

Napier University, Edinburgh, UK

DOCTORAL (PhD) THESIS

**World Heritage, Tourism and
National Identity:**
a case study of the Acropolis in Athens, Greece

**Author:
Tijana Rakić**

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Abstract

The Athenian Acropolis, the cradle of Western civilisation, a popular visitor attraction and the key symbol of Greekness is a world renowned heritage site. Among the myriad symbolic resonances it carries, the Acropolis is also said to symbolise the World Heritage idea (UNESCO, 2006a) and to embody the Greek nation (Yalouri, 2001). This interdisciplinary research, based on [visual] anthropology and [cultural] geography and philosophically underpinned by constructivism, explores the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Acropolis. The significance of this research lies in its contribution to understanding the role World Heritage and tourism play in the *construction* and the *consumption* of Greekness, and importantly also, in its contribution to methodological developments in tourism studies due to its utilisation of innovative, visual alongside the more traditional research methods. While relying on different media such as text, illustrative still photography, a video clip, and a 26 minute ethnographic documentary to convey its findings, this thesis demonstrates that, in its own distinct way, visitation to the Athenian Acropolis had (and still has) a role to play in the Greek nation building project, while despite its World Heritage status, both producers of tourism materials as well as visitors to the site seemed to still perceive the Acropolis as being mainly about Greekness rather than 'universality' and as belonging to and representing Greece rather than the World. These raise important questions about the 'universal validity' of UNESCO's World Heritage idea. Indeed, these findings have made it possible to perceive World Heritage as a project which has essentially failed to create a 'universal' or 'world' category of heritage, and where, especially for the Athenian Acropolis, the symbol of the World Heritage idea (UNESCO, 2006a), World Heritage can perhaps more appropriately be understood as a synonym for contested heritage.

Keywords: World Heritage, Greekness, Tourism, Acropolis, Visual Methods

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I INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

As I was buying postcards I met an old acquaintance, a shop keeper in Plaka [the old town of Athens, on the foot of the Acropolis]:

- Where have you been all these years?
- I went to Britain for studies and spent the last five years there.
- What did you study?
- Tourism Management and Marketing
- And now?
- I continued studying; now I'm doing a PhD researching issues surrounding tourism at the Acropolis.
- Ha! I knew you wouldn't get too far away from here!

(Rakić, 12 December 2006: fieldwork diary entry, conversation translated from Greek)

Chapter 1 Setting the stage

...place is not just a thing in the world but a way of understanding the world. ... When we look at the world as a world of places we see different things. We see attachments and connections between people and place. We see a world of meaning and experience.

(Cresswell, 2004: 11)

1.1 Introduction

This introduction is a prelude to a thesis which focuses on a particular place. A place which is marked by a very long and rich history, a place which meant different things to different people in different historical periods, a place which throughout its history was used for different purposes, a place which during the 19th century came to be purified of some of its pasts which were no longer desirable, and a place which in its relatively recent history emerged as a symbol of Greekness, a symbol of UNESCO's World Heritage idea and a major attraction for millions of visitors from all over the world. This place is the Athenian Acropolis.

As hinted in the excerpt from my fieldwork diary at the beginning of this thesis, much of this research surrounding the Athenian Acropolis, including the topic, methodology and methods are as influenced by an evident gap in current research as by my own personal circumstances. This being the case, and in line with the methodology and methods underpinning this research project (discussed in much greater detail in Part III of this thesis), some parts of this introductory Chapter as well as other parts of this thesis are reflexive in nature.

To be precise, as this thesis was written by a situated ethnographer whose constructivist philosophical position inevitably defines knowledge and many other concepts as socially and individually constructed, demands a subjective and reflexive approach in the assessment of reality, as well as the use of first person English in the textual representations of its research

findings, much of the texts in this introductory Chapter as well as the subsequent Chapters of this thesis are, somewhat unusually, reflexive in nature. Therefore, I use this introductory Chapter as an arena to not only introduce the aims and the objectives of this research, its rationale and the various parts of this thesis, but also, as an arena to introduce some of the key influences that led me, a situated ethnographer, to develop this particular research proposal and approach.

In attempting to depict the development of this research project from its early beginnings up until its final stages, I provide a brief descriptive background to this research, prior to discussing its rationale and stating its aims and objectives. I then go on to summarise its various stages, all the way from the literature review to semiotic analyses of tourism materials, ethnographic fieldwork, filming in the field, editing the film and the writing-up of this thesis. Finally, at the very end of this introductory Chapter, I introduce the various parts of this thesis and their respective Chapters.

1.2 Background, rationale, aims and objectives¹

In a general sense, this interdisciplinary research, based on [visual] anthropology and [cultural] geography, and philosophically underpinned by constructivism, focuses on exploring the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity at the Athenian Acropolis. The reasons for studying the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis were manifold.

First and foremost, a similar study which explored the links between the important contemporary concepts of World Heritage, tourism and national identity had not been made in the past and the Athenian Acropolis seemed

¹ Please note that an earlier version of this text will appear in the following publication: Rakić, T. (forthcoming). Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABI. (See Appendix I).

to be an ideal case study. Namely, on the one hand, World Heritage or heritage which is deemed to be of 'outstanding universal value' (UNESCO, 2006g), has, from the time of its creation by UNESCO over 30 years ago, rapidly grown in popularity attracting the attention of not only 'heritage professionals, but also of tourists, the tourism industry and scholars' (Rakić, 2007). In addition, World Heritage sites, more often than not tend also to be sites of great national importance, as well as visitor attractions in their own right (ibid).

The Athenian Acropolis, on the other hand, proved to be an ideal case study through which the links between these concepts can be explored as it is believed to symbolise the World Heritage idea (UNESCO, 2006a), to embody the Greek nation (Yalouri, 2001), and at the same time it is also the most visited cultural heritage site in Greece (Kontrarou-Rassia, 2007). Importantly also, while numerous studies surrounding the Athenian Acropolis have been made by scholars belonging to a very wide variety of disciplines, none of these studies (most notable being a collection of essays in Tournikiotis, 1994; Hurwit, 1999; Loukaki, 1997; 2008 and Yalouri, 2001) seemed to have incorporated a substantial reference to the role played by its World Heritage status or in fact the role played by the contemporary phenomenon of tourism, creating in such a way a gap in knowledge which this research aims to fill.

To be precise, there is a gap in the existing literature in that these authors, although they might have studied some of the phenomena such as the importance of the Athenian Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness and as a globally known symbolic landscape (i.e. see Yalouri, 2001, Loukaki, 1997; 2008), they have neither recognised, nor substantially explored the links between the important contemporary concepts of World Heritage, tourism and national identity, all of which, the Athenian Acropolis as a place, is symbolically charged with.

Second, and perhaps equally important, having lived in Greece for quite some years as a non-Greek national² who subsequently also married a Greek national, I developed a great interest in Greek national identity, history of the Modern Greek state and tourism, and my knowledge of the local language and culture became exceptional. What this implied in terms of this research was that as a UK based researcher with an extensive knowledge of the Greek language and culture I would encounter minimal barriers during my field research in Greece. Simultaneously, while considering myself as being a cultural insider, in contrast to a number of other scholars involved in the studies of 'topographies' and sites of Greekness (i.e. see Leontis, 1995; Yalouri, 2001; Loukaki, 1997; 2008), I myself was not Greek and had no particular personal attachments to the place which I was studying, nor had I ever considered it as representing a part of my own identity.

However, the significance of this project lies not only in its contribution to the understanding of the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and Greek national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis, but also, as I will discuss in further detail in the following section of this Chapter, in its contribution in exploring the potential of using innovative, visual methods from the social sciences and humanities (i.e. see Banks, 2001; Crang and Cook, 2007; Pink, 2001a; Pink et al 2004; Rose, 2007; Stanczak, 2007) within the context of tourism research (i.e. see also Rakić and Chambers, 2007a; 2007b; Rakić and Chambers, forthcoming; Rakić, forthcoming³).

What led me to incorporate visual alongside the more traditional methods in this research was both my previous experience of filmmaking (see Rakić and Karagiannakis, 2006) as well as my desire to introduce innovative

² As I will discuss in further detail in Chapter 7 on Methods and in particular within section 7.2 The self as a research tool, while considering myself to be cosmopolitan, I am originally a Serbo-Croat (child from mixed marriage between a Serb and a Croat) who soon after the Yugoslavian civil war left the area and settled in Greece and thereafter in the UK.

³ See Appendices E, F, G and I.

methods which would allow me not only to create new, visual knowledges within an academia in which words predominate (see also Rakić and Chambers, forthcoming), but also which would allow me to reach deeper and richer knowledges and to create [audio-visual] outputs which could be disseminated to wider audiences (i.e. see also Rakić and Chambers, 2007a in Appendix E as well as Chapter 7 of this thesis).

While relying on a host of different [traditional and innovative] methods, what, throughout the past three years, I was aiming to achieve in terms of this research project was to explore and provide further conceptual understandings surrounding the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis. This, I achieved through the following objectives:

1) providing an insight into the role the Athenian Acropolis, a World Heritage Site, a symbol of Greekness and a major tourist attraction, played in the *construction* of Greek national identity by:

- a) undertaking a critical review of the literature surrounding the key concepts as well as the emergence of the Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a World Heritage site and a tourist attraction, and
- b) undertaking semiotic explorations of the role Acropolis imagery and text played in tourist materials such as postcards, governmental promotional materials and guidebooks.

2) exploring the processes through which this sense of Greekness as well as other symbolic resonances of the Acropolis are *consumed* by the visitors at the site by:

- a) undertaking a year long [visual] ethnographic fieldwork to study the visitors at the site, their perceptions, experiences and activities, while simultaneously also
- b) collecting and reading [local] newspapers articles and relevant documents which might assist in shedding further light into the researched.

1.3 Research process⁴

The complexity of this research topic and its preoccupation with meanings, representations, interpretation, perceptions, as well as with multiple realities of the lived visitor experiences, implied that I would need to rely on innovative rather than more traditional approaches, engage in a qualitative rather than quantitative and inductive rather than deductive research. Adopting, as I had, a constructivist paradigm meant that this research would also be marked by a relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, hermeneutic methodology and qualitative research methods (discussed in more detail in part III of this thesis).

Put very simply, what this meant was that, in this project, 'reality' was treated as relative, personally and collectively constructed (i.e. plural) and 'knowledge' as subjective, co-created, and situated (i.e. context dependent). In addition, the constructivist paradigm also implied that this research was interpretative (i.e. concerned with the interpretation of deep and often multi-layered meanings) and that it relied largely on qualitative methods. In addition and in contrast to many other studies of tourism, the researcher was not perceived according to a positivistic or a post-positivistic fashion, as a person in search of 'objective universal truths' where she had very little or no impact on the creation of knowledge, but rather, as a person central to this process of context specific knowledge creation, and her voice as only one of many that influenced the research process (see also discussion on interpretative approaches in Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001).

Underpinned by these theoretical understandings, this research involved roughly four, often overlapping phases. The first phase, which aimed at attending to part a) of the first objective, was a critical review of the

⁴ Please note that an earlier version of this text will appear in the following publication: Rakić, T. (forthcoming). Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABI. (See Appendix I).

literature on some of the major concepts underpinning this research as well as the historical emergence of the Athenian Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, as a World Heritage site, and as a tourist attraction. The second phase, which aimed at attending to part b) of the first objective, involved the collection and semiotic analysis of [visual, textual and audiovisual] tourist materials, an analysis which sought to interpret symbolic resonances of the Acropolis contained in tourism materials such as postcards, guidebooks and governmental promotional campaigns. The third phase, which aimed at attending to both part a) and part b) of the second objective, involved year long [visual] ethnographic fieldwork at the Acropolis, a time when I engaged in audiovisually recorded participant observation, interviewing, diary keeping, and mapping of visitor movements. The fourth and final phase of this research involved the analysis of these materials, editing the footage and writing up the thesis. Visual methods and researcher created video, as mentioned earlier, were a crucial element of this project, both in terms of analysing visual materials from secondary data (i.e. still and moving images contained in tourism materials), as well as in terms of creating visual data in the field (i.e. video and photography), data later used for analysis, presentations at conferences, as part of lectures and as footage used for the editing of a documentary on the same topic (see Appendix B, ethnographic documentary titled Visiting the Athenian Acropolis).

1.4 Thesis structure

Guided by the research aim and objectives, and a desire to not simply present the research findings but also to create a narrative about the Athenian Acropolis as a place, I divided this thesis into six interconnected parts. The first part is this introductory part in which I set the stage of the overall research project, introduce its key disciplinary and methodological influences, aims and objectives, research processes and thesis structure.

Following this introductory part, is part II of the thesis, which contains a critical literature review surrounding some of the key concepts as well as the historical emergence of the Athenian Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a major tourist attraction, and a World Heritage site. This part of the thesis contains four Chapters: Chapter 2 titled *Nations, national identities and the case of Greece*, Chapter 3 titled *Constructing Greekness: the role of heritage*, Chapter 4 titled *Tourism at the Acropolis*, and Chapter 5 titled *World Heritage, tourism and national identity*.

Chapter 2 deals with the concepts of nations and national identities, focusing in particular on their constructed nature as well as on the key historical processes associated with the construction of the Modern Greek nation-state. Through its critical explorations of the concepts of nations and national identities as well as some of the key processes involved in the making of Modern Greece, this Chapter, as one of the key underpinning Chapters for the reminder of the thesis also attends to some elements of part a) of the first objective.

Attending to further elements of part a) of the first objective of this research, Chapter 3 deals with the critical exploration of the notions of heritage and some of the key processes involved in the construction of the sense of Greekness within which the Athenian Acropolis played a central role. While discussing the historical emergence of heritage in the context of tourism and visitation, this Chapter also explores the long and rich history of the Athenian Acropolis as a place and mentions some of the key historical processes such as the archaeological 'purification' the site had gone through in historically what is a relatively recent process of becoming an ultimate symbol of Greekness.

Further on, Chapter 4 also attends to some of the elements of the first objective of this research, especially within its exploration of the meanings behind the notion of tourism and its narration of the historical emergence

of the Athenian Acropolis as a major tourist attraction. Namely, while paying particular attention to the role visitation to the Athenian Acropolis played within the Greek nation building project, Chapter 4 traces and explores some of the very early visits to the Athenian Acropolis for purposes other than religion dating back to the 14th century all the way up until the present day when it is visited by over a million people from all over the world on an annual basis.

Finally, Chapter 5 of this part of the thesis explores current issues and debates surrounding the World Heritage concept, its historical emergence, development as well as current problems and debates. In so doing, this Chapter further attends to part a) of the first objective of this research, especially considering that it also extensively discusses the significance of World Heritage in the context of nation building projects and explores the reasons and the mode through which the Athenian Acropolis became not only a World Heritage site but also the embodiment of the very idea of World Heritage (UNESCO, 2006a).

Part III which follows consists of two Chapters: Methodology and Methods. These two Chapters explore the philosophical, (inter)disciplinary and methodological underpinnings of this research project and in particular their influence on its empirical elements. This being the case, part III is essentially the foundation of this research project and as such both of these Chapters, in their own distinct way, contribute to the overall aim of this research, that of providing further understanding of the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis.

In particular, Chapter 6 titled *Methodology*, briefly discusses the key paradigms of research, and then critically explores the paradigm underpinning this particular research - constructivism. Further on, this Chapter also explores the mode by which two particular academic

disciplines, [visual] anthropology and [cultural] geography, have informed many of the concepts, approaches and methods used in this research. Chapter 7 titled *Methods*, which follows explores the methodological process starting from the influences of philosophical underpinnings all the way to the significance of the self as a research tool and the practicalities involved in designing and executing the two major empirical parts of this research: semiotic analyses of tourism materials and a year long ethnographic fieldwork.

Further on, part IV of this thesis titled *Constructing (a sense of) Greekness* contains the findings from three semiotic analyses of tourism materials within which particular attention is given to the representations of the Athenian Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a World Heritage site and a major tourist attraction. This being the case, this part of the thesis contributes to the final elements (part b) of the first objective. Chapter 8 deals with the representations of the Acropolis in a collection of 149 postcards dating from 1886 to 2007. Chapter 9, on the other hand, explores the representations of the Athenian Acropolis within governmental promotional campaigns over a recent 5 year period (2002-2006). Finally, Chapter 10 is a snapshot of representations of the Acropolis contained in guidebooks which circulated in the centre of Athens in 2006.

Part V of this research then takes some of these issues further and through a discussion of findings from my ethnographic fieldwork explores the mode by which visitors to the Acropolis *consumed* this *constructed* sense of Greekness. While once again paying particular attention to the role of visitation and its World Heritage title, this part of the thesis is also significant for its interrogation of the validity of Urry's (1995) thesis on the consumption of places though the case study of the visitation at the Acropolis. While suggesting that Urry's thesis is in need of expansion in that consumption and construction of places and their meanings in the context of visitation should be seen as processes which are blurred and

which occur simultaneously, and in which the nature of performative, embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences (as opposed to vision alone) plays a major role, this part of the thesis contains three Chapters, all of which contribute to the second objective of this research. Chapter 11 titled *Consuming Greekness?* is a theoretical and empirical prelude to this part of the thesis as it is the Chapter which interrogates the validity of Urry's thesis surrounding the consumption of places in the context of visitation while extensively drawing on Acropolis specific examples. Chapter 12 titled *At the Athenian Acropolis: exploring the nature of embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences* follows some of the arguments made in Chapter 11 and interestingly, in conveying some of its fieldwork specific findings, draws on textual, as well as visual and audio-visual formats (see Chapter 12 and 13, Appendices A and B). Finally, Chapter 13 continues to draw both on the textual as well as the audio-visual formats in its explorations of whether the Athenian Acropolis, other than being perceived as one of the key visitor attractions was also perceived as Greek and/or World Heritage by some of its visitors.

The last part of this thesis is part VI titled *Conclusions*. It contains only one Chapter which relies on reflexive narrative to 'wrap-up' the findings of this research, discuss its contribution to knowledge, some of its limitations, and potential areas of further research. As such, this Chapter addresses the overall aim of this research and also clearly summarises and synthesises some of the key findings of this research as well as the mode by which both its aim and objectives were met.

1.5 Conclusions

This introductory Chapter was a prelude, as mentioned earlier, to a thesis which focuses on the Athenian Acropolis and pays particular attention to exploring the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity. Its text, being as it is informed by the philosophical approach

taken in this research project (constructivism), is at times reflexive in nature and aims to introduce the reader to the topic, methodology and methods, the gap in knowledge which this research aims to fill, as well as to the more personal circumstances that led me, the researcher, to choose this particular topic and research approach. Thus, I have used the introductory Chapter as an arena not only to introduce the aims and the objectives of this research, its rationale and the various parts of this thesis but also as an arena to introduce some of the more personal influences which in many research projects [unfortunately] remain hidden.

Further on, this Chapter, with its preoccupation with background, rationale, aims and objectives as well as theoretical underpinnings and the processes involved in the practicalities of undertaking this research, also served as an introductory overview of the thesis, familiarising the reader with some of the core questions and the mode through which some of understandings in relation to these questions were reached. This Chapter also contained an emphasis on the contribution to knowledge as being not only marked by its findings but also by its reliance on innovative visual methods from the social sciences and humanities within tourism research. The overview of the six parts and fifteen Chapters of this thesis aimed to familiarise the reader with the structure of the thesis and the mode through which each of the parts and Chapters were intended to attend to some elements of this research's aim and objectives. What follows next, is part II of this thesis, which provides the main literature review on some of this research's key concepts as well as constructs a narrative surrounding the historical emergence of the Athenian Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a major visitor attraction and a World Heritage site.

II A LITERATURE REVIEW

In this part, which consists of four Chapters, I explore the key concepts related to this research, such as national identity, [world] heritage and tourism and incorporate the main, critical literature review. In attempting not only to explore some of the existing literature but also to create a narrative about the Athenian Acropolis as a place, the Chapters in this part of the thesis also follow the historical emergence of the Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a major visitor attraction and a World Heritage site. In the first Chapter (Chapter 2) I examine the concepts of nations, national identities and nation-states with the particular focus on the making of the Modern Greek nation-state. In the second Chapter (Chapter 3) I go on to examine the concept of heritage and its role in the context of tourism and nation-building projects, again with a particular focus on Greece as well as the role the Athenian Acropolis played in the Greek nation-building project. In the third Chapter of this part of the thesis (Chapter 4) which follows I take this discussion further and explore the history of tourism in Greece and Athens. I pay particular attention to the history of visitation to the Athenian Acropolis as a place of interest for travellers from the 14th century onwards - from the time the Acropolis was barely of any interest to travellers to its emergence as a [mass] tourism visitor attraction. Finally, the last Chapter of this part of the thesis (Chapter 5) deals with World Heritage, tourism and national identity and merges some of the themes which surfaced in previous Chapters. Importantly, in this Chapter I also discuss the concept of World Heritage, problematics associated it, as well as the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis – a place which followed a long and rich path in history to emerge in contemporary times as, among other, the key symbol of the Greek nation, a World Heritage site, and a major heritage visitor attraction not only in Athens, but also in Greece, and the rest of the world.

Chapter 2 Nations, national identities and the case of Greece

...Greece has always been more an idea than a place.
(Roessel, 2001: 3)

2.1 Introduction

Nations and national identities have, to a great extent, marked modern life in both the developed and the developing world. However, although these terms are widely used, far too often these are misunderstood or misused to mark concepts more closely related to race, tribe, ethnic groupings or, when used in the context of nationalism, even xenophobia and racism.

This Chapter thus serves as a space where I explore not only what is meant by terms such as nation, nationalism and national identity but where I also provide an insight into theoretical approaches underpinning understandings of these phenomena.

As such, this Chapter starts with the question 'What is a nation?'. Without an intention of providing a satisfying answer I evaluate the ongoing debate over the problematics in defining a nation, and consequently nationalism and national identity with specific reference to what these terms do not signify and with which other concepts those should ideally not be mistaken. The works of some of the well known authors in the field that appear in this discussion are: Renan (1990), Smith (1991), Hobsbawm (1990), Anderson (1991), Seton-Watson (1977) and Gourgouris (1996).

I then go on to explore the very origins of nations. Through an exegesis of a number of contrasting views I finally reach a conclusion on the burning question within the studies of nations and nationalism - the question of whether nations have existed from time immemorial or whether they are in fact fairly recent modern constructs. A large number of theorists and

their respective works which appear in this discussion include Kamenka (1976), Kedourie (1993), Gellner (1983; 1998), Balibar (1991), Breuilly (1993), Bloom (1990), Wallerstein (1991), Lowenthal (1998) and Clogg (2002).

Towards the very end of this discussion, I explore the historical events and theoretical underpinnings that have led the intellectuals and the middle classes in the geographical area of contemporary Greece to construct the Greek nation. In discussing these processes I focus predominantly on its major influences such as Philhellenism⁵ in general and the key literary and political figures in particular. In conclusion, I present a link between heritage and the nation. While emphasising the link between Classical heritage and the Modern Greek nation, I ultimately also provide a transition to the next Chapter on the role of heritage in the Greek nation building project.

2.2 What is a nation?

Ernest Renan's lecture entitled "What is a nation?" held at the Sorbonne on the 11th of March 1882 marks the historical starting point of scholarly interrogations into the concept of the nation. This lecture was the first attempt to conceptually analyse the nation as an idea, and at the time, a rapidly developing phenomenon.

At this lecture, one of the first statements Renan made was that the nation, although an idea apparently clear, was 'lending itself to the most dangerous misunderstandings' such as confusing a nation with a race or a tribe (Renan, 1990). In his elaborate analysis, Renan further suggested that nations are modern social constructs, and, that there existed no

⁵ According to Travlou (2001:45) Philhellenism 'urged the liberation of Modern Greeks from the Ottoman Empire, and thus, from Oriental influence; it also aspired to the cultural renaissance of Modern Greece through its imitation of the Hellenic ideal, the ancient Greece'. Adding to Travlou's statement Roessel (2002: 8) claims that Philhellenism is 'a cultural movement that had revolutionary implications within a European context while containing imperialist rhetoric with regards to the Turks and the East'.

nation prior to the modern project of nation building. In this sense, and supporting his own argument, he claims that nations are historically relatively new and that, for example, ancient Egypt and China had no nations as such. What had marked a significant progression from dynasties towards nations was, in Renan's view, the process of adopting the same language and religion in a single geographical area. One of the obvious cases was the way in which the Ottoman Empire's policy of defining the then ethnic groups or *millet* by religion (Clogg, 2002) eventually brought the East to a collapse and division (Smyrna / Salonika, Turkey / Greece).

However, although Renan had emphasised that the concept of a nation is often misunderstood and misused in various cases, he does not offer a solution in terms of defining a nation. What he does however, is to propose that nations are not races; that languages although bringing people together do not necessarily force them into being a single nation; that a single religion does not signify a single nation and that nationality is essentially a spiritual principle, a mode of geographical and spiritual grouping. He also argues that nations hold their historical beginning and thus proposes that nations will have ends, where for example he expects the European confederation to replace European nations.

Similar to Renan, a number of contemporary historians and social scientists still struggle to offer a 'universally valid' definition of a nation (i.e. see also a discussion in Jackson and Penrose, 1993) and, instead, engage in long debates over the historical development of nations and their questionable roots in pre-modern ethnic groupings and collective identities. What usually occurs with the given definitions is that those tend to be either too vague or all embracing, or, quite the opposite, exclusive and inapplicable on a global level.

For example, the contemporary scholar and historian Hobsbawm, in his analysis of the problematics involved in defining a nation draws on a definition by Joseph Stalin (1912 in Hobsbawm, 1990: 5):

A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture.

The notion of a 'historical evolution' included in Stalin's definition connotes a certain natural or organic process which denies the very constructed nature of nations and their relatively recent historical emergence (i.e. see for example Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983; Gourgouris, 1996; Hamilakis, 2008). In addition, is it not Renan that rightfully argued a single language cannot signify a single nation? How could Stalin's definition for example encompass Switzerland which has three official languages or China for that matter, where as many as seven official languages are used? Could any of these represent 'a stable community of language'? However, Stalin's definition does not remain only at this shortcoming. It could also not be valid for nations which came into being as a result of anti-colonialist nationalism, for example the former colonies in Africa, many of which became nation-states based on their liberation movement, prior to which many of its people had relatively little common culture, no common language or religion. A final criticism of Stalin's definition is whether a nation could ever be considered to be a 'stable community'? As Hobsbawm interestingly and accurately argues 'maps are now uncertain and provisional' (1990: 184) and so are the nations which therefore are everything but 'stable communities'. One of the best European examples is probably the collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990's and the 'death' of the 'Yugoslavian' nation (born just about 50 years earlier, in the aftermath of the Second World War). What came to replace the 'Yugoslavian' nation were no less than six new nation-states and nations. Stalin's definition therefore, does everything *but* define the notion of nation accurately.

Another definition which, once again, can be an object of substantial questioning with regards to its 'validity' especially in its suggestion that all nations possess a 'deep past' is the definition by one of the leading authorities in the field, A. D. Smith (1991: 14), who claims that a nation can be defined as:

A named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.

As even Smith's definition of nations has its shortcomings, such as its suggestion that all nations have 'historical memories' (which is certainly untrue for younger nations), Hobsbawm is then right to claim that 'neither objective nor subjective definitions [of nations] are satisfactory' and that 'both are misleading' (1990: 8). Seton-Watson had earlier claimed that 'many attempts have been made to define nations and none have been successful' (1977: 3). And it is for this reason that, within this thesis, I will not attempt to offer a strict, 'universally valid' definition of nations or indeed national identity. As Gourgouris (1996: 8) justly remarks:

What a nation *is*, pure and simple, shall always remain just another step ahead of our inquiry as to *what* it is.

Although it is impossible to provide a strict definition of the concept of nation, (as Jackson and Penrose (1993: 1) remind us nations [and races] are after all '*social constructions...product of specific historical and geographical forces*'), there are some elements which are important to our understanding of this concept. These include notions that a nation is 'a spiritual grouping' (Renan, 1991) or a 'community of people' (Seton-Watson, 1977) that has been 'dreamed' (Gourgouris, 1996) and 'imagined' (Anderson, 1991) by the people who see themselves as such. A particularly useful quote here is the one from Benedict Anderson:

In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion....

The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them...has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind...

It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm....

Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

(Anderson, 1983: 15-16).

What Anderson is suggesting here is that nations are imagined by their very members. As Hamilakis (2008: 15-16) notes, in his seminal thesis Anderson refers to the 'process of imagination, as perceiving one's subjectivity as belonging to a community of people, a community that does not engage in face-to-face interactions'. Due to this constructed 'feeling of belonging' and 'self definition' through the prism of the 'imagined political community' (Anderson, 1983: 15) people are further 'bound together by a sense of solidarity, common culture and national consciousness' (Seton-Watson, 1977:1). However, it is important to note that, in the process of the 'construction of nationalism', which in turn creates, national identities and nations is 'a process in which all the members of the national body [or a particular society which is being nationalised] are potentially involved' (Hamilakis, 2008: 18, text in brackets added).

It is this particular point that brings the discussion closer to the notions of national identity and nationalism, where again there seems to be some disagreement. For example, while Anderson (1983) implies that nationalism is a political movement which created nations and their respective national identities (based on which nation-states were created) in the context of modernity, Smith (2001) extends that to suggest that

nations are rooted in a pre-existing *ethnie* and that national identity is a type of collective identity which demonstrates:

...the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage with its cultural elements'

(Smith, 2001: 18).

However, as again I do not intend to incorporate any strict definitions of nations, national identity or nationalism for that matter, I offer further clarification on these concepts in the following section. In it, I pose a fundamental question: have nations, and national identities for that matter, existed from time immemorial or are they in fact constructs of modernity and a result of one of its political movements - nationalism?

2.3 Innate or Constructed?

The nation, in contrast to a number of primordialist and perennial theories⁶ of nations, has been argued by many not to have existed from time immemorial and that nations are modern constructs designed or 'invented' mainly for political purposes (see for example Anderson, 1991; Gellner 1983, 1998 and/or Hobsbawm 1990). This division, between primordialist and perennial theories and those which perceive nations as modern constructs was examined by Chambers (2005). In her explorations, Chambers identifies two main streams: the first examining the nation as perennial and the second as a modern construction. The first stream, which depicted the nation as perennial, Chambers recognises in the writings of: Carr (1945), Kamenka (1976), Kedourie (1993), Seton-Watson (1977) and Smith (1986; 1998). While the second stream, depicting the nation as a modern construction, she found in the writings of: Anderson (1983; 1991), Balibar (1991), Bloom (1990), Breuilly

⁶ Similar to what the etymological meaning of the words 'primordial' and 'perennial' would suggest, primordial and perennial theories of nations tend to suggest that nations are innate, and that those existed from time immemorial. In particular, the difference between primordial and perennial theories of nations lies in that primordial theories suggest that nations are innate (i.e. inherited by birth) while perennial theories suggest that nations existed from time immemorial.

(1993; 1996), Gellner (1983; 1998), Hobsbawm (1990), Wallerstein (1991).

Nationalism, the most powerful ideology of modernity, a political doctrine which at the time saw its golden age, but which even later showed little signs of abating (as we witnessed in the recent case of the collapse of the Soviet Union as well as Yugoslavia), can in a very broad sense, be understood as:

the guiding frame of meaning of the nation, a process of imaginary construction of society...as religion, a secular religion that worships icons (such as the flag), engages in its own rituals and ceremonies, complete with its liturgical texts and hymns (the national anthem, the national narratives).

(Hamilakis, 2008: 16)

Indeed, as Chambers (2005) suggested, Kamenka (1976) claims that despite the fact that nationalism, the political doctrine, had seen its rise since the French Revolution national identities have had their roots in ancient times, while this is particularly the case within the communities of Jews and Greeks. Jews, in his opinion, were much closer to a modern nation than the Greeks or any other community in ancient times for that matter. Jews, in Kamenka's view, symbolised their tribal unity (which Kamenka also defines as proto-nations) in the 'concept of Jehovah', while [ancient] Greeks had their 'concept of Hellas', dividing the world into Greeks and the barbarians (Kamenka, 1976: 4).

Similar to Kamenka, Kedourie (1993) also agrees that nationalism as a political doctrine was born and invented in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. Nations, however he sees as a primordial entity within the nationalist discourse. In discussing this, he draws, again as Kamenka, to the earliest examples – the Jews and the Greeks.

Seton-Watson (1977) had a different approach to discussing nationalism, nations and nation-states to the one adopted by Kamenka and Kedourie. He was concerned with the process of formation of nations in which he

defined and divided the nations in two major groups: the old continuous nations and the nations that emerged from the movements for national unity. Further, he strongly emphasised the need to clearly distinguish the 'nation' from the 'state' and claims that: 'states can exist without nations, or with several nations, among their subjects; and a nation can be coterminous with the population of one state, or be included together with other nations within one state, or be divided between several states.' (Seton-Watson, 1977: 1). What underpinned his ideas and study though, was the notion that nations have their roots in pre-modern times, and that all nations have history, with each nation having been formed through long historical processes. Contrary to the 'modernists' who tend to claim that nationalism as a political movement of modernity created nations (i.e. see Anderson, 1983), in his attempt to demonstrate that all nations must have a history and origins from a deep past Seton-Watson fails to acknowledge that the nation is essentially a modern construct.

An author who made significant contributions to the field, and whose views are to some extent between the perennialists and the modernists is Anthony D. Smith. In his "Ethnic Origins of Nations", Smith (1986) proposes that nations can be traced to pre-modern eras to what he calls the early ethnic communities or *ethnie*⁷. Hence, Smith by tracing nations to *ethnie* in the pre-modern times (i.e. he traces the Modern Greek nation to Ancient Greece and the inhabitants of 'polis') claims that the 'roots' of nations existed in pre-modern times while at the very same time he also acknowledges the fact that nations widely came into existence in modern times. However, by tracing the origins of nations within a much deeper past his arguments do demonstrate certain inconsistencies. Namely, although he situates himself within the group of theorists that classify nations as being perennial, i.e. rooted in the deep past, his arguments

⁷ Smith distinguishes nations and ethnic communities by emphasising that nations are made of citizens while ethnic communities are made of members, with nations and nationalism having emerged from the base of *ethnie*. He says that "...for an *ethnie* to become a 'nation', it must turn its members into citizens..." (Smith, 1986: 166).

seem to suggest that nations are not innate and are a modern construct. His arguments, in other words, are somewhat conflicting and complex as he seems to simultaneously acknowledge that nations were commonly accepted and had flourished during modernity *and* traces their origins to pre-modern times. As he remarks, his standpoint is somewhere in between perennialism and modernism (Smith, 1986). Smith claims that nations are '...no more 'invented' than the other forms of culture, social organisation or ideology' (Smith, 1991:71), by which, to some extent, he also allows and acknowledges the validity of theories that explore the nation as a social construction 'invented' in the 18th century.

Anderson (1983; 1991), as previously emphasised in the works of Smith (1986), Chambers (2005), and Hamilakis (2008), perceives the nation to be a socially constructed modern phenomenon. In his seminal thesis *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Anderson historically locates the rise of nationalism (which in turn created nations) within the 18th century and the modern period. Himself, a modernist, he argues that modernity was juxtaposed to antiquity in the last quarter of the 17th century by the French intellectuals who considered their own culture to be a valid rival to that of the ancients, imposing it to the rest of Europe and marking a starting point of the modern period.

Contrary to Smith and perennialists, Anderson explores historical events from the early modern period to depict the mode by which the 'imagined communities' of nations, came to be constructed and imagined. He sees nations and nationalism, with few minor exceptions such as Switzerland, rising in three main waves: first it was the Americas [led by the USA and the declaration of independence], then the European states and lastly the former colonies. What was crucial in all the three waves, in Anderson's view is capitalism, in particular print-capitalism. Print-capitalism, in his view, led to the emergence of national print languages. This in turn, made

a vast number of [literary] people to 'imagine' the particular community which was reading that particular print language. In other words, Anderson claims that visualising of 'imagined communities' [of nations] was possible only because of print-capitalism and the general rise of literacy in the 18th century. The birth of the popular nationalist enthusiasm in the 18th century is, according to Anderson, rooted in those two events: print-capitalism and the general rise of literacy.

According to Anderson (1983; 1991) from the mid 18th century, throughout the whole of the 19th century and up until the First World War, Europe, along with many other [colonised and non colonised] parts of the world was ruled by dynasts. The political movement of nationalism which emerged at the time, although it was partly created and supported by the dynasts, was cause of both their cultural and political inconvenience in the sense that now, in an attempt to remain the ruling class and avoid being marginalised, the dynasts along with aristocrats had to create systematic or 'official nationalisms' by which they 'naturalised' themselves to a particular nation (Anderson, 1983; 1991). Despite these attempts, the First World War brought the age of dynasticism to an end when the Congress of Berlin was replaced by the League of Nations (Anderson, 1991: 113). It is from then onwards that the nation-states came to be the legitimate international norm. Nations, thus in Anderson's view, had their origins in the 18th century popular 'imagining' of [national] communities (Anderson, 1983, 1991). Therefore, Anderson (1983, 1991) in contrast to perennialists, clearly defines the nation as a socially constructed modern phenomenon.

Similar to Anderson, Hobsbawm (1990) alongside a number of other modernists defines nations as a modern social construct or 'invention'. He clearly argues that nations are not as old as history and that nations are neither primordial nor unchanging. In relation to nations and states, and in contrast to what Seton-Watson had earlier argued, Hobsbawm believes

that 'nations do not make states or nationalism but the other way around' (1990: 10). In terms of how nations were constructed, Hobsbawm says it was the common interests of peoples identifying themselves as a part of a [large] group that had originally constructed a nation and its national identity. This phenomenon had, according to Hobsbawm, gained momentum during modernity - in the early 18th century. As far as the potential pre-modern origins of nations are concerned, Hobsbawm claims that there were cases of early proto-nationalism, but that those could have not possibly meant that there existed a nation as such. Nations came to existence from nationalism, in the modern period, when they came to be 'imagined' by its members, who simultaneously also started seeking for their origins (ibid).

Likewise, Gellner (1983), Breuilly (1993), Balibar (1991), Wallerstein (1991) and Bloom (1990) have similar views to that of Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawm (1990). Gellner (1983: 55) for example believes that 'it is nationalism which engenders nations and not the other way around', while Breuilly (1993: 1) claims that 'the most commonly-held assumption...that nationalism arises ultimately from some sort of national identity...is a very misleading idea'. Balibar (1991: 87) on the other hand, engages in the discussion of the 'myth of origins and national continuity' and says that the 'imaginary singularity of national formations is constructed daily.' Wallerstein (1991: 84) claims that 'peoplehood ... is a major institutional construct of historical capitalism' and that it is 'in no sense a primordial stable social reality' (ibid: 85) and Bloom (1990: 60) fiercely argues against the viewpoints of Seton-Watson and his identification of various European states as 'old continuous nations'.

Thus, as I discussed throughout this section, there is a great division between scholars who trace the continuity of nations to pre-modern eras, the perennialists, and the ones who tend to draw distinct lines between the early origins of ethnic groups, tribes or communities and modern

nations, or the modernists. The perennialists tend to see the nation and nationalism arising from a particular pre-existing national and or ethnic identity, while the modernists argue that states and nationalism, in almost all cases pre-date the nation.

It is the latter standpoint that I too adopt in this thesis, not only because it is the most plausible theoretical framework within which nations and national identities can be studied, but also since this theoretical framework is particularly appropriate for the case of Greece (i.e. see Gourgouris, 1996 and Hamilakis, 2008). It is nationalism, the political doctrine that builds and sustains the nation, supports and 'invents' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) the myths, the symbols and the traditions of a nation and its identity and 'not the other way around' (Gellner, 1983: 55). Then again, as Hamilakis (2008: 17) reminds us, nationalism is 'a work in progress', always making and remaking itself', while in this context a nation-state could be seen as an expression of the desire for independence of a particular nation, which in turn was invented (and is continuously being re-invented) by nationalism. After all, nationalism is built upon three basic assumptions: 1) 'there exists a nation', 2) 'the interests and values [of a nation] take priority over all other interests and values' and 3) 'nations should be as free as possible' (Breuilly, 1993: 2) and therefore should seek independence from other nations.

What is particularly interesting to notice with a reference to this particular research, is that Smith, being essentially a perennialist, in his various works traces the 'early origins of nations' to *ethnie*, and in doing so, often refers to Greeks and Jews as a ideal example of an *ethnie* that has successfully transformed into a nation. In his discussion on ethnic change, dissolution and survival, he calls upon the example of modern Greeks who: '...are taught that they are the heirs and descendants not merely of Greek Byzantium, but also of the Ancient Greeks and their classical Hellenic civilisation' and who 'now and earlier, *felt* that their

'Greekness' was a product of their descent from the ancient Greeks (and/or Byzantine Greeks)...' (Smith, 1991: 28-29). Representing the other group of scholars who see nations as modern constructions, Lowenthal refers to the case of modern Greeks, and claims that since the inhabitants of Greece: 'are not descendent from the race of Perikles, modern Greece has very little in common with the nation and the people who carved the marbles [at the Acropolis]' (Lowenthal, 1998: 200).

Nevertheless, it might be important to keep in mind that:

If nation states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical', the nations to which they give political expressions always loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important, slide into limitless future.

(Anderson, 1983: 19)

This is something that will become evident through this thesis for the particular case of Greece. Namely, despite the fact that the very idea of the Greek nation is partially based on references to events dating back to 5,000 BC, Ancient Greece and the reminder of its Classical heritage, the emergence of the Greek nation I here analyse through the perspective of it being a socially constructed (modern) phenomenon based on political expressions rooted in the 'imagination' (Anderson, 1983; 1991) and 'dreams' (Gourgouris, 1996) of a 'deep Greek past'.

2.4 Constructing the nation and its identity: the case of Greece

It was in the late 18th century when the first stirrings of the national movement in Greece came to surface and when the liberation movement [from the Ottoman Empire] was initiated (Clogg, 2002). Greece was the first Eastern European state to gain full independence [1832], and the first to achieve full membership in the European Union [1981] (ibid.). However it was for many other reasons that the case of Greece and its nation-building project were unique, not only in Eastern Europe but also in the wider European region. As Clogg (2002: 1, text in brackets added) had succinctly put it:

Not only is her [Greek] heritage of Orthodox Christianity and of Ottoman rule distinctive, but great historical movements such as the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the French and the Industrial Revolutions which so profoundly influenced western Europe have largely passed her by [because of the Ottoman rule]. This has resulted in a pattern of historical development and a society markedly different from that of the western European partners.

However, it is not only the Ottoman rule that had a great effect on the way the contemporary Greek state and nation came to existence. A major role was also played by a western European movement known as Philhellenism, a movement which had three main streams: the German, the French and the English. As Tsigakou (1981: 11) reminds us:

Classical studies in the West from the Renaissance onwards, together with a more generalised, nostalgic vision of ancient Greece, had played a fundamental role in the creation of the Modern Greek state. ... Greece that was created in 1828...was, moreover, modelled by its European guarantors rather than by the Greeks themselves.

Leontis (1995) also makes a similar remark:

...without Western Hellenism, there would be no Greek state, yet one could argue that without Hellenism there would be no Neohellenism. Greeks might have fashioned a different entity and mapped a different kind of homeland.

(Leontis, 1995: 13)

Another author, Gourgouris who is simultaneously also one of the leading authorities within Modern Greek Studies, in his seminal work *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonisation and the Institution of Modern Greece* published in 1996, explores the 'construction' of the Modern Greek nation in great detail. He skilfully depicts the role and, as he calls it, 'the punishment of Philhellenism'. He traces the early establishments of the Greek Nation in the Enlightenment period and Adamantios Korais, who is depicted as the 'most erudite figure' in Neohellenic thought. Korais, who had Classical education and was born in Smyrna as a son of a merchant from Chios (Clogg, 2002), had intentionally cultivated the Hellenic ideal (Gourgouris, 1996). Korais was clearly influenced by the humanistic sciences and Philhellenism that had emerged in Europe during the 15th and 16th century, while his most distinctive project was that of

reorganising, rectifying and enriching the Greek language, to bring it closer to Ancient Greek and therefore also closer to the Hellenic ideal that grew in Europe alongside Philhellenism. 'The love of Greece' which Gourgouris also translates to be 'the love of the West' or Philhellenism, had an astonishing effect on the emergence and the mode in which the Modern Greek nation and nation-state were constructed. Because of Philhellenism, Europe was constantly gazing over Greece and its institution as a modern nation-state. In addition Philhellenes, according to Gourgouris, believed that the Oriental side of modern Greece was entirely incompatible with their Hellenic ideal, therefore it had to be ignored or weakened. And it is exactly this project that Korais followed and implemented through his 'purification' of the Greek language and design of an artificial language '*katharevousa*' (literally the 'purified'), which was the official Greek national language, in use until as recently as 1976. ('Purification' in order to reach the Hellenic ideal was something that would eventually also happen to the Athenian Acropolis, as discussed in Chapter 3 on heritage).

Another aspect characteristic of Korais, was his hatred of Turks, which he supposedly developed during his stay as a merchant in Amsterdam (1771-1778). Namely, Korais had declared that Turks were synonymous to wild beasts (Clogg, 2002: 245-246). The same hatred towards the Turks (fortified not only by Korais, but also by historical events such as the Smyrna disaster and the controversial issue of Cyprus) had, as a shadow, followed the Greek nation until the present day. Nevertheless, Korais's project has had an astonishing effect on the pre-independence intellectual and national revival of Greeks (Clogg, 2002) and he is also the figure that 'embodies the culmination and finality of the Greek Enlightenment' (Gourgouris, 1996: 112).

Makrigiannis and Seferis are the ones that marked modernity in Greece (Gourgouris, 1996). Makrigiannis, a fighter in the war for independence

became later a 'signifier of the national culture' whose writings were a 'glimpse of the national imagery' (ibid: 196). Seferis, master poet in later life and also a Nobel Prize winner, was 'arguably the most dominant figure in Greek letters in the 20th century' (ibid: 179). Along with Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (the key Greek national historian who was the first to link the Ancient, Byzantine, Ottoman and the Modern Greek period), Korais, Makrigiannis and Seferis were the most prominent figures in the Greek nation-building project which was, as I discuss further in Chapters 3 and 4, greatly influenced by European Philhellenism. Such was the strength of Philhellenism that:

When news of the revolt [of Greeks towards the Ottoman Empire] reached Western Europe there was much enthusiasm on the part of liberal opinion and before long, philhellene volunteers, the best known of whom was the poet Byron, enlisted in the cause of Greek freedom. Nurtured on an idealised picture of ancient Greece, some of them rapidly became disillusioned when they discovered that the modern Greeks had little in common with the worthies of Periclean Athens.

(Clogg, 2002: 33, text in brackets added)

Greece gained its independence and declared its sovereignty from the Ottoman Empire in 1830. However, it seems that it was much earlier that there existed a sense of 'common identity' among some of the people under the Ottoman Empire. It was the very establishment of the Ottoman rule that formed the 'semi-autonomous entities' known as *millets* which were based on religion rather than ethnicity (Hamilakis, 2008: 75) and which were used to administratively divide the peoples within the empire. There of course existed the Orthodox *millet*, which was the second largest *millet* in the empire (after the Muslim) (Hamilakis, 2008). This multi-ethnic *millet* spoke various languages and used Greek as its 'lingua franca as well as a sign of higher social status' (Hamilakis, 2008: 75). Importantly, the Greek speaking members of this *millet* were, at the time also known as Romoi (Hamilakis, 2008; Clogg, 2002), rather than Greeks or Hellenes. It was later that this Greek speaking population was 'Hellenised', developed 'links with the western European middle classes', 'came into contact with classicism and western Hellenism', rediscovered

'their classical heritage', and 'portrayed themselves to themselves and to others as heirs of that heritage' (Hamilakis, 2008: 76). Thus, in the heights of the Ottoman times, the Christian Orthodox *millet* was a multi-cultural administrative entity which for their main identity determinant had its religion, rather than any of its languages or in fact Greekness (which as I will discuss further, developed later).

Nevertheless, it was within this Ottoman community or *millet* that Greekness would develop, influenced by the western scholarship and Philhellenism and the belief 'that they were the heirs to a heritage that was universally revered throughout the civilised world' (Clogg, 2002: 27). Namely, it was in the 18th century that an entrepreneurial and prosperous mercantile class emerged from this community and subsequently Greek had become, in the late decades of the century, the Balkan *lingua franca* (Clogg, 2002). It was within the same class of the Greek speaking *millet* (at the time known as Romoi) that a national consciousness much closely related to Greek than to Orthodox identity developed and in the same period that there emerged a body of literature in Greek, aimed at the Greek speaking *millet* (ibid.).

By the time the war for independence from the Ottoman Empire occurred, *progonoplexeia* (ancestry obsession) and *arheolatreia* (the worship of antiquities) that developed within the Greek *millet*, again a major influence of Philhellenism, got to 'obsessive proportions' (Clogg, 2002). It was from, *progonoplexeia* and *arheolatreia* that the early nation building project in the emergent state was marked. Similarly Herzfeld suggests that:

Whereas Greeks sought genetic confirmation of their cultural destiny in the link with the ancient past, Western Observers [most likely referring to Philhellenes], operating on a basis of self fulfilling prophecy, more often saw it as evidence of Greek backwardness and "obsession".

(Herzfeld, 1987:19)

What Herzfeld had found as having happened to Greeks is that, as a price of their independence, they were expected 'to play the part of the

revenant⁸, primordial ancestor of Europe' (1987:25). In this light, he claims that Europe was not only maintaining that ancient Greece was its spiritual ancestor, but also was deciding 'what was, or what was not, acceptable as Greek culture in the modern age' (ibid: 28). And it is not only Europe, which played its part in the Hellenisation of Modern Greece, it is also the official Greek discourse and ideology which, as Herzfeld remarks: 'seeks the criteria of Greekness outside Greece' (ibid: 124).

Accordingly Greece is seen as:

...both holy and polluted...it is holy in that it is the mythic ancestor of all European culture; and it is polluted by the taint of Turkish culture – the taint that late medieval and Renaissance Europe viewed as the embodiment of barbarism and evil.

(Herzfeld, 1987:7)

The Philhellenes view the Greece of today as an unsuccessful reincarnation, while Greek identity is dominated by the plural image of its cultural origins which produce a paradox for Greek nationalism (Herzfeld, 1987). Namely, the attempted recovery of the Greek Classical past (which is strongly connected with paganism) was until recently evoking the anger of the Greek Orthodox Church, while on the other hand, the Byzantine period was to some extent a recognition of the contribution of Islam to the present day Greek culture (ibid.). It is in this sense that Herzfeld defines *Hellens* and *Romious*, Hellens or Ellines as idealised Hellens of the ancient past and Romioi as Byzantine and Turkish Christians who spoke the Greek language. What a Greek of today is, in Herzfeld's view is, 'neither just a Hellene nor just a Romios' (ibid: 205). Greece is, after all, a nation 'forever situated in the intersects of East and West and ideologically constructed by colonialist Europe without having been, strictly speaking, colonised' (Gourgouris, 1996: 6). It:

...rests between the glory of the classical Greek past and the hope for resurrected Greek future, which in many Western minds ought to resemble the democracies of Western Europe and America which are founded on classical Greek models.

(Roessel, 2002: 7)

⁸ Used in American English meaning: one that returns after a long absence or one who returns after death [from old French 'revenir']

2.5 Conclusions

This Chapter was a theoretical prelude to the rest of the thesis. In it I explored the meanings and definitions of concepts such as nationalism, national identity and nations, their historical and conceptual, and finally, I also explored the specific case of Greece and the some of the processes through which the Greek nation was constructed.

In the section where I explored the existing definitions of nations and national identities, I criticised several definitions of nations for their failure to be 'universally valid'. None of the existing definitions I found were valid for all nation-states and I eventually concluded that Hobsbawm (1990: 8) was right to claim that neither objective nor subjective definitions of nations are satisfying. Thus, instead of trying to provide a strict 'universally valid' definition as this would not be possible⁹, I explored the concepts of nations and national identity in a much broader theoretical sense, through a discussion of the validity and shortcomings of several existing definitions.

Following that, I engaged in the endless debate over the origins of nations (pre-modern vs. modern) in which I concluded that the nation, contrary to what a number of perennialists wished to prove, is in fact a very recent modern construct originating in the early modern period and beginnings of 18th century Europe and North America. The origins of national identity, or the feeling of belonging [to a nation], I similarly historically located nearer to the emergence of the modern nation-state.

Drawing on from those conclusions, I explored some of the most significant processes through which the Greek nation was constructed. I made specific reference to the major role played by the Western and European movement known as Philhellenism and their respective members, the Philhellenes - best known of which was Lord Byron whom I

⁹ see for example a discussion in Hobsbawm, 1990: 8

will be mentioning further in the following Chapters of this thesis. In addition, I mentioned several key literary and political figures along with their respective contributions within these processes of 'Hellenisation of Greece', such as Korais, Makrigiannis, Seferis and Paparrigopoulos.

What surfaced as one of the key issues within this discussion of how and why the Greek nation came to be constructed is the undeniable link between [particularly built Classical] heritage and, at the time, emerging Greek nation. As mentioned, in the process of Hellenisation of some members of the Orthodox *millet* (particularly here referring to the Greek speaking population which were also known as Romoi) *progonoplexeia* (ancestry obsession) and *arheolatreia* (the worship of antiquities) played a major role, in that the Hellenised Romoi now saw themselves as the heirs of that heritage. In particular, what this Chapter made rather clear is that what now needed more attention was the role which built heritage and more precisely, the Classical ruins¹⁰ played in the construction and iconic representation of the Greek nation, a discussion which follows in Chapter 3.

¹⁰ With 'Classical ruins' I refer to physical or built heritage dating from the Classical period, 5th and 4th century BC.

Chapter 3 Constructing Greekness: the role of heritage

Citizens of a country became a sort of community, though an imagined one, and its members therefore found themselves seeking for, and consequently finding things in common, place practices, personages, memories, signs and symbols.

(Hobsbawm, 1990: 90)

3.1 Introduction

Heritage, and particularly built heritage, with its ability to connect 'citizens of a country' through common memories, signs and symbols often becomes a symbol of a nation and in some cases (as I later come to argue for the case of the Athenian Acropolis) heritage sites even come to be perceived as the embodiment of a nation. Built heritage therefore is one of the essences of nations as the tangible representation of their 'deep pasts'.

In addition, heritage is also a notion and a word heard often but rarely clearly understood. However, although a strict definition of heritage and especially its ever changing typology as well as the rapid 'invention' of new types of heritage are very interesting topics of discussion, this thesis will not deal with these issues. What follows instead is a theoretical discussion into the definition, historical use and current status of heritage. I look at heritage in terms of its historical emergence and its changing role, from the time it had emerged as a concept in the 18th and 19th century up until today and the era of 'heritage industry' (i.e. see Hewison, 1989; Walsh, 1999). In other words, without offering a strict definition, I discuss the concept of heritage, critically assess its role throughout history, identifying in such a way its unstable and ever changing nature.

This discussion is followed by a brief overview of the history of the Athenian Acropolis and its emergence as a place or *topos* of great

significance from the Ancient Greek World up until today. Its history as a place I briefly follow through some of the major periods and events since the Classical age. Namely the Byzantine era, Ottoman empire, the period of emergence of humanistic sciences in Europe, the romantic movement finally reaching the crucial point – the emergence of the modern Greek state, for which the Athenian Acropolis was to become the sublime¹¹ object; a symbol of all things Greek.

3.2 Defining Heritage, its historical and current role

Heritage, with its linguistic roots in the word inheritance, is in popular terms vaguely understood as something that connects the present to the past and something that has been 'inherited' from the past. In this light, heritage is often popularly depicted as:

...that which a past generation has preserved and handed over to the present and that which a significant group of people wishes to hand over to the future...

(Hewison, 1989: 16)¹²

However, heritage is an elusive term, and its existing definitions and conceptualisations encompass notions as diverse as landscapes, built heritage and knowledge:

Heritage is a broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences.

ICOMOS (2002: 4)

Heritage ... is conceptualised as the meanings attached in the present to the past and is regarded as a knowledge defined within the social, political and cultural contexts.

(Graham, 2002: 1003)

¹¹ Sublime is a 'concept deeply embedded in 18th century aesthetics, but deriving from the 1st century rhetorical treatise *On the Sublime* by Longinus. Sublime is great, fearful, noble, calculated to arouse sentiments of pride and majesty, as well as awe and sometimes terror' (Blackburn, 2005: 354). The sense of experiencing an object as sublime is often said to be present when people see a very large object which in them provokes feelings of amazement, might of the object, insignificance of a single human being, and awe.

¹² speaking at the first National Heritage Conference in 1983

In other words, heritage is a very inclusive term which in its essence is the meaning, or the meanings that are attributed to the past, meanings which in turn, as Graham notes, are greatly influenced by the present social, political and cultural contexts. Being difficult to define or conceptualise, encompassing wide notions and becoming ever more popular, heritage is said to be marked by the attitude 'anything goes', where a growing number of places are made 'available as heritage for public consumption' (Fowler, 1989: 57).

As Graham (2002) depicts it:

...if heritage is the contemporary use of the past, and if its meanings are defined in the present, then we create the heritage that we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies.

(Graham, 2002: 1004)

Heritage reiterates the existence of the past as we know it and in particular, it tends to reiterate one or the other national or local past, rather than personal. By doing so, with its vivid link to 'our' past, heritage gives us our sense of national, local and, of course, by extension it also gives us our sense of self identity. The past is after all:

...integral to our sense of identity; the sureness of "I was" is a necessary component of "I am".

(Lowenthal, 1985: 41)

In other words, without the knowledge of 'our' past, 'we' cannot claim being what 'we' are in the present. Without the past, there is no present. With no past there can be no national, local or personal identity. And this is where the importance of heritage lies: in its ability to 'prove', depict and represent the existence of a particular past within the present. Through heritage, the past is readily available for 'instant' mass consumption through visitation, reiterating our sense of national, local, and self as well as the identities of 'others'. It is through heritage that history and knowledge about the past has become readily available for mass audiences, assisting the emergence of the 'heritage industry' seen in the

late 1970s and 1980s first and foremost in Britain (Hewison, 1987; Walsh, 1992).

Prior to the emergence of heritage, the past was known and 'consumed' primarily through narration, historical texts and scholarly work (Lowenthal, 1985). It was only through reading or listening to narrated stories about the past, that the past was accessible and this was largely limited to a small group of literary people. With the emergence of heritage in the 18th and 19th century, this changed. Although heritage did not engage in a study of the past in a direct way (Graham, 2002) and had its limitations in terms of interpretation, as it could have been 'interpreted differently within any one culture at any one time, as well as between cultures and through time' (Graham, 2002: 1004), heritage had still much to offer; it was a representation of the past readily available for mass consumption within the present.

However, heritage had not emerged outside the 18th and 19th century developments and their respective contexts. Namely, heritage, similar to the concept of nation, is a modern construct and as such is strongly linked with the project of nation building (Chambers, 2004; Graham, 2002; Hewison, 1987; Walsh, 1999). As Walsh remarks, 'the idea of a nation' is 'largely a product of the late 18th and 19th century' when 'the emphasis on certain forms of national heritage has also promoted the relegation of local community histories and archaeologies, which endeavour to develop a sense of place'¹³ (1999: 178). What the nation building projects endeavoured to do was not only to develop a sense of place, but to develop a *particular* sense of place as all heritage preserved has been chosen and preserved for a reason. As Hewison (1999: 161) puts it, the

¹³ Cross (2001:1) claims that the rather elusive concept of the 'sense of place', has been used very widely across the social sciences to signify '*place attachment, topophilia, insidedness, and community sentiment*'. Geographers, however, seem to have examined the 'sense of place' as both intrinsic to the locality of a place and as place attachment (Cosgrove in Johnston et al, 2000). Interestingly, Ashworth and Graham (2005: 3) argue that senses of places are imagined by individuals as well as the society as a whole and that in essence these meanings of a place which constitute a distinct sense of place are not intrinsic to a place but that these are 'ascribed to places by people'.

question is: '...what kind of past have we chosen to preserve, and what that has done to our present'. In this sense 'heritage is as much about forgetting as remembering the past' (Graham, 2002: 1004), as some heritage is chosen for the purposes of nation building projects and some is excluded.

Heritage achieved its golden age in modernity (McCrone et al, 1995; Harvey, 2001; Hewison in Uzzell 1989; Lowenthal, 1998; Pretes, 2003), when its importance had grown as it became one of the major parts of nation building projects, clearly exposing the link between heritage and national identity. Being about 'individual and collective identity' (Harrison, 2005: 7) and the 'chief focus of patriotism' (Lowenthal, 1998), heritage is one of the major factors facilitating the process of construction, development and preservation of nations and their respective national and cultural identities. Heritage therefore, is one of the key essences of nations and modern nation-states, where a nation is understood to involve '...some sense of political community, history, territory, patria, citizenship, common values and traditions' (Smith, 1991: 9) and where heritage is its symbolic embodiment.

3.3 Heritage and tourism

Within the postmodern [western] world, the nation-state and society have gone through a change and so has the role of heritage within them. Still seen as a key essence of construction, development and preservation of national identities, heritage has additionally been commercialised, defined through economic commodification and widely used for the postmodern forms of leisure (Harvey, 2001; McCrone et al, 1995), such as heritage tourism, nature oriented tourism (Uriely, 1997) and cultural tourism (Hannabuss, 1999). By referring to the work of Hewison (1987) and Hiller (1976), Goulding argues that 'the ever more popular heritage has

undergone a process of industrialisation' becoming just 'another commodity to be bought and sold' (2000: 836).

The reasons for such a reinforced interest and popularity of heritage are numerous. Lowenthal (1979), for example, argues that people's nostalgia for the past is intensified by the contemporary destruction of historic relics, motivating people to search for their roots and identity, while Hannabuss (1999) similarly claims that people consuming heritage [visitors] are in search for coherence in their increasingly fragmented [postmodern] lives. So strong is that searching for coherence and roots, that in Britain alone, Hewison (1987) notes that a new museum opens every fortnight.

However, Walsh (1999: 116) argues that:

The expansion of heritage during the late 1970s and 1980s was not just a response to a perceived need for the past during a period when a rigorous (post-) modern life eroded a sense of history and rootedness. It should also be considered as a product of expansion of the wider leisure and tourism services sector, and an articulation of the service-class culture.

As an 'articulation of the service-class culture' (Walsh, 1999: 116) and a connection to 'our roots' within the fragmented contemporary postmodern life (Hannabuss, 1999; Lowenthal, 1979), heritage has become primarily important for the purpose of consumption through tourism and visitation. This raised numerous questions surrounding the issue of heritage preservation and sustainable management found in a number of recently published scholarly literature (i.e. McKercher and DuCross, 2002; Leask and Fyall, 2006; Ashworth and van der Aa, 2006; Rakić, 2007). It is within the romantic conception of heritage, that tourism is often portrayed as a purely negative phenomenon contributing considerably to utilisation and exploitation of heritage, rather than its conservation (i.e. UNESCO, 1995). However, in a postmodern context in which heritage has become commercialised tourism can also, undoubtedly, be seen as the only valid reason for its preservation, especially in places where other economic developments would imply its destruction (Hall, 2001).

Robinson et al (2000) note that it would be hard to imagine tourism without heritage. Heritage is an 'exhibit' used for the purposes of tourism, where our past is '...continually being restored, reconstructed, packaged, interpreted and displayed...'and where 'tourists are offered a wide range of heritage 'products'...' (ibid: v). Heritage is increasingly commodified for touristic consumption, the past constantly 'processed' and 'packaged' while heritage is changed by making it '...accessible, popular, entertaining and educational...' (ibid: vi).

Whatever the issues tourism as a global phenomenon brought, what is apparent is that the primary role heritage had in the 18th and 19th century that of supporting nation building projects has diminished and changed form. Heritage, in the postmodern [western] world, the world of service based economies, multiculturalism, fragmentation, mobility and power of global information flows, seems to be more about consumption through tourism than nation building (see also Urry, 1995 and discussions in part V of this thesis). Nonetheless, as this thesis will demonstrate as has been noted before 'tourism and nationalism bear more than a passing resemblance' (Hamilakis, 2008: 19). Thus, it is possible, and to be expected, that tourism and nationalism (along with its respective nation-building project and agenda) can co-exist, especially in the context of heritage. Heritage is rapidly gaining importance as a vivid 'exhibit' of the past and the nation on a global level, primarily important as an object of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 2002) and an object of symbolic consumption through visitation. Thus, being as it often is, a tangible 'proof' of a nation's deep past, heritage 'exhibited' for international 'inspection' through visitation (i.e. see Hamilakis, 2008: 19) can also simultaneously serve to verify and reinforce the identity of the people who consider and 'exhibit' it as theirs. In the postmodern world, heritage seems also to be used as a marker of differentiation between places, regions and states which are competing for their share of the tourism market. In the postmodern world tourism is after all:

...a major human activity, and a service industry with not only considerable economic, but also social, political, cultural, educational and environmental significance at both the domestic and international level.

(Papadopoulos and Mirza, 1985: 125)

As with other key concepts with which this thesis is concerned, a strict, 'universally' valid definition of tourism has proven very difficult to produce. This has resulted in a great number of tourism definitions being written by a number of authors, definitions which are usually produced to serve a particular study, or definitions attempting to be 'universally' valid, but eventually valid only within a particular research context.

Peter Burns (1999) in his book *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology* differentiates between anthropological and non-anthropological definitions of tourism. Thus the main difference in tourism definitions lies in the perspective from which tourism is studied. Burns reiterates this point further by saying that 'anthropologists and other social scientists argue that *people*, rather than *business* lies at the heart of the need to analyse tourism' (Burns, 1999: 88, italics in original), categorising simultaneously the two main focus points in tourism studies: people and business. Nevertheless, this does not preclude that:

It is difficult, and perhaps misleading, to generalise about tourism and tourists. We lack a commonly accepted definition of tourism partially because of the complexity of tourist activity and partially because different interests are concerned with different aspects of tourist activity.

(Van Harssel, 1994 in Burns, 1999: 25)

One of the definitions exemplary of the problems many definitions of tourism have is the one by Swarbrooke and Horner who say that tourism is:

...a short-term movement of people to places some distance from their normal place of residence to indulge in pleasurable activities.

(Swarbrooke and Horner, 1999: 4)

In addition to being rather simplistic, this definition does not include people travelling i.e. for business purposes whose trips often include leisure time nor does it define what 'some distance' or 'short-term movement' means. Therefore, as a conceptual definition, it does not

facilitate measurement and would not be very useful neither for the researchers of tourism who examine tourism as an economic activity or for social scientists as it is rather simplistic and excludes a number of activities. Adding to all these arguments, Rojek and Urry (1997: 2) are then right to argue that:

Lying behind many claims in this field [tourism studies] is a fairly simple-minded realism: that there are clear and identifiable processes 'out there' and these can be straightforwardly described by terms such as tourism and travel.

Indeed, as Franklin and Crang (2001: 7) note:

...tourism is now such a significant dimension to global social life that it can no longer be conceived of as merely what happens at self-styled tourist sites and encounters involving tourists away from home.

Thus, especially in the context of qualitative studies of tourism it is not particularly useful to think about tourism as a set of 'identifiable processes' (Rojek and Urry, 1997: 2) which can be measured by statistics. Rather, it might be more useful to think about and treat tourism as a concept, a state of mind, and, as Franklin and Crang (2001: 7) note, as a 'significant dimension to global social life'. It is in this sense that using a 'strict' definition of tourism involving lengths of stay, distance or particular practices is not useful within this study, especially considering that besides its economic significance tourism is also a complex set of social practices with very blurred boundaries. Then again, tourism is:

...at least part of the way we now perceive the world around us, wherever we are and whatever we do. It is a way of seeing and sensing the world with its own tool kit of technologies, techniques and aesthetic sensibilities and predispositions.

(Franklin and Crang, 2001: 8)

3.4 Heritage, tourism and the Greek nation: the case of the Acropolis

Similar to the more general arguments of the changing role of heritage within the postmodern [western] world which I made earlier, the primary role of the Athenian Acropolis has altered through time as well. In order to assess the changes that followed from its establishment as a key marker

of Greek national identity in the 19th century to the present day, I embark on a short historical overview of the Acropolis and its establishment as a place or *topos*, introducing in such a way the discussion surrounding some of the key processes through which the Athenian Acropolis came to be constructed as the key symbol of Greekness. This discussion will lead towards the issues surrounding tourism, postmodernity and the emergence of the Acropolis as one of the key Greek and World Heritage visitor attractions, from its origins as such in the Romantic era, up until its present role as a major tourist attraction within the postmodern [western] world.

Sotiriades (1913), a famous Greek architect from the beginning of the 20th century, gives a detailed description of the Acropolis in terms of the historical developments of its buildings and use from its very beginnings to the modern times. In terms of geographical positioning, he describes Acropolis as being located on a height of 153 meters above sea level, with a width of 156 meters and a length of 270 meters positioned, in the centre of Attica with its oval shape stretching from east towards west on an area of 30,000 square meters. The ancient town of Athens, called 'Polis' (town) had been built entirely on this rock fortified with strong stone walls, 4.5 to 6 meters wide (*ibid.*). The walls had been built during the 2nd millennium BC, while it was much later, most likely after 1000 BC that the town had actually spread beyond the walls. There was a distinction between the two areas of the then Athens, the lower town was given the name "Asty" (city), where gradually all the people had moved to (*ibid.*) and the upper was the Acropolis. From then onwards, people did not live in the upper town anymore, with an exception being the time that Peisistratus lived at the Acropolis with his sons 560-510 B.C. during their reign. Thereafter, the only time the Athenian Acropolis was re-inhabited was during the Ottoman Empire (15th – 19th century) when mostly Turkish populations lived there (Tsigakou, 1981). However, besides these two periods, the Acropolis hill in Athens was dedicated entirely to the worship

of gods, especially Athena, the goddess protecting the city (Sotiriades, 1913; Hurwit, 1999).

At that time (around 500 BC), [Ancient] Greeks didn't build temples or statues for their gods, rather, they worshiped them in sacred groves, with the earliest temples from soft limestone along with the first wooden statues called "xoana" being built at about 700 BC (Sotiriades, 1913). Between 700 and 480 BC the city with its culture and arts had prospered, with many statues and temples built on the Acropolis during this period. All of these were unfortunately destroyed by the Persians in 480 and 479 BC when Greeks drove Persians out in the famous naval battle of Salamis in 480 BC. They began rebuilding the Acropolis, no longer in soft limestone, but in Pentelic¹⁴ marble with the most beautiful and known buildings built in the time of Perikles (460-431 B.C.), also known as the golden age of Perikles.

It was in the age of Perikles that the Acropolis in Athens became considerably significant as *topos*. Perikles was an aristocrat who had emerged as a leader of the democratic party in 462 BC (Kondaratos, 1994), and who led the rebuilding of the Athenian Acropolis in the shadow of Persian Wars. Although confronted by many of his contemporaries, Perikles managed to argue his case on a number of occasions and his goal, of making Athens not only a military and political centre but also the centre of 'the school of Hellas', was achieved through the rise of monuments that would elevate the image and the standing of the city in the ancient world (Kondaratos, 1994).

During its long and rich history as a *topos*, the Athenian Acropolis was almost always used as a religious centre and a shrine and its existence in memory was perplexed with its multiple symbolic values. Its best known building, the Parthenon, was originally dedicated to the goddess Athena,

¹⁴ Pentelis is a 1,110 meters high mountain on the north-east of the Acropolis.

the protector of the city, while in the 5th century AD it was transformed to a Christian Church, only to be retransformed to a Mosque by the Ottomans in the 15th century AD (Kondaratos, 1994; Hitchens, 1997) and in the 19th and 20th century, despite the influences Christianity has had in Greece, it was to become a symbol and the embodiment of all things Greek (Yalouri, 2001).

Most of the buildings at the Acropolis, until some 350 years ago were nearly in perfect shape - speaking of the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and the Erechtheion (Sotiriades, 1913). In 1645, during the Ottoman rule, when Propylaea had been used to store gunpowder, a thunderbolt fell into it and destroyed it. Similarly, in 1687, the Venetians, under the command of Morosini, had thrown a bomb into the Parthenon, which was at that time also used to store gunpowder, destroying much of the building (Sotiriades, 1913; Kondaratos, 1994; Smith, 2004). The same year, 1687, Ottomans demolished the temple of the Wingless Victory and with its stones built a bastion in the Propylaea, while the original building was rebuilt of the same stones in 1833 (Sotiriades, 1913). And finally, the issue for which fierce international political and legal battles exist even today (Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2000; The British Museum, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d; Hitchens, 1997; The British Committee for the Restitution of Parthenon Marbles, 2002), in 1802, Lord Elgin, the then British ambassador to the declining Ottoman Empire, had removed twelve statues from the pediments, fifty six slabs and fifteen metopes from the frieze of the Parthenon (Kondaratos, 1994; Hitchens 1997) and took them to London, where they still remain.

Further damage to the monuments was done in the Greek War for Independence (1821-1828) when Turks were shooting on to the Acropolis hill from the hill of Philopappou (Sotiriades, 1913), while the Acropolis, as we know it, reached this form by the process known among archaeologists as the 'purification' of the Acropolis by which all the non

ancient monuments and buildings were removed from the hill (Hamilakis, 2008; Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1999; Yalouri, 2001), in an attempt to reach the ancient ideal dreamed about by so many of the 19th century European Philhellenes. Within the newly formed nation-state however (early-mid 19th century) this ideal was not anymore only a part of the Western Hellenism, it had gradually become a part of indigenous Hellenism, while Classical antiquity came to represent its 'golden age' (Hamilakis, 2008). The Athenian Acropolis, which at the time (early 19th century, see Figure 3.4.1) was not only a fortress but also a place where people lived, as it was decided at the time, had to undergo a process of 'purification'. This process 'involved separation of the ancient buildings from more recent constructions' and soon the Athenian Acropolis become an organised archaeological site, 'a monument rather than a fortress' (Hamilakis, 2008: 87), a monument to which entrance fees were charged from as early as 1835 (Petrakos, 1997 in Hamilakis, 2008).

Figure 3.4.1 An Athens of 7,000 souls
(colour copperplate from 1821, black and white copperplate from 1819)



(Source: Katimperzi, P. (2007, 27 December). An Athens of 2,000 souls [in Greek]. *Ta Nea*, p. 6/19.)

As Hamilakis (2008: 88-89) succinctly points out:

As the classical period¹⁵ was seen as the 'golden age' of the new nation-state, indeed of the whole of western civilisation, the new apparatuses of modernity such as the Archaeological Service and its practitioners were in a sense creating the visible and material record of this golden age.

¹⁵ Please note that the Classical period of ancient Greece roughly dates to 5th and 4th century BC and is the period between the Archaic and the Hellenistic periods.

However, although very important in the 19th century, the Athenian Acropolis and the glories of Ancient Greece including its Classical period were said to have been long forgotten during the Middle Ages (Kondaratos, 1994), while ancient Greece with its written heritage was 'rediscovered' in the 15th and 16th century Europe. This heritage was to become the basis of European and Western thought and civilisation. Thus, the symbolic value of the Athenian Acropolis, not only to Europe but also to the rest of the western world has its roots in the growth of humanistic sciences during the 15th and the 16th century, a time when there was still, very little interest in the actual physical remains of Classical Greece (Athanasopoulou, 2002). The focus of attention of the then developing humanistic sciences was in its written heritage. The 17th century brought with it the early travellers to Greece, who were 'identifying, describing and interpreting the famous sites' and who later on started collecting physical objects such as inscriptions and statues, leading to the 18th century when Greece had become fundamental in defining European identity (Athanasopoulou, 2002: 279). The 18th century saw the dawn of new philosophical and historical discourses, namely Hellenism and Orientalism, with Orientalism defining the uniqueness of Europe as opposed to the Orient and Hellenism (see Said, 1995) looking at idealised Greece, now already a core and a 'home' of European spirit and western civilisation. Contemporary Greece with its Ottoman heritage was seen as something between the 'familiar' and the 'exotic' (Athanasopoulou, 2002: 276-280).

Thus, as a Greek symbolic capital and an 'archeological topos', the Athenian Acropolis was entirely a modern construct (Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1999), having its origins in the Greek war for Independence from the Ottoman Empire (1821-1828). It was then that the Greek nation state was created and that the Athenian Acropolis came under Greek control (Athanasopoulou, 2002). Athens, which was to become the capital shortly after Ermoupolis in Siros and Nafplion in Peloponnesus (see also Clogg,

2002 and Hamilakis, 2008), was an obvious choice for the then emerging Greek state. Although at the time, 'no more than a dusty village', it was 'dominated by the imposing ruins of the Parthenon', the most powerful associations with the glories of the age of Perikles (Clogg, 2002: 49). Interestingly, accounts of pre-modern local attitudes towards the Athenian Acropolis show that ancient remains were believed to have miraculous properties (Athanasopoulou, 2002; Hamilakis, 2008). In this sense, ancient remains were not at the time treated as symbols of the local population, but rather, as objects which had miraculous properties.

Until the Greek War of Independence (1821-1828), antiquities were commodities (Athanasopoulou, 2002), highly valued items in European collections, while during the war and soon after, all antiquities, with the Acropolis as the chief connection to its glorious ancient past, had become the symbolic capital of the newly formed Greek nation state. It was the Athenian Acropolis and no other existing Classical heritage that had 'played a crucial role in the construction of the Greek nation' (ibid: 292). In 1826, the ancient monuments were declared to be national property of the new Greek state and their removal to Europe or other places for safekeeping was 'no longer a legitimate argument' (ibid). And from then on, under the major influence of European Philhellenism, the Greek state had a major task ahead:

...Greece and Athens in particular had to live up to their images as birthplace of the European spirit and Western civilisation...

(Athanasopoulou, 2002: 291).

The Athenian Acropolis had to be 'purified' of its unwanted non-Classical pasts in order to reach its original 5th century Classical stage, with all the pre-Classical remains such as the Ottoman and Byzantine remains removed (Athanasopoulou, 2002; Yalouri, 2001). The Acropolis we visit today and know as a symbolic representation of Greece is the Acropolis stripped of its post-Classical history; it is the Acropolis of European ideals and Western values.

3.5 Conclusions

In this Chapter I discussed the complexities of heritage as a concept. Heritage, I claimed is an elusive term, difficult to define, especially considering its ever changing nature and role. Despite its changing role and nature, heritage in most cases seems to be a connection and a representation of the past within the present which was made readily available for mass consumption through visitation and tourism.

While discussing the historical context within which heritage emerged, I acknowledged that heritage emerged in the 18th and the 19th century as a part of the nation building projects, and as such, that heritage was 'the chief focus of patriotism' (Lowenthal, 1998). However, the nature of heritage was changing; through its popularity with tourists it was becoming ever more important for the purposes of visitation. Importantly, among other, physical heritage also as became an 'exhibit', and a 'proof' of a nation's deep past, linking ever more closely nation-building projects with tourism and visitation, especially at nationally important and symbolically charged sites.

The Athenian Acropolis, the most important archaeological site in Greece and the embodiment of all things Greek had a similar 'fate'. This was evident in the overview of the history of the Athenian Acropolis as a *topos* of significance, starting from its context of Ancient Greece to its 'construction' as a key symbol of the modern Greek state in the 19th century, up until today, when the Acropolis is said to be perceived as the embodiment of the Greek nation *and* a major heritage tourism attraction in Greece (Yalouri, 2001).

However the question is: did the Athenian Acropolis, similar to other heritage sites, in the context of postmodernity and the increasing commercialisation of heritage, become more significant as a major tourist attraction than as a national symbol? How did the Acropolis come to be a

heritage tourism attraction? Is [heritage] tourism in Greece today about displaying the symbols of the national past to the visitor? Does it in such a way provide yet another link between heritage and the nation, this time through tourism? What is the role of tourism in the construction of the Greek nation? All these questions and a few more I seek to address in Chapter 4 which focuses on tourism at the Acropolis

Chapter 4 Tourism at the Acropolis

Two hundred years ago perhaps it was possible for travellers from the West to ignore the present as they brought into focus *topoi* from the Hellenic past. Today, however Hellas is so densely populated and so richly cultivated that we can no longer afford to ignore its present.

(Leontis, 1995: 224)

4.1 Introduction

The 21st century is a century when tourism emerged as one of the major human activities and it is not a rarity that tourism is described as being the world's 'largest industry' (Hewison, 1987). However, since, as discussed in the previous Chapter, a strict 'universally' valid definition of tourism seems to be difficult to produce I do not attempt to define tourism in this Chapter. Rather, I open this Chapter with a section on the historical development of tourism in Greece, a section in which I trace the significance of the Athenian Acropolis as a place of particular interest for visitors from the 14th century onwards. Going through the centuries I pay particular attention to the 19th century, the century of the greatest travel to Greece and Athens, the century in which the idealisation of the Classical past of Athens reached its peak and the century in which this idealised image started to dissolve. I then discuss the developments of the 20th century tourism in Athens and move on to explore the emergence of the Athenian Acropolis as a [mass] tourism attraction. I finally engage in a discussion of the 'economics of culture' and the significance of the Acropolis in the contemporary Greek tourism industry. Having explored the development of tourism in Athens, its current significance, as well as the historical imagination and idealisation of the Athenian Classical past, this Chapter with its historical approach to tourism in Athens and visitation at the Acropolis is also a basis to understanding the changing nature of the experiences of the Acropolis by its visitors. In addition, by merging many of the themes which surfaced in previous Chapters such as the emergence of the Modern Greek state, the significance of Philhellenism

and finally the significance of tourism, this Chapter is partly also an introduction to the Chapter following which is titled *World Heritage, tourism and national identity*.

4.2 Early visits to the Acropolis: rediscovering Greece

Although people were visiting Athens and the Acropolis for non-religious purposes¹⁶ from as early as the Roman era, significant volumes of visitors coming to see the remains of the Athenian Classical past were noticed from the 16th century onwards (Travlou, 2001; Tzigakou, 1981).

However, the Athenian Classical past was not at all times an object of admiration despite the fact that Acropolis would eventually become 'Hellenism's most sacred site' (Leontis, 1995: 10). Sir Steven Runciman makes it clear that Western European attitudes towards Greece in general were ones of very changing nature:

In the Middle Ages the Greeks were objects of ignorant suspicion and dislike ...in the wake of the Renaissance came a growing admiration for ancient Greek literature and learning ... The interest was purely intellectual.

(Runciman, 1981: 7)

By the 18th century, as Runciman (1981: 8) notes, Classical antiquities were of growing interest - the 'rich of the West' began collecting them, with the most notable English pioneers being the Society of Dilettanti¹⁷, and the most dominant figure of the time, a German, Johan Joachim Winelmann who was at the same time 'the true founder of the study of Greek antiquities'. It was the Society of Dilettanti and Johan Joachim Winelmann who were also the key figures within the 'process of recognition and advancement of the Greek style' (Tsigakou, 1981: 19).

¹⁶ Throughout its history, much of the visitation at the Athenian Acropolis occurred for religious purposes. For further details please refer to section 3.3 which includes a brief history of the Acropolis as a place. Other useful publications on the subject include: Sotiriades (1913), Hurwit (1999), and a collection of essays in Turnikiotis (1994).

¹⁷ According to Tsigakou (1981: 19) the Society of Dilettanti was 'a club of aristocratic connoisseurs whose aim was to promote the "Grecian taste" '.

This was followed by the Romantic Movement marked by Lord Byron (ibid) and Philhellenism (Travlou, 2001). However, these trends, of 'collecting' and studying Greek antiquities and subsequently 'idealising' Modern Greeks as heirs of the Ancients (see also Travlou, 2001), developed gradually and have their early beginnings in the 14th century.

Tsigakou (1981: 12) claims that in Europe by the dawn of the 14th century, there was already a body of literature on contemporary Greece, texts ranging from Classical origin to travellers' tales all of which were creating an 'idiosyncratic and fanciful image of Greece'. The 15th century brought the 'enthusiasm of European humanists for the recovery of Classical Greek literature' and by the end of the century 'works of most of the ancient Greek historians, poets and philosophers' were translated to Latin (ibid: 12-13). However, during the 15th century, although European scholars studied a great number of Classical texts, they showed very little or no interest at all in contemporary Greece, its inhabitants or in fact the physical remains of ancient Athens and Greece (Athanasopoulou, 2001; Tsigakou, 1981).

In the 16th century there was a significant growth of interest in physical remains from ancient Greece although the image of Athens and Greece was still very much shaped by pilgrims going to the Holy Land as well as merchants (Tsigakou, 1981). The 17th century brought about antiquity collectors, some even employed by the English and French courts (Tsigakou, 1981). These collections, especially during the last part of the 17th century produced further interest of Europeans in ancient Greek remains, attracting ever more travellers to Greece (ibid). Importantly, it was in the 17th century that some of the very first travellers who combined scholarship and travelogues appeared; namely, a French doctor Jacob Spon and an English naturalist George Wheler (ibid). A relatively accurate representation of the Parthenon appears for the very first time in Europe in Spon's book (Tsigakou, 1981).

The 18th century brought about even more travellers to Greece, many of whom were travellers on their Grand Tour¹⁸ seeking to experience its ancient remains first hand¹⁹ (Tsigakou, 1981) - despite the fact that some remains, from the collections of the 17th century, could have already been seen exhibited in Europe. Importantly, it is in the 18th century that the Society of Dilettanti and Johan Joachim Winelmann (founder of the study of Greek antiquities) appeared as well as many writers and artists who travelled to, drew and wrote about Greece.

4.3 Lord Byron and the 19th century travellers to Greece

Throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, classical Greece, and particularly the city of Athens, constituted the starting point of Europeans...

(Loukaki, 1997: 314)

The 19th century which followed, was very significant in that it was a 'great age of travel to Greece' when there was 'a great tension between the Hellenic ideal and what was actually there, a time when glorious past confronted contemporary reality' (Athanasopoulou, 2002: 284). As Melina Mercouri said about Lord Byron, one of the English noblemen who arrived to Greece on his Grand Tour in 1809 and later emerged as one of the best known Romantic poets, the greatest of all Philhellenes and a passionate fighter for the 'Greek cause':

...Byron first came to Greece as a romantic young pilgrim to the country of myth. And yet for Byron, his visit was not a visit to an ideal world [as it was for most travellers of his time].

(Melina Mercouri, the then Greek Minister of Culture, 1987: 7, text in brackets added)

Indeed, Greece in the early 19th century was:

¹⁸ Since the late 18th century, the Grand Tour was 'an obligatory prerequisite of a young nobleman's education' (Tsigakou, 1987: 22). It was very popular in the 19th century (Yiakoumis, 1997) and usually took a form of a lengthily tour of southern Europe (Bonarou, 2001) which in a great number of cases included a visit to Greece, Athens and the Acropolis (see Yiakoumis, 1997).

¹⁹ There were of course travellers who came to Greece in the 19th century for reasons other than to solely experience its ancient ruins. There were cases for example of scientists who came to study its flora and fauna (Tsigakou, 1981).

...a fashionable meeting place for tourists of all nationalities. ... To a European traveller, to visit Greece in the early nineteenth century was to visit an ideal.

(Tsigakou, 1981: 26).

Byron himself (in a communication to his mother) said that in Athens in 1810 he was 'conversing with French, Italians, Germans, Danes, Greeks, Turks, Americans etc' (Byron in Tsigakou, 1987: 24). Many of the then travellers to Athens were writers (i.e. Chateaubriand, Flaubert, Lamartine, Renan etc), poets (i.e. Byron), painters (i.e. Delacroix), photographers (i.e. Stillman, des Granges) and architects (i.e. Garnier) whose stay often lasted between 5 to 10 years (Simopoulos, 1975). Their writings, paintings and photographs, which were often published together in a book format, becoming bestsellers of their time, had a great impact all over the [western] world motivating even further travel to Athens and Greece (Yiakoumis, 1997; Simopoulos, 1975). Here are few excerpts from some of their writings:

How can I, by description, give you any idea of the great pleasure I enjoyed in the sight of these ancient buildings of Athens! How strongly were exemplified in them the grandeur and effect of simplicity in architecture.

(Robert Smirke, 1803 in Tsigakou, 1981: 121)

...in viewing the Parthenon, we were so much affected by its solemn appearance...the spectator who for the first time approaches it finds that nothing he has read can give any idea of the effect produced in beholding it.

(Edward Daniel Clarke, 1810-1823 in Tsigakou, 1981: 122)

The beauty of the temples I well know from endless drawings – but the immense sweep of plain with exquisitely formed mountains down to the sea – & the manner that huge mass of rock – the Acropolis – stands above the modern town with its glittering white marble ruins against the deep blue sky is quite beyond my expectations... poor old scrubby Rome sinks into nothing by the side of such beautiful magnificence.

(Edward Lear, 1848 in Tsigakou, 1981:127)

What ruins! What people the Greeks! What artists! We read, and keep notes. As far as I am concerned, I find myself in a divine mood, I breathe the ancient spirit with all the strength of my mind. The Goddess of the Parthenon are of the things that touched me most in my life.

(Gustave Flaubert, 1850 in Yiakoumis, 1997: 70, *translated from Greek*)

Strangely enough, it was at Athens, in 1865, that I first felt a strong backward impulse, the effect being that of a fresh and bracing breeze coming from afar. The impression which Athens made upon me was the strongest which I have ever felt. There is one and only one place in which perfection exists, and that is Athens, which outdid anything I had ever imagined. I had before my eyes the ideal of beauty crystallised in the marble of Pentelicus. ... I of course knew before I went there that Greece had created science, art, and philosophy, but the means of measurement were wanting. The sight of the Acropolis was like a revelation of the Divine...

(Ernest Renan, *Prayer on the Acropolis*, 1865)

As it surfaced from these excerpts, most travellers (with exemption of Lord Byron and few others) who visited Athens at this time seemed to experience the city almost exclusively through the prism of its past and ruins. It is in this sense that both Smirke and Clarke write about their visit to the ancient monuments in Athens, as something to which nothing else could be compared with. Lear, on the other hand, although writing about the beauty of the Acropolis which exceeded his expectations, goes even further to compare Athens and Rome, while Flaubert speaks about the 'divine mood', possibly also triggered by the sensation of sublime provoked by his visit to the Acropolis. In other words, in addition to the sensation of sublime which is often provoked in them at the point of the visit, there also seems to be a spiritual dimension to these writers' experience of the Acropolis. This spiritual dimension is evident in Lear's phrase 'glittering white marble ruins against the deep blue sky', Flaubert's description of 'the divine mood' he found himself in, where he also refers to the Goddess of the Parthenon, as well as in Renan's excerpt titled 'Prayer on the Acropolis' where he refers to the 'revelation of the Divine'. This being the case, these writers seem also to identify with the Acropolis on a spiritual dimension. Another common theme is that all these writers, including Renan for whom Athens was a place 'in which perfection exists', tend to incline towards writing about Athens and Greece which were 'perfect' and 'glorious' not because of its contemporary reality but because of its ruins from its past.

At the very end of the 19th century John Addington Symonds in *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece* writes:

...Athens, like the Greeks of the history, is isolated in a sort of self-completion: she is a thing of the past, which still exists, because the spirit never dies, because beauty is joy forever...the modern town is an insignificant mushroom of the present century...the actual Athens of Perikles absorbs our attention.

(Symonds, 1898 in Tzigakou, 1981: 119)

In the latter half of the century and in particular towards the end of the century this was to change and travellers were to show more interest towards the Athenian everyday life. Their writings, paintings and representations of the Athenian life resembled early ethnographic work and later became vital material to historians (Simopoulous, 1975). This turn of interests towards the Athenian (and Greek) everyday was partially also influenced by Philhellenism which became 'a fashion' (Tsigakou, 1981: 48), as well as by the death of Lord Byron in Missolonghy in 1824 where he was a Commander-in-Chief for the Greek uprising. However, although many writers of the latter part of the 19th century were 'followers of Byron' (Roessel, 2002), what eventually became evident in the writings of travellers of the time was a great disappointment with contemporary Greeks and their way of life, who in their eyes, didn't live up to their expectations as the descendants of the Ancient Greeks (Tsigakou, 1981). Particularly interesting is that travel-books published at the time portrayed the Greeks as 'pictorial specimens of a country with Eastern manners and Western architecture, sunny shores, classical temples and European facilities for travel' (ibid: 79).

In addition, the great interest the members of the western art scene had in Athens during the late 18th and throughout the 19th century also rapidly diminished with the emergence of cubism at the very end of the 19th century (Yiakoumis, 1997). And so, before the century ended 'not only was classical imagery to be demythologised ... but also the assumed universality of the classical world was to be put in question' (ibid: 77).

4.4 The emergence of the Acropolis as a [mass] tourist attraction

Due to its fame, the iconic representations of the Athenian Acropolis were quickly spreading as much in Europe as in the rest of the world, especially after the invention of photography in the late 19th century²⁰. Until then, the Parthenon and the Acropolis were represented through [often not very realistic] paintings of many different artists (Tsigakou, 1981). These images, as well as texts which described the Acropolis coupled with the ever easier travel and growth in disposable income in the western world, were motivating more and more people to visit the Acropolis.

As time passed by, Greece was becoming ever more politically stable and accessible. What was indeed interesting was that despite the fact that representations of the Athenian Acropolis were now widely disseminated all over the [western] world, the sight of it upon visitation was still provoking deep feelings in its visitors. One of the most quoted visits of the 20th century is that of Sigmund Freud who, after visiting the Acropolis in 1904, expressed a sensation of disbelief at seeing the Acropolis in an open letter to his friend (Freud, 1950), a disbelief that he actually saw the Acropolis and by doing so surpassed the achievements of his own father. Strikingly, this visit and the thinking it provoked in an already elderly Freud arguably resulted in a number of psychoanalytical advancements such as his seminal theory of the Oedipus complex (Slochower, 1970).

As the numbers of visitors to Greece, and in particular the numbers of visitors to Athens and to its Acropolis, increased throughout the 20th century and especially in its latter half (post WWII), the Greek state quickly recognised the economic benefits tourism could bring to the country. As Clogg (2002: 149, text in brackets added) remarks:

²⁰ The first person to photograph the Parthenon was Pierre Gustave Gaspard Joly de Lotbiniere in 1839 (Swartz, 1996)

Before the war [WWII] tourism was a negligible factor in the economy. Rapidly rising standards of living in Western Europe, coupled with the development of mass air travel and much improved internal communications, in part a consequence of the civil war, led to tourism reaching 'take-off' stage in the 1950s, a development that was to have a significant impact on the country's [Greece's] mores and customs as well as on the balance of payments.

Galani-Moutafi (2002: 293) also claims that 'in the period after the war, tourism in Greece and in Cyprus, but also internationally, showed a dynamic development which intensified after the 1970s', while it is also Travlou (2001: 25) who notes that the 1950s 'were more or less the beginnings of mass tourism in Greece' adding that from the 1960s onwards the tourist industry in Greece 'gained significant proportions'. Indeed, as Paris Tsartas, a Professor of Tourism Development at the University of the Aegean claims, 'the early after war decades elevated tourism as the key segment of the Greek economy and development' (Tsartas, 2007, translated from Greek).

Athens, according to Travlou (2001), was the country's most popular destination in the period of the early [mass] tourism development in Greece (1950s-1975). She says that then the city as a destination functioned in two main modes: 1) as a destination for itself; and 2) as a 'junction', a stop-over place for people travelling elsewhere in Greece, while the average length of stay was twelve days (this is remarkable, especially if compared to the 5 to 10 years average length of stay during the 19th century, see section 4.3 of this Chapter). After the 1970s with the rapid development of the tourism infrastructure and the international popularity of all-inclusive package tours, Greek Islands and other Greek destinations had become 'independent destinations' (ibid: 26), impacting greatly the nature and the volume of visitation to Athens, as well as the Acropolis. The visits to Athens became shorter, average spending lower, and Athens was no longer the most popular destination - instead, Athens had become a 'transit destination' (Travlou, 2001: 27). Similarly, Asprogerakas (2007: 93) in his study of the tourism industry in Athens

found that the foreign tourist overnight stays in Athens as a percentage of the total number at national level of Greece was marked by a constant drop – from 45% in 1971 to only 7% in the year 2000!

Despite the fact that Athens 'has much to offer to its visitors' its 'greatest asset is the wonders of its past' (Asprogerakas, 2007). Indeed, the key 'tourist product' of Athens was, after all these years of tourism boom in Greece, its 'cultural heritage', while Athens was promoted 'as the "birthplace of western civilisation" on the basis of its classical past' (ibid: 36-37). After all, cultural sites 'seemed to be responsible for the genesis of the tourism industry in Athens' (Asprogerakas, 2007). As Travlou aptly depicts:

... tourist attractions that are promoted are its monuments and ruins. The idea of urban tourism in Athens, accordingly, is synonymous with cultural-heritage tourism and, more specifically, with only a part of it, the historic tourism. This is due to the concentration in Athens of many of the most famous ancient Greek monuments.

(Travlou, 2001: 30)

The 'tourism product' of Athens is not at all diversified especially once Athens is compared to other European capitals (Asprogerakas, 2007). Asprogerakas (2007: 107) claims that, besides the existence of many internationally known cultural sites in Athens, additional reasons for that are: 1) 'the weak national policy' 2) 'the non-existence of policy initiatives at local level; and 3) 'the weakness of the private sector'.

In terms of tourist activities in Athens, interestingly, and somewhat similar to the activities of some of the early travellers to Athens, Travlou (2001) found that 'most of the tourist activities [still] take place in and around the historic centre of Athens, where the major monuments and sites are situated (i.e. Acropolis, Roman Market)' whereas 'the rest of the city appears to be of little interest to the tourists' (ibid: 36).

The Acropolis is *the* best known and *the* most visited Athenian cultural heritage site, with half of the tourists in Athens in 1997 having visited the

Acropolis (1.2 million) and only 25% its best known museum (Asprogerakas, 2007). If this is compared with the grand total of foreign arrivals to Greece the same year which was 10,588,489 (Buhalis, 2001: 448), this roughly translates that one in every 11 to 12 tourists who came to Greece (and not only Athens!) also paid a visit to the Athenian Acropolis.

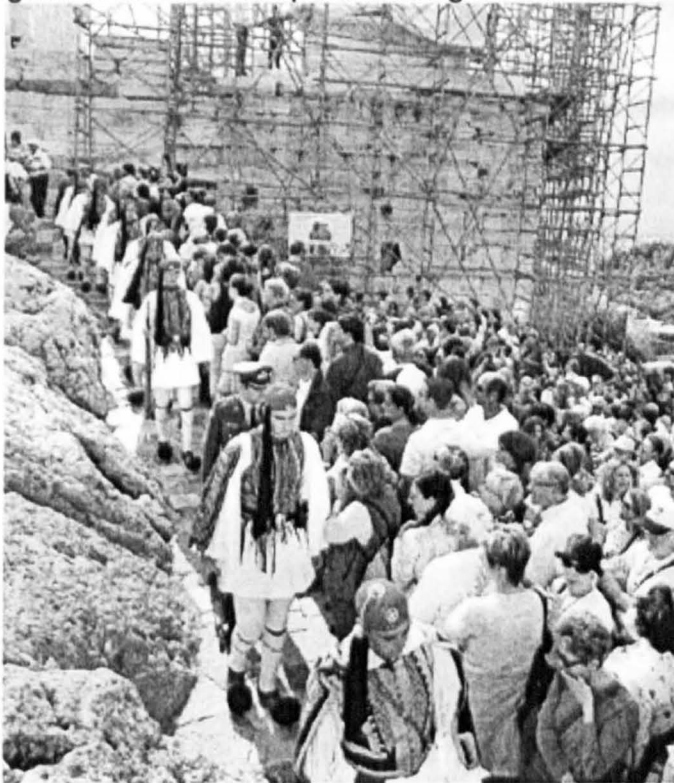
Indeed, the Acropolis, 'the most significant symbolic locus of Western civilisation' (Loukaki, 1997: 306), is still seen as one of the most popular heritage tourist attractions, not only in Athens and in Greece, but also globally, i.e. Poria et al (2003: 249) mention the Acropolis as one of the 'global "must see" attractions'. Today, over a million visitors visit the Acropolis annually. According to the Greek Ministry of Culture (2006) a total of 1,069,973 people visited the Acropolis in 2003; 1,088,117 in 2004 and 1,079,199 in 2005.²¹

In a newspaper article, Maria Thermou (2006: C05), an archaeologist, wrote that especially in the summer when at times over 3,000 visitors are present at the site in one single hour 'Acropolis cannot stand so much admiration', see also Figure 4.4.1. Indeed, current Acropolis visitor numbers might seem rather high, especially if those are compared to the ones of smaller museums in Greece. Namely, once their figures are combined, 70 smaller museums in Greece issued circa 10,000 tickets in 2006 (Kontrarou-Rassia, 2007) comparing to the Acropolis where the figure was over a million (Greek Ministry of Culture, 2006). Despite this being the case - that the Athenian Acropolis generates great visitor numbers and that sometimes archaeologists question whether the site

²¹ Although official these figures are far from accurate as very often visitors entitled to enter the site free of charge (such as all EU pupils and students throughout the year as well as all visitors visiting the site on Sundays during the low season months and on few national holidays when the entrance to the site is free of charge) are not given a free entry ticket and therefore are not accounted for in these figures (source: T. Rakić, 2006-2007, the Acropolis research diary).

can adhere to such high numbers - Prof Eleni Louri-Dendrinou²² seems to believe that the Acropolis visitor numbers and income generated from culture related activities in general are relatively low and in need of a further boost (ibid). Findings from her research showed that in the year 1980 the Acropolis visitor numbers were much higher with 1.7 million visitors visiting the site that year (comparing to 2006 when there were just over a million visitors), while Greece was at 9th position in Europe with regard to its 'occupation with culture', whereas European culture related income had contributed an overall 2,6% of the European GDP in comparison with sales of food and drinks which contributed 1,9% (ibid). The 'economics of culture' had once again surfaced as 'a topic of central significance to Greece' (Kontrarou-Rassia, 2007) and the Acropolis held a central role in it. After all, the Athenian Acropolis was now the country's most popular heritage visitor attraction.

Figure 4.4.1 The Acropolis during a tourist season



(Source: Thermou, M. (2006, 3 December). Acropolis cannot stand so much admiration [in Greek]. To Vima, p. C05.)

²² Prof Eleni Louri-Dendrinou was at the time/and still is the Greek Prime Minister's economic advisor. Her presentation, based on which Ms Kontrarou-Rassia wrote the newspaper article 'Culture: going down', took place at a round table of the Greek Ministry of Culture in January 2007.

4.5 Conclusions

Having discussed the notion of tourism and elaborated on some of the difficulties involved in defining what tourism actually is in the previous Chapter; in this Chapter I went deeper into the history of tourism at the Acropolis. The historical approach which I adopted to discuss the development of tourism in Athens and visitation at the Acropolis, reflected some of the complexities involved in exploring these issues. Adopting a rather historical and holistic approach throughout these five more theoretical Chapters (the two preceding, this one and the following Chapter) will assist in shedding a 'better' light on the fact that the Acropolis did not become one of the key visitor attractions rapidly, but rather that it was a fairly slow process. Many historical events, as well as circumstances contributed to it eventually becoming what it is within the context of contemporary tourism - a [mass] tourism attraction located in the heart of Athens. In this Chapter I addressed some of the reasons *why* and *how* the Acropolis became a 'must see' visitor attraction. To be precise, with its fame and symbolic resonances (especially during and after the 19th century) rapidly spreading across Europe and the remainder of the [western] world, the ever more stable political situation in Greece, and the ever easier, affordable and safer travel, the Athenian Acropolis, in just over a couple of centuries, emerged, among other, also as one of the 'must see' international visitor attractions.

As I explored tourism related developments in Athens over the centuries, from the 14th century onwards, I paid particular attention to the 19th century as this was a 'great age of travel to Greece' (Athanasopoulou, 2002: 284). Importantly, it was in the 19th century that the fame of an idealised Athenian past rapidly disseminated all over the [western] world, mainly through the work of the great number of artists who painted, wrote and photographed Athens and the Acropolis. The end of the same century brought about the fading of this ideal; much of the artists' attention was turned to the emergence of cubism. With its now already

'global fame' (Yalouri, 2001), the Acropolis in the 20th and the 21st century rapidly moved towards becoming a [mass] tourism attraction, a place of great significance not only for the Greek nation, but also for the country's economy.

With its 'glory' spreading all over the world and its great significance for the Greek state, it was only to be expected that the Acropolis would be one of the first cultural heritage sites to be nominated for inclusion on the prestigious, but also, historically speaking, relatively recent World Heritage List. What this listing meant for Greece and the Acropolis, as well as what World Heritage status signified in the context of site preservation, heritage prestige and tourism is something which I will move on to discuss in the following Chapter, Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 identity²³

World Heritage, tourism and national

That landscapes of tourism consumption are simultaneously other people's sacred places is one of the principal causes of heritage contestation on a global scale.

(Graham, 2002: 1005)

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter is an arena within which I provide an introduction to some of the current issues and debates surrounding World Heritage and the significance these have for the case of the Athenian Acropolis. Debates to which I give particular attention are: 1) the debate surrounding the history of World Heritage, how the project started as a conservation tool and how it finally emerged as more important for the purposes of the tourism industry and nation building than for the purposes of conservation and 2) the debate surrounding the national vs. 'universal' belonging of World Heritage sites. Namely, I argue that the concept of World Heritage drifted from its original intention of preserving and promoting heritage sites of 'outstanding universal value'. First of all, the World Heritage site status eventually seems to have become more important for the purposes of tourism than preservation. Secondly, many nominations of sites to the World Heritage List seem to be made in hope that the status will attract more visitors. And lastly, World Heritage seems to have also become an arena for nation building projects where some countries seem to compete in getting sites listed (see also Rakić, 2007).

²³ Please note that earlier versions of some parts of the text included in this Chapter also appear in the paper: Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007). World Heritage: Exploring the Tension Between the National and the 'Universal' *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 2(3), 145 - 155. (See Appendix D). In addition, some other parts of the text included in this Chapter appear in the paper: Rakić, T. (2007). World Heritage: Issues and debates. *Tourism: an international interdisciplinary journal*, 55(2), 109-119. (See Appendix C).

While discussing the debates surrounding the concept of World Heritage as well as the practical issues found at other World Heritage sites, I essentially argue that these issues and debates have not bypassed the Acropolis. Despite the fact that World Heritage is just another accreditation scheme [though a rather significant one on a global level] the Athenian Acropolis being, among other, the symbol of the World Heritage idea (UNESCO, 2006a), seems to be exemplary of the debates and issues surrounding World Heritage which have been discussed in a large number of academic publications. In other words, in this Chapter not only do I 'guide the reader' through the various issues and debates surrounding World Heritage but I also explore the meanings of the World Heritage Status for the Athenian Acropolis. At the very end of the Chapter, I pose the burning question through which I explore the validity of the very concept of World Heritage - So, whom does the Acropolis belong to?

5.2 World Heritage: conservation, tourism and nation building

The international convention for the protection of heritage of 'outstanding universal value', the World Heritage Convention, was adopted by UNESCO in 1972 and became effective on 17 December 1975. Despite the immense significance of heritage conservation in order to preserve heritage for future generations as well as for purposes of visitation (i.e. tourism), until quite recently no international movement existed which would attempt to preserve the most important heritage sites in the world. It is in this sense that UNESCO's World Heritage idea and subsequent conservation work is an admirable attempt, despite the problems which eventually developed. As its World Heritage mission, UNESCO seeks to:

- encourage countries to sign the World Heritage Convention and to ensure the protection of their natural and cultural heritage;
- encourage States Parties to the Convention to nominate sites within their national territory for inclusion on the World Heritage List;

- encourage States Parties to establish management plans and set up reporting systems on the state of conservation of their World Heritage sites;
- help States Parties safeguard World Heritage properties by providing technical assistance and professional training;
- provide emergency assistance for World Heritage sites in immediate danger;
- support States Parties' public awareness-building activities for World Heritage conservation;
- encourage participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage;
- encourage international cooperation in the conservation of our world's cultural and natural heritage.

(UNESCO, 2007)

As hinted in UNESCO's mission statement, the responsibility of conservation of World Heritage Sites lies with various parties, the most common ones being: the local and regional governmental bodies, the national government, regional, national and international heritage conservation bodies, agencies, organisations and the local population. UNESCO's role as the key international World Heritage organisation is important not only for inventing the World [class of] Heritage, but also for its power of influence, expertise and funding. However, although quite influential, UNESCO has only an advisory role in World Heritage Site management since the Convention does not imply its direct intervention (Hitchcock, 2005). The World Heritage work of UNESCO is mainly supported, among other international organisations, by its two main advisory bodies: the IUCN²⁴ and the ICOMOS²⁵.

From the time the Convention was adopted in 1972, until today, World Heritage has proved to be very popular – to date 185 countries had signed the Convention and the World Heritage Committee had approved the inclusion of 878 properties on the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 2008). Of these properties 679 are cultural, 174 natural and 25 mixed and are located in 146 of the total 185 countries, signatories to the Convention

²⁴ International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources

²⁵ International Council on Monuments and Sites

(UNESCO, 2008). In addition, it is not a rarity for World Heritage sites and their status to appear in guidebooks, national tourism campaigns and other popular publications (Beck, 2006; Rakić and Chambers, 2007; Rakić, 2007).

In other words, in over thirty years of its existence, although it was originally created for the purposes of conservation, World Heritage has proven to be very popular - it attracted the attention of not only the heritage professionals, but also of [heritage] tourists, the tourism industry and scholars. However, it seems that as World Heritage was becoming popular among tourists, it was also gaining momentum in scholarly research. Namely, World Heritage has become one of the major topics within scholarly heritage tourism research, whether this research was dealing with tourism management and marketing issues (see Hall and Piggin, 2003; Leask and Fyall, 2006; Shackley, 2001; Wager, 1995), was exploring policy and conservation issues (see Ashworth, 1997; Evans, 2001; Fowler, 2000; Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005; Kavoura, 2001; Rakić and Leask, 2006; van der Aa, 2005; Rakić, 2007) or was dealing with tourist understanding of the significance of World Heritage Status (see Moscardo et al, 2001; Smith, 2002). The reason for such growth in scholarly research is that having become such a 'highly appreciated accolade' (Smith, 2002:137) in the tourism world, World Heritage Site status has also emerged as one of the major promotional tools for site managers (Hall and Piggin, 2003; Rakić and Leask, 2006; van der Aa, 2006) and of such importance to the tourism industry that marketing strategy commentators are now speaking of 'the future market for World Heritage Sites' (Fyall and Rakić, 2006).

Irrespective of a number of problematics that emerged, which include the problems surrounding its popularity among tourists, the unequal representation by geographical region and category and the potential consequences of the apparently indefinite expansion of the World

Heritage List (i.e. see for example Rakić, 2007), the List managed to achieve significant global success in the sense that World Heritage status is now perceived as a prestigious acknowledgement of the quality and uniqueness of heritage sites (ibid). In addition, the List and the World Heritage status became a reference point for the visitor, an equivalent of a constantly updated list of 'authentic' heritage sites worthwhile visiting while countries, States Parties to the Convention, are competing to get sites listed (Rakić, 2005; Rakić, 2007). Indeed, World Heritage status has become a measure of quality assurance, a trademark and an 'authenticity stamp' for the heritage tourist and an arena for the presentation of prestigious national heritage and nation building for the States Parties. In this sense the concept of World Heritage has drifted away from its original intention; that of identifying and conserving heritage sites of 'outstanding universal value'. That is, having started out as a system of identifying, protecting and preserving heritage of 'outstanding universal value', heritage representing and belonging to all humankind, it has essentially become an accreditation scheme for heritage sites, whether this was used for the purposes of the tourism industry or nation building.

In other words, World Heritage sites, in addition to having a great importance for the purposes of conservation and within the projects of nation building, are also increasingly being commercialised through tourism development. Evans (2001) makes a remarkably illustrative description by drawing on the belief of UNESCO that it would be a mistake to assume the List would be considered as an ever-expanding tourist's guide to a wide number of wonders of the world, while in reality, he believed that, World Heritage Sites:

...and "wonders" have been become just that, "must see" symbolic attractions in cultural tours and national tourist board marketing, and the World Heritage Site award equivalent of a Michelin guide 5-star rating.
(Evans, 2001: 81)

Nonetheless, tourism and heritage commercialisation for the purposes of tourism development [as well as for the purposes of nation building

projects] could also be seen as the only valid reasons for its conservation (Robinson et al, 2000).

5.3 Tensions between the national and the 'universal'

One of the key debates surrounding World Heritage and one which is also of great importance for this particular research project is the one surrounding the tensions between the national and the 'universal' belonging of these sites. Namely, the concept of World Heritage, based as it was on the idea of 'outstanding universal value', ignored the strong link between heritage and national identity, with selected heritage sites no longer expected to be perceived as symbols of particular national identities but as symbols of the 'common identity of humankind', in itself a paradox. That is, taking into consideration the argument that heritage, similar to the concept of nation, is a modern construct and as such strongly linked with the project of nation building (Chambers, 2005; Graham, 2002; Hewison, 1987; Walsh, 1999), makes it obvious that all heritage is essentially about the construction of particular personal, local and national identities rather than 'universal (identity of humankind)'. It is in this sense that the World Heritage idea carries a conceptual inconsistency. Based on this, I argue that the tensions between the national and the 'universal' at a number of World Heritage Sites essentially stem from this particular conceptual inconsistency.

A number of previous studies have mentioned and looked at these particular tensions, some in a broader and some in a more site specific sense. Ashworth (1997: 12) in his essay titled "Is there a World Heritage?" discusses, as he describes, 'the need to believe in the existence of world heritage as the common property of all humankind' only to claim later in his text that 'if all heritage by being someone's, must disinherit someone else, then a world heritage is not a happy summation of local and national heritage, but rather a denial of them'. He then goes

on to discuss how these problems extend to the questions of ownership, namely in light of whether World Heritage is seen as nationally or internationally 'owned'. Although mentioning that UNESCO is actually reinforcing the superiority of 'national' ownership of World Heritage Sites he still believes that until ownership of these sites is 'collectivised on a world scale, rather than nationalised or localised, then [world] heritage will be more a cause of national and local conflict than of global reconciliation' (ibid.). In other words, Ashworth (1997) questions the very existence of World Heritage as intended by UNESCO in 1972, when the World Heritage Convention was adopted.

Further verifying the arguments raised by Ashworth in 1997 is the commentary of Ashworth and van der Aa (2002: 447) surrounding the destruction of the Buddhist statues at Bamiyan, Afghanistan by the Taliban, where they claim that 'the idea of world heritage, and its manifestation in international tourism, may conflict with heritage used for local and national purposes'. And as noted by Ashworth and van der Aa (2002), although UNESCO promotes the existence and the need of humanity to have a 'world' [category of] heritage, where such heritage is promoted as 'belonging' to all humankind, UNESCO itself seems to hold a contradictory position with a number of its policies favouring the rights of national ownership.

World Heritage could then be seen as synonymous to 'contested heritage', with a great number of interested parties, varying from local, regional, national and international stakeholders exercising conflicting claims and rights of ownership, use and interpretation over a single heritage site. However, there are a number of claims that heritage can exist on several levels and have multiple roles. Was it not Timothy (1997) who argued that heritage tourism attractions and experiences existed on personal, local, national and world level? And it seems that it is not only members of the tourism academia or UNESCO that share this opinion but

also professional archaeologists and physical anthropologists, who in Skeates' (2000: 20) view 'accept the overlapping concepts of national and universal ownership [of UNESCO's World Heritage]'.

Similar contradictions stemming from the same conceptual inconsistencies of the World Heritage idea seem to reflect in the marketing world where some States Parties advertise their World Heritage Sites and emphasise their status (i.e. Spain) while other choose to promote their sites but fail to ever mention their World Heritage status (i.e. Greece).

5.4 The Athenian Acropolis: a World Heritage site

The Athenian Acropolis was included on the World Heritage List in 1987 (UNESCO, 2006f). UNESCO accepted the nomination and listed the Acropolis on the World Heritage List on the grounds that it met all of the following criteria:

- it represents a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- it exhibits an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- it bears a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- it is an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; and
- it is directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

(Adapted from UNESCO, 2007)

Remarkably, the Acropolis met quite a large number of the criteria available for inclusion of cultural heritage sites to the World Heritage List, as those were set by UNESCO and its advisory bodies. In particular, for cultural heritage (which also includes the Acropolis) the site met five out of a total of six potential criteria under which the Acropolis (or any other cultural heritage site for that matter) could have been listed on the World

Heritage List, a fact which depicts both the relevance of the Acropolis to the World Heritage concept, as well as its undeniable value as a world renowned heritage site.

Considering this and the pretext within which the Acropolis found itself (the significance it has not only for the Western world but also for the Greek state and the Greek nation), it should come as no surprise that the Acropolis was one of the first sites to be nominated by Greece after the country had ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1981 (UNESCO, 2006c). As Kavoura (2001) found in her study of the Cultural World Heritage Sites in Greece, and as I will also discuss in more detail in the following section, the Greek state perceived World Heritage as an opportunity for its nation building project and its nominations reflected an attempt to portray a particular kind of Greekness to the world. Therefore, as the Acropolis is seen as the key marker of Greek identity (Yalouri, 2001), it was to be expected that the Acropolis would be one of the first Greek sites nominated for inclusion in the World Heritage List. In addition, the fact that the Acropolis met so many of UNESCO's criteria for inclusion in the World Heritage List should also not come as a surprise, especially considering that it is perceived by UNESCO as 'symbolizing the idea of world heritage' (ibid).

In particular, UNESCO (2006f) states that:

Illustrating the civilizations, myths and religions that flourished in Greece over a period of more than 1,000 years, the Acropolis, the site of four of the greatest masterpieces of classical Greek art – the Parthenon, the Propylaea, the Erechtheum²⁶ and the Temple of Athena Nike – can be seen as symbolizing the idea of world heritage.

What is interesting to notice is that UNESCO, similar to romantic travellers to Greece in the 19th century (i.e. see Chapter 4), perceives the Acropolis as representing exclusively the Classical Greek past. By doing so what UNESCO fails to acknowledge is the historical periods which

²⁶ Erecheteum is another type of spelling for one of the monuments at the Acropolis, more commonly spelt in English as Erechteion.

might have influenced the creation of the Athenian Acropolis as a place and which were either pre-Classical or post-Classical (i.e. see Chapter 3 and the brief history of the Acropolis). Other than that, UNESCO also fails to take into consideration the significance the Athenian Acropolis had in the creation of the modern Greek state and the significance it still might have as a key symbol of Greekness (i.e. see Chapter 2 and the discussion on the significance of the Acropolis for the Greek nation building project). Finally, by listing the Acropolis as World Heritage, what UNESCO was also suggesting was that the Acropolis was of 'outstanding universal value', thus belonging to the world rather than Greece, and by doing so UNESCO essentially created further fertile ground for additional ownership debates, debates which I will discuss in more detail in the following section as well as in the remainder of the thesis.

5.5 So, whom does the Acropolis belong to?

...what may seem as a mere exercise in good taste and architectural ability hides deeper issues of power relations, political and ideological symbolism, national identity, and in this case [of the Athenian Acropolis] global and local property rights over the hub of Western civilisations.

(Loukaki, 1997: 306)

To whom the Athenian Acropolis belongs, whom it represents and whose identity it symbolises is a discussion dating back to 1802 when Lord Elgin, the then British ambassador to the declining Ottoman Empire, had removed twelve statues from the pediments, fifty six slabs and fifteen metopes from the frieze of the Parthenon (Kondaratos, 1994; Hitchens 1997) and transported them to Britain. In 1816 he sold them to the British Museum in London where they still remain. This event not only provoked a series of discussions over the ownership of the Parthenon Marbles, also known as 'Elgin Marbles', but has resulted in fierce international political and legal battles (see Hitchens, 1997; Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2000; The British Committee for the Restitution of Parthenon Marbles, 2002; The British Museum, 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2006d).

As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, the rise of the Acropolis as both the key symbol of Greek national identity and a monument of 'universal' significance was a gradual process. It was greatly influenced by Philhellenism, Classical Scholarship and the early travellers to Greece. In the process of making the Modern Greek state, the Acropolis became the ultimate symbol of Greekness now perceived as the embodiment of the Greek nation (Yalouri, 2001). However, once the Greek state adopted the World Heritage Convention in 1981, the Athenian Acropolis, the cradle of democracy, was one of the first Greek heritage sites to be listed on the World Heritage List, with its 'universal' significance, belonging and ownership recognized not only by the Greek State but also by UNESCO and the international community.

However, this act did not result in international reconciliation over the issue of the legal ownership of the Parthenon Marbles or in recognition that the Acropolis 'belongs' both to the world and the Greek nation. Instead, the Acropolis continues to be a contested heritage site, torn between the 'universal' and the national. A study by Eleana Yalouri, published in 2001 which looked into the significance of the Acropolis as a symbol of Greek national identity found that the Acropolis, a World Heritage site, is similar to the Greek flag, a key concept of the Greek nation, over which contestations about national ownership are constantly emerging. In looking at its dual ownership, 'universal' and national, Eleana Yalouri states that:

...the Athenian Acropolis, 'the corner stone of Classical Greek era', in becoming a 'world monument' also became the national monument of Greece par excellence. The question is how these two local/national and global meanings of the same monument can co-exist and interrelate and how Greeks cope with this double-faceted aspect of their heritage, especially in an era which on the one hand promotes the idea of global community and on the other encourages national difference.

(Yalouri, 2001:8)

But how do these tensions reflect in the official representations of Greece and Athens aimed at the international visitor? Is the Acropolis presented as something Greek or Global, national or 'universal'? A study

investigating the state policy for the presentation of Greek National Heritage, looking in particular at the cultural World Heritage sites undertaken by Androniki Kavoura (2001) provides partial answers and indicates the stance of two Greek governmental bodies. Kavoura interestingly found that the Greek Archaeological Council and the Greek Ministry of Culture, the bodies determining sites to be nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List, perceive the List as an arena for a promotion of a particular kind of Greek national identity represented through a selection of Classical and Byzantine sites, rather than a representation of sites of 'outstanding universal value' located in Greece - thus, perceiving the World Heritage sites, including the Athenian Acropolis, as belonging to the nation rather than to the world.

5.6 Conclusions

In this Chapter I provided a brief introduction to the current issues and debates surrounding World Heritage. What I intended to achieve with this brief introduction was to emphasise the significance these debates had within this study. Debates to which I gave particular attention were: 1) the debate surrounding the history of World Heritage, how the project started as a conservation tool and how it finally emerged as more important for the purposes of tourism and nation building than for the purposes of conservation and 2) the debate surrounding the national vs. 'universal' belonging of World Heritage sites.

Overall, I argued that World Heritage has, in practice, eventually become just another accreditation scheme, although it is still a rather significant one on a global level. Adding to that, I argued that the concept of World Heritage, which was based on the idea of 'outstanding universal value' ignored the strong link between heritage and national identity whereas the heritage sites which received this accolade were no longer expected to be perceived as symbols of particular national identities but as symbols of

humankind – which in itself is a conceptual paradox. World Heritage has thus become a synonym for contested heritage. This being the case, it was then to be expected that Greece (i.e. the Greek Archaeological Council and the Greek Ministry of Culture) would perceive and use World Heritage as an arena for a promotion of a particular kind of Greek national identity rather than an arena for sites of 'outstanding universal value' located in Greece (see Kavoura, 2001).

The Athenian Acropolis, also claimed to be the symbol of the World Heritage Idea (UNESCO, 2006a), has not 'escaped' these problems. Namely, the World Heritage title the site was given in 1987 was not only an acknowledgement of its 'universal' importance, but also a re-iteration of its national rather than 'universal' ownership as well as a confirmation of the ever more important role the site had for tourism in Athens and Greece.

Thus, throughout this Chapter I attempted to 'guide the reader' through the various issues and debates surrounding World Heritage, exploring at the same time the meanings and the significance the World Heritage Status had for the particular case of the Acropolis in Athens. This Chapter merged many of the themes which appeared in previous Chapters such as the importance of the Acropolis as the key marker of Greek national identity and its significance at the global scale as a World Heritage Site, a site which is a tangible representation of the heights of the Athenian Classical period, a period from which much of the Western culture, philosophy, science and arts stem. However, going through all the various issues and debates surrounding World Heritage and the particular case of the Acropolis, I also questioned the legitimacy of the very idea of World Heritage, a theme which will also mark the remainder of my study and will reappear in part IV and part V of this thesis.

What follows this Chapter is the third part of the thesis, a part in which I discuss in much greater detail the methodology and the methods which I adopted to tackle the core question and theme of this research – the one of exploring the relationships between World Heritage, national identity and tourism for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis.

III METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Science-whether visual or written-always presupposes a vision on the subject matter at hand, resulting in a "construction" that both refers to and builds upon elements of reality, but never coincides with it.

(Pauwels, 2000: 10)

This Part III of the thesis can be seen as the basis of the overall research project preoccupied as it is with the methodology and the methods used to reach deeper, richer and holistic understandings of the phenomena under study. That is, along with the philosophical underpinnings of this research, it is here that I discuss the exact mode by which I approached and conducted this multifaceted study surrounding the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity at the Athenian Acropolis. In particular, Chapter 6 on Methodology briefly discusses the key paradigms, epistemologies and ontologies in social sciences and tourism studies and then introduces and critically discusses the main paradigm underpinning this research [constructivism] as well as the two key disciplines [visual anthropology and cultural geography] that informed both the concepts and the methods used in this interdisciplinary research. The second Chapter of this part of the thesis, Chapter 7 on Methods, goes into specific details on the choice, utilisation, justification and significance of the methods used, namely semiotic analyses of tourism materials and [moving image] visual ethnography at the Acropolis.

Chapter 6 Methodology

...methodology...the theory of the method...
(Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001: 67)

6.1 Introduction

In this Chapter I deal with the 'theory of the method' by exploring the 'epistemological and ontological assumptions' (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001: 67) which underpin this study. In other words, in this Chapter I go into somewhat more detail in discussing the philosophical and (inter)disciplinary dimensions of this study which are ingrained throughout the thesis and which have informed the very nature of this research. In particular, I look at constructivism (which has already informed much of the literature review)²⁷ and the role it played within the design of the primary research, my position as a researcher in the field, the modes of analysis, as well as the language style adopted in the thesis (first person vs. third person).

The Chapter opens with an exploration of the current situation in tourism studies, the key paradigms, epistemologies, ontologies and [visual] methodologies from the social sciences that have marked tourism research. It then goes on to explore constructivism as a philosophical position, focusing on the history of constructivism from its early emergence within the hermeneutic tradition of the 19th century up until today. This exploration then evolves into a discussion surrounding the basic principles and the very nature of a constructivist position, the necessity of using the first person narrative in presenting the findings and the influence constructivism has on methods and data types (qualitative vs. quantitative). These discussions inevitably lead to the section on historical arguments for and against constructivism as a philosophical

²⁷ For example, in Chapter 2 I claim that nations and national identities are modern constructs, while in Chapter 3, I make similar claims for the notions of heritage and its role within the construction of the Modern Greek state and the sense of Greekness.

position. Here I define the 'traditional' supporters of the argument *against* as those social scientists who belong to positivist, post-positivist and critical theory schools of thought and explore some of their opinions. Acknowledging that even constructivists themselves have admitted that this philosophical position might have its weaknesses, I claim that despite the many criticisms of constructivism, there seems to be little sign of it abating and it still has much to offer researchers within the social sciences.

In the final section of this Chapter, which is also the transition to the following Chapter on Methods, I explore the mode by which constructivism relates to my (inter)disciplinary position, and how both informed my research practice: from literature review to methods choice, from my position in the field to the analysis and presentation of the research findings.

6.2 Paradigms, epistemologies, ontologies and [visual] methodologies²⁸

Research projects in tourism studies seem to have been largely marked and 'heavily dominated by positivist approaches' (Prichard and Morgan, 2007: 12), deductive rather than inductive research, and quantitative rather than qualitative or mixed methods (see also Riley and Love, 2000; and Walle, 1997). Although such approaches have their place (Rakić and Chambers, 2007a; Pernecky, 2007), these will not necessarily be appropriate in all situations, especially within studies that seek to 'explore questions of meaning and understanding', involve interpretation or an inquiry into 'multiple realities associated with lived experience' (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 30). In addition, the exclusive or even simply overwhelming reliance on positivist and post-positivist approaches and

²⁸ Please note that an earlier version of this section also appears in Rakić, T. (forthcoming). Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABl. (See Appendix I)

quantitative methods in studies of tourism might also imply that the areas of inquiry are limited and that social 'reality' is oversimplified (Walle, 1997).

According to Prichard and Morgan (2007), even if tourism as a field of inquiry has grown and matured along with the expansion of the tourism industry, it has unfortunately 'not always brought increased innovation and diversity', but rather it brought 'a greater volume of research which is mainly confirmatory and reproductive' (ibid: 12). Indeed, it seems that these practices have resulted in the current situation in tourism studies where

...many key contributors to the tourism field have become stale, tired, repetitive and lifeless.

Franklin and Crang (2001: 5)

Nevertheless, studies in tourism which have utilised innovative research methodologies and methods have been appearing in what seems to be the time when 'pioneering research methodologies and innovative methods are most needed' (Pernecky, 2007: 211). Tourism researchers seem to be becoming all the more involved with alternative approaches such as critical theory and constructivism, engaged in conducting inductive rather than deductive studies, and relying on the use of qualitative rather than quantitative methods. In addition, the very dominance of positivist and post-positivist approaches, which has for so long marked much of the scholarly tourism research, is increasingly being challenged and researchers are being encouraged to use new approaches (see for example a collection of essays in Phillimore and Goodson, 2004, as well as a collection of essays in Ateljevic et al, 2007).

Whereas more researchers in tourism seem to engage in qualitative research, according to Phillimore and Goodson (2004: 5) they have 'in the main, used qualitative research as a set of methods rather than a set of thinking tools.' However, qualitative research need not be taken as a strictly prescribed set of methods which will bring the same results in all

situations. Quite the contrary, in order for qualitative research to bring desired results, it needs to be seen as a 'set of thinking tools' (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004: 5) which will be influenced by the theoretical approach or the paradigm taken, namely the ontology, epistemology and methodology of the researcher.

Goodson and Phillimore (2004: 34) define paradigm as a researcher's 'basic set of beliefs that define their worldview' consisting of their ontology or the definition of reality, their epistemology or the theory of knowledge and their methodology or 'the theory of the method' (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001: 67).

To be precise, in order to have their studies thoroughly underpinned, researchers need to ask themselves: 1) in terms of ontology '*What is the nature of reality and, therefore what is there that can be known about it?*', 2) in terms of epistemology '*What is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?*'; and 3) in terms of methodology '*How can the inquirer (would-be knower) go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known?*' (Guba and Lincoln, 2004 in Pernecky, 2007: 214).

The particular ontological and epistemological standpoints that researchers adopt will then only *inform* their methodology and methods rather than strictly prescribe them. Taking into consideration the word strictures of this thesis, which prevent a deeper exploration of the main paradigms, what follows is a rather brief overview of the main differences between the key research paradigms (see Table 6.2.1).

Positivism and post-positivism, even though two distinct paradigms, are often perceived as having much in common - both share a realist ontology or the 'belief that there exists a reality *out there*, driven by immutable natural laws' (Guba, 1990: 19), and both subscribe to an objectivist epistemology. What this means is that in both cases, positivism and

postpositivism, findings and knowledge created by academic projects are seen as objective and 'true'. To be precise, under positivism, which adopts naïve realism, findings and knowledge created by academic projects are seen as absolutely or unquestionably 'true', and under postpositivism, which adopts critical realism, the findings and the knowledge created by academic projects are seen as 'probably true' reflections of the 'real' world (Guba and Lincoln, 2005, see Table 6.2.1). In both cases however, research is seen as objective and thus researchers are not perceived as central within the research process. Critical theory on the other hand acknowledges the centrality of the researcher within the research process and is thus subjectivist in its epistemology while subscribing to critical realism in terms of its ontology. What this means is that while critical theorists do not seek to create 'a distance between the knower and what is known' and thus believe that findings are influenced and mediated by the values of the researcher, they nevertheless assume 'that there is indeed a reality but one which cannot be fully apprehended' (Chambers, 2007: 108, see also Table 6.2.1).

Table 6.2.1 Basic Beliefs (Metaphysics) of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms

<i>Item</i>	<i>Positivism</i>	<i>Postpositivism</i>	<i>Critical theory et al.</i>	<i>Constructivism</i>
Ontology	Naïve realism – “real” reality but apprehensible	Critical realism- “real” reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values; crystallized over time	Relativism-local and specific constructed and co-constructed realities
Epistemology	Dualist / objectivist; findings true	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community ; findings probably true	Transactional / subjectivist ; value mediated findings	Transactional / subjectivist; created findings
Methodology	Experimental / manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	Dialogic/dialectical	Hermeneutical / dialectical

Source: Guba and Lincoln (2005: 193)

Finally, a constructivist paradigm is marked by a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology, i.e. there is a belief that realities are multiple, created in the minds of individuals and that knowledge is *constructed* (see also Guba, 1990, and Table 6.2.1). Within this paradigm, researchers are seen as central to the research process and their voices, along with the voices of their informants, are often included.

In terms of the different methodologies or 'theories of the method' (Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001: 67), it is important to bear in mind that methods are simply 'tools' within a particular methodology, which is in turn informed by researcher's philosophical position or paradigm (see Table 6.2.1). In brief, informed by their philosophical position of objectivist realism, positivists will heavily rely on deductive approaches to research through which they will be verifying and testing hypotheses by mostly using quantitative methods and statistical analyses. Postpositivists with their critically realistic ontology and objectivist epistemology will still mostly be conducting deductive studies and relying on hypotheses, quantitative methods and statistical analyses. However, postpositivists might also rely on qualitative methods. Critical theorists, with critical realism and subjectivity underpinning their studies will mostly resort to inductive studies, qualitative methods and interpretative approaches in their analyses. Constructivists will, similar to critical theorists, mostly resort to inductive studies, qualitative methods and interpretative approaches in their analyses, but in contrast to critical theorists, constructivists will perceive 'reality' as individually and collectively constructed.

This being the case, it is possible that a particular set of methods which has been successfully used in one study will not necessarily be entirely suitable for another, similar study, especially if it is informed by a different paradigm and thus also a different methodology. As such, research paradigms or philosophical positions which inform the different methodologies can be seen as central to any academic research project.

6.3 On constructivism as a philosophical position

At its simplest, social construction theory is concerned with the ways in which we think about and use categories to structure our experience and analysis of the world. Social construction theory rejects the longstanding view that some categories are "natural", bearing no trace of human intervention.

(Jackson and Penrose, 1993: 2-3)

Constructivism, as one of the interpretative research philosophies, is directly opposed to any positivistic, postpositivistic and critical philosophies. To be precise, positivism is one of the four key paradigms in social sciences, the other three being postpositivism, critical theory and constructivism (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). The main representatives of positivism are Saint-Simon, Comte and Mills (ibid). As a philosophical position, as mentioned earlier, positivism is broadly understood as an application of traditional quantitative methods from the natural sciences to social sciences (ibid), something to which constructivists are traditionally opposed. In contrast to a positivistic approach, constructivists traditionally propose qualitative, interpretive and inductive practices rather than the quantitative and more deductive research practices typical of positivist standings.

However, constructivists tend to be more opposed to positivism and postpositivism than to critical theory; the main reason being that constructivism differs both in its epistemology and ontology from positivism and postpositivism, while compared with critical theory it differs only in its ontology, i.e. despite the fact that both constructivists and critical theorists agree on the notion that knowledge is created through subjective processes (see also Table 6.2.1) they differ on their ontological positions. Namely, constructivists hold that 'reality' is individually and collectively constructed and local (i.e. plural), while critical theorists hold that 'reality' is often hidden due to the largely false consciousness and ideology with the various perceptions of that 'reality' being shaped by factors such as 'social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values' (Guba and Lincoln, 2005: 193).

With its subjectivist epistemology and relativist ontology, constructivism, according to Delanty (1997), developed from the hermeneutical tradition of interpretation, which, from its very beginnings in 19th century Germany was entrenched with an emerging constructivist view of social reality that strongly opposed the then dominant positivistic view which differed from constructivism both in terms of its epistemology, which was objectivist, and its ontology which was realist. Although the 'traditional' notion of hermeneutics essentially stems from the works of Schleiermacher and Dilthey (who saw hermeneutics as a distinct method of understanding which allowed social scientists to arrive at meanings through scientific methods), its most significant thinkers are Paul Ricoeur, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jürgen Habermas (Bernstein, 1983; Delanty, 1997; Keat, 1981). Namely, hermeneutics of the social and human sciences have their roots in the Renaissance, having developed from biblical hermeneutics (Bernstein, 1983) or the 'Protestant analysis of the Bible' and 'the humanist study of the ancient classics' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000: 53) as a reaction to positivism and the positivistic thought. Hermeneutics is 'an approach to the analysis of texts that stresses how prior understandings and prejudices shape the interpretive process' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 27). However, this interpretative practice within early hermeneutics was still based on the idea that interpretation could be objective, as long as the 'prior understandings' are comprehended and explored (Delanty, 1997). Relatively soon after, another tradition within hermeneutics emerged – that which contained the subjective dimension and viewed interpretation as a dialogue (ibid). As Delanty (1997: 51) notes:

This [subjective] tradition begins with Heidegger's critique of Husserl's phenomenology and continues in the mature philosophy of Wittgenstein to form a basis of modern hermeneutics, whose representatives are Gadamer and Winch.

To be precise, work which is arguably of particular significance within hermeneutics is that of Heidegger, with whom the 'subjective turn' in hermeneutics is triggered and that of Gadamer, one of the most influential

authors within modern hermeneutics and who, as Heidegger's student built on his thinking. Heidegger (1889-1976), although his best known work is often quoted as the *Sein und Zeit* or in its English translation *Being and Time* (published in 1927), produced numerous works which influenced generations of thinkers to come. As mentioned, he exerted particular influence on Hans-Georg Gadamer, one of his students who would mark modern hermeneutics. While acknowledging that hermeneutics of Gadamer and Heidegger differ in that Heidegger saw hermeneutics as innate, subconscious understanding characteristic of the very essence attached to being human, Gadamer took this argument further. He saw hermeneutics as understanding mediated through language, understanding which being as it is situated in a world mediated by linguistics, history and culture is never neutral. As Berstein (1988: 34) remarks:

In the 1960s (at approximately the same time that Kuhn's and Winch's monographs appeared) Hans-Georg Gadamer published *Wahrheit und Methode*. (The English translation, *Truth and Method*, was published in 1975.) Gadamer was 60 years old then, and the book, his magnum opus represents a life's work of philosophic and hermeneutic reflection. Building on the work of Heidegger, or rather drawing themes that are implicit in Heidegger and developing them in new ways, Gadamer's book is one of the most comprehensive and subtle statements of the meaning and scope of hermeneutics to appear in our time.

Having evolved from the hermeneutical tradition, contemporary constructivism²⁹ then, similar to the 19th and the 20th century hermeneutics is often perceived as incommensurable with positivism and postpositivism³⁰ (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). In other words, with its subjectivist epistemology and relativist ontology, one of the main defining points of constructivism is its anti-positivism and anti-realism.

²⁹ Constructivism is only one of many interpretative paradigms, other interpretative paradigms include: 'feminism, Marxism, cultural studies, and queer theory' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 6)

³⁰ Although postpositivism, with its key proponent being Karl Popper (i.e. see for example a collection of critical essays in Currie and Musgrave, 1985), seems to have very little difference to positivism, postpositivism is often considered as encompassing all the philosophical positions which have evolved from positivism (Delanty, 1997) and which share its epistemological and ontological assumptions – namely objectivism and realism.

Namely, realism is associated with 'the secular and rational forms of knowledge' of the Enlightenment tradition (Morris, 2003: 9), entrenched with the belief that 'human beings can adequately reproduce, by means of verbal and visual representations, both the objective world that is exterior to them and the subjective responses to that exteriority'. Positivism is marked by the values of 'accuracy, adequacy and truth' (ibid), while as a position implying that the external world can be fully apprehended by sciences, realism 'has gone out of fashion in our postmodern times' (Fielding and Schreier, 2001: 9). As such, realism is a philosophical position underpinned by ideas rather opposite to those which underpin constructivism, since constructivists often argue for the existence of multiple, subjective realities and also rather often question the existence of an absolute 'truth'. It is in this sense that constructivism is also opposed to critical theory, despite the fact that both constructivism and critical theory are marked by a subjectivist epistemology. Namely, putting it rather simply, critical theory³¹ with its subjectivist epistemology and critical realist ontology (i.e. see Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Riley and Love, 2000) argues that although knowledge is created by subjective processes, it is possible to emancipate knowledge from these [subjective processes] by acknowledging their influence on the research, and therefore ultimately arriving at absolute 'truth.' However, on the other hand, constructivism argues that 'truth' is not absolute but is relative, and thus there is no 'absolute truth' that can be attained. Constructivism then, is an alternative philosophical position which rejects the ideas of positivism, postpositivism, rationalism³² and realism.

³¹ 'The school of social thought known as 'critical theory', or in its more narrow definition the 'Frankfurt School', was above all concerned with reconsidering the question of the normative foundations of the Marxist social science' (Delanty, 1997: 70). According to Delanty critical theorists had originally emerged around Habermas, while the actual theory 'can be seen as a synthesis of the work of Hegel, Nietzsche, Weber and Freud' (1997: 73). Other significant critical theorists include Adorno and Horkheimer (Delanty, 1997; Roderick, 1986). The conclusion of the Frankfurt School, according to Delanty, was 'that the working class can no longer be seen as the revolutionary subject', while he also argues that 'there are few today who would defend the Classical theories of the Frankfurt School' (ibid: 75)

³² Having its origins in the 17th century and often linked with Descartes as its founder, rationalism is held to be a philosophical position where the main values are the ones of truth and reason (Parkinson, 1993).

What else defines constructivism? In addition to its rejection of positivistic and postpositivistic views and values, constructivism is a philosophical position often found in inquiries whose aim is deeper understanding and reconstruction (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). One of the central ideas of constructivism is that social reality is:

...not something outside the discourse of science but is partly constituted by science. In constructivism the subject is an active agent as opposed to the passive conception of subjectivity in the value-free social science of positivism and hermeneutics [referring to the earlier understandings of hermeneutics]. ... The knowledge social science provides is a mediated knowledge; it is a mediation of science and reality. Constructivism does not hold the idealist thesis of epistemological idealism that reality is a creation of the mind, but that reality can only be known by our cognitive structures.

(Delanty, 1997: 112, text in brackets added)

Constructivists assume that reality, and knowledge for that matter are socially constructed phenomena³³ and that there can exist 'multiple, often conflicting constructions' (Schwandt, 1994: 128), since reality can only be known through 'our cognitive structures' (Delanty, 1997: 112). In this sense, knowledge is not seen as 'neutral' or 'objective', but as a 'situated and partial' (Dwyer and Limb, 1997: 8) 'social construction' (Delanty, 1997). A constructivist position is therefore marked by a 'local and specific co-constructed' relativist ontology which presumes that there is 'no unique 'real world' that pre-exists and is independent of human mental activity' (Burner, 1986 in Schwandt 1994: 125). As Bernstein (1983: 8) argues, relativism is:

...the basic conviction that when we turn to the examination of those concepts that philosophers have taken to be the most fundamental - whether it is the concept of rationality, truth, reality, right, the good, or norms - we are forced to recognise that in the final analysis all such concepts must be understood as relative to a specific conceptual scheme, theoretical framework, paradigm, form of life, society or culture.

Thus, the epistemology within a constructivist position, is, similar to critical theory, a subjectivist one (Riley and Love, 2000), but, unlike the critical theory, it is also a transactional one (Guba and Lincoln, 2005).

³³ That knowledge is seen as socially constructed phenomena is also known by the term social constructionism, which in turn, is one of the sub-perspectives of constructivism (Wang, 1999).

Namely, constructivists hold that knowledge is co-created (Guba and Lincoln, 2005: 195) between the researcher and the researched.

However, some scholars seem to mistakenly claim that they subscribe to constructivism while not adopting a subjectivist position, despite the fact that relativism and subjectivism as well as researcher reflexivity and positionality are the key markers of a constructivist position (see also Breuer and Roth, 2003). In fact, any knowledge production within a constructivist project should be seen as 'inherently *subjective*' and 'inherently structured by the subjectivity of the researcher' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 1). Researchers who subscribe to a constructivist viewpoint and disregard subjectivity are 'self-deceived' as they fail to understand that the researcher is 'an equally subjective system, member of the social world whose constructions are mediated by individual and social characteristics' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 11).

As Breuer and Roth (2003: abstract) note: 'although social scientists often adopt a constructionist³⁴ epistemology to frame their research project, the methodological consequences of such an epistemology for the production of social scientific knowledge are not normally drawn' while many adopt a 'defensive tendency and continue to quest for objectivity in their writing'.

6.4 Constructivism, subjectivity, reflexivity and voice

Thus, for a constructivist, subjectivity, reflexivity, and the use of first person narrative are all central to the successful presentation of knowledge generated by a research project. Indeed, like Bernstein eloquently states (1983: 173), I would also agree that:

A false picture is suggested when we think that our task is to leap out of our own linguistic horizon, bracket all our preunderstandings, and enter into a radically different world. Rather the task is to find the resources within our own horizon, linguistic practices, and experience that can enable us to understand what confronts us as alien.

³⁴ Constructionist is the American version of the word constructivist

Indeed, subjectivity is 'central to the quality of the research based on epistemological assumptions that truth is not something that can be 'found' separately from the particular contexts or participants in the area of study' (Somekh and Lewin, 2005: 348). In addition, subjectivity is rapidly entering the scientific world. Bernstein (1983: 197) for example speaks of 'faulty epistemological doctrines that claim that progress can be measured by an appeal to a permanent ahistorical matrix or neutral descriptive language', Howitt and Suchet-Pearson (2003) claim that:

Academic protocol has sought to imbue academic knowledge and texts as 'truth' with a neutral, objective character that cannot be challenged. ... A text is not a neutral, passive presentation of an external truth (Christie, 1992). It is a partial, active re-presentation of complex worlds using particular strategies to persuade and influence readers for specific purposes (Katz, 1992: 496).
(Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2003: 557 - 559)

Indeed, it seems that in academia, the role and the position of the researcher in the production of 'scientific knowledge' is increasingly being acknowledged. Breuer et al (2002) notice that:

During the last decades, studies in a variety of fields, including the history, philosophy, sociology, and psychology of science turned up a lot of evidence supporting the contention that personal, social, and local factors influence the research process and its results (research teams, working practices in laboratories, personal character of the researcher).
(Breuer et al, 2002: 2)

Along these lines of discussion, and entrenched within the debates surrounding subjectivity, positionality and reflexivity, is also the theme of the writing style - first person vs. third person narrative (i.e. see for example numerous discussions in Hertz, 1997). The narrative style which best reflects the philosophical position of constructivism, given its epistemology and ontology, is the first person narrative. To be precise, the first person narrative suggests that the researcher/author has an [active] role in the very creation and representation of the knowledge created within a research project. In addition, it also denotes the belief of a researcher/author who rejects the possibility of the existence of 'objective' knowledge and acknowledges the constructivist belief that scientific knowledge is partial, situated and socially constructed, resulting

from the relation of the researcher with the researched. The use of third person, on the other hand, usually denotes positivists' post-positivists', or realists' positions in general (i.e. see for example Van Maanen, 1988 or Charmaz and Mitchell, 1997). Researchers/authors writing in this style mostly tend to hold that 'objective' knowledge and 'reality' exists and that they as researchers/authors of their texts have no role or impact within the research process. Therefore, by adopting the third person narrative they essentially suggest that knowledges obtained through their respective research processes and presented in their texts are 'objective scientific knowledges'.

It is then understandable, why I choose to reflect on my position as a researcher in the field (see the Chapter on Methods) and use predominantly first person narrative. The use of first person narrative reflects my own relativistic position as a constructivist, a constructivist who does not believe that any knowledge, or data for that matter, could ever possibly be 'objective' and therefore rejects the 'objectivist writing style' of a third person narrative. Wang (1999: 354) captivantly says that:

For constructivists, multiple and plural meanings of and about the same things can be constructed from different perspectives, and people may adopt different constructed meanings dependant on the particular contextual situation or intersubjective setting.

Consequently, depicting and representing these multiple and plural meanings, the different perspectives and the intersubjective settings which inherently influence data and knowledge creation within a research project is simply impossible within a third person narrative which denies all these presumptions.

This brings the discussion back to one of the key constructivist understandings – that knowledge is constructed, a result of a process of social interactions which can only be comprehended through 'our own cognitive structures' (Delanty, 1997: 112). That said, traditionally

constructivists hold that knowledge is accumulated through 'vicarious experience', and 'more informed and sophisticated reconstructions', while the values of the researcher and the researched are often included within a research project (Guba and Lincoln, 2005: 194). The voice found is that of 'a "passionate participant" as a facilitator of multivoice reconstruction' (ibid: 194). What is expected and usually seen from a constructivist is the employment of predominantly qualitative methods and reflexive narrative style, led by an interpretative and representational approach to their data.

6.5 Qualitative vs. quantitative methods

As I argued throughout this Chapter, the choice between qualitative and quantitative methods will essentially reflect the research paradigm which in turn informs both the research methodology and the methods. Focusing primarily on hypothesis verification and testing and relying on statistical analyses, as these do, quantitative methods could not easily fit in any research project underpinned by constructivism especially taking into consideration that these projects are usually inductive rather than deductive in nature and seek to understand deep meanings. Namely, inductive research and understanding of deep meanings could not be reached by quantitative methods which project pre-conceived understandings and hypotheses in the construction of surveys.

Despite this being the case and despite the fact that in most cases research projects underpinned by constructivism will be oriented mainly towards qualitative methods, constructivists are often trained to use both qualitative and quantitative methods (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). In this light, Cupchik, (2001) argues that there is a significant difference from positivist or post-positivist approaches to quantitative data analysis and collection methods. Contrary to the positivist or post-positivist approach, a constructivist approach to quantitative data is not one of providing proof of the 'truth' and 'reality' that is 'out there' (concepts typical of a positivist

perspective), but to add richness to the predominantly qualitative data collected, as Cupchik (2001) sees it - to contribute to the 'validity' of a particular qualitative study. Cupchik (2001) argues that the use of quantitative methods within a qualitative [constructivist] research project is possible and defines this as a position of 'constructivist realism'. According to Cupchik (2001) this involves both positivist and constructivist epistemology and ontology. Validity, as Cupchik (2001) refers to it in the context of mixed methods represents a realist element within a study with a predominantly relativist agenda, by which the use of quantitative data alongside the qualitative would provide verification of researcher objectivity (by confirming the findings of the qualitative part of the study), thus reiterating the validity (in a positivistic manner) of the [qualitative] research findings.

However, I would agree with Breuer and Roth (2003) that researchers who subscribe to constructivism and reject subjectivism, while simultaneously continuing to 'quest for objectivity in their writing' (ibid, 2003: abstract) and in their respective research projects have actually not fully comprehended the consequences of a constructivist orientation to knowledge and knowledge production and are essentially 'self-deceived'.

Nevertheless, as evident also from discussions in 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4, and from this discussion on methods choices made by constructivists, constructivism is by no means a unified philosophical position. Quite the contrary, constructivism is actually 'not a coherent doctrine' at all (Wang, 1999: 354). Namely, in addition to differing in their position with regards to subjectivism or in their position on quantitative methods, constructivist approaches also differ according to whether science is seen as being constructed by external discourses or whether it is seen as self-constructive (Delanty, 1997). That said, some authors go as far as to distinguish among many different types of constructivisms. However, my intention here is not to enter into a detailed discussion over all the

variations of constructivisms that have ever been mentioned in the literature. Suffice to say that these could be broadly divided into 'mild' and more 'radical' types of constructivisms³⁵ which can be and are used within various disciplines and research contexts.

6.6 Arguments for and against constructivism

The recent celebration of relativistic doctrines and the enthusiasm for an endless playfulness of interpretation that knows no limits has already elicited strong reaction.

(Bernstein, 1983: 4)

...ever since Plato the objectivists have argued that relativism, whenever it is clearly stated, is self-referentially inconsistent and paradoxical. ... The relativist [on the other hand] accuses the objectivist of mistaking what is at best historically or culturally stable for the eternal and permanent.

(Bernstein, 1983: 9)

In attempting not to engage too much in the 'never-ending' debate between objectivism (often found as an epistemology in positivism and post-positivism) and relativism (an epistemology characteristic of constructivism), the above quotes from Bernstein depict just that – a 'never-ending war' between the objectivist and realist doctrines (positivism and post-positivism), the subjectivist doctrines with a realist ontology (critical theory) and the subjectivist doctrines with a relativist ontology (constructivism).

Nevertheless, as the debate on differences between constructivist, positivist, post-positivist and critical theory seems to be never-ending (i.e. see Keat, 1997) and since I happen to agree with Delanty (1997: 92) on

³⁵ For example, in his review of the current state and use of constructivism in the Social Sciences, Sisimondo (1993) claims that constructivism can have four possible interpretations: 1) the geometrical interpretation; 2) the physical interpretation; 3) mild constructivism; and 4) laboratory based constructivism. In addition, Delanty (1997) speaks of 'structuralist', 'autopoietic' and 'radical' constructivism as well as of 'constructivist realism', while Kukla in his critique of social constructivism says that 'among constructivisms, the only variety that isn't beset by serious conceptual problems is the type... [he] called *reasonable* constructivism' (2000: 161, bold italics added). In addition, in a recent collection of essays in Holstein and Gubrium (2008) contributors also discuss the various types of and approaches to constructivism [or constructionism in Am. Eng.], approaches which in their view could vary but are not limited to Educational, Critical, Foucauldian, Discursive, Grounded and Ethnographic.

his point that 'identity of social sciences can be no longer formulated as a critique of positivism' or realism for that matter, I will not engage further in debating the constructivist position of anti-positivism, or anti-realism, nor will I for that matter engage any further in the debate over the (in)validity of positivism (i.e. see Delanty, 1997; Keat, 1981; Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007). It suffices to say here that constructivism as a philosophical position holds a strong anti-positivistic and anti-realist position, which again is understandable since realism is an ontological position which has its roots in positivism (Delanty³⁶, 1997; Keat, 1981).

In addition, constructivism seems to be argued against mostly by the social scientists coming from an objectivist epistemological perspective (i.e. positivists, post-positivists) as well as the ones coming from a subjectivist epistemological perspective with a critical realist ontology (i.e. critical theorists). However, in some cases the arguments against constructivism also come from social scientists coming from a relativist epistemological perspective (i.e. see Radder, 1992) and people who are constructivists themselves. Gubrium and Holstein (2008: 3) for example, themselves passionate supporters of constructivism (or constructionism as it is sometimes termed in the US) argue that constructivism although a promising and vibrant movement has been 'under fire on several fronts', having been called 'radical and conservative; liberating, managerial and oppressive; relativist, revisionist, and neo-objectivist; cancerous, pernicious and pandemic; protean, faddish, trendy, and dull'. In attempting to include as many different voices as possible in this limited space [and eventually concluding that arguments for constructivism are much stronger than the ones against], I will now explore some of the historical arguments for and against constructivism.

³⁶ Authors such as Delanty (1997: 133) believe there can be reconciliation between constructivism and realism in the emergent form of 'reflexive' or 'constructivist' realism evident in the work of Beck (1996). See also Cupchik (2001).

MacCanney Gergen and Gergen (2003: 60) argue that 'social constructionist ideas pose a major challenge to the traditional account of knowledge and research methods'. By traditional methods they mean the knowledge which is gained through the use of quantitative methods, distance of the researcher from the researched and bias free research. For the constructionist [or constructivist] they argue:

...what passes as knowledge is generated within the communities for purposes shared by the participants. A method is only accurate or objective in terms of the particular conventions shared within a community.

(MacCanney Gergen and Gergen, 2003: 60)

In this sense, something that is also valid for this particular research is that 'the most important thing you can know about an individual is how she or he privately sees, interprets, feels or understands the world' (MacCanney Gergen and Gergen, 2003: 60).

On one hand, with this view of reality and knowledge shared by constructivists, it is often difficult for a scientist coming from a realist perspective to fully apprehend it. This is evident, for example, in the book 'Realism and Truth', by Michael Dewitt. Dewitt (1984: 238), in the case he builds against constructivism claims that constructivism is 'hardly an appealing position'. He then adds that:

Worse still, if that is possible, is the idea that we make the known world of stones, trees, cats, and the like with our concepts. ... How could cookie cutters in the head literary carve out cookies in dough that is outside the head? How could dinosaurs and stars be dependant on the activities in our minds? It would be crazy to claim that there were no dinosaurs or stars before there were people to think about them. Constructivists do not seem to claim this. But it is hardly any less crazy to claim that there *would have not been* dinosaurs or stars if *there had not been* people (or similar thinkers). And this claim seems essential to Constructivism: unless it were so, dinosaurs and stars could not be dependant on us and our minds.

(Dewitt, 1984: 238)

Contrary to the belief of Dewitt, constructivists would not claim that elephants and stars could not physically exist before there were people to think about them, but rather, they would claim that the *concepts* of stars and elephants could not exist without people thinking about them. That

concepts could not exist independently of people who could think about these concepts, which thus links concepts (or words) to objects was something that was also associated with the development of Saussurean linguistics that eventually led to the semiotic approach to analyses (discussed in greater detail in the Methods Chapter).

On the other hand, Kushner (1996) in her discussion of the limits of constructivism in evaluation, argues that although some assumptions of constructivist ideas are becoming widely accepted [such as the claim that 'whatever the objective realities that may be 'out there' are subject to social cognitive process of construction...the observed world depends heavily if not wholly on the conditions of observation' (ibid: 189)] there exists a danger of adopting extreme relativist positions. Kushner (1996: 195) further refers to the work of Guba and Lincoln (1989) as such, where since they argue that 'there are no objective realities 'out there' independent of how we observe them – the world has no essential qualities and is relentlessly relativist.' Further on, Kushner adds that:

The case for constructivism is not faulty in principle. The incipient doubt it engenders in all rational processes of enquiry can only be healthy, and is embraced by evaluation theorists who are not so easily beguiled by relativism as Guba and Lincoln.

(Kushner, 1996: 196)

Although constructivism has several limitations (as do all philosophical positions), a number of weaknesses (Kukla, 2000), as well as conceptual problems (ibid), it is undeniable that all the more, concepts are defined as being socially constructed (ibid) and constructivism as a philosophical position in research is all the more widespread across the social sciences and humanities (i.e. see also a collection of essays in Holstein and Gubrium, 2008 and a collection of essays in Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). In addition, as Delanty argues his case for constructivism and refers to the known articles of Sisimondo (1993) and Knorr-Cetina (1993), constructivism is after all, a social scientific methodology which has its

roots in the 1980's and even today there is still 'little sign of it abating' (Delanty, 1997: 114).

6.7 On constructivism and (inter)disciplinary location

It could be argued that one strength of tourism research is that it is not bound to fixed disciplinary boundaries...

(Phillimore and Goodson, 2004:20)

Although 'all disciplines have been created and argued over by people, and there is no single criterion upon which boundaries can be agreed' (Unwin, 1992: 5), influences of two particular disciplines, or better, sub-disciplines are rather obvious in this research. Namely, although I mainly adopt a disciplinary perspective of a cultural geographer I also adopt, to a great extent, ideas and methods used by visual anthropologists. In brief, cultural geography is a sub-field of studies in human (or humanistic) geography. Cultural geography is concerned with the studies of culture which in turn is seen 'as complexes of norms, behaviours and expectations that are associated with particular places and times' (Crang, 1998: 142). Visual anthropology on the other hand, as a sub-field of sociocultural anthropology (see for example Morphy and Banks, 1997) is concerned with the use of visual data, both from primary and secondary sources in ethnographic research. Similarly to cultural geography, visual anthropology is thematically predominantly also concerned with studies related to culture and cultural representations (see also Pink, 2001a; 2006). Having relied extensively on ideas, concepts and methods characteristic for both cultural geographers and visual anthropologists, what I have essentially achieved is to produce an interdisciplinary research.

Then again, as Unwin (1992: 5-7) argues disciplines are defined by: 1) what its practitioners do; 2) what is their object of study; 3) what are the methodologies and techniques which are employed; and finally 4) what

are the questions that the particular discipline asks. Similar to how human geography and sociocultural anthropology seem to have much in common (i.e. see Leontis, 1995), the same is valid for their sub-fields of cultural geography and visual anthropology, particularly in the cases where the methods or themes of study used involve a 'visual' element (i.e. see for example Rose, 2007 and Pink, 2001a). As Pauwels (2000: 12), in the context of studies that involve any form of visuals, notes 'it is absolutely essential to look over the walls of sciences and art to get the bigger and better picture'. And in the particular case of cultural geography and visual anthropology, both sub-fields can have similar: 1) objects of study (i.e. a research project of both a visual anthropologist and a cultural geographer may focus on people's activities in a particular place); 2) methodologies and techniques (often cultural geographers as well as visual anthropologists will subscribe to constructivism, i.e. see Rose, 1997 and Pink 2001a and often both will use ethnography as a research technique)³⁷; as well as 3) disciplinary questions (i.e. both a cultural geographer and a visual anthropologist might decide to focus for example on visual culture). This, however, should not come as a surprise since, as Massey (1999: 7) argues for the particular case of human geography: 'there has in recent years been much writing introducing to geography concepts and approaches developed initially in other disciplines', while it [human geography] has proved to also have the ability to influence other disciplines (ibid).

Although suggesting that one does interdisciplinary research might imply that one believes there are disciplinary boundaries that might need crossing, I do believe, similar to other authors (i.e. see for example Leontis, 1995; Anderson et al, 2003) that increasingly much of the

³⁷ Constructivism with its subjectivist relativism seems to have a particular appeal to the studies of [visual and other] cultures, cultural representations and identities, all of which are often studied by both cultural geographers and visual anthropologists. That constructivism has a particular appeal to cultural geographers and visual anthropologists is most likely due to the fact that constructivism allows not only for deeper, situated understanding and knowledge about [cultural] phenomena under study to be created through their respective research projects but also as constructivism allows researchers to take into consideration and study the multiple perceptions and representations of reality.

research done in both disciplines [human geography and sociocultural anthropology] seem to be interdisciplinary in nature with the strict boundaries becoming ever more 'blurred', meaning that many theories, concepts, methods and themes of study are increasingly being shared by both disciplines. One of the best known examples might as well be the idea of ethnographic fieldwork to which both [human] geographers and [cultural and visual] anthropologists subscribe to. Tourism on the other hand, as a very multi-, inter-, and cross- disciplinary field of study often requires such approaches (i.e. see Echtner and Jamal, 1997). Nevertheless, doing interdisciplinary research is not the easiest route to take (i.e. see Pink, 2006), and many such attempts have been labelled as works symptomatic of academic 'amateurism' (i.e. see Pink, 2006 and Pauwels, 2000). However, by engaging in in-depth readings and applications of both anthropological and geographical theories, methodologies and methods, in this study of national identity, heritage and tourism, I hope to have avoided 'amateurism' and succeeded in undertaking a thoroughly underpinned interdisciplinary research.

Exploring this particular research topic in more detail we can see that its central theme is a *place* (the Acropolis), its history, emergence as a symbol of Greekness and a major tourist attraction, its significance as a World Heritage site, its representation in tourist material and finally, the experiences and perceptions of the Acropolis (and its symbolic resonances) by its visitors. To quote one of the members of an [academic] geographical forum who commented on a research project in which the researcher claimed her work was apparently rooted in anthropology while actually it had 'geography written all over it' (James, 2007), my research, similar to that research, although I do rely on some previous anthropological work and concepts, also has 'geography written all over it' (ibid).

Cultural geography, a sub discipline of human geography (i.e. see Crang, 1998), with its focus of analysis in human activity at a place (Solmon,

2005), not only greatly informed my conceptions and thinking around the notions of place, space, landscape, cityscape etc but also guided much of my methodological thinking which in turn influenced the methods of data collection as well as the modes of data analysis. The work of geographers which influenced my research the most were that of: Mike Crang (1997, 1998, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2005), Gillian Rose (2007), Kevin Walsh (1992), David Lowenthal (1979, 1985, 1993, 1998a, 1998b), David Crouch (2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b), Tim Edensor (1998, 200), Artemis Leontis (1995), Argyro Loukaki (1997), Lila Leontidou (1993), and Penny Travlou (2001, 2002). Geographical ideas, thinking and methods thus informed much of my research with its key focus being *a place* or better, the 'symbolic landscape'³⁸ of the Athenian Acropolis. Namely, geographical ideas, thinking and methods informed my interpretation of representations of the Athenian Acropolis in tourist materials and also the field study of visitor experiences, performances at the site as well as their perceptions of its symbolic resonances³⁹.

The ideas and methods of [visual] anthropology on the other hand, which were of use in my research were those which further informed my practice of ethnographic filmmaking, interviewing and participant observation techniques, the role of subjectivism, researcher's position, the [embodied] self and the multilayered identities (although much work on the latter has also been done by geographers). Works of anthropologists who exerted a great influence on my work and thinking include: Sarah Pink (2001a, 2001b, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2006), Marcus Banks (2001), Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy (1997), Peter Burns

³⁸ Anderson et al (2003: 4) argue that symbolic landscapes are 'places that are imbued with special meaning beyond the everyday'.

³⁹ I look at, and examine 'culture as meaning' (Anderson et al, 2003b). Then again, 'understanding the meanings of particular landscapes and places is no small matter', while the 'interpretation of symbolic landscapes - places that are imbued with special meaning beyond the everyday - require investigations at a different scale' (ibid: 4). In addition to interpreting the meanings, or the representation of the Acropolis in tourist material, from the perspective of cultural geography, I also study the 'non-material aspects' whereby my focus during the fieldwork is made on 'people's intimate experiences and performances' (ibid: 5) at the site.

(1999), Paul Bohannon and Dirk van der Elst (1998), and Vasiliki Galani-Moutafi (2000, 2002, 2004).

Thus, although my research is thematically located in [cultural] geography, as it will also become evident later on in the thesis, I did not at any point hesitate to 'borrow' ideas, ways of thinking, or research methods from other disciplines, and particularly from [visual] anthropology. My intention in doing this, within this interdisciplinary research, was to tackle the research question in a more inclusive and holistic manner. Fuller (1994: 88-89) interestingly remarks that:

...constructivists do not mean to be doing ethnographies and discourse analyses as an anthropologist or a linguist would understand those projects. On this view, a constructivist case of science in action should not be seen as akin to a monograph on some native culture, each adding a brick to the edifice of empirical knowledge in their respective fields. Rather, the constructivists strategically adopt the rhetoric of their opponents, who happen to abide by this empiricist image of inquiry. The idea then, is to beat them at their own game. The ultimate goal is to play another game entirely.

Although I never viewed [visual] anthropologists or [cultural] geographers as my 'opponents' nor was my intention ever 'to beat them at their own game' I did not adopt the view of many early [traditional] anthropologists who had a largely positivist and often described as 'innocent' (see Loizos, 2003) and naïve approach in their respective ethnographic studies and interpretations of the phenomena under study (i.e. see a number of studies commented in El Guindi, 2004). Rather, my intention was to learn from early [human and cultural] geographers as well as from early [sociocultural and visual] anthropologists and their experiences, their knowledges, methods, insights and ideas, something which also enabled me to follow up on the work of their contemporaries (many of whom approached their studies from a constructivist perspective). Taking the interdisciplinary approach in such a holistic manner allowed me not only to readily apply knowledges, concepts and methods of cultural geography and visual anthropology to my own research, but also to produce deeper and richer knowledges.

6.8 Conclusions

In this Chapter I included several discussions surrounding constructivism, creating in such a way a sequence of explorations of its significance as a philosophical position within a research project. I paid particular attention to the key ideas underpinning a constructivist viewpoint, the difference this has with a positivist and a realist viewpoint. However in this process of discussing constructivism, what I [intentionally] did not do is idealise constructivism. In so doing, I eventually discussed its advantages and disadvantages, concluding that despite a number of shortcomings, constructivism as a philosophical position not only shows very 'little sign of abating' (Delanty, 1997: 114), but rather, it has a lot to offer particularly for researchers within social sciences who engage in more holistic, qualitative research projects.

Overall, I have argued that constructivism as a philosophical position inevitably: 1) defines knowledge, reality as well as many other concepts as socially constructed; 2) calls for subjectivity, pluralism and relativism in the assessment of reality; 3) necessitates a discussion on the position of the researcher; and 4) demands the use of first person narrative.

Entrenched throughout this Chapter were two key arguments with regards to constructivism as a philosophical position: not only was constructivism reflecting my own personal worldview but it was also very suitable for this particular research project. That is, as a philosophical position, constructivism (as any other philosophical position) inevitably influences and informs not only the overall methodology, but also the methods and finally also the mode by which the findings of a research project are presented and discussed. This being the case, the philosophical position adopted inevitably influences the type of knowledge created by research projects. Importantly, as I have argued in this Chapter and as I will argue further in the following Chapter on Methods, for projects like this Acropolis research, projects which aim to produce deep and holistic knowledges,

are inductive rather than deductive, and seek to provide understandings of deep meanings, constructivism as a philosophical position is a very appropriate position to take.

Adding to these, in the final section on constructivism and (inter)disciplinary location of this research, I have also discussed the mode by which a constructivist philosophical position informed my (inter)disciplinary perspective which in turn influenced my choice of methods, position in the field, analysis and the mode of the representation of findings in the thesis - something which I discuss in quite some detail in the following Chapter on Methods.

Chapter 7 Methods⁴⁰

[qualitative methods come from a]....cast belief (or ontological position) that: the world is not real in a fixed, stable or predictable way; that it is not entirely accessible; and that it does not appear empirically the same to everyone, no matter how carefully we look. Rather qualitative methods presume the world to be an assemblage of competing social constructions, representations and performances.

(Smith, 2001: 25)

7.1 Introduction

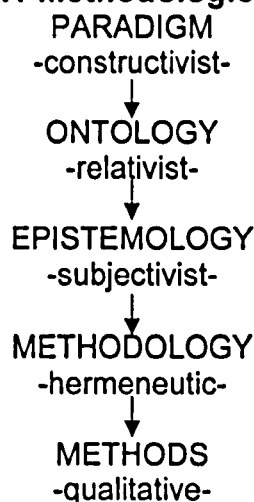
As mentioned earlier, this interdisciplinary research, based on [visual] anthropology and [cultural] geography, and philosophically underpinned by constructivism, focuses on the relationship between World Heritage, tourism and national identity at the Athenian Acropolis.

What this research involved in practice, in terms of the primary research methods deployed, was firstly, an investigation of the role that the Athenian Acropolis, as an important World Heritage site and as an internationally well known tourist attraction, plays in the construction of Greek national identity within tourism materials. Secondly, it involved an investigation into the 'consumption' of this constructed sense of Greekness by visitors to the site. The complexity of this research topic and its preoccupation with meanings, representations, interpretation, perceptions, as well as with multiple realities of the lived visitor experiences, implied that I would need to rely on innovative rather than the more traditional approaches to primary research, engage in a qualitative rather than quantitative and inductive rather than deductive approach. Adopting, as I

⁴⁰ Please note that earlier versions of some sections of this Chapter will appear in Rakić, T. (forthcoming). *Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge*. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABI (See Appendix I), while other earlier versions of some other sections of this Chapter will appear in Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (forthcoming). *Researcher With a Movie Camera: Visual Ethnography in the Field* *Current Issues in Tourism*. (See Appendix G)

had, a constructivist paradigm meant that much of this research, including the secondary (literature review, the study of key concepts, methods and methodologies) and the primary research (to be explored in further detail here and in the following Chapters), was also marked by a relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, hermeneutic methodology and qualitative research methods (See Figure 7.1.1).

Figure 7.1.1 Methodological Process



Adapted from Pernecky (2007: 222)

Put very simply, what this meant was that, in this project, 'reality' was treated as relative, personally and collectively constructed (i.e. plural) and 'knowledge' as subjective, co-created, and situated (i.e. context dependant). In addition, the constructivist paradigm also implied that this research was interpretative (i.e. concerned with the interpretation of deep and often multi-layered meanings) and that it relied largely on qualitative methods. In addition, and in contrast to many other studies of tourism, as this Chapter will also demonstrate, the researcher was not perceived according to a positivistic or a post-positivistic fashion, as a person in search of 'objective universal truths' where she had very little or no impact on the creation of knowledge, but rather, as a person central in this process of context specific knowledge creation, and her voice as only one of many that influenced the research process (see also discussion on interpretative approaches in Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001).

Entrenched by these theoretical underpinnings, this research involved roughly four, often overlapping phases. The first phase was a critical review of the literature on the historical emergence of the Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, as a World Heritage site, and as a tourist attraction. The second phase involved the collection and semiotic analysis of [visual, textual and audiovisual] tourist materials, an analysis which sought to interpret symbolic resonances of the Acropolis contained in tourism materials such as postcards, guidebooks and governmental promotional campaigns. The third phase involved a year long [visual] ethnographic fieldwork at the Acropolis, when I engaged in audiovisually recorded participant observation, interviewing, diary keeping, and mapping of visitor movements. The fourth and the final phase of this research, involved the analysis of the materials (using Nvivo software), editing the footage and writing up the thesis. Visual methods, as this Chapter will demonstrate, were a crucial element of this project, both in terms of analysing visual materials from secondary data (i.e. images contained in tourism materials), as well, as in terms of creating visual data in the field (i.e. video and photography), data later used for analysis, presentations at conferences, as part of lectures and as footage used for the editing of a documentary on the same topic.

7.2 The self as a research tool

Rarely do researchers regard the subjective nature of research as a productive opportunity, an *epistemic window* and a possibility for *methodological innovation*.

(Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 9, own italics)

The reasons for studying the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis were manifold. Some of these reasons, as I mentioned in the introductory Chapter, were rooted in the fact that being married to a Greek national and having also lived in Greece for a number of years, I had not

only acquired exceptional knowledge of the Greek language⁴¹ and culture, but I had also developed a great interest in the Greek national identity, history and tourism. What these interests and knowledges would imply in the context of this research, was that my great curiosity surrounding Greekness, the mode through which it came to be constructed and the link it had with Classical heritage, would serve as an outstanding motivator throughout this research process. Further on, not only was I able to consult texts written in both Greek and English for the purposes of this research, but also, once I would arrive to Greece in order to conduct my fieldwork I would encounter minimal barriers. Finally, and most importantly, although numerous studies surrounding the Athenian Acropolis had been conducted by scholars belonging to a great variety of disciplines, a study which would explore the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity had not been made in the past although the Athenian Acropolis seemed to be an ideal case study. Namely, as mentioned earlier, the Athenian Acropolis was believed to symbolise the World Heritage idea (UNESCO, 2006), to embody the Greek nation (Yalouri, 2001), while at the same time it was also the most visited cultural heritage site in Greece (Kontrarou-Rassia, 2007).

In addition, I also had an extraordinary advantage in that I had a tremendous interest in Greek national identity, [Modern] Greek history, heritage and tourism, and at the same time, although not Greek, I was still a cultural insider in terms of the fluency with which I spoke Greek as well as in terms of the depth in which I was familiar with the local culture. What this implied was that, in contrast to a number of other scholars involved in the studies of places and Greekness (i.e. see Leontis, 1995; Yalouri, 2001; Loukaki, 1997; 2008), in my case being a non-Greek who was at the same time a cultural insider, also implied that I as a researcher had 'access' to the local culture and a way of life, but had no particular personal

⁴¹ I am holder of a first class certificate in proficiency of the Greek Language, which other than allowing me to teach at Greek Higher Education Institutions in Greek also allows me to teach Greek to non-Greeks.

attachments to the place I was studying, nor had I ever considered it as representing a part of my own identity.

Further on, being female, the offspring of a mixed Serbo-Croat marriage who as a teenager saw the Yugoslavian state⁴² as well as the Yugoslavian sense of national identity collapse relatively quickly in the midst of a civil war in the 1990s made me very sensitive to issues surrounding national identities. From very early on in my life I developed critical thinking in relation to the phenomena of national identities, their origins and nature. Having subsequently settled in Greece in the late 1990s and later married a Greek national in 2001, my inspiration to study Greekness and Classical heritage in the context of tourism was slowly beginning to emerge.

In this particular research, my mixed background of a [relatively] young female, an ex-Yugoslavian⁴³ who now perceives herself as a cosmopolitan, who had developed an extensive knowledge of (and attachment to) the Greek language and culture and who also happened to be married to a Greek national, was one of the most important influences on my passionate attempt to, as a researcher, decode and understand what constitutes the sense and the essence of Greek national identity and what this meant in the context of the Athenian Acropolis, [world] heritage, and tourism. However, other than being one of the most important influences on my passionate attempt to study Greekness, my distinct position as a researcher in this project also influenced the whole research process, all the way from its design to the implementation of the research methods (i.e. semiotic analysis and visual ethnography) as well as the interpretation and representation of its findings.

⁴² The then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which collapsed in the 1990s constituted of six republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Monte Negro.

⁴³ Although non-existent in official texts, 'ex-Yugoslavian' is the term I use to describe my own [past] sense of national identity. It signifies a person who in the past identified as belonging to a 'Yugoslavian' nation, prior to the collapse of the Yugoslavian state in the 1990s. Since the state collapsed and 'Yugoslavian' identity is replaced by Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian etc, the sense of being Yugoslavian necessarily becomes a part of the past, and thus the prefix 'ex-' is central to such a characterisation.

Although being [relatively] young and female exerted influence on the overall research project and its outcomes, especially in the context of my fieldwork, the influence which would mark this research throughout its various stages was my mixed [cultural] background. In practice, as mentioned earlier, my complex position implied that although I was personally curious about and fond of the Acropolis, a world renowned visitor attraction and a place of national pride, I did not have a very strong attachment to it, nor did I perceive it as the essence of my own identity. This being the case, I was in a very good position to 1) undertake a critical review of the literature on the topic; 2) semiotically analyse and interpret the representations of the Acropolis in tourism materials; and 3) engage in studying visitor experiences and behaviour at the Acropolis.

Importantly, although my distinct position as a researcher who bares her own 'social, historical, socialised, and biographical characteristics' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 13), also exerted great influence on the mode by which I interpreted tourism materials (i.e. see subsection 7.3 of this Chapter), my position as a researcher in the field seemed to have marked this research to a much greater extent. Namely, as I came to realise during my fieldwork both the Greek and the non-Greek visitors at the Acropolis could identify and relate to me as I was at the same time perceived as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider'⁴⁴. Further on, being [relatively] young and female was also an advantage in the context of my fieldwork, as people of different backgrounds, age and gender felt comfortable in talking to me. These biographical and personal characteristics were rather crucial in the context of interviewing as once I was approaching the various visitors at the Acropolis I was not perceived as a threat but as a young woman who simply wanted to talk about their experiences of the site. Confirming this assertion is the fact that several times during which I relied

⁴⁴ My rather complex position as a researcher in the field is discussed in somewhat more detail in Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007b, 13th-15th June 2007). *Researcher with a movie camera: visual ethnography in the field*. Paper presented at the 6th International Symposium on Aspects of Tourism – Gazing, Glancing, Glimpsing: Tourists and Tourism in a Visual World, Eastbourne, UK, a paper which was later expanded and is now forthcoming as a journal article (See Appendices F and G).

on a male camera operator (my partner) during some of the interviews conducted as a part of this research, the dynamics of these particular interviews seemed to be slightly different to the dynamics of the interviews during which I was both the person who held the camera and the person who conducted the interviews. Thus, had I, hypothetically speaking, been a different person altogether, a person who bears different 'social, historical, socialised, and biographical characteristics' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 13) to the ones I discussed in this section, this research process would have most likely been different as not only would I, depending on my own characteristics interpret the materials slightly differently, but also, the informants in the field would have perceived and reacted to my presence differently.

Thus, the very complexity of my position as a researcher allowed me to approach, understand and interpret the researched in a deeper and more holistic manner. Importantly, reflexivity about these issues also enabled me to recognize and take advantage of a number of 'productive opportunities' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 9) my distinct position as a researcher offered in the context of this particular research project. Namely, throughout this project, and especially as a part of the visual ethnographic work, subjectivity and reflexivity played a major role in the research process.

To clarify this point, here is an excerpt from the Acropolis research diary:

As I was walking towards the Acropolis, I stopped to film it from underneath with people passing by in the foreground (as I wanted to film the ordinary everyday life underneath and with the Acropolis).

During the filming two boys passed by and one of them said:

- "Griechenland" (Greece in German), probably thinking that I was a [German] tourist. As I never replied to it, but only smiled, still holding the camera and filming, they seemed to have gotten puzzled. As they were approaching me and got a better look at me, the same boy said:

- "Γεια" (Hi in Greek)

Then I replied the same ("Γεια" or hi in Greek), confirming what they thought they saw with a better look at me, that I was Greek. But the truth is that I was neither – nor a tourist (although I behaved as one

holding a camera and filming), nor a Greek (although I probably looked and spoke as one).

(Rakić, diary entry 25th January 2007)

As the above diary entry points out, the fact that I, the researcher was perceived and seemed to have behaved both as a tourist (outsider) and a local (insider), influenced and informed not only my perceptions and experiences of the research field and my interactions with my informants/research participants, but also informed my interpretations of the audio-visual 'data' created in the field and their subsequent edit to a documentary. To be precise, as myself, the ethnographer negotiated my multiple roles in the field, my perceptions and the way in which I was perceived had an influence on both the techniques I used to create the footage, as well as the mode in which I interpreted these materials. To further explicate this point, here is another excerpt from the Acropolis research diary:

As I entered the site, I noticed that there was big filming crew there. I got puzzled and interested in what they were doing, and then I thought to myself, why wouldn't I film them filming? However, as I filmed them filming, I noticed that not only I was interested in them but also they in me. Despite the fact there was a number of other visitors who used a video camera and that on that day I was using a small, compact tourist like camera, it was easy for a filming crew to recognise another filmmaker. Soon enough, I had engaged in a conversation with the members of the crew and we discussed the two different filming projects: theirs which was commissioned by the Greek Ministry of Culture and was to serve as a promotional material of the site, and mine, ethnographic in nature, occupied more with the visitors than the actual site.

(Rakić, diary entry 7th March 2007)

As myself, the researcher was perceived, adopted and moved within multiple and often very fluid roles in the field, roles which could include but are not limited to a researcher, a tourist, a filmmaker, a local and a foreigner, inevitably influenced and informed the whole research process. In addition to these, my own multi-layered identities which include gender, race, age, national identity and class, also played a major role in influencing and informing the whole process, something depicted in greater detail within the following diary excerpt:

While I was showing my European student card at the entrance to the archaeological site of the Acropolis in order to enter the site without paying the entrance fee, I was also having a conversation (in Greek) with an employee working there. What eventually happened is that he got very confused by the fact that I spoke Greek, looked Greek and showed him a student card with an obviously foreign name written on it. He clearly thought I had either had a forged, or someone else's card! Then I explained that I was a ξένη (xeni – or a foreign girl) that speaks Greek, and studies in Scotland. He then asked if I was Scottish. Once I had replied that I was actually a Croatian citizen with mixed Serbian and Croatian background, with an expression of disbelief he asked me what was I, a Croatian citizen, doing in Scotland studying and now even speaking Greek as a Greek would speak! The confusion was so great that I eventually had to show the letter from my University confirming my studies, my permission to film at the Acropolis issued by the Ministry of Culture, a letter confirming I was a holder of an Onassis Scholarship, and my long-term permission of stay in Greece to confirm my story. After I had shown all the documentation and the confusion was finally cleared, the colleague of the employee I had the conversation with, sincerely apologised on his behalf for not believing my story in the first instance.

(Rakić, diary entry 25th January 2007)

Thus, my own multiple and multilayered identities and roles as a researcher in the field, which in this case was a 'researcher with a movie camera', a filmmaker and an ethnographer, a young woman with a Serbo-Croat background, permanent residence in Greece, and academic affiliation in Britain, who was often perceived both as a Greek (an insider) and as a tourist (an outsider), did not only shape my interactions in the field, but also informed my gaze through the camera lens. Importantly, reflexivity about these issues not only informed my research in the field but also provided further depth and richness to the research process.

Figure 7.2.1, for example, is a snapshot of myself as a researcher filming in the field, a visual (re)presentation of the very positionality and subjectivity of myself as a 'researcher with a movie camera'. In my attempt at being reflexive, I as a researcher inserted myself in the research field as well as in the subsequent edit of the film (see ethnographic documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis*, contained in Appendix B) and in the writings of the texts contained in this thesis, declaring in such a way that both the film and the texts resulting from this research do not aim at

(re)presenting 'the absolute truth' but rather a version of 'reality' as it was perceived, experienced and filmed by myself, the researcher. In accordance with the constructivist nature of the overall project, in the film I resorted to extensive editing in order to (re)construct, (re)create and (re)present a 'reality' at the Acropolis as myself, as an embodied researcher and a filmmaker, perceived it.

Figure 7.2.1 Researcher with a movie camera



Source: Photo by Yorgos Karagiannakis © 2007, used with permission.

Another extraordinary advantage which I as a researcher had in this particular research project was that for a number of years (from 2001 onwards) I was directly or indirectly involved in various film productions, the most recent being a co-produced documentary on tourism impacts in Crete, Greece (Rakić and Karagiannakis, 2006). This interest and experience surrounding the visual medium inspired my exploration of visual methods in general and academic filmmaking in particular, both of which I incorporated in this research.

Thus, personal circumstances played a major role in the development of this research topic as well as the methods which I used, while my rather complex role as a researcher in this particular research project, was never

a disadvantage but rather an advantage which helped me open many 'doors' on my journey towards deeper and richer understanding of the phenomena under study. Importantly, adopting as I did a reflexive approach, I was also able to perceive how my own understandings were constructed (see also Swain, 2004). This resulted in acknowledging and taking into consideration my own position as an

...*embodied researcher*, who bears social, historical, socialized, and biographical characteristics and who *interacts* with and *intervenes* in his or her research object (participants, research field).

(Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 13, own italics)

It was becoming ever more apparent during the progress of this research project that I was one of my own key research tools. My mixed origins, social, historical and biographical characteristics as well as personal interests in national identity, [world] heritage, tourism and visual methods were one of the most important assets in this research project. These assets, despite their inherent complexities and potential drawbacks, still enabled me as a researcher to grasp this 'productive opportunity' and use it for 'methodological innovation' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 9).

7.3 Semiotic analyses of tourist materials⁴⁵

What is signified by signs is mental.
(Mannings, 2001: 148)

7.3.1 *Symbolic resonances of the Acropolis in tourist materials*

Given that this research was preoccupied with deep meanings, symbolic resonances, representations, experiences and perceptions of the Athenian Acropolis within its context as a national symbol, a World Heritage Site and a popular tourist attraction and that it sought to achieve deep and holistic understandings of the phenomena under study - it was necessary

⁴⁵ Please note that a version of this section of the Methods Chapter was published as a part of the journal paper: Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007). World Heritage: Exploring the Tension Between the National and the 'Universal' *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 2(3), 145 - 155 (See Appendix D)

not only to conduct lengthy ethnographic fieldwork (discussed in section 7.4 of this Chapter), but also to explore the representations and meanings of the Acropolis conveyed in tourist materials. These semiotic analyses, discussed in quite some detail in this section of the Methods Chapter, were instrumental in shedding further light into the researched. Semiotic analyses, which uncovered the deep and underlying meanings in the representations of the Acropolis in tourist materials thus proved to be an invaluable research technique. Importantly, semiotics are often used as a key tool by ethnographers (i.e. see discussion in Mannings, 2001 and studies such as Travlou 2001, 2002), while some commentators on the semiotic method even go as far as to say that semioticians are in fact 'lab' or armchair ethnographers (i.e. see Lenoir, 1994).

Semiotics, or the [modern] study of signs which seeks to uncover the 'system of signs' and the 'deep structure' of meaning, was founded by the linguist Ferdinand du Saussure (1857-1913) and the philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) (Echtner, 1999: 47). Despite the fact that the two founders, Saussure and Peirce, had significantly different approaches due to their background, semiotics has developed as a single approach constituted of various methods of analysis. Much of the later work in semiotics, particularly in literary theory and philosophy, was done by Roland Barthes (see for example Barthes 1977; 1979; 1988; and 1993). However, further influential contributions were also made by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1972), Julia Kristeva (1980), Umberto Eco (1976), Jean Baudrillard (1994) and others. Although due to the time and word count constraints of this thesis and the overall research project I will not be able to go into significant depth with these issues, suffices to say here that semiotics as a method which allows us to realise that reality is a construction (Chandler, 2001) is a method very compatible with the philosophical approach of constructivism, and that its two main streams are often divided as belonging to either structuralism or

poststructuralism⁴⁶ (i.e. see discussions in Chandler, 2001; Lenoir, 1994; and Nöth, 1990). In tourism studies, the semiotic approach has been utilised to address various research questions in a number of studies. Following Culler (1981) who looked at the semiotics of tourism, Uzzell (1984) used semiotics in his analysis of tourism marketing, Cohen (1989) in his analysis of the hill tribe trekking promotional material in Northern Thailand and Bhattacharyya (1997) in her analysis of a Lonely Planet guide book to India.

With particular reference to the potential methods and modes of utilisation of the semiotic approach in tourism research, similarly to other authors from the social sciences (i.e. Rose, 2007), Echtner (1999: 50-51) also proposes different stages of analysis. In her view, there should be approximately six stages in a semiotic analysis: 1) choosing a corpus of data, 2) specifying elements to be analysed, 3) inventorying occurrences, 4) examining the relationships, 5) creating a taxonomy, and 6) penetrating surface meanings. She does indicate however that these stages are in no way prescriptive as semiotic analysis 'allows considerable analytic freedom and creativity in terms of methods and procedures' (1999: 55). As such these stages were adapted, slightly differently for each of the three analyses discussed in this section.

Considering that any analysis based on a semiotic approach is essentially subjective in nature (i.e. see Burns, 2004; Lenoir, 1994), that the researcher along with her/his distinct 'social, historical, socialized, and

⁴⁶ Put simply, especially considering that boundaries between different streams are often blurred, one of the key differences between structuralists and poststructuralists are that structuralists (i.e. exemplified in works of authors such as Saussure; early, mostly pre 1970 works of Barthes such as his essays in *Mythologies*, and works of Lévi-Strauss) systematically sought for 'deep', almost 'rigid' structures which they believed were underlying the phenomena under study (i.e. see Chandler, 2001 and Nöth, 1990). Structuralists also strictly divided the sign and the signified and simultaneously often conducted semiotic analyses of materials which were historically and socially de-contextualised (i.e. see discussions in Chandler, 2001). Poststructuralists (i.e. exemplified in works of authors such as Kristeva and the later, mostly post 1970, works of Barthes such as his essays in *Image, Music, Text*) on the other hand, often contextualised their analyses, considered that there were no fundamental 'deep' and 'rigid' structures, explored the fluidity between the signifier and the signified, as well as in many cases reiterated that no semiotic analysis can be finite and complete (i.e. see discussions in Chandler, 2001).

biographical characteristics' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 13) plays a central role in the processes of interpretation of the materials under study and that no secondary data collection can ever be exhaustive, approaching this particular analysis systematically, rigorously and basing it on extensive collections as I did was not done with the intention of suggesting that these analyses were 'objective' or that its data samples were 'representative'. Rather, my intention was to provide considerable indication of the nature of representations of the Acropolis in some of the most popular tourist materials (i.e. postcards, promotional campaign and guidebooks), and importantly also, to provide considerable indication of the mode by which these representations changed over time, the mode by which the Athenian Acropolis came to be 'naturalised' as a symbol of Greekness and the role these materials played in the overall Greek nation building project. These materials include: 1) postcards of Athens and Greece from their early appearance in the 1800s until today, 2) the promotional materials released by the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) over a recent five year period (2002-2006), and 3) a selection of internationally well known guidebooks available for purchase in the centre of Athens in 2006.

As I will touch upon in this section and also expand on in the Chapters of this thesis containing the findings of these analyses (Chapters 8, 9 and 10), each of these analyses, brought a slightly different insight. The analysis of postcards allowed the exploration of the historical development of the Acropolis as a symbolic Greek landscape, the GNTO campaign on the other hand allowed an exploration of the recent governmental campaigns and the mode by which the Acropolis was represented in these campaigns, and finally, the analysis of guidebooks sold in Athens in 2006 allowed a 'snapshot' style exploration of the representations of the Acropolis in the most popular tourist literature, the guidebooks.

7.3.2 Postcards

Following the collection of the data set (i.e. postcards of Athens and Greece containing a reference to the Acropolis and belonging to different historical periods); I conducted the semiotic analysis which included both the textual and the visual element on the front or the image side of these postcards. The reason why only the front side of these postcards was included in this analysis was that mostly these postcards were containing no text on the back, other than occasionally the name of the publishing house. Having collected these postcards, or data for analysis, I then, similar to other semiotic analyses described in this section, selected specific units for analysis, categorised the postcards according to the historical period these belonged to as well as to themes in terms of some of the already emerging, dominant meanings. Finally, I also identified the consistency of occurrence of certain elements or themes, which I then further analysed with a view to explicating and interpreting any underlying or 'deep' meanings contained in these postcards. Following the analysis, I then wrote and discussed these findings in the thesis (see Chapter 8).

All the postcards which I used for this analysis depicted the Acropolis and ranged by their date of circulation from the year 1886 to 2007. I collected these postcards from a number of sources: 1) forty four postcards, ranging by the year of circulation from the year 1886 to the year 1939, came from a book titled 'Athens in postcards of the past' (Ioannou, 2001); 2) fourteen postcards came from a private collection of postcards of Athens from the 1980s, generously lent to me by Ms Sophia Karagiannaki; and finally 3) the additional ninety contemporary postcards came from a collection of my own, a collection I had created by purchasing postcards available in the Athens city centre in the period between April 2004 and April 2007. This analysis thus, was based on 148 postcards.

7.3.3 GNT0 campaigns⁴⁷

After identifying and collecting the data set namely the promotional material released by the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNT0) for the years 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006 which was available at the GNT0 headquarters in Athens, Greece, I conducted the semiotic analysis. This analysis included the textual, the visual, and the audio-visual elements of these promotional materials. Having collected all the material, I then selected specific units such as the promotional material containing reference to the Acropolis, spent numerous hours studying this material and finally, I identified the consistency of occurrence of certain elements which I then further analysed with a view to explicating any underlying or 'deep' meanings. Following the analysis, I then wrote these findings in the thesis (see Chapter 9).

Despite the fact that the data set collected was not exhaustive, considering that it was all the promotional material available from the GNT0 for the given years, the analysis does provide a significant indication of the range of material produced by this organisation. The data set, all material supplied from and published by the GNT0 in the given years consisted of: 1) a guidebook for Athens and Attica published in 2005, its Greek and the English version, each 128 pages in length; 2) an advertising booklet, published in German in 2004, 14 pages in length; 3) a book titled *Greece*, published in 2004, promoting Greece as a tourist destination, 177 pages in length; 4) forty-four print advertisements, eighteen having been released in 2002-2003, twelve in 2004, eight in 2005 and six in 2006; 5) eleven advertising videos for the years 2005 and 2006, with nine videos having been released in the year 2005 and two in 2006; and 6) the official GNT0 website as it was published online in 2006.

⁴⁷ Please note that an earlier version of this section of the Methods Chapter was published as a part of the journal paper: Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007). World Heritage: Exploring the Tension Between the National and the 'Universal' *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 2(3), 145 - 155. (See Appendix D).

7.3.4 Guidebooks

The steps followed in the semiotic analyses of the guidebooks released in 2006 were similar to that described above. Namely, I first collected the 'data set' or the guidebooks to be analysed, by going to all the main bookshops in the centre of Athens and purchasing all the guidebooks for Greece and Athens, printed both in English and in Greek which were available in 2006. Having done this, I then carefully read through these guidebooks several times, marking any sections which included text or images of the Acropolis. I then engaged in a deeper analysis of these sections, coding any meanings which were surfacing which were of significance to this research. Having done this, I then explored these meanings further and deeper, presenting all my findings in this thesis (see Chapter 10).

The guidebooks which were available in Athens in 2006 and which were included in this analysis were: 1) The Acropolis, 2006 edition, first circulated in 1980; 2) Athens: Art and History, English Edition (2nd Ed), 2005 edition which still circulated in 2006; 3) Athens: Between Legend and History: A tour of the Monuments & Museums of the city and its surroundings, 1995 Edition which still circulated in 2006; 4) Cities of the Imagination: Athens: a cultural and literary history, in-depth cultural and historical guidebooks series, 2004 edition which still circulated in 2006; 5) Lonely Planet: Best of Athens: the ultimate pocket guide and map, 2nd Edition from 2004 which still circulated in 2006; 6) AA Essential: Athens: all you need to know, the top places to go, where to shop and eat out, and how to get about, 2nd Edition from 2001 which still circulated in 2006; 7) Time Out: Athens, 2005 edition which still circulated in 2006; 8) Heritage Walks in Athens, produced by the Municipality of Athens and the Hellenic Society, 2001 Edition which still circulated in 2006; 9) A Rough Guide to Greece, 11th Edition 2006; and 10) Lonely Planet: Greece, 7th Edition 2006.

7.4 Filmic and other ethnographic methods in the field

Ethnography is a rendition of a culture as lived by particular people in particular places... *and ... is essential to any semiotic analysis...*

(Manning, 2001: 148, 152, text in italics added)

Visual methods (which includes filmic approaches), as innovative research techniques in the social sciences, are mostly perceived as belonging to the qualitative spectrum of methods (i.e. see Banks, 2001; Crang and Cook, 2007; Pink, 2001a; Rose, 2007; Rakić and Chambers 2007a, 2007b; Stanczak, 2001). However, as with other methods, the different philosophical approaches taken will *inform* the way in which visual research is conducted as well as the way in which data is interpreted. In the context of researcher created video extensively used in this research project, researchers whose work is underpinned by an objectivist/positivist or post-positivist approach on the one hand might prefer to use minimal camera movements, very long shots, not appear in their footage, and later use minor or no editing. On the other hand, researchers whose work is underpinned by a constructivist approach might prefer, as is the case in this research, to rely somewhat more on the use of camera movements and shorter shots, occasionally appear in and edit their footage as well as use author-reflexive narrative. In terms of interpretation, researchers whose work is underpinned by an objectivist/positivist or post-positivist approach will mostly believe 'that what is 'seen' by the visual researcher is a 'true' representation of reality' and negate their role in interpreting the footage. Researchers whose work is underpinned by a constructivist approach, as is the case in this research, will mostly believe 'that the researcher is inextricably implicated' (Rakić and Chambers, 2007a: 245) in the production and interpretation of visual representations of reality which will also be seen as local, co-constructed and plural.

Although theoretically visual methods and filmic approaches can be used from different perspectives and some influences of the different approaches can overlap, subjectivist relativism, or constructivism, is

argued to be the most viable position (i.e. see Rakić and Chambers, 2007b).

7.4.1 Ethical issues, filming permissions, equipment and rigour in [visual] ethnographic fieldwork⁴⁸

With the aim of seeking to understand the researched in a more holistic manner, such as understanding not only how the Acropolis was represented in tourism materials but also how it was perceived and experienced by its visitors, I embarked on year long [visual] ethnographic fieldwork. What this part of the research enabled me to do was to add further richness and depth to this research project and produce research outputs which would be accessible to wider audiences (see also Rakić and Chambers, 2007a). However, embarking on such fieldwork, within which video would be used as a complementary fieldwork research technique, assumes that several important considerations have already been made. These include ethical issues, acquiring filming permissions, choosing the appropriate equipment and making theoretically informed decisions so that the field research and the subsequent analysis and representation of findings would be undertaken in a rigorous manner.

Ethical issues are becoming an ever more important agenda at a great number of universities, and researchers are increasingly being requested to submit various types of research project approval forms, many of which include an assessment of ethical issues. Ethical considerations will also often be a personal responsibility that researchers using filmic approaches might feel towards their informants. Especially considering that video footage allows little or no anonymity (see also Rakić and Chambers, 2007a, 2007b), researchers embarking on [moving image] visual ethnographic fieldwork such as this one need to ask themselves: 1) *Is filming at a particular location common practice or might it be seen as an*

⁴⁸ Please note that an earlier version of this section also appears in Rakić, T. (forthcoming). Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABI (see Appendix I).

intrusion to privacy and social life? 2) Do I need an official licence to film there? 3) How can I, as a researcher conducting participant observation, inform people present that filming is taking place? 4) How will I go about acquiring informed consent from my informants? 5) Do I need to keep the contacts of my informants and will I, in the future, wish to show any of the visual outputs of this research to them? 6) What will I do with the footage after the fieldwork, and how could that make an impact on the lives of the people appearing in it?

For this [moving image] visual ethnographic fieldwork at the Athenian Acropolis, filming within this public space was a standard practice and my presence with a camera would not be seen as a major intrusion into the privacy of individuals present or into their social life. Filming permission from the Greek Ministry of Culture was nevertheless obtained and although I was unable to personally inform, often thousands of people present at the site, I was nonetheless obliged to notify the guards that filming would be taking place upon each of my arrivals. Due to the nature of the visit to this open space World Heritage site, a visit which often lasted as little as 30-40 minutes and which took place under various weather conditions, my informants, or the visitors to the site could not have been possibly expected to read and sign a traditional informed consent form. Instead they were, often on camera, told what the project was about and asked whether they would like to contribute by participating in an interview. As the footage would subsequently be used both for analysis and to create an ethnographic documentary (later used for teaching, sent to film festivals and importantly also mailed to informants), we also exchanged contacts. Lastly, during the editing process, using close-ups of people clearly recognisable who seemed to be engaging in activities that might be considered as private moments in public space was avoided.

Depending on the desired outcomes of their [moving image] visual ethnographic project, researchers also need to consider whether footage

produced in the field will be used purely for the purposes of analysis and possibly also for inclusion within conference, seminar or lecture presentations, or whether they also hope to create an ethnographic documentary from it (see also Rakić and Chambers, 2007b). These issues are very important as these will determine not only the type of equipment (i.e. amateur vs. semi-professional or professional video cameras) and the budget (i.e. nowadays an amateur video camera might cost less than £500, while a budget three times this amount might be needed for a semi-professional one), but also the level of filmmaking skills researchers will need to operate the equipment with ease. Considering that I had some experience in ethnographic filmmaking (see Rakić and Karagiannakis, 2006) and that the footage produced as a part of this research was to be used both for analysis, and for the creation of an ethnographic documentary, I acquired and worked mostly with a semi-professional camera while I often also used an external microphone to ensure a higher quality of sound. Semi-professional and professional cameras however, tend to be bulkier, and as such these will not be ideal in all situations within ethnographic fieldwork. This being the case, along with the semi-professional camera, I also used a good quality amateur camera, footage from which, if needed, could also be used for the documentary.

Importantly, as an ethnographer, I also wished to conduct 'thorough, systematic and convincing' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 14) research and sought to achieve this through theoretical sampling, saturation and adequacy (ibid). What this meant was that I made theoretically informed decisions on *sampling* or who were the people I would observe as well as who were the people I would approach for a potential interview. Undertaking this particular ethnography from a perspective of a constructivist I wasn't seeking to construct 'objective' knowledges about the social world, rather, I was interested in the subjective, personal and context dependent experiences of the people under study (visitors to the Acropolis). This being the case, I observed all the visitors to the Acropolis,

and interviewed those with whom an interview was 'convenient'. Put simply, I relied on convenient rather than representative sampling and interviewed as many people I needed (with whom I could speak fluently in the same language) until 'theoretical saturation' was reached. Thus, in this process I also needed to decide when I had reached '*theoretical saturation*' (Crang and Cook, 2007) and learned enough about the phenomena under study. This was also the point in time and when I would resume my observations and interviewing at the Acropolis and would then focus solely on the analysis of the data (see also Crang and Cook, 2007). Finally, as an ethnographer I also desired for this study to be '*theoretically adequate*' (ibid), meaning that I looked into similar ethnographic studies (most notable being Edensor, 1998 and Yalouri, 2001) and theoretical concepts (most of which are discussed in Part II of this thesis) to assist me not only to locate this research in relation to other studies but also to ensure the research was conducted in a rigorous manner.

7.4.2 Filming (or audio-visually recording) in the field⁴⁹

Informed by my interdisciplinary readings in ethnography and visual methods from authors predominantly located in either visual anthropology or cultural geography⁵⁰ (i.e. Banks, 2001; Banks and Morphy, 1997; Crang and Cook, 2007; Crang, 2001; Cook, 1997; Edensor, 1998; Galani-Moutafi, 2000; Harper, 2005; Kearns, 2000; Pink, 2001a; Pink et al, 2004; Pink 2006; Pauwels, 2000, 2004; Rose, 2001; Valentine, 1997) and some previous experience in conducting visual ethnographic fieldwork (Rakić and Karagiannakis, 2006), and having secured the funding⁵¹, the needed equipment and prepared for the fieldwork, I embarked on my journey to Athens. Once there, I spent innumerable hours at the Acropolis throughout

⁴⁹ Please note that an earlier version of this section also appears in Rakić, T. (forthcoming). Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABI (see Appendix I)

⁵⁰ The list in the brackets excludes Harper and Pauwels who are visual sociologists but who tend to comment on the state of visual research across the social sciences and humanities.

⁵¹ My fieldwork was funded by the Alexander S. Public Benefit Foundation, a prestigious funding body in Greece.

the year, conducting overt and covert participant observation, interviewing, mapping visitor movements and their activities, writing my fieldwork diary and importantly, filming.

As mentioned earlier, throughout the fieldwork I made extensive use of both a compact amateur camera and a semi-professional one. The amateur camera on the one hand was ideal for covert audiovisually recorded participant observation, as I was often perceived as yet another tourist taking a video of her visit to the Acropolis⁵². The semi-professional camera on the other hand was ideal for overt audiovisually recorded participant observation, interviewing, and panoramic shots of Athens as well as for high quality shots of the actual site and its surroundings (many of which were needed for the documentary). Thus, filming was a central part of both my participant observation and interviewing but played only a minor role in my diary keeping, as well as in mapping visitor movements and their activities. These mappings as well as the diary keeping I conducted in a more traditional ethnographic fashion, by manually drawing the movements of visitors whose movements were observed (i.e. see the Subsection 7.4.3 following as well as Figure 12.4.1 in Chapter 12, Subsection 12.4), entering details surrounding the activities of visitors (i.e. see the Subsection 7.4.3 following as well Figure 12.4.10 in Chapter 12, Subsection 12.4) whose activities were observed, and writing notes in the diary.

In particular, filming proved to be an invaluable tool as a part of both covert and overt participant observation. Other than the fact that it successfully 'camouflaged' me as a tourist/visitor thus enabling me to successfully blend with visitors present at the Acropolis, video taking was also instrumental in allowing me to film visitor activities, favourite spots, experiences and comments, all footage later used for analysis as well as

⁵² Although filming without the written permission of the archaeological service of the Greek Ministry of Culture within the archaeological site of the Athenian Acropolis is prohibited, filming with an amateur video camera is not heavily policed. As a result, many visitors use their video cameras at the site.

for editing of the film. During these filming sessions I also kept notes in my fieldwork diary, descriptions of these filming sessions, but also 'thick' descriptions of other [non-filmed] observations such as visitor activities, comments, patterns of movements, volume of visitation etc. In addition, I also kept notes on my position as a relatively young, white, female [Serbo-Croat, Greek and English speaking] researcher in the field as well as of any relevant more 'theoretical' thoughts such as the corporeal, embodied, multi-sensory nature of the visit to the site. Coupled with these notes (later transcribed and used as data within the analysis), video footage of my participant observation was not only a vivid [audiovisual] representation of the filming sessions at the Acropolis (allowing me to observe and interpret social life in greater detail) but it was also, in its own distinct way, an [audiovisual] extension of my fieldwork diary.

Filming was also crucial as a part of interviewing sessions. What became apparent shortly after the first few interviews was that the presence of a video camera and informants' knowledge that this will also result in an ethnographic documentary was seen by many as a vehicle of empowerment, allowing for their voices to be heard. In that sense, at least as a part of this particular research project, the fact that all interviewing took place with the assistance of a video camera (and sometimes also with the assistance of another camera operator) served as a motivator for visitors to engage in an interview. The footage of these interviews, similar to the footage of participant observation, would later be used for analysis as well as for editing of the film. These audiovisually recorded interviews, later also transcribed for the purposes of analysis, were much more than just 'thick [audiovisual] descriptions' of the interview context. The audiovisual recordings allowed me re-view these interviews as many times as was necessary during the analysis stage. Other than re-hearing the actual dialogue, these recordings also enabled me to re-visit and take into account other interview specific contexts such as facial expressions,

gestures and the weather, all of which allowed a deeper understanding and interpretation.

A few filming related questions however still remain unanswered. These include: 1) *Did filming on its own allow me, the researcher, to gain knowledge and understanding otherwise inaccessible?* 2) *What exactly, other than richer recordings from the field, did filming offer as a part of an academic research project?* Although, within this particular project, filming *per se* did not allow access to knowledge and understanding otherwise inaccessible (i.e. such as through the utilisation of traditional ethnographic techniques), it did however allow access to deeper and richer understanding of the phenomenon under study by allowing me to create and later re-hear and re-view filmed video footage, information dense and rich data audiovisual format, in the analysis stage. Interestingly, Pink (2001a: 17) also maintains that visual methods 'cannot be used independently of other methods', but rather, that these could be added to the existing methods in ethnography (Pink, 2007).

In addition to offering a deeper and richer understanding of the phenomenon under study, in this project, filming in the field also offered a possibility of producing innovative, audiovisual research outputs which could be 'used for a range of academic and pedagogic purposes' such as inclusion of video in conferences, seminars and lecture presentations (Rakić and Chambers, 2007b: 1). Confirming this point further is the fact that, although the editing of the film is still a work in progress, a two minute video clip made from the footage as a preliminary edit has already been shown at academic conferences, research methods seminars and used for tourism related teaching at a number of Universities.

Despite the fact that the ethnographic documentary produced as a part of this research is a [physically] separate piece of work, it nevertheless is a central part of the overall research outputs from this project. It is an

interconnected piece of work which aims at reflexively representing my visits to the Acropolis as well as 'individual informants' unique gendered, embodied and sensory experience' (Pink, 2006: 71) in an audio-visual, moving image format. Although this and any other academic film on its own could be seen as limited in its ability to convey academic theories (Pink, 2006), coupled with this 'textual study', this film at least achieved what words could not – it not only reached wider audiences than the text included in this thesis but it also gave another audio-visual dimension in representing and re-constructing the multiple co-existing realities and perceptions of the visitors (including myself as a researcher) of the site.

7.4.3 Participant observation and interviews: themes and focus

Through filmed and non-filmed participant observation at the site, observation which I was conducting three to four days a week throughout a year long period (November 2006 – October 2007) I sought to study visitor movements, activities, comments and favourite spots in hope that this would assist me in understanding the nature of the corporeal multi-sensory visitor experiences and the role these corporeal experiences played in the construction and consumption of Greekness in the context of visitation (i.e.. see part IV of this thesis). Interviews with visitors on the other hand allowed me to gain insight into various visitors' perceptions of the site, Athens and Greekness and in contrast to participant observation, they were always filmed.

What I focused on in particular during my filmed and non-filmed sessions using both covert and overt participant observation were:

- the practices of buying the entry ticket – buying the experience;
- visitor movements, favourite spots and activities (how were they moving at the site, where were they stopping most and what were they doing there); and
- how did the nature of the visit change depending on the context (i.e. seasons throughout the year and type of visit)

During the first few months of my fieldwork I undertook a substantial amount of (filmed and non-filmed) covert participant observation, which assisted me to 'get a feel for the field' as well as develop several important observation tools. Namely, I first focused on understanding if people visited the site in groups or alone, if they relied on tour guides or not (see Figure 12.4.3, in Chapter 12, Subsection 12.4) as this would allow me to understand better the nature of the visit.

I then focused on defining the most popular stopping spots at the site as well as the most common visitor activities. Wishing as I did to develop tools which would enable me to observe these in a more thorough, organised and rigorous manner, I then developed three distinct observation tools or methods. Firstly, using multiple copies of a map of the site I chose different people at random throughout the year and very discretely followed them around the site, mapping their movements on the map. In total, I had mapped the movements of 50 different people which then enabled me to map the overall pattern of movements at the site (see Figure 12.4.1, in Chapter 12, Subsection 12.4). In doing so, I of course did not use the camera as it would be too intrusive (and also unethical) and could possibly also make an impact on the patterns of people's movements.

In addition, I also made a table for observation of visitor activities, based on my preliminary covert observation through which I defined the most common visitor activities (see Appendix J). That table I used to thoroughly observe (over a time period of approximately 10 minutes each), the activities of 50 different people at random (see Figure 12.4.10 in Chapter 12, Subsection 12.4). Again, as I judged that the use of the camera would be too intrusive and unethical for this exercise since it focused on particular people, I did these observations without the camera.

Finally, based on my preliminary observations of the most favoured spots (see Figure 12.4.3, in Chapter 12, Subsection 12.4), I also created a table for observation of favourite spots of the site (See Appendix K). This time however, as the camera would be clearly visible and wouldn't be used to film activities of particular people but rather to film particular places, I used a static camera to film the 10 pre-defined favourite spots over a period of 5 consecutive days, spending 5 minutes filming each spot. Assisted by the tables and often also free hand written notes, I would then observe the footage in detail and create notes defining the activities on these spots (Table 12.4.1, in Chapter 12, Subsection 12.4).

These, more organised observations, coupled with other more traditional participant observations at the site throughout the year of my fieldwork resulted in numerous notes in my fieldwork diary as well as in many hours of raw video footage. Participant observation, covert and overt, filmed and non-filmed played a central role in my thorough understanding of the nature of the visitor experience to the open space of the Athenian Acropolis. Importantly, since I spent innumerable hours conducting participant observation in different contexts and seasons, I was myself a very frequent visitor to the site throughout the year long period, something which allowed me not only to 'see' and 'observe' the visit of other people, but something which allowed me to 'feel' the nature of embodied multi-sensory visit myself.

Interviews, as mentioned earlier, were always filmed and those allowed me to gain insight into various visitors' perceptions of the site, Athens and Greekness, going even deeper into the researched. Namely, led by my readings and experiences in ethnography and in attempting to make theoretically informed decisions on 'sampling' and 'theoretical saturation' (Crang and Cook, 2007) I had conducted 22 mostly group interviews with over 40 different visitors throughout the year. The visitors whom I interviewed were both Greek and non-Greek, and most of which I could

speak to in a language we were both fluent in (Greek, English and Serbo-Croat). My intention in doing so rather than focusing on one or two different nationalities of visitors was primarily to avoid ethnocentrism which might have arisen in case I focused on only one or two different nationalities, but also to allow for multiple voices to be heard. In addition, once in the field I found that it was difficult to strictly define for example who was Greek, British or American as many people had multiple nationalities and had a 'hybrid' culture and identity (i.e. Greek American etc), while some people were also cosmopolitan. Thus nationality on its own was not an appropriate 'vehicle' to define or select the people I would interview. Nevertheless, I was still only able to conduct interviews with people with whom I was fluent in the same language. As Bernstein succinctly remarks:

If we were confronting something so alien and strange that it had nothing in common with our language and experience, no affinity whatsoever, then it would be no longer intelligible to speak of understanding.

(Bernstein, 1987: 142)

In addition to these interviews, I also attended a reunification protest held underneath the Acropolis hill on the 30th of January 2007, where I interviewed on camera 12 of the 2,500 pupils and students who were taking part in this protest.

The main focus points of my [filmed] interviewing sessions were to explore:

- what motivated these people to visit the Acropolis,
- what does the Acropolis and the visit to the site mean to them,
- how did they feel walking about the site,
- what aspects of the site had the most meaning/resonance for them,
- whom do they think Acropolis represents and whom do they think it belongs to (i.e. Greece, Europe, World (as in World Heritage) etc),
- what should, in their opinion, happen to the 'Elgin' or Parthenon Marbles that are in the British Museum in London.

Coupled with the data created through participant observation whether these resulted in video footage or fieldwork notes, the data from interview sessions proved to be instrumental in understanding both the nature of the visit as well as visitors' perceptions of the site, Athens and Greekness. As mentioned in section, 7.4.1 of this Chapter, I concluded my interviewing once I realised that I had reached '*theoretical saturation*' (Crang and Coook, 2007) or once I judged that I had learned enough for the purposes of this research.

7.4.4 Fieldwork diary, progress reports and newspaper articles

Transcribing the diary after the fieldwork feels like reliving my days, feelings and thoughts at the Acropolis: I am getting images, conversations, thoughts, feelings, smells, heat, wind, dust, rain and all sorts of other memories coming very vividly back to me.

(Rakić, 26 December 2007: excerpt from the research diary)

As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, I kept extensive notes in my fieldwork diary, descriptions of filming sessions and 'thick' descriptions of other [non-filmed] observations such as visitor activities, comments, patterns of movements, volume of visitation and type of visitation. Other than that, I also kept detailed notes on my position as a relatively young, white, female, Serbo-Croat, Greek and English speaking researcher in the field in Athens as well as notes on any slightly more 'theoretical' thoughts such as the corporeal, embodied, multi-sensory nature of the visit to the site.

By the end of my fieldwork, my diary entries totalled 13,200 words and the mini [moleskine] notebook which I had used as my diary eventually contained not only written text but also drawings (i.e. of preliminary observations of visitor movements) and references to still digital images taken at the time. Interestingly enough, the limitations of purely textual data format within ethnographic fieldwork, were apparent also in my practice of keeping a fieldwork diary. Other than drawing for the purposes of illustration, once I came to transcribe the diary after the fieldwork,

guided by my notes, I also embedded a number of still digital photographs which I happened to have taken at the time of writing these fieldwork notes. These digital images were intended to provide further richness and depth to my fieldwork notes and give them an additional, visual dimension to my observations and thoughts.

Other than regularly keeping notes in my fieldwork diary, as required by my funding body, I was also producing approximately 10-15 page long monthly fieldwork reports. These reports contained descriptions of my research activities, preliminary findings, excerpts and images from my fieldwork notes, as well as a summary of all the writing and reading done each month. Having written each of these reports, I was then submitting these to my Supervising Professor in Greece, Vasiliki Galani Moutafi (University of the Aegean), who would read, sign and send it off to the funding body. In addition, I was also sending these reports to my supervisory team in the UK, who also provided me with their feedback on a monthly basis. These reports were a crucial element of my fieldwork as these enabled me not only to share the fieldwork progress with my supervisory team and the funding body, but also to critically reflect on research activities and progress made each month.

Other than keeping the fieldwork diary, and writing monthly progress reports, throughout my fieldwork I was also collecting and reading local (i.e. Greek) and British (usually accessed on-line) mainstream newspaper articles which contained any reference to the Acropolis. As an ethnographer, I was interested in contemporary events, potential findings of other research projects as well as any public debates which related to my research and which might have been published in newspapers. However, rather than analysing these newspaper articles separately (i.e. by employing techniques such as discourse analysis), I treated these articles as [popular] bibliography, references to which appear throughout this thesis. Thus, my collection of over 60 newspaper articles proved to

be invaluable in providing further insight into [popular] contemporary events and debates relating to the Athenian Acropolis.

7.4.5 *Analysing, writing up and editing*

The process of analysis is not a matter of developing a definitive account, but of trying to find a means to understand the inter-relations of multiple versions of reality...

(Crang and Cook, 2007: 149)

Strauss and Corbin (1998: 13) noted that analysis is in fact 'the interplay between the researchers and the data', interplay through which deeper insights and interpretation occur and through which knowledge about 'multiple versions of reality' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 149) is constructed.

An analysis or interpretation of ethnographic data created in the field, according to some authors (i.e. Crang and Cook, 2007; Hammerslay and Atkinson, 1995; Flick, 2002; Williamson, 2006) and to my own experience starts very early on in the project and finishes with writing the very last paragraphs. In fact, the creation of ethnographic data in the field could be seen as being partly creation of data and partly analysis and interpretation, one which takes place prior to the 'formal' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 133) post-fieldwork analysis. In addition, especially in ethnography, 'writing-up', a process which usually follows the 'formal analysis' (ibid) and interpretation, could also be seen as a part of ethnographic analyses (Flick, 2002). While keeping these in mind, that analysis and interpretation of ethnographic data partly takes place before and partly after the 'formal analysis' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 133), what follows next is not a definitive account of the stages I took within my analytic or interpretative processes of the ethnographic data created in the field, but rather a brief description of its 'formal' stages.

Having finalised my fieldwork, I found myself needing to 'make sense' of a large quantity of qualitative data which varied in format from textual, visual to audio-visual data. To succeed in my endeavours of trying to 'translate a

messy process to a neat product' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 133), I decided to adopt an analysis/interpretation technique which would be mostly computer assisted (using Nvivo 7) and which consisted roughly of the following ten, mostly overlapping stages (for somewhat similar stages of analysis and interpretation see also Crang and Cook, 2007):

- 1) transcription of the fieldwork diary
- 2) digitisation and upload of the audio-visual and still image data to an external hard drive
- 3) transcription of audio-visually recorded interviews⁵³
- 4) sifting and sorting the textual, visual and audio-visual materials
- 5) re-reading the textual material
- 6) re-viewing the visual material
- 7) re-viewing and re-hearing the audio-visual material
- 8) linking the different files, and creating notes and codes in Nvivo
- 9) re-reading the notes and codes, interpreting the data, drafting relationships between phenomena and creating mind maps, and finally
- 10) writing up the findings and editing the documentary

Engaging in transcription of both the fieldwork diary and the interviews implied that not only was I transferring the 'data' into a digital format which would facilitate the computer assisted analysis, but I was also becoming 'intimately acquainted' (Crang, 2001: 218) with the data. This 'intimate familiarity' with the data continued in the stages of digitising the audio-visual material (circa 18 hours of raw video footage), material which I later sorted into semiotic or thematic clusters and themes, partially edited to ease the analysis and stored as different digital files on an external hard-drive. The subsequent numerous viewings of that audio-visual data, the re-readings of the interview transcriptions and the fieldwork diary served as a catalyst for their analysis. This was the time when I created most of my 'theoretical memos' (Strauss, 1987 in Crang, 2001: 218) and started

⁵³ Transcription of the interviews also involved a translation of all the interviews which were conducted in languages other than English.

drawing out the main themes and transferring the analysis to NVivo 7. Most of the first and second level coding, drafting initial interpretations and relationships I did in NVivo 7. However, considering that I dealt with three different data formats (text, image, image-sound), NVivo 7 which I used at the time proved to be an unstable platform in which to perform some stages of the 'formal analysis'⁵⁴. Thus, for the last stages of creating mind maps, drafting the main relationships between phenomena and interpreting deep meanings, a process during which I constantly needed to refer back to the original [audio-visual, visual and textual] files, I had to resort to the traditional pen and paper.

Writing up the findings of this visual ethnographic fieldwork and editing the documentary as the very last stages of interpretation was a vital element in that it was a process through which a significant part of this project and its findings took shape, a process through which, multiple realities of the lived visitor experiences were interpreted and represented in both a textual and an audio-visual format. Then again, as Crang (2001: 231) noted 'interpretation as a practice goes all the way through to writing and ways of representing the material'.

Engaging in this time consuming and strenuous process of 'rigorous' formal analysis and interpretation of ethnographic data from the field, analysis which would then lead to theoretical insights was a crucial process in ensuring '*credibility*', '*transferability*', '*dependability*' and '*confirmability*' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 146-147), which according to Crang and Cook (2007) are to be used as evaluation criteria in 'contemporary' ethnographic projects as opposed to 'validity' and 'reliability' used within positivistic approaches. *Credibility* of the account,

⁵⁴ Put simply, under pressure to simultaneously process different types of files (textual, visual, and audio-visual) the NVivo 7 software which I was using was continuously 'crashing'. In addition to NVivo 7, I also tried other data analysis software such as Transana, dedicated to analyses of audio-visual data. This software however [Transana], was even less suitable as it was dedicated to analysis of audio and audio-visual data and it was not possible to import, adequately link and code the all the various data types (textual, visual and audio-visual) which were used in this research. Thus, despite its inadequacies NVivo 7 was nevertheless the most suitable software which was available at the time.

according to Crang and Cook (2007: 146) is ensured by including an 'authenticated representation of what actually occurred'. This could be achieved through for example thick, credible descriptions of fieldwork experiences and/or their visual and/or audio visual representations (i.e. still and moving images created in the field which are later included in the findings). In addition to that, making the research process and knowledge created through it *transferable* involves 'making what occurred intelligible to the audience (ibid: 146). This could be achieved through for example rich, clear and intelligible writing style or in the case of this research an ethnographic film which would complement and be a part of the textual research output. Further on, the interpretation of meanings contained in the data needs to be *dependable*, meaning that the analysis/interpretation needs to follow a logical path (ibid). This could be achieved by engaging in a thorough analysis which is described in some detail, similar to how this was done earlier in this Chapter. Finally, the whole study also needs to be *confirmable* through either an audit of the process through personal reflection (as was done in this research) or alternatively through an allowance of the informants to view the research findings and provide their own comment on these⁵⁵ (ibid).

Indeed, as a [visual] ethnographic project to which I brought my 'interests, issues, positionality and ... talents' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 147), this project is probably not replicable and other researchers might not arrive at the same conclusions (ibid: 146-147).

In fact, as I aimed to demonstrate in this part of the Chapter, the ethnographic fieldwork, the subsequent analysis and representation of findings was marked by a thorough, 'logically consistent' process (Crang and Cook, 2007: 146). 'Authenticated [audio-visual, visual and textual] representation of what actually occurred' (ibid: 146, text in brackets

⁵⁵ Unfortunately due to the time and budget strictures of this research project and the fact that my informants were physically located in different parts of the world, it would have been very inconvenient to meet with each one of them again, show them and discuss my research findings and ask for their feedback.

added), aimed to make the findings of this ethnographic study *credible*. Further on, attentively creating written and visual⁵⁶ and audio-visual⁵⁷ research outputs, aimed at 'making what occurred intelligible to the audience', or *transferable* (ibid: 146). In addition, interpreting the data from the field in a coherent and logical manner as opposed to cherry picking convenient data which would confirm pre-conceived ideas implied that there was a transparent *dependence* of the interpretation on the actual 'raw' data (ibid). Finally, the [visual ethnographic] field based part of this study was also *confirmable*, in that the audit of the study was reached through personal reflection (ibid).

7.5 Conclusions: why so many methods?

We have good reason to be suspicious of a method (or, more accurately, the concept of method) that leads us to think that there is a set of determinate rules to be followed in understanding or interpretation.

(Bernstein, 1983: 103)

As discussed throughout this thesis, this interdisciplinary research, based on [visual] anthropology and [cultural] geography, and philosophically underpinned by constructivism, focused on the relationship between World Heritage, tourism and national identity at the Athenian Acropolis. Taking into account the complexity of this research topic and its preoccupation with meanings, representations, experiences, perceptions and interpretations, the utilisation of a series of qualitative rather than quantitative methods, each of which would be instrumental in revealing something slightly different about the phenomena under study was a necessity rather than a simple choice. Faced with complex topics, [qualitative] researchers in the social sciences often find themselves relying on various methods which assist them in reaching deeper and richer understandings of the researched. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005, 6-7) noticed:

⁵⁶ text and still images in the thesis as well as numerous academic papers resulting from this research

⁵⁷ 26 minute ethnographic documentary and 2 minute video

Qualitative researchers use semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival and phonemic analysis, even statistics, tables, graphs and numbers.

(Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:6-7)

Thus, similar to many other qualitative researchers in the social sciences, I too found myself researching a complex topic and needing to rely on different methods in order to reach a deeper, richer and a more holistic understanding of the phenomena under study. Nevertheless, in trying to avoid an attitude of 'anything goes' in terms of choosing the most appropriate methods, I heavily relied on underpinning my study on both a theoretical and practical level.

Namely, the stages which I went through in conducting this research were thoroughly thought through and guided by influential method(ological) texts in the social sciences (most notable being Banks, 2001; Banks and Murphy, 1997; Crang and Cook, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Holstein and Gubrium, 2008; Pink, 2001a, 2006 and Rose, 2007) as well as in social science oriented tourism research (most notable being Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; and Ateljevic et al, 2007). Further on, in conducting both the secondary and primary research I relied on a wide variety of data which was thoroughly studied and finally, in the stages of writing up and editing the film, I paid particular attention in representing the findings in an attempt to ensure '*credibility*', '*transferability*', '*dependability*' and '*confirmability*'⁵⁸ (Crang and Cook, 2007: 146-147) of this overall research project.

In its own distinct way, each part of this project and its respective methods contributed to a slightly different but equally important understanding of the phenomena under study – the complex relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity at the Athenian Acropolis. The in-

⁵⁸ Crang and Cook (2007: 146) argue that '*credibility*', '*transferability*', '*dependability*' and '*confirmability*' (concepts borrowed from Lincoln and Guba also used in Baxter and Eyles, 1997) are to be used as evaluation criteria in 'contemporary' ethnographic projects as opposed to 'validity' and 'reliability' used within positivistic approaches.

depth critical review of the literature (Part II of this thesis) explored not only the concepts of nations, heritage and tourism all key to this research, but it also explored the historical emergence of the Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a World Heritage Site and a [mass] tourist attraction. Further on, the collection and semiotic analyses of [textual, visual and audio-visual] tourist materials was instrumental in understanding and interpreting the symbolic resonances of the Acropolis in postcards, governmental promotional campaigns and guidebooks. This was particularly important in order to explore the mode through which the Acropolis came to be constructed and represented as a symbol of Greekness in tourist materials (objective 1b). Finally, the year long [visual] ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the Acropolis in Athens was central in providing an insight into lived visitor experiences and perceptions of the site and the mode through which this constructed sense of Greekness of the Acropolis was consumed by the visitors to the site (objective 2). Thus, the complexity of the topic demanded multiple qualitative methods, each of which would reveal a slightly different but equally relevant insight into the researched.

The following part of the thesis (part IV) thus explores the construction of Greekness in tourist materials. Chapter 8 pays particular attention on representation of the Acropolis in postcards, the mode through which a distinct sense of place of the Acropolis was conveyed, and importantly also, how this conveyed sense of place changed over time. Chapter 9 then turns its focus towards the representations of the Acropolis in a recent five year period of governmental promotional materials and traces tensions between its Greekness and 'universality' and finally, Chapter 10 explores the representations of the Acropolis in guidebooks which circulated in Athens in 2006.

IV CONSTRUCTING (A SENSE OF) GREEKNESS

Identity almost everywhere has to be produced partly out of images
constructed for tourists.

(Urry, 1995: 165)

In this part of the thesis I present three exploratory semiotic analyses of selected tourist materials produced by both the governmental and the private sector. In these analyses I focus on the way (a sense of) Greekness is constructed through representations of the Acropolis and its symbolic resonances. To be precise, I examine the mode by which a sense of Greekness is constructed through representations of the Acropolis in: 1) the postcards dating from 1886 to 2007; 2) the promotional material of the Greek National Tourist Organisation within a recent 5 year period (2002-2006); and 3) the guidebooks which circulated in Athens in 2006. The postcards analysis provides a historical overview of how the sense of place of the Acropolis was conveyed and represented and importantly how this changed through time. The analysis of the GNTTO material provides, on the other hand, an exploration of the recent governmental promotional strategies, while the 'snapshot' analysis of guidebooks which circulated in Athens in 2006 gives an insight into the most recent representations of the Acropolis in popular tourist literature.

Chapter 8 Acropolis in postcards: conveying a sense of place

...the perception among local people that they live in a distinctive landscape is essential to their creation of community and a well defined sense of place...

(Ringer, 1998: 4)

8.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 the construction (or the creation) of the Athenian Acropolis as a distinctive, symbolic landscape which represented⁵⁹ (both the ancient and the modern) Greece and eventually became the ultimate symbol of Greekness, was a long-term and complex process. It had essentially commenced during the Romantic period and continued throughout the Enlightenment and the early days of the Modern Greek state, all the way up until today. However, how the sense of place of the Acropolis, the ultimate symbol of Greekness, was conveyed in tourist materials, such as postcards, governmental tourism campaigns and guidebooks are areas which were in need of further research. In an attempt to shed some light into the significance of postcards as tourist material through which the sense of place of the Acropolis and by extension the sense of Greekness was partially constructed and conveyed, this Chapter presents the results of an exploratory semiotic analysis of the Acropolis in postcards from 1886, when some of the very early Acropolis postcards appeared, to the recent year of 2007. The reason why I chose to have a historical approach in this particular analysis was that this could potentially enable me to reveal any differences in the representations of the Acropolis which might have existed in the different historical periods.

⁵⁹ Representation, as referred to in this thesis is perceived as 'a set of practices by which meanings are constituted and communicated' (Duncan in Johnston et al, 2000: 703). In other words, for the particular case of postcards, I believe that the representations of the Acropolis conveyed a particular 'sense of place' of the Acropolis, a sense of place which, as I discuss in this Chapter came to symbolise Athens and Greece and by extension, everything Greek.

Taking into consideration that studies of postcards seem to have often been 'ignored' by ethnographers (see Waitt and Head, 2002: 320) despite the fact that these might have played an important role, the case of the representations of the Athenian Acropolis in postcards seems to be a particularly interesting study especially as this site appears quite regularly in postcards of Athens and Greece and as sales of postcards in Greece remain very high⁶⁰. The fact that the Acropolis holds such a prominent role in postcards of Athens and Greece not only reiterates the prominent status of the Athenian Acropolis, a world renowned monument, as a key symbol of Greekness, but also reconfirms its enormous significance for the Greek tourism industry.

This particular analysis, of a collection of 148 postcards, provides an insight into how the sense of place of the Acropolis, and by extension the sense of Greekness was constructed, represented and conveyed through postcards over time. In addition, parallels made between the representations of the Acropolis and some important historical events within the Greek nation building project essentially confirm Kahn's view that 'postcards, although instrumental in conveying a sense of place and authenticating a remote experience are usually produced because they also serve economical and political agendas' (2003: 1). The political agendas, as I argue in this Chapter, can also be the nation building one.

8.2 Conveying a distinct sense of place through postcards

The significance of postcards in tourism studies in general and in this study in particular lies not only in their massive popularity in the early twentieth century, but also in the fact that despite the development of technology such as digital cameras, computers and the emailing facility which the internet and computers enabled, postcards have survived and

⁶⁰ Bonarou (2003) found that approximately 50 million postcards are sold annually in Greece. Additionally, interestingly enough, in her analysis of 350 randomly selected contemporary postcards of Greece she found that a considerable 22% of these postcards depicted the Acropolis.

are still widely used as either objects for collection or as cards on which short messages are sent from travels, depicting and 'disseminating' (Coleman and Crang, 2002: 11) places visited.

Postcards as 'the most widely disseminated tourist icon' (Marckwick, 2001: 417) or 'the most widely circulated tourism media' (Waitt and Head, 2002: 319), are increasingly being integrated as one of the key components of 'visual' research in tourism studies. On the one hand, studying the message written on the back of a postcard can reveal a great deal not only about the individual who wrote the text, but also about the society and the historical context in which the text was written. For example, Burns (2004: 269) in his study of *Six postcards from Arabia* found that 'the back of the card can take the photographic 'reality' on the front and reinforce racial stereotypes, discourse and ideology'. On the other hand, studying the front of postcards in a diachronic analysis (i.e. like this one) can reveal both how a place, or a sense of a particular place, has changed over the years, as well as which political agendas were, intentionally or not, put forward in creating the particular postcard images in the first place (see Kalapos-Gasparac, 2003).

The growth of postcard related studies is evident across disciplines and research themes (i.e. see Burns, 2003, 2004; Corkery and Bailey, 2004, Davis, 2002; Edwards, 1996; Kahn, 2003; Kalapos-Gasparac, 2003; Knipe, 2003; LaBelle, 2000; Lehman and James, 2003; Maddern, 2004; Markwick, 2001; Monsivais, 1997; Moors, 2000; Piterberg, 2002; Prichard and Morgan, 2003a,b; Richie, 2003; Semmerling, 2004; Stevens, 1995a,b; Thurlow et al, 2005; Whebe, 2004). For example, Burns (2003; 2004) an anthropologist, in his study of *Six postcards from Arabia* from the colonial era mentioned previously, presents an insight into what he calls the 'visual discourse on power and interrelationship between history and politics' (Burns, 2004: 255), while from a geographical perspective, Waitt and Head (2002: 319) 'examine the role of postcards in disseminating and

circulating Australian frontier myths'. However, despite the fact that a great number of postcard related studies seem to come from tourism researchers who are either [social/cultural] anthropologists or [human] geographers and who use postcards as data for analysis, postcards have also been studied from a more managerial, visitor oriented perspective. For example, Ryan and Hyton (1998: 254) conducted their research in a cultural centre of an Australian national park and assessed the probability of visitors purchasing 'Aboriginal postcards'.

One of the key reasons why postcards seem to be becoming ever more important in the context of tourism studies seems to be the fact that these are not only simply 'reflecting' but also 'shaping' (Pritchard and Morgan, 2003: 111) meanings attached to places. This being the case, postcards are also 'powerful social signifiers with multiple meanings' (Burns, 2003: 16), which can be seen as being a part of both colonial (see Burns, 2004; Kahn, 2003), and nation building projects (see Moors, 2000; Pritchard and Morgan, 2003). To be precise, since postcards seem to partially construct and partially reinforce the dominant meanings the place depicted is believed to have, postcards can 'be seen as part of the dominant ideology of a society, reproducing and enhancing its preferred images while appearing to present entirely accurate representation' (Crawshaw and Urry, 1997: 182 in Pritchard and Morgan, 2003: 112).

Although I have occasionally used the concept of a sense of place throughout this thesis and will rely somewhat more on it in this Chapter, as I have noted in a footnote earlier (i.e. see footnote number 13 on page 48), there exists a considerable amount of disagreement as to what exactly a sense of place constitutes. Cross (2001:1) for example claims that the rather elusive concept of a 'sense of place' has been used very widely across the social sciences to signify '*place attachment, topophilia, insidedness, and community sentiment*'. Geographers, however, seem to have examined the 'sense of place' as both intrinsic to the locality of a

place and as place attachment (i.e. see Cosgrove in Johnston et al, 2000). Interestingly, Ashworth and Graham (2005: 3) argue that senses of places are imagined by individuals as well as the society as a whole and that, in essence, the identities and meanings of a place which in turn constitute a distinct sense of place are 'not passively received' but that these are 'actively ascribed to places by people'. However, instead of attempting to strictly define a sense of place, I will explore some of its meanings and clarify the mode in which I refer to and use this particular concept.

What seems to be one of the most important aspects in attempting to provide deeper understandings surrounding the dominant meanings attached to places, even in the context of semiotic analyses of postcards, is that a distinct sense of place:

...should not be seen in isolation. There cannot be a segment of experience concerning place alone, but place must be a part of, related to and implicated in the totality of life.

(Eyles, 1985: 3-4)

Namely, a distinct sense of place or the dominant meanings attached to places by individuals and the society as a whole, can also be seen as being a part of the local place identity which enable 'people to feel that they 'belong' to a place, or that the place 'belongs' to them' (Kneafsey, 1998: 112). As such:

Senses of places are therefore the products of the creative imagination of the individual and of society, while identities are not passively received but are ascribed to places by people. ... If individuals create place identities, then obviously different people, at different times, for different reasons, create different narratives of belonging.

(Ashworth and Graham, 2005: 3)

The notion of a distinct sense of place is thus closely linked to the sense of belonging, and this is especially applicable in the context of the sense of belonging to a particular nation. Indeed, making people believe that they have the same sense of belonging is the core of nationalist projects (i.e. see for example a discussion in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; as well as Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis). In this light, the mode through

which a particular sense of place is constructed, represented, conveyed and disseminated in postcards, could be seen as remarkably interesting in the context of ethnographic studies preoccupied with nation building projects, identity and place.

In addition, if places are seen as a 'negotiated reality, a social construction by a purposeful set of actors' where this 'relationship is mutual, for places in turn develop and reinforce the identity of the social group that claims them' (Ley, 1981: 219 in Eyles, 1985), then postcards can indeed be seen as having a role to play in the processes of constructing and reinforcing the dominant meanings of a particular place, especially in the context of nation building.

In the context of construction of senses of [particular] places in tourism materials, places were often known to have become 'nationalised' whereby 'the emphasis on certain forms of national heritage' prompts 'the relegation of local community histories and archaeologies, which endeavour to develop a sense of place' (Walsh, 1992: 178). As such, tourist materials have a role to play as 'vehicles' through which senses of places, and by extension senses of national identities, are not only represented, conveyed and disseminated but also constructed.

Furthermore, as Cosgrove (2000: 731) notes the 'sense of place has increasingly been examined in human geography as an outcome of interconnected psychoanalytic, social and environmental processes, creating and manipulating quite flexible relations with physical place', it is possible to see the sense of place of the Acropolis conveyed in these postcards as dependant on all these processes. Adding to this argument, within the analysis of postcards which follows, it is also likely, and to be expected, that the sense of place, or the meanings a particular place has to individuals or the society at large, will change over time.

Similar to the point being made here, in her exploration of the notion of *genius loci*, or the spirit of place, Loukaki (1997: 308) argues that the meaning of this notion depends on whether history is understood 'synchronically' or 'diachronically', whereby history is either seen as 'eternal repetition' or as 'evolution and change'. In this sense, if history is seen as evolution and change, the notion of a spirit as well as a sense of [a particular] place will also be seen as dependant on historical context and evolution, and importantly, it will be seen as ever changing (see also quote from Ashworth and Graham, (2005: 3) above who in addition to claiming that a sense of place is imagined also claim that 'different people, at different times create different narratives of belonging').

Thus, the sense of place of the Athenian Acropolis as it is conveyed in these postcards I examine through the prism of the notion that a sense of place can be perceived (and examined) as the ever changing 'meanings of places to individuals' (Eyles, 1985: 2) and the society as a whole, meanings which are partly constructed and reinforced by tourism materials such as postcards. Thus, in their own distinct way, postcards are perceived as having a role to play in nation building projects, and as such, are also remarkably interesting for this particular study.

At this point, however, it is necessary to emphasise that this thesis, although preoccupied with the Athenian Acropolis, a place which from 17th and 18th century onwards was most noted for its Classical period (see also Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4), does not make a claim that a sense of Greekness is rooted solely within the notions, symbols and heritage of Classical Greece. In addition to the Classical, another strong element of Greekness is its Christian Orthodox element rooted in Byzantine heritage (i.e. see Yalouri, 2001; Kavoura, 2001). Kavoura, for example, claims that Greekness is bipolar, whereby the one part of it is rooted in ancient Greek and the other in Byzantine heritage. In addition, similar to Gourgouris (1996) and Clogg (2002) I also would add that Greekness, in addition to its

Classical and Byzantine also has its Anatolian influences and elements mainly coming from the period of the Ottoman rule but also from historical movements of peoples in this geographical area.

Particularly interesting in this context is the way in which a national identity is created in such a way that it privileges certain histories and silences others. Indeed, national ideas (as also argued in Chapter 2 of this thesis) are often exclusive rather than inclusive. In the case of the Greek national identity its Classical and Byzantine histories could be seen as privileged and the Ottoman and the multicultural as silenced, even in the case of a single heritage site such as the Athenian Acropolis⁶¹ (see also Hamilakis, 2008; Hamilakis et al, 2008). Namely, as argued elsewhere in this thesis (i.e. see Chapter 3), in the process of the making of the Modern Greek state and within its nation building project, the Athenian Acropolis in particular came to be known as the embodiment of Greekness and the main representative of its glorious Classical past. Tourism and tourism materials, as I argue throughout this thesis and partly demonstrate in this Chapter, had a role to play in the construction of the Athenian Acropolis as a site of Greekness, and by extension also, in the overall Greek nation building project.

8.3 Acropolis in postcards: a diachronic overview

Evidently, in the postcards included in this analysis there were gradual changes in the representations of the Athenian Acropolis. These changes indicated not only how the sense of place of the Acropolis, and by

⁶¹ As briefly discussed in Chapter 3, in the process of the making of the Modern Greek state, in the early 19th century, the Athenian Acropolis was similarly to the Greek language *purified* in order for it to become more 'Greek' and for it to predominantly resonate meanings attached to its Classical period. Numerous authors, many of whom are historians, anthropologists and/or archaeologists discussed this process. The most notable author is Hamilakis (2008), a scholar with a background in both archaeology and anthropology, who in his most recent work *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Modern Greece* discusses the process of [archaeological] purification of the Acropolis in somewhat detail. He, among other authors, re-iterates that the Athenian Acropolis, throughout its history, and contrary to popular belief, was an important, symbolically and religiously meaningful place for many different groups of people (see also Chapter 3 and the brief history of the Athenian Acropolis in Subsection 3.4).

extension the sense of Greekness was conveyed and constructed over time through the Acropolis themed imagery in postcards, but also how this sense of place of the Acropolis changed over time and how these gradual changes contributed to the overall nation building project in Greece.

Importantly, as places are 'disseminated' (Coleman and Crang, 2002: 11) through postcards, this analysis also explores the changing nature and role of the Athenian Acropolis in constructing, conveying and disseminating the sense of place of both the actual site as well as of Athens and Greece, and by extension, of Greekness. As this analysis demonstrates, over time and parallel to some of the important historical moments for the Greek nation and its nation building project, the Athenian Acropolis gradually emerges as the ultimate symbol of Greekness. From being originally represented as a natural part of the city in the early postcards, the representations of the Athenian Acropolis gradually started changing only for its imagery to eventually become a visual reference to not only the city of Athens but also to everything Greek and Greece itself. These gradual changes in the meanings conveyed through representations of the Acropolis in postcards are clearly demonstrated in the diachronic overview summarised in Table 8.3.1 and Figure 8.3.1.

In the period from 1886 to 1913, based on interpretations of 25 postcards included in this analysis, the overall meaning conveyed was that the city of Athens is a great place and the Acropolis is one of its 'jewels'. In the following period, from 1914 to 1936, this time based on interpretations of 19 postcards from this period, the meaning has changed and the Acropolis acquired a more prominent role. The Acropolis is now represented as the most glorious monument in Athens, for which Athens is famous for, and which is visited by the 'privileged classes'.

Although it would have been remarkably interesting for the purposes of this analysis (especially considering this was the time Greece saw its golden age in tourism), I was unfortunately unable to collect any postcards dating from 1940 -1980 as despite immense efforts to find these, none were available either for purchase or as parts of collections which could have been photocopied or borrowed. This being the case, the next period in this analysis was the period of the 1980s in which, based on interpretation of 14 postcards from this period, the meaning conveyed changed again and this time the Acropolis was represented as the most precious 'jewel', a monument which, with its glorious bright shine marks the whole city of Athens, and is simultaneously also a great place to visit.

Once again, I was unfortunately unable to collect and accurately date any postcards from the 1990s, although some postcards from this period arguably still circulated in the period following, 2004 – 2007. Thus, despite the fact that some postcards seemed to have 'obviously' been produced or reproduced from an earlier period⁶², since these were impossible to accurately date⁶³ and had still been in circulation from 2004 to 2007, these were, along with the 'obviously' more recently produced ones, included in the later period. In this period (2004 to 2007), according to the interpretation of 90 postcards, the meaning conveyed changed once again whereby now the Parthenon came to represent the Acropolis, the Acropolis came to represent Athens, and simultaneously became the embodiment of all things Greek and Greece itself, all of which were represented as 'great places to visit. Each of these periods is discussed in more detail below.


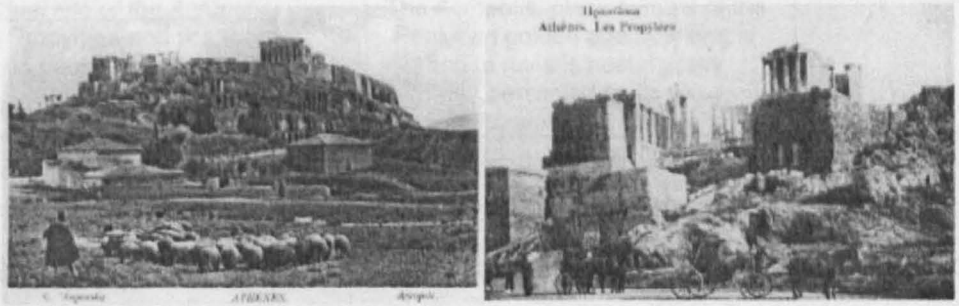
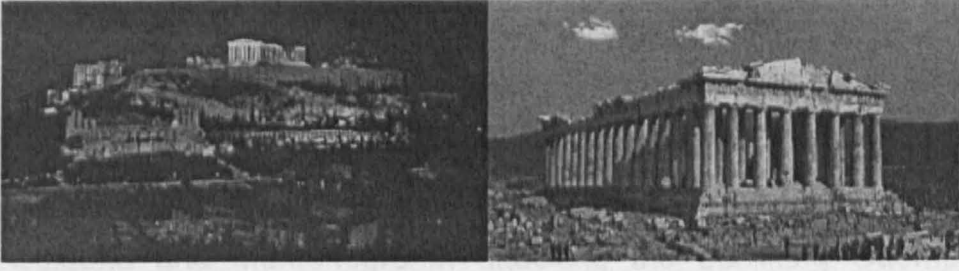

⁶² Please note that one of the possible reasons why many postcards were 'obviously' reproduced from an earlier period could be that, in case photographs of the Acropolis are to be used for commercial purposes (i.e. to print on postcards) and are to be taken with a professional camera, the Greek Ministry of Culture charges certain fees. To take aerial shots, for example, of any archaeological space, which includes the Athenian Acropolis, the Ministry currently charges €1,000 euro per day of photographing for each archaeological space and an extra €600 for each monument (Greek Ministry of Culture, 2008). If the professional photographing takes place within the archaeological space (i.e. not from the air) then the charge is €1,000 per day (ibid). It is only amateur photography and results from which are not to be used for commercial purposes that is free of charge.

⁶³ most postcards did not include the date of publication or the publisher

Table 8.3.1 The Acropolis in postcards: a diachronic overview

historical period	meanings conveyed	no of postcards
1886 – 1913	The city of Athens is a great place and Acropolis is one of its 'jewels'.	25
1914 – 1939	Acropolis is the most glorious monument in Athens, for which Athens is famous for, and which is visited by the 'privileged classes'.	19
1980s	Acropolis is the most precious 'jewel' of Athens and a great place to visit.	14
2004 – 2007	Parthenon is Acropolis, Acropolis is Athens, Acropolis is Greece; all great places to visit.	90

Figure 8.3.1 Examples of postcards from different historical periods

period	examples of postcards
1886 to 1913	
1914 to 1939	
1980s	
2004 to 2007	

Images reproduced with permission. (size approx. 1/5th of the original size)

Table 8.3.2 The Acropolis in postcards: postcards from 1886-1913

<i>dominant themes and image content</i>	<i>meanings conveyed</i>	<i>no of postcards</i>
1. <u>Acropolis and the city</u> , photographed from a high spot, although playing one of the central roles, main focus of the image is the city of Athens (often depicting the neoclassical building style).	The city of Athens is great and its main 'jewel' is the Acropolis.	8
2. <u>Acropolis and parks/less urbanised areas</u> , Acropolis is usually seen in the background taking up very little space. One postcard featuring a tram seems to put more emphasis on the tram and one passer-by (the everyday element) than the Acropolis. Photographs taken from a city point of view.	The Acropolis is great but it is only one of key places in Athens where life, surrounded by technological advances (the tram), the neoclassical building style and ancient monuments, is very nice.	7
3. <u>Acropolis and other monuments</u> , sometimes depicting fragments of the city, the Acropolis keeps the centrality of the image comparing to other monuments and is mostly positioned in the upper central area of the photograph.	Acropolis is the greatest of all Athenian monuments.	7
4. <u>Acropolis and the Athenian everyday</u> , photographs taken from the city, the Acropolis is visible in the background, people depicted are well dressed and belong to higher social classes.	People lead a great life in Athens, in the vicinity of one the 'jewels' of the city, the Acropolis.	2
5. <u>The actual site of the Acropolis</u> , depicting Propylaea and scattered marbles, no people, sunset.	The Acropolis, place symbol of the Periklean golden age now empty and in ruins is nostalgically perceived by its visitors/photographers.	1

The early postcards dating from 1886 to 1913 are postcards which have circulated since the emergence of postcards in Greece up until the end of the Balkan Wars (1913). This period could be seen as a particularly interesting one as it was during this period that Athens was still emerging as a promising capital of the relatively young Greek nation state which at the time was not only less than a hundred years old⁶⁴, but which in 1912 and 1913, during the Balkan Wars also became involved along with Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro in attacking the declining Ottoman empire. Greece also later engaged in a war with these other new nation states, in an attempt to divide the liberated territories. It was at that time that cities and regions such as Salonica (currently the 2nd largest city in Greece) and its surrounding areas (Clogg, 2002) were liberated and

⁶⁴ The first constitution of the independent Greek state was proclaimed in 1822 (Clogg, 1992)

officially became a part of the Greek state (i.e. see also Mazower, 2000). This being the case, Balkan Wars (1912-1913) are thus here seen as a greater catalyst for socio-political change in the region than World War 1 (WW1) and postcards are also divided in historical periods accordingly.

In the examination of the 25 postcards from this period (from 1886 to 1913), the Acropolis was represented as one of the 'jewels' of the city of Athens which was rapidly emerging as a promising capital of the Greek state (see Table 8.3.2). Interestingly, the emphases in these images were being given to the city of Athens rather than the Acropolis (see also Figure 8.3.1), something which could be seen as a result of the fact that at the time Athens, with the Acropolis as one of its 'jewels', was still emerging as a capital of the relatively recently formed nation state. As such, the place identity of Athens as a promising capital needed a boost and this is what is also evident in these postcards. What these postcards thus seemed to have intended portraying was, the greatness of the actual city, the quality of life and the beauty of the city of Athens, a city which was now the capital of a powerful and enlarged nation-state (as mentioned above it was in this period that Greece along with Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro had their final confrontations with the Ottoman empire and that Salonica and surrounded areas officially became a part of Greece).

This meaning of Athens as being a great capital city was enhanced not only by the presence of the Acropolis which was represented as one of its 'jewels', but also by the neoclassical building style, other monuments, parks and technological advancements enjoyed by the inhabitants of the city at the time (see Table 8.3.2). The image of the city of Athens in these postcards was being constructed as a city which was worthy of its status as a capital of Greece, a modern, and importantly from 1913 also enlarged and more powerful, European state. Although the Acropolis was not being given the central role in the postcards from this period, it was

still represented as being one of its 'jewels' which not only helped create but which also helped sustain the identity of the city and its sense of place. Then again, the Acropolis was one of the reasons Athens was chosen to become the capital of Greece in the first place (see Clogg, 2002; Mazower, 2004 as well as Chapter 3 of this thesis).

Table 8.3.3 The Acropolis in postcards: postcards from 1914-1939

<i>dominant themes and image content</i>	<i>meanings conveyed</i>	<i>no of postcards</i>
<u>1. The actual site of the Acropolis</u> , the monuments of the Acropolis are portrayed in quite some detail, sometimes also including the fragments of the landscape as seen from the Acropolis.	Acropolis can be seen/visited from within.	4
<u>2. Acropolis, the people and animals</u> , photographed close to the site, some very near the Propylaea. Locals are portrayed going about their usual (mostly rural type of) business, while the visitors are portrayed as the 'privileged class'.	Acropolis as a place to visit for the 'privileged classes'.	4
<u>3. Acropolis on its own</u> , photographed from below, avoiding as much as possible other objects such as fragments of the city, people, or animals. Acropolis is almost 'cropped out' of its entire context and portrayed as a 'lonely monument'	Acropolis is a 'lonely' monument, standing on its own, out of context.	4
<u>4. Acropolis and other monuments and fragments of the city</u> , Acropolis is dominating the photograph and the city landscape.	Acropolis is the greatest of all Athenian monuments.	3
<u>5. Acropolis and the city</u> , more emphasis given to the Acropolis than the city. The Acropolis takes up a significant amount of space in the photograph.	Acropolis is the most glorious place in Athens.	2
<u>6. Acropolis and other monuments</u> , Acropolis takes up the most space and dominates the image.	Acropolis is the greatest of all monuments.	1
<u>7. Acropolis as a background for a Fiat advertisement</u> , Fiat automobile ad, Acropolis is in the background and the fiat automobiles in the front.	'Wheels' have finally arrived to Athens and the ancient timeless glory finally meets the modern one – fiat automobiles!	1

The period from 1914 to 1939, or the period from the end of the Balkan Wars and the beginning of WW1 to 1939 was also a very remarkable period in that it was in this period that: 1) WW1 commenced (1914); 2) Cyprus was annexed by Great Britain (1914); 3) Greek troops arrived to Smyrna, today's Izmir in Turkey (1919); 4) Greek army made an advancement to Ankara (1921) in the height of a *Megali Idea* or 'big idea'

dream of creating *Megali Ellada* or 'Great Greece' following which; 5) Minor Asia Disaster occurred (1922) and the Greek army eventually not only withdrew from the territories of today's Turkey, but much of the Greek speaking population in the area was either killed or forced to leave; 6) populations were exchanged between Greece and Turkey (1923); 7) Greece became ruled by a military dictatorship (1925-1926); and finally after a period of democratic rule 8) Greece once again came under a dictatorship (1936 - 1941) which lasted all the way up until World War II (Clogg, 2002).

During this period, in which 1939 was the publishing date of the most recent postcard available in this first half of the 20th century (see Table 8.3.3), there is a change in that the Acropolis is now also represented as a place for visitation, a place which could be seen from within and a 'lonely monument', so gracious and grandiose that in some postcards it stands alone, out of context of the city and its other ancient remains (monuments). One possible interpretation of the fact that now the Acropolis stands alone in some of these postcards could be that the Acropolis is seen as unaffected by events of the period (summarised in paragraph above) and as such proudly stands alone representing Athens and Greece. Considering that other than the turbulences caused by the rapidly rising Greek nationalism (see references to *Megali Idea* and subsequent events in the paragraph above) and WW1, in this period Greece also saw longer periods of peace. This being the case, travellers were all the more often seen visiting Greece, Athens and the Acropolis, references to which visitations of the Acropolis also appear in these postcards (for a brief history of visitation at the Acropolis see also Chapter 4 of this thesis). In fact, Mallouchou-Tufano (1994: 187) characteristically notes that especially 'after 1830, the improved external conditions for travel and the introduction of regular steamship sailings to Greece made the country and its monuments accessible to masses for the first time'.

The sense of place of the Acropolis conveyed in postcards from this (1914-1939) period is now interestingly the one of the most glorious monument in Athens, for which Athens is famous for, and which is visited by the 'privileged classes'. That travellers and tourists visiting Athens in this period are represented as the 'privileged class' is very evident in the postcards from this period, as not only are locals romantically portrayed as inhabitants of rural areas (see Figure 8.3.1, photograph on the left), they are also juxtaposed to visitors who arrive at the foot of the Acropolis in horse carriages (see Figure 8.3.1, photograph on the right). However, that local people were represented as going about their [rural] everyday business despite the numerous political turbulences of the period (see Figure 8.3.1, photograph on the left) could also be interpreted as being a sign of resistance to these events by the country as a whole.

In addition, the fact that, for example in the photograph contained for this period in Figure 8.3.1 on the left, the photographer (in this case known, a Swiss Philhellene Fred Boissonnas) who created this particular image of the shepherd underneath the Acropolis, decides not to divorce the 'ethnographic' everyday from the monuments (Mazower, 2008) is also consistent with this particular historical period. Namely, it was then that the Philhellenes were increasingly developing an interest in the Greek everyday (i.e. see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3), an everyday which for them 'could be linked with the classical past' (Mazower, 2008: 37) and thus appears alongside the ruins in their photographs. Another important change in the representations of the Acropolis was that in this period (1914-1939), the Acropolis is depicted as *the greatest of all Athenian monuments*: it is the most glorious place in Athens, greatest of all the other monuments and more important than anything else in the city. In other words, as it will also be evident from the analyses which follow, the Acropolis is gradually entering the early stages of its iconic 'divorce' from the city of Athens.

Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, although it would have been remarkably interesting to see how the Acropolis was represented in postcards in this period, I was unable to collect postcards dating from the Second World War (1939-1945) up until the 1980s since despite tremendous efforts I found none available either for purchase or as parts of collections which could have been photocopied or borrowed. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise that this would have been a remarkably interesting period as it was then that Greece saw: 1) The Greek Civil War (1946-1949); 2) a struggle for a union of Cyprus with mainland Greece (1955); 3) another military coup (1967-1973); 4) a new constitution (1975) (Clogg, 2002); 5) a stable growth and the golden age of tourism (i.e. see Chapter 4) as well as 6) the 'golden' period of the city of Athens (1960-1970) which grew to become a home to well over a million people (Leontidou, 2006: 127). Nevertheless, despite the fact that there is a lack of postcards from this period, taking its major political and economic events into consideration does provide some backdrop and historical background for what follows next - the analysis of the postcards from the 1980s.

Table 8.3.4 The Acropolis in postcards: postcards from 1980's

<i>dominant themes and image content</i>	<i>meanings conveyed</i>	<i>no of postcards</i>
<i>1. <u>The actual site of the Acropolis</u></i> , Parthenon and the Erechtheion most featured monuments, patterns of standard angles from which the photographs are taken are emerging.	Acropolis and its monuments, especially Parthenon and the Erechtheion, are glorious.	6
<i>2. <u>Acropolis with other monuments</u></i> , although depicted with other monuments from the composition of the image suggests Acropolis keeps the dominant position.	From all the Athenian monuments the Acropolis is the greatest and the most important one.	3
<i>3. <u>Acropolis/Parthenon – with visitors walking about</u></i> – for the first time in this collection, visitors to the Acropolis appear within the fortress in postcards, shown walking about, 'exploring' the site.	Acropolis is the best place to visit in Athens.	2
<i>4. <u>Acropolis and the city</u></i> , photographed from high, Acropolis is depicted with the city, dominant in its landscape, a spot of brightness and beauty in the middle of a densely built city.	Acropolis is the symbol, and a 'jewel' of Athens.	2
<i>5. <u>Acropolis by night</u></i> , Acropolis depicted well lit, dominating the image with its brightness.	Acropolis is a place to be admired day and night.	1

Other than the rapid enlargement of the city of Athens which continued in the 1980s, the growth of the significance of tourism for the Greek economy and the alternate changes in the governments (right to left wing and vice versa), in this decade, Greece also joined the European Union (1981), and had a near war situation with Turkey (1987). Interestingly, in the postcards from this decade, a time which subsequent to 'the "golden period" of spontaneous urban development' of the city of Athens in the 1960s and 1970s (Leontidou, 2006: 127) which resulted in a creation of a rather badly planned city which in the 1980s was already inhabited by almost 2 million people (Leontidou, 1990: 186), there is a significant shift in meanings conveyed by the Acropolis postcards (see Table 8.3.4).

The Acropolis is now (1980s) clearly represented as a site which is already 'visually' very well known, standard patterns of photographing angles have developed; the Acropolis is obviously a 'visually' recognisable reference point, as well as a dominant feature of the Athenian landscape which indicates a reference to its transcending of time. In particular, the Parthenon and the Erechteion are emerging as the glorious monuments of the Athenian Acropolis⁶⁵, monuments 'visually representing' the whole site of the Acropolis. The Acropolis is clearly now depicted as the most glorious and the most important monument in Athens, the Acropolis is *the jewel* of the city, brighter than any of its other symbols, while the city, now already overcrowded and heavily overbuilt, most likely due to its 'ugliness' and contemporary feel rarely appears in any of the images - the Acropolis is now almost entirely 'divorced' from the city in these images. In addition to the grandiosity of the site and its unique beauty portrayed in many of these postcards, the Acropolis is also portrayed as the best place to visit and 'explore' in Athens, a place to be admired day and night. As such, in postcards from this period, the Acropolis and its sense of place come to be represented as both a key symbol of Greekness and as a popular visitor attraction.

⁶⁵ Please note that the Acropolis is the whole fortress on the hill, while the Parthenon and the Erechteion are two buildings from within.

Once again, although it would have been useful for the purpose of this analysis, I was unable to find and collect postcards from the 1990s, some of which arguably still circulated in later periods but could not have been accurately dated. As mentioned earlier, most postcards used in this entire analysis did not include either the date of their production or the publishing house. This being the case, that most if not all the postcards never included the production date (even if the publishing house was clearly marked), it was not possible to accurately date any of the postcards which seemed to have 'obviously' been produced or reproduced from an earlier period and had still been in circulation from 2004 to 2007.

Nevertheless, in order to provide a backdrop for the period following, it is still important to mention that in the period of the 1990s Greece saw: 1) a slight decline in tourism due to the Yugoslavian Civil War (1991-1999) and the instability it caused in the whole Balkans region, 2) alternate changes in the governments (right to left wing and vice versa), 3) a near War situation with Turkey over sovereignty of an island in the Aegean (1996) and 4) earthquakes in Turkey and in Greece (1999) which helped the two countries develop better relations (Clogg, 2002). Although no postcards from this period were analysed here, this brief historical overview does provide some backdrop for the analysis of representations of postcards which follows, postcards which circulated in the city of Athens during the early 21st century.

Table 8.3.5 The Acropolis in postcards: postcards from 2004-2007

<i>dominant themes and image content</i>	<i>meanings conveyed</i>	<i>no of postcards</i>
<u>1. Images of the Acropolis / Parthenon / Erechtheion as a part of collage postcards</u> , Acropolis or its monuments are always, no matter whether the postcard includes the words 'Athens' or 'Greece', positioned as central images, often appearing more than once or twice. Parthenon is the most favoured monument, appearing very often.	<p>Acropolis is the ultimate monument - symbol of Athens, Greece and the Greek nation.</p> <p>Parthenon is (a synonym for) the Acropolis.</p>	49

2. <u>Acropolis with other monuments</u> , the Acropolis holds the dominant position, and is essentially what is being portrayed. The sky is always bright sunny or partially clouded so the marbles of the Parthenon and other monuments at the Acropolis, seem almost to 'glow whiteness'.	Acropolis is the greatest of all Athenian and Greek monuments.	10
3. <u>Acropolis by night</u> , A very romantic set of postcards, lots of orange, purple and pink colours on the skyline, or when the skyline is black (in complete darkness of the night), then it is the actual monument that is glowing in the dark, portraying the Acropolis as proudly glowing on the Athenian skyline.	Acropolis, the symbol of Athens, is a place to be admired day and night	10
4. <u>Acropolis – site from within with visitors</u> , Although this set of postcards portrays visitors at the site, the photographs are obviously either taken during the winter period (as the visitors are wearing winter clothes) or on days when visitor numbers are low. Parthenon is the most favoured monument of the Acropolis.	Acropolis is a great place to visit and although famous it is not overcrowded.	8
5. <u>Acropolis – site from within without visitors</u> , considering the Acropolis is a highly visited site these photographs must have been taken during the winter period or at the time the site was closed, during sunset. The dominant monument portrayed is the Parthenon.	Acropolis is a glorious place. Parthenon is (a synonym for) the Acropolis.	7
6. <u>Acropolis and the city</u> , the Acropolis is portrayed as the only 'jewel' of Athens, dominating the landscape and the photograph.	Acropolis is the ultimate symbol of Athens and Greece.	6

Finally, from the year 2000 up until today, other than the changes in the governments (left to right wing), and the introduction of the Euro (2002), one of the key events which marked this period were the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, which served as one of the major boosts for the Greek tourism industry. The sense of place conveyed in the collection of the postcards depicting the Acropolis (which are now either postcards of the actual site, Athens or Greece) from 2004 to 2007 is very much marked by a message: *Parthenon is Acropolis, Acropolis is Athens, Acropolis is Greece; all great places to visit* (see Table 8.3.1 Figure 8.3.2 and Table 8.3.5). In these postcards, the key messages such as that the *Acropolis is the ultimate monument – symbol of Athens, Greece and the Greek nation*, that *Parthenon is (a synonym for) the Acropolis*, all imply that the Acropolis as a visual signifier has moved beyond that of being a symbol

of the city of Athens (i.e. as it was the case in postcards from the 1980s); it is now the ultimate symbol of Athens and Greece, and by extension of everything Greek⁶⁶. The Acropolis therefore signifies/is Athens, Athens signifies/is the Acropolis, and Acropolis signifies/is Greece and Greece signifies/is the Acropolis.

In a sense, particularly from what is evident in this period there is an interesting fluidity between the signifier and the signified. The Acropolis became both a signifier (a symbol of Greece) and the signified (it is the embodiment of Greece). The Acropolis, 'an established Western term for what Greece has known as "The Sacred Rock of the Acropolis" ' (Loukaki, 1997: 306), has become a synonym for one of the monuments on the hill, the Parthenon, while the Parthenon, the monument, has in turn become a synonym for the Acropolis, the hill, which in turn has become a symbol of Greece. The Parthenon has essentially become the visual reference for the Acropolis, Athens and Greece and is often labelled as Acropolis in these postcards (i.e. postcards often depict the Parthenon which is accompanied by the word 'Acropolis')⁶⁷. One of the reasons why the Parthenon became the visual reference for the Acropolis in these postcards probably lies in the fact that the Parthenon is the one monument from the Acropolis which most commonly serves as a model and inspiration for modern and contemporary architecture in the Western world and beyond (i.e. see for example a collection of essays in Tournikiotis, 1994). Another important dimension of the sense of place of the Acropolis in these contemporary postcards is being conveyed by the fact that much of the photographs portray the site under clear skies, where the marbles of the Parthenon seem to almost 'glow whiteness' ⁶⁸,

⁶⁶ Similarly to what Barthes (1997) has argued for Paris and the Eiffel Tower in his publication titled *Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*.

⁶⁷ As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the Parthenon is one single building on the Acropolis, while the Acropolis is the actual fortress on the hill.

⁶⁸ The emphasis on the 'whiteness' of the Marbles might have its roots in the popular misconception that during the heights of Classical Athens, the Parthenon was bright white, whereas in fact the Parthenon, alike other monuments at the site were painted in rather bright colours at the time (see for example van Zanten, 1994).

something which might be seen as signifying the purity of the ideal of the Classical period for which the Athenian Acropolis came to be best known for.

Other than the very interesting fluidity between the signifier and the signified and the purity of the Classical ideal conveyed in contemporary postcards and discussed above, a message which is interestingly being put forward is that the Acropolis is a great place to visit and although famous it is not overcrowded. This is suggested by the imagery of the site photographed from within, where photographs seem to have been taken during low tourist season (late fall, winter or early spring) or at the time when no visitors are allowed on the site (i.e. sunset) with a resulting depiction of very little or no people present at the site. One of the possible interpretations of the fact that photographers are avoiding the depiction of large groups of visitors might be to suggest that the Acropolis is still sacred, and that it has not yet been commercialised through tourism and high volume visitation. That few or no people are depicted at the site could also be suggesting that the sense of place of the Acropolis is still conveyed as much closer to a [local/national] sacred shrine, than a commercialised [international] visitor attraction. In these postcards, a visit is thus suggested to be akin to a spiritual experience where the admiration of the site takes place in non-crowded rather than crowded conditions. This however, might also be suggesting that, although a world renowned, popular visitor attraction, the Athenian Acropolis today still has more of a local symbolic resonance than an international [visitor related] one.

8.4 Conclusions

Place remains powerfully important in framing and sustaining individual and collective identities.

(Cosgrove, 2000: 733)

As this analysis has demonstrated, the Athenian Acropolis was, and still is, 'powerfully important in framing and sustaining' (ibid) Greek national identity. In addition, what became evident through this analysis is how the construction (or the creation) of the Acropolis as a distinctive, symbolic landscape, the ultimate symbol of Greekness and a symbolic synonym for Athens and Greece, was a long-term and rather complex process, evident even in the case of the Acropolis themed postcards, with the very early ones having circulated in the 1880s. What emerged as particularly interesting in the case of postcards is how from their early beginnings in the 1880s up until today, the role of the Acropolis imagery and text as well as the sense of place conveyed in the postcards gradually changed.

Having been originally represented as a 'natural' part of the city and the everyday life of the Athenians (particularly in the postcards from 1886 – 1913), the Acropolis imagery was gradually 'divorced' from the imagery of the city – it was represented out of its 'natural' contexts of the cityscape and Attica⁶⁹, and as such, having rarely been portrayed in the context of the city, the Acropolis slowly grew into a symbol of everything Greek (this especially being the case in contemporary postcards). It could be argued that tourism materials such as these postcards had a role to play in the Greek nation building project, especially in the context of the process through which the Acropolis became a symbol of everything Greek. Namely, it was partly due to tourism and its rapid growth in the post 1940s period that, first and foremost more postcards depicting the site were produced, and second, that the sense of Greekness of the Acropolis in these postcards was reinforced. Tourism can thus indeed serve to reinforce a national identity as places seek to differentiate themselves.

Importantly, it seems that postcards, although mostly produced by various organizations belonging to the private rather than the public sector, still reinforced the gradual emergence of the Acropolis as the key symbol of

⁶⁹ Attica is the name for the geographical area within which the city of Athens is located.

Greekness. In their distinct way, postcards were also part, of not only the construction and dissemination of the sense of place of the Acropolis but also, by extension, of the construction and dissemination of the sense of Greekness which was very much linked to the Classical period and which ultimately came to be represented by the Acropolis imagery and text. As such, postcards were and still are an important ingredient within the Greek nation building project. Namely, as this Chapter demonstrated, postcards seemed to have had and still have a role in constructing and reinforcing the sense of Greekness of the Acropolis, a sense of Greekness strongly linked to the Classical period.

Thus, this exploratory semiotic analysis of a collection of postcards which were published and circulated over a long period of time offered an insight into the diachronic emergence of the Acropolis into a symbol of all things Greek (objective 1b). In addition, the brief historical accounts narrated along with these analyses of postcards were of crucial significance in terms of explaining and historically contextualising the representations of the Acropolis in these postcards.

What is particularly interesting in the context of this study is that despite the fact that the Acropolis was nominated as a World Heritage site in 1987; its status as such never appeared in any of the postcards distributed in the post 1987 period which were included in the collection analysed. Since this particular analysis unfortunately never included postcards from the 1990s, although unlikely, it is possible that the World Heritage status of the Acropolis might have appeared in some of the postcards from this period. This being the case, the next Chapter, in which I provide an exploratory semiotic analysis of Acropolis imagery and text which appeared in the recent five years of the Greek National Tourism Organisation's (GNTO) promotional campaigns, explores this point further.

Chapter 9 Acropolis in the promotional materials of the GNT0: Greekness versus ‘Universality’⁷⁰

...in the context of constructing an image for tourism promotional purposes, tourism images and texts are important to the construction of national identity.

(Kneafsey, 1998: 112)

9.1 Introduction

This Chapter I use as an arena to further explicate both the theoretical discussion on the relationship of World Heritage, Tourism and National Identity contained in Chapter 5, but also, to follow up on something that emerged from the semiotic analysis of postcards in the previous Chapter – an interesting observation that although the Athenian Acropolis became a World Heritage site in 1987, its status as such never appeared in the postcards which were included in this study and were distributed in the post 1987 period. Thus, this point I investigate further through an exploratory semiotic analysis of the representations of the Acropolis within the promotional material of the GNT0 over a recent five year period (2002-2006).

Similar to the analysis of postcards in the previous Chapter, the imagery and the text of the Acropolis in the GNT0 material, as I come to discuss later on, also conveyed a particular sense of place of the Acropolis – this time as it was perceived by the GNT0 rather than the private sector organisations. Although both sets of tourist materials, the postcards and the GNT0 promotional campaigns seem to partially construct the sense of place of the Acropolis by reinforcing some of its dominant meanings, the promotional materials produced by the GNT0, unlike the postcards, contained the official, governmental representations of the Acropolis rather than representations produced by the private sector.

⁷⁰ Please note that earlier versions of some parts of this Chapter was published as a part of the paper: Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007). World Heritage: Exploring the Tension Between the National and the ‘Universal’ *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 2(3), 145 - 155. (See Appendix D)

In addition, rather than looking into different historical periods in an attempt to find out whether there were any differences between the different historical periods, in this analysis I focus on a recent five year period and explore whether the official representations of the Acropolis which are found in the GNTTO material conveyed the Acropolis as being about a sense of Greekness or about a sense of 'universality' which its World Heritage site status sought to represent. This is particularly interesting in the light that the Acropolis is said to be the symbol of the World Heritage idea (UNESCO, 2006d) and, at the same time, a key symbol of Greekness (Yalouri, 2001). Thus, in the analysis which follows I seek to 'trace' both the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis and the sense of 'universality' it seeks to communicate as well as the sense of Greekness the Athenian Acropolis is believed to embody. Despite the fact that the two semiotic analyses, of postcards and of the GNTTO promotional campaigns sought to explore slightly different dimensions of the sense of place of the Athenian Acropolis, points of convergence between the meanings conveyed in these materials do appear.

9.2 GNTTO campaigns, World Heritage and the sense of Greekness

...when tourism planning is organised by the state within the activities of bureaucratic organisations, tourism bureaucracy has a role to play in the [re]presentation of symbols of [Greek national] identity....
(Kavoura, 2007: 398, texts in brackets added)

Indeed, as Kavoura (2007: 398, text in brackets added) noticed in her analysis of the state policy for the [re]presentation of Greek heritage, 'tourism bureaucracy has a role to play in the [re]presentation of symbols of [Greek national] identity'. Namely, as the GNTTO seems, similar to postcards, to be constructing and reinforcing the dominant meanings and the sense of place of the Acropolis, this essentially confirms the widely accepted idea that National Tourism Organisations play a major role in

the construction of the sense of national identity (i.e. see also James and Von Wald, 2006; Palmer, 1999; Peniston-Bird, 1995). The idea that the sense of national identity is not only conveyed but also constructed in the promotional campaigns for the purposes of tourism was also discussed by Urry (1995: 165) who noted that: 'identity almost everywhere has to be produced partly out of the images produced for the tourists'. What this means is that within national promotional campaigns for the purposes of tourism development, the sense of a particular national identity is both constructed for the potential tourist (or the visitor) but also, it is constructed in view of reinforcing the very sense of identity of the (local) people whose identity it seeks to convey.

However, exactly how Greek governmental bodies (such as the GNTA) construct and convey a sense of Greekness in their promotional campaigns by using imagery and text of well known heritage sites, and what is the role particular sites play in these campaigns, with the exception of few studies, such as the ones by Kavoura (2001) and (2007), and Lalioti (2003), is a rather under researched area. Kavoura (2001; 2007) for example discusses how Greekness as perceived and represented by two governmental organisations is bipolar, with one of its elements being rooted in its ancient and the other in its Byzantine heritage. Lalioti (2003) for example claims that ancient Greek theatres are a very important element in constructing images of Greekness. Kavoura (2007) then goes on to confirm that by putting a particular emphasis on the fact that, for example, in promotional materials many other heritages are not represented with the focus being only on the ancient and the Byzantine heritage. But what is the case of the Acropolis, the embodiment of Greekness and the symbol of the World Heritage idea?

Seeking to understand and interpret how the sense of place of the Acropolis was represented in tourist materials which were released by the GNTA within a recent five year period and in line with my research

question, in the following analysis I paid particular attention to whether these official representations conveyed the Acropolis as being about a sense of Greekness or about a sense of 'universality' which its World Heritage Site status sought to convey. Also, as the World Heritage site status has proven to be rather popular among tourists and it is often used for the purposes of promotion (i.e. see Chapter 5), I was particularly interested in whether the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis was used for the purposes of the official promotion or not? In addition, I was also interested to see whether any claims of national vs. 'universal' ownership and belonging of the Acropolis would be evident in these materials, particularly taking into consideration the widely known international legal battles for the return of the Parthenon or 'Elgin' Marbles to Greece (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). By undertaking the analysis with these questions in mind, not only do I link this Chapter to the theoretical discussion on World Heritage, Tourism and National Identity in Chapter 5, but I also investigate further the role the World Heritage site status might have in the promotion of the Acropolis for the purposes of tourism as well as the role its World Heritage site status might have in reinforcing a sense of Greekness or a sense of 'universality', all themes crucial to my original research question and aim.

The materials used as data in this analysis include: 1) a guidebook for Athens and Attica published in 2005, its Greek and the English version, each 128 pages in length; 2) an advertising booklet, published in German in 2004, 14 pages in length; 3) a book titled *Greece*, published in 2004, promoting Greece as a tourist destination, 177 pages in length; 4) forty-four print advertisements, eighteen having been released in 2002-2003, twelve in 2004, eight in 2005 and six in 2006; 5) eleven advertising video clips for the years 2005 and 2006, with nine video clips having been released in the year 2005 and two in 2006; and 6) the official GNTO website.

9.3 Acropolis in GNTO campaigns: from 2002 to 2006

Only in the twentieth century has the question of the Acropolis's national ownership been forced upon Europeans
(Leontis, 1995: 54)

In her quote Leontis (1995) makes a reference to the struggle of the Greek state, some of the Greek and international supporters of the idea that the Acropolis belongs to the Greek nation rather than the world. Interestingly, she chooses the word 'forced' connoting the uneasy acceptance of the fact that the Acropolis in its very essence is seen by many as belonging to Greece. Looking at the recent GNTO website (2006) it is possible to see that although the image of the Acropolis or the Parthenon is often featured as the most dominant image, its World Heritage site status fails to be mentioned, as is the case with the remainder of the promotional material. What seems to be the case with the promotional material of the GNTO is that by constantly omitting to mention the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis in their promotional material, the GNTO, a Greek governmental organisation, inadvertently or intentionally, seems to portray the Acropolis as a very 'Greek' place, one which is clearly perceived as belonging to the Greek nation rather than to the world, and one which is only exhibited by the Greek state for international visitation and admiration.

For example the 2005 Athens and Attica guidebook states:

The Acropolis is the symbol of Athens, the sacred rock, linking the fabulous ancient civilisation with the modern city. The monuments on the Sacred Rock date back to the prehistoric era and antiquity. The grandeur and the beauty of the Sacred Rock attract both Greek and foreign visitors.
(GNTO, 2005: 10)

When this text is examined carefully, it is possible to notice that the reader is told that the Acropolis is *the* symbol of Athens, meaning that it ultimately represents the Athenians in particular and the Greeks in general. In other words, the Acropolis is a signifier of Athenian and Greek identity (the signified). Its 'universal' or global significance as the cradle

of democracy as well as its World Heritage site status are omitted. Occluding such important details about the Acropolis suggests that the Acropolis is above all a symbol of Athenian and Greek identity rather than one which has a universal application. Further on, the reader is told that the Acropolis is *the* sacred rock, and later the reader sees the sacred rock capitalised suggesting that the Acropolis is the ultimate sacred rock which is worshiped and that there is no other like this one. What the reader is not explicitly told is whose sacred rock is it. As this statement comes right after the text which establishes the fact that the Acropolis is the symbol of Athens it inclines the reader to believe that the Acropolis is the sacred rock primarily for the Athenians and, by extension, for the Greeks.

Indeed, the use of the word sacred adds a religious or spiritual dimension to the Acropolis which means sacrosanct or something beyond human understanding and questioning, while the use of the word rock connotes stability. So that, for the Athenians and for the Greeks, the Acropolis is represented in this text as an unquestionable and immutable component of their national identity. The rest of the world is not referred to until the part in the text which states that the monument's beauty and grandeur attract 'both Greek and foreign visitors'. An interpretation of this section of the text is that the Acropolis attracts both the Greek and the foreign visitors, where for all of them it is a 'unique experience': it is unique for the foreign visitors who can admire the grandeur of the monument and it is unique for the Greeks for whom not only is it grand, but also sacred, and a visit would be akin to a pilgrimage. The Acropolis thus signifies different things to tourists and the locals and it cannot therefore have a 'universal' meaning. In this light, the sense of 'universal' belonging and value of the Acropolis, which its World Heritage site status seeks to convey, at least in this case, is denied. What is put forward instead is that the Acropolis is very much about the sense of Greekness, rather than 'universality'.

In the promotional campaign for the years 2002 and 2003, the GNTO used the concept of 'Greek roots' in a linguistic sense where the theme of this campaign was dominated by international words of Greek origin such as antithesis, architecture, athletic, echo, energy, epic, Eros, euphoria, gastronomy, gymnasium, horizon, logic, magnetism, mathematics, phenomenon, symposium, tactics and theatre. The Acropolis is depicted under the word 'Architecture', and here the text states:

Architecture. Word of Greek Origin. It connects science and art. Greece owns more shining architectural points of glance than any other European country. Simply come and discover these!

(GNTO, 2002: translated from German, italics added)

This is an explicit reference to the fact that the Acropolis is owned by Greece and thus not by the world, again highlighting its national rather than 'universal' context, ownership and symbolic resonances.

In the years 2005 and 2006, within the campaign 'live your myth in Greece' (GNTO, 2006) and its print advertisements, the Acropolis, or to be more precise the Parthenon, appears as a subliminal image, depicting a dream like state and the 'mythical' experience of Greece and its ancient world through a visit to Greece and the Acropolis. In the video clips released under the same campaign, the image of either the Acropolis or the Parthenon appear quite regularly and although not a subliminal image anymore, the Acropolis is still depicted as a dream like, mythical place. For example in the video clip 'history' released in 2005, Elena Paparizou (2005 Eurovision Song Contest Winner) takes her viewers on a tour of Greece and says:

...Welcome to a land of mythical dimensions and great sightseeing. Welcome to Greece... [followed by a postcard like moving image slide show where the Acropolis features first]...come to Greece, live your own myth and relive the history of the mythical civilisation....

(GNTO, 2006)

In this video clip, once again, in a similar way as it was seen in the analysis of contemporary postcards in the previous Chapter, there is an

interesting fluidity between the signifier and the signified in that it is suggested that the Acropolis is/signifies Greece and Greece is/signifies the Acropolis. To be precise, what the viewer sees straight after s/he is 'welcomed to' Greece is the image of the Athenian Acropolis. This then, is a clear signifier that the most 'Greek' of all places (rather than 'universal' or 'international') is actually the Athenian Acropolis.

What is particularly interesting to notice is that although the Athenian Acropolis is said to be a contested heritage site torn between its 'global fame' and 'local claim' (Yalouri, 2001) and especially taking into consideration the widely known international legal battle over the ownership of the Parthenon or 'Elgin' marbles (i.e. see the discussion in Chapter 5), these evident tensions between the national and the 'universal' are not leaving an obvious mark in the promotional materials of the GNTO. This absence of an explicit tension in the promotional material might, on the other hand, be perfectly understandable, since an obvious reference to the existing conflict between the national and the 'universal' in the case of the Acropolis could have an adverse effect on some of the potential visitors to Greece, who might perceive such conflict as politically incorrect. This, of course, would be a rather undesired effect of a tourism promotional campaign to potential visitors. What thus emerges as significant for the discussion in this Chapter is not what is being obviously put forward, but what is omitted by the GNTO in their promotional material.

Indeed, the 2004 promotional campaign, in the light of the Olympics which were to be held in Athens that year, focused on 'records', such as 'the European record for the widest smile', '...world record for standing in still amazement', 'fastest time for being transported back to the ancient world' and 'all-time European for the most sunshine' (GNTO, 2004) and despite the reference made to visitors to Greece 'being transported back

to the ancient world' by visiting Athens, neither the Acropolis, nor its World Heritage site status were mentioned.

Several questions emerge from this exploratory analysis: Why is it that in the 2004 Olympic campaign the Acropolis is not mentioned as a key heritage site and attraction in Athens? Why is it that in the other campaigns, which as mentioned earlier often use the Acropolis in their promotional material, there is a failure to mention the World Heritage site status of this monument? Why is it that within the promotional materials of the GNTO the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis is hinted at only once in a document of the Ministry of Culture accessible through the GNTO website (GNTO, 2006) which features a small World Heritage site symbol recognisable only to those who are familiar with this symbol?

Certainly one of the plausible answers to all these questions might be that the Athenian Acropolis, despite its World Heritage site status, is perceived by the GNTO, the official tourism promotional body of Greece, as belonging to, and representing the Greek nation rather than the world and as such this meaning of the Acropolis is reinforced in their promotional materials. The World Heritage site status of the Acropolis, a status acquired back in 1987, certainly did not seem to have any significance at all in the official promotion of Athens and Greece as a tourism destination, quite the contrary, the GNTO has, intentionally or not, disregarded its status as such. Thus, the way in which the Athenian Acropolis was represented in the recent GNTO campaigns, was as being about a sense of Greekness rather than about the sense of 'universality' which its World Heritage site status sought to convey. In this light, in tourism materials I analysed so far (both in the analysis of contemporary postcards of Athens and Greece and in this analysis of the GNTO campaigns), the Acropolis and its symbolic resonances seem to have been, once again, used as one of the key elements in constructing and reinforcing a sense of

Greekness, rather than any sense of 'universality'; which its World Heritage site status might have intended to convey.

9.4 Conclusions

"The Acropolis" is...an established Western term for what Greece has known as "The Sacred Rock of the Acropolis".

(Loukaki, 1997: 306)

Indeed, it seems that the Acropolis, *the* Sacred Rock, as far as how it has been portrayed in the promotional campaigns of the GNTA over a recent five year period, was portrayed as a place sacred to the Greeks rather than the world, a place which was much more about the sense of Greekness rather than the sense of 'universality' which its World Heritage site status sought to convey. Other than that, this analysis of the recent promotional material produced by the GNTA also suggested that the Acropolis, a world renowned monument and a place which great numbers of international visitors are drawn to annually was in fact, in the minds of the employees of the GNTA, perceived and portrayed as the embodiment of all things Greek, a place which in their promotional material represents Greece to the World.

Interestingly, the symbolic role of the Acropolis imagery and text, where the Acropolis is portrayed as the key symbol of Greekness and seems to be in fact one of the key essences of (the sense of) Greekness constructed in these materials, is quite similar to the role it had in contemporary postcards. This is particularly interesting in the light that these, contemporary postcards (dating from 2004 to 2007) were produced by various members of the private sector and the official promotional material included in this analysis was produced by the public sector. Although one would think that the link between the sense of Greekness constructed through the imagery and text of the Acropolis and contained in the official promotional material might possibly be more evident (as

from the early days of the emergence of the modern Greek state there was a strong emphasis on linking the ancient to the modern Greek past – see Chapter 2) than the one in contemporary postcards produced by the private sector, this seems not to be the case. On the contrary, it seems that both materials, contemporary postcards and the promotional campaigns of the GNTTO, constructed and reinforced a rather similar sense of place of the Acropolis, the Acropolis which was a popular visitor attraction for the foreign visitors, but also the Acropolis which, for the Greeks was not only sacred, but it was also the embodiment of everything Greek. As such, in contrast to the foreigners who during their visit to the Acropolis were expected to be admiring the Acropolis, for the Greeks a visit to the Acropolis was expected to be akin to a pilgrimage.

Here it would be especially useful to once again rely on the parallel mentioned in Chapter 2 and which Hamilakis (2008) drew between nationalism and religion. In his view, nationalism is sort of 'a secular religion which worships icons' (Hamilakis, 2008: 16). Considering that, in the case of these GNTTO produced tourist materials, the icon which is represented as being worshiped in a religious like mode is the Athenian Acropolis it is not surprising that a visit to the Acropolis was represented as being akin to a pilgrimage for the Greeks and a visit of admiration for the non-Greeks.

However, it is important to emphasise that although one set of materials came from the private (postcards) and the other from the public sector (GNTTO promotional campaigns); both the postcards and the promotional material of the GNTTO were produced in Greece. This, in fact might be the explanation why the Acropolis was portrayed in very similar ways in both sets of materials, as those have obviously reinforced the dominant meanings of the Acropolis. The fact that both the private and the public sector's representations of the Athenian Acropolis were similar could be seen as reflecting the 'success' of the Greek nation building project. What

this project essentially succeeded in achieving, in the context of the Athenian Acropolis as a place, was *purifying* this monument not only materially (i.e. see Chapter 3 and the discussion surrounding the archaeological *purification* of the Acropolis) but also conceptually. This being the case, the Athenian Acropolis today has indeed become the symbol of and the embodiment of all things Greek, something which, among other, is also reflected in the tourism materials analysed for the purposes of this research.

In the light of this discussion, it would be particularly interesting to analyse another set of tourism materials which would include materials produced both in Greece and abroad (outside Greece). Thus, taking this part of the thesis further, in Chapter 10 which follows, I present an exploratory semiotic analysis of a selection of guidebooks which circulated in 2006 in the centre of the city of Athens and which were produced both in Greece and abroad.

Chapter 10 Acropolis in guidebooks: a 'must see' [Greek] heritage attraction

As a marker, the guidebook has a functional role of the informant since it provides important information. In this context, the travel book - as with all the other markers - is responsible for the construction of the image about the place that the tourists form in their minds. ...the guidebook...is transformed into a signifier...

(Travlou, 2002: 108-109)

10.1 Introduction

This Chapter follows up on some of the issues surrounding the sense of Greekness and 'universality' discussed in the previous Chapter, and extends the discussion to explore exactly how the Acropolis was represented to its prospective visitors in a selection of guidebooks which circulated in the centre of the city of Athens in 2006. In this semiotic analysis I explore the role of guidebooks as the vehicles through which the Acropolis is represented to its potential visitors by paying particular attention to both the narratives of its national versus 'universal' ownership and belonging as well as its status as a popular visitor attraction.

Through this analysis I thus essentially seek to explore whether guidebooks which circulated in 2006 represented the Acropolis as being about a sense of Greekness or about a sense of 'universality'. I also explore further any other attributes which might have been given to the Acropolis in these guidebooks, such as its 'sacredness' and 'attraction', explicating in this way the mode by which the Acropolis, the symbol of Greekness and a World Heritage site was represented to its visitors.

The Chapter begins with a brief review of the existing literature on the relationship between guidebooks, national identity and World Heritage, where through examples from previous studies I contextualise this analysis and introduce some of the issues explored. This is then followed by the actual analysis of the representation of the Acropolis in guidebooks

of the site, Athens and Greece which had circulated in 2006. The Chapter ends with a conclusion which seeks to tie together the various threads of the discussion.

10.2 Guidebooks, national identity and World Heritage

Guidebooks, mostly produced by the private sector, and in a number of different countries, are, similar to promotional campaigns, widely known to construct and convey a sense of both place and national identity as well as stereotypes of a nation (i.e. see Bhattacharyya, 1997 or Travlou, 2002). In her analysis of a Lonely Planet guidebook, Bhattacharyya (1997: 371) for example concludes that, among other things, the guidebook also serves to create 'certain images of India'. Travlou (2002: 120) on the other hand, in her analysis of the symbolic representations of the city of Athens in guidebooks dating from 1845 to 2001, claims that guidebooks create the 'discourse of the other', whereby in the case of her analysis, the stereotypes of Greekness became quite noticeable.

Interestingly, within her exploration of the mode by which Athens is represented in guidebooks, Travlou (2002) also noticed that in the case of Athens in these guidebooks, it was as if the city was consisting only of the tourism infrastructure and the main monuments, the best known of which was the Acropolis. As this seemed to be the case, Travlou (ibid), among other things, also included an analysis of the descriptions of the Acropolis (see Table 10.2.1). Furthermore, what is particularly interesting in the context of her research is that Travlou's (2002: 118) table of the descriptions of the Acropolis in guidebooks (dating from as early as 1845 to the relatively recent 1997) resonate meanings which go beyond its sense of Greekness. According to Travlou (2002: 118) Fielding's (1965) guidebook for example states that 'Athens with its Acropolis is the birthplace and heart of Greek culture and Western civilisation, a must for

all visitors', and Let's Go Europe (1991) states that the Athenian Acropolis is 'the oldest, most sacred monument of Western civilisation'.

Table 10.2.1 Descriptions of the Acropolis

<i>Guidebooks</i>	<i>Terms Used to Describe the Acropolis</i>
Murray 1845: 70	The Acropolis is the first object which attracts the attention of the traveller.
Murray 1854: 70	On turning into the Acropolis, the Parthenon rises in all its majesty before you. The finest edifice on the finest site in the world.
Life 1963: 39	Yet in the modern city's midst, the Acropolis with its Parthenon still stands as a shining citadel of an ideal.
Fielding's 1965: 1650	Athens with its Acropolis is the birthplace and heart of Greek culture and Western civilisation, a must for all visitors.
Frommer 1968: 463	To ride from the airport to Athens [...] and suddenly to see the Acropolis, high over-looking the city, is literally a thrill that comes once in a lifetime.
Let's Go Europe 1991: 397	The oldest, most sacred monument of Western civilisation.
Lonely Planet- Web Page 1997	The Acropolis, crowned by the Parthenon, stands sentinel over Athens, visible from almost everywhere in the city.

Source: Travlou, 2002: 118

The question is, is the Acropolis, the symbol of Greekness and a World Heritage site, still represented in a similar way in contemporary guidebooks, and importantly, what is the role its World Heritage site status is given? Was the Acropolis still seen as a 'must see' Athenian heritage visitor attraction? Is 'a touch of romanticism' in the descriptions of the Acropolis still evident in these texts? Are there any narratives of national versus 'universal' belonging and ownership of the monument, which might possibly be entrenched within the text and which went unnoticed in earlier analyses?

Interestingly enough, in light of World Heritage narratives in guidebooks, a remarkable study which focused on European nations revealed that:

...surprisingly few places are labelled as World Heritage even in the most comprehensive books. While practical problems and lack of awareness may be one explanation for this, inherent difficulties of conceiving and presenting narratives of world heritage as opposed to national, regional or local heritage may be more significant.

(Beck, 2006: 521)

Either surprisingly or not, in her analysis, Beck (2006: 526) found that the World Heritage title of the Acropolis was present in only one of the seven guidebooks for Greece which were included in her analysis⁷¹. Whether this was also valid for the guidebooks circulated in 2006 and whether these contemporary guidebooks still represented the Acropolis as a 'must see' visitor attraction of the city of Athens, the semiotic analysis that follows will reveal.

The guidebooks which I used as data in this analysis include: 1) The Acropolis; 2) Athens: Art and History, English Edition 3) Athens: Between Legend and History: A tour of the Monuments & Museums of the city and its surroundings; 4) Cities of the Imagination: Athens: a cultural and literary history; 5) Lonely Planet: Best of Athens: the ultimate pocket guide and map; 6) AA Essential: Athens: all you need to know, the top places to go, where to shop and eat out, and how to get about; 7) Time Out: Athens; 8) Heritage Walks in Athens; 9) A Rough Guide to Greece; and 10) Lonely Planet: Greece.

10.3 Acropolis in guidebooks: a 2006 snapshot

For the ease of the analysis and led by a comment made in the conclusions of the previous Chapter, within this analysis I make a particular distinction between guidebooks produced in Greece and guidebooks produced abroad (not in Greece). In addition, I make a further distinction in categories of guidebooks as belonging to three different groups: 1) guidebooks of the Acropolis, 2) guidebooks of Athens, and 3) guidebooks of Greece (see Table 10.3.1). The reason these particular guidebooks were selected was that these were the guidebooks available for purchase in most bookshops in the Athens city centre in 2006. In a sense, if a visitor who came to Athens in 2006 would search for a guidebook for the Acropolis, Athens or Greece, he/she would mostly have

⁷¹ Publication dates of these guidebooks ranged from 1997 to 2002.

a choice between the guidebooks included in this analysis and listed in Table 10.3.1.

Table 10.3.1 Guidebooks: type and place of production

No	Title	Type	Place of production
1	The Acropolis	Acropolis	Greece
2	Athens: Art and History	Athens	Abroad
3	Athens: Between Legend and History: A tour of the Monuments & Museums of the city and its surroundings	Athens	Greece
4	Cities of the Imagination: Athens: a cultural and literary history	Athens	Abroad
5	Lonely Planet: Best of Athens: the ultimate pocket guide and map	Athens	Abroad
6	AA Essential: Athens: all you need to know, the top places to go, where to shop and eat out, and how to get about	Athens	Abroad
7	Time Out: Athens	Athens	Abroad
8	Heritage Walks in Athens	Athens	Greece
9	A Rough Guide to Greece	Greece	Abroad
10	Lonely Planet: Greece	Greece	Abroad

Having been written by a Professor of Archaeology, the only Acropolis specific guidebook included in this analysis (no1; Andronicos, 2006), first narrates the long history of the Acropolis as a place before giving any attention to particular monuments still present at the site. In his narration of the history of the Acropolis as a place, Andronicos briefly goes over the main historical periods such as the prehistoric age, the archaic period, the Classical period, the medieval and the modern period. An emphasis is given to the Classical period as one for which the Acropolis of Athens is most renowned. Interestingly, the Classical period of the Acropolis is mentioned even within the histories of its non-Classical periods, such as the pre-Classical period. For example, within the history of the Acropolis in the prehistoric age the reader is told that:

No one possibly could have dreamt [in the prehistoric age] that the roughly hewn stones supporting the masonry of their crude dwellings would some day become the foundation stones of an architecture second to none and of a story unique in the annals of history.

(Andronicos, 2006: 5, text in brackets added)

In other words, from the very beginnings of the text, the reader is guided towards the significance of the Classical history of the Acropolis, while its other histories, although briefly narrated about; are represented as not as relevant as the Classical one.

Another point of history of the Acropolis as a place which is given much emphasis is its 'destruction' in the 17th and the 19th century, beginning from the Venetians and Morosini when explosions destroyed big parts of the temples to Lord Elgin and battle fields between the Greeks and Turks (see also Chapter 3). At this point, the reader is given the very first hint of the symbolic resonances of the Acropolis as a national symbol of Greece. The reader is told that:

Athens finally reached its freedom on March 31st 1933, when the Turkish garrison handed the Acropolis over to the Greeks.

(Andronicos, 2006: 13)

By this, the text suggests that, the Acropolis is not only a strategic geographical point of Attica, but it is also the core of the whole of Greece, without which neither Greece nor Greeks could be free. Interestingly, what the reader is told about the archaeological 'purification' or 'restoration' project of the Acropolis which followed shortly after the handing over of the Acropolis to the Greeks (see also Chapter 3) are not the exact details of the projects, but rather that:

...the work lasted for many years... Many of the slabs from the Parthenon frieze which had escaped the eye of Lord Elgin and remained in the native land were found among the ruins.

(Andronicos, 2006: 14)

This again is an explicit reference to the symbolic significance of the Acropolis for the Greek nation and its national rather than 'universal' ownership and belonging. Lord Elgin is suggested to have taken some of the most remarkable slabs from the Parthenon frieze from the place these naturally belonged to ('the native land' or Greece), leaving behind only the ones which had 'escaped his eye'. In addition, although the support of UNESCO towards the conservation works at the Acropolis is mentioned in this guidebook, its World Heritage site status is omitted, which once

again suggests that the Acropolis is perceived as belonging to and representing Greece rather than the world.

In the second guidebook, titled 'Athens: art and history' (no 2; Vignopoulou and Casulli, 2005) the first 30 out of a total of 128 pages are mainly about the Acropolis, and what is suggested to the reader is that the Acropolis is the most important place in Athens. What is remarkable within the history of Athens narrated in this guidebook, is that although a particular emphasis is being made on the rapid growth of the 'European admiration' of the Classical antiquities from the mid 17th century and the significance of the remnants of this 'exceptional civilisation' which left a mark 'on the entire ancient world and laid the foundations of the modern one' (ibid: 3), the World Heritage site status signifying the very 'universal' value of the Acropolis is once again, omitted. The World Heritage status of the Acropolis is omitted even though the Acropolis is interestingly described as 'the universal symbol of art and values that were born' (ibid: 6) in the Classical period. One possible interpretation of this might be that what is indirectly suggested to the reader is that although the Acropolis is a 'universally' important monument, in its essence it also a monument which is more about a sense of Greekness than it is about a sense of 'universality'.

The narrative of the third guidebook titled 'Athens: Between Legend and History: A tour of the Monuments & Museums of the city and its surroundings' (no3; Mavromataki, 1995) is much the same as the first and the second guidebook. In the history of Athens particular emphasis has been placed on the 'priceless contribution' of the city 'to what is the heritage of the entire world' (ibid: 4). Although its World Heritage status is not explicitly mentioned here, the fact that the Athenian Acropolis is perceived as the heritage of the entire world points out to its 'universality'. However, the national ownership and belonging of the Acropolis is once again reiterated to the reader within the narrations of the history of

destructions of the Acropolis, whereby for example 'under Turkish occupation, the Acropolis became a Turkish Village and suffered untold damage' (ibid: 22). The narrative of national ownership seems not to be constructed in the claims of destruction of the Acropolis, many of which indeed happened in this period, but in the suggestion that by becoming a Turkish village the Acropolis suffered 'untold damage'. A possible interpretation which would add to the actual physical damages to the Acropolis during this period might be that the very 'sacredness' of the Acropolis was seen as being damaged, violated and defiled by it being inhabited, whereby the then inhabitants of the Acropolis (the Turks) might be perceived as disrespectful of its 'sacredness' [to the Greeks].

The fourth guidebook, written by a historian and a former British Ambassador to Athens and titled 'Athens: a cultural and literary history' (no4; Smith, 2004) is something between an ethnography and an in-depth historical and cultural guidebook to Athens. Although this guidebook is of considerable depth and contains even the less known histories of both Athens and the Acropolis, the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis is not mentioned. Instead, the Acropolis is represented as: 1) the reason why Athens was chosen as a capital of modern Greece; 2) the cultural capital of the nation; and 3) a sacred place for the Greeks, an integral part of Greek national identity and, at the same time, a popular tourist attraction. As Smith himself writes:

Athens was chosen as capital of the Greek state, although some thought it should not have been, because of this glorious past, symbolized by the Acropolis and its monuments.

(Smith, 2004: 5)

The Acropolis and the Parthenon were rightly seen then as a symbolic capital of the new nation. They represented in stone the direct link between ancient and modern Greece, integral to the identity and "presence" of the new nation state.

(Smith, 2004: 50)

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Acropolis was much as it is today: an "archaeological carcass stripped to the bone", cleaned down to the bare rock, the marble sculptures and fragments displayed in the

Acropolis Museum, the whole site fenced off and guarded as both a sacred place and a tourist attraction.

(Smith, 2004: 56)

Again, an interpretation of these texts would be that the Acropolis is very much about a sense of Greekness, through which images of Greekness and of the Modern Greek nation state are constructed. The Acropolis is presented as 'integral' to this [Greek national] identity, rather than to any sense of 'universality' of the site, something which its World Heritage site status might have conveyed. In addition, the reader is also told that the Acropolis is 'guarded as both a sacred place and a tourist attraction', whereby one interpretation of this part of the text might also be that the Acropolis is sacred to the Greeks while, at the same time, it is an attraction to the non-Greeks/tourists (i.e. see also findings in Chapters 8 and 9). A reference in the wordings 'archaeological carcass stripped to the bone' is also being made to both Lord Elgin and the Parthenon Marbles taken to Britain as well as the 'purification' project of the Acropolis by the Greek state in which most of the remains belonging to historical periods other than the Classical were removed from the site in an attempt to represent the Acropolis as a purely Classical site (i.e. see also Chapter 3). An additional interpretation of the wording 'archaeological carcass' might also be that the Acropolis is now represented less as an archaeological wonder and more as a symbolically charged monument symbolising all things Greek. In other words, it seems that the symbolic resonances of the Acropolis as being about Greek national identity have become slightly more important than its archaeological worth⁷².

⁷² Despite the fact that archaeology is not one of the disciplines underpinning this thesis, considering that numerous texts written by archaeologists were consulted as a part of this research, I consider it rather important to reiterate at this point that archaeology as a discipline has been claimed to have undoubtable links with nation building projects, and especially with the one in Greece (i.e. see for example Hamilakis, 2008 and a collection of essays in Damaskos and Plantzos, 2008). Thus, it is possible that a single heritage site, like the Athenian Acropolis, could simultaneously be both a very important and valuable archaeological site and a symbol of a nation.

The fifth guidebook titled 'Lonely Planet: Best of Athens: the ultimate pocket guide and map' (no5; Kyriakopoulos, 2004) is very much a typical city guide including, among other, routes, restaurants, maps, and places to visit. Surprisingly, Lonely Planet briefly mentions the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis (ibid: 9), although it seems to be mentioned as yet another accolade of the site with the signification of the World Heritage title excluded from the text. It is suggested to the reader that the Acropolis should be the very first place to visit in Athens as it is the city's 'crowning jewel' (ibid: 8). In addition, the Acropolis is represented with a slight romantic note where the opening text states:

Even if you live in Athens, the sight of the Acropolis can still make your heart skip a beat.

(Kyriakopoulos, 2004: 9)

The Lonely Planet's city guidebook also includes a strong narrative of national ownership of the Acropolis, whereby for example underneath a photograph of the Parthenon, the author decided not to write the name of the building (i.e. Parthenon) but to write 'The bits of the Parthenon Lord Elgin couldn't fit in his suitcase' (ibid: 10). This text not only suggests that the Parthenon, and by extension the Acropolis is seen as belonging to the Greek nation (and thus not to the world), but also it suggests that Lord Elgin took parts of it which weren't rightfully his since those naturally belonged to Greece.

The sixth guidebook in this analysis, the rather brief 'AA Essential: Athens: all you need to know, the top places to go, where to shop and eat out, and how to get about' (no6; Gerrard, 2004) includes no mention of the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis, nor does it make a clear distinction between all the different monuments at the site. It does however suggest that the Acropolis is the top 'must see' attraction in Athens.

The seventh guidebook, 'Time Out: Athens' (no7; Sales, 2005) includes a rather detailed history of the Acropolis, Athens and Greece for such a small volume guidebook. The Acropolis is presented as the number one place to visit in Athens, but neither its World Heritage site status nor any references to national or 'universal' ownership and belonging are made throughout the text. However, what is interesting in this guidebook is that it is the first guidebook in this analysis which seems to vaguely 'defend' the deeds of Lord Elgin by saying: 'Elgin was not the first to take treasures from the Acropolis, neither did the rock escape other forms of vandalism' (Sales, 2005: 82). Thus, this guidebook does not emphasise the national ownership and belonging of the Acropolis, but neither does it make a case for its 'universality' despite the attempts made to justify Lord Elgin. This guidebook in fact seems to slightly shift the focus on the Acropolis as a site which is very much related to the sense of Greekness to one in which the Acropolis is more related to its status as a popular heritage visitor attraction. In fact, this guidebook seems to emphasise the place identity of the Acropolis as a popular heritage visitor attraction. In addition, having 'defended' the deeds of Lord Elgin, this guidebook could also be seen as attempting to slightly decontextualise the Acropolis as the most important symbol of Greekness.

By contrast, in the next guidebook in this analysis, 'Heritage Walks in Athens' (no8; Carras and Skoumbourdi, 2004) there is a strong emphasis on the Greek ownership of the Acropolis, which is mostly narrated about as a very much Greek and Athenian sacred site. For example in the prologue, the then Major of the city of Athens, Ms Dora Bakoyiannis, writes:

Our monuments stand as continuous guardians of memory. It is not only the past of Greece but the roots of the Western World and the influence of the East that can be found in *our* museums.

(Bakoyannis, 2005: 5, italics added)

In this text, there is an explicit reference to *our* (meaning Greek) monuments, which are not only the 'past of Greece but which are also the

roots of the Western World'. An interpretation of this text would be that despite its 'universal dimension', the primary ownership and belonging of these monuments is Greek rather than 'universal'. Once again, similar to a number of other guidebooks, the Acropolis is presented as a 'must see' heritage site in Athens, while its World Heritage site status is omitted.

The ninth guidebook in this analysis 'The Rough Guide to Greece' (no9; Benison et al, 2006) is a guidebook for the whole of Greece. In it, although the Acropolis is once again represented as the number one 'must see' heritage visitor attraction in Athens, there seems once again to be no mention of its World Heritage site status, while significant space is used for the debate over the ownership of the Parthenon Marbles or 'Elgin Marbles' which are in the British Museum in London. For example, in the context of the new Acropolis Museum, the reader is told that:

...it is hoped, the Parthenon Marbles (those already in the Acropolis Museum, plus the restored Elgin Marbles...) will finally be reunited in a fitted setting.

(Benison et al, 2006: 147)

This is an explicit reference to the belief that the Acropolis is Greek and therefore the Parthenon or 'Elgin' Marbles which are still in London, should be 'finally' returned to Greece, where they rightfully belong.

Once again, in the last guidebook in this analysis, 'Lonely Planet: Greece' (no10; Hellender et al, 2006) there is a strong reference to the 'rightful' ownership of the Parthenon or 'Elgin' Marbles by Greece, and which should therefore be returned to Athens. The reader is quite straightforwardly told that:

The British Museum has continuously rejected calls to return the marbles, which were hacked off the Acropolis by Lord Elgin in 1801.

(Hellender et al, 2006: 108)

Interestingly, the words used to describe the taking of the Parthenon Marbles by Lord Elgin in 1801 are 'hacked off' and the connotation here is that these natural, almost bodily parts of the Parthenon should not have

been taken and which, similar to the Parthenon and the Acropolis belong to Greece rather than the world. In addition to the reference being made to the taking of the Parthenon Marbles by Lord Elgin, this text makes a very strong reference to the sense of force employed in this very violent event. As elsewhere, the Acropolis is once again listed as the number one place to visit in Athens and its World Heritage site status, although briefly mentioned in the context of the current restoration project at the Acropolis is not commented on.

10.4 Conclusions

The tourists...before even gazing at the Athenian landscape, carry it inside them in the form of stereotypical images and myths. ... The Acropolis in particular seems to embrace most of the tourist interest and therefore most of the travel narrative about Athens.

(Travlou, 2002: 116)

Indeed, the Athenian Acropolis and its meanings seem to occupy significant amounts of space in the guidebooks of the site, Athens and Greece. In all the guidebooks which were included in this analysis the Acropolis was listed as the number one place to visit in Athens, as a site which should be the first place to visit on every visitors' to-do list. In many cases not only the history but also the descriptions of the site went into much detail. In essence, as Travlou (2002) notes, before even visiting the site, by reading about it in guidebooks, visitors could imagine it. And that is where the very significance of this analysis lies, in its exploration of the modes through which the Acropolis is represented to the readers of these guidebooks.

In line with the research question, themes which were of particular importance in this analysis were whether the Acropolis was represented as being about a sense of Greekness or a sense of 'universality' which its World Heritage site status sought to convey as well as how the Acropolis was represented to its prospective visitors. Particularly interesting was its

attribute of 'sacredness' whereby the Acropolis was essentially represented as sacred to the Greeks and an attraction to the tourists, something which was common in all the tourist materials analysed in this part of the thesis. As was the case in the postcards collection analysed in Chapter 8 as well as the GNTA promotional materials analysed in Chapter 9, the claims of national over 'universal' ownership were also apparent in many of these guidebooks, regardless of whether those were produced by the private or the public sector, in Greece or abroad. The sense of place of the Acropolis was clearly perceived, represented and constructed as being very much about a sense of Greekness, with its World Heritage site status being mentioned only in two of the ten guidebooks (both of which happen to be published by Lonely Planet). It seems that the meanings of the Athenian Acropolis were very much marked by its attributes of being a very 'Greek' site, a site which was 'sacred' to the Greeks, and whose visit thus might possibly resemble a pilgrimage. For the non-Greeks, the Athenian Acropolis was represented as a worldwide known visitor attraction which belonged to Greece, an attraction which they were also clearly encouraged to visit and admire.

Having, in this part of the thesis, explored the mode through which the sense of place and the sense of Greekness of the Athenian Acropolis was *constructed* in some of the most popular tourism materials such as postcards (Chapter 8), governmental promotional materials (Chapter 9), and guidebooks (this Chapter), the part of the thesis which follows, explores the mode through which this *constructed* sense of place is *consumed* by the visitors to the site.

V CONSUMING (A SENSE OF) GREEKNESS

A sense of place and a sense of collective identity are both a prerequisite
and a consequence of tourism.
(Peniston-Bird, 2005: 162)

In this part of the thesis I present 'thick descriptions' and findings from my year long fieldwork in Athens. In addition to that, in Chapter 11, the first Chapter of this part of the thesis, a Chapter which is simultaneously a theoretical and an empirical prelude for this part of the thesis, I also question Urry's (1995) thesis surrounding the consumption of places only to then propose an extended version, a version in which the processes of consumption and construction of places through visitation are seen as blurred, and as processes in which all the senses, not only the visual are playing their distinct roles. Further on, in Chapter 12, I explore the nature of performative, embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences of the Acropolis and the role these play in the processes of construction and consumption of the site and its meanings in the context of visitation. Finally, in Chapter 13, I focus on discussing two particular meanings visitors ascribed to the Athenian Acropolis, one resonating its Greekness and the other its 'universality' in order to answer the question of whether the visitors to the Acropolis, in addition to perceiving the Acropolis as a major visitor attraction also potentially perceived it as Greek and/or World Heritage. Importantly, it is in this part of the thesis that I rely on both the textual (traditional) and the audio-visual (innovative) outputs from this research in order to 'thickly' describe and convey the findings of my year long fieldwork in Athens.

Chapter 11 Consuming Greekness?

To become an object of consumption, an object must first become a sign.
(Baudrillard, 2005: 218)

11.1 Introduction

While agreeing Baudrillard's (2005) comment quoted above, in this Chapter as well as in this whole part of the thesis, I also attempt to pose and briefly attend to answering the question of whether, by consuming the object, we are also partly contributing to the very creation of the sign. As is to be expected from this brief introduction, much of this Chapter is conceptual although it also occasionally draws on empirical data from my fieldwork in Athens. As such, this Chapter serves partly as a theoretical and partly as an empirical introduction to the following two Chapters. By drawing on discussions and content from the remainder of the thesis and at times introducing 'new' data, this Chapter aims to pose and briefly attend to answering the question whether the Athenian Acropolis and its meanings were simply consumed or whether some of its meanings were also constructed through visitation.

This being the case, the first discussion briefly explores John Urry's (1995) thesis surrounding the consumption of places through visitation, introducing simultaneously some of the existing or emerging challenges to that thesis. Throughout this Chapter and the remainder of this part of the thesis (part V) though, I continue to draw links with both Urry's thesis and its existing challenges to some of the empirical findings from the Acropolis. In so doing, I attempt to determine whether visitors to the Acropolis were in fact only consuming or whether they were also partly constructing the place and its meanings through their multi-sensory embodied experiences of the site.

While paying particular attention to the consumption and construction of meanings resonating the 'Greekness', the 'universality', and the

'touristicity' of the Athenian Acropolis as well as the phenomenon of national pride associated with high levels of visitation, both this Chapter and the remainder of this part of the thesis (Chapters 12 and 13) once again inevitably touch upon the ownership and belonging of the site.

11.2 Visitation: consuming or constructing places?

Despite the fact that Urry's thesis surrounding the consumption of places is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution, particularly in the context of tourism studies, in this section I will argue that although valuable and very useful, it can still be perceived as incomplete and excluding. It can be perceived as such mainly in the sense that while Urry takes theoretical thinking about places and their consumption further, especially in the context of sociology of place, he essentially fails to pay substantial attention to consumption and experiences of places through senses other than sight, as well as to a rather significant phenomenon of construction, or creation, of places and their meanings through visitation⁷³.

Namely, while linking notions previously used in 'the analysis of the consumption of goods and services' (1995: 2), in his rather influential thesis, Urry essentially suggests that places are similar to goods and services, in that these are also consumed by people. In suggesting this, throughout this work, he pays particular attention to the semiotic and visual nature of this consumption, as well as the 'economy of signs' (i.e. see also Lash and Urry, 1994). In addition, he also suggests that tourism is a form of consumption in both a practical and a symbolic, visual sense. Yet, despite the undoubtable merit and significance of this work and what it had (and still has) to offer in terms of conceptual understandings of places and the modes of their consumption, it still fails to substantially assess the nature of multi-sensory embodied visitor experiences of places and the role these play in both the consumption and the construction of places and

⁷³ especially in the context of cultural geographies of tourism, i.e. see Crang, 2004

their meanings, something which, in the context of this study, I briefly discuss in this and the following two Chapters⁷⁴.

However, prior to drawing on any examples from the Acropolis, which I then explore in more depth in the two following Chapters, I need to emphasise that it is not only this research that points out to previously mentioned 'incompleteness' of Urry's thesis surrounding the consumption of places. A number of other scholars in tourism studies and beyond have also, directly or indirectly, pointed these out (i.e. see for example Crang, 2004; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Crouch 2000, 2002, 2005).

As noted by Pritchard and Morgan (2000: 115-116), in the context of tourism and leisure studies, space and place seem to have 'increasingly been recognised as socio-cultural constructions rather than simply as physical locations'. Simultaneously, questions surrounding the complex issues of consumption and construction of places and their meanings have also started emerging (i.e. see a discussion on tourism research agendas in Coleman and Crang, 2002). However, although in the context of construction of places through tourism, a very significant role is played by tourism materials such as postcards, guidebooks, and promotional campaigns (i.e. see part IV of this thesis) and as such these materials are increasingly being analysed, as I will suggest in this and the two following Chapters, and as it has been suggested by other researchers in the past, the construction of places in tourism is not limited to these.

Crouch (2000: 65), for example, wrote:

When individuals are 'doing' leisure and tourism they find themselves in a place. ... They may be aware of people around them. They feel the ground, recall the brochure and the member's newsletter, the advertisement for the club or the beer ... They turn around, touch a friend, sit on the ground. There is an atmosphere in the place. ... They think over where they have come from and how far they have come, and

⁷⁴ Although I do acknowledge that these discussions merit separate examination and lengthy work on their own, due to space and time constraints of this thesis, I will not make such an attempt in this or the following Chapters of this part of the thesis.

where else they might have been. ... There are particular features in this place, some of which trigger a memory, another place and another encounter.

Thus, as noted above, there are a myriad of (mental and bodily) influences on how an individual perceives a particular place and in so doing constructs its meanings. Although some influences in the process of construction of places and their meanings inevitably come from tourism materials, individuals are in essence the ones who process the (mental and bodily) information at hand and make 'their own sense of things and places' (Crouch, 2000: 64). As Ashworth and Graham (2005: 3) pointed out recently - senses of places, or meanings attached to places, are similar to identities in that these are 'not passively received' but 'ascribed by people'. Thus, at least partly, construction of places and their meanings in the context of tourism takes place at the very point of visitation.

Therefore, if consumption of places is perceived partly as literal consumption of goods and services (i.e. purchasing entrance tickets, souvenirs, booking accommodation etc) and partly as symbolic consumption (i.e. consumption of meanings attached to places visited), then it is clear that in the process of consuming places and their meanings, people are simultaneously also engaging in their very construction. As a result, the processes of consumption and construction of places and their meanings cannot be easily separated since places and their meanings are also partly constructed by the very presence, as well as embodied multi-sensory experiences of its visitors.

Interestingly, in the context of tourism studies, places and their meanings are increasingly studied as being partly created by the very people who visit them (i.e. see also a discussion on co-construction of places through tourism in Crang, 2004). In other words, places and their meanings are increasingly seen as being co-created and negotiated between different parties/people, including but not limited to: those who consider the place

as theirs, those who market, preserve and manage it, and those who visit. Indeed, Crang (2004: 74) has noted that recent studies have showed trends towards 'examining tourism not simply as consuming places but also as a dynamic force creating them', while Crouch (2000: 63, text in brackets added) in the context of wider social sciences argues that 'increasing attention is being given to the human individual as productive in everyday practices, as producer rather than [only] consumer'.

Therefore, the more inclusive and holistic understanding of the consumption of places which I adopt here is an expanded version of Urry's thesis in which consumption of places is perceived to consist of both literal consumption of goods and services in the context of visitation (i.e. purchasing entry tickets), and that which occurs through visitors' performative embodied experiences and practices (i.e. photography, walking about, feeling the place), whereby both processes are partly constructing and partly consuming places and their meanings. This being the case, the boundaries between consumption and construction of places and their meanings through visitation are here presented as blurred and both processes (of consumption and construction) as occurring simultaneously. Prior to discussing the significance of performative embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences of the Acropolis in the construction and consumption of its meanings (Chapter 12) or the actual meanings the Acropolis had for some of its visitors (Chapter 13), I will first explicate this theoretical point further by briefly discussing two Acropolis specific examples which support the above argument.

11.3 [Mass] visitation at the Acropolis and national pride

Pointing at the very need to expand on Urry's thesis on consumption of places and make it more inclusive and holistic is also the fact that in some cases high levels of visitation might in itself provoke the feeling of national pride, which further serves to construct and reinforce the meanings of a

particular place. High levels of [international] visitors and the very [international] fame of a particular place could thus serve to reinforce and partly construct the place and its meanings. As I have argued elsewhere in this thesis (see for example Part IV) tourism at the Acropolis and its paraphernalia⁷⁵, had (and still have) a role to play in the Greek nation building project. Namely, high levels of visitation to the site do not only represent its consumption but also its construction as a place of 'global fame' (Yalouri, 2001) and as such, simultaneously also a place of great national symbolism and pride. To be precise, the mere fact that the Acropolis receives over a million visitors annually, visitors who come not only from Greece but from all over the world, seems to be more often rather than not a cause for national pride, national pride which in turn partly constructs and partly reinforces the very sense of Greekness the site is believed to have. This was something I was constantly discovering throughout my year long fieldwork in Athens and something that was also especially prominent in [Greek] national newspapers.

For example, during a 4 day strike of the guards employed at highly visited archaeological sites which was held in mid July 2007 all over Greece (which also resulted in closure of the same sites and included the Athenian Acropolis), one of the mainstream Greek newspapers wrote:

They are coming from all the corners of this world to admire the Acropolis from close, but they found the...gates closed due to the strike.

(Ta Nea, 2007: 22)

While taking the viewpoint of the visitors rather than the employees who often work both in poor conditions as well as on a minimum wage (i.e. see also Adamopoulou, 2007) the above article only briefly comments on the requests made by the guards, only to subsequently focus on the quotes of numerous visitors and their disappointment of finding the gates of the Acropolis closed. Another newspaper article notes that the failure of the [Greek] Ministry of Culture to reach a satisfactory agreement with the

⁷⁵ With the term paraphernalia in the context of visitation at the Athenian Acropolis, I refer to things like the tourism materials, souvenirs, promotional campaigns, or, in other words, things which are secondary (i.e. souvenirs) to the core phenomenon (i.e. tourism or visitation).

guards employed at the site as a result of which the site was closed for 4 days 'blackens the image of Greece to the world' (Adamopoulou, 2007: 20). In addition, despite the fact that this particular article gives more emphasis on the hard working conditions and low wages of the guards, the article also makes an emphasis on the fact that the guards should not have organised a strike, causing in such a way a disgrace for the country as a whole. Characteristically, in her coverage of the story Ms Adamopoulou (2007: 20) who is the author of the above discussed article wrote:

No matter to what extent they are entitled to have a strike, and to what extent their requests are reasonable, should the monuments be held as hostages?

The extent to which this event was represented in the Greek media as being synonymous to an act against national interests and the profound effects this coverage had on the public as well as the guards who were taking part in this strike, is also depicted in another newspaper article which quotes the statement of the union of the guards in the light of the re-opening of the Acropolis after the strike:

The decision was made with the respect for the monuments and the culture of our homeland and with the feelings of responsibility towards tourism and the thousands of visitors.

(Eleytherotypia, 2007)

However, that high volume of [international] visitation and fame the Acropolis had throughout the world, were directly linked to a sense of national pride was not only evident in the Greek media. On numerous occasions, while I was conducting my overt or covert participant observation at the site I also heard conversations among visitors which were a direct reference to the very same phenomenon. One conversation in particular, which I had overheard and described in my fieldwork diary, is exemplary of the point being made here:

As I was sitting in the shadow beneath the Acropolis hill, very near the entrance, four people sat next to me in the shade – the two were Greek women in their mid 30ies and in their company their visitors from abroad, an English speaking mother also in her mid 30ies with her daughter who

was approximately 11-12 years old. With the temperature that day reaching over 40C both the mother and the daughter seemed to have felt rather ill from the heat and, since this was the case, both the mother and the daughter attempted to persuade their Greek hosts that it was way too hot for them to climb up the Acropolis where it was even warmer than down here. The two Greek ladies however were not easily persuaded and after, what to my ears sounded as a rather lengthy and tiring explanation to their guests of just how important it was for them to visit the Acropolis, they eventually reached a half-way agreement whereby the mother went up with one of the Greek women [despite the fact that she repeatedly told them she didn't want to go in this heat!] and her daughter remained in the shade with the other Greek woman.

(Rakić, 2007, diary entry, 1st September 2007)

What this story conveys is just how important [collective and individual] international visitation to the Acropolis is for the construction and reinforcement of Greek national pride. The fact that over a million visitors from all over the world come and pay a visit to the Acropolis every year (see also Chapter 4), seems to reinforce and partly construct the sense of national importance, pride and symbolism attached to the site. Thus, visitation through tourism cannot easily be perceived as consumption of places [literal or symbolic] in the mode this was suggested by Urry (1995).⁷⁶ Rather, visitation of places in the context of tourism needs to be perceived and studied in a more holistic manner, as both consumption and construction of places and their meanings.

11.4 The role of performative multi-sensory visitor experiences in construction and consumption of the place

In addition to the above, brief Acropolis specific discussion which demonstrates the need to expand on Urry's thesis surrounding the consumption of places, in reinforcing this view further, I also argue that deeper understandings of performative embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences are key in shedding further light into the nature of construction and consumption of places and their meanings. Namely, in

⁷⁶ Although Urry (1995) seemed to, at times, allude to the construction issue in his thesis as well as embodied experiences of places, his focus was overwhelmingly surrounding the issue of consumption of places through vision, or the [tourist] gaze.

the context of visitor experiences of places, similar to Urry's thesis (1995), I also argue that despite the fact that most visitors to the Acropolis pay an entrance fee⁷⁷ and in so doing they are engaging in literal consumption of the place, visitors to the site are not simply consuming tourist services *per se* but rather, they are also engaging in a symbolic consumption of the site and its meanings through their senses⁷⁸. In addition, I take this argument further to claim that besides the literal and the symbolic consumption, visitors to the site are simultaneously also engaging in the construction of the place and its meanings through their performative embodied multi-sensory experiences of the site.

The extent to which visitors to the site perceive the site and its meanings as being about Greekness or 'universality' as well as the extent to which they perceive their visit as akin to pilgrimage or as a visit to yet another major visitor attraction depends not only on the mode of their consumption of the place through visitation (i.e. literal or symbolic), but also on the way they individually perceive the site and construct its meanings based on their previous knowledge about the site *as well as* their embodied multi-sensory experiences of the place. To be exact, other than suggesting that mass visitation to a place plays a role in the construction and reinforcement of its meanings (for Acropolis specific examples see section 11.3 as well as Chapters 12 and 13) what I also suggest is that a deeper exploration of performative embodied multi-sensory experiences should be central to the studies surrounding the consumption and construction of places and their meanings by its visitors (for Acropolis specific examples see Chapter 12).

⁷⁷ Entrance fees are waived for all visitors on Sundays during the low season period (late fall, winter, early spring), as well as on some public holidays. In addition, on demonstrating proof of their status pupils and students enrolled at a school/university anywhere in the EU can enter free of charge throughout the year. Despite the fact that some entries are free of charge, it has been reported that during high season summer months, the income from the sales of entry tickets to the Acropolis reach as high as 60,000 euros daily (Adamopoulou, 2007).

⁷⁸ Although Urry (1995) does mention the significance of senses other than sight in the consumption of places, his thesis, being as it is mainly focused on vision is still rather oculacentric in nature.

As this part of the thesis will demonstrate, through a number of empirical findings, consumption of places and their meanings does not take place in isolation of their construction and neither are the meanings of a place constructed or consumed outside the context of performative embodied multi-sensory experiences of its visitors.

As I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 12, in the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis, the nature of performative embodied multi-sensory experiences seemed to be of central importance in the construction and consumption of the site and its meanings by its visitors. At the Acropolis, this seemed to be particularly evident partly due to the open space nature of the site, its position on a hill high above the city where the city seemed almost to 'embrace' the monument as well as the prominent position of the Greek flag. However, rather than engaging in a lengthy discussion based on empirical findings in this Chapter, these and many other elements of performative multi-sensory [collective and individual] experiences of the Acropolis and their role in the construction and consumption of the Athenian Acropolis as a site of Greekness, a popular tourist attraction and a World Heritage site are discussed in further detail in the following Chapters of this thesis. Importantly, these discussions are also illustrated in innovative audio-visual formats which accompany the text. Namely, the 2 minute video clip titled *Acropolis* (contained in Appendix A) and the 26 minute ethnographic documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis* (contained in Appendix B).

11.5 Conclusions

This Chapter explored the notion of consumption of places and their meanings in the context of visitation. Through a brief exploration of Urry's (1995) thesis surrounding the consumption of places and its emerging challenges, it aimed to demonstrate the reasons for which Urry's thesis, although undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to the studies of places

(especially in the context of tourism studies), was in need of expansion. Namely, although Urry took theoretical thinking about places and their consumption through visitation further, he failed to pay ample attention to consumption of places through senses other than sight as well as to substantively consider the role visitation might play in the very construction of places and their meanings. As such, Urry's thesis surrounding the consumption of places, as this Chapter suggested is and will continue to be useful in the context of tourism studies but to reach its full potential needs to be expanded to include an exploration into the role performative embodied multi-sensory experiences and mass visitation play in both the consumption and construction of places and their meanings.

For an investigation into the consumption of places in the context of visitation to be of a more holistic and inclusive nature, consumption and construction of places and their meanings need to be seen as processes which are blurred, both occurring simultaneously at the point of visitation. This being the case, it is this, expanded version of Urry's original thesis that I adopt in this thesis.

While drawing on findings from my fieldwork, in an attempt to demonstrate the need to expand on Urry's thesis, in this Chapter I have discussed the role mass international visitation to the site plays in the construction and reinforcement of the sense of national pride, importance and symbolism of the Athenian Acropolis. In addition, I also briefly discussed the significance of collective and individual performative embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences and their role in not only the consumption but also the construction of the Acropolis and its meanings.

Having established the significance of not only expanding on Urry's (1995) thesis surrounding the consumption of places in order to be able to provide a deeper and richer understanding of the consumption and construction of places and their meanings, in this Chapter I have also

drawn on Acropolis specific examples in order to explore this point further and introduce, theoretically and empirically the following two Chapters. The first of the two is Chapter 12 in which, while paying particular attention to the sense of Greekness of the site and its status of a popular visitor attraction, I rely on textual, visual (still images from the field) and audio-visual (a 2 minute video clip and a 26 minute documentary) formats in order to explore the nature of embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences and their role in the consumption and construction of the Athenian Acropolis and its meanings. Second of the two is Chapter 13 in which again I rely on several different formats in order to explore and debate any national and 'universal' meanings which were attached to the Athenian Acropolis by some of its visitors, visitors to whom I spoke to during my fieldwork in Athens. Of central importance to both Chapters, as hinted in this text, is my reliance on the visual (still images from the field) and the audio-visual (a 2 minute video clip and a 26 minute documentary) formats, in not only my attempt to innovatively convey this research's findings but also in my attempt to provide fuller and richer understandings of the textual discussion.

Chapter 12 At the [Athenian] Acropolis: exploring the nature of embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences⁷⁹

Memories of a [summer 2006] visit to the Acropolis, by a 20 year old woman: They brought us to Athens and we thought we'll go to the hotel to shower and rest after such a long bus ride [12 hours]. But no, they took us directly to the Acropolis in an unbelievable heat. We just couldn't believe it! And there we were at the Acropolis with a guide telling us stories we weren't listening. The only thing at least I was able to think about at the time was when we'll leave and get some rest in the hotel.

(Rakić, 2007; diary entry 18 July 2007)

12.1 Introduction

As I came to realise shortly after the beginning of my fieldwork, and as I will attempt to 'thickly describe' in this Chapter, being at the Athenian Acropolis, one not only experiences the Classical remains of this glorious site, the sense of sublime provoked by some of its monuments, the on-going conservation work, the guards and other visitors, the significance the site has as a marker of Greekness and as the most symbolically charged landscape of the city of Athens, but one also experiences the Acropolis as a 'sensual place' (i.e. see also Edensor, 1998: 143). The local climate is very much felt due to the open nature of the site and a visitor to the site seems to employ all the senses, rather than only the vision, in experiencing a visit.

A visit to the site is also a marvellous opportunity to not only visually but also acoustically experience some elements of the city of Athens, and its everyday, from a position high above the city. Thus, being as it is situated in its very centre, high up on a hill, the Acropolis not only provides exquisite views of this densely built capital, but it also allows its visitors to

⁷⁹ Please note that parts of this Chapter were presented as a part of the following conference paper: Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2008, 2-4 July). *At the [Athenian] Acropolis: exploring the nature of embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences*. Paper presented at the ATLAS 2008 Annual Conference - Selling or Telling? Paradoxes in Tourism, Culture and Heritage, Brighton, UK (See Appendix H).

hear the noises, gaze upon the city and reflect on its vibrant life. In addition, being at a site situated in the very heart of the city centre of Athens, bearing a Greek flag on a prominent spot and rising high above the city, a visitor cannot escape noticing the centrality of the Athenian Acropolis not only for the city but also for the remainder of the country. This being the case, I use this Chapter to explore the concept of embodiment (which is in keeping with the discussion in the previous Chapter about the consumption of places as being much more than about the visual) and then, having established the key theoretical underpinnings of this concept, go on to investigate the nature of [collective and individual] embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences of the site and the role these played in the consumption and construction of the Athenian Acropolis and its meanings. Considering that this research focuses on the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis, although briefly also commenting on other meanings attached to the site, in this and the following Chapter, I will still predominantly focus on any meanings resonating its status as a World Heritage site, a popular visitor attraction and a symbol of Greekness.

To be precise, following a rather brief theoretical exploration of the notion of embodiment and multi-sensory experiences, drawing on interpretative analysis of my fieldwork diary, audio-visually recorded participant observation and at times interviews, with a particular reference to the Athenian Acropolis, this Chapter attempts to portray the significance of exploring the nature of embodied visitor experiences in order to understand meanings visitors attach to places. In an ethnographic fashion, it offers thick textual but also visual and audio-visual descriptions in an attempt to represent some of my own as well as visitors' embodied experiences of the Acropolis. Interestingly, in attempting to offer a richer and deeper (re)presentation of research findings, and 'thicker' descriptions of the ethnographic fieldwork, this Chapter also makes strong links with two audio-visual outputs contained in the Appendices. The first is a 2

minute video clip titled *Acropolis* which explores the multi-sensory embodied visitor experiences of the site, a video clip which also attempts to portray the 'choreography' of visitor movements and activities. The second is the first rough edit of a 26 minute ethnographic documentary based on this research titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis*, a documentary which, among other things, also explores the nature of embodied visitor experiences at the Acropolis and their significance within the processes of the consumption and construction of the site and its meanings through visitation. Despite the fact that these audio-visual outputs can be viewed separately as well, since these are integral to this thesis, the texts contained in this and the following Chapters will ideally be read in conjunction with the viewing of these audio-visual outputs. Namely, considering that both the 2 minute video clip and the documentary are specifically linked to this and the following Chapter of this thesis, both are best viewed either during or after reading of these two Chapters (12 and 13).

However, all formats – text and visuals contained in this and the following Chapter, as well as the videos contained in the Appendices – were intended to be perceived as subjective 'constructions', textual, visual and audio-visual accounts of multiple 'realities' at the Acropolis as experienced and perceived by both myself and my research participants, visitors to the Acropolis whom I either observed or spoke to during my fieldwork. What both the textual and the audio-visual formats aimed to achieve (and both have undergone extensive intervention and editing) was to (re)construct, (re)create and (re)present multiple 'realities' at the Acropolis as myself and my research participants experienced these.

Overall, this Chapter is a rather important section of this part of the thesis, especially since it resorts to textual, visual and audio-visual formats in order to 'thickly' describe embodied visitor experiences at the Athenian Acropolis and their significance in collective and individual 'construction'

and 'consumption' of the site and its meanings. A claim which permeates most of this Chapter is that deeper understandings of the nature of situated, embodied multi-sensory experiences are crucial in understanding both the experiences of places as well as the meanings which are attached to these places by the very people who visit these. In brief, in the context of this study, a deeper insight into the nature of situated, multi-sensory, embodied experiences of the Acropolis is here presented as crucial in the process of reaching deeper and more holistic understandings of the various meanings the Acropolis had for its visitors.

12.2 Embodied experiences of places and their meanings

According to a growing number of ethnographers, social scientists and humanists, embodiment is a concept that should readily be incorporated into studies of people's experiences. In tourism studies in particular though, embodiment and the significance of all the senses in experiencing a place, as opposed to vision alone (i.e. see Urry, 1990) seemed to have been largely ignored in the past. In fact, Pritchard et al (2007: 6) argued that:

Until very recently 'the body' has been a silent or indeed an absent entity in tourism research, reflecting its masculinist, disembodied research traditions.

However, a greater body of work in tourism studies which incorporates embodiment is constantly emerging, most notably a collection of essays edited by Pritchard et al (2007), a series of essays in other volumes (i.e. see Bryne Swain, 2004; Bryne Swain and Hall, 2007; Crouch 2000, 2002; Franklin, 2003 etc), as well as journal articles (i.e. see Andrews, 2005; Chronis, 2006; Veijola and Jokinen, 1994; Pons, 2003).

Much of the above literature criticises the oculacentric interpretations surrounding tourist experiences (i.e. see Andrews 2005; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Veijola and Jokinen, 1994), the most notable of which is John Urry's 'Tourist Gaze' (1990) and which, at least in its first edition,

greatly ignored any significance of senses other than sight. However, the theory of embodiment embarks upon changing these occulacentic approaches to the study of tourist experience, especially since:

Embodiment denotes the ways in which the individual grasps the world around her/him and makes sense of it in ways that engage both mind and body.

(Crouch, 2000: 63)

Interestingly, Urry himself came to claim, in the 2nd edition of his rather influential text surrounding 'The Tourist Gaze' as well as in his later writings, that:

Places are not just seen, as in the scopic regime of the 'sightseer', but are understood through different senses...

(Urry, 1995: 28)

Thus, experiences of places and the processes of construction and consumption of their meanings through visitation cannot possibly be studied as being a solely 'mental' process articulated exclusively through thoughts and words, or as being perceived only through vision. In fact:

In encountering place in tourism our bodies are important mediators of what happens and of what we comprehend to be there.

(Crouch, 2002: 2007)

Crouch (2002: 208) argues that once we acknowledge that subject is embodied and that tourism is a practice it will be evident that 'our body does encounter space in its materiality'. In fact, tourists are increasingly seen as interpreting their experiences and meanings of artefacts as situated, embodied subjects (i.e. see Chronis, 2006). In the context of contemporary ethnography some authors have argued that similar to how ethnographers/researchers are perceived to be embodied, situated researchers, their 'objects of study' or research participants should also be perceived as:

...situated, embodied subjects who perceive the world through both their minds and bodies and engage all their senses, not only the visual in this process.

(Rakić and Chambers, 2008)

While the visual sense is still perceived as one of the most important senses in the context of tourist experiences (i.e. see Franklin, 2003;

Chronis, 2006; as well as this Chapter) tourists are increasingly being studied within the context of experiencing places and their meanings through all their senses and as 'doing things with their own bodies'.

12.3 At the Acropolis: embodied experiences of the place

It is a rainy day, and there are very few people at the Acropolis. I met a guard as I was walking through the Propylaea and filming who seeing me with a camera and thinking I was a tourist spoke to me in English and said:

- Rain, e?

- Yes, it's raining, it's a difficult day, I said. Then he smiled and referring to the fact that there were very few people at the site that day, said:

- But the Acropolis is all yours now!

(Rakić, 12 December 2006: excerpt from the fieldwork diary)

As I came to realise through: 1) my own experience of climbing up the Acropolis hill and being at the site two to three times a week over a year long period, 2) observation of other visitors' embodied experiences, and 3) numerous conversations with visitors to the site; a visit to the Acropolis was not only mental but also a very bodily experience.

Namely, visitor experiences of the site seem to be influenced by many factors. One of these is the geographical position of the site. As hinted in the introduction of this Chapter as well as elsewhere in this thesis, the site is located in a relatively warm Mediterranean climate, in the centre of a densely built city of Athens, above which it rises to 153 meters above sea level. Once there, a visitor cannot possibly ignore the significance the site seems to have for the city of Athens as well as for the reminder of the country based on its mere location, the position of the Greek flag, and the mode by which the densely built city of Athens gradually grew to 'embrace' the site. However, that the site rose high above the city also implied that both myself and other visitors to the site needed to climb up a steep hill in order to reach the fortress (the Acropolis). This, coupled with the open space nature of the site, the local climate, the fact that the marbles on which one walks are often slippery and that, with the exception of rainy

and windy winter periods, more often than not one shares their visit with thousands of other bodies (other visitors), as I will argue throughout this Chapter, was for many (including myself), a rather tiring experience. In addition, other than being a rather tiring experience, this also had an impact on how both myself and other visitors experienced the site as well as how we constructed and consumed some of its meanings.

To make this point clearer, here are a few excerpts from my fieldwork diary and fieldwork progress reports:

Today is 25C and it is very hot in the sun. Temperature definitely makes an impact on the visit. Even popular guidebooks state that one should visit the Acropolis early in the morning or later in the afternoon as in between it is too hot to climb up there.

(Rakić, diary entry on Tuesday 10th April 2007)

There were quite a few people up today, most looking for somewhere to sit and rest or for a shadow after a while. It seems that with hot weather it is all the more difficult to climb up and walk about.

(Rakić, diary entry on Wednesday 11th April 2007)

...due to the heat [which in July in Athens is often over 40C] my visits to the Acropolis were sometimes shorter than usual (as I otherwise suffered from a heat stroke)....

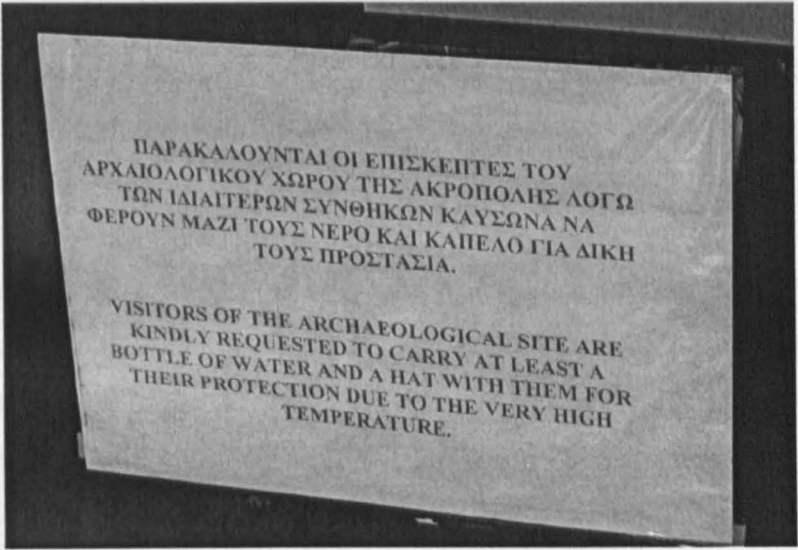
(Rakić, July 2007 Fieldwork Progress Report: 4)

In fact, since the Athenian Acropolis is an open and a very exposed space located high above the city, the weather seemed to dominate not only the notes on my own embodied experiences of the site, but it also featured as an important factor for site managers (see Figure 11.3.1), and visitors (see Figure 11.3.2, where a group of visitors stand in a small shade in hope it will protect them from the burning sun as well as the ethnographic documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis* contained in Appendix B).

For some visitors, weather conditions were one of the key factors which not only influenced their length of stay at this open space site, but also a factor which greatly influenced the mode through which they were able to experience the site and its glorious past (i.e. see for example segments of

my interview with Deanna later on in this Chapter as well as segments of this and other interviews contained in the documentary, Appendix B).

Figure 12.3.1 High temperature sign at the entrance to the Acropolis



(Photograph: T. Rakić © July 2007)

Figure 12.3.2 A group of visitors 'hiding' from the sun



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

Despite the fact that during the late fall, winter, and early spring, temperatures at the site tend to be quite comfortable and in these periods

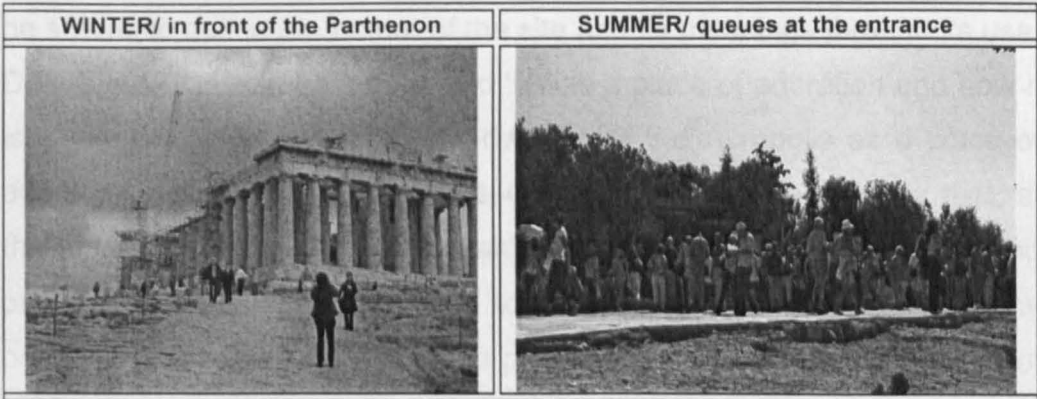
the site is rarely overcrowded (i.e. see Table 12.3.1 and Figure 12.3.3), there are times when the site is overcrowded and when the weather conditions are extreme (i.e. too cold / too warm / too sunny / very rainy / too windy). In these cases, both the weather and the presence of other bodies (particularly in overcrowded conditions) seemed to have a profound impact on the experiences of the site and, as I discuss further on in this Chapter, on the construction and consumption of some of its meanings. In particular, although the various meanings the Acropolis had for its visitors were often overlapping, the presence or the absence of other bodies (other visitors) seemed to have influenced the perception of the site as either a major visitor attraction or a site which was sacred to the Greeks and was known all over the world as a cradle of democracy, and a place which was also a home to some of the diachronically most remarkable achievements in arts and architecture.

Table 12.3.1 Observed visitor volumes

NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT
LOW	LOW	LOW	LOW	LOW TO MED	MED	MED TO HIGH	HIGH	VERY HIGH	VERY HIGH	HIGH TO MED	MED TO LOW

(Adapted from: fieldwork diary)

Figure 12.3.3 At the Acropolis: winter and summer snapshots



(Photographs: left snapshot T. Rakić © 2007; right frame from documentary T. Rakić © 2008)

To make this point clearer, here are a few excerpts from audio-visually recorded interviews with visitors to the site, some of which also appear in the ethnographic documentary (see Appendix B).

Tijana: How did it feel coming up?

Yorgos (in his late 30ies, lives in Greece, conversation translated from Greek): It was nice but it was very [long pause] touristic. ... From one point onwards people disturb you. I guess if we came here at the time the site opened, and were the first to be here, the place would be completely different. From one point onwards the crowd does not allow you to take what you are here for, to absorb the meanings of the place, and this is also valid for castles or paintings and museums. People disturb your experience of it.

In this excerpt Yorgos makes a direct reference to the fact that his experience of the place was influenced by the presence of other bodies (other visitors) which made the site feel very 'touristic', and that had we been there alone, 'the place would be completely different'. Thus, in his view not only do the other bodies influence his visit and his experience of the place, but they also change its very nature and the meanings the site has for him. Towards the end of the interview he reinforced that by saying:

Yorgos: ... But even if you take the birth of this place [the Acropolis], the rulers of Ancient Athens, didn't they want to convey something to their "voters"? That they built this temple. Simply then it was a place of adoration, and now it is a place of the guided tour. It is completely different [now], [it is] a place of a guided tour full of ruins from an older civilisation.

For Yorgos, the Acropolis as he imagines it during the heights of Classical Athens was a completely different place to the Acropolis he experienced that day. However, in both historical periods, Classical Athens and today, he seems to define the nature of the site and its meanings through its use. During the Classical period he said 'it was a place of adoration and now it is a place of a guided tour'. His defining of the Acropolis as a place of adoration in the Classical period seems to imply that he believes that, at the time, the site must have meant more in terms of local identity and pride, while having become more 'touristy' with the presence of so many people from all over the world, the place seems to have been stripped of some of its symbolic resonances.

Somewhat similar to Yorgos (with whom I spoke on a sunny day in January 2007), here is what Deanna (with whom I spoke on a very hot day in July 2007) told me:

Tijana: tell me, the Acropolis, have you been up?

Deanna (in early 20ies, lives in the USA): I just came down.

Tijana: All right.

Deanna: It's very hot!

Ha, ha, ha (both)

Tijana: And how long did you stay up there?

Hmm about half an hour, 40 minutes, I wandered around partly because it was so hot.

Tijana: How did you feel being at the Acropolis?

Hmm it felt like you were back in time, but the reconstruction going on made it present day because you could see the people working and the scaffolding up around. Hmm. I'd be interested to see what it's like when it's finished, when you take away all of the modern, hmm steel that surrounding the marble.

Tijana: And how did you feel walking about the site?

Deanna: Hmm it made me wonder what it looked like when hmm it was in use, everyday, there were a lot of people around taking pictures and wearing baseball caps and I wonder what it was like when people were actually conducting business everyday. So it made me more curious than anything else. It's hard to picture when you are up there but I wish I could see the pictures of it before.

Deanna too, similar to Yorgos seemed to have attempted to imagine the Acropolis as it was during the heights of Classical Athens and in so doing was 'disturbed' by its present day use for both reconstruction and visitation, as neither allowed her to effectively imagine the Athenian Acropolis as it was during its most glorious period. Namely, both the reconstruction work and the presence of other visitors reminded her of its contemporary status as an archaeological site and a major visitor attraction.

Interestingly, many visitors were also telling me about the fenced off areas and the fact that one wasn't allowed to walk closer around the ruins or touch the marbles. In fact, it seems that 'seeing' the monuments, photographing and walking about the site for many wasn't enough to fully experience it. Here are a couple of excerpts from interviews, both conducted in mid summer 2007, and both depicting the importance of access and the tactile sense.

Maggy (in late 40ies, lives in England): We have been to the Acropolis before but not for 30 years. Long time (smiles). So it is quite different, when we came before we could walk around the ruins but now there is a lot of

reconstruction work so you are not able to walk around. Hmm so there are big changes but it is very nice to see again.

Tijana: Aha. And did you mind not being able to go?

Well, it was nice being able to do that years ago but I can understand now its very difficult 'cause it gets worn away and it is more difficult. You can't have everyone walking in this as otherwise there would be nothing left.

...

Tijana: Did you take any photos at the site?

Jess (In his mid 30ies, lives in the USA): Oh yeah. ... I got some photos of us next to the temples; I got some photos of her you know with the skyline of Athens and the background. I got a few pictures of the Caryatids, I really like those.

Widya (his wife, also in mid 30ies, lives in the USA): *He got kicked of the temples for taking this picture.*

Jess: Yeah, purely, apparently you are not supposed to climb up on that and I didn't know there weren't any signs there. There is a little rope there but I mean anybody could step over that, so how's that supposed to keep me out.

Widya: *He doesn't like the confinement of a lot of tourist attractions when they tell you you can't take pictures.*

Jess: Just makes it more tempting. You wanna do it even more you know.

Ha, ha, ha (all)

Tijana: Exactly, the forbidden fruit is the sweetest of all, e?

Jess: Aha. You said it.

Widya: *It is a part of spiritual, you know, if you get closer.*

Jess: Yes, up close underneath and personal, get intimate with the monument.

Tijana: So you would like to have been able to touch the marbles and things like that?

Jess: Well, actually, I did touch it really quickly before they booted me off
ha, ha, ha

In addition to the importance of access and the tactile sense in experiencing the monuments at the Acropolis and their meanings, visitors' embodied experiences seemed to have been also very much influenced by the views of the city of Athens with many to whom I spoke to, commenting on their amazement at the magnificent views of the city. For example, Adam whom I again spoke to during the summer 2007, told me:

Adam (early 30ies, lives in Australia): I really like the Acropolis, hmm, it's bigger than I thought and a lot higher up I didn't realize that it was on a hill with all the views. I thought it was within the landscape of the city so it was a lot more impressive for me.

Similar to Adam, once I asked which part of the site they liked the most Mrs Slade who with her husband was also visiting the Acropolis during the summer of 2007, told me:

Mrs Slade (in late 60ies, lives in New Zealand): Up the top because we could see so much of the city. That was an amazing view, turned around 360 degrees.

However, some visitors were also mentioning the Greek flag, which along with the exquisite views of the city of Athens seemed to have reinforced their perception of the Acropolis as a site of Greekness. As Maria, who lives in Athens and was visiting the Acropolis with friends from abroad told me:

Maria: (in early 30ies, lives in Athens, italics and bold added) ...We sat there at the edge, where *our* flag is and it was a nice opportunity to show them the places we would take them to, Sintagma, the other places of *ours*, the Temple of Zeus, Plaka, very picturesque monuments which in our everyday life, we do not notice.

Once again reinforcing the great national significance as well as the 'sacredness' of the Acropolis for the Greeks, near the steps which take the visitors to the area where the Greek flag is positioned, there is a sign written in Greek⁸⁰ which states (see Figure 12.3.4, text translated from Greek):

During the night of the 30th of May 1941 the patriots Manolis Glezos and Apostolos Santas removed the flag of the Nazi occupiers from the Sacred Rock of the Acropolis.

(Sign presented by the United National Resistance 1941-1944, in 1982)

What I have attempted to describe and convey in this section was the extent to which visitors' multi-sensory embodied experiences were central to their experiences of the Acropolis as a meaningful place. What surfaced as rather important was the fact that many visitors were attempting to imagine a particular historical period of the Acropolis - the everyday

⁸⁰ The fact that only a couple of signs at the Acropolis were written solely in Greek, although most of the other signs were bilingual (Greek and English), could be interpreted along the lines that whoever created these particular signs believed that the texts contained on these had particular meaning and relevance for the Greek speaking rather than the international visitors and were thus written only in Greek.

activities held at the Acropolis during the heights of its Classical period. This is particularly significant since, as I have argued throughout part II of the thesis, despite the fact that the Acropolis as a place had a very ‘rich past’ and was a very important place during many historical periods,⁸¹ it was the Classical period which was chosen in the early days of the emergence of the Modern Greek state as representative of Greece and its glorious past (see also a discussion on the archaeological ‘purification’ of the site, Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4). As it is the Acropolis from the heights of Classical Athens that many of its visitors attempted to imagine, it seems that once again (in addition to how the Acropolis was represented in tourism materials, see Chapters 8, 9, and 10), the part of the Greek nation building project which aimed at representing the Athenian Acropolis primarily in terms of its Classical past, has been a success even in the context of contemporary [mass] international visitation.

Figure 12.3.4 The sign in Greek, near the flag



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

However, equally important is that the presence of other bodies, scaffolding as well as the views of the contemporary city of Athens (all

⁸¹ These periods, in addition to the classical, include ‘the Mycenaean, the Medieval, the Ottoman, the Muslim, the Christian, and the contemporary’ (Hamilakis et al, 2008).

reminding visitors of the present day and the centrality of this site for both the city of Athens and the country as a whole) made some visitors perceive the Athenian Acropolis not solely as a Classical site, and a site of Greekness, but also as a contemporary, touristy place. Some visitors who despite the obvious reminders of the present day, still attempted to spiritually engage with the place and its glorious past, seemed to have been greatly disturbed not only by the presence of other bodies, but also by scaffolding, the fenced-off areas and the fact that activities such as touching the marbles, were prohibited (see Figure 12.3.5).

Figure 12.3.5 Do not touch the marble



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

Thus, not only were the embodied, multi-sensory experiences of the Acropolis central in shaping visitors' perceptions of the site and its meanings as they experienced, 'constructed' and 'consumed' it through their bodies and their minds (see also Crouch, 2002), but also, the very same multi-sensory experiences seemed to have had a great influence on the meanings they, having visited the site, attached to it. As Yorgos, during the interview, in the context of our conversation surrounding the meanings of the Acropolis told me:

Tijana: And tell me the Acropolis, which meanings does it carry for you, when you think of the Acropolis, what are your first thoughts?

Yorgos (late 30ies, lives in Greece, translated from Greek): Hmm... First of all I think that it is not a temple anymore, its use has changed. It is a work of art and nobody makes their prayers up here. Hmm it is simply one spot in the city which has been burdened with a lot of ideology in my opinion. For me it is a work of art which is very good. If you think of it, it has measure if you look at it. Something the ancient Greek civilisation spoke about when they were talking about the measure, the unit was a human being. This was the measurement. If you look at this temple it has measure. ... It has inside [long pause] it gets a certain value significance, significance in the market. It is a work of art that is consumed. And for it [the Acropolis] to be consumed, you are either going to take it on a postcard, or you are going to take it on a model, or you are going to make the effort and climb up the hill and you will experience it within all of its context.

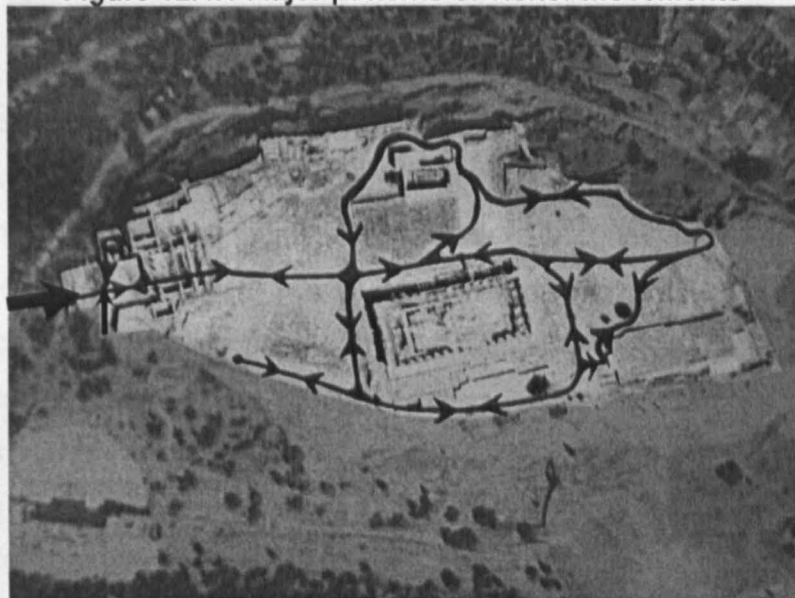
Not only does Yorgos perceive the Athenian Acropolis, the fortress, as synonym to the Parthenon, its best known monument (see also Chapter 8 on representations of the Acropolis in Postcards), something which is evident in his referring to the Acropolis as a temple, but he also acknowledges the fact that for him the Athenian Acropolis as a place has been burdened with a lot of [national] ideology. In addition, he defines the nature of the Acropolis as a place through its past and contemporary use. Thus, what the Athenian Acropolis means for him today is partially defined through his previous knowledge about the Acropolis as a place, and partly through his embodied experiences of the place at the point of visitation, a place which as he said he perceives to be a 'work of art' consumed through the purchase of souvenirs and visitation.

12.4 Movements, favourite spots and activities

Partly inspired by Edensor's study of the tourists at the Taj (1998), and partly out of my own curiosity about whether there were any major patterns of visitor movements and activities at the site, I engaged in mapping the visitor movements and activities in hope that this, in combination with other observations and interviews, would shed further light onto visitor experiences and perceptions of the site and its meanings. Although the very first visitor movement mappings seemed to portray rather chaotic movements, major patterns of movements eventually emerged (see Figure

12.4.1). In addition, similar to what Edensor found in his study of tourists at the Taj, at the Acropolis there also seemed to be a 'chorographical' element in the 'embodied enactions' (Edensor, 1998: 105) of visitor movements (see also the 2 minute video clip titled *Acropolis* contained in Appendix A in which I have attempted to re-create the chorographical element of visitor movements⁸²).

Figure 12.4.1 Major patterns of visitor movements



(Map designed by Y.Karagiannakis, according to instructions given by T. Rakić, © 2008, adapted digitally from a series of images originally sourced from Google Earth)

Namely, visitors to the Acropolis, by moving through the space in particular ways, movements which are partially determined by restricted areas, guides, and suggested visitor routes, seemed not only to experience the site through their bodies and in so doing also 'consume' and 'construct' the place and its meanings, but they also seemed to 'perform' their visit through both movements and various popular activities such as photography, gazing, walking and recording video⁸³.

⁸² This video is an audio-visual exploration of the mode by which visitors to the Athenian Acropolis relate to its [open] space, and how they construct, create, and reshape their experience. The video seeks to re-construct, re-create and re-present an imaginary embodied visit to the open space of the Athenian Acropolis.

⁸³ Although video recordings are strictly forbidden by the Greek Ministry of Culture, amateur video recordings are not heavily policed by the guards at the site.

Turner (1988) argues that all social processes are 'performative' while tourism (and heritage site visitation) as yet another social process, could also be perceived as 'performative' (i.e. see for example Bagnall, 2003; Crouch, 2002; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Edensor, 1998; Filippoucci, 2002). In the context of 'postmodern' thinking within anthropology, Turner (1988: 80) argues that all processes are seen as performative, while

Performances are never amorphous or openended, they have diachronic structure, a beginning, a sequence of overlapping but isolable phases, and an end.

In the context of tourism, Coleman and Crang (2002: 10) emphasise the importance of touristic performance in the light of it being embodied, and as such involving 'all the senses, including, but not confined to, sight'. Edensor (1998: 18) for example, while not paying particular attention to the processes of consumption and construction of places through visitation suggests that walking and gazing are also, similar to photography, 'forms of tourist performance'.

In this light, it was particularly interesting to find that, at the Acropolis, not only were the visitors taking similar routes in their embodied exploration of the site but they were also engaging in similar 'performances' of activities, many of which were taking place on and around the 10 key favourite spots at the site (see Figure 12.4.2 and Table 12.4.1). Most visitors, after passing the Propylaea (located between spots 2 and 3, see Figure 12.4.2 and Table 12.4.1), would come to the front of the Parthenon (see spot no 4, Figure 12.4.2) where much of the photographs and videos were taken, and would then walk around the Parthenon, while some would also go to the Greek flag (see spot no 7, Figure 12.4.2) and visit the small Acropolis museum⁸⁴ (see spot no 8, Figure 12.4.2). However, fewer still seemed to walk around the Erechtheion (see spot no 5, Figure 12.4.2).

⁸⁴ Please note that as of July 2007 the small Acropolis Museum was closed as the exhibits were taken to the New Acropolis Museum (see BBC, 2007)

Figure 12.4.2 Favourite spots map



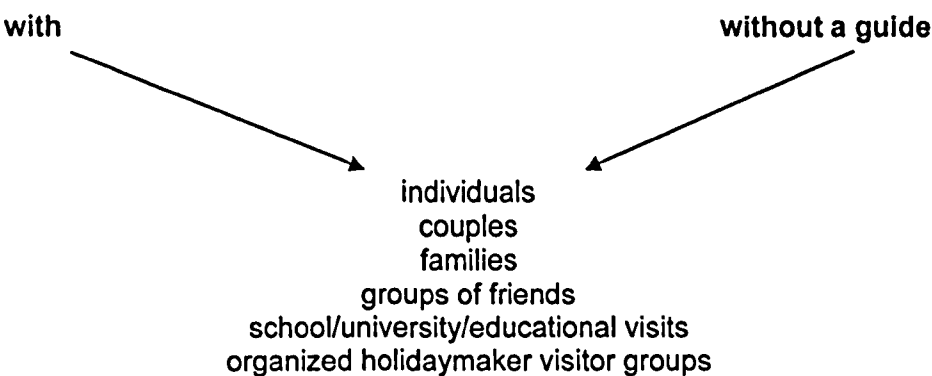
(Map designed by Y.Karagiannakis, according to instructions given by T. Rakić, © 2008, adapted digitally from a series of images originally sourced from Google Earth)

Table 12.4.1 Favourite spots and activities table

SPOT (PLEASE SEE ALSO THE PHOTO MAP BELOW)	FAVOURITE ACTIVITY
1. IN FRONT OF PROPYLAEA (LEFT)	Taking photos of the city, stop of guided groups, passing on way out .
2. IN FRONT OF PROPYLAEA (RIGHT)	Taking photos and video of both Propylaea and city, one of favourite stops for guided tours and individuals, gazing at the city, sunbathing.
3. AFTER PROPYLAEA (TOWARDS THE PARTHENON)	Stops of guided tours, most photographs of the site taken here – Classical view of the Parthenon.
4. IN FRONT OF PARTHENON (LEFT FRONT)	Stops of guided tours, most photographs of the site taken here – Classical view of the Parthenon.
5. IN FRONT OF ERECHTEION	Taking photos of Caryatids and Erechtheion, gazing at the view of the city.
6. IN FRONT OF PARTHENON (LEFT BACK)	Stopping place, decisions made where to go next.
7. AT THE FLAG	Magnificent panoramic views of Athens, the most favoured spot for gazing at and photographing the city.
8. PARTHENON (RIGHT BACK)	Visits paid to Museum, and its fence like walls also often used for relaxing while either sunbathing in spring or finding shade in the summer.
9. PARTHENON (RIGHT LEFT)	Panoramic views of the city which was often gazed at and also filmed and photographed.
10. PARTHENON (RIGHT FRONT)	Panoramic views of the city which was often gazed at and also filmed and photographed, also popular for gazing at the front of the Parthenon from an unusual perspective.

The 10 favourite spots mentioned earlier (see Figure 12.4.2 and Table 12.4.1) seemed to be very prominent, with visitors stopping at particular spots which, as mentioned earlier and further discussed later on in this section, were meaningful for different reasons. At these spots visitors often engaged in rather similar activities, regardless the season or for that matter, the type of visit (see Figure 12.4.3), or their origin.

Figure 12.4.3 Types of visit (based on year long participant observation)



Spot number 1, just before the entrance to Propylaea, at the edge overlooking the city (see Figure 12.4.2 and Figure 12.4.4), was very popular for taking photographs of the city and less so of the Propylaea. It was also a stopping place for guided groups (see Figure 12.4.4) and a spot through which many visitors would pass on their way out of the site (see Figure 12.4.1), during which time many used to take any last photos of the city panorama before leaving the site. As hinted earlier in this Chapter, the city panorama seemed to be a very important factor for the visitors as viewing the city of Athens (which from many spots at the Acropolis looked as if it was 'embracing' the monument) reiterated the very importance and centrality of the Acropolis for the city of Athens.

Figure 12.4.4 A photograph taken on spot no 1, in front of the Propylaea



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

Spot number 2 on the other hand was very popular for photography and video of both the Propylaea and the city view, while it was also a rather popular place for stops of guided groups, as well as non-guided groups and individuals. Especially on sunny winter days and during spring time this spot was also popular for sitting and gazing at the city as well as sunbathing. In the summer on the other hand, most stops on this spot were made somewhat closer to the walls, in the shade.

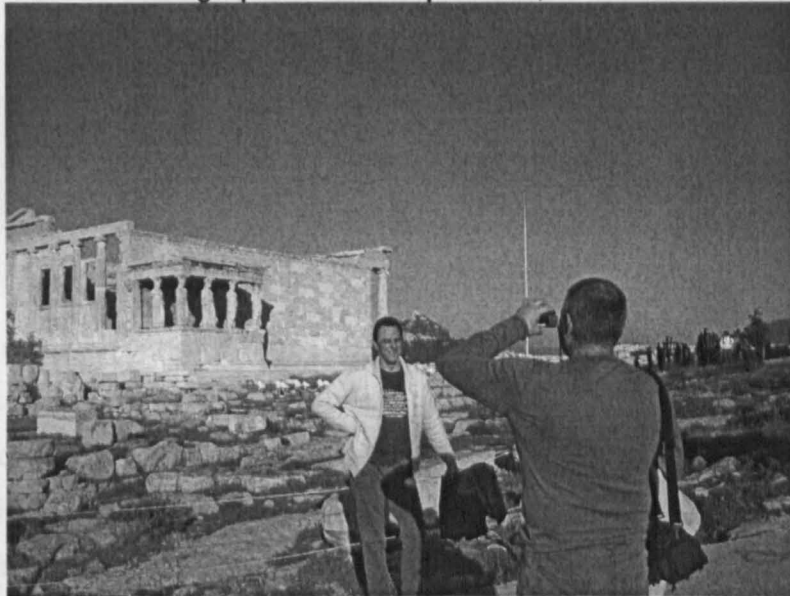
Spots number 3 and 4 were particularly popular for stops of guided visitor groups, where the history [mainly about the Classical period] of the site was narrated, but also, where visitors (from guided and non guided groups) tended to take the most photos of the site and its monuments. The most popular photograph type seemed to be the one of them with the Parthenon (see Figure 12.4.5), following the photograph of the Caryatids, clearly visible from spot number 4 (see Figure 12.4.6). What is particularly interesting in the light of these two particular types of photographs is that both frames and styles of photographs are often seen in myriads of popular iconic representations of the Acropolis (i.e. see for example photographs included in postcards analysed in Chapter 8 of this thesis).

Figure 12.4.5 Photograph taken on spot no 4, in front of the Parthenon



(Image sourced from informants © 2007, reproduction permitted)

Figure 12.4.6 Photograph taken on spot no 4, towards the Erechtheion



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

Spot number 6, was usually a place where visitors seemed to stop and reflect taking their decisions of where to go next, towards the Erechtheion (spot number 5), towards the Greek Flag (spot number 7), towards the Museum (spot number 8) or back towards the Propylaea to leave the site (see Figure 12.4.1). Although photographs and videos were taken at this spot, it was not as popular for these activities as spot number 3 or 4. At

spot number 5, as many visitors had decided to go in that direction, the most popular activity was photography of the Erechteion as well as gazing at the views of the city (see Figure 12.4.7). Once they were there, visitors would often also go around the Erechteion and leave the site (see Figure 12.4.1).

Figure 12.4.7 Photograph taken on spot no 5, girl gazing at the cityscape



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

Spot number 7, the Greek flag, offered magnificent, almost 360° panoramic views of the city and was the most popular spot from where the city would be gazed at, but also photographed and filmed (i.e. see the 2 minute video clip titled *Acropolis*, Appendix A, as well as Figure 12.4.8). Another important role of this particular spot, interlinked with the views of the city and the Greek flag, was that this spot in particular seemed to reinforce the sense of Greekness of the site for its visitors. This reinforcement was twofold. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, the exquisite, almost 360° city views from this particular spot were reinforcing the sense of centrality the site had for the city of Athens, which grew around it, eventually 'embracing' the site. Secondly, the Greek flag, which was positioned on this particular spot and was visible both from within the site and from the city, reinforced the significance the Acropolis had for the

country as a whole (i.e. see the documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis*, Appendix B).

Figure 12.4.8 Spot number 7, the Greek flag



(Photograph: frame from the documentary T. Rakić © 2008)

Spot number 8, the museum, was often visited by many not only with a view of seeing its exhibits, but also with a view to use its low height fences for sunbathing in the winter and spring, as well as for finding shelter from the sun in the summer or extreme wind and rain in the winter (i.e. see the documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis*, Appendix B).

Spots number 9 and 10 were, similar to spot number 7 in that both spots were rather popular for gazing at the panoramic views of the city, where again, not only was the city gazed at, but also, where many photographs and videos of the city were taken as well. However, spot number 10, in contrast to spot number 9, was also popular for gazing at the front of the Parthenon from an unusual perspective⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ As mentioned earlier in the text, in most cases which includes postcards, guidebooks, and promotional materials, the Athenian Acropolis, as well as the Parthenon were mostly represented by an image taken from either spot 3 or 4 which in most cases depicted either the front of the Parthenon or the Caryatids and the Erechtheion, as these were seen from there, rather than as these would be seen from spot number 10.

Particularly interesting is that visitors, no matter their particular type of visit (for different types of visit see Figure 12.4.2) seemed to take almost as many photographs and videos of the site as of the views of the city of Athens. Namely, the views of the city Athens from the site seemed to be yet another attraction, an attraction which, as I have argued in this Chapter, also seemed to reinforce the sense of Greekness of the Acropolis to its visitors.

Interestingly, the city of Athens was not the only attraction, often stray city animals, such as cats and dogs that wandered freely about the site would become an attraction in their own right. In other words, it was not rare to see one member of a group photographing the view of the city and the other the stray animals at the site (see Figure 11.4.9). The fact that Athens and stray animals became attractions in their own right, especially for many of the international visitors to the Acropolis, might be an indication of an interest these visitors had not only in visiting Greek heritage sites and popular visitor attractions but also in discovering and recording some elements of the Greek way of life.

Figure 12.4.9 Other attractions, photograph taken on spot no 2



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

As mentioned earlier, the most common activities seem to have been photography and video as well as walking about and gazing at the monuments and the city, or even gazing at or playing with the stray animals at the site. Nevertheless, although the most common, these were not the only visitor activities. Through meticulous observation of 50 random visitors to the site⁸⁶, I found that other activities such as talking to each other, sitting and resting (see Figure 12.4.10), reading guidebooks, as well as visiting the museum (see Figure 12.4.11) were almost as popular as taking photographs.

Adding to these activities, my inclusion of the 'other' category in these observational sheets (for further details see Methods Chapter) revealed that many visitors, especially at the time of year I had conducted this 'systematic' meticulous observation (spring), also engaged in sunbathing, silent reflection, drawing, and particularly children in playing with each other.

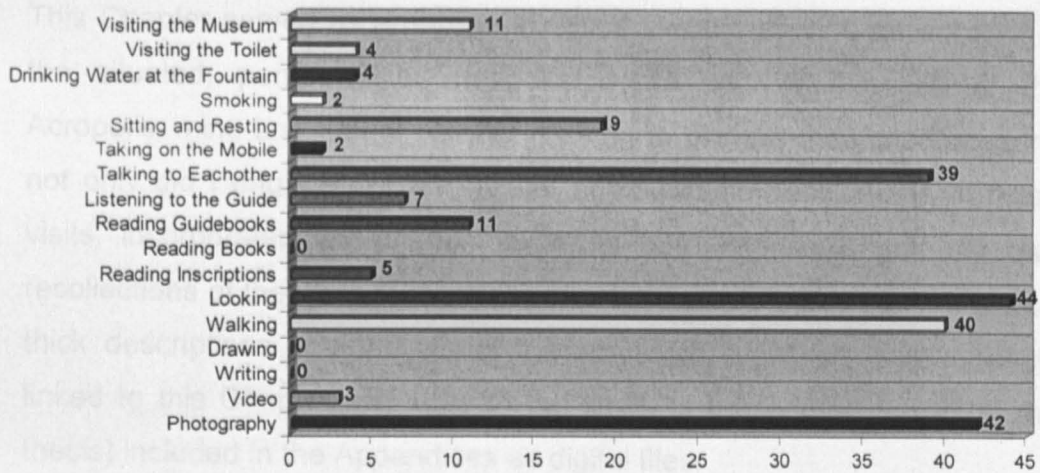
Figure 12.4.10 Visitors sitting, resting and talking to each other (left) and gazing at the cityscape (right)



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

⁸⁶ For details of my observations of visitor activities, please refer to section 7.3.3 of the Methods Chapter.

Figure 12.4.11 Visitor activities



Thus, a visit to the Acropolis might be seen not only as 'performance' (i.e. see Edensor, 1998, 2000) through which the identity of the visitors as well as the identity of the place is enacted, but also as an embodied 'consumption' and 'construction' of the place and its symbolic resonances through visitation. Namely, it seems that, at the Acropolis, although the visual sense played a major role, visitor experiences of the site as well as processes of their 'constructions' and 'consumptions' of its symbolic resonances did not occur solely through the 'performed' *visual* 'consumption' of the place (i.e. see Urry, 1990, 1995) but also through numerous other multi-sensory embodied 'performances' such as the movements through the site (i.e. see also Edensor, 1998), commentary, reflection, reading guidebooks and inscriptions, sunbathing, attempting to touch the marbles, imagine the Classical past of the site, and playing. In engaging in these performative embodied multi-sensory experiences, visitors to the site did not only consume but they also partly constructed the place and its meanings. It was their [mass and individual] performative embodied enactions of 'touristy' behaviour that made some visitors and myself feel, especially during the periods of high season, that the Acropolis as a place sometimes felt more of a 'touristy' place than it did as a place of great national and/or 'universal' significance.

12.5 Conclusions

This Chapter served as an arena in which I would provide an account of the situated, performative, embodied visits and experiences of the Acropolis, mine and that of others. In trying to provide a detailed account, not only did I engage in thick textual ethnographic descriptions of these visits, incorporated still images, excerpts from interviews and my own recollections of the visits to the Acropolis, but I also created two innovative thick descriptions in audio-visual formats, both of which were strongly linked to this Chapter and (due to the limits of the printed format of the thesis) included in the Appendices as digital files.

A claim which permeated most of this Chapter was that deeper understandings of the nature of situated, performative, embodied multi-sensory experiences were crucial in understanding both the experiences of places as well as the meanings which were attached to these places by the people who visit these. In the case of the Acropolis, the exploration of the embodied multi-sensory nature of the visit contained in this Chapter not only demonstrated the importance of the inclusion of the theory on embodiment in the studies of visitor experiences but also made links between embodiment, 'performance' (i.e. see for example Edensor, 1996, 2000) and the processes of 'consumption' (i.e. see Urry, 1995) and 'construction' (see Chapter 11) of places and their meanings through visitation.

Namely, it seems that the multi-sensory, embodied visits to the Athenian Acropolis, were not only a part of the regularly performed 'routine' of the visit, but that its visitors were also engaging in consumption and construction of the place and its meanings through their visit, a visit for which most were paying an entrance fee of €12 and which for many seemed to last between 30-40 minutes. Importantly, what this Chapter also demonstrated was that embodied experiences as well as visitor movements, favourite spots and activities played a crucial role in the

processes of construction and consumption of the Acropolis as a meaningful place. In particular, the presence of other bodies (i.e. other visitors) influenced some visitors to perceive the Acropolis as a mass visitor attraction, while the views of the city of Athens and the position of the Greek flag at the site seemed to reinforce the significance and centrality of the Acropolis for the city and the country as a whole.

However, important questions that still need answering for the purposes of this research are whether the Athenian Acropolis and its symbolic resonances were experienced, 'constructed' and 'consumed' as something 'universal' or 'national', or as both 'universal' and 'national'? In other words, was the Athenian Acropolis, a major international and Greek visitor attraction, 'consumed' as Greek or as World Heritage, or as both Greek and World Heritage? Chapter 13 which follows answers these questions in more detail.

Chapter 13 Perceptions of the Acropolis: Greek or World Heritage?

13.1 Introduction

Having attempted, in the previous Chapter, to demonstrate the mode by which the situated, 'performative', embodied, multi-sensory visitor experiences of the Acropolis as a place played a key role in both personal and collective construction as well as consumption of the site and its meanings, in this Chapter, I will take this argument further to explore two of its meanings in particular – the one resonating its 'Greekness' and the other its 'universality'.

While drawing on interpretative analysis of audio-visually recorded interviews, audio-visually recorded as well as 'traditional' participant observation and notes from my fieldwork diary, I will essentially explore whose identity the Acropolis was perceived to symbolise by its visitors, Greek, World's, or maybe even both simultaneously. Importantly, in so doing, at times I will again remind the reader of the two audio-visual outputs of this research which, mainly due to the limits of the printed format of this thesis, were included as separate files in Appendices A and B, and not in the main body of this thesis. Being as these are, integral to this research project, these audio-visual outputs, the 2 minute video clip and the 26 minute documentary essentially add richness to this thesis and convey findings and descriptions of the fieldwork specific situations which would be difficult to convey in a traditional, textual format.

While once again linking the discussions in this Chapter and the content of the audio-visual outputs to the idea of symbolic consumptions of places (i.e. see Urry, 1995), I argue that what is essentially 'consumed' at the Acropolis through situated, 'performative', embodied, multi-sensory

experiences of the place (explored in greater detail in the previous Chapter) are essentially its meanings and symbolic resonances⁸⁷.

The Chapter opens up with a brief discussion surrounding the contrasting meanings at the Athenian Acropolis, focusing once again predominantly on its title as a World Heritage site and any existing 'competing' titles such as the recently created 'European Heritage'. Further on, this Chapter goes on to explore the main meanings and symbolic resonances the Acropolis had to its visitors, both international and Greek, while paying particular attention, as mentioned earlier, whether visitors perceived the site as having Greek or 'universal' meanings and symbolic resonances. What follows this discussion is the exploration of the Parthenon Marbles dispute (see also Chapters 5 and 9) and how this was perceived by some of the visitors to the site. By engaging in this exploration, this Chapter also aims to uncover whether the Athenian Acropolis and the Parthenon Marbles were perceived as Greek or World Heritage by some of its visitors.

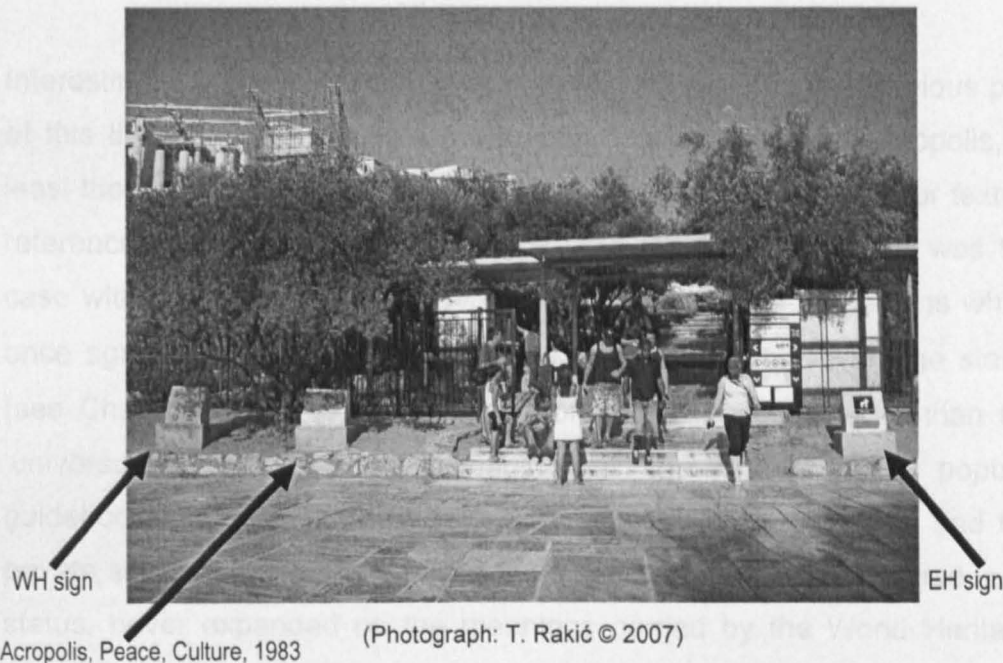
13.2 Contrasting meanings at the [Athenian] Acropolis

Arriving at the entrance to the archaeological site of the Athenian Acropolis, one does not necessarily notice its World Heritage sign as it is located on the far left side of the entrance under an olive tree (see Figure 13.2.1). In addition however, to its World Heritage sign, there are two other signs, one written in Greek, in characters resembling the ancient script, which translated to English states 'Acropolis, Peace and Culture: human

⁸⁷ As discussed earlier in this thesis the meanings and symbolic resonances attached to the Athenian Acropolis developed and changed over time. Importantly, these meanings and symbolic resonances also seemed to have been different for different people in different historical periods (i.e. see part II, part IV and part V of this thesis). Although this thesis focuses on the more contemporary meanings and symbolic resonances linked to its status as a World Heritage site, the ultimate symbol of Greekness and a popular visitor attraction, many of its contemporary meanings and symbolic resonances seem to be also linked, among other, to its status as the a cradle of democracy and a site which contains some of the diachronically most remarkable achievements in arts and architecture (for a more detailed discussion on this refer to a series of essays in Tournikiotis, 1994 and Hurwit, 1999).

shield around the Sacred Rock, Athens 1983'⁸⁸ located on the left side but nearer the entrance and the other, on the right side of the entrance, which interestingly holds the most prominent spot, is a sign confirming the site's outstanding first place on the newly created list of European Heritage (see Figure 13.2.1).

Figure 13.2.1 World and European Heritage signs at the entrance



Not only are there 'competing' titles and their underlying meanings prominent at the very entrance to the Athenian Acropolis, but interestingly enough, in the free information multi-lingual triptych (provided at the entrance upon request only), there is no mention whatsoever of either its World or its European Heritage title, or in fact to the third sign which states Acropolis, Peace, Culture. Given that its World Heritage title (and signpost)

⁸⁸ Interestingly, despite the fact that this sign holds such a prominent spot near the entrance to the site, neither the guards nor the guides whom I asked could remember on which occasion this was put there or what exactly it meant. One thing is certain though, in 1983, the year when this sign was created, it was Melina Merkouri, a passionate supporter for the repatriation of the Parthenon Marbles from the British Museum, who was the then Minister of Culture (see also Figure 13.4.3). Although I was unable to find out exactly which event this particular sign was meant to commemorate, since the text refers to the 'human shield' and the Sacred Rock and in addition it is also written in Greek only (i.e. it is probably meant to have meaning for the Greek rather than the international visitors), this just might have been a sign commemorating an event held in 1983 for the repatriation of the Parthenon Marbles.

is not given the most prominent spot at the entrance to the site, that the free information multi-lingual triptych includes no mention of it, and in addition to that, it is also not mentioned anywhere else at the site, visitors to the site, unless they were aware of the World Heritage site status of the Acropolis before arriving, seem to be rather unlikely to learn that there (see also the ethnographic documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis* in Appendix B).

Interestingly, the semiotic analyses of tourist materials in the previous part of this thesis revealed a similar situation. Postcards of the Acropolis, at least those included in the analysis, did not contain any pictorial or textual reference to its World Heritage status (see Chapter 8). Similar was the case with the recent [Greek] governmental promotional campaigns which once again, did not seem to use references to its World Heritage status (see Chapter 9) and in so doing reinforced the national rather than the 'universal' ownership and belonging of the site. Finally, popular guidebooks produced in and outside Greece by both the public and the private sector, although a few had mentioned that the Acropolis had such status, never expanded on the meanings carried by the World Heritage concept (see Chapter 10).

This being the case, it was to be expected that visitors to the Acropolis would most likely not to be aware of its World Heritage status, unless of course they had a particular interest in World Heritage or had happened to arrive there on a city sightseeing bus whose recorded tape, while still omitting any direct reference to World Heritage, says in both Greek and English:

Επόμενη στάση Ακρόπολη. Αποτελεί ανεκτίμητη πολιτιστική κληρονομιά που σήμερα είναι αναγνωρισμένη από την UNESCO ως παγκόσμια.

Next stop Acropolis. It constitutes a priceless cultural heritage that has been proclaimed by UNESCO as universal.

In fact, visitors to the Acropolis seemed to have perceived the site in many different, often conflicting ways, but interestingly, ways which mostly seemed to contain some reference to the issue of belonging and ownership of the site. For many, as I have argued in the previous Chapter, the Athenian Acropolis as a place was defined through its contemporary use in the context of tourism. As such, many perceived it as the most important place to see in Athens, a place which was the birthplace of democracy and the best known heritage site in Greece. However, for some of its visitors, the Athenian Acropolis carried a number of other meanings either as a work of art, as an architectural masterpiece of all times (in particular the Parthenon), as a spiritual place or as a place of the glorious [Greek] past. In brief, although visitors I spoke to mostly agreed on the issue of belonging and ownership of the site, the site still seemed to be given a series of different meanings. That said, in the section which follows and in line with my research question, I will attempt to explore the various meanings the Athenian Acropolis was perceived to have by its visitors while simultaneously focusing on any meanings related to either 'universality' or national symbolism and belonging of the site.

13.3 Greek or 'World' heritage?

Engrained throughout my fieldwork, the Methods Chapter, this text and also the ethnographic documentary contained in Appendix B, was an attempt to gain deeper understandings of *why* visitors came to the Acropolis and what the site and their visit *meant* to them. However, although a few major resemblances between the various perceptions of the site and its meanings surfaced throughout this work, as I mentioned and attempted to emphasise earlier, different people seemed to come to the Acropolis for different reasons and perceive the place as carrying different meanings.

When I asked Rylynn and Danielle (both in their mid 30s who, visited the site in the summer of 2007 and who lived in the USA) why they came to the Acropolis they said (see also the documentary in Appendix B):

Danielle: Oh, it is the most famous thing to see in Athens. You read and see it all the time on postcards, pictures and books and you have to come to see it for real so.

Rylynn: And just the history behind it, I mean it is one of the oldest histories that we have in the world.

Tijana: And for yourselves, what does the Acropolis mean for you? Does it have any particular meaning?

Rylynn: Just the history behind it, I am very fascinated by what it was, rebuilding it, and especially now with all the funds and different countries pulling together to fund rebuilding it. Interesting, (I) just like the history. [We are] not Greek so it doesn't mean anything to our heritage.

Danielle: The architecture is nice too though. Just checking out all the architecture is really, really pretty.

For Danielle, on the one hand, the Acropolis was just another, famous, aesthetically remarkable visitor attraction which one sees representations of in 'postcards, pictures and books' and therefore has to see 'for real'. For Rylynn on the other, the Acropolis had a deeper historical dimension. For her the Acropolis represented 'one of the oldest histories we have in the world'. What is very interesting with Rylynn, is that although later in the interview she mentions that 'we have' this oldest history, and that she was fascinated by the 'funds and the different countries puling together to rebuild it', thus hinting at what sounds as some of UNESCO's funding, she still makes it very clear that because they [her and Danielle] are not Greek 'it doesn't mean anything to their heritage'. Thus, although she recognizes the wider historical significance of the site, she still doesn't see it as a part of her heritage. As such, in essence, Rylynn seems to perceive the Athenian Acropolis as a very significant historical site which is a known all over the world but is a part of Greek rather than World's identity and heritage.

In contrast to Danielle's and Rylynn's perceptions and experiences of the Acropolis and reinforcing some of the claims made in the previous Chapter with regards to the embodied visitor experiences of the site and their role in the construction and consumption of its meanings, Tom and Kerry (a

young couple from the UK who visited the Acropolis on a cold, rainy day in January 2007) didn't seem to have heard much about the Acropolis prior to their arrival to Athens but nevertheless still perceived it as a Greek national symbol. Here are some of the things they told me:

Tijana: And tell me you came to Athens for vacations...

Tom: Yeah, just to see the sights and the sounds, we've not been to Athens before. Only done, I've only been to the Greek islands.

Tijana: And the Acropolis, was it one of the important places to visit in Athens?

Tom: It came to, from the hotel it kind of stands out...

Kerry: hmm

Tom: as this huge kind of feature you have to go and see so we came to investigate. We didn't pick the best of days but...

Tijana: Hmm

Tom: A bit wet.

Kerry: Didn't pick the best of footwear either (smile)

Tijana: [supportive laugh] So was it slippery with the rain?

Kerry: I almost went over like twice (smile).

Tijana: [supportive laugh] And how did you feel being here?

Kerry: Small.

Tom: Yeah, insignificant.

Tijana: Aha.

Tom: It is quite a large place and they seem to be doing quite a lot of work to it as well. So.

Tijana: Did you expect to find it somehow different or? Had any different expectation based on what you heard of it before?

Tom: Hm, I haven't really, I can't say I've heard of it much before. Hm but it is a lot more impressive than I have imagined it, 'cause you can only see it from a distance.

...

Tom: It stands out as a bit of a Greek national symbol.

Tijana: aha

Tom: It is right in the middle of Athens and it looks kind of Greek as I would take it, so yeah I would presume it was Greek.

Tijana: aha

Tom: The only international side for me would be the tourists...

In addition to their amazement upon experiencing the site and its monuments and commenting not only on their embodied experiences of the site (i.e. rain, slippery) but also on the sense of experiencing the Acropolis and its monuments as sublime (as they said being at the Acropolis made them feel 'small' and 'insignificant'), they also seemed to have never heard of, or at the very least, known much about its history, and still, only by being there, perceived it as a 'Greek national symbol', with the only international side being the tourists. In brief, for Tom and

Kerry, the Acropolis was a 'large feature' in the centre of the city, which seeing from the hotel window, they wanted 'to investigate' and which they perceived to be a 'Greek national symbol'.

Somewhat similar to Tom and Kerry, in the sense that they perceived the Acropolis as being a very 'Greek' site, but also different in that they knew about the Acropolis before coming to Athens and perceived it primarily as a 'tourist site' were the experiences and perceptions of Elia, Bob and Jess (in their early 20s, visiting the Acropolis on a sunny spring day in 2007, living in the USA).

Tijana: And the Acropolis, how did you decide to come here?

Jess: It's the most wonderful place.

Elia: We heard it was pretty sweet.

Bob: Yeah. It's like the biggest, tourist site in Athens, we think, I do not know. That is what the books tell us, so.

...

Tijana: And the actual place of the Acropolis, how did it feel to you, did it feel [pause], did you feel it was a part of international heritage or did it feel more Greek to you? How did it feel to you?

Bob: I feel it is very Greek, even though it is kind of a foundation of the Western World. It's, I feel like, just because everything you read about Greece and Athens, and everything, it is more the Acropolis and everything, so. I thought it was more Greek. (giving the microphone to Elia).

Elia: I do not know, it's pretty Greek.

Jess: That's me too.

(ha,ha,ha all)

Tijana: Did you know it was a part of the World Heritage? That it is a World Heritage site?

Bob: What?

Tijana: Did you know that the Acropolis is a World Heritage site? Do you know about World Heritage? (the two girls look puzzled and then Bob speaks)

Bob: Yeah, I actually visited a bunch of World Heritage Sites in the last like month and I actually didn't really know that but it seems that it should be. Yeah. It makes sense.

Tijana: And did you visit the World Heritage List, you know, the UNESCO thing, since you know...?

Bob: I didn't actually look at the list but a lot of the sites I've been to the last month just happened to be on there.

Tijana: [confirming] It just happens.

Bob: Yeah, I mean, just a lot of the major tourist sites are, throughout Europe, are a lot of World Heritage Sites, so.

Not only did Elia, Bob and Jess perceive the Acropolis as a major tourist attraction in Athens and in Greece, but also once asked if they perceived it

as being a part of international or Greek heritage, they all agreed that it felt more Greek to them, despite the fact that Bob for example mentioned 'it is kind of a foundation of the Western World'. In addition, although Bob had heard about World Heritage (with Elia and Jess seeming to have first heard about it from me), Bob didn't know the Acropolis was a World Heritage Site. However, the fact it was didn't seem to surprise him at all, as for him, the Acropolis was 'the biggest tourist site in Athens' and (from his travelling in Europe over the past month) he had already concluded that, in Europe, 'a lot of the tourist sites ... are a lot of World Heritage Sites'. Thus, World Heritage title, as Bob perceived it, greatly differed from the original intentions of UNESCO. For him, the title seemed to be something that is mostly awarded to major tourist attractions in Europe (see also discussions in Chapter 5 and 9).

On the other hand, Deanna (also in her 20s from the USA, who had visited the Acropolis in mid summer 2007), perceived the site as having a great historical value and as being in its essence about history and Greece. Not only did the presence of other bodies (other visitors) disturb her experience as she was unable to effectively imagine the past (see also discussions in the previous Chapter as well as the documentary in Appendix B) but she also perceived it as:

Deanna: ... definitely very Greek, hmmm just because you associate the Acropolis with Greek, and you see so many pictures, you know, even in America, in school you learn about the ancient Greeks and that's what you see pictures of. So it definitely felt Greek but also international because there are so many visitors from all over the world that were there, you hear very many languages and hmm so you got a feel that this was a place that people all over the world knew about and came to see.

In brief, it seems that for Deanna, the Acropolis was a world renowned Greek heritage site, a site which people 'from all over the world knew about and came to see' and as such it also had an international dimension. However, this very international dimension of the Acropolis was not related to its meanings or to its potential belonging to the world, but to its worldwide fame as a popular visitor attraction. As such, she

seemed to have perceived the Acropolis as a very Greek site, whose only international dimension was marked by its visitors who came from all over the world.

Similar were the opinions of many other international visitors. Most to whom I spoke to expressed similar feelings and perceptions about the nature of the site and its belonging. For example, Jess and Widya, Akilah and Jody and Alena, brief excerpts from whose interviews, follow:

Jess (in mid 30ies, lives in the USA): ...You know, you had the buildings had definitely a Greek feel, you know, everybody around you, so, you know, everybody is from some other country, so, you know, yeah you had that international vibe going as well, you know. And, you know, I like that, you know, being in places that are, you know, multicultural and where you can meet people from all over the world.

Widya (his wife, also in mid 30ies, lives in the USA): I felt also that it was pretty Greek; I kept envisioning all the Ancient people walking around, doing whatever they were doing back then.

- - -

Akilah (in late 20ies, lives in the USA): ... hmm it felt international only because I have been seeing so many people from different cultures, and different countries coming. I am hearing different languages, so I feel that the atmosphere right now feels very international, but just listening to the history, it seems that the Greek people were oppressed a lot, hmm by the Turks, by the Venetians, coming to steal from the Parthenon, and selling it to the British, so it seems that all over the world, everybody has a little bit of Greece, hmm because either through war, or trying to take over the territory, but this is just massive to see, all of the sculptures and the buildings. So it was a nice feel, it was very interesting to see.

- - -

Jody (in mid 30ies, lives in the USA): When I think of that I think of it as very Greek, the people that are here, you know we met people from Italy, people from Canada, hmm and people from the States so as far as today, you know people from all over the world, it felt in a very cultural sense, from the sense there is people all over the world here. As far as the monument itself, I feel it is a part of Greece.

Alena (her friend, in late 30ies, lives in the USA): I mean just having friends that are Greek and they are religious, orthodox, and being able to see this experience, I feel it is a part of Greece that we need to experience, so.

Thus, international visitors whom I interviewed, no matter if they perceived the Acropolis as being more of a major visitor attraction than a [Greek] heritage site or vice versa; mostly perceived it as being a very Greek place in its essence, with the only international or 'universal' dimension being its visitors and its worldwide fame (see also the documentary in Appendix B).

For some of the Greek visitors whom I interviewed though, the Acropolis not only seemed to feel very Greek, but some also felt that by visiting the place they were 'returning to their roots' and as such these visits could be seen as akin to a pilgrimage. For example, as I was told by a mother of two young children, who from their father's side were Greek American (their mother was Serbian, and the whole family was living in the USA):

Mrs Triandafillou (in mid 40ies, lives in the USA): Well, it's very nice being here in Athens. We've been here before. My husband is Greek, Triandafillou family, and those are his roots so we brought our children, they are 6 ½ now to visit you know the place where their ancestors were born. Hmm it's just, I was here 7 years ago, my husband comes here every year, you know, on business but it is the very first time for our children and I think that is wonderful to share something like that.

Somewhat similar to how Mrs Triandafillou perceived the visit to the Acropolis for her children, Maria (in her late 20ies, lives in Greece) told me that bringing her foreign guests to the Acropolis she felt:

Maria (translated from Greek): Proud. Especially when I could compare, it was one of the characteristic Greek things, of our country, which represents it. Like other countries, like the Statue of Liberty, which is characteristic for America, or the Eiffel Tower, and that this [Acropolis] goes even further back in time and that maybe comparatively its value is bigger. Sometimes they do not think of it and say: - Ah, these are simple columns, nothing special. We had heard it. But comparatively it probably is more valuable. I felt my heart skip. That's it.

Later in the interview Maria also told me that:

Maria: ...it is nice to sometimes return to your roots. So you do not forget where you started from. We, the new generation are forgetful. We have an international lifestyle. We should acknowledge some things. It [the Acropolis] makes us feel what we are. That's it.

Thus, for Maria, this visit to the Acropolis made her feel not only proud in front of her non-Greek visitors but also, the visit had a very personal and spiritual dimension as she felt that coming to the Acropolis she was 'returning to her roots'. For Maria the Athenian Acropolis seems to be the essence of her national identity and the essence of her own self (see also the documentary in Appendix B).

However, not all Greek visitors I interviewed felt the same, Yorgos for example, although he believed the Acropolis was 'burdened with a lot of

[national] ideology' himself did not seem to identify with this particular ideology, which as he said was 'supposed to signify a part of his own identity'. This might have to do with his [political] beliefs or possibly also with the fact that he, although Greek by nationality seemed to perceive himself to be more cosmopolitan than Greek, something evident throughout the interview and in his referring to Greeks as 'they' as opposed to 'us'. As he told me:

Tijana: Another thing I wanted to ask, the Acropolis as it is a strong symbol, what do you think it symbolises?

Yorgos: To be honest I do not know what the Acropolis symbolises. Really. I understand what one tourist that comes might want from the Modern Greece. It is a place as the tourist is told s/he has to go to no matter what. For the politicians it has another meaning, the temple, the Parthenon. For the Greeks, for a mainstream Greek it has a different meaning, it is a symbol that for each one takes a different meaning. Each one is identified with it and expresses their ideology, the far left wing, to whom this [the Acropolis] supposedly has no significance, or 'arheolatriis' who says this is [gestures as something very special], or it is an uneducated middle class person who 'sells' the grandiosity of his ancestors in front of a Greece which in its contribution to contemporary culture is minor. So they are 'selling' their ancient heritage, what they have left of it, they have some ancient buildings, and some ancient writings.

However, although the Acropolis was perceived to have many different meanings, no matter their origin, the visitors to whom I spoke mostly seemed to perceive it as a very Greek place in its essence. In other words, they seemed to have perceived it as a place which geographically, symbolically and ideologically belongs to and represents Greece rather than the World. The Greek belonging and ownership of the site was so passionately felt in some of the interviews with Greek visitors that for example the three school children (Stella who was 6 years old, Dimitris 7 and another Dimitris 12, all live in Greece), who had come to visit the Acropolis with their aunt told me:

Dimitris, older (translated from Greek): There are many tourists. Many tourists want to come to the Acropolis.

Tijana: And do you like that, or would you prefer?

Dimitris, older: Yes, but... [pause]

Dimitris, younger: I don't like it at all!

Dimitris, older: It is very nice that some tourists come to Greece to admire the monuments.

Dimitris, younger: Yes but ...

Dimitris, older: It is an honor for Greece...

Dimitris, younger: Yes, but they stole from us!

Aunt: In the old times they took from us, a person called Elgin, took Marbles from the Acropolis.

Dimitris, younger: ...and they keep these for the money only.

Aunt: Not all the foreigners are like this, this happened in the old times.

Dimitris, older: Some come only to admire.

Aunt: Exactly.

Dimitris, younger: I know.

13.4 Elgin and the Parthenon Marbles: whom do these belong to?

As discussed extensively in Chapters 5 and 8, the legal and political battle for the return of the Parthenon Marbles taken by Lord Elgin in 1802 continues to this day. Although many of the international visitors I had spoken to never mention the issue, and possibly many also never knew about it, the issue surfaced regularly in my interviews with Greek visitors to the site (see also the documentary in Appendix B). For example Yorgos, although he believed that 'nowadays the Acropolis belongs to nobody' and that it is simply 'the neo-Greeks [contemporary Greeks] who are managing it', told me:

Yorgos (translated from Greek): I understand how big a diplomatic victory would be for Greece to have the Marbles returned. It would be a diplomatic victory. And not only that, it would set a legal precedent for other countries to get their Marbles back. Because let's not fool ourselves, these Marbles were taken to England when England was economically dominating the world. Nobody gave these as a gift.

Thus, despite the fact that he made the claim that the Acropolis belongs to nobody and that the neo-Greeks are simply managing it he still perceived the Parthenon Marbles which are in the British Museum in London as 'loots' made at the time 'England was economically dominating the world'. To be perceived as 'loots' in the first place though, these had to be perceived as rightfully belonging to someone else, and that someone, as it surfaced from the remainder of the interview, in Yorgos's view, seemed to be the neo-Greeks after all.

Maria, too seemed to have a very passionate view about the belonging of the Parthenon Marbles, currently in the British Museum. She told me:

Marla (translated from Greek): You get a bit outraged when you think about the Marbles that left the country. Looking at the façades I was thinking that some important and beautiful sculptures I had seen in the British Museum...

Tijana: We saw these as well.

Maria: ...you get a bit outraged. When I entered the British Museum, although I consider myself open minded, there I got upset.

Tijana: And for the Marbles in the British Museum, would you like them to be returned?

Maria: Of course! Of course, I would like them to return to their roots, and basically I consider that it is, if with my humble opinion I also had power in my hands, it would be the first thing I would seek to do.

...

Tijana: Any other feeling you had up?

Maria (texts in brackets added): I would like to come some time and see what is ours [the Parthenon Marbles] this is the main thing I had in my mind. I would like to see it [the Parthenon] with all the pieces that are missing because the truth is that the pieces that are missing are the beautiful ones. ... And the other thing that I was nerved a bit about was when some [tourists] were taking some small stones and putting them in their purses. These also, are Marbles which belong to our Rock!

Maria clearly perceived the Acropolis and the Parthenon Marbles as the rightful ownership of Greece and the Greeks. Judging, from the fluency with which I spoke Greek that I too was Greek, she interestingly spoke about the Parthenon Marbles as *our* Marbles and the Acropolis as *our* Rock. She felt so strong about the Parthenon Marbles that while she was at the Acropolis with her visitors 'this was the main thing' she had in her mind.

Indeed, the feeling that the Parthenon Marbles which are currently in the British Museum in London (also known in Britain as 'Elgin' Marbles) should be returned to Greece seems to be so strong that in addition to a host of newspaper articles which regularly appear in the Greek press, every so often a signature collecting event or a demonstration is organized (in Greece and elsewhere) in light of increasing people's awareness about the issue on an international level.

One such event was organized at the time I was on my fieldwork (see Figures 13.4.1 and 13.4.2 as well as the documentary in Appendix B).

Figure 13.4.1 A human ‘hug’ of the Acropolis



(Photograph: frame from the documentary T. Rakić © 2008)

Figure 13.4.2 A close-up of the reunification logo on pupils’ jackets



(Photograph: frame from the documentary T. Rakić © 2008)

It was on the 30th of January 2007, when as a part of a wider event and supported by various public organizations (such as the Municipality of Pireus, the Melina Merkuri Foundation and the teacher's union) over 2,500 school pupils gathered underneath the Acropolis hill and while wearing orange jackets with the Return of the Parthenon Marbles Logo made a circle around it, creating a human 'hug' of the Acropolis (see Figures 13.4.1 and 13.4.2 as well as the documentary in Appendix B). According to the Greek press this event consisted of essay and artwork competitions, pupils' protest discussed here and of an active collection of signatures. During that event alone over 70,000 signatures were reported to have been collected for the cause (i.e. see Kar. G. E., 31 January 2007).

This pupils' protest at the foot of the Acropolis hill in Athens was addressed directly to the management of the British Museum in London. Being very interested in the issue, I went to film the event and also interview some of its participants. However, despite the fact I was introducing myself and saying why I was filming (i.e. for the purposes of this research and to create a documentary) it seems that since numerous TV film crews were present, many protest participants still perceived me as yet another TV reporter to whom they were giving brief statements rather than engaging in a longer interview. Nevertheless, here is what some of them told me:

Maria (translated from Greek, text in brackets added): We came to protest because the Parthenon Marbles were taken to England two centuries ago against our will and these belong to us. We want to continue the work of the late Melina Merkouri (i.e. see Figure 13.4.3) and restitue the Marbles, because these are our archaeological property and not England's.

Tijana: What would you say to the manager of the British Museum if you were speaking to him or somehow had the opportunity to tell him?

Maria: Simply that we want our Marbles back, because it is our archaeological wealth it is the wealth of Greece and not of England.

...

Figure 13.4.3 Melina Merkouri's photograph at the Acropolis metro station



(Photograph: T. Rakić © 2007)

Emelia (text in brackets added): These are a part of our culture and therefore these exhibit our culture to the rest of the world. These are not something that is theirs [England's].

[another] Maria: We believe that the Marbles belong to us. We deserve these, and it is better for these to be exhibited along with the rest of the Parthenon artefacts to display their whole artistic value.

Tijana: What would you say to the manager of the British Museum if you had the chance?

Anestis: That after all these years he had many chances to return these...

Nikos (his friend): ... that all Greeks should meet their cultural history, and that it is difficult for all the Greeks to see the Marbles when they are in the British Museum in London.

Although most pupils I spoke to seemed to be very passionate about their attempt to raise awareness about the issue and maybe also contribute to the potential return of the Parthenon Marbles to Athens, some also seemed to be there 'for the fun of it'⁸⁹, while others, such as Katerina, seemed to think that:

Katerina (comes and takes the microphone on her own, conversation translated from Greek):

Hallo. Keep this in mind: the Marbles shouldn't be returned because these are an advertisement for our country...

⁸⁹ A group of pupils even rapped to the camera on the theme of the return of the Parthenon Marbles (see the documentary in Appendix B). And as they told me they were there 'for the fun of it'.

Another male voice:
These are ours! Stop it!
Second male (now appearing on camera):
It is our national heritage and these are ours, yes!
Katerina (shouting to the microphone):
It is an advertisement for our country!
Second male (appearing on camera):
Stop it! (and he pushes Katerina's head out of the frame)
Third male:
We want our Caryatid back!⁹⁰

Nevertheless, no matter what were the various personal opinions of the pupils who were there, the sheer fact that there were over 2,500 pupils there that day, making 'a human hug' around the Acropolis hill, conveyed a rather strong message. It was a message of the passionate belief shared by many that the Parthenon Marbles, which were taken from the Acropolis in 1802 by Lord Elgin and thereafter to the UK, rightfully belong to and should be returned to Greece. Being at this protest made this passionate message and belief held by these protestors clear not only to me but also to national and international reporters who were there at the time and who reported the event in both the Greek and the British press (i.e. see G.E.Kar, 2007; BBC News, 2007).

13.5 Conclusions

In an attempt to explicate in quite some depth, how some of the visitors to the Athenian Acropolis collectively and individually 'constructed' and 'consumed' the site and its meanings, this Chapter as well as the audio-visual outputs contained in Appendices A and B which were linked to this Chapter, focused on exploring whether a visit to the Acropolis as a place was perceived as a visit to a Greek or a World heritage site. While at times providing further references to the multi-sensory embodied visitor experiences of the place and how these influenced their construction and consumption of the place and its meanings, what this Chapter essentially

⁹⁰ Caryatid here referred to is one of the 6 female statues which were used as columns of the Erechtheion, which Lord Elgin had taken to England along with the Parthenon Marbles.

aimed to achieve is to explore *whose* heritage and *whose* meanings were being 'constructed' and consumed through visitation.

An emphasis made throughout the Chapter was that although most visitors to whom I spoke at the Acropolis did perceive their visit and the meanings of the place differently, there still were some major similarities. Interestingly, these similarities seemed once again to be relatively unrelated to the nature of the visit, or for that matter to the origin of the visitors I was speaking to. Although visits of Greek visitors I had interviewed seemed to have greater resemblance to pilgrimage, as some perceived their visit as a 'return to their roots' and 'felt their heart skip', both Greek and international visitors had quite a few beliefs in common. These were largely that the Athenian Acropolis is a Greek heritage site, which belongs to and represents Greece, despite the fact that the site was also perceived as the 'birthplace of Western civilisation' and one of 'the oldest histories we have in the world'. The only 'universal' or international dimensions the Acropolis was perceived to have by many of its visitors were its global fame and the visitors who came from all over the world, something which can be easier linked to its status as a popular visitor attraction rather than its status as a World Heritage site. Thus, no matter where they came from or what were the other meanings they attached to the site, the visitors I spoke to at the Acropolis mostly seemed to agree on the nature and the content of the meanings of the site, which in their views, mostly 'resonated its Greekness rather than its 'universality'. Experiencing and consuming the place and its meanings predominantly as a site of Greekness, these visitors were also simultaneously reinforcing and partly constructing the symbolic resonances related to its national rather than universal ownership and belonging.

Finally, this Chapter also explored the Parthenon Marbles dispute and how it was perceived by some of the visitors to the site as well as by some of the participants of a protest held at the foot of the Acropolis hill in January

2007. While concluding that the Parthenon Marbles dispute (especially in Greece but also elsewhere, see also Chapter 5) seems to be a very burning question, in this text as well as in the documentary contained in Appendix B, I attempted to portray the feelings of some of the Greek visitors to the site as well as some of the participants at that protest. Both formats, I hope, succeeded in conveying just how important this issue is for some people and how passionate these people feel about the Greek belonging and ownership, of not only the Parthenon Marbles that are currently in the British Museum in London, but also of the Athenian Acropolis as a whole. Once again, the issues of ownership and belonging of the Athenian Acropolis surfaces and reminds us that the meanings [at least currently] attached to the site by its visitors are mostly those linking it with its symbolic resonances as a symbol of Greekness rather than any resonances it might have had, had it been perceived as a symbol of 'universality' and of UNESCO's World Heritage idea.

VI CONCLUSIONS

Our inability to assimilate everything relevant is of course self-evident:
we can only hope our contributions remain of some use.
(Eyles, 1985: preface)

Chapter 14 Conclusions of the study

The [Sacred] Rock remains the dominant national symbol...
(Loukaki, 1997: 312)

14.1 Introduction

Drawing as it does on the major themes of this research and reflecting on its processes, findings, contributions to knowledge, aims and objectives, limitations and areas of further research, this Chapter is the final Chapter of this thesis. However, although its intention is to serve as a closure of this thesis, it is by no means its intention to serve as a closure to scholarly interrogations into the issues surrounding the Athenian Acropolis and its [contested] meanings. As I have attempted to emphasise throughout this thesis, the focus of this research were the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis, rather than an in-depth study into all the symbolic resonances the Athenian Acropolis as a place has been, is and will be believed to carry. Thus, following a plethora of past scholarly studies surrounding the Athenian Acropolis, there will, undoubtedly be more studies which will follow in the future.

Reflections on this particular research project, its aim and objectives, findings, processes as well as its limitations will hopefully reassure the reader that the outcomes of this particular research project, with its focus on World Heritage, tourism and national identity contribute to the existing body of knowledge and take the scholarly interrogations surrounding the fascinating place of the Athenian Acropolis one step further. Further on, while this research created new knowledges about the Athenian Acropolis, it has also contributed to a currently under-researched area of tourism studies. Namely, despite the fact that in over 30 years of its existence World Heritage has drawn significant attention of heritage and tourism practitioners as well as scholars, tourists and the tourism industry

(i.e. see Rakić, 2007), the important issues surrounding the relationships World Heritage had developed with tourism and national identities, have been, until now, relatively under-researched.

Importantly, this research's reliance on innovative, visual alongside the more traditional research methods which enabled me to create not only 'thicker' descriptions by producing audio-visual outputs and linking these to the texts in this thesis, but also to reach deeper and richer knowledges as well as to disseminate some of these findings to wider audiences, also resulted in another, distinct contribution to knowledge. This contribution lies in the area of further advancing and legitimating innovative visual methods from the social sciences and humanities in the field of tourism studies.

In an attempt to briefly summarise this research process and its key findings in this last Chapter, I will first reflect on the Athenian Acropolis as a World Heritage site, a major tourist attraction and a symbol of Greekness. Simultaneously, I will also revisit this research's aims and objectives, summarise and synthesise some of its key findings as well as reiterate their overall significance. Finally, prior to giving my last thoughts on some of the issues engrained throughout this thesis in a form of a reflexive epilogue, I will also briefly discuss the manifold contributions this research has made to the existing body of knowledge as well as its limitations and areas of potential further research.

14.2 Research aims and objectives, findings and thesis structure

As outlined in the introductory Chapter, the Athenian Acropolis, a site of major spiritual and symbolic significance has, throughout its existence as a place, gone through a myriad of stages in its long and rich history, only to emerge, in relatively recent times, among other, as the embodiment of all things Greek, a symbol of UNESCO's World Heritage idea and a major

international visitor attraction. While focusing on these processes, the overall aim of this research and subsequently also, of this thesis, was to explore and provide further understanding surrounding the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis. This, I achieved through the following objectives of:

1) providing an insight into the role the Athenian Acropolis, a World Heritage Site, a symbol of Greekness and a major tourist attraction, played in the *construction* of Greek national identity by:

- a) undertaking a critical review of the literature surrounding the key concepts as well as the emergence of the Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a World Heritage site and a tourist attraction, and
- b) undertaking semiotic explorations of the role Acropolis imagery and text played in tourist materials such as postcards, governmental promotional materials and guidebooks.

2) exploring the processes through which this sense of Greekness as well as other symbolic resonances of the Acropolis are *consumed* by the visitors at the site by:

- a) undertaking a year long [visual] ethnographic fieldwork to study the visitors at the site, their perceptions, experiences and activities, while simultaneously also
- b) collecting and reading [local] newspapers articles and relevant documents which might assist in shedding further light into the researched.

Although primarily concerned with achieving its aim and objectives, in this research I also aimed at creating innovative research outputs which would assist me in conveying its findings in creative, engaging and innovative ways and simultaneously also, outputs which would enable me to create a rich narrative about the Athenian Acropolis, as well as to disseminate some of its findings to wider audiences. This being the case, specific parts of this thesis contained particular parts of the narrative about the Athenian Acropolis in formats which varied from textual, to visual and audio-visual.

While containing different media such as text, illustrative still photography, a 2 minute video clip, and a 26 minute ethnographic documentary, this thesis, pervaded by a constructivist perspective (which had influenced not only my interpretation and representation of the findings but also the development and implementation of the research methods), essentially contained a narrative about the Athenian Acropolis as a place.

Part I of this thesis contained an Introductory Chapter which introduced the reader to the overall research project, its processes, significance, rationale, aim and objectives. By summarising and introducing this research and its significance, this part of the thesis was intended to partly contribute to the overall aim of this research, being as it was a prelude to the whole thesis.

Further on, part II of this thesis titled *A literature review*, contained four Chapters, the first on *Nations, national identities and the case of Greece*, the second on *Constructing Greekness: the role of heritage*, the third on *Tourism at the Acropolis*, and finally the fourth on *World Heritage, tourism and national identity*. These Chapters, through their critical discussions surrounding the key literature on some of the most important concepts used in this thesis, as well as the historical emergence of the Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a major heritage visitor attraction and a World Heritage site, were intended to attending to part a) of objective 1. What this part of the thesis with its historical approach also achieved, was demonstrating that the emergence of the Athenian Acropolis as the ultimate symbol of Greekness, a major visitor attraction and a World Heritage site was not only something which was historically relatively recent, but also something which involved complex and gradual processes such as the archaeological 'purification' of the site, the increase in travel and popularity of heritage, as well as the birth and the subsequent implementation of the idea of the World [category of] Heritage, which relied on the rather problematic notion of 'universal' value of heritage sites.

In particular, Chapter 2 titled *Nations, national identities and the case of Greece* discussed the concepts of nations, national identities and nationalism and simultaneously also linked these concepts to the historical emergence of the sense of Greekness. These discussions led not only to the understanding of the constructed nature of national identities in general and Greekness in particular but also pointed at the important links between heritage and national identities, something which I further explored in Chapter 3 titled *Constructing Greekness: the role of heritage*. Namely, in this Chapter, I further discussed and emphasised the constructed nature of not only national identities but also of heritage, while simultaneously linking these concepts and discussions not only to the case of Greek national identity but also to the Athenian Acropolis as a place and the role it [historically] played in the construction of Greekness. In Chapter 4 which followed, I then discussed the concept of tourism as well as the history of visitation at the Acropolis from the 14th century onwards, providing in such a way an important backdrop for deeper understanding of the contemporary visitation at the site. Finally, in Chapter 5 titled *World Heritage, tourism and national identity* I explored the concept of World Heritage, and linked this concept to both nation building projects as well as tourism. In so doing, in this Chapter I paid particular attention to the processes through which the Athenian Acropolis became a World Heritage site and what this meant in the context of its contemporary significance as a major national symbol and a popular visitor attraction.

The history of the Athenian Acropolis as a place narrated in this part of the thesis (part II) eventually emerged as being of crucial significance within the overall findings, as it was in this part of the thesis that I first explored and discussed the contested nature of the site. As it surfaced in these discussions, the Athenian Acropolis was a site which was torn between different meanings it had for different people and different meanings it had within different historical periods. Importantly, the Athenian Acropolis was also a site which in the early beginnings of the making of the Modern

Greek state had gone through archaeological 'purification' that 'purified' the site from some of its pasts which were no longer desirable, pasts which were embodied in the material remains belonging to post-Classical periods. The fact that it was this 'purified' Acropolis which later emerged as a symbol of Greekness, became a major visitor attraction and a symbol of the World Heritage idea, reiterated once again the very constructed nature of not only national identities but also of heritage.

Part III of this thesis titled *Methodology and Methods* then sought to provide a strong philosophical, (inter)disciplinary and methodological base for this research, explicating as it did, the philosophical influences, (inter)disciplinary location and their respective influences on the methodology and methods underpinning this research. While breaking away from the narrative about the Athenian Acropolis, this part of the thesis with its critical exploration of the philosophical, (inter)disciplinary, and methodological influences was the foundation of this overall research project. Providing as it did an in-depth critical exploration of its methodology and methods, an exploration which conveyed the theoretical and empirical 'robustness' of this research, this part of the thesis partly contributed to achieving its overall aim, particularly through its demonstration that this research project, was a project which was firmly underpinned by constructivism on both its philosophical and method[ological] levels and a project which, despite its reliance on multiple disciplines and innovative methods, didn't follow the approach of 'anything goes'. In addition, representing as it did one of the key contributions to knowledge of this research, this part of the thesis was also significant for its in-depth discussions surrounding constructivism, inter-disciplinary location and the mode through which innovative visual methods from the social sciences and humanities were incorporated along with the more traditional methods in tourism research.

Returning to the narrative surrounding the Athenian Acropolis, part IV of the thesis titled *Constructing (a sense of) Greekness* aimed to achieve part b) of objective 1. In particular, this part of the thesis sought to provide an insight into the mode by which a sense of Greekness at the Athenian Acropolis was constructed in tourism materials such as postcards, governmental promotional campaigns and guidebooks of the site, the city of Athens and Greece. Following at times a historical (postcards), a periodical (governmental promotional campaigns), and a snapshot approach (guidebooks), this part of the thesis revealed the importance tourism materials such as postcards, governmental promotional campaigns and guidebooks can play in the construction and dissemination of a particular sense of place and, in extension, also of its contested nature, ownership and belonging.

While tracing the processes of construction and consumption of the Athenian Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a World Heritage site and as one of the major visitor attractions within a more contemporary, tourism related context, underpinned by my constructivist perspective, in this part of the thesis (part IV) I simultaneously also reiterated that any [semiotic] analysis is essentially subjective in nature and that it is the researcher who plays the central role in interpreting the materials under study. In these analyses, somewhat unusually, I also incorporated a discussion surrounding one of the concepts crucial for this part of the thesis, the concept of a sense of place. Namely, structuring the thesis this way, with relevant theoretical concepts appearing in the relevant parts of this thesis rather than discussing all the relevant concepts in the literature review, was indeed somewhat unusual, but it was also essential in order to effectively construct a narrative about the Athenian Acropolis as a place, as well as, improve the overall flow of the arguments throughout this thesis.

In particular, the semiotic analysis of postcards (Chapter 8), focused on providing a historical overview surrounding the mode through which the sense of place of the Athenian Acropolis was constructed and conveyed in postcards dating from as early as 1886 to the recent 2007. What this analysis revealed was that the Athenian Acropolis, having originally been depicted as a 'natural' part of the city in the very early Acropolis themed postcards, had eventually emerged, in the contemporary postcards, as a synonym for Greece itself. This being the case, postcards seemed to not only have played their role in establishing the Athenian Acropolis as a major visitor attraction on an international level, but also within the overall Greek nation building project in which the Acropolis emerged as being the ultimate symbol of Greekness.

The semiotic analysis of governmental promotional campaigns (Chapter 9) which followed, focused on promotional materials over a recent five year period (2002-2006) and found that not only was there barely any reference to the 'universality' of the Athenian Acropolis but also, that there was barely any reference to its World Heritage status in general. Namely, in these campaigns, the Athenian Acropolis was essentially conveyed as belonging to and representing Greece rather than the World and as being about Greekness rather than 'universality' which its World Heritage status was intended to convey.

This finding was further reinforced in the semiotic analysis of guidebooks (Chapter 10) which circulated in the centre of Athens in 2006. Interestingly, somewhat similar to the mode by which it was represented within the remainder of the tourism materials here analysed, the Athenian Acropolis occupied significant space in the guidebooks of the site, Athens and Greece, while at the same time it was also represented as the number one place to visit in Athens and Greece. Importantly, it was also represented as a sacred site to the Greeks and as an attraction to the tourists, something which once again reiterated the national rather than

'universal' ownership and belonging of the site. However, in contrast to postcards and governmental promotional campaigns, a few guidebooks did state that the site had a World Heritage status. Nevertheless, as mostly these guidebooks still reiterated its national ownership and belonging and none mentioned the meanings attached to World Heritage, these still essentially represented the Athenian Acropolis as being about Greekness rather than 'universality' and as belonging to and representing Greece rather than the world.

Part V of this thesis titled *Consuming (a sense of) Greekness* then relied on textual, visual and audio-visual formats to convey some of the key findings from a year long ethnographic fieldwork in Athens, a time during which I employed [moving image] visual ethnography from a constructivist perspective (meaning, among other, that reality was treated as relative, personally and collectively constructed and plural and knowledge as subjectively created⁹¹) and studied not only the visitors to the site and their experiences, but also followed the coverage on stories surrounding the Athenian Acropolis in Greek media such as newspapers. Similar to how this was done for the concept of the sense of place in part IV, in attempting to effectively construct a narrative about the Athenian Acropolis and convey this research's findings, it was in part V of the thesis that I introduced the concepts of embodiment and the consumption of places through visitation.

While exploring these concepts and their significance in the field of tourism studies, what this part also revealed, mainly through a discussion of the findings of my year long visual ethnographic fieldwork at the Acropolis, was that, contrary to what has previously been claimed (i.e. see Urry,

⁹¹ See also Rakić, T. (forthcoming). Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABI. (Appendix I), as well as Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007b, 13th-15th June 2007). *Researcher with a movie camera: visual ethnography in the field*. Paper presented at the 6th International Symposium on Aspects of Tourism – Gazing, Glancing, Glimpsing: Tourists and Tourism in a Visual World, Eastbourne, UK (Appendix G).

1995), consumption of places and their meanings in the context of visitation should ideally not be perceived as consumption of places alone, but also as their partial construction. Importantly also, as the findings of this research have demonstrated, at the point of their visitation, visitors to the Acropolis were simultaneously constructing and consuming the place and its symbolic resonances not only through their vision but also through their performative, embodied multi-sensory experiences. Namely, being at the Acropolis, visitors did not only see the site, but they also experienced it through their bodies and minds. Thus, while attending to objective 2 (parts a and b) of this research, this part of the thesis, with its three Chapters (covering themes such as *Consuming Greekness?; At the [Athenian] Acropolis: exploring the nature of embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences; and Perceptions of the Acropolis: Greek or World Heritage?*, revealed that the role contemporary visitation at the Athenian Acropolis plays is not only in the consumption of the place and its symbolic resonances but, importantly also, in its construction.

In particular, visitor experiences of the Athenian Acropolis as a place seemed to not only be dependent on the context at the point of their visitation (i.e. seasonality, weather conditions etc), but also to be slightly different for each visitor I observed or spoke to. Nevertheless, most of the visitors did seem to engage in something like a performed 'routine' of the visit and some of their perceptions of the site did bear similarities. Interestingly, despite the fact that different, contrasting meanings of the Athenian Acropolis as a place were evident even at the very entrance to the archaeological site (i.e. see subsection 13.2 and Figure 13.2.1), the visitors to whom I spoke to at the Acropolis mostly also perceived it as being about Greekness, rather than 'universality'. Its sole 'universal' or international side, as I was told by many, were its visitors who came from all over the world. In other words, the Athenian Acropolis, as many of its visitors experienced it, was the most Greek of all places and this was one of the reasons they were visiting. In addition, the fact that the Athenian

Acropolis was visited by over a million visitors per year was also provoking feelings of national pride among many of its Greek visitors and within the Greek media, pointed once again at the important role the contemporary phenomenon of tourism and [mass] visitation at sites of national significance can play not only in nation building projects, but also in the construction and consumption of places and their meanings in the context of visitation.

Thus, some of the most important conceptual findings here reiterated were that in its own distinct ways, tourism and visitation to the Athenian Acropolis had (and still have) a role to play in the Greek nation building project, while despite its World Heritage status, both producers of tourism materials as well as visitors to the site seemed to still perceive the Acropolis as being mainly about Greekness rather than 'universality' and as belonging to and representing Greece rather than the World. These, of course, raise very important questions surrounding the 'universal validity' of UNESCO's World Heritage idea. Indeed, these findings have made it possible to perceive World Heritage as a project which has essentially failed to create a 'universal' or 'world' category of heritage, and where, especially for the Athenian Acropolis, the symbol of the World Heritage idea (UNESCO, 2006), World Heritage can perhaps more appropriately be understood as a synonym for contested heritage.

14.3 Contributions to knowledge, limitations and areas of further research

As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter, despite the fact that numerous scholarly interrogations surrounding the Athenian Acropolis and its contested nature have been conducted in the past (i.e. exemplary studies being Yalouri, 2001 and Loukaki, 1997), none of these interrogations seemed to have paid sufficient attention to the role played by the relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity, despite the fact that visitation was now a very prominent activity at the

site and that World Heritage was already a well developed theme of discussion among heritage and tourism practitioners and scholars (i.e. see Rakić, 2007). By integrating these elements of World Heritage, tourism and national identity and focusing on their relationships for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis, these were the gaps in existing literature that this particular research attempted to fill.

While this research primarily created new knowledges surrounding the Athenian Acropolis, its contributions to knowledge are, in fact, manifold. Firstly, this research created knowledge about the Athenian Acropolis which surrounds its emergence and current status as a World Heritage site, a Greek national symbol and a major visitor attraction. Secondly, it also created conceptual knowledge about the complex relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity, an area of tourism studies which, until now, was relatively under-researched. Finally, the reliance on constructivism, as well as innovative, visual alongside the more traditional research methods throughout this research project, represents another important contribution to knowledge of this particular research: a contribution in further advancing and legitimising approaches such as constructivism as well as innovative visual methods from the social sciences and humanities within the field of tourism studies, in which traditional approaches and words still predominate (i.e. see also Rakić and Chambers, 2007a; 2007b; forthcoming; as well as Rakić, forthcoming).

In addition, despite the fact that knowledge created by this research project was mostly conceptual in nature, this research and its findings might also potentially have practical implications. Namely, the potential usefulness of this research in both the academic world and the wider society is reflected not only in the number of research outputs to date, but also in the fact that, prior to its completion, this research already managed to attract considerable attention from academic and non-

academic audiences alike, mainly due to the topic of its research and the significance of its method[ological] innovations.

Adding to the central role visual methods and the subsequent audio-visual outputs played in the context of this overall research project as well as this thesis (i.e. 'thicker' descriptions, linking audio-visual outputs to texts, richer and deeper understanding of the research findings), visual methods have also played a central role in enabling me, the researcher, to disseminate some of this research's findings to wider audiences. While the documentary and the 2 minute video clip had already been shown to more than 100 people in mostly private settings, these have also been used as a case study for several academic papers and presentations (Rakić and Chambers, 2007a; 2007b; 2008; forthcoming and Rakić, forthcoming). Indeed, in addition to published research outputs mentioned above, the 26 minute ethnographic documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis* (see Appendix B), even prior to its completion, had [unofficially] been invited for a public screening accompanied by a talk (BIOS, Arts and Culture Venue, Athens, Greece), as well as a presentation at both a University abroad (Stenden University, Netherlands) and the researcher's own University (Napier University). Importantly, in an attempt to disseminate some of this research's findings to wider audiences, in the future this film will not only be used for teaching but will also be sent to international documentary film festivals and incorporated as a central part of academic presentations and public talks based this research and/or its method[ology]. Subject to prior consent by the Greek Ministry of Culture and approval by a potential publisher, in the future, this documentary might possibly also be distributed as a DVD supplement of an academic publication.

Reflecting this research's potential relevance, implications and contributions to knowledge further, based on either the findings or the method[ology] of this research, I have also already conducted invited

guest lectures, seminars and keynotes at several universities (Napier University, UK; University of Strathclyde, UK; and Stenden University, Netherlands).

In other words, despite the fact that this research aimed to and succeeded in creating knowledge on a conceptual rather than a practical [i.e. managerial or policy related] level, the conceptual findings and the method[ological] innovations contained in this thesis, academic papers and audio-visual outputs have already attracted some attention from academics, students, practitioners and the members of the wider public⁹².

Judging from all the above, some of the conceptual findings as well as method[ological] innovations contained in this research project and its respective outputs might also prove useful and of particular interest to: 1) policy makers (mainly within UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN, but possibly also within the Greek Ministry of Tourism, as well as Greek Ministry of Culture); 2) managers of the site; 3) archaeologists and architects working at the site as well as members of the wider public with particular interest in World Heritage, tourism, and national identity or the Athenian Acropolis; and 4) [tourism] academics and students. To be precise, the findings of this research which, as mentioned earlier, raise important questions surrounding the 'universal validity' of the World Heritage idea, might potentially lead the relevant policy makers (i.e. relevant members of UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN, but possibly also of the Greek Ministries of Tourism and of Culture) to rethink the current utility of the World Heritage title. Further on, managers of the site might find some of the findings related to visitor movements, activities as well as multi-sensory visitor experiences of the Acropolis useful in their future management of visitor movements, experiences and satisfaction. In addition,

⁹² Other than conducting several guest lectures and seminars based on the findings of this research and its innovative approaches mentioned earlier, I had also organised several private screenings of the first cut of the ethnographic documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis* (see Appendix B) and shown this film to some of the members of the wider public in both Edinburgh and Athens.

archaeologists and architects working at the site as well as members of the wider public with a particular interest in World Heritage, tourism, and national identity or the Athenian Acropolis, might find some of the findings related to the visitor perceptions of the site useful in terms of further understanding some of the meanings contemporary visitors attach to the site. Finally, [tourism] academics and students might find both the findings and the method[ological] innovations contained in this research project useful not only for its advancement of conceptual understanding surrounding the complex relationships between World Heritage, tourism and national identity for the particular case of the Athenian Acropolis, but also for its reliance on constructivism, multiple disciplines as well as innovative [visual] methods from the social sciences and humanities within a tourism research project.

Some of the limitations which have marked this research include my inability to find and collect Acropolis themed postcards belonging to some historical periods such as the 1940s – 1980s; 1990s, and 2000-2004. Had I been able to find and collect postcards from these periods and expand the postcards collection used for this particular semiotic analysis, I might have been able to provide a more complete overview of the mode through which the sense of place of the Athenian Acropolis was conveyed in postcards over time.

In addition, another 'limitation' of this research, as it potentially might be perceived by tourism scholars subscribing to approaches such as positivism and post-positivism, could be the fact that this particular research's findings were based on subjective interpretations of the tourism materials as well as events, observations and interviews conducted in the field. Nevertheless, I have hopefully managed to demonstrate, through discussions permeating much of this thesis, that constructivism with its relativistic ontology and subjectivist epistemology, is not only an alternative approach to positivism and post-positivism, but

that it is also a legitimate approach in the studies of tourism. While acknowledging that within approaches like constructivism researchers such as myself rely on interpretations which are subjective and which are possibly also not the 'only' interpretations, I did emphasise that these interpretations are still the plausible ones, and that these were reached through strenuous time-consuming processes of formal analysis (i.e. see Chapter 7 titled *Methods*). As such, this research, its processes as well as its findings will hopefully, even by scholars subscribing to other, more traditional approaches in tourism studies such as positivism, and post-positivism, still be perceived not only as '*credibile*', '*transferable*', '*dependable*' and '*confirmabile*' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 146-147), but also as legitimate. Namely, what made this qualitative research project as well as its findings '*credibile*', '*transferable*', '*dependable*' and '*confirmabile*' (Crang and Cook, 2007: 146-147), as discussed in somewhat detail in Chapter 7, was that it was marked by thorough, logical and consistent processes, accurate representations of both the secondary data used for semiotic analyses and of what actually occurred in the field, as well as extraordinarily attentive creation of research outputs.

Finally, with regards to the potential areas of further research, in the context of this particular project, these areas might include but are not limited to: 1) the mode by which the Athenian Acropolis is represented in materials other than postcards, governmental promotional materials and guidebooks, materials such as non-governmental websites, popular fiction and documentary films, and other popular, nationally and/or internationally accessible media in general; 2) the mode by which the Athenian Acropolis and its symbolic resonances reflecting its status as a World Heritage site, a popular visitor attraction and the embodiment of Greekness, are experienced by inhabitants of areas surrounding the Acropolis hill in Athens, and 3) a longitudinal study focusing on the experiences of the site by its visitors, tracing any changes in the dominant meanings attached to the site by its visitors over time.

14.4 Concluding remarks: a reflexive epilogue

Attempting, as I did, to invest tremendous efforts into this overall research project and its respective processes, the limitations discussed in the previous section as well as any other limitations this thesis might be perceived to have by its reader, will hopefully not be perceived as reducing its contributions to existing knowledge to a great extent. As I emphasised in the Chapters on Methodology and Methods (part III of this thesis), and especially within the discussions surrounding constructivism and the subjective nature of research, researchers, including myself, are 'inextricably implicated' (Rakić and Chambers, 2007a: 245) in their context specific research processes and their respective productions of knowledge. This being the case, researchers introduce not only their talents, abilities and interests but also their inabilities which prevent them from conducting a 'perfect' research.

Reflexivity about all these issues as well as the position of the researcher thus needs to play an important role in a research project, similarly to how this was done in this project (i.e. see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3, this section of the Conclusions as well as appearances of myself as a researcher in the ethnographic documentary titled *Visiting the Athenian Acropolis* contained in Appendix B).

In the case of this particular research project, as discussed in part III of this thesis, my own distinct set of 'social, historical, socialised, and biographical characteristics' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 13) happened to result mostly in advantages (i.e. see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3).

To make this point clearer, some of the key advantages which I, as a researcher, had in this particular project were linked to the fact that as a researcher based in the UK who was fluent in Serbo-Croat, English and Greek, had lived in Athens, and who is also married to a Greek national, I

had insider knowledge about the Greek culture without myself being Greek or considering the Acropolis as representing the essence of my own [national] identity. What this implied was that although I was able to consult texts and interact with informants in all these languages and was also aware of some of the dominant [national and local] meanings of the Acropolis prior to undertaking this research, I was not necessarily emotionally attached to the Acropolis as a place symbolising my own [national] identity.

At the same time, having witnessed in a very young age in the midst of a civil war the disappearance of my own [Yugoslavian] national identity, I also developed tremendous interests in national identities. In addition, having subsequently, as an adult, lived in Greece and married a Greek national I also developed interests in [Modern] Greek history, identity, heritage and tourism. Importantly, as I discussed in part III of this thesis, these interests were not only crucial in shaping this research question, but also proved to be remarkably motivating throughout this research project.

Further on, my previous experience in academic filmmaking (i.e. see Rakić and Karagiannakis, 2006) was also of crucial importance as it was this experience which enabled me to effectively create innovative audio-visual research outputs, whereas me being [relatively] young and female in the context of my ethnographic fieldwork also implied that whatever their background, most people felt seemed to feel comfortable in talking to me.

However, had I happened to have significantly different set of 'social, historical, socialised, and biographical characteristics' (Breuer and Roth, 2003: paragraph 13) and had this research been conducted in a significantly different context, I might have not been in position to consider my own position as a researcher in this particular project as resulting mostly in advantages, while this research's textual, visual and audio-

visual outcomes might have also been different. This being the case, knowledge created by research projects, including this one, should ideally not be seen as finite and complete, but as situated, partial and context dependent.

Nevertheless, attempting as I did to create holistic and in-depth knowledge surrounding the emergence of and contemporary meanings attached to the Athenian Acropolis as a symbol of Greekness, a major heritage visitor attraction and a World Heritage site in the context of tourism and visitation, I hope that, within some of this research's outcomes such as this thesis, the 2 minute video clip, the 26 minute ethnographic documentary as well as a number of academic papers (see Appendices C, D, E, F, G, H, and I), I succeeded not only in creating but also in disseminating useful knowledge. In particular, I hope that I have managed making a contribution to further understandings surrounding the role the Athenian Acropolis (and its status as a World Heritage site, a major heritage visitor attraction and the ultimate symbol of Greekness) played in the construction and consumption of a particular sense of Greekness which through long and complex historical processes came to represent, almost exclusively, the golden age of Classical Athens.

Further on, through my reliance on innovative, visual methods within a [tourism studies] academy in which words predominate, I hope I have also managed making my own modest contribution in moving this academy forward by further legitimising alternative ways of knowing, as well as alternative ways of creating and disseminating tourism related academic knowledge (see Appendices E, F, G and I).

Finally, through my extensive reliance on two different disciplines (visual anthropology and cultural geography), as well as the philosophy of science and one philosophical approach in particular (constructivism) in not only interpreting and representing the findings but also in designing and

implementing innovative [visual] research methods, I also hope that I have managed making my own modest contribution in promoting thoroughly underpinned, interdisciplinary and importantly also, innovative research approaches in the studies of tourism at a time when 'pioneering research methodologies and innovative methods are most needed' (Pernecky, 2007: 211).

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[please note that the referencing style used throughout this thesis as well as in the bibliography list above was the most recent version of the APA style, which, according to the Napier University Graduate School's Referencing guide is one of the acceptable styles for PhD theses submitted at Napier University]

Appendices

Appendix A *Acropolis: a 2 minute video clip*

[Please note that this 2 minute video is entirely based on research and filming undertaken for the purposes of this thesis and that this video has not as yet been distributed to third parties (while the author has the rights to screen this video herself at conferences, lectures and seminars, as well as submit it to film festivals, her rights to distribute this video to third parties and/or publish it as a DVD are subject to prior consent by the Greek Ministry of Culture). This being the case, while excluding any screenings necessary for the purposes of the examination of this thesis, any other screenings of this DVD without the author's presence and prior agreement are not permitted.]

[Please note that this 26 minute ethnographic documentary is entirely based on research and filming undertaken for the purposes of this thesis and although finalised for the purposes of this degree, might still be a subject to further editing prior to the film being released within the public domain and/or distributed. In addition, while the author has the rights to screen this film herself at conferences, lectures and seminars, as well as submit it to film festivals, her rights to distribute this film to third parties and/or publish it as a DVD are subject to prior consent by the Greek Ministry of Culture. Since this is the case, while excluding any screenings necessary for the purposes of the examination of this thesis, any other screenings of this DVD without the author's presence and prior agreement are not permitted.]

Rakić, T. (2007). World Heritage: Issues and debates. *Tourism: an international interdisciplinary journal*, 55(2), 109-119.

Abstract

In over thirty years of its existence, World Heritage has proven to be very popular. It attracted the attention of not only the heritage professionals, but also of tourists, the tourism industry and scholars. It seems that as World Heritage was becoming popular among tourists, it was also gaining momentum in scholarly research. Based on an interdisciplinary study undertaken on a global level, this paper explores the issues and debates surrounding World Heritage and its future as seen by heritage professionals rather than the local population, governmental bodies, tourists or the tourism industry. In seeking to include the voices that are often left unheard in scholarly research, this study had a sample of 180 heritage professionals based in 45 countries, all of which were States Parties, signatories to the World Heritage Convention. Each of the 45 countries was represented by a chairman or a highly ranked representative from the IUCN and the ICOMOS, a World Heritage Site manager and a Cultural Attaché. An analysis of their responses to an on-line questionnaire and of the information from semi-structured interviews is presented in this paper. It reveals that among all the existing issues and debates such as the question of the (un)equal representation by geographical region and category and the question of indefinite expansion of the World Heritage List, heritage professionals were also concerned with the phenomenon of the evident growth in popularity of World Heritage among tourists and the issues related to balancing conservation and tourism at existing World Heritage Sites.

Keywords: World Heritage, UNESCO, tourism, conservation

[Please note that in terms of primary research this paper was based on research undertaken as a part of my undergraduate dissertation while in terms of its literature review it was only partly based on a literature review undertaken for the purpose of this research. The full text paper can be found in the separately bound document titled *Addendum*.]

Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007). World Heritage: Exploring the Tension Between the National and the 'Universal' *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 2(3), 145 - 155.

Abstract

The complex issues of conservation, politics, tourism management and ownership have emerged as critical issues within the World Heritage debate and specifically within heritage tourism research. Within this context, this paper focuses on issues of ownership and belonging and argues that there exists a link between the conceptual inconsistencies inherent in the World Heritage idea and the tensions between the national and the 'universal' evident at a number of World Heritage Sites. That is, heritage sites that are deemed to be of 'outstanding universal value' and are bestowed with the World Heritage accolade are consequently no longer expected to be perceived as symbols of particular national identities, but as heritage belonging to all humankind. This, of course, provokes a series of debates over the issues of ownership and belonging of such heritage, namely between the national and the 'universal' suggesting that it is possible to perceive World Heritage as synonymous with contested heritage. The paper explores these issues of ownership and focuses on the Acropolis, symbol of the World Heritage idea, as a case study utilising an exploratory semiotic analysis of the promotional material released by the Greek National Tourism Organisation over the last five years.

Keywords: World Heritage, tourism, Acropolis, ownership, semiotics

[Please note that this paper was based entirely on research undertaken for the purpose of this thesis and as a part of this research. The full text paper can be found in the separately bound document titled *Addendum*.]

Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007, 20-23 June 2007). *Creating tourism knowledge: an exploration of the use of visual techniques*. Paper presented at the 2nd International Critical Tourism Studies Conference - The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Promoting an Academy of Hope?, Split, Croatia.

Abstract

While disciplines such as social anthropology, sociology and human geography have for some time utilised visual techniques as valid and legitimate methods of research, within the mainstream tourism literature there is a dearth of studies which seek to employ these techniques. Indeed, in tourism research there is still a proliferation of traditional research methods and an apparent apprehension by many to explore more innovative approaches. In this paper it is argued that while traditional research methods have their place, investigations could be enhanced and enriched with the use of other, more innovative techniques, in order to create new knowledges within what is undoubtedly a dynamic and multifaceted area of study. This paper thus seeks to challenge the current research practices in the tourism academy by exploring academic filmmaking as an innovative visual research technique which can be used, alongside more traditional research methods, to approach research topics in a new way and importantly, to create tourism knowledge which is accessible to a wider audience. The paper also explores the potential of presenting the results of such research to the academic community, informants, policy makers and tourism students through the illustration of two projects: an ethnographic documentary about tourism impacts in Crete; and an ongoing project which explores the construction and consumption of images of Greekness by visitors to the Acropolis in Athens, Greece.

Keywords: visual methods, tourism studies, filmmaking, video

[Please note that, with an exception of one of the two case studies referred to in this paper, this paper was based entirely on research and filming undertaken for the purpose of this thesis and as a part of this research. The full text paper can be found in the separately bound document titled *Addendum*.]

Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2007b, 13th-15th June 2007). *Researcher with a movie camera: visual ethnography in the field*. Paper presented at the 6th International Symposium on Aspects of Tourism – Gazing, Glancing, Glimpsing: Tourists and Tourism in a Visual World, Eastbourne, UK.

Abstract

A certain parallel can be drawn between Dziga Vertov's 1929 groundbreaking film 'The Man With the Movie Camera' and contemporary moving image visual ethnography in so far as the latter is, like Vertov's film, about the glimpses of the everyday as seen by the researcher/filmmaker. However, in addition to difficulties associated with presenting the everyday in a moving image format and acknowledging the position of the researcher within a research project, ethnographers working with film or video, have an additional challenge - that of overcoming a range of difficulties associated with combining filming with existing ethnographic techniques, namely those of covert and overt participant observation, keeping fieldwork diaries and interviewing. This paper seeks to 'promote' the [moving image] visual ethnography within tourism research, by using examples of an ongoing research project which explores the construction and consumption of images of Greekness by visitors to the Acropolis in Athens, Greece. While acknowledging that any attempt at doing visual work in an academic setting is challenging, particularly taking into consideration that 'wordy' ethnographic research predominates, the paper argues that being a 'researcher with a movie camera' although challenging, can prove to be remarkably fruitful and rewarding. Drawing on examples of experiences in the field this paper investigates various filming techniques which could successfully be used by ethnographers to either 'collect data' or create an ethnographic documentary, which can in turn be used for a range of other academic and pedagogic purposes.

Keywords: visual ethnography, Dziga Vertov, tourism, Acropolis, video

[Please note that this paper was based entirely on research and filming undertaken for the purpose of this thesis and as a part of this research. The full text paper can be found in the separately bound document titled *Addendum*.]

Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (forthcoming). Researcher With a Movie Camera: Visual Ethnography in the Field *Current Issues in Tourism*.

Abstract

This paper seeks to 'promote' the use of moving image visual ethnography within tourism research while concurrently acknowledging the methodological and practical challenges inherent in the use of this method. The paper introduces Dziga Vertov's 1929 groundbreaking film 'The Man With the Movie Camera', and argues that a certain parallel can be drawn between the film and contemporary moving image visual ethnography in so far as the latter is, like Vertov's film, about the glimpses of the everyday as perceived by the researcher/filmmaker. Important within this context is the role of the 'self' of the researcher, something further explored through a case study of academic filmmaking, a project which investigates the construction and consumption of images of Greekness by visitors to the Athenian Acropolis. This case also highlights the practical challenges involved in adopting this method and investigates various filming techniques which could successfully be used by tourism researchers to either 'collect data' or create ethnographic documentaries, which can in turn be used for a range of other academic and pedagogic purposes. The paper concludes that being a 'researcher with a movie camera' although challenging can prove to be remarkably fruitful and rewarding, especially in the context of tourism studies.

Keywords: visual ethnography, tourism, Dziga Vertov, Acropolis, video, constructivism

[Please note that this paper was based entirely on research undertaken for the purpose of this thesis and as a part of this research] The full text paper can be found in the separately bound document titled *Addendum*.]

Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2008, 2-4 July). *At the [Athenian] Acropolis: exploring the nature of embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences*. Paper presented at the ATLAS 2008 Annual Conference - Selling or Telling? Paradoxes in Tourism, Culture and Heritage, Brighton, UK.

Abstract

Although the Acropolis, a World Heritage Site and a key symbol of Greekness (Rakić and Chambers, 2007), is visited by more than a million people a year (Greek Ministry of Culture, 2007), the nature of visitor experiences to this important cultural heritage site remains relatively under researched. In an attempt to shed further light into this issue, this paper explores the very nature of embodied visitor experiences by focusing on the ever more important theme of multi-sensory experience. Based on a year long visual ethnographic fieldwork, in its discussion of the nature of visitor experiences at the Acropolis, this paper draws on a wide variety of data from the field ranging from photography, video footage, participant observation, interviews and entries to the fieldwork diary. Thus, within its exploration of the mode by which both local and international visitors to the Acropolis relate to its open space, and how they construct, perceive or reshape their experience, this paper draws not only on textual but also on visual data in seeking to re-construct, re-create and re-present embodied multi-sensory visitor experiences. An argument which permeates most of this paper is that not only did the visitors predominantly perceive the Acropolis as an important Athenian and Greek cultural heritage site rather than a 'world' heritage site, thus belonging to and representing Greece rather than the world, but also that their embodied, and often simultaneous multi-sensory experiences of the site were greatly influenced by the weather and seasonality, the view of the city of Athens, and the fact that some areas of the site were restricted and many activities, such as touching the marbles, prohibited.

Keywords: Acropolis, World Heritage, Greekness, embodied visitor experiences

[Please note that this paper was based entirely on research and filming undertaken for the purpose of this thesis and as a part of this research. Although the full text paper based on this presentation has not as yet been written, the slides used for the presentation at the conference can be found in the separately bound document titled *Addendum*.]

Rakić, T. (forthcoming). Tales from the field: video and its potential in creating cultural tourism knowledge. In G. Richards & W. Munsters (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Cultural Tourism Research*. Wallingford: CABI.

Abstract

As a great number of cultural tourism researchers seem to have had, for quite some time, a preference for quantitative rather than qualitative research methods, and a tendency to use a 'standardised scheme or pattern' (Schutz, 1964 in Feighey, 2003: 78) in their respective research projects, in this paper I explore the potential of innovative qualitative methods in general and visual methods in particular in an attempt to promote their use. I argue that video, an innovative research technique in the social sciences (i.e. see Crang and Cook, 2007; Rakić and Chambers 2007a, 2007b; Pink, 2001), could be used alongside traditional research methods in creative ways in order to create new, visual knowledges in the field of cultural tourism research. Drawing on examples from a recent cultural tourism research project conducted at the Athenian Acropolis, I explore the potential that researcher created video might have as a complementary technique in studying not only visitor motivations, perceptions and experiences but also in studying visitor movements and practices. While including a discussion on ethical issues the use of video might imply, as well as a discussion on the significance of the fit of video with methodological underpinnings and other methods, I use a number of examples from the field to demonstrate the importance that an innovative research technique might have in contributing to the existing body of knowledge. Namely, in a research project which relied on the use of a wide variety of methods, ranging from audio-visually recorded participant observation, interviews as well as visitor movement mappings and keeping of a fieldwork diary, the use of video proved to be of crucial significance – video footage created in the field enabled me not only to tackle the research question in a new way, but also to create new, visual knowledges in the field of cultural tourism research.

Keywords: research methods, video, Acropolis, cultural tourism

[Please note that this paper was based entirely on research and filming undertaken for the purpose of this thesis and as a part of this research. The full text paper can be found in the separately bound document titled *Addendum*.]

Appendix J *Visitor activities sheet*

DATE:	OBSERVATION NO:
TIME:	VISITOR TYPE:

Visitor Activities Sheet

← popularity / time spent doing each activity →												
ACTIVITY	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NOTES
PHOTOGRAPHY												
VIDEO												
WRITING												
DRAWING												
WALKING AND LOOKING												
READING THE INSCRIPTIONS												
READING A BOOK												
READING A GUIDEBOOK												
LISTENING TO THE GUIDE												
CHATTING												
TALKING ON THEIR MOBILE												
SITTING / RESTING												
SMOKING												
DRINKING WATER AT THE FOUNTAIN												
VISITING THE TOILET												
VISITING THE SMALL ACROPOLIS MUSEUM												
OTHER												

Appendix K *Favourite spots sheet*

DATE:	OBSERVATION NO:
TIME:	

Favourite Spots Sheet

SPOT (PLEASE SEE PHOTO MAP FOR DETAILS)	FAV. ACTIVITY
1. PROPYLAEA (LEFT)	
2. PROPYLAEA (RIGHT)	
3. PROPYLAEA END (LOOKING AT THE PARTHENON)	
4. INFRONT OF PARTHENON (LEFT FRONT)	
5. INFRONT OF ERECHTEION	
6. INFRONT OF PARTHENON (LEFT BACK)	
7. AT THE FLAG	
8. PARTHENON (RIGHT BACK)	
9. PARTHENON (RIGHT LEFT)	
10. PARTHENON (RIGHT FRONT)	