for the prestige associated with material success and the status symbols of property and modern technology. Instead, they opt for "postmaterialistic" values such as spending time with one's children, to work with one's hands and create some-



- thing that is wholesome or of sound quality, contemplating the natural environment, eating, drinking and making music in the circle of friends and family - values that for them strongly resonate with a sense of what Cypriot tradition is all about.
12. For an excellent ethnographic analysis of different options of being modern in Cyprus, see Argyrou 1996. The assumption that modernization causes homogenization is wrong on both counts. Westernisation of the world most emphatically does not mean that everybody becomes Western, quite the contrary. Rather, as Vassos Argyrou puts it, "Westernisation is not a process by which Other societies become Western, but the mechanism through which they constitute themselves (and are constituted) as Western subjects" (Argyrou 1996:157). For a comparative view on Greece, Greek immigrants in the United States, and Greek Cypriots, see also Mavratsas 1995.

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