

Original Research Article

Satirical Hetero-Determinations of Tourists in Contemporary Popular Culture on the Island of Samos in Greece

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Satirical hetero-determinations constitute an element of Greek social life, and concern verbal manifestations of the manner in which the common person perceives himself and others, self-determines his person and hetero-determines all the others. Because of this, they are of particular interest to folklore studies and - particularly in recent years - have been studied systematically and, indeed, with regard to their historical and atemporal dimension. Satirical hetero-determinations of tourists on Samos, with all that they presuppose and imply, constitute a significant aspect of our contemporary popular culture, in the sense that they are an indication of commonly accepted and widespread mentalities, perceptions and life attitudes, which are in fact part of the core of our contemporary Samiote folk culture. The satirisations do not constitute superficial and facile expressions; they usually reflect deeper situations and more important causes. In the case at hand, it is the feeling of foreignness, its traumatic assimilation and the fear that it might prevail, displacing the familiar and the longstanding, that lead to the manifestations we examine here.

Keywords: Hetero-determinations, Tourism, Popular culture, Folklore, Anthropology, Samos, Social life.

INTRODUCTION

Satirical hetero-determinations constitute an element of Greek social life, as they are encountered both on a personal and family level, as well as on a social and communal one. They concern verbal manifestations of the manner in which the common person perceives himself and others, self-determines his person and hetero-determines all the others. Because of this, they are of particular interest to folklore studies and - particularly in recent years - have been studied systematically and, indeed, with regard to their historical and atemporal dimension¹. It follows, then, that these hetero-determinations would also be attributed to tourists, to the foreign visitors and travellers with whom the inhabitants of many Greek regions,

and especially of the so-called "tourist islands", come into contact each summer.

In the case of Samos in particular, which is what interests us here, it should be noted that, as of the late 1960s and early 1970s, tourism was projected by many local entities as being the sole viable manner of ensuring the island's economic development². At the time, Samos found itself in an economic and social morass, as it had been affected by WWII and the subsequent Greek civil war, and by the ensuing emigration to Belgium, Africa, Germany and Australia. As the tobacco industries and tanneries had closed down, or else functioned below capacity, and as farming and animal husbandry failed to yield the desired income³, the solution of tourism presented

¹ On this subject, see M. G. Sergis, *Ακκληρήματα: οι αλληλοσατιρισμοί ως όψεις της ετερότητας στην αρχαία και στη νεότερη Ελλάδα*, Athens 2005, which includes a rich bibliography. *Ead.*, «Αρχαιοελληνικά ακκληρήματα: οι σημασίες του όρου (3^{ος}-1^{ος} αιώνας π.Χ.) και σκέψεις με αφορμή το χωρίο 1,25 του *Περί των εν Ελλάδι πόλεων* έργου του Ηρακλείδη του Κριτικού», in Minas Al. Alexiadis (ed.), *Θητεία. Τιμητικό αφιέρωμα στον Ομότιμο Καθηγητή του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών Μ. Γ. Μερακλή*, Athens 2002, pp. 681-701. Also, *ead.*, «Νεοελληνικά ακκληρήματα: η περίπτωση των Κυκλάδων», *Λεξικογραφικών Δελτίων* 24 (2003), pp. 353-392.

² M. G. Varvounis, «Αρχείο και συλλογή Αντ. Γιοκαρίνη», *Σαμιακές Μελέτες* 2 (1995-1996), pp. 515-518. Similar attitudes are also encountered in other regions of Greece [cf. indicatively Lydia Papadimitriou, "Traveling on screen: Tourism and the Greek film musical", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 18.1 (2000), pp. 95-104], but also among other peoples [see Will Beecher Mackintosh, *Expected sights: The origins of tourism in the United States*, University of Michigan, 2009].

³ Similar attitudes to tourist attendance, even in the form of "sport tourism", also exist today, especially due to the economic crisis that, as of 2010, has severely

itself as a panacea capable of reviving the island's economy and revitalising its social life⁴.

Many local dignitaries and scholars contributed to this, a typical case being that of Antonis Yiokarinis, the "tourism poet of Samos" according to Alekos Sakellarios, who through both his poetry⁵ and the "Samiote Wine festivals"⁶ tried to promote the question of Samos' tourism development. Once the first such installations were created and an elementary organisation of infrastructure was put into place, it was the history, archaeology and folklore of Samos that were called upon to supply arguments, as "cultural attractions" in the effort to initially attract tourists to Samos⁷ and, subsequently, enlarge the relevant tourism current.

Over the following years, tourism on the island expanded as a result of economic choices, but also due to the activities of international travel agents⁸ that established local branches. The main tourist zones became those of Samos' northern shores, as well as the island's south-eastern and south-western sections, the most important tourist centres being Vathy, Kokkari, Karlovasi, Pythagoreio and Marathokambos⁹. In these regions, economic growth gradually became initially associated with, and later indissolubly linked to, tourism development, to the point that, today, it constitutes the main -and in certain cases the sole- wealth-generating source in the inhabitants' daily life¹⁰.

However, next to those who, in one way or another, became involved in the tourism process, there also existed - and, naturally, continue to exist - inhabitants who are not directly associated with tourism-related activities. Indeed, as

hit Greek society as a whole. See indicatively Mike-Frank G. Epitropoulos (*et al.*), "Sport Tourism and Karpathos: the Pan-Aegean Games of 2002", *Journal of Sport Tourism* 8.4 (2003), pp. 313-319. Also Dimitrios Styliadis - Matina Terzidou, "Tourism and the economic crisis in Kavala, Greece", *Annals of Tourism Research* 44 (2014), pp. 210-226.

⁴ Al. Stathakios, *Παράδοση και εκμοντερνισμός στη σαμιακή κοινωνία*, Samos 2000 (post-graduate thesis at the Dept. Theology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), p. 65. Regarding life on "tourist" islands off-season and how it is perceived, particularly among their younger inhabitants, see Thanasis Kizos, "Island lifestyles in the Aegean islands, Greece: heaven in summer, hell in winter?", in *Seasonal landscapes*, Springer Netherlands, 2007, pp. 127-149.

⁵ For a publication of his work, see Antonis Yiokarinis, *Άπαντα. Ποιήματα – πεζά – συνεντεύξεις – επιστολές* (editing – introduction – epilegomena M. G. Varvounis), Athens 1996. On the latter, cf. also Ger. Kosmatos, «Άπαντα' του Αντώνη Γιοκαρίνη», *Σαμιακόν Βήμα* 3816 (20 February 2012), p. 8.

⁶ Cf. M. G. Varvounis, *Σαμιακά λαογραφικά και εκκλησιαστικά σύμμικτα* 3, Athens 2005, p. 165 *et seq.*, where information is offered on these festivals, their history and folkloric dimension, based on Antonis Yiokarinis' archives.

⁷ On similar procedures as observed in practically all Greek tourist destinations, see M. G. Varvounis, *Ελληνικός λαϊκός πολιτισμός και τουρισμός*, Athens 2013, which also includes older bibliography.

⁸ Their role in the development of tourism is outlined, among others, in William C. Gartner - Thamrin Bachri, «Tour operators' role in the tourism distribution system: an Indonesian case study», *Journal of International Consumer Marketing* 6.3-4 (1994), pp. 161-179.

⁹ See Maria Foustanelas - Olympia Kyriakidou - Dimitrios Buhalis, «Using eTourism Tools to Promote Special Interest Tourism on the Island of Samos, Greece», http://ifitt.org/admin/public/uploads/ENTER%20Paper%2017%20FINAL%20%20_2003%20Olibia%20and%20Foustanelas%20Buhalis.pdf.

¹⁰ Cf. Ioannis Spilanis - H. Vayanni - K. Glyptou, «Evaluating the tourism activity in a destination: the case of Samos Island», *Études Caribéennes* 23 (2013), pp. 34-47.

many of these people don't immediately recognise the close ties between the more general professional and economic tendency of Samiote life to depend on tourism, they develop an intensely xenophobic or "touristophobic" inclination, which is reflected in many narrations, anecdotes and viewpoints of traditional daily life. These attitudes constitute a basic factor in the common person's stance towards tourism¹¹, and it is these that will occupy us in what follows, occasioned by the satirical hetero-determinations of foreigners by the native inhabitants, as manifested in different forms of contemporary Samiote folk culture.

SATIRICAL HETERO-DETERMINATIONS ABOUT TOURISTS

The names used for tourists constitute a main factor in the shaping, but also in the deeper meaning, of these hetero-determinations. In the past, and up to the early 1980s, as a rule Samians called tourists "*bout'koupétsa*", meaning people with a skin similar to a rat's hide (*pétsa*). This is a clearly degrading characterisation, which came into being because of foreigners' well-known love for the sun and sunbathing, which until then were virtually unknown habits among Samians.

As is known, the ideals of beauty in folk culture comprise that of a white skin; indeed, a skin whose very whiteness is preserved by protecting it from the sun¹². It is therefore, natural that an approach that is the absolute opposite, i.e. exposing oneself to sunshine and seeking to darken the skin, should cause puzzlement and provoke criticism from the inhabitants of Samos when observing the habits of those visiting their island for a short while. The different habits, but also the quite obvious differentiation regarding the concept of beauty, formed the basis for this criticism, which in essence disapproved of the manner in which tourists used and handled the possibilities offered by the natural environment. For that matter, similar phenomena are also found among other peoples, as shown by Herb Wylie¹³.

Tanned through sunbathing, the foreigners became as dark as a rat's hide, which is why the locals, commenting on this appearance of theirs in a satirical manner, called them "*bout'koupétsa*". Indeed, given the perception of rats as harmful and scary animals, this simile was of a clearly pejorative nature while also constituting an unambiguous form of satirising the tourists and their most characteristic habits.

In around the mid-1980s, when tourism in Samos reached a peak, it was the foreigners' daily habits that attracted the Samians' satirical attitude. In particular, the foreigners' habit of carrying in their backpacks such things as flimsy mattresses to sleep on, as well as clothes and footwear, but also objects of everyday living, in association with these backpacks' conspicuous bulk, led to the use of the satirical name "*samarádes*" (saddle-bearers) to designate them. In folk thought, the large backpacks were likened to the saddle

¹¹ Cf. Nicholas Konsolas - Gerassimos Zacharatos, "Regionalisation of tourism activity in Greece: Problems and policies", in *Tourism and the Environment*, Springer Netherlands, 2000, pp. 319-329. Also, Konstantinos Andriotis, "Community groups' perceptions of and preferences for tourism development: Evidence from Crete", *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research* 29.1 (2005), pp. 67-90.

¹² On the beauty models in Greek folk culture, see the recent well-documented study by Ar. Doulaveras, *Η γυναίκα και η ανδρική ομορφιά στο δημοτικό τραγούδι*, Athens 2013, p. 211 *et seq.*, with many examples in verse and noteworthy comments.

¹³ Herb Wylie, "Going out of their way: tourism, authenticity, and resistance in contemporary Atlantic-Canadian literature", *English Studies in Canada* 34.2-3 (2008), pp. 159-180.

(*samári*) of pack animals, whether as regards the form, or mainly with respect to the functionality. And this superficial trait became a bridge for effectively attributing the traits of animals to the tourists¹⁴, and hence the humiliating reference to them occasioned by this particular hetero-determination.

Once again, it was the different daily life habits that constituted the basis for the emergence and consolidation of the specific satirical characterisation. For the Samians and their deep-rooted respect for real estate property, but also for the local society's circumstances and values, the tourists' wandering and way their way of life constituted an incomprehensible challenge, totally at odds with their temperament and everyday life. And this was expressed through the satirical hetero-determination they used, precisely in order to satirise this way of life so different to their own¹⁵.

Lastly, as of the early 1990s, the prevailing satirical hetero-determination of tourists is that of "*kabáko*", derived from foreign visitors' habit of entering shops and, if not satisfied with the services on offer or the proposed prices, leaving the premises saying "*I'll come back*". The Greekicised variation of this (false) promise gave rise to the characterisation "*kabáko*", now widely used throughout Samos¹⁶. Indeed, it now crops up in various conversations, namely when the interlocutor wishes to decry behaviours or attitudes towards life, e.g. "*I won't go about like a kabákos*" in the case of sentences referring to wandering about aimlessly, etc.

In the case at hand, it is once again the difference in perceptions and behaviours that led to the particular satirical hetero-determination: living in a closed society, the island's inhabitants consider the purposeless visit to a shop, or a market survey in it, without buying something from among the proposed products to be cause for shame. Because of this, the tourists' market survey in a society composed of acquaintances or relatives who easily take umbrage is at the very least unexpected and makes the native population feel awkward. In turn, this discomfiture leads to satirising, given that the common man has a tendency to always make fun of the foreign, the different and the unexpected, as he himself always follows the norms of a society strictly determined by rules and principles – sometimes unwritten, but always utterly powerful – that constitute the bases of collective and social coexistence, as Fredrick Chiwanga¹⁷ shows when studying similar phenomena of other peoples.

¹⁴ Similar processes regarding how satirical characterisations are formed have been studied by Deirdre Evans-Pritchard, "How 'they' see 'us': Native American images of tourists", *Annals of Tourism Research* 16.1 (1989), pp. 89-105, and Ondrej Mitas - Careen Yarnal - Garry Chick, "Jokes build community: Mature tourists' positive emotions", *Annals of Tourism Research* 39.4 (2012), pp. 1884-1905, which includes previous relevant bibliography.

¹⁵ Cf. Vasiliki Galani-Moutafi, "The self and the other: Traveler, ethnographer, tourist", *Annals of Tourism Research* 27.1 (2000), pp. 203-224, with important observations about the place of "we" vs "the others" in the manners of viewing the tourism current and tourists.

¹⁶ This is a form of verbal mockery based on the inability to understand the tourists' language or on their impulse to comment on it through satire. On this subject, cf. Erik Cohen, "Confirmation versus contestation of tourism theories in tourist jokes", *Tourism Analysis* 15.1 (2010), pp. 3-16, and Ron Jenkins - I. Nyoman Kiter, "Taming the Tourists: Balinese Temple Clowns Preserve Their Village Traditions", *Performance Research: On Tourism* 2.2 (1997), p. 23, with examples and older bibliography.

¹⁷ Fredrick Chiwanga, «Understanding the language of tourism: Tanzanian perspective», *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* (2013), pp. 23-57.

HETERO-DETERMINATION OF TOURISTS AND FOLK CULTURE IN SAMOS

The above satirical hetero-determinations of tourists reveal a different dimension to Samos' tourism current, that of the indigenous inhabitants who as a rule have no involvement whatever with the island's tourist industry. For those who have no professional or economic ties to tourism, the island's foreign visitors tend to constitute annoying cases of intruders, who disrupt traditional order, the customs and mainly the mores, and constitute a threat to the physiognomy and identity of the place and its people¹⁸. These dimensions of an essentially cultural criticism towards foreigners are rarely stressed given that, neither from the viewpoint of cosmopolitanism – and the concomitant condemnation of xenophobia – nor from the angle of cosmopolitanism pursued by official government and its local versions, are these "politically correct". However, they exist and cannot be ignored in a contemporary folkloric examination of modern Samiote popular culture.

At any rate, the tradition of satirical hetero-determination is an old and rich one in Greek culture. From the "*aklirimata*" (the pinpointing of lacks or deficiencies) of ancient times, already mentioned, through to the different local versions of local satirical hetero-determinations among neighbouring villages, islands or places¹⁹, Greeks have satirised the other, the neighbouring, the different throughout the ages, and what is more sometimes in a harsh and merciless manner. It was therefore natural for Samians to satirise the foreign visitors to their land, especially when these exhibited behaviours and mentalities diametrically opposed to their own and, furthermore, regarding basic and crucial points of everyday life.

These satirical characterisations sometimes even acquire the nature of a more general satirical criticism of tourism, which is frequently encountered in Greek traditional culture. Within this framework, tourists are not only the foreigners with different habits, they are also those who in practice challenge society's basic moral principles, introduce new mores and corrupt young people, promoting a blissful and "sinful" life model²⁰. In the case at hand, furthermore, dictates and esteem of a moral nature are also involved, as the love-related ethics of their life choices do not conform to the corresponding attitude of traditional Samiote society and its conservative choices and formulations.

Coming into contact with people of other nationalities and different cultural systems, and who also live in a different manner, certainly constituted a kind of cultural shock for the native inhabitants, as highlighted systematically by Rodrigo de Azeredo Grūnewald²¹. Beyond possible financial gains, it was

¹⁸ On the changes brought about by tourism in the social and everyday life of people on Samos, see indicatively Vasiliki Moutafis, "Tourism on Samos: implications for marriage, dowry and women's status", *Dissertation Abstracts International. A. Humanities and Social Sciences* 51.3 (1990), pp. 910-911. *Ead.*, "From Agriculture to Tourism: Property, Labor, Gender, and Kinship in a Greek Island Village (part II)", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 12.1 (1994), pp. 113-131, with important examples.

¹⁹ Cf. M. G. Sergis, *Ακλήρηματα ... op.cit.*, p. 23 *et seq.* *Ead.*, «Νεοελληνικά ακλήρηματα: η περίπτωση των Κυκλάδων», *Λεξικογραφικόν Δελτίον* 24 (2003), pp. 353-392, with relevant examples and bibliography.

²⁰ Cf. the observations by Theano S. Terkenli - Marcia L. Bellas - Laura Dudley Jenkins, "Tourism impacts on local life: Socio-cultural continuity and change in Crete", *Aegean Geographical Journal* 16 (2007), pp. 37-52. See also Branislav Djurdjev (*et al.*), "Interactions between Tourists and Residents: Influence on Tourism Development", *Polish Sociological Review* 1. 173 (2011), pp. 107-118.

²¹ Rodrigo de Azeredo Grūnewald, "Tourism and cultural revival", *Annals of Tourism Research* 29.4 (2002), pp. 1004-1021.

the different daily life that led to the satirical vituperation of the different. Besides, similar attitudes have also been noted in equivalent cases, as it is a human trait, particularly in traditional societies, to satirise the different, a stance that serves to hide a strong cultural criticism, and even expressions of xenophobia and introversion, steadfast characteristics of traditional and -as a rule- closed cultural systems²².

The satirical treatment of what is different is not only a kind of social criticism; it is also a means of protecting a society's way of life from alien and outlandish elements, external effects and foreign influences. Traditional societies (and in general lines the Samiote society of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s certainly belonged to them) can neither accept nor adopt what is different, because this is perceived as a threat to the established order, which according to the commonly prevailing view gives coherence and meaning to the world. From this point of view, the subversion of both the beauty models and the basic facts of the relation to the natural environment, the changes in the conditions of everyday living and the non-conformity to social morals' basic principles, especially those defining the relations between people and the behavioural manners that connect and normalise their coexistence, constitute threats that are neutralised through folk humour²³.

Besides, through bibliography, we know of other parallel uses of folk humour, which is used to make fun of (and hence symbolically neutralise) a threat against social order and ethics. Many of these jocular narrations, but also a number of contemporary folk jokes, have this intent, as is also the case with many of the indecent, scurrilous and outspoken elements of recorded popular speech²⁴, which, indeed, folklore often avoids studying, showing a bashfulness that is directly proportional to the folklore researchers' moral perceptions and opinions²⁵.

Beyond the economic affluence tourism brings Samiote society, the new living and relationship models it introduces to the island are always treated with mistrust, especially by the more elderly inhabitants. Their approach through satire contributes to their exculpation, but also to the easier assimilation of the inevitable changes in Samiote everyday life given that, when all is said and done, these changes are gradually adopted by society's younger members and, through them, are transformed into elements of the Samians' daily life.

In local narrations, the "*kabákoí*" constitute a standard protagonist in absurd narratives. They are the local Samiote version of the "*koutófrangos*" (literally, the "stupid Frank"), the gullible and easily deceived European, who often succumbs to the locals' adroitness and smartness. They are rich and educated, yet rather dumb and impressionable, foreigners,

who symbolise the alien, the change that is on its way and whose aim is to modify tradition, a way of life usually considered as having a longstanding history and carrying a special national and moral weight. Here we encounter processes reminiscent of those ascertained by Assa Doron²⁶ when studying similar phenomena of other tourist regions. This bizarre foreigner is satirised by the Samians, while in parallel also constituting one of the island's most important breadwinning sources, something that also shows through in the corresponding expressions and narrations, which may be satirical, but refrain from being belittling or insulting.

The "*kabákoí*" are the personification of the dangerous foreigner, the person who introduces new demons into traditional society and who symbolises the globalisation that the locals see as distorting their identity. Indeed, in many local publications and in some cases of events organised by local associations or in folkloric performances²⁷ a rhetoric is developed whereby, as a collective entity, foreigners seek to alter and corrupt the national spirit and the national, cultural and religious identity of Samians, always with dark and dangerous intent. According to these widely-spread opinions (which are also fomented by certain programmes of specific television channels, as well as by Internet posts and books with a wide circulation that always elaborate on the corresponding conspiracy theories), there exists an international plan to dehellenise the Greeks, to subjugate and manipulate or even eliminate them, in which many of the island's foreign visitors supposedly play their own dark role.

From the above, it appears that contemporary Samiote tradition attributes to the "*kabáko*" numerous and different roles, which are not always compatible one with the other. Essentially, though, it is their role as rejecters of the traditional order of things and as importers of new elements that dominates and sets the tone. Frequently, they function as deterring and negative models against which people's correct behaviour is measured ("*I won't go wander about like a kabákos*"), while they almost always constitute a manner of absorbing, by satirising, the cultural differentiation²⁸ that their parodied acts and corresponding traits stress and highlight.

Essentially, this is a manner of handling otherness, or alterity, through satire and humour, which we also encounter in other forms of expression of the Greek people. Besides, we also come across similar satirical hetero-determinations of tourists in other Greek regions, in the same way that we also encounter opinions about the, finally, negative influence of tourism and tourist businesses in the more general economic, social and cultural physiognomy of each place²⁹.

At this point, it should be noted that what is truly

²² See Yiorgos Apostolopoulos - Sevil F. Sönmez, "From farmers and shepherds to shop-keepers and hoteliers: constituency-differentiated experiences of endogenous tourism in the Greek Island of Zakynthos", *International Journal of Tourism Research* 1.6 (1999), pp. 413-427. Also, George Anastassopoulos - Fragkiskos Filippaios - Paul Phillips, "An eclectic investigation of tourism multinationals: Evidence from Greece", *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 28.2 (2009), pp. 185-194, with relevant bibliographical references.

²³ Liisi Laineste, "Targets in Estonian Ethnic Jokes Within the Theory of Ethnic Humour (Ch. Davies)", *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 29 (2005), pp. 7-24.

²⁴ Kalissa Alexeyeff, "Are You Being Served? Sex, Humour and Globalisation in the Cook Islands", *Anthropological Forum* 18. 3 (2008), pp. 35-78.

²⁵ On these tendencies, cf. Minas Al. Alexiadis - M.G. Varvounis, *Άσμενη Ελληνική Λαογραφία. Αναλυτική βιβλιογραφία*, Athens 2013, pp. 9-11.

²⁶ Assa Doron, "Encountering the 'other': Pilgrims, tourists and boatmen in the city of Varanasi", *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 16.2 (2005), pp. 157-178.

²⁷ Cf. indicatively M. G. Varvounis, «Λαϊκά δρώμενα και τουρισμός: η περίπτωση του Καδή στη Σάμο», in M. G. Varvounis (ed.), *Λαϊκά δρώμενα: παλιές μορφές και σύγχρονες εκφράσεις. Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου*, Athens 1996, pp. 51-64.

²⁸ On the subject, see Konstantinos Andriotis, "The perceived impact of tourism development by Cretan residents", *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 1.2 (2004), pp. 123-144.

²⁹ See Christopher B. Balme, "Staging the Pacific: Framing authenticity in performances for tourists at the Polynesian Cultural Center", *Theatre Journal* 50.1 (1998), pp. 53-70. Also, Habib Saidi, "Vadrouilleurs, dervishes and tourists: Going between front stage and backstage in Tunisia", *The Journal of North African Studies* 11.4 (2006), pp. 409-420.

paradoxical is the stance of local cultural associations and in particular of those connected to what local societies term “tradition”. In essence, this corresponds to a phenomenon of staged authenticity, which is related to the tourism current and is perceived as being a genuine expression of local tradition but without it effectively being so. These associations with the traditional costumes and corresponding dances are presented and welcome the first tourists at the beginning of the tourist season, and dance during the “Greek evenings” of the region’s large hotel complexes³⁰. They thus consider that they showcase local popular culture, whereas in reality, they commercialise a folkloristic version of it that is neither representative nor “genuine”, even in the sense that their own rhetoric attributes to the word.

In these cases, the “*kabákoí*” aren’t the dangerous perverters, but the eager consumers of their cultural product, the spectators of a mixture of exoticism and orientalism that is projected as supposedly being the place’s authentic tradition, with the sole objective of attracting a tourism current and maximising the corresponding profits, both for the businesses and for the latter’s employees³¹. In the same context, even the island’s ancient civilisation is used, something mainly taking place at the “Heraia”, in the folklore-style “cultural events”³² hosted each year in the island’s tourist region par excellence, Pythagoreio, the ancient capital of Samos, and in its wider region (Heraion, etc.).

The case of the Heraia festival is totally indicative of these tendencies of local society, as mentioned above. It is a concrete form of what D. S. Loukatos had defined as “tourist archaeofolklore”; elements of local culture, an active participation of local cultural associations, representations of doubtful aesthetic value, a “revival” tendency of ancient religious rituals outside of their religious, historical and cultural context, together with the expediency of increasing the commercial flow in the shops of Pythagoreio, where it is held, constitute its main characteristics³³. In this case, the “*kabákoí*” are not celebrants, but participating spectators, those for whose sake the whole performance is planned and organised.

Beyond any real foundations, this “worship” of all things ancient, through the symbolic form it takes on precisely, constitutes the main trait of the “*kabákos*” in the Samians’ conscience, linked not to the antiquities themselves, but to the inordinate and unreasonable admiration of them, to the ecstatic and amazed version of things that are considered rather common and, possibly, self-evident. Therefore, the “*kabákos*” is that dumb person who can easily be tricked and can even more easily become the object of exploitation of clever and wily locals³⁴.

³⁰ Cf. Nicholas Haralambopoulos - Abraham Pizam, “Perceived impacts of tourism: The case of Samos”, *Annals of Tourism Research* 23.3 (1996), pp. 503-526.

³¹ On this, important observations are made by James Michael Buzard, “Forster’s Trespasses: Tourism and Cultural Politics”, *Twentieth Century Literature* (1988), pp. 155-179.

³² Regarding these phenomena and their panhellenic propagation, see M. G. Varvounis, *Εξελίξεις και μετασχηματισμοί στον ελληνικό παραδοσιακό πολιτισμό*, Thessaloniki 1995, p. 49 *et seq.*

³³ D. S. Loukatos, “L’archéofolklore touristique en Grèce. Aspects d’un art populaire contemporain”, *Lares* 44 (1978), pp. 99-106. *Ead.*, “Tourist Archeofolklore in Greece”, in M. Dorson (ed.), *Folklore in the Modern World*, The Hague 1978, pp. 175-182.

Ultimately, it is yet another form of reality which, in bibliography, is known as a “staged authenticity”³⁵, and determines crucially our contemporary management and construction of the tourism current and its components. The foreigner fleetingly lives in Antiquity – much as he could, through appropriate events, in the times of Byzantium or of Ottoman occupation –, experiences something of the “exoticism” of the land he is visiting³⁶ and, finally, leaves having formed what are mistaken, yet for him nonetheless pleasant, impressions.

And it is precisely this unquestioning, superficial and finally erroneous approach towards local culture, the history and tradition of the place, which in the Samiote collective folk perception defines and characterises the “*kabákos*” and his particular (and frequently satirised) foreign and different way of life and of thinking. It is the active participation in the “staged authenticity” and the tendency to believe it as being true – maybe because it also satisfies and fulfils his personal imaginary constructs³⁷ – that, when all is said and done, characterises someone as being a “*kabákos*” and behaving like a “*kabákos*” in Samiote folk perception and thought. Thus, the simple satirical hetero-determination now acquires a distinct colour, a particular significance, which it did not seem to have at first.

Here we could observe that, in the collective Samiote unconscious, the “*kabákoí*” have acquired many of the qualities of the archetype of the “stupid” person, as described and delimited in absurd Greek folk narratives³⁸. As rendered in these stories, “stupidity” constitutes his basic trait, but also the main motive of his peculiar and different actions, which are commented upon and satirised accordingly by the common people, and in particular by those who have no ties to tourism businesses, or are connected to them only minimally and marginally³⁹.

Similar forms of tourist anecdotes and satirical references also exist among other peoples and are, indeed, two-sided, given that they concern not only the manner in which locals see foreigners, but also the impression that foreigners obtain of the inhabitants of the region they visit, as shown by Dorothea

³⁴ Similar perceptions often determine tourists’ relations with the locals, see Kiri Miller, “The accidental carjack: Ethnography, gameworld tourism, and grand theft auto”, *Game Studies* 8.1 (2008), pp. 34-67.

³⁵ W. Puchner, «Η έννοια της σκηνοθετημένης αυθεντικότητας στην έρευνα του ελληνικού λαϊκού πολιτισμού», in his book *Δοκίμια λαογραφικής θεωρίας*, Athens 2011, pp. 69-81, which also contains the corresponding non-Greek bibliography.

³⁶ Jim Masselos, “Raj Rhapsodies: Tourism, Heritage and the Seduction of History”, *Cultural and Social History* 6.2 (2009), pp. 246-247.

³⁷ Cf. Carey Snyder, “‘When the Indian Was in Vogue’: DH Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, and Ethnological Tourism in the Southwest”, *Modern Fiction Studies* 53.4 (2007), pp. 662-696. Also, Sarah Brouillette, “Struggle tourism and Northern Ireland’s culture industries: the case of Robert McLiam Wilson”, *Textual Practice* 20.2 (2006), pp. 333-353 and David Lloyd, “The Public and Private Realms of Hill’s Mercian Hymns”, *Twentieth Century Literature* (1988), pp. 407-415.

³⁸ On this question, see the doctoral thesis of Nik. D. Perpatari, *Το θέμα του τρελού στο λαϊκό μύθο*, Athens 2010, p. 30 *et seq.* See also K. Kontaxis, *Το θέμα της τρέλας και της κουταμάρας στην ελληνική λαϊκή παροιμία*, Ioannina 1992, and, previously, M. G. Meraklis, *Ευτράπελες διηγήσεις. Το κοινωνικό τους περιεχόμενο*, Athens 1980, which also contains the relative narrative types with their accompanying comments.

³⁹ Alex Tickell, “Footprints on The Beach: traces of colonial adventure in narratives of independent tourism”, *Postcolonial Studies: Culture, Politics, Economy* 4.1 (2001), pp. 39-54.

Schell⁴⁰. According to Schell, in these anecdotes, which often result in succinct satirical hetero-determinations, all kinds of misunderstandings prevail, which in fact stem from the impression created on both visitors and locals by the differences in their daily habits and practices, but also by the different languages, religions and local or national traditions.

This is, then, a generalised phenomenon, which relates to the manner of perceiving and interpreting the different, the alien. Indeed, when contact with the foreign is made through the tourism current, and the normalities that individuate and determine it, then they also acquire a particular meaning in understanding contemporary folk culture, given that the tourism industry usually constitutes a basic factor in the life of these regions. In other words, as Julie Reeves⁴¹ shows in her relevant monograph, these satirical hetero-determinations constitute a basic lever for understanding traditional everyday life, as well as interpersonal and intercommunal relations, particularly at a time of globalisation, when the contact between different people and the mixing of national cultural traditions constitute daily phenomena.

TO CRITICISE THE TOURISM CURRENT IN SAMOS: LITERARY TESTIMONIES

More specifically, in Samos one should observe that these satirical hetero-determinations involve a tendency to criticise tourists and the tourism current, which as a rule is expressed by those who do not participate in it and hence do not enjoy any of its benefits⁴². Tourists are not welcome for all Samians and this is in no way contradictory to the traditional feelings of hospitality, given that tourism isn't related to hospitality but to the purchase of services relating to accommodation, food and drink, entertainment, etc.

The new morals regarding love and sex, young people's distancing from the traditional social values, their frequent scorn of family and its moral stance towards it, the introduction of new customs and habits⁴³, even the use of new forms of clothing and foods, constitute some of the basic points of this "anti-tourist" rhetoric. A tendency that is mentioned only very rarely in sources and is hardly ever disclosed, as it isn't politically correct" and doesn't conform to the projected image of Samos and her people and their attitude towards foreigners⁴⁴. And obviously this occurs in the context of an

⁴⁰ Dorothea Schell, "Coping with foreigners in a Greek village", *Ethnologia Balkanica* 4 (2000), pp. 117-129.

⁴¹ Julie Reeves, *Culture and International Relations: Narratives, natives and tourists*, Routledge, 2004. Cf. also the monographs by Polly Pattullo, *Last resorts: The cost of tourism in the Caribbean*, Ian Randle Publishers, 1996 and Christopher Endy, *Cold war holidays: American tourism in France*, University of North Carolina Press, 2004, containing comparable and absolutely indicative examples.

⁴² Cf. Dimitrios Buhalis - Dimitrios Diamantis, "Tourism development and sustainability in the Greek archipelagos", in *Tourism in the Mediterranean*, Routledge 2001, p. 145 et seq.

⁴³ Cf. Malcolm Crick, "Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: sun, sex, sights, savings, and servility", *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1989), pp. 307-344.

⁴⁴ Similar criticism is also found in other "tourist" regions, cf. for instance Linda K. Richter, "Exploring the political role of gender in tourism research", *Global Tourism* (1998), p. 391. Hazel Tucker, "Tourists and troglodytes: negotiating for sustainability", *Annals of Tourism Research* 28.4 (2001), pp. 868-891. Torben Christensen, "Greenland wants tourism", *Polar Record* 28.164 (1992), pp. 62-63. On frequent theoretical approaches, see Graham Dann - Erik Cohen, "Sociology and tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research* 18.1 (1991), pp. 155-169.

effort to exploit and increase the tourism current to the island, which is why by definition it excludes views such as those presented above and discussed here.

Indeed, it is not all Samians who consider foreigners welcome, even though their presence on the island is linked to economic prosperity and, not infrequently, the survival of its inhabitants. This is reflected in critical views of the locals' relations with tourists, such as those published at various points in time by Samian novelist Kostas Kalatzis and by his Swedish colleague Henrik Swahn. Sporadically in the case of the first, and systematically in the case of the second, they have recorded these tendencies, which is why their texts are starting points for formulating certain related critical opinions.

Kalatzis' criticism was scathing. Identifying tourists with the levelling concept of an irrational progress that has no respect for the past, he rejects any form of good deriving from their presence on the island. They are on Samos solely to corrupt, acculturate and, consciously or unconsciously, destroy⁴⁵. Certain tourist presences, usually of women, are presented in his work with a degree of sympathy, possibly also with an erotic predisposition, but unquestionably the satirical spirit and sarcastic outlook set the main tone.

As much as they might make the days of Samians easier, or even pleasanter, female tourists are carriers of a culture that is foreign, outlandish and with colonialist tendencies. In the face of it, according to Kalatzis, we should maintain a critical stance, armed with a will to preserve the homeland and with folk humour as its principal expression, so as to preserve our heritage, avoid being corrupted, continue to exist and create, having maintained our identity in the face of the levelling and pseudo-cosmopolitan "progress" that, in his opinion, the tourists represent, transmit and often preach.

The Swede Jan Henrik Swahn, on the other hand, born in 1959, is among the number of young authors in Sweden considered as promising. A keen linguist and an inspired translator of literature – including Greek authors – but also a newspaper columnist and a tested prose writer with many novels to his name, he is one of the rising stars of Scandinavian literature. In parallel, Swahn has dedicated an important part of his work to Samos, which he knows, visits and regularly describes in his novels.

His first book referring to Samos is *Drakkvinnan* (published in 2005), whose story unfolds on an unnamed island of the Aegean Archipelago which, however, can be identified as Samos in the late 1990s. A foreigner, who is the author's "narrative alter ego", buys a derelict house with a fantastic view on this island and attempts to repair and live in it, encountering almost insurmountable obstacles in the form of state bureaucracy⁴⁶, unpunctual workmen, but mainly his female neighbour, the "*Drákaina*" (she-dragon), a doctor who is not of the island but who nonetheless takes a dislike to him from the very beginning. This said, the novel finishes on an optimistic note, with the owner defending his right to repair his house and to the view it affords, but also his will to live in the specific

⁴⁵ Similar criticism is obviously encountered in other tourist regions also, cf. indicatively Nick Kontogeorgopoulos, "Keeping up with the Joneses Tourists, Travellers, and the Quest for Cultural Authenticity in Southern Thailand", *Tourist Studies* 3.2 (2003), pp. 171-203 and Naomi Rosh White - Peter B. White, "The comfort of strangers: Tourists in the Australian outback", *International Journal of Tourism Research* 11.2 (2009), pp. 143-153.

⁴⁶ Cf. Androniki Kavoura, "Advertising of national identity and tourism bureaucracy", *Current Issues in Tourism* 10.5 (2007), pp. 397-414, about similar issues.

place. “We live here. And this is where we want to live” are the book’s closing words.

In 2008, Swahn’s *Manolis mopedes* (translated into Greek with the title *Ta michanákia tou Manóli*) was published, a novel that once again unfolds on Drákaina’s island, on Samos, and furthermore in a village that could be identified as one of those on the island’s northern side, which attract numerous and frequent visits from tourists⁴⁷. It is an existentialist narrative about a man of the people, elderly and marked by the tragic experience of losing his only son who, estranged from his wife, turns ever more towards the “inner man”, isolates himself and lives a second life in his thoughts, visions and purified small habits. Essentially, the novel is a kind of narrative continuation of the first book, as many of its people and characters reappear here, weaving the tissue of the story’s protagonists.

Without doubt, these books can be examined under many and different angles. What mainly interests us here, though, is how Swahn renders popular culture, the customs of daily life which, finally, also give the discernible “Samiote colour” that characterises each and every page of this book⁴⁸. And this because, despite Samos not being named as such, the perfume of Samiote life nonetheless rises out of the books’ pages unadulterated and clearly indicates to the observant reader the unnamed place where all these events take place and are located.

Swahn does not approach Samiote daily life folkloristically, nor does he describe it superficially. On the contrary, he appears to have studied the Samians’ life through a systematic and participatory observation of their habits, mentalities, reactions and behaviours⁴⁹. A typical example is that of his references to the “*yiortí*” or “*keskéki*”, a common festive dish that the inhabitants of Samos prepare by contributing jointly, or as the result of the votive offering of an individual or a family, and which is shared out at the religious festivals of churches and chapels. According to this custom, the dish is prepared with meat on regular days - and with chickpeas on fast days, during official periods of fasting or on feasts that coincide with the weekly fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays. Swahn has not only seen how the “*yiortí*” is made; he has isolated the smells, the ingredients, the tastes, but also the social and ritual prestige that its preparation and distribution affords to those involved in making it⁵⁰.

The same can also be observed for the living conditions, feelings, other people’s monitoring of life, but also the envy, jealousy and malice so very often manifested in small and closed communities. He systematically describes the control

exercised by the community, but also the ways of making those who misbehave or act arbitrarily conform to the accepted behavioural rules⁵¹. The comments, rumours and hetero-characterisations, so frequent in the societies of Greek villages, are described in the books’ pages in such a manner as to show that the author knows, has observed, studied and, essentially, loves what he is describing.

Above all, though, this applies to the Samiote landscape⁵². Both the natural and the manmade landscape of Samos are captured in Swahn’s writing flawlessly, in an almost exemplary way. Man’s relation to Nature, the organisation of farms, crops and types of land exploitation, but also the rupturing of this relation by violent and destructive events, such as the surfeit of wildfires suffered by the island over the past decades, all is recorded clearly in his descriptions, appraisals and observations.

Swahn refers to contemporary Samiote society, a fact stressed by the coexistence of older traditional forms of life and social organisation with totally recent realities⁵³, such as, for instance, the establishment of economic migrants on the island, as well as the various degrees of their incorporation in local societies. As it transpires from the addendum to his second book, when reviewing “*Drakkvinnan*” in 2005 Stefan Spjut had shrewdly observed that, ultimately, the nasty and treacherous neighbour not only exists as a type in society, but can also be “*our own self on the other side of the fence*”. He also pointed out that the book’s central narrative motif, the land dispute, is connected to a primeval and primitive instinct, in the same way that a primary human reaction is that “*what is wrong always dwells in others, we are never the ones to blame ...*”.

Contrary to Kalatzis, Swahn, describes the difficulties of their relationship from the viewpoint of the tourist and not the local, and often has a sarcastic and satirical approach to behaviours, mentalities and life attitudes⁵⁴ that are foreign to him, essentially in terms of the values that the cultural system he grew up in represents and schematises and whose carrier he obviously is⁵⁵. This is, then, the other side of the coin of the satirical handling of the other, the foreign, the different in the context of the tourism movement, despite the fact it also often sets forth elements about the manner in which the locals confront tourists⁵⁶.

⁵¹ Cf. Paris Tsartas, “Tourism development in Greek insular and coastal areas: sociocultural changes and crucial policy issues”, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 11.2-3 (2003), pp. 116-132.

⁵² On the relation between tourism and the shaping of the landscape, see James Michael Buzard, “Forster’s Trespasses: Tourism and Cultural Politics”, *Twentieth Century Literature* (1988), pp. 155-179.

⁵³ On similar phenomena, see Peter Mason - Joanne Cheyne, “Residents’ attitudes to proposed tourism development”, *Annals of Tourism Research* 27.2 (2000), pp. 391-411. Also, Manolis Christofakis - George Mergos - Athanasios Papadaskalopoulos, “Sustainable and balanced development of insular space: the case of Greece”, *Sustainable development* 17.6 (2009), pp. 365-377.

⁵⁴ Regarding the viewpoint of the tourists themselves, often disappointed by the cultural and social physiognomy of the region they visit for similar reasons, cf. Orvar Löfgren, “The Secret Lives of Tourists: Delays, Disappointments and Daydreams 1”, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 8.1 (2008), pp. 85-101. Also, the magnificent collective volume under Gloria Cappelli (ed.), *Sun, sea, sex and the unspoilt countryside: How the English language makes tourists out of readers*, Pari Publishing, 2006, which also includes the older bibliography.

⁵⁵ Cf. Mike Crang, “Circulation and emplacement: the hollowed out performance of tourism”, *Travels in Paradox* (2006), pp. 47-64.

⁵⁶ On the subject, see Chris Ryan - Amber Martin, “Tourists and strippers: Liminal theater”, *Annals of Tourism Research* 28.1 (2001), pp. 140-163.

⁴⁷ On the periodicity and time localisation of these visits, cf. George Donatos - Possidon Zairis, “Seasonality of foreign tourism in the Greek island of Crete”, *Annals of Tourism Research* 18.3 (1991), pp. 515-519.

⁴⁸ On the particular local conditions and their “touristic” exploitation, see indicatively Angela Dikou - Andreas Troumbis, “Dive Tourism in North Aegean, Greece: Potential and Prospects”, *Tourism in Marine Environments* 3.2 (2006), pp. 131-143. Also, Konstantinos Andriotis, “Tourism in Crete: A form of modernization”, *Current Issues in Tourism* 6.1 (2003), pp. 23-53.

⁴⁹ This occurs extensively in so-called “pilgrim” tourism, see Matina Terzidou - Dimitrios Styliadis - Edith M. Szivas, “Residents’ perceptions of religious tourism and its socio-economic impacts on the island of Tinos”, *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 5.2 (2008), pp. 113-129.

⁵⁰ The relevant bibliography often studies similar occurrences; cf. for example Michael Eugene Harkin, “Staged encounters: Postmodern tourism and aboriginal people”, *Ethnohistory* 50.3 (2003), pp. 575-585 and Regina Bendix, “Capitalizing on memories past, present, and future. Observations on the intertwining of tourism and narration”, *Anthropological Theory* 2.4 (2002), pp. 469-487.

CONCLUSION

These two cases of literary sources and testimonies basically constitute the two faces of the same coin and describe the main social and cultural grounds on which the satirical hetero-determinations we are interested in here are based. They are satirical reflections of the cultural, social and psychological cost for the locals of the tourist development and the development strategies based on it⁵⁷, and therefore factors that should be seriously taken into account during the planning of corresponding policies, on a local as well as on a regional level.

The satirisations do not constitute superficial and facile expressions; they usually reflect deeper situations and more important causes⁵⁸. In the case at hand, it is the feeling of foreignness, its traumatic assimilation and the fear that it might prevail, displacing the familiar and the longstanding⁵⁹, that lead to the manifestations we examine here. Because of this, they are frequent in Samiote carnival disguises, but also in the disguises of the carnival tradition of the satirical mock trial particular to the island where the presence of "tourists" appears as grotesque figures that personify and schematise all that has been mentioned above⁶⁰.

For this reason, the satirical hetero-determinations of tourists on Samos, with all that they presuppose and imply, constitute a significant aspect of our contemporary popular culture⁶¹, in the sense that they are an indication of commonly accepted and widespread mentalities, perceptions and life attitudes, which are in fact part of the core of our contemporary Samiote folk culture.

⁵⁷ See Athanasios P. Papadopoulos - Gregory T. Papanikos, "The determinants of vine-growers employment and policy implications: the case of a Greek island", *Agricultural Economics* 32.1 (2005), pp. 61-72. Also, George Galanos, "The Greek Tourism Industry and the Challenge of the Economic Crisis", in *Greece's Horizons*, Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2013, pp. 131-145.

⁵⁸ Cf. Anna Souchuk, "'Alles Ist Unter der Oberfläche Noch Lebendig': Penetrating the Schöner Schein through Satire in Josef Haslinger's Opernball and Robert Menasse's Schubumkehr", *Journal of Austrian Studies* 46.1 (2013), pp. 71-92, with relevant examples.

⁵⁹ Often, this tendency itself constitutes, for other peoples, an object of satirisation, cf. David Jamison, "Tourism and ethnicity: The brotherhood of coconuts", *Annals of Tourism Research* 26.4 (1999), pp. 944-967.

⁶⁰ On the "comical" handling of traumatic sources of fear by the people, see Louise D' Arcens, "Laughing in the face of the past: Satire and nostalgia in medieval heritage tourism", *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2.2 (2011), pp. 155-170, with bibliography and relevant examples.

⁶¹ Regarding other peoples and different regions, see the similar findings of Johan R. Edenheim, "With the Simpsons as Tour Guides: How popular culture sources can enhance the student experience in a university tourism unit", *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 16.01 (2009), pp. 113-119.