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GREEK LANDSCAPES THROUGH THE SPECTRUM OF CRISIS
An Ethnographic Approach to Perceptions and Meanings of Insular Landscape in Times of Recession

Katerina Mitka

Ph.D.
The University of Edinburgh
2021
The world we live in is not really one made of rocks, trees and physical objects; it is a world of insults, opportunities, status symbols, betrayals, saints, and sinners. All of these are human creations which, though real in their own way, are not real in the way that rocks and trees are real. These human creations are like fairies in J.M. Barrie’s Peter Pan: They exist only if you believe in them. They are the Matrix [...]; they are consensual hallucination.

Jonathan Haidt (2006, 76–77)
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Supplementary Visual Elements

Box A. 1.1. A four-century evolution of ‘landscape’.

Box A. 1.2. Current definitions of landscape (2019).

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In a Few Words

The Greek crisis in 2010 was a rupture spread across all aspects of the country’s social milieu causing a discontinuity in its evolutionary course. This abrupt shift of society was transmitted to its produced space, namely landscape, through the changes in institutional structures, livelihood and both individual and collective cognition. My thesis’ aim is to examine the interplay between landscape perception and spatial practice within the emerged reality of crisis. I focused on the crisis impact upon two interconverted phenomena, the way people perceive and experience their landscapes and the way they act upon them. The main interest was the process they (perception and practice) inform each other by reciprocal reactions, producing and reproducing the landscape. The spotlight was on landscapes that are both rural and tourist, on the premise that Greece, without an industrial economy, has been promoting agriculture and tourism as the crisis exodus plan,—both significant factors of landscape change. My research centred on the island of Naxos, where agriculture and tourism have an equal share in local life and economy, defining the island’s landscape; also, tourism is not overdeveloped like in adjacent islands.

In my thesis, landscape is construed as Lefebvre’s spatial triad (1991) of perceived, conceived and lived: (society’s) spatial practice, (experts’) representations of space and (users’) representational spaces. On this basis, I aimed to explore the Naxiótes’ perceptions of their landscapes, their assigned meanings and their translation into landscape practice and impact, within the social context of crisis. My theoretical apparatus was Moscovici’s theory of social representations (1963) assisted by Vaisey’s dual process model of culture in action (2009).

I employed ethnographic methods: a six-month stay on site as a marginal native in 2013, gathering data via participation, observation, in-depth interviews, and local media. In addition, I spent two weeks on the island in 2017, for a follow-up, to add a temporal aspect to my research. My field experiences were also a vital part of my research, hence I incorporated them in my thesis.

Data analysis unveiled three groups of social representations that feed into landscape perceptions: attachment, production, and relations. Attachment included topophilia, connection to the land and local identity; production consisted of self-sufficiency, entrepreneurship, and short-termism; kinship, collectivity and conflict were under relations. Common among all groups was the crisis representation in 2013: the island’s immunity to it as no effect had endured. This narrative was reversed in 2017 among the farming and tourism stakeholders, but not the administrative ones. The umbilical cord to their tópos, as home, roots, identity, was fractured by escapism. Self-sufficiency as a recipe for entrepreneurship and success was mutated into a survival path. So did short-termism, by converting from a representation of otherness to an open life strategy. Relation dynamics exhibited tension too, predominantly the representation of conflict. In contrast, kinship and collectivity remained as significant as in 2013. A distinct outcome that emerged from my analysis above was the discrepancies between people’s verbal accounts and habitual practices, which I discussed through Vaisey’s heuristic. The social representations that I identified as informative to the meaning the Naxiótes assign to their landscape, were forced into a transformative process by the crisis. People’s discursive consciousness (justification) had adapted to the new reality; however, their practical consciousness (motivation) was yet to attune. Their landscape perception has been changing, but not their landscape practice; yet.
In Even Lesser Words

The Greek crisis of 2010 has been widely reported, although the actual causes and the true impact on the nation are often misrepresented so therefore outsiders may forge an unrealistic perception of the realities. The speed with which society had to change, both individually and collectively, as well as the impact on the landscape gathered momentum quickly. This narrative looks at and focuses on how people perceive landscape, how it changed and how they used it as the crisis unfolded.

In the absence of an industrialised economy, farming and tourism was seen by many as a ‘way out’ of the crisis for Greece. My study centres on the island of Naxos, an island traditionally strong in both farming and tourism (although the latter not as well developed as many of the islands). I looked at how its people through economic, legislative and changes in how they interact with each other have impacted the landscape.

Although my research looked at other academic studies, models, and theories, I employed a ‘hands on’ approach by living and working on the island for 6 months in 2013. This allowed me to forge relationships with local stakeholders which over time enabled the use of informal and formal methods of research. A follow up visit 4 years later, afforded me the opportunity to reflect on my earlier stay and my findings, as well as observe how things had changed in a relatively short time. Something of a ‘sense check’ but one which provided additional insight.

My analysis uncovered three main groups – peoples’ attachment to the landscape, production, and business relationships.

When I stayed in 2013 (3 years into the crisis) it was as if the island were not affected by it. A sense of immunity if you like. By 2017 this had changed, at least amongst the farmers and those directly involved with tourism. The perception they always had about their landscape had changed significantly although not their landscape practices.
To the ‘Unsung Heroes’

What a journey have my PhD studies been? This script is the tangible destination of years-long navigation charting unknown territories and, although there are brave sailors who travel alone, I would not have concluded this voyage without the priceless ‘crew’, I was so fortunate to have aboard. Every single one of them, did not give up on me even during tornados and hurricanes, when the times were dark, and my decisions and actions seemed dubious.

I cannot but first mention my partner Mark Armitage, to whom I owe the opportunity to complete this thesis. At a time when circumstances were unfavourable and I had already decided to quit, he took over ensuring there was nothing to distract me from my goal. At the same time, he had energy to support me and encourage me even during my worst moments. My parents, Charoula and Yiorgos, my sisters Aggelina, Theodora and Vasso and my nephew Yiorgos are always ready to consider my most crazy ideas and then join me to whatever adventure I pursue, being my biggest fans and supporters all along, this one being no exception. Especially my father and fellow forester has been my inspiration and my mentor, whose valuable advice I always seek.

My supervisors, Simon Bell and Penny Travlou, never abandoned me even during helpless and hopeless times and, with abundance of patience and understanding, assisted me in any way possible to ensure my thesis’ completion.

My friend Dr Ioannis Nenekidis saved me in times of despair and altruistically helped me and my family to overcome a dramatic event.

Dr Christoforos Bouzanis never got tired of discussing research issues and obstacles every time I was stranded, helping me, and motivating me to move forward with my research.

Glykeria Chronopoulou, my beloved friend and colleague, has been honouring me with her friendship for decades and her support with this thesis has gone above and beyond by kindly offering me her mapping expertise.

My dear Danai Korre, who went through her own PhD journey at the same time with me, was there to share agonies and struggles, both hers and mine, always thoughtful and always caring.

My friends Sarah Deters, and Jonathan Santa Maria Bouquet have always been there for me, sharing both lovely and lonely moments and lots of PhD stories and dramas.

Every person without an exception in Naxos made me feel so welcome and ‘at home’ that my six-month stay did not feel at all like a visit. They gave me the honour to open their homes, their businesses and their hearts making this thesis possible. They are the protagonists of my story.

A massive thank you to all these people, who have been both my shield and my safety net.
Prelude

When you get on the journey to Ithaca, wish that the road be long, full of adventures, full of knowledge. The Laestrygonians and the Cyclopes, the raging Poseidon do not fear, such as these in your way you’ll never find, if your though stays noble, if fine emotion touches your spirit and your body. The Laestrygonians and the Cyclopes, the fierce Poseidon you’ll not encounter, if you don’t carry them within your soul, if your soul doesn’t raise them before you

C.P. Cavafy 1911
“Ithaca”: Stanza 1

Poetry is not my strong point. I am merely familiar with the great Greek poets and some of their classic works. Ithaca, however, always captivated me with its motif, which I consider a fundamental principle in life: it is not [so much] the destination that matters, it is the journey. This truth has been perfectly encapsulated in my venture towards this PhD completion.

This thesis has been my Ithaca and its eight-year journey my Odyssey; full of life-changing adventures, challenges, and lessons, both academically and personally. My embarkment on pursuing a PhD in 2011 only partly signalled my migration to a foreign country and the abandonment of my career as a project manager of public works at the Region of Attica. It, foremost, commenced my voyage in unchartered waters: those of the landscape concept.

My studies in Forestry more than twenty years ago had not broadened my understanding of landscape beyond the common definitions of mainstream dictionaries, despite its presence in the curriculum: a one-term compulsory course on protection and management of natural landscapes. In Greece, at the time landscape was timidly appearing as a distinct field within

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1 The Region of Attica is a second-level self-governing local administration, including the metropolitan area of Athens and adjacent municipalities. It is a body accountable to more than three million citizens.

2 The title of the course was “Nature Conservation and Forest Landscaping” and has also references to landscape design and landscape restoration.
other disciplines, like architecture, geography, agriculture, and forestry and research was barely at its infancy (Terkenli 2004). Landscape comprehension had not evolved much even a decade ago, when I successfully submitted my master’s thesis on landscape transformations as a result of human activities; as it transpired, it was on land use changes.

The stark reality was that both my academic and professional backgrounds were so technical, that even my PhD research proposal was on land use transformation mapping and prediction models with the use of GIS, —a progression of my masters. Little did I know that my proposal would be proven to be a consultancy project instead of research. The harsh realisation consumed the whole first year of my PhD and left me on the verge of quitting. My quest on the steps I could take forward, made matters worse. It appeared that the research framework of my programme involved fields I had never studied before. How could I dare a doctorate on subjects I had ignorance of, even at an undergraduate level? Resignation seemed the right choice. Two events, though, happened at that time that determined my final decision.

The first was a trip to Greece, that gave me the opportunity to spend time with friends and people my age. It was not the financial crisis that had dictated my initial departure, —the effects were yet to be seen,— and all I knew about it was what I was reading or hearing. The changes that had occurred in less than a year were striking. There was shock and despair in people’s discussions about the future, but also a recurring theme, summarised in the sentence: “I’ll go to my grandparents’ village and cultivate the fields to survive.” The ‘return to the land’ idea was encouraged by politicians and media, who were endorsing new and promising cultivations, such as goji berry, quinoa, and aloe vera. In addition, the old-time classic catchline was being repeated: tourism was Greek economy’s cornerstone.

An epiphany struck me: my initial research topic was not justified anymore. The land use prediction models would be based on past trends but that presupposed continuity, which had just been broken. Those were times of transition and the future was presented to rely on two of the most important factors of landscape transformation, agriculture, and tourism. Would that emergent socio-economic context affect the landscape? And what about its relationship with people? Could I witness the transition? My new topic was just born.

III There were two more courses about pastoral landscapes, whose subjects were the ecology and management of pastures and rangelands.

IV My thesis was a “Study of the Temporal Landscape Changes at the Region of ‘Kopatsari’ in the Prefecture of Grevena, Greece, with the Use of GIS” [In Greek].
Having a new idea did not erase the challenge of framing it into research, which my practice-oriented mindset had difficulty comprehending. The second event solved the issue. It was a discussion with a friend about my struggle to distinguish research from consultancy project. He was about to submit his PhD in Sociology and offered his help with a short ‘research for freshmen’ course, which enlightened the confusion. Finally, I had a topic and the confidence that I could translate it into research. I returned to Scotland ready to proceed with my studies. My supervisors embraced my newborn plan and my long endeavour began.

This thesis represents the ‘logbook’ of my journey towards my Ithaca: an understanding of people’s perceptions and dispositions in specific socio-economic actualities and the way they inform practice within the landscape concept. Although, I do not possess even a fraction of Homer’s talent, I hope that my script will draw and maintain your attention. So . . .

Anchors aweigh!
Transliteration

The nature of my research and data is based on verbal interactions in Greek. Some words and phrases — such as names, colloquialisms, quotes, proverbs, and poems — cannot be translated satisfactorily in English. For words that do not have an English translation and were used recurrently, I gave the Greek word, when first mentioned, an explanation and their transliteration, which I used thereafter. The transliteration of whole phrases/passages would not be useful to non-Greek speakers, thus, in such cases I provided the Greek along with an as accurate as possible English translation.\footnote{The same principle is used for the Greek titles in References. I translated them in English as they would not make sense to non-Greek speakers if they were transliterated.}

The transliteration system below is the one used by Forbes (2007, xxi–xxii). As an Anglophone who conducted ethnographic work in Greece and studied the language for years, he is more skilled than me to express accurately the Greek sounds as perceived by English speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Greek Alphabet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Α α</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ν ν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

- α, ά As in ‘alpha’
- ε, έ As in ‘egg’
- η, η - ι - υ, υ As in ‘pin’
- ο, ο - ω, ω As in ‘got’

### Vowel Digraphs

- αι, αί As in ‘egg’
- ει, εί - οι, οί As in ‘pin’
- ου, ού With a sound close to ‘too’
- αυ, αύ When followed by voiced/unvoiced letter
- ευ, εύ When followed by voiced/unvoiced letter
In Greek, the \textit{acute accent} \( [\acute{}] \) is used over the vowel of the syllable where the stress falls, but only in lowercase. The only time used in upper case, is when the stress falls on the first syllable, when it happens to be a single vowel. In case the stress falls on a digraph, the acute accent is always placed over the second vowel.

Another distinct punctuation mark is the \textit{diaeresis} \( [\ddot{}] \), which is used on vowel digraphs. It is placed over the second vowel and it indicates that the diphthong is divided, and the two vowels are pronounced separately. In cases where the acute accent falls on the first vowel of a digraph, the diaeresis is not used, as this means the diphthong is already divided.

|| Consonants
| \( \text{\`b} \) | \( \nu \) | When followed by \( \acute{\varepsilon}, \acute{\iota}, \acute{\upsilon}, \acute{\epsilonpsilon}, \acute{\omicron} \) sounds like an English initial \( \acute{\text{y}} \).
| \( \gamma \) | \( \gamma \) | \( \text{gh} \) | Before other vowels and diphthongs is closer to an aspirated \( \acute{\text{g}} \); \( \acute{\text{gh}} \) is used to distinguish \( \acute{\text{y}} \) from \( \acute{\text{y}}\kappa \) (see below Consonant Digraphs).
| \( \delta \) | \( \text{dh} \) | Which sounds like \( \acute{\text{th}} \) as in \( \acute{\text{th}} \).
| \( \zeta \) | \( \zeta \) | \( \theta \) | \( \text{th} \) | As in \( \acute{\text{thin}} \).
| \( \kappa \) | \( \kappa \) | \( \lambda \) | \( \lambda \) | \( \mu \) | \( \mu \) | \( \nu \) | \( \nu \) | \( \xi \) | \( \xi \) | In English when \( \acute{\text{x}} \) is the first letter of a word it sounds like \( \acute{\text{z}} \). In Greek even at the beginning of the word it is still pronounced as in \( \acute{\text{box}} \).
| \( \pi \) | \( \pi \) | \( \rho \) | \( \rho \) | \( \sigma, \varsigma \) | \( \varsigma \) | \( \varsigma \) | \( \varsigma \) | \( \varsigma \) | \( \varsigma \) | \( \varsigma \) | The \( \acute{\varsigma} \) replaces the \( \acute{\sigma} \) when it is at the end of a word.
| \( \tau \) | \( \tau \) | \( \varphi \) | \( \varphi \) | \( \chi \) | \( \chi \) | \( \chi \) | \( \chi \) | \( \chi \) | \( \chi \) | \( \chi \) | As in \( \acute{\text{loch}} \).
| \( \psi \) | \( \psi \) | \( \text{ps} \) | \( \text{ps} \) | The digraph \( \acute{\text{ps}} \) is known to English speakers from words with etymological roots in the Greek \( \psi\nu\chi\acute{\iota} \) (\( \text{psichi} \)), —like \( \text{psyche} \)— and its derivatives. In Greek though it does not sound as in English: \( \acute{\text{p}} \) is not silent and both consonants are pronounced together.
Consonant Digraphs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>γκ, γγ</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>as in ‘get’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>μπ</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>‘b’ when in initial position – otherwise generally ‘mp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ντ</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>‘d’ when in initial position – otherwise ‘nt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deviations

Some names of places — *Athens, Piraeus, Mykonos* etc — and ancient names — *Herodotus, Ajax, Dionysus* etc — have already an established translation/transcription in English, so they do not abide with the above convention. In general, the transliteration used for names of locations is the one that appears on Google Maps. People’s names and surnames are transcribed as per the Hellenic Standard ELOT 743 (ELOT 2001).\(^\text{VI}\)

\(^\text{VI}\) The Hellenic Standard ELOT 743 is identical to the International Standard ISO 843:1997, as corrected and reprinted on May 1, 1999.
**Acronyms & Initialisms**

The table below expands the acronyms and initialisms that have been used throughout the thesis. Greek acronyms and initialisms are transcribed, and their expansions are transliterated according to the conventions in the previous section. The English translations are taken from the English version of each body’s website where available. In all other cases, the translation is mine. The expansion is mentioned only the first time any acronym or initialism appears in the text; subsequently I use the abbreviation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Expansion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAP</td>
<td>Common Agricultural Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoE</td>
<td>Council of Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSF</td>
<td>Community Support Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCE</td>
<td>Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l’Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPM</td>
<td>Dual Process Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΕΑΣ</td>
<td>Ένωση Αγροτικών Συνεταιρισμών – Enosi Agrotikon Sineterismon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAS</td>
<td>Union of Agricultural Cooperatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>European Central Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEA</td>
<td>European Environment Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΕΦΚΑ</td>
<td>Ενιαίος Φορέας Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης – Eniados Forias Kionikis Asfalisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFKA</td>
<td>United Body of National Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELC</td>
<td>European Landscape Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΕΛΟΤ</td>
<td>Ελληνικός Οργανισμός Τυποποίησης – Ellinikos Orghanismos Tipopisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELOT</td>
<td>Hellenic Organisation for Standardisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms &amp; Initialisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ΕΛΣΤΑΤ</strong></td>
<td>Ελληνική Στατιστική Αρχή – <em>Elliniki Statistikí Archi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ELSTAT</strong></td>
<td>Hellenic Statistical Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMY</strong></td>
<td>Εθνική Μετεωρολογική Υπηρεσία – <em>Ethnikí Meteorologhikí Ipiresía</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hellenic National Meteorological Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EOT</strong></td>
<td>Ελληνικός Οργανισμός Τουρισμού – <em>Ellinikós Organismós Tourismoú</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greek National Tourism Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESM</strong></td>
<td>European Stability Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ΕΣΥΕ</strong>&lt;sup&gt;VII&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία της Ελλάδος – <em>Ethnikí Statistikí Ipiresía tis Elládas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESYE</strong></td>
<td>National Statistical Service of Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EU</strong></td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GDP</strong></td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GIS</strong></td>
<td>Geographic Information System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ΦΕΚ</strong></td>
<td>Φύλλο Εφημεριδας της Κυβερνήσεως – <em>Fíllo Efimeridhas tis Kivernísseos</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEK</strong></td>
<td>Issue of the Official Journal of the Government&lt;sup&gt;VIII&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ICOMOS</strong></td>
<td>International Council on Monuments and Sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ILO</strong></td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMF</strong></td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ISO</strong></td>
<td>International Organization for Standardization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>VII</sup> ESYE was dissolved and replaced by ELSTAT as recommended by Eurostat within the framework of the agreement for Greece’s bailout by EU, ECB, and IMF. ESYE had been under the authority of the Ministry of National Economy since 1986, deeming it subject to governmental control. In order to avoid the risk of data manipulation, ELSTAT is an independent authority (FEK 2010b, art.9, §1).<sup>VIII</sup> The Official Journal of the Government was established in 1833 and it is the government gazette where all law and any other legislative forms are published in order to be enforced. The translation is based on information on the EU website N-Lex, the gate for national law database: [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/n-lex/info/info-gr/index_en](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/n-lex/info/info-gr/index_en).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronyms &amp; Initialisms</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IUCN</td>
<td>International Union for Conservation of Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCBs</td>
<td>National Central Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBER</td>
<td>National Bureau of Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OED</td>
<td>Oxford English Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDO</td>
<td>Protected Designation of Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PGI</td>
<td>Protected Geographical Indication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI</td>
<td>Private-Sector Involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΣΕΤΕ</td>
<td>Σύνδεσμος Ελληνικών Τουριστικών Επιχειρήσεων – Síndhesmos Ellinikón Touristikón Epichiríseon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETE</td>
<td>Greek Tourism Confederation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPS</td>
<td>Single Payment Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΣΥΡΙΖΑ</td>
<td>Συνασπισμός Ριζοσπαστικής Αριστεράς – Sinaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYRIZA</td>
<td>Coalition of Radical Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΤΑΙΠΕΔ</td>
<td>Ταμείο Αξιοποίησης Ιδιωτικής Περιουσίας του Δημοσίου – Tamío Axiopíisis Idhiotikís Periousías Dhimosíou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAIPED</td>
<td>Hellenic Republic Asset Development Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCED</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Environment and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNWTO</td>
<td>World Tourism Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEF</td>
<td>World Economic Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms &amp; Initialisms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WHC</strong></td>
<td>World Heritage Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WTO</strong></td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WWF</strong></td>
<td>World’s Wild Life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prefatory Notes

- All definitions of English words, unless stated otherwise, are from the Oxford English Dictionary Online – OED, retrieved from: https://www.oed.com/.

- All definitions of Greek words are from the Centre for the Greek Language, unless stated otherwise, and are retrieved from: http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/index.html.

- All the translations from Greek, Italian, French and German belong to me, unless stated otherwise.

- All photographs were taken by me, unless stated otherwise.

- The maps were created by myself, using the ArcGIS 10.6.1 software and spatial data available on http://geodata.gov.gr/el/ with the assistance of mapping expert Glykeria Chronopoulou, unless stated otherwise.

- Statistical data used for the production of tables and diagrams have been sourced from: http://www.statistics.gr/, unless stated otherwise.

- In diagrams with Greek statistics there are highlighted years, which correspond to historic events, as per below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Milestone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>After the seven-year dictatorship, known as the military junta, democracy was restored in Greece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Greece entered the EEC as its tenth member.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>The European Union (EU) was established replacing the EEC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Greece joined the European Monetary Union (EMU), known as Eurozone, as its eleventh member.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>The investment bank Lehman Brothers collapsed, triggering the breakout of a global financial crisis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Greece lost access to the markets and entered a bailout agreement with the three institutions, IMF – EC – ECB, after requesting assistance to avoid default.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Greece exited the eight-year international bailout programme.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Some of these events are mentioned in Chapter 2; it is useful though to be gathered here with brief descriptions, so that you can refer to this table whenever necessary.
Words in quotations with American-English spelling have been changed to British-English spelling for conformity with the main script, according to the guidelines found in [https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/spelling/british-and-spelling](https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/spelling/british-and-spelling).

Most references to size of land have as metric unit the στρέμμα – *strémma* (*strémmax* in plural), an official Greek unit, equal to 1,000 square metres. It is the most common land area unit used in Greece.

In translations from Greek that the country’s name is mentioned, it is translated as *Hellas* — and not *Greece*; it is considered more appropriate, since the name *Greece* is the country’s brand-name abroad and it does not carry for Greeks the emotional weight that *Hellas* does.

The forms used for the calendar eras are *BCE* (Before Common Era) and *CE* (Common Era).

For privacy purposes the names of my research participants were replaced with pseudonyms inspired by ancient Greek names. To avoid confusion, the references to writers, philosophers, or other renown ancient Greeks, are always accompanied with citations of the respective work, and for extra security the participants pseudonyms are always written in italics.
STAGE ONE

FIRST LEG: PASSAGE PLAN
Introduction: The ‘Landscape–Crisis’ Correlation

–1. Landscape: “One of Our More Ingenious Linguistic Inventions” \(^1\)

‘Landscape’ is at once an old and pleasant word in common speech and a technical term in special professions. As Americans become more conscious of and concerned about their visible surroundings – their environment – it is going to crop up more frequently in both realms of conversation and it may be useful occasionally to consider a difficulty that almost inevitably arises as soon as we attempt to communicate beyond very narrow professional circles.

D.W. Meinig (1979b, 33)

It is a few decades since Meinig articulated the challenge of describing the landscape concept to outsiders to relevant disciplines and it still even nowadays seems to be the case. Although Meinig referred specifically to the Americans of the United States, my experiences, related to my landscape studies, are indicative of the same challenges with other cultural groups \(^2\) as well, when it comes to explaining landscape. The two most common understandings of the word ‘landscape’ I have encountered are: an image/view of land and a painting. Whenever I enter into a discussion about my studies, the usual question is about the purpose of studying landscapes, unless it is paintings. Why would anyone study sceneries? Is landscape a more imaginative term replacing environment or nature? Wylie in his book Landscape referred to an experience, similar to mine, from his career in academia in the UK with new undergraduates: when asking them for the instant association they made by hearing the word landscape, the most common answer would be a picture, or a painting (2007, 7).

What people believe they understand, is the term landscape architecture; the majority’s disposition is to identify it with gardening, thus landscaping. Which many times leads to advice requests about plants, flowerpots in balconies and gardens. In most cases, that is the moment I retreat from the discussion, as history has shown me that further elaboration usually causes more confusion and eventually discomfort to the other party. It is inevitable to feel bewildered: is that all that people perceive as landscape? A visual experience?

The interaction described above had been thought-provoking, even before I started my PhD. The more reading I did on landscape studies, the more intriguing those interactions became.

\(^1\) Burckhardt’s description of the word landscape (2015, 62).
\(^2\) My interactions involved primarily Greeks, followed by British and in a smaller percentage Spanish.
The reason for this lays behind the fact that landscape is the focus of many disciplines in academia, professional fields and of course politics. All those involved in such bodies are not just expressing an interest in the public perception and participation in relevant researches, projects, policies; the public perception and participation is emerging as their interest. There is being a shift from the established top-down planning to the bottom-up approach. Professor Ward Thompson in 2010, during a personal conversation, explained that it is vital for people to be included in these processes as they are part of landscape; they shape it and are being shaped by it and are affected by any external intervention such as planning and policies. Therefore, they should be endorsed to feel a sense of ownership towards it.

How do people perceive landscape, then? There is a lot of discussion in the academic realm about the public perception of landscape, which has joined the vivid debate over the multivocal and pluralistic approaches to the definition of the term. These debates however seem to serve academic purposes only. Despite the fact that there have been researchers exploring the definition of landscape from different disciplines for decades, as Meinig noted, the term landscape has an ‘elusive nature’ because the word “is used by so many different people for such a variety of purposes, it is inevitably an ambiguous term” (1979a, 2). The signifier might be the same for everyone, still the signified differs among the various groups and the most striking difference seems to be between landscape scholars and the public.

This polysemy of landscape consists one of the main challenges of landscape studies with public participation. An element that adds to it, is multilingualism. Researchers and participants often have different mother tongues, or when they speak the same language, the final product might be written in a different one targeting international readers; different dialects or local colloquialisms within the same language can also be a challenge.

The challenge of interpretation of concepts has been intensified due to globalisation and the establishment of international exchange networks of information. Especially for Europe, the expansion and integration of EU, has not only facilitated the cross-national flow of knowledge but has endorsed through various institutions the creation of unobstructed pathways among state-members in every field, academia included. Within this context, the use of a common

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3 This conversation took place on 29th October 2010, during an informal meeting with Professor Ward Thompson prior to my application for the PhD programme. This is not a quote of her exact words, but the way I perceived them.

4 The official languages of EU are all the state languages that have been specified by each member of the Union — 24 in total. However, there are three official ‘procedural’ languages, English, German, and French (European Commission 2013, Q:12).
language for the communication of multinational groups within those fields, emerged as a necessity. In academia for example, teams of participatory states in numerus EU projects, in most cases—if not all—use English, not only for communication, but also for publications. To pin the language issue down to landscape and this research, the official texts of the European Landscape Convention (ELC) in 2000 were in English and French. Furthermore, the recurring discussion about the concept of landscape swirls around the German and English signifier—*landschaft* and *landscape*—and their connection (Olwig 2002, 1996, 1993; Stilgoe 2015; J.B. Jackson 1984). This is merely a surprise as the German and the Anglophone traditions have been dominant in the academic scene of Geography since late nineteenth early twentieth century and pioneered in the evolution of the concept.

The signified landscape has existed since the antiquity without the signifier, mainly via descriptive language, as in the works of Hesiod, Homer, Ovid, Plato, and the accounts of Vitruvius and Pliny the Elder about an architect named Studius (Kouzoupi 2017; W. Gibson 1989; Parry 1989; Granger 1934). It has been presented via both the arts of literature and painting long before the emergence of landscape painting in the sixteenth century as a sole genre, which seems safe to claim that popularised the signifier in most European languages.

Within this international context, the alignment of the signified landscape among a plethora of languages became a prerequisite for the exchange of comprehensive information and knowledge among people of different nationalities. What could be debatable, though, is that the alignment of the concept among the European languages within the academic and administrative realms did not guarantee its transmission to the general public perception.

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5 English is the second most widely known language in the EU after German, which however is not widely used outside Germany and Austria (European Commission 2013, Q:14).

6 ELC official texts at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/176/

7 Landscape had not been only a geographical term or an artistic genre. Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture were already discrete fields, with landscape gardening most likely precedent to the compound *landscape architecture*. The latter is accredited to Gilbert Laing Meason (1769–1832), with the first record of use in 1828 (Curl and Wilson 2015). It was the German geographers, though, who initiated the discourse over the concept landscape with a methodological controversy within their discipline at the end of the nineteenth century (Livingstone 1992, 262).

8 German Geography predated the Anglophone with Geographers like Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) and Carl Ritter (1779–1859).

9 An official language and its meanings are constructed, legitimised, and imposed to society through mainly the educational system; an important accomplice to that are the dictionaries which codify and normalise the language (Bourdieu 1991, 48). It needs to be added that in our times, people are also informed or even “educated” by online sources like Wikipedia. A search in Google Images can reveal the popular concept of landscape; it is not that distant to the sixteenth century meaning.
Globalisation has infused academia as much as the public, still, it should not be presupposed that perceptions follow the same path. Scazzosi has discerned, for example, an explicit divergence between Northern and Southern European countries: in the North, their focus is primarily on “ecological/environmental problems or problems concerning the preservation of nature,” whilst in the South it is on “the traces of human transformations, the cultural meanings of places, formal and visual characters” (2004, 336).

En route to crystallising the concept of landscape that would serve as a base for my project, it was unavoidable not to delve into the endless landscape discourse, beginning with the linguistic aspect of its evolution (Boxes 0.1, 0.2), 10 which has been tightly intertwined with the discussions about the concept itself mainly by Olwig (1993, 1996, 2002, 2006) and other academics, such as J.B. Jackson (1984), Cosgrove (1998), Stilgoe (1982, 2015), Jormakka (2012), Burckhardt (2015), Kühne (2015).

The majority of these discussions are rooted in Renaissance and the emergence of landscape as a concept through art since the sixteenth century and they have been occurring within that framework: renaissance, art, landscape painting, elite, rural idyll. We are looking in the past trying to make sense of our present, however, as J. Berger said: “The past is never there waiting to be discovered, to be recognised for exactly what it is. History always constitutes the relation between a present and its past” (1972, 11). We always look at the past through the prism of today and no matter how objective we try to be or how much we try to situate ourselves within the circumstances of the past, we can never really escape the present. Not only are we in a present different from the past, we are also situated in a specific sphere within the present.

Every research is ‘a way of seeing’ a particular phenomenon, —to borrow Berger’s punchline (1972), — which varies among researchers, but which still comes from the same stance, that of an educated academic. What happens though when research involves the ‘other’? When it involves people irrelevant to academia of all social strata, from illiterate to highly educated and from a poor labourer to a council chairman? A social interaction I had during my writing created a strong belief that the starting point for my research needed to be the clarification of landscape: how could I invite you on board this journey without ensuring that we are all embarking in the same boat?

10 More details on the linguistic history of landscape in Germanic and Romance languages can be found in Appendix 1.
**Landscape of the Past**

*Landskip* (Belg.) *Paisage* or *By-work*, which is an expreſſing of the Land, by Hills, Woods, Caſtles, Valleys, Rivers, Cities, etc. as far as may be ſhewed in our Horizon. All that which in a Picture is nor of a body or argument thereof is *Landskip*, *Parergon*, or by-work. As in the Table of our Saviors paffion, the picture of Chriſt upon the *Rood* (which is the proper Englifh word for *Croſs*), the two theeves, the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, and St. *John*, are the Argument: But the City *Jeruſalem*, the Country about, the clouds, and the like, are *Landskip*. *El.Ar.*

**LANDSCAPE**. n.f. [*landʃcape*, Dutch.]

1. A region; the proſpect of a country.

   Lovely leem'd
   That *landʃcape!* and of pure, now purer air,
   Meets his approach.  
   *Milton’s Par. Loſt*, b. iv. l.153. [ . . . ]

2. A picture, repreſenting an extent of ſpace, with the various objects in it.

   As good as a poet as you are, you cannot make finer *landʃchapes* than thoſe about the king’s house. 

**LANDSCAPE**. The second syllable in ‘land*scape*’ or ‘land*skip*’ is only a solitary example of an earlier form of the same termination which we meet in ‘friend*ship*,’ ‘lord*ship*,’ ‘fellows*hip*,’ and the like. As these mean the manner or fashion of a frie ND of a lord, and so on, so ‘landscape’ the manner or fashion of the land; and in our earlier English this rather as the pictured or otherwise imitated model, than in its very self. As this imitation would be necessarily in small, the word acquired the secondary meaning of a comſpendium or multum in parvo; cf. *Skinner, Etymologicon*, s.v. *Landskip*: Tabula chorographica, primario autem terra, provincial, seu topographica σκιαγραφία.

   The sins of other women show in *landskip*, far off and full of shadow; hers
   [a harlot’s] in statue, near hand and bigger in the life. 

   Sir Thomas Overbury, *Characters*.  

**LANDSCAPE**

1a: a picture representing a view of a natural scenery (as field, hills, forests, water) <- painting>- compare MARINE 5; SEASCAPE b: the art of depicting the scenery/ 2a: a picture of land or territory that the eye can comprehend in a single view including all the objects so seen <plans for altering the-> <- engineering.>

*(Blount 1656)*

*(Johnson 1755)*

*(Trench 1859)*

*(Gove 1961)*

*Box 0.1. A four-century evolution of ‘landscape’.*
That interaction was a conversation about the popular concept of landscape still today as an idyllic scenery in the western world. When I mentioned the discourse over its origins in the landscape painting of the Renaissance (Cosgrove 1998, 1; 1985, 46), I received a simple question: How could that be? Art back then was only for the elite. Peasants and the non-privileged did not have access to paintings. If the idyllic scenery was popularised via art, it must have been much later with the rise of the middle class, the invention of photography, cinematography, and the mass media. Whatever discourse has been going on, it seems relevant only to academia and the privileged, not the ordinary people.

The above opinion was given to me by an educated British person, who —safe to say— belongs to the privileged; still, combining their words with my experiences on landscape as

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**Landscape of the Present**

**landscape, n.**

1. **a.** A picture representing natural inland scenery, as distinguished from a sea picture, a portrait, etc.
   
   **b.** *spec.* The background of scenery in a portrait or figure-painting. *Obsolete.*
   
   **c.** As adj. = OBLONG adj. 1c. Also as adv.

2. **a.** A view or prospect of natural inland scenery, such as can be taken in at a glance from one point of view; a piece of country scenery.

   **b.** A tract of land with its distinguishing characteristics and features, esp. considered as a product of modifying or shaping processes and agents (usually natural).

3. In generalized sense (from 1, 2): Inland natural scenery, or its representation in painting.

4. In various transferred and figurative uses.

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**landscape noun**

1. All the visible features of an area of land, often considered in terms of their aesthetic appeal.

   **a.** A picture representing an area of countryside.

   **b.** *[mass noun]* The genre of landscape painting.

   **c.** The distinctive features of a sphere of activity.

2. *[usually as modifier]* Denoting a format of printed matter which is wider than it is high.

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*Box 0.2. Current definitions of landscape (2019).*
described earlier, it made sense. “The majority of the population do not visit art museums [. . .]. The majority take it as axiomatic that the museums are full of holy relics which refer to a mystery which excludes them: the mystery of unaccountable wealth” (J. Berger 1972, 24).

Those ideas triggered a train of thought that came to a puzzle: which public does ‘public participation’ refer to? Do studies somehow favour the socially dominant groups? When a questionnaire is sent via email, or online, does it already exclude a part of the public? Is the language used in it understood by everyone? Does landscape translate the same to all the participants? And more crucially, does it mean to them what researchers think it does?

How can the ‘academic’ concept of landscape align with the meaning understood by anyone else with such a multiplicity of definitions within academia, since landscape is: “tension” (Wylie 2007, 1); “an imprecise and ambiguous concept” (Cosgrove 1998, 13); “at once patently obvious and terrifically mystified” (D. Mitchell 1996, 2); “a term which both invites and defies definition” (Gosden and Head 1994, 113); “a slippery” and “a promiscuous word” (Stilgoe 1982, 3, 2015, 7); “an attractive, important, and ambiguous term” (Meinig 1979a, 1); an “elusive and difficult to describe in a phrase” (Tuan 1979, 89)? Or is Cresswell’s point fair that landscape is “too much about the already accomplished and not enough about the processes of everyday life” and “seems altogether too quaint” (2003, 269)?

An answer to this question does not seem feasible on the basis of the exact descriptions by academics above: it has been established that “any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads” (Meinig 1979b, 34). Therefore landscape as either academic or everyday term is indeed a way of seeing as Cosgrove described it (1998, 1), but not as a pictorial representation requiring a detached spectator; ‘seeing’ in this context is “a selective and creative process in which environmental stimuli are organised into flowing structures that provide signs meaningful to the purposive organism” (Tuan 1977, 10) and this “selective and creative process” varies vastly among people, individuals and groups.

Undoubtedly, this thesis’s objective is not the study of the semantics or the history of the landscape concept. 11 The research, though, was conducted in a non-Anglophone country and the outcome is being delivered in English. Therefore, it is important to reassure an, as much as possible, accurate transfer of concepts from Greek to English and even more so the meaning of landscape. Later in the thesis (Chapter 1), I offer an overview of the signifier and

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11 A brief retrospect on the evolution of the landscape concept can be found in Appendix 2.
signified in Greek, —τοπίο (topio),— to set the context for my research in the Greek social setting. At this juncture though, I am going to elaborate on the concept of landscape, as employed in this project. On the premise that “the landscape is always in the nature of ‘work in progress’” (Ingold 1993, 162) and as a ‘cultural process’ (Hirsch 1995, 5, original emphasis) and seen under the prism that ‘all culture is social’ and ‘all social life is cultural’ (Ingold 1994, 738), landscape emerges as a social process: thus it is inextricably related with the social reality within which it is being “perpetually under construction” (Ingold 1993, 162).

A ‘Never-ending Story’ ¹²

Landscape mocks scholars.

John R. Stilgoe (2015, 17)

Stilgoe’s point sounds valid, considering how much ink has been and still is consumed about landscape. What is it? An everyday word, an artistic genre, an academic term; or a mystifying academic conundrum? What it undoubtedly is, is a concept that transcends disciplinary boundaries. Geography, Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Ecology, Anthropology, History and Art are only few of the fields where landscape is a key player. ¹³ The number of disciplines multiplied by the number of traditions within each one equals the number of approaches to the landscape concept, a calculation seemingly cumbersome to be attempted (a few examples of perspectives are provided in Table 0.1).

As Scazzosi noted (2004, 337), there is an “ongoing process of integration” among the various landscape approaches, which “modifies and enriches each one of them,” so, for the sake of communication, “continuous conceptual and terminological specifications” are a necessity. An overview of the most prominent landscape traditions for the last thirty years was offered by Wylie (2007) and, although focused on cultural geography, it was infused with other disciplinary views, too. Hence, I am not going to bore you with repeating already well-established views. The discussion at this point is focused on conceptualising the ‘landscape’ of this thesis title: what is this ‘entity’ whose people’s perception I attempted to explore?

¹² Borrowed from Die unendliche Geschichte, the 1979 German book by Michael Ende.
¹³ Stiles has identified forty-nine disciplines covered by the Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Landscape and Urban Planning (Evert 2010). He emphasised, though, the absence of Humanities and Arts from the list, a fact that highlighted the material nature of landscape (2012, 258–59).
Introduction: The ‘Landscape–Crisis’ Correlation

Katerina Mitka

Primarily, this landscape is as much tangible as intangible, material and perceptual, but also lived; “it’s a produced space” (D. Mitchell 2018, 189, original emphasis).

With the ‘cultural turn’ in Geography in the eighties (Wylie 2007, 65–68), the emergence of landscape as an ideological representation of the world, put the focus on the imagery, inducting landscape into the symbolic realm (Cosgrove 1985, 1998; Daniels 1989; Daniels and Cosgrove 1992). Subsequently, concerns were raised that that conception was suggesting the dematerialisation of landscape by the “melting of landscape into cybertextual space,” as
eloquently phrased by Olwig (1996, 630). Layton and Ucko also noted the extensiveness of this postmodernist perspective through the stance that “there is no environment, only landscape” (1999, 3).

The approach to landscapes as ideologically ignited visual representations of the world was restricting landscape not only to the sphere of visuality and symbolisms but most notably that of inertia. Landscape was reckoned as an end product of the interrelation between a ‘hegemonic class culture’ and a ‘class society’, a means by the dominant class to symbolically appropriate the material world through spatial control (Cosgrove 1983, 5; 1985, 55).

The idea of the socially produced landscape grew strong within relevant fields, however, the elimination of the materiality of landscape and its deprivation from the dynamics of process and practice, was scrutinised by researchers such as Baker (1992), Ingold (1993, 2000),

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14 Olwig’s remark was a critique towards the words of Daniels and Cosgrove: “From […] a post-modern perspective landscape seems less like a palimpsest whose ‘real’ or ‘authentic’ meanings can somehow be recovered with the correct techniques, theories or ideologies, than a flickering text displayed on the word- processor screen whose meaning can be created, extended, altered, elaborated and finally obliterated by the merest touch of a button” (1992, 8).

15 According to the conceptual description provided by Dhillon (2012) within postmodernism “reality was no longer knowable. […] Hence, ‘truth’ could no longer be claimed and all efforts toward settled ‘meaning’ were suspect. On the postmodern view, humans live within a web of representations of truth, meaning, and knowledge constructed in the nexus of power and social and historical privilege.”

16 Layton and Ucko (1999, 6) mentioned a common misinterpretation by postmodernists of the thesis that there is a real world out there, but its knowledge “is always an imperfect and situated one” (J. Thomas 1993, 28). It is confused with either “there is no (meaningful) world external to consciousness” or “meaning can make no reference to the world, since the meaning of words is defined only in relation to other words,” both stemmed in Derrida’s work (Layton and Ucko 1999, 6). This misinterpretation is positioned within relativism/subjectivism, since “in subjectivism meaning is created out of nothing or it is constructed out of anything else (beliefs, perceptions etc) but an interaction between the subject and the object to which the meaning is ascribed” (Crotty 1998, 9, original emphasis).

17 Landscape’s ideological role in the social process is the support of “a set of ideas and values, unquestioned assumptions about the way a society is, or should be organised” (Duncan and Duncan 1988, 123, original emphasis). Cosgrove described ideology as ‘symbolic power in class society’ which “appropriates and reproduces space in order to legitimate and sustain class dominance” (1983, 10). As Eagleton noted “it is one of the functions of ideology to ‘naturalise’ social reality, to make it seems as innocent and unchangeable as Nature itself […] convert culture into Nature” (2008, 117).

18 The idea that spatial control is a source of power and more general the relationship between space and society has been dispersed across social theory and literature, either implicitly or explicitly, from Kant, Marx, Hegel, Weber, Durkheim to Heidegger, de Certeau, Lefebvre, Foucault, Bourdieu, Giddens, and geographers, like Harvey, Soja, Massey, Thrift —just to mention a few.


20 Cosgrove referred to the struggle of urban dwellers in the thirties to gain access to the countryside, to experience the landscape physically through various activities and not visually (1998, 267–69). He described the term landscape as “inappropriate” within that context as the landscape idea was “implicitly contrasted here to a more active involvement with the land” (1998, 267, 269).
Hirsch (1995), Olwig (1996, 2002), D. Mitchell (1996, 2018) and Cresswell (2003). In Baker’s words “landscape is not only, as Denis Cosgrove has described it, ‘a way of seeing’; it is also ‘a way of thinking and a way of doing’” (1992, 1). Landscape is a dynamic process that “is never complete: neither ‘built’ nor ‘unbuilt’” (Ingold 1993, 162), which forms “social and subjective identities” (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002b, 1). “It is a living process; it makes men; it is made by them. It is the ground and condition of their action” (Inglis 1977, 489).

Regardless of the different ‘metaphors and terminology’ that prominent researchers have employed to define landscape, Seymour noted their mutual conception 21 that “landscape, identities and politics are both dynamic and entwined” and that “landscape does not simply mirror or distort ‘underlying’ social relations, but needs to be understood as enmeshed within the processes which shape how the world is organised, experienced and understood, rather than read as its end product” (2000, 214).

In accordance with Inglis’s thesis, treating landscape as a restless ‘totality’ in which the inquirers participate as actors, is inevitable (1977, 490, original emphasis):

To say anything about a landscape, you must consider the practice of its production: the making of the thing is at the same time a definition of how it is received and interpreted. Its conventions are (they do not simply ‘reflect’) forms of social organisation and relationship.

The concept of landscape, thus is evolving by scraping off the inference of ‘separation and observation’ (R. Williams 1973, 120) and metamorphosing from “a scene we are looking at” to “a world we are living in” (Wylie 2007, 4). Burckhardt’s argument that the ability of people to see a piece of land as landscape relies on their detachment from that land and the fact that they do not “work it for a livelihood” (2015, 102), has imbued the concept of landscape almost inescapably for the public and even for some researchers too. The epitome was Cresswell’s quote that “we do not live in landscapes — we look at them” (2015, 17–18). 22

Within this project, though, the visual is only one of the elements that constitute landscape, and it is related to the fact that sight, is a primary sense of people’s perception. Landscape is

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22 The visual and distantiated notion of landscape has had many academic advocates even since the emergence of humanistic geography in the seventies (mainly through the works by Yi-Fu Tuan) till this day. Additionally to aforementioned Cresswell, Relph defined landscape as the ‘physical, visual form’ of place (1976, 30), Lippard equated it to “a backdrop for the experience of viewing” (1997, 8) or as W.J.T. Mitchell specified it, it is a place “encountered as image or ‘sight’” (2002c, x).
not “just ‘out there’ but inside us too” and “‘what you see’ is only now a part of ‘what you get’” (Stiles 2012, 299); because, — as ingeniously paralleled by Stiles,— “it surrounds us and penetrates us; it binds the galaxy [or at least the society] together” (299). 23 The main element is livelihood, which, according to Giblett, “deconstructs the culture/nature binary and decolonises the commodification and aestheticisation of land as landscape. It reinstates nature as ordinary, as the stuff of work and everyday life” (2012, 922). So, as Ingold argued, landscape is “the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its place and journey along the paths connecting them” (1993, 156).

In Bell’s more descriptive words (2012, 66–67), landscape is “that part of environment which is the field of our present actions and its boundaries are defined by the limits of our perception”. It is that area that “we can engage with at a given time,” which is “composed of different elements and structures during our daily lives.” Therefore, it represents “our own human habitat, perceived and understood by us through the medium of our perceptions.”

The base of my project, hence, has been founded by refining the concept of landscape. Before, I move forward though, I believe it is important to elaborate a bit further on what D. Mitchell branded as “landscape’s agency, its genius, its magic: the order it imposes on space and its ability to hide from us the conditions of its own production” (2018, 189). The idea of landscape as veil, — which Wylie defined as influential metaphor of landscape as a way of seeing (2007, 65–70), — exceeds the boundaries of Cosgrove’s representational concept; regardless the approach, “like money, landscape is a social hieroglyph 24 that conceals the actual basis of its value” (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002a, 5, emphasis added).

**The ‘Duplicity of Landscape’** 25

Landscapes can be deceptive. Sometimes a landscape seems to be less a setting for the life of its inhabitants than a curtain behind which their struggles, achievements and accidents take place.

John Berger ([1967] 2016, 19)

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23 The reference is to the ‘Force’ of *Star Wars* movie franchise by George Lucas. The quote came from the first movie *Star Wars: Episode IV–A New Hope*, released in 1977.

24 The phrase ‘social hieroglyphic’ was used by Marx (1904, 45) to describe the outcome of equating labour products to values, discussing the fetishism of commodities. W.J.T. Mitchell adopted it to landscape and defined it as “an emblem of the social relations it conceals” (2002a, 15).

25 Expression coined by Daniels (1989).
These words, which served as Cosgrove’s envoi in his Social Formation (1998, 271), were also echoed in Tuan’s thoughts on the equation of landscape to scenery through its integration with the world of illusion (1974b, 133); landscape became the ‘curtain’ behind which the reality of the social and political landscape was hidden (Olwig 2002, xxx–xxxii, 216–21). Landscape as a concealer of the forces that produce it, was one of the main themes explored by R. Williams throughout The Country and the City, distilled in his celebrated quote: “A working country is hardly ever a landscape” (1973, 120). His thesis instigated further discourses and analyses on the ‘dark side of the landscape’ (Barrell 1980, 22) current to this day (Dirksmeier 2016, 888).

Landscape’s idiosyncrasy to ‘forever mask the work that makes it’ (D. Mitchell 2018, 189), — although it served extensively as the bedrock of the ‘way of seeing’ concept (Daniels 1989, 207; Daniels and Cosgrove 1992, 7; W.J.T. Mitchell 2002c, viii; Wylie 2007, 68),— is actually oblivious to the different perspectives with which academics approach landscape. Irrespective of epistemological considerations or philosophical and political influences of the various stances, the common denominator is that landscapes are
c
characterised by their tendency to detach themselves from productive labour. So much so, in fact, that productive labour is sometimes forgotten altogether, and it is this ‘forgetfulness’ —or, as a philosopher might say, this mystification— that makes possible the fetishism of commodities: the fact that commodities imply certain social relationships whose misapprehension they also ensure (Lefebvre 1991, 113). 26

Another point of convergence among researchers has been the landscape’s modus operandi for becoming delusive: idealisation. 27 As mentioned earlier (n17), the ideological function of landscape is performed by “naturalising its conventions and conventionalising its nature” (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002a, 5). This naturalising process has been described briefly and eloquently by Barrell in his analysis of a landscape painting from the eighteenth century (1980, 22): 28

26 The obfuscatory nature of the production of space was a seminal concept expressed by Lefebvre (1991, 81–83, 89–90, 92–93,113–16, 212, 268–75) and this quote referred to products and works as a parallelism to produced space. Landscape, defined as ‘produced space’ within this project, falls under the aegis of Lefebvre’s (social) production of (social) space, which is explicated in Chapter 3.


28 George Lambert’s Woody Landscape from 1757 CE.
The rich and their habitation must be illuminated, and the poor and theirs be left in the shadows [. . .]. This division has the advantage of marking the differences in status and fortune between rich and poor, while showing that the unity of the landscape and of the society it can be seen to represent is dependent on the existence of both, which combine in a harmonious whole. As the landscape could not be structured without the natural contrasts of light and shade, so the society could not survive without social and economic distinctions which are thus also apparently natural.

The “mindscaping” 29 via “landscaping” (Olwig 2002, xxvi, 218) might have been traced first in art, —the discovery of the perspective technique and the flourish of landscape painting,— but its service was not terminated with the atrophy of the European landscape painting by the end of the nineteenth century. The art movements go hand in hand with social changes; landscape painting’s decline coincided with the decline of imperialism, colonialism, and the advent of ‘industry’ (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002a, 18–21; Cosgrove 1998, 254–57; Lefebvre 1991, 80–85). It was the time photography conjured altering the way people see the world (J. Berger 1972, 18) by its mutation “from an invention to an active agent in the social world” (Marien 2010, 25), encapsulated by Lawson (1984, 163, original emphasis):

To an unprecedented degree the perception of the "natural" is mediated these days. We know real life as it is represented on film or tape. We are all implicated in an unfolding spectacle of fulfilment, rendered passive by inordinate display and multiplicity of choice, made numb with variety: a spectacle that provides the illusion of contentment while slowly creating a debilitating sense of alienation. The camera, in all its manifestations, is our god, dispensing what we mistakenly take to be truth. The photograph is the modern world.

Considering that “the art of any period tends to serve the ideological interests of the ruling class” (J. Berger 1972, 86), the camera and consecutive innovations, which allowed the mass reproduction of pictures, not only preserved the political manipulation of image, —landscape scenery included,— they enforced it by maximising the number of ‘spectators.’

The rationale behind the discussion on the concealing agency of landscape is the magnitude of two phenomena: the power of image and the alienation from the centres of production in today’s world. If J. Berger were writing his essay on publicity today (1972, 129–54) with the social media and the image culture they cultivated, I cannot help but wonder: would that

29 Olwig coined the term mindscaping as the “deception of the mind”, the inducement of people to envision and accept a realistic illusion. It needs to be distinguished from the noun mindscape, which according to OED is the “The range of a person’s thoughts and imagination, regarded as a panorama capable of being contemplated by another person; mental landscape or inner vision.”
subtle agony I sensed underlying be still subtle? A similar thought I have for R. Williams and his treatise on the urban–rural relation: how would he describe the “magical extraction of the curse of labour” (1973, 32) in the Information Age, where labour has become invisible and forces of magic have taken over production? I believe it is vital to keep these thoughts in mind when conducting research on landscape, so as to ensure a mutual understanding with the research participants. Even more so, when the research is about touristic and rural landscapes, like my project, where the amount of work for their production is proportional to the degree of concealment of that work. No matter the debates in the academic milieu, the current social reality seems to nurture the landscape’s ‘duplicity’ to the public eye.

Before I proceed with elaborating on the association of the socio-economic context to landscape, though, there is one topic I find important to refer to briefly: an administrative milestone that occurred at the dawn of the new millennia and revolutionised landscape research by bringing the public and its perception of landscape in the spotlight.

► The European Landscape Convention—ELC

Can one protect the landscape? Probably not, because it does not exist; […] The image of the landscape changes —in our mind’s eye. The image of reality changes —on account of economic growth. We cannot steer two disparate developments by mechanical means. We can indeed ensure that certain important elements of the landscape code are not destroyed, that riverbanks, waterfalls, trees, and views neither disappear nor become built up. Eventually, however, we have simply to trust that new generations will discover new landscapes in new constellations of natural remains and economic interventions.


In 2000, two years after Burckhardt’s address, the ELC was held in Florence under the auspices of the Council of Europe (CoE) with the aim “to provide a new instrument devoted exclusively to the protection, management and planning of all landscapes in Europe” (CoE

30 D. Mitchell has graphically described the ‘magical extraction’ of labour in today’s world (2018, 188).
31 This quote from Burckhardt’s essay “Landscape”, was originally published in 1998 as “Landschaft” in Natur – Arbeit – Ästhetik: anlässlich des Sten Todestages von Karola Bloch.
32 A protocol for amending the ELC has opened for signature and ratification on August 1, 2016 (CETS No.219), which has not come in force yet. The amendment is an invitation to non-European countries that wish to participate to the Convention without effecting the original principles. A second amendment refers to the change of the name to Council of Europe Landscape Convention, also not in force, so I am still referring to it as ELC. For more details see: https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/219
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and a ground-breaking definition (CoE 2000a, I:1a, emphasis added) compared to previous legal international bodies with relevance to landscape:

Landscape is an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors. 33

ELC, thus, was “the first international treaty devoted to sustainable development, with the cultural dimension a particularly relevant factor” (Dejeant-Pons 2017, 2). It ‘legitimised’ the subjective immaterial aspect of landscape ‘as perceived by people’ and extended landscape beyond the boundaries of the land itself, including water bodies and most importantly not only ‘outstanding’ landscapes but ‘everyday or degraded landscapes’ too. (CoE 2000a, I:2).

The ELC was signed and ratified by 39 European countries 34 and its widely accepted definition created a common conceptual platform within academia and landscape research groups — at least for the participatory countries — and established a convergence point, people’s perception, and participation. More significantly the call for identification and assessment of landscapes with the public participation catapulted the number of relevant research projects.

My scope is not to discuss the content and technicalities of the ELC, but to share some of my unsettling thoughts on the ELC, 35 which I believe to be useful for you as they demonstrate my position as a researcher in this project towards the participants and their landscape. 36

In the CoE website, the Convention is found under the tab “Democracy” in the category “Sustainable Democratic Societies” which is in accordance with the emphasis put on public participation, explicitly stated in the ELC document and its explanatory report (CoE 2000a, Preamble, II:5; 2000b, II:22–23). In the same documents, though, equal emphasis was put on the ‘technocratic experts’ too (Groening 2007, 608; CoE 2000a, II:4, II:6b, III:8b, III:10, IV:17; 2000b, II:6B.53b, II:6C.55). “Participation 37 implies two-way communication from experts and scientists to the population and vice versa” (CoE 2008, II.2.3.A), but what exactly this

33 A similar definition revolving around people’s perception had been adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe with their recommendation to integrate into landscape policies the conservation of cultural landscape areas (1995, 2: §1).

34 Iceland and Malta have signed the ELC but have not ratified it yet. Full list of signatory counties at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/176/signatures.

35 ELC is an ambitious and optimistic instrument and such ideas come from idealistic visions. However, it is undeniable that even great ideas face implications in implementation.

36 With people’s perception being in the core of my study, I am looking into the phrase “as perceived by people” in depth in Chapter 3.

37 Discussions on participation issues is the subject of The European Landscape Convention (Jones and Stenseke 2011).
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Katerina Mitka

entails is obscure. According to Jones “it should not be seen as a substitute for official decision-making but as a complement to it” (2011, 30). Any concerned party should contribute with their views “before representative, democratically elected bodies make the final decisions” (30–31). Everyone’s voice is heard before the governing centres make decisions, which actually enhances the way modern democracy functions. 38

Still, the objectives of the ELC contradict the concept of landscape itself, as discussed earlier and even as defined by the ELC. Its aim is to safeguard from change perceptual experiences and ideas that constitute the landscape and then manage and plan the landscape accordingly. What’s disconcerting here, is the idea of governance over the intangible, the meaning that people assign to landscape, which is perpetually transforming: “landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it” (Bender 1993, 3).

There is not just one meaning either. The polyphony in landscape meanings ranges from analogous and aligned to antithetical and clashing, among different and within the same groups: “no two individuals see the world alike [. . .] and no two individuals can have the same life experiences” (Tuan 2003, 879). In any two-way approach to participation, meanings and perceptions are negotiated ensuring democratic procedures: still, though, this is an efficient process when the public has concrete plan with specific parameters in front of them.

Having in place policies that require the participation of the public when local, regional, or national administrations plan projects is crucially important 39 and beneficial for the local, and not only, society. The identification and assessment of landscape in such cases should be on a project-by-project base, with a specific temporal and spatial focus, which can truly engage the concerned parties with effective participation.

The ELC scope seems simultaneously abstract and rigid. Abstract, because it requires the identification, analysis, and assessment of a restless process that landscape is. Data produced from such procedures contribute to the landscape knowledge, but they need to be collected regularly in order to be constantly up to date. The ELC explanatory report commented on this too: “An international legal instrument intended to deal with landscape values and interests

38 Based on my work experience in planning and public works in a regional authority, planning and many of related decisions, — although they have to be approved by those elected, — they are initiated, proposed, and usually made by civil servants who work for the relevant bodies.

39 According to my professional experience, such procedures are of benefit for the public and their landscape by minimising the chance of implementing plans serving private and not public interests. They also ensure continuity of the public ‘ownership’ of landscape materially and mentally.
should be able to keep pace with changes in those values and interests” (CoE 2000b, II:32). Unless — and this is why it seems rigid, — the information acquired is to be used to protect the meanings and values of landscape as expressed by a specific public on a specific time focusing on that data for the management and planning of the specific landscape. Wouldn’t that mean though the freeze of the landscape at a specific moment in time, entailing the risk of the museumisation of landscape?  

The legal and scientific structure aimed by the Convention could assume such power that could become the ‘oligarchy’ of our times; not with the use of force but through the hegemony of its legitimate status and the incorporation of the public in its procedures. Groening (2007), prompted by the Convention, discussed the idea appeared in the nineties that “landscape must become law” with historical examples of how the idea of the ‘landscape law’ was used to impose power and control over society. In his parallelism of the Convention to that past idea, he noted how the law of the landscape could adopt to the current political and technological status through the ELC and be reinforced by the experts “who are to become the enlightened landscape advocates” implementing this law “on behalf of a mute landscape and its denizens” (Groening 2007, 608).  

As mentioned previously, my aim for sharing some scepticism on the ELC is to disclose my approach towards landscape within this research in the context of transparency and reflexivity, before exploring in more detail the relationship between landscape and the idea of crisis as social change in the next section.  

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40 Relph coined this term which he defined as “the preservation, reconstruction and idealisation of history” and samples of its manifestations are the “reconstituted pioneer villages, restored castles and reconstructed forts” (1976, 101).

41 The concept of hegemony was evolved by Gramsci and has been defined “ as a form of class rule based primarily on consent by the subordinate groups (produced by the political, intellectual, and moral leadership of the hegemonic group) rather than on coercion (resting on the application of physical force)” (Overbeek 2011, 1071). Lefebvre defined it descriptively as “more than an influence” that “is exercised over society as a whole, culture and knowledge included, and generally via human mediation: policies, political leaders, parties, as also a good many intellectuals and experts. It is exercised, therefore, over both institutions and ideas. The ruling class seeks to maintain its hegemony by all available means, and knowledge is one such means” (1991, 10).

42 I should note at this point that the CoE is not a council under the EU but a separate organisation it. It does not have legislative power and its conventions “are not statutory acts of the Organisation. They owe their legal existence to the consent of those member States that sign and ratify them” (CoE n.d.).

43 Another aspect on the Convention can be found in Appendix 3, as part of the concept of “cultural landscape” and heritage.
−.2. Landscapes ‘Ruptured’ by Crisis

George Seferis, 1938
“The Return of the Emigrant”: Stanzas 1 & 2

You can’t go home again, because there is no place like home, as the poet poignantly described; his home, as he knew it, did not exist anymore: “there is no longer a place that is identical to, or sometimes even vaguely resembles, our memories of home” (Downs and Stea 1977, 2). It is not the change of materiality that ruptured the landscape above, it is the anacoluthon in the experience of the landscape between the past and the present, a spatial rupture and discontinuity (Miles-Watson, Reinert and Sooväli-Sepping 2015, 2).

It is undeniable that everything moves, and nothing stands still and this is true for landscapes as much as for anything else in this world. Landscape transformations have been occurring since the dawn of humanity, —inasmuch as landscape is not nature (Olwig 1993, 309–13; Ingold 1993, 154), — concurrently with the evolution of the societies that produce them. Humanity, hence, —interpreted as social practice (Lefebvre 1991, 71), — joined the natural processes that have always been active since the beginning of time, into perpetually (re)forming landscapes; or their materiality to be more accurate. Societies and space do not

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44 Term borrowed from the title Ruptured Landscapes by Sooväli-Sepping et al. (2015).
45 From the titular book by Thomas Wolfe, first published in 1934.
46 “τὰ ὄντα ιέναι τα πάντα καὶ μένειν οὐδέν” (Ta ónta iénai te panta kai ménin oudén), according to the doctrine of pre-Socratic Greek philosopher Heracleitus, attributed to him by Plato, Crat.401d (Fowler 1926, 66–67).
just change along with each other, they are changing each other through a dynamic reciprocal social–spatial process, producing the human ‘habitat’, which equals landscape.

Irrespective of the historically axiomatic nature of landscape evolution, a concern has been emerging over this transformation during the last decades. Change has been interpreted as ‘menace’ that disrupts landscapes (Antrop 2005, 22), causing the mobilisation of scientists and policy makers, which climaxed in Europe with the ELC. The rapid pace and magnitude of changes since the eighteenth century deemed them an issue: industrialisation, urbanisation, globalisation, and technological explosion keep reforming the social and cultural structures that in their turn alter the landscape path (Antrop 2005, 22–23; Ipsen 2012, 65–66). There are more recent factors that have been intensified, exacerbating the issue, such as pollution, biodiversity loss, depletion of natural resources and climate change (EEA 2015).

If landscape change is a natural process, where does rupture fit? Palang described rupture as “the process or instance of breaking open or bursting, or —as an adjective,— the state of being broken open” and noted its aptness to address landscape issues such as “persistence and change, identity, heritage management and the various ways in which societies handle radical breaks and discontinuity” (2015, 168). Ruptures thus are indeed a prominent feature of the world we live in: a world constantly in a state of flux, oscillating between zeniths and nadirs from seismic pressures and schisms to even sometimes [ostensible] inertia.
At what state is our world in our times? It is self-evident, I believe, that it is at the zenith of incessant global upheavals and disruptions in all fronts, —social, political, economic, cultural, environmental,— putting the homeostasis of human’s perceptual, cognitive and emotional mechanisms under constant pressure, as societies are trying to cope with the abrupt change. Ipsen described it as “a kind of permanent revolution” that societies have been recently experiencing (2012, 65), generating two unstable phenomena: the simultaneous change of reality and of the conceptual framework that is intended to define it (Burckhardt 2015, 77). These two changes do not necessarily occur at the same time, or the same pace, exhibiting a ‘phase difference’ (Ipsen 2012, 66); hence, the expressions of the dialectical process of Diagram 0.1 are not directly proportionate and they have the same dual role: both social and landscape change are both drivers and responses.

I am going to refer now to the scenario of social change being the driver that sets the cogs in motion for landscape change. I am not referring to a conventional social evolution, but to a social rupture. Our present reality offers multiple examples of such disruptions in a global scale; however, my intention is to take you, the readers, on a short journey to a rupture in the recent past. The Greek crisis of 2010.

A Greek Rupture

The financial crisis in 2008 triggered by the collapse of the Lehman Brothers Investment Bank had a butterfly affect across the globe. The juxtaposition between the recent Great Recession and the 1929 Great Depression was ‘the talk of the town’ within the economic/financial sphere (Gjerstad and Smith 2009; Temin 2010; Grusky, Western and Christopher 2011; Shaikh 2011; Bordo 2018). As Pettifer noted “its universal scale meant that little attention was paid to the problems of weaker and smaller countries within the international financial system” (2015, chap.2). Then, in 2010 the Greek crisis burst into the global financial proscenium, the second social rupture in Greece for this millennium; indeed, I described it as second, because the first one was the adoption of the euro currency in 2001. 47

The word rupture is imbued with negative hues, so referring with it to a positive event, most likely sounds questionable. I would argue, though, that entering Eurozone was a rupture for Greece, stepping on both definitions, the aforementioned Palang’s and Lung’s (2016, 1202):

47 I am discussing the Greek crisis in more details surrounding its particularities in Chapter 2.
Ruptures are ‘open moments’ when opportunities and risks multiply, when the scope of outcomes widens, and when new structural scaffolding is erected.

It is the element of abruptness then and not whether the outcome is perceived as positive or negative. The EMU membership triggered a rapid change of the Greek reality as a whole, which was instrumental to the instability of Greek economy and its near-collapse (Bank of Greece 2014, v–vi). Within the context of this study, therefore, both these historic events are considered ruptures. For this reason, in the progress of the thesis, I am referring to both the Eurozone entry and the EEC (EU) in 1981, as they are milestones in the country’s evolution and the crisis is traced back to both; for now, however, I am going to focus on the crisis.

The breakage that occurred with the crisis, revealed to the Greek society a number of previously latent challenges, at their utmost grandeur, which Terkenli summarised as: “climate change, energy needs, health and safety, food security, urbanisation and migration, loss of biodiversity and cultural heritage, rural exodus, lifestyle changes.” As she noted, also, they are all ‘embedded in landscape’ (2015, 59). All contemporary societies are under the same strains in various degrees conditioned by their social structures; for Greece specifically, the crisis has reshuffled both the state’s and the people’s priorities related to landscape as they found themselves in survival mode.

These issues did not sprout the day Greece lost access to the money markets; 48 the growth both towards and after the currency unification created a euphoria that dazzled the whole country (Bank of Greece 2014, 15–16). Before the ‘house of cards’ collapsed, landscapes had been solidly established as a commodity: grand-scale construction projects, both public and private, extreme unplanned urbanisation, unregulated tourism development and generally arbitrary appropriation of space (Papayannis and Howard 2012; Beriatos 2012), 49 all had such benefits for the majority of the people, silencing any lonely objecting voices.

48 Indicatively, I am mentioning the 615 environmental infringement cases, that Greece had by the EC since 2002, comparable only to Italy’s (749) and Spain’s (657). Data sourced from EC: https://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/infringements/infringement-cases-press-releases/infringement-cases-country_en.

49 Some indicative examples: the Olympic Games projects prior to 2014; the Egnatia Odos (the major carriageway crossing Greece from East to West, commenced in 1994 and was completed in 2009 with major spatial impacts across its length); the sensational scandal surrounding shady transactions of state lands, between the Greek state and the Monastery of Vatopedi in Mount Athos aiming at the concession of the lands to private real estate companies; the Porto-Karras scandal of an allegedly illegitimate permission for villas construction in forest areas.
The landscape change between 2001–2010 did not shift direction; it only accelerated. Greek landscapes had been already under the same transformation trends as European landscapes: agricultural intensification; overgrowth of agricultural lands; urbanisation and infrastructure growth; overdevelopment of tourism and recreation; extensification of land use and land abandonment; loss of natural ecosystems (Bell 2009, 13; Antrop 2005, 26; 2012 36–37).

Especially Greek landscapes, as Mediterranean, are more vulnerable to anthropogenic and natural factors and their ‘fragility’ is rooted in the ‘human stewardship’ (Farina 2006, 251). That is why they face additional challenges, homogenisation, and desertification, under two seemingly antithetic pressures: on one hand the intensification of productive activities or on the other the abandonment of those along with the abandonment of the countryside (Ispikoudis and Chouvardas 2005,154; Farina 2006, 237; Chouvardas 2007, 19; EEA 2015, 60).

I would dare argue that all these challenges and pressures are a result of what is called modernisation and they are intrinsic to the human civilisation as we created it. They are not imposed by an abstract superstructure from above. They derive from both personal and collective choices people make, from the most trivial quotidian ones to those made behind doors by statesmen and enterprise boards affecting the masses. I believe, hence, that discussions on societies’ issues have to be anthropocentric with reversed vectors. Ἀνθρωπος is not a receiver of and/or reactor to superimposed occurrences; both the conscious emitter and transmitter of energies, ἀνθρωπος is the actor of a one-man show on earth.  

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50 A publication of collective cases across Mediterranean and Northern landscapes is a book resulted by the ModMED research project (Mazzoleni, et al. 2004). The Department of Rangeland Ecology of the Forestry School in Thessaloniki had been conducting a number of relevant studies as member of projects such as: GEORANGE (Geomatics in the assessment and sustainable management of Mediterranean rangelands); SAFE (Silvoarable agroforestry for Europe); GrazeMed (Assessment of grazing impact on desertification risk in Mediterranean rangelands); VISTA (Vulnerability of ecosystem services to land use change in traditional agricultural landscapes); DeSurvey (A Surveillance System for Assessing and Monitoring of Desertification). They also promoted studies on the loss of the landscape heterogeneity with the comparative interpretation and analysis of time series of air photographs (Ispikoudis and Chouvardas 2005; Chouvardas 2007), my master’s thesis being one of them.

51 There could be an objection over the uncontrollability of nature. First, it is undeniable that there is no primordial natural site left on earth at this point of history. Second, regarding natural phenomena, it has long been established that the climatic ones are interfered by humanity. Even regarding the geological ones, which seem quite out of reach of humans’ potency, there is a whole new discussion among geologists around the impact of mankind on the planet and how it has become a geological and geomorphological factor equal to the natural forces. Human activities are so destructive that they are causing processes that used to be natural, such as erosion, earthquakes, floods and so on. On this base, a discourse has been ignited on declaring the Holocene Epoch concluded and introducing a new one, the Anthropocene (Häusler 2017; Zalasiewicz, et al. 2017). Lowenthal (2015) has discussed not the beginning of the Anthropocene as an epoch but the beginning of its awareness, meaning the realisation of anthropogenic impact, and he elaborated on G.P. Marsh’s insightful contribution.
Consequently, this is my general disposition towards social reality: narrowing down to people, either individuals or groups. I could be asked however: does everyone have the option of conscious decisions over the making of society? Yes and no. Yes, because we define our social and spatial practice with personal choices on a daily basis. Most importantly, we also elect our representatives, so we set the standards for the job requirements. No, because the way our capitalist societies are structured, there are forces at play, creating privileged and non-privileged groups and the decisions of the latter are constrained by the former’s imposed reality. Still, though, there is the option of resistance.

How does this short monologue relate to my research? It is what inspired it in the first place. The crisis itself has been a power conflict between highly privileged groups, state, and financial institutions, with consequences streaming down the social pyramid, from top, to middle, all the way down to the socially marginalised and excluded. The shakes of social fabric spread to the human habitat, the landscape, through what Dressler et al. (2018, 73) identified as “the cumulative stresses of deepening capital flows, intensifying markets, and resource accumulation”. Referring specifically to the Greek crisis, Terkenli (2015, 59) highlighted two risks posed on landscape: the economic re-prioritising and social pressures on resources.

Extractivism was exactly what was promoted by the Greek statesmen, through two narratives as the crisis exodus plan; first, the counterurbanisation with the return to the land and the reinvention of agriculture and the Greek rural and, second, the declaration of tourism as the panacea to the country’s economic misfortunes. Without an industrial economy, Greece’s only available asset to liquidise was landscape. Both offered ‘lifeboats’ are significant factors of landscape transformation within any social context. Calling people, though, to get on board in order to survive from a crisis, most likely set in motion different landscape dynamics to the ones of secure and stable times; these dynamics are driven by Ipsen’s (2012, 66) two ‘unstable phenomena’ —the change of reality and that of the conceptual apparatus used to determine it. Intrigued by the way the unfolding events were informing my personal views on landscapes, society, crisis and people’s agency, questions began raising in my mind of the ways these two concurrent, but not synchronised processes would evolve and how their interplay would be manifested on the two types of targeted landscapes, rural and tourist.

52 I am only able to discuss about democratic societies. Having no experience of how life is under authoritarian regimes, even if I studied their structures, I could not possibly dare elaborate on it.
3. The ‘Sphinx Riddle’

In what ways does the crisis affect the reality of the landscape? . . . and in what ways does this affect its inhabitants’ perception? Isn’t their landscape perception that informs their landscape practice? Yes. So, what does this practice look like? . . . and what does it do to landscape? So, the practice changes anew the reality of landscape. Doesn’t this feed back into the process’s cycle? Yes. Does this process move in the reversed direction? Yes, it does.

My questions as they began to shape, were describing a cycle of three interconvertible elements: each one was feeding back into the next and the previous within the context of crisis (Diagram 0.2). This cycle depicts the perpetual process of production and reproduction of landscape but what does the crisis context depict? It is the conglomeration

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53 Borrowed from Greek mythology and the drama of Oedipus (Soph. OT).
54 This circular process is elaborated in Chapter 3.
of changes in modes of production, social relations, exchange networks, capital flows, labour and land value and state policies imposed on local societies by the extractivist forces of a global capitalist system.

Does crisis signal the doomsday of local and regional communities, their landscapes, lives, and livelihoods? Hay described crisis as “a moment of decisive intervention” and “a moment and a process of transformation” (1996, 254, original emphasis); Spiridonakis also noted that when circumstances are unfavourable, humans adapt to the new conditions and become creative, finding ways to survive by ‘meagre resources,’ making a life the best they can (1977, 45–46). What would people’s response be then to these external winds of change? All the discussion to this point was referred to my process towards crystallising the question framework I have tried to answer with my research.

The general framework remains the one set by the aforementioned questions, but still there are some more details to be clarified. First, I need to clarify that my focus was on landscapes that combine both the rural and the tourism element, as my interest was to look into their pairing as the crisis lifeboat. Such Greek landscapes are to be found everywhere across the coastline. The ones I shortlisted were the small Aegean islands which was based on practicalities: they had to have easy access, manageable size and be geographically well defined from their surrounding area. Narrowing down the finalists, the winner was Naxos.

I also considered a given that when ruptures like this happen, there is no such thing as orderly sequence of the changes that occur, so such a perspective would have been futile. My aim, therefore, was to approach all three elements at once, as they were evolving simultaneously.

Another detail is that my focus was the inhabitants and the inside experience, not the outsiders; so, the subsequent point was inhabitants, who? The answer was stakeholders with a direct relation through livelihood to rural and tourist landscapes, which I categorised in three groups: farmers who make a living out of their landscape; tourism entrepreneurs with their livelihood dependent on the tourist landscape; and the local authorities, that carry the twofold task of implementing national policies and making local decisions. The latter had the additional peculiarity of being inhabitants themselves and having to administer their landscapes. These were three different groups of stakeholders claiming the same landscape with different and often conflicting interests.

Another clarification I need to make is that my focus was not the scientific psychological/neurological processes that translate stimuli into perception and action; I do not possess the
skills or knowledge required to decipher such specific mechanisms of the human brain. What I set off to find out was the end results of these cognitive processes and in what ways they informed each other. I am going to try and break down in detail what my quest was about for each element of Diagram 0.2:

**Materiality of landscape:**
- What did the landscape reality look like to each group, since the break of the crisis?
- Were there differences before and after?
- Did all three realities align or deviate?
- Were there similarities between their lived reality as insiders and my observed reality as an outsider?

**Landscape Perception:**
- In what ways have the three groups been experiencing their landscape?
- Had the ways they perceive their landscape change because of the crisis and in what ways?
- What were the differences among the three groups perceptions and experiences?
- Were the consciously verbalised perceptions aligned to the habitually demonstrated ones as I observed them in their daily lives?

**Spatial Practice**
- What did they believe their spatial practice was in regard to their landscape?
- In what ways would their practice change under the pressures of the crisis?
- What were the dynamics between the practices of the three groups?
- Were their actions as I observed them aligned with the perceptions they had expressed?
- In what ways did the stakeholders practice as observed inform the landscape materiality?

I embarked on finding answers to this inquiring framework using ethnographic means. All three groups shared a common question regarding the participants’ disposition: the juxtaposition of what they expressed and what I observed. Posing this type of question though, made me reflect on my own credentials which would allow me to claim the ability to comprehend the inhabitants’ perceptions and practices from within and not as an outsider, supposedly unbiased observer appropriating the locals’ voice.
Most of us move around a lot, [. . .] we often come into contact with those who haven’t moved around or have come from different places [. . .]. Each time we enter a new place, we become one of the ingredients of an existing hybridity, which is really what all ‘local places’ consist of. By entering that hybrid, we change it; and in each situation we may play a different role.

Lucy R. Lippard (1997, 5–6)

Lippard was most likely referring to moving into places rather than visiting them as a researcher; however, when the visit is prolonged and the researcher is assimilated by the host community, this interaction cannot but affect both researcher and host group. It is unavoidable to create bonds and develop emotions towards people and vice versa without me being an exception: relationships established during my fieldwork still hold to this day.

Becoming member of the social setting I wanted to research was incompatible with the idea of a detached researcher with a “carefully constructed public self as a mysterious, impartial outsider, an observer freed of personality and bias” (England 1994, 81). Based on the premise that there is no ‘ultimate truth’ or ‘perfect knowledge’ (Forbes 2007, 7–8) and “social realities are socially constructed” (Crotty 1998, 55), I had to accept the subjective nature of my research: “when we ‘see’ a landscape, we situate ourselves in it” (J. Berger 1972, 6).

The discussion thus far has been aiming at the disclosure of my beliefs and views regarding the concepts that served as my research’s platform, so that readers are facilitated to follow my train of thought. Ethnographic research though, is the result of the interplay between researcher and host community and is affected by researcher’s biography in two direct ways: personal features “allow for certain insights” and “the everyday lives of the researched are doubly mediated by our presence and their response to our presence” (England 1994, 85). The fieldwork dynamics produce knowledge reflecting the combination of “what ‘works’ in the specific cultural context” that researchers find themselves and “aspects of one’s own personality and background” (Forbes 2007, 100); that is situated knowledge (Haraway 1991, 111, 183–201). What worked in the cultural context of my research field is discussed in Chapter 5, but this is the time to become transparent over my personal story and the ‘cultural baggage’ I brought with me in my research.
Reflexivity

In spite of a persistent fiction, we never write on a blank page, but always on one that has already been written on.

Michel de Certeau (1988, 43)

Reflexivity as a concept has been popular in feminist studies (Mauthner and Doucet 2003; Rose 1997; Moss 1995; England 1994; McDowell 1988), as England noted though it is relevant to other social studies too (1994, 81). My project did not feature a feminist approach, but inevitably, I was carrying my gender as a female with me throughout the whole endeavour.

With Rose’s ‘double reflexive gaze’ as the guide in my personal narrative, I am going to look ‘inward’ to my identity and ‘outward’ to my relation to my research and the ‘wider world’ (1997, 309). I grew up in a remote rural area among the mountains of Pindos in north-west Greece, a place equally far from both the Ionian and the Aegean (Figure 0.1). Major infrastructure projects outside urban centres at the time were distant visions, so my hometown was geographically and socially isolated. Until I relocated in my late teens, going to the sea was a treat that could occur more than once a year if I were lucky. The climate was continental with harsh snowy winters and short cool summers and the isolation meant that the non-locally produced goods were rare and expensive. As a consequence, although Greek, my landscape was never sea–sun–sand, dry rocks, and sclerophyllous shrubs. My landscape is high mountains hiding the horizon, with dense forests and running waters, interrupted by scattered hills with cultivated slopes and grazelands full of goats and sheep.

This created a juxtaposition of my relatedness to my research landscape: familiar with the rural element but unfamiliar with the tourist one, from a local’s perspective. I had to be aware of this unbalance, so as to make sure that my disposition towards both was fair and similar. One element that worked to my advantage on this is that I had never experienced the Aegean islands as a tourist before my research. The first and last time I had ever visited them was in my late twenties for work, not in the tourist but in the farming sector. The union of agricultural syndicates in Cyclades had subcontracted the project of the CAP subsidies’ applications to a consultant company and I was employed as an administrator. 55 That job

55 My job included the verification of the farmers’ and corresponding farms’ data and the identification of each eligible field on an orthophotomap with the help of the farmer; location, area and type of cultivation had to be recorded per plot. Only the olive groves and the vineyards were in a national registry, already marked on the maps. All the other records were as per farmers’ claim.
Introduction: The ‘Landscape–Crisis’ Correlation

Katerina Mitka

Figure 0.1. Location of my home place in Greece in relation to the coastline and the Cyclades with the kind contribution of Bing Maps ©2019 Microsoft.

gave me the chance to visit the majority of the Cycladic islands and dissolved completely my, —shared with most I presume,— preconception of them as rocky barren tourist hubs. The tight schedule of the two-month project did not allow any of the team to enjoy the tourist aspect or even the beaches of the islands. That experience turned out to be vital for my research because it protected me from the tourist gaze towards the islands, so in my interactions with the locals from the tourist industry, I was more open to relate to them without any prejudices I would have, had I been their customer.

Another relevant biographic element to both female and researcher, is my upbringing in a family with a transitional pattern between traditional extended and nuclear, along with an additional twist; it was a matriarchal household of six females from three generations and...
one male. Its significance lays on the fact that in an isolated patriarchal and profoundly phallocratic community, my family was the striking exception with no gender distinctions or limits set regarding looks, behaviours, chores, life expectations, jobs, dreams, or goals. Even the usual differences between the father–daughter and mother–daughter relationship were blurred. That differentiation, however, had not gone unnoticed by the local society, so both my childhood and adolescence were unending battles to break through. This upbringing armed me with perseverance and tenacity. Most importantly it taught me how to navigate confidently and steadily in a men’s world, a trait at my service from my days at university to this day, which was crucial for the successful completion of my fieldwork.

I will elaborate a bit further on my experiences as a female during my adulthood. 56 I began my studies at the School of Forestry two decades ago, doing my undergraduate and master’s degree. The students’ distribution was equal between genders, the academic staff though had a striking gap; the few females were also in positions of lower ranks with not even one female professor or assistant professor. The dynamics within this male-dominated environment were often tense for female students. My professional path took me to a career in a similar environment, not in gender representation but behaviour. It was the department of planning first and public works later in the regional authority of Athens. I was working with engineers of all kinds, architects, constructors or any professional related to infrastructure. In the past in Greece these were considered traditionally ‘men’s jobs’ and despite women’s increased presence, the stereotypical patronising behaviour was yet to vanish. 57

My personal and professional background offered me additionally a dual insight to my fieldwork. First, the awareness of what to expect in my interactions with male participants and how to deal with it effectively without compromising my position or my research. I am not claiming I had an absolute success. My skillset and confidence in handling issues based on my gender have been built empirically throughout my life and through trial and error out

56 The discussion about my gender involves my age too. In the majority of settings, I was among older males, so I cannot distinguish them as separate factors of the situations.
57 I have expanded enough but there is still one remark. My exposure to male behaviours for decades made me distinguish two categories in principle. One, is men who are consciously sexists, believing in male superiority and dominance; this category has no age restriction. The other one is men who use gender roles, as a way to organise their world; It is not inequality, it is labour distribution. This type of behaviour is usually exhibited by older generations male, even female, or from societies that have not caught up with modernity. My empirical knowledge has proven to me that the first group poses a real serious threat to gender equality. The second group sets obstacles but there are ways to overcome them. Still, life is not black and white, so there are many elements cruising in the in between space.
of a number of cases that have allowed me to create a sort of a database of male behaviour patterns. Still though every person is unique so there have always been cases without precedent that my perceptual and behavioural tools have not been adequate. This is part of the continuous process of learning in life.

The second advantage was my profound knowledge of the processes and procedures involved in working for a local authority. I had spent five years working for one as mentioned above. An interesting part of working for local authorities is the direct contact with elected councillors, which provides more than a glimpse to backstage networks and dynamics. Having been exposed to politics and having dealt myself with issues related to landscape through planning, policy implementation and construction, when often the stakes were high, I could read behind the lines and understand more than were said by my participants.

There is another crucial fact: during fieldwork, I was an immigrant in Scotland for eighteen months. This had two aspects: First, I was not part of the ‘brain drain,’ migrating for a better life. My relocation to Scotland was based only on experiential, personal reasons. Although I left seventeen months after the beginning of the bailout programme, I had no personal effect. I had a permanent job and I had just been promoted, so coincidentally I had not felt the impact of the salary cuts in the public sector. 58 This is the second aspect: I had no personal experience of the situation. I would hear about it from family, friends and the media and I would witness it during my visits, but my own livelihood had not been impacted.

My circumstances were a double benefit for the study. On one hand I had knowledge of the Greek reality before the crisis as a professional, 59 so I had the advantage compared to foreign observers of filtering the information through the lenses of my previous knowledge, getting a deeper insight. On the other hand, I was able to undertake the role of the outsider observer because there was no emotional element that would exist if my life were in the crisis context.

At this point I need to clarify my relationship with Naxos. I mentioned earlier my professional interaction with the farmers in various Cycladic islands, Naxos being one of them. The nature

58 Just to clarify, the corresponding salaries of both my positions were severely decreased, however, I still got a raise with the promotion, which was just less than it would have been had there not be cuts.
59 I am pointing this out, because having met Greek students in Scotland who came here without having any working experience or financial independence in Greece before they moved, I realised that their perception of Greek reality pre-crisis was more based on how they believed it was, rather than knowing through personal practical experience and there was a significant deviation between these two. That was not the case with former professionals like me with whom we shared similar perspectives.
of the work and the limited time spent then, did not allow any professional let alone personal relationship to develop with any of the farmers I interacted. This means that there was no connection of any kind relating me to my research participants. There was though one string of attachment that was intimately personal: I was completely allured by the island and I have no rational reason for this. Did this make me prejudiced? No. It only nourished my curiosity to find out as much as possible about that landscape.

Reflexivity is a process of “reflecting critically on the self as researcher” but it also involves reflecting on the researcher–participants interaction: “who we become to them in the process of becoming to ourselves” (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011, 124, original emphasis). The latter refers to the role of the researcher in the field which Harré and Lagenhove called a ‘static concept’ and adopted its ‘dynamic alternative,’ the concept of ‘positioning’ (1991, 393). 60 I have discussed thus far through my self-reflection, my position in the setting from my perspective, as the researcher. I will move forward to who I was ‘perceived to be’ by the researched, as it inescapably influenced the data I was ‘allowed to collect’ (Madge 1992, 295).

Positionality

What do you want to learn from us? We are a bunch of ignorant farmers - you know more than we do.

Hercules

I spent a lot of ink on self-reflecting my position within my research context. I was not alone there though; many others were involved. I did not just have to interact with, I had to get them involved in a project that was of high importance to me, but most likely meant nothing to them. Being a researcher in the field is a unique situation one can find themselves. I had done various jobs before this project but nothing comparable. The powers at play do not fall under any common category of professional dynamics, at least compared to the ones I had been exposed to before.

From the beginning of my fieldwork, I became aware of the position I did not have; I was not my participants boss or person in charge as I was in the construction sites of projects I had

60 Haraway defined ‘positioning’ as “key practice grounding knowledge” which “implies responsibility for our enabling practices” (1991, 193). See her thorough analysis (Haraway 1991, chap.9). Rose also elaborated on the positioning in relation to reflexivity, as already mentioned earlier (1997).
supervised in public works. There was one unique feature related to my positionality and that was the fusion of personal and professional life that my fieldwork comprised. What I mean is that the project was mine and I was in charge of it beyond the boundaries of the field, having also perceived my informants as my ‘colleagues’ at work. This perception, though, could not have been more unilateral. On their side, I was a visitor, someone who asked them for help, and they had the kindness to accommodate me. What for me was my job, for them was a chore they would do for a friend as a favour. I had positioned myself as professional, but they had positioned me as a new friend, which was personal. I had to accept it and adopt my research around it.

My basic features that defined my position were being female, well-educated, from abroad, still Greek but coming ‘from up there’ and white. I need to correct the last one: too white. Greeks in general have a dark complexion, which is not my case, as I am almost at the northern-European levels of fairness. Nobody would think that there is a notion of being ‘too white’, but there is in Greece and I did not come across it for the first time in the field. Being ‘too white’ was an influence on my research: it was summer, and we were under the sun all day, I had to take precautions against sunburn. In the eyes of my informants, it made me look fragile, even hypochondriac, ‘an aristocrat, a lady’ as one told me. Being a young female was also a part of that impression.

My positionality as a non-local was also vital because it rendered me in the neutral zone of the local affairs. It exempted me from any prejudice or support of specific groups of interests, as I knew no one. I found myself being a person of trust by everyone and this was a heavy responsibility to carry. On one hand, people would confide in me, giving me a better insight on previous discussions or circumstances I had observed, but on the other hand, I found myself in uncomfortable situations where I knew more than I should and, on the principle of confidentiality, I could not interfere.

Being educated is respectable by default in Greece, so my education was translated as social status by the informants and, depending on the group, it either rendered me in power in relation to them or set me at the same level. It also positioned me as privileged: a single, well-educated woman, doing research for her studies by herself, she had to come from an affluent background. I was also perceived as the expert that was there to give them answers

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61 An expression of the vernacular used in South Greece to refer to North Greece.
62 Details on these issues are under the remit of ethics in Chapter 5.
to their issues and solve their problems. That was a scary positioning and I had to be extra cautious with my behaviour.

A common disposition from everyone without a single exception, even people who did not participate in my research, was a sort of gratefulfulness and pride: grateful that I, a stranger coming from a famous university for research, had chosen their island; and proud that their island would be heard abroad not only in a tourist context but also academic. Bringing their island into prominence had apparently even the Naxian crickets applauding me:

*Orpheus.* So, you have no relation, no family ties with Naxos?

*Me.* None, nothing.

*Odysseus.* This is the applause, the crickets.

My positioning as described was what enabled and secured my access to the setting at the beginning of my fieldwork. It evolved with time, as did my relationship with the participants and it faded. Masks fell and ‘staged performances’ were eventually overtaken by the habitual behaviours. That specific evolution of my positionality gave a completely different course to my research. I had contradictory sets of data from the early and later period of my fieldwork coming from the same people. That added another parameter in my analysis and made the process of my fieldwork itself as important a topic of this project as the research aim.

I am going to add one more of my positions by the local community, which I heard close to my departure. It was not only the number of people that told me; it was also that they were unrelated to each other, which meant that the information was most likely accurate. I had expectedly become the object of ‘inventive stories’ (Ellis 1995, 77), circulating during my stay. According to the rumour, I was an affluent, young woman who had no need to work and was keeping herself occupied by travelling around and having fun. I was not conducting any research; that was my excuse to meet men for entertainment. In all honesty, I laughed when I first heard it, I began getting agitated every time it was repeated, and I eventually got over it. Even if that was people’s motive to participate in my research, I decided I had to accept it.

There were specific challenges that arose in the field during my research related to my positionality, which I am discussing in detail in Chapter 7. Up to this point I have been outspoken about my views and beliefs of this thesis’ academic concepts, my self-reflection as an aspiring researcher and my position in the fieldwork, as perceived and expressed from the participants’ perspective. The aim of this candour is to provide a complete and accurate picture of my project’s development process. All the information I shared so far consisted
the axis of this project from its conceptualisation as an idea to its realisation and completion. Every thought, perspective, decision, action, reaction, relation were determined by my idiosyncrasies, ‘the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes’ of my own life (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011, 124) and my positionality in the eyes of my participants. I have been very detailed and even too personal, but I am allied with England (1994, 85, original emphasis):

The researcher cannot conveniently tuck away the personal behind the professional, because fieldwork is personal.

-5. My Contribution

I am wiser than this man; for neither of us really knows anything fine and good, but this man thinks he knows something when he does not, whereas I, as I do not know anything, do not think I do either. I seem, then, in just this little thing to be wiser than this man at any rate, that what I do not know I do not think I know either.

Socrates, Plat.Apol.21.d

What knowledge did I acquire by this journey that can be significant to others? I can only be sure of what I think I did, hoping that I am not in the position of that man in Socrates’ apology.

The main reason I undertook this project in the first place was the chance to purposely witness a historic time of change in real time; not a landscape change per se but a more holistic social change. The transformation of the material landscape can be easily detected: aerial photos, orthophotomaps, maps, pictures, environmental and aesthetic indicators, there is an abundance of technical means and time series of data at our disposal nowadays that allow us to see and measure accurately the tangible changes in landscape. The same does not apply as easily to the intangible aspect though. How can we find out the meaning a landscape had to people years ago unless there was a study on the topic conducted at that specific time?

It was the capturing of people’s momentum during crisis that I wanted to achieve, and I firmly believe that it is significant even if only seen as serving historical purposes. In an exaggerated

63 “πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ὄνων ἔλογιζόμην ὃτι τοῦτο μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγὼ σοφῶτερός εἰμι: κινδυνεύει μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος οὐδὲν καλὸν κάγαθον εἰδέναι, ἀλλ’ οὗτος μὲν οἴσεται τι εἰδέναι οὐκ εἰδώς, ἐγὼ δὲ, ὡσπερ οὖν οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ ὀίμαι: ἔοικα γοῦν τοῦτο γε σμικρῷ τινι αὐτῷ τοῦτο σοφῶτερος εἰναι, ὃτι ἀ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ ὀίμαι εἰδέναι” (H. Fowler 1917, 83).
metaphor I would like my work to be perceived in a similar way that photos of historic events are: a depiction of a moment that is gone and although people still remember it and can describe it, the existence of a picture clears the fog that usually covers our memories. I noticed this specific phenomenon when I returned to Naxos four years after my fieldwork and having already analysed my data and highlighting themes and narratives. People had assimilated their own stories through their own conceptual apparatuses, so the same stories were remembered and narrated with the hindsight knowledge that did not exist four years earlier. My follow-up visit offered a chronological depth and temporal dimension to my research that I have not been able to discover during my literature review, at least not related to current events. As expected, in archaeology and history studies this is a usual approach; however, as such researches refer to historic past events, the data regarding the first instant are not experienced by the researcher but mostly gathered through archival methods. As for the adequacy of a four-year period to identify changes and trends, in a world moving light years forward during the last few decades, significant changes occur in the blink of an eye.

A second aspiration I had with this project was an attempt to move away from the impersonal, abstract third person discourse I noticed in academic writings. I mentioned already in the second section of this chapter that we, humans, have built our world with our own hands and then conceded it to these superstructures that apparently, we have no control over. The outcome is statements in passive voice such are “landscapes are put under pressure by unplanned development” or “the rural is being transformed by new demands and uses.” I have the strong belief that if we really want to have even the hope of making a difference, we need to change our wording. We put pressure on landscapes with our unplanned development; we transform the rural with our new demands and uses. Action is not to be taken, but we need to take action according to the path we want to take our world towards. There is a crucial decision we need to make and that is if in reality we do want superstructures above us, because they are a convenient culprit for all our misdeeds: the state, the corporations, the industrialisation, the modernisation, the capitalism, the neoliberalism; I could keep adding to the list of institutions that we treat like they have existence of their own, independent of human interference.

I have tried to achieve exactly that change of wording by telling the stories of Naxiótes. As I noted earlier, we have constructed a world of inequalities and power relations and we tend to forget that it is still us, humans that enact them in our everyday life. Being on the side of the non-privileged and powerless makes it harder to resist and easier to give in to the control
of the superstructures; still humanity has exhibited extraordinary ingenuity throughout its history. I myself had a few struggles keeping up with my own decision and I might have found myself slipping into abstractions occasionally; I would like to perceive this as my learning process through my first academic attempt. If the little pebble that I am throwing in the academic lake could cause even a short ripple, then I would consider my journey fruitful.

My last but not least point was not an initial intention I had for my research; it was actually a perceived weakness turned into a positive attribute, which I believe is contributory to landscape studies. I am referring to my lack of disciplinary background with strings attached to my research. I cannot comment on Forestry studies elsewhere in the world, but the curriculum of my school in Greece had no subjects relevant to any of the fields I am traversing with my project. The reality of me not standing on a firm disciplinary pedestal was translated into my greatest fear during my whole journey: that my approach to research was not ‘academic’ enough. What exactly did I mean by this phrase? Ingold has articulated much better than I would ever do, by calling it ‘the protocols of normal science’ which require “in the name of objectivity, that we sever all personal relations with the things we study, and remain unmoved and unperturbed by their condition” (2018, 69) and by driving “a wedge between our ways of knowing about the world and our ways of being in it” they set the principle that “we can no longer exist in the world we seek to know” (61).

My lifelong disposition has been that objectivity is a chimaera, unattainable even when strict statistics and scientific equations are used: 64 there are as many truths as people because our world is not black and white, but kaleidoscopic. In my effort to be both academically professional and loyal to my principles, I adopted social constructionism and a qualitative-only approach in my academic endeavour; still however I could not make the no-disciplinary ghost vanish. It was Ingold’s thesis on research and education that eliminated it, published five years after my fieldwork, while I was writing my thesis. As per his argument (2018, 71):

> it is a great mistake to confuse the pursuit of truth with the pursuit of objectivity. For if the latter prescribes that we cut all ties with the world, the former demands our full and unqualified participation,

concluding that research is (72, original emphasis):

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64 The chemistry teacher in high school could not stop repeating that the chemical reactions as taught were based on the presumption of optimum conditions; the same with the physics teachers about the presumptions of classic physics, which although still in educational curriculums it has been deemed obsolete since the early twentieth century.
the pursuit of truth through the practices of curiosity and care

and

about trying to get things right: empirically, intellectually, ethically, or aesthetically.

Does research have to be confined in specific field compartments or at best trying to build bridges with the adjacent ones in order to correspond to Ingold’s description? No, because his approach to disciplinarity is ‘paradoxically, anti-disciplinary’ (2018, 76): perceived not “as a continent divided into territories or fields of study but as a tangled mesh of ongoing pathways or lines of interest” (74, emphasis added).

Reflecting back to my venture, I realised that from its conception, my stimulus and driver were ‘curiosity and care’ and my urge was to ‘get things right.’ Not being in a discipline cubicle meant that the ‘territorialisation of knowledge’ was already undone, and even more significantly I was not carrying any disciplinary baggage. Every approach, concept, idea, argument from any discipline had the exact value for me and I looked at them through the simple lenses of curiosity. I was not an academic outsider, but I was no field’s academic soldier either. To go back to Ingold’s view on research (2018, 72), the search of truth:

will not deliver final answers, nor is that its purpose. It is rather to suspend all prejudice or presupposition, to turn all certainty into questioning. You think you already know the answer? Assuredly you do not.

My fear about my research has become my aspiration about its purpose: question and challenge and ‘rock the academic boat’ as a curious wanderer and wonderer.

Our journey is about to begin, and before we get in the open sea, I will take you through the synopsis of the conceptual ‘compass’, as built up in this Introduction, which we are going to need for our navigation during our journey. I will also lay out the itinerary of our route and prepare you for what you are going to experience.
Upon Departure: Checklist

We could not sail off to our journey without making sure we are taking with us all the required conceptual ‘gear’ necessary for our navigation, which we have been gathering while discussing the correlation between landscape and crisis. So, I am about to take you through a checklist in order to ensure that we are ‘shipshape’.

The primary apparatus is the meaning of the concept landscape as perceived for the purpose of my research. It has been a historically complex term to be determined by academia having launched an abundance of ongoing discourses within and across various fields; a somewhat common ground was offered by the definition set by the ELC. In my project I have opted for Bell’s definition of landscape as the ‘human habitat’ (See p14). This landscape is a socially produced space which has become a commodity in capitalist societies, masking at the same time its productive forces; even more so in the current times where labour is invisible, and production occurs by magic.

Having defined the landscape concept and being aware of its concealing agency might be crucial for our navigation, but just that is not enough. An inextricable part is the awareness that landscape might be defined differently by non-academics — especially the research participants — and that the duplicity of the landscape varies among different groups of people according to their relation to the labour of its production.

The second apparatus is the dynamic reciprocal process between society and space that produces the landscape, where both social and spatial change are both drivers and responses (Diagram 0.1, p22). For the sake of my project, I introduced the concept of rupture to define the idea of abrupt change — thus crisis. Crisis has a negative connotation, whereas rupture represents a breakage in continuity irrespective of the outcome.

Third is the dismissal of the idea of an abstract superstructure, superimposing occurrences on humans, victimising them and eliminating their responsibility. Anthropos is both the conscious emitter and transmitter of energies. For this reason, the third person is abolished throughout the thesis, unless necessary.

Our next checkpoint is the research question framework, hence our destination. Although it could be argued that this should be first and utmost, I would counterargue that the research question was a product of the above three ideas, and therefore it could not have existed before them; there is no destination without a starting point. Where are we heading to then?
I am trying to explore the processes occurring within the circular interrelation of the three elements ‘landscape perception’ – ‘materiality of landscape’ – ‘spatial practice’ (Diagram 0.2) as all three are employed within the context of the social rupture, the Greek economic crisis, on the Greek island of Naxos, where rural and tourist landscapes coexist dynamically — not always harmonically, though. The reason for my focus on those landscapes was their baptism as saviours from the crisis.

The fact that I used ethnographic means for the purposes of my exploration, brings us to the next point in our checklist: my credentials as the captain of this boat. I have elaborated extensively on both concepts of reflexivity and positionality, exposing any relevant to my research aspect of me: my gender, my roots, my upbringing, my status as a Greek and an immigrant and my relation to the island of Naxos.

The last but not least point is the reason behind this journey. What do I want to accomplish? My main goal is not actually the research outcome per se; it is the promotion of critical thinking. Throughout the whole Introduction I approached critically every single piece of academic writing I have read, every thesis expressed even by front runners of the relevant to landscape fields. This is nor lack of respect neither an act of self-importance. My own thoughts are triggered and shaped through the elaboration of already existing ideas. However, my life stance is that there can be no progress without challenge and if we were to accept dogmatically every already established idea, then the concept of academia itself would be pointless. Critical thinking is not restricted only in the Introduction; it is going to be an important tool throughout our venture in all our stops.

Within the framework of critical thinking were also my other objectives. One was the rejection of the impersonal, abstract writing in third person with the use of passive voice which completely strips humans of any control. Another was the removal of disciplinary boundaries; with my lack of attachment to academia or landscape disciplines, my research hopefully embodied Ingold’s idea of ‘anti-disciplinarity’. An additional important aim was the challenge of objectivity, which I already called a chimaera — we are going to elaborate further on this while charting the methods map (Chapter 4).

Having checked all the necessary equipment for our sail, let me brief you now on our itinerary.
The Route

What created humanity is narrative, it is not at all recitation. 65

Pierre Janet (1928, 261)

Janet’s words were the inspiration behind my choice for the presentation of my project. I aspired to tell a story; a weaved narrative, the amalgamation of different stories of people who reside in the same place, the Greek island of Naxos, the way I experienced them as both an ‘outsider observer’ being “neither fully outside [. . .] the community not fully part of it” (Forbes 2007, 8). As I have repeatedly mentioned, it was a journey I took with the Naxiótes and now I am sharing it with you, so please allow me to navigate you through the itinerary we are about to take.

This thesis represents the logbook of my voyage, like the ones kept by sailors during their circumnavigations. It is the ‘skipper’s diary’, beginning with the journeys’ preparation and embarkment from the port of departure, my aporia, sailing across seas and lands before its finish back to the same port only —hopefully— wiser. My itinerary is comprised of four stages, four legs and thirteen ‘ports of call’: port of departure (Introduction), eleven stopovers (Chapters), and the finish line (Conclusion). At the end of each stopover and before departing for the next one, there are ‘pauses’ for reflection. They can be described as the synopsis, the extract of the distillation of the knowledge acquired at each port and the souvenir taken from each one along the journey. The exception is the third leg, the interpretation.

We have already been through the preliminary stage where I have provided auxiliary tools that will become useful during our navigations.

At this point we are at the first stage which consists of three legs. First leg is the Passage Plan; a description of the route to be followed. It includes the port of departure (our current location), where I have set the general research background, the connection between landscape and crisis, focusing on the Greek crisis. I unfolded my thesis topic with the question framework I have embarked to answer, my credentials as the skipper for this journey, and what my venture aimed to contribute to the academic discourse.

65 “Ce qui a créé l’humanité, c’est la narration, ce n’est pas du tout la recitation.”
The next port of call is the concept of the Greek landscape. I am going to cruise you through the Greek word, its history and meaning, the invention of the modern Greek landscape and its historic role in the construction of the Greek national identity. I will also give you a brief overview of landscape within the Greek academic and administrative realms. Subsequently, I will elaborate on the Greek landscape armada, the rural and the island: general and specific concepts and their construction within the Greek reality. We will then move to the stopover representing the context of the Greek crisis. I am providing a double contextualisation: a context of the making of the Greek society historically within which I elaborate on the context of the making of the crisis, aiming to provide a deeper insight on the social hows and whys of the crisis. Within this context I will explore Greek agriculture and tourism as the two flagships of the national economy that have been loaded with the burden of the country’s survival and I am also extending my discussion to the collateral phenomena of counterurbanisation and brain drain.

I am concluding the first leg laying down the theoretical platform on which my project stood. Under the epistemological aegis of social constructionism, I am unfolding my understanding of landscape as socially produced using as compass the spatial triad set by Lefebvre in his treatise on the production of space (1991): perceived, conceived and lived which correspond to (society’s) spatial practice, (experts’) representations of space and (users’) representational spaces. In my attempt to offer a holistic notion of landscape I am also elaborating on space, place, and landscape and how they coalesced within my research. Lastly, I am describing the two theoretical apparatuses that I used to explore the perceptions and practices of the Naxiótes within the set context: Moscovici’s theory of social representations (1963) assisted by Vaisey’s dual process model of culture in action (2009).

We will then enter the second leg of our journey, the Methodology, with stop number four the process of charting the method map: how and why I chose the qualitative approach adding some relevant scepticism and the process of selecting the island of Naxos. The fifth stop is a detailed description of the island, its land and landscape, its people, and its products; and the sixth the ethnography as methodology and the deployed methods of participant observation and interviews. It also includes my action in the field in 2013 from my arrival and gaining access to the sampling of participants in the three research groups of stakeholders: those in agriculture, in tourism and in administrative authorities. Following, there is a discussion on research ethics and a detailed elaboration on the challenges I faced being in
the field. The finishing part of the leg which is also the last of Stage One is an overview of the collected data and their analysis.

Stage Two is post-fieldwork: the unravelling of the interpretations of the analysed data and it has two legs, the third and the fourth. The third one includes four stopovers: chapter 7 is a general account of the reflections the Naxiótes had on the crisis and their island. Each of the next three chapters-ports represents one of the three groups of social representations that the analysis unveiled: port number eight is the Landscapes of Attachment including *topophilia*, connection to the land and local identity, number nine is Landscapes of Production consisting of self-sufficiency, entrepreneurship and short-termism and number ten and last of the leg is Landscapes of relations with kinship, collectivity and conflict. All four chapters in this leg are focusing on the specific social representations, that I identified as informative to the Naxiótes’ perception of their landscape, their forced transformation by the crisis and their translation into practice with the assistance of Vaisey’s heuristic. We will complete our circumnavigation with the fourth and last leg where, by arriving at the final port, we gather and consolidate the findings and close with the conclusions. There is also the Supplementary Stage with the References and the Appendices.

There a few more notes to go through before we embark. Although, I am born and raised Greek, I am referring to the Greeks and the country in third person: talking in third person was a safety mechanism that restricted me from appropriating the narrative as mine. I share the same cultural background with my research groups, and I experienced the stories with them so I cannot be detached from the narrative; still though the third person puts the spotlight on the people that are my focus. The use of the third person in my references to the country and its people is juxtaposed to my use of the first person in the rest of my thesis. I already mentioned I have no predilection over abstract and impersonal discourses, and this thesis represents my personal stance: the use of first person is my claim of ownership and responsibility over the views I am expressing.

Throughout my thesis I follow the general rule of the past tense use. Especially when presenting my fieldwork results and the people, I am using past tense, forgoing the literary device of the ‘ethnographic present’ (Sanjek 1991). Brewer recommended writing in the past, because it avoids masking ‘the account as representation’ (2005, 135), a view shared by Forbes who refused to ‘trap’ his host community in a ‘conventional eternal present’, since change occurs constantly, and related the usage of past tense to reflexivity (Forbes 2007,
In a more playful note, Wolcott described writing in past tense as ‘awkward at first’, but he advised that “in the end you will be glad not to have left everyone doing what they were doing when you last saw them” (Wolcott 2008, 262). I applied the same principle to citations and references of literature review, on the premise that academics are also people: using present tense for their arguments would seem like I am depriving them from their right to reconsider and change their views. The fact that they argued something some years ago should not have them chained eternally to the same position.

The final note is an observation that you are going to make as a striking feature of my thesis. It is abundant in quotations of every kind and this has been absolutely deliberate. I had two reason for this practice: the first was that I could never transfer the exact concept of someone’s words if I were to change the wording, even more having to do so in my secondary language. I have come across writings which I cross-referenced and to my surprise my understanding of the original quote was different to my understanding of its re-wording. The second reason is about the quotations as an introduction to each section: they represented the gist of each section and chapters, the central idea around which the discussion has orbited. They are both an introduction and a summary at the same time.

My wish and hope is to live up to Ingold’s words (1993, 153):

> We should resist the temptation to assume that since stories are stories they are, in some sense, unreal or untrue, for this is to suppose that the only real reality, or true truth, is one in which we, as living, experiencing beings, can have no part at all. Telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to cover up the world, it is rather a way of guiding the attention of listeners or readers into it. A person who can ‘tell’ is one who is perceptually attuned to picking up information in the environment that others, less skilled in the tasks of perception, might miss, and the teller, in rendering his knowledge explicit, conducts the attention of his audience along the same paths as his own.

I am not going to delay our embarkment any further, so . . . shall we?
Introduction: The ‘Landscape–Crisis’ Correlation
Chapter 1. Concept: The [Greek] Landscape

Then he said and the sea was born
And I looked and marvelled

And in its centre he sowed small worlds
of my image and likeness:

Horses of stone with manes erect
and tranquil amphorae
and slanting backs of dolphins
Ios Sikinos Serifos Milos

“Each word one swallow
to bring you the spring in the midst of
summer” he said

“And numerous the olive trees
to sift through their hands the light
and gentle may it spread over your sleep
and numerous the crickets
so that you don’t feel them
as you don’t feel the pulse at your hand
but scarce the water
so that you have it as God and hold the
meaning of its word

and the tree on its own
without a flock
so that you make it your friend
and be aware of its precious name

thin the soil under your feet
so you don’t have where to spread roots
and push in depth again and again

and broad above the sky
so that you read by yourself the
infinity”

THIS
the small world, the great!

Odysseas Elytis 1959
“The Axion Esti”: The Genesis, Third Hymn
1.1. Landscape in the Greek Language: Τοπίο — Topío

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less."
"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."
"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master — that's all."

Lewis Carroll, 1871 (Gardner 1987, chap.VI: 268–70)

Topío is a derivative of τόπος (tópos), which is defined as land, place, area and/or space. Similar to the signifier in Western European languages which encompasses the concept of land, topío also embeds the concept of tópos. The first known record of tópos is in Aeschylus’ tragedies, Persians I.790 (472 BCE), and Eumenides I.249 (458 BCE), and has been translated by Classic Greek scholars as earth/land. The lexicographers claimed that the Hellenistic tópion (small place) is topío’s etymological root (Triantafyllides 1998; Liddell and Scott 1849).

The landscape of the Greek classics was revived in Renaissance and it had a great influence through the Arcadian idyll to the genre of landscape painting. It is not to be assumed, however that those movements had an impact on Greek culture, which at the time had a folkloric character. Despite the fact that landscape had been present in Greek literature and painting (frescos) since Homer and Hesiod, the signifier was introduced during the Classic era and acquired the meaning of landscape later during the Roman times. Its evolution since and until the war of independence in 1821 has been, however, obscure.

In recent times, the Greek word did not have the luxury to be researched at the level the Germanic and Romance ones have, although its life spans more than two millennia (Box 1.1). Moraitis argued that originally topío meant the hedgerow ‘diligently trimmed’ that Ionians

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66 Tópos is used also as a term in various academic fields. Below are some examples:
- “A standard form of rhetorical argumentation or a variably expressible literary commonplace” (Hornblower, Spawforth and Eidinow 2014).
- In Cultural Studies it’s used for places ‘emblematic of particular movements’ (Buchanan 2010).

67 Texts with English translation (Sommerstein 2008a, 102; 2008b, 386).

68 Hellenistic means ‘Greek-like’ and refers to the fusion of the Hellenic with other cultures in the era between the death of Alexander the Great, 323BCE, and the conquest of Egypt by Rome in 30BCE.

69 The current Greek geographical domain dates at the end of World War II. In antiquity, that territory was fragmented in city–states and in the Common Era was under the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman empires. The latter lasted almost four hundred years (1452–1821 CE) and barely received any influence from the Renaissance or Enlightenment. The Greek nation-state of modern times was first established after the 1821 Independence War, when it got under the influence of the Western Culture.
were using in their garden; a cut hedge, which Pliny the Elder later referred to as *opus topiarium* (Moraitis 2015, 14; Liddell and Scott 1849, 1435).

Moraitis ascribed to *topeion* a dyadic signification: a material, through the physical spatial existence of the object, the shrubs, and a cultural, the application of the craft of pruning, a human activity, product of human culture, transforming the shrubs into a hedge; an outcome of the amalgamation of natural elements with cultural dynamics (2015, 14). Within his transcription the notion of a social product, that of territory, is also encapsulated. *Topeion* did not express only an aesthetic value, or human control over nature; it was also used to define the boundaries of property, a specific piece of land, belonging to a people (Kouzoupi 2017, 212; Moraitis 2015, 14). Therefore, Moraitis observed that the ancient signified could be considered partially equivalent to the current as “a process of manifold considerations, which is evolving within the framework of culture” (2015, 14).

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70 Pliny 4.8; 12.11; 15.39; 16.28; 16.31; 25.41; 35.37 (Rackham, Jones and Eichholz 1938–63). *Opus topiarium* in Roman times was “the crafted art of the landscape gardener” (Haan 2010, 63). In Pliny’s work in English is called ‘ornamental gardening’. The word *topia*, is also found in Vitruvius (5.6.9, 7.5.2) translated as *countryside / landscape* (Granger 1931, 288–89; 1934, 104–105; Morgan 1914, 150, 211).
Moraitis’ interpretation served as his preamble to a historic and semantic analysis of “topío (landscape) as the cultural impression of tópos (land)” (2015, 14) within the Western European realm since the Renaissance. However, in ancient scripts mentioning topío, Greek and/or Roman, its notion seems closer to the artistic one of the Renaissance than the current. Although his significant work filled a gap in Greek literature of landscape studies, any reference made to the Greek landscape is related to the influence of the Ancient Greek landscape—through Arcadia—as an expression of the Ancient Greek culture to the evolution of the European landscape concept (2015, 329–43). Even though Moraitis described the Greek geographical domain as a conglomerate of multiple distinct geomorphological and cultural landscapes and he did wonder of what could be defined as ‘Greek’ landscape and what characteristics could that be attributed as a whole, the question was deemed rhetorical with no further elaboration (2015, 337).

Although the word was absent, the notion of topio was present during the Byzantine and Ottoman era in Greek culture expressed as a worldview deeply influenced, almost dictated by the Orthodox religious and ecclesiastical concepts: a ‘bottom–up’ concept and construct impressed on the deeply religious ‘Greek mind and psyche’ (Moutzali 1990, 41–45; Papaioannou 2005, 15; Terkenli 2011, 128; Terkenli and Kavroudakis 2017, 6). It was post-revolutionary in the early nineteenth century, that the conceptualisation of landscape was reified and shaped through the Greek landscape painting braced by the almost simultaneous advent of the newborn photography.

It was the time the newly founded Hellenic state was trying to mould its national, cultural, and historical identity from two ideological materials, classicism, and orientalism (Jusdanis 1991, 78–82; Kefala 2007, 56–64; Terkenli 2011, 127; Terkenli and Kavroudakis 2017, 5). The resort to Classic Greece was not a domestic ‘strategy’ as it was an import by European philhellenes and Greeks of the diaspora. The emergent interest in classic antiquity since the Renaissance prompted European travellers to visit Greece in quest of ancient sanctuaries, which they represented with picturesque images of ancient ruins (Figure 1.1). Hence, the concept of the Greek landscape was fashioned by the Westerners’ representations of what constituted Hellenism. The arrival of cameras in those voyagers’ baggage after the nineteenth century and the popularisation of photography accelerated the spread of those images determining the landscape concept in modern Greece (Papaioannou 2005, 307–308).
The history of *topío* shares some similarities with Olwig’s work on *landschaft* and *landscape* (1996, 2002); although, it had not existed as a political concept, it entered the Greek realm as a picturesque scenery, as depicted in the *paesaggi*, a notion fortified during the twentieth century, and still dominant to this day: *topío* is synonymous to a beautiful view, usually of a panoramic scenery (Figure 1.2). Even in Greek academia, as we will see in the next section, the concept of *topío* is a westernised import through the EU framework in the last few decades. What I believed was crucial, hence, throughout this thesis was to be cautious regarding the alignment of *topío* to *landscape*, when referring to the vernacular. In everyday communication even nowadays, it seems that it is the artistic representation that defines the signified, as per J. Berger’s words (1972, 84):

> The tradition, however, still forms many of our cultural assumptions. It defines what we mean by pictorial likeness. Its norms still affect the way we see such subjects as landscape, women, food, dignitaries, mythology.
En route to our destination, I am going to discuss now the concept of the Greek landscape: its birth and evolution in the Greek vernacular, its academic guise and the two flagships of the Greek *armada*: the rural and the insular landscape.

![Figure 1.2. Panoramic view of Meteora in Thessaly, Central Greece (I) and Athens from Mount Lycabettus (II).](image)

An impromptu experiment was done with these pictures. I showed them both to a small group of Greeks (my family) asking "**Which picture would you describe as toπίο?**" with available answers: "I" – "II" – "Both" – "None". Their profiles and answers are shown below. All adults are University graduates with three of them in fields that the landscape concept is present.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forester</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>&quot;Topio is an image of nature or at least of rural.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicist</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>&quot;On second thought actually picture B is an ‘urban landscape’&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Engineer</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Software Developer</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>&quot;That’s not a landscape, that’s a city!&quot; (picture II)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Katerina Mitka

Concept: The [Greek] Landscape
1.2. The Greek Landscape in Modern Times

The prominent Greek poet \(^{71}\) traced the quintessence of the Greek landscape down to three ingredients of what he described as the uniqueness of Greece; the maritime physiognomy of the country, the land and sea complex. He mastered the literary representation of the Greek landscape, as defined above, not in the sense of a landscape painter, but as an imagery creator who freed his creativity from logic and replace it with emotions: \(^{72}\) “by removing the keystones that confine what we call landscape [. . .], I reconstruct the Greek landscape” (Elytis 1979). The apparatus he used was the Greek landscape by creating a “multi-prism world” permeated with light that consisted of the Aegean and the sun (Vistonitis 2010; Kefala 2007, 61). Elytis’ representation of the Greek landscape had a significant contribution to the invention of the stereotypical concept of the Greek landscape that is globally popularised.

Elytis along with other Greek intellectuals from various fields, belonged to ‘the Generation of the ‘30’, \(^{73}\) who undertook the task to redefine \textit{Greekness} (\varepsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\tau\iota\tau\iota \varepsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\tau\iota\tau\iota) in the early twentieth century. It was the time that the whole nation was going through turbulent times after the defeat in the Greco–Turkish War \(^{74}\) in 1922, an event experienced by the Greeks “as a national trauma of apocalyptic proportions” (Jusdanis 1991, 78). It was the painful end of the \textit{Great Idea} (\varepsilon\lambda\gamma\alpha\iota\varepsilon \iota\delta\iota) which led to the crash of

\(^{71}\) Odysseas Elytis was awarded the 1979 Nobel in Literature. He is celebrated in Greece as ‘the poet of light’ and ‘the poet of the Aegean.’

\(^{72}\) Elytis used surrealism as the medium of expression of the Greek landscape (Elytis 1979). For a brief overview of surrealism see \textit{The Oxford Dictionary of Arts and Artists} (Chilvers 2015).

\(^{73}\) The term refers to “a group of writers, poets, artists, intellectuals, critics and scholars who saw themselves as the inheritors of demoticism” (the vernacular Greek language); they promoted folk tradition as part of Greek culture’s continuity —and thus Greekness’ (Jusdanis 1991, 78, 80).

\(^{74}\) The war between Greece and Turkey during the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was fought between 1919 and 1922. In Greek history it is known as the Asia Minor Campaign or Catastrophe and in Turkish history is the Turkish War of Independence.
the national spirit, the crisis of Hellenism as national identity and its revaluation, and brought social, political, and economic upheaval (Jusdanis 1991, 78; Kefala 2007, 62).

I have just introduced three new concepts: Hellenism, the Great Idea, and Greekness; I am going to briefly explain their meanings, their importance, and their significant role in the invention of the Greek landscape in modern times.

Hellenism represented the ideology of a Greek national identity based on similarities and resemblances of the modern Greek culture to the ancient (Kefala 2007, 57). The Greek intellectuals of the nineteenth century tried to modernise the Greek society and strove to “draft the story of modern Greece in a spirit of European Hellenism and to incorporate it into the master narrative of the West,” with the omission of the Byzantium from the stories of Greece and the rejection of the continuity of the Greek culture (Jusdanis 1991, 13, 79, 170). They also had the vision of a national language tightly related to ancient Greek with ‘extremely archaic syntactical forms,’ called katharevousa (66). The Greek landscape had also to align with the ideological conventions of Hellenism; the ancient Greek roots served as the adhesive for the heterogeneous weak newborn Greek society, which endangered the survival and establishment of the aspirant nation–state (Stathatos 2013, 6–7). The Greek people of the nineteenth century were most likely oblivious to the bucolic vision of Arcadia, however, the emergence of ancient ruins at the time offered the optimum ground to the Greek elites: classicism and romanticism flourished through landscapes establishing the temporal unity of ancient and modern Greece (Papaioannou 2005, 39–51). The Western European travellers and explorers of the time, like Castellan (1808, 115), were also pioneers of that mythopoeia:

Landscape painters, hasten to this country, too: the sun there shines in all its splendour on a blue sky, stripped of those greyish fumes which often veil it in our climates, and give the objects a uniform hue. What memories will not be fused with the study of the landscape! Here a column, standing in the middle of the ruins, will retrace the existence of a temple once visited by a religious crowd. A few sections of walls will mark alone the enclosure of an ancient town, which has entered the dust with all its inhabitants.

75 Dimitris Tziovas has conducted thorough research on Hellenism and Greekness at the dawn of the twentieth century which are presented in his treatises:
• The Nationism of the Demoticists and Its Impact on their Literary Theory (1888–1930) (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1986)
• The Transformations of Nationism and the Ideology of Greekness in the Inter-War Period ([In Greek] Athens, Odysseas, 1989)
The Great Idea was the manifestation of Greek irredentism which was launched in the mid-nineteenth century by Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis (Kefala 2007, 56) and represented the ideological epitome of the Greek national identity quest: the vision of a restoration of a Byzantine empire with the liberation of the lost territories and the unification of all Greeks under one nation–state. Jusdanis described it as a “doctrine, a fusion of Byzantinism and romantic Hellenism” (1991, 78), which “resulted from the manifest difference between ethnicity and statehood” (115). The Great Idea demonstrated the ‘territorial integrity’ of the Greeks and crucially enabled the “experience of shared identity, particularly for Greeks outside the state” (78). The Great Idea might not have had its own assigned landscape per se, but its collapse played a crucial part in the ideological conception of landscape in the twentieth century.

Figure 1.3: A lithograph from 1920 depicting the map of the Great Hellas as resulted from the Treaty of Sèvres signed in 1920, which was never reified (Churchill 1929, 374). Hellas was represented as a woman in an ancient chiton holding an inscription of a famous quote by Prime Minister Charilaos Trikoupis (1875–1895) “Hellas is destined to live and shall live.” At the top left corner is the then Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos.


76 According to Jusdanis the Greek elites did not share the desire for an empire resurrection as imagined by the Great Idea; instead, they envisioned “a strong centralised state connected to the capitalist world economy” (1991, 22). They did not manage however to eliminate the fantasy until it was crashed by the course of history.
The fantasy had a bitter end. The historic events are beyond the scope of my project, but some details that follow next I believe are useful for the understanding of Greekness, national identity and landscape. The defeat in 1922 was a ‘Greek tragedy’ themed “how Greece gained the Empire of her dreams in spite of herself and threw it away when she awoke” (Churchill 1929, 379). The partitioning of the Ottoman Empire by the Allies after the Great War had offered Greece the closest to the Great Hellas ever imagined (Figure 1.3). The chaotic state of the Greek politics of the time were conducive to the continuation of the war which resulted to the Asia Minor Catastrophe, the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne, and the agreement between the two countries to exchange populations in 1923; the Greek state accepted and had to absorb an estimate of over 1,300,000 refugees. Their arrival and their settlement in the country defined the Greek society and landscape of the future (Figure 1.4).

The rupture of 1922 marked the beginning of a new epoch for Greece in all aspects including spatially. The Treaty of Lausanne crystallised the collapse of the Great Idea with the definitive loss of the ‘lost territories’ and consolidated the Greek borders as they are today, —except the Dodecanese (Figure 1.5). The national narrative of Hellenism and its romanticised landscape that had been nourishing the Greek national identity until then, could not hold its underpinning; it was then that Greekness ideologeme entered the picture (Kefala 2007, 57).

Jusdanis (1991, 79) described Greekness as the ‘indispensable tool’ of the ‘liberal bourgeois elements’ to “maintain their authority over culture” in the name of “their mission for a national homogeneity,” which was in jeopardy by the dissolution of the Great Idea. The difference of Greekness to Hellenism was that the former “looked for spatiotemporal and cultural continuity” (Kefala 2007, 57) as “a synthesising agent that amalgamated the unique features of Greek culture” (Jusdanis 1991, 79).

The concept of Greekness and what it constitutes even to this day has been a riddle for theorists, sociologists, historians, and any other relevant researcher. At this juncture though, my interest is in landscape as the principal player in the construction of Greekness by the

77 The estimated number refers to the total number of the refugees including the ones arrived in the catastrophe’s aftermath and the 1,221,489 Greeks transferred under the exchange population agreement. The population transferred to Turkey was 355,000 (Motta 2013, 365).

78 According to the same author, Greekness had ‘reconciliatory capacities’ for a Greek society striving to find its identity whilst at the same time was overwhelmed with a European modernity; the latter being experienced by Greeks as belatedness compared to the Europeans and inferiority in respect to Classic Greece (1991, 67, 80). “Greekness promised a perfect union of otherwise self-eroding antinomies,” reconciling: “East and West; local and cosmopolitan; religious and secular; traditional and modern; state and nation; Romeic and Hellenic” (Jusdanis 1991, 80).
Figure 1.4. A map from the Ministry of agriculture in 1936, depicting the agricultural land distributed to the refugees during the 1920s and 1930s. The red colour represents counted and distributed land and the yellow counted but not distributed. The green are uncultivated areas. Source: Digital Educational Platform — Interactive School Books at http://ebooks.edu.gr/modules/ebook/show.php/DSGL-C102/79/647,2402/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Peloponnese, Central Greece, Cyclades</td>
<td>The newly founded state of Greece as per the London Protocol of February 3, 1830. Cyclades were occupied by the Venetians between 1204–1540 when they were conquered by the Ottomans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Ionian Islands</td>
<td>A British protectorate between 1815–1864 when they were gifted to Greece with King’s George I enthronement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Thessaly</td>
<td>Union with Greece (along with the southern part of Epirus) by the Convention of Constantinople in 1881.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Macedonia, Epirus, North Aegean Islands, Crete</td>
<td>Territories gained by Greece during the Balkan Wars and ratified with the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913. Crete belonged to the Venetians between 1211–1669 when the Ottomans conquered the island, until 1913.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Western Thrace</td>
<td>United with Greece by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Dodecanese</td>
<td>Under the Ottomans from 1522 to 1911 and then the Italians until 1947 when they were given to Greece with the Peace Treaty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1.5. Map of the Greek Regions and timeline of their annex since the Greek State’s foundation.*
Generation of Thirties. I am referring mostly to Elytis’s contribution, not because it is more important than the others’, as the whole generation’s influence is still visible in the current concept of the Greek landscape; Elytis’ impress though is seemingly still active to this day by his popularity among even newer generations. 79

Elytis, with the reconstruction of the Greek landscape, “gave a geoclimatic dimension to the term Greekness” (Kefala 2007, 60). For him and other intellectuals of his time, Greekness was interwoven with the country’s geographic and climatic elements which were actively participating in the production of the national culture. The Aegean Sea between East and West produced “‘models of civilisation different’ from those it borrowed” by blending material from both and giving forth “a third world, whose ‘originary’ power and truth rivalled the other two” (Jusdanis 1991, 79). 80 The connection of Greek identity and culture to the geophysical elements was also salient in Freeman’s comment (1903, 11) that

neither the Greeks in any other country nor any other people in Greece could have been what the Greeks in Greece really were.

Greekness, Greek identity and Greek culture thus, were constructed with the “mythology of light and the Aegean Archipelago” during the interwar years (Jusdanis 1991, 81; Kefala 2007, 61). As revealed by Elytis’ verses at the onset of this chapter and section, the Greek identity was defined by the sea and the sun. The conceptualisation of the Greekness through the landscape-seascape synthesis emanated in the thirties was interrupted during the World War II and the Civil War, 81 and resumed its evolution in the fifties with the advent of mass tourism and the international promotion of Greek cultural products such as Zorba the Greek — the book, the movie, the music, the character, the landscape (Stathatos 2013, 19).

The solidification of the stereotypes of both Greek landscape and identity was ratified with the industrialised tourism and the intense advertising in the last decades of the twentieth century. Greece was depicted by an artificial representation of a rocky and barren country with eternal sunshine, hot weather, bright blue sea, sandy beaches, white houses with blue

79 I understand that this argument might seem arbitrary; it is based on empirical experience, through exploration of social media, the online presence of his work, along with personal interactions with my contemporaries and younger generations, that were not even born when the poet died in 1996.
80 Based on Elytis’ Anichtá Chartiá (Open Papers) ([In Greek], Athens: Asterias, 1974).
81 The Greek Civil War (1946–49) was fought after the liberation from the Germans, between the army of the Greek government and the left-wing EAM (National Liberation Front), which was controlled by the Greek Communist Party. The latter’s military branch, ELAS (Greek People’s Liberation Army) was one of the prominent resistance groups during the German Occupation. It was effectively a fight between the right and left wing over power with the interference of foreign countries.
doors and roofs and tanned jolly people who love food and drink ouzo all the time. This last description is based on a passage by Statathos (2013, 19), embellished with my exposure to such stereotypes since I migrated abroad. I am frequently being questioned by non-Greeks about my decision to exchange the Greek for the Scottish weather. I had been oblivious to the fact that there is a representation of Greece as a tropical place where it is never cold.

I am ecstatic about the bare mountains, the dust, the rocks, the blazing sun. [. . .] I like Greece precisely because it is Greece and not France. What I like about Greece is its Greekness. [. . .] What is good about Greece is that it is illogical, paradoxical, a contradiction from one end to another. But Greece is never ‘pale’, never ‘gloomy’ (Miller 1973, 27).

The famous writer’s description does not represent the Greece of many Greeks and mine neither. It is true that the geomorphology of the mainland creates such a proximity to the sea that there is no place in the country further than 50 miles from the coast; in a straight line though. The geography of “both peninsular and insular Greece is that of extreme fragmentation and dispersion” and the plethora of mountains creates “many small and naturally land-locked geographical units” (Spiridonakis 1977, 38), making areas in the mainland quite remote. Although many areas have a seeming proximity to the coastline, the topography does not facilitate access to the sea. Consequently, the local natural and cultural conditions of many areas do not have maritime influences.

The mountain ridges dispersed across the whole country deem it around 70% mountainous with more than 50 peaks above 2,000m and this spatial fragmentation has been historically translated into cultural too due to communication difficulties. “As an obstacle and as a barrier,” Spiridonakis wrote, “the terrain has played an important role in the promotion of provincial-mindedness, in the growth of a rabid individualism, in the consolidation of local loyalties and a spirit of independence, all tending to promote political disunity” (1977, 40). Remarkably, this plurality did not intercept the unification of the Greeks under a fabricated national identity creating what Jusdanis called “one of the most culturally homogeneous states in Europe” (1991, 81).

The identification of the majority of Greeks with the stereotypical Greek landscape seems a paradox, considering the material and cultural diversity of the country, which prompted

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82 The list of all the Greek mountains with an interactive map that shows their locations can be found at http://www.pezoporia.gr/pez/vouna.asp. The list is based on the book The Mountains of Greece in three volumes by N.Nezis, published in 2010 by the Hellenic Federation of Mountaineering & Climbing.
Kitromilides to wonder “how areas as different as their historical experience and political
development as the Ionian Islands and the islands of the eastern Aegean or Western Thrace
and Crete, came to look so much alike once integrated into the Greek state” (quoted in
Jusdanis 1991, 81). That is exactly what the ideology of national identity does: like any other
ideology it naturalises social conventions and makes people equate ‘the identification with
the homeland’ with “an expression of their own inner being” (1991, 82). I have to admit
though that I tend to agree with Stathatos who noted that all nations create consciously
artificial cultural representations as part of their foreign branding; the distinct difference in
the Greek case is that the distorted image of the country is exported but simultaneously
consumed internally as part of the Greek identity (2013, 19). 84

The discussions on the concept of Greekness as the national identity and the invention of the
Greek landscape cannot be thoroughly covered in a few pages. My overview aimed to provide
a general understanding of these terms as they serve as my project’s research platform and
they are going to be necessary in later stages of our journey. Before I proceed with focusing
on the concepts of the rural and insular landscapes in Greece, I would like to take you through
a brief overview of landscape within Greece’s administrative and academic bodies.

The State, Academia and Landscape: Made in Greece

THE PRESIDENT OF THE HELLENIC REPUBLIC
We issue the following act voted by the Parliament:
First Article
It is ratified and enters into force, according to article 28, par.1 of the
Constitution, the European Convention of Landscape, signed in Florence on
20th October 2000.

Official Journal of the Government (FEK 2010a)

Ten years after the ELC took place, the Greek government took the decision to ratify it; it was
received with great hopes and expectations by scientists and academics as a step forward at
least on a jurisdiccional and administrative level towards the recognition of the significance

83 See the ideological role of landscape in Introduction (n17, p14).
84 The manipulation of landscape as an ideological apparatus for the construction of national identities
naturally it is not a Greek invention or monopoly. See indicatively: Daniels and Cosgrove, eds. (1992),
of Greek landscapes. The Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change proceeded with required steps for the implementation of the Convention and also established a scientific cross-disciplinary landscape committee in 2011 (Papayannis and Howard 2012, 11). That ambitious endeavour did not manage to progress as it coincided with the advent of the financial crisis. The one positive outcome was the incorporation of the concept of landscape character assessment in the specifications for regional plans and in the master plan of Athens/Attica. The committee was eventually dismantle after a year and a half due to the restructure of the state priorities because of the crisis (Papayannis 2014).

The academic, administrative, and legislative idea of landscape in Greece is a phenomenon of the last few decades and it was an import through international institutions. According to Terkenli, the Greek landscape was “first acknowledged through interconnections” which emerged in the late seventies “between agricultural modernization and the rural landscape and between nature and human society” (2004, 2). She gave a concise overview of landscape research in Greece and its belatedness: contrary to the western European countries, the academic concept of landscape was introduced into the Greek academic realm at the end of the previous century. Until then landscape was under the aegis of the design disciplines, not as a distinct entity but mostly as an element embedded in planning and design. In the nineties more scientists and practitioners got systematically engaged with landscape.

The absence of topío in Greek academic history and the fact that the preoccupation with landscape has been almost enforced in Greece by pressures and initiatives by EU and other legal bodies, has led Greek academics to adopt a westernised concept of landscape adjusted to the Greek milieu. The engagement with global initiatives and the cooperation with the EU countries on landscape issues and challenges has required the establishment of a platform of common understanding, which I would argue has restricted the Greek academics from a systematic investigation of the historic evolution of topío.

The landscape challenges in Greece extend beyond the academic and professional domains to those of administrators and policy makers, which are also considered problematic. There is a number of Greek academic voices flagging the lack of adequate legislation on landscape management and protection and the scattered dispersion of existent relevant policies among legislation on various different subjects (Table 1.1), such as urban planning, forest management, protection of cultural and archaeological sites (Terkenli 2004, 2011; Beriatos

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85 The Ministry has dropped the last suffix and it is now called Ministry of Environment and Energy.
The rupture of the economic crisis has not left any of the landscape spheres unaffected. Greece was already struggling with landscape challenges and issues making “minimal, fragmented and slow” progress (Terkenli 2004, 8) and more challenges emerged with the advent of crisis. Regarding especially the systemic issues recited by Terkenli (2004, 2): ‘disciplinary limits’, ‘lack of communication and cooperation between academics, practitioners and administrators’ and lack of ‘effective application in landscape policy’ and considering the refocusing of the state’s priorities (Terkenli 2015, 59), the future of the Greek landscape agenda does not seem very promising at present.

An interesting fact to mention before moving forward is that Landscape Architecture did not have its designated school in academic level until 2003, when the first and only Department of Landscape Architecture was founded under the auspices of the Institute of Technology of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, which has been under consideration for abolishment since 2018. At a university level, though, landscape architecture has remained still under the architectural shadow.

Table 1.1. Legislative provisions referring to landscape (Beriatos 2012, 128; Tsilimigkas and Kizos 2014, 161–63).
1.3. The Greek Armada

In the Introduction I mentioned that the Greek landscape emerged as Greece’s saviour from the crisis hurricane through the deployment of the two economic flagships Agriculture and Tourism. Both modes of landscape productions constitute dyadic determinants: directly by shaping the materiality of landscape through the relative activities and indirectly as elements of the socioeconomic context within which the immaterial landscape is formed. Both modes are so powerful and dominant over space that they produce their distinct appropriated landscapes: rural and tourist.

Research on both fields is abundant focusing on variety of landscapes around the globe and aspects, such as social, economic, environmental with dedicated researchers and academic journals. In my project the interest is on the distinctive character of the Greek rural and the tourist landscape and in this section, I am focusing on their conceptual aspect and role in the Greek society—the economic one is discussed in the next chapter.

The Greek Rural

This landscape is harsh like silence
It holds tightly in its bosom its flaming boulderstones
It holds tightly in the light its orphan olive trees and its vines
It clenches its teeth. There is no water.
Only light
The road vanishes in the light and the shadow of the wall is steel
The trees, the rivers and the voices were petrified in the sun’s whitewash.
The root trips over the marble

Yannis Ritsos 1945
“Romiosini”: Stanzas 2 & 3

Is this project laden with words that are multivalent and challenging to define or is this just a nascent pattern regarding the definition of everyday words within academic context? Rural is one of those elusive words encumbered with such a plethora of functions and meanings that it has enter the world of ambiguous and complex concepts (Halfacree 2003, 142; Cloke
2006, 18; Woods 2011, 1–2). We all use the words rural and urban, knowing instinctively what they mean and how to distinguish them. As Woods observed, though, do we? (2011, 2)

The binary of town and country, city and countryside, urban and rural had existed centuries before the sixteenth century when the West “was turned upside down” with the seizure of the country’s economic, practical and social primacy by the town: namely the transition from feudalism to capitalism with the establishment of ‘urban systems’ taking over the reign of production (Lefebvre 1991, 268). The capitalist forces that structure our world today though have disintegrated these spatial barriers and the ‘economic sphere’ has “burst out of its urban context” (269). The boundaries between the city and the countryside have been erased: “the city is everywhere, and the countryside is everywhere” (Burckhardt 2015, 70).

The collapse of frontiers between the spaces of production and consumption and its replacement with networks of flows of commodities had been identified by Marx centuries before globalisation and technology took the helm (1973b, 524, emphasis added):

“Capital by its nature drives beyond every spatial barrier. Thus, the creation of the physical conditions of exchange – the means of communications and transport – the annihilation of space by time — becomes an extraordinary necessity for it.”

The city and the countryside have been unified both spatially and temporally under “the dictates of technological and market efficiency” (Hirsch 1995, 15). Mormont (1990) and Cloke (2006) did not take the fade of the conventional rural/urban boundaries as far as Burckhardt with the collapse of one into the other; but they characterised their distinction as blurred, with the bilateral process of the urbanisation of the rural and the ruralisation of the urban, —the second at a lesser extent (Cloke 2006, 18). The same author also identified a parallel process of the localisation of the global and globalisation of the local (19). Although the spatial materiality between the country and the city might be still quite distinct, their social division during the last forty years has withered: “the opposition between town and country now has hardly any social meaning for the majority of inhabitants” (Mormont 1990, 38).

Despite the diffusion of rural into urban and vice versa and the fact that rural has been mutated from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption, the rural space is still inextricably linked to world’s food production (Woods 2011, 50–91); even if its functionality is to be restricted just to the cradle of food, the rural is invaluable for humanity.

86 A ‘unified narrative’ of the urban and rural and their tight connections and linkages within the modern capitalist economy is given by Cronon (1991).
It is obvious that if trying to define rural was challenging in the past, it has become even more difficult at present. As a general observation, the rural has been defined historically either as the non-urban or juxtaposed to the urban rather than by its own composition. Additionally, it is much easier to develop descriptive definitions based on observable and measurable features (Halfacree 1993, 23; 2006, 45; Woods 2011, 7). An important point to remember is that rural or rurality do not carry meanings traversing across all countries and there are significant variations depending on spatial and cultural differentiations (Cloke 2006, 19; Halfacree 2006, 45; Gkartzios, Remoundou and Garrod 2017, 23). However, as I highlighted in the Introduction academic globalisation has the tendency to overlook or even polish local variances in the name of transnational collaboration, interaction, and knowledge production.

Before I elaborate on the Greek rural, let us for a while look into the meanings both the rural and urban domains hold for people. R. Williams in his pivotal work on the country and the city noted the power of both words and their assigned significance within “the experience of human communities” through expressions both varied and contradicting (1973, 1):

On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of piece of innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light.

But also:

On the city as place of noise, worldliness, and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation.

The rural has been a leading active agent in world’s history, as a protagonist of human societies for centuries from the first agricultural communities to social regimes like feudalism and aristocracy later; it even had a starring role in the transition to capitalism. That social shift through the transition from feudalism to capitalism starting in the Renaissance has been a shared evolution path in the Western World. The town lost its agrarian character, urban centres were established based on commerce and a network of capital flows interconnected the Western European countries with each other and with the new ones across the Atlantic (Lefebvre 1991, 266–71). What was going on in the south-east of Europe at the same time? When the West was emerging from the dark ages and decisive social changes were occurring, still visible today? It is time to focus on the space of our interest in this research: Greece.

As mentioned previously, Greece was not independent until the nineteenth century, so while western Europe was evolving socially, economically, and culturally with shared influences
and more or less simultaneously, Greece was not part of that network; although a western province of the Ottoman Empire, she was deeply eastern to its core. Despite the fact that Greek elite had aspired to westernise and modernise the country after the Protocol of London in 1830 and the establishment of a sovereign state, Greece remained largely an agricultural economy and a rural society throughout the nineteenth century (Jusdanis 1991, 68). An additional hindrance to the national westernisation and development was the fact that Greece was almost constantly at war, either with Turkey or other Balkan nations until 1923, as we saw in the previous section. Greece’s westernisation did not really take off until the fifties; when the rest of Europe was being reborn from its ashes after the World War II, the Greeks spent four more years killing each other in the Civil War.

There are a few comments that I need to make regarding the Greek rural which is related to both World War II and Civil War and they are based on Stathatos observations (2013), but personal stories too, from people of my grandparents’ generation who survived both wars. In Greece due to the geomorphology of the terrain, the rural includes the mountains too. There are not many plains and especially during the Ottoman Occupation, a large percentage of the Greeks found refuge in the mountains; “despite all its disadvantages, the mountain has been a friendly element in the minds of the Greek people” (Spiridonakis 1977, 42–45).

That was true during the World War II, the battles against the Italians in Pindos at the beginning and the Resistance against the German Occupation later: the rural landscape was imbued with the heroism of the Greek partisans. During the Civil War though the legendary mythical landscapes of the heroes were replaced with haunted landscapes of fratricides. 87

In the western world the rural, which is the focus of my project, has historically collected such positive associations that it has been exalted to utopian levels of ‘virtue’; and there was the genesis of rural idyll. The rural idyll as a cultural concept was born during the Renaissance based on the utopian scenery of Virgil’s Arcadia, a representation of:

\[\text{a leisured human life and a willingly productive nature, of pastoral youth and innocence in a bucolic woodlands glade, and of the smiling landscape of holy agriculture as an emblem of a morally and social well-ordered estate (Cosgrove 1998, 143),}\]

which gave birth to the genre of landscape painting and defined our perception of landscape to this day, gloriously manifested by the rural idyll, whose lenses distort landscape as:

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87 This is not a figure of speech about Greeks killing Greeks. It was a common phenomenon for families to be divided between the two parties which was often ending with homicides.
physically consisting of small villages joined by narrow lanes and nestling amongst a patchwork of small fields where contented (and certainly not mad!) cows lazily graze away the day. Socially, this is a tranquil landscape of timeless stability and community, where people know not just their neighbours but everyone else in the village (Boyle and Halfacree 1998, 9–10).

The concept of the rural idyll has defined the identities of nations in Northern Europe and has established itself in these cultures through a shift in the “view of the ‘city as virtue’ in the ‘city as vice’ after the industrial revolution” (Leontidou, Afouxenidis, et al. 2007, 73). As R. Williams noted in every epoch there is reference to an idealised old life, a “‘traditional’ society” (1973, 35), an argument shared by Burckhardt and his thesis of uglyfication: a term he used to describe the shared impression by people regarding landscape changes that “everything is growing more ugly by the day” (2015, 87). Anti-urbanism, though, “has not taken root in Mediterranean Europe” (Leontidou, Afouxenidis, et al. 2007, 73):

Positive geographical imaginations for urban life as an antidote and a shield from rural poverty and insecurity formed the basic undercurrents of spontaneous urban sprawl and informal popular settlements springing up around all South European cities. We have shown elsewhere that Mediterranean societies share cultures of urbanism, and this even has a name in Greek, astiphilia; that is, ‘friendliness to the city’.

**Astiphilia** was one of the most significant social phenomena in post-war Greece. It was the rapid depopulation of the countryside and the emigration to urban centres, mainly Athens. The massive relocation was accompanied by a wave of outbound migration too. The guerrilla civil war apart from creating the haunting associations to the rural and mountain landscape, impoverished even further a non-industrialised, already limited in quality and quantity agriculture leading to the abandonment of the countryside. From 1951 to 1991 Athens’ population grew by 173% whilst the increase of the total national population was 39% (Diagram 1.1).

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88 See previous section (p54, n93).
89 *αστυφιλία* – *astiphilia*, from ἀστυ, ancient for city + φιλία, love = love for the city.
90 1991 is a reference year as the later censuses were influenced by decisive social changes, such as a huge inflow of political and economic immigrants from Albania and the Balkans in early nineties.
91 Spiridonakis expressed an interesting and distinguished view, according to which “emigration from the mountainous regions does not necessarily mean depopulation. Its prime object is to maintain population growth at a fixed low rate. In order to avoid famine, this rate must not surpass the capacity of the available resources to sustain life under tolerable conditions” (1977, 46). Although this argument seems inapplicable in capitalist societies, Greece after the wars remained mostly agrarian and it was indeed famine that drove both internal and external immigration from the mountains.
Diagram 1.1. Population of the Athens Metropolitan Area and Greece's total per decade from 1940 to 2011: (I) Absolute population in millions and (II) Population changes in percentage.

The increase recorded between 1940–51, is not representative of the whole period as it includes the World War II (1940–45) and the Civil War (1946–49), with hundreds of thousands of losses.

Until 1997 the Athens Metropolitan Area included Athens with the suburbs and Piraeus. The data up to 1991 refer to that area. The ones in 2001 and 2011 refer to Central Attica and Piraeus which correspond quite accurately to the previous administrative area.
Having been brought up myself in a rural remote area in the eighties and having dealt with all the social issues entailed, I believe my empirical input will be enlightening regarding the Greek rural as experienced from the inside. My experience was in the eighties when Greece was already a member of the EEC, and regional programmes were already being funded; not in my home place though or at least not until the late nineties. Growing up in a remote rural area, everyone’s dream was to escape. There were limited opportunities in the countryside, educational or professional, with low standards of lifestyle in comparison to the modern lifestyle and lack of convenience and comforts. There was ‘no real life’ like there was in the city. Our ‘American dream’ as children of the countryside was to go to the university in the city and make our lives there after our studies.

That attitude was deriving from the same circumstances I mentioned earlier regarding the Greek identity and the turbulent road to modernity. In Greece, the countryside has historically been identified as a ‘place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation’ (R. Williams 1973, 1) and especially since the war, Greeks have been striving to extirpate the rural identity. It was not only the urbanites that looked down on rurality; it was also the rurals who had resigned themselves to their perceived inferiority. Lefebvre’s description from the sixteenth century represented the Greek reality even in the second half of the twentieth century: “as for what peasants ‘are’, the town-dwellers conceived these recently converted pagans either as fantasy or as objectors, and accordingly treated them with embarrassment or contempt, as something out of a fairy tale or out of a tale of terror. The urbanites located themselves by reference to the peasants, but in terms of a distantiation from them” (1991, 268).

A Greek word that could be considered equivalent to ‘peasant’ is χωριάτης (choriátes), whose literal definition is the villager, the person who comes from a village of the countryside. In modern Greek it has been deemed a derogatory only term used to describe the uneducated, unsophisticated, socially unrefined, rough person with no manners. 92

Talking about words and terms, I would like to bring attention to the terminology used in Greek for rural and countryside. As we saw earlier, the dichotomy between urban and rural in the West, even if it was clear in previous centuries it has ‘smudged’; especially the Greek society though has been always characterised by “fluidity’ of cleavages between urban and rural zones” due to the belated processes of modernity and urbanisation (Damianakos 1997,

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92 The word for villager that is politically correct to be used is χωρικός (chorikós), the person from χώρα (chóra) = country.
Due to the spatial and social idiosyncrasies of the Greek countryside, Gkartzios et al. (2013, 2015, 2017) has pondered on the translation of the Greek term for rural areas and has concluded to the word *province*, a term adopted by others too (Anthopoulou, Kaberis and Petrou 2017; Apostolopoulos, Newbery and Gkartzios 2018). It is the exact translation for επαρχία – *eparchía* and is used on the basis that Greek rural areas are not specifically related to agricultural activities. I would argue though that *province* does not hold for Anglophones the connotation given by Greek researchers; *eparchía* in Greek has both spatial and social meanings referring to all the areas outside the urban megalopolis, which, to put it simply, are in need for modernisation. Province in English has the notion of a spatial administrative unit. In my project I will maintain the use of the word rural.

Even *eparchía*, as an agglomeration of all rural, obfuscates the discrepancies among the country’s regions and the social issues some of them face. The acknowledgement of how deprived some peripheral areas are, is their official characterisation by the Greek state as remote areas/borderlands (παραμεθόριος = *paramethórios*) that provides various kinds of incentives. 93 Especially for the majority of the Aegean islands, the state needs to subsidise shipping companies to have their ferries serving many of the islands. Even for famous islands, like Mykonos, Santorini, Kos, Crete, Rhodes, the number of ferries, routes and itineraries is much higher during the tourist season than the rest of the year.

Regional cohesion is EU’s main investment policy with dedicated investment budget and main scope the support of “less developed European countries and regions in order to help them to catch up and to reduce the economic, social and territorial disparities that still exist in the EU.” 94 The step beyond the economic and social growth was the recognition of the rural significance in culture and tradition with the establishment of the schemes for the Protection of Geographical Indication and Designation of Origin (PGI and PDO) for agricultural products, foodstuffs, and alcoholic drinks. Although it has received its share of criticism from non-EU countries as a policy of agro-economic protectionism, its intention is still to the advantage of the local rural. As it is stated in the relevant documents the protections of “agricultural products and foodstuffs for which a link between product or foodstuff

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93 Such incentives involve professionals, like teachers, doctors, and any kind of public servants, including any type of military position, from the compulsory enlistment for all males to the higher ranks of the hierarchy. There are also tax and entrepreneurship incentives for permanent residents.

characteristics and geographical origin exists” and “the promotion of products having certain characteristics could be of considerable benefit to the rural economy, in particular to less-favoured or remote areas, by improving the incomes of farmers and by retaining the rural population in these areas” (Council of the European Communities 1992, 1–2).

The last point before we embark for our next port is the rural through the lenses of tourism. Space in the capitalist world has a nature of ‘creative destruction’ meaning that “landscapes are rapidly and constantly being remade;” this impermanence exposes the fragility of the ‘idyllic representation’ and “the village not as a timeless place of community, kinship and belonging but as an abstract space for maximising profit” (Halfacree 2003, 152). This seems particularly relevant for the Greek islands as they had been rural societies. Despite the fact that the insular ‘rural idyll’ does not match the popular idyllic scenery of nature and could be described more as an idyllic seascape, Crouch’s argument that the ‘cultural mediation’ which defines the ‘traditional, classic, cultural construction’ of the rural is mostly tourism and leisure and less the ‘traditional rural interests’ is applicable to the Greek islands (2006, 357).

The renowned small touristic islands of Greece have transformed their agrarian character to an explicit expression of the rural–urban fusion, which occurs where traditionally rural societies are experiencing a rapid development, eloquently described by Cronon (1991, 92):

> Areas with limited experience of capitalist exchange suddenly found themselves much more palpably within an economic and social hierarchy created by the geography of capital.

The overdevelopment in an unplanned and uncontrolled fashion has created ‘urbanised’ nucleus and zones, mainly across the coastline, bringing into non-urban societies the urban issues of the megalopolis and producing the tourist landscape, which is our next stop.

The Greek Island

In 1933 [. . .] we travel through the Islands, the Cyclades. Here the profound life of past millennia has remained intact, the wheel does not yet exist. Perhaps it will never exist, the topography is so rough. We discover the eternal houses, living houses, houses of today which go far back in history and whose plan and section are exactly what we have been thinking of for a decade. Here is the bosom of human measure, here in Greece, on this soil redolent of decency, intimacy, well-being, of what is rational forever guided by the joy of living, we find measurements on the human scale.

Le Corbusier (1967, 52)
This description of the Cycladic islands by the great architect might not be so much the case eighty years later; especially for islands like Mykonos or Santorini, that have become cosmopolitan destinations and are being invaded every year by millions of visitors. They might have preserved what is considered the traditional architectural style but not much remind of the other features. Those houses were not the stereotypical white villas of today, spread on the Cycladic islands, creating a dotted landscape.

If you look Naxos from above, it looks like there was someone flying over it and spraying houses.

Hippolytus

The Cycladic architecture that Le Corbusier admired was the epitome of simplicity: clean geometrical lines, material efficiency, adjustment to the natural conditions and usability and it was developed though agents such as “the vulnerability of the islands due to their small size and natural harbours, sporadic invasions by pirates, and long–term occupation by non–indigenous governments” (Marmaras 2008, 503). The fortress lookalike structure of the urban fabric that is so characteristic and admirable today was the defence mechanism against invaders: “a nucleated village located on high ground rather than a coastal area” which was compounded by three features: “the formation of an outer urban ring in a kind of fortified wall; the compactness of the interior space; and the complicated road network” (2008, 506).

Marmaras has elaborated on the vernacular architecture of the Cyclades and how it was defined by historical and cultural forces focusing on the customary law. ⁹⁵ His research was not restricted on the labyrinth-like settlements but expanded to land properties too, which have also attributed to the Cycladic landscape as we know it today: the right of private urban and rural land, the different ownership between the land and the trees growing in the specific land, the right to divide land in smaller plots (2008, 512–15).

Before I continue the discussion on the Greek island landscape and its perception, it would be useful for our navigation to clarify why I have been talking about the Cycladic islands only, when there are many others equivalently famous and even more in number. My argument lays on my earlier account on the Greek landscape concept in modern times and its role in the formation of the Greek identity. The combination of white and blue that has become the trademark of the Greek landscape is majestically showcased in Cyclades.

⁹⁵ A remarkably thorough research on the built environment and the domestic material culture across the Cycladic islands during the last seven centuries is the work by Vionis (2008).
I will resume our journey on the idyllic representation of the Greek island before we explore academic stances on the landscapes on tourism, with a reference on some theories on how the white colour of houses became a tradition in Cyclades. The white houses of Cyclades are iconic, and the reality is that voices who claim that it has not been historically the traditional colour are overlooked.

Whitewashing houses with lime had been a known technique used as a method of disinfection especially in times of epidemics not only on the islands but across the whole country. It is said that dictator I. Metaxas had issued a decree in 1938 for the mandatory whitewashing of the houses, as a safety measure against cholera and other diseases. Especially in Cyclades, the use of earth colours or leaving the natural colour of the building materials on houses and cottages sounded more rational at the times that the Aegean was under the menace of raiders and pirates; natural colours deemed settlements invisible from afar and that visual integration was functioning as a survival strategy against invaders. As Filippides commented (2008):

> It was idiotic to paint a house white in those times. Later, after the foundation of the Greek state, piracy was eliminated, and the hamlets began to grow and expanded outside their walls. That was when things changed.

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Box 1.2. The urban legend that explains the white and blue (the Greek flag lookalike) islandic landscape representation. The three intellectuals mentioned were a legendary Greek journalist, a prominent litterateur, and a notable architect, respectively.

Even the villages in the mountains of Pindos which were built by stones, used to be whitewashed with lime on the outside for cleanliness purposes. My grandparents’ generation had kept that habit their whole lives, whitewashing every Easter.
The manipulation of aesthetics and landscape representations by authoritarian regimes has been a common practice (Groening 2007) and the 1967 Greek dictatorship was no exception. The aesthetics of the Greek national colours were used as a means to promote the national spirit, which was one of the regime’s fundamental values. In 1972, an ordinance was issued, prohibiting the use of any other colour of plaster but white in Cyclades (Figure 1.6). Regardless to what extent the white colour was used on the houses’ façades in the past, it has totally overtaken the Cycladic architecture and it has been established as tradition. This has been also recorded in the Building Regulation, targeted to the islands. Most of the

Figure 1.6. Copy of the Ordinance issued in 1972 by the authoritarian regime enforcing whitewashing in Cyclades, as presented in Serifos at an exhibition of documents of the Military Junta (1967–1974).
settlements of Cyclades have been characterised as ‘traditional’ with special Building Regulations in force (FEK 1988a, 1978), including restrictions on the buildings’ façades, not only regarding the colour but also techniques and materials (FEK 1989, art.1, §20; 1988a, art.2, §21). The presidential decrees clearly state that the houses’ façades have to be painted with white emulsion. Stasinopoulos has argued strongly on both the white colour but also on the dispersion of the buildings, which on one hand they claim to preserve the traditional image, but on the other hand they ruin the landscape and the traditional vernacular of the dense urban fabric (Stasinopoulos 2010, 2017).

The landscapes of tourism have been under the academic microscope examined from any aspect with zeal and thoroughness for decades: cultural and social (Aitchison, Mac Leod and Shaw 2000; Terkenli 2002, 2014; Tsartas 2003; Knudsen, Soper and Metro-Roland 2007; Bianchi 2009), perceptual (Andriotis 2004; Uusitalo 2010; Choi and Murray 2010; Gkoltsiou, Terkenli and Koukoulas 2013), management and economy (Briassoulis 2003; Andriotis 2003; Scheyvens and Momsen 2008; Vogiatzakis, Pungetti and Mannion 2008; Tsartas, Papatheodorou, et al. 2010; Tzanopoulos and Vogiatzakis 2011). Greece has experienced such a rapid tourist development that especially the cases of the islands are conducive to tourism studies as the significant work of Greek researchers showcases: Terkenli has mainly focused on the cultural aspect of tourism landscapes, Vogiatzakis has elaborated extensively on the island landscapes, Tsartas has looked into socioeconomics and policies and Andriotis on the locals’ perceptions and responses.

The tourism landscape hence I am focusing within my research is the rocky Cycladic blue and white ‘marine idyll’. A necessary reminder at this point is that in our journey the interest is not on the landscape perception of tourists, not even on the tourism landscape perception of the locals. Our interest is on the locals’ perception of their landscape, which happens to encompass tourism values and functions for a specific period of time annually; to them it is still their habitat. What does tourism do to their habitat? As Terkenli remarked (2005b, 222):

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97 The European Parliament resolution on the protection of the European natural, architectural and cultural heritage in rural and island regions refers to them as “traditional communities” and “traditional habitats” (European Parliament 2006).
98 This is applied to the many of the Aegean islands, not just the Cyclades; in some islands there is an exception and colours that have been historically used locally are allowed: ochre, grey, indigo, terracotta (FEK 2002, art.2B §4c).
99 The references are naturally indicative as the research corpus on tourism is vast with works that extend across and include various aspects, See: Lew, Hall and Williams (2014), Williams and Lew (2015) Katsoni and Stratigea (2016) and reports and publications by the UNWTO.
The tourism industry has been repeatedly denounced as an exploiter, a defiler of landscapes, and as a quintessentially modern medium of globalizing or homogenizing standards of identity and development for contemporary landscapes.

Still in this passage there is a preference towards what the tourism landscape represents for the tourist.

Tourism affects the materiality of the islanders’ landscape in an intrusive way. The ones that suffer mostly are the coastal landscapes, the seafront areas which are altered completely by the construction of touristic units and summer houses forming an urbanised zone between the sea and the mainland. Since their landscape reality changes, so does the inhabitants’ perception of it. However, there is one key word for the Greek tourism landscapes: seasonality and its significance extend beyond the socio-economic sphere. Drawing upon the notion of the tourism landscape’s contextual interpretation, seasonality creates a specific context within which we should look into the locals’ perceptions.

The first and main point to be made is that the image of the islands that tourists gaze during summer is temporary. In most places, the permanent population levels are significantly low once the tourists and the seasonal residents depart, usually in September. Depending on the popularity of the place, the tourist season begins around Easter or early May, usually at a low pace, peaks in July and August and then drops towards the end of September marking the end of the season. A vast number of businesses are closed out of season and more than often neither the owners nor the employees are residents of the place in question.

Permanent residents rarely have the opportunity to enjoy their own place as this idyllic landscape of tourism. Either directly or indirectly most of them are employed in tourism industry so during the summer season they have no spare time. The ones not employed in tourism are dealing with the situation as a necessary evil. A very striking observation during my fieldwork was that a majority of the inhabitants did not go to the beach even once during the whole season; neither did the farmers or other professions. They were all working all day and they did not have spare time. The communities come alive during summer not only

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100 In Greece, the summer season coincides with the school summer break: it starts at the middle of June and it ends on 11th September. August is the pick holiday month. It coincides with the 15th August, the Assumption of Mary, which is one of the three important celebrations for the Greek Orthodox Church —along Christmas and Easter— and it is a public holiday. For most Greeks holidays are over by the end of August, early September, especially families with children, when they return to their permanent homes.
because of tourists but mainly because of the seasonal residents, so it is always busy for all type of professions: doctors, layers, engineers, accountants, electricians, plumbers, almost everyone. Some of them work in Athens and go to the islands to practise only during summer. The only local people on holiday are children and housewives. ¹⁰¹

The point I am trying to reach is that tourism landscapes are in flux for the local inhabitants. They are in constant change all year round and every year as not all tourist seasons are identical. Stepping on Terkenli’s words (2005b, 223), “landscapes of tourism are socio-culturally constructed” but also reconstructed in a perpetual process and constantly “contested, as well as subject to the variable competing discourses of all sides that become involved in them” and the interrelations among the local stakeholders take more often the central stage than the local–tourist interplay. Tourism landscapes therefore become the mirror where “socio-economic processes, relationships, formal changes, impacts and symbolisms” are reflected.

¹⁰¹ The phenomenon of seasonal residents on the Greek islands is a research subject on its own along with the phenomenon of the second home ownership. A concise insight on the phenomenon across Europe in relation to tourism is provided by Roca, ed. (2016) and a more global picture by Hall and Müller, eds. (2004).
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from the Concept

We have concluded the conceptual part of our journey, where I tried to unfold the concepts surrounding the Greek landscape which served as the platform for my research. The next ‘port of call’ is the context as created by the economic crisis in Greece within which all the aforementioned concepts are being brewed. First, though, let us reflect on what we are going to take with us from this port.

One of the most significant ‘souvenirs’ from our stopover is the challenge of the concept of landscape in Greek; its meaning in everyday life, academia and around the world as the renowned marine, blue and white Greek landscape is actually an externally imported and imposed perceptual construction. Like in other countries, the Greek landscape as established in people’s consciousness, has been used by the dominant group for the purposes of national unity. Additionally, the concept of landscape was introduced in the Greek academic realm mainly through the European influence and collaborations, making the adoption of the western notion of landscape for research purposes inevitable.

The popularisation of the westernised meaning of landscape has established itself in the Greek vernacular, rendering the word topio to the sphere of scenery. At the same time Greeks have internalised the global stereotype of the Greek landscape, despite the fact that the majority of the country is mountainous, and its landscapes are far from tropical seaside images. It is these complexities surrounding the word topio that require higher alertness in landscape studies in Greece, and probably not only. The landscape concept of the western Mediterranean countries is similar to the Anglophone concept; the Eastern Mediterranean concept, however, is most likely facing the same challenges as the Greek.

What else are we taking with us? The fact that the Greek rural differs to the western European too. Historically, the rural idyll has not existed in Greece, because the country has never been industrialised, and had an agricultural economy until recently. How could Greeks idealise their rural like the Westerners since they worked it for their livelihood? On the contrary, the Greek rural was demonised as a savage, vice space, leading to the phenomenon of astiphilia in the middle of the twentieth century. The lack of industrialisation and the belated urbanisation, therefore, have given to Greek rurality its own identity with the distinct characteristic of a social fluidity between urban and rural zones.
Another significant point to keep in mind is that the tourist landscapes in Greece were part of the rural before they were discovered as *holiday Edens*. Their agrarian character was transmuted to a rural–urban synthesis by a rapid arbitrary overdevelopment creating a distinct tourist landscape bequeathed with the issues of both the rural and the urban. Still, though, the Greek island has been established as the island idyll, the equivalent of the rural idyll of the West. It is this concept of the island idyll that has been equated to the concept of the Greek landscape.

An intriguing point to consider is that not only the island idyll consists only a small part of the Greek landscape, — being far from representative of the country, — it is also itself externally constructed and not organically created. Even more food for thought is the notion that the trademark Greek landscape, this island idyll, is not as much the landscape of the locals as that of the outsiders. Contrary to what I have understood to be the general perception about the Greek island, the reality is that Greek islanders do not live in tropical paradieses, the way their topo looks to visitors, neither do they experience their topo the way tourists do during summer; and this could consist another research trap needing caution, when studying such landscapes. The focus here has not been the perception of the tourism landscape as such, but the perception of the inhabitant’s landscape; although this landscape’s character could be determined by tourism, it still is the home to its dwellers, and not a destination.

A last comment before we set off for the port of Context, is that my experience as a Greek immigrant abroad, has highlighted the importance of understanding the concept of Greek landscape both nationally and internationally. The fact that Greece has been a member of the western world in modern times does not mean that she shares the same historic trajectory; on the contrary, as I am about to elaborate in the next Chapter, Greece has been exhibiting many characteristics of a third world country due the external imposition of social and financial systems, including its national identity where the landscape concept played a vital role. So, those aspiring to conduct research on the Greek landscape need to challenge the preconceived perception of its constructed meaning, which I am almost certain it has a distortive effect on studies.

Having synopsised our new load for the rest of our journey, let me know navigate you through the Context of this thesis, the rupture of the Greek economic crisis.
Chapter 2. Context: The Greek Crisis

The manner in which human sense perception is organised, the medium in which it is accomplished, is determined not only by nature but by historical circumstances as well.

Walter Benjamin ([1936] 2008, 8)

“Landscape has to be contextualised” argued Bender stepping on Benjamin’s words. All people of any time and place perceive their world within the context of the “specific time, and place and historical conditions” (1993, 2). Landscapes do not exist only in space but in a space-time continuum and “cannot be detached from their historical context” (d’Hauteserre and Terkenli 2006, 240): this ‘historical context’ of my project’s landscapes is the Greek crisis.

Before I describe and elaborate on what has been labelled ‘unprecedented’ on multiple aspects, —crisis, tutelage, economic measure, austerity, fiscal adjustment, or anything else journalists’ and researchers’ creative minds thought of,— I am taking you through an overview of the Greek social reality as it has evolved historically. My incentive for this brief ‘time travel’ is my realisation, since I moved abroad, of how distorted the perceptions of Greece are. The ‘badge’ of the cradle of democracy and the western civilisation has functioned as a veil of the country’s turbulent history towards westernisation.

A double contextualisation is necessary for the comprehension of the current circumstances. The first one refers to the historic context consisted by centuries-long processes brewing the Greek psyche. The understanding of the processes that ‘constructed’ the modern Greeks is important for the understanding of the current socioeconomic context because the Greek habitual disposition is extricable to all the manifestations of the social realm. It is expressed in politics, economy, culture, lifestyle, and any other aspect of the society including the spatial entity within it exists, regardless the approach or the terminology used: space, nature, environment, habitat, landscape.

102 I am referring throughout my thesis to the whole period from the first memorandum of the bailout programme in 2010 until its conclusion in 2018. Although the word crisis has a notion of instantaneity, and the same applies to its use in finance, the narrative surrounding the economic misfortunes in Greece has been referring to the whole period as the crisis, so I have adopted the same term.

103 Psyche in this context does not refer to the philosophical term as explored by Castoriades: “the unconscious psyche (a psychical reality and a psychical apparatus)”encompassed in the subject (the totality of the human being) (1989, 9). In this study it is used with the vernacular meaning of the Greek ψυχή (ψυχή) which translates as ‘soul’, the emotional/mental structure, mentality, idiosyncrasy, and demeanour of an individual or a society.
2.1. The Greek Social *gignesthai*[^104]

Ever since the fall of the Greek mainland to Roman invaders, [...] Greece has had a dual identity: Historia and Mythologia, the real and the imaginary. The home of civilisation – of much of what is most important in European culture – or just a small country of limited political importance stretching from south-east Europe into the Mediterranean, a country rich in cultural associations but poor in terms of crops, industries, and business institutions.

The Mythologia, the traditional image — the sea, the mountains, the Parthenon, the islands, the strange-looking letters of the written language — are overwhelmingly strong, but images are all they are. They simplify reality, but they also obscure it. [...] Over the many centuries since then [the fall to the Romans], the complexity has increased, the stereotypes have become even more misleading.

James Pettifer (2000, xvii)

Pettifer encapsulated the complexities of Greece as a country and nation in two paragraphs with a high level of accuracy. There is little light on the intricacies and disparate elements that constitute the country behind its distorted international façade: that of a tropical place, with blue skies and waters, inhabited by loud people who love to enjoy themselves, though being unorganised and financially irresponsible.

It would be highly ambitious, even hubristic, to attempt an analysis of the making of the Greek society and its current state — it is sociology’s jurisdiction and far beyond this thesis’ scope. What I am going to attempt is offer a glimpse behind the curtain of the Greek reality.

Behind the ‘picture-postcard imagery’, lies a Greece “largely unknown to the millions of holiday makers who visit the country every year, or to the businessman who makes a hurried trip to Athens”. Touristic places during summer are not representative of the country or even of themselves in winter times. With the exception of a few big islands, — Crete, Rhodes, Corfu,— that are still active hubs during the winter, the rest holiday destinations lose their “traditional images of sun, sand and sea” and even “the tourist-trap islands are another world, with the people living in an entirely different way” (Pettifer 2000, xxiv).

Let me recapitulate in brief how the Greeks came to be the Greeks today, which I consider useful as I have been asked by foreign colleagues about being the oldest country in Europe;

[^104]: *gignesthai* [ancient Greek] = to be born, become. *Social gignesthai* denotes the constant processes that construct society.

[^105]: Henry Miller also captured this fusion of Mythology and History: “the fact that the dream and the reality, the historical and the mythological, were so artfully blended” (1945, 2).
I had to respond that there was no Greek country in what is called today Ancient Greece. There were city-states with their own cultural identities sharing some common cultural elements and a language. The pioneer of the idea that all ‘tribes’ residing in the south of the Balkan Peninsula should be united under his reign was Philip II of Macedon, who succeeded with his plan in 338 BCE in Chaeronea reifying the first unification of the Greeks. The subsequence did not reserve a history of Hellenic homogeneity. The spatial Greek entity was constantly part of multicultural empires from Alexander the Great to Romans, Byzantium, and Ottoman, until 1830 as mentioned before, when the Hellenic State was founded. But as seen, that was not straightforward, and it took a whole century for the process to conclude.

Although there have been some signs historically that show that even in Byzantium the idea of the continuation of the Greek element since the ancient times was present, with the common language being the main one (Glykatzi-Ahrweiler 2016), there is no social cohesion between the byzantine and the modern times. When the rest of Europe was evolving socially and intellectually from the Middle Ages to Renaissance to Industrialisation and Enlightenment, before modernisation, the Greeks spent 400 years as Ottoman subjects, a period that in Greek history is described as obscurantism.

I have already painted the general picture of the agents in action in the independent Greek society of the nineteenth century. Behind all the processes there was one common denominator that is identifiable even today in the Greek psyche: the oscillation between East and West. Kasdagli noted that although Greeks were turned to the West in ancient times and nowadays, they were oriented towards the East, specifically Constantinople, during the medieval and modern times (1999, 15). “Greece has always been a bridge between East and West, a meeting point of the Orient and the Occident” (Spiridonakis 1977, 30) and there is an ongoing debate whether she inclines more to Europe or Asia; a usual conclusion is that she lays on both West and East at the same time, not only as the geographical crossroad of the continents but also the cultural. As Cvijić remarked (1918, 475):

Are not the Greeks installed on the Cyclades and on the coasts of Asia Minor a people belonging to Western Asia almost as much as to the Balkan Peninsula? A seafaring people, have they not throughout the centuries remained in close relations with Asia and Northern Africa? Numerous products and material objects have been borrowed from these regions and spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula since remotest times [. . .] Byzantine civilisation was itself permeated with Oriental elements, which were in turn transmitted to all the Balkan peoples.
“The people look towards the East and the leadership towards the west,” Veremis (2016) commented on the haunting aporia of modern Greek history, characterising it an erratic phenomenon. Its roots are to be found “in an unprecedented geopolitical calculation” by the Greek-speaking Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman empire who “aspired in the eighteenth century to orient their community to the West [. . .] believing that their interests lay with them” (Jusdanis 1991, xii). They based their venture on the notion of continuity with the past. Greeks were able to “represent themselves as the legitimate heirs of European antiquity, hence as true Europeans” (67), although there were historical figures, like von Metternich and Duhamel, who claimed that Hellenism did not belong to Europe (Spiridonakis 1977, 21).

It was the westernised mercantile and intellectual elites of the Greek diaspora who launched the enterprise to establish an independent western Greek-speaking Orthodox national state (Jusdanis 1991, xii–xv, 22–23, 67–68) and it could be said they succeeded, as Greece has been participating in the Western narrative since. There has been though a belatedness of the Greek modernity that Greeks still carry today, and it is one of the causes behind the current situation of the state which Jusdanis pinpointed on the fact that “the introduction of western political and cultural institutions could not be harmonised with the interior realities of Greece” after the independence (1991, 67–68):

The westernisers initiated the first official stage of modernisation. They established a strong centralised state, a parliamentary government with a liberal system of representation, a bureaucracy, an army, and cultural institutions such as a university, library, and academy.

It should have worked; or so they thought. Imposing those institutions from the top deemed them western only in form and there was an important obstacle that was never overcome in the modernisation process, as diagnosed by Jusdanis (1991, 68):

The economy was largely based on agriculture; there was little industry and no proletariat; capital was controlled by diaspora Greeks and invested in finance and commerce [. . .]. An industrial base, indispensable for the functioning of the western institution, had not been consolidated. As a result, they did not function properly.

The ‘failure of modernisation’ was therefore unavoidable, and the outcome was the lay of the responsibility on the Greek society instead of the incompatibility between ‘imported models and indigenous formations’ (68):

Greeks internalised this incongruity as an imperfection or a distortion, which cried out for correction through further reforms.
The last remark seems worryingly relevant to the present, almost two centuries later. The issues hovering over both Greek society and state are systemic and if we are to understand the ‘whys’ and the ‘hows’ of the Greek *gignesthai* and *status quo* we need to look backwards. Even more so as per Veremis’ two-fold argument (2011): first, the fact that the newborn independent Greek society expected a resumption of the Ottoman political system and not a modernisation; second the first leaders who were westernised Greeks of diaspora, were being gradually replaced by emerging indigenous politicians still carrying the *sins of the past*. 

The whole nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth were a polemical turmoil for Greece; not much changed during the second half. The battle between the two worlds was still vigorous: on one side “an older Greece, the anarchic world of pre-capitalist kinship ties and a primitive sense of local democracy and nationality” and on the other “a kind of modernisation, the integration of Greece into modern technological world with its foreign investors and new factories, and a powerful central government in Athens which would legislate for Greece to become a modern western democracy” (Pettifer 2000, 10).

The clash between East and West in Greece was epitomised with the notorious conflict in 1979 between the then Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis and the Opposition Leader Andreas Papandreou over the Greek application to enter the EEC (Box 2.1). Karamanlis, legendary political leader of post-war Greece, was a fanatic supporter of Greece’s European orbit and the champion of the Greek membership in 1981. His quote from a parliamentary speech is the Hellenic Parliament is imprinted in history (1976):

> Hellas, politically, defence-wise, economically, culturally belongs to the West.

This has been a national maxim since the restoration of democracy in 1974. In reality there has been no real alignment, despite the assuming socioeconomic integration within the EU.

My objective, as set at the beginning of this section, was to lay the foundation on which I will unfold the socioeconomic context of the crisis aiming at a richer insight. My historic overview might seem expanded in relation to the Greek landscape, I am arguing though that it is not. Landscape is as much part of the Greek social *gignesthai* as is the mentality of the Greek people. In order to understand the perceptions that inform their practice we need to have a wider and more holistic perspective of the social processes.

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106 In Greek it is called Μεταπολίτευση—*Metapolitefsi* which means ‘regime change’ or ‘political transition’. It is considered the period that began in 1974 after the end of the dictatorship; according to some analysts it ended with the elections of 2009 and the economic crisis.
There is a final remark about the Greek psyche before we move to the discussion of the crisis which can still be noted today and has been identified by different people in different times. Cvijić ascribed it to all Balkans (1918, 476):

> The century-long domination of the Turks has had another effect. It has impressed upon the Balkan peoples more or less the traits of the *raya*, the characteristics of an oppressed class.

Elytis extrapolated it to a feature of the whole country (1979):

> Hellas, her history, is permanently on the same motives, it is constantly fighting as a little one, as treated unjustly.

And Knox described as a link between the ancient and modern Greeks (1993, 125):

> The same touchy sense of personal honour that is at the root of Achilles' wrath still governs relations between man and man in modern Greece; Greek society still fosters in the individual a fierce sense of his privileges, no matter how small, of his rights, no matter how confined, of his personal worth, no matter how low. And to defend it, he will stop, like Achilles, at nothing.
2.2. The Crisis

We are on a difficult path, a new Odyssey for Hellenism. However, we now know the way to Ithaca, and we have charted the waters, too. We have a journey ahead with demands from all of us; but with a new collective consciousness and joint effort we will arrive there safe, more confident, more righteous, more proud.

George A. Papandreou (2010, 4:00–4:35)

The Greek Prime Minister in 2010 chose a stereotypical Greek landscape as his background to deliver to the Greeks the message about the first bailout agreement: the idyllic image of the small Aegean island of Kastellorizo (Figure 2.1). Did the news take the Greeks by surprise? Hardly. Since the elections in October the previous year and the change of government, there had not only been news emerging about the country’s debt, but austerity measures had already been implemented earlier that year.

In 2008, the Global Financial Crisis broke out starting from USA with the collapse of Lehman Brothers Holdings. Europe was deeply affected and especially the Greek economy was hit severely. When Greece entered the European Monetary Union in 2001, the country gained

![Figure 2.1. Friday, April 23, 2010: Greek Prime Minister Georgios A. Papandreou informing the Greek people that he requested from IMF and EU the activation of their support mechanism. Source: https://www.kathimerini.gr/politics/960160/to-pascha-prin-apo-to-kastellorizo/](image-url)
access to low interest loans. The fact that Euro zone was only a monetary and not a fiscal union, though, allowed uncontrolled expenditure by the Greek governments, which did not benefit the Greek economy (Bank of Greece 2014).

However, along with Greece other countries in Eurozone were also facing problems with growing government debt, which were revealed after the global crisis. By 2009 financial and debt markets had started losing confidence to these countries which led to a sudden increase of the cost of financing government debt making impossible for them to borrow. The fact that in November 2009 after the elections in Greece the new government revised the general public deficit from 6% to 15.4% of GDP triggered the interest rate of Greek bonds even more and initiated the European sovereign debt crisis.

In the first few months of 2010 time run up for Greek economy; national debt could not be served, and the country would have to default. Greece decided to contract a bailout agreement, —usually referred to as memorandum,— with the tripartite committee so-called troika: the European Commission (EC), —as the EU representative,— the European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with the exchange of the implementation of hard austerity measures, in order the country to get back to financial discipline by making its debt sustainable (European Commission 2010a, 2010b).

There was public disagreement with that strategy from the very beginning claiming that the crisis was not a Greek problem but a European one, and it had its roots in the existence of euro itself as a common currency among countries with different financial status. It was not a matter of a “lazy South” and a “hard working North,” but a systemic problem and it should be dealt like one; otherwise, the crisis would become contagious to other countries of the Eurozone with stronger economies jeopardizing the whole financial structure of euro (Varoufakis and Holland 2010; Varoufakis 2012). One of the voices allied with Greece was the American economist and Nobel laureate in economics Joseph Stiglitz.

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108 The Countries of the EMU do not have to share the same fiscal structure which is considered a paradox inside the Eurozone. The members are dependent on the ECB and the regulations set because of the same currency but they are independent as far as it concerns their financial policies, like tax or the public insurance and pension regulations. This fact is considered to have contributed to the crisis.

109 See Box 2.2 for terms related to the crisis.

110 Varoufakis had been a loud voice against the bailout agreement and Eurozone’s policy, before he became the Minister of Finance in the left-wing government of SYRIZA for six months in 2015.

111 Indicative of his advocacy for Greece and his critique on Europe’s political and financial institutions are his articles since the crisis breakout at https://www8.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jstiglitz/articles-opeds.
Financial Key Terms

Financial Crisis
“A collapse in the price of financial obligations, which may lead to a collapse in the economy.” (Law 2018)

“A period in which several large banks and other financial institutions become insolvent or even face bankruptcy.” (Castree, Kitchin and Rogers 2013)

“A financial crisis is often associated with one or more of the following phenomena: substantial changes in asset prices and credit volume; severe disruptions in financial intermediation and the supply of external financing to various actors in the economy; large-scale balance sheet problems (of firms, households, financial intermediaries, and sovereigns); and large-scale government support (in the form of liquidity support and recapitalisation).” (Claessens, et al. 2014, 5)

“Financial crises occur when the economy is hit by shocks that lead the financier to exercise the option not to roll over the short-term debt because the bank is undercapitalised—that is, because bank-owners have little equity capital left as "skin-in-the-game" to continue lending prudently.” (Acharya 2013, 5)

Sovereign Debt
“Debt issued by a national government in the form of bonds in a reserve currency. The level of risk in the bond is reflected in the rate of interest payable on it. Traditionally, sovereign debt had been considered low-risk, as governments were believed to have a variety of means to ensure they did not default on their obligations.” (Law 2018)

Sovereign Debt Crisis
Situations “in which high ratios of debt to GDP have resulted in a perceived risk of default on sovereign bonds.” (Law 2018)

“A situation in which several governments are unable to maintain regular repayments to external lending organisations, such as other governments, international banks, or the IMF.” (Castree, Kitchin and Rogers 2013)

(. . . to be continued)
Recession

“A slowdown or fall in economic growth rate. A recession is defined by the US National Bureau of Economic Research as a decline in gross domestic product in two successive quarters. A severe recession is called a depression. Recession is associated with falling levels of investment, rising unemployment, and (sometimes) falling prices.” (Law 2018)

“The NBER does not define a recession in terms of two consecutive quarters of decline in real GDP” (Business Cycle Dating Committee 2010a)

“A recession is a period of falling economic activity spread across the economy, lasting more than a few months, normally visible in real GDP, real income, employment, industrial production, and wholesale-retail sales. The trough marks the end of the declining phase and the start of the rising phase of the business cycle. Economic activity is typically below normal in the early stages of an expansion, and it sometimes remains so well into the expansion.” (Business Cycle Dating Committee 2010b)

“A significant slow-down in economic activity when compared with recent trends. By convention, national data on economic growth are released every three months, i.e. every quarter. Two successive quarters of negative growth is regarded as a recession. An unusually sustained period of negative growth may be termed a depression, but there is no consensus on this.” (Castree, Kitchin and Rogers 2013)

“A recession is associated with a financial crisis if the financial crisis starts at the same time as the recession or one year before or two years after the peak of the recession.” (Claessens, et al. 2014, 34n)

“Recessions following crises exhibit much larger declines in consumption, investment, industrial production, employment, and exports and imports compared with those recessions without crises.” (Claessens, et al. 2014, 36)

“Recessions associated with the global financial crisis, while displaying patterns similar to those of previous recession episodes, reflect an unlikely confluence of factors. Specifically, these recessions are associated with serious financial disruptions, including credit crunches, house price busts, equity price busts, and outright banking crises in some countries.” (Claessens, et al. 2014, 210)

Box 2.2. Definitions of key terms related to financial crisis. Claessens et al. noted though that “definitions are strongly influenced by the theories trying to explain crises” (2014, 50).
It should be clarified that Greece could not actually take decisions of its own in order to cope with the crisis. The participation in the Eurozone does not give freedom of policymaking, such as the devaluation of currency. The Greek government had to solve the problem in cooperation with the EU and the ECB. That was accepted but still the majority of Greek people accused their politicians of bad manoeuvres; they did not have a plan when they asked for assistance and so they did not have the power to negotiate. They were characteristically described by the media and people in Greece as beggars who were willing to do anything in order to get charity. Riots were unavoidable.  

In many discussions at the beginning of the crisis there was an important omission: the fact that in 2004 the Council of the EU had activated the process of excessive government deficit for Greece according to then Article 104 TEC (Council of the EU 2004). Three years later that decision was abrogated (Council of the EU 2007; Commission of the European Communities 2007) on the basis that:

The Greek statistical authorities improved their procedures, which led to a significant reduction in the statistical discrepancies and an overall higher quality of the general government data. The Greek authorities are committed to implementing fully the action plan to improve public finance statistics. As a result, Eurostat withdrew its reservations on the quality of the reported data.

Despite the three years the Greek economy was supposedly under the EU microscope, in 2009 the new elected government announced that the fiscal budget deficit for 2009 was far higher than its previous estimation from 9.8% to 15.7% and so was the sovereign debt as a GDP percentage from 112.9% to 129.7% (Bank of Greece 2014, 36–40). Media, European politicians, and EU officials made the verdict that the Greek state had been misreporting its economic statistics to keep in line with the EMU requirements. Internally the arguments...
expressed over the causes behind that skyrocketing of the national financial statistics were varied and the political turmoil it caused even led to a form of ‘witch hunt’ with a prosecution against the former Director of ELSTAT Andreas Georgiou who was accused of inflation of the deficit in 2009 in order to get the country into the bailout programme.

The narrative of the crisis and its numbers has been tirelessly repeated during the eight years of the Greek crisis. The statistics are publicly available from many sources and an abundance of research in economics, finance, politics, and society has been conducted. Scientists of all fields have been trying to get to the root and analyse the crisis’ manifold aspects. It took eight years, three economic adjustment programmes (2010–12, 2012–15, 2015–18), a total of 288.6 billion euros in loans, one controlled default and bank recapitalisation in 2012, five governments and fluctuations in unemployment, GDP, debt, shown in following diagrams.

How can the numbers translate to what really occurred to the Greek community and its people? As Leontidou highlighted it is not just the “unemployment, homelessness, poverty and the breakdown of the welfare state” that has ruptured the society (2014, 554):

*The crisis also engulfs broader cultural transformations, which include a fierce offensive against Southern cultures and ways of life. [. . .] The subversive function of Mediterranean cities [. . .] is unbearable to North European dominant classes. [. . .] especially and fundamentally it defies the social settlement of the last 30 years, commonly called ‘neo-liberal’: the very settlement which sank Southern economies into the crisis. North and West European power elites thus opt for the stigmatization of populations living in regions hit by the crisis.*

*Diagram 2.1. Trendline of unemployment in Greece since the global financial crisis.*
Diagram 2.2. Annual unemployment rate and percentage of labour force since the entry of Greece in the EEC in 1981.
Diagram 2.3. Greece’s annual GDP growth rate since the restoration of democracy in 1974 (The World Bank 2019).

Diagram 2.4. Greece's annual GDP in USD (The World Bank 2019) and EUR in seasonally adjusted, current prices.
Diagram 2.5. Greece’s external debt, namely its liabilities vis-à-vis other countries. It does not include liabilities related to equity and Direct Investment, which are included under the International Investment Position, also in the diagram. 2012 is highlighted because bond exchange programme of the Greek government was completed under the PSI in the first and second quarter. The new bonds issued following the PSI are marked to market. However, bonds held by the ECB and the Eurosystem NCBs are not marked to market, but at face value. The Greek government buyback programme was completed in the fourth quarter of 2012. The acceptance of offers to exchange designated securities had a positive effect on Public Debt. However, this is not accounted for external debt since the reporting data is given at market values. Bank of Greece.
As I believe I have shown so far, my focus is on the people and the understanding of their perspective. Stepping on Leontidou’s words I am going back to my remark on *ánthropos* as the main actor on earth and that regardless the power of capitalist forces there is always the option of resistance. ‘Spontaneity and informality’, ‘alternative cultures and *joie de vivre*’ are forms of resistance (2014, 555). Her discussion on the crypto-colonial powers of the North/West Europe found its spatial parallel in Lefebvre’s neo-colonisation of the Mediterranean coast by the industrialised Europe as “a remarkable instance of the production of space on the basis of a difference internal to the dominant mode of production” (1991, 58). The “Northern neo-liberal ‘rationality’, discipline, austerity” described by Leontidou (2014, 555) is aligned with Lefebvre’s consolidation of the state (1991, 23):

> It plans and organizes society ‘rationally’, with the help of knowledge and technology, imposing analogous, if not homologous, measures irrespective of political ideology, historical background, or the class origins of those in power. The state crushes time by reducing differences to repetitions or circularities (dubbed ‘equilibrium’, ‘feedback’, ‘self-regulation’, and so on). [. . .] This modern state promotes and imposes itself as the stable centre - definitively - of (national) societies and spaces. [. . .] It flattens the social and ‘cultural’ spheres. It enforces a logic that puts an end to conflicts and contradictions. It neutralises whatever resists it by castration or crushing. Is this social entropy? Or is it a monstrous excrescence transformed into normality? Whatever the answer, the results lie before us.

The results in that case was a ruptured stigmatised country. All these underlying forces have been existent and active for as long as neo-liberalism, —if not capitalism in general,— has existed. In times of crisis though, they appear with all their menace and fierce to put the world back in order; the order that suits their interests. Greece, as noted earlier in the chapter, has been under the ‘quasi-orientalist attacks’ by the North since its independence and comments from leaders of the great powers of that time like von Metternich to remarks from leaders of the great powers of the present (Schmidt and Giscard d’Estaing 2012):

> To be perfectly frank, it was a mistake to accept Greece. Greece simply was not ready. Greece is basically an Oriental country. Helmut, I recall that you expressed scepticism before Greece was accepted into the European Community in 1981. You were wiser than me.

Comments of such nature like the above, have only accentuated the Greek traits mentioned previously. Attacks on the Greek psyche and lifestyle have induced emergent feelings of victimisation which explain adequately reactions and responses of the people to the crisis.
Conspiracy theories emerged among the public surrounding the North’s *raison d’état* regarding Greece. The Greek landscape was the epicentre of those theories.

The extreme taxation of property imposed was translated by Greeks as an attack to their freedom, on the basis that owning property means independence from capitalist institutions. The inability to pay the property taxes due to the impoverishment would lead to forced sales at low prices or repossessions. Either way the properties would go to the hands of enterprises assisting their profit maximisation. The austerity measures were seen as part of a master plan reminiscing Lefebvre’s neo-colonialism mentioned above: the rich North wanted to turn the poor but extremely beautiful South into its holiday resort. The adoption of the euro by Greece and the rest of the South was proven an economic disadvantage for the neo-liberal aspired tourists, deeming their ‘vacationland’ expensive. The idea that the whole country was put on sale had been feeding the conspiracy theory of the betrayal of the country by the Greek political elite. A seemingly shared opinion was also a phrase by Manolis Glezos (2015, 19):

> What Germany did not succeed back then with the arms, namely, to create a German Europe, she is succeeding today with economic power and the assistance of the USA.

I have to emphasise that it has not been only foreign ‘quasi-orientalist’ discourses scrutinising the Greeks, politicians, officials, media. Their permeation through the Greek governmental bodies was incarnated with an infamous quote by the Greek Government’s vice-president in 2010 (Pangalos 2010, emphasis added):

> The response to the outcry expressed towards the political personnel of this country “how did you ‘eat’ the money”, that people ask us, is this: We hired you. *We all ‘ate’ it together*. Within the framework of a clientelist relationship, corruption, bribery, and degradation of the notion of politics itself.

This quote caused a national turmoil with attacks and scrutiny towards Pangalos and people received it as an attempt to distribute the political responsibility of the situation towards the public. Did that mean that people did not accept their own responsibility of clientelism? It does take two to tango. As a general empirical observation, they did. What was provoking with that excerpt was the notion that public and politicians had the same level of

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114 Manolis Glezos, was a hero of the Greek resistance during the German occupation (1941–45). On 30th May 1941 he and Apostolos Santas climbed on Acropolis and took down the flag of the German Reich. He was an active left-wing activist, described as “*le premier résistant d’Europe*” in 1949 by Charles de Gaulle in 2015, at the age of 92, he was elected Member of the European Parliament with SYRIZA, becoming the oldest elected member of the body. He also happened to come from Naxos.
responsibility. I admit inadequacy to elaborate on the dynamics of clientelism and the share of responsibilities of the participatory parties. The general disposition of the Greeks towards the crisis and their leaders was encapsulated by Tzogopoulos (2013, 1): 115

Political elites lack the appropriate will or are unable to eradicate the illegal activities of oligarchies [. . .] and thus improve the fiscal position of the country,

and a feeling of injustice prevails in the society deriving from the perception of the majority of ordinary citizens that the burden of the problem has not been distributed in a fair way.

Greece has not really recovered of the crisis, even if the national indexes look better or seem like they are within desired ranges. The austerity measures have been under criticism regarding their effectiveness, 116 and there are arguments that expenditure and not austerity helps the recovery from crisis (Claessens, et al. 2014, 41). Summarising some of the impacts: lower wages led to a high decline in consumption which along with high taxation especially in businesses destroyed private sector. Stores and companies closed down, international companies left the country and unemployment rocketed to the percentages above. The worst though has been the dilution of social services like health and education. The right to free health and education that took many years to build up have been gradually broken down. If the objective of the neoliberal system was to take down the middle class and widen the chasm between the poor and the rich, then Greece is their success story.

Thus far, I have not looked in the statistics or even academic discourses around the crisis. For the purpose of my project, the interest is not what is said by outsiders even if they are experts. I would not want to be misunderstood; what they say is of high significance. My venture though is focused on people and their perceptions and these more than often are not constructed via academic or scientific input. People’s perceptions are informed by the context they themselves perceive in the first place and that context is the significant one for the understanding of the perception-practice interplay. This is the reason my research is aligned with Moscovici’s view (1981, 183):

115 Tzogopoulos offered a thorough analysis of the coverage of the first years of the Greek crisis by the international media.
116 Stiglitz has expressed vividly his disagreement with austerity measures and the admission by IMF in 2013 that they failed in Greece did not help the case.
Source: https://europeansting.com/2013/01/05/imf-sorry-greece-ireland-portugal-we-were-wrong/.
People on the street, in the cafes, at their places of work, in hospitals, laboratories, etc. are always making critical remarks, commenting and concocting spontaneous, non-official ‘philosophies’ which have a decisive influence on their relations, their choices, their way of educating their children, making plans and so on. For them, facts, the sciences, and ideologies are nothing more than ‘food for thought.’

The concept of the ‘unprecedented crisis’ falls under this principle. It has been repeated and is still being repeated that this crisis is unprecedented. I am accepting for my research the fact that people tend to believe this, although looking into Greece’s even recent past, it is self-proven that the economic and financial misfortunes the country has been through can take away from this crisis the specific characterisation. I accept that this might be the case for the urban middle class of the post-war Greece, but the rural country had been through worse, and that was the reason behind astiphilia and the bipartite agreement in 1960 between Greece and Germany for sending labour force. 117

On this basis, I am going to discuss briefly why the crisis should not have been a surprise.

### An Accident Waiting to Happen

You are adding an additional factor on social divide, at a moment that national affairs and economy are in a tragic situation being driven in full speed towards a dead end. What gain will you have, if you make ephemeral impressions, whilst the economy is being driven with mathematical certainty towards collapse? The issue is not today, if the drachma will be devalued —that is the least terrible. The tragic issue of Greek economy is that it cannot withstand encumbrances and deficits, that it is not far ahead the moment that Greece will be unable to borrow anymore and will resort as supplicant to the International Monetary Fund. [...] The only thing they will succeed is to place another thorn in the unity of the Greek people, which, during the next crucial months when the moment of truth arrives, [...] will then be more than ever necessary; if we want our country to find the strength to stand up again and restart the long painful endeavour for the rebirth, for the ascent, for the exit from the coming crisis.


The former Prime Minister’s parliamentary speech given sixteen years prior to troika’s aid, was unearthed and popularised, as a prophecy since the beginning of the crisis. The reality though is that the history of modern Greece is by itself revealing of the country's financial,

117 Signed on 30th March 1960, the agreement resulted in about 13,000 Greeks migrating to Germany (Matzouranis 1974, 47, 50).
— but not limited to, — trajectory. In 2010 allegedly, a famous Swiss investor had noted that “Greece has in fact been in default in 105 of the last 200 years” (Jensen 2010), and irrespectively of its actuality, this comment could be characterised as historically accurate.

The Greek state has been resorting to both external and internal loans since the first two ‘loans of Independence’ in 1824 and 1825, even before its establishment as an independent country in 1832; the first default also occurred that early in Greece’s history, in 1828. There were three defaults to follow in 1843, 1893 and 1932, peaks of the economic turmoil the country has been experiencing for two centuries (Romaios 2011).

Greek economy had not been steady since Metapolitefsi as showcased by the oscillating trajectory of the GDP in Diagram 2.3. The only quasi-stable period was the years leading to the country’s admittance in the EMU in 2000. During the period 1993–1999 a significant fiscal adjustment was achieved with a decrease of the budget deficit from 13.6% to 3.1% of GDP in 1999, a GDP growth pace from 2% to 3.4% by 1999, the restriction of inflation from previous double-digits to 2.1% and the stabilisation of the sovereign debt to 104.6% of GDP. There were a number of restructuring economic, financial, monetary measures implemented across the economic and financial Greek sector which gradually led to the national convergence of the Greek economy to the Maastricht criteria (Bank of Greece 2014, 11–15).

The red cells in the spreadsheets had turned green and the adoption of the euro currency occurred. That was most likely the reason that Mitsotakis’ bleak prediction about the Greek economy took more than a decade to be realised. The systemic issues of the economy though had not been dealt to their core, which meant that the optimism was not based on solid ground. A passage by Karamanlis twenty years before the adoption of the euro sounded disturbingly relevant (ERT Archive 1979):

It is necessary therefore [. . .], if we are to purge our economy —especially at the moment we are about to enter the European community— it will be needed intensification of our efforts and self-discipline. In other words, we will have to work more and spend less [. . .]. It is true, of course [. . .], during the development phase of a country like ours, a peculiar psychological phenomenon is observed: people increase their needs faster than the increase of their income. And it is a phenomenon that, I repeat, is observed during the phase of growth. And it is dangerous, because if it is not identified and dealt with properly, it is possible to hurt the development of the economy [. . .]. I believe gentlemen, that with the new and I would say great perspective that open up for our tópos, it is our duty to prove, nation and leadership, that we have consciousness of our historic responsibilities.
A decade later, the prominent artist Yannis Tsarouchis made a remark which showed that not much had changed since Karamanlis’ speech (1989, 204):

In Greece we already live more luxurious than our means permit us, beyond our financial affordability and our mental capability. This is already causing us issues and it will induce us great pain.

Forty years since Karamanlis rang the alarm bell, is Greece worse than it was? And who is to blame? To keep in line with the eagerness of the modern Greeks to prove their continuity with the Ancient Greeks, I am going to retrieve a quote from Plutarch that could be relevant:

Among the Greeks, the wise men pleaded causes, but the fools decided them.

Anacharsis, Plut.Sol.5 118

The global crisis triggered the Greek one, but it was not its cause. What were the root causes of the Greek crisis then? Was it the agrarian economy that was never industrialised or modernised but still was forced to fit western models and standards? Was it the vertical corruption of the public sector or the notorious tax evasion of the Greeks? Could it be what has been described as an inflated public sector with wasteful expenditure non-corresponding to its productivity? Or maybe all the above and even more?

I will become the devil’s advocate and share my scepticism on these effortlessly expressed views on the crisis causes. Corruption, I would say, is to be used with caution, as its definition seems fluid according to interests. My scepticism derives from the practice of lobbying which is not just acceptable; it is legal in the United Stated. I would dare describe it as the ultimate refinement of corruption. It could be that the issue with the Greek case is that corruption runs vertically in the public sector and not only horizontally in the higher levels only as in the western economies, which is a disturbing phenomenon for the capitalist elites (Leontidou 2014, 554–55). The same argument can be applied on tax evasion: in a global capitalist system where big corporations with billions of profits pay zero taxes, the criminalisation of tax evasion from the lower classes and incomes could be described the least hypocritical. 119

My last sceptical thought on the subject refers to the inflated public sector. I believe it is understandable, that I exhibit some sensitivity on the issue, having been myself a civil servant. However, the idea of its inflation in size and lack of productivity, I believe lacks

118 “λέγουσι μὲν οἱ σοφοὶ παρ’ Ἑλλησθυνίαν κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ αμαθεῖς” (Perrin 1914, VI: 416–17).
119 The director of the Greek Financial and Economic Crime Unit has stated in 2012 that the tax evasion in Greece had been approximately 12–15% of the GDP (Kathimerini 2012).
perspective. Greece had not followed the privatisation model that western societies and neoliberal economies had, like the United Kingdom. A country where all levels of education, including universities, the health system, the utilities companies, all the infrastructure, the transportation systems and even banks have belonged to the state, it is consequent that the public sector would have a high number of employees. Additionally, in a welfare state, the Greece had aspired to become in the past, there are services that although they are not profitable, or they might even be damaging, they fall under the category of rights or necessities and are still offered by the state.  

In this section I have attempted to provide a picture of the crisis; not from a quantitative point of view though, which tends to treat issues as undifferentiated elements and masks the complexities of the occurring processes (Anthopoulou, Kaberis and Petrou 2017, 4). As I have already argued, the picture I am trying to draw is the one as perceived by the people and provide an insight of the backstage dynamics of the Greek society. Thus far, the Greek landscape was not at full spotlight, in my attempt to shed light on the social context. Our next anchorage though brings it at the centre of the stage as it is the proclaim of the landscape liquidation through agriculture and tourism as the emergency exit of the crisis.

2.3. The Crisis Lifeboat: Liquidising the Greek Landscape

The Chinese term for crisis is "danger-opportunity" (危機). Without the danger there cannot arise the opportunity.

The Chinese Recorder (1938, 2)

Since John F. Kennedy popularised this westernised misperceived interpretation of the Chinese  wēijī (crisis) in the sixties, it has been established extensively as an inspirational device, much to the disapproval of scholars of the Chinese language (Mair n.d.). This notion of crisis though, which Hay called “Dämmerung —dusk and dawn” (1996, 255), is used to signal the emergence of new circumstances that could turn into the creation of opportunities, as I already hinted in the Introduction. Let me draw a parallel from nature: if we think of an ecosystem in climax where all nutritional elements are withheld by the aging

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120 An example of privatisation that has caused public discontent with the price increase and the quality decrease is the case of the railway transport in the United Kingdom.
vegetation and the ground is full of dry biomass decomposing at a slower pace than necessary for the forest regrowth, then a fire, although it consists a crisis, it actually releases all the regenerating forces that can create a new productive ecosystem. We still need to keep in mind though that the presence of an opportunity does not guarantee a positive result; erosion might wash away the nutritious ash from the surface and instead of a forest rebirth we could end up with barren land.

This is exactly the point with any rupture and the Greek crisis is not an exception. I have already pointed out the expressed intention by the Greek state to liquidise the Greek landscape through the two economic practices agriculture and tourism; or at least that was the narrative of the statesmen to the Greek people. This however could be paralleled to a ‘Trojan horse’ as the state’s commitment to extractivism as a plan from the crisis exodus was fully embodied with the foundation of the Hellenic Republic Asset Development Fund (TAIPED), an independent body, whose objective was the management, utilisation, and capitalisation of the state property. Although the call for the return to the land could be seen as a distraction from the extractivist political plans, it still engaged the public and became a narrative for the Greek society, adding to the context as discussed in my project. For this reason, I am going to navigate across the agricultural and tourism reality in Greece; not as much as on the quantitative aspect again, as on the perceptions and bottom-up responses.

The Flagships: Agriculture and Tourism

It has been already established throughout my thesis that the Greek society has never been industrialised and the Greek economy transitioned directly from agrarian to service-based. It is vividly depicted in the following diagrams the change of the employment dynamics among the three main economic sectors in Greece. The tertiary sector has been on an upward trajectory, the secondary had been stable until the drop after the crisis and the primary one, namely agriculture has experienced a bit of an oscillation: steady until just before the adoption of the euro, decreased afterwards until approximately 2004 when it was almost stabilised until the crisis breakout. A small peak it had after the crisis was interpreted as a massive counterurbanisation wave, which I will return to later in this section.

If we look at the Diagram 2.6 with the employment percentages per industry, the agricultural activities employ a higher percentage than the accommodation and food industry, which are directly related to tourism, although tourism activities are embedded in other economic
sectors, such as transportation and communication, retail services, entertainment services, banking and finance, promotion, and publicity. Still, not all these services are provided only to tourists and agriculture too has also expanded its activities beyond farming and production into other capitalist sectors.

The reason I am focusing on the employment is that despite the GDP drop during the crisis one of the most important social issues was the skyrocket of unemployment with the evils it came with, such as homelessness, dependency on the family, mental issues. Let us focus in more detail on each of the two activities.

Diagram 2.6. Distribution of the employment in Greece per Industry according to the 2011 census.

Other Services include: Mining and quarrying; manufacturing; electricity, gas, steam, and air conditioning supply; water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities — Information and communication — Financial and insurance activities — Real estate activities — Professional, scientific and technical activities — Arts, entertainment and recreation, repair of household goods and other services.

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121 The Standard International Classification of Tourism Activities (SICTA) of UNWTO has identified about 140 tourism activities included in other economic sectors (WTO 1998, 3).
Diagram 2.7. Distribution of Greece’s employment per sector (The World Bank 2019).
Diagram 2.8. Comparison of the employment in agriculture (percentage of total employment) between Greece, EU and Eurozone (The World Bank 2019).
Agriculture not only gives riches to a nation, but the only riches she can call her own.

Dr. Samuel Johnson (E. Davies 1888, 18)

Agriculture is the main productive activity of economy’s primary sector which by its advent determined the trajectory of human civilisation. Agricultural activities are of course of high significance for the existence of humanity; they have also been leading landscape evolution for thousands of years before they were joined by the deeds of industrialisation. Once again, I am referring to such a broadly used everyday term that defining it might seem excessive; to avoid any ambiguity, though, around activities that consist agriculture, its definition is given in Box 2.3. It should be noted though that forestry activities are excluded from the term the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the European Commission of Agriculture and Rural Development; they have not, however, set an official definition.

For the purpose of my study as it is focused on Greek rural landscapes, which have been under the regime of the EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), agriculture is considered to be the whole of productive practices that associate to cultivation of any kind of plants and breeding of any kind of animals in order to produce goods (e.g., food products, fibre, biofuel) used for sustaining life, excluding forestry and fisheries. 122

Agriculture has been Greece’s saviour for centuries throughout times of peace and even more during the multiple times of crises the country has faced. Despite the fact that “the amount of arable land is rather limited and of bad quality” and even more specifically “the readily available land for profitable agriculture has always been rather limited” (Spiridonakis 1977, 38, 40, emphasis added), the country has not only been agrarian but has managed to be an important exporter of agricultural products (Chalikias 2012, 5), —the second largest category of the Greek exported products with the majority being food and livestock (13). Although I did say that my interest is not in statistical data or analysis there is one important detail that I need to highlight: Greece had a trade surplus in agricultural products before its entry in the EEC in 1981, which began to decrease and became a trade deficit since 1985.

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122 The definition is based on the market sectors that the CAP deals with: Cereals, Fruit/vegetables, Wine/spirits, Sugar, Oilseeds/Protein Crops, Rice, Hops, Seeds, Potatoes, Cotton, Bananas, Live plants/flowers, Tobacco, Milk / milk products, Beef / veal, Sheep meat / goat meat, Pig meat, Poultry meat, Eggs, Honey – Beekeeping. (European Commission n.d.)
steadily although exhibiting annual fluctuations according to circumstances. The crisis breakout saw a decrease in imports accompanied with a good performance of exports which had the positive outcome of a drop of the trade deficit in agricultural products: from 2,684 million euros in 2008 to 1,884 in 2010 (Chalikias 2012, 9).

Being a country that holds traditionally a position of an important food supplier, at least within Europe, it seems that agricultural activities could hold the key to the crisis rescue. But then again, nothing is never as simple and straightforward as it might seem in the world as we have built it. Greek products face fierce competition from other traditional producers like Spain and Italy not only in foreign markets but in the Greek market too (Chalikias 2012, 6).

There is an interesting detail emerging from Diagram 2.8: the significant difference of the employment in the primary sector in Greece compared to the averages of both EU and the Eurozone countries, which is more than double. Although this appears as an important index of the place agricultural labour holds in Greece, it needs to be closely inspected. An identified characteristic of the Greek farmers is the ‘multiple job-holding’ or pluriactivity (Damianos, Demoussis and Kasimis 1991; Damianakos 1997; Moisidis 2001; Giourga and Loumou 2006).
As the above researchers noted, the contribution of the phenomenon to the Greek agriculture and regional development is significant, and it is not only a Greek phenomenon either.

Pluriactivity is the outcome of various factors within the Greek agricultural sphere. Damianos et al. (1991, 40) noted the inadequacy of the small average size of the Greek farm to provide sufficient income on one hand and on the other hand the engagement of even large farm holders with extra-rural activities, supplementary to their agricultural production, such as trade, services, or production of secondary agricultural products. Damianakos (1997, 191–92) identified systemic and structural issues, such as small and fragmented farms, the perception of farming not as an intentional choice of employment but as a necessary evil in absence of other opportunities, the lack of modernisation of the farming industry and the failure of the government intervention as a regulator and strategist; instead the focus has been on the traditional farmer support for survival. Moisidis (2001, 62–67) indicated the decay of the traditional farming family due to both the shrinkage and streamline of agriculture that has challenged its viability in this transformed highly competitive industry. Giourga and Loumou (2006, 755) remarked on positive aspects of pluriactivity: a solution to underemployment, the sustainability of small and medium farms, the support of underpopulated remote communities and the protection of the environment. It most significantly contributes to the low income of farmers who, in cases, are below the minimum living standards.

I would like to add a potential factor that could attribute to the high percentage marked by the employment in Greek agriculture. It is based on empirical life data and I believe it would be an intriguing topic for further research on its own. In the purely rural area I grew up, there were not many professional farmers and the ones that were relied on rental plots most of the times to contribute to their own land. There was a vast number of amateur farmers though, that would cultivate or have some animals either as an additional income, either as a hobby, either as an inheritance from their parents, or all the above. So, the so-called “head of the family,” although involved in agricultural activities, was registered as employed under a different main occupation. The agricultural business in most cases was registered under the name of the spouse or the mother, if the spouse was otherwise employed. There were two reasons for that practice: the first was tax purposes and incentives related to farming that a registered business could take advantage of. The second reason was health insurance and entitlement to pension for the housewives. Under the national pension schemes in force
before 2017 and the integration of all schemes in one, having two businesses in two different sectors meant that one had to pay contributions in both schemes but was entitled to choose only one pension upon retirement. With the arrangement in question, the pension contribution was not wasted family income. I came across the same phenomenon in the Cyclades while working for the CAP subsidies in 2006, where it was even more prominent than my homeland, due to the tourism activities many of the farmers were involved with.

I am going to focus a little more on Damianakos essay (1997), which despite being more than twenty years old, it described agrarian systemic issues that are still very much prevalent today. The Greek agriculture has been historically different compared to the West and the Balkans due to socioeconomic disparities as Damianakos explained (1997, 190, 193–96) and has not overcome the ‘structural incompatibilities’ deriving from the “‘misshapen,’ ‘skewed,’ ‘bastard’ or ‘heteronomous’ ways” that the Greek capitalism was developed; hence “this agriculture is marked with the latter’s typical stigmata” (193). Because of the agrarian teratogenesis, the EU membership and the enforcement of the CAP widened further the abnormalities and disequilibria instead of converging the Greek agriculture.

Greek agriculture has undeniably made leaps forward, although Damianakos captured it perfectly when he noted that (1997, 191):

> growth always seems tremendous if a line is drawn starting from a point (in the 1950s) when nearly all indicators were at zero.

Some of the systemic discrepancies that have hindered the Greek farmers from keeping up with their European competitors are mostly narrowed down to the lack of industrialisation.

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123 In Greece until December 31st, 2016 each work sector had its own national insurance scheme that included both health and pension entitlement, which was united under on, EFKA, in 2017 (FEK 2016). People with no income had to be insured as dependent members under the relative scheme. Women were entitled to their husband’s pension after his death and even single daughters and sisters were entitled to their father’s pension when he died until that changed in 2010 (FEK 2010c). However, it was common practice in rural areas, people with arable land to register their wives/daughters/sisters as farmers so that they could get their own pension increasing the family income.

124 As mentioned earlier this information is purely empirical based on data prior to the regulations on farming businesses legislated in 2013 effective in 2014 (FEK 2013). Although I have come across it in many other areas in Greece, as I said it is a subject of social interest that could justify its own research.

125 The issues of agrarian structures related to the erratic development of Greek capitalism belong to the same narrative of the social issues that I have mentioned earlier (p81).

126 I am restricting my comparisons of Greece with the older members of EU, since Greece joined the Union five years before Spain and Portugal, fourteen years before Austria, Sweden and Finland and more than twenty years before the enlargement of the new millennium. My aim is to highlight how the structural issues impede the convergence of the Greek agriculture to the European that forty years since joining the Union and CAP, Greek farmers have not yet caught up with their European colleagues.
and entrepreneurship of agriculture. The state intervention failed to modernise and turn agriculture into business. Instead, it became a sponsor of the survival of archaic forms of farming: the mechanisation of agrarian production is inefficient with a surplus of underused machinery; there is no framework for the farmers’ education or training; pluriactivity has become the norm of agricultural employment; the farm sizes are small and fragmented, with plots not even being adjacent more often than not; the majority of Greek farmers do not consider agriculture a ‘proper’ occupation but “a condition to which they submit because the economy provides no credible occupational alternative” (Damianakos 1997, 191–92).

The mandatory implementation of the CAP since 1981, therefore did not contribute in the much needed restructuring of the Greek agriculture. The CAP succeeded in raising the living standards of the farmers with the support of the agricultural economy by the subsidies but that support itself eliminated the need to solve existing problems in agricultural structures which contributed to the widening of the imbalances among peripheral areas. All the systemic weaknesses can be seen by their spatial impact and the division of the country in two in two distinct and extremely unequal landscapes. On one hand there are the coastal and plain areas, fertile, irrigated, and adjacent to urbanised rural centres or the road network; agriculture in these zones has developed by its modernisation, mechanisation, intensification, and commercialisation. On the other side of the coin there are the remote areas, the mountains, and the islands, which have preserved their traditional, barely mechanised food production unable to adjust to the economic circumstances of globalisation due their spatial limitations and have been sentenced to socioeconomic inertia (Damianakos 1997, 192,197; Anthopoulou and Moisidis 2001, 14–15).

The transformation of the Greek rural landscape has been tremendous (Anthopoulou 2001, 106–19): the intensification of the cultivations in the plains; the extensification of the production systems in semi-mountainous and mountainous areas; deforestations, cultivation of pastures and grasslands and abandonment of livestock breeding; the promotion of monocultures; the focus on and increase of irrigated cultivations in a country that is characterised by increasing problems of droughts because of its climate. The long-term outcome of the CAP was the development and the financial benefit of the plain lowlands in a much higher degree than the remote deprived mountains.

CAP has been reformed four times since its establishment in a continuous effort to constantly adjust to the shifting globalising markets by cutting the link between production and
subsidies. The CAP of the new millennia shifted from a productivist to a post-productivist model of agriculture within which new perspectives appeared to the farmers through multifunctionality of agriculture and multilateral approaches to agricultural activities with the aim not just to produce food but also to reinforce rural economies (Wilson 2001, 79–85, Evans; Morris and Winter 2002, 3–4).

With the fusion of the rural and the urban that I discussed in previous section and the fact that more activities irrelevant to agricultural production are being introduced to rural landscape the CAP has been attempting to keep up with the current demands. Looking into Greece and according to all the characteristics of Greek agriculture I mentioned above, it seems like the CAP measures related to regional policy and aiming at rural development and sustainable management of natural resources in agriculture, could not really claim success in the case of Greece. I need to note though that the Greek state has shown weakness in adjusting the implementation of the CAP to the Greek natural, social and market conditions. Still, however, CAP has been a strong income support for the agricultural population in Greece (and for farmers across EU in general as seen in Diagram 2.9) that has also benefited Greek economy in general. The bitter truth is that in many cases farmers settled with the subsidies, especially the direct payments for income support:

With the subsidies, they have turned us into ‘coffeehouse farmers’.

Skoúrkos

This specific attitude was prominent in 2006 during my work in Cyclades which was after the introduction of the Single Payment Scheme (SPS) which replaced all subsidies and was completely detached from production. The usual response receiving from the farmers

127 At the end of this section, I have added two more diagrams of timeseries of the CAP expenditure: Diagram 2.10 of the CAP as a percentage of the total EU expenditure and Diagram 2.11 with the funding that Greece received, as total, via CAP and the national contribution.
128 A quote said by a farmer friend from Peloponnese just before my fieldwork to Naxos, while we were discussing the then forthcoming CAP reform of 2013.
129 In 2005 the drastic reform of CAP put in force the SPS. It was the result of ongoing pressures to the EU by WTO members that subsidies were giving EU farmers unfair competitive advantages compared those from other countries and operate as barriers to international trade of agricultural products. These positions were expressed in the Doha Round, a round of negotiations of WTO launched in 2001 and still not concluded (Source: https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/dda_e.htm). The SPS is a fixed amount and has been calculated either for each producer as an average of the subsidies taken during a reference period (usually 2000-2002) or by the quotient of the whole amount of subsidies given to the farmers of a region to the whole area of the region used for the reference period. The first method was adopted by the southern countries, among them Greece, whilst the second was adopted by countries that have an even productive base (European Commission 2009).
when I was asking them regarding their cultivations was: “Why are you asking? It’s not like it makes a difference.” The general demeanour of the farmers was towards the maintenance of the production at the minimum levels required to be entitled for the SPS.

From what is actually a brief overview of the issues and the challenges of the Greek farmers despite the CAP regime and its juxtaposition to the importance the statesmen attributed to agriculture as the panacea for the national economic recovery, some inconsistencies and incompatibilities arise. The state does not have direct control of its agricultural policy, and so far, has not shown the willingness to take the CAP measures or even the agriculture itself seriously. Every winter the farmers block the national carriageway with their tractors protesting over the measures of the CAP. Incidents with farmers pouring tones of milk in front of the parliament have taken place in the past, or the discard of peaches in the landfills.

The promotion of agriculture for the economic revival and as the antidote to unemployment was embodied by the Ministry of Rural Development and Food with the launch of a scheme for the rental of public arable land to aspired farmers. Under the initiative there were requirements set for the application of participation with priority given to specific groups such as young unemployed and the land assigned to the successful candidates would be let for a peppercorn rent (FEK 2012). ¹³⁰

¹³⁰ In 2017 the Ministry launched an electronic platform for the assistance and service of those interested in the scheme at: http://www.minagric.gr/index.php/el/the-ministry-2/misthosigis-menu. There is no sign of any other information available regarding the success of the scheme except a press release from 2012 that it mentioned some relevant statistics (MinAgric 2012).
Diagram 2.10. Annual CAP expenditure compared to total EU expenditure. Source: European Commission, EU Budget.
Diagram 2.11. Total and CAP funding of Greece by EU and Greece’s contribution to EU budget. Source: European Commission, EU Budget.
The idea of the return to the rural and the primary production has a positive hue, however, eight years after the crisis, there are no obvious signs that it has pioneered the Greek recovery. The statesmen narrative seemed more as a desperate catchphrase than a well-planned and thought-through project. It also omitted some of the obstacles that farmers face due to the global socioeconomic status quo as it evolves. Even the increase of the employment in agriculture at the beginning of the crisis that ignited stories of the return to the land movement has resumed its declining course.

It is now the turn to look into tourism, as the second lifeboat that will sail away the country from the tornado. Will it be more hopeful?

**Tourism**

Tourism is Greece’s heavy industry.

Melina Merkouri

The urban myth says that the legendary actress’s quote was about *culture* and she is said to have stated it at some point during her time as Minister of Culture (1981–89). It has been popularised and paraphrased for *tourism* and it is being commonly used in public discussions and the media. I do not think I am exaggerating by saying that this quote has become the Greek tourism *mantra*. Every statesman, every media, every person in the public realm is talking about the Greek tourism and its importance for the resurrection of the national economy. It is not difficult to identify the public frenzy with tourism which lasts all year long. The beginning of the year is all about the predictions of the arrivals which in late spring are fortified by the number of bookings, the whole summer, the numbers are being monitored closely with a focus on the last-minute bookings that usually save the season and from September until the end of the year there is either joy or complaints according to the outcome of the summer season; and the circle starts all over again with the new year.

The seasonal responses by journalists and statesmen to the tourism statistics would be an interesting topic for a standalone project; in our journey for now though I can only provide my empirical knowledge of what I would describe as an obsessive situation only to give you an idea of the weight is put on tourism by the Greeks. This is also not a new post-crisis phenomenon; it is usual for a country to pay attention to its most famous and popular exported product. What exactly is this product though?
In a global scale and general perspective, it represents what the Manila Declaration on World Tourism in 1980 defined as "an activity essential to the life of nations because of its direct effects on the social, cultural, educational, and economic sectors of national societies and on their international relations" (UNWTO 2019, 10). Tourism hence is a social activity and as one has been evolving along with societies.

In a more local scale this essential social activity, “whose very existence and development depend entirely on the existence of a state of lasting peace, to which tourism itself is required to contribute” (ibid.) has been attributed its own share of undesirable and negative effects mainly as being unsustainable with significant environmental, ecological, aesthetic and socio-cultural impacts: water and air pollution, water shortage, solid waste disposal, traffic congestion, noise pollution, site erosion, habitat and species disruption, massive construction, adoption of new lifestyles, loss of cultural identity are only some of the issues that have been studies by a number of researchers (Briassoulis 2000, 2003; Terkenli 2005b; Vogiatzakis, Pungetti and Mannion 2008; Gkoltsiou, Terkenli and Koukoulas 2013). Tourism, hence, becomes a major agent in the production and reproduction of the material and the immaterial landscape.

The relationship is reciprocal with the landscape being a major agent in tourism development. Landscape is the element that is superimposed on all others in touristic areas. It is the first image that the traveller sees, and it also frames all his experiences, not only as a spatial materiality but also as a cultural cognition. The synthesis that emerges, of the landscape and the tourist with the local community and culture as an intermediary, integrates into landscape producing the tourism landscape.

I have noted previously that my interest is not on the tourism landscape as constructed and perceived by outsiders and visitors; it is the landscape of the inhabitants. It has definitely touristic processes integrated within, which might even be its character determinant, but it does not represent tourism to its dwellers; it is their home. I have already described the Greek island which is the landscape at the spotlight in my research. At this juncture, I would like to go through some of the idiosyncrasies of the Greek tourism which have defined its response to the crisis and its bona fides as the rescuer.

The characterisation of Greece as an international tourism destination could be considered axiomatic; the country has been traditionally placed among the top twenty international destinations (Diagram 2.12). It is its climate and its natural and cultural landscape that create
a landscape mosaic from picturesque little islands to wild mountains interspersed with remnants of the long and rich history of this land spanning from Palaeolithic to contemporary elements. I should add to this brief description that the landscape mosaic is unfolded on an area of 132,000 sq.m. at the very end of South-East Europe with a coastline of 16,000 km, 40% of which is due to the 1,500 islands—or more than 3,000 including the islets.131 132

“Greece represents something infinitely desirable to most visitors: a combination of unsurpassed natural beauty and antiquity, and perhaps most of all, warmth and sensuality” (Pettifer 2000, 78), or it might just be that Greece “conforms to the prevalent model of tourism development, as established around the world,” which popularised “sea-based summer destinations” (Terkenli 2005b, 224). Greece might be consisted of a cultural and natural mosaic and extreme diversity, but it has represented the pure embodiment of three-“S” tourism model: sun–sea–sand 133 which is spectacularly demonstrated by the seasonal distribution of tourist arrivals (Diagrams 2.13 and 2.14).

131 Source: www.visitgreece.gr, the official tourism web site for Greece, run by the Greek National Tourism Organisation, EOT.
132 A campaign was launched on Facebook in 2013 focus on the diversity of the Greek landscape; it was called Meet the World... in Greece! and the majority of the uploaded material was consisted of juxtapositions between images of Greece and which country it would be perceived they depicted (Kalogeropoulos 2013–15).
133 It could be considered the four-“S” tourism model sun–sea–sand–sex, and there have been tales circulating about the fact that Greece used to be a sex destination in the eighties. The absence of relevant available data, though, does not allow the story to enter the sphere of facts.
Diagram 2.13. Visitors Arrivals in Greece per Quarter (In Millions).
Diagram 2.14. Distribution of annual arrivals in Greece per quarter. Seasonality is obvious with more than half the arrivals in the third quarter (Bank of Greece 2018).
This is our pass to the main characteristic of the Greek tourism, deemed almost to a curse: namely seasonality (Terkenli 2005b; Tsartas, Papatheodorou, et al. 2010; Sotiriadis and Varvaressos 2015; Varvaressos, et al. 2017). The two diagrams depict very clearly the fact that Greece is predominantly a summer destination. Seasonality is not only a Greek phenomenon (Butler 1998; Baum and Lundtorp 2001). Neither is a tourism only phenomenon, as it can be found in other economic activities too (Cannas 2012, 41); within this research the other activity explored, agriculture, also exhibits seasonality.

Greece’s multi-diverse landscape could support a year-round tourist in-flow with different areas being able to support different kinds of tourism. I have already highlighted that Greece is not a tropical place, so as long as the country’s tourism is based on the three-“S” model, this is the reality the Greek tourism has to face and adjust accordingly. Tsartas et al. have offered a historic overview of the state’s tourism policy since the fifties (2010, 166–74). It began with the provision of the necessary infrastructure, —ports, airports, road network, marinas,—and developments in strategic touristic areas, the promotion of the country as a desirable holiday destination, and it moved to ‘industrialisation’ attempts by inviting private investors and providing incentives for development expansions. It failed however to remove the focus from the ‘traditional’ tourist areas (Dodecanese, Cyclades, Crete). The initiatives continued with the Community Support Frameworks (CSF) 134 and the subsequent funding frameworks in an effort to improve the quality of the tourist product, introduce the idea of sustainability and explore other forms of tourism. These aims have remained the same since the first CSF. The good intentions were enough to bring in results and Greek tourism followed a skewed distorted development model (Terkenli 2005b, 228; Tsartas, Papatheodorou, et al. 2010, 173–74); just like the Greek agriculture and the Greek capitalism in general.

The rupture of the crisis found the Greek tourism unequally developed both spatially and seasonally among regions, based on amateurish policies and dominated by exacerbated unplanned touristic activities; having also sever impacts on the local societies, the environment, and the aesthetics. (Briassoulis 2003, 106; Terkenli 2005b, 228; Tsartas, Papatheodorou, et al. 2010, 174). We need to be reminded though that peripheral

134 The Community Support Frameworks were EU Projects that were co-financing (subsiding) policies and works for the development and growth of the state–members. For example, the construction of the International Airport of Athens was co-financed by the third CSF. There were three (1986–1994, 1995–1999, 2000–2006) and each one’s objectives were decided in European Council Meetings. The CSFs were replaced by the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) 2007–2013, which was later replaced by the Partnership Agreement for the Development Framework (PA) 2014–2020.
inequalities in Greece go far beyond tourism (Psycharis, Kallioras and Pantazis 2014, 122). I should not give the wrong impression about the Greek tourism though: just like agriculture, despite its systemic and structural issues, its contribution to the Greek economy and the regional development and growth, —even if uneven among the regions,— has been priceless. Many of famous destinations, either islands or coastal mainland were poor peripheral areas which flourished because of the tourism development. Their depopulation was withheld, the people’s quality of life has been improved, employment is available even on a seasonal basis, and local products have been supported.

As we saw by the numbers of arrivals, Greek tourism has been growing strong. This could be an indicator that the tourist product could play a key role to the economic recovery. Before I elaborate on the feasibility of such a prospect I would like to provide a little more information. It has not been only the arrivals that are raising annually, the travel receipts have been increasing too (Diagram 2.15), following naturally the same seasonal pattern as the arrivals (Diagram 2.16). As we have seen earlier, at the same period however, the GDP has been decreasing (Diagram 2.4) and the GDP per capita too. In Diagram 2.17 I have indicatively gathered a time series of the GDP per capita of the insular Greek regions, the region of Attica and the country’s average. I have selected the insular regions as they are the ones that concentrate the vast majority of international tourists. The GDP per capita has also

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*Diagram 2.15. Timeseries of travel receipts from non-residents (Bank of Greece 2018).*
Diagram 2.16. Distribution of the annual tourism receipts per quarter (Bank of Greece 2018).
Diagram 2.1.7: Comparison of the GDP per capita (in euro, current prices) among the Aegean regions/Islandic complexes, the region of Attica and the whole country.

Prices are based on the population as estimated on the 30/6 of each year, calculated on the basis of the 2011 census.
demonstrated a striking drop since the crisis with the two regions still maintaining relatively high numbers, Attica, and Cyclades, which are also significantly above the country’s average. The intriguing detail is the GDP per capita in Crete; although the island is a strong producer of agricultural products and a globally favourite destination gathering high numbers of tourists per year, its GDP per capita is lower than Greece’s average and distinctively lower than the Cycladic one. Both Crete and the Cycladic islands offer a similar product so it could be expected that they would have similar economic indices.

So, tourist income is increasing but both GDP and GDP per capita are dropping. Non-coastal, mountainous regions that have initiated tourism development, rely almost exclusively on domestic visitors, as their product, —ski resorts, traditional mountainous settlements, climbing, hiking, rafting, mountain biking, ecotourism,— does not have a brand abroad. High taxation and other fiscal limitations have shrunk private investment and small family businesses have been closing in high rate. I could not omit mentioning Greece’s competitors, other Mediterranean destinations offering a similar product. The World Economic Forum measures the competitiveness among countries on the basis of the factors and policies that make them attractive destinations and issues the Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI).135 Greece’s performance since 2007 is depicted in Diagram 2.18. Its overall score and ranking could be described not perfect but satisfactory. The worst performance by far bringing the country close to the bottom of the rank is the pillar of price competitiveness, which is interpreted as a weakness of the Greek touristic product to correspond to the prices.

The crisis is officially over, but only in chronological terms due to the end of the bailout programme. No magic wand has revived the Greek economy. Tourism, like agriculture, has been declared the optimum solution; despite its undeniable contribution though, its spatial and structural limitations do not indicate that it can be the elixir for the Greek economy.

After all, the tourism industry itself is vulnerable to social and economic disorders (Papatheodorou, Rosselló and Xiao 2010, 44). The people in the tourist industry then have to revitalise the country fighting the lack of investment funds, high taxation, regional disparities, seasonality and all the structural and bureaucratic issues Greek tourism has been facing historically, while at the same time trying to make a living for themselves and their families. 

135 The TTCI is the result of 71 variables grouped in fourteen pillars which are distributed in three subindexes: The T&T regulatory framework, the T&T business environment and infrastructure and the T&T human, cultural, and natural resources (WEF 2011, 4–5).
There are no easy answers, and we will see later in my thesis how my research participants have been dealing with these challenges. At the closure though of this section on the Greek tourism as the crisis lifeboat, I am going to quote a passage from the editor of Architektones (2014), which I believe set the context of today’s tourist development:

The frenzy of the ‘tourist destinations’ nowadays, of ‘development’, lays an unchartered tourist burden, which in order to be served, it requires infrastructure of equivalent size, political accommodation of powerful interests and spatiotemporal violations. Seashore, Elliniko, beachfront, spatial planning, Regulatory Plans of Athens, and Thessaloniki, Amfipolis, Panepistimiou, they are declared from the side of the dominant forces of power, as the contemporary stakes.

Diagram 2.18. Timeseries of Greece’s TCCI scores and rankings. The top diagram shows the overall values. The bottom refers to the pillar ‘Price Competitiveness’ which is the one Greece has the worst performance (WEF 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017).
I am going next to elaborate briefly on two implications of the crisis, a good one and a bad one; at least that is how they are considered. The good one is counterurbanisation which relates closely to the rural and itself represents a landscape perception-turned-practice. It was one of the themes whose existence I was exploring during my fieldwork. The bad implication is the migration phase that was launched with the crisis, which has been labelled brain drain because of the characteristics of the Greek migrants.

### Counterurbanisation

I reckon we are in an era of a counterflow movement [. . ]. A few years ago, the dream of an average Greek was set by consumerist standards, a career with no spare time neither personal life, that lead to estrangement. Today, people [. . .] are changing their cultural and living standards. They are seeking a better quality of life, improved human relations in smaller communities, more safety and return to the roots.

Minister of Rural Development and Food (2012)

The press release by the then Minister, Kostas Scandalidis, was most likely aiming for a feel-good reaction from the public. He was referring to a study conducted about the intention of urbanites to move to the countryside (Diagram 2.19). The whole text gives the impression that the Greeks were herding back to the countryside, resurrecting the abandoned rural areas, and reinforcing the idea of the ‘proud peasantry.’

It is seven years since the above speech, therefore if there was any such urban invasion in the Greek countryside, the results would have already been visible.

There has been a number of academic studies regarding counterurbanisation in Greece since the crisis (Gkartziou 2013; Gkartziou and Scott 2015; Hilmi and Burbi 2016; Gkartziou, Remoundou and Garrod 2017; Apostolopoulos, Newbery and Gkartziou 2018; Benessaiah 2018) and a plethora of international media reports (ANSAmud 2011; Cockburn 2011; Fotiadi 2011; H. Smith 2011; Stolarz 2012; Williams and Dineen 2012; Babington and Papadimas 2012; Donadio 2012; Nissirio 2012; O’Brien 2015).

This phrase is a common one in Greek: περήφανη αγροτιά (perífani aghrotiá), and it refers to the entire farming community of the country. Its history and how and why it became popular have been proven hard to find. The meaning in the vernacular though connotes the pride inhered within the work of the farmers which defies their social ranking at the low strata of society.

This is not only a Greek scenario, as some of the studies/reports refer to the same phenomenon in other struggling countries too (Nissirio 2012; Hilmi and Burbi 2016; Silva and Cardoso 2017).
The study was poll via telephone of 1,286 people in Athens and Thessaloniki. Extrapolating the results to the Greek population, the 68.2% was translated into a correspondent 1.5 million urbanites. The data of the intention for employment in agriculture, of the motives for the move to the countryside and the level of education are referring to the 68.2% of the sample that responded affirmatively to the intention to move.
recession to the family roots and the home village has become a narrative:

Since the advent of the crisis, Greece has witnessed a pronounced trend of counter-urbanization: a return to village parental and ancestral homes, a flight back to the rural areas that had been previously abandoned [. . .]. The latter trend has gone hand in hand with renewed occupation with primary sector productive activities, for purposes of covering basic needs and day-to-day survival. These trends signal a reversal of the steady and rampant urbanization of the post-war decades (Terkenli 2015, 61).

This narrative has reinvented the rural, by promoting the countryside as an antidote to the urban issues caused by the economic turmoil and reinforcing the perception of ‘rural resilience’ (Anthopoulou, Kaberis and Petrou 2017, 1), which refers to “the capacity of a rural region to adapt to changing external circumstances in such a way that a satisfactory standard of living is maintained” including also “the capacity to recover from management or government mistakes” (Heijman, Hagelaar and van der Heide 2007, 383).

The studies on the crisis counterurbanisation cited above have all identified cases of urbanites who moved back to their families’ roots, trying to make a new beginning. Anthopoulou et al. (2017, 9) argued though that “aspirational migration’ is greater than ‘real in-migration’, because the crisis is reinforcing the rural idyll.” Gkatzios also pointed out that there is not one crisis counterurbanisation story but ‘many contrasting and diverse stories’ that need to be explored (Gkartzos 2013, 165). Additionally, the narrative of the ‘return to the land’ did not necessarily mean engagement with agricultural activities (Gkartzos 2013, 161; Gkartzos and Scott 2015, 852; Gkartzos, Remoundou and Garrod 2017, 24; Anthopoulou, Kaberis and Petrou 2017, 10); as discussed earlier the rural landscape has grown beyond its past agricultural character.

A common remark made was that the crisis counterurbanisation cases encountered should not be generalised to a wider national rural movement, despite the fact that both state and mass media are celebrating the ‘re-ruralisation’ of the country (Gkartzos, Remoundou and Garrod 2017, 30; Anthopoulou, Kaberis and Petrou 2017, 9). The counter-urban mobility due to the crisis is a ‘complex’, ‘multifaceted’ and ‘personalised’ phenomenon expressed by diverse experiences of incomers (Anthopoulou, Kaberis and Petrou 2017, 9).

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138 Psycharis, Kallioras and Pantazis looked into regional resilience concluding that all regions in Greece were deeply affected. The ones that showed some resistance were regions with “highly developed tourism activities” and the one “with traditional agricultural production and with export-oriented activities” (2014, 138–39).
Before the crisis, the Greek countryside and the grandparents’ house had become a place of leisure and escape from the wild urban way of life and that idealisation preserved a myth of a simple, genuine life, where relationships and values are important, a life totally freed from the intense, false modern life in the cities (Little and Austin 1996, 102). That idealised rural was reinforced by the crisis struggles transforming it in a place of survival, driving a number of people to their homelands and aspiring more to consider it. However, that was a deceitful representation of the rural landscape as in that ‘image’ the hard work, the poverty and the challenges of the everyday life were not present; especially for the crisis rural incomers there are additional struggles masked by the rural idyll, such as integration, adjustment, underemployment, social exclusion (Anthopoulou, Kaberis and Petrou 2017, 9).

### Brain Drain

Wherever I travel Hellas hurts me; backdrops of mountains archipelagoes, naked granites... The ship that sails they call it AG ONIA 937.

George Seferis 1936
“In the Manner of G.S.”: Stanza 7

Agriculture, tourism, counterurbanisation, crisis as opportunity, and a country in need for a reconstruction. By whom? Who is going to undertake the task of rebuilding Greece? One of the destructive phenomena occurring within the Greek society during and post-crisis has been the new emigration phase. “Greece is traditionally known to be an exporter of men, a far more generous donor of blood than she has been a taker” (Spiridonakis 1977, 40) and this is being proven again with a third wave of migration (Diagram 2.20); this time however things are quite different.

Labrianidis and Pratsinakis (2016, 1–2) noted that migration from Greece had never ceased especially since the establishment of the free movement right within the EU; however, it was not numerically significant. An interesting outcome from the authors’ study was that before the crisis “Greek citizens have notably been amongst the least mobile Europeans,” not only showing indifference towards long distance mobility, but also expressing reluctance towards migration in case of unemployment at home; the winds of crisis were soon to change...
dramatically ‘mobility intentions and aspirations’ (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2016, 10). From 2008 to 2013 it is estimated that approximately 223,000 Greek citizens age 25–39 have migrated permanently abroad in quest for better employment and life conditions (Lazaretou 2016, 34; Labrianidis and Pratsinakis 2016, 11).

The difference in the current migration outflow is that it extends beyond the haemorrhage of the Greek human capital; this time the migrants represent the loss of national investment. The Greek citizens that choose to depart for more developed countries are of high educational levels. There are two significant negative outcomes because of the brain drain for the country’s future and development as determined by Lazaretou (2016, 50). The first is that the country of departure, Greece, exhibits negative demographic rates as the emigrants are generally single young men and women. The result would not only be a further decrease

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Diagnosis 2.20. Greek Emigration Phases. Flow of permanent departures in thousands.
Numbers of departures of Greek citizens of all age groups. It refers to both residents and citizens who remain abroad for more than a year. Naval personnel, visitors/tourists and business travellers are excluded. The period 1932 - 1938 includes both new emigrants but also the ones that had returned temporarily and left again. Up to 1924, numbers refer only to transoceanic destination countries, between 1932 and 1938 to all transoceanic, European, and Mediterranean, between 1946 and 1954 to all countries except Europe and Mediterranean and after 1957 to all destinations. The data collection stopped in 1977 (Lazaretou 2016, 36, Diagram 1).
of an already low birth rate, but also the encumbrance of the national insurance system by the lack of an important part of the labour force. The second outcome is related to the educational system which in Greece is still exclusively public, meaning that it is funded by the taxpayers. Calculating the educational cost of the specialised labour force, their departure consists a loss of public investment.

You shouldn’t have given up. You should have stayed and fight. If everyone leaves in difficult times, then who’s going to stay behind and work to make things better?

Lycurgus expressed candidly his opinion on my emigration. Although my motives were irrelevant to the crisis, the result was the same to him.

Regardless of the brain drain, there are optimistic and inspirational words to be found both in the past and the present about how the country will not just survive but grow stronger too. Theotokas ninety years ago was referring to the young generation of his time trying to be hopeful about the future of his country ([1929] 1998, 63–64).

We are broken, withered, lost in the jumble of contemporary life. No one expects anything good from Hellas. There is no hope dawning anywhere. This moment is certainly a wonderful moment. At moments like these, if the right people are found, sometimes very beautiful things happen. Youthful energies, unharnessed, undirected, wander in the atmosphere, without direction. None of the young people knows what exactly it is that they want, but they do all want fiercely. A potency of the young desires is being constituting around us, without a defined object. A seed sown in such soil can give one day the most unhoped-for fruit.

Little did he know that those would be the same people that would fight for their country against the German conqueror. Depending on the perspective one has, this could have been the ‘unhoped for fruit.’ As seen in the previous diagram Theotokas’ era was also a time of emigration.

Currently the optimistic voice belongs to Xarchakos (2017) who is certain that:

A country travelling in such a light, is never going to vanish. She will go through various phases, as it has been before through its History. But the wheel will spin again. This light will not leave us undefended.

The future is unknown but sometimes there can be hints of what might happen if we look closely in the past and present. This is what I am trying to do in order to identify the perceptions and practices as they inform each other. Human intellect has reach exquisite levels of development trying to answer the mysteries of our existence that there are manifold
theories of various disciplines that attempt to explain human agency. This is what I am talking about in my next chapter. I am describing the theoretical platform on which I laid my research findings in order to understand in what ways people-as-agents function.

First though, let us pause and reflect . . .
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from Context

Contextualisation; that is the most important idea to take from this port. Not only regarding landscape as Bender has argued (1993, 2) but for every circumstance. My most important aim in this chapter was a double contextualisation. I had the strong belief that setting the context of the economic crisis of 2010 for the Greek landscape, was not adequate for the purposes of my research. The global airtime the crisis received with so many analyses from sources around the world, that sounded out-of-touch to anyone who has studied Greek modern history, made it necessary for me to contextualise the rupture within its historical framework too.

There’s another common misconception regarding Greece apart from the Greek landscape, the Greek social gígnesthai; not only the current but its historic trajectory too. I am aware that there are times that I probably sound like I am on a mission to discard the validity of the foreigners’ perceptions of Greece; that is not my goal though. Admittedly, if I had conducted the same research for a Greek university and had never interacted with people from all around the world, both in academia and everyday life, my thesis would have had a completely different core. Nevertheless, it was the incorrect perceptions by foreign peers mainly that led me to elaborate on the historical circumstances that led Greece to the specific rupture.

What I would hope you would keep from the Context is that the Greek social gígnesthai has not evolved along with the western European. A crucial fact is that it was the West that proclaimed the modern Greeks the descendants of the Ancient Greeks; two hundred years ago, when the Greek State was founded, the indigenous fragmented, poor, agrarian, almost primitive and without a national identity society was appointed by western Europeans and the intellectual Greek diaspora the cradle of the European civilisation. Therefore, Greece had to be westernised. The attempt of modernisation though failed spectacularly; the political and social institutions that were imposed externally were contradictory to the local society’s composition, resulting in the creation of a systemically problematic society.

One of my objectives in this chapter, was to take down the characterisation of the Greek economic crisis as unprecedented. The trajectory of the Greek state has exhibited worse ruptures since 1832, —the Civil War and the Dictatorship are not that long ago, — and that is another souvenir from this port. With a failed incomplete modernisation constantly
requiring further reforms, such social ruptures are going to keep occurring; and as long as the responsibility of the failure burdens the local realities without addressing deep-rooted systemic deficiencies, then the indigenous society is always going to be stigmatised for the failure. That is the socio-economic context of this research: not an economic crisis as understood by the western standards, but a rupture in a tumultuous trajectory full of such ruptures sharing the same root cause.

Although, one of the most rewarding aspects of my research was the emergence of ideas and concepts that are not so obviously related to my topic, I cannot emit landscape. The liquidation of the Greek landscape through agriculture and tourism was named the lifeboat the Greek economy. Both are considered the flagships of the Greek economy and especially tourism has definitely been one for decades. However, none of them has escaped the fate of the failed modernisation, meaning that both sectors have been experiencing systemic issues like any other aspect of the Greek society; the extravistic approach towards landscape followed by the state did not alleviate the issues. More likely than not, they could not function independently countercurrent to the general socio-economic structure and become the saviour of Greece.

Before we sail towards our next stop, there is another key point to take with us; the phenomena of counterurbanisation and brain drain. Despite the state’s call to return back to nature, there is no significant evidence that can support an important flow from the urban to rural. Regarding the brain drain however, the emigration of the highly qualified Greeks abroad, it has been confirmed by relevant surveys and statistics.

Let us store these new pieces for now and let us sail through the theoretical approach of this research.
Chapter 3. Theoretical Approach

What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose codes it embodies? What would remain of a religious ideology [. . .] if it were not based on places and their names: church, confessional, altar, sanctuary, tabernacle? What would remain of the Church if there were no churches? The Christian ideology [. . .] has created the spaces which guarantee that it endures. More generally speaking, what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. Ideology per se might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space.

Henri Lefebvre (1991, 44)

Lefebvre could be seen as an exponent and even a pioneer of an interdisciplinary approach to space as he called for a ‘unitary theory’, with the “aim to discover or construct a theoretical unity between ‘fields’ which are apprehended separately [. . .], first, the physical – nature, [. . .]; secondly, the mental, including logical and formal abstractions; and, thirdly, the social” (Lefebvre 1991, 11). Particularly in reference to the social, according to Harvey: “we owe the idea that command over space is a fundamental and all-pervasive source of power in and over everyday life to the persistent voice of Henri Lefebvre” (1989, 226).

Lefebvre expressed his critique towards the different disciplines’ tactic of breaking space, distributing the fragments among them, making them their possession, and then analyse these fragments within “mental barriers and practico-social frontiers”. What Lefebvre advocated was the analysis of space itself and the social relationships integrated in it and not separate analyses of each of the things contained in space (1991, 89); a tactic unable to grasp the complex interrelations between them that need to be deciphered in order to be able to produce knowledge and suggest solutions to our society’s issues.

The idea of a unified approach to space is my aspiration, and Lefebvre’s framework matches ideally my intention and disposition towards my research. Although it is almost a norm for ethnographic research to be inductive, —theory to be generated from the data,— in my project I ventured to analyse and interpret my data through the lenses of existing theories.

One of the three traits that qualitative research has, is exactly the above: its emphasis on examining social phenomena through the views of their participants. Although qualitative research could be loosely described as a ‘research strategy’ that “tends to be concerned with
words rather than numbers,” this is not one of the three features that Bryman has considered most significant: induction (generation of theory), constructionism and the above-mentioned interpretivism (Bryman 2012, 36, 380). He noted, however, that even those features constitute more ‘tendencies’ than clear characteristics and that qualitative research can be deductive positivistic and objectivistic as well (36–37). This is closer to Crotty’s argument that the only methodological distinction occurs between qualitative and quantitative research and not on the levels of epistemology and theoretical perspective: 139 both approaches can be used as long as the stances and perspectives are consistent (Crotty 1998, 14–16).

My idea to invite in my research social theory came by a phrase by Ipsen: “In the sociology of space landscape is an unusual theme” (2012, 60). As a sociologist, Ipsen used his field as point of reference; could I dare add the reverse too then? That in landscape architecture, social theory is an unusual theme? As I have explained previously, my project represents to some extend my application of entry in the field of Landscape Architecture; if I contemplate on Stiles’ commentary on the status of the field (2012, 261–62), then most likely there is some truth in my statement, although changes are in motion.

Swaffield has elaborated on the sociological approach in research of Landscape Architecture by ‘making connections’ between critique and theory and arguing towards a ‘social constructionist’ approach (2006, 22). His stance was of great assistance to the theoretical and methodological structure of my project. Swaffield upheld the concept of the social construction of landscape but rejected the post-modernist approach of their immateriality advocating that landscapes are real (2006, 23).

On the same wavelength from the field of Geography, D. Mitchell has scrutinised subjectivist theories for having taken over and abolished the physicality of landscape. He objected the elimination of landscape’s tangible existence by astutely questioning how non-material landscapes could be approached socially and politically, having abandoned materiality that is so important to the capital (D. Mitchell 1996, 5).

In the subjective formation of knowledge, as Crotty phrased it, “meaning is created out of nothing or it is constructed out of anything else (beliefs, perceptions etc) but an interaction between the subject and the object to which the meaning is ascribed” (1998, 9, original

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139 There is a discrepancy between Bryman and Crotty regarding the terms they used. The ‘ontological orientation’ and ‘epistemological orientation’ of Bryman equal Crotty’s ‘epistemology’ and ‘theoretical perspective’ respectively. Crotty provides an account about the lack of ontology in his treatise (1998, 10–12). Since this research is based on Crotty’s framework, it is his terminology that is adopted.
Depending on the field and the type of study, subjectivism might be considered more suitable to their aims and objectives — although in Archaeology there have been concerns over the disregard of the importance of artefacts by focusing on landscape and its meaning (Robertson and Richards 2003, 16).

This is not the case for my endeavour though: the cornerstone of my theoretical framework is the rejection of subjectivism as not congruous with neither my personal epistemological perspective nor my research’s aim. Even specifying it to Landscape Architecture, especially planning, the corporeal landscape cannot be denied or overlooked, as it is the materiality that is fashioned. Meanings are constructed on the grounds of personal experiences, ideas, perceptions, prejudices, previous images and representations of the something, an object, but they are constructed out of that object, out of its materiality. Landscapes are concretely tangible to their users and inhabitants.

What is following, is a brief review on (social) constructionism before the analysis of the theoretical apparatus deployed for the purposes of my research.  

3.1. Social Constructionism

Vico’s maxim translates literally as “the true is the thing made [or done] itself” ([1710] 1988, 46) and it has been considered the seed of constructionism. Vico rejected the idea that

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140 It is obvious that I have overlooked one of the three epistemological stances, objectivism. I believe that in an era that even natural sciences have engulfed within their domain the human factor, objectivist theories appear to be obsolete.

141 There is a debate on the distinction between the terms Constructionism and Constructivism, which are often used interchangeably (see Box 3.1). My aim is not to delve into debates on sociological terminology; only to use it as an interpretation tool. Based on the descriptions of the two terms and the socio-economic context of this research, the most adequate approach is social constructionism.

142 In Vico’s terminology, factum is not the fact, but the past participle of the verb facere, which means ‘to make’ (von Glasersfeld 1995, 131; Aertsen 2012, 692).

143 “For the Latins verum (the true) and factum (what is made) are interchangeable, or to use the customary language of the Schools, they are convertible [. . .]. Hence it is reasonable to assume that the ancient sages of Italy entertained the following beliefs about the true. ‘The true is precisely what is made.’” (Vico [1710] 1988, 45–46).
knowledge could be found in “anything pre-established either in people or their surroundings” (Shotter 1986, 199; Hirsch 1995, 17) and argued that humans construct knowledge using their available materials, their experiences (von Glasersfeld 1995, 37). His belief “that the world of civil society has certainly been made by men, and that its principles are therefore to be found within the modifications of our own human mind” (Vico [1725] 1948, ¶331; 85), prompted von Glasersfeld to describe him as “the first true constructivist” and “the first to state unequivocally that our rational knowledge is constructed by ourselves” (1984, 17; 1995, 37).

Hirsch (1995, 16–17) referred to two lines of thought counterposed to the objectivist Cartesian tradition which approached knowledge ‘as an artefactual map’ free from symbolic and allegoric distortions. One direction was the “emphasis on imagery and metaphor,” an expressive vehicle through which local narratives recurrently emerge the “relationship between the foreground of place and ‘insideness’ and space and ‘outsideness’.” The other string of thought was what Hirsch called the ‘art of memory’ with Vico its “most ambitious theorist” (1995, 17).  

Having elaborated on the fact that landscape is the product of social practice and conceptual processes on its material expression, the most suitable framework for this study is constructionism. According to the definition provided by Crotty (1998, 42, original emphasis):

> all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

Berger and Luckmann described reality, as we humans experience it in our everyday lives, as an “intersubjective common-sense world” constructed by “the objectivations of subjective processes (and meanings)” (1967, 34). Within this shared world, each individual constructs the ‘realissimum’ of their own consciousness defined by their own ‘here’ (of their body) and

144 Hirsch borrowed the title from the work of Frances A. Yates, *Art of Memory*, first published in 1966. Yates explored this distinct genre of art invented by the ancient Greeks, usually called ‘mnemotechnics’. Its aim was “to memorise through a technique of impressing ‘places’ and ‘images’ on memory” and although it seems insignificant in modern times, “in the ages before printing a trained memory was vitally important; and the manipulation of images in memory must always to some extent involve the psyche as a whole” (Yates 1992, xi).

145 Brewer referred to naturalism as an orientation in social research, called also the ‘humanistic model’ (2005, 31-37). This was based on the humanistic coefficient by Znaniecki a term he used to describe the “essential character of cultural data” in social studies (1934, 37).
Theoretical Approach

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Box 3.1. Distinctions between constructivism and social constructionism.

Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (Scott 2014, 692–93) describes social constructionism as approaches that “emphasise the idea that society is actively and creatively produced by human beings” and that “social worlds are interpretive nets woven by individuals or groups.” The term is accredited to Berger and Luckmann who argued that “reality is socially constructed, and that the sociology of knowledge must analyse the process in which this occurs” (1967, 13).

The same entry refers to constructivism as a term used in psychology as “the process by which the cognitive structures that shape our knowledge of the world evolve through the interaction of environment and subject”; it is associated with psychologist Jean Piaget and his work children’s learning and development (The Construction of Reality in the Child, 1954).

According to Schwandt, constructivism means that humans “invent concepts, models, and schemes to make sense of experience, and we continually test and modify these constructions in the light of new experience” (2000, 197). Social constructionism differs in that it does not focus “on the meaning-making activity of the individual mind but on the collective generation of meaning as shaped by conventions of language and other processes” (Schwandt 1994, 127).

Crotty clarifies that “the ‘social’ in social constructionism is about the mode of the meaning generations and not about the kind of object that has meaning” (1998, 55, emphasis added) —the meaning of natural objects is still socially constructed. It highlights “the hold our culture has on us” whilst constructivism focuses on “the unique experience of each of us” (1998, 58).

‘now’ (of their presence). These individual ‘sub-realities’ overlap only partially and there is ‘an ongoing correspondence’ between each other’s meanings in this world and a shared “common sense about its reality” (Berger and Luckmann 1967, 36–37, original emphasis).

The writers pointed out that this reality has also a spatial structure with ‘a social dimension by virtue’ of the fact that each person’s ‘manipulatory zone’ intersects with those of the others (40).

“The world is always ‘already there’ before reflection begins —as ‘an inalienable presence” (Merleau-Ponty 1962, vii); however, “before there were consciousness on earth capable of interpreting the world, the world held no meaning at all” (Crotty 1998, 43). Crotty’s words
echoed Znaniecki’s passage referring to the humanistic coefficient (the equivalent of Crotty’s consciousness), which if it was to be removed from a system studied by a researcher as if the system “existed independently of human experience and activity, the system would disappear” and in its place there would be “a disjointed mass of natural things and processes without any similarity to the reality he started to investigate” (1934, 37).

As I set off to explore the correlation between spatial practice – perception – social context, as the ‘sub-realities’ of different social groups, landscape is the spatial structure of their shared world; thus my research is moving within the framework of “an epistemological stance that social knowledge is the active product of human ‘knowers’” (Drisco 2013, 82); this knowledge is ‘relative’, different across people and social groups, ‘context dependent’ and actively influenced by the network of interrelations among social groups and their members (2013, 82, 84). Articulating it in a simplistic way different people construct different meanings for the same landscape and at the same time, different landscapes might have the same meaning for one or more individuals. This knowledge, truth or meaning is “mediated through collective human experience —it emerges from the engagement of people with the material world” and is being constructed within a social setting by people’s interpretations, which are determined by their social and cultural dispositions (Swaffield 2006, 23). A crucial point is that meaning is not created by humans but constructed and its process is “always an ‘ongoing accomplishment’” (Crotty 1998, 47).

Subsequently, I am presenting three theoretical tools I have used for my research purposes: Lefebvre’s Production of Space from the sphere of social theory, Moscovici’s Social Representations from social psychology and Vaisey’s Dual Process Model of Culture in Action (DPM) from Sociology. In between the three theories I am discussing also supplementary concepts that serve additionally to the three main theories: the spatial triad of place, space and landscape and the concept of perception and landscape.

The social world and the natural world are not to be seen, then, as distinct worlds existing side by side. They are one human world. We are born, each of us, into an already interpreted world and it is at once natural and social.

Michael J. Crotty (1998, 57)

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146 Drisco used the term ‘constructivist research’; based on the distinction between the two concepts from Box 3.1 though, his discussion allies more with constructionism.
3.2. The Production of Space as Landscape

“Space is practiced place” according to the English translation of de Certeau’s text [. . .)]. The French word lieu is here translated as place. It would be clearer and more consistent, however, to translate lieu with the word location, rather than with place. [. . .] The term “space” as used in the above quoted phrase, “space is practiced place,” is just as confusing as the use of place because the author does not mean space (espace) in the predominant English sense of the term, which is geometrical space, but rather in the sense used by Merleau-Ponty in reference to “anthropological space” [. . .] [which] is thus analogous to the milieu of a “landscape”—or paysage in the original French.

Kenneth Olwig (2006, 181–82)

Olwig thus, argued that de Certeau meant “landscape is a practiced location.” I have already unfolded my project’s perspective of landscape as practice and process so, I tend to agree with Olwig. In a parallel way, I have developed my understanding of landscape in conjunction with Lefebvre’s maxim “(social) space is a (social) product” (1991, 26, original emphasis). The social production of space is a process and the result “though a product to be used, to be consumed, it is also a means of production” (1991, 34, 85, original emphasis). This exact approach describes the concept of landscape as both constructing and being constructed in a perpetual dynamic process. I will unfold my train of thought and explain how I have defined landscape within his heuristic.

Lefebvre did not elaborate specifically on landscape and the times he used the term, it signified its traditional academic meaning of the time (1991, 62, 113–15, 131, 189, 397). Still, even if he did not specifically equate social space to landscape, his account of the produced space in the Renaissance and its manifestation through art and architecture, identified landscape as a produced space (78, cf. 113–16). If I retrieve my discussion on landscape and its meaning within this research and I juxtapose it with Lefebvre’s description that (77):

social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such ‘objects’ are thus not only things, but also relations,

then I would argue that his ‘social space’ as described corresponds to the concept of the socially produced landscape.

The concept of Lefebvre’s social space can survive even these times of globalisation and remain still applicable, even though space has expanded beyond its spatial substance. He had
almost foreseen it in the early seventies long before the outburst and domination of the internet in everyday life when he described as social spaces the “worldwide networks of communications, exchange and information” (86). Social networks occur in the virtual space of internet and remote communication: social media, international enterprises with offices all over the world, conference calls, virtual meeting rooms, online studies, and the list can go on and on. The struggles among classes have even moved to the virtual space (the role of social media was crucial in the Arab Spring). This virtual social space although it does not have the materiality of a locale, still “behaves” the way Lefebvre described it: “this means of production, produced as such, cannot be separated either from the productive forces, including technology and knowledge, or from the social division of labour which shapes it, or from the state and the superstructures of society” (85).

The processes of the globalisation of the local and the localisation of the global identified by Cloke, is also integrated in Lefebvre’s theory: there are multiple social spaces, —‘uncountable sets’— and they are all interconnected, combined, or even conflicting without eradicating each other whatsoever. “Social spaces interpenetrate each other and/or superimpose themselves upon one another” (Lefebvre 1991, 86, original emphasis). Furthermore, even though they might be distinguishable and some of them physically confined with barriers, social spaces do not have fixed boundaries that separate them (1991, 86–88):

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147 Superstructure is used within its Marxist concept which is defined as the part of society that consists of the non-economic support apparatus comprising the judiciary, government, police, but also culture itself (Buchanan 2010). In Marxism, society is divided in two operational systems, the base with the economic structures and the material production and the superstructure that is the political, legal and cultural organisation including social consciousness (Blackburn 2016). Lefebvre (1991, 85) expanded to three levels: “the forces of production and their component elements (nature, labour, technology, knowledge); structures (property relations); superstructures (institutions and the state itself).
The conjuncture of the landscape discussion in the Introduction; the interpretation of de Certeau’s space and produced place as landscape by Olwig; the adoption of “space, place, and landscape as a dialectical triad,” triangulating the ‘topic’ of landscape by W.J.T. Mitchell (2002c, x–xi); the threefold architecture of rural space as constructed by Halfacree (2006, 50–51); the theory of place as developed by Canter (1977, 158); all the above drove me to the footsteps of Lefebvre’s triad of spaces: perceived, conceived and lived (1991, 38–39), a thought process I have loosely depicted in Diagram 3.1.

The Spatial Triad

A triad: that is, three elements and not two. Relations with two elements boil down to oppositions, contrasts, or antagonisms. They are defined by significant effects: echoes, repercussions, mirror effects. Philosophy has found it very difficult to get beyond such dualisms as subject and object, Descartes’s res cogitans and res extensa, and the Ego and non-Ego of the Kantians, post-Kantians and neo-Kantians. [. . .] Their dualism is entirely mental, and strips everything which makes for living activity from life, thought and society (i.e. from the physical, mental, and social, as from the lived, perceived and conceived).

Henri Lefebvre (1991, 39)

The triinity of space as outlined by Lefebvre, consists of three elements: the perceived space corresponding to society’s spatial practice producing and reproducing it; the conceived space which is the experts’ representations of space that establish spatial order; and the lived space which embodies the representational space of inhabitants and users as experienced with the mediation of symbolisms (1991, 33, 38–42).

In Diagram 3.1 I presented schematically my train of thought towards the conceptualisation of the correspondence between landscape as construed within my project and the threefold space as defined by Lefebvre. Before I outline the process followed, I am going to give a few more details on what each element of the tripartite space stands for:

Perceived: The space that is produced and reproduced, ‘secreted’ by the society’s spatial practice. The latter constitutes of the “actions —flows, transfers, interactions,” — and is “inscribed daily routine” (Halfacree 2006, 50), the ‘collective production’ of everyday reality by the society’s activities which ‘develop and reproduce its spatiality’. Perceived space is related to the use of its materiality, which still needs to be perceived by the senses and
“comprises everything that presents itself to the senses; not only seeing but hearing, smelling, touching, tasting” (Schmid 2008, 39).  

**Conceived:** The representations of space conceptualised by scientists, planners, architects, developers, academics, technocrats, and capitalists (Lefebvre 1991, 38). It is the ‘dominant space in any society’ (38) that aims at spatial order and it is “oriented toward valorising, quantifying, and administering space, thereby supporting and legitimating the modes of operation of state and capital” (Ronneberger 2008, 137). They have a practical impact with interventions on spatial textures through construction (Lefebvre 1991, 42) and objectively expressed in “monuments, factories, housing estates, workplace and bureaucratic rules, and in the more general rules and norms of everyday life that are operative in a given place” (Halfacree 2006, 50–51).

**Lived:** The representational spaces or spaces of representations which are “linked to the clandestine or underground side of the social life, as also to art” (Lefebvre 1991, 33). They are embodied through symbolisms and imageries denoting the world as directly lived, experienced in the practice of everyday life by its users and inhabitants. (Lefebvre 1991, 39; Halfacree 2006, 51; Ronneberger 2008, 137; Schmid 2008, 40). Representational space is inextricably linked to the spatial practice and refers to the vernacular space as appropriated by its users not materially but symbolically (Halfacree 2006, 51). This ‘social imaginary’ (ibid.), which Lefebvre described as the ‘dominated’ and hence ‘passively experienced’ space, is the contested space that the dominant — representations of space — seek to control and dominate and in response “the imagination seeks to change and appropriate.” The lived space therefore can potentially become the ‘hot’ space of resistance and ‘political and ideological struggle’ (Lefebvre 1991, 39; Halfacree 2006, 51; Ronneberger 2008, 137).

The three ‘moments’ of Lefebvre’s dialectical approach are ‘intrinsically dynamic’ (Halfacree 2006, 51) and the relations between them “are never either simple or stable” (Lefebvre 1991, 46), construing spatiality as “inherently ‘turbulent’” (Halfacree 2006, 51, original emphasis); a perpetual process of the production and reproduction of space. Is this reminiscent of the account on the landscape concept from the Introduction?

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148 Although Lefebvre called *perceived* the equivalent to spatial practice which at first glance could seem an oxymoron, the use of the word is based on the premise that spatial practice engages our whole sensorimotor and perceptual gear in full deployment of all our perceptions as described here by Schmid.
Diagram 3.1. Various versions of schemata of the elements of the landscape concept.
At this juncture, let me take you through the conceptualisation process behind the schemata of Diagram 3.1. At the initial stages of my project I was contemplating on approaching my research through the theoretical framework as constructed by Canter’s theory of place, articulating that “we have not fully identified the place until we know what behaviour is associated with, or is anticipated to be housed in it, what the physical parameters of the setting are, and the descriptions or conceptions, which people hold of that behaviour in that physical environment” (1977, 159). So, the concept of place is produced by the triangulation of three elements: people’s activities, space’s physical attributes and people’s conceptions, all three interacting and informing each other.

During my exploration and strive to crystallise my conceptual apparatus, my discussions with my supervisor Simon Bell had a key role and a representation of the theory of place was produced (first chart on the right of Diagram 3.1). Although I was getting closer to a satisfactory framework, the social aspect was still seemingly absent as it seemed that the processual triangle as depicted was focused on the individually internalised sense of place. Expanding my reading to social approaches and theories I altered the previous schema with the replacement of the environment with the surroundings and the behaviour with social practice which entails a collective aspect.

Reading Lefebvre’s work on the Production of Space and his spatial trinity I drew parallels between the three elements as they had evolved from Canter’s theory and the three ‘moments of space’ as defined by Lefebvre and discussed earlier:

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On this premise, the conjuncture of Lefebvre’s triad produces the landscape as the human habitat.
Theoretical Approach

[113x811]

Space, Place and Landscape

Space, place and landscape act as sites and sights of social and cultural inclusion/exclusion and are not fixed but are in a constant state of transition [. . .]. These spatial transformations result from continuous, dialectical struggles of power and resistance among and between the diversity of landscape providers, users, and mediators.

Cara Aitchison et al. (2000, 19)

Three words, both ubiquitous and ambiguous at the same time, have sparked heated debates across multiple academic fields, ongoing for centuries: space, place and landscape, the latter being the latest addition to the group. Thus far I have moved from landscape to place and space without elaborating on the definitions of space and place, putting all my focus on the concept of landscape. The main and probably only reason is that the academic debates on space and place in a manifold of fields in both natural and social sciences and humanities are ‘relentless’. I understand the word might sound harsh but for a foreigner aspiring researcher trying to capture the academic meanings, I candidly admit that the more I read on the subject the more confusing I find it. 149 I acknowledge though that I cannot attempt to conduct an academic research on landscape, without situating it in relation to space and place.


Each one of these three elements has been a distinct spatial concept, still though, they are inextricably entwined with each other and disparate boundaries cannot be drawn between them (Hirsch 1995, 4; W.J.T. Mitchell 2002c, x). According to Tuan (1977, 6), “‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition,” and even if the two can be defined without landscape, the latter cannot be crystallised without space and place as parts of the equation and without looking at all three of them as a whole at the same time.

149 An additional confusion in my case is the fact that in some accounts, —indicatively I refer to Olwig (2006) and Cresswell (2015),— there is reference and an elaboration of the correlation between the Platonic and Aristotelian notions of chôra and chôros for which, as Greek, I already have a crystallised conception of their meanings, which can be disorientating.

150 Understandably these works are only indicative of the vast research that exists surrounding these terms. My references here are works I looked into during my project that have informed my research.
I am not going to ‘rehearse’ the discussions occurred among the aforementioned scholars as this is not the purpose of my project. I am only going to outline the relationship between the three concepts as I comprehended it and applied it throughout this project, as I have depicted it in Figure 3.1. In my visual metaphor I used the principles of Euclidean geometry, despite the fact that I perceive space as defined by Einstein (Frank 1948, chap.8:217):

If you don't take my words too seriously, I would say this: If we assume that all matter would disappear from the world, then, before relativity, one believed that space and time would continue existing in an empty world. But, according to the theory of relativity, if matter and its motion disappeared there would no longer be any space or time.\(^{151}\)

According to Einstein, the Newtonian absolute space does not exist as “there is then no ‘empty’ space, that is, there is no space without a field” (1954, xvi). My justification behind the use of the Euclidean heuristic is however found in Einstein and his alleged claim that “if you can’t explain it to a six year old, you don’t really understand it,”\(^{152}\) which echoed in Tuan’s argument that “space is an abstract concept, which in order to be perceived by humans it has been represented in its most simplified form by the geometrical space, that of Euclidean geometry” (Tuan 1974a, 215). Despite the fact that this ‘sophisticated human construct’ has been challenged by other forms of geometry that emerged since the nineteenth century (Bell 2012, 17–20), it remains the most common representation of space in everyday life.

Now as to the concept of space, it seems that this was preceded by the psychologically simpler concept of place.

Albert Einstein (1954, xiii)

Einstein was most likely right; place is defined by our direct experience with the world around us through our sensorimotor and perceptual gear. It is a focus of value and significance which begins at infancy before we are able to perceive the concept of space\(^{153}\) (Relph 1976, 42, 141; Tuan 1977, 29, 138; 1974a, 236, 245; Cresswell, 2015, 19). As represented in my diagram

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\(^{151}\) Response to a journalist’s question “How could one explain the content of the relativity theory in a few sentences?” during Einstein’s reception upon his arrival at New York.

\(^{152}\) Accredited to both Einstein and another Nobel laureate, physicist Richard Feynman, though no written record of neither has been identified. In Einstein’s biography, though, by Ronald W. Clark there is reference to an incident in 1927 between Einstein and other prominent physicists of the time, when Einstein allegedly said “that all physical theories, their mathematical expressions apart, ought to lend themselves to so simple a description ‘that even a child could understand them’” (Clark 1974, 330).

\(^{153}\) Babies have the instinctive knowledge that their mother’s arms or their crib are their places, although their ability to grasp spatial concepts is not developed yet. (Tuan 1977, chap.3: 19–33).
space and place are in accordance with of Tuan (1977, 6) and de Certeau (1988, 117) theses’ that place implies security and stability, a ‘configuration of positions’ and space represents openness and movement and is composed by vectors of directions and velocity and time variables. Where does landscape fit? The answer has been given by Ingold (1993, 155):

Whereas actual journeys are made through a landscape, the board on which all potential journeys maybe be plotted is equivalent to space.

If I were to describe my diagram in one paragraph, I would say this: Landscape and Place are expressions of Space, or from the tangible perspective are units of Space. Sites (landscapes) consist of multiple locations (places). Sites and locations have relatively stable geographical boundaries (unless major intervention occurs). One site represents a plurality of landscapes. One location can represent a plurality of places; however, places can be plastic and fluid in
the sense that their shape adapts to the actors’ intentionality and social practice. A village, a house, a room can all represent one place to one actor, for example their home. The same house can represent home to all its inhabitants, but it might not carry the same meaning to all of them. For parents could be their success project, whilst for teenage children the house might represent oppression and their room their shelter.

My journey up to this point has been taking you through the concept and the context of my project and we are halfway through the unfolding of the conceptual framework within which I have navigated my research. One main element that I have not discussed directly yet, is people’s perception of landscape. Before I move to explain the heuristic that I used to interpret my results, I am going to share some thoughts on perception using as a stepping stone the notorious phrase from the landscape ELC definition.

3.3. “... as perceived by people ...”

We don’t see things as they are, we see them as we are.

Anais Nin (1961, 124)

It is apparent that perception secured ‘officially’ its place in the landscape concept with the ELC phrase ‘as perceived by people’. This is the best opportunity to bring perception into the discussion and reflect on it. What is that perception mentioned in the title of this work?

In his book *Landscape: Pattern, Perception and Process*, Bell explored thoroughly the concept and generation of perception through the human senses in relation to landscape and human experience of it (2012). We perceive the world around us through the collective operation of all our senses; the external stimuli received by sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch are processed through the mental apparatus of perception and expressed by ‘representation, memory and reasoning’ (Bell 2012, 41). The sensory information we receive differs according to circumstances, both external and internal, meaning that not all senses contribute the same to the perception process. In regard to landscape, if we think of our senses as instruments of an orchestra, vision is considered the first violin.

The focus on landscape as a way of *seeing* and not *hearing*, *tasting*, *smelling*, or *feeling*, might also be explained by the fact that sight predominates in the perceptual processes among the
other senses (Bell 2012, 39–41, 60). “To see is to think and to think is to see” (Serra 2001, 24:58), a connection of the two processes that has been highlighted by Tuan (1977, 10) and Bell (2012, 40, 60). As Lefebvre noted (1991, 139) ‘one of Nietzsche’s great discoveries’ was:

how over the course of history the visual has increasingly taken precedence over elements of thought and action deriving from the other senses [. . .]. So far has this trend gone that the senses of smell, taste, and touch have been almost completely annexed and absorbed by sight.

Much of the discussion around landscape perception either focuses on or uses as reference visual perception, as many methods of identifying landscape perception are based on pictorial expressions of the landscapes in question, mapping, photographs. Vision has always been considered the primary sense for perceiving our surroundings and the landscape concept even if it is not taken purely as a scenery, —that of a scenic view,— it still carries visual connotations. As Tuan noted, although “most people function with the five senses, and these constantly reinforce each other to provide the intricately ordered and emotion-charged world in which we live” (1977, 11), we humans still depend the organisation of our space uniquely on sight: “Other senses expand and enrich visual space” (16).

On the premise of the concept of landscape as construed within my research, the visual perception is not the primary interest; it is the argument by J. Berger (1972, 11):

We are already in the landscape, we do not have to see it in order for it to exist. Landscape could be paralleled to the stage where people perform the act of life, it is there surrounding them even when they are not conscious of it; “when we ‘see’ a landscape, we situate ourselves in it”.

Landscape perception then approaches closer to the definitions given by psychology according to which it is the sensory experience that has been interpreted with reference to its presumed external stimulus object or event (Colman 2015, 559). So, the landscape perception is a multisensory act of experience:

Man out of his intimate experience with his body and with other people, organises space so that is conforms with and caters to his biological needs and social relations (Tuan 1977, 34).

Burckhardt specified Tuan’s view by focusing on the landscape concept, which he described as the tool that allows the urbanites to ‘see and categorise’ their surroundings. According to his thesis, those whose livelihood depends on land do not need landscape to perceive their environment (2015, 62, 102). They identify the objects around them according to their needs and interests, such as the trees, the crops, the vines, condition, and production. In the
contrary, the landscape as “a culturally coded pattern [. . .] is vital to the urban dweller or to anyone else alienated from agricultural labour, for it facilitates his ability to read an unfamiliar rural environment.” (Burckhardt 2015, 63).

The landscape ‘as perceived by people’ raises some questions: perceived how, by whom, where and when (Papayannis and Howard 2012, 14–20). Drawing on the definition of perception above, perceptions are personal, circumstantial, experiential, spatial, and temporal and the number of different combinations among all those unique features can be infinite (Åsdam 2012, 124). Figure 3.2 depicts an example related also to Lefebvre’s question: “How does one (where ‘one’ designates any ‘subject’) perceive a picture, a landscape or a monument? Perception naturally depends on the ‘subject’; a peasant does not perceive ‘his’ landscape in the same way as a town dweller strolling through it” (1991, 113–14).

As set by the objectives of my research it is not the perception per se,—a multisensory body perception,—that I am exploring but in what ways it informs people’s practice. And the type of people’s perceptions of the world are constructed by a variety of cognitive-emotional elements, which are social formations based on collective and personal experiences. It is upon these perceptions that a people acts (Hitlin and Pinkston 2013, 319); therefore, perceptions of landscape are expressed through spatial practice. Expanding Lefebvre’s analytical perspective that “the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space” (1991, 38), it is through the analysis of the spatial practice of a society that its perception of landscape can be revealed, which is defined as the social practice of a people within this landscape.

Figure 3.2: Marble quarry in Naxos, en route towards the inland. The visual reception of its image generates different perceptions: an aesthetically ugly or beautiful intervention, an ecological damage by human practice, a local product closely related to the island’s history and so on.
3.4. The Interpretation Heuristics

I stated at the beginning of this chapter that although my research is ethnographic it is not inductive, and I am interpreting my results through the spectrum of existing theories. The two lenses I am using are the theory of social representations by Moscovici and the dual process model of culture in action (DPM) by Vaisey.

| Social Representations |

The area where ideology and knowledge are barely distinguishable is subsumed under the broader notion of representation, which thus supplants the concept of ideology and becomes a serviceable (operational) tool for the analysis of spaces, as of those societies which have given rise to them and recognised themselves in them.

Henri Lefebvre (1991, 45, original emphasis)

Representation is already a ‘serviceable tool’ not only for the analysis of space as Lefebvre remarked but for the interpretation and understanding of the world by humans (Box 3.2). In the early sixties Moscovici inspired by Durkheim’s collective representations, developed his theory of social representations within social psychology. As per his definition (1963, 251):

Social representation is defined as the elaborating of a social object by the community for the purpose of behaving and communicating.

Years later he embroidered his definition further (Box 3.3) (1981, 181):

By social representations, we mean a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in everyday life in the course of inter-individual communications. They are the equivalent, in our society, of the myths and belief systems in traditional societies; they might even be said to be the contemporary version of common sense.

The difficulty of the definition of the social representations has been a point of critique for the theory (Howarth 2006, 67), as it has been the notion that social representations only describe what is happening in the social world, consolidating dominant structures instead of critically challenging and acting upon social order (66). On the basis of this critique Howarth focused exactly on what the social representations do and not what they are: “it is the difference between reflecting on or knowing about a body of knowledge on the one hand and acting as if this knowledge is ‘true’ or real on the other” (68).
“Representation refers to the way in which interpretations are made of the world. It is a term which suggests that we do not perceive any aspect of the world in a naive and unmediated way, but that what we perceive is always re-presented to us through specific ways of making sense. Representations construct meaning about the world. They do so by using the codes, conventions, and symbols of their specific historical, geographical, and cultural contexts, and by referring to other familiar images. [. . .] But images do not have single meanings. People can make sense of them in different ways and read or view images in opposition to the dominant culture. [. . .] Representations do things, they work, they have effects and are thus material. Collective and individual identities, and experience of oppression or opportunity in social life, are often inseparable from representations of people, and their relationships with ‘nature’, environment, and landscape. Dominant and oppositional claims to how social life should be organised, collective and individual identities, and ideas of ‘nature’, environment and landscape are thus mutually constituted through representation.”

(Rose, Kinnaird, et al. 1997, 168, original emphasis).

“[R]epresentations are presentations, always and necessarily entailing the use of the codes and conventions of the available cultural forms of presentation. Such forms restrict and shape what can be said by and/or about any aspect of reality in a given place in a given society at a given time, but if that seems like a limitation on saying, it is also what makes saying possible at all. [. . .] Secondly, cultural forms do not have single determinate meanings [. . .] however [. . .] we are all restricted by both the viewing and the reading codes to which we have access (by virtue of where we are situated in the world and the social order) and by what representations there are for us to view and read. [. . .] Thirdly, what is re-presented in representation is not directly reality itself but other representations. [. . .] I accept that one apprehends reality only through the representations of reality, through texts, discourse, images; there is no such thing as unmediated access to reality. But [. . .] [p]artial -selective, incomplete, from a point of view- vision of something is not no vision of it whatsoever. The complex, shifting business of re-presenting, reworking, recombining representations is in tension with the reality to which representations refer and which they affect.”

(Dyer 1993, 2–3)

Box 3.2. Descriptive definitions of the concept of representation.
Halfacree has elaborated on social representations which he described as the tools that people use to make sense and be able to cope with the complexities of the social world. These tools are ‘organisational mental constructs’ which help us navigate between phenomena and reality and even define reality itself, by organising, comprehending and mediating the world through them” (Halfacree 1993, 29). Halfacree also identified within
landscape studies and the rural specifically the ‘best known contemporary family of representations’ namely the ‘rural idyll’ (2003, 144), as described by Short (2005, 34):

The countryside as contemporary myth is pictured as a less-hurried lifestyle where people follow the seasons rather than the stock market, where they have more time for one another and exist in a more organic community where people have a place and an authentic role. The countryside has become the refuge from modernity.

Within the same spirit, as an additional example again within the rural realm I would argue that the concept of rural resilience discussed earlier consists also a social representation.

Under this prism, the themes emerged from my fieldwork were identified as significant social representations and I was called to determine if my research participants were ‘critically aware’ of them “in their encounters and practices (and possibly come to develop these, transform or reject these)” and if they acted “within a representational field as [their] accepted construction of reality” (Howarth 2006, 68).

A prosthesis to the discussion is also the context of crisis. Social representations are nor static neither inert. Howarth has pointed that whenever referring to the practice of social representations, she has been using a hyphen “to highlight the fact that representations are constantly re-interpreted, re-thought, re-presented” (2006, 68n2). Social re-presentation practice is something humans do to understand the world’s reality and in doing so they affect social order. Representations can be either hegemonic or oppositional and both “can be used ideologically to uphold the social order, to defend specific identities, and to limit the interests of others”; by supporting “existing institutionalised relationships” they “maintain relations of power in the social order” (Howarth 2006, 79). Among the social representations I identified, both hegemonic and oppositional were present as was their contest.

The question that I also had to answer was, regardless of which response my informants had, how did their verbal accounts were linked to their habitual practices, if they did in the first place. That was where Vaisey’ model entered the picture.

Dual Process Model: Motivation and Justification

Individuals are remarkably bad at giving consistent reasons for their behaviour.

Stephen Vaisey (2009, 1678)
The above quote is a lay expression of the concept of “cultural incoherence” — the tendency for people to give self-contradictory and inadequate accounts of their actions and motives” (Vaisey 2014, 151, original emphasis). Vaisey having identified a gap in research on the work of culture in a coherent combination as both a social and psychological justification and as a motivation for action, he attempted their synthesis and developed a ‘dual-process model of culture in action’ to answer the question: “What role do cultural meanings play in people’s behaviour?” (2009, 1675, original emphasis)

The premise of his model was the concept that “human cognition is based on two basic processes — on fast and, automatic and, and largely unconscious, and one slow, deliberate, and largely conscious” (2009, 1683). This so-called ‘divided self’ has been heuristically encapsulated by Haidt (2006, chap.3:26) by a useful metaphor: “a rider on the back of an elephant” (ibid.). I am going to share the metaphor here, as it is the simplest way to describe a not so simple process:

The rider, who represents our conscious processes, is the part of ourselves we know best — she can talk, reason, and explain things to our heart’s content. Yet, for the most part, she is not in charge. The elephant, which stands for our automatic processes, is larger and stronger than the rider and is totally unencumbered by the need, or the ability, to justify itself. Driven by the simple mechanism of attraction and repulsion, the elephant goes where it wants. As the metaphor implies, the rider is no match for the elephant in a direct struggle. While the rider usually only pretends to be in control, she can slowly train the elephant over time or perhaps trick it into going a different way. But in any given moment, the elephant — practical consciousness — is usually in charge. For the most part, this is quite advantageous. Having a durable practical consciousness means that rather than having to weigh pros and cons on a daily basis [. . .], we can leave some things up to our habits of judgment and evaluation.

The reproduction of the metaphor is useful as it is ingrained in Vaisey’ model as below (2009, 1687):

actors are driven primarily by deeply internalized schematic processes (“the elephant”/practical consciousness/habitus), yet they are also capable of

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Vaisey clarified the use of all three words ‘culture’, ‘action’ and ‘behaviour’. Accepting culture as a multivalent concept, he construed it in his model as “something like ‘conceptions of the desirable,’ ‘cosmologies,’ ‘worldviews,’ or ‘values’” (2009, 1676n3). He also referred to the Weberian distinction between “action” and “behaviour”, the former as ‘subjectively meaningful’ whilst the latter not. His interest is in “patterns of conduct that occur over time” he equated both the terms to simply ‘things people do’” (2009, 1675n2). Within my research this is translated as practice.
deliberation and justification ("the rider"/discursive consciousness) when required by the demands of social interaction. 155

The DPM can offer a deeper insight of how culture motivates action through the understanding of the difference or disconnection between practical and discursive consciousness. Vaisey’s concluding comment was that the use of the dual-process model can enable us to explore “how ‘settled’ and ‘unsettled’ times might favour different mixes of schematic and deliberative processing” since there are indications that “internalised cultural understandings matter more when our ‘practical’ routines are disrupted” (2009, 1707).

That exact remark has been applicable in my research as I had the opportunity to observe people’s discursive consciousness (justification) and practical consciousness (motivation) and how the ‘unsettled times’ of the crisis informed both of them.

Before I conclude the first leg of our journey and proceed to my methodology, I would like to explain how I synthesised the social representations as elaborated previously and the DPM. On the basis of Vaisey’s interpretation of culture in his model as worldviews or values and on Moscovici’s positioning of social representations “somewhere between concepts whose purpose it is to distil the meaning of a world, to make it more orderly and perceptions that reproduce the world in a reasonable manner” (1981, 184), I have identified the way Vaisey’s ‘culture’ motivates actions with the way the social representations inform practice. Seen through this prism, the dual consciousness could enlighten the agency of the social representations.

Did this port seem full of valuables to take along? Let us synopsise the most important ones.

155 Vaisey used extensively the concept of habitus as developed by Bourdieu; however, in this research I am not going to elaborate on the specific concept, and I am keeping only the term “practical consciousness.”
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from *Theoretical Approach*

Please, allow me to begin this synopsis drawing your attention to my attempt to bring social theory to my research. This is important for two reasons: first that ethnographic studies are usually inductive and mine is not and second that social theory and landscape architecture are said to be an unusual match. Still, I was inspired by Lefebvre’s idea of a unitary theory of space, which perfectly suited my ideological disposition towards my project, so I aspired to look at my research through the lenses of Lefebvre’s work.

An important point also in this chapter, aligned with Lefebvre too, was the adoption of social constructionism as the epistemological perspective of my research and the rejection of both objectivism and subjectivism. The former was out of the question as it opposes in principle the idea of the landscape perception and the latter because we cannot talk about landscape as a commodity and take away its materiality.

A crucial point in this chapter was that the definition of landscape as set for this research matched Lefebvre’s maxim that “(social) space is a (social) product” (1991, 26, original emphasis). Based on Olwig’s interpretation of de Certeau’s “space is a practiced place” and the description of social space by Lefebvre then, that ‘social space’ equates the landscape as a socially produced space.

The spatial triad though is one of the most valuable souvenirs, a trinity, consisted by the perceived space (society’s spatial practice), the conceived space (the experts’ representations of space) and the lived space (the representational space of inhabitants). I have taken you thoroughly through the conceptualisation process that led to the definition of landscape as Lefebvre’s triad (Diagram 3.1).

At the same time, I could not have left aside the concepts of space and place as landscape cannot be defined irrelatively to those two. Based on academic writings on space, place, and landscape, I have developed the schema of Figure 3.1 representing their interconnections. As space and place cannot be emitted, I had to establish the interrelations between the three within my research, as it was distilled from all my academic readings, hoping that it might be of use for budding researchers in this field.

Not forgetting that landscape perception is a main theme in this research, I could not but discuss the notion of perception, initiated by the ELC’s notorious phrase: “as perceived by people.” With the visual perception dominating the rest of the human senses and the focus
of landscape perception on the visual aspects of landscape, I had to distinguish this research in terms of perception; it is the multisensory perception of space that our journey is focused on; and even more so not the perception itself but the way this multisensory act of experience informs people’s practice.

There are two vital elements to hold tight to, before we move forward: the heuristics I used in order to interpret my research results. I attempted to combine the concept of social representations by Moscovici from the field of social psychology and the dual process model of culture in action (DPM) by Vaisey from sociology, combining the way Vaisey’s ‘culture’ motivates actions with the way the social representations inform practice.

As this is the end of our journey’s first leg, it is time to harbour all the assets acquired so far, before we set off on the second leg, the methodology. Please try to remember that even notions that might not have seemed as relevant, will be valuable later in our journey.
Chapter 4. Charting the Method Map

[. . .] we shall perhaps be able to achieve a better grasp of wider perspectives and to dedicate ourselves to the pursuit of significant ideas rather than to the pursuit of data. At present we respect the maxim that methodology makes science instead of remembering that science should choose its methods.

Sergio Moscovici (1972, 65)

Four decades later, Moscovici’s viewpoint echoed in the words of Deming and Swaffield who believed that “rather than method it is the perspective driving an inquiry that is most fundamental in shaping any research project” (2011, 2). Research methodology in fields outside the natural sciences —such as my project— is “in large part learned ‘on the job’, through apprenticeship, experience, trial and error, rather than by studying general accounts of method” and it can be paralleled to an “intellectual muscle-building exercise, time out in the brain gymnasium, before returning to the task at hand” (Seale 1999, ix).

My methodological approach was indeed a ‘learn-as-you-go’ exercise, both practice and process (Brewer 2005, 5), replete with irregularity, disruption, unpredictability and an abundance of vicissitudes and dead ends. As per Seale’s (1999, ix) words, though, methodological principles provide awareness of implications and a shield against palpable mistakes, a ‘road map for the journey ahead’ (Bryman 2012, 16). They might not eliminate contingencies, but they facilitate the adaptation to unforeseen circumstances and the application of effective workarounds.

On grounds of reflexivity, transparency and good practice regarding my methodology and methods, a chronicle is about to follow, describing the steps taken from my initial research design to what actually occurred towards the production on the data. The research guide I originally consulted was Crotty’s ‘scaffolding’ process (1998, 5), as adopted by Swaffield (Table 4.1). Having already set social constructionism as an epistemological base, Swaffield’s

156 Janesick scrutinised the fixation with methods within the social sciences, naming it “methodolatry, a combination of method and idolatry,” which she defined as the “preoccupation with selecting and defending methods to the exclusion of the actual substance of the story being told” (1998, 48).

157 As there are dissimilarities of how various researchers define terms as research strategy/design, methodology and methods, in this project methodology is the “plan of action, process or design lying behind [. . .] and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcome” (Crotty 1998, 3) and methods are the technical procedures used for the collection and analysis of data. For the various definitions see (Crotty 1998, 3, 6–7; Brewer 2005, 1–6, 57–58; Blaikie 2009, 12, 15–26, 81–92; Deming and Swaffield 2011, 2–3, 9; Bryman 2012, 35–36, 45–46).
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*Table 4.1. Framework of knowledge formation (Swaffield 2006, 25: Table 1).*
framework was offering relevant options of methodology and methods. Additionally, I explored the methodological paths used in a number of landscape studies.

Since the ELC in 2000, people’s perception towards a bottom-up approach in policy-making and planning has become a focal point in landscape research deploying various methods (Table 4.2). The majority of these studies placed the attention mainly on the visual aspects of landscape (Ward Thompson 2013, 33) and used perception as a vehicle to unveil people’s landscape preferences and uses, with rarely further sociological or cognitive interpretations (Sevenant and Antrop 2009, 2890).\(^{158}\)

Research on the relation of society and space in times of crisis, is, naturally, a product of the crisis itself. Inevitably these studies occur later in time, as people’s responses to events are ‘time-lagged’ in relation to the events themselves. Such research in Greece since the crisis, has orbited around Athens—or metropolitan urban areas—with main focus on issues, such as politics, economics, solidarity, immigration (Cappuccini 2018; Kourachanis, Lalioti and Venieris 2019; Alexandrakis 2017; Arampatzi 2016; Evangelinidis 2016; Kaika and Karaliotas 2016; Lazaretou 2016; Vaiou and Kalandides 2016; Hadjimichalis 2014; Leontidou 2014).

In a 2018 book of ethnographic anthropological accounts on the social transformations occurring in the country, the focus was still the capital as per the editors’ confession: “few data are available regarding the experience of the crisis in the countryside or in smaller middle-class cities scattered all around Greece” (Dalakoglou, Agelopoulos and Poulimenakos 2018, 5). Only one account involved research on an island, Kalymnos, concerned with local perceptions about concealed valuable objects, inspiring hope for exiting the crisis, and how they are related to international politics (Sutton 2018).

In Table 4.3 there are examples of studies within the context of crisis in the Greek countryside and the methods used. As noted from the references, the majority is relatively recent. It transpires, hence, that relevant literature available in 2012, when I was planning my research, was non-existent.\(^{159}\) Admittedly, I received the lack of precedent on the topic, as a methodological *carte blanche*.

\(^{158}\) Although they recognised a number of attempts towards that direction, Sevenant and Antrop noted that “more empirical evidence is needed to understand the interrelationships between different preferences related to landscape perception”. Their research, though, still focused on the visual aspect and they used quantitative methods: *in situ* questionnaires.

\(^{159}\) I discovered one paper in English about landscape and identity during crisis in Iceland (the Icelandic crisis preceded the Greek one) published in a Spanish journal (Zarrilli 2011).
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*Table 4.2. Examples of methods used in research studies about landscape perception.*
4.1. Qualitative Approach

Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted.

William Bruce Cameron (1963, 13)

The flexibility that the carte blanche offered me in selecting the appropriate methods was not as liberated as I originally believed, as finding a starting point was proven challenging. My project entailed an exciting characteristic, the opportunity I had to research my topic in real time and “in the natural settings and contexts which influence and shape people’s meanings” (Brewer 2005, 34). I was going to eye-witness historic events and most importantly explore them on purpose, so the choice of an empirical qualitative approach emerged as the optimum option. It would allow me to dive in a specific social setting and gather information about people–landscape dynamics during crisis time, directly from the
protagonists. According to methodology experts this is exactly the emphasis of qualitative strategies is: “seeing through the eyes of the people being studied” (Bryman 2012, 399).  

The division of research in two parts, qualitative and quantitative is the first information new researchers receive and I was not an exception (Crotty 1998, 15). Having myself a distinctively practical background, it would probably be expected to choose the ‘safety’ of the quantitative approach. The truth is that it is my background and my exposure to the use of quantitative practices behind my rejecting them; please, allow me to clarify what I mean.

The most simplistic difference between the two approaches revealed by their name at once is that the doctrine of the quantitative strategy is numbers whilst that of qualitative research is words. Numbers and measurements have gravity and stature in science; they are highly regarded as solid and objective causing qualitative researchers to “struggle under the shadow of this dominant orthodoxy” (Blaikie 2009, 213). Fortunately, the boundaries between the two have begun to blur (Schwandt 2000, 210n32; Ercikan and Roth 2006), and the adoption of mixed methods has been gaining momentum (Greene 2006; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner 2007); despite these optimistic stances, the debates on the qualitative–quantitative dichotomy does not seem to have subsided (Bryman 2012, 399).

I had contemplated the use of mixed methods during my research design. At the time, I had come across Silverinha de Oliveira’s research on the relationship between immigrants and open spaces, in which she used mixed methods on a pyramidal process (Diagram 4.1), building each methodological step on the previous. (2012, chap.5). She had employed focus groups as a springboard to reveal themes on attitudes, experiences, perceptions and uses from her participants’ perspective, which she used to build her next methodological step. Gillham (2000, 78) and Deming and Swaffield (2011, 157) have confirmed the usability and usefulness of focus groups at the early stages of research since they can function as a compass for orientation on the topic and identification of themes or even underlying issues.

Considering the lack of relevant studies and my difficulty in finding a methodological reference point, the adoption of the pyramidal model, at least its first stage, was presenting

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160 See also still Bryman (2012, 35–38, 380–404) and Blaikie (2009, 204–18).

161 The debates about the qualitative–quantitative divide and the position of mixed methods within these debates have a long history and are characterised by multivocality. For some further reading on the topic, see Blaikie (2009, 204–26), Bryman (2012, 611–52) and Brannen (2016).

162 Ward Thompson et al. (2005) used the same mode in studying the use of new local woodlands by the respective communities.
appealing as the steppingstone to begin my navigation and develop my method map. Two factors made me reject this plan.

Focus group, as formally defined, “is a discussion-based interview that produces verbal data generated via group interaction” (Millward 2012, 413). Its essence lays on the idea that interactions among participants, —agreeing, disagreeing, challenging, and contradicting,— trigger the emergence of views, issues, questions, and aspects around a particular topic that could not be revealed in one-to-one interviews, hence they enable the researcher to acquire a richer insight (Gillham 2000, 78; Blaikie 2009, 207; Deming and Swaffield 2011, 156–57).

Wilkinson has discussed thoroughly the interaction element and its advantages in research; two of them I could only partially agree with. She argued that focus groups enhance disclosure, contrary to common assumptions, and they encourage the development of elaborated accounts (1998, 334, 336–37). My objection does not refer to the validity of her argument but to its generalisation. Wilkinson’s field is health studies, and her specific work was referring to patients sharing dramatic experiences. A common trauma can work as a convergence point and a key to candour among the people who share it, who “may enthusiastically extend, elaborate or embroider an initially sketchy account” (336). 163

This argument does not stand solid when focus groups involve settings where participants are acquaintances of any type. There are power relations in play among the group members

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163 In addition to Wilkinson (1998), on focus groups see also Millward (2012) and D. L. Morgan (2012).
that intercept disclosure and promote the development of even fake accounts deriving from the desire to conceal or impress the others. Group members position themselves according to the setting they find themselves in. The same principle of the researchers’ positioning in the field, as debated by Rose (1997), is applicable to the participants too, both in relation to the researcher and their fellow group members. Their relationships, interconnection of their interests, local and personal politics define behaviours and can render the group discussions performative. I have participated in focus groups within academic and professional settings and the information exchanged within the group was later proven to be inaccurate, fake or ‘staged’ in personal communications that occurred separately with members of the group.

My three groups of interest were all professionals in their respective fields sharing to various extends conflicting interests and even personal feuds. They were also members of a relatively small community where people relations and connections are tight. The idea of building my methodology and research on data derived from focus groups of such members entailed a high risk of compromising the validity of the research itself. I can say at this point that my experiences during my fieldwork confirmed my predictions, as it is revealed in Chapter 7.

The mixed methods pyramidal model therefore was deemed inappropriate for my research and was consequently rejected along with the adoption of a qualitative-only research strategy and more specifically ethnographic or field research. Before overviewing the ethnography within this project, I am going to share some thoughts on the scepticism that surrounds qualitative research.

### Some Scepticism

Interestingly, the one path that still leads in the direction of scholarly objectivity, detachment, and neutrality is exactly the one originally thought to lead away from these classic virtues: that is, an openly autobiographical style in which the subjective position of the author, especially on political matters, is presented in a clear and straightforward fashion. At least this enables the reader to review his or her own position to make the adjustments necessary for dialogue.

Dean MacCannell (1992, 9–10)

As per tradition in all academic matters, choosing either the quantitative or the qualitative approach is not debate-free and the parley between the advocates of each one is not an exception. I am not going to delve into the virtues and evils of the two approaches; there is
a plethora of detailed and thorough methodology handbooks from experts exhausting the subject. What I am going to expand at this point is some scepticism surrounding qualitative research as I interpret it through the lenses of my own project.

I believe that my predilection for qualitative over quantitative methods has been self-evident thus far. I need to clarify that I am not against quantitative techniques; I am only sceptical. Measurements and numbers have a default validity assigned to them, which conceals the fact that they can too be manipulated and tampered. Real life, countries, states, companies, any institution, even households, are managed based on statistical data, namely numbers. I have witnessed how numbers can be ‘adjustable’ and ‘flexible’ so as to depict the ‘desired’ reality; it is identical to words. My point is that both strategies can be equally objective or subjective and this depends completely on the disposition of the person applying them. If I could draw a parallel, I would say that quantitative methods are the best student in class who is above and beyond suspicion, so they can get away with bad behaviour, whilst qualitative is the trouble-maker student always having to prove themselves. I prefer to be the latter.

The dichotomy between the two is actually more highlighted in debates than it exists in reality. As Turner noted “we can regard all the information we acquire about the world as qualitative” and under specific circumstances these data can be used to produce “quantitative data, to which the properties of numbers are applied” (1994, 195). Gillham phrase it reversely: “‘facts’ do not speak for themselves —someone has to speak for them,” so they need words in order to “be described and interpreted” (2000, 10, original emphasis).

Despite my personal dispositions, qualitative research has faced valid criticism and also exhibits some preoccupations for researchers, both summarised by Bryman (2012, 399–406):

**Preoccupations**

- Seeing through the eyes of the people being studied.
- Description and the emphasis on context.
- Emphasis on process.
- Flexibility and limited structure.
- Concepts and theory grounded in data.

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164 A characteristic example is the existence of a webpage by SAGE Publications exclusively dedicated to research methods with a rich database of published material: [https://methods.sagepub.com/](https://methods.sagepub.com/). A general search in any library and or academic website provides an abundance of results from general methodological approaches to precise techniques for research in specialised fields.
Points of Critique

- Qualitative research is too subjective.
- Difficult to replicate.
- Problems of generalisation.
- Lack of transparency.

Regarding the preoccupations, I share the same ones and I have been candid about them throughout my thesis; except the last one. As I explicated in Chapter 3, my project’s aim was not to inductively produce new theories but use the framework of existing ones.

Regarding the critique towards qualitative research, I am invoking the aforementioned passage by MacCannell and its underlying message. I firmly stand by the belief that all research is subjective inasmuch as it is determined by the researcher. Even quantitative research design is guided by the personal judgement of the researcher (Sauer [1925] 1983, 323), which determines the level of importance of elements and the parameters of their relations: “we only see what we look at” (J. Berger 1972, 8) in all kinds of research.

I am going to discard the lack of transparency as a point of critique, on the basis that I am taking this journey along with the reader and I could not have been more transparent regarding the whole process; sometimes to the point that I fear it is marginally stepping into autoethnographic territory. I get so absorbed by the ‘trouble-maker student’ role, being preoccupied by trying to prove my research’s validity, and be as transparent and reflexive as possible, that admittedly it does seem that my narrative gets off focus occasionally. This discussion is not out of focus though: it is about my research’s validation to elaborate on people’s perceptions and practices within their landscape at times of social rupture.

I am going to try to respond to Bryman’s second and third point of critique before I move to describe the ‘doing’ of research in the following sections — the first and forth are being answered continuously by the intention and the structure of my thesis. If we consider the axiom that “truth is what stands the test of experience” (Einstein 1950, 115), then I fear any qualitative method is going to be expelled from the domain of research. Can any social research be replicated and tested? Even the results of the same quantitative method, like a questionnaire in two different areas, can they really be comparable? The human factor is the undeniably unpredictable parameter in any equation. Researchers strive for some kind of classification of social phenomena but let us imagine for a minute what if the same research
design applied in different studies resulted in the same outcome. I believe that it would be puzzling and maybe uncomfortable. Can human hypostasis fit in moulds?

The urge for norms and general truths in social research is a reminiscence of what Lefebvre described as ‘social entropy’ and “a monstrous excrescence transformed into normality”: the rational organisation of society by the imposition of “analogous, if not homologous measures” and the flattening of “social and ‘cultural’ spheres” (1991, 23). From my reading on methodology for this project’s purposes, I came to the realisation that social research struggles with particular insecurities, namely ‘validity’, ‘reliability’ and ‘generalisability’, all three translated into the quality of qualitative research (Burgess 1991, 143–46; Brewer 2005, 46–50; Bailey 2007, 49–57; Bryman 2012, 389–99).

In a circular way, I have come back to the concepts of situated knowledge, reflexivity, and positionality as the ‘safety valve’ for the quality of qualitative studies. The research of social phenomena has inherent treacherous elements: despite globalisation and international information networks and flows that reign the current epoch, societies have not become ‘rationally organised’ yet. No matter how similar they appear to be, they still have unique features alive and active under the mask of homogeneity that determine their members’ perceptions, behaviours, and disposition. As Giddens argued “the ‘feed-in’ of sociological notions or knowledge claims into the social world is not a process that can be readily channelled” (1990, 16). The only valid aim, therefore, I believe I can have for this research is “to produce non-generalizing knowledge[s] that can learn from other kinds of knowledges” (Rose 1997, 318) and hope that my produced knowledge can contribute to the future ones.

Where would I attempt to produce knowledge? On an island, but I would like to explain how and why I made that decision.

|| In Quest for Where?

It is valid to regard every island which has at some time been the home of a human group as potentially a laboratory for the archaeologist, in very much the same way as the Galapagos group proved to be one for Darwin.

J.D. Evans (1973, 520)

Evans, inspired by Darwin who approached the island as a laboratory for the ecosystems and the evolutions of species, extrapolated that idea to the concept of island as a laboratory for
the evolution of human culture, which became a platform used by other researchers too (MacArthur and Wilson 1967; Whittaker 1998; Patton 1996).

Insularity is truly a limiting factor to resources, allowing hence scientists to study the ways in which biological or human communities have adapted to their environment. This limiting factor generates a self-contained microcosm, almost a closed system, with defined boundaries. This sets islands apart from the contiguity of the continents and thus defines a laboratory of manageable and quantifiable proportions. (Vogiatzakis, Mannion and Pungetti 2008)

My choice of research site, field or even case study was an island; an Aegean island in the Cyclades, Naxos which happened to be representative of the landscape concept and context, I have taken you through thus far. Having been a rural-only economy until the advent of tourism, it represents the Greek rural as it has evolved and urbanised and, being a Cycladic island, it is the definition of the Greek island; outside the tourist season it is a peripheral region. Most importantly for the purposes of my project, despite the tourism, its people, the Naxiótes, have managed to keep the agricultural and tourist sectors almost balanced. It emerged thus as the ideal field to look into the dynamics of crisis and the performance of both sectors in one place. As mentioned in the Introduction, Naxos satisfied some practical requirements too: geographically defined with manageable size and easy access.

The idea of focusing in one place, instead of comparative case studies research had the same base as my arguments for the selection of the qualitative approach. Gerring has offered a supportive voice (2007, 1) with his statement that:

Sometimes, in-depth knowledge of an individual example is more helpful than fleeting knowledge about a larger number of examples. We gain better understanding of the whole by focusing on a key part.

Having selected the field, it is time to describe it. Before though I need to repeat our ritual of summarising our souvenirs from this port.
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from *Charting the Method Map*

One of the most highlighted elements during my studies was the methodology; obviously! Isn’t that what validates research and distinguishes it from any random survey? Without any solid knowledge on research methodology, I had to dive deep into it. In the process though I realised that I align with Moscovici, Janesick, Deming and Swafield and Sealed (See p.167) regarding ‘methodolatry.’ That is the first item to take from this Chapter: methods are crucial for a research, but they should not become its objective and determinant.

I did study as many methodological materials as I could, and I certainly followed established methodological principles. Using Table 4.1 as my guide, my approach was still a ‘learn-as-you-go’ process. The recentness of my topic and lack of similar studies gave me the freedom for methodological exploration. I still compared methodological processes of relevant studies and consciously decided that a qualitative approach served my research intentions best. That is the next important item: the fact that a method has been proven optimum for one topic does not make it optimum for other relevant ones. That was where I expressed my scepticism and argued on why focus groups, although generally considered useful and insightful at the beginning of a research, depending on the setting, they might not be the most solid ground.

A what I consider pivotal piece of information to carry along the rest of the thesis, —and hopefully beyond, — is not only the fact that I chose a qualitative only path for my research, but some critical thinking on qualitative methods and the reason behind my choice. Although there are insecurities attached to qualitative methods, as they have been overshadowed by quantitative in the name of objectivity, validity, reliability, and generalisability, I have argued that quantitative are not more objective than qualitative, as objectivity is a very fluid concept contrary to the meaning we have given it. As I mentioned in previous parts, I consider objectivity a chimaera and any method in search for knowledge is equally subjective since it is conducted by human beings, the most subjective and unpredictable factor. Especially regarding generalisability, I have trouble to accept it in humanities and social studies regardless the method; as I have wondered earlier how human hypostasis could fit in moulds.

Last but not least, is the choice of the research location, the island of Naxos, as both a rural and a tourist landscape, carrying a pivotal feature too: insularity. This has created a kind of microcosmos that can be seen as a research laboratory.

With our boat filled with valuable tools so far, let me introduce to you the island of Naxos.
Chapter 5. The Island: Naxos

This island possessed great sweetness and tranquillity. Everywhere huge piles of melons, peaches, and figs, surrounded by a calm sea. I looked at the inhabitants. Their faces were kindly; they had never been frightened by Turks or earthquakes, and their eyes were not on fire. Liberty here had extinguished the yearning for liberty.


This is how the renowned Greek writer 165 described the island of Naxos in his last book reminiscing his first visit there in 1897. The picture Kazantzakis recalled was not far from the image I saw when I disembarked in Naxos for my first ever visit in 2006, a hundred and ten years after the writer’s experience. The island belongs to the complex of Cyclades, in South Aegean, a place that has emerged since the sixties as an international summer holiday destination and the symbol of the Greek holidays brand abroad; small white houses with blue windows and bougainvillea plants blossoming (Figure 5.1), densely built cobbled narrow alleys and a rocky, dry greenless scenery as a background completing the landscape. Millions of people arrive to these islands every summer166 to experience the Greek holiday.

Cyclades include 140 islands and isles, with 28 of them inhabited 167 and Naxos is the largest of them all with an area of 431 sq.km and a coastline of 129 km (ELSTAT 2011, 28). The name Cyclades derives from the Greek word κύκλος (kíklos), meaning circle and it is attributed to the circular arrangement of the islands around Delos, the sacred island of antiquity. 168 Despite the origin of the complex’s name, observing Naxos at a map, it seems that the island is actually the ‘heart’ of the South Aegean Sea, located almost in the centre (Figure 5.2). Measuring in straight line the shortest distance from the island to mainland Greece on the West, to Turkey on the East and Crete on the South, it almost confirms this impression; the

165 More on Nikos Kazantzakis, one of the most influential Greek writers, can be found at: https://www.kazantzaki.gr/en/life-and-work
166 Reports from Santorini mention more than 2 million visitors during summer of 2017 (including cruise ships visitors).
167 The data are derived from the 2011 census by ELSTAT (FEK 2014). The number of the islands refers to the ones that are officially registered for administrative purposes. There are still more uninhabited isles included in the Cycladic complex.
168 Delos was the epicentre of Apollo’s worship in ancient times. According to ancient scripts the myth had it that Apollo and his twin sister Artemis were born on the island. Their mother Leto had sought refuge there to give birth to Zeus’ offspring, hiding from Hera’s wrath. The number of authors celebrating Delos in antiquity is distilled in M. Smith’s comment of “how empty Delos would have been without a narrative” (2008, 69).
distances are approximately 135, 145 and 170 km, respectively. Therefore, Cyclades in
general and Naxos specifically are on the frontier between Europe and Asia; if the Aegean is
the transitional zone between the Western and the Eastern world, then it is not a surprise
that Cyclades have been rendered a hot spot for the mighty throughout history.

The Aegean Archipelago has always been of high geopolitical importance being the hub of
the communication network between Europe, Asia, and Africa. Kasdagli (1999, 15–16) has
analysed the significance of the geographical location highlighting three elements: the sea
that constrains, isolates, and simultaneously channels the communication between the
islands and the world; the proximity to continental land towards both East and West; and the
location of the Aegean Sea at the crossroad of communication between Europe, Asia and
Figure 5.2. Locating Naxos with the kind contribution of Bing Maps.
Africa. The Archipelago has a dual bilateral importance for Cyclades being both the frontier between the islands and the rest of the world and simultaneously the path of communication that connects them to the world. This dual character becomes more obvious, almost tangible, during adverse weather conditions in the Archipelago, when sailing suspension\(^{169}\) goes into force, isolating the islands for days. The geopolitical significance of the area is manifested by Naxos’ rich history; without harbours and unable to be a designated port of call for the ship, the island was still a vital part of the large exchange network in the area.

The island is the administrative capital of the municipality of Naxos and Small Cyclades,\(^{170}\) which refers to the small islands of Iraklia, Schinoussa, Koufonissia and Donoussa that encircle Naxos from South to West. They are very small islands of a total area of 46 sq.m. and

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\(^{169}\) The Hellenic Coast Guard (Limenikó Sóma – Elliníkí Aktofilakí) is entitled to suspend the sailing permission of vessels under the Greek flag, due to adverse weather conditions. This decision is made based on the weather forecast by EMY; it can be based solely on wind conditions according to the Beaufort scale. Legal Framework: Legislative Decree 187, FEK 261/A/3-10-1973 (art.42;¶2) and Presidential Decree 852, FEK 312/A/23-11-1976 (art.1).

\(^{170}\) ‘Small Cyclades’ are also translated as ‘Lesser Cyclades’. The former one is the literate translation of the Greek name Μικρές Κυκλάδες (Mikrés Kiklódhes) and it is the one used by the Municipality.
consist of small communities of 934 total population spread among them (FEK 2014). This research refers only to the main island of Naxos.

5.1. The Land and the Landscape

The barren rock-bound flat-topped appearance of many of these islands [. . .] are the fragments of an ancient upland whose surface has been worn by long weathering into rough undulations or, where the rocks were of a more resistant character, into sharp clear profiles, the former type being by far the most common. [. . .] With one or two exceptions therefore the Cyclades with their rough, elevated, and even mountainous interior, their rocky valleys, their steep, closed and at times precipitous coasts have an inhospitable and inaccessible aspect, which is heightening by the prevailing barrenness and by an atmospheric clearness which reveals their every detail.

British Naval Intelligence Division (1919, 10)

There is no better description of the Cycladic landscape than the above written by a British naval officer almost a century ago. As he added, though, “this appearance is largely deceptive” and he provided a more microscopic picture of the landscape; a coastline shaping inlets and natural harbours and an inland that hides valleys, plains, and some upland fields suitable for “unexpected cultivation” (1919, 10). I could try to describe it myself but there have been eloquent descriptions from the past that draw the picture of the island, which has remained similar almost the same to this day, even since Saulger’s times (1698, 5):

The principal things which make this island famous are the height of its mountains, the quantity of white marble, which is drawn from them, the beauty of its plains, the multitude of fountains and the rivers which water these mountains, the large number of gardens filled with all sorts of fruit trees, the forests of olive-trees, orange-trees, lime-trees, and pomegranates of a prodigious height. All these advantages which distinguish her from all the others have acquired her the name of Queen of the Cyclades.

The island is practically divided in separated zones according to its geomorphology and the different products of the land deriving from each one, as described to me by locals:

• The lowlands with their fertile Livádi mainly agricultural with its villages Livadochória.
• The middle zone with trees, fruits, olives: the valley of Tragaia and the valley of Eggares.
• The part of the highlands with the mines where the villages smiridochória are.
• The remaining part of highlands had husbandry.
The Geomorphology

An ancient Greek fable says that the islands of the Cyclades were created at the terrible "War of the giants", from the enormous rocks that were thrown against each other by the Giants and the gods. This is the mythological version of the geological realignments that took place at the creation of the Cyclades and the other islands of the Aegean.

The Mountains

The lofty peak of Mount Jupiter for a background, and the rivers and craggy outline of the range which forms the backbone of Naxos.

J. Theodore Bent (1885, 345).

“Its bare towering crags, deep-bitten ravines, and rugged almost savage mountain profile stamp is as a part of the Greek mountain series” (Admiralty 1919, 115). Contrary to the regular form of the coastline, the terrain of Naxos exhibits a rugged relief with more than fifty percent of its surface classified as mountainous (Figures 5.4, 5.5). A mountain range traverses across the island from North to South, across its maximum distance with pinnacles along the way. The peaks are higher at North, Anathematistra (779m), Koronos (997m), Mavrovouni (865m), Pastellas (868m), Fanari (908m), leading to the summit of Zas (1,004m). Thereupon, the altitude decreases —Kavallaris (521m), Biglatouri (418m)— towards the South end point.

This high massif forms a natural partition that divides the island in two parts, unequal in both size and morphology. The east side of the ridge is the smaller one; it is rugged and steep with rocky, barren slopes and deep ravines without many fertile flatlands. Slopes that bore soil had been intensely terraced, since the antiquity (Turner and Crow 2010) with the vast majority still standing. As a resident from Koronos said “these terraces have been feeding us forever to this day.”

The highest peak of the ridge almost at the centre of the island is Mount Zeus – Zas, as it is called in the vernacular,— standing at 1,004m above sea level, the highest peak in Cyclades (Figure 5.6). It was named after the god Zeus and is related to a myth that says that baby Zeus was brought to Naxos to be saved by Cronus and there is a cave where he was supposed to have been hidden. The cave was discovered in 1962 (Petrocheilou 1962) and it has become a famous visitors’ attraction recently.
Figure 5.4. Map of the geomorphology of Naxos and percentage of the surface areas according to the ELSTAT classification (ESYE 1995, 149).
Figure 5.5. Looking from above — somewhere at the centre of the island — towards the northern peaks of the Naxian massif.

Figure 5.6. The peak of Mount Zeus, as seen from the highest point that can be reached by car.
The island’s south-southwest part is almost uninhabitable and hence abandoned. The ridge running south of Zas, despite having lower summits than the north, is a rocky rugged eroded landscape with hardly any soil left, let alone arable land (Figure 5.7). There are no hamlets to be found except a few standalone cottages more likely properties of shepherds. The area is habitat of sclerophyllous vegetation and of an abundance of goats and some sheep (the map in Figure 5.8 depicts the land use classification according to CORINE Land Cover with easily identifiable the extended area covered by the ‘Shrub and/or herbaceous vegetation associations’).

The Naxiótes have been imputing this desolation to rampant overgrazing. They have been reckoning that during the first years of the CAP enforcement, when livestock subsidies were based on the number of animals, shepherds increased their flocks to raise their payments. That tactic was considered acute regarding caprine animals but mild, if ever existed, for cattle. The argument, supporting this difference, was that cattle herders are ‘prisoners’ to their animals; cattle needs regular care multiple times a day, every day without time-off. ¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Free range cattle is a herding practice usually when the purpose is meat production. In Naxos, the cattle consist primarily of dairy cows that need frequent and regular nurture to avoid the risk of losing the milk production or even the animal itself, mainly by mastitis.
Figure 5.8. Land Uses of Naxos according to CORINE Land Cover 2012. For unknown reasons vineyards are omitted, although there are many registered vineyards in Naxos and there is a provision for vineyards in the CORINE classification.
Goats and sheep on the contrary do not require much attention and can be left to graze freely.\footnote{An approximate year timeline, provided by a local agronomist, begins in October when the females give birth. Some small ones are slaughtered at Christmas and then the milking period starts until May. During this period, the shepherds need to visit the animals daily. After May, they release them free up in the mountains. They just check upon them maybe once a day, in the morning, for water and food. I had a personal encounter with an old lady, a stereotypical Greek old lady that had goats. I was awestruck to find out that, not only did she have a milking machine, but she has an automatic one with a timer. She could visit the herd at any point and set the machine ready to begin later in the day.}

The uncontrollable growth of caprine flocks — mainly goats — exceeded the grazing capacity of the island and damaged the landscape. To make matters worse, the CAP reforms in 1992 and 2003 established livestock headage limits and rights regime based on each farmer’s direct payments’ history, prompting the shepherds to abandon high numbers of animals astray, since they would not receive higher payments for more animal units. The same account was given by various people from different groups of stakeholders without significant differences. All the estimations provided for the amount of the caprine animals on the island was above a hundred thousand, liable for the desertification of the south of the island from the mountain Zas all the way down to the bay of Kalantos.\footnote{Despite the fact that this information is related to my fieldwork data, I believe it is a useful insight at this point for the description of the mountainous character of the island.}

Despite the barren-look of the island, there are still important types of habitats and this has been obvious by the two areas registered in the NATURA 2000 regime for protection and preservation (Figure 5.9). The European voyagers of the previous centuries have commented on both the existence of woodlands and wildlife and the rocky and barren areas too (Buondelmonti (1420) 1897, 213; Tournefort 1718, 166; Thévenot 1687, 103; Clarke 1814, 383). Some of them had also reported the existence of deer (Thévenot 1687, 103; Tavernier 1678, 120; Des Barres 1678, 139) — Tournefort mentioned that it was said that there were deer, however, he did not see any (1718, 171). Saulger, who lived on Naxos for twenty-five years during the end of the seventeenth century, did not mention anything about deer even though he provided some details on the fauna of Naxos (1698, 364).

The importance of the deer myth since then has lived through the oral lore and it has fed tales about how rich the environment was on the island and how the Naxiôtes themselves ruined it. I need to add though that there is still game in Naxos and hunting during the legislated hunting period is a common hobby of the locals.
Figure 5.9. Map showing the two areas of Naxos registered under the Natura 2000 regime and recognised wildlife refuges.
The Island: Naxos

Katerina Mitka

The Plains

Most part of it is very high land; yet it hath a great many pleasant and fruitful plains.

Randolph, Bernard (1687, 20)

The island has celebrated plains that have made it as fruitful as it is still today and there are of a quite high number considering the extend of the mountainous area:

The fine parts of it, which are the Campo de Naxia, the Plains of Angarez, of Carchi, of Sangri, of Sideropetra, of Potamides, of Livadia; the Valleys of Melanes and-of Perato. The whole Island is cover’d with Orange, Olive, Lemon, Cedar, Citron, Pomegranate, Fig and Mulberry Trees; it has also many Streams and Springs (Tournefort 1718, 166).

The significant point of Tournefort’s description is the existence of water, a distinguishing feature of Naxos compared to other Aegean islands. The presence of water and the existence of wells in the fields (Figures 5.10, 5.11) determined the land uses and landscape in general. There are even waterfalls on the island and yearlong streams, which is unusual not only for the islands but also for coastal areas in mainland Greece. Tournefort’s brief description of the Naxian landscape mentioned a dominant presence of trees in all the fertile areas of the island. This could be surprising considering that the island’s economy had been mainly agropastoral for centuries until the twentieth century (Kasdagli 2004, 259; 1999, 85); even today it is ‘traditionally’ an agricultural island (South Aegean Region 2014, 14). Nowadays the plains, especially Livadi (Figure 5.12), are dominated by potato cultivations.

Figure 5.10 Well in a field in Naxos, 2013.
Figure 5.11. Map showing the groundwater surfaces in Naxos. One of the main prides the Naxiôtes have is the fact that their island has water unlike the other Cycladic islands.
In her thorough research on Naxos of the seventeenth century, Kasdagli examined notarial documents regarding property and she mentioned the existence of arable fields, enclosed irrigated plots (consisting 7% of all lands), vineyards (which were a quarter of all the plots mentioned in the notarial archives during the aforementioned period), vegetable gardens and terraced fields, which, however, they were not described as such usually in the documents (1999, 87–88).

One of the production practices determinants for the landscape, though, was the multi-cultivation, a tactic followed mainly with vineyards – vines often coexisted with trees – but it was expanded to different combinations with groves, orchards, and crops (Kasdagli 1999, 87). Intercropping is not popular today, especially with crops as a secondary cultivation, unless they are intended for grazing without being harvested. Especially in regard to vineyards, the phenomenon seems to have been eliminated; the vine planting rights regime (European Commission n.d.c) and the establishment of the vineyard registry have prompted the winegrowers to exploit the full potential of the vineyard soil for vines. One main reason appears to be the manual labour required; it is hard to have more than one cultivation simultaneously. They have different needs and different timelines of care which makes the use of machinery forbidding.
**The Coastline**

The almost round shaped coastline is more of an oval with two end points, one to the North and one to the South; the maximum distance from North to South is approximately 32km, and 23km from East to West. This generally regular coastline is not characterised by many distinctive coves that could evolve to significant anchorages. It has been mentioned in most of the accounts about Naxos that it had been harbourless; still though the island’s trade managed to flourish (Saulger 1698, 5-6; Tournefort, 1718, 222; Randolph 1687, 20). However, Fotheringham and William stated that it was Marco Sanudo upon the establishment of the Duchy that gave Naxos a harbour, the one still used to this day, enclosed north by the islet of *Palátia* and west by a breakwater also built by Sanudo (1915, 71).

The island’s coastline is full of small promontories that shape small inlets of placid beaches that have become the islands tourist attraction; especially the west side south of Chora has a kilometres-long seafront that consists of consecutive sandy beaches.

**The Settlements**

The island’s Venetian past is visible to this day not only with the *Kástro* (Figure 5.13) dominating the acropolis of Chora but also with the manors of the nobles and the monasteries built around the island. Those were fortified castles left in their natural colour of their material or in some settlements painted with earthy colours (like in Chalki); there is quite a number still standing in Naxos, some still with their original function, some as cultural sites and some as ruins (Figures 5.14, 5.15).

The settlements (Figure 5.16) are somehow grouped following the division of the land: Chora and its ‘satellites’ is one group; *livadochória* which are surrounding Livadi is the second group; the villages surrounding the valley of Eggares are the third; another one consists of the

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174 Marco Sanudo was a noble from Venice, who conquered Naxos and established the Duchy of Archipelago in 1207. After the fourth crusade and the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the conquerors agreed upon their share of the new territories with the Ionian and Aegean islands assigned to Venice. Even though that advanced her trade interests, the high expenses of the crusade had affected the financial ability to conquer the territories assigned. To avoid the cost, Venice permitted individuals to conquer those places —with specific exceptions like Crete— by their own means and rule them themselves. The only provisions were that reigns would show loyalty to the mother city and its interests and that no land at any point would be transferred to an enemy of Venice. Under this decree Marco Sanudo got the authority to conquer Naxos and the Cycladic islands (Fotheringham and William 1915, 45–55).
Figure 5.13. Looking at Chora, the castle town and Kástro from the islet of Palatia (I.); Close view of the Kástro (II. and III.); Indicative pictures from the narrow alleys inside the castle town. Please note that the pictures are taken at night-time, as rarely I have the opportunity to visit Chora during daytime.
villages of the valley of Tragaia; the *smiridhochória* comprise a group by themselves and the rest highland villages are grouped all together. This geographical separation has created distinguished differences among, the villages, their productions, their architecture, and the people; a surprise for an outsider like me who would expect that the integration in such a small area would be more expected.

I mentioned earlier that the island is harbourless, one of its most distinguished features assigned, and yet it had been flourishing for periods across history since the antiquity (Saulger 1698, 5-6; Tournefort, 1718, 222; Randolph 1687, 20). Apart from the main port at Chora on the west side of the island, there are two very small ports on the east side which were important for the transportation of emery (*smirigli*, see p230): Apollonas on the north-east coast and Moutsouna on the east. Both inlets are so small that describing them as ports could be considered a hyperbole (Figure 5.17). It is quite an astonishing fact that even hundreds of years after the voyagers’ accounts, the island is still today considered harbourless and this is a contested topic for the local community. ¹⁷⁵

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¹⁷⁵ I will return to this topic in Stage Two and the third leg of our journey.
Figure 5.15. The tower of Bazeos (Baseggio), built in the seventeenth century is converted into a museum and it hosts a cultural festival every summer. It is located south-east of the village of Sagkri.
Figure 5.16. Map of the settlements in Naxos. It can be seen that the majority of them are in the north west of the island, whilst the south is uninhabited. The marked area is the region of the emery villages, smiridchohória.
Naxos is also full of archaeological and byzantine sites making its long history visible in every corner. The Naxiótes' favourite, Πορτάρα (Portára) ¹⁷⁶ (Figures 5.18 and 5.19), located on the islet of Palátia left to the port at the entrance of the island, is the emblem of Naxos. The islet is connected to the island with a passageway. Portára is an archaic monolithic marble grand gate, the only standing remnant of an unfinished temple that tyrant Lygdámis began building around 530 BCE. It was linked to the worship of Dionysus for centuries, considered to have been his temple by all the foreign voyagers of last half millennia (Fotheringham and William 1915, 71; Bent 1885, 337; Clarke 1814, 396; Tournefort 1718, 172; Thévenot 1687, 104).

Nowadays, the temple is considered to have been a dedication to Delian Apollo. ¹⁷⁷ I have not been able to find the relevant archaeological studies that assigned the temple to Apollo or

¹⁷⁶ Portára from πόρτα (pórtā) which means door, entrance, gate.
¹⁷⁷ Apollo had the epithet Delian, meaning related to Delos the centre of his cult.
when this change occurred. Regardless of the archaeological research, the monument is officially named Temple of Apollo by the touristic authorities and the locals.\textsuperscript{178} There is rarely any reference to the fact that it had been assigned to Dionysus for centuries. It is said that the European travellers assigned the temple to Dionysus, probably because of the connection the god had with the island (Lamprinoudakis, Sfyroera and Mpillis 2010, 29); nevertheless, the little islet has been significant to the worship of Dionysus for the locals. It is said that it

\textsuperscript{178} One of the supporting arguments is based on the orientation of the temple; it is supposed to be aligned with Delos. The accuracy of this statement is doubted though as by drawing a vertical line from Portára towards north, it falls on Syros and not Delos. However, the same line if extended towards south it falls on the Kástro, at the top of the hill. This could indicate the presence of a temple on that hill at the time the Portára was being constructed, to which the new temple might have had some relation. As no evidence supports the existence of a sanctuary on the hill in antiquity, this is only a plausible hypothesis (McGilchrist 2010, 49–50).
was at the beach of Palátia, where Theseus left Ariadne sleeping and Dionysus abducted her. A local lore claims it as the location the first Dionysian rites were organised (Kapsi 2013, 49). Tavernier described a stone bridge of freestone connecting the islet to the island with pipes on its sides still visible (1678, 120). According to his account, those pipes were used to bring the wine into the temple, which was drunk during the Dionysian rites. Thévenot referred also to the pipes being visible at the time of his visit, which were part of an aqueduct bringing water from a distant spring; Dionysus himself had begun to build it, according to the locals, but did not finish it (1687, 104). Lambrinoudakis et al. have dismissed the theory of the aqueduct reaching the temple, describing it a local tradition reproduced by the European

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179 An ancient aqueduct has been discovered with a tunnel, which was constructed to bring water from the area of Flerio, close to Melanes, to the town of Naxos. The end point of the aqueduct in the town is not known to this day as the rapid development probably destroyed that part (Lambrinoudakis, Sfyroera and Mpillis 2010).
travellers (2010, 29). Tavernier and Thévenot’s accounts about the little isle date before Saulger’s and they might have repeated stories without having witnessed the images they described. Saulger who was a Jesuit missionary residing in Naxos, did mention the aqueduct. Thévenot’s account made reference to a structure of white marble and not only the doorway (1687, 104). If indeed he had witnessed that, it would more likely have been a church; it is considered that a basilica had been built on the ancient ruins around the sixth century CE bearing an inscribed arch (Kapsi 2013, 49; McGilchrist 2010, 44). That was a common strategy during the Byzantine times. 180 The materials of the unfinished temple would have probably been used for the construction, with the remnants of the unfinished temple in addition to some new stones; Tournefort mentioned pieces of granite stone apart from marble (1718, 172). He also reported the removal of construction pieces from the site, confirming Thévenot’s account of inhabitants carrying stones away for their own buildings (1687, 104).

There is no real need for witnesses of the tactic of stripping off ancient sites; it was very common for centuries, hence it most likely occurred not only to Portára but to other antiquities too. Wandering in the narrow alleys of the Castro, identifiable elements of antiquity can be observed enclosed in its walls (Figure 5.20). Clarke (1814, 396) mentioned the existence of a public fountain dedicated to Ariadne, located near Chora, which seemingly he saw along with some ancient works in the area. Prior travellers made no reference to it, but Bent transferred the word of an old man, who stated that the place was excavated by a Turkish dragoman in 1821 who took with him all the engraved plaques and left only on inscription that was at the time a step at a house (1885, 339).

The practice of removing antiquities with or without permission or buying them from the illiterate prior to the establishment of the State and even later until the twentieth century was applied by many foreign visitors to Greece. Both the aforementioned travellers removed antiquities from the island themselves as per their own accounts; either just took them or bought them. Clark had expressed some disappointment is seemed (Clarke 1814, 394):

Every fragment of the antient sculpture of Naxos denoted the most splendid æra of the art; but Bacchus was all in all. The fragment of a marble bust of the God, crowned with vine leaves, was shewn to us, of the most perfect sculpture; but the price set upon everything proved our approximation to

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180 There is a perception that in the Byzantine era, ancient temples were destroyed and replaced by churches in an attempt to wipe out paganism. Researchers debate that the conversion of ancient temples was an earlier phenomenon related to their decline (Hahn, Emmel and Gotter 2008).
western countries, and that the intercourse between this island and Italy had taught them how to appretiate the works of Grecian artists.

Clarke’s remark on the difficulty to purchase artefacts from Naxiótes can be seen as revealing of the mentality dominant among the travellers towards the illiterate Greeks.

The Climate

The earth was so parch’d, that it required a little Deluge to allay its Thirst. The Cotton, the Vines, and the Fig-trees would be quite burnt up, were it not for the Dews, which are so abundant [. . .]. To set out in a Calm, won’t save you: as they have no Compass, you are forced to put in at the first Lee-shore, when a brisk Gale begins to blow.

Joseph Pitton De Tournefort (1718, 158).

Even though this description referred to neighbouring Paros, Naxos shares similar weather conditions; in some areas even worse due to the microclimate created by altitude and relief. Temperatures do not go very high because of the winds during summer which, as my group of farmers told me, helps their production. In general, there is an absence of acute contrasts on temperatures, except maybe in some of the island’s valleys. As seen in Diagram 5.1 there is no strong difference even between summers and winter. The island still experiences dry season though because of the low annual rainfall especially between April and September.
The climate of the island as in the whole of Cyclades has defined the culture and the landscape in more than one way. The winds have been very significant; they are the ones who keep the temperatures moderate (Admiralty 1945, 408ff) and also, they have been a pioneer in the landscape shaping. The windmills spread in ruins on the island (Figure 5.21) are the obvious proof of the power of the wind and the importance of it.

On the boundaries of plots and fields bamboo reeds grow that are shaped into natural fences and are called τράφοι (tráfi) by the locals (Figure 5.22). These reeds are allowed to grow high so that they can function as windbreaks. This technique of fencing was already developed by the seventeenth century and their preservation was of high importance (Kasdagli 1999, 90).
This has not altered much since then; the neighbouring owners are equally responsible for its maintenance and they are not allowed to remove reeds without the others permission. Another plant used as natural fences are the aloes, what the British Naval Intelligence had identified as *Agave americana* (Admiralty 1919, 29). These plants are found everywhere on the island and they look very much alike the well-known *Aloe vera*.

*Figure 5.21. Remnants of windmills are dispersed throughout the island.*
5.2. The People

These islands, especially the smaller ones, offer unusual facilities for the study view to comparing them with those of the Greeks as they were. The mainland of Greece has been overrun by barbaric tribes: the Ionian Islands have been thoroughly Italianised: Greece in Asia Minor, and the islands adjacent to the coast have been swamped in Islamism: yet the Cyclades have remained more or less as they were, thanks to their insignificance and unproductive soil.

J. Theodore Bent (1885, vii)

That observation for the people of the Cycladic Islands was also shared by the British Naval Intelligence in 1919 (Admiralty 1919, 21). The travellers of the previous centuries seemed to have had a common shared view of the Naxiótes sometimes using harsh words to describe them: ignorant, lazy, drunkards (Thévenot 1687, 105; Buondelmonti (1420) 1897, 213) or as...
Bent described them “the idlest vagabonds in the Cyclades” (Bent 1885, 330), and pusillanimous” (331), because they did not resist to the conquest by Marco Sanudo.\footnote{Naxiótes did show some resistance, mainly because the island was at the time under the Genoese pirates. The Duke, though, was said to be amiable among the Greeks, enforced by his marriage to a Greek aristocrat (McGilchrist 2010, 25, Fotheringham και William 1915, 65).}
I would allow myself to express an opinion on the Naxiótes I met and interacted and the first I would say is that they are hard workers. Do they appreciate wine? They do as much as anyone else. I would also like to point out that such descriptions were coming from members of the aristocracy of the countries of origin, and their own perceptions of the life of peasantry, which history has shown that was irrelevant to the place in question; their predisposition towards peasantry was not defined by the locale.

In the diagrams seen, I am providing some census statistics regarding the Naxiótes. An interesting point emerged from Diagram 5.4 is the increase in females. According to the information I got from members from the male population, women tend to leave the island to study and they do not come back as men do, as they do not get occupied with the land.

![Diagram 5.3. Distribution of population according to educational level for Naxos, Cyclades, and Greece, according to the 2011 census. Source: ELSTAT.](image-url)
Diagram 5.4. Distribution of male and female population in Naxos, Cyclades and the whole country according to the last two censuses 2001 and 2011. Source: ELSTAT.

Diagram 5.5. Distribution of male and female population according to education level according to the 2011 census. Source: ELSTAT.
5.3. The Products

Naxos surpassed all the other islands in prosperity\textsuperscript{182}

Herodotus 5.28, 450 BCE

Naxos has been described as fruitful for millennia and there are numerous past accounts to confirm it (a few from the last millennia are seen in Box 5.1). In antiquity the Naxiótes were attributing their prosperity and euphoria to their patron divinity, god Dionysus (Tournefort 1718, 164). Nowadays, they may not produce all the products they used to, but their land is still fruitful or, as they have been used to call it, ‘ευλογημένος τόπος’ (evloghiménon topos) which means ‘blessed place.’

The descriptions of those voyagers noted the self-sufficiency of Naxos, a quality that the Naxiótes give to their island even today with confident statements as the following:

We are self-sufficient on this island, that is why we never starved in the past and will never starve in the future; even if we are left with no money, even if ferries stop decking at our port.

\textit{Hercules}

All the goods recited by the travellers were and many still are products of the Naxian earth; products inextricably linked to the landscape in an intrinsic interdependence. Even the ones that extinct they have still been part of the landscape shaping process. Even more so, considering that the main occupations on the island since its first habitants, were mining, quarrying and agriculture. At present-day, tourism has entered this triad as the fourth element and it is the fastest developing; still though, tourism is inherent to landscape. In Naxos livelihood and landscape have always been homologous.

What about the sea? It can be a common assumption that fishery is a dominant and important occupation in Naxos and the rest of Cyclades; they are surrounded by sea and they are drylands, so a flourishing fishing industry would seem natural. The reality though is quite distant from that picture: “the people of the Cyclades are not fishermen to any extent” (Admiralty 1919, 34). Particularly in Naxos, there are barely any professional fishermen—a number of Naxiótes told me that fishing has been so insignificant for their tópos, they reckoned it has never constituted more than 5% of the local economy, if that has even been

\textsuperscript{182} “τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίη τῶν νήσων προέφερε” (Godley 1928, 28).
"The Island: Naxos"  
Katerina Mitka

Box 5.1. Voices from the past: Naxos produce from previous centuries, echoing still to this day.

“Naxis also is the Island that produces the best Emeril. [...] The Island of Naxis [...] one of the faireft and pleafanteft Islands in the Archipelago [...] There is great plenty of White Salt in Naxis, and it produces excellent Wine both White and Claret [...] The Island produces excellent Fruits, feeds great Store of Cattle, and abounds in several other things necefiary for human fupport.”

(Tavernier 1678, 120)

“Provision of all sorts is very plentifull; Partridges and other fowls are in abundance; and they live the best of any of the Islanders next to those of Tine and Scio.”

(Randolph 1687, 20)

“The whole Island is cover’d with Orange, Olive, Lemon, Cedar, Citron, Pomegranate, Fig and Mulberry-Trees; it has also a great many Streams and Springs. [...] they carry on a considerabile Traffick in Barley, Wine, Figs, Cotton, Silk, Flax, Cheefe, Salt, Oxen, Sheep, Mules, Emerils and Oil.”

(Tournefort 1718, 166–67)

“Though there be hardly any harbour in this Island, yet they have a pretty good trade [...] barley, wines, figs, cotton, flilk, flax, cheefe, falt, oxen, fheep, mules, emery, and oil. There is also laudanum to be met with here, but it is full of filth [...] Olive-oil is very cheap in Naxia; falt is cheaper still. Emery is found in several parts of the Island by the husbandmen. [...] The marble of Naxia is very much valued.”

(Savary des Brûlons 1757, 97)

“The fertility of Naxos has been equally celebrated in ancient and modern times [...] It produces in abundance corn, oil, wine, and fruit of the finest description.

(W. Smith 1854, 406)

“The highlands (especially in the south-east) serve for grazing, and herds of goats, sheep, and cattle roam free [...] On the acorns of the oak woods (in the north) pigs are reared. The cultivable highlands and the poorer valleys and plains of the south-west have extensive grain-fields [...] The richer plains produce potatoes and other vegetables, besides a little tobacco [...] and the northern-eastern valleys still yield a good red wine [...] The slopes and well-watered valleys of the west have fine oranges, lemon, citron, and apricot groves [...] Naxos has more olives that any other island of the Cyclades: they grow chiefly in the Trageia basin.”

(Admiralty 1919, 119)
the case. 183 Those residing by the coastline practise fishing in a small scale for personal and local consumption as a food source; however, fishery has never been conducted as an organised industry by the Cycladic islands. 184 The Naxiotes, especially have such an agricultural tradition and such a disconnection to the sea that they explain their disposition with reference to the island of Andros, which has a maritime tradition:

We are not captains like the Andriotès.

Philomenus

Returning to the products of the land, there are many not being produced any more as I mentioned already, and some of the ones still produced, are aimed for the local market. Figs and almonds famous since the antiquity are produced only for personal consumption, not even local. 185 The same goes for apricots.

The valley of Eggares was full of apricot trees when I was a little boy and we used to sneak in to eat some. They were the sweetest apricots I have ever eaten in my whole life. Now there are few left if any.

Hercules

Naxos used to be covered with trees and there were not many crop cultivations, I was told; crops began later. According to historic sources, though, crop and vegetable cultivations have been of high amounts and importance for centuries. There must have been extended groves with trees of citron (Citrus medica), fig (Ficus carica) and mulberry (Morus alba), as testaments say that figs, silk, and citrons were important trade products of the island. However, various sources mentioned barley, flax, cotton, and corn, manifesting that not only were there crop cultivations, but they were an essential percentage of the Naxian trade.

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183 This number was not based on official data but on oral accounts of the locals.
184 The Greek fishing fleet consists of numerous vessels (15,183 vessels on 31st December 2016, highest number in the EU) and is characterised by small capacity and engine power. 95% of them operate along the mainland’s and islands’ coastal line, fishing coastal stocks. (MinAgric 2017). The intervention of the EU Common Fisheries Policy aiming at the sector’s environmental and financial sustainability led to the decommissioning scheme and capacity adjustment measures in the Mediterranean (Council of the EU 1999, 2006). The scheme resulted in the destruction of thousands of old wooden traditional boats in exchange of a high monetary compensation for the fishermen (Kapantagakis, et al. 2009). Despite the lack of professional fishery in the Cyclades, small islands (i.e. Small Cyclades) were affected by this measure; fishermen had to decommission their caiques, which usually had been inherited by their grandfathers. I did not come across this phenomenon in Naxos. If there had been cases, they might have been very few. The total reduction of the Greek fleet size in number of vessels, capacity, and engine power between 2003–2016 was 19.92%, 29.26% and 26.83% respectively (MinAgric 2017).
185 Athenaus mentioned the famous Naxian figs and almonds.
I am going to return to the present now and look at the Table 5.1 and Diagram 5.6 which represent the comparative distribution of employment in different industries and the three sectors among Naxos, the Cycladic complex, and the whole of Greece. The impressive element is the difference that Naxos exhibits compared to the averages of the Cyclades and the country. Specifically, the employment in agriculture in Naxos is close to double compared to its neighbouring islands and almost 50% higher than in total Greece. Although these are averages, considering that Naxos is a tourist place, the higher employment in agriculture and lower in accommodation and food services and the tertiary sector in general is indicative of the importance of the agricultural production on the island.

Let us now look into the current most prominent products of Naxos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Naxos</th>
<th>Cyclades</th>
<th>Greece</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, and fishing</td>
<td>13.68%</td>
<td>7.44%</td>
<td>9.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>13.26%</td>
<td>14.98%</td>
<td>9.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade – Repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles</td>
<td>15.93%</td>
<td>17.37%</td>
<td>17.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and storage</td>
<td>2.92%</td>
<td>4.63%</td>
<td>5.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and food services</td>
<td>15.31%</td>
<td>18.87%</td>
<td>7.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and support services</td>
<td>2.28%</td>
<td>3.08%</td>
<td>2.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public administration and defence – Compulsory social security</td>
<td>6.57%</td>
<td>6.78%</td>
<td>9.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>7.81%</td>
<td>6.01%</td>
<td>7.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human health and social work services</td>
<td>3.18%</td>
<td>3.09%</td>
<td>6.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>19.05%</td>
<td>17.76%</td>
<td>26.08%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5.1. Distribution of employment per industry — Comparative diagram between Naxos, Cyclades, and Greece according to the 2011 census. Source ELSTAT.*
The potato was a late arrival in Naxos, but it has managed to become the star of the local produce. It has almost taken over most of other cultivations, transforming the landscape and it has had a deep impact in the local economy and community. It is of such importance that the name ‘Πατάτα Νάξου’ (Patáta Náxou) is enlisted as a PGI (European Commission 2011).

The tuber came to Greece much later than the rest of Europe, in the early nineteenth century, and it is related to one of the most popular Greek myths. Ioannis Kapodistrias, a distinguished Greek politician and diplomat in Europe, became governor of the newborn Hellenic Republic in 1827. On top of having to establish a state, he also had to deal with the famine that was tormenting the nation post-war. Having lived in Europe, he had been aware of potato and its nutritional value, so he believed it could be the solution to hunger. At

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186 Potato (Solanum tuberosum) was an endemic plant of the Andes, which was brought to Spain from Peru by the Spanish conquistadores after the discovery of the New World.

187 According to a letter Kapodistrias sent to Pictet Casenovi of Geneva in November 1827, he had already been contemplating the cultivation of the potato (γεώμηλο – geómilo = apple of earth) in the country (Kapodistrias 1841, 219–20).

188 It is said that potato was introduced to Greece around 1800 first to Corfu, long before Kapodistrias brought it. What is missed to be mentioned is that Corfu as part of the ionian islands was under the Venetian rule and was never part of the Ottoman Empire. The Ionian Islands got under British Protection in 1815 and were not part of the Greek Republic that Kapodistrias governed. It was not until 1864, that the islands joined the Kingdom of Greece, as a form of ‘dowry’ to Prince William of Denmark, who was enthroned in 1963 as Georgios I, King of the Greeks. Therefore, strictly speaking potato was not introduced to Greece when it was first cultivated in Corfu, as it was a different country back then.
this point, myth and reality intertwine creating the tale in Box 5.2, about how Kapodistrias used his wit to introduce the potato to the Greeks.\footnote{Regardless of its validity, this account has such a power that it is taught in Greece’s primary schools.} \footnote{Similar versions of the fable and the use of reverse psychology to introduce the potato to the people are found in other countries too: i.e. Antoine-Augustin Parmentier in France, Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great is Russia.}

In Naxos, it is said that the plant was introduced to the island in the eighteenth century. Although no source could be retrieved to support this claim, the interaction of the Archipelago with the ‘Frankish’ element, could have brought potato to the islands earlier than the mainland. The oral lore say that became widely popular after 1830 and became a principal cultivation on the island since. The importance of the potato in Naxos was

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**Kapodistrias and the Potato vs the Greeks**

After the war ended and order was restored, the great Governor decided to improve agriculture by teaching the farmers how to cultivate potatoes. Hence, he ordered from Italy a ship load of potatoes -which were still unknown to everyone- to come to Aegina, the first Greek capital.

Kapodistrias’ opponents considered the potato forbidden fruit and propagated the idea that he wanted to lead the religious people to the abyss of hell.

The ‘newborn’ Greek informed about the events by his enemies upon seeing the bags of potatoes spreading on Aegina’s wharf, they gathered and requested the expulsion of the traitor of the religious traditions.

Kapodistrias appeared apathetic on his balcony and announced that the potatoes were for him and they were protesting in vain. Simultaneously, he gave strict orders to the guards publicly to arrest and imprison anyone caught taking the Governor’s potatoes. In private, though, he told the guards to turn a blind eye to those stealing potatoes.

A few days later the wharf was empty. The people of Aegina had eaten all the potatoes and did not even convert religion.

The same crowd gathered again to express gratitude this time and to request more potatoes. The Governor promised more loads to come, he forgave the culprits, and the cultivation of potatoes began since then in Greece.

Box 5.2. A fable about how the Greeks met the potato. The story is said to have been published in a 1912 paper “Θεός και Θεμίς” (God and Themis) by barrister K.D. Triantafillopoulos; various versions of the story can be found.
showcased by the Ministry of Agriculture in their PGI application with an account of King’s Otto visit to Naxos in 1841: An eye-witness’ log mentioned that the King was offered meat in red sauce with potatoes (MinAgric 2010, 22). The application also referred to the work on the islands of the Archipelago by a French professor, who mentioned the cultivation of the potato later in the century (Dugit 1874).  

The domination of the potato might have occurred later than that though; if it had been the dominant cultivation, Theodore Bent would have noticed it during his journey in the 1880s and would at least have mentioned it in his account (Bent 1885). In 1919, though, potato had already become a main cultivation, as the British Naval Division reported: “the richer plains produce potatoes” and that Naxos had “two crops of potatoes a year” (1919, 119). To this day in Naxos there are two sowing seasons for potatoes, one in February and one in September (Figures 5.23 and 5.24).  

![Collecting potatoes in Naxos in May 2013.](image)

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191 Dugit’s account is available online by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. I read it myself and as I am far from confident about my French, I asked for a native’s assistance. The result was negative. He even enlisted the taxation of agricultural products and potato isn’t one of them (1874, 290–91).
It is important to mention that the potato cultivation in Naxos flourished post-war with the establishment of the potato seed centre in 1953 that grew into one of the most important in Greece with annual production around 10,000 tonnes from 1970 to 1985 (Figure 5.25). In 1994 the production was approximately 11,000 tonnes with a massive drop to 300 tonnes in 2012. 192 There are two main reasons that caused the issue. First the entry of the Egyptian potato seed in the market which cannot be competed in price and the second and probably more important for Naxos Cyprus’s EU membership in 2004. Potato seed in Cyprus is a by-product of their potato cultivation which keeps its price low. 193 The shift from the potato seed production to the edible potato production had a significant impact on the farmers.

Due to some cases of potatoes distributed in the markets falsely labelled as ‘Naxou’, EAS has ensured authenticity by supplying the markets with potatoes only in meshes of 3kgr. The packaging unit, part of the EAS facilities was completed and began its function in 2014.

192 Based on verbal communication with an EAS representative in 2013.
193 The EAS expert explained that the Naxian seed is of higher quality. Although its sprouting percentage is around 80% whilst the Cypriot’s is 100%, the crop yield from the 80% sprouting is higher than the one of the Cypriot with 100% sprouting.
The Graviéra Cheese

Γραβιέρα (graviéra) is a hard, yellow cheese made in different versions in various places in Greece and one of the most famous products of Naxos. It is made with a mixture of at least 80% cow milk and no more than 20% goat milk and needs to mature for ninety days. ‘Γραβιέρα Νάξου’ (Graviéra Náxou) is registered under the PDO scheme since 1996 (Commission of the European Communities 1996).

The urban myth says that the potato drove the development of the graviéra (Box 5.3), and the story is popular among the locals; most likely because it combines their two favourite products. After all, myths and legends excite public imagination and the media and are efficient for the promotion of the island. It is hard to be supported though by historical facts. Oxen and cheese pre-existed to potato for a long time; there are records of voyagers that mention them as products of trade in Naxos of modern times, at least since the seventeenth century (Savary des Brûlons 1757, 97; Tournefort 1718, 167; Thévenot 1687, 105). As mentioned earlier the potato was introduced to Greece much later.

However, there is an element that might explain this story and it is related to the development of the dairy production on the island after WWII. According to EAS, a significant growth of cattle farming occurred at the lowlands at the end of fifties; chronologically this came after the foundation of the potato seed centre in 1954. The strive for a higher potato production prompted the increase of livestock to cover both the higher demand for manure and the need for more working animals. Consequently, the cattle rise created a surplus of

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194 The graviéra from Crete, which is one of the most popular in Greece and also registered PDO, differs from the Naxian at the type of milk used; in Crete, it is made by purely sheep milk or mixture of sheep and goat milk.
dairy production, higher than the local needs. In order not to waste the excess of cow milk and since refrigerators were still objects of luxury, EAS established its first creamery in 1961.

Thus far, cheese and other dairy products were made in situ by the farmers. EAS offered a collective solution to the increase of the quantity and the upgrade of the quality of the island’s dairy production; it also created the foundation for an efficient distribution channel to the consumer. EAS launched the operation of a new modern dairy plant in 1985, setting industrial standards to the dairy production; since then, it has been growing both in production and variety of products. EAS advocated for the registration of graviéra as PDO and since then it has become the flagship product for both EAS and the whole island. There are three more significant dairy producers on the island that have succeeded in weaning off EAS and have established their own independent certified units. Two of them have farms themselves and the dairy plants was an evolution of the in-situ cheese making.

It is important to mention that Naxos exhibits a wide range of types of cheeses apart from graviéra: αρσενικό κεφαλοτύρι (arsenikó kefalotíri), ξυνομυζήθρα (xinomizíthra), γλυκιά μυζήθρα (yllikiá mizíthra), ξυνότυρο (xinótiro), ανθότυρο (anthótiro), γίδινο (yídhino) are few of the different types and creative varieties that are being produced. Particularly the name

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Box 5.3. A tale about the connection between the potato cultivation and the origins of the graviéra cheese in Naxos as told to me by Alcibiades.

It was the cultivation of potato on the island that pushed the development of the cattle breeding and the dairy production. Many decades ago, when Naxiôtes were still using cattle for their farming activities, they had been observing that the fields where cattle had been used and grazed, produced much bigger and tastier potatoes. They hence related the cattle manure to the potato productivity. In order to increase the manure to fertilise their potato fields and grow the production, they multiplied their livestock. That led to an abundance of milk as a by-product, which neither could they dispense nor could they store, so they began processing it into dairy products and the graviéra Náxou specifically.

Not only was a natural cycle of local products created, but also the use of natural fertiliser on the fields ensured the high quality of the potato Naxou.

195 The dynamics created by their existence are being discussed in Chapter 11.
Arsenikó Náxou was submitted to register under PDO in 2017, a decision that it is pending to this day. Graviéra, though, is still the most famous and prominent product. An interesting detail is that the most famous Greek cheese, feta, was registered PDO in 2002, six years later than graviéra Náxou.
The Wine

Archilochus \(^{198}\) compares the Naxian [wine] to nectar. \(^{199}\)

Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists 1.30

The Greek poet Athenaeus called the Naxian wine nectar around the end of second and beginning of third century CE. For Naxiótes, the credit of this quote to Archilochus is even more important since Archilochus was from Paros, the adjacent island, with which they had always had a competitive relationship, even to this day. \(^{200}\) This is how far the history of wine goes in Naxos. It could not really be otherwise with Bacchus as the patron divinity of island for millennia. As Tournefort wrote (1718, 166):

They drink excellent Wine at Naxia to this day: the Naxiótes, who are the true Children of Bacchus, cultivate the Vine very well, tho' they let it run along the ground eight or nine foot from the Trunk which is the occasion that in great Heats the Sun dries the Grapes too much, and they are more easily rotted by the Rain than at Santorini, where the Vine- Stumps grow like Shrubs.

The Naxian wine and its connection to Dionysus had been commented by all the voyagers of the past (Buondelmonti (1420) 1897, 212; Tavernier 1678, 120; Des Barses 1678, 137; Randolph 1687, 21; Thévenot 1687, 105; Saulger 1698; Swinton, et al. 1747, 320; Dugit 1874, 111–12; Bent 1885, 344–45). The Naxiótes are very proud of their wine and most of them have their own vineyards and produce their own wine. Despite their love for wine, however, there is no winery on the island so and they do not bottle it for commercial purposes.

The wine produced by the varieties of the vines on the island is white. Tavernier noted that they make “both White and Claret” (1678, 120), however this is not the case nowadays.

Naxiótes used to call the commonly known red wine, black; red to them is the rosé wine. This is still preserved by many locals, at least in interactions among them; however, the exposure to tourism is transmuting this colloquialism. When locals —farmers, winegrowers or those

\(^{198}\) “Ἀρχίλοχος τὸν Νάξιον τῷ νέκταρι παραβάλλει” (Gulick 1927, 134). Archilochus was a lyric Greek poet from Paros, the island west of Naxos, who lived during the archaic period around middle seventh century BCE, meaning more than eight centuries before Athenaeus.

\(^{199}\) In Ancient Greece, nectar was the drink of gods.

\(^{200}\) Pariani are not regarded with very high esteem in Naxos, mainly because they do not work with their land and they have been taken over by tourism; they are often called soft and naïve. It needs to be noticed, though, that Pariani nowadays have developed an organised vinification and established wineries producing renown wines which they trade, contrary to Naxiótes.
who have not been influenced by external trends—have guests and they offer them wine, they mean their house wine, which is white. If they do not make their own wine, they will inform the visitors with information about who the supplier was. Some that make red wine, usually bring the grapes from Paros and other places.

Dionysus, the Vine and Naxos

“When Dionysius was still a boy, he made a journey through Hellas to go to Naxia; but, as the trip was very long, he got tired and sat down on a stone to rest. When he sat there, he looked down and saw a little plant sprouting out of the ground at his feet. He found it so beautiful that he immediately decided to take it with him and plant it. He picked up the plant and carried away; but, as the sun was shining very hot, he feared that it would wither before he reached Naxia.

There he found a bird’s bone, put the little plant in it and went on. But in his blessed hand, the plant grew so fast that it soon grew out of the bone. He feared again that it would wither and thought of a remedy. There he found a lion’s bone, which was thicker than the bird’s bone, and he put the bird’s bone with the small plant into the lion’s bone. But soon the plant grew from the lion’s bone. There he found a donkey’s bone; it was even thicker than the lion’s bone, and he put the plantlet with its bird and lion’s bone into the donkey’s bone, and so he arrived at Naxia.

When he was about to plant it, he found that the roots had grown tightly around the bird’s bone, the lion’s bone, and the donkey’s bone. As he could not take it out without damaging the roots, he planted it as it was, and the plant grew quickly. To his delight it carried the most beautiful grapes, from which he immediately prepared the first wine, and gave it to the people to drink.

But what miracle did he see unfold! When the people drank it, at first, they sang like little birds; but when they drank more, they became strong as lions, and when they drank even more, they became like donkeys.

Box 5.4. A fable about the relation between Dionysus, wine and Naxos as recorded by J.G. Von Hahn (1864, Tale No.76:74). Translated from the original by Kerstin Bengelsdorf and edited by me.

During my fieldwork, the only times I was asked what wine I prefer, was in restaurants, mainly the touristic ones, bars and by the hoteliers of luxurious hotels who usually participate in the political scene and are considered the jet set of the island.
Figure 5.27. Vineyard during the grape harvesting in September 2013. The built tank that can be seen in the pictures is an outdoors patitíri (πατίτηρι) where the crushing and fermentation of the grapes takes place during vinification. Patitíri is not always built, it can also be a big portable trough.
Figure 5.28. From grapes to marc to must: making wine in a mitáto in Naxos.
The Rakí

The marc remaining in the patitíri is placed in the alembic, from which is extracted a Water of Life of great goodness.

Robert Saulger (1698, 361)

The relationship of Naxiótes with alcoholic drinks is not restricted to wine. A local traditional drink is also ράκι — rakí, a strong transparent spirit product of the grape marc distillation (Figure 5.29). The custom of Rakitzó (Box 5.5) takes place either in gardens or at the μιτάτο (mitáto) if there is one.

The story of rakí is lost in the past, although, there is an oral lore that says that it began from the monasteries of Mount Athos long before the fifteenth century. In Naxos, rakí was definitely produced as early as the seventeenth century according to Saulger, who referred to its production, without naming it (see initial quote). Tournefort recorded the distillation process in Crete during the same period, although he did not make

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202 See Figure 5.27.
203 Rakí is a name commonly used in various versions across the Balkan and Turkey for different versions of an alcoholic drink produced by fruit distillery. Due to a collision over the name between Turkey and Greece, the Greek versions of the product destined for trade, cannot be labelled as rakí, but either as Τσίπουρο (Tsipouro) or Τσικουδιά (Tsikoudia) —the latter is PDO for Crete only according to the geographical indication (European Parliament and Council of the EU 2008, 48–49). Rakí is sometimes confused with oúzo, which however is a product of yeast distillation.
204 Mitáto (μιτάτον, also μιτάτον, from Lat. meter, “to measure off,” “pitch camp”), a term with several meanings in Byzantine Greek: ‘kind of inn’, ‘fiscal term’ (the obligation on private individuals to quarter military and state officials), ‘kind of ranch’ (Kazhdan 1991). According to the renowned Greek philologist Emmanuel Kriaras (1988), the word also meant cattle or sheep shed and lodge. It was a simple hut where the livestock was held, built by locally available stones, and used as the shepherds shed. In Crete there are still some remaining. The word is used not only in Crete but in Cyclades too as a general term to describe the settlements for the livestock.
205 Farming has been a vital activity in Mount Athos since the beginning of its time, more than a thousand years ago, with viticulture being a significant part. References claim that scripts from the fifteenth century report the distillation of the grape marc, which I was unable to confirm.
any reference regarding the islands of Cyclades (Tournefort 1718, 70). Bent referred numerous times to rakí being offered as a treat in the Cycladic islands and not only Naxos (1885, 343); however, he did not elaborate further on it.

The distillation of the grape marc and the production of rakí was legislated and taxed for the first time in Greece in 1887 (FEK 1887). A more detailed act followed in 1917 (FEK 1917, 839)

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206 Tournefort’s account in Crete (Candia) described the distillation of the grape marc after the pressing, which is different than the one being followed for more than a hundred years; it also leads to a spirit of tawny colour.
establishing a rights regime \(^{207}\) of the traditional method of distillation, still in force today.

![Figure 5.30. A traditional alembic in action during Rakitzó 2013. A kind contribution of a Naxiótis participant.](image)

The Kitron

We found upon the mart, near the shore, large heaps of the most enormous green citrons we had ever seen, ready to be removed on board some boats waiting to convey this kind of freightage to Constantinople. They are valued principally for their very thick rind, of which a green sweetmeat is prepared: but we could hardly have credited an account of the size to which this fruit here attains. Some of these citrons were as large as a man’s head, and of the most singular forms; consisting almost wholly of the rind, with very little juice in any of them.

Edward-Daniel Clarke (1814, 387)

\(^{207}\) This rights regime allows to the winemakers, who have already established rights to produce alcohol, the traditional home distillation with a use of copper stills. The distillation can take place after a permission that lasts from two to four days maximum. In 1988 a new regime was added, which legislated separately the production and trade of rakí by distilleries for trade (FEK 1988b, 3018).
The *Kitron* of Naxos (*Citron medica* or citrus) had been a valuable export in the past but then eventually it lost its glory and it almost came to extinction, acquiring a more decorative role on the island. The private initiatives by two family distilleries that have been making the spirit *kitron* was what saved its production. The aperitif *kitron* was first produced in 1896 as *kitróarako*, a variety of *raki*: during the distillation process a local of Chalki, Vallindras, (Figures 5.31, 5.32, 5.33, 5.34 and 5.35) thought of adding citrus leaves for aromatic purposes. Its distillation evolved and twenty years later, it stopped being a *raki* version and it became a

*Figure 5.31. The entrance to the museum of the traditional kitron distillery in Chalki.*
liquor of its own with separate distillation process involving, water, pure alcohol, and the leaves of the tree, not the fruit. It is a local product of Naxos, marked as of PGI (European Parliament and Council of the EU 2008, 53). The use of the leaves is one of the reasons its production is limited and although there is demand from outside Naxos, the two distilleries on the island cannot support it.

According to the current owner of one of the distilleries, which are both family-run businesses, until twenty years ago their production was enough for the demand which suddenly skyrocketed. That was why

Figure 5.32. Traditional tools for the kitron distillation on display in the museum in Chalki.

Figure 5.33. The old-style traditional distillation alembic in the museum in Chalki.
they delayed proceeding with plantations of new citrus trees to increase their production. With the use of European funding, they have both revived their businesses and productions and they have rebranded the spirit which since then it has become a trademark of the island.

Figure 5.34. Bottles of kitron at the entrance of the distillery in Chalki. The colours additives are only the indication of the alcohol percentage: yellow 36%, clear 33%, green 30%.
The Marble

We must date the lions to the end of the 7th century; [. . .] they belong to that series of grandiose architectural and sculptural realisations by which without a doubt the preeminence of Naxos at Delos at the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th century is marked.

Phillip Bruneau & Jean Ducat (M. Smith 2008, 81)

Naxos’s white marble has been one of the island’s most important natural resources since antiquity. It is mostly found on the western section of the island and it was among the most
significant types of marble in ancient times. The contribution of the Naxian marble to the ancient monumental plastic art was vital as it had the first big quarries (Flerio, Melanes, Apollonas), providing marble to sculptors and artists gathering there from all over ancient Greece; additionally, first large size statues were sculpted in Naxos in the seventh century BCE (Voutyras and Goulaki-Voutyra 2012, chap.3.3.2). Marble’s importance for Naxos back then is also showcased by the abundance of statuary dedications from Naxos to Apollo’s sanctuary in Delos (Figure 5.36). According to the Museum of Cycladic Art, the figurines, distinctive of the Cycladic art of the third millennium BCE, were carved from marble sourced
mainly from Naxos and Keros, according to isotopic analyses. The Naxian marble, however, lost its paramountcy middle sixth century to the neighbouring Parian, which was bright white and of excellent quality.

The official name of the Naxian marble is Κρυσταλλίνα-Kristallina and there are still active quarries on the island that extract it. These can be found in various locations, with the most important being the one near the village of Kynidaros; it has an imposing presence and makes for a lunar landscape that extends from the mountain side to the main road (Figure 5.37).

Splendid examples of the use of marble were the ancient sanctuaries of the Temple of Apollo, of Gyroulas at Sagri and of Dionysus at Yria (Voutyras and Goulaki-Voutyra 2012, chap.3: Image 81). Examples of this art can be admired on various buildings dispersed throughout the island, both ancient and modern (Kapsi 2013, 14).

![Figure 5.37. One of the quarries, the nearest to the village Kynidaros, as seen from above, creating what Kapsi called a 'lunar landscape' (2013, 14). See also Figure 3.3 for its view from the road. Picture sourced from: https://www.naxos.gr/μάρμαρο-νάξου-από-τα-βάθη-της-γης-ατα-μ/]?lang=en](https://www.naxos.gr/μάρμαρο-νάξου-από-τα-βάθη-της-γης-ατα-μ/]?lang=en)

208 From the museum’s website: https://cycladic.gr/page/techni#. There are indications that the tools used in sculpture then, were made of emery; the emery dust was also particularly effective for smoothing the marble surface at the first stages of the process. Emery is a mineral exclusive of Naxos, discuss in the next section. The connection between sculpture and emery supports Naxos’ pioneering in ancient plastic arts.
The Emery

among athletes the man is a bronze-taming whetstone from Naxos compared to other stones.

Pindar, Isthmian 6.73–74 (Race 1997, 195)

For smoothing marble statues and also for engraving and filing down gems the Naxian stone Emery \(^{209}\) was for long the favourite. This is the name given to the whetstones found in the island referred to above.

Pliny, Natural History 36.10.54 (Rackham, Jones and Eichholz 1938–63, 42–43)

They found there the emery, a stone much hard and excessively black. \(^{210}\)

Cristoforo Buondelmonti ((1420) 1897, 212)

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\(^{209}\) The original in Latin script does not mention the word *emery* since it was not known as such in antiquity.

\(^{210}\) Translated from the French: “On y trouve de l’ émeri, pierre très dure et excessivement noire.”
Naxis also is the Island that produces the best Emeril.

John Baptist Tavernier (1678, 120)

From Pindar in the fifth century BCE to Bent in the nineteenth century CE (1885, 337,359), σμυρίγλι –*smirigli*, as the locals call emery, has been the pride of the island and of the six villages that the mines belong to. It was for centuries a story of success which turned into a horror story for the miners, the *smiridhghates*, at the beginning of the twentieth century and the invention of synthetic materials that replaced the emery with less cost.

The extraction of the emery in Naxos is a state monopoly. Under that regime the people who

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**Emery**

*Emery* is a greyish-black variety of the mineral *corundum* (aluminium oxide) which can be crushed and powdered for use as an abrasive for polishing hard surfaces.

**Corudrum** (mineral) → Empirical formula: Al₂O₃

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specific Gravity</td>
<td>3.9–4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardness</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crystal System</td>
<td>Trigonal</td>
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- Main varieties blue and green. But it can be also yellow, or brown to almost black, and transparent.
- Adamantine to vitreous lustre.
- Crystals usually rough and barrel-shaped, tapering, and also flat and tabular.
- No cleavage, partings {0001}, {0112}.
- Occurs in silica-poor rocks such as nepheline syenites and undersaturated alkali igneous rocks, in contact aureoles in thermally altered alumina-rich shales or limestones, in aluminous xenoliths found within basic igneous rocks in association with spinel, cordierite, and orthopyroxene, in metamorphosed bauxite deposits and in emery deposits, and in alluvial deposits because of its hardness and resistance to abrasion along with muscovite, hematite, and rutile.
- Flawless crystals are the gemstones blue sapphire, red ruby, and green oriental emerald.
- The main use of corundum is based on its hardness. It is made into grinding wheels and discs, emery paper, and powders for grinding and polishing.

*Box 5.6. Description of emery or corundite and its main ingredient, mineral corudrum with all its geological features (Allaby 2013).*
can work in the mines are only people who come from the six smyrddhochória, who extract the mineral and then they have to give the product to the state to sell it. It is a peculiar and specific employment regime; the national insurance of the miners is dependent on the amount extracted and submitted to the state by each one of them.
The emery mining has become a contested space the last few decades. There are about 250 mines and until World War II, more than 3,000 people were employed in the mines whilst nowadays they are barely 300. The mines are open for three to four months per year, so the miners have other jobs in other places, and they return to their villages specifically for the mining in summer. The only gain they have is the national insurance they get if they extract the minimum required amount.

*Figure 5.41. The skyway infrastructure rusting in 2013.*
The infrastructure and the skyway that was built just before the drop of the demand was innovative and new technology at its time that is now decomposing (Figure 5.41). An attempt to create a mining park and museum turned into a fiasco due to management and funding failures and was never completed (Figure 5.42).

![Signs laying in situ reminding the failed project of the emery park and museum.](image)

**Figure 5.42.** Signs laying in situ reminding the failed project of the emery park and museum.

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**Last But Not Least: Tourism**

*Where is this place? A traveller is dreaming.*  
LOCAL MAN, poking the traveller. Hey! Where have you been ‘travelling’?  
TRAVELLER, waking up. All over the World. . .  
LOCAL MAN. Oh, you can’t have been far then. . .  
Welcome to an island full of surprises!

Naxos: A World to Experience (2013)
Tourism joined this product list last, although it has outrun all the other products. Tracking the first steps of tourism in Naxos through official records has not been fruitful, however, there are great an amount of accounts from locals, regarding the time in history that the random visitors were labelled as tourists; at the cusp between the seventies and eighties. The common disposition towards tourism until recently can be described as ‘laid back.’ The Naxiótes did not care to fall for the tourist trap, as they were already affluent from their agricultural endeavours, their marble, and their emery. That is what their own accounts say, although this is visible even to the untrained eye compared to the other Cycladic islands.

Naxos has strived to provide a multitude of tourist products beyond the three Ss and apart from its abundant beaches that can support diverse activities and three blue flags 211 they aim also for pilgrim and religious tourism, outdoors tourism, archaeological tourism and gastrotourism. There are limitations that I will elaborate in later chapters, but the most important ones are the infrastructure and specifically transport: the port and the airport. Naxos airport can accept only domestic small planes restricting tourists from getting directly to the island from abroad. The domestic flight specifically is once per day and is considered expensive, which I can confirm myself. Diagram 5.7 gives a timeseries of the arrivals to the Naxos airport. Sea transport is in better condition as the island has connection to the mainland throughout the year which becomes more frequent during the tourist season.

Although I was not interested in the tourists’ perception during my fieldwork, I was curious about their perspective and how it is communicated to the locals and I had the chance to meet and talk to a number of them throughout my fieldwork. In general, there is a tendency in Naxos for returning tourists. People from abroad have been spending their holidays on the island for years and some of them have retired there too. 212 In my first accommodation, there was a German academic who was coming every year to Naxos out of season to work in peace.

A phrase that I heard from multiple voices, answering my question why they chose Naxos, was:

I don’t know. There is something magical about this island. 213

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211 Agios Georgios, Agios Prokopis and Agia Anna, the three most famous beaches and the closest ones to Chora have been awarded since 2013 until today. Source: [https://www.blueflag.gr/](https://www.blueflag.gr/).
212 An interesting fact is that foreigners do not bring to Naxos their homeland representation as being observed in Spain. The external influences on the island are not deeper than the rest of the country.
213 Free translation of the various versions given by the tourists.
Now then that we met this ‘magical place,’ I am going to summarise our gains from Naxos and then take you through my methodology.

*Diagram 5.7. Annual domestic and international arrivals at the airport of Naxos in comparison to the domestic and international flights, both arrivals and departures (Civil Aviation Authority 2019). There are no data for international flights since 2015; the only international flight previously was a charter flight from Austria once a week, which apparently was cancelled. A high increase in domestic flights and arrivals since then however is noticeable.*
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from *The Island*

Would you not agree that Naxos did seem like somehow a magical place? There are so many things to keep from our tour on the island. Aegean islands are the epitome of the Greek landscape concept, and even more so the Cycladic ones. Naxos’ characteristics combined all the parameters that were relevant to my research, and please do not consider it a comparison to the other islands. I am sure there are others that would suit my project’s needs; there are hundreds though to go through all of them.

So, our first souvenir is the Naxian landscape itself. Both tropical and pseudo-alpine at the same time, with sandy beaches and wild mountains, aligned to the white and blue stereotype and simultaneously with each own unique character, both rural and tourist. Crucial point, the existence of water that despite the barren outlook, has endowed the island with fertile valleys that have labelled Naxos as rich. Important note: the preconception of the dry infertile islands of the Aegean is not representative of reality. Even those that have become tourist hubs in recent time used to be agricultural economies and the Cyclades specifically were not even fishing islands.

Another interesting extract from this chapter is the rich long history of Naxos, visible all around the island, that has determined its landscape and the way Naxiótes perceive it. On the other end it is the lack of infrastructure, also visible and also a determinant of the landscape and Naxiótes’ perception of it. In between it is the agricultural and rural activities that are driving the landscape (re)formation.

Regarding Naxiótes, census data have shown a steady increase of the population during the last forty years; the intriguing element is that men are more than women, compared to the whole country. Not that surprising since, based on the employment opportunities, they are quite behind the national percentage referring to higher education level.

With the strong agricultural history that Naxos have, its main products have also been pivotal in the (re)formation of its landscape, which takes us to the summary of the local products. The famous almighty potato, completely dominating local agriculture; the notorious graviera, said to be connected to the development of the potato cultivation; the economically neglected wine and raki, produced only for internal consumption; the unique kítron, being produced for decades but having only recently acquired the status of celebrity; the historically celebrated rocks, marble, and emery, which although they have lost their flare,
they are still alive. Fun fact: marble and even more so emery might not be produced in high numbers, but they have been such significant modulators of the landscape, they carry such an emotional burden for Naxiótes informing their landscape perception, that even in decline they are still of high significance for the topic of my project.

Our last souvenir from Naxos, is the Siren, tourism, which arrived late in Naxos but has been developing rapidly since and has definitely altered the topos of the Naxiótes. A crucial point to keep is that the reluctance of the locals to accept tourism, an attitude completely related to their perception of their land, was the reason for the belated advent of tourism to Naxos and that belatedness had also a significant role in the (re)formation of the island’s landscape.

A little bonus were the tales I heard about the island, which I have shared with you and I hope you found them as interesting and amusing as I did.

It has been a long journey so far, full of new information to absorb, of theoretical and conceptual nature; now, though, we are about to see some practice: fieldwork.
Chapter 6. Ethnography

FIRST ETHNOGRAPHER. Where are you going to do your fieldwork?
SECOND ETHNOGRAPHER. I don’t know yet.
FIRST ETHNOGRAPHER. What are you going to study?
SECOND ETHNOGRAPHER. That depends on where I go.

Harry F. Wolcott (2008, 15)

The quoted dialogue might be a poetic licence that Wolcott used to showcase the significance of place in ethnographic research; however, it is still representative of the fluid nature of ethnography as methodology. Its fluidity does not regard only the flexibility of the ethnographic research design, but the meaning of the word itself. Brewer distinguished two perspectives towards ethnography, ‘big’ ethnography or ‘ethnography-understood-as-the-qualitative-method’ and ‘little’ ethnography or ‘ethnography-understood-as-fieldwork’ (2005, 17–18). The former represents rather a research perspective than a way of doing research whilst the latter focuses on the field. Walcott advocated on distinguishing “between doing ethnography and borrowing (some) ethnographic techniques“ as the second refers to fieldwork and method (2008, 44); Brewer argued though that ‘little’ ethnography still comprises both method and methodology as “it uses several methods that access social meanings, observe activities and involve close association with, or participation in, a settings or ‘field’” (2005, 18). My approach to my research was in accordance with Brewer’s, what Burgess called field research (1991).

The ethnographic research process by virtue of its nature exhibits fluidity and flexibility as there are “no set rules, rigid procedures and fixed roles” (Burgess 1991, 31). Research process within ethnography is not linear in stages but an imaginative, flowing, coalescence of actions; still planned and coordinated (Brewer 2005, 56), but adaptive to contingencies of the fieldwork process. Field research is the most vocal representative of the ‘messiness’ of social research (Bryman 2012, 15) and the preparation of a research design in such a case can be challenging, as it was mine. Brewer has listed the considerations a plan should include all important aspects of any research process: topic, aim and objectives, research site, sampling, resources, field activities, data collection methods, field access, researcher’s positioning, data analysis form and withdrawal from the field and presentation (Brewer 2005, 58).

Some of these design elements are more solid than others, according to my personal exposure to the field: they are thought and decided in advance and they remain unchanged
throughout the process. In this project the ones that had to be defined and redefined in situ were the sampling, the field activities, access, and positioning; all of them depending on the circumstances in the field and the participants involved on each occasion. I had to be alert and readjust my daily research ‘routine’ according to current conditions.

The remaining points of that list were to a certain extend unaltered, compared to my decisions made in advance; still the particulars were dependent on the setting. I had my research field selected, but the specific places I would be able to access were to be defined in the field. It was similar to the methods I had chosen to employ but yet again the extend of usage of each method and its applicability would be also determined by the participants.

In my story so far, I have tried to follow as much of a linear narrative as the subject permits, so at this juncture, it is the time to discuss the methods I used in the field to gather my data. I conducted overt ethnographic research with two principal methods participant observation and interviews, from unstructured to go-along to casual conversations. I also used local media sources, which were auxiliary to the data collected with the aforementioned methods.

My fieldwork was conducted in two uneven stages. The first, longest and substantially the most productive in collected data took place in 2013 for six months from the beginning of April to the end of September. During that time, I was immersed within the local social reality and I employed both participant observation and interviews for the whole period. The second stage was a revisit in March 2017. In the course of two weeks, I reunited with the majority of my research participants with whom I had second interviews. I still used the participant observation method in the second stage, which was not to the same extend as at the first occurrence mainly because of the limited available time.

I am going to proceed at this point to an overview of participant observation, whose applicability to landscape research is distilled in Wylie’s words (2007, 6):

>a narrowly observational field science misses altogether the everyday textures of living and being in landscape — misses, in other words, the point of view of a landscape’s inhabitants. To access this point of view, it has been argued, the researcher must not only theorise landscape via corporeal dwelling, but also come to know landscape through participating in it with his or her whole body.

__________________________
6.1. Participant Observation

We need to be careful in the interpretations of our findings and ‘unpack’ the meanings behind apparently straight-forward statements. The ultimate test of whether we have got our research and our planning right is people’s behaviour – what people actually do – in a given context in the real world.

Catharine Ward Thompson (2007, 35)

In order to be able to see what people actually do in their natural world we need to observe, not as a detached spectator but as an involved associated participant, who watches and listens what people do and say in their natural setting, but also experiences and shares their everyday life adding the personal dimension (Brewer 2005, 59). Participant observation thus becomes an autobiographical experience which underpins Burgess’s view that “in research involving the use of participant observation it is the researcher who is the main instrument of social investigation” (1991, 79) and that is why

for those who, with the inhabitants, are behind the curtains, landmarks are no longer geographic but also biographical and personal (J. Berger [1967] 2016, 21).

Participant observation from a ‘structural’ point, if I may use this term, is distinguished in variants. In Diagram 6.1 are shown the ones identifies by Brewer; Burgess also has identified what he called “four ideal typical field roles: the complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-participant and the complete observer” (1991, 80, original emphasis); this distinction of roles refers to overt and covert research.

As per my personal experience in the field, I would argue that there is no clear role or distinction, or maybe it is dependent on the type of field. According to the two classifications, my research was that of participant-as-observer using pure participant observation, but the reality in the field was not as clear. I found myself in both familiar and unfamiliar settings, I acquired a new role initially which with time became existing and vice versa, and although I was conducting overt research, I found myself in situations collecting data and people that were present were oblivious to my role. Should I have told them, or should I have retrieved from my researcher’s role? Being in the field was like everyday life, being in situations with the dynamics in full deployment and stepping in or interrupting only ruins the momentum.

Picture this: I am with one of my informants and we are having a coffee after our work in the field. An acquaintance of theirs approaches and starts talking in front of me about work. The
discussion related to my work, gets heated. I cannot help but listen. It was a completely spontaneous incident that would have happened even if I were not present. Should I have interrupted to be introduced and explain what I do? I did not; not only that day but every time that everyday dynamics were taking over. Reminding everyone of my role and putting myself in the spotlight by being introduced to everyone I happened to interact, would have been a destruction of the desired natural social setting and a compromise to my research.

My participant and observer role was enacted by my full immersion in the social setting as ‘marginal native’–‘outsider within’ (Forbes 2007, xvii). I believe that Forbes’ catchphrase stemmed from the importance of the researcher to keep balance between the insider and the outsider: both ‘going native’ and ‘remaining outsider’ can compromise the research for different reasons (Brewer 2005, 60). I am confident that I managed to keep the balance and I did not ‘go native’ because I was not let to be native by my informants. Throughout my fieldwork there were insignificant or important interactions that reminded me that I was not positioned by the locals around me as a native.

A final point I would like to make before I continue with my use of interviews is that unbeknown to me, I used an approach that I read about in Ingold (2018) much later after my fieldwork. When I began writing I realised that I was not comfortable referring to the participants as the ‘researched’ or the ‘people under study’ or anything of the kind. It seemed as I was diminishing them to the state of a sample under a microscope. After all, I did not really study them per se, neither did I want to. I wanted to look into their community. I had an interest in their tópos and their feelings about it, their connection and I wanted to learn.

To borrow some words from Ingold, *I cared, and I was curious* (2018, 59, 71).
Within the context of my research then (Ingold 2018, 68):

It is what we do in the course of participant observation in the field, precisely because participant observation is not a technique of data collection — not, at least, in the sense by which data are defined under the regime of normal science. It is rather a practice of education, a course of study, undertaken in the field rather than the school.

**Interviews**

People are often very misleading when they talk about themselves; even when they are perfectly honest, and even modest, in talking about themselves. But people tell a great deal so long as they talk about everything except themselves.

G. K. Chesterton (1927, 240)

Interviewing is the most essential source for gathering information in case study research (Gillham 2000, 59; Yin 2009, 106). Especially Yin said that interviews are to be rather guided conversations than structured queries. Gillham characterised semi-structured interview as the most important method in case study which if it is done well it can be “the richest single source of data” (2000, 65). Blaikie argued that qualitative interview does not allow the researcher to be part of the social context so “individual behaviour and social interaction will be reported rather than observed” (2009, 207). It is possible though, especially in in-depth interview, to approach the meanings and conceptions of the social actors. In in-depth interview interviewees can share facts and opinions about events, but also propositions or insights that could raise more topics about the research, transforming the respondent into “informant” (Yin 2009, 107); this kind of interview is also called “elite” interview because of its importance (Gillham 2000, 63).

What I am calling interview in my research includes almost any verbal interaction that can take place among people (Wolcott 2008, 54). What I did not have were structured or even semi-structured interviews. I had however what I called open-ended interviews, although calling them semi-structured conversations, seems more accurate: they were intentional, scheduled meetings with a specific topic to be discussed about, rather than to be questioned.

I could claim that I also used ‘go-along’ interviews, a hybrid of interviewing and participant observation; the researcher is following the interviewees along their activities in their natural environment and encourages them to talk and not only listens but also observes (Kusenbach
The same author noted that this technique has overcome the problems that arose when informants were taken outside the environment that their activities were taking place into and their interaction with their surroundings disappeared.  

I would argue though for my research that the conversations I had walking and acting within the field were more casual as-you-go conversations without a real structure, and for this reason I am not categorising them as ‘interviews.’ It was more of a social activity that I participated on the premises of Ingold’s and Vergunst’s passage (2008, 1):

> Life itself is as much a long walk as it is a long conversation, and the ways along which we walk are those along which we live. [. . .] Our principal contention is that walking is profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of others. Social relations, we maintain, are not enacted in situ but are paces out along the ground.

Prior to navigate you through my action in field I would like to add that Vaisey has argued that using interviews in applying the DPM of culture in action, unstructured or semi-structured, although is conducive to provide insights in discursive consciousness, it “gives us little leverage on unconscious cognitive processes” (2009, 1687). He appointed surveys as a better method to measure practical knowledge because (1689):

> If talking about our mental processes with an interviewer is like describing a criminal suspect to a sketch artist, then answering survey questions is like picking the suspect out of a line-up.

He later provided a more thorough argument on surveys and interviews (2014) and how they can work together. Although his argument is more likely sound, the distinction he presented is not an issue in my research; the reason being that I had interest in people’s discursive consciousness, so I was aiming at allowing it to be expressed. I was able to look into the same people’s practical consciousness through my being in the field and witnessing them actually behaving and acting in real life and not hypothetical scenarios offered in a survey question. This approach allowed me to explore the disconnection between landscape perception and practice and their interplay within the crisis context.

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214 For more on walking and/or mobile methods see: Anderson (2004), Moles (2008), Capriano (2009), Evans and Jones (2011).
6.2. In the Field

So, you just dropped from the sky like a parachutist then.

_Solon_

“We have now reached the port of Naxos. Passengers travelling with vehicles are kindly requested to proceed to the garages [. . .]” said the voice from the speaker as the ferry was docking. Not many people had embarked in Piraeus that early Monday morning of April 2013. There was a relatively small crowd of passengers on foot waiting to board and in the not so long vehicle queue the majority were commercial vehicles. 215 We were even fewer those that disembarked in Naxos, the second of four islands the ferry would dock. More had got off at Paros, the first port, and the majority were heading to Santorini, the final destination.

I arrived at noon in a windy and gloomy Naxos, an image far from the stereotypical one most people have of the Greek islands. Although the temperature of 15° C was not considered low, the dense clouds and the strong winds made it feel much lower. The port was almost empty making its out-dated condition even more obvious: the long wharf was worn out and the oblong concrete shelter at its centre —more of a canopy since it had no walls— was just a passage for the safety of the pedestrian passengers during embarking and disembarking. The only sort of facility was a tiny _ouzerí_ 216 on the side of the dock, open for business but empty.

I had already booked a room over the phone in a pension for 15 euro per night. I was not sure if I could find a room so early in the year, with Easter four weeks away and no tourist flow yet. Even online booking services had shown only a handful of accommodation available with most way off my budget. The landlord met me at the port and guided me to his pension, although I was by car; an established practice by everyone towards their guests.

_Chora_ seemed quiet with no other sound but the wind gusts and an occasional noise from a joinery tool. I met very few people walking about and encountered an abundance of shops that were closed giving an impression of abandonment; they had been left at the end of the

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215 The non-numerical descriptions of the crowd and the queue is in relation to the equivalent crowds and queues during the summer season and the capacity of the specific ferry boat: 1,474 passengers and 240 vehicles (or 360 lane metres).
216 _Ouzeri_ (ουζερί) is a small drinking place that could be described as the Greek version of the French _bistrot_. It is a traditional old establishment with its name deriving from the Greek spirit _ouzo_ that offers μεζέδες—_mezédes_ (nibbles and snacks). It becomes obvious by its name, that the emphasis is on ouzo and _raki_/tsipouro.
season last September and were waiting to be polished before opening for the new season. There were a few under construction. They had started early to fix damages and prepare, paint, clean, maybe refurbish, so that the new season will find them ready to welcome the tourists that will choose Naxos this year. There were open shops but most of them were empty with their owners either daydreaming alone or gossiping with company.

My intention is not to draw a depressing picture. It was actually serene, almost like I had entered a different world that travelled at a different pace. That of course would totally change in the foreseeable months.

The Access and the Participants

If you want them to trust you and respect you, be one of them: speak their language, listen to their stories, laugh with their jokes, show interest in their affairs and be modest. Take whatever they treat you, want it or not. Eat what they eat and drink what they drink. This is your ticket. If they cannot feel relatable to you, they will never let you in.

Georgios Mitkas, 2013

I had arrived; and now? Numerous handbooks on social research and ethnography are highlighting how crucial and important is gaining access to the field (Burgess 1991; Brewer 2005; Bailey 2007; Bryman 2012); of course it is, since with no access there is no research.

I had three groups which I had to be allowed entrance and I had to find a way to approach a gatekeeper in each one that would open the door for me. My main sampling strategy was the snowball which at some points became random or/opportunistic (Bailey 2007, 64; Bryman 2012, 424). Ahead of describing the circumstances of gaining entrée and conducting research within each group, there are some general remarks I should note.

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217 This was my father’s response when I asked his advice before my trip to Naxos on how to approach the farmers there. There is a back story on the reason I sought his advice. My father is a forester like myself and has been my role model and mentor throughout my life. He served in the Forestry Commission for 33 years with 22 of them spent at regional offices in Pindos, the mountain range in north-eastern Greece. He had been liaising throughout that time with the local population, the majority of which was working for the Commission in one form or another —forest guards, lumberjacks, plant operators, project workers. In all family’s trips to the mountains, he was more than welcome by the communities and people would gather to see him once his presence there was known. During my own visits as budding forester in later years, I came across some of those people who still remembered him very fondly and they would welcome me as warmly just for being his daughter.

218 I am equating gatekeepers and key informants in my research, because in all three groups they coincidentally happened to be the same person.
Every field situation is different and initial luck in meeting good informants, being in the right place at the right time and striking the right note in relationships may be just as important as skill in technique.

R.F. Ellen (1984, 96, original emphasis)

I was very fortunate in my fieldwork and I need to acknowledge it. I have to admit that despite a number of contingencies and even unpleasant events, those did not occur in high levels of my fieldwork strata; they were mostly on one-to-one level with participants and not with gatekeepers that could jeopardise my research. My good luck was also extended to the gatekeepers themselves, as I could have not have anyone more accommodating, helpful, and so eager to assist; they would even take initiatives to suggest anything that seemed to them it would even remotely interest me. This was the case of all three of them in the three groups. It did entail the risk of them claiming control over the available data and information, (Bailey 2007, 66; Burgess 1991, 48–49) which I would have to push back, but it was not necessary. I believe the reason behind it was related to the comment I made in the Introduction about a sort of gratefulness and pride from the locals, so there was a respect towards my knowledge of what I was doing that I had never experienced even in my professional life.

My other fortunate coincidence was that none of the three was a ‘red flag’ in the local community. What I mean by that is that although there most likely were some power dynamics and conflicting interests that definitely involve them as it is in life for everyone, I would call them moderate forces, for lack of a better word, within their respective community but also in the general local social setting. My project’s gain from that fact was that I was never denied access to a setting due to association; it was mostly the opposite. All three resumed their role in my second visit in an almost default way.

It is now time to introduce you to the Naxiótes.

The Ones Practicing Agriculture

The first group was the farmers of any kind such as crop, livestock, beekeeping. The only door I could see available to knock was EAS. I called their headquarters, I explained what I was doing and asked to talk to someone who could help. Three days after my arrival I had a meeting with the Director, who referred to an employee who could assist. I received a list of names and some general details on each one with recommendations about who would most likely be willing to assist. Five days later I was able to arrange a focus group with seven
farmers; one of the group members was the farmers’ gatekeeper for the rest of my fieldwork.

In the farming group I followed only the snowball sampling, because it just did not happen to meet potential participants randomly. The gatekeeper was also the key informant and I spent a lot of the time observing and participating in his extended social setting and group. Admittedly the time divided in the three groups was not even and the farmers had more time invested. The reason behind this was the nature of the job and the time necessary for their activities per day, to which I was participating. The majority of my mornings were spent with my key informant and/or a surrounding group observing them and participating at the same time in whatever they were doing. I ploughed, I sowed, I used fertilisers, I irrigated, I planted vegetables, I collected potatoes, fruit, and grapes, I fed animals; I did not milk cows or sheep, as they have machines for that now (Figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5).

I also had lunch with them and drunk with them, whatever they were preparing and eating or drinking at the mitató after the morning work (Figure 6.6). 219 Fan fact: eating whatever they were eating was not always easy. I ate boiled pig ears and cheeks (Figure 6.7), which I admit was not my most pleasant food experience; I did eat them though. As for drinking, being an insult to turn down an offered treat, especially when it is homemade like their wine and rakí, —total disclosure, — I can only say I was lucky I am resilient to alcohol in general.

![Figure 6.1. Collecting potatoes by hand . . .]

219 I decided to include this picture of faces, because it was not a secret to the community which farmers I was working with. The picture does not expose our discussions. Additionally, they had given consent for photographs for my thesis; as one of them said while taking this picture: “We are going to become celebrities abroad!”
Figure 6.2. . . . and collecting potatoes by a potato extractor

Figure 6.3. Picking peaches . . .

Figure 6.4. . . . planting cauliflowers . . .
Figure 6.5. . . . and picking grapes.

Figure 6.6. Having lunch after a day working in the field in June 2013.

Figure 6.7. The delicacy prepared by the farming group: boiled pieces of a pig ahead.
Those Operating Tourism

Getting to meet potential participants from the tourist industry was a little harder than with farmers, although admittedly the latter was seamless. I did not want to ask my landlord, the reason being he was a single male working with his mother, who was going out of her way to matchmake us; I had to keep an arm’s length distance to avoid awkward circumstances.  

I tried repeatedly to contact the hoteliers’ Union office without any luck. Searching on the internet six years ago in Greece was not a fruitful endeavour, at least compared to other countries. A both surprising and important feature of the local community, was that none from the farming group could refer someone from tourism. Luck knocked on my door again: I remembered a colleague I had in Athens who was from Naxos; thankfully, he had a name and that name, who was a hotel owner, became the tourism gatekeeper and key informant.

There was not much to participate in the tourism case, although I did join a hotel owner in cleaning his hotel for the opening of the season. I was accompanying him to pick up clients or assist at the reception if there was need, but the most fruitful setting for my research within the tourism group was taking place in the evenings until late at night. Their hotel garden during the evenings was getting quiet from customers and was transforming into a hub of locals from various occupations. I have witnessed many discussions taking place as they would even if I were not there. As the business was family ran, even the business meetings were taking place there and I was almost always there.

An important comment that applies to the farmers group too, is that if I did not show up — at the mitató in the morning and the hotel garden in the evening— because of an arranged interview or other commitments and had not informed, my phone would ring for a check: where I was and what time I would get there. My good luck continued with the tourism gatekeeper too; struggling to get accommodation myself at a beginning of a season that seasonal employees were coming to the island, I was offered a long-term arrangement which allowed me free access to the setting.

Although in absolute numbers, the time spent with the tourism group was less, due to practicalities, the data collected from those encounters were as valuable and important as the ones from the farming group.

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202 Understandably I did not prolong my stay at that accommodation.
2021 To this day I believe the offices were never open. Even later when I asked, I never got a clear answer.
And Those in Administrative Bodies

The administrative gatekeeper was opportunistically and randomly selected, or more accurately found. I had a weekend visit from my sister, and he flirted with her at a restaurant, and that is how I met him. He embraced his role almost without me asking. He was also extremely organised, regarding my research. Not only was he always arranging his schedule to afford time for me, but he also prepared and presented a list of people that he thought I would be interested to meet and talk about my research. He would never even just refer me to them; he would always personally take me to the meeting place. Quite some doors opened with his assistance to high profile local people that I got the chance to have a conversation.

The administrative group did not really have much to participate, although I did attend some meetings and I did accompany him and assisted with tasks related to events organised by the local authority. My participation was not in an active way, as it cannot be by default in policy making, but I was present, and I witnessed myself a number of events and incidents that were related to the community. I also had the privilege in some cases to be inform about issues before the rest of the community.

Regarding the administrative group I would argue that my ethnographic doing was a ‘step-in-step-out’ approach (Madden 2017, 80), as I was not spending as much time or of prolonged duration as I was spending with the farming and tourism group. This cross-group approach did not devaluate my data; I was still submerged in the social setting of the local community and the collection of data and information from those different sources gave me a better insight on issues as I had the ‘honour’ to know the perspectives of all three sides from within.

Peripheral to these three groups there were a number of other participants that I met and interviewed as also information retrieved during social interactions. All that data was auxiliary to provide a more complete picture of the main bulk of data from the three groups.

Ethics

Mr Spok. Then the Prime Directive is in full force, Captain?
Captain Kirk. No identification of self or mission; no interference with the social development of said planet;
Doctor: No references to space, or the fact that are other worlds, or more advanced civilizations.

Star Trek (1968, 6:16–6:28)
In real life, the *Prime Directive* for researchers does not stretch as far as it does for the *Starfleet* in *Star Trek*, however, the principle behind both is the same: no interference with the culture–community–people that are being explored. The idea of no intervention might be a noble aim for field researchers, the reality however on the field turns out to be more challenging than anyone would wish and my fieldwork was not an exception. Regardless of my good intentions, my entrance in an alien social setting, undoubtedly was going to create new dynamics, and even more since I was going to conduct overt research. Landscape itself would not be excluded since it is charting not only its inhabitants’ culture but *that of its incomers* too with the material traces imprinted on the landscape’s active or operative matter (Kouzoupi 2017, 20).

I expanded already on reflexivity and positionality in the introduction,—although they could be included under research ethics,— aiming to inform you from the beginning about my ‘position’ regarding this research and facilitate your journey along the way. During the whole period of my fieldwork and since my aim was to ensure my respect towards the four principles mentioned by Murphy and Dingwall (2001, 339):

- **Non-maleficence**: that researchers should avoid harming participants.
- **Beneficence**: that research on human subjects should produce some positive and identifiable benefit rather than simply be carried out for its own sake.
- **Autonomy or self-determination**: that the values and decisions of research participants should be respected.
- **Justice**: that people who are equal in relevant respects should be treated equally.

As they proceeded to elaborate in practice there are contradictory situations and conflicts that can make it hard to align by these principles. The principle above all was my respect for the people that opened their lives to me without any visible, tangible, or potential gain. I believe that in my time in Naxos and during my data analysis I did the human possible to make sure that I aligned with the four principles above.

It was in the process of writing this thesis that I found myself worrying about how I could be as fair as possible delivering this information. The words of Murphy and Dingwall, quite a disconcerting thought, crept into my mind: “The greatest risk in ethnography [. . .] arises

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222 This generalisation lies on the amount of writings on research and fieldwork ethics that are available within academia either as standalone topic or as part of other accounts. A few of the ones I have come across: are: (Burgess 1991, 185–208; Murphy and Dingwall 2001; Thrift 2003b; Brewer 2005, 82–103; Bailey 2007, 15–32; Bryman 2012, chap.6).
at the time of publication” (2001, 341). How could I present the findings of my research objectively and fairly at the same time? But also making sure I am not appropriating my participants voice, but I am not compromising my own research either?

The nature of my research itself as qualitative and the use of ethnographic methods had already determined the interference of my existence in the research setting. The level of acceptance I was granted by the groups of Naxiótes who so willingly had become my research participants, had offered me a window into their quotidian life beyond its social aspect. They had allowed me to share everyday personal moments and experiences and they had confided in me inner thoughts, opinions, and stories. Would I be able to protect them enough just by protecting their anonymity? Still there were going to be reference to people important for the research that it would probably be revealing even with altering circumstance and names.

Admittedly, chances of my participants themselves to read my research are limited mainly due to the lack of access to academic material and the language barrier. Nevertheless, this is a public research meaning that anyone could have access to it. In addition, the participants should be aware of the outcome of the research they had been part off and which would have never been conducted if it were not for them. There have been examples of researchers hiding the final product and it was not pleasant (Ellis 1995; Allen 1997).

I fully concur with Josselson that “language can never contain a whole person, so every act of writing a person's life is inevitably a violation” (1996, 62). This written material might not be ethnography per se, but it does refer to real people and their perceptions, conceptions, ideas, feelings, and behaviours. What might be the affect my words have to any of those people? Hiding their identity and changing details irrelevant to this study does not mean that situations are not recognisable; most probably participants are able to recognise themselves if not others. My biggest fear is that they may feel exposed, scrutinised, and subsequently hurt. Scripts are records and their impact may last as long as their existence.

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223 Some of my participants may know English and some may be academically interested in researches about their island. After all Naxos has been the focus of various researchers, archaeologists, geologists, historians and even locals who are deeply interested in their tópos. A distinctive example of that interest is the conference organised in Naxos every five years: “Naxos throughout the centuries”. It is a crossroad of disciplines such as —but not limited to— language, history, archaeology, anthropology, sociology, architecture, environment, geology, politics, economics, management, and technology (2018 was the year of the sixth conference, with previous years being 1992, 1997, 2003, 2008, 2013).

My apprehension will most likely perpetuate indefinitely, and it can only be soothed, by doing my best to be considerate and respectful towards my participants in my writings. I am using pseudonyms and I am omitting and/or altering details unrelated with this research to ensure their identities will not be compromised. I am trying to be fair and objective but also caring at the same time. Inevitably, I am unable to guarantee that there will not be any identifications or that no one will be offended or even hurt.

The local society was aware of my presence on the island and its purpose and also the people I was working permanently with; first and foremost, my key informants and gatekeepers. Although all three have pseudonyms whenever I am referring to them as gatekeepers, I am not mentioning their given names. I am however using gender specific pronouns though, because there were only three women among the groups and the other participants, so it would be pointless to hide the gender.

Subsequently it is time to describe my challenges in the field. I am not going to refer to them as limitations, because I did not see them as such. They part of a learning process and in cases they opened up new possibilities for my fieldwork.

Challenges

Conceptually, “risk” has a distinct relationship with qualitative methods, and ethnography in particular. All ethnography is inherently risky, at least to some degree. The contingent nature of fieldwork, our primary method of inquiry, places us in dynamic, unusual, or otherwise unfamiliar social settings where we are expected to interact with new people and new ideas and ultimately make sense of our surroundings. This process, at best, is ambiguous, and situates ethnography as a less-than-predictable form of investigation. Experience, and a healthy dose of common sense, tells us this is risky work. Historically, risk has been conceptualized as the mental and physical challenges the ethnographer faces in the field.

Karen A. Stewart et al. (2009, 198)

Language

The difference between the almost right word and the right word is really a large matter - ‘tis the difference between the lightning-bug and the lightning.

Mark Twain (Bainton 1890, 87–88)
I have to confess that the last issue I expected to face during fieldwork was language; after all I was conducting my research in my own country and mother tongue. The researcher’s task of interpreting the language used by the research participants is unsurprising in studies contacted in foreign countries and/or with foreign groups of people. Even if one of the two parties can speak the other’s language, the struggle might not be eliminated as colloquialisms are an inherent part of all languages (Forbes 2007, 99). This is even more prominent on anthropological research focused on indigenous populations and cultures of uniqueness, distant from the comprehension of the western civilisation (Wolcott 2008, 164–69).

I was certain that in general the above was not applicable in my case. I knew that islandic Greek is embellished with idioms and that it also has a distinct melodic accent, remnants probably of the Venetian influence. I was prepared to listen carefully and ask when anything slipped my understanding. My own rural background also gave me confidence that my communication with farmers, shepherds and anyone without academic background would be effortless. Still, a challenge arose and not from the local vernacular but from a standard Greek word: the epicentre of my research, the word topío.

My experience in the field was what motivated me to discuss in Chapter 1 the history and the meaning of the word in Greek. To my surprise —which might not be justifiable actually— in my very early days in Naxos when I was negotiating my access, every time I referred to topío, the reactions were similar. Mostly it was a trigger for a promotional pitch from my interlocutor: how amazing their landscapes and how spectacular the views are, how tourists love the blue and the sun and the beaches and so on. A total hymn to the beauties of Naxos.

I need to admit that although this did puzzle me, because I thought in the course of explaining what my research was about, I was clarifying the concept of topío within it. Apparently was wrong. There were two specific discussions I revealed to me my mistake.

During my first contact with the agronomist in the EAS headquarters, while I was asking for assistance to approach farmers, I was giving my talk about my topic. I thought it was safe to refer to topío, although I was almost certain that the person had the same academic background on the concept as I did before my project. I firmly believed that by explaining it to him, he would understand its use as a scientific term instead of an everyday word. My plan failed. It could have been the environment of a busy workplace, his willingness to be polite and accommodating while he was still preoccupied with work cases, or anything else, however, his reaction completely took me off guard:
Are you sure you want to ask farmers for landscape? They are in the fields all day; they don’t sit and gaze the horizon. Why don’t you ask tourists? They are the best source for that.

Risking sounding dramatic, I dare say that I felt a door slamming to my face. His comment stayed with me; however, I was foolishly not convinced. I still thought there were external factors for the misunderstanding of what I was describing as landscape; so, I tried it again.

The second time was at an interview with a farmer. It was my first one and I arranged it first specifically aiming to try again to use topío. I had been informed that he was a horticulture graduate, so again, he would have come across the concept in academia. The additional factor in this interaction was that it would be a social event, having a beverage together in a coffee shop, in a relaxed humanly manner. His response shattered my hopes:

Landscape? I don’t have time for landscapes. How has time to gaze at the views? And what view? It’s just rocks and shrubs, unless you look towards the sea. Ok sometimes, because my fields are up in a slope, when I pause to rest and it’s a nice day, I will look at the horizon... it’s soothing. But that’s all.

I finally came to the realisation that my academic elaborations could not claim victory over vernacular meanings solidly embedded into people’s minds; neither should I have tried. I had fallen in the trap of Derrida’s *anthropological violence* ([1967] 1997, 122), which occurs “at the moment when the space is shaped and reoriented by the glance of the foreigner” (113). Derrida’s preoccupation was colonial practices of oppression via renaming places and people of the indigenous populations, still though his view was applicable in my case. Layton and Ucko (1999, 5) characterised as such an act of oppression, the rereading of a landscape as wild or barren, which is laden with meanings and traditions to its inhabitants. I would add that so is attempting to persuade them to change what the words they use mean to them.

It was then on me to find a mutually comprehensive word from the participants’ language that would correspond as accurately as possible to my definition of landscape as produced space, as human habitat, as the spatial sphere of people’s lives. Embarrassingly enough, that word exists, and I should have thought about it before, as I use it too. From that first week into my fieldwork until the day I left in 2013 and my revisit in 2017, I never used the word landscape in my discussions, unless I was referring to views. The right word to use was tópos.

I will elaborate a bit further on this, driven by the eternal debate on the landscape meaning and specifically by Olwig’s passion on the ‘recovering’ of the ‘substantive nature of landscape.
This occurrence in the field was the reification of my fears and thoughts on landscape within academia, to which I refer in the Introduction of my thesis. Despite the history of the signified of landscape in any language, I have concluded that its debate serves academic purposes only and does not transmit to other social groups. Language is like landscape, alive and active, forming and reforming, discarding, and enriching under the will of its people. In the seventeenth century, the word tópos in Naxos meant a seigneurial unit. This information is useful for academic knowledge, it does not offer much to today’s Naxiótes, except historical information of their island. Tópos now means hometown for them: the place of their roots, identity, livelihood, and existence. Whatever it meant in the past has no effect on the meaning they attribute to the it today.

“And God Created Woman”: 225 Malediction or Benediction?

“If you weren’t a woman, especially a young one, you wouldn’t be able to do this job. If you were an old ugly guy no one would care to talk to you. And you wouldn’t be welcome to these meetings. I couldn’t bring you along. Now, they don’t pay attention to you. They can’t believe you would care about men’s businesses. [. . .] You told them what you do but it didn’t stick. If only they knew . . . Did you see the lawyer today? He was the only one unsettled by your presence. Did you see how he asked you all those details? He barely spoke the whole time and every time someone said something ‘risky’, he looked at you. [. . .] All this time no one else has done this. But he is from Athens, he knows what women can do, not like the Naxiótes . . .”

Hercules’ comment is the epitome of McDowell’s argument that in a fieldwork context, men often perceive women as “unthreatening or not ‘official,’” so they let their guards down and reveal confidential information or open up on difficult subjects relatively easily (1988, 167).

Being a female was a crucial challenge in the field, as expected. I built my preparation around one axis: be ready for face literally anything. He people I was going to collaborate with. I wanted to be aware of and prepared for any potential types of encounters of which I was already too cognizant through my personal experiences. It was not much of a concern, therefore, as I was used to have to deal with such circumstances my whole life. After all, I

224 By all means, Olwig is one of the many researchers that have argued on the meaning of the word, but his writings were the ones that intrigued me personally.

225 Borrowed from Et Dieu Créa la Femme, the 1956 French film by Roger Vadim.
had already been asked a laden with sexism question by a colleague before my departure from university:

“Are you really going to do such a fieldwork, like this, in the fields with male farmers, all by yourself? Are you sure you thought that through?

“Like this” had been accompanied with a ‘head to toes’ look, directly implying that not just my gender, but apparently my looks too, were not conducive to such a field research.  

Err . . . hmm . . . So . . , now, you just decided to come and research an unknown place all by yourself? It is pretty gutsy right? I mean, aren’t you scared being a girl alone with no-one to help you if anything happens?

Castor

That said, it needs to be pointed out that Naxos constitutes a patriarchal society, and it is still preserved as such to a significant level. One of my first impressions when I first visited Naxos a decade ago, was the fact that the women that were registered as farmers, were actually housewives and they had no knowledge of the business; they were all joined by their fathers/husbands/sons who provided all the information required for the subsidies’ application. This impression was confirmed when I returned there for my fieldwork. As the tourist season had not yet started the people walking around were locals. What struck me was that the vast majority were men. When later I made the first contacts trying to grand my entrée into the local community, there were no female farmers only a few tourism professionals for me to meet. There was a common comment that I received any time I asked if there is any woman in charge that I could meet that sounded approximately like this:

Women who don’t leave the island, get married and have kids. They work only if they have an office job or they help their husbands when they have time.

My gender definitely enabled my access to the field; the dynamics there were not different that in my real life out of the field and that I am confident applies for all female researchers, as Sampson and Thomas have indicated (2003, 180–81):

Attempting to distance oneself from traditional female roles within the research setting and avoiding a gendered (and feminised) identity does not provide adequate protection from sexual hustling and harassment. With the best will in the world the extent to which one may go ‘genderless’ within the

\[226\] I reassured this highly educated and very successful professionally person that I would be fine and thanked them for the concern, reminding them that I had survived working with engineers and constructors on a daily basis for years, without any traumas.
field is debatable [. . .] and in a male-dominated environment such as a ship, gender identity may be particularly significant.

My fieldwork also comprised of a male-dominated environment in which I had to spend too much time; in my case additionally, I was alone. I cannot speculate the dynamics if we were a team with a female or male colleague; I only know that in my case being alone made things more difficult for me. It might have been unjustifiable but there were times that I was alone with an informant in a field or a hotel office that I did not feel comfortable; there were a few times that I even felt vulnerable. As said before, nothing unfamiliar to everyday experiences.

Especially in a patriarchal community as Naxos, a single female by herself showing interest in ‘men’s business’ and willingly spending time with them is not just understandable to be seen as “an event typically preceded by much speculation, interest, and excitement” (Sampson and Thomas 2003, 180–81) it is expected. I am not suggesting that the interest of a female justifies harassment or sexism, I am just aware of the ‘customary’ and ‘habitual’ male behaviours of small patriarchal communities.

As I believe it is common knowledge, entering a setting as a woman by herself can have both advantages and disadvantages. For many of the men whose jobs are lonely, like the farmers, a female interested in their work and their lives opens them up and enables sharing. In some cases, the power relations at play between men and women, work as an enabler for collecting data, as males do not feel threatened by the female presence, so they are more likely to expose otherwise sealed information (England 1994, 85; Sampson and Thomas 2003, 178).

Respectively there are those who are suspicious of women willingly entering a non-female, as they perceive it, environment without a sexual intention involved. Their internalised cultural understandings cannot provide a satisfactory explanation, so they turn to inventive stories to explain it (Sampson and Thomas 2003, 178).

I thought you should know . . . the guys are asking me what is going on with the two of us. I thought it was only fair to let you know since they insist. I told them nothing. But they don’t believe me. Maybe . . . I mean, don’t you mind?

My key informant enlightened me on the ‘teasing,’ as he presented it, by the other members of the group, so that I could make a decision about the course of my fieldwork. I had expected such reactions and as long as they were not becoming a hindrance in my work, I did not pay attention; in the same way I did not when I was informed about the urban myth surrounding the purpose of my presence in Naxos, as shared in the positionality discussion.
I have already mentioned that my positionality was not static during my fieldwork but dynamic evolving the more familiar my presence was becoming to the community. One of the expressions of that change was the candour of questions I was receiving from participants about my personal affairs. Many of them were regarding my relationships with other participants and mainly with my key informants. Being positioned to this

▲ **Everyday Life Politics**

You should ask Ajax to take you to Priapus. If I take you, he knows the people that are here all the time so he will know you have been hanging out with Philomenus and he will be prejudiced against you. If he even agrees to talk to you. Things are bad with these two and no one knows why. […] Err, if he asks, tell him. He might know already or find out. Just make it sound like you don’t have any relationship with Philomenus . . . Don’t worry, you’ll be fine going with Ajax. He trusts him.

_Hercules_

Although the idea of being diplomatic within a fieldwork context could probably fall under confidentiality, I would like to discuss about it separately as it had not only been a significant part during the entire duration of my stay in Naxos, but to some extent it defined my data collection process and the interactions I had.

“(Ethnographic) research is political” because “evidently fieldwork relationships are “political” (Arnould 1998, 72). The expressive situation of politics was what I already mentioned previously about focus groups. I manage to gather one with farmers quite easily but after the discussion we had and meeting them again regularly, most of the views discussed during that meeting were discarded and veils covering underlying dynamics were exposed. Focus groups can be tricky in small communities like Naxos where everyone knows everyone. They might socially tolerate each other but it is dangerous to put them together to express opinions. I found myself many times in groups gathered for professional or social reasons where discussions were taking place. After those meetings, I often found myself listening to complaints or opinions totally different than the ones expressed during the meetings. I did not get the opportunity to gather officials in a group, the ones I did cooperate though made clear that this could not happen. I was invited to attend once a meeting of a committee in the municipality which ended with no decisions due to extreme arguments. Relationships in such places are sometimes balanced on the edge.
The stance expressed by Wilkinson (1998, 334, 336–37) might be accurate for focus groups consisted of people unknown to each other. In cases where the community under research is small and the groups of stakeholders are all known to each other, this is rarely the case. However, an outsider researcher, unknown and not related to the local realm is an advantage as is seen as impartial with no interest to interfere with intercommunity affairs. I attended gatherings and meetings that I was either invited or taken to (unplanned in relation to my research) and I was able to observe the difference between the behaviour of some of the attendees within this ‘formal’ environment where there might be conflicting interests and politics involved compared to the behaviour expressed in our one-to-one meetings or informal gatherings with friends and colleagues.

In some gatherings I was almost ‘sneaked into,’ advised and warned to keep a low profile and not talk. At times I was strongly recommended to tone down my work if asked about it, so as not to ‘alert’ the participants of my interest in their discussion. As some of them already knew my existence and had an idea of my research, we could not lie, however we should ‘muddy the waters’ so that I would be regarded the ‘grey man’ and go as unnoticed as possible. Although, keeping a low profile in gatherings I attended was my default behaviour, there were a few that made me realise why my informants were so cautious. There were times that the politics at play were beyond my expectations or even my imagination.

I had adopted an efficient as it turned out approach. Not only was I never revealing who I knew or who I had met, but even when asked, which was very often as I was seen in the community interacting with people, I always showed distance and detachment towards the person I was being asked about; and the best tip was never saying their name but refer to them by their title or their occupation. It truly worked.

Health and Safety

Oh, you don’t want to come with me to bale hay! Breathe all that dust? No, I’m not taking you, it’s not good for you.

Hephaestus

I was no stranger to being refused participation in activities due to potential hazards throughout my fieldwork. I had considered health and safety issues during planning, as I

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227 See Chapter 4, p166.
would have done for any travel. Naturally, I had the confidence of travelling within my own country, aware of cultural idiosyncrasies and social norms and conventions. Despite the crisis and its subsequent social upheaval, I was not entering neither a war zone nor a hostile environment. I had, hence, the certainty that I would not have the fate of Matthew Hedges or Giulio Regeni. 228 My only thought was my gender within a patriarchal setting and the potential risks involved, as discussed previously.

Lee has distinguished two kinds of potential danger during fieldwork: the ambient, which emerges when a study is set in a dangerous context by default (i.e. research in areas of military operations or violent conflicts) and the situational, which arises by the fieldworker’s presence or actions within the setting (1995, 3–4). In my case any risk belonged to the situational, and the actions were not only of the participants, but I need to admit mine too.

I am not referring here to any risks deriving from my gender. I did not appreciate the dangers of agricultural work, although I was aware of them. What I also did not appreciate was the fact that there was no sense of health and safety measures in farming in Naxos. According to accounts by the locals being killed by the flip over of the tractor is a common accident for farmers because of two reasons. Tractors that are 4x4 are way too expensive, so they do not buy them. For the fields in the plains that is not so much a risk, but in the majority of the fields that are not easily accessible, or they are on slopes, it becomes lethal. I did find myself on board in such tractors standing as there was no space to sit, without doors being driven through rocky roads and steep field. I had two accidents by car, because I was determined to get to remote mountainous fields that only tractors and pickups could go; I attempted to take my city car there, the outcome was bad twice.

Reflecting on bad decisions such as the example above that I made and the missed accidents I could have had, I am trying to justify myself by attributing it to my research zeal. Hindsight is clear though and there are many decisions I would not have made if I were to do fieldwork again. The way there should be limits about how far a research should go in respect to the participants, the same should apply to the researcher.

228 Matthew Hedges is a PhD student at Durham University who was arrested and imprisoned in UAE during a field trip on the accusation of spying (Ensor 2018). Giulio Regeni was a PhD student at Cambridge, who was found dead in Cairo after having disappeared for a week during his fieldwork in Egypt (Kirchgaessner, Michaelson and Gani 2016; Sims 2016).
For the moment I am going just going to cite my general good luck during my fieldwork for the fact that I was not physically hurt:

What might happen if we think of *ourselves* as being dangerous? What if danger is no longer somewhere “out there” in the field? What if we carry danger with us, embody it, and carry it with us *into* the field? Consider the option that we, ourselves, could be dangerous. Consider what it might mean to be an agent of danger, what it might mean to become dangerous ethnographers doing dangerous ethnography.

D. Soyini Madison (2009, 189, original emphasis)

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**Data**

Ethnographic data are personal to the researcher [. . .]. Ethnographic data are thus autobiographical data.

John D. Brewer (2005, 104–05)

I would add that analysing ethnographic data is very personal too; how could I remove myself from the setting I was part of? Revisiting the data after fieldwork felt like reading an old diary.

Except my fieldnotes in various forms, my data involved recordings of interviews with a total of more than 50 hours:

- 11 with farmers,
- 13 with people employed in tourism,
- 15 with people from administrative bodies and authorities

These numbers refer only to the interviews. 17 of these interviews were the only interaction personal interaction I had with the interviewees although they were still part of the setting and I was becoming aware of information related to them. The other 22 interviews were members of the groups I was ‘following’ as a participant observant (Table 6.1). These were one-to-one interviews as there were multiple groups conversations, which I was part of and although I did record parts of some of them, I was reluctant and generally avoided it because I did not always have the chance to ask permission to record, resorting to hand notes.

I decided against using software in order to transcribe and code my recordings due to the nature of the interviews, the discussions, the settings, and the language. The first was the absence of the signifier. Landscape had barely been mentioned by any of the participants. Second, in order to decipher the words of the people I had to take into consideration the
context, the circumstances, the person talking. I had times that people would express specific opinions within a group that would later alter when we were one to one, or sarcastic jokes would take place. That means that there was a lot of cross referencing to different data and correlations that a software would probably not have picked up. Additionally, in order to identify the social representations/themes, I was not looking for repeated words or phrases but for repeated verbal and behavioural patterns. 229

Although the main bulk of data was collected a few years ago they are still meaningful as they refer to a specific period of time highly significant within the Greek modern history: the economic crisis. Forbes was prompted by the increased interest in the significance of landscape to its inhabitants that developed across the disciplines, he revisited his data from his fieldwork to Methana to analyse it through the new prism (2007, 3).

Table 6.1. List of the groups of participants and their number of members, that I followed throughout my fieldwork as a participant observant. The group ‘various professionals’ includes those that did not belong to specific group, but their occupation was relevant to space, such as civil engineers or horticulturists, with whom I happened to interact regularly and collected valuable data. A striking observation is the absence of female participants in the main groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Practicing agriculture</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating Tourism</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of Administrative bodies</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various Professionals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Island Revisited

Returning to a place can be a painful experience [. . .]. Memories are treasured, and it comes as a disturbing shock to realise that people and things and places are not what they used to be, that the world as we remember it does not physically exist any longer.

Roger M. Downs & David Stea (1977, 2–3)

229 I have gathered some images from my process of data analysis, as much as my commitment to confidentiality towards the participants allowed me to do, in Appendix 5.
I returned to the field four years later for a follow up visit in March 2017 after the initial analysis to explore the changes if any in the social representations I had identified. I reconnected with the majority of the stakeholders I had previously worked with and I had conversations about the previous four years, the current socio-economic context after the economic “big bang” and the so-called stabilisation of the situation. My analysis of the new data was also manual and in relation to the analysis of the old data so as to provide the temporal dimension.

**Interpretation**

In the social sciences there is only interpretation. Nothing speaks for itself.

Norman K. Denzin (1998, 313)

Blaikie then added that “if all observation is interpretation, and concepts are theoretically saturated, then manipulation is involved from the very beginning” (2009, 163). If by manipulation is meant seeing things from a personal perspective and through reflexivity and positionality producing situated knowledge, then Blaikie is right. Interpretation is also personal as data are as it is a “creative enterprise that depends on the insight and imagination of the ethnographer” (Brewer 2005, 122). To put it under the aegis of constructionism, what it “drives home unambiguously is that there is no true or valid interpretation. [. . .] ‘Useful’, ‘liberating’, fulfilling’, ‘rewarding’ interpretations, yes. ‘True’ or ‘valid’ interpretations, no. (Crotty 1998, 47–48, original emphasis).

This is the end of stage one of our journey and we are entering stage two with the third leg, the interpretation of data. First, our souvenirs.
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from *Ethnography*

This specific stop in our journey, has been my most exciting experience and I cherish it so much that I truly hope that my sharing it with you, might actually give you something of value.

I had never ‘intruded’ intentionally the way I did in Naxos during my fieldwork, but I was determined to completely immerse myself in the island’s life and try to take a glimpse and at taste of what it is to be Naxiôtis.

The means I used was participant observation and interviews with a very broad meaning. I have elaborated on the methods and I do not think it is necessary to repeat. What is important though is my experience in the field, which I would like to believe that could add even a small brick to knowledge regarding fieldwork. That is why the most significant element from this chapter is the way I applied my methods in order to immerse in the local life, which might be of help for other budding researchers aspiring to use ethnographic means.

The first principle I followed, and I had pre-decided that I was going to, was to take down any boundaries on the type of activities I was going to participate. There was no place too dangerous, no work too hard, no food or drink disgusting, no words offensive, no topics too personal to discuss. Whatever the participants were doing, I did it too without hesitation or challenge. I kept loyal to that principle for all the time I spent in Naxos. The only limitation that might have occurred was only in the name of the research ethics.

The ‘equation axiom’ though could not make fieldwork happen by itself. Although, I am not a believer of repeatability in ethnographic research, —deriving from the discussion in chapter 4, —still previous works can be useful to new starters. The significant element of this port are the steps that I followed to successfully complete my fieldwork. First, it is the access to the field which is the enabler of the research in the first place. The key to access is identifying possible entrances for the groups of people that the research is interested in, such as the farmer’s or the hotelier’s union in my study. There is no shame on knocking doors; no one can say no if they have not been asked first. Socialising is extremely significant too. I went to coffee places, bars, restaurants alone and I tried to interact with anyone I could. It did not matter if they could become participants; they might introduce me to one or more. That was my way into the group of people from the local authority and policymakers. Finding one participant was never the end with that person, I always asked for references of others who could be of relevance, —snow sampling. The reality is that once I was granted access to one
group, —the farmers in that case—it became much easier to network and find more participants.

One more thing: I never forgot my research even on the occasions that seemed like entertainment, like being out at night in a bar. There was always relevant to my research information even when circumstances were relaxed and casual; additionally, in such cases many people feel more comfortable and I found out that by being alert and observing those situations I was able to identify politics and relationships that were crucial for my smooth navigation in the field.

An inextricable aspect of any fieldwork is certainly the various challenges that emerged. I have elaborated on the four major ones I had. The challenge I faced with the language is to be attributed with triggering my focus on the landscape meaning in the vernacular and academia that I have so extensively discussed, as it proved to me that speaking the same language and using the same words does not equate by default to understanding and communication. I assume that being a woman was expected to be a hindrance, but I have to admit that in my case it was primarily an advantage that gave me access to situations that I would most likely not have if I were a male. The everyday politics although a challenge, there were not much different than any other social interaction; I just had to be more cautious. Regarding the health and safety, I have been so reckless that I find hard to believe how lucky I was, and that was a huge lesson.

The first stage and the second leg of our circumnavigation are completed. We are about to set off for stage two and the third leg, the interpretation of all the collected information during my fieldwork.
STAGE TWO

THIRD LEG: INTERPRETATION
Chapter 7. The Naxiótes Reflecting on Crisis

If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.

W.I. Thomas & D.S. Thomas (1928, 572)

Shouldn’t the opposite be true too? If men do not define situations as real, then there are no consequences from non-existent situations. The concept of crisis is transverse across all chapters of this leg, since it is the context of my project; however, it has been constructed as a social representation within the Greek society and the local community in Naxos, so I am going to begin the interpretation part of our journey by elaborating specifically on the Naxiótes to describe some of the reactions and perceptions expressed by participants regarding the financial situation.

That was the picture in 2013:

We are ok, aren’t we? Things look good to me. I don’t see anyone suffering here in Naxos Ok, there might be some who we aren’t aware of, but as the Chrisavgítes say, since the Albanians have jobs, it means either that the Greeks are lazy, or that they all have jobs.

Alcibiades could not identify crisis in Naxos. He felt unease by his own reference to the far-right-party, but he attributed it to the fact that he was trying to make a point; he did not align with their principles. I was not reacting, but he still felt the need to justify himself.

He did not denounce the national crisis but the local one definitely:

Back in the day, there was the mentality [. . .] that only lazy people cannot find jobs. Now, lots of people want to find a job, they are willing to do anything, and they cannot find one. Not in Naxos, though. In Naxos still, whoever wants to find a job, they do.

I was just listening without interrupting him and he still insisted on making his point almost like he believed he had to convince me:

Which crisis? Ok, it depends how we define crisis. Do we consider crisis wearing a cardigan at home during winter? Do we consider crisis not going out every night? What do we consider crisis? Do we still have very good living standards, and we don’t appreciate it?

230 Chrisavgítes is the name given to the members and supporters of the Greek far-right political party Golden Dawn; “Chrisí Avgí” in Greek.
This was a common reaction from the majority of the Naxiótes to my question about the crisis. They would deny it immediately and then they would try hard to convince me. The ‘no-crisis’ representation was not just acknowledged but internalised and constantly repeated.

The crisis has not arrived on our island yet.

*Philomenus*

No, here at least it [the crisis] has not touched us at an important level.

*Phaedrus*

The ‘agreed’ reality of ‘no-crisis’ on the island by the Naxiótes was exhibiting their affiliation and their loyalty to their tópos with its distinction from the rest of the country. Naxos was different and that is why it did not have a crisis. At no point was there a denial of the national crisis, but what they were seeing or hearing about the rest of the country, reinforced their perception of their island as different.

The financial crisis has not touched us here; it wouldn’t have touched us no matter what might have happened.

*Stratocles*

The crisis here is not yet visible, like the severe signs seen in the urban centres. Here, I will go to my garden, I will give something to my neighbour, eggs from my chicken, oranges, lemons; whatever I have in excess, I will give it to someone, whilst in Athens I don’t believe anyone will turn to give you anything.

*Antinous*

The no-crisis was also supported by the sense of immunity. Both *Stratocles* and *Antinous* were absolutely certain that there will be no financial implications on their island.

There were some moderate voices that were not fully aligned with no-crisis representation but describe their stances as contesting it would be a hyperbole.

On the islands generally, the crisis affected us last year. The crisis, even if it seems bizarre to you, has affected mostly businesses that do not offer the proper amenities.

For *Castor* there was a reason for those that were affected the by the crisis and it was the ones who were not professional with their businesses, so the impact of the crisis was personal. Still, like *Alcibiades* he had to continue his argument:
This year that they predicted boost [in tourism] for Hellas [. . .], when we will close the till, we will record losses [. . .]. Do you know why we will have losses? Because they have gone too far into our pockets.

If was some effect, there was some external reason that caused it. It was not that their tópos was vulnerable. Even for Odysseus who thought that there was no salvation for the country, the island was immune.

Personally, here in Naxos that we live, I believe we aren’t going to get to the state of Athens, Thessaloniki or elsewhere. That does not mean that things will improve. [. . .] We are doomed on the financial matter. I believe it’s a lost case for Hellas.

Some of the viewpoints seemed to support the national narrative of tourism and agriculture as the rescuers, like first and foremost Alcibiades,

We have been tottering between being a touristic or an agricultural island for all these years, with all the negatives, we have been calling negatives, and now with the crisis they have been proven the most positives in a space that can combine the tourism with agriculture,

Zeus:

Wherever there is tourism in general the crisis is much more painless,

and Patroclus:

This year we felt some effects but for producers it has been business as usual.

If there was crisis, it had a partial impact and where it occurred it was because of specific circumstances. The narrative of ‘no-crisis’ was not contested at least in appearance. The extra mile though that some informants took to strengthen their argument revealed some underlying contradicting indications. The people that were supporting the ‘no-crisis’ stance were the same ones who mentioned the collapse of the construction industry and the impact it had on Naxos. It would be futile for anyone to deny the huge visual trauma their tópos had already. The abundance of half-finished buildings spread all over the island were hard to ignore, as they were standing, “gaping like carcasses” (Figure 7.1), as described eloquently by Hercules. Admittedly though there was not much uneasiness expressed by some owners of those villas. Apparently, there was no urgency for cash flow which was the driver behind the price stability. The owners were not under financial pressure to drop the sale prices in order to expedite the sale:
I will slowly finish them [two buildings]. Every time I have some extra money aside, I will invest it towards completion. I am not in a hurry,

*Odysseus* told me when I asked about the constructions. *Hermes* expressed a similar position:

I managed to finish one of three and I sold it too, so I will slowly invest some of the money I got to finish the other too. They will be done eventually even if they take a while.

The picture painted by the discussions over construction was nebulous. According to the Building Act (FEK 2011, §6), in force at the time, building warrants were valid for one to two years based on the building’s surface. If the construction were not completed within time, an extension could be granted for four up to indefinite number of years depending on the phase of the construction. The Act had made provisions for incomplete constructions in touristic areas, close or within traditional settlements, archaeological and/or historical sites, in order to avoid the aesthetic degradation —many locations in Naxos fall at least under one...
of the above categories. In such cases, though the responsibility for compliance was on the local authority and I was not able to clarify the situation.

The expressed views on crisis were mainly that of a necessary evil, in the words of Theseus:

I think crisis is an opportunity period. One of the best things that is happening now is that things are getting cleared and it will be clarified who have been working and who have been fooling people around who were way too many.

The same view was shared by Alcibiades, Castor and Hermes, on the basis that the crisis would force the public to think twice before investing, so the ‘charlatans’ as Theseus called them would be eliminated. Alcibiades also added that it would bring measure back into their lives, because excessiveness was out of hand:

We were sitting down to eat for lunch, and we were talking about where we would go to eat for dinner instead of enjoying our time.

At the peak of the crisis, Naxos was bulletproof, and any effects were circumstantial. The island was fortunate having production and tourism and nobody’s life had changed. So, what was the picture in 2017? Significantly different. The crisis had arrived in the meantime and they were trying to face and cope with the impact.

I am not going to elaborate further on the reactions and expressed perceptions at this point as it would not be possible without crossing into the groups of representations that I am discussing subsequently. I wanted to begin the Interpretation leg of our journey with this introductory chapter on the social representation of no-crisis dominant in 2013, as it functioned as the hub on which all other representations were connecting.

The first group of social interpretations I identified were the Landscapes of Attachment, which included three different ones. The first I called topophília borrowing the term from

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231 Although there are academic accounts on the concepts described by the themes of my research, such as place attachment or kinship and local identity, I am not elaborating on them because the use of these terms to name the emerged themes is primarily linguistic and the focus of the research is not the study of the themes themselves — I am using them as the vehicles that lead to action and practice of the participants. The discussion of the themes as concepts could definitely be the focus of another research, where detailed analysis of them could occur. In this project the meaning of the names of the themes is the one described in the following discussion.

232 I refer to topophilia here (Greek tópos “place” + -philia “love of”) to refer to both the attachment of Naxiótes to their tópos and the excess localism they express at the same time. I believe these two are intrinsically intertwined to be discussed separately, so include them both under the concept of the “love for place.” The word’s first record was in 1947 in W.H. Auden’s introduction of John Betjeman’s Slick but Not Streamlined; in 1958 was mentioned by Gaston Bachelard in The Poetics of Space and in 1974 it was popularised by Tuan with his titular work.
Tuan, using it exactly for what it means in Greek: love of place. I included under its auspices, place attachment and localism. I kept separated the social representation of attachment to the land because I identified a special connection between people and the land as a material entity that was related to the feeling of being productive by working the land and the satisfaction of seeing the fruit of their work and efforts. 233 The third one of that group was the local identity as defined by the landscape. 234 This group of social representations permeates across all the three groups of participants. Even the attachment to the land, although a bit more focused to the farmers it is still related to all.

The second group referred to the Landscapes of Production comprised by the social representations of self-sufficiency, entrepreneurship, and short-termism as all three of them were pioneers in the productive forces of the landscape.

Last group was the Landscape of Relations with three different expressions informing the landscape production: kinship, collectivity and conflict.

A note for the rest of our journey: Wherever there is no reference to the date, I am referring to 2013. When I am talking about 2017, I am stating it for clarification.

The time to navigate through the stories of Naxiótes has arrived.

Our stop here was brief, and its purpose was to present the general attitude of the Naxiótes towards the economic crisis on a local level, which could be summarised with the word denial and was named the “social representation of no-crisis.” It was dominant in 2013 and had significantly faded by 2017. And that is our souvenir from this chapter.

233 The reason I did not include this under topophilia was the fact that the attachment to the land was also related to the landscapes of production which was the second group of representations. I decided to keep it in the first group as separate, as it was driven mostly emotionally than practically.

234 I have to clarify that this was not about the national identity — that was covered in Chapter 1. Here I refer to the distinct versions of local identities as expressed among the islanders.
Chapter 8. Landscapes of Attachment

8.1. Topophilia

*Topophilia* is the affective bond between people and place or setting.

Yi-Fu Tuan, (1974b, 4)

The affective bond of Naxiótes to their tópos was extraordinary to experience. It imbued every little molecule of the locals’ lives:

*If Eden were on earth, it would be here.*

235

This phrase has become almost my menace. It is attributed to Kazantzakis as a phrase he used to describe the island when he visited it, but my quest to find the actual source of that quote has been unsuccessful. 236 This catchphrase is repeated constantly in Naxos, throughout the internet and promotional material posted by touristic blogs, media, various people and even on the websites of local businesses’ and administrative bodies; number of people also mentioned it to me during our discussions. The power of the phrase was demonstrated at its best when illiterate people were mentioning that Kazantzakis described Naxos as heaven. If that cannot prove how Naxiótes perceive their tópos, then nothing else can. Maybe Kazantzakis did say it and it is registered in some archives in Naxos or in a library somewhere. For the Naxiótes the official registry is not important. Their island had been called allegedly an Eden on earth and that is enough for them.

Another description of Naxos that is very popular and indicative of the Naxiótes’ perception of their tópos is a reference to the ancient lyric poet Pindar. Pindar is said to have called the island ‘rich’ (λιπαράν – *liparán*). The locals quote it often and they have used this one too in promotional material for the island (like travel and tourism webpages, articles in magazines)

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235 https://www.naxospress.gr/arthro/vivlio/o-paradeisos-toy-kazantzaki
http://www.ortsa.gr/%CE%BD%CE%AC%CE%BE%CE%BF%CF%82/
http://www.thetoc.gr/taksidia/article/naksos-enas-epigeios-paradeisos-sto-aigaio
https://www.backstage24.gr/16642/
https://www.hotelkymata.com/naxos-greece.html
https://www.facebook.com/yperwon/posts/568427343231020

236 I looked in Kazantzakis’ books, I read *Report to Greco* and *Askitiki*, I looked through the whole website of the Kazantzakis Foundation and museum. There is no reference of that phrase. None of the references of the phrase cites a valid source. I am still searching.
and I even found it in a postgraduate thesis; the word was also mentioned by Bent (1885, 345). In this case too I did not find the poem with that description. What I found was a paean commissioned by Naxiótes to be offered during a festival in Delos (M. Smith 2008, 79), which mentioned:

> Often there comes from Naxos for the sacrifice of richly fed sheep.  

What Pindar said was that the sheep offered for sacrifice were richly-fed. Although the offer of the paean and the richly fed sheep indicated “an outlay of wealth” (M. Smith 2008, 80), Pindar did not attribute the specific characterisation to the island.

Topophilia representation was not only a natives’ representation; they were sharing it with those who had chosen to make Naxos their tópos and they were not few. Critias had moved as a child to Naxos and he was not happy with the fact that he had no Naxian roots:

> I would like to be Naxiôtis.

**Odysseus** not only had no reason to leave the island, but he also had every reason to stay.

> Of course, I feel like a local. That is why I got involved with the local politics. Ok, I have to stay here for my family, but I didn’t have to run about like crazy the way I do now. I have a successful business, I have a high living standard, I could just enjoy myself. But I ache about this tópos. I want to see Naxos thrive.

He was not the only one. I met two people that went to the island for holidays and never left.

**Actaeon** was so attached to his tópos that he made quite a big claim:

237 An indicative number of webpages that mention the specific phrase:

http://www.greek-tourism.gr/naxos/naxos-istoria.htm

https://www.gtp.gr/LocInfo.asp?infoid=28&IncludeWide=1&code=EGRSKYS6&PrimeCode=EGRSKYS6&Level=6&PrimeLevel=6&LocId=11943&Lng=1

http://www.golden-greece.gr/places/kyklades/naxos/naxos_naxos.html


http://www.deluxemagazine.gr/deluxe-pins/%CE%B7-%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%B7%CE%B8%CE%B9%CE%BD%CE%AE-%CE%BD%CE%AC%CE%BE%CE%BF%CF%82/

http://www.explore-naxos.com/el/content/istorika-stoiheia

http://www.sailing-info.gr/destinations/562-naxos

http://www.kedrosvillas.gr/el/%CE%B7-%CE%BD%CE%AC%CE%BE%CE%BF%CF%82/

238 “θυμά δ’ ἐρχεται Ναξόθεν λιπαρητρόφον θυσία μήλων” (Race 1997, 295, emphasis added).

239 The Greek phrase is “τον πονάω αυτόν τον τόπο” (ton ponão autón ton tópo) where ponão stands for ache. Aching about something denotes such a deep care that can lead to sacrifice just so the object of care will not suffer.
I cannot live anywhere else; it is not possible. I would never leave Naxos. Four will have to carry me away from here. 240

I do believe that Actaeon really meant that statement when he said it, but the ‘unsettled’ times that Vaisey mentioned, in Actaeon’s case, his ‘internalised cultural understandings’ were not more important when his routine got disrupted. With the crisis catching up on the island, by 2017 Actaeon had migrated abroad.

For Ajax, his tópos mattered more than any crisis:

I would never leave Hellas in general — in regard to here, yes it expresses me better. I do not feel incomplete. Look around you, at the landscapes we have here, the ones I see every day, with what shall I exchange them? And I am not talking about anything else, just the landscape.

Ajax was so content he did not even have the need to travel. So did many others. Many of the locals had never been to the North, where I come from. I asked Zeus if he would ever leave if things were to get worse and his response was:

I would never leave. I would never even think about leaving. Even if I was starving. Leave and go where?

Even those who had been away for studies, they were coming back. Stratocles was very clear about all of them not just himself.

Every Naxiótis when he leaves the island, he only dreams about when he’s coming back.

Indeed, there were many that returned including Patroclus:

I wanted to return to my tópos. I studied in Thessaloniki. It had everything. I could do anything, I could have anything, but I still preferred to come back.

Castor was abroad and he even had a job proposal after he finished his studies:

I wanted to return. I had some ideas for a family business, and I could not wait.

In Chapter 5 I mentioned the difference between male and female population. According to the locals’ accounts women that were leaving were not coming back as men did. Men wanted to come back to work in the fields or start their own business. The information came from male voices, so I chose not to accept unconditionally the reasons men used to return, and

240 The phrase refers to four people carrying a coffin, suggesting that only dead would he leave Naxos.
women did not. It was quite evident though that the social representation of topophilia shared among men dictated that males had a stronger love for their tópos than the women.

I believe the topophilia of Naxiótes has been satisfactorily established. How did their bonding to their tópos transformed into landscape practice? The most evident was that they were not leaving the island, or they were coming back, so their island was still an alive place. If we go back to the chart of the population of Naxos in Chapter 5, the population increase between 1981 to 2011 was about 30%. I did not come across cases of counterurbanisation as they were identified in mainland rural areas, probably because the ‘return to the land’ phenomenon had been common for Naxos decades before the crisis rupture, so it was not dealt as new phenomenon worth mentioning by the locals.

Naxiótes’ topophilia was such that was expressed with two contradictory practices:

Back in the nineties a businessman came from Athens to buy land to build a hotel. He couldn’t afford the price, so he went and invested in Paros instead. I would say that 95% of the businesses in Naxos belong to locals; and I say 95 only to be on the safe side. I could say higher. Naxiótes keep the prices high on purpose because they don’t want xénous 241 who don’t live here to open businesses like Mykonos. In Mykonos all the money goes to Athens. We don’t want that here. Even now with the crisis, we haven’t dropped our prices.

I could not know if the story about Paros was true, but the general point made by Hercules was shared among everyone I spoke. I am not exaggerating; everyone told me the same. The Naxiótes did not want to sell to xénous. A least not those that did not love Naxos enough to move there and wanted to exploit it from afar, a common phenomenon for Mykonos and Santorini. The last sentence was the key to the second seemingly conflicting practice:

I am not in hurry to sell the villas. I sold the first one to a nice Norwegian couple. The retired here and they stay here all year round.

Hermes was not the only one having sold to xénous. There were a number of foreigners and Greeks from other places that had resided in Naxos. Those ones who chose the island as their home were more than welcome by the Naxiótes.

There was another incident reinforcing the topophilia representation of the locals, hiding behind the words of Polydeuces:

241 Ξένοι (xéni) means foreigners, strangers, aliens, but in Greek it is used for all those who do not have roots in the specific tópos, even of the same nationality. Xéni then are visitors, tourists, and incomers. Note: the difference between xéri and xénous is the grammatical phenomenon of the Greek language using cases. The former is the nominative and the latter is the accusative.
Do you know why those who own property are being punished with high taxes? I mean by the memorandum. Because they want to make us unable to pay our taxes and sell cheap to foreign corporations. It’s all about the big interests. 242

This perception was expressed intensely during my fieldwork with a public outcry in Naxos protesting against the grant of three state properties to the Hellenic Republic Asset Development Fund (TAYPED) 243 for privatisation (FEK 2013), 244 all three being part of Natura 2000 network. One of the three areas that made it to the headlines of the local media and monopolised the discussions among the locals was the area in Aghios Prokopios with the three famous salt marshes of the island and one of the most famous beaches — the best according to Naxiótes (Figure 8.1). One of the online articles 245 mentioned that there is already in process a preliminary briefing to potential investors with proposals by an estate agency which include a holiday complex, villas, and workspace units in a construction of 32,000 square meters. 246

The commitment of the people of Naxos to their tópos was demonstrated with the participation alongside residents from other Cycladic islands to a petition submitted to the Council of State requesting the annulment of the Resolution 234/2013. 247 The local media and various groups of locals including the municipal authority were against this development.

We do not have huge hotels in Naxos of 500, 1000 beds like Rhodes or Crete. Thankfully, Naxiótes could not afford to build them but they did not sell to outsiders that could invest those amounts of money.

Their protectionism of their tópos saved the island from the mass tourism impact that is visible across other Mediterranean islands and countries, so they saved both their landscape and their tourism business as that specific model has failed and has been facing issues. At the

242 This view matches the definition of the mainstream term ‘conspiracy theory’. I am not going to examine if there is any rational ground behind this perception, as the important in this study is the perception itself, regardless of its rationale.
243 TAYPED was founded in 2011 (Act 3986 FEK 152/A’/1-7-2011) in order to manage the state assets. It is the state body responsible for the implementation of privatisations and the application of the respective policy. Source: http://www.hradf.com/en/fund?tab-1.
244 The Published Resolution did not include maps of the area, only its size of 161,776 sq.m. and the information available in news feeds about the exact location of the area in question were vague.
245 http://www.newsbomb.gr/politikh/story/482127/taiaped-meta-tis-paralies--xepoyla-kai-prostateyomenes-periohes [In Greek].
246 Any research to retrieve these dossiers, at least online was fruitless.
247 The petition had not been discussed by the Council until October 2015. There is no information published regarding it in later time. A search of projects at the HRADF website does not give any results regarding the specific areas until the end of 2017.
same time, they took advantage of the real estate opportunities and built white Cycladic villas spread across the island which with the crisis turned into ghosts.

That paradox exhibited by Naxiótes, on one hand protesting against the sell out to foreigners (corporations) but on the other hand selling themselves housing to upper class pensioners or high-profile professionals from abroad stemmed from their intense sense of localism. They did not want their tópos to be exploited by the capital, but they were more than happy to share their tópos with people that can love Naxos too.

They are happy to share but not to allow to xénous to make the island theirs. The strong sense of localism Naxiótes have, was exhibited by their attitude towards the incomers who did not descent from Naxos. When the native mentioned those dwellers, they are called xéni. That was not an act of exclusion or marginalising. Those incomers were included in the local society as equal members. They belonged to the community, they were equally accepted and fully integrated with businesses and a healthy social life, many participating even in the local political scene. The reason behind that was the clarification that it was not the incomers
tópos as they did not have historical connection to the land and their ancestors were not part of the island’s history.

How is this love for their tópos embodied then? Their discursive consciousness was effective in describing and reproducing the topophilia representation, their practical consciousness was not as aligned. The anakolouthon I identified was not related to the crisis, as to persistent internalised habitual practices. One of the issues that has been troubling Chora not only in 2013 but today too, and specifically during summer is traffic. Their inability to manage it institutionally belongs to the representation of conflict. What belongs here though is the way they use their space that created the issue in the first place which is embedded in their practical consciousness. During our interview Odysseus told me:

The traffic issue is killing us. It is killing Chora and tourism. It is unacceptable to take you one hour to drive one kilometre going to the port every time the ferry comes. But you know why? Because Naxiótes went directly from donkeys to cars and they treat their cars the same way they used to treat their donkeys. They think they can stop whenever and wherever they want.

Three days later, he picked me up to take me to a meeting and he had to stop at a shop by the high street. It is a two-lane road and there already double-parked cars leaving barely one lane for both directions of the traffic. The communal parking was 200 metres away. He triple-parked his car and blocked the road to go for whatever business he had in the shop.

I actually asked him although I probably should not, but I was curious to know why he was doing exactly what he was preaching against. His response matched what Vaisey said about post hoc justification of actions (2009, 1678):

I am in a hurry. I cannot waste time going to the parking to pop in a shop for two minutes. After all it is already hell, it is not like I am making it any worse.

Later in time he repeated the original stance about the traffic issue.

By 2017 not much had changed regarding alien investors so the strike of the crisis did not seem to have led them to a sell-out panic. Still though what seemed to have changed was a cut in the umbilical cord between the Naxiótes and Naxos. Escapism was a common narrative. It was not only Actaeon who had left. Priapus who had chances to leave for decades, despite previous struggles and had not, and refused to even answer my question about the possibility to leave in 2013, said that:

I could have left years ago, and I didn’t and now I am trying to find a way to leave and I can’t.
Antinous and Nireus had left for Athens too. Jason did not stay on the island any more off season. The farming and the tourism group were in struggle. The administrative one though not so much.

8.2. Attachment to the Land

I lay on the ground in the field and I can hear the plants growing.

 Priapus

The desire that the Naxiótes exhibited in working their land justified the attachment to the lands as a separate social representation. They were never detached from the earth the way other places in Greece and especially islands had. Even people that had office jobs were still cultivating or had livestock.

Ajax was a farmer by hobby, or more accurately he had a daily white-collar job, but he was still calling himself a farmer.

You know, I never wear perfumes or after shaves. Do you want to know why? Because I am up there in the fields among the oregano and the thyme and all those amazing herbs, and I grew up with these aromas. There is no fabricated aroma that can surpass those ones.

Theseus had a high-profile career, but he just had to go back to nature and earth:

I could not take that anymore. I had to wear a suit every day at work and when I was returning, I would start taking it off before I even got into my house.

When I met Antisthenes, a young man working in the public sector and being involved with the politics too, he had just come back from his stable where he had to take care of his goats.

Everyone was growing at least their own vegetables; seriously growing not just for a hobby. The restaurant owners were growing themselves the vegetables for their menus. It was July and August that they could not fully cover the demand with their supply.

I can’t believe I listened to Philomenus. Let’s plant courgettes, we should plant courgettes, after we collect the potatoes let’s plant two strēmmata courgettes. Why did I listen to him? And I told him. I said everyone has their own. Even the market owner sells his own courgettes. Now every morning I have to pick them up four-five boxes and what? It is July and no one needs...
them. I am collecting them in the fridge and when they go bad, I will bury him in them! (Figure 8.2)

_Hercules_ was upset but he had a point. Even the local supermarkets were selling home grown products. The same was happening with the house wine. Out of season everyone could support demand with their own production. What was happening in season is a story belonging to the social representation of collectivity.

One of the most interesting stories I heard from six different sources that demonstrated in the most striking way how attached the Naxiótes were to their lands, was from the times before the advent of tourism. Many people at the lowlands had sea front fields which were too saline and were not fertile. If a father wanted for any reason to punish one of his kids when he was dividing his property, the punished child was the one to receive the sea front fields, and the child he wanted to reward was taking the inland fertile plots. As _Polyphonte_ noted laughing:

> Now you know why the ones that are in the tourism industry are not the best of our people. They were the ‘prodigal sons’ who got those fields!

The Naxiótes were landowners; indeed, I was not able to identify even one local as an exception. People living on the island without property were only the ones sent there for work purposes, like teachers, doctors, bank employees. Even them, however, if their placement were permanent, they ended up purchasing property and settling. Owning

![Figure 8.2.](image)

_I. The said courgettes in July 2013 piled in the farm’s fridge waiting to be sold and transported._

_II. After a few days and a loss of quite some boxes, a number of them was finally being loaded to be sent to Athens._
property and the sense of belonging it can provide could be the reason behind the feelings of attachment Naxiótes have had for their land. Theseus who had a bad year due to technical and mechanical issues with irrigation in his fields, was emotional even talking about it.

When the plants dried last summer, I didn't want to go to the field, I couldn't look at the damage.

The Naxiótes had been refusing to give up on their land and turn to tourism. Especially those further from the sea were not participating in the tourism industry. Not that they did not have visitors — most of the people visit the island’s villages during their stay — but their tópos and their lives have not been determined by tourism. They participated in tourism indirectly through their land with their local produce. It is the representation of the attachment to the land that has created the frenzy surrounding the local products of Naxos. It has also made EAS one of the most known farmers’ union in Greece.

On an island of less than 20,000 inhabitants the farmers’ union had 3,274 members in 2014. Certainly not all of them were active farmers and many of them were involved in pluriactivity, but more than 10% population being farmers on an island in the Aegean was still significant. It is also supported by the employment census seen in Chapter 5. The ‘return to the land’ narrative did not really matter in Naxos, as Hephaestus noted:

We cannot return to the land because we never left it in the first place.

This narrative was true, and it remained true in 2017 when I returned to the island, when Hephaestus again said:

The land will support us.

There cannot be any social representation that is not contested though. The Naxiótes have agreed on what their land mean to them. They are emotionally attached, they loved working with it, and they were proud that they were not seduced by the tourism’s sirens the way the ‘soft Parian’ did. They even have a little tale to support it.

The first island I visited in Cyclades in 2006 when I worked for the farmers’ subsidies was Paros. A group of farmers there asked our team about the islands we would visit next. They laughed when we told them Naxos. They said that the Naxiótes were so proud of themselves that they were claiming that the alternative name of Naxos, Naxía derived from Aξía (merit in Greek) and their alternative name Νάξιοι derived from ‘Aξιοί (worthy, competent), a story
later confirmed by the Naxiótes themselves; it is because they are competent and not lazy that they kept working on their land.

Naxiótes are hardworking people,

Actaeon stated and at the same time Lycurgus could not stop commenting on the Naxiótes’ laziness — both Naxiótes themselves.

Naxiótes are the most spoilt of the Cycladics because they have had prominent politicians, so they were sitting back asking for favours. “Appoint me, my master.” Tembelokatástasi! 248

The social representation of the land attachment if looked into deeper would seem more complicated and conflicting. The EU subsidies with production and market regulations and especially with the SPS since 2005 along with the collapse of the potato seed production that was a source of high income for the farmers, had already taken away the hard work from many of them.

There were many that turned to tourism even if they had not given up farming completely. A number of them also took advantage of the operational programs for agritourism offered by EU, turning half of their farms into hotels, without even integrating their farming activities into the new business model; they kept them separate.

It is the farmers that have been absorbed by the tourism, not the land.

It was another comment by Alcibiades regarding the land which seemed to the point. There was a tendency by farmers that had stepped into the tourist industry to diminish the fact whenever mentioned as not significant. When Hercules introduced me to Melanthius telling me that he is in both businesses, his response was:

It’s not like it’s a hotel. There are a couple of small rooms to let back there behind the house.

The land attachment representation was creating a pride of being a farmer that they did not want to discard.

The disconnection between verbal accounts and behaviour related to the land attachment was apparent in more than one instances.

248 A slung word describing a situation of laziness: τεμπέλης (tembélis) = lazy + κατάσταση (katástasi) = situation → τεμπελοκατάσταση (tempelokatástasi).
Our potato is almost organically cultivated, *Philomenus* told me during our first interview before we began working together. He was a professional potato producer; hence I had no reason not to accept his account. Until I got in the field with him during production. The amounts of fertilisers and pesticides used were what one would expect in any industrialised cultivation (Figure 8.3).

Farmers were constantly asking me about sustainable farming and application of environmental principles in the fields; the same people on the same would throw in their own field the plastic cups from their coffees, the cigarette packets and any other litter and they would be left there until either the wind or one of the workers would pick them up.

The most extraordinary example had happened to one of the farmers. The debate over how high quality the Naxos products were and how the locals wanted to promote organic cultivations was ridiculed when a group of inhabitants decided to take the farmer to court for using manure in his field close to their houses Being unable to deal with the smell, they accused him of posing a risk to public health. By 2017 the pride the farmers carried seemed to be fizzling out. The new tax regulations were requesting from them to become entrepreneurs like any other personal business and many of them were unable to respond to the requirements.

How would they keep books when they had never issued an invoice in their whole life?

*Theseus*’ question was not irrational. In 2013 *Philomenus* wanted to send a load of courgettes to the central farmers’ market in Athens. He had to have specific labels on the boxes, and he had to invoice them. He came to the *mitáto* with his first ever invoice book. He was a professional farmer for thirty years and that was his first invoice book. I made his labels and helped him with the invoice too, which raises an obvious question. How was he selling his produce all those years? He was giving his yield to the union and apparently there was no need for invoicing.
The land had not stopped and would not stop providing them with food as long as they were willing to work it, but would they be able to make a living out of it? The ‘no-crisis’ representations were collapsing, and the financial circumstances were putting strains on them. The producer with the largest areas of 160 strémmata of potato fields in 2013, stating:

I don’t care about tourism or anything else: I am obsessed with the potato,

had given up in 2017 and had turned to a much smaller scale of vegetable production.

8.3. Local Identity

Our village does not have many locals as inhabitants, locals are very few . . . and most of the shop owners are not locals they might be from neighbouring villages.

My question to Solon that received the above answer was if his village had xénous, meaning not from the island. Apparently xéni were also considered those with roots in other villages, even if they are neighbouring. A puzzling question emerged: How can the inhabitants of an island with an area of less than 430 km$^2$ and population of less than 20,000 people can have such intense local identities developed? I had witnessed it in the mainland too but not to that intensity. What was even more intriguing was that although there are Catholics and Orthodox on the island, that was not mentioned as a distinguishing feature even once by anyone during my fieldwork. The Naxiótes then, I assume, were more inclusive when it came to religion than to origin from different places on the same island.

The manipulation of landscape by the socially dominant class to construct a national identity has been a common phenomenon (Daniels 1992, Olwig 2002, Jusdanis 1991), whose aim was to unite different groups of people under one identity as a single nation. In Naxos it was the exact opposite. The local identity in such a confined space like a small island does not fall under the same accounts with national identity. Unless it was the intense relief isolating the distinct geographical units (Spiridonakis 1977), which enforced such a ‘distinctive mix of institutions’ that produced ‘local economy and culture sufficiently potent’ to be ‘dignified with the label of ‘locality’’ (Thrift and Williams 1987, 17).

249 Catholics are a minority but that does not change the existence of a different minority group and the dynamics expected to be at play.
The islands exposure to tourism and even the internal mobility from the villages to Chora for practical purposes of job and school availability had not erased the local differences. *Hercules’* village was five kilometres away from *Philomenus’* and they would exchange comments with each other about their origin and their differences. Talking about the villages on mountain Zas sounded like they were referring to a place far, far away.

“Those people up there . . .,” the people from the plain would say for the highlanders.

“Those people down there . . .,” the people from the mountains would say back.

*Zeus, Solon* and *Antisthenes* explained how the island is divided in zones which I mentioned in Chapter 5. However, there were even smaller divisions I realised through discussions with my participants, also mentioned in the same chapter. I am repeating the enhanced division:

- Chora and the small villages orbiting around it that have now become its suburbs.
- Livadi with its surrounding villages *Livadochória*.
- The Tragaia Valley with Chalki at its centre.
- Eggares valley.
- Smiridhochória.
- The rest of the mountains surrounding Filoti.

This division is the same identified by the British Naval Intelligence regarding the distribution of the local produce (1919, 119). Despite the changes in the products and a tendency for homogeneity in cultivations and practices, that tendency did not seem to diffuse to the local identity representation.

Local identity and practice were in many ways entwined and they were translated into the landscape production. The mountains did not only have the mines and the quarries, but they also had husbandry with mainly livestock of sheep and goats, and they had cultivations on the east side of the island which was terraced; they did not have potatoes though. Tragaia had the olives. There were some dispersed at places, but the olives were their domain. They also had a plethora of byzantine churches that were not to found anywhere else on the island. Eggares had replaced many of the trees of the past but it had still not become Livadi, because they still had more water available and the valley was more fertile. Livadi and Chora were the potato and tourist hub. Each landscape with its own people identity and its own practices.
The centralisation forced by the crisis was forcing villagers to move to Chora; administrative offices and schools were closing in the villages and families were forced to move to Chora to avoid hours of commuting per day for both their children and themselves.

A remark though which I believe it is probably a common phenomenon in most places with local identities is that the division was only local. When there was reference to the rest of the country, they were proud Naxiótes.

Local identity and landscape have a strong bond in Naxos and until 2017 there were no visible signs that it was affected.
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from *Landscapes of Attachment*

This port is the one that in reality is about emotions. The three social representations Topophilia, Attachment to the Land, and Local Identity that fall under the group of Landscapes of Attachment, they are all explicit expressions of the Naxiótes’ perception of their tópos. All three are laden with emotional baggage and they have been driving Naxiotés’ spatial practice without intermediaries; their feelings for their tópos have been dictating their actions on it. Or maybe not. I believe it became obvious during our exploration that that interrelation has not been as straightforward as one would think.

It was not that the expressed sentiments were not true; they were. Naxiótes love their tópos, they take every opportunity to be proud of it and they love everyone that shares the same love for Naxos. Human nature, though, is quite complicated. Such emotions of attachment and localism could be translated to different perception of interest and profit or ways to achieve it. The striking example was the real estate: it was legitimate for Naxiótes to sell properties to civilians, but not to alien corporations or businessmen, unless the businessman was a local. Despite the fact that that attitude could be seen as an ultimate proof of topophilia, in reality it has not be driven by the care for the island’s interest and prosper.

I am going to discuss all this more thoroughly later; for now, and before we move to the next group of social representations, the Landscapes of Production, let us keep the fact that these three social representations were not altered between 2013 and 2017.
Chapter 9. Landscapes of Production

9.1. Self-sufficiency

Naxos is self-sufficient in everything: agriculture, husbandry, minerals. She was not interested in tourism, that is why she delayed turning to it. On the contrary in Paros, Mykonos, Santorini, people didn’t have the means to survive, so they turned very early to tourism.

The narrative of the self-sufficiency of Naxos as expressed by Stratocles was a deeply internalised social representation shared among all groups of stakeholders. Antisthenes related the self-sufficiency to the land attachment in order to explain the island’s immunity to the crisis:

It is a self-sufficient island and not only the mountainous areas. All of us here, we have our own produce, so the only effect we feel from the crisis is the taxation. Otherwise, we produce our own food, milk, meat, vegetables, potatoes, olive oil.

The social representation of self-sufficiency, I would dare say, was a myth, and Odysseus was one of the few who admitted it openly:

We have lots of qualities in the island. [. . .] That’s what they think that it is self-sufficient – in their head. That is why we have ended up in the situation we are now.

Solon preferred to stay somewhere in between defending it and contesting it:

We have everything . . . We have everything, it’s brains we don’t have.

Lycurgus insisted that the island could be self-sufficient if agriculture and tourism would work together:

They could have their own internal circle of production and consumption and then the cash in-flow from the tourist would be serving their debts and they would have to deal with cheques and debts. That ,yes, would be a form of self-sufficiency.

Theseus had even harsher words:

They say the island is self-sufficient because they have produce. How do they have it? When the farmers are in debt to EAS for fertilisers and pesticides and then they give in their products to the union to sell them, keep the money for the debt and give them the remaining if there is any — that is how you believe you are autonomous and self-sufficient?
Among the stances it was obvious which ones has a technocratic, financial, economic, and practical perspective and the ones that were stemmed in emotional connections and wishful thinking. Antinous for example had a romantic approach to the island’s self-sufficiency and well-being:

Naxos produces everything. So, the cash coming from the tourists stays and circulates here because there are no outsiders in businesses.

Looking at the economy of the island the lack of self-sufficiency was obvious for simple reasons. The first, applicable to probably every place in the world, was the consumerism needs that our society has been creating and supporting. Naxos was producing food, but not all kinds, and the Naxiótes were home-growing their family food but in our times that is not considered enough to claim self-sufficiency. The same people advocating this narrative were the same ones who were pointing out how the supply shortage for the high demand during summer was the reason local hotels were not able to offer the local food experience to tourists: milk, yogurt, cheese, meat even potatoes were neither enough nor at a steady flow to support the hoteliers. Zeus had a simple and realistic question:

Why importing tomatoes when the tomatoes required for the island can be cultivated locally?

The self-sufficiency narrative was closely connected with topophilia and land attachment. The perception of the rich, fruitful, ‘blessed τόπος,’ as the island has been described historically, had a deep footprint in the psyche of Naxiótes. Their island had always natural resources, cultural history and was of high importance since the antiquity, so despite the obvious facts suggesting otherwise, the Naxiótes could not reject the representation of their island as autonomous, independent, self-sufficient, and immune to crisis.

With the sun and the wind that we have we could have been an energy producer not just covering the local needs but providing the other islands too.

Actaeon’s viewpoint was not unique to Naxos; the same could be said for all the other islands too. They all experience high gales, and Mykonos is the one called the ‘island of the winds.’

The comparison of Naxos to the other Cycladic islands by the locals was always from the position not of inferiority but of the unfairly treated that deserved better.

- Couldn’t the cruise-ships from Santorini stop at Naxos too?
- Couldn’t they have a proper marina for yacht anchorage?
- Couldn’t they have a bigger airport and port?
• Couldn’t their summer season begin at Easter as in Mykonos and Santorini?
• Why did Naxos have to be a secondary destination behind the popular islands?

If they could work towards all those issues, they would be self-sufficient in the sense that they would have a robust tourist product. What I had identified in Naxos was exactly what I am saying in my Introduction. Every question was abstract to an unknown superimposed entity that was defining the island’s fate.

Naxos would be self-sufficient if that institutionalised superstructure allowed her to flourish. In 2013 both the opposite sides of the existence or the lack of self-sufficiency were not really contesting the social representation of it, they both believed the island had the potential; the former believed Naxos had achieved self-sufficiency and the latter that they had not, and they had to work towards it. The groups were in sides in this one. The majority of the farmers advocated for the already achieved self-sufficiency, whilst the majority of the tourism and administrative participants could see the potential but not the result. The farmers’ stance was more static towards landscape: the idea of being content was not setting at play any more transformation forces that the ones already deployed by other perceptions. The other two groups’ stance was trying to activate powers of development with plans and ideas about new infrastructure and new cultivations aiming at the glory that the island deserved.

In 2017 the self-sufficiency social representation had been crystallised from its illusionary nature to a solid illusion. The farming and tourism groups had adopted their perceptions to a reality where self-sufficiency was survival only related, in the sense that they could survive without having to be dependants. The administrative group had not given up on the road to success through the self-sufficiency recipe. We need to keep in mind though that they are the ones that do not invest their personal assets to ventures, like the other two groups, so the lack of personal risk can preserve hopes for longer.

9.2. Entrepreneurship

Thirty-five years ago, when I first went to Aghia Anna for business, I was with a German tourist operator who had offices in Athens, to sign an agreement with an owner of rental rooms. He arrived at the meeting directly from the potato field, covered in dust, barefoot, with his trouser legs up. After we signed and I left with the German operator, the owner chased me and told me:
“Let him know that we won’t make the beds in June”
“And why won’t you make the beds in June?”
“Ohh we cannot, we are picking potatoes at that time of the year!”

Zeus

Zeus’ story was indicative of the approach of the Naxiótes businessmen towards their business. Lycurgus expressed a desperate outcry:

I go there, to their restaurant and I tell them: Come here. Why is the toilet dirty? It is unacceptable for a restaurant. Eh, they don’t get it. What hope can you have? There is this one restaurant by the seafront in Chora. Every night from May to September it is full when the rest have clients only in July and August. Eh, they can’t understand why that one is successful. When I tell them, it is because it has proper facilities and service, they look at me like an alien.

Entrepreneurship was a contested representation among the Naxiótes; they would agree on the lack of it but then they would not agree on why and how it can be changed.

Odysseus insisted that the inward approach to entrepreneurship was a main issue:

They don’t want, let’s say, outsiders, which I don’t really agree. If there were some incomers, professional businessmen operating in Naxos, the islanders would be able to see what real competition is and learn. Now, only them among themselves they are just trying to poke each other’s eye.

And Lycurgus was aligned with that stance:

What’s impressive in Naxos? The denial of people to accept anything new and fresh.

Entrepreneurship was in two forms in Naxos. The one was the obvious related to tourism and the other was the farming that was striving to get to a professional mode and be taken seriously. The administrative group was participating in both social representations.

I am going to begin with the tourism entrepreneurship. The main pattern was that whilst the other islands put an effort to attract tourism, four decades ago, the Naxiótes had no reason to follow the trend, because of the production. Philomenus, however was the only one who gave specific reason why:

Our island, I mean Naxos, was not desperate to invest in tourism at the time the first tourists showed up. Because the farming was robust. How? From the potato seed. Let’s say the potato seed was being cultivated here since 1970, 1965 and at that time, let’s say the edible potato had market price 1 drachma per kilo, the potato seed was 20 drachmas per kilo. We are talking about
massive differences in prices. Those prices lasted until 2002, all that time they were very strong. Therefore, a farmer cultivating 20 strēmnata of potato seed exclusively he could build a whole house, a block of flats every year.

The data and timeline Philomenus gave in his account was in accordance with the information received from EAS, so his version seemed plausible if not true. As most of my informants said it was around 2000 that tourism began developing in Naxos. Tourists had discovered the island much earlier, but the facilities and service were in accordance with Zeus previous tale. That was the reason they had been lucky that although they did not go to tourism, tourism had come to them, as many of the participants repeated in versions of the same phrase that Zeus used:

We didn’t make any effort. Tourists just found us.

Since ‘tourism payed Naxos and visit by knocking the door’ it has been in autopilot mode since, despite the lack of a tourist policy or infrastructure as Castor noted:

The island moves forward on its own.

The social representation of tourism entrepreneurship was constructed through views of outdated practices, lack of innovation and technology, lack of business planning and insightfulness. That was one side, because that was contested by those in the industry who were settled in the existent situations and suited them. The former wanted to bring change, the latter was resisting.

One of their crash points was the so-called áγρα (ágra), which was the practice of gathering by owners of mainly small hotels and room rentals during every ferry arrival to “fish” customers (Figure 9.1). The local authority was fighting it on the base of outdated practice, which did not flatter the island, being a hindrance to evolution and an arbitrary occupation of public space. For those hotel owners, that was their space and their right to a piece of the tourism pie. The fact that some councillors were owners of bigger hotels was exacerbating the situation, as it was seen as an attempt by the dominant group to control the weak.

That controversy could reminisce Leontidou’s account on the spontaneity and informality (2014), highlighted by Critias’ comment:

Tourists kind of like it because they don’t have such things in their countries. They enjoy the loose situation. The English, the Germans, which are very strict, and they have a monotony in their life, they come here, and they get excited. That’s what they like: for you to pay attention to them, to talk to them.
I would say that I identified two groups of people in Naxos tourism: the ones eager to move forward, the way they perceived it, following the trends to the future and they could not wait to get there and those who were content with the status quo, or even if they were not they preferred it to the unknown new.

In between these two approaches on tourism entrepreneurship were the ‘outsiders’: farmers who had used the EU agritourism scheme and its subsidies and had made their way into the tourism business “through the back door” as described by Polydeuces. It was not only that those farmers had entered a professional realm they were not familiar with, but mainly that they did not create agritourism businesses. They just created a tourism business parallel to their farming, and their general lack of business acumen was fully exposed by their
management style. The story shared by Zeus at the beginning of this sections from decades ago, was still very much topical according to a number of participants, from the farming group too surprisingly: Zeus, Odysseus, Lycurgus, Solon, Antisthenes, Hermes, Eupelides, Hercules, Polydeuces, Iacchus, Alcibiades, Theseus, Orpheus, Stratocles, Jason, they all used the words ‘muddy wellies’ to describe the attitude of the so called ‘agritourist’ businessmen towards tourists: they would still wear their muddy wellies coming from the fields every time guests arrived. That was not professional and was drawing a negative picture of the island being a hindrance to its tourist promotion and development.

The demeanour difference between hospitality professionals and the agritourism ‘venturers’ was conspicuous. Every single professional hotelier wanted to meet me at their hotel, which they proudly showed off,—I was shown every room, restaurant, kitchen, pool, facilities rooms, every corner of the garden if there was one, even the parking spaces. They eagerly shared their future plans about their businesses and those who had more than one sites, not only insisted on showing me both but they took me there themselves to show me around.

In striking contrast, the attitude of the farmers-turned-into-hoteli,ers, as I mentioned earlier was an attempt to diminish their involvement in the tourism business. They did not want to talk much about their venture, not only proudly highlighting their farmer’s quality, as already said, but almost denouncing the tourist part of their business with phrases such as:

I don’t know anything about the rooms, that’s my wife’s business.

It’s not like they make any money or anything. I just built them for the wife to have something to be occupied with.

They aren’t worth showing them to you. They’re nothing fancy.

The agritourist farmers exhibited a secrecy related to their business that the hospitality professionals did not; on the contrary they were advertising and promoting their businesses and their success. I have to mention that none of those farmers accepted to become research participants. They did not refuse, but they avoided it by constantly postponing it, or citing lack of time, or even presupposing that their cases would be of no interest to me. Any interaction I had with them was in random meetings mainly via the farming group gatekeeper, where I was able to casually participate in their conversations.

I have mentioned before that tourists did not participate in my project officially, however, they were part of my research/life setting during my fieldwork, so I had the chance to interact
with a number of them. I will not say all of them, in case I miscalculated, but the majority had chosen Naxos specifically because it was not Mykonos, Santorini or Paros. What they claimed they were excited about in Naxos were the interaction and the communication they experienced with the locals; Naxíotes were treating them as friends and not as ‘faceless wallets’ as a Canadian returning tourist said. As businesses in Naxos were family-run they were personal, and that informality was what visitors loved. The bonding they created with the people and the island was what made them return for holidays to the same place.

Tourism entrepreneurship did not become a hot topic because of the crisis. It had been one of the systemic issues of Greek tourism; the financial circumstances inflamed it further as they exposed the issues that were covered during the growth years. The three ‘teams’ of tourism entrepreneurs, the ‘progressive’, the ‘nostalgic’ and the ‘outsiders’, if I were to name them, had contested approaches to tourism business and its produced landscape through infrastructure, constructions, absorption of arable land by built structures, creation of a heavily urbanised zone across the coastline. A landscape with multiple faces between two extremes: the summer high-season urban-like problematic space with people and car congestion, excessive unmanageable refuse production and high pressures on the local resources and the winter no-season when the coastline seasonal zones turned into ‘ghost towns’ (Figure 9.2).

What about the farming entrepreneurship? As with tourism, the issues faced were neither new nor crisis generated. The collapse of the potato seed production long before the crisis had already its impact on the producers. The production of edible potato was not at levels that could bring as much profit:

I calculated it the other day with *Theocritus* and *Philomenus*. The average potato yield per *strēmma*, I mean the one you can actually sell, without the bad ones and the seed ²⁵⁰ is about 2.5 tonnes, let’s say 3. How much will EAS give you per kilo for the potato? 50 cents? Let’s be generous and say 60, which is a high, but maybe you can get it in a good year. So, you can get 3 thousand kilos per 60 cents per kilo, meaning . . . 1,800 euros per *strēmma*. We calculated all the expenses, the irrigation, the fertilisers, the pesticides, the workers you need per *strēmma* to plant and to pick, and the electricity, the machinery, the fuel, everything. 900 euros at least if you do most of the work yourself. And I am not counting in if something goes wrong and you have a break down and you have extra. How many *strēmmata* do most people have?

²⁵⁰ During the potato picking, the amount of edible ones that are pushed to the market is minus the bad ones that are left in the field and minus the good ones, smaller than 4–4.5cm long, which are kept separately as potato seeds for the personal use of the farmer for the next cultivation.
Most people have an average of 20 strémmata for potatoes. How much is that per year? 1800 minus 900 equals 900 euro per strémma. 20 times 900, 18,000 euros. That is if everything goes well. The other year we were given 37 cents per kilo by EAS. Keep in mind that pesticides and fertilisers are getting more and more expensive. So, you are killing yourself all year, with no idea what will happen . . . We don’t know how much the potato will be until after you pick it. And don’t forget, if it rains heavily, not for many days, just twice, just after you planted you have lost it. The plant gets rotten. So now you tell me, why should I keep cultivating? Is it worth it? Even with the subsidies. We don’t get much here, because we never had lots of land. So even if I get 3,000, which I don’t, that’s 21,000 at best. Tell me, is it worth it?

Such stories were common, and they were true: I had accompanied them to buy fertilisers and pesticides, I had seen their bills, I had even helped keeping track of the expenses. The result was that farmers were trying to find something to change their cultivation. But what?
The discussions were swirling around the cultivation of aloe vera. There was already a species growing indigenously on the island, and everyone was repeating how easy it could be to cultivate it and how profitable it would be. There was no business plan or market research it was only rumours circulating. The main issue was that the eagerness by the statesmen and journalists to lure people to return to the land, had created a mythology surrounding easy and profitable cultivations such as aloe vera, goji berry (*Lycium barbarum*), sea-buckthorns (*Hippophae L*), opuntia, pomegranate and snails. As *Theseus* pointed out:

> Calling people to return to the land, does not mean that the agricultural economy will develop. It cannot be based just to the return of people and also not everyone is cut for the field.

The misleading information and the promoted hyperbole even from official sources and administrative levels as high as the corresponding ministry regarding the profits those cultivations could bring prompted *Theseus* to remark on the profits from herbs:

> They are presenting them as goldmines. It is thyme not gold.

The issue with that huge promotion and advertisement of such plants as new cultivations or as being the future or as alternative and mainly profitable ways of farming were not accompanied by any foresight, neither planning nor evaluation of proper conditions or marketing research. *Ajax* could not hold his frustration:

> There are people who tried to produce aloe vera and breed snails. I mean they seriously began the process. What happened? They failed. They could not push anything in the market. And you know why? Because all these ‘innovative’ cultivations are subsidised. I totally disagree. Instead of people actually doing projects they believe, or they have researched, and they have a plan, they make decisions solely based on: is it subsidised or not? You can’t move forward like this. That snail business need a machinery to keep the humidity required for the snails and it skyrocketed the cost. They could not sell at the prices they needed to get even, and they had no plan about putting their product in the market. Every day the newspapers are full of stories like, beekeeping has so much profit. They calculate how much the profit is. In order to have profit, you have to have product, and then you have to have someone to buy the product. That is when you have profit. When you get

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251 In 2014 a company was established by twenty-nine producers who introduced aloe vera to their fields. I was not able to meet any of them in 2017. Asking my informants regarding this venture, I was not able to get names or much information, except that there were a few farmers who were cultivating aloe. Either they did not know any of those people or they did not want to share. The company did not involve only cultivation but also extraction and production of aloe vera gel.

252 See Chapter 5 (p192).
paid. Having a tonne of honey in the warehouse, is not profit. You are not paid.

**Theseus was also against the subsidised cultivations:**

The subject subsidies sounds wrong by default. Ok, I will get subsidies to cultivate goji berry. The Chinese have been cultivating it for ever, they are masters on it, and then we the Greeks, we will somehow nail it and manage to produce better and cheaper goji berry than the Chinese. Ah and also more in quantity and we will flood the markets. We can’t be serious. But then that is why it needs to be subsidised. Because it won’t make it to the market.

The farming entrepreneurship was not confined only to the obvious business issues but there was a bigger one, the sea. As a double-edged sword for the island, being both the road of connection and the medium of isolation at the same time, the sea has been a barrier to trade. The cost of transporting the goods to the main farmers market in Athens to be distributed has been too high for the small independent producers to bear. That is why they have been mainly inward-looking, giving all their products to EAS to distribute them to other markets.

There is barely any discussion for reaching the markets abroad. **Philomenus** was clear:

> If I send to the central farmers’ market, I have the transport cost, I have the commission cost of the broker, in the end there is no gain. Plus, the competition from the other producers.

There are some independent shops in Athens opened by Naxiótes selling the products of their mother earth, and there are private initiatives that supply these shops, but those ventures had an auxiliary role than consisting a main business.

In 2017 everything was changed. The capital controls imposed in 2015 by the Greek government while negotiating the third bailout program had caused a collapse in business transactions. Even the one attempt of a producer to expand abroad was intercepted as money transactions were limited even for business purposes. Farming was categorised under the business/company category in the taxation legislation and the advance payment of next year’s tax had been introduced for businesses. **Hermes, Theseus, and Priapus** who were all showing signs of excitement and hope in 2013, had obvious signs of regret and resignation.

EAS, which was supposed to be the union of the farmers’ syndicates had become a limited company, owned by a bank. Not only were the circumstances unfavourable for any farming entrepreneurship, the solid establishment of EAS as a farming business with all the equipment and facilities already available, did not leave much space to farmers for personal
initiatives and entrepreneurship. They had become the EAS employees. This is a topic for the social representation of conflict, though.

What the crisis did to the social representation of entrepreneurship was that it crashed it in the case of farmers. There were still some trying to resist, such as a farmer who was trying to establish his own creamery breaking from EAS, but the general demeanour was darkened. Another effect of the crisis was the merge of the discursive and practical consciousness on entrepreneurship: words mirrored the actions. The farmers’ topos seemed to be turning into a landscape of just survival.

9.3. Short-termism

Whoever thinks that can plant today for free and will start to harvest euros the next day, is daydreaming.

_Theseus_

Short-termism is being attributed to the Greeks as a general national attribute by the Greek themselves in everyday verbal accounts. The idea of quick results with the least possible effort and the lack of long-term planning is obviously identifiable specifically in tourist areas and Naxos is not an exception. The seasonality of tourism has also its part on that attitude exhibited by those occupied in tourism. Before 2010 and before the banks shifted their loan practices, most of the business were functioning on the pattern as described by Lycurgus:

They never thought what they are actually doing, work 7-8 months including the preparations of their shop, restaurant, bar or hotel and then in October they were going to the bank to get 100,000€ loan as the money they had earned were gone to pay back the loan they had got last year. So, they were in a vicious circle, repeated every year.

The whole concept was how to get by today. Another example by Odysseus had to do with the businessmen’s approach to their own product.

They don’t care to improve their product looking in the future. The only thing they care is how to earn today and how they can maximise their profits. What does this mean? Instead of trying to improve their product and price it accordingly in order to establish their name for the future they adjust the product to the price, trying to keep it low so they can make more profit today. Regardless of what that means for the future.
The social representation of short-termism was imbued throughout all groups of stakeholders. From the tourism and farming group to the administrative one too. The administrative one was even more damaging than the other too, as decisions without foresight and project implementation on a short-term bases, was creating instead of solving problems and it was also costly for the local community and the national budget.

The most prominent example given by everyone was the project of the biological treatment of wastewater on the island. The purified water produced was thrown to the sea instead of putting it in the irrigation system for the fields. The amount of the water going to waste was estimated between ten and twelve thousand cubic metres per twenty-four hours. Especially in Livadi, the cultivations have been draining water from the ground deposits and the seawater has been replacing it, raising the salinity of the wells’ water used by the farmers. That was already an issue during the design of the project but still there was no forethought taken into consideration during the planning and consequently the implementation. As Alcibiades noted:

> They constructed the biological treatment of wastewater to waste thousands of cubic metres of perfectly good water for irrigation. And then when the irrigation water became an issue then they said, now we need to build dams. Why not update the existing infrastructure? Because someone thought that the dam is a good idea. But that’s not the worse: first they haven’t thought of what might happen in the future by withholding the rainwater in a dam, and second, they have not planned the distribution network in the fields. So, we will get a dam, but we won’t be able to supply the fields with its water.

An additional example was the airport which was a ‘headache’ for everyone, occupied or not in tourism. Its size is limited, and it cannot accept international flights because of it; its location does not allow its expansion. When it was first planned, which was earlier than the tourism boost and the low-cost air companies, the officials in charge did not want it to be far from Chora: by far they meant less than half an hour. There was an alternative location further south from Chora, close to the village of Sangri, but they deemed too far away, and it was rejected. There was space in that location for a future upgrade if necessary, but to use Polydeuces’ words, those decision-makers could not see beyond their noses.

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253 The specific dam is a planned project for the last 30 years in a small settlement called Tsikalario in the Tragaia Valley.
The demand has been rising for transportation but especially since the crisis, the airport is deemed a lost case. There is no money for a new airport to be build and the geographical restrictions of the existing one do not allow its expansion.

Short-termism in the tourism industry is not viable according to Castor:

Back in the day you could get away with everything, no one had the means to find out if you had bad facilities or bad service. Tourists were booking blindfolded. Now things are different. There is this ‘credit-check tool’ that is called trip advisor that can take you down without you even realising it. You have to plan ahead. You have to have a long-term plan of how you want your business to be. You need a vision.

The lack of long-term planning was also more than obvious among the farmers and some of the elements involved in entrepreneurship were also present under the short-termism representation. Ajax mentioned the idea of cultivating whatever is subsidised just because of that, and I would argue that this could be the epitome of short-termism; one would receive the funding to begin the business and how and if the business would move towards the future was not even a question to begin with. Even the whole idea of the ‘goldmine’ cultivations mentioned earlier had its root cause in short-termism. Alcibiades posed a question related to self-sufficiency but mostly apt to this representation:

How can you claim to be self-sufficient when you are paid not to cultivate cotton, you take the money and then you stop cultivating all together?

That point was also made by Ajax, Iacchus and Hercules. Hercules specifically explained the way the farmers’ transaction with EAS which were similar to the ones that Lycurgus described for the tourism field.

All farmers owe thousands to EAS, some even hundreds of thousands. They need seeds, they need pesticides, they need fertilisers, they go to EAS, they buy them. They buy but they don’t pay. But then, many times, the production does not cover all the expenses, so the farmers cannot pay off EAS as they need to survive. So, the debt gets bigger and bigger and we cannot get rid of it. So, whatever we can cultivate that can bring some money today, we will because we need it.

There were no cultivation plans by any of the farmers I met. Going back to Alcibiades words, they would stop cultivating anything it they were paid to do so, because they would not know what to cultivate that could actually be absorbed by the markets. This goes back to the

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254 EAS has also the role of the provider — seller of all products necessary for farmers.
systemic issues of Greek agriculture and how the introvert farmers producing for the local and maybe the national needs, suddenly had to become extroverts and deal with a globalised market. The CAP was implemented by the relevant Ministry without a plan. When cattle had profit, everyone was getting cattle; when the sheep and goats were profitable, their number multiplied, until they were not subsidised anymore. There was never a market research and market planning accompanying the CAP regulations throughout the whole chain from the officials in the governments all the way to the local horticulturist.

The social representation of short-termism by 2017 had turned into a survival narrative.

I can barely make a living now, how am I going to plan for the future? And who knows how the future will be with all this mess going on right now.

*Philomenus* could not see the way out, although he was still trying. *Polydeuces* was angry:

I want to invest to grow my business. I want to be able to look in the future and plan according to my vision. But how can I? No loans are available for entrepreneurship. If you manage to get funding and you have a tax arrangement, the moment the money gets in your account, the arrangements cease to apply, and they get the whole amount. I got funding to expand and I had a plan, and I was left with half of what I needed. Funding from the EU for my business and the state took it for the tax debt, which we have an arranged agreement to pay in instalments. How can you look in the future when the system doesn’t let you?

The perception of short-termism as a concept of ‘*otherness*’ in 2013, being mentioned as a feature of the others and never of the person speaking had been embraced and openly described as the strategy for survival.

The disconnection between the verbal accounts and the behaviours was eliminated by the circumstances which had provided the justification for the motivation.
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from *Landscapes of Production*

This group of social representations sounds exactly the opposite of the previous one: attachment is emotions and production is practice. The three social representations under the group of Landscapes of Production, Self-sufficiency, Entrepreneurship, and Short-termism did not have the direct link to landscape the way the Attachment ones did; that however did not diminish their significance as drivers of the Naxiótes spatial practice. On the contrary, actions informed by these three were the ones that actively produced landscape.

This group of representations was also the most contested one among the groups of stakeholders and within the groups according to personal and collective interests, aspirations, and views, with the exception maybe of the self-sufficiency of the island. That was a shared representation among the majority of them and the few that were contesting it, did not reject it; they believed that the potential for self-sufficiency existed as long as they would work towards it.

Entrepreneurship was the most contested one between hoteliers and farmers, farmers and local authorities, local authorities, and hoteliers. Within the groups the most intense contestation was within the group of tourism entrepreneurs between the progressive ones and the nostalgic ones. They both however contested the entrepreneurship of the outsiders, the farmers who used the agritourist programmes to enter the tourism business. The escalation of the crisis from 2013 to 2017 led entrepreneurship in stagnation, which in reality meant that its force as a driver of spatial practice was eliminated.

Short-termism was also contested mainly between the group of local authorities with both the hoteliers and the farmers. That of course did not mean the local authorities’ spatial practice was not also informed by short-termism. The most intriguing feature of this social representation was the fact that it was shared among all the groups and people, with a sense of ‘otherness’; it was always the others’ actions that were informed by it and never their own. An important element to take with us though is that short-termism had lost that ‘otherness’ in 2017 and the Naxiótes had openly elevated it to their survival mechanism.
Chapter 10. Landscapes of Relations

One might think that accepting landscape as a social product constantly in transition under social, cultural, political, economic processes that such an important circumstance as an economic crisis and a following recession would have created more tensions or change the existing ones. However, by entering that close community of Naxos, and unveiling the nonstop social ferments and dynamics that define the structure of that community, it turned out that the tensions were already there, they existed. Different groups of stakeholders create this complicated matrix of relations, of different interests with any type of flows among them: parallel, aligned, conflicting, competing, indifferent. What has happened though because of the economic rupture was that all these flows were intensified. Where there was true solidarity it became stronger, where there was common ground, it got even more solid and were there were clashes and conflicts, they became worse. These three movements correspond to the three social representations unfolded below.

10.1. Kinship

There is an emotional bond between the farmers and their land because this is the way they were brought up. They are brought up to be emotionally attached to the land that fed them, to the land they started working in/with since they were little children. There is absolutely no way they would accept to give away or exchange the field even with one at a better spot, even if that means that they would be able to have all their properties gathered together in one instead of having them scattered in different places and smaller pieces. Even if they said it would be better for this to happen, they still wouldn’t accept to do it.

An EAS employee who was dealing with farmers and their issues all day every day provided the above description. My own observations were aligned with it. The social representation of kinship was entwined with social representations of landscapes of attachment, but what

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255 Kinship does not only refer to the close family, but it goes sometimes up to third cousins, depending on the local society. In Greece specifically kinship extends beyond blood relations through religious links created mainly thought christening and wedding: the relation of the family of the child and the family of the godparent become connected in a kinship relationship and the same applies for the equivalent of best man/bridesmaid (κουμπάρος/κουμπάρα – koumbáros/koumbára) who ‘perform’ the wedding. Forbes elaborated on this concept of kinship (2007, chap.5); although his thesis referred to Methana, with some distinct local details, the general idea is applicable across Greece.
separated from them was its transitive nature. The landscape of kinship did not only involve the people in question and their landscapes as the three representations of attachment, but it was triangulated with the concept of the family. Ajax did not have the financial need to be a farmer, but when I asked him, he said:

I am engaged with it because my father taught me to be engaged with the land and the animals since I was a little kid.

Hercules had a similar story of how he got into it:

I barely finished primary school. I failed the classes because of absences. I couldn’t attend because I was in the fields working with my father since I was five.

Especially Hercules had many stories to share about his topos:

Come come, I want to show you. See this well? My father drilled it when I was a child. One time I was very young, and I was working in the heat all day, so I decided to wash here. The träfi were hiding me so I thought I would get naked and wash at the well. It is in the middle of nowhere, so I thought I was safe. I have no idea how or why anyone would pass by that field, since there was no road to take you anywhere, but two aunts of mine passed by. There I was standing completely naked next to the well! 256

Theocritus did not have to cultivate anything. His potato yield was for personal consumption only. He still did though. Despite being a grown man and his parents being elders, it was their shared moment. All three were at the field doing all the work required together.

Orpheus was proud to be able to make productive the land of his grandfather and Jason was honouring his parents by nurturing their work on their land. Especially for Jason the connection was so strong that was winning the fight with his tendencies of escapism that he admitted having since a teenager.

An intriguing landscape expression of the social representation of kinship was related to the vineyards. Naxos, the island of Dionysus, whom they have been celebrated to this day during the carnival in February, 257 did not—and still does not—have a winery and was unable to produce bottled standardised wine like Paros and Santorini. The reason was not the lack of

256 This specific story has been cut and edited for privacy reasons; this is a brief version of a free translation.
257 For the carnival there is information available at the municipality’s website: https://www.naxos.gr/category/naxos/activities-recreation-en/naxos-carnival/?lang=en
The carnival has itself its own website: https://naxoscarnival.com
winery as many of them claimed. The reason they did not have a winery was the inconsistency in the grape varieties planted. As Alcibiades noted:

What wine will we produce? 5% malagouzia, 7% sauvignon, 13% this, 28% that? If we take as a given that the people who bring grapes to the winery, know what they bring in the first place. Most of them wouldn’t know, because they have different varieties of grapes even in one single vineyard.

The vineyards therefore were consisted of grapes of such variety that there was no way to have any standardisation of the variety of the wine produced. Additionally, most of the vineyards were old and the grapes were put when there was no standardisation of wine as a concept. The solution would be a controlled replantation after a planned project about the varieties, the percentage, and the set of the participants. There were two problems involved, none of which was the funding of the project because there was a vineyard replantation fund available under the CAP every year for applications. The first problem was about cooperation, so it is discussed in the next Chapter. The second issue was related to their family connection. Very few would be willing to give up on their father’s vineyard. They were still in the vineyard they used to go as a kid with their father and/or other relatives and they have stories about preparing it, making the wine, testing each year’s product, drinking it throughout the year. Replanting their vineyard and having the same varieties to give their grapes to the winery, would take away from them, part of their heritage, part of who they were. They were still making the wine their father or even their grandfather had been making; it was part of their history, of who they were, and it has continued to be. Each one of them would bring a bottle of their wine whenever there was a gathering. There were always some that their wine had a good name. The discussion at some point would always turn even for a while to whose wine was better and a whole bander would go on around this subject. They did not want to lose what they had. And it was obvious even with the raki, whose production was marginally legitimate. But it was part of their culture and a tradition that did not want to give up on.

Even those who were not able to take care of their vineyards themselves —either because they did not know how, or they were otherwise occupied— they did not want to leave them get ruined by neglect. 258 They would rent the vineyards to friends or relatives that were

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258 This particular theme has also a second aspect related to the restricted rights for the vineyards. Since their introduction, the rights existed regardless of land or its price of the land, so people generally did not want to lose those rights, since they represented money. Still though, they did not sell them, and they were still used by the extended family.
farmers to take care of them. In the majority of the cases the rent did not have a monetary shape and there was no financial transaction; the bill was settled with the wine produced.

Kinship as a social representation is significant in the Greek society in general, and not just in the local community of Naxos. Kinship has been a factor of landscape production and reproduction through the inheritance of property and through the close links that family members are expected to have. *Hephaestus* could not let his siblings’ lands uncultivated since they were unable to do it themselves, so he had taken over. *Hercules* was renting land, but he had to ask from the extended family first for availability before he searched available fields from third parties.

If there was any change on the kinship representation because of the crisis that was towards the strengthening of the links between family members. It was as important in 2013 as it was in 2017 and it was as I expected it to be for a small Greek community.

10.2. Collectivity

If our goat dies, we want the neighbour’s goat to die too.  

The social representation of collectivity or more accurately the lack of it has been historically a usual theme in the Greek realm that has been integrated in the Greek psyche as a national feature.  

There is even a specific word διχόνοια – *dhichónia*, which I have struggled to find an accurate equivalent in English; I would say it is the combination of disagreement, conflict, schism, disunity. This specific social representation has also embedded the idea that Greeks get united only when they are threatened by a common enemy. Has the crisis been a common enemy then?

The repetition of the proverb above by my informants to describe the chances of Naxiôtes cooperating with each other demonstrated that the lack of collectivity representation was so internalised that it constituted their indubitable reality. As per *Lycurgus*, *Zeus*, *Solon*,

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259 Popular Greek proverb repeated by the majority of my informants when cooperation was mentioned.

260 Prominent historical examples are the internal conflicts during the Independence War in 1821 which almost costed the victory; during the World War II, during the war with Turkey in 1922 and the Civil War in 1946.
Hercules, Ajax, Odysseus, Orpheus, Patroclus, Theseus, Actaeon, Antisthenes, Critias, Castor, Jason and more, Naxiótes could not support their own products. The most intense expression of that view was the relation between tourism businesses and farmers. The two social groups had not set supply and consumption networks from the producer down to the tourist. Any existing traffic was random and circumstantial and thus unstable. For Lycurgus it was mainly down to the businessmen to seek an agreement with farmers for food supplies:

The local businessmen have not realised the potential and dynamic of the local products. They import and then they overcharge. But then when they open their shop’s door and there are labels that they sell from gyros to seabream you can see there is no hope.

He also hinted a responsibility on the side of EAS as they were mostly oriented towards the promotion of the products to the Athenian market:

We have the local produce that instead of promoting locally and support our community we prefer to send them to the market in Athens. Why can’t we release them here and minimise the import cost?

Informants from the tourism group had the answer to Lycurgus’ question: there was not enough production to cover the seasonal demand, there was no consistency neither on product nor on its supply and of course, there were very few independent farmers producing end products, like cheese or yogurt since the raw material produced were handed in to EAS for further processing. The number of farmers who had the capacity to negotiate independently supply contracts with hoteliers were limited.

One of my informants shared with me a piece of relevant information regarding the promotion of the local products in Naxos with the example of graviera. The price of graviera per kilo was approximately similar to most of the shops where it was available; except one that was about 15% cheaper. How could that be? The shop was not buying the product from EAS directly but from the wholesale intermediary in Athens. EAS selling to them in bulk and trying to promote the cheese to the rest of the country, were selling at a much lower price than they were selling to the locals. So, what that shop did to be more competitive, was to bring the graviera that had left for Athens back to the island cheaper than it was without the return trip to the capital.

261 The informants whose stories we have been mainly following are not the only ones who share the same belief. There was not a single exception of someone who expressed a different opinion on the disunity of the Naxiótes.
A producer that had managed to be independent and was negotiating his own contracts and prices was disappointed by his fellow Naxiotes:

I don’t have any client in Naxos, they don’t buy from me because they say I am expensive, and it is cheaper to bring the product from Athens. I am more expensive than them, I know. But I am a small farm on Naxos trying to produce the best quality. I need to get the money and effort I put into it back. I don’t have hundreds of strém mata like the farmers in the mainland that can sell cheap. So, I have given up locally and I am selling to the neighbouring islands.

The restriction of the local production compared to industrialised production elsewhere naturally translated to higher prices of the local products than the imported ones as the account above showed. Hercules had a similar but worse issue with the house wine:

Almost all the tavern owners have their own wine, but then it’s not enough for the summer season. I have two tonnes left from last year and I am about to make this year’s wine. I cannot sell the old one, because they find it expensive. I am selling it for 2 euro per litre. This is the price I can afford to sell. Have you seen how much they sell ‘on the table’? 8 euros per litre. They would have 6 euro per litre profit. They still don’t want to give that money. They bring in from the mainland and the big wineries in bulk for 80 cents per litre. And then they sell it for local house wine for 8 euros. Ten times up. So why support me or any other local producers for 6 euros per litre when they can get 7.2 and they sell thousands of litres during summer?

The social representation of (non)collectivity was also the second reason, apart from the kinship mentioned earlier, that there could not be a replantation of the vineyards to standardise the grape variety. If that were to happen the vineyards owners should agree in advance of what wine they would produce and accordingly decide on grape variety for the replantation. The first difficulty would be to bring all the parties involved to agree on working all together and make decisions upon the varieties and who would take up what. As verbalised by an EAS employee previous examples had demonstrated that that would not be a smooth process stating:

There is no way they would come to an agreement. They would just fight.

Another important aspect where the lack of collaboration was visible and impactful was irrigation arrangements or the lack of them between those with wells and those without, especially in cases where the wells were at the in-between boundaries of fields or even worse if the plots used to be one field that was divided for inheritance purposes. Broken agreements over sometimes trivial reasons have caused crop and income losses, as in the
case of *Theseus*. That kind of egocentrism was also common when both adjacent fields had wells, with disputes raising over the use of the available reserves of water table.

A similar attitude could be identified behind the status of the *tráfi*. Being the natural and visible division between fields of often different owners, there were cases that they could not agree on their management and care. My inquiry on the legal ownership of the *tráfi* had not been fruitful, prompting the thought that maybe there was no legal regime regarding them. When *Hercules* trimmed shorter and narrower the *tráfi* of a field which had gone wild entering the crops, he did not inform the neighbour:

> Let’s see what happens when he sees it. I’ll get in trouble if he gets angry.

*Hercules* did not get in trouble to my knowledge but there were other instances of Naxiótes’ feuds over the hedges, mainly based on the width of the hedge left after trimming; apparently by narrowing it from one side, that field would gain surface and if that kept happening from one side only since new reeds grow, in the long run the one field would encroach on the other, which would shrink.

A phenomenon of the lack of collective spirit specifically focused on the farming group, was exhibited through the abundance of agricultural machinery per farm, even when farms’ size could not justify it. *Theseus* was expressing some strong opinions on the subject:

> The concept of everyone having tractors to show off needs to come to an end.

He tried to take through a cost analysis for a friend and his potato farm. That farmer was satisfied with the profit, and *Theseus* was trying to show him why he had more costs that he had calculated. The potato farmer could not comprehend the reason why the machinery usage should be added to the cost, because he was its owner. *Theseus* was desperate:

> The concept of depreciation of machinery is nuclear physics to most of the farmers.

That was indeed a reality. There was no concept of sharing machinery among farms to minimise cost, neither was there the idea of a professional owner and operator of machinery that could be paid to do specific jobs in the fields when necessary.

According to the phenomena, the (non)collectivity social representation was not only internalised by the Naxiótes but it was also exhibited by behaviours that were determinant

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262 See Chapter 8 (p266).
of the landscape production. I would though like to act as the devil’s advocate and look at it from the outsider observant point of view; before we go further, however, at that, allow me to elaborate on probably the most common social representation shared among Greeks, which expands further than the country’s borders to the Greeks of diaspora: *filótimo*.

You think of the golden rule, treat others as you would want to be treated. It embodies that rule but then takes it almost to an even higher level, like almost reach beyond what you would expect or want for yourself and do even better.

George Stephanopoulos (The Washington Oxi Day Foundation 2014, 12:53)

A four-syllabus word so common among the Greeks and still quite mystified: everyone knows and comprehends *filótimo* and everyone struggles to express it with words. Still, it is the pride of a whole nation and a universal convention that it is the driving force behind the Greek marvels since the antiquity. Or maybe not exactly so. In ancient Greek, the word had mostly a negative connotation (Box 9.1).

Resembling the word ‘landscape’ as another yet elusive term, ‘*filótimo*’ defies a simple or straight definition, which in turn deems it untranslatable. *Filótimo*, although a common principle for Greeks, is mostly defined on a personal level. The challenge in conceptualising its meaning has led German writer Andreas Deffner to write a book about it (2012), the Washington Oxi Day Foundation to release a themed video (2014) and the BBC to dedicate an article on “the-Greek word-that can’t be translated” (Dimitropoulos 2017).

The filotimo representation was not mentioned explicitly as such by the Naxiótes, but it was verbalised through casual conversations and mostly behaviours. The narrative of the absence of a collective spirit was true when looked at the community as a whole; trying to put all the vineyard owners together to cooperate or all the farmers to share machinery. Looking closer into the smaller groups in each group of stakeholders, there were solid relationships of cooperation that were based on principles far beyond monetary exchanges.

I had been working with a group of farmers that did not have any business contract neither any shared financial interests. They were working together solely on a basis of friendship and willingness to help each other. The same people when we would discuss about cooperation, they would denounce it, not on a personal level but on the level of the ‘other.’ It was intriguing for me to watch all those farmers that had not even kinship links with each other but were still working together to claim that cooperation among Naxiótes is impossible because ‘they’ are so egocentrics that ‘they’ could never find common ground. I believe I
What is filótimo? (Triantafyllides 1998)

According to a Greek Dictionary

φιλότιμο to [filótimo]:

1. distinct, enhanced sensitivity, as an element of someone’s character in relation to their personal owner, their dignity and in general to the image the others (the society, the surroundings) have of them: It’s a ~ that man lives for. He touched on his ~, he offended him. The Greek word ‘filótimo’ does not have an exact translation in other languages.

(phrases) I draw somebody into the ~, I treat somebody in a way that will stimulate or activate their filotimo. I get down to the ~, I show zeal and willingness or I am motivated by filótimo to do something.

2. willingness, conscientiousness in executing a duty/job: They worked operated with~.

[neutral noun from the adjective φιλότιμος (filótimos) (cf. Hellenistic τό φιλότιμον (to filótimon) ‘generocity’)]

According to a German author

Ingredients:

One good German-Greek dictionary, two to three positive thoughts, one litre zest for life, 500g hospitality, one whole mature friendship (fruit without skin), ten drops of supportiveness, a bit of pride, dignity and sense of duty (from the pantry)

For the sauce: five tbsp of sacrifice, five tbsp abnegation (best suited is the self-renunciation), freshly grounded respect.

“Filótimos is not only typical Greek, it also makes the Greek nation and the Greeks proud. Filótimos distinguishes us from all other nations of the world in a positive sense. For this word, this combination of concepts and feelings does not exist in other languages and other cultures. There is no correct translation, and it is difficult to explain. Precisely because this word is a multifaceted concept in which there are several positive concepts. Friendship, hospitality, honour, life, supportiveness and much more. Filótimos is part of the Greek mentality, culture, and history. The Greeks have also achieved a lot over the course of history because of their filótimos. The 2004 Olympics are a good example. Many thought that the Greeks will not make the preparation. But we wanted to show everyone that we can do it. Also because of the Filótimos. And we managed to organise wonderful Olympic Games.”

Box 10.1. The definition of filótimo in modern Greek.
should mention that although I did feel the urge to ask, “what about you all then,” I did not. The same I witnessed among the tourism group too. In my evening discussions with the owners of my accommodation, very often other hoteliers were present sharing issues and strategies and opinions. When one hotel was fully booked and there was demand from tourists, they would refer them or even book them directly to other hotels. The sense of solidarity between many professionals was extraordinary.

The administrative group was also under the auspices of cooperation and collectivity. Indeed, there were conflicting interests as there are always in politics of every level and there were party politics and dynamics at play. But they still allowed to some extend the growth and flourishing of a number of collective efforts and attempts to make their island a better place.

I would dare say that it seemed that almost a survival instinct had been sharpened by the threat of an economic disaster. Still though, collectivity and egocentrism are the two sides of the same coin, the society. Was that collectivity generalised across the whole community? Of course not. Society is not paradise. But there were multiple people in each social group forming numerous nuclei of cooperation and solidarity and helping the community to move forward. Although the internalised convention of egocentrism and lack of collectivity was verbalised unhindered, Naxiótes’ practical consciousness was disproving their own words to a significant extend.

![Figure 10.1](image1.jpg)

Figure 10.1. Not everyone in this picture was paid for that work in June 2013. Some were just giving a hand to the farmer of that potato cultivation.
10.3. Conflict

When a whole island, 20,000 people want the port to be built and then 31 do not want it so the port is not built, could you call this democracy?

Zeus

All the social representations we have gone through had an element of conflict; they were contested by nature. Conflict as a distinct social representation though, refers to the bigger scheme of conflict as an inherent element of the society. That is why I would like to clarify that I did not perceive it as a ‘negative’ trait of the local community but as the natural product of the multiple and diverse dynamics at play in societies that are necessary for development and evolution.

The most heated topic exhibiting conflict in Naxos was the subject of its port. In the early 2000 the plan for a new port in Naxos was announced and the process moved forward, securing the EU funding, and even being assigned to a construction company. Although the environmental impact assessment had been approved, a group of thirty-three people in 2006 objected against the project to the Council of the State on the basis on environmental impact and they won. The project was cancelled and according to the locals the money went to the new port of Mykonos. The anger and frustration among the Naxiótes towards those 33 people is vivid to this day. The people I had talked with had no idea who those 33 were and they were claiming they were outsiders. The verbal abuse towards that group was tremendous, even from those claiming they did not know them.

The bitterness of the loss of the port, in addition to the lack of an adequate airport, was seen as a justification for the Naxiótes’ reaction. Castor was a moderate one:

We cannot stay in the era of donkeys. Then why do we have cars and scooters? We should use our donkeys to commute. The people who stopped the project, don’t they use cars? They do. Why? Ok, we should preserve the archaeological sites and appreciate them but not stop development.

The interesting part in that case was the fact that no one questioned the actual quality of the environmental impact assessment which apparently was not properly conducted. There was no discussion or mentioning of the reasoning the Council of State based their decision on to cancel the project; the menace was on the people who pointed that out. The economic
circumstances had only exacerbated the sense of bitterness and unfair treatment, as the chances for available funding for a new port project did not seem plausible.

The state favours the privileged; if there is someone poor, they give him a hard time following the law word by word.

These were the words of a shepherd describing his dealings with the Forestry Commission over his application to acquire permission to build a farm settlement in his property. The relationship between state and citizen was another expression of conflict as a social representation. There were times that the tensions were so high that inventive narratives would emerge with a characteristic example of the ‘de-characterisation’ of woodlands into rural land which allowed the request for planning permission and construction. This is a national narrative being repeated beyond Naxos and foresters or the Forestry Commission have not managed to overturn it. There is no such process as ‘de-characterisation’; there is only a process of characterisation of a unit of land that its category is ambiguous, or it has never been characterised. That issue was a result of the lack of land registry, a gap that is currently in the process of being eliminated with the two registry projects of forests and private properties.

The perception of the clash between the individual and the state – represented by the Forestry Commission in that case – was still a narrative that could not cease. Forestry Commission were being bribed to de-characterise lands according to developers’ interests. Lycurgus was amazed:

I am speechless by the extend of illegality on the island.

A vital piece of information that can demonstrate how social representations construct people’s reality through perceptions that are not always based on facts is that according to the Forestry Commission and the article 62 of the Law 998/79 islands including Cyclades were excluded from the claim of the forests or woodland areas by the state and for that reason it was not illegal for people to get planning permissions to build in their land. The common

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263 Until recently due to the lack of land registry, the process was that a private landowner in order to build outside the city plan boundaries had to submit to the Urban Planning Commission also a decree of classification for the property from the Forestry Commission. The landowner would apply to the local branch for a classification of his land and the department would proceed to aerial photo interpretation using two chronologically different series of aerial images; the one series is from the year 1945 and the other of the current year. At times, if there is no clear image of the situation, images from in between years might be used additionally. Archival data from the forestry commission and other property related were also used and of course an in-situ visit.
belief was that the villas and hotels that were conjured up randomly across the whole island were built on woodland/woodland-like areas and it should not have been allowed. Their perception was that the corruption of the Forestry Commission was to blame for and the indifference of the State to fight it. The disdain towards the state institutions grew when there were cases considering areas classified as woodlands. The people involved felt almost prosecuted by the state. There was a belief that it was not fair the law to be strict on their case only; if there were to be exceptions there were to be for everyone.

The fact masked by the conflict representation was that the situation in Cyclades had not been the case as it had a special regime and there were very few public properties or land classified as woodland or woodland-like. Most of the properties had mixed usage and they were used at least for grazing. So almost all of them had been cultivated or managed in some way. The public land available mostly belonged to the local councils and not to the state and it consisted of grazelands. The majority of the properties belonged to individuals and as most were considered arable areas, they could get construction permission as long as they met the requirements set by the Urban Planning Commission. Despite the fact that the majority of the Naxiotes, if not all, were landowners, they seemed oblivious to the special regime their land was under.

Conflict found another arena of deployment in the everyday use of space as was expressed through the traffic plan and the traffic control of Chora. In 2013 they were constructing roundabouts in all the main junctions to facilitate the traffic in all the joining lanes and release the congestion caused during the tourist season.

They were so angry about the roundabouts that the first ten days into constructions were hell,
said a local official for another to add:

we had real threats against us. Can you believe it? Just because they did not agree with the roundabouts. Now that they are in force and the Naxiotes can see the benefits, now everyone is happy.

The local authority had been unable to implement a traffic plan and an arbitrary claim of space by Naxiotes had taken over. In 2013 there were specific regulations in place for the seafront road, its access hours, and special previsions for access to the port. By 2017 everything was evaporated and there were no special arrangements for the town centre creating ‘a hell and a mayhem’ according to Odysseus.
A conflicting space between the farming and tourism group was also the water in Chora and Livadi. The farmers claimed that by the end of August there was no water left in the wells in Livadi, because it was all be used up by tourist facilities. Both tourism and administrative bodies had been denouncing it. However, that did not mean that that specific perception the farmers had did not inform their actions. Although local authorities and policy makers disagreed for the shortage of water to cover all stakeholders’ needs, they had still appropriated the farmers’ discourse to justify the construction of the dam in Tsikalario, which was also a contested project. Farmers and agriculture professionals and officials disagreed; the ones insisting were engineers and higher administrative levels.

The conflict social representation was also expressed via power relations as embodied in the role of EAS not only within the farmers community but in the local one in general.

EAS is not a syndicate union. It is a company. They have the distribution of coca cola; they are doing other things and their interests are not in accordance with the farmers’ interests.

Ajax’s remarks did not constitute any revelation. The mutation of EAS from a labour syndicate with a bottom-up principle to a capitalist institution of a top-down approach was obvious to any observant. As a capitalist institution EAS was exerted power over the farmers. If I could draw a parallel, the Union resembled to a bank and the farmers had the benefits that borrowers have.

Whatever EAS has become, it is not easily contested. It is the only institution the farmers have to turn to. Let’s say you have cattle you haven’t been able to milk for five months. That means no income. EAS will give you provender to feed your animals and if necessary, even some money to make it through the winter. So, farmers have also a gain from this transaction, that is why they do not resist.

Low conversations were saying that the ones who had defected and created their own creameries were somehow expelled by the Union and the benefits for credit in the pharmacy or in fertilisers, which I believe it was confirmed when I asked an EAS employee regarding this and the answer was:

Would anyone keep helping their competitors?

No if it was about a corporation, but the union was not supposed to be a private enterprise;
until it officially was in 2014 when it was reborn as a limited company. It had also come to an agreement with the largest bank in Greece ‘Piraeus Bank’ for funding solutions as its finances were a bit shaky. This movement was seen a move forward by many as it finally brought some transparency to the Unions Finances and it avoided non legitimate loans to specific farmers. Each farmer had a credit card with an allowance he could use either at the union supplies or as private and that card was paid directly by the value of the products they supplied to the union and/or the EU subsidies. The apogee of the consolidation of EAS as a capitalist corporation was the monopolisation of the potato Naxou with the packaging unit that guaranteed its authenticity. The decision that the authentic potato Naxou was available only in the three-kilo packages by EAS ripped the farmers of the option to have personal negotiations and supply agreements independently with markets.

The social representation of conflict both informed and determined the practices that produce the Naxian landscape. The battles between the stakeholders could be elaborated further and in extreme detail: Farming and the tourist groups over water; public and the local authorities over the traffic plan, the airport, the emery park; farmers and EAS for the potatoes or the milk supply and profits; the community and the state over land privatisation; Forestry commission and farmers and shepherds over the land use; Naxiótes and the group of thirty three that appealed against the new port; the debates over the dam at Tsikalario; Hospitality professionals and local producers over the distribution and preference of local products.

As I explained at the beginning of this section, conflict should not be considered a negative force; conflicts are debates and negotiations expressed through contested social representations and via contested landscapes. Although they are social forces of power, they are the ones who have been moving the evolution of our society since its beginnings.

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264 The cooperatives were able to become public limited companies according to the Law 4015/2011 and its following revisions. News release: [http://www.agro24.gr/agrotika/agrotikes-organoseis/posegine-i-metavasi-tis-eas-naxoy-se-aes-sta-9181-eyro-i-meto]
Upon Departure: Souvenirs from *Landscapes of Relations*

Doesn’t the name ‘Landscape of relations’ have by default a connotation of complexity? I believe so. I have already mentioned triangulation regarding the kinship, however, all three social representations under this group entail the interrelations between different groups of people and landscape. All previous six were channelled through a linear connection between the groups of stakeholders and its landscapes, whilst these three entail the triangle among two groups and landscapes. The fact that there are numerous combinations of the two groups in the equation, only increased the complexity.

Contrary to previous chapters where I went through their significant extracts at the souvenir section at the end of our exploration, in this one I referred to some important elements at the beginning, so I am going to briefly mention again here. A distinctive outcome from my close observation of the community of Naxos was that ruptures like an economic crisis do not create a new universe of relations with a big bang; they electrify the already existed matrix of relations that constructs society, which is so complex, dynamic, and tensional that I like to think it resembles more a nebula than a structure. That was the happened in Naxos with the crisis, and as I mentioned it intensified all types of flows of interrelation.

More specifically, in the case of kinship, it was very clear of its importance to the Naxiótes’ landscape, as it is a cultural feature shared among Greeks driving their actions way beyond spatial practice. Exactly like with the Landscapes of Attachment, kinship did not always informed the Naxiótes’ practice to their advantage, as in the case of the vineyards and the wine. I have to comment though that maybe for the Naxiótes, holding tight to their family’s history and tradition could be what they believe, even subconsciously to be of their best interest. And I say subconsciously because, they were frustrated with obstacles posed to development by sentimental reasons. It still seemed though that the value they attributed to their kinship connections was higher than the value of any business opportunity.

The social representation of collectivity exhibited one of the most intriguing characteristics, I observed during my research. All the research participants shared without exception the social representation of (no)collectivity. They all explicitly stated that there was no way there could be any collaboration among them. At the same time, they were collaborating with each other without monetary exchange. It was the most astounding example of disconnection between discursive and practical consciousness I witnessed; usually such disconnections are
identified for actions that are considered negative, so people have the need to verbally justify them. In that case, the Naxiótes were actually contemning themselves as egocentrics, whilst their actions were solid proof that they were not. Or at least not at the level they claimed. I consider that occurrence as a manifestation of how internalised and powerful social representations can be that can completely annihilate facts. I need to note though that most likely that representation of (no)collectivity was enforced by the Naxiótes’ perspective of collectivity, which was the idea that the whole community should commit to a common goal. In their case, collectivity was flourishing in small groups of people. Taking into consideration the complexity of society, the idea of collectivity across a whole society sounds utopic.

What about conflict? I have already remarked that since social representations are contested by nature, they all entail an element of conflict. As a standalone social representation though, it is an integral element of the social dynamics. I did not consider it a negative feature despite its negative connotations. Out of all the social representations I have identified in my research, admittedly, conflict is laden with so much energy that can forcibly trigger instincts and actions, giving a sense that is the dominant one.

Here we are, then, at the end of the third leg and just before the destination of our journey.
STAGE TWO

FORTH LEG: THE DESTINATION
Chapter 11. [Some] Answers

In all field of learning, the past fifteen years have forced us to recognise that no single, coherent set of theories, concepts, and methods —regardless of their moral or political appeal— can hope to provide a certain and progressive path towards truth.

Denis Cosgrove (1998, xv)

This is the final port of our journey. Its main purpose was to become richer in knowledge and experience, aiming at the specific topic of the ways that people’s perceptions and actions couple to produce the landscape as embodied in the form of the people’s habitat. The topic was set in a specific context both geographical and social: an island in Greece, Naxos, during the peak of the economic downturn in spring and summer of 2013. The inspiration behind my project and the selection of the setting stemmed from two phenomena. First, the noticeable changes I was identifying in the country since 2011, every time I was visiting Greece as an emigrant even within short periods of time. The second was the public narrative that was celebrated by statesmen and journalists about how agriculture and tourism would be the nation’s lifeboat from the shipwreck. Usually that would not impress me as it is the norm for politics and press to exaggerate, but then I noticed it was being— theoretically— embraced by family and friends, some of them even expressing such intentions.

My curiosity to learn about these new dynamics led me diving in the Naxian rural and tourist setting with a hands-on approach. I dwelled in the community for the six months between April and September 2013 and I attuned into the Naxian life. I divided my time mainly among three groups of stakeholders: those practicing agriculture, those operating tourism and those participating in administrative bodies. I also spent some of my time engaging with other people mainly in social settings, which I still used as a source of information: the people working at my regular eatery, the owners of the bar I would hangout occasionally, or friends and acquaintances of my ‘official’ informants. Every little interaction added to my insight and understanding of Naxos’ social milieu.

This thesis is my sharing of my venture’s story with you. As it has already been obvious its focus extended beyond my research question framework to the actual process of finding some answers as much as the answers themselves. As an aspired but inexperienced researcher entering academic fields unknown to me, I firmly believe that it was important to be candid about my project’s processes.
In order to see where we arrived let us remember where we began. I set the framework of the questions through a graphic representation repeated below:

![Diagram 1](attachment:diagram1.png)

En route, we passed by Chapter 3 where I unfolded the theoretical framework used as a board for this project, where landscape was defined as that convergence of Lefebvre’s spatial trinity, replacing the schema above as:

![Diagram 2](attachment:diagram2.png)

On the basis of Lefebvre’s thesis that every society ‘produces its space, its own space’ then the trinity depicted above can be positioned within the Greek social *gignesthai* which for almost a decade has been defined by the crisis rupture producing Diagram 11.1.
My quest framework then was updated as per below:\textsuperscript{265}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Spatial Practice $\rightarrow$ Perceived Space
  \item Materiality of Landscape $\rightarrow$ Conceived Space
  \item Landscape Perception $\rightarrow$ Lived Space
\end{itemize}

Prior to discussing the interpretation of the data, I would like to recapitulate and present the context of the Greek \textit{gíngesthai}. As described in detail in Chapters 1 and 2, the Greek state is a relatively newly founded that was established geographically after the World War II but was consolidated socially, politically, and financially after 1974 and Metapolitefsi. This is not rare for European countries during the last 70 years and even more recently.

I need to position again briefly Greece within its European history, which distinguishes it for example from the rest of the Balkans. That began with the appointment of Greece as the master cultural narrative for the whole Europe which then followed by an attempt of modernisation based on the western belief that the same development path could occur in non-western countries too; the whole process deemed Greece a ‘peripheral area’ in relation to the western European regions, —“a pattern later repeated by former colonies of the Third

\textsuperscript{265} See also Chapter 3, Diagram 3.1 (p143–44).
World after independence”—that it prompted the country’s characterisation as the ‘earliest Third World country’ (Jusdanis 1991, xii–xiii). The two processes as part of the country’s modernisation was the constructions of a national identity—in which landscape had a protagonist role, as we saw earlier—and the import and imposition of alien political and cultural institutions incompatible with the local societal structures. As a peripheral society then Greece internalised “the incongruity between western originals and local realities as a structural deficiency” in need for further reforms. (Jusdanis 1991, xiii).

This has been in reality the socio-economic context of my research: a society that never experienced a western social development as an organic social evolution. Since the country’s establishment two hundred years ago, the national narrative of the Greek society has been constructed on the basis of an imperfect and incomplete modernisation in constant reformation and consequent failure. As Leontidou noticed modernism’s aim is to “impose order, and undisciplined subjects have to be neutralised and obliterated” (2014, 554). As it happened with every non-western country where modernisation failed, the responsibility falls on the indigenous societies and their people are stigmatised (Jusdanis 1991, xiii; Leontidou 2014, 554).

I have been insisting on this particular theme, as both Greeks and foreigners have put the burden of the failure of the westernised economic and financial structural solely on the Greek people. The crisis is not a context itself. It is part of a whole social structure that has been constructed on incompatible foundations, that was the Greek society after its independence.

No matter how many reformations are to be applied on the structure, as long as it is not completely removed to allow the organic growth of the indigenous society, any reform would most likely fail and ‘ruptures’ like the crisis will probably be repeated, as they have been for two hundred years.

On this premise and for the subsequent discussion therefore, I would like to widen the frame and refocus from the economic crisis itself to the bigger picture of the Greek social gignesthai. What is that Greek social gignesthai? In the most simplistic definition, it is the amalgamation of the perpetual dynamic processes that constantly form and reform the

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266 The term social gignesthai in Greek (κοινωνικό γίγνεσθαι — kinonikó gignesthai) is considered the equivalent of status quo. The reason I opted for the Greek term is that contrary to the connotation of inertia that status quo carries, gignesthai by definition entails the constant movement and transformation, which I believe describes more accurately society and is aligned with the general disposition of my thesis that nothing in our world is inert.
Greek society. That means that there is no social status quo, but only instances of this process, inextricably connected, where every consecutive instance is born from and determined by the previous one. According to this stance, the economic crisis was a snapshot of the *gignesthai*, and this is the reason it was necessary to discuss what I called ‘double contextualisation’ in order to set the social context of my research. Isolating that one instance would have omitted important information and create a distorted image about the Greek society in general and the economic crisis as an aspect of it. By placing the crisis in its historical context, it revealed the forces that (re)form the Greek social *gignesthai*, that have determined the advent of the crisis. It also revealed that landscape is one of these forces, as a denominator of the Greek national identity, the brand of the country abroad but also the field of political and financial games.

Expanding the context to the Greek social *gignesthai* beyond the crisis, does not remove its concept from my research, it just redefines it. The crisis as it has been experienced is not a financial or economic crisis as understood by international politics, markets, and other institutions. The crisis was a rupture of the country’s modernism façade where the economic crisis was neither the cause nor the outcome but the means that pulled down the curtain.

This became evident during my data analysis and the interpretation where it was being unveiled throughout the process that there were no new realities emerging because of the economic crisis. There were existing underlying or dormant realities masked by the illusion of a functioning modernity constructed by the country’s membership in the EU and the Eurozone, which the economic turmoil reactivated and revitalised. Any issues revealed were structural systemic issues present since the birth of the Greek society.

I am going to return now to the Diagram 11.1 that incorporated the schematic question framework with Lefebvre’s spatial triad within the extended context of Greek social *gignesthai*. The three elements of space are overlapping, interpenetrating, or superimposing on one another and informing one another at the same time. The area of convergence of all three is what produces landscape. All these processes are defined by the social *gignesthai*.

How does that schema represents the Naxiótes and their tópos? I am going to present each group of the social representations in relation to that schema. I organised the discussion per group of social representations and not per each social representation separately or per

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267 Tourism (Tsartas, Papatheodorou, et al. 2010) and agriculture (Damianakos 1997) as discussed in Chapter 2 are included here.
spatial element. The landscape defined as the tópos of Naxiótes is consisted of the overlap of the three elements and therefore they cannot be discussed as separate entities. Within each group of representations, I am trying to provide what I have concluded as answers to the quest framework set in the Introduction. I am not elaborating on each question separately; I embarked on a narrative and I would not like to fall in the trap of turning the story into a “Q &A session”. This was the reason I have avoided to use the phrase ‘research questions’ and I opted for ‘question framework’.

11.1. Landscapes of Attachment

The social representation of landscapes of attachment was the tool Naxiótes used in order to make sense, understand, and make use of their tópos meaning. It was a social representation common to all the locals and although it involved their love for their home and their land the forms in which that love was being expressed were diverse, opposite, parallel, convergent, or conflicting and clashing. The ‘attachment’ has been mainly producing the spatial element of the lived, the space of representations embodied by the Naxiótes’ imageries and narratives of their tópos. The space of passions, instincts and experiences, the representational space needs “obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness” (Lefebvre, 41) and the Naxiótes’ lived space definitely didn’t, with the reproduction of their stories about their island; naming it a paradise, claiming it the richest of the Cyclades, assigning to it magical qualities, carrying their identity as Naxiótes with pride and rejecting any place that is not their island.

The lived space as produced via ‘attachment’ was largely overlapping among all three groups of participants, farmers, tourism entrepreneurs and local officials: all of them were Naxiótes and they were sharing the same ‘attachment’ to their tópos regardless of their position. The difference between them were the aspirations they had for their tópos which were expressed with dissimilarities in the production of the perceived and the conceived landscape.

Can ‘attachment’ produce representations of space, the space conceived by technocrats and experts? I generally believe it can, as those are also people beyond their label as technocrats,

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268 To avoid frequent repetition of the phrase social representations I have adopted the use of the distinct word within single quotation marks: ‘attachment’, ‘production’ and ‘relation’.
but specifically for Naxos it can certainly do. The local policy makers had conceived the representations of their tópos’ future based on their perception of the path it should follow. They aspired to reify their representational Naxos, the way they believed it was appropriate and beneficial for the local common good. As members of the dominant group and as those holding the power to intervene to the materiality of their tópos they were representing the social order required and desired by modernity and capitalism. They had on their side one part of the tourism entrepreneurs who were divided. Those allying with the policy makers — often they were even the same people — were part of either the dominant or the higher social classes on the island.

On the other hand, were the tourism ‘corsairs’ with no relevant experience or family history in the sector who had intruded it, circumventing its capitalist principles for order and profit maximisation. The ‘attachment’ within those two divisions was the apparatus used to justify the conceived space of the dominant: the tourism ‘corsairs’ were stigmatised as not sharing the attachment social representation with the rest, jeopardising the development and success of their tópos. The response of the latter was contesting further the power of the former by claiming and appropriating space: they were attached to their tópos too and they would not accept to be excluded.

The farmers group was not part of those tasked with the representations of Naxos. ‘Attachment’ for them was the production force of their spatial practice. Their quotidian farming activities were embodying their perceived space, their tópos as they experienced it via their work with the land and their connection to its physicality. Compared to the other two groups the conceived space imposed to them was not only the one locally produced; it was also the one introduced via the regulations of the CAP and the market’s needs. Both the other two elements of their landscape were informed and even determined by a global social space ‘interpenetrating and superimposing’ itself on their local space (Lefebvre 1991, 86). Their farming activities were led by the common EU policies defining their landscape of experience and practice, which then would inform their landscape of emotions as lived experience mutated into imagery.

Could the same be said for the tourism group? Although the global tourism markets and trends feed into the local tourism places, for Naxos and more generally Greece, the representation of space has been solidified decades ago with the stereotypical island landscape of the infinite blue as I described in Chapter 1. It could be said that the demand
for the specific landscape would not allow the transformation of the landscape texture towards a different conception of space; however, the concept of the Greek landscape has been internalised and reproduced by both the tourism businessmen and the administrative officials. If it is an imposed representation, I would argue it is self-imposed.

‘Attachment’ has emerged as the productive force driving primarily the Naxiótes’ lived landscape and has been feeding from the locus of emotions the other two landscape elements via their interconnections. Within the different social groups of participants ‘attachment’ to their tópos has been a contested social representation (Howarth 2006, 79) as it has different embodied expressions through practice among the groups.

The rupture of the crisis and the social turbulence has not upset the ‘images and symbols’ of the lived space. It has upset its power of resistance. There were participants whose attachment to their tópos and their landscape of feelings could not claim victory over the perceived space as experienced in their quotidian life and the struggles that entailed, so they decided to escape when circumstances became most unfavourable. There were some others expressing intense escapism but then refused to even travel. Their ‘attachment’ was translated into a representational landscape both resistant and resilient, dominating the conflict over spatial practice. As for the dominant conceived space, the rupture seemed to weaken the locally produced representation and strengthen the national and global, explicitly demonstrated by the foundation of TAYPED and the placing of areas in Naxos under its regime. What Naxiótes have exhibited though, the way I perceived it, was that their ‘attachment’ produced such an imagery of their tópos that it has all the potential to be ‘the space of resistance’ (Lefebvre 1991, 39; Halfacree 2006, 51) and they have proven it with discarding even development opportunities to protect that imagery.

11.2. Landscapes of Production

‘Production’ was participating in the production of all three landscape elements on the contrary to the ‘attachment.’ That meant that the way it was informing all three elements and subsequently informing each other was uneven and unstable. The lived landscape was informed through the imaginative narrative of the self-sufficiency, which within the ‘production’ was also extensively overlapping among the different social groups. Despite the
fact that ‘production’ was mostly leading the production of representations of Naxos and the Naxiótes’ spatial practice their representational island was still strong and present within the dynamics of the three landscapes.

The ‘production’ was also an intensely contested social representation among the three social groups of participants and within the groups too. As with the ‘attachment’ each group had its own interpretation of ‘production’ and how that could be translated into practice with main contestants again the administrative and the tourism group. Especially the authorities’ group was claiming ‘production’ as its spearhead for the successful imposition of their representations of Naxos to the rest of the community. In the name of development, of streamline production, and of up-to-date entrepreneurship they were seeking to impose the social order as envisioned by the capitalist institutions. ‘Production’ could be described as a main driver of the production of Naxos representations through infrastructure and facilities planning and construction altering the landscape materiality and imposing a new spatial reality to the rest of the society.

The crisis disruption had an impact on the landscape conceived by the local policy makers because of the limited funds and the tendencies of administrative centralisation that were applied by the government. They were still able to claim EU funds but as I mentioned under ‘attachment’ the decrease of the local authority’s financial and policy power was opening the path for the permeation of alien to Naxos conceived landscapes by external institutions.

The same dynamics among the tourism entrepreneurs I described under ‘attachment’ were as intense and fiery within ‘production.’ In this case, it was not the ‘corsairs’’ right to appropriate their tópos but their right to have a personal free choice to decide the model of business that they wanted to implement. Again, it was almost expressed as a class battle expanding into the tourism industry and the refusal by the tourism ‘corsairs’ to align with globalised standards and practices and adopt them too; whilst the dominant tourism elite were trying to impose their models, attempting at the same time to exclude those who refused to abide. The heavily contested landscape was primarily the perceived, produced by their conflicting spatial practices. The crisis dynamics seemed to favour the tourism elite, since between the two subgroups, they are the ones with accumulated resources and power, hence are more resilient to disruptions. Still the ‘corsairs’ refused to quit the fight.

For the farmers ‘production’ was also the generating force of spatial practice defining the actions they would or would not take. Especially farmers, having avoided the alignment of
their ‘entrepreneurship’ —which in terms of global capitalism was not entrepreneurship — with the tourism group’s (and other professionals’ in general), found themselves forced to do so due to the crisis turmoil and align their spatial practice with that of the other businesses. How much they aligned is a matter of debate. They have been resisting the imposed framework of practice contesting the landscape it would produce, although the dominant social forces have intruded the farmers’ realm with the acquisition of the EAS in Naxos. If they continue to resist to conform or if they quit fighting and turn into the professional farmers required by globalisation and capitalism nowadays, it is to be seen.

Landscapes of production emerged as the most affected social representation group by the crisis rupture. Naxiótes had to discard the imaginary Naxos as the self-sufficient lived landscape: Naxos might not be self-sufficient as an independent society, but it has been as productive as necessary to support the survival of its people. Naxos as the landscape conceived by the policy makers and the officials was also disrupted by the crisis dynamics that changed the flows of capital and power. The upset of both the lived and conceived landscape informed the perceived landscape as spatial practice, but it did not seem to transform it radically; except one change that I would situate on the margins between the representation of space and the spatial practice leaning mostly towards the latter: the interception of construction activity and the abandonment of half-built constructions dominating the landscape materiality and visuality of Naxos.

11.3. Landscapes of Relations

The social representation of landscaped of relations is a vital element of the landscape (re)production; human relations are the protagonist of social practice whose spatial projection is spatial practice (Lefebvre 1991, 8). ‘Relations’ are diffused across all moments of landscape setting in motion their internal dynamics.

Especially for Naxiótes the lived landscape, has also been laden with symbolisms and meanings linked to their ancestors and families, representing relations of kinship solidly integrated into their psyche and informing their narratives of their tópos. Similar to the other two social representations, ‘relations’ on the lived landscape were also overlapping significantly among the three groups of participants. Regardless of how high they were on
the social ladder; they were assigning similar values of ‘relations’ to their tópos. The representational landscape of ‘relations’ was very powerful for the Naxiótes and its power was a determinant of also the representations of Naxos and the Naxiótes’ spatial practice.

A significant element within ‘relations’ was the power relations expressed within every society and Naxos was not an exception. The power relations among the groups and within their members were constantly in motion dictating mainly spatial practices and producing the perceived landscape. ‘Relations’ were ruling over an area of the produced landscape that was a default contested ‘hot’ space. I have already referred to the conflict between the two tourism subgroups which was deployed across all social representations and was driving the production of all three elements but mainly of the perceived landscape.

The social representations of relations was the only field where the connection was not binary but tripartite: the link between group or individual and landscape was triangulated with the addition of another group or individual claiming an equal position in the triangle. That is not to say that the two parties on the sides of landscape were equal in power or position. In ‘attachment’ and ‘production’ other groups or individual can interfere and intervene on the linear link between group or individual and landscape; in ‘relations’ the triangular link presupposes the participation of two parties. Consequently, all the underlying differences and dissimilarities between the groups and their members found their ‘space’ of expression within ‘relations’.

The protagonist group almost dictating the process of landscape production enabled by ‘relations’ was the administrative. Having the jurisdiction and the power over the production of the conceived landscape they were determining the spatial practice for the other two groups too. In the triangle farmers – tourism operators – water consumption (as part of spatial everyday practice) it was the local authority determining the relation and thus the perceived landscape produced by the other two groups. The same relation of farmers-tourism group with water consumption replaced by local products supply, was managed by EAS. EAS was also the catalyst of the triangle farmers – markets—production.

Although within the social representation of relations there were hegemonic elements restricting the interests of other groups or individuals and trying to “maintain relations of power in the social order” (Howarth 2006, 79), there were spatial practices of resistance by the Naxiótes expressed primarily among farmers, second among tourism entrepreneurs and in a lesser extend among officials and that was called collective practices. By coordinating
their spatial behaviour and attuning their perceived landscape as small nuclei within the larger group, the non-dominant groups were able to circumvent the dominant agency.

Especially farmers, by embracing spontaneity and informality (Leontidou 2014) in forming small teams based on kinship and personal relations facilitated their spatial practice and relieved, even by a small amount, of the burden and challenges they have been facing since the crisis rupture. The Naxiótes farmers and to some degree the tourism entrepreneurs did not create those teams on the basis of a professional cooperative initiative. They were groups of people that spontaneously began supporting each other in an informal way almost without having awareness of it.

An observation emerged from my whole fieldwork experience that I would place under the ‘relations’ was the way the insular landscape being isolated and surrounded by the duplicitous sea, both an oppressor and a liberator, was a great leveller of social inequalities, equating almost everyone under its power. Regardless of the social class and financial status of the Naxiótes they were all equal in the face of the island landscape. The basic only infrastructure, such as hospitals, airports, ports, schools offered the same services to all the Naxiótes. The Sailing Suspension due to adverse weather conditions did not distinguish social class: everyone was stranded facing the exact same issues. The same was applicable for access to healthcare in case of emergency.

During my fieldwork, a boy in Naxos had an accident with his motorcycle and had his ear cut. The hospital could not perform the operation and a military aircraft C130 came to transport him to Athens. The plane broke down and had to land on the island of Syros, where Ermoupoli is, the administrative capital of the South Aegean Region. The boy was hospitalised there but neither that hospital had the amenities to perform the ear replantation. The waiting for transportation to Athens was so long that the amputated ear was deemed useless by the time the boy got to Athens and a prosthetic limb had to be used. This boy belonged to the rural class. A pregnant lady, member of what is considered the elite of the island, had an emergency that according to the doctors, could have cost her and the baby’s life had she not been already in Athens by chance, when this happened.

Rurality on the Aegean islands has a different meaning of what it has on mainland. The isolation by the sea creates a social context that cannot be removed totally. The size of these islands and the number of the inhabitants render their administrative organisation and the provision of welfare facilities unaffordable. Most islands do not have hospitals, only medical
centres with limited personnel. The whole island of Naxos did not have an otolaryngologist in 2013. A native, resident of Athens was travelling once a week to attend appointments.

When I was hospitalised in Naxos after a fainting episode in April 2013, there was blood testing laboratory in the hospital but there was no staff to operate it; the hospital was subcontracting the tests to the only private one on the island. Smaller islands like the Small Cyclades have a rudimentary medical centre with one doctor 269 if any available, as at times some posts remain void and are served by a doctor from adjacent areas. When this is the case, then the doctor shares the days to the areas he has to serve, meaning that some medical centres remain closed for most days during the week.

Rurality and insularity in combination in islands that are not Mykonos or Santorini create a unique and different field of power and social relations among the inhabitants which seemed to have been consolidated due to the crisis and the limitations in local financial resources.

11.4. Their Words vs Their Actions

One of the questions that preoccupied me before even my PhD venture was the disconnection between people’s expressed values or principles and their actions. Not the intentional disconnection that constitutes lying but what Haidt (2006) called “divided self”, that I referred to in Chapter 3. 270 The intention to look into the correspondence between articulacy and behaviour was integrated in my research planning prior to my fieldwork and discovering Vaisey’s heuristic seemed ideal. The disconnect between discursive and practical consciousness was confirmed by my data as already presented under Interpretation. What I would like to discuss at this point is not its existence but some of the reasons that emerged during my fieldwork which could give a better insight to the social setting of Naxos.

Vaisey in his empirical research identified discursive inarticulacy as a plausible reason for lack of correspondence between verbal accounts and behaviours and also, he confirmed the people use cultural values in order “to make sense of their judgments and commitments after

269 The graduates of the Medical School in Greece in order to be granted the licence to practice they are obliged by the law to serve for a definite period of time to rural medical centres: Legislative Decree 67 (FEK 303/A/20–12–1968).
270 My specific preoccupation was also behind my choice of qualitative only approach as I elaborated in Chapter 4.
the fact” (2009, 1704). However, within my research the majority of discussions and the verbal accounts provided were not part of justification of any behaviour. At least not a behaviour I was aware of. They were not even responses in hypothetical scenarios. Especially during our ‘structured conversations’, my informants were vocal about their cultural and moral values on topics such as social respect, collectivity, solidarity, equality, social and environmental responsibility, sustainability, and organic food production but also corruption, tax evasion, conflict of interests and any other significant subject of the mainstream.

I have already mentioned some examples of observed behaviours inconsistent to previously expressed views. My initial thought was that discursive consciousness was being expressed in advance explaining and reasoning on subjects such as obedience to law as a conscious performance of moral and social knowledge. The more I interacted with the same people and the more the same topics were emerged and discussed again and again I began doubting that initial thought regarding the intentionality and consciousness of the performance.

I am going to elaborate on one example of such an interaction: how I found out about the farmer taken to court for using manure as a fertiliser, who I mentioned already in Chapter 8.

In one of my conversations with an administrative group member, he was talking about the food production on the islands:

> They don’t even know what organic cultivation is. Some claim they are and then you look in their warehouses and you see what strong pesticides they have. Organic cultivations need work and care and none of them would be able to do that.

It was not the first time he was expressing such a stance on organic farming and how hard it would be to convince farmers to apply it to their cultivations. Two weeks later we are in the car together on a country road and we passed by a field that was releasing an unpleasant smell, seemingly of cow manure. He got furious.

> I can’t believe he did again. The inhabitants of these houses have sued him because he throws the manure in the field and the whole area gets ramped with insects. The lady in that house got an infection in her eye. This is an issue of public health.

I could not express an opinion, but I had to understand that inconsistency in his accounts, so I asked if that meant the farmer in question was an organic producer.

> That is irrelevant. He shouldn’t use manure so close to houses.
That instance was another demonstration of spatial conflicts and contested landscapes but in that specific one my focus was on the view expressed itself. First supporting organic farming should mean supporting its practices even if they are considered unpleasant. Second, the promotion of the local produce was of high importance for the island and its prosperity, however, housing could claim and appropriate the production landscape and become the dominant mode of space production as the same time. I became sceptical so I got attuned to identify any relevant comment that he would make in the future. He kept expressing the same support for organic farming, without however referring to the details of its practice.

Another example from the quotidian life in Naxos was the already mentioned traffic issue and how every single person was frustrated and had strong views on the subject. As it was indeed an issue I was not driving when I was in the town and I was walking anywhere I had to be. Later in the summer when the tourist numbers peaked, the lack of parking space when returning from the fields to my accommodation, made me exchange my car for a bicycle which I was using for what the Naxiótes consider long distance, namely less than ten kilometres. The same informants who were expressing their frustration with traffic congestion were also commenting on my not driving as incomprehensible. There were times I was picked up for a meeting by car to be driven for 500 metres.

Observing such behaviours and juxtaposing them with verbal accounts, I concluded that although people are ‘capable of deliberation and justification’ in case “required by the demand of social interaction” (Vaisey 2009, 1687), there is the possibility they also learn to perform discursive consciousness in an automatic manner without internalising the meaning expressed in their performance. A detail in my observations was that repetitions of accounts exhibiting discrepancies to behaviours and to the ad hoc justifications were observed in topics that are mainstream and are being repeated by the state, the media or even the society itself, such as organic farming and sustainability on a global scale, crisis, corruption and law obedience on a national scale and traffic congestion on a local scale.

As I stated this is only an empirical conclusion based on comparisons between observed actions and articulacy and as I am neither a sociologist nor a psychologist, I can only express my observation and not analyse it.

How did this outcome relate to my project? It demonstrated that the inconsistency between internalised schematic processes and moral schemas needed to be taken into account when trying to correlate expressed perceptions to observed practices in order to understand their
interplay. An additional related outcome was that there is a difference between ‘settled’ and ‘unsettled’ times of the disconnect between discursive and practical consciousness. Vaisey suggested that the importance of cultural meanings might increase during ‘unsettled times’; drawing on my data analysis, moral schemas are likely to matter less as turmoil can offer a better justification for people’s practical consciousness.

Before the crisis, tax evasion was mostly a hobby, you did it because you could. Now it is a matter of survival. You have to do it if you want to survive. Right now, with all the tax measures for businesses there is no money left for me after I have paid everything and everyone. All I am trying to figure out right now is how to evade 20,000 euros per year to make a living for my family.

The new socio-economic circumstances did not enhance the moral values to motivate against tax-evasion, they enhanced the justification of practical consciousness.
Conclusions

We have just arrived at our finish line marking the end of our journey, my ethnographic exploration of a Greek landscape and its people during times of crisis. Before I conclude this thesis, I would like to reflect on its title:

“An ethnographic approach to perceptions and meanings of insular landscape in times of recession”

When I first set off on my research my focus was on the perception of landscape in a context of recession. During my adventure, the themes became three as the ethnographic approach joined the other two under the spotlight. My strive for reflexivity indeed led me to “a process of ‘self-discovery’” (Rose 1997, 309), which became an intrinsic part of my whole project and created two parts within the same narrative: my personal story as an amateur researcher which got integrated with the stories of the Naxiótes and their topos experiencing the crisis. Being the storyteller of both, I have put all my effort to not appropriate their voices; still though “the ‘native view’ presented here is a non-native’s view” (Forbes 2007, 8).

The Journey’s Overview

Throughout my thesis I have taken you through my journey as an aspiring inexperienced researcher trying to make sense of academic concepts and agendas. Before my final remarks I would like to recapitulate our venture through the stops of our route and highlight what I perceive as most significant points of my thesis.

In the first leg and the passage plan, while preparing the ground for my research I shared with you my explorations of the landscape concept, both its vernacular and academic meaning and my scepticism on the level of alignment these two have. I tried to clarify what landscape meant in the context of my thesis as an academic term separated from its vernacular. In order to crystallise the concept, I overviewed some of the theses by scholars that have informed my own understanding of landscape and refined the framework of the landscape concept as defined by Bell (2012, 66–67), the human habitat. On the basis of reflexivity, I elaborated on my thoughts regarding what I consider a ‘research trap’ in landscape studies involving participants, the duplicity of landscape, as its effect on people’s
understanding of landscape could be significant. Being a pivotal topic in landscape disciplines I could not ignore the ELC and since I did not use it in my research, I shared with you some of my scepticism, behind that choice.

Subsequently I moved to the concept of ruptured landscapes and how that stands within an axiomatically non-inert world. I then focused on the Greek rupture of the economic crisis in 2010 and the pressures put on landscape because of it. Within the discussion of rupture, I reversed the vectors of the anthropocentric approach that my project as many others have. My scope was to discard the abstract third-person superstructure usually employed in academic discourse and make *anthropos* the source of the social phenomena. I walked you through my train of thought on it and I adapted my approach to my research accordingly.

Having laid the base of my project I then described to you how I constructed my research question framework using a schematic representation (See p26) —inspired by Canter’s theory of place (1977, 158)— of the circular interrelation of the three elements: ‘landscape perception’, ‘materiality of landscape’ and ‘spatial practice’ as are at play with the social context of crisis. My question framework was aiming to explore in an ethnographic way the circular process of the three elements as perpetually each one was feeding back into the next and the previous producing and reproducing the landscape within the context of crisis The landscape in question was the insular landscape of Naxos, and the meaning of crisis as context was the conglomeration of changes in modes of production, social relations, exchange networks, capital flows, labour and land value and state policies imposed on a local societies by the extractivist forces of a global capitalist system. I also set an additional question across the whole framework, that of the comparative look on the expressed verbal accounts by the participants and the observed habitual practices by me.

Based on the last note, I decided to share in advance my cultural baggage and my credentials allowing me to conduct such a research. On the premise of reflexivity and positionality, I fully disclosed my background as a female brought up in remote mountainous Greece, my connection to Greece and Naxos, my current position as an immigrant abroad and how all those experiences have informed my skills, appropriate for my project.

Our next stop was the concept of the Greek landscape which began with a brief review of the Greek word, its history and evolution of its meaning to this day. I then provided you with a historic overview of the Greek landscape since modern times and how it was shaped by and shaped Greekness, the Greek national identity, with the sanctification of the infinite blue and
*the insular landscape. Simultaneously I explained the geographical consolidation of Greece completed in 1947, 120 years after the war or independence. As part of the concept of the Greek landscape I also talked you though the concepts of the Greek rural and the Greek island as the two flagships of the Greek landscape and economy and their meanings within the Greek realm. The rural and the island were two sides of the same coin, the island of Naxos.

One of my observations as a Greek immigrant in the UK has been the absence from the Greek crisis narrative of any historic reference that could provide a better picture of the root causes. For that reason, our next stop was the social framework with a double contextualisation of the social *gignesthai*. A historic one about the establishment of the Greek state and society, describing its idiosyncrasies derived by its failed modernisation process which was imposed externally. That socio-historic context put then the current socioeconomic context in perspective allowing you a deeper insight and understanding of the current Greek social *gignesthai*. Within the new reality and the Greek economy bruised and battered, I am elaborating on the crisis exodus plan by the liquidation of the Greek landscape and the two lifeboats, as they had been presented by statesmen and journalists, agriculture, and tourism. Under the aegis of the crisis, I am describing also two phenomena related to the country’s recovery, the counterurbanisation and the brain drain.

I had thus far conceptualised and contextualised my research and its concepts and I had also situated myself within it as the researcher. So, we sailed further to the theoretical approach of my project. Despite being ethnographic I decided to interpret and present my data through the prism of existing theories. The epistemological stance appropriate to my project as unfolded and my personal beliefs was that of social-constructionism and its principle that meaning is *constructed* by humans and not *created* and its construction process is always work in progress. Under the auspices of social-constructionism I concluded in the theoretical framework as developed by Lefebvre with his production of space.

Building on the basis of a socially produced landscape and elaborating on its aforementioned three elements, I consolidated the concept of landscape for this project as the convergence of the three moments of Lefebvre’s spatial trinity of perceived, conceived and lived spaces translated also as (society’s) spatial practice, (experts’) representations of space and (users’) representational spaces (See p144). At that juncture, I found necessary to clarify in relation to landscape the other two contested spatial concepts of space and place, in order to clear any confusion or question regarding the omission of these two from my project (See p147).
With the crystallisation of the conceptual framework, I then presented you with the two heuristics I used for my data interpretation: the theory of social representations as the primary device — organisational mental constructs used by the people to make sense world— and the DPM of culture in action as a secondary — the difference between people’s discursive consciousness (justification) and practical consciousness (motivation). (See 3.4)

That was where our journey’s first leg was completed and we entered the second one, the methodology, where we navigated among the alternative methodological approaches. Using for a compass Swaffield’s tabular framework of knowledge formation (See p160), I concluded that the optimum option for my project as structured thus far, was a qualitative-only hands-on approach focused on the site of Naxos. Although I had already shared my methodological choice with you much earlier in that juncture, I talked you through the decision process. While charting the methodological waters, I also showcased to you where my research was situated among other relevant ones and the identified gap in and lack of research focused on the Greek rural beyond the phenomenon of counterurbanisation since the crisis. We concluded our navigation with my elaboration on the selection of Naxos as my research site. So, then we sailed to Naxos and I walked you through the island drawing as a vivid and detailed as possible a picture around the three pillars of interest for my project: its land and landscape; its people; and its products.

Following our introductory tour to the island, I took you along my fieldwork, the ethnographic approach, and my submersion into the social setting of Naxos with the employment of participant observation. Within its remits I also conducted unstructured interviews which I found more suitable to call semi-structured conversations. An important point to inform you about, was Vaisey’s critique on the use of interviews when applied his DPM on the grounds that they enable the discursive consciousness but do not enlighten the practical one. In my project this was not an issue as I was aiming at identifying any disconnect by comparison between observed practical and enabled discursive consciousness.

The time to submerse to the field had arrived with our disembarkation and the access negotiations. The research participants were comprising of three groups of stakeholders: one group of farmers, one group of tourism entrepreneurs and one group of administrative officials. I resided in Naxos for six months in 2013 and I returned in 2017 for two weeks. I also shared with you my apprehension regarding ethics and some specific challenges I faced in the field: being a female researcher, balancing everyday politics, health and safety and
language. Specifically, the challenge of the language confirmed by scepticism as expressed in the Introduction regarding the disconnect between the meanings of the same word in academia and the vernacular. Based on the concept of landscape that I crystallised within this context, the equivalent word in Greek was τόπος, so I replaced landscape with it in my discussions in the field. That was the end of the second leg of the journey.

The second leg was where my personal story began being gradually diffused by the story of the island. In the subsequent third leg, the stories of the Naxiótes and their τόπος took the spotlight with the interpretation of the data and the elaboration on findings. My data analysis unveiled three groups of social representations that were informing the Naxiótes’ landscape perception and practice each group comprising of three distinct social representations. First group was Landscapes of Attachment including topophilia, connection to the land and local identity; second were the Landscapes of Productions consisted of self-sufficiency, entrepreneurship, and short-termism; and third the Landscapes of Relations expressed as kinship, collectivity and conflict. Across all three groups was traversing the social representation of crisis. That was the one I set off the interpretation part of our journey: the Naxiótes reflecting upon the crisis. There was a time lag between the advent of the crisis on the mainland and its advent on their island as they experienced it. The most significant element they all expressed was the ‘immunity’ of Naxos towards the economic downturn and a certainty that their community was bulletproof. That narrative had shifted by 2017.

At this juncture I am going to conclude our journey overview as I have presented it thus far; instead of walking you through again through the interpretation of the social representations and [some] answers secreted. I will elaborate on the combined outcome of both.

The Journey’s Souvenirs

Information is not knowledge;  
knowledge is not wisdom;  
wisdom is not truth.

Frank Zappa (1979)

The purpose of every research is the gain of knowledge and mine was not an exception. Knowledge seems like a solid entity, but I have to admit that I am not certain of what the
knowledge produced by a research, and mine specifically is supposed to look like. I tend to believe that there is no rigid knowledge, nor truth; like everything else in this world, both are perceptually fluid. They still exist though; so, by questioning and challenging all the information I received, I hope I have grasped a fraction of knowledge and truth regarding landscape.

The questioning and challenging of established knowledge has admittedly been my primary aim with this project. I am not referring to barren criticism, but to critical thinking, that derives from approaching every piece of information by asking “why?” And that is exactly what every research aims to do; I would not dare even think of claiming any monopoly on critical thinking. There is a very specific reason that I consider the idea of critical thinking as a significant outcome of my thesis and I would appreciate it if you bore with me while explaining it.

During the whole time of my PhD studies, I have struggled to follow norms and precedented paths regarding how a PhD is expected to be conducted. There are certainly rules and they are very much needed; they ensure the standardisation of PhDs across all disciplines. I have a fear, however, that this has created a fixed form of PhDs that might be restraining creativity. This belief stems from the feedback I received from fellow PhD students during my studies. “You need to stay within a specific framework;” “I don’t think criticising academia and academics is a smart move;” “Dissertations have to have a specific structure;” “Please, don’t try to be smart, it might cost you your PhD;” these are only a few of the comments I received for my thesis. I have to be clear that I am not claiming that these comments were representative of how academia works. In all honesty, I do not really have a way to know whether there is a bases in all that. What I am saying is that my experience indicated that there might be a fear that does not allow students to try alternative paths.

Why didn’t I listen to all that advice? Because my PhD’s upper scope was the experience regardless the outcome, so even if there was a hint of truth in all the comments, I had nothing to lose and I was willing to take the risk; so, I wrote the thesis exactly the way I had dreamt it. I believe it has been more than obvious that in every port we stopped, I have constantly asked how and why regarding any piece of any information we came across and I want to believe that this questioning has triggered different perspectives on most of the concepts within this thesis. This is why I deeply desire this to be a significant souvenir of my endeavour;
not only thinking critically but mainly not be reluctant to express the fruits of that process and push boundaries.

I have to admit that I believe that any other souvenir I have taken from this journey — and hopefully you have too — still falls under the auspices of the celebration of critical thinking.

With the concept of landscape at the core of this research, the scepticism over the differences between the word’s meaning in the vernacular and in academia is pertinent. Do researchers make sure they “speak the same language” with the research participants? Do they always make sure that the language and terminology does not exclude groups of people by default? My extensive exploration on the concept of landscape was aiming at the awareness that vernacular and academic do not always align; academics may argue eternally over the landscape meaning, as long as they keep in mind that the public has its own codes of communication independent to academia.

In my quest of understanding myself what exactly crisis entails, I introduced the concept of rupture to define the idea of abrupt change that a crisis consists. On the basis of the perpetual reciprocal process between society and space that (re)produces landscape, where changes of both function as both drivers and responses, I expanded the concept of rupture to describe the breakage not only of social continuity (such as an economic crisis) but also of spatial.

One of my most important arguments that permeated the whole research was the dismissal of an abstract superstructure, that dictates and superimposes occurrences, striping humans from any control and most importantly responsibility over their livelihood. I believe that ἀνθρωπος is the actor of a one-man show on earth, as I stated in the Introduction and our discussions over the humanity’s issues humans should be the subject and not the object. That is exactly what I have tried to do in this thesis, by abolishing third person and passive voice unless necessary. A second reason for that was the fact that the impersonal third person commonly used in academic writings, seems like an attempt to remove the responsibility of the writer.

Another significant point of my research is related to the Greek landscape. I dived into it as much as possible and challenged preestablished perceptions on the Greek landscape concept. Through personal experiences as Greek, academic theses, and historical accounts, I attempted to dismantle the concept of the tropical Greek landscape. That Greek landscape was a perceptual construction imposed from above by the dominant social powers at a time
the Greece was in search of a national identity and the constructed Greek landscape was used as a means of national unity.

On top of the dismantling of the Greek landscape stereotype, one of the most significant souvenirs of my thesis is my challenge of the landscape concept in Greek, topío. The lack of a Greek concept meant that landscape was introduced in Greek academia through the European influence and collaborations meaning that the adoption of the western notion of landscape in Greek studies was inevitable. For the same reason, the western meaning of landscape as derived from the Renaissance was popularised and established in the Greek vernacular, rendering the word to the sphere of scenery.

Additionally, Greeks have internalised the stereotype of the Greek landscape as their national landscape, regardless of where they come from and despite the fact that the majority of the country is mountainous, and its landscapes do not even resemble tropical sandy beaches. These complexities of the word topío pose a risk for the landscape studies in Greece and require alertness. I would think that the same challenges are faced by other Eastern Mediterranean countries, where most likely the Anglophone concept of landscape has also been imported and established.

Another argument I consider significant is that Greece might not have experienced the rural idyll like the western Europe, but the Greek island could be seen as an equivalent, the island idyll, and that has been equated to the concept of the Greek landscape. I find intriguing the fact that not only the island idyll consists only a small part of the Greek landscape, but it is also constructed and imposed. Even more intriguing that island idyll, the trademark Greek landscape, is mostly the landscape of the outsiders and not so much of the locals. Greek islanders do not dwell in tropical Edens, as visitors see their tópos, neither do they experience their tópos the way tourists do in summer. This poses another research trap in need for caution, when studying such landscapes. Although tourism could be the determinant of such landscape, it remains the home of is dwellers and not a destination.

I have discussed the next point repeatedly during our journey, so I am going to mention it here only briefly; the double contextualisation of my research. Because of the crisis airtime and the abundance of analyses from around the world by people who obviously had not studied Greek modern history, I realised that just setting the Greek landscape within the context of the economic crisis would not be adequate. I had to contextualise the rupture within its historical framework too.
That is an element I would actually like you to leave behind instead of taking with you: the common misconception that the Greek social \textit{gignesthai} had a similar historic trajectory to the Western European. I elaborated on the belated, imposed modernism on the Greek society, that subsequently failed multiple times, in Chapters 2 and 11, so here I will just highlight that that failed modernism has been the root cause behind a systemically problematic society. That historical background was the reason that one of my objectives was to eradicate the characterisation of the Greek economic crisis as unprecedented. Greece has experienced worse ruptures since its foundation in 1832. The socio-economic context of my research, then is not an economic crisis by western standards, but a rupture in a tumultuous trajectory full of ruptures all with the same root cause.

Coming to the theoretical approach of my research, the significant point is my attempt to bring social theory into it. I consider it important because, first ethnographic studies tend to be inductive and mine is not and second social theory and landscape architecture are said to be an unusual couple. Under these premises I combined the definition of landscape as the human habitat with Lefebvre’s spatial triad, a process I showed in Diagram 3.1. Additionally, since landscape is inseparable from space and place, I attempted to establish their interrelations, that resulted to the schema of Figure 3.1., which I hope it can be of use for budding landscape researchers.

Within the same discussion I had to clarify the concept of perception in this project, primarily because visual perception has been dominant in landscape studies. That is not the notion of perception in this study, but the multisensory perception of space and even more so the way this multisensory act of experience informs people’s practice and not the perception itself.

I would also like to tag as an important element the heuristics combination I used to interpret my results. I attempted to couple the concept of social representations by Moscovici from the field of social psychology and the dual process model of culture in action (DPM) by Vaisey from sociology, by combining the way Vaisey’s ‘culture’ motivates actions with the way the social representations inform practice.

Please allow me also to mark my methodological approach as a highlight of my research, with my starting point the stances Moscovici, Janesick, Deming and Swaffield, and Sealed (See p.167) regarding ‘methodolatry’: methods are crucial for a research, but they should not become its objective and determinant. The whole process was a ‘learn-as-you-go’ exercise. The recentness of my topic meant lack of similar studies which gave me the freedom for
methodological exploration. Through that exploration was when my scepticism over focus
groups was born. Although, the accounts I came across were praising of the method, I had
reservations over their universal applicability, based on the research setting and the
composition of the groups, that could affect the validity of the data.

A what I consider a useful piece of knowledge to keep is some critical thinking on qualitative
methods. Although there are insecurities attached to the use of qualitative methods, and
they have been overshowed by quantitative in the name of objectivity, validity, reliability,
and generalisability, I have argued that quantitative are not more objective than qualitative.
Objectivity is a very fluid concept contrary to the meaning we attributed to it. I have
expressed repeatedly my firm belief that objectivity is a chimaera and in search for
knowledge all methods are subjective since human beings are involve, the most subjective
and unpredictable factor. I specifically struggle to accept generalisability in humanities and
social science regardless the method; I have trouble accepting that we could fit the human
hypostasis in moulds.

The other highlight of our journey was my fieldwork, which was my most exciting experience,
and it is of such a high significance to me that I truly hope sharing it with you, could really
offer you something of value. The main feature of my fieldwork was my pre-decided
determination to completely immerge myself in the island’s life and try to experience as
much as possible what it might be to be Naxiótis. There was nothing ground-breaking on my
methods, participant observation and broadly defined interviews; they are the most
commonly used in ethnographic research. The important is my experience in the field, which
I would like to believe that could add even a small brick of knowledge regarding fieldwork.
The element I believe is significant is the way I applied my methods in order to immerge in
the local life, which might be of help as a guide to other budding researchers aspiring to use
ethnographic means.

The first principle was removing any boundaries on the type of activities I was going to
participate. No place was too dangerous, no work too hard, no food or drink disgusting, no
words offensive, no topics too personal to discuss. I did whatever the participants were doing
without hesitation. The only limitations were the ones dictated by the research ethics.
Second were the steps I took to gain access to the field, by identifying possible entrances for
the groups of people that I was interested in, such as the farmer’s or the hotelier’s union.
There was no shame on knocking doors; no one could say no to me without asking them first.
Socialising even randomly was extremely significant too. Coffee places, bars, restaurants I went everywhere and tried to interact with anyone I could. It did not matter if they could become participants; they might know someone who could. That was how I gained access to the group of people from administrative bodies. Finding one participant was never the end; I always asked references of others who could participate — snow sampling. The reality was that granting access to one group, — the farmers in my case — it opened the path to network and find more participants.

An inextricable element of the field was certainly the various challenges that emerged. The challenge I faced with the language is what triggered my focus on the landscape meaning in the vernacular and academia that I have extensively discussed; it proved to me that speaking the same language and using the same words does not equate to understanding and communication by default. Being a woman had some challenges as expected, but I have to admit that in my case it was primarily an advantage that gave me access to situations that being a male would have not allowed it. The everyday politics were a challenge but not as much as expected since they did not differ in the fieldwork much compared to other social interactions. Regarding health and safety, even not being in a dangerous place or doing obviously dangerous activities, there were quite a few instances that I was extremely reckless during activities that it was pure luck I did not have any accident.

At this point I have concluded my synopsis of stage one of our journey, and I am about to move to stage two, the ‘artefacts.’ As I have elaborated on the groups of social representations at the previous Chapter, I am going to briefly simplify some highlights.

Landscapes of Attachment were about emotions and explicit expressions of the Naxiótes’ perception of their tópos. They were laden with emotional baggage and drivers of the Naxiotes’ spatial practice without intermediaries; their feelings for their tópos had a direct interrelation with their actions, although it was not always as straightforward. Such emotions of attachment do not universally inform perceptions, decisions, or actions, as the processes that translate them into practice are complicated. Landscapes of attachment did not exhibit much change between 2013 and 2017.

Landscapes of Production sound exactly the opposite of the previous: if attachment is emotions then production is practice. They did not have the direct link to landscape the way the Attachment did; however, that did not diminish their importance as drivers of the Naxiótes spatial practice. On the contrary, actions informed by the representations of
production, were the ones that actively produced landscape. They were also the most contested both among and within the groups of stakeholders, driven by personal and collective interests, aspirations, and views. They were also the social representation that was affected the most with the escalation of the crisis between 2013 and 2017.

‘Landscape of relations’ have a connotation of complexity by default, since they entailed the interrelations between different groups of people and landscape. The previous ones consisted a linear connection between groups of stakeholders and their landscapes. The triangular relation in this case meant that the numerous combinations of two groups in the equation, only increased the complexity. Regarding Relations, a distinctive observation from the community of Naxos was that ruptures do not create a new universe of relations with a big bang; they electrify the already existed matrix of relations that constructs society. That is so complex, dynamic, and tensional that I like to think it as a nebula rather than a structure. Naxos did not differ; the crisis intensified all types of flows of interrelation.

That is how we arrived at the stopover of [some] answers and I am going to bring here the schema of the quest framework as updated based on the data interpretation.

I have already elaborated on the interrelations depicted in the schema as identified in Naxos and informed by each group of social representations. In an attempt to synopsise it, I would say that in the tumultuous sea of the Greek social ĝignesthai, the lived space of Naxiôtes was
their anker. It exhibited the highest resilience. The economic circumstance created by the crisis, might have forced them to change their spatial practice, such as farming activities, infrastructure, investment, and triggered forces of (re)production of the conceived space, such as abandonment of activities, change of land uses, alteration of public projects, but Naxos remained their tópos. I realise that my words might trigger some questions. For example, since all three elements are interrelated and interconnected how could one remain stable when everything is in motion. As much as I tried to depict the process as detailed and accurate as I could, it is still a diagram. The real process has no symmetry or balance as it looks in the schema and also the Greek social gínesthai is not a closed system but part of an extensive network of such systems, that are also interconnected and sometimes directly inform one of the elements,—for example, the farmers spatial practice was also dictated by the CAP policies, or the hoteliers’ both spatial practice and conceived space were informed by global tourism flows.

This is actually where Vaisey’s DPM model could give an insight. I have already elaborated on incidents exhibiting disconnection between discursive and practical consciousness. I am not arguing about the validity of the verbal accounts in comparison to actions, since based on Haidt’s concept of divide-self there are psychological processes involved that are completely out of my skills. My observations have led me to the conclusion that apart from people’s capability to justify actions when required by social circumstances, there is a possibility that the discursive consciousness could be performative.

The important outcome in this case is that such inconsistencies need to be looked out for when conducting research by participant observation and taken into account when correlating verbal accounts to observed practices.

For my project specifically, since it was set in the context of a rupture, Vaisey’s argument about the difference of the discrepancy between discursive and practical consciousness between ‘settled’ and ‘unsettled’ times could explain further the case of the Naxiótes. However, my observations and analysis contrasted Vaisey’s suggestion that during unsettled times’ it is the cultural meaning that are intensified. I actually identified that in the case of Naxiótes, the cultural meanings were the ones that lost significance, because the rupture offered an undeniable platform for the justification for their actions.
Talking through the Outcomes

Sailing through the social representations separately, there was still a main theme that emerged: they were all contested to some extent even the ones that exhibited a majority of shared values across the different groups of stakeholders such as the social representation field of attachment. What was also revealing was that the perpetual social ferments and dynamics that define the community structure were always already there in hibernation or dormant state. All social representations were interpenetrated and traversing each other’s field in some way through the complex matrix of social interconnections consisted of hubs and corridors expanding in various dimensions: parallel, aligned, conflicting, competing, indifferent. What the crisis rupture did was play with the buttons on the switchboard; the matrix was still the same, but the flows had changed. It also seemed like it put the whole community in a self-preservation mode which sharpened senses and woke up primordial instincts. That said, I have to note that sharpened senses and primordial instincts are not compatible with what we would call a modern western society. What I mean is that the Naxiótes in the face of danger turned to inventiveness and —referring back to Leontidou once again— spontaneity and informality as their personal and collective survival plan. As it historically happens in times of rupture I would argue.

This last paragraph actually is already hinting what I believe was some kind of revelation regarding crisis: the pre-existence of the emerging social realities described as new. I have already mentioned that looking into Greek history until recently, its description as unprecedented could be considered even a blaspheme towards previous generations and their adversities. That was the reason I have insisted on expanding on the historic aspect of both the Greek landscape and social gignesthai. The double contextualisation of the Greek society by looking backwards revealed that the existing underlying or dormant realities that are labelled now as new and unprecedented were actually masked by the illusion of a functioning modernity constructed by the country’s membership in the EU and the Eurozone; the economic turmoil just reactivated and revived them. My data interpretation looked through historic lenses revealed that the crisis issues where structural and systemic ones present since the birth of the Greek society.

At the end of our journey therefore, I had to refocus and redefined the social context based on the specific outcome. The economic crisis as represented it is only a snapshot in the bigger picture of the Greek social gignesthai, one of the peaks or lows of the society’s cardiogram.
On this premise the crisis concept in my thesis cannot be anymore defined as the financial or economic crisis discussed internationally, because it was not the economic downturn that constitute the crisis; similarly, it was not neither its root cause nor its result. The Greek crisis was once again in her modern history a rupture of the modernism veil. Although not directly relevant to landscape, I consider this a significant outcome of my research.

Turning the focus back to Naxiótes, what was vividly demonstrated was how their tópos was the nucleus of their existence. I would dare use the metaphor of a parent that somehow resembled their connection to their island. Like parent with their child, the Naxiótes loved their tópos unconditionally. They were proud of it; they bragged about it; they exaggerated positively on the island’s good features; they concealed the bad features when they were embarrassed by it; they over-highlighted the same bad features when they were annoyed by it; they had to accept things they were not happy with, but they still did; they might have denounced it when desperate but still stayed put. Even with the crisis creeping in, they might have had to adjust practices and behaviours, but they still “ache for their tópos.”

In my whole life as a traveller and occasionally a wanderer, I have been unable to recall such a connection between inhabitants and their landscape, neither in Greece nor abroad. I understand that the way I have presented the connection of the Naxiótes to their tópos sounded romanticised, but it was not. The parallelism to a connection had specifically the purpose of de-romanticising my description. Is there any other more real relationship than the parent–child one? It is the most contested and at the same time most caring and that is exactly the way I witnessed and experienced the Naxiótes’ connection to their tópos.

From Here, Where Next Then?

The idea that I had to elaborate on the next steps and future research based on my project had me puzzled initially. I had found extraordinary the fact of experiencing important, even historic, social events as a researcher; did that mean, though that I was secretly wishing for such events to occur so I can witness them? I settled that worry quite quickly. Of course, that was not the case. So, where could it go from here then?

Looking back to my aspired contribution I realised that my passion about this project was not the connection of the Naxiótes and their tópos per se. Although I did care deeply and I still
do about that ‘magical place’ and its people, I wanted the journey I took with them to have a higher purpose and impact than to become just an example of a case study, if so and most likely not even cited. Where do all PhDs go, if you are not Higgs of Hawking? I am not going to repeat to you the points I made in the Introduction and my aspired contribution. I am going to say though that my utter aim was to be a human researcher. I have been talking to you through my script, I have tried to connect with you, the readers, and hopefully succeeding in engaging you and making you part of my narrative. I wanted to be true to you. I wanted you to know when I was stating my own view, when I was embracing someone else’s or when I was just referring to one’s view without agreeing.

I wanted my research to be personal and I wanted to carry its responsibility all the way. Has this made it subjective? I am certain that it has not. Presenting something as objective does not make it objective. After all, I have disclosed that I do not believe in the existence of objectivity. When contextualisation is necessary objectivity is thrown out of the window. Rose (1997) has elaborated on issues that transparent reflexivity creates, citing other researchers too, on the basis of what I understood as exposing the researcher and making them vulnerable to power relations. Most likely she was right, but then this is a personal choice a researcher needs to make: exposure means vulnerability and as Haidt said the world we live in “is a world of insults, opportunities, status symbols, betrayals, saints, and sinners” (2006, 76–77). We are either aware of where we are getting into and already prepared for it or if not, we should seek different life paths.

I am going to leave you on an even more personal note. When I finished my script and looked back through it, I thought that it might look unevenly developed. That the first stage lasted longer and the second shorter than they should. I contemplated on that thought: the focus of my topic, the title, and the questions and then I went back to the first stage and looked at it again. I realised that it should not be shorter, or maybe that I did not want it to be shorter because it was still about landscapes in crisis. It was about a country that had been in multiple crises long before that one, even recently, but still treated this one like things were always rosy before; about a landscape perception, inside and out of the country, of the infinite blue and the sunny beaches that excluded more than half of its land and people, including myself. It is about a people that have been in crisis of identity for centuries, striving to look like and be accepted by the popular group in class, the Westerners, failing, but then getting the stigma of that failure.
I suppose I knew already what kind of brand Greece had abroad before the crisis, but I never had a reason to think about it. The coincidence of my migration abroad and the crisis gave me the full picture. I told the story I meant to say contextualised as I believe every such story should be. By telling the stories of the Naxiotes in crisis, I got the opportunity to tell a bigger story about a country that has been covered under the veil of its ancient past, its sun, its sand and its sea covering the history, the work and the struggles of its people, the same way the beautiful landscapes of the English countryside were covering the hard work and poverty of the peasantry.

The ‘future research’ as usually branded in PhDs is not landscape focused on my project. It is aligned with Ingold’s views on research, academia, and education and specifically on his following words (2018, 61):

**It is as though we can no longer exist in the world we seek to know.**

This is the future research I would like to see: accepting that we are part of the world we are looking into.

I embarked on this journey with you along with Cavafy’s embarkment to Ithaca and now we have arrived at our destination. Am I wiser? I am richer. I wish the same for you.

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Ithaca gave you the marvellous journey: without her you’d never get on the road.
But she has nothing to give you any more.
And if you find her poor, Ithaca did not trick you.
As wise as you became, with such experience, by now you will have understood what Ithacas mean.

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C.P. Cavafy 1911
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https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5064-0_1

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5064-0


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References


References


Appendix 1. A Brief Linguistic History of the Landscape Concept

Germanic Languages

First, for the scene, was drawn a landschap (landscape) consisting of small wood, and here and there a void place filled with hunting.

Ben Jonson, 1605 (Gifford 1816, 6)

Landscape has evolved from landskip, originated in the Saxon versions landscepi, landscape or landsceap and attributed to Germanic roots (Box A.1.1) (Skeat 1882, 320; Grimm and Grimm 1885, 13; Johnson 1755, 1167; Blount 1656; Skinner 1671). In its Anglo-Saxon form, it meant “a district owned by a particular lord or inhabited by a particular group of people” (Mikesell 1968, 576), a designated region, similar to country. The word, though, had become obsolete by the sixteenth century, when it was reintroduced, as an import of the Dutch landschap, by the then popular Flemish landscape paintings, stripped of its precedent meaning, and given an artistic notion, it bears to this day (Mikesell 1968, 576; Olwig 1993, 318; Schama 1995, 10).

The current definitions given by lexicographers (Box A.1.2) focus on visual and physical aspects of landscape, aligned with the current customary idea of landscape. Wylie delved in the duality of the definition and the tension between land and eye as he called it. He argued that the first confirms that landscapes are tangible entities, “measurable and reliable records of both past and contemporary processes” (2007, 6–7) and the second implies a person’s perspective of landscape. He concluded that “landscape is both the phenomenon itself and our perception of it” (Wylie 2007, 7), similar to Olwig’s “landscape is both a representation and something that is represented” (2004, 41), advocated too by W.J.T. Mitchell (2002a, 14–15).

German Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>landschaft</th>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>landscape</td>
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<td>Dutch</td>
<td>landschap</td>
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<td>Danish</td>
<td>landskab</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>landskap</td>
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271 Both Johnson (1755, 1167) and Skeat (1882, 320) referred to John Milton’s L’Allegro (l.70), first published in 1645, as the first written record of landscape; Johnson included also Paradise Lost, first published in 1667 (Box A.1.1). The original text though writes landskip (see Poems of Mr John Milton, 1645, EEBO:164:E.1126[1] and John Milton, Paradise Lost, edited by Barbara K. Lewalski, 2007).

272 Dutch in the sixteenth century did not have its current meaning. It was used until late seventeenth century to refer in general to Germanic (Trench 1859, 61). According to Skeat, the words Dutch, Deutsh and Teutonic have the same etymology (1882, 183). Skinner actually attributes the etymology to Teutonic and Belgica origins. Belgica is the one Skeat uses too in his dictionary.
**Landscape of the Past**

*Landskip* (Belg.) Painage or By-work, which is an exprerfing of the Land, by Hills, Woods, Castles, Valleys, Rivers, Cities, etc. as far as may be hewed in our Horizon. All that which in a Picture is nor of a body or argument thereof is *Landskip, Parergon,* or by-work. As in the Table of our Saviors pallion, the picture of Chrilt upon the *Rood* (which is the proper English word for *Crofe*), the two theeves, the bleffed Virgin *Mary,* and St. *John,* are the Argument: But the City *Jerufolem,* the Country about, the clouds, and the like, are *Landskip. E.L.Ar.*

*(Blount 1656)*

**LANDSCAPE.** *n.f. [landʃkæp, Dutch.]*

1. A region; the prospect of a country.
   
   Lovely leem’d
   That *landʃkæp*! and of pure, now purer air,
   Meets his approach.  *Milton’s Par. Loft, b. iv. l.153.* [ . . . ]

2. A picture, repreſenting an extent of ſpace, with the various objects in it.
   As good as a poet as you are, you cannot make finer
   *landʃkæpes* than thoſe about the king’s houſe.  *Add. Guard.* [ . . . ]

*(Johnson 1755)*

**LANDSCAPE.** The second syllable in ‘landscape’ or ‘landskip’ is only a solitary example of an earlier form of the same termination which we meet in ‘friendʃhip,’ ‘lordʃhip,’ ‘fellowʃhip,’ and the like. As these mean the manner or fashion of a friend, of a lord, and so on, so ‘landscape’ the manner or fashion of the land; and in our earlier English this rather as the pictured or otherwise imitated model, than in its very self. As this imitation would be necessarily in small, the word acquired the secondary meaning of a compendium or multum in parvo; cf. Skinner, *Etymologicon,* s.v. *Landskip: Tabula chorographica, primario autem terra, provincial, seu topographica σκιαγραφία.*

   The sins of other women show in *landskip, far* off and full of shadow; hers
   [a harlot’s] *in statue,* near hand and bigger in the life.
   Sir Thomas Overbury, *Characters.*

*(Trench 1859)*

**landʃscape**  
*ˈlazˌkāp, -aan- ˈn(d) sk-ˌn, often attrib [D landschap, fr. MD landschap region, tract of land (akin to OE landsceap region, OHG lantscaf. ON landskap), fr. land + -scap -ship akin to OHG lant land and to OHG -scap -ship —more at LAND, -SHIP/ 1a: a picture representing a view of a natural scenery (as field, hills, forests, water) ← painting> -compare MARINE 5; SEASCAPE b: the art of depicting the scenery/ 2a: the surface of the earth: the landforms of a region in the aggregate esp. as produced or modified by geologic forces <most- s are complex rather than simple —Leland Horberg> <glacial- s > <lunar- > b: a portion of land or territory that the eye can comprehend in a single view including all the objects so seen <plans for altering the- > ← engineering.>

*(Gove 1961)*

**Box A. 1.1. A four-century evolution of ‘landscape’**
Olwig, with departing point the stance that the concept of landscape was born and developed in the artistic cosmos of Renaissance (Cosgrove 1998, 1; 1985, 46), followed the contradictory leads (J. B. Jackson 1984, 5; Tuan 1974b, 133; Grimm and Grimm 1885, 'landschaft':3–7) and conducted an in-depth research regarding the history of the signifier and the signified in the Germanic languages; he later extended his study to the equivalent history in English (Olwig 1996, 2002). The Germanic signifiers not only pre–existed the artistic rendition, but they had also a totally different meaning and usage, even beyond ‘region, track of land’; landschaft encompassed a political signification too (Jormakka 2012, 25–26; Burckhardt 2015, 103; Kühne 2015, 44). It referred to a district of land, a territory, where the dwellers consisted not only a social and cultural body but a political one too, operating under customary law; thus,
landschaft 273, had the notion of country, expressing a strong link between ‘community and place’ (Olwig 1996, 632–33). “The landscape/country as a physical place was thus the manifestation of the polity’s local custom and common law” 274 (Olwig 2002, 214).

The English landskip was analogous to the German before the sixteenth century (James 1934, 78–79), when it re-emerged as a signifier to denote the view of a natural scenery, or more accurately, a picture of a scenery, a parergo (Blount 1656), the Greek word for by-product, that of secondary meaning. 275 The word’s evolution continued to this day (J. B. Jackson 1984, 3–4), however as Olwig argued by focusing etymologically on the then ‘newly born pictorial signifying system’ as the ‘primary subject matter’ of landscape painting is a distraction away from what ‘was being signified’, which was politically imbued (2002, xxv). Olwig took a similar stance also towards Stilgoe’s claim that landscape derives from the Old Frisian landschap, ‘shovelled land’ (2015, 2), an argument that although it focuses on landscape as practice, it entails the risk to reduce landscape to its material element (Olwig 2016, 589–90).

Olwig’s journey back in time through the history of Britain, Germany, and the United States since the Renaissance, has concluded that the transmutation of the signified into a scenery was a political means of incarnating the vision of one united nation under a common national identity; this identity would be coined by the representation of the country in spatial terms as a unified landscape scenery. 276 This imagery was born in painting, moved to theatrical stage and then to the real world in gardens; it was followed later by the open spaces, rural or urban, through architecture and landscape architecture at the service of the picturesque277 (Olwig 2002, 220; Cosgrove 1998, 198–212; J. B. Jackson 1984, 3; Kühne 2015, 45–46).

273 Landschaft appeared in the ninth century CE and until the late Middle Age its meaning was evolving, without, though, losing the legal and political notion (Kühne 2015, 43–44). Stilgoe recently offered a lyrical version of the evolution of the Germanic signifier (2015). Olwig (1996, 631) and Martin (2005, 176–77), however, argued that even within German discussions, there is often a confusion between the original territorial and the newer artistic notion. Hartshorne, also elaborated on the confusion surrounding the equivalent landschaft among the German geographers (1939, 149–55).

274 Similar schemes were found in Scandinavia, the wider Dutch area and as south as Switzerland (Olwig 1996, 631–34). Mels (2005) gave a similar to Olwig’s analysis on the concept in Netherlands.

275 According to Schama (1995, 10), it was the Italian equivalent to landschap that were called parerga.

276 Olwig elaborates on the manipulation of Ben Jonson’s The Masque of Blackness, presented in court in 1605 with scenography by Indigo Jones. The stage created was a deceptive scenery of ‘British’ landscape using the perspective techniques of the Italian painters, and it represented a unified spatial background, Britain, where people were united in one national community (Olwig 2002, chap.3).

277 Picturesque: (eighteenth century) from the Italian pittoresco, from pittore ‘painter’ (Latin pictor), meaning in the manner of the painters (al mondo dei pittori). The idea of the picturesque originates in the writings of Gilpin William who in 1781 defined it “a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture” (Andrews 2004; Skeat 1882, 441; Treccani n.d.).
It was in the sixteenth century, hence, that the Germanic and furthermore the English word had its political notion stripped and replaced with the visual, entering “the world of make-believe”, (Tuan 1974b, 133; Olwig 2002, 216–21). Martin argued, though, that the original landschaft, as an area of a more or less uniform aspect, was never completely abolished by geographers, even after the connotation of the pictorial scenery was added. Scholars came to use the word with either meaning, without always distinguishing them (2005, 176–77).

Romance Languages

What happened in those years, was a true poetic revolution: from the enunciation of ‘land’ sometimes expressed as a ‘setting’ non-invasive to the representation, sometimes as a narrative of elements of the peasant life in a friendly nature, it transformed to a different declaration and therefore to a different significance. Landscape transforms, loses connection with reality, is idealised, it becomes expression, colour, poetry... Invented views, atmospheric impetuous phenomena, vegetation often improbable, flaming sunsets, sidereal nights, accompany the scenes, finally in the role of the actor and not the support. This is the invention, the modern poetics of landscape.

Stefano Boeri (Baldrighi 2012)

Boeri’s passage was a lyrical description of the birth of landscape painting as a distinct genre in Venice of the sixteenth century (“those years”), when Giorgione, Titian, and other pioneers engendered the idea of promoting the natural environment from a stage of their pastoral scenes to a key element. The first record of the Italian word paesaggio was in fact in 1552 (Cortelazzo and Zolli 1985, 861) in a letter by Titian to Prince Phillip of Habsburg, later Phillip II King of Spain, describing one of his paintings (Mancini 1998, 51–52, 214–15). The old French form paisage had appeared a few years earlier (Box A.1.3).

278 In the original text: paese, which translates to country as nation; land; region; countryside; village.
279 Cosgrove (1998, 22) mentioned that the word dates since 1521 with most memorable the reference to Giorgione’s La Tempesta. However, it was described as paesetto and not paesaggio by Marcantonio Michiel between 1520–1543 — his manuscripts were found and published in 1800 (Morelli 1800, 80).
280 Olwig mentioned the similar connotations of the original French paysage to the equivalent English (2006, 186), however he dated it to 1549, “well after the origins of Italianate perspective painting, at the time of the emerging tensions between Landschaft and lord, Protestant and Roman Catholic” (2002, 239n42). The first record of the word itself, however, is ten years earlier (Box A.1.3).
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Box A. 1.3. Historical definitions and etymologies of the signifier in the Romance languages.

French

Le paiffage ou poiffament the better, Paftio, Paftsus, Depaftio
Paiffage baillé a ferme, Ager Icripturarius.

(Paysage, voy. pays.
Pays, en italien paese, du L. pagensis (dans la locution ager pagensis dérivé de pagus canton; proprement territoire d’un canton.)

(Payse, en italien paese, du L. pagensis (dans la locution ager pagensis dérivé de pagus canton; proprement territoire d’un canton.)

(Payse, en italien paese, du L. pagensis (dans la locution ager pagensis dérivé de pagus canton; proprement territoire d’un canton.)

Italian

PAESAGGIO. Term. de’ Pittori. Lo stesso che Paese nel significato del § IV.

PAESE §IV. Paesi, term. de’ Pittori. Quella sorta di pitture, che rappresentano campagne aperte, con albero, fiumi, monti, e piani, e altre cose da campagna, e villaggio.


SPANISH

PAISAJE Pedazo de país en la pintura

País. La pintura en que están pintados villas, lugares, fortalezas, casas de campo, y campañas

(Paisaje. Trozo de un país, más o menos extenso, pintado en un cuadro. También se dice de un terreno en que fijamos la atención considerándolo artísticamente.

Portuguese

PAISAGEM – Adaptação do fr. paysage.

Latin Translations

Pastio/Pastus: (465) A pasture, place where cattle feed; A feeding of cattle.

Depastio: A feeding (164)

Ager: (26)

I. Land: A single field;
All the lands of an estate;
A territory, land belonging to a town or nation
II. An estate, including the house, etc, a farm.

Scripturarius: (617) Relating to the tax from public pasture–lands, and so to the land themselves.

Pagus: (456) A village; A circuit or number of villages and towns which belong together, a district, community, canton with its inhabitants.

Pagensis di pagense, agg. di pagus orig. ‘cippo di confine fissato in terra’ (boundary stone fixed on the ground) da pangere ‘conficcare’. (Cortelazzo and Zolli 1985, 861)

Abbreviations

L: Latin
sim. similari
ted.: tedesco (German)
Migl. App.: Appendice al Dizionario Moderno di Bruno Migliorini”
The lexicographer assigned to it a meaning similar to the Germanic, as *ager scripturarius*, the territory of a canton, an administrative portion of land. Titian’s *paesaggio* though and the flourishing Venetian painting transformed the *ager scripturarius* to *locus amoenus*. 282 Although the origin of the signifier in the Romance languages is *paese*, as *canton* and the French *paysage* originally entailed this administrative notion, at some point in history, *paesaggio* prevailed and infused its concept in the other languages too.

The dominance of the Italian concept becomes more intriguing by comparing the two landscape painting traditions, the Venetian and the Flemish. It was the Italian painters that used the linear perspective creating imaginative landscapes as seen from a fixed point of view—which defined the modern landscape concept. The Flemish *landschaps* were using multiple viewpoints to depict segments of the real rural world, creating what is referred to as *world landscapes* (Gibson 1989, xx); their technique was spread in Europe, influencing even the Italian artists (Gibson 1989, xxi). Still though the modern concept of landscape in Europe was defined by the single point perspective of idyllic scenes of the Italian tradition. The reason might be lying behind the Cosgrove’s point that the genesis of the *idea* of landscape occurred in Italy as a particular genre “within an artistic theory dominated by techniques for controlling visual space” whereas the Flemish landscape painting was defined “more by close empiricism than by intellectual theory” (Cosgrove 1998, 21).

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282 *Lovely place* as described by ancient poets, like Hesiod, Ovid, and Virgil with his visualisation of *Arcadia*, was re-envisioned in Renaissance in Sanazzaro’s *Arcadia* and materialised with the *Palladian landscape* described by Cosgrove (Gibson 1989, xx, Cosgrove 1998, 126–35).
Appendix 2. A Brief Retrospect: From Art Genre to Social Construction

The debate over the definition of landscape does not involve only its etymology; that was the beginning of the journey. On our way to crystallise the concept as defined and applied within this thesis, we are going to explore the most prevalent thoughts and approaches towards this word that “is simple enough, and it refers to something which we think we understand; and yet it seems to mean something different” (J. B. Jackson 1984, 3).

Landscape Painting and Landscape Concept

Art, it is said, is not a mirror, but a hammer: it does not reflect, it shapes.


One almost unanimously accepted view, regardless of the different stances within various scientific fields, is that the human element is embedded in landscape even with its artistic concept. When Tiziano coined the word paesaggio, he was describing a painting of an outdoors scenery. 283 However, that scenery, that landscape, was already a “natural scene mediated by culture” (W. Mitchell 2002a, 5), before Titian depicted it on the canvas as he visualised it or more accurately as the patron who ordered it would visualise it. 284 Painters’ aim was not to imitate and copy the physical features of the land in their works. As Carl Gustav Carus 285 defined it, the task of landscape painting is “the representation of a certain mood of mental life (meaning) through reproduction of a corresponding mood of natural life (truth)” ([1831] 2002, 91), or as Paul Cézanne 286 lyrically expressed it: “The landscape thinks itself in me and I am its consciousness” (Merleau-Ponty 1964, 17).

The argument that the modern idea of landscape was originated in the Renaissance, embraced by art historians like Kenneth Clark and E.H. Gombrich, has been controversial; as

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283 Translation from Italian of Mancini’s words (1998, 51): *una tela ambientata scenograficamente all’ aperto* = a painting located scenographically in the outdoors.

284 It is not identified yet which of his paintings Titian was referring to in his letter; nevertheless, it was made to order by Prince of Habsburg, later King Phillip II of Spain (Mancini 1998, 50–52).

285 German doctor, theorist and painter, important representative of the German Romantic landscape painting (Neidhardt 2003).

286 French painter (1839–1906), one of the greatest Post–Impressionists (Chilvers 2004) who believed that “Art is a personal aperception, which I embody in sensations and which I ask the understanding to organise into a painting” (Merleau-Ponty 1964, 13).
W.J.T. Mitchell has demonstrated, the *landscape idea* was not an invention of the Western European art of the sixteenth century (2002a, 6–18). It had been flourishing in ancient literature, since Homer and Hesiod, and also as a painting genre, maybe not as far as the eighth century BCE, but definitely before the first century BCE as described by Vitruvius 287 (Granger 1934, 7.5.1–2: 102–103). Additionally, it had not been a monopoly of the West as the Chinese tradition of landscape painting can prove (W. Mitchell 2002a, 9; Tuan 1974b, 136).

W.J.T. Mitchell’s thesis stemmed from the fact that “landscape is already artifice in the moment of its beholding, long before it becomes the subject of pictorial representation” (2002a, 14). That debate, of course, has not been referring only to the realm of art history or geography but has been prominent within other landscape-focused disciplines too, such as landscape architecture, archaeology, and anthropology (Cosgrove 1998; Olwig 1996; D. Mitchell 1996; Ingold 1993; Duncan and Duncan 1988; Bender 1993; Hirsch 1995). 288

The notion behind the controversy is an ideologically motivated landscape concept and the role of the landscape painting as a standalone art genre in the sixteenth century. The answer may be hidden in the words of Robertson and Richards: “even if the practice of transforming land into landscape began when the first caveman/woman placed a rock carefully or scratched a tree on a wall, […] *in the West the notion of landscape* can be located in the sixteenth century” (2003, 1, emphasis added). Or even Cosgrove’s, who defined the landscape idea as a *way of seeing*, “a way in which *some Europeans* have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationship with it” (1998, 1, emphasis added). The discussion, hence, has to do with the *modern* notion of landscape in Western Europe.

Each era, temporally and spatially, is characterised by its own art movement(s), developed within the current socioeconomic sphere, and represented by them; or more precisely according to Berger “the art of any period tends to serve the ideological interests of the ruling class” (1972, 86). Landscape painting was no different. The Classic, Roman, Byzantine and

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287 Pliny accredited the invention of landscape painting to Studius, a painter of the Augustan era (Jex-Blake 1896, 35.37.116–17, 146–48). As per Vitruvius testimony, though, the frescoes of *topiaria opera* were older to his time (*ab antiquis = from the ancients*, 7.5.1), so the contribution of Studius might have been either a new technique or the popularisation of the genre in Rome (Jex-Blake 1896, 147).

288 These references are only a sample of the vast literature across disciplines debating on *landscape*. 
any other era had their own movements of art, landscape painting included,²⁸⁹ with different significance not only within the artistic realm of the time but the political and social too. The specific genre formed during the Renaissance, raised into prominence as a product of that era’s social transformations.²⁹⁰

The emergent capitalism around the fifteen century in Northern Italy and the accumulation of wealth by some patrons, generated this pictorial form of representation of space. (Lefebvre 1991, 78–79; Cosgrove 1998, 1, 69; Bender 1993, 1–2; Olwig 1993, 331–33). As described by anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, the rising rich mercantile class contracted painters “to confirm their possession of all that was beautiful and desirable in the world. [. . .] a kind of microcosm [. . .] recreated within easy reach and in as real a form as possible” (J. Berger 1972, 86). One of the ways this occurred was through the drawing of representations of an idyllic world; a world that did not depict neither urban life nor the realism of peasantry. It was the imagery of a locus amoenus, an idyll of a romanticised bucolic scene, stripped from pastoral labour, a pictorial poesia as envisioned by Sanazzaro in his Arcadia (Williams 1973, 31–32; Cosgrove 1998, 121–22).

It was this one discovery that enabled artists to represent accurately their imaginary worlds as real; the technique of perspective. Based on the rediscovered cartographic principles of Ptolemy in Italy, the linear or single point perspective ²⁹¹ allowed the visual control of space by the incorporation of place within a spatial geometric structure where human activity was taking place (Olwig 2002, 34–39, 216–17; Cosgrove 1998, 20–24; Williams 1973, 122–24). The Albertian/Brunelleschian perspective “centres everything on the eye of the beholder” (J. Berger 1972, 16), making the observer believe they are the centre of the visible world; this world in paesaggi was a “pastoral utopia temperate in climate and physical geography” (Gibson 1989, xx), a three-dimensional reflection of a harmonious nature on a two-

²⁸⁹ In Renaissance, it was not only painting that ‘indulged’ into idyllic rural sceneries; pastoral literature was enthusiastically revived under the influence of classical poets, like Hesiod, Theocritus, and Virgil. Pastoral literature is R. Williams’ vehicle in his cultural quest, The Country and the City (1973), to trace the evolution of the concepts of the rural and the urban, during the transition of the English society towards capitalism.

²⁹⁰ Those social changes involved the dominance of the city over the countryside by the acquisition of economic and social power and practice and the transition from feudalism to capitalism. It was not the seigniors exercising power to the country anymore, but the urban mercantile oligarchy who would use the peasantry’s labour surplus for the needs of the city dwellers (Lefebvre 1991, 78-79, 268-70).

dimensional surface. On the contrary, the world of landschafts was a descriptive detailed record of a physical setting using multiple perspectives like bird’s eye view in an almost cartographic mode (Olwig 2002, 34–39; Cosgrove 1998, 21, 146–48; Gibson 1989, xx–xxi).

Despite the different approaches to the birth of the landscape idea and art’s role in it, there is a common ground among scholars that the principles of landscape painting have been politically appropriated since the Renaissance deeming landscape a unified ‘natural’ scenery. For R. Williams it was the conscious appropriation of Nature by the dominant class to converge the world to their viewpoint, imposing a spatial order, physical, social and economic (1973, 120–26); for Cosgrove it was the control over space and society by the emerging capitalist forces through the disdain of collective experience of landscape and the promotion of the idea of individually owned land (1985, 54–56; 1998, 21–27, 61–65); for Lefebvre it was a ‘mirror-consciousness’, a politically devised transformation of urban and rural space, where the defined by political power structure of the social reality was “conceived of as organic in nature” (1991, 268–75, 417); for W.J.T. Mitchell it was the self-identification of Western Imperialism as the spatial expansion of a ‘unified’ and ‘naturalised’ landscape (2002a, 12-18); for Olwig it was the politically conscious mutation of landscape from body polity to pictorial scenery reifying oligarchy’s aspiration to unite different polities under a unified ‘natural’ landscape into one state-nation and legitimise their authority over it (1993, 327–34; 2002).

Landscape art served in the conflict “lord versus landscape” or “court versus country” over authority; it pursued “mindscaping” via “landscaping” (Olwig 2002, xxvi, 218). As Cosgrove argued, landscape “is an ideological concept” (1998, 15) and as such it participates in the social process by “supporting a set of ideas and values, unquestioned assumptions about the way a society is, or should be organised” (Duncan and Duncan 1988, 123), an idea emerged...

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292 Tuan described this transition as the replacement of the vertical dimension by the horizontal: “cosmos was giving way to a flat nonrotary segment of nature called landscape” (1974b, chap.10:129).
293 Oligarchy here is used as a general term referring to authority by the few: the king, the court, lords, capitalist and/or political institutions, banks, corporations, lobbies, even decision-making bodies.
294 Theses on the political manipulation of landscape painting and its principles have been conveyed by other scholars too, such as art historian Ann Bermingham (1986; 2002) and landscape architect Gert Groening (2007). Berger also elaborated on the subject, with a focus on oil painting and not specifically on landscape painting (1972, chap.5:83–112).
295 Olwig coined the term mindscaping as the “deception of the mind”, the inducement of people to envision and accept a realistic illusion. It needs to be distinguished from the noun mindscape, which according to Oxford Dictionary is the “The range of a person’s thoughts and imagination, regarded as a panorama capable of being contemplated by another person; mental landscape or inner vision.”
from, yet transcending, the new cultural geography in the eighties (Baker 1992; Olwig 1993; Rose 1993; D. Mitchell 1996; W. Mitchell 2002b; Cresswell 2003).

The ideological role of landscape was not terminated with the atrophy of the European landscape painting by the end of the nineteenth century. Art movements go hand in hand with social changes; landscape painting’s decline coincided with the decline of imperialism, colonialism, and the advent of ‘industry’ (W. Mitchell 2002a, 18–21; Cosgrove 1998, 254–57; Lefebvre 1991, 80–85). It was the time photography conjured altering the way people see the world (J. Berger 1972, 18) by its mutation “from an invention to an active agent in the social world” (Marien 2010, 25), encapsulated by Lawson (1984, 163, original emphasis):

To an unprecedented degree the perception of the "natural" is mediated these days. We know real life as it is represented on film or tape. We are all implicated in an unfolding spectacle of fulfilment, rendered passive by inordinate display and multiplicity of choice, made numb with variety: a spectacle that provides the illusion of contentment while slowly creating a debilitating sense of alienation. The camera, in all its manifestations, is our god, dispensing what we mistakenly take to be truth. The photograph is the modern world.

The camera and consecutive innovations, which allowed the mass reproduction of pictures, advanced the manipulation of image, landscape sceneries included.

Man, and Nature: The Dualism of the Landscape

Well, it's a little volume showing that whereas Ritter and Guyot think that the earth made man, man in fact made the earth.

George Perkins Marsh, 21st May 1860 (1888, 422)

The landscape concept raised to prominence as an almost synonymous to nature through art, however it was a term used in other fields too. Especially in geography and the German school, the idea of the discipline as science of landscape, Landschaftskunde, was introduced by J. Wimmer in 1885; later, in 1906, Schlüter’s inaugural speech made it popular among his peers (Martin 2005, 175). The proposal of landscape as the subject matter of geography came only few years after Anthropogeographie by Freidrich Ratzel in 1881, who laid the foundations for Human Geography and pioneered of the term Kulturlandschaft, thus cultural
landscape (Livingstone 1992, 198–200; Jones 2003, 21; 1991, 231). Those new approaches were the result of the academic exuberance initiated by the works of Humboldt and Ritter, the New Geography, and the discourses ignited on the scopes and methods of the discipline. Such a methodological controversy at the dawn of the twentieth century is accountable for the introduction of the bilateral concept of landscape, as the work of both Man and Nature (Livingstone 1992, 262; Martin 2005; 175–77). The new perspective came from the aforementioned idea of Schlüter, who championed the idea of human society as an agency of the landscape morphology and that the task of geography was to study the transformation process of Urlandschaft into Kulturlandschaft, natural to cultural landscape (Livingstone 1992, 264; Martin 2005, 176).

Schlüter’s thesis was introduced to the Anglophone world by Carl Sauer who had been exposed to the German tradition (Mikesell 1968, 576; Livingstone 1992, 297; Martin 2005, 183) with his essay The Morphology of Landscape in 1925. Sauer proposed landscape as “the unit concept of geography”, defined as “an area made up by distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural” ([1925] 1983, 321). He rejected the idea of landscape as a physical only entity bereft of the human impact. Landscape as a ‘bilateral unit’ consists of two parts: the material, which is the site and consists of “all the natural resources that humans have at their disposal in the area” and the cultural which is “the impress of the works of man upon the area” (Sauer [1925] 1983, 325–26).

Although both Schlüter and Sauer defined culture as the ‘most important morphologic factor’ of landscape’s physical form, their interest was the tangible record of culture on landscape devoid of cognitive processes and imaginative meanings (Livingstone 1992, 264). In Sauer’s own words: “We are not concerned in geography with the energy, customs or beliefs of man but with the man’s record upon the landscape” ([1925] 1983, 342). Sauer’s work rendered him the ‘father’ of the concept cultural landscape in the Anglophone world (Wylie 2007, 20; Ratzel’s approach to the culture-nature dyad was environmentally deterministic, thus “man is the product of the earth’s surface” as Ellen Semple professed in her work dedicated to Ratzel (1911, 1). Martin (2005, 176) credited the coinage of the term to Schlüter in 1928, two decades after Ratzel’s “Die deutschen Landschaft” in 1895-6, cited by Jones as the first known record (1991, 244).

Baker credited this new approach in Geography to the work of Sauer in Berkeley, Darby in Britain, and Dion in France with no mention to the German school that pioneered it (1992, 6).

Sauer’s approach created what is referred to as ‘Berkeley School’ of cultural geography. Although Sauer’s morphology has been criticised by modern scholars, there have been voices recently that acknowledged the fact that, although Sauer focused on landscape as a material artefact of culture, his thesis emanated from phenomenology (Cresswell 2003, 270–71; Olwig 2003, 871–72).
A Brief Retrospect: From Art Genre to Social Construction

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It has to be emphasised, though, that prior to those two, and others, influential geographers, there had been an American lawyer, diplomat, and versatile scholar, George Perkins Marsh, whose insight, and ground-breaking work on the impact of human activity on nature labelled him *Prophet of Conservation* by Lowenthal (2000). Marsh, who had been an inspiration for Sauer (Olwig 2003, 871–72), was an ‘amateur’ geographer and did not coin any ornate terms; yet he identified before others how “man has reacted upon organised and inorganic nature and thereby modified, if not determined, the material structure of his earthly home” (Marsh 1864, 8). Although, his mainly concern was the destructive pressure of mankind on environment, he championed the idea of human agency on landscapes: “The landscape is as variable as the habits of the population” (Marsh 1864, 328).

The Sauerian approach to landscape study was pivotal in the birth of cultural geography (Cosgrove 1983, 2; Livingstone 1992, 290–99; Cresswell 2003, 270–71; Martin 2005, 345–49; Wylie 2007, 19–30). In 1939, though, landscape geography was acutely criticised by Hartshorne who deemed landscape inadequate as a key term (Olwig 1996, 630; 2003, 871; Jones 2003, 34; Livingstone 1992, 304-11); although it was a useful concept for geographical study, it had “little or no value as a technical scientific term” and should not be confused with the “essential objective of the study” (Hartshorne 1939, 158, 167).

Hartshorne caused the “assassination of landscape” by failing to discern the potential borne within the concept’s multivalent nature and condemning it as “chaotic conception” (Smith 1989, 107; Olwig 1996, 630; 2003, 871). According to Olwig (2003), the *deus ex machina* of

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302 Marsh’s work was so intuitive, that was indeed almost prophetic, at a time and country where the norm was the idea of endless resources. It took almost half a century since the publication of *Man and Nature* for his contribution to be rediscovered and even longer until the emergence of environmental awareness (Martin 2005, 145; Livingstone 1992, 355; Thomas 1956, xxx).

303 Hartshorne was a methodologist with an objectivist perspective towards geography (Olwig 2003, 872; Livingstone 1992, 308; Smith 1989, 97–98). According to Smith (1989, 112, 92), he was such an antimodernist that, although *The Nature of Geography* was almost a quarter-century older than the theory of relativity, it “not only predates Einstein but, with the effort at a universal logic for geography, it predates Darwin and Marx as well,” deeming geography to “a museum-like existence”.

304 “Chaotic conception” (*Vorstellung*) is a term used by Marx to describe the abstractions that serve as points of departure in the method of political economy so as to reach to concrete determinations (Marx 1973a, 100–107).
the landscape discourse was Lowenthal’s study of Marsh’s work.  

Lowenthal approached geography through the historical and anthropological lenses, a perspective that enabled him to contextualise the worldview and import the perceptual element in the disciplinary focus (Olwig 2003, 872; Tuan 2003, 878). His concern was the “relation between the world outside and the pictures in our heads” (Lowenthal 1961, 241), a concept beyond the differences between the Sauerian and the Hartshornian thoughts, which became the stepping stone of the new alternative conceptual and methodological approaches to landscape studies (Olwig 2003, 871, 874).

**Landscape as a Social Construct**

A working country is hardly ever a landscape. The very idea of landscape implies separation and observation. It is possible and useful to trace the internal histories of landscape painting, landscape writing, landscape gardening and landscape architecture, but in any final analysis we must relate these histories to the common history of a land and its society.

Raymond Williams (1973, 120)

R. Williams’s much-quoted words have extensively served as the base for the supporting argument of the ideological character of landscape imagery (Daniels and Cosgrove 1992, 7; W. Mitchell 2002c, viii; Wylie 2007, 68; Malpas 2011, 7; Daniels 1989, 207; D. Mitchell 2018, 188). His work is regarded initiatory of the idea that all landscapes are cultural products (Robertson and Richards 2003, 2–3) and along with Berger’s work contributed to the emergence of the ‘new cultural geography’ in the early eighties (Cosgrove and Jackson).
It is hardly a surprise that the reconstructing stimulus emanated from the field of cultural studies. The concept of culture itself was being questioned, leading subsequently to the questioning of landscape’s cultural notion. It was then that the Sauerian thought was revived as a point of critique, assisting the new ideas to take distance from the traditional concept of cultural landscape (Daniels 1989, 197; Cresswell 2003, 270–71; Wylie 2007, 27). The criticism was based on the rejection of the idea that culture was a ‘superorganic entity’, functioning mysteriously and independently from social actors (J. S. Duncan 1980): the Sauerian cultural landscapes were transformed natural landscapes and they were the tangible evidence of the works of the cultures that autonomously existed in those landscapes (J. S. Duncan 1980, 182, 185–87; P. Jackson 1992, 14,18; Cresswell 2003, 270–71; Wylie 2007, 23,27–29).

On the contrary, culture was “a whole way of life” (Williams [1958] 1989, 4, 7), the “medium through which change is experienced, contested and constituted”, which “can always be represented as a politically contested social construction” (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 95, 99). The relation between culture and society was central to R. Williams work, who defined culture as “a signifying system through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored” (1981, 13).

William’s view that “cultural forms of all kinds are the result of specific processes of production” as worded by P. Jackson (1992, 36) along with the fact that landscape is a cultural form justifies D. Mitchell’s argument that when the famous quote above was written, R. Williams ‘well knew’ that “landscape is nothing but work”, that “it’s a produced space” (2018, 189, original emphasis). Landscape as a ‘sophisticated cultural construction’ bears ‘symbolic qualities’ which “produce and sustain social meaning” (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, 96) and

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309 D. Mitchell has expressed his critique on the approach of the concept of culture by ‘new cultural geographers’, arguing that “there is no such (ontological) thing as culture” but “a very powerful idea of culture, [...] developed under specific historical conditions and [...] broadened as a means of explaining material differences, social order and relations of power” (1995, 103, original emphasis).

310 In his Culture, R. Williams referred to the sociology of culture, a ‘contemporary convergence’ (1981, 13), and elaborated on the various approaches to the analysis of the ‘social organisation of culture’. A concise historical overview on the concept of culture within philosophical and sociological context is the work of Chris Jenks (1993).
therefore as “symbolic worlds of meaning [. . .] can be understood [. . .] as products of society” (Kühne 2015, 43). 311

311 Kühne has referred to the concept of symbolic universes, deployed by Berger and Luckmann in their thesis about “the objectivations of subjective processes (and meanings) by which the intersubjective common-sense world is constructed” and because of which “the reality of everyday life [. . .] is only possible” (1967, 34,50). Society becomes an objective reality by processes of institutionalisation and legitimation of meanings, and symbolic universes are the final level of legitimation of the institutional order. The two scholars defined them as “social products with a history” whose meaning can be understood by understanding “the history of their production” and that is significant “because these products of human consciousness, by their very nature, present themselves as full-blown and inevitable totalities” (Berger and Luckmann 1967, 115).
Appendix 3. Landscapes of Culture versus Cultural Landscapes

*Cultural landscape is any landscape in which one arrives too late. Its charm lies in the fact that one can, just about, make out how it used to look. And the way it used to look is the way we generally imagine it really should look.*

Lucius Burckhardt, 1994 (2015, 83)

During the journey towards the *landscape* definition, one question has emerged that needs to be addressed at this point. If *landscape* as a concept incorporates both the objective and the subjective, nature and culture inextricably intertwined, isn’t the term *cultural landscape* a pleonasm? Since our world is “nearly devoid of undisturbed natural landscapes” (Mikesell 1968, 577), and there is hardly any “natural system that has not [. . .] been substantially modified by human culture” (Schama 1995, 7), doesn’t this mean that the planet Earth is in its whole a cultural ‘hieroglyphic’? 312 313

It was the brutality and detrimental impact of World War II that during the second half of the twentieth century gave birth to different kinds of international initiatives for the promotion of the peaceful collaboration between countries in multiple fields. Among those, the pioneers that had some bearing upon landscapes, were the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), established in 1948, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), founded in 1965, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), formed by UN in 1972, and the World Heritage Convention (WHC) adopted the same year by UNESCO for the conservation of nature and the preservation of culture (UNESCO 1972).

Two decades later, with the contribution of ICOMOS and other expert partners, WHC revised the criteria for cultural sites to include “outstanding cultural landscapes” – defined as seen

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312 The word *hieroglyphic* is borrowed from Karl Marx who used it in the phrase ‘social hieroglyphic’ discussing the fetishism of commodities in order to describe the outcome of the equation of labour products as values (Marx 1904, 45). W.J.T. Mitchell adopted the phrase to landscape when he defined it as a social hieroglyph, “an emblem of the social relations it conceals” (2002a, 15).

313 The argument that there is no primordial natural site left on earth is further supported by geologists. They have concluded that such is the impact of mankind on the planet, that it has become a geological and geomorphological factor equal to the natural forces; human activities are so destructive that they are causing processes that used to be natural, such as erosion, earthquakes, floods and so on. On this base, a discourse has been ignited on declaring the Holocene Epoch concluded and introducing a new one, the *Anthropocene* (Häusler 2017, Zalasiewicz, et al. 2017). Lowenthal (2015) has discussed not the beginning of the *Anthropocene* as an epoch but the beginning of its awareness, meaning the realisation of anthropogenic impact, and he elaborated on G.P. Marsh insightful contribution.
Cultural Landscapes

**Paragraph 36**

Cultural landscapes represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. They should be selected on the basis both of their outstanding universal value and of their representativity in terms of a clearly defined geo-cultural region and also for their capacity to illustrate the essential and distinct cultural elements of such regions.

**Paragraph 37**

The term "cultural landscape" embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment.

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in Box A.3.1 (World Heritage Committee 1992, 55), and in 1995 was followed by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, which adopted the recommendation to integrate into landscape policies the conservation of cultural landscape areas (CoE 1995). 314

Although, as discussed earlier, cultural landscape had been an academic term for more than a century, its evaluation by international institutions as conservation division rendered the term a ‘hot topic’ in the early nineties. However, ‘cultural landscape’ does look a pleonasm, seen through Lewis’s view that “the basic principle is this: ‘that all human landscape has cultural meaning, no matter how ordinary that landscape may be’” (1979, 12).

The need to distinguish landscapes formed in the past as cultural maybe hidden in the theory of transitional landscape: the change of the reality of landscape is by no means always followed by the change of the concept of landscape and vice-versa (Ipsen 2012, 65–66). This phase difference in change between perception and reality is related to the notion of

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314 The Committee of the Ministers defined the meanings of the two terms landscape and cultural landscape areas as shown in Box A.3.2. The definition of landscape includes an explicit recognition of its socio-cultural character, whilst the compound is construed as a part of the landscape assigned with a historicity, not only a spatiality like landscape but also a temporality.
Landscapes of Culture versus Cultural Landscapes

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Heritage which emerged through the experience of modernity: “it is the very way in which modernity contrasts itself in relation to its past which makes heritage such an important factor in determining how modern societies conceptualise themselves” (Harrison 2013, 274).

There is a ‘simultaneity of the past in the present’ and that past is one that “modernity creates for itself” and that “is perceived to be both immanent (contained within) and imminent (impending) in the present” (Harrison 2013, 274). This is exactly the remark

315 As Harvey (2001, 320) stated “heritage has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences” and not only the modern society: “every society has had a relationship with its past, even those which have chosen to ignore it.” Despite Harvey’s (321) disagreement with the ‘presentness of heritage’ as it leads to the ‘demise of history,’ in the current context, heritage is used as a term to describe the distinctive relationship between society and its past, since the industrial revolution. This is based on the way the society experiences its past, which is what Tuan called ‘historical present’ (2003, 880) or Harrison ‘contemporary past’ (2013, 274). This ‘present past’ is expressed by the phenomenon of feverishness over protection and preservation of culture and heritage, that has sprouted numerous international bodies during the last century.

Box A. 3.2. The meanings of landscape and cultural landscape areas as defined by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (1995, §1).

Landscape & Cultural Landscape Areas

Landscape: formal expression of the numerous relationships existing in a given period between the individual or a society and a topographically defined territory, the appearance of which is the result of the action, over time, of natural and human factors and of a combination of both.

Landscape is taken to have a threefold cultural dimension, considering that:

- it is defined and characterised by the way in which a given territory is perceived by an individual or community;
- it testifies to the past and present relationships between individuals and their environment;
- it helps to mould local cultures, sensitivities, practices, beliefs, and traditions.

Cultural Landscape Areas: specific topographically delimited parts of the landscape, formed by various combinations of human and natural agencies, which illustrate the evolution of human society, its settlement and character in time and space and which have acquired socially and culturally recognised values at various territorial levels, because of the presence of physical remains reflecting past land use and activities, skills or distinctive traditions, or depiction in literary and artistic works, or the fact that historic events took place there.
Burckhardt made that “the cultural landscape as such does not exist. It is always on the go between the past and the future and thus is also a snapshot of the present” (2015, 86). The coexistence of past and present “is part of the way in which modernity is experienced as a state of rapid progress and technological and social change” (Harrison 2013, 274) and it is powered by “an overwhelming sense of risk and threat” (275).

Society does not seem to have developed cope mechanisms towards this rapid change, —or even more globalisation,— except anchoring to the past in the form of heritage and tradition. It is true that modernity and tradition paired together seems an oxymoron, since by definition they should be opposites; that might not be the case historically though. As Giddens argued “within western societies, the persistence and recreation of tradition was central to the legitimation of power,” a practice the state used to “impose itself upon relatively passive ‘subjects’” because tradition “placed in stasis some core aspects of social life” (1996, 8).

The reification of the ‘present past’ for landscapes occurs through the heritageisation process depicted in Diagram A.3.1. The first phase is the uglification of landscape that triggers the sense of risk and threat, assigning the element of vulnerability and endangerment to the landscape. The uglification along with this sense of risk collapse into the second phase, the aim for landscape management, protection and preservation and the foundation of legal bodies to undertake the task is considered required. Subsequently, these instruments establish procedures for the identification, assessment and classification of landscapes which translate into policy and implementation towards the set objectives. The final phase is the museumization of landscape: landscapes preserved in “glass cases, labelled and categorised as in a museum” (Tuan 2003, 879–80).

The idea of cultural landscape was developed under the aegis of ‘cultural fundamentalism,’ one of the expressions of the ‘cult of the past’ that “has infected both developed and developing countries” (Tuan 2003, 879). Even, the concept of landscape itself is evolving towards becoming homologous to the concept of cultural landscape, as it has been manifested by the adoption of the ELC. Its objectives are more or less in accordance with the

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316 Term borrowed from Harvey (2001, 320).
317 Term borrowed from Burckhardt which he used to describe the shared impression that “everything is growing more ugly by the day” when people refer to landscape changes (2015, 87).
318 Term borrowed from Relph who defined it as “the preservation, reconstruction and idealisation of history” and mentioned as samples of its manifestations the “reconstituted pioneer villages, restored castles and reconstructed forts” (1976, 101).
The public perception and participation that has come into play does not change the outcome; it is just one of the tools used by scientists and professionals towards the desired result. Under the premise that all landscapes matter to people and it is for the people that they need to be protected and preserved, there is an imminent risk that even the vernacular landscapes with their people will turn into ‘museum pieces’, ‘endangered cultural types’ that need to stand still and preserve their way of life as it has always been (Tuan 2003, 880) in the name of heritage, tradition and, why not, science?

The ELC and the impact of its implementation on everyday landscapes, local cultures and people requires a long, detailed analysis that goes far beyond the scope of the current discussion. The remark I would like to make, at this juncture, is that indeed all landscapes are products and mode of production of culture by definition, so the prefix ‘cultural’ should be dropped all together. There is no doubt, nevertheless that there are specific landscapes which carry special archaeological, ecological, or other significance and are considered
monuments. For such landscapes, I believe it would cause less confusion by using the term ‘cultural sites.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material Spatial practices</th>
<th>Accessibility and Distanciation</th>
<th>Appropriation and Use of Space</th>
<th>Domination and Control of Space</th>
<th>Production of Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Flows of Goods, Money, People Labour Power, Information; Transport and Communications Systems Market and Urban Hierarchies; Agglomeration</td>
<td>Land uses and Built Environments; Social Spaces and other 'turf' Designations; Social Networks of Communication and Mutual Aid</td>
<td>Private Property in Land; State and Administrative Divisions of Space; Exclusive Communities and Neighbourhoods; Exclusionary Zoning and Other Forms of Social Control (Policing and Surveillance)</td>
<td>Production of Physical Infrastructures (Transport and Communications; Built Environment; Land Clearance, etc.); Territorial Organisation of Social Infrastructure (Formal and Informal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representations Of Space</td>
<td>Social, Psychological and Physical Measures of Distance; Map-Making; 'Theories of the 'Friction of Distance' (Principle of Least Effort, Social Physics, Range of a Good, Central Place and Other Forms of Location Theory)</td>
<td>Personal Space; Mental Maps of Occupied Space; Spatial Hierarchies; Symbolic Representation of Spaces; Spatial 'Discourses'</td>
<td>Forbidden Spaces; 'Territorial Imperatives'; Community; Regional Culture; Nationalism; Geopolitics; Hierarchies</td>
<td>New Systems of Mapping, Visual Representation, Communication, etc.; New Artistic and Architectural 'Discourses'; Semiotics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception</td>
<td>Attraction/Repulsion; Distance/Desire; Access/Denial; Transcendence 'Medium in the Message'</td>
<td>Familiarity; Hearth and Home; Open Places; Places of Popular Spectacle (Streets, Squares, Markets); Iconography and Graffiti; Advertising</td>
<td>Unfamiliarity; Spaces of Fear; Property and Possession; Monumentality and Constructed Spaces of Ritual; Symbolic Barriers and Symbolic Capital; Construction of 'tradition'; Spaces of Repression</td>
<td>Utopian Plans; Imaginary Landscapes; Science Fiction Ontologies and Space; Artists' Sketches; Mythologies of Space and Place; Poetics of Space; Spaces of Desires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.4. The 'grid' of spatial practices by David Harvey, based on the conceptual triad of space by Henri Lefebvre (Harvey 1989, 220-21: Table 3.1)
Appendix 5. Data: Visual Presentation of Forms of Data and Analysis Process

Since my research did not involve quantitative methods, I do not have questionnaires or data analysis on SPSS, or any form of statistics to present. In an attempt to give you an inside glimpse of what the data and their analysis looked like, I have gathered pictures of tangible forms of data or screenshots of electronic forms. I believe it is understandable that on the base of confidentiality and protection of the research participants, the images have been distorted where required.

Figure A. 5.1. My little notebook that I was given as a gift coincidentally just before my fieldwork. It became my invaluable partner and the core of my data collection. Fun fact: It worked perfect as an ice breaker during my attempt to gain access.
Figure A. 5.2. In the occasion that I was away from my notebook and I could not take a recording, I would take fieldnotes on any paper I could lay my hands on.

Figure A. 5.3. More fieldnotes with the red marks of my analysis comments.
Figure A. 5.4. Transcriptions of recordings of meetings I was present where taking notes was not convenient. My bubble comments added during the analysis are also visible.

Figure A. 5.5. Transcription of interview, example 1.
Figure A. 5.6. Transcription of Interview, example 2.

Figure A. 5.7. Transcription of Interview, example 3.
Figure A. 5.8. The table that I created after having transcribed and identified the first emerging themes from the data. The themes are in rows and the participants in columns. The total amount of rows is show but a portion of the width. The green and red are indicators of positive and negative dispositions of the participants towards the specific theme.

Figure A. 5.9. The most popular local newspaper "Kikladhitiki’ was constantly reporting on tourism data for Naxos and use of space in any form: the landfill, parking, traffic, illegal occupation of public space by shop owners.
Naxos had its own lifestyle monthly magazine. The two issues published in June and August had an English version attached, whilst the May one did not, since the season had not started yet.

Naxos had a variety of local newspapers, all of them with a focus on tourism and the traffic issue of the island.
Appendices’ References


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The optimist proclaims that we live in the best of all possible worlds; and the pessimist fears this is true.

James Branch Cabell
The Silver Stallion. A Comedy of Redemption [1926], 129